University of Sheffield

Versions of Medieval France: A Diachronic Socio-Cultural Study of Translation Practices (c.1915—2015)

Isabel Richardson

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Sheffield
Faculty of Arts and Humanities
School of Languages and Cultures

August 2023

Abstract

During the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the teaching of medieval French texts in Anglophone universities has been gradually supplemented by the use of modern translations as primary texts. It is problematic to interrogate texts in translation as if they were primary sources, especially due to the historical, cultural and philosophical misconceptions that they potentially convey. Our understanding of the effect of the use of translations as primary sources is compounded by a lack of theory around the translation of historical literature into modern languages. There are studies on the effectiveness of translated historical literature in the context of comparative literature, and on the relative complexities of translating medieval and classical languages; but the theoretical and methodological lessons of these studies are almost always applied to modern texts.

This research aims to address that gap and evaluate how shifting modern cultural values affect the translation of medieval French texts and inform our reception of medieval culture through education and wider readership. As a diachronic and synchronic study of three medieval French source texts (*La Chanson de Roland, Tristan et Iseut, Aucassin et Nicolette*) in translation, this research applies a distinct framework of socio-cultural and descriptive theories of translation to identify the norms at play across four distinct time periods. In so doing, it addresses the following questions:

- What are the cultural norms at play in each time period and how do they affect the content of the translation?
- To what extent do translators' practices of domestication and foreignization of the medieval period constitute systems of activity?
- How do these modern translations affect our perception of the medieval period?

The research demonstrates that there is an active subsystem of translation around historical literature and that explicit or implicit norms of behaviour within this system have a distinct impact on the public reception of medieval French texts. The study has important implications for the fields of comparative literature and languages in higher education and calls for further investigation through wider-ranging studies of translatorial action.

Contents

Abstract **1**

Acknowledgements **5**

Introduction **6**

The background to the study 6

The educational field 8

The disciplinary field 11

Positionality 23

The structure of the thesis 24

Chapter 1. Medieval Literature: Introducing ST Contexts of Production and Transmission **27**

1.1 The physical manuscript and socio-economic forces behind its production 28

1.2 Decision making and who made it: commissioner, sponsor, scribe 31

1.3 Function of the manuscript as a vehicle of transmission 33

1.4 Reproduction and transmission of ideas 36

1.5 The role of editions in translating medieval literature 40

Concluding remarks 43

Chapter 2: Developing a Sociological Framework for Translation Analysis **45**

2.1 Systems theories and norms in translation 46

2.2 Sociological translation theories and Bourdieu 53

2.3 Method of critical analysis of translated texts. 59

Chapter 3. Rationale for Corpus Choice **68**

3.1 Medieval Source Texts in modern usage 70

3.2 Data correlation and Target Text choice 81

3.3 Choosing excerpts 88

Chapter 4. Analysis **93**

4.1 Corpus Text 1: La Chanson de Roland 93

4.1.1 Analysis 1: The Song of Roland, Done into English, in the Original Measure by Charles Scott Moncrieff with an Introduction by G. K. Chesterton and a Note on Technique by George Saintsbury, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1919) 97

4.1.2 Analysis 2: The Song of Roland, trans. Robert L. Harrison, (New York: New American Library, 1970) pp.489-521. 111

4.1.3 Analysis 3: The Song of Roland, trans. Janet Shirley, (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1996)......124

4.1.4 Analysis 4: The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne, ed./trans. Simon Gaunt and Karen Pratt, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016)......135

4.1.5 Summary of analysis: La Chanson de Roland......146

4.2 Corpus text 2: Tristan et Iseut by Thomas......148

4.2.1 Analysis 1: Tristan in Brittany, trans. by Dorothy L. Sayers, (London: Benn, 1929)......155

4.2.2 Analysis 2: Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas, trans. by A. T. Hatto, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960)......170

4.2.3 Analysis 3: Early French Tristan Poems II, ed. by Norris J. Lacy, trans. by Stewart Gregory (New York: Garland, 1991) pp.3-174.......185

4.2.4 Analysis 4: Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer, trans. by Laura Ashe (London: Penguin, 2015)......199

4.2.5 Summary of analysis: Tristan et Iseut......215

4.3 Corpus text 3: Aucassin et Nicolette......218

4.3.1 Analysis 1: Aucassin and Nicolete, done from the Old French by Michael West, depictured by Main R. Bocher, music by Horace Mansion, decorated by Evelyn Paul, (London: Harrap / Camperfield Presse, 1917)......222

4.3.2 Analysis 2: Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales, trans. Pauline Matarasso, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971)......238

4.3.3 Analysis 3: Aucassin and Nicolette, ed. Anne Elizabeth Cobby; trans. Glyn S. Burgess, (New York; London: Garland (Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 47), 1988)......251

4.3.4 Analysis 4: Aucassin and Nicolette: a facing-page edition and translation, ed./trans. Robert S. Sturges (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015)......263

4.3.5 Summary of analysis: Aucassin et Nicolette......276

Chapter 5. Conclusion......279

Synchronic analysis results......279

Implications of the research and conclusions......295

Bibliography......301

Appendix I: Source Texts......335

1a. Source Text editions – La Chanson de Roland......335

1b. Source Text editions – Tristan et Iseut......344

1c. Source Text editions – Aucassin et Nicolette......360

Appendix II : Target Texts......378

IIa. La Chanson de Roland excerpts.....378
IIb. Tristan et Iseut excerpts.....410
IIc. Aucassin et Nicolette excerpts.....429

Appendix III: Images.....453

IIIa. Manuscript fascimiles:.....453
IIIb. Exemplar epitexts, flyleaves and decorations:.....462

Acknowledgements

My acknowledgements for this thesis will be brief; though many influential people have contributed to its completion, a special few have been constant. My first thanks go to my family, who have always supported me to follow my own path and offered a listening ear and steadfast shoulder. To David, who has provided a hand to hold from the beginning to the end of this challenge, and to Josh who has been a constant companion and sounding board. Finally, and not least, thanks go to my supervisors: Penny Simons who encouraged my first ideas, David McCallam who stepped in with new enthusiasm, and Lena Hamaidia who grounded me in theory throughout. *(Image: 'Chivalry isn't dead,' produced with Wombo.ai, 2017)*

Introduction

The background to the study

Consider the image provided in the opening pages of this thesis as it would be used for an educational stimulus. It was produced using a nascent AI image generator in 2017, using the prompt phrase ‘Chivalry isn’t dead,’ which was a section of the original title for this thesis. The software drew on the large data sets available at the time, using the keywords provided, and yet it resulted in an image which is fractured, blurred, and yet somehow familiar. To the left we see a pair of figures, possibly a knight and damsel, almost reminiscent of Gustav Klimt’s *The Kiss*,[1] or John William Waterhouse’s *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*.[2] To the foreground, figures which may be a marching army, to the background dark shadows, woodland or stained glass. The knights’ armour gleams brightly and there is a fall of fabric, which could be a dress or even a matador’s cloak. This image would have been drawn from data produced by human minds and artwork on thematically similar subjects, so what does it then tell us about how we have depicted the concept of chivalry and, with it, the medieval past?

If we were to present the image to students, the next stage of enquiry would then be to consider how we, as individuals, conceive of this period of European history and the literature it produced. As we look back to the medieval past, what is the image which first appears to our minds? Is it a gilded age of chivalry, good deeds and honour, knights and damsels? Or is it a dark and human image of blood-smeared warriors, subjugated women and indentured servitude? Is it somewhere in between, or is it completely different? Finally, we can consider where these preconceptions and misconceptions begin. Modern reception of the medieval period is usually negotiated by other producers in our society, whether educational, literary, visual, or audiovisual and it is these images which help us to build a picture of how medieval society functioned, and what similarities and differences it had to our experiences today. At the root of these reproductions and representations are the manuscript texts which provide our core information about the medieval period today, but for the majority they are inaccessible, preserved in curated libraries and written in long-dead languages, and therefore

[1] Gustav Klimt, *The Kiss*, 1907-1908, oil and gold leaf on canvas, 180 cm × 180 cm, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna.
[2] John Willam Waterhouse, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, 1893, oil on canvas, 112 × 91cm, Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, Darmstadt.

requiring mediation. The most direct means of this mediation is the edition of the manuscript, shortly followed by translation into a given language, carried out with the aim of elucidating the information carried within a given text, with an intended audience which may range from a member of the general public, to the student, to the academic community, or a combination of these. For the UK alone, translated texts from all languages and time periods into modern English take up only a small portion of the literary market,[3] with the majority directed at the educational and academic fields rather than the general public.[4] Within this small portion, translations of medieval literature into modern English make up an even smaller subsection of this group, with Old French and Anglo-Norman presenting only fifteen exemplars between 2000 and 2012.[5] The repercussion of this minority status is that each translation has more potential to impact upon our reception of the given text and, as a result, the time period it represents: the fewer translations we have of each medieval text, the more influence each of these translations will have on a monolingual reader due to a lack of other available interpretations of the source material. The central focus of this investigation then, which focuses solely on the modern English translation[6] of medieval French and Anglo-Norman texts, is to evaluate their unique position in mediating and constructing our understanding and internalised opinion of the medieval age. By approaching mis/conceptions of the medieval world through the lens of translation, the aim of my analysis is to examine to what extent contemporary cultural values and norms have an impact on both translators as agents and mediators, as well as translations as products, and in doing so to contribute to socio-cultural studies and theories of translation. As literary translations are argued to be most commonly found within educational and academic settings in the UK, this is where the introduction begins, and where much of my analysis takes place.

[3] See also discussion of the minority position of literary translation systems from Itamar Even-Zohar in Chapter 2.

[4] In 1998, Peter Bush estimated that only 3% of literature published in the English-speaking world was translated. Peter Bush and Kirsten Malmkjaer, *Rimbaud's Rainbow: Literary Translation in Higher Education* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998), p.1.
See also more recent data from Literature Across Frontiers which maintains an average of roughly 3% between 1990 and 2012. Alexandra Büchler and Giulia Trentacosti, *Publishing Translated Literature in the United Kingdom and Ireland 1990 - 2012 Statistical Report,* (Aberystwyth: Mercator Institute for Media, Languages and Culture, Aberystwyth University, 2015) <https://www.lit-across-frontiers.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Translation-Statistics-Study_Update_May2015.pdf> [Accessed 05 June 2023]

[5] The 2015 report from Literature Across Frontiers further estimates that between 2000 and 2012, only 63 of the 33,194 translations surveyed were from medieval languages (see Table 9, p.18 of the report). Though this figure comes with the proviso on p.14 that ‘it is particularly difficult to separate new translations from re-editions of older translations,’ a question covered in this thesis under the rationale for translation choice in Chapter Three.

[6] Throughout this thesis, ‘modern’ is taken to signify produced in either the twentieth or twenty-first centuries.

The educational field

In 2006, Susan Bassnett, writing from the UK, claimed that a ‘radical reassessment of what constitutes literary knowledge’ was taking place in response to changes in academic curricula in order to accommodate students who could no longer access premodern languages due to a dearth of primary and secondary educational provision.[7] This contention builds on her work of 1993 where she investigates the rise and relevance of the study of literature in translation in European universities as a means of comparing themes across literary cultures, a practice of which she is critical due to its potential to be reductive of linguistic and cultural diversity.[8] Learning through the medium of translation therefore implies a greater weight on the translator’s ability to effectively and ‘invisibly’ render a given Source Text (henceforth ST) into a Target Text (henceforth TT) which represents the multiple dimensions of the source material, whether linguistic, socio-cultural or visual.[9] Their text becomes the main point of reference for a student of (especially) dead and ancient languages, where educational bodies at primary, secondary and higher levels do not have provision to teach these languages. In the UK this is particularly relevant given an elimination of Latin in State schools[10] compounded by falling levels of language learning in secondary education since the removal of compulsory language study at GCSE between 2004 and the introduction of the eBacc in 2014.[11] Since then, uptake of GCSE[12] and A level studies of European languages outside of Spanish has dropped across the board.[13] Comparison with other non-compulsory subjects shows that in general, interest in languages is low, taking for example enrolment in French A

---

[7] Susan Bassnett, ‘Reflections on Comparative Literature in the Twenty-First Century’, *Comparative Critical Studies*, 3.1 (2006), p.6 <https://doi.org/10.1353/ccs.2006.0002>.

[8] See Susan Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993), pp.41-44 where she outlines the impact of the decline of multilingualism on university studies in the nineties. See especially p.45 for the potential for absorption of literary culture into the systems for which they are translated and the effect the reader has on this process.

[9] The term ‘invisible’ here references the work of Lawrence Venuti, who observed that in Anglophone cultures (and worldwide), translations tend to be assessed by the criteria that they can stand alone as would the ‘original’ in the target culture, thereby rendering the translator’s mediative role ‘invisible.’ See: Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.1.

[10] According to a 2020 British Council study, only 2.7% of comprehensive schools versus 49% of private schools have provision to teach Latin. Ian Collen, *Language Trends 2020: Language Teaching in Primary and Secondary Schools in England*, (London: British Council, 2020), p.13. <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/language_trends_2020_0.pdf> [Accessed 05 June 2023].

[11] Olga Gomez-Cash, ‘Now Students are Expected to Study a Language Until Age 16, the Work to Rebuild Begins,’ *The Conversation* (2 July 2019) <https://theconversation.com/now-students-are-expected-to-study-a-language-until-age-16-the-work-to-rebuild-begins-43808> [Accessed 05 June 2023].

[12] British Council, *Number of GSCE entries in French, German and Spanish in the United Kingdom from 2010 to 2021* [Graph], Statista, (July 19, 2022). <https://www.statista.com/statistics/874702/gcse-entries-in-selected-languages/> [Accessed 05 June, 2023].

[13] Joint Council for Qualifications. *European language exam entries at A level in England from 2011 to 2019, by subject* [Graph], Statista, (August 15, 2019). <https://www.statista.com/statistics/343091/england-european-language-candidates-a-level/> [Accessed 05 June, 2023].

levels in 2022 (8496), against traditional subjects such as history (42356) and newer additions to syllabi such as Economics (35440) (below).

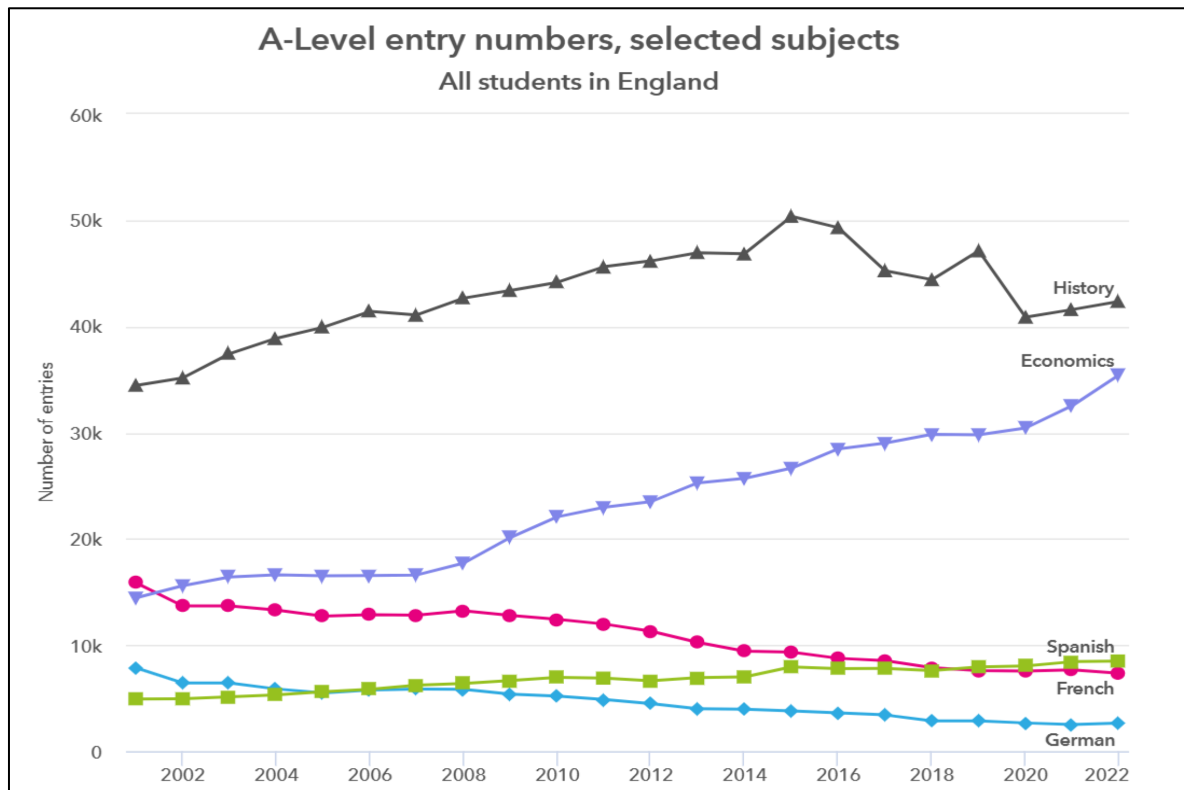


Figure 1: Comparison of A level entries 2001-2022 across languages and humanities subjects[14]

The statistics clearly indicate that in the UK alone, the number of students and adults with a proficiency in a given language is dropping; and certainly in the case of classical languages such as Latin, it is restricted to a dwindling and often elite group of the population. This means that both for the general public, and many UK higher education (UKHE) institutions, there is a growing necessity for literature in translation, to bridge the gap between cultures, places and times.

To give a specific example from a related field, early in 2008, I embarked on my undergraduate studies, combining Classical Studies and French. Coming from a comprehensive school background, provision for languages was small, and even at A level, there was no opportunity to expand beyond the usual French, German or Spanish, with Latin

[14] Table produced from Natasha Plaister, *Which A-Level Subjects are the Most Popular?,* FFT Education Datalab, 17 August 2022 <https://ffteducationdatalab.org.uk/2022/08/which-a-level-subjects-are-the-most-popular/ > [Accessed 05 June 2023].

being gradually dismissed from school curricula nationwide. At undergraduate level, texts were widely studied in translation through necessity: while most often occurring in Classics, even French syllabi made use of widely translated novels such as *Madame Bovary,* increasing the likelihood that less dedicated students may resort to translations to better keep up with their course. This was also where I had my first introduction to medieval French and Anglo-Norman, studying texts such as Béroul's *Tristan et Iseut*, again a text available in multiple translated versions. Four years later, following a Masters in Translation Studies, I had the occasion to look back on the collection of texts amassed over the years of study and remark on the stark variations, especially in classical texts. At A Level, the prescribed translation was that of E.V. Rieu, the first ever published Penguin Classic, translated into flowing prose which is aimed at 'easy reading for those unfamiliar with the Greek world,'[15] yet does not shy from archaism and decorative language. At undergraduate level we were provided with Richard Lattimore's translation of both the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, different in their structure, following the line patterns and formulae of the original, switching the hard 'c' for 'k' in spelling to reflect the Greek, and citing manuscript difference over 'readability.'[16] Take for example the opening lines of the two here:

> *The hero of the tale which I beg the Muse to help me tell is the resourceful man who roamed the wide world after he had sacked the holy citadel of Troy.*

E.V. Rieu (1946)[17]

> *Tell me, Muse, of the man of many ways, who was driven*
>
> *far journeys, after he had sacked Troy's sacred citadel.*

R. Lattimore (1967)[18]

From a translator or educator's perspective, the differences that can easily be noticed between the older and newer generations of translation above provoke a number of questions, not least due to their primary use as educational material. By looking only at the two short

---

[15] Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. by E. V. Rieu (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1946), p.xlvi.
[16] Homer, *The Odyssey,* trans. by Richard Lattimore (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p.23. For 'readability,' throughout this research, we understand conformity to target language norms and employment of standard, idiomatic language. This is aptly described by Mona Baker as using 'natural collocations, [the target language's] own fixed and semi-fixed expressions, the right level of idiomaticity.' Mona Baker, *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*, 2nd edn (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2011), p.86. This is also similar to Toury's 'acceptable' translation (see p.49 of this thesis for elaboration).
[17] Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. by E. V. Rieu, p.25.
[18] Homer, *The Odyssey,* trans. by Richard Lattimore, p.27.

excerpts above, how can we classify the influence of these texts on the students who read them, and what was the effect of their translation? If I, for example, had halted my studies at A level, my appreciation of the *Odyssey* would have been more affected by the story-like prose of E.V. Rieu, who preferred that the non-Greek reader be invited into the world of Ancient Greece by clear and descriptive language. Whereas, by the addition of Lattimore's linear translation to my studies I better appreciated the relationship between the original Greek text on a lyrical and material level as well as that of culture and storytelling.

As the two excerpts from Homer above show, the format in which the target audience receives this information can then vary based on their position in society (lay person, student, academic), and trends of production (either publishing or educational) resulting in a particular favoured version of a text. Not only this, but each version of a text is subject to the mediating process of translation, and therefore the translator themself, as an active or passive agent in a larger system of production. Recent turns in translation studies outline the idea that the translator as an agent cannot be fully invisible: they are the medium through which the text will pass, and have their own preoccupations, motives and influences. The translator as an agent is also consciously or unconsciously affected by the environment in which they developed their skill and practise their translation. Venuti explores this in the development of his hermeneutic model, with the idea that with every translation choice, the translator abandons the original signifying model, in order that it be received in the most appropriate way for the receiving audience, and its historical and cultural context.[19] Therefore each recipient of the translated text theoretically receives a newly-imagined version of the ST by a given translator for a given context, and it is these changes and their impact which will be explored in this thesis.

The disciplinary field

Consequently, the aim for this study is to look at how translators translate specifically in the genre of medieval literature, and how their mediating role may affect our reception of these types of texts and understanding of medieval history and culture, especially within the educational field. This places the study on the border of two areas of critical theory: translation theory and medieval studies. It is therefore important to review the critical

[19] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, 3rd edn (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), p.496.

environment of this thesis from both perspectives, to exemplify the methodological bridge I aim to create between them.

I will first look at the existing thought on our reception of medieval textuality and the types of study carried out in relation to the role of the translator. Second, I will explore translation theory around historical STs, the problems raised and areas of opportunity for study. Finally, I will look to current thought on how translators translate, comparing relevant sociological frameworks and show how these theories inform the research carried out in this thesis. Through these examinations, I will show the importance of bridging the gap between these two discrete but similar areas of investigation and how building on existing frameworks elaborated in translation theory and medieval studies can provide insights into translation's contribution to our reception of the past.

Theorising our reception of the medieval

This thesis looks specifically at how we receive the medieval past as negotiated by translation into modern English, and the effects of the translation agent and process on that reception. In the field of medieval studies, there has been a range of work which addresses aspects of this investigation, but rarely with the same precise area of interest.[20] There are however two main areas of medieval literary scholarship which have firm connections to my intended outcomes: first, the study of translation in a medieval context; and second, the study of the reception of medieval literature in the modern age. Though this thesis does not site itself within medieval studies directly, it is useful to explore how this related field has explored the production, reception and interpretation of medieval textuality, to reveal relevant insights for my area of interest.

Studies of translation in a medieval context look at how translation was carried out in that period, the philosophies behind it and conditions of production which helped to move texts across national, cultural, and temporal borders to suit new audiences. They explore the methods which medieval translators applied, and how they affected the content and reception

[20] Writing around translations of medieval literature into modern languages are most frequently reflective works carried out by the translators themselves, or criticism of other translators. See for example on their own work: Nathaniel E. Dubin, 'Creative choices: Notes on translating the old French fabliaux,' in *Comic Provocations: Exposing the Corpus of Old French Fabliaux*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2006) pp.175-192; William W. Kibler, 'Translating Chrétien de Troyes: How Faithful?' in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeanette M. A. Beer, and International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1997); and on criticism Aimé Petit, 'Les Chefs-d'Oeuvre à l'épreuve de la traduction: Le Roman de Thèbes et le Roman d'Eneas', *Moyen-âge*, 107.3-4 (2001), pp.481-502.

of the texts. For example, we can look to Jeannette Beer et al. *Medieval Translators and their Craft*[21] and *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*;[22] or Roger Ellis's edited conference proceedings entitled *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*,[23] which bring together scholars working on the translation and reception of medieval textuality to discuss and theorise historical translation theory and practice. Common themes in these explorations relate to the supremacy of the TT and culture. As a small cross-section, scholars have focused on: the translator's level of agency in textual creation and their (lack of) visibility as a mediator,[24] the supremacy of the target culture preoccupations with rhetoric, morality and allegory,[25] and the didactic and culture-building roles of translations during the period.[26] While drawing on medieval notions such as *translatio studii et imperii*[27] and *fidus interpres*,[28] these scholars frequently compare medieval translators' shifts between conservative and inventive translation practices with modern translation theories.[29] In recent years, the mapping of medieval translation technique has gone

---

[21] Jeanette M. A. Beer, ed. *Medieval Translators and Their Craft* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Western Michigan University, 1989).
[22] Beer, and International Congress on Medieval Studies, eds., *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*.
[23] Roger Ellis, *The Medieval Translator: The theory and practice of translation in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1989).
[24] For example, Douglas Kelly, 'The *Fidus Interpres*: Aid or Impediment to Medieval Translation and *Translatio*,' in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Beer, and International Congress on Medieval Studies, pp.47-58; Tim Machan, 'Editorial Method and Medieval Translations: The Example of Chaucer's "Boece",' *Studies in Bibliography*, 41 (1988) pp.188-196.
[25] See, for example, Rita Copeland, who through her work *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic traditions and vernacular texts* discusses the role of *translatio studii et imperii* in medieval translation practices, and the medieval adoption of rhetorical, discursive and inventive approaches to texts as a means of interrogating cultural practices through translation (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[26] See, for example, on the transfer of literature between cultures in the Middle Ages and its colonial implications: Sif Rikhardsdottir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012); Rikhardsdottir and Stefka G. Eriksen, 'État Présent: Arthurian Literature in the North', *Journal of the International Arthurian Society*, 1(1), (2013), pp.3-28 <https://doi.org/10.1515/jias-2013-0001>; Rikhardsdottir, 'The Imperial Implications of Medieval Translations: Old Norse and Middle English Versions of Marie de France's Lais', *Studies in Philology*,105 (2), (2008), pp.144-164 <https://doi.org/10.1353/sip.2008.0005>; 'Bound by culture: a comparative study of the old French and old Norse versions of La Chanson de Roland.' *Medievalia*, 26(2), (2008), pp.243-64; Ruth Evans, 'Vulgar Eloquence?: Cultural Models and Practices of Translation in Late Medieval Europe,' in *Translating Others*, ed. by Theo Hermans, Vol. 2 (Manchester: St Jerome, 2006) pp.296-313.
[27] Broadly the translation of knowledge and power, wherein translation of texts deemed culturally significant conferred legitimacy on the receiving culture. See Jessica Stoll, 'The Medieval French Lexicon of Translation', *Neophilologus*, 99.2 (2015), pp.191-207 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11061-014-9404-6>.
[28] Faithful translator/interpreter/expositor. See: Werner Schwarz, 'The Meaning of Fidus Interpres in Medieval Translation', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 45.177/178 (1944), pp.73-78; Douglas Kelly, 'Translatio Studii: Translation, Adaptation and Allegory in Medieval French Literature,' *Philological Quarterly* 57 (1978), pp.287-310.
[29] With the notable exception of Peter F. Dembowski, who argues that modern theories of translation should be kept apart from medieval translations, as many produced during this period could not be considered as such. Peter Dembowski, 'Two Old French Recastings / Translations of Andreas Capellanus's De Amore,' in Jeannette Beer, *Medieval Translators and Their Craft*, pp.185-212.

further, bringing these insights to bear on translation theory more directly. For example, Lynne Long[30] applies systems and functional theories of translation to Chaucer, and Zrinka Stahuljak applies the idea of the 'fixer' to medieval historiographies to reveal the agency of the translator in negotiating textual viewpoints, and to seek an understanding of translation processes 'that is constituted between language use and situational inscription.'[31] Campbell and Mills' edited text *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory* also features a range of scholars reviewing the application of twentieth-century translation theories (especially Lawrence Venuti, Walter Benjamin) and post-structuralist theories (Derrida, Bakhtin) to pre-modern translations.[32] These perspectives are useful to consider, as they demonstrate the possibilities and limitations of applying modern translation theories to studies of the historical literature, and make connections between historical practices of translation and the canon of modern translation theories. While there are similarities to be explored between medieval and modern practices of translation, their approach is fixed in the past, looking at the ST and translation in the medieval and early modern period, rather than its mutation through to the present day.

By contrast, studies of the reception of medieval literature in the modern age explore the subjectivity of readers and receivers of the medieval past through different media. This area of research uses a variety of lenses to refigure medieval literature, for example postcolonial approaches to reading the past,[33] and queer and variant temporalities,[34] and in doing so addresses how the time and space in which we receive medieval literature influences our view of the past. These discussions on reception again refer to post-structuralist, deconstructive theorists (Derrida, Husserl, Heidegger, Appiah), or to reception theory more directly (Jauss, Fish) to support their investigations and break down the theoretical barriers between past and present. Reception theory is especially historical in nature, looking at the development of subjective meaning over time, and is relevant in studies relating to Biblical,

---

[30] Lynne Long, 'Medieval Literature through the Lens of Translation Theory Bridging the Interpretive Gap', *Translation Studies*, 3.1 (2010), pp.61-77.
[31] Zrinka Stahuljak, 'Afterword Fixing Translation: Fixers as Paradigm for a Commensurate Social History of Translation', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 21.4 (2021), pp.164-77. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jem.2021.a899636>; 'Medieval Fixers: Politics of Interpreting in Western Historiography', in *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, ed. by Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), pp.147-63.
[32] Emma Campbell and Robert Mills, eds. *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*. (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012).
[33] Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren, *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2003).
[34] Carolyn Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?: Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers, and the Queerness of Time* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012).

medieval and classical literatures to explore our framing of the past during different time periods.[35] It is defined by the idea that texts have no objective meaning when they are created, but have subjective meaning which is constructed by the reader and receiver as a result of their experiences. In this process, past meanings can have influences on present meanings, as part of a continuity of ideas existing around a particular text.[36] Again, this continuity is a useful notion, as I will go on to demonstrate how translators work within a similar literary continuity, receiving and reproducing texts in similar ways based on their context and their knowledge of previous translations. However, the issue I encounter with reception theory is how to analyse the reader of the text in the translation process. Reception theories use a direct transfer model: from a single text to a single direct reader. For the modern reader however, medieval textuality is necessarily negotiated, whether by historical translation, edition or modern translation. This makes mapping the translation process from medieval source to target readership inherently more complex: for medieval literature this may involve several stages of mediation and multiple agents in the process, each of whom may imprint their subjective views on the literature as they edit, transfer or translate. This multiplicity of viewpoints has been described as the hermeneutical anarchy of reception theory,[37] where each text can be considered as a site of competing meanings. Though reception theory is useful for its exploration of historical continuities of knowledge, and the impacts of subjective viewpoints, the aim of this thesis is not to attempt to reveal the lenses through which each negotiator in the process viewed the text they handled. Instead, the subjectivity of the translator themself and their place in this continuity can be applied to the effect of translation in negotiating meaning for new readers. What follows is an outline of how translation theorists have handled similar concerns around the multiplicity of viewpoints involved in translation, and how they have been modelled for analysis from a translation perspective.

[35] See, for example: Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Brennan W. Breed, *Nomadic Text: a Theory of Biblical Reception History* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014).
[36] Robert Holub, 'Reception Theory: School of Constance', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. by Raman Selden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 319-46 (p.322).
[37] Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: an Introduction*, Anniversary ed., 2nd edn (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell., 208) p.74. See also: Richard Gaskin, *Language, Truth, and Literature: A Defence of Literary Humanism* (Oxford: Oxford Academic, 2013); Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1980).

How translators translate – socio-cultural theories of translation

As translation studies as a field has developed, our appreciation of the translation process has developed from one of linguistic transfer, to functional process, and most recently to sociological actor, effecting change not only on the level of the word but on the level of the meaning and reception of a given text, with the translator as a focal agent of this change.[38]

Throughout these changes, theorists have put together histories of translation theory and practice to outline the genealogy of the field, crossing borders between medieval, literary studies and translation. These studies take a historical perspective, meaning that they look at translation technique and theory as a feature of the time in which they were practised, and aim to trace processes of change and continuity in these practices. This has further ties to translation theory today, when we consider the work of theorists such as Louis Kelly, Daniel Weissbort, André Lefevere and Anthony Pym, all of whom have looked into the movement and change of translation practice over time.[39] However, despite the attention given to historical practices of translation outlined above and in the previous section, the translation of historical texts and manuscripts into modern English is an area which has not received the attention it rightly deserves. This gap in theory is arguably due to concerns raised by theorists around the complexities that translating historical texts presents: the distance in time and space between the translator, its author and reception, and cultural-linguistic factors such as idiomatic language use and metaphor. Medieval literature being distant historically, often fragmentary and poetic in style, means that for many theorists medieval texts fall into the category of an 'untranslatable' text,[40] as they engender 'incomplete' translation,[41] and inevitable losses.[42] However, translations of medieval texts continue to be produced, suggesting that it is neither an impossible task nor one where qualitative notions of

---

[38] For further outlines of the 'turns' of translation studies, see Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies : Theories and Applications* (London: Routledge, 2001) for period-by-period a historical approach; and Andrew Chesterman, 'Bridge concepts in translation studies,' in *Constructing a Sociology of Translation,* ed. by Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007) pp.173-4, where he breaks down the field into four areas or trends: linguistic, cultural, cognitive and sociological.

[39] Louis Kelly, *The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979); Daniel Weissbort and Astradur Eysteinsson, *Translation - Theory and Practice: A Historical Reader*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2006); André Lefevere, *Translation, History, Culture: A Sourcebook* (Translation studies) (London: Routledge, 1992); Anthony Pym, *Method in Translation History* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1998).

[40] As defined by Roman Jakobson, where texts are only untranslatable where the form is important to the text's representation: 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation', in *On Translation*, ed. by Reuben A. Brower (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1959/2000) pp. 232-9, (p.238).

[41] As defined by J. C. Catford, in *A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).

[42] As referenced by Peter Newmark, *A Textbook of Translation*, (New York: Prentice Hall, 1988) p.194.

'translatability' should be expected to apply, as translation goes on regardless according to demand and interest. Furthermore, translations of historical texts continuing to be replicated despite the difficulties they pose suggests that it is a rich area for insight into how translators negotiate differences in time, space and culture, and the impact of their mediation from a sociocultural perspective.

The role of the translator in this process of negotiation is crucial to this study, and translation theory has turned to sociological approaches to support scholars in exploring translation phenomena more holistically. Sociological approaches to translation contribute insights into not only translation as a process by looking at the different actors in a particular society that commission, produce and disseminate translated works, but also the socio-cultural environments which promote translation activity, the agents involved, their personal agency and their connections to that environment. For example, Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystems theory, which considers literary translation as a subsystem active in a particular target culture allows us to look at the conditions of commission and dissemination for a particular translation environment. In this theory, he explores power structures identifiable in systems of cultural production, and the role translated literature has both as an indicator of the strength or weakness of the overall system, and a motivator for cultural change. In this theory, the selection of STs for translation aligns with target culture needs, and the application of these choices tend to align with these needs at a given point in time, meaning that the position, requirement and power of translated literature can fluctuate and change.[43] Furthermore, for Even-Zohar translated literature's level of adherence to the governing norms, or accepted practices of that culture, helps us to understand both its relevance and influence. A rising number of translations at a given time can indicate a weakness in the literary or wider cultural system, and their adherence to prevalent norms of the time can further promote their acceptance and influence within that system.

The concept of norms or normative powers as markers of accepted or acceptable practices has since been developed by other sociological theorists to describe the position of translation approaches in relation to target culture expectations.[44] A tacit or explicit norm is

[43] Itamar Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem.' *Poetics Today*, Vol. 11: 1 (1990) pp. 45-51 (pp.45-46) <https://doi.org/10.2307/1772668>.

[44] As a few indicative examples of the field, see: Katharina Reiss and Hans J. Vermeer who refer instead to 'conventions' in Katharina Reiss, Hans J Vermeer, Christiane Nord, and Marina Dudenhöfer, *Towards a General Theory of Translational Action : Skopos Theory Explained* (London: Routledge, 2014); Andrew Chesterman, *Memes of Translation* (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1997); Daniel Simeoni, 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus.' *Target,* 10 (1), International Journal of Translation Studies, (1998) pp.1-39; Theo

then the guideline against which qualitative judgements such as adequate/acceptable, domesticating/foreignizing might be made. One such theorist, Gideon Toury, looked to further nuance the concept of norms by applying a more holistic approach. In 1981 he evaluated the field of translation theory, noting that at that time theorists focused too heavily on translatability and qualitative assessment rather than the resulting translations and their relevance to their conditions of production. In doing so he suggested that there was room for study of the historical facets of literature in its own environment, whether literature per se, or in translation, building on Even-Zohar's work on contextualising translations as a target culture item.[45] In 1995 he followed this with *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond,* where he renewed the call to action to prove that decisions by an individual translator can be considered as patterned, governed by principles (norms) originating in the target culture rather than the source:[46]

> The study of norms […] constitutes a vital step towards establishing just how the functional-relational postulate of equivalence […] has been realised - whether in one translated text, in the work of a single translator or a 'school' of translators, in a given historical period or in any other justifiable selection.[47]

In this work, norms are reframed not as a single power or prevalent idea in a particular culture, but as an observable practice somewhere between a tendency and a rule. Norms are furthermore identifiable by reverse-engineering a TT to examine the various choices and influences on its production. The search for evidence of cause and effect in translation ranges from the choice of text type, age and language to the factors which influence these choices, down to individual linguistic shifts. The broad range of influences on translation phenomena sought in Toury's methodology compares in some ways to Actor-Network Theory (ANT) which emerged during the same time[48] and takes a descriptive and relativistic approach to social phenomena, looking to trace associations by considering all the viewpoints and influences on a given actor (object, organism, organisation). This view supports the analysis of how translators translate through the assemblage of the factors influencing a TT and adds

---

Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1999); and Christina Schäffner, (ed.) *Translation and Norms* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1999).

[45] Toury, Gideon, 'Translated Literature: System, Norm, Performance: Toward a TT-Oriented Approach to Literary Translation', *Poetics Today*, 2.4 (1981), pp.9-27.

[46] Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995) p.147.

[47] Ibid, p.61

[48] First coined in 1992 by John Law as a result of ongoing research by Law, Bruno Latour, Michael Callon, Madeleine Akrich and others.

the further potential that we can consider the translator themselves as a result of 'associations and assemblages,' in which their positionality forms a further influence on the text produced. Felski goes further to suggest that ANT allows us to consider any actor as part of a wider, often random, network, describing 'constellations of texts, persons and things,' where comparison, mediation and interference become contextual rather than problematic.[49] Furthermore, it suggests that for cross-historical studies such as presented in this study, and as postulated by Toury, time is not a limiting, but rather a generative factor in our reception of a text or cultural object.[50] In this way, ANT takes the position that not only actors but social aggregates exist as a function of their activities, and that interaction, mediation, stability, change and decay are observed much like in the polysystems which Even-Zohar describes. However, despite these positive similarities, the drawback which makes ANT less applicable to the method proposed by this thesis is the rejection of both overarching power systems as described by norms, and the idea that a person can have agency in the sense of independent activity. Hence, in ANT neither is there a need to ascribe a particular meaning to observed patterned activity, nor can there be a way for a translator to act outside of the bounds of their positionality, or in rejection of the influences on their environment. It also does not give any reasoning for the stability change and decay of the social aggregates it describes. While this thesis does not go so far as to suggest that there are specific power structures in place affecting all observable activity, it accepts that there is power in these influences, and that some hold greater power than others to affect the result of the translation process. A further drawback which has been applied to both the approaches of ANT and Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) is that they strive to encompass too much, with Bruno Latour himself commenting on ANT: 'If there is something especially stupid, it is a method that prides itself in being so meticulous, so radical, so all encompassing, and so object-oriented as to be totally impractical.'[51] Nam Fung Chang has similar reservations about DTS, criticising the potential to make analyses of norms overcomplex in trying to map the full range of influences on a TT, describing this approach as an 'ambitious scheme' and instead suggesting that a researcher select the most relevant norms and the project remain partial.[52] So, while a holistic approach to analysing translation phenomena can be productive, it is necessary to remain discrete in the

[49] Rita Felski, 'Comparison and Translation: A Perspective from Actor-Network Theory,' *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 53 no. 4, (2016), pp.747-765 <https://doi.org/10.5325/complitstudies.53.4.0747>.
[50] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*, p.64
[51] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p.122.
[52] Nam Fung Chang, 'In Defence of Polysystem Theory', *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies*, 23.2 (2011), 311-47 (p.323).

aims of the project: in this case creating a refined methodology which targets the specific outcomes of the project which will be elaborated in Chapter 3.

It is important, therefore, to consider how more recent scholars have approached DTS to refine its use and establish which features of their work inform the construction of my own methodology. These will be briefly elaborated here, to pinpoint the areas of greatest relevance to my proposed methodology and which gaps remain to be filled. Theorists such as Nam Fung Chang above, but also Michaela Wolf, Jean-Marc Gouanvic, and Daniel Simeoni have all provided possible new avenues of study by either developing discrete areas of the DTS model to account for complexities and gaps, or by supplementing it with other relevant sociological theories to improve its function. Many of these theorists turn to the work of Pierre Bourdieu and the concepts of field, habitus and capital, to strengthen the sociological perspective of their work.

Bourdieu's work is especially suited to studies of the social conditions of translation, as, in Simeoni's words, it helps to account for 'the myriad determining choices made by translators in the course of translating.'[53] Bourdieu's habitus can be described as the way that people understand and respond to their environment, an unconscious and internalised sense of how to behave in a certain context developed over time.[54] A connection therefore exists between the concepts of norms as defined in DTS and Bourdieu's habitus with their approach to acceptable behaviours. Both of these are reflections of a wider system of power at work and observable through examination of the translator and the translated text. Norms and habitus both rely on Aristotelian principles of observation and by studying individual units working in the same environment (whether translations or a translators) we can attempt to define universals of behaviour. While norms might then describe the rules of the game and their level of enforcement (between an idiosyncrasy and a rule),[55] habitus describes a person's 'feel for the game,' and reveals their internal predispositions toward it (within a range of possible behaviours).[56] They are similarly 'regulated and regular,'[57] but the benefit of using the concept of habitus is that it provides more critical depth than attributing a norm to a pattern of behaviour. Habitus relies on observation of the subject, their development over

[53] Simeoni, 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus,' p.1.
[54] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. Richard Nice. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) pp.81-2; *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992) p.53.
[55] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond,* p.54.
[56] Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 25.
[57] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.72.

time and how they express internalised behaviour patterns accumulated through their experience. The combination of norms and habitus allows us, therefore, to examine not only the norms visible in the translation but the translator as an agent and representative of cultural factors in the process.

There are many examples of how these theories have been practically applied, however the precise combination of norms and habitus used in this thesis provides new scope for the development of the field:

Wolf, in the introduction to *Constructing a Sociology of Translation,* emphasises the need for theories which highlight the interplay between culture (in terms of power dynamics) and society (in terms of personal, internalised ideas and practices) in a way which clearly draws on the concept of norms, but is equally applicable to studies of habitus.[58] In *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting* she uses this position to investigate feminist translators working in Germany, applying Bourdieu's habitus and field to an empirical study of their relationships and the struggles they encounter. Her study reveals how Bourdieu's concepts can be usefully applied to sociological studies of the translation process, providing examples of regulatory factors in society on cultural, economic and political levels which directly affect the resulting translations.[59]

Simeoni, in the 1998 article *The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus*, seeks to address the reasons behind differences in translation practice and the internal and external forces which help form it. He considers Toury's work to be an early attempt at finding a 'socio-translation studies' and reframes the idea of norms as social constraints internalised by a translator over time using habitus.[60] One result of his study is to suggest that translators' conservatism is not only the result of external forces but because of internal familiarity with patterned activity in a field, and that their habitus is the source of an internalised submissiveness, or lack of ability to assert personal agency in the translation process.

Gouanvic similarly proposes that the translator's habitus and social trajectory are important factors in the negotiation of the translation process, governing their final output, and has written extensively on the idea. Papers such as 'A Bourdieusian Theory of

---

[58] Wolf and Fukari, *Constructing a Sociology of Translation,* p.6.
[59] Michaela Wolf, 'Women in the "translation field",' in *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*, ed. by Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger and Zuzana Jettmarová (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2006) pp.129-142.
[60] Simeoni, 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus,' pp.1-39.

Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances: Field, "Habitus", Capital and "Illusio",' and 'Is Habitus as Conceived by Pierre Bourdieu Soluble in Translation Studies?' argue that translation practices can be explained and analysed using Bourdieu's models. In doing so he often identifies the reciprocal relationships between the translator's habitus and the literary field in which they work. This assertion suggests that translation strategies are inevitably the product of a reflexive field around the translator and goes further to state that illusio (another of Bourdieu's concepts) is the task of the translator, describing it as adherence to the literary game.[61]

Other theorists have continued to develop this line of study, for example Susan Pickford, Reine Meylaerts, Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, and Klaus Kaindl (who gives a useful overview of the area of interest in *Literary Translator Studies*).[62] Key criticisms of the use of habitus in translation studies are that the theories are taken out of context: by using only one concept rather than the range of interrelated definitions Bourdieu proposes (habitus, field, capital, illusio, hysteresis etc.), their use amounts more to biography.[63] However the use of habitus, field, and capital has helped to propel the field of translation theory into a more translator-centred perspective, in which translator trajectories and relationships are considered central to studies of the translation process. If we are to rebut the criticism that the use of habitus equates to simple biographical study, we can alternatively consider it as a means of revealing a translator's positionality, their relationship to the field of translation and the socio-cultural environment they inhabit.

---

[61] Jean-Marc Gouanvic, 'Objectivation, réflexivité et traduction: Pour une re-lecture bourdieusienne de la traduction,' in *Constructing a Sociology of Translation,* ed. by Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007) pp.79-92; 'Is Habitus as Conceived by Pierre Bourdieu Soluble in Translation Studies?' in *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies* (Approaches to Translation Studies, Volume: 40), ed. by Gisella M. Vorderobermeier (Boston: Brill, 2014) pp.29-42; 'A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances: Field, 'Habitus', Capital and 'Illusio'', *Translator*, 11.2 (2005), pp.147-66 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799196>.
[62] Susan Pickford, 'Translation Competence and Professional Habitus in the 2009 English Retranslation of Simone de Beauvoir's Le Deuxième Sexe', *De Genere (Benevento)*, 2020; Reine Meylaerts, 'Translators and (their) Norms. Towards a Sociological Construction of the Individual,' in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. by Gideon Toury and others (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2008) pp. 91-102; Meylaerts, 'Habitus and Self-Image of Native Literary Author-Translators in Diglossic Societies,' *Translation and Interpreting Studies. The Journal of the American Translation and Interpreting Studies Association.* (2010), 5(1) pp.1-9 <https://doi.org/10.1075/tis.5.1.01mey>; Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, 'How to be a (Recognized) Translator. Rethinking Habitus, Norms and the Field of Translation.' *Target* 17.1 (2005), pp.1-26 <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.17.1.02sel>; Klaus Kaindl, Waltraud Kolb, and Daniela Schlager, *Literary Translator Studies* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2021) p.20.
[63] See especially Sergey Tyulenev 'Translation in Intersystemic Interaction: A Case Study of Eighteenth-Century Russia,' *TTR* 23(1) (2010) pp.165-189; *Applying Luhmann to Translation Studies. Translation in Society* (Routledge Advances in Translation Studies 1). (London/New York: Routledge: 2011).

Positionality

If I am to consider habitus as a means of revealing a translator's positionality, their relationship to the field of translation and the socio-cultural environment they inhabit, I should also begin my analysis with myself. It is necessary to understand that my own habitus, and my subjective reception of the texts studied also has an effect on the lens through which this analysis and methodology is presented. As stated above, my background is not only in languages and translation, but in the field of classical and ancient literature, while coming from an initially State-funded education places me within the described group of students attending higher education without an initial grounding in classical languages. My perspective on the reception of medieval and ancient texts is foregrounded by this: my first experience of 'dead' languages was at university, but only after a full year of study and then as a single module per year. My introduction to Old French and Anglo-Norman came in a comparative module entitled 'Love and Death' which thematically compared Béroul's *Tristan et Iseut* with *Madame Bovary* and the film *Hiroshima Mon Amour*, followed by a further module which looked at the representations of chivalry via Alain Chartier, John Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood. Previously I would have fallen into the category of the general public, receiving the medieval through literary and visual media with little appreciation of the complexities of its production, mediation and representation. The choice of texts for analysis in this thesis is therefore relatively uncoloured by my own experience: of the three chosen, I only have previous experience of *Tristan et Iseut*, and then the version by Béroul more than Thomas. However, my choice of themes, especially that of notions of chivalry and the representation of emotion through medieval French literature is one which is more familiar and fits more clearly with themes I have previously explored from an academic perspective. My experience of medieval literature in higher education is not unrepresentative: access to medieval literature at most universities in the UK is restricted by a field of study which continues to shrink under governmental and financial pressure and is only uniquely available to those attending universities retaining medieval and early modern studies departments. The patterns of translation output around medieval literature to be examined in Chapter 3 may represent the same issue: if the educational field is at the centre of translating medieval literature, the translations available may only reflect the few active departments and their interests. Though studying translation in a similarly modular way throughout my undergraduate degree, I first fully engaged with theories of translation during my Master's degree, where I was first introduced to translation studies as a discipline by lecturers such as

Sally Wagstaffe and Sergey Tyulenev. As with many MA Translation courses, translation studies is introduced as a unique discipline, despite the debts it owes to linguistics, sociology, literary theory and many more areas. I acknowledge the effect this has on channelling my approach to literature in translation, to the detriment of other applicable theories. This course also led me to a professional engagement with translation, meaning that my view of the translation process is naturally coloured by my own experience as an agent in the process. My habitus is also affected by my working environment, and while a research student at my university, I am also engaged with the educational field as a teacher of languages, as a tutor in translation and as a member of an educational charity aimed at supporting teachers in schools with their development. This makes me keenly aware not only of the effect of reduced access to, and enrolment in, languages programmes, but also of the changes in their modes of access. These changes increase not only the potential effect of translation on students, but also the processes by which they themselves learn to translate and the common practices of my own time period. My perception of the classical and medieval past, as well as its use and effect in the field of education and translation is framed by these experiences, and the interpretations presented as 'acceptable' in my own time period.

The structure of the thesis

The methodology followed in this thesis not only contributes to efforts to develop sociologies of translation, but also develops existing research into the translator as an agent by looking the effect of translator habitus on translations of medieval literature, and its contribution to our reception of the distant past. By looking at translations of medieval literature into modern English, it interrogates a unique field of activity. As described earlier in this introduction, the translation of medieval literature today is centred on the higher education system as a point of production, reception and replication, and in doing so has a privileged role in developing viewpoints on the medieval past. Within this system, the translator holds a focal role as a negotiator, and through their habitus we can examine the lens through which they view and interpret medieval literature for a new audience. By interrogating each translator's personal influences and the environment in which they work, we can consider whether their work reinforces or disturbs the norms of the field into which their translations are placed. It allows for an examination of the power structures around each translator and translation and the network of influences propelling their production, whether existing within the field of education or more widely differentiated. However, the purpose of

this study is not only to seek out the social realities of translating historical texts in each time period, but to prove that there are social implications of translation, taking the study one step further into the milieu of wider transfer and internalisation of ideas. Acknowledging of the role of the translator as a negotiator of time, place and culture allows us to interrogate how we generate knowledge of the past, and how this knowledge mutates over time through the process of translation. To return to my earlier discussion of the critical background of the study, both the fields of medieval studies and translation studies agree that 'the correct object of history is change,'[64] a notion which applies not only to our opinions of the past but the power structures which influence them. With this notion we can trace not only changes in our view of medieval literature across time periods but continuity between them and the effect this has on ongoing perceptions of the past both inside and outside academic circles. From this point of view, each translation becomes not only a product of a given society or agent, but a locus of continuity and change in the perception of the distant past.

The overall structure of this examination of practices of translation into English of medieval literature uses a dual approach to study translated texts: firstly, from the viewpoint of changes to the reception of each unique piece of source material over time; and secondly with the aim of establishing trends of translation during different periods of activity during the twentieth to twenty-first centuries. To do this requires a more in-depth introduction to both the subject matter and critical theories and frameworks on which the analysis is based. Chapter One deals with the ST field and introduces medieval literary culture, its conditions of production, and how we receive it today. Chapter Two lays out the critical theories of translation which form the framework for the analysis of texts and provides an exemplification of the methodology to be followed. Chapter Three then explains the rationale behind the choice of STs and excerpts based on a survey of periods of translational activity in the medieval field. Following these introductory and expository chapters, Chapter Four contains three sections of analysis, each presenting a different chosen medieval ST, with a short introduction on the relevance of the text to the field of medieval studies. Each is then followed by an investigation of the linguistic and cultural changes carried out in each of four time periods delineated in Chapter Three. Finally, these changes are summarised and related to systems of translational activity in Chapter Five, which goes on to present conclusions on

[64] Pym, *Method in Translation History,* p.109

the viability of the style of analysis, its application to sociological and cultural theories of translation, and potential areas for future investigation.

Chapter 1. Medieval Literature: Introducing ST Contexts of Production and Transmission

The translation of medieval French literature into modern English not only crosses linguistic and cultural boundaries but engages in the transfer of knowledge and culture from the past to the present. As the reception of medieval literature today is predominantly educational, the ideas contained within the texts chosen for translation help contribute to our view of the past, and this includes our understanding of how the texts emerged and were used in their own time. Therefore, it is all the more important to understand the processes through which medieval French literature emerged and the levels of mediation which negotiate their journey from the hands of the medieval scribe to the modern translator. The medieval concept of *translatio*, which describes 'the transmission of knowledge from one place to another, one period to another, or/and from one intellectual context to another,'[1] relates in many ways to this process. Though previously defined as a smooth inheritance of authority enacted by the movement of learning from one culture to another[2] the concept has more lately been imagined as a method of representing the non-prescriptive processes of tradition, intervention and innovation that lead to the transfer of knowledge and culture over time and place.[3]

Translatio is a concept which not only helps to elaborate the methods through which the medieval French text was created and maintained in its own time, but also creates a nuanced picture of the processes which affect the transmission of its core knowledge and ideas from past to present. As translators of medieval literature knowingly work from sources mediated

[1] Simona Cohen, 'Translatio Studiorum.' in *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by Marco Sgarbi (Cham.: Springer International Publishing, 2016).
[2] The medieval concept *translatio studii/studiorum* has often been defined by the description found in the prologue to *Cligés*: 'Our books have taught us how Greece ranked first in chivalry and learning; then chivalry passed to Rome along with the fund of transcendent learning that has now come to France.' Chrétien de Troyes. *Arthurian Romances*, trans. by D. D. R. Owen (Dent: Charles E. Tuttle, 1993) p.93.
[3] The following literature (among many other exemplars) discusses the development of *translatio* from a genealogy of rhetorical authority to the more recent interpretations relating the complexities of source to target culture transfer: Claudio Galderisi, *La Rumeur des Distances Traversées: Transferts Culturels, Traductions et Translations Entre Moyen Âge et Modernité*. (Brepols Publishers, 2021); Michelle Bolduc *Translation and the Rediscovery of Rhetoric*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2020); Michelle Bolduc, 'Translation and the Promise of Analogy', *Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies*, 9.3 (2022), pp.245-63 <https://doi.org/10.1080/23306343.2022.2133486>; Katherine A. McLoone, *Translatio Studii Et Imperii in Medieval Romance*, (University of California Los Angeles, United States, 2012); Zrinka Stahuljak, *Bloodless Genealogies: Incest, Parricide and Female Excision in the Literature and Iconography of the French Twelfth Century.* (Emory University, 2000).

by several centuries of activity, *translatio* helps to trace the various hands and lenses through which each text has passed before arriving with the translator, giving a more comprehensive picture of the factors affecting translation. Therefore, this chapter attempts to explore the factors affecting the production and preservation of the medieval French literature featured in the thesis from its birth through to the forms in which translators receive it today. It looks at how medieval manuscripts were created and the sources they drew on; how medieval culture was built and reproduced around these texts; and finally, how these practices of production/reproduction are still reflected in methods of cultural and textual transmission today. Drawing on a structure of examination laid out by Jorg Quenzer and his co-editors,[4] this exploration will help to elaborate why the medieval period, and especially that of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, continues to be so interesting to scholars, writers and translators. Furthermore, it will help to particularize the difficulties encountered by the modern scholar when studying and translating medieval texts, and why, as a result, the lens of translation can have such a potent effect on our reception of the period and its literature.

1.1 The physical manuscript and socio-economic forces behind its production

First, I will investigate the development of manuscript tradition in Western Europe, and more specifically the evolution of the manuscript text in France and England. By examining the motives and methods behind the production of physical manuscript texts (and the forms preceding them), we can begin to understand the reasons why scholars remain preoccupied with this historical period of activity.

While written media have existed for centuries as a means of passing down information from generation to generation, the period from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries studied in this thesis is viewed as a time of transition not only in terms of political change across Europe, but in terms of literature. Following the fall of the Carolingian empire,[5] fragmentation of power from the ninth century through to the twelfth century led to the development of a French society centred around conflict: systems of power and obligation centred around local fiefdoms, courts and principalities, with war at its heart. Feudalism

---

[4] Jorg Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, eds., *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field.* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2014) pp.1-10.
[5] This is said to have occurred following the death of Louis V in 987CE.

created distinct hierarchies of power, with the local king at the symbolic head of a nominally tri-partite society of knights (local warlords and dignitaries), clerics (monastic and church groups) and peasants (common people, labourers or serfs).[6] True economic and political power was held by the local landowner due to a lack of overarching control from the state, and over the long term, economic activity was centred around fortifying and renewing this power, with bonds originally formed around obligation developing a growing financial aspect. As the medieval period progressed, these groups became further centralised around marriage practices for the purpose of lineage and further stabilised by the intervention of the church encouraging Christian knighthood over local conflict. The king was maintained as the head of the church, and gradually gained more power, aided by the church, to control local leaders for his own interests.[7] The court of the king gradually evolved into a body of government and a centre of culture for the upper classes. As society moved into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, less money was dedicated to the composition and maintenance of armies, fortification of buildings and planning of military expeditions; with changes such as these, courts were able to dedicate their funds more to cultural output. This stability allowed for a change in social hierarchies leading to the growth of the middle (or merchant) class, and a resulting diversification of cultural signs of wealth as these groups gained access to networks of textual production.[8]

Over the same time, medieval society transitioned from the oral transmission of language and culture to the physical text through an expansion in writing especially in vernacular languages. This boom in the production of written documents, from legal papers to reproductions of classical texts and new literatures is intrinsically connected to socio-political change and the quest for validation of power by both church and local leadership. The struggle for control over group loyalty meant that the vernacular was, contrary to popular assumption, actively encouraged by the church as a manner of dissemination of the word of God,[9] while centralisation of power allowed for the rise of clerkly writing activities outside of the realm of monasteries, with members of the clergy and lesser nobles employed to reproduce and disseminate informative and instructive texts.[10] The associated rise in literacy

[6] Though this is often disputed as too rigid a framework to describe a society in flux. Catherine Hanley, *War and Combat, 1150-1270: the Evidence from Old French Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), p.13.
[7] Roger Price, *A Concise History of France,* 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.34-37
[8] Pauline Matarasso, *Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971) p.9.
[9] Michel Stanesco, 'L'Espace Linguistique Europeen: Le Moyen Age,' in *Histoire de la France littéraire / Tome 1, Naissances, Renaissances: Moyen Âge-XVIe siècle*, ed. by François Lestringant and Michel Zink (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006) p.79.
[10] Price, *A Concise History of France*, p.40.

meant that textual production and demand increased both inside and outside the monasteries,[11] and it is from the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries that we find our largest collection of extant early medieval manuscripts today.

Born of these societal developments were the concepts of *chevalerie* (chivalry)[12] and *amor cortoise* (or courtly love),[13] which emerged in response to changes in middle- and upper-class society and were reproduced and disseminated with the aid of manuscript culture. These concepts, central to popular perception of medieval knighthood (and therefore the questions around contemporary reception of medieval culture at the heart of this thesis), have been debated as having various values at their core: humility,[14] courtesy, fidelity, and devotion (romantic or religious).[15] However, they represent an overall unification of the nobility, real or imagined, over core values of duty to an impersonal authority, and a sense of 'spiritual love'[16] which would later be further developed as *fine amor*. The result of this trend has been described as changing the way in which violence was exercised in the Middle Ages,[17] and therefore the way in which the medieval elite imagined themselves. These developing concepts of leadership and behaviour in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, and their reinforcement through vernacular literature, remain subjects of interest and investigation for scholars today. As a result, these changes often form central components of the syllabi

---

[11] Geneviève Hasenhohr, 'Le Livre Manuscrit,' in Lestringant and Zink, *Histoire de la France littéraire / Tome 1, Naissances, Renaissances: Moyen Âge-XVIe siècle,* pp.151-72 (p.156).

[12] Chivalry (or chevalerie) can be described as a description of the knight's system of behavioural values, centred on loyalty (to a lord or fellow men-at-arms), prowess and (Christian) religious devotion. A useful resource for the values of chivalry is the late-medieval *Livre de Chevalerie* by Geoffroi de Charny (c.1350), in which chivalry centres on the social and moral values of the worthy knight: Geoffroi de Charny, Richard W. Kaeuper, and Elspeth Kennedy, *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry: Geoffroi De Charny* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). See also Richard Kaeuper's exploration of chivalry and warfare in medieval society in *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[13] First described by Gaston Paris in 1833, the concept of 'courtly love,' initially described a relationship (often adulterous) between two fictional lovers within the court environment, based on tenets of nobility, fidelity and a quasi-religious devotion to the practice of 'Love.' This concept has been debated over time, with authors such as C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love : a Study in Medieval Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936); Douglas Kelly, *Medieval Imagination : Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love* (Madison; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); and Simon Gaunt *Love and Death in Medieval French and Occitan Courtly Literature : Martyrs to Love* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), exploring the diverse facets of its representation and reproduction in the medieval period.

[14] Or, as described by Kaeuper 'a healthy mixture of fear and gratitude.' Kaeuper, R. 'The Societal Role of Chivalry in Romance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.104.

[15] Compare with Peter Ainsworth, who speaks of honor, prowess, fidelity and the Lady. 'Conscience Litteraire de l'Histoire au Moyen Age,' in Lestringant and Zink, *Histoire de la France littéraire / Tome 1, Naissances, Renaissances : Moyen Âge-XVIe siècle,* pp.349-419 (p.364).

[16] Sarah Kay, 'Courts, Clerks, and Courtly Love', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.84-85.

[17] Kaeuper, 'The Societal Role of Chivalry in Romance,' p.99.

around medieval language and literature in the UKHE sector (as will be discussed further in Chapter 3), with the number of extant texts from the period contributing to their popularity.

1.2 Decision making and who made it: commissioner, sponsor, scribe

In reality, the development of the medieval text was split between the work of oral transmitters such as the *jongleurs, troubadours* and *trouvères*,[18] whose work was compiled and copied during this time, and of the church as a preserver and translator of ancient and Biblical literature.[19] The most frequently copied texts were destined for either didactic or religious usage on a day-to-day basis, such as psalters and books of hours. However, as conservators of knowledge, monastic production also engaged in what was termed as *translatio studii et imperii*, which emphasised the importance of transmission of ancient philosophical and rhetorical content in order to not only share knowledge but also cement power by reinforcing genealogies of authority.[20] This practice became a part of secular culture and growing humanist activity,[21] as a means of learning from the past, reflecting on the present and in doing so creating a new intellectual renaissance.[22] This meant that outside of religious texts, not only vernacular translations from Latin and Greek were produced, but historiographical texts compiled, oral tales copied and reproduced and eventually literary works newly authored.

Throughout the period, three main groups evolved and competed over the production of manuscript texts:

---

[18] Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet delineates troubadors/trouvères and jongleurs as having different purposes: the former as 'finders' of tales, and the latter as performers and entertainers. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, *A New History of Medieval French Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011) p.23. Michel Zink further breaks down the difference between the troubadors and trouvères to their location, with the latter specifically located in the north of France. *Medieval French Literature: An Introduction*, pp.37-44.

[19] See Zink, *Medieval French Literature: An Introduction* pp.3-11 for a further delineation of the development of the text in relation to the development of the vernacular.

[20] This phrase encompasses the motive behind much of the translation carried out in the medieval period and does not only cover the previously mentioned process of knowledge transfer but the employment of this knowledge to cement the power of the elite via Classical evidence. Cerquiglini-Toulet, *A New History of Medieval French Literature*, p.43. For more on this, see Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), especially pp.103-107.

[21] Kay, 'Courts, clerks and courtly love,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed.by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.81-96 (pp.87-88).

[22] Roberta L. Krueger, in*The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.4-5.

i. Firstly, the church, who used both Latin and vernacular languages to teach, preach and spread knowledge;
ii. Secondly, courts, whose wealthy patrons were able to sponsor the production of written artefacts as a sign of prestige;
iii. And thirdly, the cities, who later in the medieval period became specific centres of literary and theatrical production, e.g., Arras.

Central to this development was the scribe. Throughout the medieval period, monasteries carried out transcription and translation in scriptoria for devotional purposes and mortification, producing manuscripts destined for use in reflection and education. From the twelfth century, growth in education and commerce meant that greater demand was placed on these monastic libraries, and a need was developed for texts which could not be found there. It in part led to the rise of the clerk, working outside of the church, and requiring payment for their efforts. Patronage was a key factor in this process, however, due to the cost and lack of readership, the texts scribes produced were often destined for conservation, rather than independent reading, as items of prestige for courts and elite families.[23] As part of this process, texts were frequently bound together with other texts assumed to be deemed connected, consecutive or comparative by the producer, in a practice of compilation emphasising their interest and cultural capital.[24] In this way, *translatio* referred not only to the literal translation of texts but their intentional framing for a specific audience, dictated by contemporary concerns. The ideas and knowledge transferred by the clerk or scribe was mediated by this framing and juxtaposition, one which is often still visible in the bound codices preserved and studied today. Literacy was reserved for the elite, and while peasants and serfs serving in courts may have been aware of these texts being read in performance, the texts and manuscripts themselves were inaccessible. It must therefore be recognised that, despite being written and performed in the vernacular, the medieval French and Anglo-Norman literature we receive today still had a more privileged than general audience, much as it does today. The intended audience of a given manuscript can instead often be gauged from its prologue, which calls for the attention of a particular (and frequently elite) group, as

[23] Hasenhohr, 'Le Livre Manuscrit,' p.156.
[24] See Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay., eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) p.7ff; and Sylvia Huot, 'The manuscript context of medieval romance,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) p.62 for further exploration of how texts were compiled.

in the *Roman de Thèbes*, which says: 'Tout se taisent cil del mestier | si ne sont clerc[25] ou chivaler.'[26] The result of this restricted audience is therefore twofold: firstly meaning that the literature preserved today was most likely that collected by an elite group for reasons of prestige; and secondly that as a result the content of the literature surviving today was designed specifically for their consumption, providing a somewhat restricted view of the preoccupations of the time.

1.3 Function of the manuscript as a vehicle of transmission

The use of the medieval text varied depending on its content. Psalters and books of hours, in their most decorated forms were held in collections, and in their less decorated designed for daily use, prayer and dedication. The kinds of texts covered by this thesis however are purely literary and cover the genres of *chansons de geste* and *romans*, and the following discussion provides an outline of their relevance to French literary culture.[27] Although non-religious and not purely educational in the sense of dispensing instruction in rhetoric or philosophy, these genres of text still fulfil the terms of *translatio studii et imperii*, as those chosen for reproduction were seen as able to endow the reader with knowledge, guidance and prestige through their ownership. For the earliest extant texts, the *chansons de geste* composed from the eleventh century onwards, their purpose was dual: to inform about the history of France through heroic deeds, and to represent contemporary concerns around knighthood, vassalage and the grouping of society against the 'other.'[28] In the corpus of texts used in this thesis, *La Chanson de Roland* is a prime example of the *chanson de geste* form. It retells the story of the battle of Roncesvals during the time of Charlemagne, and in doing so not only recounts an important moment in history but encourages discussion of knightly deeds. At the heart of

---

[25] A 'clerc' was usually a court functionary, where 'clerical' indicated their religious connection: though in religious orders and well-educated they were not priests or clergy. See further explanation from Kay in 'Courts, clerks and courtly love,' pp.85-6.

[26] 'Let them all be silent, those of my profession, if they are neither clerks nor knights' (my translation). ST from Francine Mora, ed./trans. *Le Roman de Thèbes* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995) p.44. See also previously note 2 in this chapter which performs a similar function and refers specifically to chivalry.

[27] Full discussion of each of the pieces of medieval French and Anglo-Norman literature covered by this thesis from their origin to key themes and critical discussion is found in Chapter 4.

[28] Literally 'songs of deeds,' the *chansons de geste* were Old French, epic narrative poems. Their content was usually retrospective and both memorial and designed to reflect common themes in contemporary society such as conflict with the other (usually Muslim/Saracen) and the relationship between lord and vassal. The form has been subject of continual scholarship. See for some brief examples: Marianne Ailes, 'The Chanson de Geste,' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. by Anthony Bale, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) pp. 25-38 (pp.25-26); Ainsworth, 'Conscience Littéraire de l'Histoire au Moyen Age,' p.359; Jean-Charles Payen and Jean Dufournet. *Le Moyen Age*. Nouvelle Ed. Révisée (Paris: Flammarion, 1997). p. 98.

the narrative is a conflict which is not only played out on physical but ideological levels, comparing the religious and cultural ideals of the Frankish and Saracen armies, and centring on the deeds of Roland and his companions. *Laisses similaires* encourage the reader (or listener) of the narrative to consider differing perspectives of moments of the battle, the moralities of conflict and of Christian knightly endeavour.[29] The text performs the values of *translatio studii et imperii* by drawing on the epic history of Charlemagne to interrogate how France positioned itself as a nation in the face of the 'other' both in the past and at the time of *Roland's* original dissemination; and by imparting knowledge and education around honour and vassalage. Roland's behaviour as a knight, a member of society and representative of his nation and religion could then be compared through reading and performance with features of knighthood and vassalage in the medieval age, encouraging the audience to relate ideas contained in the narrative to major concerns of the time. The way in which the *chansons de geste* represent the discourses of the time mean that today they remain important sources of information on social structures and expected behaviours for French medieval society, leading to their frequent use as primary sources in scholarship and education. For later medieval French literature, the instructive and informative purpose was maintained but the content of each narrative continued to reflect changes in French society, gradually shifting toward a more individualistic and idealistic view of knighthood and further encouraging its interrogation.

From this developing field, new forms such as the *roman* emerged. Our first extant examples of the form are from around 1140-1150 and were composed by *clercs* for an aristocratic audience. Their function continued to inform and encourage discussion rather than to simply find points of reference for contemporary concerns in the past. These texts ranged in origin from the early translation of Latin and Greek manuscripts (such as the previously mentioned *Roman de Thèbes,* or the *Roman d'Eneas*) into the vernacular at the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine,[30] to folk tales reframed for a new audience in form and content.[31] Where the *chansons de geste* used historical exempla to inform current practice and reflections on ideology and nationhood, the *romans* used and reused narratives, reframing them for a new audience and a new, discursive purpose. The *roman* genre can be defined by its connections between the concepts of love, chivalry and society and the way in which a narratorial (clerkly) voice is used to build an analytical space around these concepts. In these

[29] For a more in-depth analysis of the origins and content of the text, see Chapter 4, pp.93-96.
[30] Krueger, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, p.2.
[31] Ainsworth, 'Conscience Littéraire de l'Histoire au Moyen Age,' p.361.

the focus shifts from knightly prowess being defined purely through deeds to being framed by behavioural ideas such as love, patronage and piety.[32] *Tristan et Iseut*, contained in this corpus, provides an example of the *roman* form which owes its origin not only to folklore but to contemporary literature such as the Arthurian tradition, both of which are referenced in the text. Its narrative follows doomed lovers Tristan and Iseut through their meeting and separation, through to their deaths, in doing so leading the audience to question the moralities of each of the main characters on the subjects of love and loyalty through the encouragement of the narrator. A highly reproduced and interpreted text, it exists today in its earliest form in two versions (courtly and common) and numerous translations and reinterpretations. In both courtly and common versions, *Tristan et Iseut's* narrative would have allowed for close comparison between the values of the medieval court presented on and off the page and encouraged the audience to interrogate the morality of their own milieu through the lens of the characters' behaviour and the narrator's interpretations.[33] Later texts produced for the court at times take the interrogation of moral and philosophical values further, introducing parody as a method of discussion not only of societal practices but of the tropes of medieval literature itself. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, for example, takes many of the familiar features of the *roman* genre (doomed love, love and morality as central concepts) and the *chansons de geste* (expected knightly behaviour, crises of succession) and subverts them as a manner of unravelling the ideas espoused by the medieval literary tradition. While reproducing many of these familiar features, the audience is encouraged to consider the ideals of knighthood and behaviour instead through a cowardly knight and an adopted Saracen godchild whose love is doomed by their perceived difference.[34] Just as the *chansons de geste* have value today to the scholar as an indicator of societal values, the *romans* and their successors give us further insights into the preoccupations of the individual and how interpersonal relationships within the court were structured and reproduced, making them highly relevant for the aims of this thesis.

Furthermore, both *chansons de geste* and *romans* provide us with evidence about the development of vernacular literature in the medieval period, as they have been argued to bridge the gap between the oral and written forms. When produced for the court, the most commonly agreed use of these earliest manuscripts was for reading aloud. This is evidenced not only by the octosyllabic versification found in *romans* such as *Tristan et Iseut*, but also by

[32] Gaunt, 'Romance and Other Genres,' pp. 47 & 52.
[33] *Tristan et Iseut*, specifically the version by Thomas of Britain, is further explored in Chapter 4, pp.147-54.
[34] See Chapter 4, pp.217-20.

the internal repetition as in the *laisses similaires* of *Roland*, and narrative calls to the audience and musical notation as found in the *chantefable Aucassin et Nicolette*. In this way manuscripts maintained features tying them to their oral pasts and origins, from emphatic language aimed at enticing an audience in a public space, to folkloric and familiar scenes, to elements of the choral, narrative and discursive techniques brought down from translations of Latin and Greek texts. Oral recitation not only allowed for the maintenance of the heritage of each piece of literature but encouraged variation and renewal of the stories over time. Today this renewal is further evidenced through variant manuscripts and continuations which form networks of literary activity around each text. In an educational setting, these allow the modern reader to comprehend the development of the narrative form in France, trace the origins of French vernacular literature and also relate the traditions of that literature to the changing practices of the court, its intended audience.

1.4 Reproduction and transmission of ideas

This practice of reproduction, interpretation, and reframing through the written word, better known as *remaniement*[35] also has significant implications for our modern reception of manuscript texts. The role of the scribe, *copiste* or translator in the production of manuscripts provides one of the main areas of difficulty for the philologist. Authorship and textual consistency were to some extent subordinate to the concerns of the receiving culture, and as we receive them today, manuscript texts can vary widely in quality, composition and content, even between versions of the same story. These variations have been described as belonging to the categories of either intentional (for clarity, simplicity or adaptation and highlighting of ideas), or unintentional (omission, obfuscation, disagreement and rewriting) errors.[36] These issues have also been attributed to the level of attention of the scribe, and the clarity of their original.[37] In particular, medieval practices of translation from Latin and Greek into medieval vernaculars have been described as not that of continuity, but of rupture[38] due to the way in which texts were re-formed for their new audience through *translation studii*. Taking for example *Le Roman d'Eneas,* this rupture is exemplified not only in the change of form from dactylic hexameter to the more popular octosyllable, but the characters are transported from

---

[35] Gaunt and Kay, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*, p.6.
[36] Huot, 'The manuscript context of medieval romance,' pp.62-63.
[37] Hasenhohr, 'Le Livre Manuscrit,' p.163.
[38] Roger Ellis, *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages,* p.3.

Bronze-Age Italy to social environments more reflective of the French or Anglo-Norman medieval court. Love comes to the fore in the narrative, but also social structures, laws, and a predominantly patrilinear social structure.[39] However it must be remembered that *translatio* and translation in the medieval period were not synonymous, and the idea of transmission of knowledge allowed for a greater extent of reinterpretation for the receiving audience including relocation of the ST setting. The innovatory practices carried out on texts through *remaniement* occurring across eleventh- to thirteenth-century translations allowed for their easier reception in the vernacular cultures of France, and for the absorption and reproduction of the values contained therein. Transfers occurred not only from Latin to French, but from French to Middle High German (e.g. Hartmann von Aue's translations of Chrétien de Troyes, Eilhart von Oberg's *Tristan*),[40] Old Norse (e.g. *Rolands Saga, Tristrams Saga*[41]) and even within languages (Béroul and Thomas' versions of *Tristan et Iseut*) in each case reworking the story to fit the contemporary environment. This practice is not altogether unfamiliar today, where changes have been made to similar effect especially during the 1990s and 2000s with Hollywood's adaptation of Shakespearean literature into almost unrecognisable forms to carry their core ideas over for a new (and often unwitting) audience.[42]

A remaining factor in our modern reception of the medieval text is, as mentioned earlier, conservation of these artefacts. Today our access to manuscripts is considerably reduced compared to the number assumed to have been produced in the medieval period across Europe,[43] meaning that our appreciation of their impact is based on a small sample of texts, either in full or fragmentary versions. Among these, there are occasions where a particular story is reproduced in multiple versions, across multiple languages, and others where a single version is extant. Moreover, the copies we do receive have been argued to involve, on average, a 150-year interval between the original authorship and the copy passed

[39] Baswell, 'Romances of Antiquity,' in Roberta L. Krueger, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.35-36.
[40] See Ann Marie Rasmussen, 'Medieval German Romance,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.183-202.
[41] See for further discussion Rikhardsdottir, 'Bound by Culture: A Comparative Study of the Old French and Old Norse Versions of *La Chanson de Roland*;' and Rikhardsdottir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia*.
[42] See for example *Romeo+Juliet,* dir. by. Baz Luhrmann (20th Century Fox, 1996), *10 Things I Hate About You* dir. by. Gil Junger (Buena Vista Pictures Distribution, 1999), *She's the Man*, dir. by. Andy Fickman (DreamWorks Distribution, LLC, 2006).
[43] Mike Kestemont et al., 'Forgotten Books: The Application of Unseen Species Models to the Survival of Culture.' *Science* 375, (2022). pp.765-769; Michael Price, 'Lost' Medieval Literature Uncovered by Techniques Used to Track Wildlife: New Method Turns the Page on Ancient European Texts.' *Science* (2022) <https://www.science.org/content/article/lost-medieval-literature-uncovered-techniques-used-track-wildlife> [Accessed February 2023].

down to us.[44] Our reception of these texts is therefore affected by more than one level of *translatio*: the previously described practice of copying and translation of texts, and their historical distance from us. For the types of medieval French literature considered in the analysis section of this thesis, our understanding of the original conditions of production and authorship is restricted due to this process of transmission and the conditions in which we receive them today. For *La Chanson de Roland*, while we can construct a unified story in many versions, the conditions of its original production are difficult to divine: its historical nature and format suggest it is likely to have originated much earlier in oral storytelling, however the copies we have today range in date from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries and would have had a different use and audience.[45] Moreover, there is no indication of an original author of the written version, despite discussion of the line 'ci falt Turoldus declinet.'[46] The most frequently consulted (which in the context of this investigation is to say edited and translated) manuscript of *La Chanson de Roland* is the oldest extant version, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby, d. 23, fols. 1-76, dating from 1130-1170, though five other manuscripts as well as three fragments of later versions are held in various libraries across Europe.[47] The Digby manuscript is an example of the elite conservatorship of medieval and ancient literatures: as we receive the manuscript today it is bound with Plato's *Timaeus*,[48] a binding estimated to 1632-34, and from the collection of courtier Sir Kenelm Digby, though sources suggest it may have belonged previously to astrologer Thomas Allen.[49] While the protection afforded by conservators and private libraries has ensured the preservation of such literatures across time, their framing and interpretation is continually restricted to elite groups. The ongoing conservation and reframing of medieval texts also affects other items in the corpus: while we have an understanding that Thomas of Britain was the writer of one version of *Tristan et Iseut* and Béroul another, evidence from the number of extant

---

[44] Hasenhohr, 'Le Livre Manuscrit,' p.163; Payen also avers that there is at least a fifty-year gap between versions, *Le Moyen Age,* p.21.
[45] Gaunt & Pratt, *The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne*, pp.ix-x.
[46] See Chapter 4 pp.93-96 for further discussion of authorship.
[47] For a more detailed description of the quantity and quality of these manuscripts see: David F. Hult, 'Manuscripts and manuscript culture,' in *The Cambridge History of French Literature*, ed. by William Burgwinkle, Nicholas Hammond, and Emma Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) pp. 11-19. See also Arlima, 'La Chanson de Roland,' 2017 *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Âge* <https://www.arlima.net/qt/roland_chanson_de.html> [Accessed 10 April 2017].
[48] Its binding with *Timaeus* has been argued to exemplify 'humanist celebrations, in mythicopoetic form, of the cultural memory and oral traditions of the respective worlds in which they came into being.' Sarah-Jane Murray, 'Plato's Timaeus and the Song of Roland: Remarks on Oxford Bodleian MS Digby 23.' *Philological Quarterly* 83.2 (2004), p.115-126 (p.115).
[49] Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries, 'MS. Digby 23' *Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford,* <https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_4352> [Accessed 10 October 2017].

manuscripts, translations and appearances of the characters in other texts suggests that the text was part of a much wider network of interpretation with no fixed origin.[50] Dates for these manuscripts similarly range from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries and the number of extant manuscripts not only contribute to our understanding of its reception but the variants from which it may have been composed. Thomas of Britain's *Tristan et Iseut* exists in multiple manuscripts, each describing an individual episode of the story, only overlapping in Oxford, Bodleian Library, French, d. 16, fols. 4ra-17va and Torino, Accademia Delle Scienze, MS. Mazzo 812/viii/C, fols. 1-2.[51] The number of extant manuscripts points toward a rich history of transmission for the narrative and the value of the ideas held within it, however unlike *La Chanson de Roland,* their current fragmentary state of preservation creates issues for their transmission to the modern reader. The approach to this text has thus often been to compile the separate fragmentary manuscripts into a single narrative, transmitting a story that would otherwise be inaccessible without recourse to multiple sources and requiring a level of innovation and compilation that replicates that of the medieval *copiste. Aucassin et Nicolette* by contrast provides the opposite issue, held in a single library and with no known contemporary copies (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 2168). Its stated origin in manuscript form is from the collection of Étienne Baluze, a seventeenth-century French scholar and historiographer, and was bound alongside a range of notable French writers including Marie de France and Jean Bodel.[52] As it cites no specific author, its existence today in a single manuscript is the subject of speculation as to its relative popularity and the mode and conditions of its transmission in its own time. However, its (relative) completeness benefits the modern editor and translator in reconstructing the narrative for a new audience.

The means by which we receive medieval manuscripts today can be described as mediated for a number of reasons: their transfer from oral to written storytelling, the state of preservation of each manuscript and the number of hands and interpretive processes through which they have passed as part of the *translatio studii* of their core ideas. For the translator this means that although the time and place of production for a particular manuscript may be

---

[50] This is not to say that an origin has not been sought: in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries scholars such as Joseph Bédier made efforts to postulate an Ur-Tristan from available manuscript evidence, an enterprise which has since been abandoned in favour of studying the individual versions in their own right.

[51] *Early French Tristan Poems II*, ed. by Norris J. Lacy, trans. by Stewart Gregory, (Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 78) (New York; London: Garland, 1991) p.xix.

[52] Archives et Manuscrits, 'Français 2168,' *Bibliothèque Nationale de France,* (2021) <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc487197> [Accessed 17 February 2023].

available or at least estimated from contemporary historical knowledge, the time and place of original authorship may be somewhat different and difficult to infer and thus transfer for the target audience. Similarly, errors of orthography, omissions and fragmentary manuscripts mean that the texts we receive today are difficult to interpret, even given multiple reputable editions, as these may clash or disagree.

1.5 The role of editions in translating medieval literature

Finally, the reception of medieval literature in the modern day is subject to a last level of transmission which is especially relevant to this thesis: the edition of the medieval manuscript. Before the intervention of the translator, the editor of a medieval manuscript contributes to its reception by interpreting the ST manuscript (or manuscripts) into a readable format and performing a type of *translatio* which reconstructs the content for use by the modern reader, scholar or translator.

As previously described, the codices and individual manuscripts we receive today are often fragmentary or alternatively exist in multiple copies from different periods of history. These copies are usually held by archives or institutional libraries, where their condition is preserved carefully. Instead, these institutions have for many years provided facsimile copies for study, and in more recent years digitised versions of the manuscripts which are viewable online: all of the texts chosen for the corpus of this thesis are available in reproduction online via the libraries which currently hold them.[53] However, despite these advancements, the age and style of medieval texts means that the original manuscript is only truly accessible to a trained palaeographer, rather than an interested member of the public. Their careful preservation means that manuscripts often go unseen in their true form for many years, experiencing a type of 'house arrest,' which extends not only to their physical form but to their content and therefore interpretation.[54] This in many ways reflects the original context of the manuscript, produced and restricted to use by an elite group unless mediated through performance. To make the manuscripts and their important historical and cultural content available and accessible to a wider audience today, mediation through editions in modern typefaces and accessible formats are required, which can only be achieved by an elite few.

---

[53] Images of the relevant folios of each manuscript text are included in the Appendix on pp.451-59.
[54] Siân Echard, 'House Arrest: Modern Archives, Medieval Manuscripts', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 30.2 (2000), pp.185-210.

Often, scholars, students and translators will turn to a popular or well-regarded edition of a manuscript. Examples of this preference include Joseph Bédier, who in his time edited both versions of *Tristan et Iseut*, *La Chanson de Roland*, *fabliaux* and *lais*; Alfred Ewert, another editor of Béroul and Marie de France; William Kibler for the works of Chrétien de Troyes; or Mario Roques, whose most famous edition was of *Le Roman de Renart* but also worked on Chrétien de Troyes and *Aucassin et Nicolette*. It is also visible within the corpus elaborated in the rationale and analysis chapters: for *Tristan,* A.T. Hatto mentions using Bédier for preference but also uses Bartina Wind; Charles Scott Moncrieff mentions M. Petit de Julleville as his source. For *Roland,* four editors are frequently cited: Bédier, Calin, Jenkins and Whitehead. For *Aucassin et Nicolette* these have been Hermann Suchier, Jean DuFournet, Francis William Bourdillon and Mario Roques.

The work of these editors is to transfer the content of a manuscript and allow the target audience to access the content in a familiar format, a process of mediation which reflects both that of the medieval *copiste* and the modern translator. The process not only requires the transfer of graphical content but its interpretation for the new audience, providing where necessary intervention and explanation so that the target audience can receive the text in its most accessible form.[55] In doing so they spare the contemporary user the difficulties of fragmentary, unclear and obfuscated manuscript documents as previously described. For the fortunate editor, there will only be one contemporary manuscript available, providing a single source to replicate. By contrast, some medieval French texts exist in multiple versions, often dated to a similar period and containing similar information, requiring a more interventionist approach as described above in relation to *Tristan et Iseut*. Approaches to edition are usually enacted in relation to consideration of the intended audience and usage, much the same as during the process of translation. However, aspects of editors' work also connect to *translatio* in that their approaches relate to transferring the knowledge and insight contained in each manuscript in its most complete form for the receiving time and culture; editors are not immune to contemporary discourse around particular texts, often engaging in discursive practice as palaeographers and philologists.[56] For example, where editorial decisions change

[55] The Garland series of parallel editions and translations are clear examples of the explicative and critical approach. For the translations of *Tristan et Iseut* and *Aucassin et Nicolette* found in this thesis, this is especially true where there are twenty-eight pages of notes and rejected readings for the former and twenty-three for the latter. These cover historical and cultural information, emendations to punctuation or spelling, and comparisons with the renderings of other editors.
[56] Siân Echard and Stephen Partridge, *The Book Unbound: Editing and Reading Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, (Ontario; New York; London: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p.xii. See also the Garland editions mentioned in the previous note for examples.

the meaning of particular words or phrases, affecting inference or characterisation, they receive further annotation and justification, drawing on critical viewpoints, predecessors or contemporaries. Accompanying notes clarify the points where variation has occurred, where they have made textual amendments to compensate for missing text, or to clarify words which stray from common spelling or usage, much in the same way a medieval *copiste* would employ marginal notes to add context to scenes. The effect of such changes can be critical for the target audience, as each edition chosen may provide a different interpretation of particular moments of the narrative. Take for example the difference between Glyn Burgess' and Robert Sturges' editions of the lines 'Di va! faus, que vex tu faire | Nicolete est cointe et gaie,' in the second laisse of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, where a change in punctuation varies the speaker of the second line between Aucassin and his mother.[57] For the translator of the text equally as for the student, these interpretations can influence reader understanding of the source text presentation and culture.

Just as translators may draw on other translators' decisions to inform their work, so might editors. In doing so, they place themselves in dialogue with predecessors and contemporaries, and often critical discourses around the texts at hand. As mentioned above, Burgess leans on Whitehead for any lines he does not translate himself; similarly, Gregory uses Bédier as a guideline when adapting lines to follow a strictly octosyllabic pattern, claiming himself to be more interventionist than Wind. Gregory also addresses the issue of overlapping fragments in *Tristan* and makes a comparison between his own choices (e.g. that of Douce/Sneyd over Turin) and those of Wind. By comparison, Sturges claims to be a conservative editor, due to the completeness of the original manuscript, which had 'little need of emendation or correction.'[58] Yet he similarly has consulted contemporaries and predecessors, citing Roques' and Dufournet's editions alongside a facsimile of the original, as well as Hermann Suchier's emendations for areas of the text which were destroyed or illegible. Again, this means that another editor had some hand in the final edition, albeit one which has been turned to for canonical emendations by many editors, including Mario Roques and Jean Dufournet. Where the text's translator is also its editor, in cases such as Burgess' *Roland*, Stewart Gregory's *Tristan*, or Robert Sturges' *Aucassin and Nicolette*, this

[57] Burgess, Glyn S. (trans.) *Aucassin and Nicolette*, ed. Anne Elizabeth Cobby (New York; London: Garland (Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 47), 1988).p.121; Sturges, Robert S. (trans*), Aucassin and Nicolette: a facing-page edition and translation*, ed./trans. Robert S. Sturges (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015) p.29.
[58] Sturges, p.xiv.

personal understanding of the linguistic issues posed by the ST manuscript mean that they can claim a much closer connection to the source material. It also places them in a more complex network of understanding, relating not only to the activity around the text in its edited form but as a translation, and subject to contemporary concerns for both. Where the editor and translator are not the same, the editor's approach to the manuscript represents an extra layer of mediation between ST culture and TT reception. In this case the individual editor's appreciation of the knowledge contained within the medieval manuscript, as well as the influence of other editors, has a similar potential to affect the translator's understanding of ST context, form and linguistic structure as the translator has for their own target audience.

Concluding remarks

As we receive them today, medieval manuscripts are symptomatic of a time period in flux, unclear in their authorship, their origin and their purpose in the society for which they were created. However, they are also evidence of gradual changes in social structures and cultural values which guide our continued interest in the medieval period and provide rich veins of historical and literary content for the researcher and writer. The increase in written production from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries especially has made this period a mine for information on, for example, conflicts between lay and clerical fields, the changing structure of society from feudal to class-based, the development of vernacular languages and literatures, and any interactions between these. Our continued academic and popular interest lies in examining these changes and using them to reinforce our own beliefs about the medieval, develop a sense of heritage around this time, or indeed make comparisons with our own.

This sense of comparison relates to the values of *translatio studii* practised during the medieval period, that is, the use of the thought of the past to influence or support the thought of the present. From their first creation as written texts, these manuscripts are tied to a theory of rhetoric which values learning, church-dictated morality, and the transmission of historical ideas deemed appropriate and serving the new society into which they emerged. As such, new translators of medieval texts knowingly or unknowingly become part of a continuity of activity or *translatio*, of working and reworking ideas for new situations whether oral/written, through languages, cultures and societies. The implications of this idea are that modern translators, and producers of content in general become part of an ongoing tradition through

their engagement with the literature. Modern translation activity also relates back to the cycle of reproduction begun in the medieval period, as necessarily due to gaps in knowledge and understanding, the translator of the medieval text must refer back to antecedents and contemporaries to build their versions for their own audiences.

Therefore, the approach of the modern scholar, educator or translator requires an understanding that the texts we receive and replicate are subject to an ongoing process of mediation. This means that knowledge not only of the ST manuscript context as it is understood today, but the means through which we receive it, whether in its manuscript form or through the work of an editor or scholarly translation. Firstly, comprehension of the ST historical context and its preservation today helps us understand the motives and methods for literary production and reproduction over time. Secondly, the available manuscripts and their states of conservation help us understand the often-elite processes of transmission that have brought them down through time to us. Finally, the work of the modern editor intervenes in the process to reflect but not exactly repeat the process of *translatio studii* enacted by the medieval scribe, bringing the story to the hands of the scholar, educator or translator. What follows in the next chapter is an exploration of the translation theories we can draw upon to demonstrate how the modern English-language translator encounters and reconciles these themes and difficulties. It looks at how translation theory helps us not only to describe the processes translators enact in rendering these types of texts for a modern audience, but also to elaborate on the idea of networks of activity crossing both geographical and temporal boundaries, much as in the Middle Ages.

Chapter 2: Developing a Sociological Framework for Translation Analysis

The aims set out in the introduction to this investigation require a carefully structured methodology to support: a) establishing how English-language translations of medieval French texts can influence social constructions of the past, and b) how the translator as a social individual affects these constructions as a conscious/unconscious member of a literary-historical continuity. As stated in the introduction, this methodology rests on two distinct but connected foundations: norms, as outlined in systems and descriptive translation theories; and habitus, as defined by Bourdieu. In this chapter, both of these foundational concepts will be examined in detail and their application to analyses of the translation process will be assessed. Finally, a distinct framework for the analysis of translations of medieval French into modern English will be constructed and outlined for use in Chapter 4.

This discussion will follow a thematic approach around the following areas:

- Systems theories and norms in translation;
- Sociological theories of translation and the adoption of Bourdieu in translation theory;
- Methods of critical analysis of translated texts.

The outcome of this discussion will be to create a robust methodology which demonstrates how sociological theories of translation supports my investigation and its intended outcomes.

2.1 Systems theories and norms in translation

First, I will look at the paired concepts of systems and norms in translation, as they apply to my exploration of how and why translations emerge into the literary field, and what power they hold there as cultural objects. Beginning with their history, the concepts of systems and norms will be outlined in terms of their relevance to translation theory, their usage defined, and their utility assessed through reference to relevant criticism.

As briefly described in the introduction to the thesis, the definition of norms in translation I look to in this project originates with Itamar Even-Zohar's Polysystem Theory. A predominantly cultural theorist, Even-Zohar drew on the work of Russian Formalists such as Tynjanov and Jakobson who had posited the idea of a hierarchical literary system in the 1920s and proposed concepts such as systems, norms and evolution to describe the laws governing interactions between literary works, genres and traditions.[1] Systems theories were then developed through the Tel-Aviv school in the 1960s and 1970s around Hebrew literature, as a reaction to prescriptive theories of translation developed in linguistics, and their predominant view of translated literature as a secondary field of activity in the wider literary milieu. Even-Zohar's work by contrast argues for the importance of translated literature as a system by establishing it as an indicator of the strength or weakness of the overall literary polysystem, a signal of literary mutation and changing ideas. The idea of the polysystem rejects fixed hierarchical systems within literature, instead positing an environment of evolution and change where shifts occur according to the needs of the culture in which it exists. In this, translated literature behaves as a system of its own, shifting from the centre to the periphery over time and contributing to the evolution and innovation of the wider literary polysystem when there is demand.[2] The concept of norms in this theory is used to describe the forces governing behaviour, and the reciprocal relationship they have with the cultural environment in which the system exists. Norms for Even-Zohar are much the same as those for Tynjanov, who expresses them as forms adhering to familiarity and convention, and expressed by text types, metres or linguistic features. These norms not only contribute to a

---

[1] Roman Jakobson, Jurij Tynjanov, and Herbert Eagle, 'Problems in the Study of Language and Literature', *Poetics Today*, 2.1a (1980), pp.29-31.

[2] For a broad overview of Itamar Even-Zohar's work on the subject of the translation system see: Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem'; 'Polysystem Theory,' *Poetics Today*, Vol 1: 1-2 (1979) pp.287-310 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1772051>; 'Translation Theory Today: A Call for Transfer Theory,' *Poetics Today*, Vol 2: 4, (1981) pp.1-7 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1772481>; 'Culture planning, cohesion, and the making and maintenance of entities,' in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. by Gideon Toury and others (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2008) pp.277-291.

given culture's selection of texts for translation but the manner in which they are translated, how this is regulated, and whether or not they are finally considered 'adequate' by the target culture.[3] However, norms are also governed by the position of the system in the wider polysystem. The selection of source texts for translation aligns with target culture needs, and the application of norms of translation necessarily aligns with the target culture's overarching predilections: if translated literature occupies the central position in the literary system, translators may feel able to break target culture conventions due to the strength of the translation system at that time, thereby shifting the norm toward creative or ST-leaning forms; if translated literature occupies the periphery, it will be more likely to conform to target culture norms in order to maintain its position and relevance within the wider polysystem.

There are multiple benefits to be drawn from the central ideas of Polysystem Theory, not least the observational model which allows us to relate translation practices to overriding cultural themes and processes. The observational model, with its concepts of evolution and flux, also allow us to view translation practices historically, or in continuity, and evaluate change over time in how translators approach their task with relation to their environment. Within this it may be possible to drill down further into the categorisation of systems at play and consider the translation of medieval literature into modern English as working within its own unique cultural environment, and subject to its own system of norms.

Yet a key issue with Even-Zohar's theoretical framework is that it relies on abstract concepts of power. Despite being based on an observational model, it relies on the concept of norms to define the prescriptive notions governing which behaviours are adequate or inadequate. Theorists such as Theo Hermans,[4] Edwin Gentzler[5] and Maria Tymoczko[6] criticize this approach, specifically the static and binary nature of these categorizations which seemingly contradict the idea of evolution and change within the system. As well as a central norm to be followed, Even-Zohar introduces further universals of activity such as cultural

---

[3] Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem' pp.45-46; 'Polysystem Theory,' p.302.
[4] Theo Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1999). Hermans also provides his own definition of norms in 'Norms of Translation,' in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, ed. by Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp.10-15.
[5] Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 2nd edn (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001) pp.120-22.
[6] Maria Tymoczko, *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators* (Oxfordshire, England; New York: Routledge, 2014) p.155.

prestige, pressure and domination as governing factors in the movement of literatures from central to peripheral roles in the system, which are often ill-defined in terms of the actual characteristics of the wider cultural system in which they are placed.[7] Gentzler is especially critical of the application of these universals due to their generality, asking 'Just what is that complete, dynamic homogenous system against which all other systems are compared?'[8]

A further aspect of Polysystem Theory which is non-commensurate with the present study is the abstraction in which the translated literature is placed: that is to say the avoidance of interrogating the translator as a negotiator of texts into the translated literature subsystem and the conditions of their activity. While translations are described as ascribing to or rejecting norms in favour of creative or nonstandard approaches, neither the translator's place in this process nor their struggle between social restraint and personal agency is addressed clearly.

Following the work of Even-Zohar, Gideon Toury, also a member of the Tel-Aviv School took the concept of norms forward by developing Descriptive Translation Studies (henceforth DTS) as a new method of observational translation analysis. DTS was not initialised by Toury, but was instead identified in James Holmes' seminal paper 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies', where he outlined and delineated the emerging field of Translation Studies as having two areas:

- Pure studies constituting descriptive translation which covers the study of translation phenomena; and translation theory, which aims to find principles which could explain such phenomena; and
- Applied studies, which look at translator training, aids and criticism.[9]

Gideon Toury then elaborated on the idea of DTS in his work *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond* with the aim of creating:

> a systematic branch proceeding from clear assumptions and armed with a methodology and research techniques made as explicit as possible and justified within translation studies itself. Only a branch of this kind can ensure that the findings of

---

[7] Even-Zohar provides a list of these universals in 'Universals of literary contacts,' *Papers in Historical Poetics*, (1978) pp.45-53.
[8] Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, p.123.
[9] James S. Holmes, and Lowland, Jacob, *Translated: Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988) pp.71-73.

individual studies will be intersubjectively testable and comparable, and the studies themselves replicable.[10]

The potential of DTS is therefore the ability to explore a specific product or process of translation scientifically and use the results of this exploration to inform theories based on, for example, a particular problem, area or medium of translation. This provides a theoretical endorsement for my central aim: to use the analysis of a specific area of translation (the translation of medieval French into modern English) supported by a clear methodology, as a means of informing theory.

As a central tenet of DTS, Toury took Even-Zohar's theory of norms in translation and redefined it to further remove the prescriptive influence of the Formalist school, instead defining norms as a constraint falling somewhere between an idiosyncrasy and a rule, these two parts not being binary in character, but polar, a sliding scale.[11] Norms are defined in this theory as social constraints existing within a certain community at a certain time, which are acquired and internalised by the individual as a result of their education or socialisation. As translation is a social activity, he states, norms are a functional expression of these cultural ideals, or what one expects to see happening within a certain context. As such, norms are fundamental in governing social behaviour and agents of a particular field (literary, translation, political etc.) can be rewarded or sanctioned for their success or failure to follow such constraints. In translation, norms can be expressed through the most common or frequently applied method of translating a certain type of text. They are identified either from statements by agents participating in the translation act (translator, publisher, reviewer), or by direct examination of the features of a text from a macro- to micro-textual level. To identify these features for descriptive study, Toury provides us with the following levels of analysis:

1. The initial norm: where the translator decides to subject him/herself to the ST norms (resulting in an adequate translation, synonymous with literal translation), or to the Target culture norms (resulting in acceptable translation: acceptable in the target culture).
2. The preliminary norms:
    a. Translation policy: which texts are chosen and at which time in a given sub-group. This can involve publishing policies within wider cultural concerns.

[10] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond,* p.3
[11] Ibid., p.54.

   b. Directness of translation: which types of texts, time-periods, cultures are we translating texts from, are we doing so directly, or are the translations mediated by other translations or influenced by other texts?
3. The operational norms, where we see the decision to undertake adequate or acceptable translation carried out:
   a. Matricial norms governing fullness of translation, including segmentation and distribution of language;
   b. Textual-linguistic norms regarding choice of language, idiom and style.[12]

By applying this system of analysis to a single text or a series of case studies, Toury argues that we can extrapolate the norms in action, and the extent to which they exert pressure on the translation process. Toury then applies his version of equivalence to define the approach taken, which he describes as a type or extent of relation between the ST and TT, resulting in 'acceptable' (TT leaning) or 'adequate' (ST leaning) translations. A useful example of the descriptive approach comes from Hermans, who, in *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained*, and later in 'Norms of Translation' *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* conceptualised the various ways in which the descriptive approach to translation, norms and systems, have been applied, contributing a unifying viewpoint. For example, his outline of the process follows Toury in that the decision to translate comes from the target culture, from an agent, and is then amended to target culture levels of acceptability by the translator. The figures then deciding what is acceptable can range from the public as a whole, to critics, publishers and patrons.[13] Following Even-Zohar, these groups hold power over cultural production, and publishers in particular will implement norms to accommodate only what they deem to be acceptable and profitable, mutually guaranteeing the success of the translation, and the cementing of their own power.[14] These interactions between systems of power and profit are important in the maintenance of a stable system of production, and this is the environment in which a 'norm' is created, through adherence to what is acceptable.

The nature of this theory presents both benefits and problems. On one hand, a descriptive framework allows the analyst to picture the relationship of the ST and TT as not only a transfer between linguistic units but a negotiation between cultural systems. This

---

[12] Ibid. pp.58ff
[13] Hermans, 'Norms of Translation,' p.12.
[14] Even-Zohar, 'Culture planning, cohesion, and the making and maintenance of entities,' p.281.

means that as well as linguistic analysis, extra-textual factors governing a text, such as the literary, publishing, or wider cultural environment in which a translation exists can be considered through analysis. This makes a direct connection to contemporary functional theories such as *Skopostheorie* by Reiss and Vermeer (1977) and later Christiane Nord (1997) without relying on their notions of fidelity to the ST.[15] DTS also provides frequent reminders of the variability of translatorial action. Norms are defined as acting on a scale of influence, and translator behaviour is assessed as being consistent or inconsistent within that scale, acting with more or less intensity as the level or section of a translation requires. Similarly, equivalence is defined as a functional-relational concept, an expression of the extent to which the translation favours the ST/TT, and the measurements of acceptable and adequate to a translation are described as acting on a continuum. The definition of norms as acquired external constraints acting on both the translator and the translation process is useful for the aims of this project as it helps to position translation as a social activity. By analysing a translation through the lens of norms I can begin to identify the network of cultural trends acting on its production. These may be visible in the conditions of its production, or the textual-linguistic shifts carried out between ST and TT. If I can then identify commonalities of practice between case studies in the same context, it helps me to develop a picture of the target culture preoccupations in the time and place of its commission and reception. This process then contributes to a wider understanding of how translators might reproduce or reinforce a particular, contextual, view of the medieval past through the translation process, and thereby implant it in the English TT context and culture.

On the other hand, the necessity of relying on polar scales of definition such as adequate and acceptable harks back to the prescriptive notions of Even-Zohar and the Formalists, and destabilises the idea that translation is 'intrinsically multi-dimensional.'[16] By focusing on product and process uniquely, the role of the translator as an agent and social individual is marginalized, despite being theorised as having acquired norms which are then visible through their behaviour in the translation process. Furthermore, while norms are argued to exert definitive pressure on the translation process, transgressions and deviations from the norm are not theorized to their fullest extent, only described as variations within the

[15] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*, p.25.
[16] Ibid. p.66. Theo Hermans modulates these definitions as source- or target-oriented to better reflect their impact on the textual-linguistic level, but misinterprets these principles of description (adequate/acceptable, central/peripheral, primary/secondary) as binary rather than sliding scales. *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained*, p.77.

polar scales, rather than features of systemic activity or translator agency. As this thesis deals with translations that engage with a centuries-long lineage of translation and interpretation, it does not suit the aims of the project to ignore deviations which may be indicators of intertextuality, interference or developments in approaches to the past. Theorists such as Chang contend instead that Venuti's domestication and foreignization are therefore better suited as terms of classification:[17] though polar in appearance, Venuti's understanding of foreignizing practices is further linked to translator agency, resistance and adaptation rather than submission to cultural norms.[18] These are considerations I take forward in this thesis, as the translator and their network are central to my analysis, and the concepts of domestication and foreignization are referenced in one of the key questions of the thesis.

A criticism of Toury's potential framework related to the translator's position in the wider system is the lack of elaboration of how norms are constructed and who enforces them, an issue which is carried over from systems theory. Gisele Sapiro, for example, states that Toury's writing lacks the detail which can be provided from a sociological angle, and that we should look at norms as subject to their cultural-historic situation, in force both internally and externally for a given translation, while Hermans and Michaela Wolf decry the 'abstract and depersonalized' nature of systems theory as a grounding concept.[19] Though useful on the level of the translation process as a whole, these gaps in the definition of how norms come into being and are enforced require attention if my methodology is to achieve its intended aims. As a central item in this investigation is the extent to which the translator themselves affects the translation of the medieval past through their predispositions and experiences as social individuals, I cannot rely on norms and systems alone to provide this information. Yet, as discussed in the introduction to the thesis, to explore too deeply the systemic influences on a given individual, text or group of texts can produce the opposite effect, providing so much information that the project becomes overcomplex, unwieldy and abstract in its aims. Therefore, this thesis adopts a discrete focus to balance the systematic methodologies of

---

[17] Chang, 'In Defence of Polysystem Theory', pp.329-30.
[18] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation,* p.252.
[19] Gisele Sapiro, 'Normes de Traduction et Contraintes Sociales,' in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury,* ed. by Gideon Toury and others (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2008) pp.199-218 (p.200). Hermans also criticizes the 'abstract and depersonalized' nature of systems theory. *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained*, p.118; while Wolf speaks of a lack of integration between the factors and systems in the theory itself: Wolf and Fukari, *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*, p.7.

polysystems theory and the particularizing tendencies of norms, while maintaining the useful notion of continuities of translation activity.

The typical criticism of DTS and systems theory more widely then, is that they rely too heavily on abstract notions of power and textual-linguistic levels of analysis, though their integration of cultural factors in our understanding of the translation process is well regarded. As a result, many theorists have attempted to compensate for the issues of scope in the theory, by developing aspects of norms and systems in translation and integrating concepts borrowed from sociological and literary theories to carry out clearly delineated studies. In the next section I will look at a selection of these explorations of theory built around systems and norms, and show how sociological theory, especially Bourdieu, can help to fill these theoretical gaps and support my study.

2.2 Sociological translation theories and Bourdieu

The abstraction of norms and systems leads us to further questions: who creates norms; who carries and reproduces them; and to what extent is the translator and translation affected? While DTS and systems theory provide a grounding for understanding cultural powers in action on a given translation at a particular point in history, they do not explore the factors affecting individual translator behaviour or the specific cultural context of translation production. These are important factors to elaborate on if I am to investigate to what extent translators mediate our views of medieval literature as amateurs, students and scholars.

To address these missing factors in the development of the translator and their environment, theorists have taken these questions and tested their limitations. Two important volumes in this exploration are the edited texts *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury* and *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*. While the first focuses more specifically on the wider applications of themes of DTS such as norms, constraints and functional models, the second considers the realm of translation as a space of intersection and construction of cultures with translators as social agents at its heart. Within these two collections of research papers, there is frequent recourse to the adoption of Pierre Bourdieu's theories as a marker of the sociological turn in translation studies, and a means of providing the information considered too ill-defined in DTS and systems theories. One of the potential reasons for bringing together the work of functional, descriptive and

systemic translation theories and the work of Bourdieu is their shared aim: the search for social structures and generative mechanisms. As Bourdieu states, 'the goal of sociology is to uncover the most deeply buried structures of the different social worlds that make up the social universe, as well as the "mechanisms" that tend to ensure their reproduction or transformation,'[20] and it is this viewpoint which brings together the two fields of translation and sociology. The research I carry out here also intends to search for commonalities of translator approach to medieval literature in specific contexts – usually the present English-speaking educational sphere – relying on a link between these two theoretical frameworks which has been posited by other theorists within translation studies such as Wolf, Sela-Sheffy and Simeoni who will be discussed further on. In their approaches to the social conditions of translation, translation theorists most frequently draw on the three concepts of field, capital and habitus taken from Bourdieu to provide more in-depth analysis of the effect of social constraints or norms on the individual (translator) and the (translated) text.

The three concepts of field, capital and habitus exist in a constant state of interplay similar to that described by the polysystem. At their heart is a set of self-reproducing normative forces against which agents struggle for power. In Bourdieu's theories, we can begin with the *field*, which is a means of defining a particular social space, for example journalism, law, or a cultural field like literature. The space is made up of institutions granting access to power, social agents, and the assets available to them. Within this space, resources such as knowledge and services are exchanged, reproduced and circulated, contributing to an overall social structure or hierarchy reinforced by institutions.[21] These resources are defined by their *capital*, which denotes their value in the social structure, a value which is produced and authorised by the field. A cultural field for example can be defined as 'a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations and appointments which constitutes an objective hierarchy, and which produce and authorise certain discourses and activities.'[22] Agents within the field then gain power by their access to this capital, whether it is social, economic or cultural, reproducing and reinforcing its power through their struggle for its attainment. The activities of the series or hierarchy of institutions embodied by Bourdieu's field closely mirror the idea of the power struggle

[20] Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power* (Stanford University Press, 1998), p.1.
[21] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups,' *Social Science Information,* 24(2), (1985) pp.195-220 (p.197). See also, Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc JD Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) pp.16-18.
[22] Jen Webb, Tony Schirato and Geoff Danaher, *Understanding Bourdieu*. (London: SAGE, 2002) pp.x-xiii.

previously exemplified by the role of norms in the polysystem, where the attainment of the primary position in a strong system relies on reproducing culturally authorised tastes. In this way, norms describe the socially sanctioned activities which Bourdieu describes, as ideas in a society which generate power or prestige (symbolic capital) when successfully reproduced. The concept of habitus addresses how these cultural elements are imprinted on the translator as a person: while a field is a set of objective, historical relations based around discourses of power, habitus expresses how these discourses are imprinted on an agent as 'mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation and action.'[23] Habitus is an unconscious set of predispositions toward a given field, or an internalised sense of how to behave. It can be exemplified as our knowledge of which fork to use at a restaurant, or the difference between how we might behave in a work or social environment because of our upbringing, education, social status and experiences. In its constant interrelation with field through the struggle for power and legitimacy, it is a concept which can help us express how agents develop certain behaviours and why they might engage in certain practices. Bourdieu presents this interplay by the following formula: '(Habitus x Capital) + Field = Practice,'[24] For the translator, habitus might be expressed by the knowledge of how formally to translate language for different translation environments to ensure its acceptance and future commissions, and thereby their acquisition of cultural capital. These concepts provide an important viewpoint on the factors influencing why a translator may translate in a certain way due to their context and internalised biases, a core concept of this investigation. A translator working in the literary genre could be more disposed to render text in a particular style due to cultural conditioning and knowledge of its commonality, while a translator of medieval texts might be more inclined to reproduce the culturally acceptable view of the Middle Ages at the time they translate to ensure its adherence to institutionally sanctioned ideas.[25] A translator whose habitus is not widely differentiated from the educational field may similarly follow the pressures and trends of their academic context, reproducing a view of the past which is popular or sanctioned within their field at the time of translating, as is frequently observed in this thesis.

The concepts of field, capital and habitus therefore have distinct links to the sociological turn of translation studies, providing a means by which to quantify the social environment in which the translator works as an agent, as well as their social conditioning

---

[23] Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology,* p.16.
[24] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2000) p.95.
[25] Simeoni, 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus.' p.18.

within the fields and structures they occupy. This helps to fill some of the gaps perceived in DTS by providing mechanisms for the abstract power structures it describes, rendering this style of examination of the process and environment of translation more rigorous, but not unwieldy. Examples of how the two sets of theories have been joined can be found where translation is considered a social activity.

Simeoni for example begins with norms as an example of social constraint but uses habitus to address the differences in how individual translators translate. He posits that over time a translator acquires both a social and a specialized habitus, and that these contribute to their conservative approach to translation. In this view, the translator is socialized to be tentative and claim reference to a higher power in their activity, be it commissioner or audience, heightening their invisibility for the purpose of gaining economic capital.[26] He revisits this policy of domination of the translator in the paper 'Norms and the State' where he considers the role of the translator in reinforcing geopolitical systems as a function of the internalisation of their submissive role in their field.[27] Similarly Gouanvic explores why habitus applies to studies of translation from the perspective of professional trajectories, as well as the relations between the translator as an agent and their approach to their subject.[28] Denise Merkle shifts the viewpoint of analysis to put emphasis on the translator as an agent, by subjecting DTS to Bourdieu's habitus and instead uses 'habitus-mediated norms' to explore how translators interact with the structures and constraints of their field.[29] Gouanvic's work also pushes for further incorporation of Bourdieu's terminology with DTS, going beyond habitus, capital and field to incorporate illusio, doxa and hysteresis as descriptors of patterned activity in translation. For example, he uses illusio to describe the task of the translator as adherence to the literary game, and hysteresis to describe translator adaptation to changes in their field of activity. [30]

---

[26] Ibid. p.34.
[27] Daniel Simeoni, 'Norms and the State,' in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. by Gideon Toury and others (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2008) pp.329-342.
[28] Gouanvic, 'Objectivation, réflexivité et traduction: Pour une re-lecture bourdieusienne de la traduction, pp.79-92; and 'Is Habitus as Conceived by Pierre Bourdieu Soluble in Translation Studies?' pp.29-42.
[29] Denise Merkle, 'Translation Constraints and the "Sociological Turn" in Literary Translation Studies,' in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. by Gideon Toury and others (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2008) pp.175-86; Meylaerts, 'Translators and (their) Norms: Towards a Sociological Construction of the Individual,' (in the same volume) pp.91-102.
[30] Gouanvic, 'A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances: Field, 'Habitus', Capital and 'Illusio',' pp.147-66.

Yet these applications of habitus and field lack attention to translator identity and agency, preferring to maintain their role as secondary or submissive to the wider field or system at play. This is a common criticism of Bourdieu's theory: Lahire crucially contends that it focuses too heavily on the power of fields to construct capital and influence the agents within them, rather than considering the agent as an empirical individual with a unique set of predispositions.[31] This criticism is reflected by theorists of translation: Wolf sees productive links to be made between translation theory and Bourdieu's theories, not only in the edited volume *Constructing a Sociology of Translation,* but through her own explorations;[32] Nonetheless, she agrees with Lahire's view that the theories do not approach individuals sufficiently in her chapter on 'Sociology of Translation' in the *Handbook of Translation Studies.* As she states: 'For the exploration of the translation process, a focus on the diverse modalities which generate the habitus may better explain the conditions underlying translation strategies and tactics, and reconstruct both conscious and unconscious motives that trigger specific translation situations.'[33]

As translation theory has shifted its focus from analysis of translation as a social activity to the translator as a socialised individual, so has its adoption of Bourdieu's concepts. Accordingly, their use has been adjusted to consider not only the habitus of the translator, but also the pivotal role they play in negotiating between fields and cultures. Moira Inghilleri for example argues that Bourdieu's theories offer 'a more powerful set of concepts than norms and conventions to describe socio-cultural constraints on acts of translation and their resulting products.' Through her analysis of conflict settings, she contends that they offer the opportunity to look at translators and interpreters as capable of constructing meaning and negotiating cultural discourse through their work.[34] Inghilleri's work bears conceptual resemblance with the work of Stahuljak with the concept of the fixer, which she draws from the negotiation of culture through conflict interpreting, but focuses more strictly on the activity of the medieval translator in their contemporary environment. Although not directly

---

[31] Bernard Lahire is a particular critic of Bourdieu, preferring to interrogate the individual from the perspective of pluralities of experience. See for example: Bernard Lahire, *The Plural Actor* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011); and 'The limits of the field: Elements for a Theory of the Social Differentiation of Activities,' in *Bourdieu's Theory of Social Fields*, ed. by Mathieu Hilgers and Eric Mangez (London: Routledge, 2014) pp.62-101.

[32] Wolf, 'Women in the "Translation Field",' pp.129-142.

[33] Michaela Wolf, 'Sociology of Translation,' in *Handbook of Translation Studies,* Vol. 1, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc Van Doorslaer (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010) p.340.

[34] Moira Inghilleri, 'Habitus, Field and Discourse: Interpreting as a Socially Situated Activity.' *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies*, 15.2 (2003) pp.243-268 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799195>; 'The Sociology of Bourdieu and the Construction of the "Object" in Translation and Interpreting Studies,' *The Translator.* 11 (2005), pp.125-45 <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.15.2.03ing>.

citing Bourdieu, her work on the social histories of translating also seeks to find the social mechanisms guiding translation practice, with the aim of moving studies of medieval translation away from product to generative process.[35] Reine Meylaerts also takes up the challenge to consider the translator as more than an embodiment of their professional habitus in order to frame translator habitus as a dynamic and, importantly, intercultural concept.[36] Rafeket Sela-Sheffy takes this further, proposing not only to bring into the analysis cultural capital, but translation norms and discourses of identity, to form a fully rounded picture not only of how a translator works within their field but how they conceive their role and status.[37] This socio-systemic view of translation also supports the key aims of the thesis, where I aim to identify the influence translators have on the literature they translate, (whether consciously or unconsciously), and to indicate their role as a mediator in transferring of literature from one language and culture to another.

These interrogations of the links between DTS and Bourdieu's theories provide proof of their potential for analysing the wider worlds of translator activity and their impact on resulting translations. While there are notions within both that could be considered prescriptive rather than descriptive, the important feature of this combination of theoretical frameworks is that it provides a thorough but not overwhelming set of data from which to appreciate:

a) The range of factors influencing a translator from their initial education and upbringing to the field in which they work;
b) The institutions controlling and influencing that field and its expectations;
c) And the extent to which the translator can express their own agency and deviate from these ordering systems and their norms, behaving in idiosyncratic ways.

From this data, it is then theoretically possible to consider the mechanisms of translation through textual analysis, by reconstructing translators' approaches to translating in comparison to information about their field and habitus. Bringing together the concepts of

---

[35] Stahuljak, 'Medieval Fixers: Politics of Interpreting in Western Historiography.'
[36] Reine Meylaerts, 'Sociology and Interculturality: Creating the Conditions for Inter-national Dialogue across Intellectual Fields.' *The Translator*, 11(2) (2005) pp.277-283 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799202>; 'Translators and (Their) Norms: Towards a Sociological Construction of the Individual,' in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. by Gideon Toury and others (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2008) pp.91-102.
[37] Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, 'How to be a (Recognized) Translator: Rethinking Habitus, Norms, and the Field of Translation,' pp.1-26; 'Translators' Identity Work: Introducing Microsociological Theory of Identity to the Discussion of Translators' Habitus,' *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies*, ed. by Gisella M. Vorderobermeier (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2014) pp.43-55.

norms and habitus therefore provides perspective on the way translators translate and the reasons for it, or viewed another way, the rules of the translation game in a given context, and the translators' feel for it. In this project, a norms/habitus approach addresses the objectives of discovering how translators translate medieval French into modern English and the extent to which their internalised dispositions and their direct working environment affect the resulting translation. By interrogating each of the points above in comparison to the linguistic features of a translation, I can identify the extent to which a translator's habitus is represented in their approach to a given source text. Using this information, I can build a picture of whether Anglophone translators of medieval French literature exhibit patterned activity during different periods of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and whether this activity is directly related to their habitus and the institutions controlling norms in their field. This helps to achieve the goal of considering the role modern English translations of medieval literature may play in shaping our views of the past, because of the conditions of their production.

Finally, it remains for me to create an example of how I intend to map these socio-cultural and functional-relational frameworks onto the translation process and product, thereby making the connection between the translator's habitus, the field in which they work, and the text received in the target culture. To this end, the next section will exemplify the methods used to analyse texts of this type from the level of the translator down to the linguistic unit, and the mechanisms by which I can distinguish patterns of activity.

2.3 Method of critical analysis of translated texts.

As stated above, it is possible to use DTS as a basis for analysis, as laid out in Toury's schema of initial, preliminary, and operational norms, but the framework cannot stand alone if it is to achieve the aims set out in the research questions. Not only can I improve the depth of the translation analysis by turning to ideas of translator habitus and patterns of translator action around the texts in my corpus, but I can also refine the focus of the close textual analysis to connect more directly to my main research questions.

Before embarking on close textual analysis, I first need to reconstruct the translator's habitus and field and in doing so consider the possible norms and forms of cultural capital influencing their disposition towards the ST. Following the formula (Habitus x Capital) +

Field=Practice, the first areas to explore are the structures which affect the translator both as a socialised individual and in the immediate context of the translation process. Beginning first with habitus as a historical and embodied concept, areas to investigate indicated by the scholars discussed in section 2.2 include the following:

- The translator's upbringing, including immediate family environment and culture elements such as religion and class;
- The translator's education, whether it is public or private, and the level of their education;
- The translator's working history, and the fields in which they gained that experience;
- The translator's previous experience of either the scholarly areas of medieval literature or translation;
- The translator's involvement with educational and academic institutions.

These areas of investigation provide data which aids the process of positioning the translator in relation to their field, revealing their dispositions as a result of norms and practices obtained over time. The data can be gathered by examining available biographical and autobiographical writing, translator notes and other documentary evidence of their personal and professional history. The evidence-gathering stage helps to provide an indication of the institutions and norms which have historically exerted the most influence on their development and practice. In line with Bourdieu's assertion that agents know their social world better than theoreticians,[38] the translators' own statements form an important part of this preliminary stage of the investigation. These statements contribute information on their appreciation of the fields of medieval literature, history, translation and the specific ST they are translating, and indicate the degree to which each translator adheres (or claims to adhere) to the norms of their development and environment and the value which they allocate to them. From this investigation instances may appear where the translator's habitus is influenced by and contributes to more than one field as a feature of their experiences, requiring more detailed analysis of normative forces to which they are subject and therefore the types of capital they aim to attain through their work as a translator.

[38] Pierre Bourdieu, and others, eds., *The Craft of Sociology: Epistemological Preliminaries* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991) p.252.

To reconstruct the field in which the translator is situated, I can use the structures and institutions revealed to be at play in the construction of their habitus, but also those which define the environment of their translation output. This can be done by investigating the publisher of the translation, to identify its history, its main areas of activity and intended audience. Statements of purpose from the publisher of a translation, as from the translator, provide evidence of the extent to which they consider themselves a central or peripheral part of a system and therefore the effect of socio-cultural norms on their output. Furthermore, these statements have the power to reveal the kinds of capital at stake in the production of the translation, and the skopos for translation through which these aims are directed. This bears some similarity to Toury's preliminary norm regarding choice and directness of translation, but importantly considers the social reasoning behind these choices, and the normative forces which bring the translation into being.

The main body of each translation analysis takes place on the level of the text, as an assumed translation existing in the target culture, with the objective of identifying the approach taken by the translator in relation to the conditions of their own environment and the difficulties posed by the ST. The aim of close textual analysis is then to show how the translator's conscious and unconscious approach to the ST is visible in the resulting TT and the effect this may have on the end reader's view of the medieval past. The analysis of the translation as a product used here relates in some ways to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which aims to reveal how writers use language to create meaning, promoting certain viewpoints and naturalising them in a given culture. This set of theories has its grounding in linguistics, developed from Critical Linguistics and drawing on theorists who are also regularly referenced in translation studies, such as Foucault, Barthes, Halliday, Sapir-Whorf and Jakobson and has a similarly multi-disciplinary approach. Its aim is to reveal the connection between text, power and ideology, looking at texts as reflexive constructions of social and cultural forces.[39] Its consideration of power assumes that all processes of communication are to some extent rule-based, whether these are written, spoken or multimodal.[40] This aim has parallels with systems and habitus theories, where it considers the discourses found in texts as both 'socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned,' echoing the ideas around the reflexivity of habitus, field and capital, as well as the literary

---

[39] For further exemplification, see Meriel Bloor and Thomas Bloor, *The Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis: an Introduction* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2007); and David Machin and Andrea Mayr. *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*, (London: SAGE, 2012).
[40] This idea connects most specifically to social semiotics. See Theo Van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics* (London: Routledge, 2005).

system and its agents.[41] In fact, Bourdieu is frequently referenced by CDA theorists; for example Norman Fairclough uses habitus to further define the (self)identification of the agent, referring to it as a means of framing 'embodied dispositions to see and act in certain ways based on socialization and experience, which is partly dispositions to talk and write in certain ways,'[42] while Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer claim that Bourdieu's theories help agents with the process of gaining self-awareness.[43] In doing so, CDA usefully raises the idea of the agent embodying diverse social roles, and the necessity of regarding any discourse or text as intertextual because of this diversity.[44] Despite these shared elements with the methodology laid out so far, however, CDA does not fully align with the framework sought here for a number of reasons, both theoretical and functional. The process of CDA involves looking at the choices and characteristics of words and grammar in texts in order to discover their underlying ideological influences. The use of linguistics within this approach is usually distinctly refined, with studies focusing on the relationship between specific features such as the mode, tense, pronouns or argumentation used by the author and the ways in which those features constitute and transmit knowledge. This is a useful approach to a text or social event existing in a given culture and can further contribute to the elaboration of DTS by adding a further level of complexity to the analysis of the interplay between culture, text and agent. Yet when approaching texts in translation, it is difficult to apply CDA without first considering the agents at play in the process of translation: the original author of the text, which for the medieval period is often unknown or the result of oral tradition; the medieval scribe or translator as a rewriter of the tale, of which there may be multiple; the modern editor of the manuscript as a writer; and finally the translator as a transmitter of the text for a new audience. While the translator may have no information about the writer, or the many stages of intervention between the ST and their interactions with it, they act as a mediator of texts between language, time, place and culture, understanding the origins of the text they translate. Subject both to their internalised dispositions and the pressures of their field, they have the responsibility of interpreting the discourses of the culture inscribed in their ST, and therefore are not simply the author of a text but have the responsibility of representing these

[41] Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, 'Critical discourse analysis' in *Discourse as Social Interaction: Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction,* Vol. 2, ed. by Teun A. van Dijk (London: Sage, 1997) pp. 258-284.
[42] Norman Fairclough, *Analysing discourse*: *Textual Analysis for Social Research* Vol. 270. (London: Routledge, 2003) p.29.
[43] Ruth Wodak, and Michael Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 2nd edn (London: SAGE, 2009) p.7.
[44] Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, p.161.

ideas. To apply CDA to such texts, considering the multiplicity of discourses embodied by the text, some of which may be ill-defined, provides an unwieldy level of complexity and may result in the translator being framed as a target culture author rather than one in a long line of mediators between time and place. Other aspects of CDA are more useful, namely the close analysis of how specific linguistic forms are used in the translation process to create, maintain and promote specific meaning and social discourses. If this project is to achieve the stated aim of identifying whether translations of medieval literature into modern English have impacts on societal views of the past, it is through the linguistic level of each translation and the discourses found there that the effects of a) the translator's habitus and b) the norms at play in certain time periods can be identified. Therefore, the structure of the analysis used in this project will focus in its second stage on the rendering of discrete textual elements of the ST literature in translation in order to provide a view of the discourses represented on the linguistic and stylistic levels. These discrete areas of analysis are designed to follow the themes identified in the aims of the project: namely societal practices that colour our view of the past such as interpersonal and hierarchical interactions, and linguistically complex items such as metaphor and idiom. To help pinpoint these pertinent features in each translation, four key themes have been chosen for the structure of the analysis, which reflect recurring motifs in the chosen STs, and relate closely to the research questions. These are:

1. Poetry and prose
2. Characterisation
3. References to metaphors and cultural knowledge (including euphemism)
4. Any signs of intertextuality/interference with other translations

In this section, each chosen theme is defined and its importance in achieving the stated aims of the thesis explained.

Poetry and prose

This theme has been chosen because it represents two aspects of a TT that affect our reception of the text: the graphic level, which affects our initial reception through its visible aspect, and the prosodic level, which influences our reception through its auditory function. It is also an important theme to consider due to its importance in the ST. For many of the STs studied in this research, there is a connection between poetry and performance, as medieval

texts were often designed to be read aloud, including repetition and rhyme to add to their performative value. Although critics argue that not all the STs included in this corpus[45] were read aloud, they all use rhyme or assonance, which would have been an established feature of contemporary courtly writing and therefore an element of source audience expectations. Each translator's choice of poetry or prose therefore has two points of reference: the effect of the text on the target audience, and representation of the medieval courtly tradition. The analysis of the graphic and prosodic levels also extends to the inclusion of archaic language by translators as a method of indicating distance in time, as it often has distinct implications for the prosody of the resulting TT as well as reader reception.

As such, this theme speaks to the research questions for this thesis referring to cultural norms at play, especially what impact contemporary norms of domestication and foreignization have on the representation of medieval lyrical forms, and what rewards or sanctions a translator might be expected to receive for their use. First, we can consider whether the choice to translate into poetry, prose, or blank verse is a function of the predominant social norm in a certain time period, and whether the translator adheres to commonalities of practice in this respect. As such, the choice of approach would be target audience focused, and suggest a detachment from accurate representation of source cultural factors, in favour of a TT that is acceptable in its target culture. Secondly, the choice of poetry or prose is a key point in any discussion of loss and gain: the loss of the poetic form may suggest an overall loss of a key cultural feature, but the translator may choose to compensate in another manner. Finally, the translator's choice of register, whether formal, informal, colloquial or archaic (or a combination of these) helps to indicate the norms governing the expected reception of historical literature at the time of translation, and the translator's level of adherence to them.

Characterisation

The second theme resides purely on the textual-linguistic level of the translation, drawing on the exact translations of key terms and their inferential meaning. It applies to not only physical appearance, but also descriptions of personal qualities and emotional reactions. Translation choice is important in this theme because of the effect it can have on our perception of the ST and the time period it represents. Descriptions of personal qualities

[45] *Tristan and Iseut* for example is cited as being an early text intended to be read quietly. See Chapter 1, p.35 and Chapter 4, pp.147-54.

(especially those related to the theme of chivalry) can affect our view of a character's role in society and the qualities that society valued; emotional language in the translation can relate to demeanour, and therefore our appreciation of politeness, behaviour and typical interactions for the time and social strata depicted. Thus, by focusing on characterisation, the analysis goes toward tackling the issue of whether these translations affect the modern reader's understanding of societal practice in the medieval period or are indeed the result of the internalised dispositions of the individual translating in terms of religion or education for example. Slight variations in word choice can create a differently nuanced view of a character or their position, due to inferential meaning: is a *pucele* a damsel or a young woman for example? Does *coroceir* mean to anger or to offend? On the functional level, this theme reveals the translator's difficulty in finding an equivalent point between languages of differing points of view and levels of linguistic diversity. Yet a translator's rendering of these concepts could equally be the result of their understanding of the thought of the time, or the imposition of the discourses of their own time and experience onto the text in translation. Language used in characterisation can thus play an important point in the construction of images of the past.

References to metaphors and euphemism

Metaphor and euphemism are features of a translated text which cut across both the linguistic and cultural level. Looking first at metaphor, we can argue that it adds colour to the text, but also creates intertextuality with other cultures, folk tales and colloquialisms which have perhaps been lost since the ST was produced. Translator decision making can directly affect the target audience interaction with this information: through the choice of calque or communicative translation, a translator can either introduce the audience to new cultural information or erase its presence from the text. This has a direct impact on the target audience's understanding of the cultural environment of the time.

Translator choice around euphemism also has an impact on our understanding of the ST culture. Insertion or reduction of euphemism regarding not only sexual content but bodily function and gory or macabre imagery affects our understanding of what was deemed acceptable at the time in literature, and more broadly in societal practice. Any alterations to this aspect of the ST could change our view of the period from a clean and restrained society to a slovenly, lascivious culture (and any spectrum points between). Translator practice in both cases can reveal the norms at play in a given society around how to handle such content,

and also help us understand the interference of the target culture in the development of an image of the source culture. Equally, the approach applied to sexual, religious or interpersonal characteristics of the ST can reflect the personal dispositions of the translator themselves, their habitus in terms of both upbringing and identity.

Intertextuality and interference

Finally, intertextuality and interference refer here to the extent to which a translator shows signs of reliance on the ST, previous translations or other contemporary works to produce their TT. Intertextuality is another result of the poststructuralist movement and was coined as an area of study by Julia Kristeva in response to Mikhail Bakhtin.[46] It describes the relation of a given text not only to other texts existing in its immediate context of creation but to the discourses and themes of those that preceded it. Analysis of this level of a TT can help us to relate how beliefs are reinforced, reformulated or replicated, but also reveal ideological/cultural struggle and change in the translation system. Interference is the mechanism by which this is perceived; in translation this is specified by Toury and Even-Zohar as interference from the ST on the TT,[47] or the source culture on the target culture.[48] But if we are to consider translations of the type as existing as part of a chain or network, this definition could be logically expanded to the use of previous translations to inform translation practice, as well as the use of common phrases from other genres of literature for example. The interference of previous TTs or other literatures in the translation at hand can take the form of formatting, use of rhyme (or not), or key phrases which are mimicked due to their unique handling. Their insertion into a translation has been argued to be a method by which the author, writer or translator creates depth of discourse by evoking other times and places.[49] The tacit appreciation of other ST translations, whether contemporary or historical, can provide evidence of a continuity of scholarly action around certain texts, through references to TTs which have been consulted or relied on during production as evidenced in translator notes, or equally previous TTs which have been rejected. Chains of textual activity around a subject or genre have already been posited by Fairclough as a sign of creation or re-creation

---

[46] Julia Kristeva, and others, 'Word, Dialogue and Novel,' in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981) pp.64-92.
[47] See for example Even-Zohar, 'Interference in Dependent Literary Polysystems', *Poetics Today*, 11.1 (1990), pp.79-83. Developing Even-Zohar's notion, see Toury's proposed law of interference, where he expounds on the possible application of interference as a method of identifying the acceptability of deviant translation practices resulting from specific socio-cultural conditions. *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*, pp.274-9.
[48] Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem,' pp.49-50.
[49] Bloor and Bloor, *The Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis: an Introduction*, p.55.

for changing cultural or historical contexts, and for CDA theorists more widely an indicator of ideological flux.[50] This theme therefore contributes to the questions concerning the recreation of norms and features of discourse across the chosen time periods, and elaborates on the reasons for patterning and difference between different TTs rendered from the same ST. It can support our understanding of how norms change over time, and how translator agency affects their adoption, through reinforcing or rejecting the approaches of their predecessors in the chain of translation activity.

The discussion here has therefore outlined two structures which ground the following analysis and support the aims of the project. The twinned concepts of norms and habitus allow me not only to theorise the social conditions which contribute to the production of translations from medieval French to modern English and the conventions to which they are held; they also allow me to position the translator as a mediator in that system of norms and identify the approaches they take to the task of translating this genre of text as an individual agent bearing historical and internalised dispositions. Finally, the framework analysis of texts aims to apply these notions by drawing out the textual-linguistic impacts of those norms and dispositions, and identifying sites of semiotic change and stability which both reflect and affect the TT contextual reading of the medieval period. Having constructed a framework for the analysis of modern English translations of medieval French texts, it remains to identify the texts to be studied using this methodology. The next chapter elaborates on this process of selection, outlines the texts to be studied, and establishes a link between these choices and their relevance to the overall aims of the thesis.

[50] Fairclough, *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis of social research*, pp.30-32.

Chapter 3. Rationale for Corpus Choice

The framework of analysis laid out in the previous chapter aims to produce evidence that medieval literature is a locus of continuity and change in translation approaches over time, and that these translation approaches contribute to our view of the past; a view which is frequently mediated by the educational sphere. These aims require a corpus of TTs to analyse which allow me not only to show how translators approached the medieval past in a specific time period, but how that approach may have changed over time as a reflection of personal and societal preconceptions. The final framework of analysis therefore relies on both synchronic and diachronic concepts of analysis, which is to say, primarily within specific time periods and then across them.

As an introductory concept, synchronic and diachronic linguistic analyses were proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure. In his *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, he uses diachronic analysis as a form of historical linguistics, to show how over time certain words and phrases fall into disuse and are replaced by new formations. He places this in opposition to synchronic study, which observes language as it appears at a certain time in a certain culture.[1] Synchronic analysis helps to establish translation practice during a single time period and relate observed linguistic features to the immediate translation environment and the norms acquired by the translator. In terms of this research, a synchronic study looks at existing translations of a given text (*La Chanson de Roland* for example), restricted to a certain time period (e.g. in the 2010s) to show language variation within English. This could reveal features which predominate at that time and may be the result of societal norms, or differences in language use between different modern English translators that are a feature of their habitus. While looking at texts in synchrony explores the linguistic patterns emerging at certain times in translation, diachronic comparison between different translators of the same text allows me to establish the generalities of translation relating to medieval literature and how they change over time. The diachronic level relates to the theme of interference/intertextuality which forms a section of the analysis framework, where each translated text has the potential to reproduce its predecessors. In his discussion of translation norms and systems, Pym concurs with this attitude, recommending a diachronic approach to

[1] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Roy Harris, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) p.90.

comparing translations and arguing that the differences revealed may contribute to exposing wider translational phenomena.[2] In a wide enough frame, diachronic analysis can reveal processes of change from a historical perspective, showing how each generation uses language to build its own vision or 'imaginary chronology' of the past, reflecting both evolving societal preoccupations and established practices.[3] Therefore, to complete the aims of the thesis in showing how translators' approaches to the medieval past affect our view of the period, the corpus of texts analysed must provide both a historical perspective and have sufficient exemplars of TTs to allow for comparison both within and across time periods.

The corpus of focuses on translations of medieval French texts into modern English, and the choice of both STs and TTs relies on a rationale rooted in the aims of the thesis and the modern usage of these literary works. As discussed in the introduction to the thesis and further in Chapter 1, the medieval period is widely considered to have stretched from the fifth to the sixteenth centuries, however most of the written literature extant today dates from the eleventh century onward. For the purposes of this thesis, the STs chosen will represent the earlier part of this period of literary production, from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, focusing on texts which have centres of activity not only in the educational sphere but outside of it. When speaking of modern English, this is taken to mean from the twentieth century onward, where broadening access to education and a rise in publishing for the general public contributed to more structured translation processes, which for medieval literature gradually centralised on the academic sphere.

This chapter will therefore indicate:

1. The STs chosen for analysis and their relevance to the themes and aims of the thesis;
2. the availability of modern English translations of each ST and the relevance of their origins;
3. the predominant time periods in which TTs emerged;
4. and the final choice of TTs for analysis based on these factors.

[2] Pym, *Method in Translation History*, p. 107.
[3] George Steiner, *After Babel,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975) p.29.

3.1 Medieval Source Texts in modern usage

As detailed in Chapter 1, medieval French literature can be defined by a number of characteristics, for example their genres as identified by Jean Bodel,[4] their location of origin, their intended usage or their format in terms of poetry, prose or epic. During the medieval period, texts were appropriated from other cultures through the process of *translatio studii et imperii* for their educational, moral or dynastic value. This occurred especially with Latin literature and philosophy, which was held to provide moral and philosophical superiority, and therefore benefits for the medieval reader. While each text's contemporary position within its source culture is difficult to define, an indication of their uniqueness and value for proceeding cultures can be perceived in the number of remaining exemplars of the ST and the extent to which they have been reproduced over time through rewriting and translation. In contemporary society, the transfer of a medieval text to a modern audience could be a function of their specific form or content, whether they are the only remaining example of a particular genre or specific text, or whether they shed light on historical practices or events. Through the lens of the educational field, these are features which may recommend each piece of literature for study and replication, especially within the UK higher education (UKHE) field but often more widely in popular culture. If we return to the idea of *translatio studii et imperii* we can consider the relative value a particular text might have for study and replication due to its format, its uniqueness or its richness in content. This value relates to the notion of cultural capital identified by Bourdieu, and as reflected in the struggle for prestige described by systems theory. For both theoretical concepts, the repeated reproduction of certain texts in translation and edition can indicate the cultural capital they possess within their field of production or put otherwise their considered value for the receiving culture. In the context of the current thesis, this means the more frequently a medieval text is reproduced for a new audience, the more likely it will have qualities which the field deems to be useful in terms of educational value or historical prestige. Certain items of literature may also have value for study where they relate to predominant contemporary concerns in a particular society or time, in line with the predominant norms at play in that system. Publishers and educational institutions may participate actively in the replication and use of certain text

---

[4] In the *Chanson des Saisnes*, written during the twelfth century:

'Ne sont que .iii. matieres à nul home antandant : De France et de Bretaigne et de Rome la grant.' (l. 6-7)

[There are three matters of which all know: Of France, of Brittany and of great Rome.]

Annette Brasseur ed., *La Chanson des Saisnes* (Genève: Droz, 1989) p.2. My translation.

types and genres in order to follow the predominant contemporary trend and acquire prestige or cultural capital. Individual translators may do so due to their habitus, where their acquired predispositions suggest that adding particular texts to their repertoire will add to their cultural capital within their field. The value placed on certain texts is therefore not simply due to their prestige in the source culture but the ways in which they are used and reused over time as exemplars of a particular period, place or value system, and the cultural capital which they possess as a result of the overarching norms of the system at play. Identifying which STs to study therefore proceeds from three levels. Firstly, developing an understanding of the texts commonly referred to in education as exemplars of medieval French literature; and secondly considering the extent to which a particular ST has been reproduced in edition and translation during the chosen time period. The choice of the most popular and frequently reproduced texts then allows for the greater probability of sufficient exemplars for study, a closer relation to the educational context in which they are sited, and the likelihood that their reproduction relates to their capital at that time and place.

Higher education provides much of the context for the use and reproduction of medieval language in the UK. Considering the decline of primary and secondary living and dead language education laid out in the introduction to this thesis, it is understandable that medieval French does not appear in national curricula for the UK at any stage, and moreover that the majority of translations of medieval texts are not destined for consumption by the general public. In terms of medieval content in education, students may be familiar with the interactions between medieval French and English societies through the history of the Battle of Hastings at key stages 2 or 3,[5] while their first encounter with English medieval literature might begin with a translation of *Beowulf* at key stage 3.[6] This trend can be compared to France, where texts such as *Le Roman de Renart* are introduced to pupils in translation and adaptation as early as CE1-2 (UK key stage 1-2), [7] with progression to Marie de France and

[5] BBC Bitesize ‘The Battle of Hastings,’ *BBC*, 2024, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/topics/zshtyrd/articles/z9mw8hv> [Accessed April 2024].

[6] Lidia Kuhivchak, ‘Beowulf,’ *Oak National Academy*, <https://www.thenational.academy/teachers/lessons/beowulf-6njpct#slide-deck> [Accessed April 2024].

[7] éduscol, ‘La littérature à l’école : Listes de référence Cycle 2,’ (Paris: Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Jeunesse, Direction générale de l'enseignement scolaire, 2024) p.15. <https://eduscol.education.fr/document/13465/download> [Accessed April 2024];
Editions Gallimard, ‘*Le Roman de Renart,* Traduit et adapté de l'ancien français par Pierre Mezinski. Avec un carnet de lecture par Évelyne Dalet.’ *Gallimard Jeunesse* <https://www.gallimard-jeunesse.fr/9782070631308/le-roman-de-renart.html> [Accessed April 2024].

Tristan et Iseut at secondary level[8] used to exemplify national literature while also contributing to literacy targets. As a result of lower rates of access to languages at the primary and secondary phase, the wider use and understanding of medieval language and literature in the UK is often more restricted to higher education, where students might encounter medieval languages, (in this case French and Anglo-Norman) initially as an introduction to Francophone literary culture and development, and later in more focused study of the period. Even in these cases, medieval French literature forms part of a wider range of optional language modules where the university does not have focused medieval studies courses. This trend mirrors my own introduction to the medieval period, where my earliest experience of the period came through secondary history. It was not until embarking upon an undergraduate course that I first encountered medieval French, and then usually through comparative literature modules looking at themes such as love and death or the relationship between text and gender over time from *Le Roman de la Rose,* to Alain Chartier, and onward through Keats to the Pre-Raphaelite movement. [9] For the UK this is the majority experience, except in the cases of Oxford and Cambridge universities which maintain privileged access to unique areas of study. Some brief examples of this trend are as follows:

University of Cambridge – Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages and Linguistics

- FR3 Inventing French Literature:

To 'introduce students to the earliest literature in the French language, composed and written down ca. 1050–1300 […] Students will read:

    - the epic songs that recount the deeds of Charlemagne and the peers of France
    - tales of the wonderous deeds of the saints
    - bawdy tales about peasants, merchants, and lecherous priests
    - the first romances of Arthur, Lancelot, and the Round Table
    - plays staged in town squares, featuring knights, martyrs, angels, publicans, and criminals.

[8] éduscol 'La Liste de Référence Cycle 4 au Format Tableur,' *Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Jeunesse, Direction générale de l'enseignement scolaire*, 2024 <https://eduscol.education.fr/114/lectures-l-ecole-des-listes-de-reference> [Accessed April 2024].

[9] The current University of Exeter website does not allow for access to past syllabi; however, the modules here cover much of the same content as I would have experienced in 2008/9, only exchanging *Tristan et Iseut* for *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* in the first module: University of Exeter, 'Study information: Love and Death in French Culture,' *University of Exeter,* 2019 <https://www.exeter.ac.uk/study/studyinformation/modules/info/?moduleCode=MLF1014&ay=2020/1&sys=0>

- the songs sung by women as they sewed and by kings in their halls.'[10]

- FR7 Bodies in Space:

'A course which encompasses romances, saints' lives, bestiaries, and chronicles from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, Fr7 offers a chance to explore a broad range of medieval literature, as well as looking in detail at some aspects of medieval manuscript culture.'[11]

Reading list includes:

- Guillaume de Machaut
- Christine de Pisan
- Marie de France
- *Floire et Blanchefleur*
- *Aucassin et Nicolette*.

Durham University – English Studies

- ENGL2111: MEDIEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE LEVEL 2

'Aims

- To introduce students to Old French language, and to a range of Old French literature.
- To explore a range of relevant contextual material and critical perspectives.

Content

- The syllabus varies from year to year but normally includes the epic (Chanson de Roland), romance (Marie de France's Lais and a selection of Chrétien de Troyes' Arthurian romances), and lyric poetry. It may also include selections of fabliaux and/or drama.'[12]

Warwick University

- FR267 The Medieval World and its Others: Gender, Race, Religion

[10] University of Cambridge, 'FR3 Inventing French Literature' (2023) <https://www.mmll.cam.ac.uk/fr3> [Accessed April 2024].
[11] University of Cambridge, 'FR7 Bodies in Space' (2023) <https://www.mmll.cam.ac.uk/sites/www.mmll.cam.ac.uk/files/fr7_reading.pdf> [Accessed April 2024].
[12] Durham University, 'ENGL2111: Medieval French Literature Level 2,' *Durham University*, 2023 <https://apps.dur.ac.uk/faculty.handbook/2023/UG/module/ENGL2111> [Accessed April 2024].

‘In contemporary contexts, the labelling of something as “medieval” often harks back to what is seen as a violent, bigoted, uncivilised past. This module will look beyond this comforting fantasy of a “dark ages” against which the present can be measured, giving you a better understanding of how Western medieval sources actually deal with topics like gender, race, and religion.’

Reading list includes:

  - Christine de Pisan
  - *Aucassin et Nicolette*

University of Leeds

- FREN2080 Laughter, Love and Chivalry: Society and Culture in the French Middle Ages

‘This module provides students with a detailed introduction to the extraordinary variety of texts written in the French Middle Ages; from love lyric poems to bawdy comic tales, and from chivalric verse romance to prose parodies. In addition to analysing set texts we will use a computer-assisted language-learning programme in order to acquire a good reading knowledge of the Old French language.’[13]

University College London

- The Medieval Period (FREN0010)

‘The module is divided into two halves, taught respectively in the first and second halves of term. The first half addresses medieval and modern ideas about and conflicts over race, ethnicity, nationality, and religion. The second addresses courts, courtoisie (courtliness) and courtly love: topics central to medieval literature.’[14]

Reading list includes:

  - *La Chanson de Roland*
  - *Aucassin et Nicolette*
  - *Floire et Blanchefleur*
  - Chrétien de Troyes

[13] Note that this module was previously offered as part of the module options for French but is now nested as a ‘Discovery’ module. University of Leeds, ‘FREN2080 Laughter, Love and Chivalry: Society and Culture in the French Middle Ages,’ *University of Leeds*, 2024 <https://classicleedsforlife.leeds.ac.uk/Broadening/Module/FREN2080> [Accessed April 2024].

[14] University College London, ‘The Medieval Period (FREN0010),’ *University College London,* 2024 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/module-catalogue/modules/the-medieval-period-FREN0010> [Accessed April 2024].

When reading the course descriptions of the above excerpt of UK study in medieval French, it is noticeable that notions of introduction and exploration in terms of either language or culture are repeated. At the same time, the recurrence of certain authors such as Chrétien de Troyes, Christine de Pizan or Marie de France, as well as texts such as *La Chanson de Roland*, *Aucassin et Nicolette* or *Floire et Blanchefleur* indicate the value of specific texts for educators when introducing the literature and culture of the time, either due to the relevance of their content to the themes of the course or their implied prestige. A further discovery from these module descriptions is that facing-page translations in both French (UCL) and English (Cambridge FR7) are often listed as recommended reading alongside edition-only texts. In the case of the Cambridge course this is especially interesting where the recommended English translation of *Aucassin et Nicolette* is a US publication rather than UK, meaning that the translation will have emerged through a different cultural lens.[15] Though brief, the available examples support the idea that medieval texts in translation have the potential to impact on the learning process around the medieval past, where they are recommended reading for students being introduced to the literature and culture of the time. The choice of texts for study in the UKHE environment also contributes to our view of the past, and the examples above show that currently certain items of literature are favoured over others, but it is difficult to conclude from a contemporary standpoint how this may have changed over time. Therefore, the texts chosen for the corpus cannot be chosen according to the current trend alone, but according to a more general sense of their uniqueness and value as windows into the medieval period for the academic, educator, student or indeed member of the general public, as well as the factor of their availability in translation.

A more conclusive method of elucidating the texts which have gained the most attention over the past century is to look at publication data, that is to say the number of times an edition, translation or adaptation of medieval literature has appeared in the target culture. As mentioned previously, the frequency of reproduction of cultural items such as these medieval literary texts can help to indicate their value for the receiving culture and therefore their connection to the predominant social trends at play in a given time or place. Therefore, a structure to draw out this information needs to be posited and tested for the case of translations of medieval French literature into modern English.

[15] The recommended translation is that by Robert Sturges, whose translation is analysed later in Chapter 4.

Initially, taking for example three texts following Jean Bodel's tripartite division of medieval literature into France (*La Chanson de Roland*), Britain (*Tristan et Iseut,* by Thomas) and Rome (*Le Roman d'Eneas*), I can compare the data available on their distribution in the target culture, regardless of intended audience, across the period 1910-2020. These choices not only reflect texts which are frequently referred to in educational syllabi, but represent my own experience of reading medieval French through education as well as works of literature which may be familiar to a wider public. The process of data collection and comparison I will go on to describe here then helps to draw out the sample size available for each text, indicating a) their popularity in the target culture for study and reading over time and b) the availability of translations for analysis.

To do this, relevant databases such as bibliographic reference libraries provide a rich source of information on the ongoing usage of medieval literature. Repositories such as Robert Bossuat and Jacques Monfrin's *Manuel Bibliographique de la Littérature Française du Moyen Âge*,[16] Urban T. Holmes' volume of the *Critical Bibliography of French Literature*,[17] Brepols and University of Leeds' *International Medieval Bibliography* (IMB)[18] and Arlima.net[19] provided primary sources of information. In addition, other sources such as frequent publishers of medieval literature (Oxford University Press, Penguin Classics, and the Liverpool Online Series) as well as Google Books and Amazon.co.uk can be consulted for recent or upcoming publications as well as more obscure releases or online-only translations. To build the most comprehensive picture of modern publishing activity around medieval French literature, the data gathering stage needs not only to consider direct translations into English, but other examples of publishing activity such as initial release dates, reprints and editions, translations into languages other than English and their reprints. Using a timeline style graph allows for all this data to be mapped out visually, and an example of this approach is shown in Figure 2 using the texts indicated above:

[16] Robert Bossuat and Jacques Monfrin, *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française du Moyen Âge*. (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986).
[17] Urban T. Holmes, 'The Mediaeval Period,' in Brody, J., Edelman, Nathan, & Cabeen, D. C. *A Critical Bibliography of French literature*. (Vol. 1) (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1961).
[18] Brepols, and University of Leeds. Institute for Medieval Studies, *International Medieval Bibliography Online [electronic Resource].* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1967)
[19] Arlima, *Archives de Litterature du Moyen Age*, <https://www.arlima.net/> [Accessed 10 April 2017]

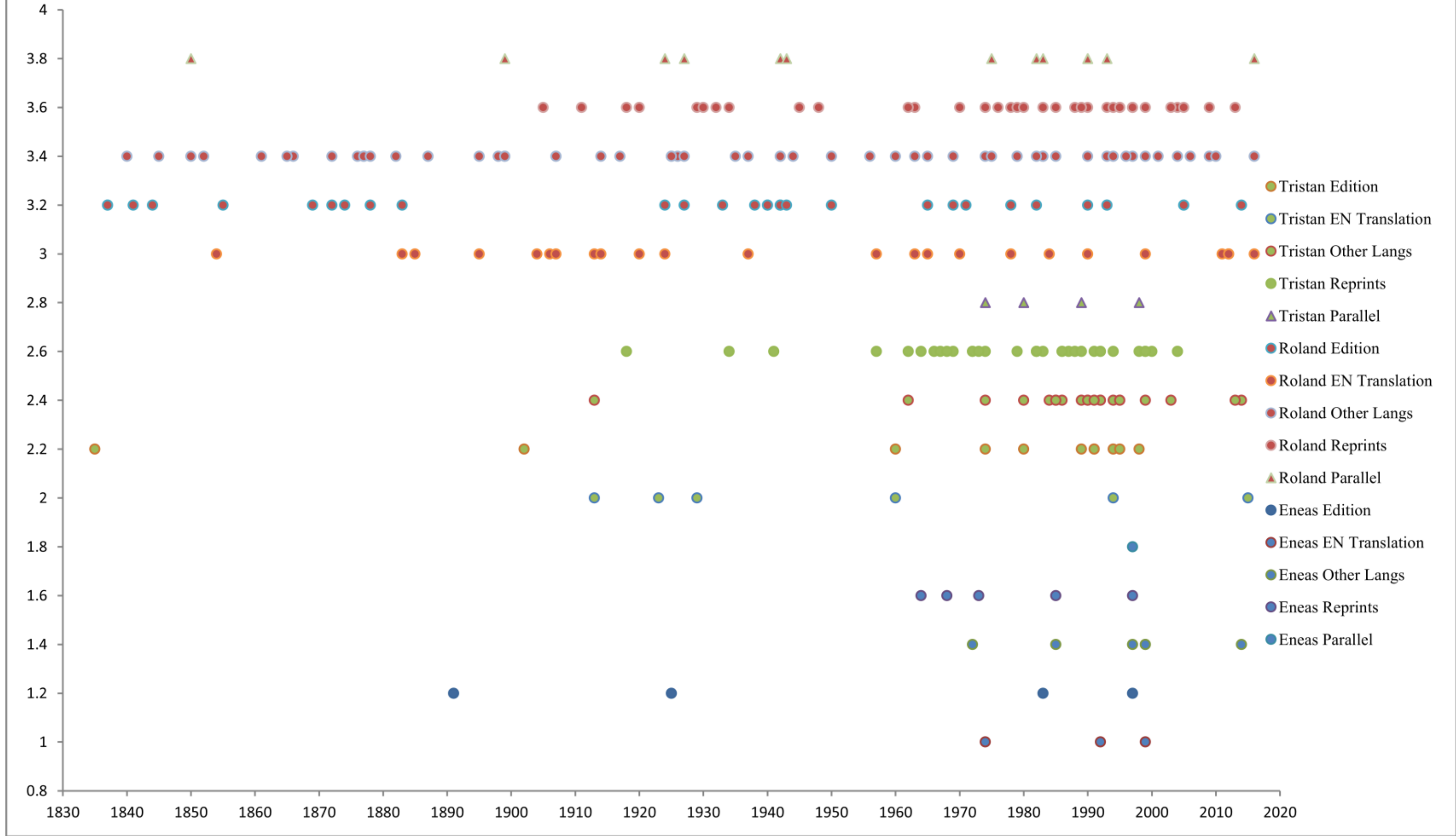


Figure 2. Indicating the collected publishing activity around three chosen texts: *La Chanson de Roland, Tristan et Iseut and Le Roman d'Eneas*

The choice of translated texts for analysis is governed by the dual criteria of popularity of source matter (inside and outside of education) and availability of English translations, and Figure 2 highlights how a visual comparison of publishing data helps this process. By highlighting the English TTs in this chart, the difference in available translations of each text becomes immediately obvious:

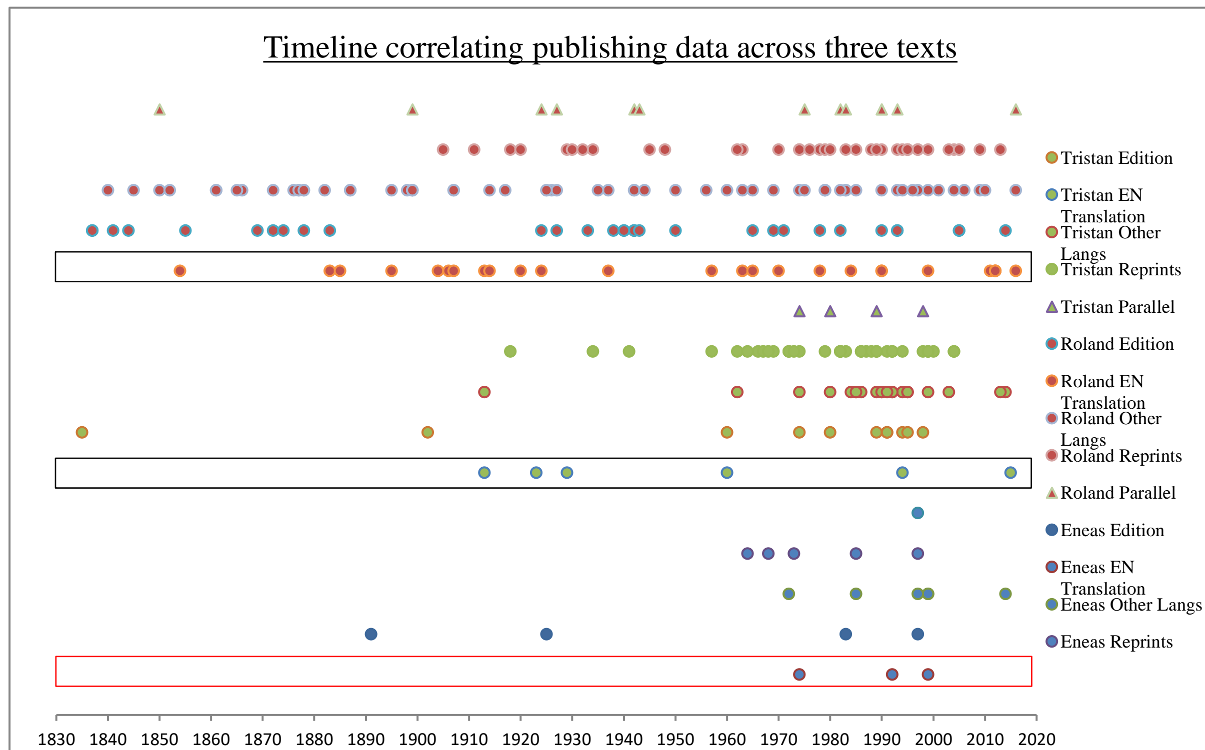


Figure 3. Highlighted English translations.

In Figure 3 it becomes clear that the *Le Roman d'Eneas* cannot provide sufficient exemplars to prove either its popularity or availability in translation. Of the three extant translations of this ST, the available data was restricted to the late twentieth century, which eliminates the potential of a sample of TTs from different time periods to match that of the texts in comparison. Through researching other STs from the *matière de Rome*, it appears that there is a similar trend across the texts connected to Rome, with each only having one or two modern English translations, for example:

Le Roman de Thèbes:

- Smartt Coley, J., *The Romance of Thebes: A Translation of the 'Roman de Thebes' (Lines 1-5172) With an Introduction*, PhD dissertation, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1965).

- *Le Roman de Thèbes. The Story of Thebes*, translated by John Smartt (Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series B, 44) (Coley, New York: Garland, 1986).

Le Roman de Troie:

- *The Roman de Troie by Benoît de Sainte-Maure,* translated by Glyn S. Burgess and Douglas Kelly, (Cambridge: Brewer (Gallica), 2017).

Possible reasons for the lack of translations reflect the relative cultural capital of the ST. As expressed above, Latin and Greek texts were translated by medieval scholars due to the moral and philosophical views they contained, which could be used as models for emulation, or to show a cultural kinship with their Roman past.[20] Latin and Greek epic poetry and historiography holds the same prestige for modern English scholars as examples of classical thought, which was especially the case in the early twentieth-century education system which used Latin as a model of syntax and translation practice.[21] As a result, these texts have continued to be translated directly into English throughout the medieval and modern ages, with some of the first published translations into English beginning in the 16th century. Even today they continue to be translated in large numbers,[22] as material for classical civilisation courses in secondary[23] and higher education curricula, but also for wider dissemination.[24] This means that for a modern English audience, demand for translations of Virgil's *Aeneid* would focus on direct translation from the Latin, making translations of the medieval French versions less necessary except in a medieval studies context. This explains the dearth of translations taken from the *matière de Rome*, compared to the *matière de France* for example, where translation works directly from the ST to the modern English translation.

---

[20] Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic traditions and vernacular texts*, p.27.

[21] See: Glyn Williams, *French Discourse Analysis: The Method of Poststructuralism* (London: Routledge, 2014) p.167; Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, pp.7-8.

[22] For a discussion of recent and canonical translations of Latin texts, see articles on the proliferation and variation of Homer's *Iliad* in modern English translation by: James Room 'Translating the 'Iliad'? Who Isn't,' *The Daily Beast*, 13 April 2017 < https://www.thedailybeast.com/translating-the-iliad-who-isnt>; Peter Green, 'Homer Now', *The New Republic*, 28 June 2012, < https://newrepublic.com/article/103920/homer-the-iliad-translations>; and Daniel Mendelsohn 'Englishing the Iliad: Grading Four Rival Translations.' *The New Yorker* 31 October 2011 < https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/englishing-the-iliad-grading-four-rival-translations> [Accessed April 2024].

[23] However, I must note that provision for Classical Civilisation courses has been removed from the available A-Level curriculum subjects since 2018.

[24] Edith Hall, 'The Iliad by Homer, Translated By Emily Wilson Review – A Bravura Feat' *The Guardian*, 27 September 2023 <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2023/sep/27/the-iliad-by-homer-translated-by-emily-wilson-review-a-bravura-feat> [Accessed April 2024].

Yet, the *matière de Rome* is not the only area to suffer from this dearth of popularity. Returning to the course outlines cited above, other texts which appear to have higher contemporary popularity in UKHE face similarly low levels of reproduction. Taking for example *Floire et Blanchefleur*, which appears twice in the modules presented, exists in two different medieval French versions (aristocratic and popular), as well as thirteen contemporary translations, there is only one noted modern English translation to date:

- Jerome Hubert Merton, *The Romance of Floire and Blanchefleur*: *a French idyllic poem of the twelfth-century translated into English verse*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press: 1966)

Of Marie de France, whose *Lais* are frequently referred to in course syllabi, there are multitudinous editions and publications, with more English translations than in other languages. However, the *Lais* are not always translated as an entire collection, often in selection, and with publishing data which clusters more firmly around the 1900s and 2010s rather than providing a wide spread of exemplars.[25] The works of Chrétien de Troyes, though again popular in terms of editions, with over twenty of *Perceval ou le Conte du Graal* available to date, as an indicative example, possesses only seven or eight examples of each extant work in English translation.[26] In both cases a possible factor may be their frequent translation in compilation, where a single translator takes on the task of translating the entire set of works by a particular author, a task which is not frequently replicated if carried out to sufficient levels of acceptability in the target culture due to its intensity. Finally, in the original research carried out, both versions of the *Tristan et Iseut* ST (by Thomas and Béroul) were also considered for analysis, but upon collection of the publishing data, there were insufficient examples of the Béroul text in translation to justify its use, meaning that it was discounted.

Finally, looking back to the UKHE examples, *Aucassin et Nicolette* provides a last option to complete the trio of texts. Applying the same data collection techniques to this ST, the correlation table looks more like Figure 4 (p.82). As is marked on the chart, there is

---

[25] See Arlima, 'Les Lais, Œuvres de Marie de France,' *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Age*, 2018 <https://www.arlima.net/mp/marie_de_france/lais.html> [Accessed 15 April 2018].
[26] Arlima, 'Le roman de Perceval ou le Conte du Graal, Œuvre de Chrétien de Troyes,' *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Age*, 2018 <https://www.arlima.net/ad/chretien_de_troyes/perceval_ou_le_conte_du_graal.html> [Accessed 15 April 2018].

clearly a wider range of translations into English available for study, and these span different time periods rather than being restricted to the later part of the twentieth century as with *Eneas* and the *Lais*. Moreover, there is strong evidence of wider cultural interest in the text shown through the translations into other languages through the number of reprints. This shows us that *Aucassin et Nicolette* is a feasible subject of study, both for the reason that it possesses sufficient cultural capital to be in modern circulation in large numbers at different times, and that it complies with the established framework. In addition, this means that the corpus provides a useful range of representations of the medieval period in terms of the focus of their narratives. Instead of the three matières, the trio of texts represent each of the *Chansons de Geste*, *Romans* and *Chantefable* writing forms, while also representing distinct content: stories of war, romance and parody.

3.2 Data correlation and Target Text choice

The final stage of this data collection is to attempt to reveal patterns of activity, with the aim of identifying clear correlations with time periods, allowing for translations to be chosen according to a predominant trend. This would form a theoretical foundation on which to base the perception of norms across different time periods. Figure 5 shows an annotated version of the publishing data collected around the three final STs, restricted to the years 1900-2020. As noted above, publishing activity refers to instances where the ST has been edited, translated (in any language, though English is marked separately), or the TTs reprinted. Examples of publishing activity before the year 1900 have been eliminated from these charts under two considerations: firstly, examples from the early 1800s may not represent truly 'modern English,' and secondly, that the further back in history the data goes, the sparser it becomes, making correlation less possible. On the chart below, I can identify patterns of publishing activity relating to all three texts, for example that there is a steady rise in activity around these texts from the late 1980s until the year 2000, where there is a drop. We can also establish the frequency with which these texts were explored over time, Roland experiencing the largest amount of activity overall, whereas *Aucassin et Nicolette* saw most translation activity in the early twentieth century, but more general activity between 1960 and 1990. However, the important data we can retrieve from this chart is the main periods to study, and the availability of English translations to study from these periods.

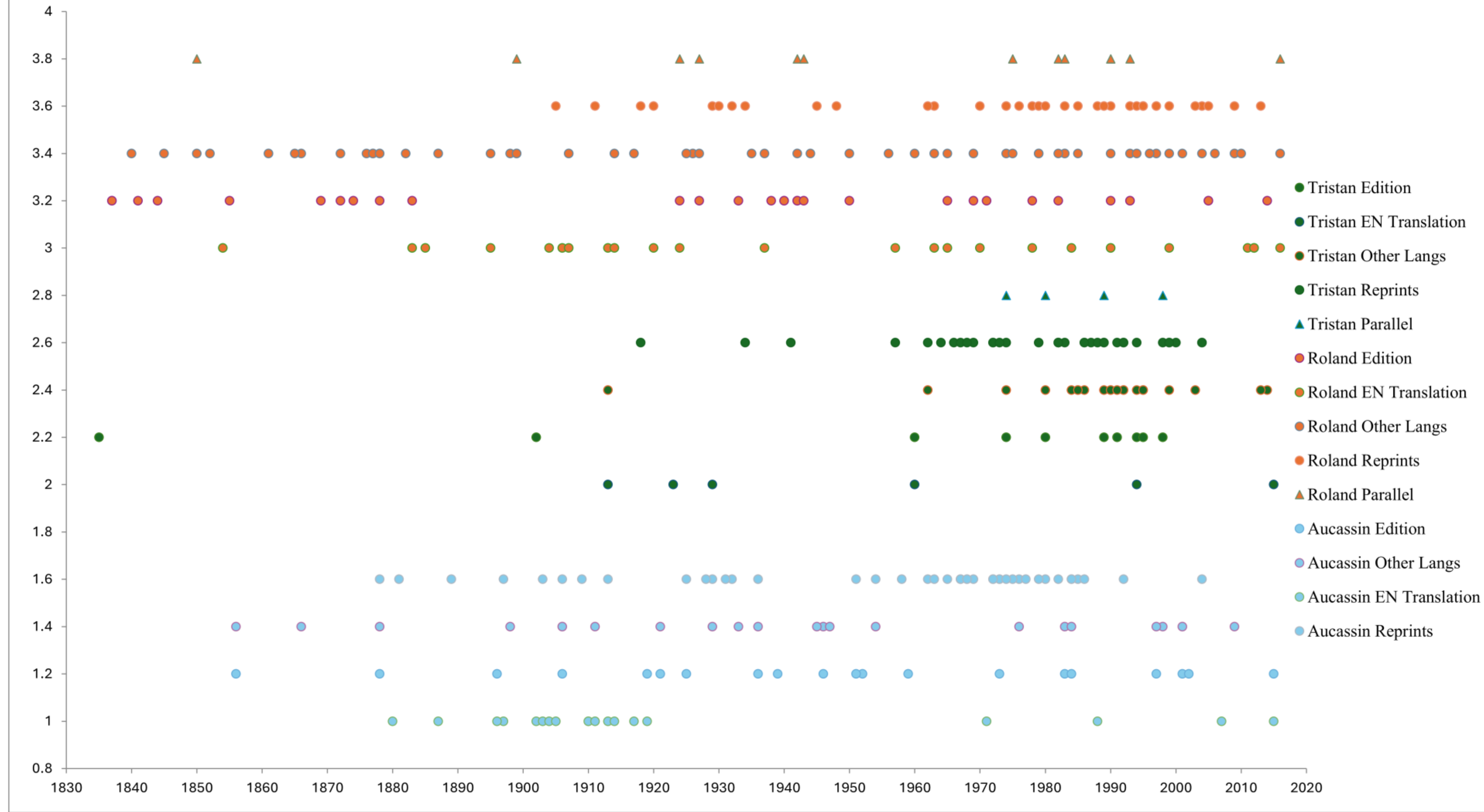


Figure 4. New table correlating publishing data for three texts: *La Chanson de Roland, Tristan et Iseut* and *Aucassin et Nicolette.*

Figure 5. A copy of the previous chart with the main trends indicated. This shows us that the periods of greatest activity across all three texts are c.1915-30, c. 1960-70, the 1990s and 2010-present.

Once the corpus of STs has been confirmed, the next goal is to analyse the data on extant editions, translations and reprints of the texts to identify patterns of publishing activity around them. If this analysis reveals clear correlations in time, it then allows for translations to be chosen according to a predominant trend in terms of their popularity in the publishing world at different times over the past century. This then forms the theoretical foundation on which to base the perception of norms across different time periods. Figure 5 shows an annotated version of the publishing data collected around the three final STs, restricted to the years 1900-2020. As noted above, publishing activity refers to instances where the ST has been edited, translated (in any language, though English is marked separately), or the TTs reprinted. Examples of publishing activity before the year 1900 have been eliminated from these charts under two considerations: firstly, examples from the early 1800s, though numerous, may not represent truly *modern* English, and secondly, that the further back in history the data goes, the sparser it becomes, making correlation less possible. In Figure 5, patterns of publishing activity relating to all three texts are clearly visible, for example that there is a steady rise in activity around these texts from the late 1980s until the year 2000, where it drops, to be picked up again a decade later. This mapping of data allows me to also explore the frequency with which these texts were referred to over time. For instance, *La Chanson de Roland* experiences the largest amount of activity overall, whereas *Aucassin et Nicolette* saw the majority of translation activity in the early twentieth century, but more general activity between 1960 and 1990. However, the important data this chart reveals relates to the main periods of time to study, and the availability of English translations to study from these periods.

These specific periods then have the potential to reveal norm-governed activity in the field of translation. In this context this means where norms govern the principles of selection and production in society, and therefore define which items have the most value for the particular field or wider system at play.[27] Where increased activity appears on the data charts, it suggests the norms of the period are favourable to literary production of this genre. By looking more closely at each of these periods it becomes possible to begin identifying the specific norms in society which may have then impacted on the outcome of the translations. Some short examples of possible factors impacting on these time periods are as follows, and Pym's description of the changing forces at work in literary translation in *The Oxford guide to*

[27] Hermans, 'Norms of Translation,' p.11.

Literature in English translation also provides further indication of the potential trends visible from period to period:[28]

c. 1920	• In translation, studies were based around Bible translation. The canonical distinction was between literal and free translation. Taught translation was based on Latin and the use of translation to teach Latin grammar, so there was a strong emphasis on syntax replication. However, there was also a contrast in this period with theories of equivalence, where the effect of a translation was modelled on its ST.
c. 1960-70	• The linguistic method and empirical or scientific studies into translation began here. A general societal interest in psychology and feminism was important at this time.
c. 1990s	• The function of the translation was important in this period, as well as the system it was part of; cultural influences began to be studied in translation.
2010s	• The socio-cultural turn in translation, there is a greater emphasis on the interplay between culture and society, and how culture can influence development.

Table 3. Table of potential cultural influences.

This supplementary information helps to create a picture of the possible normative influences on a translator and on the translation itself. Through the close linguistic analysis of the translations chosen (as described in Chapter 3) I can then estimate to what extent these sociological factors, and others as revealed by the analysis, can be considered to have had a normative effect on the outcome of the translation and its reception in the target culture.

The groups of decades not only represent important junctures where certain fields of thought and cultures predominated but can also guide the choice of TTs to use for analysis. Once the STs to be used have been confirmed, through the dual criteria of interest and availability, the exact TTs to analyse as part of the qualitative aspect of this research need to be identified, with the first criterion being their production within one of these tranches of

[28] Anthony Pym, 'Late Victorian to Present,' in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, ed. by Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp.73-81.

time. In cases where there are multiple translations in different time periods, secondary criteria can be applied to allow for discrete choices. Take for the example the translations of *La Chanson de Roland*, where there are three examples of English translation produced during the 1990s,[29] two during the 1960s-70s, and two around the 1920s.[30] Of these translations, further research reveals that they are mostly in verse or metre, with a minority of prose translations. Following the idea that the most frequently reproduced forms represent the greatest cultural capital, by prioritising the majority rather than the minority form it leaves only one version in the region of the 20s, that of Charles Scott-Moncrieff (1919). For the 90s we can also eliminate one translation, as further research reveals it was in fact a new edition of a title first printed in 1924. *Aucassin et Nicolette* also involves the application of a decision around translation format, as some are translated in the original chantefable form, some as plays. This would eliminate Clifford Bax's translation of 1921 for example. For *Tristan et Iseut*, a similar process can be engaged, though in this case completeness of text is the more important feature. Due to two of the available translations existing in excerpt translation only, a decision was made based on this: one partial translation the two was chosen (Laura Ashe, 2015) and its content will govern the selection of an excerpt for analysis among the other translations. By applying these criteria to all three STs, a list of TTs was developed as follows:

***La Chanson de Roland*:**

- *The Song of Roland, Done into English, in the Original Measure by Charles Scott Moncrieff with an Introduction by G. K. Chesterton and a Note on Technique by George Saintsbury*, trans. by Charles Scott Moncrieff (London: Chapman and Hall, 1919).
- *The Song of Roland*, trans. by Robert L. Harrison, (New York: New American Library, 1970).
- *The Song of Roland*, trans. by Janet Shirley, (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1996)
- *The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. by Simon Gaunt and Karen Pratt, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[29] For example:
The Song of Roland, tr. Glyn Burgess, (London: Penguin, 1990)
The Song of Roland, tr. D. D. R. Owen, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990).
The Song of Roland, tr. Jessie Crosland, (Cambridge, Ontario: In Parentheses, 1999).
[30] In addition, for all time-groups a +/- 5 year criteria was applied, to allow for a more general pattern to be established.

***Tristan et Iseut*:**

- *Tristan in Brittany*, trans. by Dorothy L. Sayers (London: Ernest Benn, 1929).
- Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas*, trans. by A. T. Hatto, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960).
- *Early French Tristan Poems II*, ed. by Norris J. Lacy, trans. by Stewart Gregory (Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 78) (New York; London: Garland, 1991).
- *Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer*, ed. and trans. by Laura Ashe and others (London, Penguin Books, 2015).

Aucassin et Nicolette

- *Aucassin and Nicolete, done from the Old French by Michael West, depictured by Main R. Bocher, music by Horace Mansion, decorated by Evelyn Paul*, trans. by Michael West (London: Harrap / Camperfield Presse, 1917).
- *Aucassin and Nicolette and other Tales*, trans. by Pauline Matarasso (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).
- *Aucassin and Nicolette*, ed. by Anne Elizabeth Cobby, trans. by Glyn S. Burgess (Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 47), (New York, London: Garland, 1988).
- *Aucassin and Nicolette: a facing-page edition and translation*, ed. and trans. by Robert S. Sturges (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015).

In this collection of TTs, there are large variances between the provenance and presentation of the chosen literature. It is therefore important to investigate the production of each text in detail for clues about translator approach and possible cultural influences present in their translations, as laid out in the methodology. In Chapter 4, this analysis will appear alongside the close analysis of each TT excerpt, with the different origins of each text in terms of date, nationality and publisher considered as potential normative influences on the resulting translations. Though specifically structured, the process of translation choice already reveals that there are norms at play which exert control over the translation of medieval French literature into modern English, visible both in the choices made by the UKHE sector for teaching purposes, and more generally in the variation in amounts of translated material available across a range of texts. The final criteria for translation choice revolve around the

themes represented by these texts and their relevance for the target culture and these will be further grounded using translation excerpts in the analysis stage. Going back to the methodological considerations around the complexity of analysing texts from the sociological perspective, it would be a much more complex task to explore each text in its entirety; therefore, excerpts have been chosen as a means of focusing on the micro-linguistic choices of each translator.

3.3 Choosing excerpts

As full STs, the three chosen pieces of literature have variable lengths and formats, which make an equally balanced comparison of their TTs complex to achieve. The approach taken when choosing excerpts focuses on identifying key themes explored in the text as a whole, then applying them to the choice of excerpt to show how key features of medieval literature are exemplified in translation. The first step of this process is to create a picture of the issues around using each ST in its entirety, compared to using shorter excerpts, and then secondly to show how different criteria of length or completeness, alongside desirable textual features, aid in choosing suitable excerpts for study.

The primary issue to consider is the length and completeness of the ST. Of the three chosen for analysis, *Roland* is the longest, with 291 laisses or 4002 lines; Thomas' *Tristan et Iseut* exists in six fragments of variable length totalling 3295 lines; while *Aucassin et Nicolette* is forty-one laisses long in alternating prose and verse totalling around 1190 lines depending on the rendering of the musical notation provided with the manuscript. Not only being fragmentary, it should be noted that Thomas' *Tristan et Iseut* is also often composed for modern edition from six separate manuscripts, each representing an isolated episode of the story, and produced by a number of different scribes. This makes the source material more difficult to consider as a complete example, due to the large gaps in its overall story formed by missing or lost fragments. These variable lengths and structures cause some difficulties when creating a corpus of target translations for analysis. If all three texts were included in their entirety, it could lead to a biased analysis, simply due to there being more available linguistic data for *La Chanson de Roland* than the other two texts. To build a framework of analysis using whole texts of equal length, another approach would be to model ST length on *Aucassin et Nicolette* as it has the least number of lines. However, using one full text and two excerpts may equally inaccurately represent the available linguistic data, giving *Aucassin et Nicolette* a qualitative

bias based on its completeness. Conversely, by using similar length excerpts from each text, it avoids unequal sample sizes for analysis, and therefore any bias toward content from one text over another. Moreover this approach follows Toury's contention that by studying translations in excerpt or segment form, the analyst can avoid the interference of overarching themes and storylines in the literature and focus more closely on the linguistic elements of the translator's action in isolation.[31] In general his argument references ST/TT comparisons, but the approach also holds fast when comparing parallel TTs, as it means that the excerpts chosen can be more easily restricted to themes which support the intended outcomes of this research around the reception and impact of medieval French culture in contemporary English societies.

The choice of excerpts from each ST relies then on both the factors of length and completeness, as well as the cultural features present in each. One factor which aided with this choice was the similar mode of storytelling employed in each piece of literature. Each of the STs is presented in a slightly different format, whether as extended passages of assonant rhyme (*Tristan et Iseut*), in assonant rhymed laisses of varying length (*La Chanson de Roland*), or as a mixture of laisses of assonant rhyme and prose (*Aucassin et Nicolette*); however, the content of each ST can also be described as episodic, as the progress of each story is punctuated by passages describing distinct areas of activity, whether romantic, bellicose or descriptive. These passages are often defined by a change of scene as with the different manuscripts of *Tristan et Iseut,* ('Dénouement du Roman,' 'Le Mariage de Tristan'), or a change of viewpoint between laisses as in *La Chanson de Roland* and *Aucassin et Nicolette*. To some extent this helps to identify scenes of importance, such as the council scenes which frame the text in *La Chanson de Roland*, or the death of Tristan.

In terms of features of each excerpt chosen, the opening thesis of this body of research considers the changing attitudes over time to the courtly elements of medieval literature, so it is important to select excerpts exhibiting a variety of these elements. For courtly elements, a possible source of features might be the description of the knight: his prowess in battle, physical attributes, relationship with his patron or his peers. We could also look to the romantic side of the courtly ideal: the relationship between the knight and his lady, her physical attributes and actions. By combining the episodic nature of the literature and these key features to identify, it is then possible to narrow down the available content to representative excerpts which provide

[31] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond,* pp.37 and 89.

not only equal lengths of text but also significant moments of each narrative which exemplify medieval French cultural ideals.[32]

The result of applying these criteria was that three sections of around 200 lines were chosen from each ST, from which the associated TT analysis would be drawn. This meant that in total there would be the equivalent of 2400 lines of translation to analyse.[33] From *Aucassin et Nicolette*, some of the opening scenes were chosen from laisses 2-7. These exhibit some of the important features of the text, beginning with the structure, as this passage exhibits frequent repetition between the sections of poetry and prose. A second important point here is that the excerpt sets out the themes which come to be important later in the literature, such as the roles and character of the two protagonists, and the cultural aspects such as Nicolette's origin which create the background for much of the action. Furthermore, we also see how Aucassin behaves not only in regard to his family and the patronage of his homeland, but to his chosen partner. The opening laisses also contain rhetorical elements, with the repetition of the same discourse from different points of view, but at the same time parody the conventions of other contemporary items of medieval literature from the representation of the main characters down to the repetition itself. From *Roland*, the scenes concerning and immediately around Oliver's death (laisses 145-56) on the battlefield were chosen. Again, these laisses contain some repetition of content, but also represent some of the larger themes at play in the text as a whole. Here we see the action of battle, with passages expressing the prowess of the main characters and comparison with their pagan enemies, but also their relationship to one another and the values they are keen to uphold on the field of battle. These themes reflect those throughout the text, where central pillars of its rhetorical content revolve around ideal knightly behaviour, the nature of the individual hero and the feudal, religious and bellicose qualities of contemporary society. Both excerpts importantly include courtly elements in the hierarchies and relationships they present to the reader.

Of the three STs, *Tristan et Iseut* presented the most difficulties when extracting a section presenting the requisite length and features. Thomas' text currently exists in a series of fragments, which means that to fulfil the criteria of an equal length excerpt, certain episodes of the story had to be eliminated, for the reason that they were not long enough in their entirety. A second restricting factor is the use of Laura Ashe's translation, which provides only a few

[32] This is not to say that the translated excerpts necessarily match the ST in length, as the process of translation can both expand and contract the available content due to differences in available vocabulary and translator approach, the latter being explored individually with each translation case study later.
[33] Not all of the translations use numbered line formats, so this is an approximation.

selected excerpts of the full narrative as it exists today. Of these, the ‘Premiers Aveux d’Amour’ passage has 154 ST lines, while the ‘Cortège d’Yseut’ only numbers 68 lines. Furthermore, the opening ‘Premiers Aveux d’Amour’ contains too many lacunae to provide a complete piece for analysis without considering the extra difficulty this provides during the translation process. An excerpt from one of the longer remaining sections such as ‘Le Mariage de Tristan’ however provides more source material. Furthermore, the content of this episode provides not only long passages of text free of lacunae but descriptions of the qualities and emotional connection between the characters Tristan and Iseut as well as their peers. It combines two separate court settings and interactions between characters which reveal the values expected of the contemporary elite. Therefore, two excerpts from lines 584-667 and 782-864 were chosen, in line with Ashe’s translation but also meaning that both main characters are represented.[34] All of the textual features listed here in the chosen excerpts have importance, as they support the needs of this research project: to look at changing approaches to medieval literature through translation, TT representation of medieval culture over time, and the possible contemporary norms these shifts reflect. By taking shorter excerpts from each piece of source literature, the intended effect is to work on microcosms of the larger ST and carry out a close textual analysis to show how different translators represent these features.

In conclusion, this discussion has shown the process behind creating a corpus of TTs for close study, and the motives behind their choice. The STs included in the corpus conform to key criteria relating to their modern usage in the educational field, as well as their cultural capital in the target culture. These features are demonstrated broadly by relative popularity as published material, and more specifically by usage in higher education curricula. To some extent the discussion reveals the activity of a field of translation of medieval texts into modern English, showing how the predominantly academic audience of this literature favours the production of certain translations over others for reasons of cultural capital and market demand. These trends, when mapped out across time periods, have the potential to highlight periods of distinct interest for analysis, as they represent times where normative processes are at play, governing the production of certain cultural outputs for the maintenance of wider systemic values. The presence of normative activity in this way suggests that similarities of translation behaviour may also be present across different TTs within the same time periods, contributing

[34] The reason for this split excerpt was due to the omission of a tangential episode by one of the chosen translators. By omitting the episode of Orgueilleux the giant, Ashe focused on the parallel actions of Tristan and Iseut alone: Ashe, *Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer*, p.114.

to one of the main contentions of this thesis: that the way translators approach the past as mediators reflects both the governing factor of norms and the internally acquired habitus of their time and location. Finally, the choice of excerpts from each text not only creates a level playing field for analysis but also highlights key cultural-linguistic features present in the STs for which a translator may adjust their approach to conform to target culture norms. The next chapter uses these excerpts, alongside the methodology and framework for analysis laid out in Chapter 2 to discuss the possible ways each chosen time period could have influenced the chosen TTs, by focusing on translation behaviours and approaches brought to light by close linguistic analysis. Through the analysis of each excerpt, I aim to uncover textual-linguistic markers of changes in translation activity over time, and as an extrapolation of this data, changes to the representation of medieval French ideals throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. These markers and changes will then be used as evidence for normative action in translation, and the existence of a sub-system (or field) focused on the translation of medieval literature within the larger system of literary translation in the English-speaking world.

Chapter 4. Analysis

4.1 Corpus Text 1: La Chanson de Roland

Introduction

To provide a solid foundation for analysis, our brief begins with understanding the ST conditions of production, as with any translation project. For the translator, appreciation or ignorance of these conditions can be pivotal in the choices taken while rendering the text in translation for its new audience. While we cannot assume that a given translator is aware of the complete network of influences behind each manuscript text, we can use them to elaborate our own analysis of their approaches. The *Chanson de Roland* is one of the most well-known and oldest of the extant Old French texts. Its retelling of a little-known Carolingian battle has captured the attention of audiences for its depiction of both physical and emotional conflict, leading to its preservation and reproduction in manuscript form across Europe for around 400 years.

A speculative earliest composition date for this work is 1098-1100, making it the earliest of the three texts studied here. This date is drawn from a variety of in-text references including its connection to the first crusade through the mention of the relic of the Holy Lance in Charlemagne's sword (discovered in Antioch in 1098).[1] There are multiple references to other battles from this period, as well as an earlier date limit being set by the mention of drums and camels (apparently not experienced by Christian soldiers until the Battle of Zalaca in 1086).[2] Yet, due to its genre, the final origin of the story could be placed even further back in time: the *chansons de geste* represent some of the earliest French vernacular literature and therefore have a closer connection to oral transmission. Joseph Bédier for example looked to an origin in the monasteries of France, whose maintenance of pilgrimage and local saints and sanctuaries ran alongside the peripatetic activities of *jongleurs* in spreading the bellicose word of the crusades;[3] Pierre Jonin, on the other hand, suggested that the *chanson de geste* was the result of generations of storytellers embellishing on the theme of some epic deed or other for popular acclaim.[4] It is thus interesting that in Wace's *Roman de Rou*, there is the claim that a song of Roland was sung to the forces before

[1] Burgess, *The Song of Roland*, p.8.
[2] Zink, *Medieval French Literature: An Introduction,* p.22.
[3] Joseph Bédier, *Roland à Roncevaux* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921) p.8.
[4] Pierre Jonin, *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris : Editions Gallimard, 1979) p.13

the Battle of Hastings in 1066. Common consensus today however is that the oral and written forms of the story existed in a kind of symbiosis, one informing the other.[5]

The oldest version of the work we have today is in the Oxford manuscript Digby 23, composed between 1130-70.[6] Much like the other texts studied in this thesis, the author of the story remains a matter of debate: we find the phrase ‘Ci falt la geste que Turoldus declinet’ appearing at the end of the Digby manuscript, and for some time scholars held that Turold was the author. However, this does not necessarily hold true, as the identity of this Turold rests on the interpretation of the word *declinet*, which in a literal sense means to elaborate/lay out in full. Translators and academics have interpreted this in different ways, such as that he was the writer, the scribe, or simply the copyist; however, the ambiguity of this final phrase does little to clear up the identity of Turold, and later views have favoured the idea of the scribe or copyist rather than author, given the strong likelihood that *Roland* was an oral tale long before its written form.[7] Following this ambiguity, it has been argued that this manuscript is only ‘a copy of a copy of the original,’[8] supporting the argument that *Roland* represents an ongoing heredity of a tale. Nor is this the only extant manuscript, there being in total seven; as stated above the earliest composition date scholars have suggested for a single and unified *Roland*, is between 1098-1100, yet the oldest manuscript we have is from 1130-1170, with the later texts dating between the thirteenth (Chateauroux) and fifteenth (Cambridge) centuries. Despite all the seven versions being relatively distinct, having different lengths, forms of composition and falling among different texts in their binding, the story at their heart is identified as having a common ancestor. They also all have their language in common, as they are composed in either vernacular French, Anglo-Norman or Franco-Venetian dialects.

Only two of the seven extant manuscripts are composed in assonant laisses, with the rest composed in rhyme. This difference has been associated with their relative ages, with the older manuscripts following the assonant tradition and the newer, rhyme, due to changes in cultural expectations and tastes over time.[9] An interesting feature of these laisses is their use of repetition, formulaic language and parataxis (the employment of short, simple sentences).

---

[5] Jane Gilbert, ‘The Chanson de Roland’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) pp.21-34 (p.22).
[6] A facsimile version of this manuscript excerpt can be found in the Appendix, pp.451-54.
[7] See, for example: Tony Hunt. ‘Thorold (fl. c.1100)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27891> [Accessed 10 October 2017].
[8] Burgess, *The Song of Roland*, p.7.
[9] Gilbert, ‘The Song of Roland,’ p.23.

The use of formula and repetition, also known as *laisses similaires*, is at the heart of discussions about the origin of the tale, as it indicates a close tie between oral and written reception.[10] The repetition in this text has a dual effect. On one hand it acts as a recitation aid for an oral performance and suggests that a performer (*jongleur*) would elaborate on a prompt from the opening lines of a laisse. On the other hand, this type of repetition, elaborating on a single starting point, has a rhetorical effect: repetitions of a particular scene often present different viewpoints of a single event, allowing the audience or reader to interrogate the motives of the characters and the morality of the scene.

The format and content of *La Chanson de Roland* places it within the genre of *chansons de geste* (or songs of deeds). This genre of text represents some of the earliest vernacular literature we possess in French, and typically presents a lengthy heroic narrative, depicting at its heart a legendary event from French history, and often connected to a specific historical figure (in this case, Charlemagne). They differ from the *roman* genre as their content focuses less on the individual than the issues of the society around them, whether religious, political, or hierarchical. *La Chanson de Roland*, loosely based on a real campaign by Emperor Charlemagne, follows the Frankish forces as they return from a seven-year war in Spain against the Saracens. Betrayed by the Saracen leader Marsile and undermined by the treachery of Ganelon (Roland's stepfather and chosen envoy of the Franks), the rearguard of the retreating army is ambushed, leading to feats of heroism and humility, and in true epic fashion eventually the death of the protagonist. Conflict is often a main feature of the *chansons de geste*, and in *La Chanson de Roland*, we have more than one conflict: that of heredity between Roland and his stepfather Ganelon; that of religion between the Franks and the Saracens; that of vassalage and honour between Charlemagne and his men. As has been discussed above and in Chapter 1, these conflicts within the text provide material for an audience to interrogate, especially with the ambiguity introduced by the multiple points of view on a single event.

The ambiguities created by the formulaic nature of the Oxford text form a key feature to be explored through these translations; the section of the text to be studied was chosen for precisely this reason, as laisses 145-56 contain both formulae, but also the depth of cultural detail demanded by the research questions.

---

[10] See: Cushman and others, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics: Fourth edition*.p.780.

Our understanding of the reception of the text relates to many of these factors. It predates the courtly text by many years, and its elements of orality lead us to understand that it would have been performed in its time for a lay audience by minstrels or *jongleurs*. Much in the same way as the origin of the text was likely collected from oral tales, over time *La Chanson de Roland*, as a founding text of French literature, has been reappropriated and interpreted in a variety of ways. In her chapter of the *Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature,* Jane Gilbert references Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* to elaborate on the ongoing relevance of the text.[11] For example, in the nineteenth century, French antiquarians sought to frame *Roland* as a founding epic for the French nation, akin to the Roman use of the *Iliad* or *Aeneid.* The central themes of passion, patriotism and piety fit well with the ideals of chivalry most often associated with France at the time,[12] and the notion of '*douce France*' represented in this text has provided readers throughout the centuries with an idealised picture of the nation around which to build their doctrine.

The excerpt of *Roland* chosen for study represents many of the predominant themes present in the story, while also addressing the key questions of this body of research around the translation of past cultural practices and historical fact. It represents a key moment of the action: the death of Oliver and Roland's reaction, allowing us to explore the culture around battle, friendship and death, and how they are represented for contemporary audiences across the four chosen time periods.

[11] Gilbert, 'The Chanson de Roland' p.21.
[12] See pp.28-30 of this thesis for discussion of the idea of chivalry in medieval court society.

4.1.1 Analysis 1: The Song of Roland, Done into English, in the Original Measure by Charles Scott Moncrieff with an Introduction by G. K. Chesterton and a Note on Technique by George Saintsbury, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1919)

Personal Habitus

Born in 1889 in Stirlingshire, Charles Kenneth Scott Moncrieff inhabited a world of poetry and literature from his early days to the time of his death. His mother was a writer, contributing short stories to *Blackwood's Magazine* and his father was an advocate and sheriff. Scott Moncrieff was sent to Winchester College, a public school in Hampshire, in 1903, where he 'showed signs of genius,' having already been taught French and Latin at home.[13] From Winchester, his education continued at Edinburgh University, where he first studied law and then English literature; this led him to an MA in Anglo Saxon working with George Saintsbury, a critical reader and writer on English and French historical literature who provided the note on technique for this translation. Moncrieff won the Patterson Bursary in Anglo Saxon and graduated with first class honours in 1914, from whence he would go on to publish his first of many translated works – the text at hand.[14]

While developing his expertise as a writer and translator of medieval and modern language, Moncrieff's life was punctuated with meetings with other writers and scholars, and an immersion in literary circles that shared his views. While at Winchester, Christopher Sclater Millard[15] became his mentor; during this time, he would produce the short story *Evensong and Morwe Song,* censored by the school for its allusions to homosexuality, but later republished by Uranian[16] publisher John Murray. At Edinburgh, he met his lover Philip Bainbrigge, another poet known for his Uranian odes, and described by J.B. Priestley as

[13] Jean Findlay, *Chasing Lost Time: The Life of CK Scott Moncrieff: Soldier, Spy, and Translator* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015) pp.12-16.

[14] The University of Edinburgh, 'C. K. Scott Moncrieff (1889 – 1930),' *The University of Edinburgh*, 2019, <https://www.ed.ac.uk/alumni/services/notable-alumni/alumni-in-history/ck-scott-moncrieff> [Accessed 23 February 2021].

[15] Millard was best known as a collector and compiler of 'Wildeana' – his efforts as a bibliographer went towards the establishment of copyright on the behalf of Oscar Wilde's estate.

[16] A euphemistic term adopted in the Victorian age from Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, a German theorist, and relating to poetry of a pederastic or homoerotic nature.

being one of the Cambridge lost generation.[17] It was this group of young, university-educated writers and poets which Moncrieff would join in heading to the Western Front during World War One, and through which he would experience a series of great triumphs followed by profound losses. Moncrieff joined the Kings Own Scottish Borderers and was a highly decorated soldier until a shell explosion left him permanently wounded in 1917. Towards the end of the war, he joined the War Office and also wrote for G.K. Chesterton's magazine *New Witness.*[18] By this time he was well known in the young literary community, attending the wedding of Robert Graves, where he met Wilfred Owen, whom he attempted to save from the front line. By the time of his death, he was described as 'a critic and controversial man of letters who had loved Wilfred Owen, was hated by Osbert Sitwell, idealised by Noel Coward, cold-shouldered by Siegfried Sassoon, admired by Joseph Conrad and sniped at by D.H. Lawrence.'[19]

As a poet and translator, he was most productive in the years after the war, beginning with a series of classical and medieval texts, among which were *The Song of Roland* (1919), *Beowulf* (1921), Petronius' *Satyricon* (1922) and *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (1925). However, he is best known for his translation of Proust's *À La Recherche du Temps Perdu* (*Remembrance of Things Past*)*,* a writer with whom it is claimed he shared an affinity due to his homosexuality and Catholicism.[20] He translated the seven volumes of this work between 1920 and his death in Italy in 1930.

The introduction to this translation is not written by the translator, but by G.K. Chesterton, his colleague. Rather than an interference, Chesterton's introduction here could be argued to be more of an intervention on Moncrieff's behalf. As a first-time translator, Chesterton's introduction might have added credence to his ability, much in the same way as we will see with the case of Dorothy L. Sayers and George Saintsbury. Here we find an assessment of Moncrieff's work as a 'solid and even historic service to letters,'[21] while also admiring the 'abnegation' of the translator regarding his own skill, comparing his success in

---

[17] The 'Lost Generation' more generally denotes a social grouping of people who came of age during the first world war, and while responsible for many cultural shifts in Western society, also lived during a time which put them at risk of being 'lost' to both world wars or pandemics such as the Spanish flu (1918-20). See the eponymous book by Reginald Pound: *The Lost Generation*. (London: Constable, 1964).
[18] Findlay, *Chasing Lost Time: The Life of CK Scott Moncrieff: Soldier, Spy, and Translator*, p.2.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Sam Leith, 'Soldier, Poet, Lover, Spy: Just the Man to Translate Proust,' *The Spectator*, 16 August 2014 < https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/soldier-poet-lover-spy-just-the-man-to-translate-proust/> [Accessed 23 February 2021].
[21] Scott-Moncrieff, *The Song of Roland*, p.vii.

rendering the text to the perceived inaccuracy of Tennyson's *Morte d'Arthur*.[22] The translator's note also speaks to this sense of accuracy, calling it 'not a work of scholarship, nor yet of imagination: it is an attempt to reproduce line for line, and, so far as is possible, word for word, the Old French epic.'[23] The translator's stated intention is that the translation may be a companion to study, which would necessitate this close connection to the ST, while also calling his translation 'literal,' and expressing the difficulty posed by replicating assonant rhyme in the TT '[to] which professors of assonance may take exception.'[24] The note on technique by George Saintsbury, his erstwhile tutor, supports his approach, focusing on the importance of assonance as a feature of both ST and TT. Given that the translation is designed to be a companion to study, we can compare these strategies with those of the parallel editor-translator, whose aim is often to maintain a strong connection between ST and TT. It must be noted however, that even in the introduction and translator's note we find further reference to contemporary events. In Chesterton's introduction, he speaks of the importance of using vassalage rather than chivalry as a translated term, as 'there were no Conscientious Objections in their Christianity,'[25] as well as noting the importance of the historical fight portrayed, a fight 'never ended, which defends the sanity of the world against all the stark anarchies and rending negations which rage against it forever.'[26] In his translator's note, Moncrieff also mentions the 'sound of the olifant [...] across the channel' [27]when he first picked up the edition from which the translation is drawn,[28] and mentions the difficulty he experienced as a translator, stating 'as of Prosody, so of Chivalry I can, after this war, speak with no certain voice.'[29]

---

[22] Scott-Moncrieff, *The Song of Roland*, p.viii. Alfred, Lord Tennyson is a poet to which we will see multiple references throughout this thesis, especially in reference to the oldest translations studied. It is not surprising that his work held such cultural capital among early-twentieth-century interpreters of the medieval past, due to his work on medieval texts such as *Morte D'Arthur*, as well as medievalist poetry such as the *Lady of Shallott* and blank verse *Idylls of the King*. Alan Lupack gives a resume of this enduring influence, especially in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century dramatic works, noting the particular relevance of Tennyson's ability to represent emotional and psychological characteristics: Alan Lupack, 'The Influence of Tennyson's Poems on Arthurian Drama.' *Arthuriana*, *24*(4), (2014), pp.80-96.
[23] Scott-Moncrieff, *The Song of Roland*, p.131.
[24] ibid, p.132
[25] ibid, p.ix
[26] ibid, p. x
[27] ibid, p.131
[28] Specifically : Louis Petit de Julleville, *La chanson de Roland: histoire, analyse, extraits avec notes et glossaire*, (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie., 1894).
[29] Scott-Moncrieff, *The Song of Roland,* p.133.

The multiple threads of his life entwine with his translation of *The Song of Roland*, and especially with the excerpt chosen here: the death of Oliver. And, as is common with his translations, at the beginning we find a dedication:

TO THREE MEN

SCHOLARS, POETS, SOLDIERS

WHO CAME TO THEIR RENCESVALS

IN SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN

I DEDICATE MY PART IN A BOOK

OF WHICH THEIR FRIENDSHIP

QUICKENED THE BEGINNING

THEIR EXAMPLE HAS

JUSTIFIED THE CONTINUING

PHILIP BAINBRIGGE

WILFRED OWEN

IAN MACKENZIE

'Mare fustes, seignurs.

Tutes voz anmes ait Deus li glorius.

En Pareis les metet en seintes flurs.'[30]

[30] The final lines (ll.2195-7) taken from his own translation read: 'Unlucky, Lords, your lot! But all your souls He'll lay, our Glorious God, In Paradise, His Holy flowers upon!' Scott-Moncrieff, *The Song of Roland, done into English, in the original measure,* p.72. This was accompanied by three individual dedications to each of the named men in the first edition. Curiously, in later editions these were omitted, possibly for reasons of censorship, as Moncrieff openly uses the term 'lover' for Bainbrigge in his poem.

Publishing environment

The first edition of this translation was published by Chapman and Hall. The publisher has long since joined the vast number of publishers acquired by Taylor and Francis, however around the time of its release, they would have been noted as the early publishers of such luminaries as Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope and Waugh. Founded in 1834, they produced both fiction and non-fiction texts on a variety of subjects, and through a number of series, much like many of their contemporaries. Simply produced, and with little embellishment, their fiction series were designed as quasi-disposable books,[31] but it is difficult to say whether this translation would have been grouped with their fiction or more historical publications; their light embellishment goes as far as having no mention of which series a book belongs to, with rare mention[32] of other contemporary titles in the epitext of each volume, only occasionally mentioning other titles by the same author.[33] However, we can find a similar example in *The Light Heart*, Maurice Hewlett's retelling of an Icelandic saga, and it is here we can find mention of the text at hand, described briefly as 'the only edition of the French classic on the market […] Captain Scott-Moncrieff's translation supplies a need that has been felt for a long time by many lovers of literature.'[34] With the aid of epitexts from this title and *Time and Eternity: A Tale of Three Exiles*,[35] we can better understand the position of the translation as part of an overall corpus.

In terms of interference, it is curious that Chapman and Hall claim Moncrieff's text to be the only edition in circulation at the time, as there had been ten other translations of the Oxford manuscript alone up to 1919, the last being those written by Arthur S. Way in 1913 (University of Cambridge),[36] and Leonard Bacon in 1914 (Yale University).[37] However, from the translator's foreword, and later afterword to the 1919 translation, we gather that his version began more as a personal passion and less so an academic enterprise as was the case with his predecessors. Moreover, there is little evidence that he would have had access to a

---

[31] John B. Krygier, 'Chapman and Hall's 2/- Net Library,' *A Series of Series (owu.edu),* 2015 <https://seriesofseries.owu.edu/chapman-hall/> [Accessed 19 January 2021].
[32] A single example can be found in this text: Madame Adam (Juliette Lamber), *La Grande Française from Louis Philippe until 1917* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1917) p.288.
[33] Compare the opening pages of Desmond Coke's, *Youth, youth…!* which is only self-referential. Desmond Coke, *Youth, youth…!* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1919) p.4.
[34] Maurice Henry Hewlett, *The Light Heart* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1920) p.238.
[35] Gilbert Cannan, *Time and Eternity, A Tale of Three Exiles* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1919).
[36] Arthur S. Way, *The Song of Roland Translated into English Verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913).
[37] Leonard Bacon, *The Song of Roland. Translated into English Verse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914).

translation originating in Yale University, and his translation bears little resemblance to either of his closest contemporaries in style and approach. His only reference to outside influence is to do with the edition: he uses Petit de Julleville's edition of *La Chanson de Roland* and employs the amendments suggested by Muller (none of which affect this excerpt).

Poetry and prose

A notable feature of this translator's approach is his faithfulness to the ST format. The *Chanson de Roland* is set out in variable-length laisses composed of assonant decasyllabic lines, and both the line length and assonance have been preserved on the whole. However, as seen before with the oldest tranche of translations, these efforts to preserve ST formatting have had an effect on the syntax, for example in the following lines:

ST	**TT**
Laisse (L.)145, l.1940-41: Quant paien virent que Franceis i out poi, Entr'els en unt e orgoil e cunfort.	 Franks are but few; which, when the pagans know, Among themselves comfort and pride they shew
L.147, l.1973-77: L'enseigne Carle n'i volt mie ublier: 'Munjoie!' escriet e haltement e cler, Rollant apelet, sun ami e sun per: 'Sire cumpaign, a mei car vus justez! A grant dulor ermes hoi desevrez.'	 Charlè's ensign he'll not forget it quite; Aloud and clear "Monjoie" again he cries. To call Rollanz, his friend and peer, he tries: 'My companion, come hither to my side. With bitter grief we must us now divide.'
L.150, l.2013-18: Descent a piet, a la tere se culchet, Durement en halt si recleimet sa culpe, Cuntre le ciel ambesdous ses mains juintes, Si priet Deu que pareïs li dunget E beneïst Karlun e France dulce, Sun cumpaignun Rollant sur tuz humes.	 Dismounting then, he kneels upon the ground, Proclaims his sins both firmly and aloud, Clasps his two hands, heavenwards holds them out, Prays God himself in Paradise to allow; Blessings on Charles, and on Douce France he vows,

	And his comrade Rollanz, to whom he's bound.
L.155, l.2086-92: Rollant reguardet, puis si li est curut, E dist un mot: 'Ne sui mie vencut! Ja bon vassal nen ert vif recreüt.' Il trait Almace, s'espee d'acer brun, En la grant presse mil colps i fiert e plus. Puis le dist Carles qu'il n'en esparignat nul	 Looks for Rollant, and then towards him runs, Saying this word: 'I am not overcome. While life remains, no good vassal gives up.' He's drawn Almace, whose steel was brown and rough, Through the great press a thousand blows he's struck: As Charlès said, quarter he gave to none.

Here we can appreciate that the effort to maintain line length and an overall line-for-line approach has often resulted in a verb ending; though this reflects the structure of the ST well and clearly signals its foreignness (whether in terms of space or time), it makes for awkward reading in English. As a potential companion to study though, it does fulfil the purpose of making a parallel reading possible, as the resemblance between the ST and TT remains strong.

In terms of the translator's stated approach to assonance, in that 'painfulness may accompany,' we can observe that the English language has allowed for the use of multiple techniques in compensation for any ST losses. Many of the laisses do follow a broadly vowel-sound based assonance; take for example ll.1952-3: 'Oliver feels that he to die is bound | Holds Halteclere, whose steel is rough and brown,' ('Oliver sent que a mort est ferut | Tient Halteclere, dunt li acer fut bruns'). The assonance remains both in the final words of each phrase but also throughout the line, making effective use of available language. Elsewhere, in absence of assonance, the translator also uses rhyme and alliteration as compensation for effects in the ST, as below:

ST	**TT**
L.147, ll.1967-1972: En la grant presse or i fiert cum ber,	

Trenchet cez hanstes e cez escuz buclers E piez e poinz e seles e costez. Ki lui veïst Sarrazins desmembrer. Un mort sur altre geter, De bon vassal li poüst remembrer.	Through the great press most gallantly he strikes, He breaks their spears, their buckled shields doth slice, Their teeth, their fists, their shoulders and their sides, Dismembers them: whoso had seen that sight, Dead in the field one on another piled, Remember well a vassal brave he might.
L.148, ll.1990-94: As vus Rollant sur sun cheval pasmet E Oliver ki est mort naffret. Tant ad seinet li oil li sunt trublet. Ne loinz ne près ne poet vedeir si cler Que reconoistre poisset nuls hom mortel.	 You'd seen Rollant aswoon there in his seat, And Oliver, who unto death doth bleed, So much he's bled, his eyes are dim and weak; Nor clear enough his vision, far or near, To recognise whatever man he sees;
L.156, ll.2105-10: Li emperere s'estut, si l'escultat: 'Seignurs,' dist il, 'mult malement nos vit! Rollant mis niés hoi cest jur nus defalt. Jo oi corner que guares ne vivrat. Ki estre i voelt isnelement chevalzt! Sunez voz grasles tant que en cest ost ad!'	 That Emperour stood still and listened then: 'My lords,' said he, 'Right evilly we fare! This day Rollanz, my nephew shall be dead: I hear his horn, with scarcely any breath. Nimbly canter, whoever would be there! Your trumpets sound, as many as ye bear!'

In these lines, we can see not only places where assonance has been replaced by alliteration to mirror the ST (l.1967 and l.2105), but also some where alliteration has been added to compensate for the loss of available assonance (l.1971, l.1990, l.2015). In these latter examples, there is also an element of emphasis on key images, both for the overall themes of the text and arguably the translator's view of the scenes. For l.1990, emphasis is placed on the moment of Oliver's death, a key point in the passage, while in l.2015 we see stress placed on the image of piety, with hands/heavenwards/holds. This effect is also seen in

a more wholesale sense in laisse 146, where the use of s/t/θ sounds is repeated throughout, adding a bellicose plosive effect to Oliver's last words.

These effects could also be argued to have some connection to the wider literature around the time of translation and the personal habitus of the translator. If we take for example the work of the war poets eulogized in the introduction, we can find commonalities in the employment of alliteration, plosive sounds reflecting the brutality of war, and assonance.[38] The use of language is not as modern, however many of the effects are the same.

Archaism and modernity

In terms of lexis, there is again a tendency towards archaising language in the oldest of the four translations of *Roland.* Although not directly stated in the translator's note, it has been observed before that archaism is a useful feature for maintaining line length, in this case, the decasyllable. Terms such as 'wast,' 'hath,' 'whoso' and 'doth' allow the translator to adapt the number of syllables in a line, as above in 'And Oliver, who unto death doth bleed'. Moreover, as with the adaptations to syntax discussed above, the second implication of archaic language is to create a sense of distance between reader and text, and emphasise the historicity of the ST. This distance is noticeable in places where the introduction of archaism does not affect line length, and can be seen especially in passages of speech, for example:

ST	**TT**
L.146, ll.1958-62: E dist après: 'Paien, mal aies tu! Iço ne di que Karles n'i ait perdut. Ne a muiler ne a dame qu'aies veüd N'en vanteras el regne dunt tu fus Vaillant a un dener que m'i aies tolut,'	 After he says: 'Pagan, accurst be thou! Thoul't never say that Charles forsakes me now; Nor to thy wife, nor any dame thou'st found

[38] Taking for comparison the famous *Anthem for Doomed Youth*, by Wilfred Owen:
'The shrill, demented choirs of wailing shells;
And bugles calling for them from sad shires [...]
Shall shine the holy glimmers of goodbyes.
The pallor of girls' brows shall be their pall;'
Wilfred Owen, 'Anthem for Doomed Youth,' in *The Complete Poems and Fragments*, Volume I, ed. by Jon Stallworthy, (London: Chatto & Windus/Hogarth Press, 1983) p.99.
Similarities can also be found with Heaney's use of alliteration in his translation of *Beowulf,* as in l.223-5:
'the highest in the land, would lend advice,
plotting how best the bold defenders
might resist and beat off sudden attacks.'
Seamus Heaney, & Anon., *Beowulf: A New Verse Translation* (London: Faber and Faber, 2000).

	Thou'lt never boast, in lands where thou wast crowned One pennyworth from me thou'st taken out,'

In the excerpt from laisse 146, we can see that the use of archaism fulfils both functions – maintaining line length in the case of 'thou'lt' for the future tense, and for overall style as with 'accurst' and 'thy wife,' as the latter two neither add nor subtract from overall length. Archaism as a stylistic choice, a method of linguistic compensation and as a feature of literal translation approaches is one which we find throughout this corpus, and especially in relation to the oldest TTs.[39]

Another element that points toward this being a stylistic choice is its inconsistency. As noted, archaism appears at its most frequent in passages of speech, and even there is not entirely internally consistent. If we look at the passage above, we see the introduction of the word 'pennyworth,' where the word 'denier,' the currency at the time, would have been equally acceptable in terms of syllable length. This has the effect of muddling the time periods: while on the whole we understand Oliver to be a historical figure from his mode of speech, the 'pennyworth' brings him into the contemporary. The insertion of commonplace language interrupts the historical distance Moncrieff's archaic language creates and provides a discrete moment where audience and character are brought closer together, encouraging the reader to better relate to the character.

Personal description and epithet

Depiction of the individual both alone and as part of an overarching structure is an important feature of the ST, as especially in the Oxford MS from which this translation is drawn, *Roland* frames a discussion of the concept of loyalty and the warrior ideal. For Moncrieff, and his colleague G.K. Chesterton who provides the introduction to the translation, this is also refracted through the lens of recent conflict and social change.

One of the key points noted in Chesterton's introduction to this translation is the translator's choice of vassalage where a modern poet would use the word chivalry;[40] though this choice does not appear in this excerpt, it is reflective of an overall approach we can

[39] For more discussion of the reasons behind this see pp.161-62 on *Tristan et Iseut* and pp.226-27 on *Aucassin et Nicolette.*
[40] Scott-Moncrieff, *The Song of Roland*, p.viii

perceive here. While chivalry has contemporary connotations of the personal choice to follow an honourable path in terms of courage and kind behaviour,[41] a vassal infers subordination usually referring to a person or state choosing or made to follow the rulings of another, greater force or power. One of the ways this can be noted is in the translation of 'guerrer' not as 'warrior,' but as 'soldier,' ('brave soldier' l.2045 and l.2066) and with the introduction of more concepts such as 'break the line' for 'envaïr' (l.2062 and l.2065) rather than simply 'attack.' This has the effect of implying a link between the debate over the warrior ideal in the ST and contemporary target-language debate over the moralities of war, a link that is heavily implied by the epitexts for this translation.

In keeping with the theme of ideals, the use of personal description in this translation casts a unique light on the relationship between Oliver, Roland and the other characters on the battlefield. In individual terms, the characters' positive qualities are expressed in common and more literal terms such as 'noble and brave soldier' (l.2066, 'noble guerrer'), 'right good chevalier' (l.2067, 'bien bon chevaler') and of course 'good vassal' (l2088, 'bon vassal'). Terms relating to their close relationship are also literally rendered, for example the commonly used 'friend and peer' (ll.1975-6 'ami et per'), and 'companion' (l.2000, 'cumpaign'). The effect is to draw the ST and TT closer together, while maintaining key notions of equality between the characters, even more so in l.2018 (below), where 'cumpaign' is translated as 'comrade,' which at the time of publishing may have drawn allusions to Bolshevism, or to wartime echoes of 'comrades in arms.'[42]

Yet, personal qualities are best evoked in the language of bravery, love and grief between Roland and Oliver by Moncrieff. Take for example the sections of laisses 147-151:

ST	**TT**
L.147, l.1973-77: (as above)	
L.149, ll.1994-2002: Sun cumpaignun, cum il l'at encuntret, Sil fiert amunt sur l'elme a or gemet, Tut li detrenchet d'ici qu'al nasel; Mais en la teste ne l'ad mie adeset.	 His companion, when each the other meets, Above the helm jewelled with gold he beats, Slicing it down from there to the nose-piece,

[41] Merriam-Webster, 'Chivalry.' (2020), Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/chivalry> [Accessed 24 February 2021].
[42] The word 'comrade,' has various inferences, not only these but also leading via Spanish 'camarada' back to the original Latin 'camera,' indicating those sharing a room. Merriam-Webster, 'Comrade.' (2023), *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/comrade> [Accessed 18 August 2023].

A icel colp l'ad Rollant reguardet, Si li demandet dulcement e suef: 'Sire cumpain, faites le vos de gred? Ja est ço Rollant, ki tant vos soelt amer! Par nule guise ne m'aviez desfiet!'	But not his head; he's touched not brow nor cheek. At such a blow Rollant regards him keen, And asks of him, in gentle tones and sweet: 'To do this thing, my comrade, did you mean? This is Rollanz,[43] who ever held you dear; And no mistrust was ever us between.'
L.150, ll.2013-18 (as above) and ll.2022-23: Rollant li ber le pluret, sil duluset; Jamais en tere n'orrez plus dolent hume.	 Rollanz the brave mourns him with grief profound; Nowhere on earth so sad a man you'd found.
L.151, ll.2024-30: Or veit Rollant que mort est sun ami, Gesir adenz, a la tere sun vis. Mult dulcement a regreter li prist: 'Sire cumpaign, tant mar fustes hardiz" Ensemble avum estet e anz e dis. Nem fesis mal ne jo nel te forsfis. Quant tu es mor, dulur est que jo vif.'	 So Rollant's friend is dead; whom when he sees Face to the ground, and biting it with's teeth, Begins to mourn in language very sweet: 'Unlucky, friend, your courage was indeed! Together we have spent such days and years, No harmful thing twixt thee and me has been. Now thou art dead, and all my life a grief.'
L.152, ll.2035-40: Ainz que Rollant se seit aperceüt, De pasmeisuns guariz ne revenuz, Mult grant damage li est apareüt: Morz sunt Franceis, tuz les i ad perdut, Senz l'arcevesque e senz Gualter l'Hum.	 Soon as Rollant his senses won and knew, Recovering and turning from that swoon. Bitter great loss appeared there in his view: Dead are the Franks; he'd all of them to lose,

[43] Note here the curious change of spelling, which does not reflect the ST. This inserts a forced inconsistency, in imitation of the ST manuscript.

Repairez est des muntaignes jus;	Save the Archbishop, and save Gualter del Hum;

This is where we find several additions and adaptations to the ST content. For instance, ‘to whom he’s bound’ (l.2018) and ‘regards him keen,’ (l.1998) both add an intensity to the connection between the two characters by the inclusion of extra information, while ‘who ever held you dear’ is a more tender rendering of ‘amer’ in the ST. The language of grief is also intensified, with ‘bitter’ and ‘profound’ qualifying the ST terms ‘dul[ur/or],’ ‘duluset,’ and ‘damage.’ This is especially notable in l.2020, ‘Rollant li ber pluret, sil duluset’ where we see the ‘brave’ character mourning ‘with grief profound,’ while in the ST, he cries and mourns in more simple terms. Therefore, in this translation we find both the notion of duty, to one’s country and the battle at hand, but also the moral duty and connection to one’s fellow soldier/warrior that is explained in much more intimate terms.

This is arguably a very personal rendition of this moment of the story given the dedication and the references to the toll of the recent war in the epitexts, and we can perceive a blurring of the lines between the fictional past and the translator’s contemporary reality. As the British public were still coming to terms with the great losses incurred by the First World War, both translator and contemporary writer alike would be familiar with the notions of loss and grief expressed here, not only on a personal level, but also on a wider cultural scale.

Repetition and idiom/metaphor

On the cultural level of this translation, we must also make note of the repeated phrase *Douce France/France Douce* (l.1985 and l.2007), which is translated literally here in both occurrences. The use of a literal translation rather than a direct one of ‘Sweet France’ indicates that the translator is making a knowing connection with the cultural heritage of the text. As discussed in the introduction to the current ST, the *Chanson de Roland* is not only significant as the earliest existing Old French epic, but as a ‘founding’ text for the French nation. In this context, the phrase *Douce France* has greater meaning when rendered literally, as it maintains the connection between the ST and contemporary politics, where *Douce France* over time became a rallying cry for those involved in war, a representation of a

precious homeland to be protected from the invader.[44] This translation choice again brings the reader closer to the ST by creating a common point of reference.

[44] Throughout French popular and political culture this phrase has continued to be used to instil a sense of national pride and nationalism. Some examples include: *La Douce France*, a textbook for children which notes in its introduction ‘qu‘il était nécessaire aujourd’hui de montrer [...] pourquoi nous devons aimer la France et jamais désespérer d‘elle,’ René Bazin, *La Douce France* (Paris: J. de Gigord, 1911); and Charles Trenet’s *Douce France,* released 1943 during the German occupation. This is a notion which more recently has been adopted by post-colonial writers to interrogate the term through the lenses of their own occupation and marginalisation (e.g. the 1995 film *Douce France* by Malik Chibane).

4.1.2 Analysis 2: The Song of Roland, trans. by Robert L. Harrison, (New York: New American Library, 1970)

Personal Habitus

Robert Ligon Harrison translated *La Chanson de Roland* around fifty years after his predecessor in this corpus and made his mark in an altogether different society, both in terms of time and location. Born in 1932 in Wichita Falls, Texas, he received a BA, MA and PhD from the University of Texas (ending 1964) and went on to join the English department of the University of Georgia in 1965.[45] While there, he became one of the founding members of the new Department of Comparative Literature (1968) alongside Calvin S. Brown.[46] Harrison's own involvement in this field is exemplified by the breadth of subjects in his publishing history. Following his 1970 translation of *Roland*, he produced *Gallic Salt: Eighteen Fabliaux Translated from the Old French* (1974) which further attests to his knowledge of medieval French. Prior to these we can also find English literary examples in his essay *Samuel Beckett's Murphy: A Critical Excursion* (1968) and his PhD thesis on the manuscripts of *A Passage to India* (1964)*,* as well as Austrian theatre with his later contribution to the translation of *Three Viennese Comedies* by Johann Nestroy (1986). His output also extends to his personal experiences: having taken a break from study for a tour of duty with the US navy before his MA in 1960,[47] his interest in the military and in particular aircraft continued, and he published *Aviation Lore in Faulkner* in 1985, combining his professional emphasis on literary criticism with his own interests. Brown further contributes to our picture of Harrison's generalist career in his preface to this text, stating: 'Robert Harrison is the ideal person to do a job of this sort. As a literary scholar who has done extensive and distinguished work on both medieval and contemporary literature in several languages, he is thoroughly at home in both literature as an art and the problems and methods of literary research.'[48]

---

[45] University of Georgia, 'A Brief History of the Department | Comparative Literature,' *University of Georgia* <https://cmlt.uga.edu/brief-history-department> [Accessed 24 April 2021].

[46] Brown was known as 'an early proponent of comparative literature in the United States, and an internationally influential pioneer in the interdisciplinary study of literature and music.' He would continue to work with Harrison on several projects, noted further on. University of Georgia, 'Biography of Calvin Brown,' *University of Georgia* <https://cmlt.uga.edu/biography-calvin-brown#overlay-context=about-us/history> [Accessed 24 April 2021].

[47] The only evidence of which is the publisher's biography of the translator.

[48] Robert L. Harrison, *Aviation Lore in Faulkner* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1985) p. iii.

The introduction to this translation gives us more insight into his approach to the medieval French world, in particular his interest in the connections to be found between literature and the historical realities of the period. The language he uses to describe the text is highly evocative: for Harrison, the text is both 'one of the most baffling puzzles in the history of French Literature' and the result of 'epic fermentation,' which 'is able to transform an accident of history into a unique, inevitable expression of a whole people.'[49] Drawing on this concept, he demonstrates a deep knowledge of the period and its culture, going into detail about the potential origins of the text, the motifs of Frankish and Saracen religion and the societal hierarchy in action during the battle of Roncesvals; he even elaborates on the relevance of depictions of emotion among the Franks to develop a picture of how *Roland* became such an important text. Of the composer, he suggests 'obviously a skilful, talented writer has shaped from the conglomerate of history, religion, folklore and earlier literature a compact, highly unified work of art,'[50] which gives an idea of the personal esteem he holds for the ST and its creator. His understanding of the literary form is also evident, as later in his introduction he considers the symbolism and rhetorical effect of the mid-line caesura, and the paratactic effect of the *laisses similaires*.[51] Yet, after weighing the historical and contemporary evidence he suggests we approach it as 'a unique aesthetic creation,'[52] leaning toward literary criticism rather than historical analysis, rather contradicting the thirty pages of cultural and historical analysis which follow but at the same time reinforcing his area of expertise.

Publishing environment

The likely original version of this translation was found in the *Masterworks of World Literature,* a two-volume anthology of literature from the Classical Greek to the modern world produced by the University of Georgia for use by students of comparative literature.[53] This is where Harrison released some of his earliest published translations, including the current text, which was first printed in the third edition of the volume.[54] We can assume that

---

[49] Harrison, *The Song of Roland*, p.7.
[50] ibid, p.14
[51] ibid, pp.43-44
[52] ibid, p.4
[53] Calvin S. Brown, Edwin Everett and Robert L. Harrison eds., *Masterworks of World Literature*, Vol. 2. (New York, Chicago and others: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1970). Even before the establishment of the new comparative literature department, Brown had worked for many years developing the scope of the English department at Georgia to allow students to access literature from across European history – these volumes were one of the outputs of that effort.
[54] The translation appears on pp.489-521. The first editions of the *Masterworks* series appeared in 1947 and 1955. Harrison was also co-editor of the third edition, alongside Brown and Edwin M. Everett.

the translation appeared in the anthology prior to being published independently, as in the peritext of the volume we find the note 'Translation of The Song of Roland copyright © 1970 R. L. Harrison,' and further on p.492 it is stated in the footnotes that it was 'specially translated for [the] anthology by R.L. Harrison.' However, the standalone version of *Roland* used for this analysis was published by the New American Library (NAL) under its Mentor imprint. NAL was originally Penguin USA but due to legal and trade issues, the publisher was abandoned by the larger label and set out alone from 1948. From there, it made a name for itself as a purveyor of low-cost reprints of popular and well-known texts.[55] Its slogan was 'Good reading for the millions,' mimicking the original aims of Penguin in the UK, but US audiences would have first encountered Mentor's texts in the classroom as they were adopted as a supplier of cheap textbooks.[56] Their catalogue ranged from religious texts to sociology, history and classical literature; in the peritext of the current volume we find Milton, Dante, Malory and Chaucer advertised as related reading from their collection. In 1987, NAL was reintegrated into the wider Penguin label, and it is interesting to note that in 2012 the translation at hand was reprinted by Random House for a new audience with an afterword by Guy Gavriel Kay, a writer of historical fantasy fiction.[57] The accompanying peritext from NAL/Mentor repeats Harrison's assertion that *Roland* is 'a baffling puzzle,' born in 'a gallant, brutal and tumultuous age' suggesting that key ideas to draw from the text are predominantly to do with warfare and conflict, as well as personal behaviours.

Unfortunately, the NAL edition of his translation does not provide a translator's note, so we do not have a direct explanation of the approach taken. However, using the *Masterworks* preface and note on translation, we can extrapolate certain points, as it represents the environment in which it was likely produced. This version states that its likely audience would be students with no knowledge of languages outside English: 'to give the reader a grasp, and a sense of the entirety of, a limited number of masterworks of the Western world,'[58] and goes into detail on the general kinds of problems a translator faces in terms of communicating the sense and meaning of any language unit. It notes that 'foreign works are

[55] David Paul Wagner, 'Mentor Books,' *Publishing History*, <https://www.publishinghistory.com/mentor-books.html> [Accessed 13 April 2021].
[56] Bookscans, 'Pelican/Mentor,' *Bookscans*, 2021 <http://bookscans.com/Publishers/mentor/mentor.htm> [Accessed 13 April 2021].
[57] Robert L. Harrison and Guy Gavriel Kay, *The Song of Roland*. (New York: New American Library, 2012) This is further evidence of the reappropriation of these texts through time: for the modern reprint the use of a fantasy writer for the introduction gives another view of intended audience, and the frame in which the tale is set to fit.
[58] Harrison, *The Song of Roland*, p.v.

usually much better than they seem in translations,' a typical statement of the translator's insufficiency.[59] We must however consider that this depiction of the translation process is generalised, and applies to a range of languages and subjects, from Homer to Chaucer and Cervantes, and is more likely attributable to the series editor (Brown) than Harrison. Each excerpt in this collection also has a short section of the ST with a literal rendering attached, to give the uninitiated reader a sense of the origin of the translation; this is not an approach applied to the standalone version of *Roland*, however, nor does it apply to Harrison's collection of *Fabliaux*, suggesting that these works were intended to stand independently from the ST. Overall, the information we have from both versions correlates with the interests of the translator and his educational milieu: while the comparative literature department at the University of Georgia aided students in experiencing and investigating literature from a variety of time periods and nationalities, the chosen publishing house extended their reach to the classroom and general public. Thus, the skopos for this translation is to make the content accessible to a wider audience.

Much like the overall translation approach adopted, the possibility of interference is a nebulous concept. In the introduction to this translation, we learn that Harrison uses Bédier's edition of the text, noting its conservative approach, and later in the further reading section T. Atkinson Jenkins' 1924 edition is listed. However, we have no specific evidence that he consulted any other translators' work in composing the version at hand, as his introduction focuses more heavily on critical theories around the text than his own preparation. We could surmise though, that as an academic researching the medieval period, and especially *Roland,* he would have at least encountered previous widely-regarded translations such as that by our first translator, C.S. Moncrieff, editor and translator Jessie Crosland (1924), or Dorothy L. Sayers (1957). If this is a truly independent translation, we can only expect influence from the cultural habitus of the translator, that is to say the field of comparative literature, which does not ensure specialism in any given language, combined with some personal experience of military service and the eye of a critical theorist.

[59] A statement which, knowingly or unknowingly, reflects the idea of 'traduttore traditore' first noted in the nineteenth century as a statement of non-confidence in the work of translators. This ties in with ideas we see reflected throughout this research around the incapability of translators to accurately or 'acceptably' replicate their ST, as expressed by Venuti, who speaks of the disadvantages of English-language translation, where 'translation is defined as a second-order representation: only the foreign text can be original, an authentic copy, true to the author's personality or intention, whereas the translation is derivative, fake, potentially a false copy.' Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, p.6. The concept of insufficiency of translation to represent the realities of the source text is one which we see recurring throughout these analysis chapters.

Poetry and prose

On a graphic level, Harrison's translation reduces the text's complexity while maintaining a visual relationship with the ST. He uses a line-for-line method, removing rhyme and assonance while adapting the syntax to target language norms for greater 'readability.' By using this structure, he creates a text which could either stand alone for the uninitiated medievalist, or could be read alongside another edition of the Oxford MS; this is possibly a marker of the original context of the translation, as part of a compendium of comparative literature. Yet, this is not to say that the translator has created an entirely 'domesticated'[60] translation here, as there are various places where the ST forms and format become visible. For example, in its line-for-line form, the translation maintains the visual structure of the ST, with the laisses intact, numbered and maintaining the ambiguous 'AOI' wherever it appears.[61] Furthermore, the TT maintains the line length of the ST, following a mostly decasyllabic pattern throughout. Not only this, but the ST tense structure is maintained, and the use of the present tense creates an unfamiliar effect for the target audience, who would expect narrative fiction to take place mostly in the past. Take for example laisse 155, where the opening lines are in the present, as with much of this text e.g. 'He draws Almace, his sword of polished steel | In the crowd he strikes a thousand blows or more' (ll.2089-90), but the final lines by the narrator are in the past e.g. 'at the minster of Laon he wrote the charter' (l.2096), which creates a pause in the action. The effect of these choices is to foreignize[62] the text for the new audience, by interfering with their expectations of a narrative text on a macro-textual level, presenting them with a format which though readable is decidedly unfamiliar.

Language style/archaism

On a micro-textual level, the use of language outside of tenses is much less consistent. As this thesis has already noted, by maintaining the structure or form of the ST, there are inevitable losses in terms of language choice due to the constraints of the format. A particular example of this kind of loss is the awkwardness of laisse 146, ll.1960-1 below which keeps the verb-ending line and struggles around the ST phrasing. If we compare this to ten lines further on in

---

[60] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation,* p.20 (paraphrasing the work of Schleiermacher, 1813).

[61] The initials 'AOI' appear throughout the text, punctuating breaks between laisses. They have been the subject of continual exploration, with no clear outcome as to their use. See for example: Herman J. Green, 'The Etymology of AOI and AE.' *MLN*, *85*(4), (1970) pp.593-598, who discusses possible liturgical and Greek lyric origins; Nathan Love, 'AOI in the "Chanson de Roland": A Divergent Hypothesis.' *Olifant*, *10*(4), (1984) pp.182-187, who suggests it is a remnant of a previous version of the manuscript.

[62] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, p.20.

ll.1970-2, we find a more natural effect in the target language, but then at the end of the laisse, l.1975 over-translates the ST content, introducing reflexive language with ‘he calls to him.’ The inconsistency here is a feature of the excerpt as a whole and adds to the effect of distancing the reader from the text by introducing a level of difficulty to their experience.

ST	**TT**
L.146, ll.1952-63 Oliver sent que a mort est ferut. Tient Halteclere, dunt li acer fut bruns, Fiert Marganices sur l’elme a or, agut, E flurs e cristaus, en acraventet jus; Trenchet la teste d’ici qu’as denz menuz, Brandist sun colp, si l’ad mort abatut, E dist après: ‘Paien, mal aies tu! Içо ne di que Karles n’i ait perdut. Ne a muiler ne a dame qu’aies veüd N’en vanteras el regne dunt tu fus Vaillant a un dener que m’i aies tolut, Ne fait damage ne de mai ne d’altrui.’	 Olivier feels wounded unto death, But gripping Halteclere, whose blade was polished, Strikes Marganice’s high-peaked golden casque; He smashes downward through fleurons and gems And splits the skill wide open to the teeth. He wrenches free and lets the dead man fall, And afterward he tells him: ‘Damn you pagan! I do not say that Charles has had no loss, But neither to your wife nor to any woman You’ve seen back where you came from shall you brag You took a denier of loot from me, Or injured me or anybody else.’
L.147, ll.1972-79 Ki lui veïst Sarrazins desmembrer. Un mort sur altre geter, De bon vassal li poüst remembrer. L’enseigne Carle n’i volt mie ublier: ‘Munjoie!’ escriet e haltement e cler, Rollant apelet, sun ami e sun per: ‘Sire cumpaign, a mei car vus justez! A grant dulor ermes hoi desevrez.’ AOI.	 Whoever saw him maiming Saracens And piling dead men one upon the other Would be reminded of a worthy knight. Not wanting Charles’s battle cry forgotten, He sings out in a loud, clear voice: ‘Monjoy!’ He calls to him his friend and peer, Count Roland:

	'My lord companion, come fight here by me; Today in bitter anguish we shall part.' AOI

The above excerpts exhibit another area of inconsistency, that is the mixture of archaic/formal and informal language. On the one hand, and as we have seen before, archaic language can be a boon in the battle to maintain forms such as the decasyllable, and this translation is no exception. We find Lord Oliver 'wounded unto death' in l.1952 (and 'injured unto death' in l.1964), while Roland later mourns that his 'valor was for naught' in l.1983. However, much of the language used is less archaic than it is formal and seems to be more an appropriation of the imagined language of the nobility – a type of formal sociolect we would expect today to hear from members of an upper class. This formality extends to descriptions of the battle e.g. 'hue and cry' (l.2064) and 'wan and pale' (l.1979); expressions of address e.g. 'My Lord companion' (l.1976); and exclamations e.g., 'Damn you Pagan' (l.1958, which could be accompanied with a shake of the fist). If we compare these phrases with the language used elsewhere in the excerpt, there is a variation in language style. Take for example below, the full section containing 'valor was for naught,' which shifts between formal and informal language within the same passage of speech. This occurs again in the parallel speech from Roland later in laisse 151 as below:

ST	**TT**
L.148, ll.1982-88 'Deus!' dist li quens, 'or ne sai jo que face. Sire cumpainz, mar fut vostre barnage! Jamais n'iert hume ki tun cors cuntrevaillet. E! France dulce, cun hoi remendras guaste De bons vassals, cunfundue a chaiete. Li emperere en avrat grant damage.' A icest mot sur sun cheval se pasmet. AOI.	 The count says: 'God, I don't know what to do. Your valor was for naught, my lord companion – There'll never be another one like you. Sweet France, today you're going to be robbed Of loyal men, defeated and destroyed: All this will do the emperor great harm.' And at this word he faints, still on his horse. AOI

L.151, ll.2027-34 'Sire cumpaign, tant mar fustes hardiz Ensemble avum estet e anz e dis. Nem fesis mal ne jo nel te forsfis. Quant tu es mor, dulur est que jo vif.' A icest mot se pasmet le marchis Sur sun ceval que cleimet Veillantif. Afermet est a ses estreus d'or fin: Quel part qu'il alt, ne poet mie chaïr.	'Your valor was for naught, my lord companion! We've been together through the days and years, And never have you wronged me, nor I you; Since you are dead, it saddens me to live.' And having said these words, the marquis faints Upon his horse, whose name is Veillantif; But his stirrups of fine gold still hold him on: Whichever way he leans, he cannot fall.

If the intention of the translator was to foreignize the language of the characters within the text in terms of their history, it is not a fully rounded approach, as though there are linguistic nods toward a 'noble' sociolect, they are interspersed with more modern colloquial phrases such as 'God, I don't know what to do,' an equivalent rendering of the ST phrase 'Deus! [...] or ne sai jo que face.' Elsewhere in this excerpt we find further familiar colloquialisms, such as 'racing down the hillsides willy-nilly'[63] (l.2043) and at the end of the excerpt, where 'the Pagans take it as no joke' that the main body of the Franks have signalled their attack (ll.2113-14).

These variations also apply to names, places and key terminology. Most of the characters maintain their ST names, which are made consistent in places where the ST varies (e.g. Rollant/z), except where 'Gilles' of 'Logres' becomes 'Giles' of 'Laon' (l.2096-7). By comparison, more specific terminology around equipment and status are calqued from the ST: 'Gautier of Hum is a splendid chevalier' in l.2067 and in ll.1954-55 we read about Marganice's 'high-peaked golden casque' and its 'fleurons and gems.' For l.2075 the translator makes a specific note on his choice of accurate terminology, as he describes the 'wigars, mizraks, and agers' of the Saracen army.[64] While more consistent in this respect, the inclusion of unfamiliar language adds to the distance between text and reader already

[63] Though this is by far 'modern,' having its origins in the 17th century 'will ye nill ye,' the form has maintained its usage into the modern day. See: Merriam-Webster, 'Willy-nilly,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2023 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/willy-nilly> [Accessed 18 August 2023].
[64] See also l.1995 which mentions a 'casque' and above l.1962 'deniers.'

established by the variations in sociolect. When we consider the suggested skopos for this translation, we return to the *Masterworks* intention of giving the reader 'a grasp, and a sense of the entirety of' certain texts, rather than a fully rounded appreciation of the social, cultural and historical relevance of the tale. The foreignness of the translation therefore may not be relevant to the reader as the intended use of the TT is in comparison with the next available example of medieval literature.

Personal epithet

The use of personal epithets and the language of companionship and emotion in this translation further reinforce the sense of a highly structured social environment. We find terms of nobility peppered throughout the ST both in speech and narration, for example as above in ll.1983 and 2022 where 'quens' is rendered as 'count', and throughout in the phrase 'Sire cumpai-nz/gn' which is translated to 'My lord companion,' stressing the title of the character before the personal relationship. This reflects a point made by the translator that the word 'companion' could be applied both to family and members of one's wider household, while 'friend' (e.g. l.1976, narrated rather than spoken) was a term reflecting a personal connection;[65] here the addition of 'lord' suggests a more impersonal application of the term. We also find repeated use of the term 'noble' when describing various aspects of the characters' prowess, e.g. 'noble count, courageous man' (l.2045); 'noble man at arms' (l. 2066). Terms of nobility are also occasionally inserted where they do not appear in the ST, as in l.2035 where 'Rollant' becomes 'Count Roland' in the TT. We are consistently reminded that the main characters in this battle have a high social status. This is not always accurately recreated in the TT though, as we can see with translations of the word 'ber' in the ST: literally this would be 'baron,' and in many places it should be, however in the simile 'cume ber' (l.1967), it has the meaning 'bravely' or 'valiantly.'[66] In the TT the translation 'like a baron' showing a misunderstanding and therefore misrepresentation of the cultural level of the text.

Elsewhere there are more direct representations of personal characteristics. As above with the 'courageous man' and 'noble man at arms,' we also have characters described as 'worthy knight' (l.1972 'bon vassal'), 'splendid chevalier' (l.2067 'bien bon chevaler') and 'experienced campaigner' (l.2068 'prozdom e essaiet'), surrounded by 'loyal men' (l.1986 'de

[65] Harrison, *The Song of Roland*, p.24.
[66] Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND^2 Online Edition), 'baron' (2),' *Anglo-Norman Dictionary, Aberystwyth University*, 2021 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/baron> [Accessed 27 April 2021].

bons vassals'). In these depictions of personal characteristics, we can also note the translator's choice to make a distinction between the Franks and Saracen armies. The word 'felun/fel' for example is used to describe both Roland and his opponents, but unequally: while Roland is said to become 'infamous' (l.2060), his opponent is a 'traitor' (l.2062). A further notable point here is the handling of the idea of 'vasselage', which in l.2049 has been translated as 'courage.' It is curious that despite a clear understanding of the hierarchical nature of society and the battlefield as set out in the translator's introduction, that the concept of the 'bon vassal' has been reduced to individualistic terminology. In the choice of language here we see little representation of the complex relation between the ranks present in battle, more a sense that knights are independent and justified in their actions by dint of their nobility: a 'vassal' is loyal to the knight, but a knight cannot be a 'vassal' as he acts alone. In a way, these depictions set Roland and his collaborators apart from the main battle, and emphasise their positions as members of an elite with a greater capacity for independent thought and action than the conflict that surrounds them. For Harrison, these are officers and gentlemen, not infantry.

We can also note the inconsistency when it comes to the more emotional passages of this excerpt and the depiction of the relationship between Roland and Oliver. For example, while 'cumpainz/gn' (as above) is translated literally as 'companion,' references to 'amer' (love/to love) are reduced to 'friend' (e.g. l.2001 and l.2009). In the laisses where Roland laments the impending death of Oliver, there is often a similar variation in tone. This effect can be seen if we go back to l.1984 above, where we have a sense of the importance of Oliver to France and the battle as a whole, but lose the potentially personal aspect of 'cuntrevaillet'[67] which suggests an equality in value or worth not restricted to the battlefield. Similarly in laisses 151 onwards there is a variation of emphasis:

ST	**TT**
L.149, ll.2000-9: 'Sire cumpain, faites le vos de gred? Ja est ço Rollant, ki tant vos soelt amer! Par nule guise ne m'aviez desfiet!' Dist Oliver: 'Or vos oi jo parler, Jo ne vos vei, veied vus Damnedeu'	 'My lord companion, did you mean to do that? It's Roland, who has been your friend so long:

[67] AND[2] Online Edition, 'contrevaler,' 2021 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/contrevaler> [Accessed 27 April 2021].

Ferut vos ai, car le me pardunez!' Rollant respunt: 'Jo n'ai nient de mel Jol vus parduins ici e devant Deu.' A icel mot l'un a l'altre ad clinet. Par tel amur as les vus desevred.	You gave no sign that you had challenged me.' Olivier says: 'Now I hear you speak. Since I can't see you, God keep you in sight! I hit you, and I beg you to forgive me.' And Roland says: 'I've not been hurt at all, And here before the Lord I pardon you.' And with these words, they bowed to one another: In friendship such as this you see them apart.
L.150-51, ll.2021-30: Morz est li quens, que plus ne se demuret. Rollant li ber le pluret, sil duluset; Jamais en tere n'orrez plus dolent hume. Or veit Rollant que mort est sun ami, Gesir adenz, a la tere sun vis. Mult dulcement a regreter li prist: 'Sire cumpaign, tant mar fustes hardiz" Ensemble avum estet e anz e dis. Nem fesis mal ne jo nel te forsfis. Quant tu es mor, dulur est que jo vif. '	 The count is dead – he could endure no more. The baron Roland weeps for him and mourns: On earth you'll never hear a sadder man. Now Roland, when he sees his friend is dead And lying there face down upon the ground, Quite softly starts to say farewell to him: 'Your valor was for naught, my lord companion! We've been together through the days and years, And never have you wronged me, nor I you; Since you are dead, it saddens me to live.'
L.153, ll.2056-65 Rollant ad doel, si fut maltalentifs; En la grant presse cumuncet a ferir. De cels d'Espaigne en ad getet mort .XX.	 Now Roland, grown embittered in his pain, Goes slashing through the middle of the crowd:

E Gualter .VI. e l'arcevesque .V. Dient paien: 'Feluns humes ad ci! Guardez, seignurs, qu'il n'en algent vif. Tut par seit fel ki nes vait envaïr E recreant ki les lerrat guarir!' Dunc recumencent e le hu e le cri; De tutes parz lé revunt envaïr. AOI.	The throws down lifeless twenty men from Spain, While Gautier kills six, and Turpin five. The pagans say: 'These men are infamous; Don't let them get away alive, my lords: Whoever fails to rush them is a traitor, Who lets them save themselves, a renegade.' So once more they renew the hue and cry; From every side they go to the attack. AOI

As we can see from these examples, the language of Roland's grief is represented with greater variation than in the ST, where the parallel concepts of pain, suffering and grief are framed in repetition. In the ST, repetition in the shape of *laisses similaires* forms a central part of the structure of the text, with the posited effect of enhancing certain passages for the audience to interrogate.[68] By comparison, in the TT the extent and rhetorical impact of Roland's distress is reduced. We read that 'on earth you'll never hear a sadder man,' but in l.2027 he does not lament, a term that conjures classical images of hair-tearing and breast-beating sadness, but instead 'softly starts to say farewell;' we are aware that it 'saddens [Roland] to live' in l.2030, but we lose the intensity of the word 'vif' in the ST; at his re-entry to battle, Roland is not 'angry' but 'embittered.' In the introduction, the translator states that for the Franks, 'the greatness of a man's soul was measured [...] by his capacity for suffering,'[69] and we do see that Roland suffers in this excerpt, but it is a more stoic suffering than the pain and distress depicted in the ST.

The depictions of personal language and relationships in this translation are restrained; through the choice of sociolect and terminology, we are presented with a highly hierarchical and companion-like environment of politeness rather than the intensity of emotion that the introduction states is an important feature of knighthood.

[68] See the introduction to this ST, pp.95-96.
[69] Harrison, *The Song of Roland*, p.26.

Idiom/metaphor/repetition

When it comes to the wider structure of the translation, many of the distinctive cultural aspects of the ST are maintained as a result of the translator's literal approach. A good example of this is the internal repetition which underpins the rhetorical format of the ST and takes the form of similar phrases in each laisse, for example in l.1983 and l.2027, l.1952 l.1962 and l.1990. The rhetorical purpose of repetition in the ST has been argued to be a constant reframing of aspects of the story, in order to show the reader varying positions on the action and encourage debate of its ethical framework. However, for the TT readership we can consider this an area of loss: though the format has been maintained, including the use of tense to move us back and forth in time between laisses, the instructional and rhetorical value of this practice is purely academic, as an example of how it may have appeared to ST readers.

4.1.3 Analysis 3: The Song of Roland, trans. by Janet Shirley, (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1996)

Personal habitus

Janet Shirley is somewhat of an outlier in terms of personal habitus, when compared to the vast majority of translators featured in this corpus, but nonetheless fits with a pattern of focus we have seen before from the older generation of female translators. Her early education took place at the King's School, Canterbury, where her father the Revd Canon Frederick Shirley was headmaster from 1935-62; at the time of her attendance there she was the first – and only – female student at the school.[70] From there she moved on to Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, achieving a 'a respectable but not glorious degree,' and later completed a further degree in medieval history at Edinburgh University and a teaching qualification.[71] While most of the translators featured here maintain their link to academia, whether as a practising or former lecturer or scholar, Shirley positions herself as a translator first and foremost. On her (now archived) website, she introduced herself as 'Translator of medieval and modern French, Member of the Translators' Association' rather than an academic in the field, and is noted elsewhere as 'an award-winning translator of works on the French Middle Ages'[72] as well as 'Highly commended and first runner-up for the 1998 European Poetry in Translation prize.'[73] As a translator of historical texts, she began in 1968 with *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449*, following this in 1975 with *Garnier's Becket: Translated from the Twelfth Century Vie Saint Thomas le Martyr de Cantobire* (by Garnier de Pont Saint Maxence) and *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (by Jean Richard, tr.1978). Her later works began with *Roland* in 1996, succeeded by *Daurel and Beton* the year after, with her most recent publication being a translation of *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade* (2017); notably many of her later translations contributed to the Crusade Texts in Translation series from Ashgate, suggesting a particular preoccupation with southern France and the Holy Wars.

---

[70] Wikipedia, 'Fred Shirley,' *Wikipedia*, 2020 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fred_Shirley> [Accessed 02 August 2021].
[71] Janet Shirley, 'Biography,' *French Translations*, 2004 <https://web.archive.org/web/20040605142053/http://www.french-translator.co.uk/biography.htm> [Accessed 02 August 2021].
[72] Waterstones, 'The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade - Crusade Texts in Translation (Paperback),' *Waterstones*, 2021 <https://www.waterstones.com/book/the-song-of-the-cathar-wars/janet-shirley/9780754603887> [Accessed 02 August 2021].
[73] Llanerch Press, 'Song of Roland,' *Llanerch Press*, 2021 <http://www.llanerchpress.com/book/category/literature/12/song-of-roland/janet-shirley/1861430051> [Accessed 02 August 2021].

Outside of her activity as a translator, she also wrote and published works of children's fiction on a variety of subjects, from *Krenn and the Great Ring of Berren* (republished as *The Road to Stonehenge*)[74] to the *Littlest Book* series (as Mrs Shirley) and a miscellany of Moroccan folk tales.

Her approach to medieval literature can be found in her own words, through the archived website and her books, as she writes: 'What someone wrote about events four or five hundred years ago doesn't necessarily tell you what did really happen then, but it does let you know what they felt about it, how they saw their world.'[75] Her emphasis here is more on viewpoint and experience than history, suggesting that she was interested in the connections we can make between the preoccupations of people past and present, using the translated text as a mediator. During the introduction to *The Song of Roland* we also learn more about her attitudes to the piece, its composition and time period, in a tone and style which appears to offer itself to the general reader rather than the seasoned academic. In terms of the composition of the text, she speaks throughout of a 'writer' but acknowledges the importance of performative values, speaking about the possible impacts of the environment on its production. For instance, she notes that while *laisses similaires* have a rhetorical effect they may also have affected performance, acting as an important refrain in a busy court and that many of the close details around armour for example are indicative of the kind of audience that 'listened' to the tale.[76] She speaks of Frankish society and the overarching trends of the time, e.g. how they believed themselves to be 'God's own special combat troops', but stresses that the text is not a history, more a foundation myth for the 'Gesta dei per Francos' (the works of god through the Franks).[77] As such she states that 'an old poet of the greatest genius sat down to bring an old story up to date [with the twelfth century]'[78] with varying success and a 'cheerful disregard for historical accuracy';[79] the effect, she says, is to situate the 9th century conflict within the living memory of 11th century campaigns in Spain, but this allows for discrepancies when it comes to accurate portrayal of elements such as dress and social

---

[74] See also the announcement here: Carolyn Carr, Alison Gomm and Judith Garner, eds., *The Brown Book*, (Oxford: Lady Margaret Hall, 2012) p.44.
[75] Shirley, *The Song of Roland,* p.i.
[76] She also indicates that the details of armour, of the close descriptions of the landscape of northern Spain may suggest that the original composer was a soldier himself, possibly involved in the late 11th century campaigns. Shirley, *The Song of Roland,* pp. ii-iv.
[77] This point of view, accompanied with her appreciation of the continuity of activity around *Roland* reminds us of the way in which the story has been used over time as a foundational myth, beginning with the Gesta dei per Francos, and leading up to the present day.
[78] Ibid*.*, p.i.
[79] Ibid., p.vii

custom, as well as the ‘repulsive…blatantly false picture…of the Moslem [sic] and Jewish faiths.’[80] When it comes to her own translation, we get the impression that she is using this re-framing of the text as a model, only bringing it much further into the present, and thereby encountering more difficulty due to widely differing reference points and attitudes.[81] Her humility extends to the wording used in the introduction to her *History of the Albigensian Crusade* (2017), which states ‘The poem *offered* here in translation.’ This sense of the translator’s insufficiency also extends to her introduction to the current text, where she states that the skill of the ‘writer’ of *Roland* is so great that ‘translating him is all but blasphemous.’[82] Despite being an author herself, her agency and creativity a translator is necessarily subordinate to the ST author’s originality, and subject to societal pressure to translate seamlessly, an attitude typical of pre-2000's translation.[83]

We can perceive a greater attention to linguistic and cultural detail than historical background in the introduction to the translation, a product of her own professional focus, and a feature of her own input to the ongoing traditions around *Roland*. She states her approach is to emphasise the ‘feudal spirit’ contained within the text, as well as accuracy when it comes to names and places, even suggesting ‘new insights’ into the translation of certain terms which could change our perception of certain concepts, e.g. the ‘Gesta Francorum.’[84] Her approach appears to be one of linguistic investigation, a thoughtful process of sieving through available lexical choices available for expressing the ‘strong, spare vocabulary’ of the imagined ST author. Though careful and humble in her explanations, this statement represents Shirley’s agency and engagement in creating meaning: the process of choosing lexical equivalents is the primary cause of transfer of cultural ideas from ST to target audience. Editions consulted include Bédier and Whitehead most prominently, but

---

[80] Ibid., p.ix.

[81] Janet Shirley, ‘Homepage,’ *French Translations*, 2016 <https://web.archive.org/web/20161021193401/http://french-translator.co.uk/index.htm> [Accessed 02 August 2021]. In this later version of her website we also find an enigmatic and vaguely apologetic ‘Footnote’ page, hinting at various mistakes she may have made over the years: Janet Shirley, ‘Footnote,’ *French Translations*, 2016 <https://web.archive.org/web/20161021230323/http://french-translator.co.uk/footnote.htm> [Accessed 02 August 2021].

[82] Shirley, *The Song of Roland*. p.ix.

[83] See Nida, who states that ‘the translator must be willing to express his creativity through someone else’s creation,’ a gesture which subordinates the translator’s ability to adapt their TT to the receiving culture. This reflects Venuti’s assertion that the ST author will usually be seen as having the greatest authority over the form of the text. Eugene Nida, ‘A Framework for the Analysis and Evaluation of Theories of Translation,’ in *Translation: Applications and Research*, ed. by Richard W. Brislin. (New York: Gardner Press, 1976) pp.47-79 (p.58).

[84] This, she suggests may, rather than being a general term for the works of God through the Franks, refer to a lost text similar to the *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium*. *The Song of Roland*, p.xii.

other editions are listed as references, suggesting a wide survey of the linguistic possibilities contained within the ST as part of her translation process.[85] Comparatively, the notes accompanying the text are few, holding with the less academic approach, and consist of more cultural insights such as the relevance of place names, personal names and objects within the text.

Publishing environment

The translation was published by Llanerch press and is now out of print. The publisher, based in Somerset, advertises itself as specialising in 'small print editions and facsimile reprints of old books and ancient texts, many of which have been painstakingly translated from the original language'[86] and this example is highlighted as 'Accessible and accurate.'[87] Their output covers a wide range from general literature to more specifically Celtic and Anglo-Saxon chronicles, Saints' Lives and folklore, but as a small publisher there is little to suggest their intended audience, which could not be exceptionally wide. The current translation sits alongside two others that Shirley published through Llanerch press – *Daurel and Beton* (1997) and a reprint of *Garnier's Becket* (1975) – and in the peritextual information it is situated for the reader alongside translations of *Beowulf* and *Taliesin Poems*, suggesting an intended audience of general readers of medieval folklore. It is also framed in the peritext to appeal to a more general audience, stating 'This is one of the legends that have formed our world-view – brilliant, exciting, heroic and false…if what you want is a tremendous story of bitter personal conflict and heroic courage… miss out the introduction and settle down to enjoy the text;' this approach to the type of literature, though erasing the translator, backs up the aim of 'accessible' reading stated on their website.

Overall, these elements combine to support the image of a text which is less academically or educationally oriented than the majority of this corpus. Between the habitus of the translator and the publishing house, we can assume an audience of interested non-experts and non-linguists, which makes the element of interference from previous translators all the more worthwhile of investigation. Notable in the introduction to this translation is a list of acknowledgements including seven names, one of which is a member of this corpus:

[85] Her wider reading references texts as old as Randle Cotgrave's 1611 *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues,* and as recent as William Golding in order to choose the best words for each situation.
[86] Llanerch Press, 'Homepage,' *Llanerch Press*, 2021 <http://www.llanerchpress.com/> [Accessed 02 August 2021].
[87] Llanerch Press, 'Song of Roland,' *Llanerch Press*, 2021 <http://www.llanerchpress.com/book/category/literature/12/song-of-roland/janet-shirley/1861430051> [Accessed 02 August 2021].

Pauline Matarasso. We also find reference to two contemporary writer/translators: Susan Wicks[88] and Ann Gwilt. The former of these two is a poet and novelist who also translates from French, winning the Scott Moncrieff Prize in 2010 for a translation of Valerie Rouzeau's poetry; the latter, Ann Gwilt, was also a poet. The translation itself is dedicated to Rhoda Sutherland, who seems to have been a mentor to Shirley during her time at Lady Margaret Hall and with all likelihood introduced her to the medieval French world.[89] Though it is difficult to interpret the influence of all these women on the outcome of the translation, we can infer that they acted as a sounding board for the resulting translation: Pauline Matarasso may have shared her own experience translating medieval literature and her perspective on the religious aspects, having specialised in this in her own writing, while the two female poets provided at least inspiration for handling the complex process of transferring a text from assonance to blank verse. This group interaction may have further implications for the representation of homosocial relationships, due to the intervention of the female perspective on a ST which focuses predominantly on a patriarchal and patristic historical environment.

Poetry and Prose

Shirley describes *Roland* as the work of a genius poet bringing an ancient tale up to date, and it is in this manner that she handles her own translation, opening up the ST to a new audience. On a macro-textual level, we can observe that the layout of this TT maintains that of the ST in terms of laisses, numbered following Whitehead, while at the same time interspersing them with sub-headings at important stages, a key example of translator intervention. In this excerpt, laisses 145, 152 and 156 bear headings such as 'Oliver is mortally wounded,' providing the TT reader with scene-titles or waypoints throughout. However, there are no line numbers for this translation, which is a reflection of both the non-academic audience and the approach to the syntax of the ST.

The TT is described as blank verse on the Llanerch Press website, and the translation's format follows this structure, using decasyllabic lines in largely iambic pentameter to render the ST meter in a more familiar format for the intended audience. On a more general level Shirley's approach is to adapt the syntax of the ST to provide a more fluent rendering of the sense of each line, rather than a strict repetition of the ST content. Not

[88] British Council, 'Susan Wicks,' *British Council*, 2021 <https://literature.britishcouncil.org/writer/susan-wicks>; Bloodaxe Books, 'Susan Wicks: Author,' *Bloodaxe Books*, 2003 <http://www.bloodaxebooks.com/personpage.asp?author=Susan+Wicks> [Accessed 04 August 2021].
[89] Wikipedia, 'Rhoda Sutherland,' *Wikipedia*, 2021 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhoda_Sutherland> [Accessed 04 August 2021].

only does this lead to a number of changes in the lexis and sentence structure, but it also eliminates the necessity for line-numbering: it would be difficult to match this translation line-for-line with the ST and it was clearly not the intention to do so. This is a new translation for an uninitiated audience, rather than a reading guide. Examples of this approach can be seen below in excerpts from laisses 149 and 156:

ST	**TT**
L.149, ll.1989-1993: As vus Rollant sur sun cheval pasmet E Oliver ki est mort naffret. Tant ad seinet li oil li sunt trublet. Ne loinz ne près ne poet vedeir si cler Que reconoistre poisset nuls hom mortel.	 Roland sits senseless on his horse. Nearby Oliver is dying. He has bled so freely that his eyes are troubled; now He cannot see to tell two men apart.
l.2003-7: Dist Oliver: ‘Or vos oi jo parler. Jo ne vos vei veied vus Damnedeu! Ferut vos ai, car le me pardunez!’ Rollant respunt: ‘Jo n’ai nient de mel Jol vos parduinz ici et devant Deu.’	 ‘That’s your voice. But I can’t see you,’ Oliver replied. ‘The Lord God see you! Was it you I hit?’ Brother, forgive the blow!’ ‘You did no harm, none,’ said his comrade. ‘I forgive it you, here and before the face of God.’
L.156, ll.2099-2102: Li quens Rollant gentement se cumbat, Mais le cors ad tressuet e mult chalt. En la teste ad e dulor e grant mal: Rumput est li temples, por ço que il cornat.	Nobly Count Roland battles, but he’s soaked in sweat from head to foot, is burning hot and suffers agony from the cracked skull he split apart, blowing the oliphant.

In her effort to maintain this more approachable style, we can identify changes on a sentential level. On this level we find the adoption of more natural English syntax, for example in the excerpt from laisse 156 where the sense of the scene is laid out more clearly by introducing extra information e.g. ‘suffers agony from the cracked skull he split apart blowing the oliphant.’ Similarly in laisse 149, ‘Roland sits senseless on his horse. Nearby Oliver is dying,’ elaborates the scene. Another notable feature of this approach is to move any dialogue tags/attributions, e.g. ‘Oliver replied,’ to a more natural place in the narrative for an

English reader. The lexis of this translation also follows the familiar, avoiding archaism and introducing contractions into speech, as we can see above with 'he's soaked with sweat' and 'that's your voice but I can't see you;' in this translation, the characters speak as naturally as possible, that is to say employing idiomatic language and standard syntax, bringing the audience closer to the action and encouraging their engagement with the narrative. However, this approach is not infallible: blank verse in its most recognisable form prescribes the use of iambic pentameter, which places some restrictions on the translator and leads to the occasional awkward phrase or inconsistency. In laisse 149, the phrase 'I forgive it you' and in laisse 156 'Nobly Count Roland battles' exemplify the translator's difficulty in maintaining iambic stresses in a decasyllabic line, leading to less natural phrasing.

Blank verse also implies some loss from the ST which appears in assonant rhyme. However, Shirley applies internal assonance and alliteration as a means of compensating for the lack of stylistic effect. Taking for example laisse 148 as below, we see the poetic effect achieved by repetition of 'o' vowel sounds ('ɒ,' 'əʊ' and 'aʊ' respectively), accompanied by alliteration of 's,' 'l' and 'b' sounds:

ST	**TT**
L.148, ll.1978-1986: Rollant reguardet Oliver al visage: Teint fut e pers, desculuret e pale. Li sancs tuz clers par mi le cors li raiet: Encuntre tere en cheent les eslaces. 'Deus!' dist li quens 'or ne sai jo que face. Sire cumpainz, mar fut vostre barnage! Jamais n'iert hume ki tun cors cuntrevaillet. E! France dulce, cun hoi remendras guaste De bons vassals, cunfundue a chaiete'	 Count Roland looked into his comrade's face And saw it livid, pale, discoloured, blue. Bright blood streamed down his body, spurted, fell In splashes on the ground. 'God,' said the count, 'I don't know what to do. Comrade, alas For your great valour! No one equals you, Nor ever will do. Ah, sweet France, so stripped Of fighting men, bereft and destitute!
L.150, ll.2013-2020: Descent a piet, a la tere se culchet, Durement en halt si recleimet sa culpe,	 Now he dismounted, knelt down on the ground,

Cuntre le ciel ambesdous ses mains juintes, Si priet Deu que pareïs li dunget E beneïst Karlun e France dulce, Sun cumpaignun Rollant sur tuz humes. Falt li coer, le helme li embrunchet, Trestut le cors a la tere li justet.	Aloud and painfully confessed his sins, Pronounced his mea culpa. Palm to palm He held his hands upraised and prayed to God To grant him Paradise, to bless the king, Sweet France and Roland, comrade, more than all. His heart stopped beating and his helmet fell Forward over his face. He lay full length Stretched on the ground.

In the second example above, from laisse 150, we see a similar effect, again beginning with a repetition of the 'aʊ' sound with 'Now he dismounted, knelt down on the ground' but moving through to 'eɪ' with 'he held his hands upraised and prayed' and later the end of line combination of 'all', 'fell forward,' and 'full.' This along with the earlier 'palm to palm,' brings to mind an instinctive connection to Shakespeare for the English reader, e.g. 'full fathom five thy father lies' and 'palm to palm is holy palmers' kiss'[90] and it is telling that Shirley references him in her introduction, saying 'it is hard not to think of its creator as a man like Shakespeare, who knew his craft from every angle'.[91]

Alliteration is also used in the phrase 'deep in the thickest of the heathen throng,' which the translator has introduced as a repetition throughout this excerpt, to stand for 'en la grant presse.' Outside of the existing *laisses similaires* in the ST, repetition is employed here as a means of reinforcing the narrative, as we have seen above. In the introduction to the text, Shirley speaks about the orality of the tale, its setting and the efforts made to ease the listener through the telling, speaking of 'deliberate' repetitions and the 'practical purpose in that they make sure the audience does not miss important points.'[92] Not only this, but by using a breadth of poetic techniques in alliteration, assonance and half-rhyme, the orality of the ST is reinforced and its status as poetry to be read aloud can be perceived by the TT audience more clearly.

[90] From *The Tempest*, Act I, Sc. II and *Romeo and Juliet* Act I, Sc. V respectively. William Shakespeare, *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2005) p.1227 and p.377.
[91] Shirley, *The Song of Roland,* p.vi.
[92] Ibid. p.v.

Personal description/epithet

The homosocial relationships at the heart of this story, and especially this excerpt, are handled in a different way to our previous translators, but again the stated approach for the translation clearly mirrors the TT features. There is an emphasis on the idea of both vertical and horizontal patterns of loyalty in the introduction and a sense of equality of duty extends to the translation. For example, the terms used to express relationships between the characters are often 'comrade,' 'brother' or 'friend and equal' while we also have 'fellowship' used by the narratorial voice. The relationships as such appear structured but based on an equality of worth; 'comrade' especially conjures ideas of the socialist/communist ideal,[93] while 'brother' suggests a close personal relationship within the bounds of a religious or wartime environment, i.e. 'brothers in arms.' Fellowship similarly has a notion of shared interest or responsibility, and this shared common ground could also be religious, the word 'fellowship' being used in translations of the New Testament for the Greek 'koinonia,' meaning 'communion' with God or other followers.[94]

The language of difference between the Saracens and Franks further enhances the sense of 'Holy War.' While the ST uses terms such as 'paien' and 'Sarrazin' consistently throughout, the TT uses more clearly nuanced terms. The phrase 'Paien, mal aies tu' from Oliver in laisse 146 is translated as 'Heathen, to hell!' while in 147 and 153 we see the introduction of 'infidels' qualifying the simple 'mort' (dead). This language of 'otherness'[95] and unbelief stands in stark contrast to the clearly positive descriptions of the Franks. We have already seen evidence of their religious connection above in laisse 150, where Oliver is said to speak his 'mea culpa' (drawn directly from the similarity to Latin in the ST 'si recleimet sa culpe') in a position familiar to any reader aware of Christian iconography, kneeling with palms together. When describing the Franks' personal qualities, there are repeating notions of bravery and valour. Roland is given the epithet 'Brave' repeatedly in this

[93] We can compare this to Moncrieff's use of the word 'comrade,' where the contemporary cultural reference point would have been more related to Bolshevism, while in 1996 it might have been more easily related to the failed Eastern-bloc.

[94] See, for example, the New Testament, 1 John 1.7 'But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.'

[95] 'Other' ('othering,' 'otherness') is taken here to mean that which is seen as alien to the cultural hegemony at play, and thereby framed as negative or unknowable. In *La Chanson de Roland*, it is found in the application of the broad term 'Pagan' to indicate those not bearing White, Christian characteristics in the ST, regardless of their historic origin. For discussion of this language, see Sharon Kinoshita, '"Pagans Are Wrong and Christians Are Right": Alterity, Gender, and Nation in the Chanson de Roland', *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31.1 (2001), pp.79-112 <https://doi.org/10.1215/10829636-31-1-79>.

translation, where he is not directly identified as 'Count', while the word 'vassal' in the ST is variably translated as can be seen in the following examples:

ST	**TT**
L147, l.1972: De bon vassal li poüst remembrer	Any who saw him […] could be sure he'd seen true valour there.
L.148, l.1986: De bons vassals, cunfundue a chaiete	So stripped of fighting men, bereft and destitute
L.151, l.2027: Tant mar fustes hardiz	Alas for all your valour
L.152, l.2045, 49: Gentilz quens, vaillanz hom […] Pur vasselage suleie estre tun drut[96]	Ah, my noble lord, brave count […] You used to love me for my valour
L.154, ll.2066-68: Li quens Rollant fut noble guerrer Gualter de Hums est bien bon chevaler Li arcevesque prozdom e essaiet	Count Roland was a noble warrior, Walter of Hum a very valiant knight, The archbishop brave and expert
L.155, l.2088: Ja bon vassal nen ert vif recreüt	No true knight surrenders while he lives!

The relationship between many of the characters seen here is framed as situational: their focus is purely military and their esteem for one another based upon this alone, speaking of 'true' knights and 'brave' and 'valiant' feats as a point of value. Yet to some extent these representations avoid the complexities of the so described 'vertical' king/knight/vassal relationship, which would have been far from equal and have a greater depth than purely military ability. In reality, knights in the time of this historical battle would have been much less closely allied to the king, focused more on local conflict, with the concepts of 'chivalry' emerging later even than the time of the ST manuscript.[97] Wars such as those carried out in Charlemagne's time were more indicative of the power of the church to harness the inherent violence of the nobility than the influence of a hierarchical, royally-led society.[98] The terms 'valour/valiant' paint a more idealistic and classically heroic view of the main 'fighting men'

[96] AND^{2} Online Edition, 'dru^{1},' 2021 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/dru_1> [Accessed 17 August 2021].
[97] See p.30 of this thesis for discussion of the emergence of the concept.
[98] See Hanley, *War and Combat, 1150-1270: the Evidence from Old French Literature,* pp.13-15.

in these scenes, which though emphasising the epic nature of the ST, is reductive of the social structures of the time.

Cultural elements/Metaphor/repetition

The interplay between culture and language is a clear interest for this translator, leading to an introductory discussion around whether a translator should intervene in these matters for the benefit of the TT audience. The relevance of names is a central element to her discussion, which covers the way the Pagans/Saracens are named to emphasise their negative characteristics, as well as how this is used within the action, e.g. having a Pagan named 'Abisme' overthrown by the Archbishop, following the theme of 'holy war.' She also notes that many other names, of key objects and animals, can be translated using their French or Arabic derivations, however this is inconsistently employed. Taking for example the horses 'Almace' and 'Veillantif,' and the sword 'Tachebrun,' we find that despite giving introductory derivations for all three (Diamond, Wideawake and Brown Patch), in this excerpt only 'Veillantif' is translated at the end of laisse 151. The effect of this choice is to create a push/pull for the target audience, drawing them closer to Roland and his horse while keeping them at a distance from other characters and places: other proper nouns are maintained in their original form in the TT, their relevance or derivation only highlighted in the introduction and endnotes.

4.1.4 Analysis 4: The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne, ed. and trans. by Simon Gaunt and Karen Pratt, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016)

Personal habitus

The final text in the corpus for the *Chanson de Roland* raises a particular issue when it comes to assessing translation style and technique, as it has been translated collaboratively; the introduction to the text states that the translation is 'entirely a joint endeavour.' However, if we are to follow Toury's descriptive method, we can view the translation as a single product, an 'assumed' translation with a relevance to the study based on its relationship to the ST, rather than a source of conflicting personal information.[99] In terms of habitus, we can consider the academic framework in which it was produced to be most significant: both translators work at King's College London in the field of medieval studies and therefore can be seen to be subject to/products of the same cultural environment.

Simon Gaunt completed his graduate studies at the University of Warwick, focusing on the medieval world and especially Marcabru and the troubadour tradition. Following this he worked as a fellow of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, before moving to King's College, London (KCL), and has been described as having a 'world-leading reputation' in both twelfth- and thirteenth-century studies across a range of genres.[100] His stated interests on the KCL website included 'theoretically oriented approaches to medieval literature and textual criticism, notably in relation to feminism and queer theory, Marxism, psychoanalysis, anthropology and postcolonial theory,'[101] exemplifying his wide-ranging output as a writer. Some of his notable works were introductory texts such as *Retelling The Tale: An Introduction to Medieval French Literature* (2001), *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (2005) and *Love and Death in Medieval French and Occitan Courtly Literature: Martyrs to Love* (2006), while he also wrote widely on troubadour literature and provided chapters for anthologies such as the *Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*

[99] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*, p.70.
[100] King's College London, 'Professor Simon Gaunt FBA (1959-2021),' *King's College, London*. 2021 <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/news/professor-simon-gaunt-fba-1959-2021> [Accessed 20 September 2021].
[101] King's College London, 'Professor Simon Gaunt FBA (archive.org)' *King's College, London*. 2021 <https://web.archive.org/web/20210126192503/https://www.kcl.ac.uk/people/professor-simon-gaunt-fba> [Accessed 17 August 2021].

(2008). He was also active in the Values of French[102] project at KCL, a cross-Atlantic study of the nature and usage of French in medieval Europe via the *Histoire Ancienne Jusqu'à César*. This project crossed disciplines to investigate how French was used to narrate history both inside and outside France, and the impacts this had: an area of study which connects to *Roland,* a text which was also widely disseminated as a record of both history and culture. As a translator, however, he did not have any clear output save the current volume and his *Marcabru: A Critical Edition* (2000).[103] Despite his output confirming a broad understanding of the language and culture of the medieval period, it does not speak to a professional level of translation practice, and this may engender a greater reliance on the ST.

Karen Pratt, currently an emerita Professor at KCL, began her academic journey at St Hilda's College Oxford, before gaining her PhD from Reading University and beginning a ten-year career at Goldsmiths' College. During this time, she has developed a similarly varied research portfolio to Gaunt, focusing more specifically on Old and Middle French literature, especially Old French Epic, Arthurian literature and feminist/antifeminist texts. Some notable examples of this output are *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended* (with Alcuin Blamires, 1992), and *The Arthur of the French: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval French and Occitan Literature* (with Glyn Burgess, 2006), as well as writing the *Critical Guide to French Texts: La Mort le Roi Artu* (2004). She has also been a main translator for medieval French texts, including Gautier d'Arras' *Eracle* (2007), the current volume where she takes on the *Journey of Charlemagne* and collaborates on *Roland* and an edition and translation of Jean LeFèvre's *Livre de Leesce* (2014).

Thus, it is important to note that in the cases of both of our translators for this text, their personal focus is: a) academic, that is aimed at students and researchers, educational; and b) less engaged with linguistics than sociological and literary trends of the Middle Ages as critics. We can also note the collaborative nature of many of their other projects, perhaps a reflection of the academic environment at KCL and indeed during the time period in which they worked, where collaborative research, outreach and cross-disciplinary working became more prevalent.[104]

---

[102] The Values of French 'Homepage,' *The Values of French*, 2021 <https://tvof.ac.uk/> [Accessed 18 October 2021].

[103] This was also composed alongside other authors: Ruth Harvey and Linda Paterson, though in this case through a division of labour rather than collaborative practice.

[104] See Celia Whitchurch, *Reconstructing Identities in Higher Education: The Rise of 'Third Space' Professionals* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012).

As could be interpreted from the background of the translators, the introduction to this text frames *Roland* as a feature of a wider cultural landscape, describing it as a 'heady mixture of history, legend and poetry.'[105] The translators indicate the importance of the text by drawing comparisons to other foundational epics such as *Beowulf* and *El Cid*, as well as noting its importance in the tradition of the *chansons de geste*. Furthermore, they explain that *La Chanson de Roland* represents an interplay between fiction and reality as a 'screen onto which contemporary ideals are projected.'[106] This idea of layering our own societal preoccupations onto our interpretations of texts is one which repeats itself throughout this thesis and is not unique to either medieval or contemporary society. We are introduced to the complexity of the work: the way it fit in with its contemporary society and reflected the religious and military fervour of the time; the way the legend may have influenced history writers at the time; the historical evidence that suggests an ongoing popularity for the tale throughout the following centuries; and the contemporary reception of the story, from Bédier reciting lines at the barricades to our own reception of the 'questionable ideology' today.[107] The reader of the translation is also introduced to other texts as part of this translation and the rationale behind their choices is explained as a critical one: *Daurel and Beton* and *Charlemagne's Journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople* provide radically different perspectives of Charlemagne and his heritage.

The stated approach for Gaunt and Pratt's translation is line-by-line 'since some indication of form is the only way of conveying [the] narrative dynamic and lyricism' of the text, while rhymed translations are denigrated as '[sacrificing] accuracy to meter,' indicating the translators' awareness of balancing form and meaning.[108] This main approach is supplemented with a list of other actions intended to reflect the stylistic qualities of the ST, including maintaining the original rhythm of the line through stresses and caesurae, as well as internal repetitions and repeated collocations. It is however, despite these efforts not a parallel edition-translation, giving it the ability to either stand alone or be used in comparison. Tenses are adjusted only where necessary according to target language norms, while archaism is occasionally employed to 'defamiliarize' both the direct speech and narration. It is interesting to note that while neither of the writers here have a background in translation, they appear to

---

[105] Simon Gaunt and Karen Pratt, *The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne,* p.i.
[106] Ibid. p.viii.
[107] Ibid. pp.vii-xi
[108] Ibid. p.xxvi. This is an idea common to many of the translators studied in this thesis and suggests the difficulty of rendering an 'acceptable' translation of a lyrical text; this reflects the views of previous translators of *La Chanson de Roland* Moncrieff and Shirley.

use more translationese[109] in this section than any other part of the introduction, speaking of accurate translation, norms, or their aim to defamiliarize the audience. These are concepts which could easily have been drawn from Newmark, Toury, or Venuti respectively,[110] and suggest by their employment a mainly ST-oriented translation, but with some attention to target language usage of tense.

Publishing environment

For the publishing habitus of this translation, we again find ourselves in the academic milieu: Oxford University Press, which states as its mission 'to create the highest quality academic and educational resources and services and to make them available across the world.'[111] A short history of the press on its website states its defining timeline as beginning with the first printing press in 1478, their right to print 'all manner of books' from Charles I, and its 'Bible Privilege' (the right to print the King James Bible) in the seventeenth century. Their current output is entirely of an academic or educational nature, aimed either at higher education students or educators, as well as producing dictionaries for all levels and English language teaching resources. The World's Classics series reflects a wider, yet similarly educated audience, with output aimed to 'reflect the latest scholarship' and accompanied by 'fascinating and useful related material.'[112] The publisher's approach is generally reflected in their choice of translators for foreign language texts, pulling from a wide range of scholars around the Anglophone world.[113] The overall format of the translation matches with this skopos, including not only an introduction to the texts included and their provenance, but a bibliography, explanatory notes, a glossary and index of proper names: the translation at hand was most certainly devised with an educational purpose at its heart, whether for the established student or a more interested general reader.

---

[109] Meaning here employing language more familiar to translation theorists and students of translation studies than the general reader.
[110] E.g. Newmark's paired criteria of 'accuracy and economy' in translation evaluation: Peter Newmark, *A Textbook of Translation* (Hemel Hempstead: Prentice-Hall International, 1987) p.47; Toury's norms as previously discussed (p.35ff.) or Venuti's 'defamiliarization' in Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998) p.5.
[111] Oxford University Press, 'About Us,' *Oxford University Press,* 2021 <https://global.oup.com/about/?cc=gb> [Accessed 17 August 2021].
[112] Oxford University Press, 'Series: Oxford World's Classics,' *Oxford University Press,* 2021 <https://global.oup.com/academic/content/series/o/oxford-worlds-classics-owc/?cc=gb&lang=en&> [Accessed 17 August 2021]. It is notable in their literature section of the website the 'type' options are listed as 'General interest,' 'Academic research' and 'Books for courses' when considering the likely usage of this type of translation in the educational field.
[113] Examples of this include David Coward (Leeds) translating Maupassant and Brian Nelson (Monash) translating Zola. However, they also sample well-known and esteemed translators, especially those receiving the Scott-Moncrieff Prize, such as Margaret Mauldon.

The publication is also tacitly placed among previous translations of medieval texts, as the introduction states a debt to 'all our academic predecessors on whose shoulders we have been standing.' The translation is drawn from Whitehead's edition and Iain Short's emendations, but we must also note the influence of other academics such as Burgess, whose edition of *Charlemagne's Journey* (which was published alongside this corpus's version of *Aucassin et Nicolette*) is mentioned as a close match to the one used in this publication, and who provides a possible source of interference for the current translation of *Roland* given he also used Whitehead's edition and the close affinity between the translators as academics. Also mentioned are Ruth Harvey,[114] Sarah Kay,[115] Linda Paterson,[116] and Simone Ventura.[117] It is also interesting to note that Janet Shirley's translation of *Daurel et Beton* is mentioned in the bibliographic references to the publication but, despite the thematic link Gaunt and Pratt establish between the two texts, not her translation of *Roland*.

Poetry and Prose

As stated in the detailed introduction to this translation, the approach to the ST is line-for-line, and to follow the tense structure where possible. Unlike other line-for-line translations we have seen so far, this methodical approach does not result in staccato or awkward language (for the most part); instead, due to the attention to grammatical accuracy, we are removed by some distance from the sense of immediacy and connection to the action. However, this is not to say that the translation is literal, in fact there are significant instances of it being an explicative translation, which gives a greater depth of meaning for the target audience, and in places creates it. Take for example the following:

ST	TT
L.145, ll.1940-46: Quant paien virent que Franceis i out poi, Entr'els en unt orgoil e cunfort. Dist l'un a l'altre: 'L'empereor ad tort.' Li Marganices sist sur un ceval sor,	 When the pagans saw that few Frenchmen remained, They feel reassured and gain in confidence.

[114] Royal Holloway, University of London, 'Ruth Harvey,' *Royal Holloway University of London*, 2021 <https://pure.royalholloway.ac.uk/portal/en/persons/ruth-harvey(63e3e15d-10bf-4694-9f9d-f3a1d13fdffb)/publications.html> [Accessed 18 August 2021].
[115] NYU, 'Sarah Kay,' *NYU*, 2021 <https://as.nyu.edu/content/nyu-as/as/faculty/sarah-kay.html> [Accessed 18 August 2021].
[116] University of Warwick, 'Professor Linda Paterson,' *University of Warwick*, 2021 <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/academic/lp/> [Accessed 21 August 2021].
[117] Simone Ventura, 'Simone Ventura,' *Academia.edu*, 2021 <https://ulb.academia.edu/SimoneVentura> [Accessed 21 August 2021].

Brochet le ben des esperuns a or, Fiert Oliver derere en mi le dos.	They say to one another: ‘The emperor was wrong!’ Marganice was mounted on a sorrel warhorse, He urges it forward with his golden spurs And strikes Oliver from behind in the back.
L.152, ll.2043-53: Voeillet o nun, desuz cez vals s’en fuit, Si reclaimet Rollant, qu’il li aiut: ‘E! gentilz quens, vaillanz hom, u ies tu? Unkes nen oi poür, la u tu fus. Ço est Gualter, ki cunquist Maelgut, Li niés Droün, al viell e al canut! Pur vasselage suleie estre tun drut. Ma hanste est fraite e percet mun escut E mis osbercs desmailet e rumput Par mi le cors […] Sempres murrai, mais cher me sui vendut.’	 He has no choice but to flee down the valleys, And he calls out to Roland to come to his aid: ‘O noble count, most valiant of men, where are you? I have never been afraid with you by my side. It’s me, Gautier, who defeated Maëlgut, The nephew of white-haired old Droün. My bravery meant I used to be your favourite. My lance is shattered and my shield broken, My hauberk is coming apart and in pieces, My body has been pierced by lances all the way through. I am about to die, but I have made them pay dearly.’
L.154, l.2070-75: En la grant presse i fierent as païens. Mil Sarrazins i descendent a piet E a cheval sunt .XL. millers. Men escientre nes osent aproismer. Il lor lancent e lances e espiez E wigres e darz e museras e agiez e gieser.	Each strikes pagans in the middle of the fray. A thousand Saracens dismount from their horses, And forty thousand remain on horseback. It seems to me that they dare not approach them,

	So they throw lances and spears in their direction, Javelins and darts, pikes and assegais

In each of these excerpts, the exact meaning of the ST has been expanded to some extent: whether in the case of Marganice's 'warhorse' which in the ST is simply a horse; in terms of visual effect as in the repetitions maintained and amplified for l.2051 and l.2075; or in the historical accuracy of including 'assegais,' which is accompanied with a footnote as in Harrison's translation. This approach suggests that the translators are again aiming at accuracy in the strictest sense of the term, not only through adherence to the ST content, but in the presentation of their understanding of the specifics of battle.

The sense of distance on the other hand is mostly increased by the adherence to ST structures, as often this causes unnatural phrasing to appear. A particular culprit is divergent sentence structure appearing out of attention to other aspects such as line stress (e.g. l.1950 'He did us wrong, it is not right that he should boast'), but it can also be caused by the use of ST tenses, as exemplified here:

ST	**TT**
L.148, ll.1978-1986: Rollant reguardet Oliver al visage: Teint fut e pers, desculuret e pale. Li sancs tuz clers par mi le cors li raiet: Encuntre tere en cheent les eslaces. 'Deus!' dist li quens 'or ne sai jo que face. Sire cumpainz, mar fut vostre barnage! Jamais n'iert hume ki tun cors cuntrevaillet. E! France dulce, cun hoi remendras guaste De bons vassals, cunfundue a chaiete'	 Count Roland looked into his comrade's face And saw it livid, pale, discoloured, blue. Bright blood streamed down his body, spurted, fell In splashes on the ground 'God,' said the count, 'I don't know what to do. Comrade, alas For your great valour! No one equals you, Nor ever will do. Ah, sweet France, so stripped Of fighting men, bereft and destitute!'
L.151, ll.2024-30: Or veit Rollant que mort est sun ami,	 Now Roland can see that his friend is dead,

Gesir adenz, a la tere sun vis. Mult dulcement a regreter li prist: 'Sire cumpaign, tant mar fustes hardiz' Ensemble avum estet e anz e dis. Nem fesis mal ne jo nel te forsfis. Quant tu es mor, dulur est que jo vif.'	Stretched out on the ground, with his face down. He began most tenderly to lament him: 'My lord, companion, alas for your great boldness. We have spent many days and years together: You never did me wrong, nor did I ever let you down. Now you are dead, it pains me to go on living!'
L.154, ll.2066-68: Li quens Rollant fut noble guerrer Gualter de Hums est bien bon chevaler Li arcevesque prozdom e essaiet	 Count Roland was a worthy warrior, Gautier del Hum is a most excellent knight, And the archbishop is a noble, experienced man.

The effect here is often jarring, as the replication of what we might now recognise as the historical present tense breaks up the natural flow of the action, causing the reader to step back and reassess the narratorial viewpoint in each case.[118]

It is interesting to note that in the introduction, the translators mention intentional use of archaism as their primary technique for distancing the audience from the text, however in the current excerpt, this is not the main cause, aside from the recurrence of 'thus' and 'alas.' In fact, we encounter more modern language in this excerpt, for example in the idioms from l.2042 'having fought tooth and nail,' l.2060 'arch-villains,' and l.2105-6 'stood stock still,' 'we are in dire straits.' These choices mean that generally the translation's prose remains accessible to its target audience, yet it causes a different type of distance from the ST than originally stated. The translation draws the action closer to the modern day through its lexis

[118] Note that replication of a tense relies strongly on its accurate identification within the ST, and many Old French and Anglo-Norman verbs share variant spellings. Take for example 'veit' in l.2024, which is stated to exist in both present indicative and preterite forms: AND^2 Online Edition, 'veer (1),' 2021 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/veer_1> [Accessed 18 August 2021].

while its content marks it as clearly in the past; as a result, the narration seems to take place in a bubble, neither past nor present but seen through a very specific critical lens.

Personal epithets/descriptions

The language of personal description in the ST centres around distinct and related terminology, e.g. 'ber' / 'barnage,' drawn from the cultural realities of the time. In the TT the language is often similarly formulaic but does not always reflect the ST terms, instead moving around them to form new meanings. Let us compare first of all the language around Oliver and Roland. For Oliver, we see he is a 'true warrior' (l.1967, 'I fiert cume ber') and heroic, and 'No man will ever be as valiant' as him (ll.1983-4, 'mar fut vostre barnage! | Jamais n'iert hume ki tun cors cuntrevaillet'). Roland is similarly 'valiant' (l.2022, 'li ber'; l.2045 'vaillanz hom') and heroic (l.2099, 'Li quens Rollant gentement se cumbat') and a 'worthy warrior' (l.2066, 'Li quens Rollant fut noble guerrer'). If we compare the renderings above we are reminded of the translators' critical rather than linguistic backgrounds, as there is a focus on content and effect rather than the meaning of the language chosen. The use of 'hero/heroic' and 'valiant' for more than one ST term (ber, vaillanz, gentement) indicates that they understand both ST and TT terms to be of equal value, while in fact they have very different linguistic and cultural roots. Looking at the ST language, both 'ber' and 'barnage' are drawn from the same root as the word 'baron' and thus places this description in the realm of worthiness and socio-cultural status;[119] 'vaillanz' similarly has the inference of value, usefulness or worth;[120] 'gentement' draws from the adjective 'gent'[121] which indicates not only cultural value but a visual aesthetic. On the other hand, 'hero,' derived from a Greek source, misplaces the source of the narrator's admiration, relates the character's worth to his bravery and the quality of his deeds[122] outside of the social structures of the ST. We can also bring into this comparison the translation of the terms 'vassal' and 'vasselage,' connected terms which are handled inconsistently, as 'good vassals' (l.1986) and 'bravery' (l.2049), again removing them from their cultural origins as markers of social constructs. The effect of this approach is to normalise the language of the ST for a modern audience: the terms 'valiant' and 'heroic' have little connection to their original cultural/linguistic referents today

[119] AND^2 Online Edition 'baron,' <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/baron> [Accessed 27 September 2021].
[120] AND^2 Online Edition, 'vaillant,' 2021 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/vaillant> [Accessed 27 September 2021].
[121] AND^2 Online Edition, 'gent (2),' 2021 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/gent_2> [Accessed 27 September 2021].
[122] Wiktionary, 'Hero' (Sense 1-3), *Wiktionary*, 2021 <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/hero> [Accessed 27 September 2021].

and are employed more uniformly as signifiers of martial excellence, ethical superiority or honour.

On the level of emotional language, the passage of interaction between Oliver and Roland in this excerpt creates a clear pause in the action of the battle by moving away from the language of bravery and heroism to a much more tender lexis. The language used by the two protagonists of the scene is often neutral, drawing on literal renderings of 'ami et per' and 'cumpain' (friend and peer, companion). Elsewhere the ST language around love is kept (l.2001 and 2009) and there is clear framing of the close relationship between the two as in l.1978 where 'Rollant reguardet Oliver al visage' is rendered as 'stares at him;' the use of 'gently and softly' (l.1999 'dulcement e suef') and 'tenderly' (l.2026 'dulcement') emphasise this intimacy of action. Yet in comparison to other translations of this scene, the language is less than emphatic about the nature of either character's emotion, as Roland's later feelings are mostly described in terms of pain: 'today our parting will be most painful' (l.1977); 'it pains me to go on living' (l.2030), and his exclamation in l.1982 'what shall I do?' (or ne sai jo que face) is almost too polite for the scenario. The effect here is to almost leave the audience to draw their own conclusions, as there is no specific emphasis on love, comradeship, or a definite form for the homosocial relationship presented in the ST. The neutrality of these terms is also highlighted by the sudden shift back to martial action from l.2056, where we find Roland back in the throes of vengeance, mirroring where we began with this excerpt.

Metaphor/idiom/repetition

The language choice in this translation also affects the role of repetition in the TT. Though the stated approach is to maintain repetition of collocations 'wherever possible,' there is variation in how it is employed. For example, a key phrase in this excerpt 'mar fut vostre barnage' (l.1983 and l.2027), is repeated between laisses and is translated as both 'alas for your heroism' and 'boldness,' while repetition on a sentential level such as in l.2036 'recovered and came round' ('guariz ne revenuz') and l.2051 'coming apart and in pieces' ('desmailet e rumput') is maintained in place. The translators thus employ synonymy to evoke the breadth of vocabulary available in the ST, but not always in ways which evoke the rhetorical effect of the original tale.

The cultural level of the text also comes into play in the language choices around the word 'geste.' The repetition of this term in the text is a central feature of *Roland's* genre: the

chansons de geste, and as such links the *gestes* or ‘acts’ of the characters within the text to the wider tradition around the literature, as well as the internally mentioned ‘Geste’ in l.2095, which would, at the time not have been as well defined but hints at a developing ‘French’ history. In this translation it is referred to as ‘the Annals,’ again a more neutral term which leaves the idea more open to interpretation by the reader. The main issue with this overall approach is that, despite it being a line-for-line translation, it is not a parallel text; so, although published by an academic publisher and intended for an academic audience, there is no guarantee that the reader will understand more than the direct interpretation of this phrase, or any other culturally-loaded aspect of the ST.

4.1.5 Summary of analysis: La Chanson de Roland

La Chanson de Roland is a text which is imbued with a sense of historical impact, to which all of the translators studied here aim to respond, whether that means treating the text as an artefact, or by making its content relatable and open to interpretation by its new target audience. We find a highly emotive representation of a scene of battle in this excerpt which covers both the public and private element of the medieval court ideal. The themes contained therein are, to a modern audience, both alien (the representation of the Pagan/Saracen and the representation of Holy war), and familiar (the brutality of war and the strength of homosocial relationships through times of conflict). However, the representation of these varies between our translators as they respond not only to the language and content of the medieval text but the societal mores of the time in which they translated.

For Scott-Moncrieff, translating in 1919, the representation of the agonies of homosocial relationships in the midst of war evoked all-too-familiar scenes from the recent past: scenes of brotherhood and loss on the battlefield are transformed by this translator through the lens of recent experience, and related to the recent events of World War I. His use of terms such as soldier and comrade imbue the medieval text with familiar imagery, even to the extent of the use of *Douce France*, which became a rallying cry for the French under occupation in the next war. However, at the same time, he evokes the historicity and importance of the text by aiming to replicate its form and lyricism for the new target audience. The effect on the reader is to both evoke the structures of the past while evoking the tragedies of the present.

Harrison approaches the text as the product of ‘epic fermentation,’ again acknowledging the important role the text has for the history of France, and engaging with the text as a comparatist, looking for connections between literature and the historical realities of the time. These aims result in a variable translation, which, while its line-for-line method allows it to be read in parallel with a given ST, the TT language is inconsistent in its use of archaism and register, meaning that the text is often foreignized for the TT reader, distancing them from the narrative. His stated understanding of medieval society as hierarchical is not clearly marked in this excerpt, where we are given the impression that Roland and his compatriots act more individually, to the extent of the reduction of emotional language between them and a neutralisation of their comradeship to something more mechanical.

Moving forward in time, Shirley approaches the text from the angle of the writer and translator, rather than the academic, much the same as Scott-Moncrieff. Her appreciation of the text as one which has been remade over time comes through in this translation, as she uses idiomatic language effectively while compensating for a loss of form with other techniques familiar to the contemporary audience such as alliteration and assonance. While her representation of the relationship between Roland and his fellow fighters is represented as more one of fellowship, part of an overall structured society, her language around the 'otherness' of the Pagan/Saracen is more nuanced and representative of her understanding of the historical context of the text. As a translator, she effectively represents the interplay between language and culture in this text, more so than the previous Harrison, whose intention is to represent the historical facts of the time.

Finally, Gaunt and Pratt's translation brings in a more critical and academic viewpoint on the text, leaning on their own expertise to form a translation which aims to represent the text as complex and intrinsically linked to the culture of its translation. As with Harrison's translation, this version can be read as a parallel text, with the translators making an effort to maintain line-for-line translation, along with various stylistic qualities of the ST. The result of these efforts is a translation which employs intentional archaism alongside explicative language, which both pushes and pulls the reader from the ST. Alongside this, the approach to cultural and emotional language is less marked, removing the emphasis on love between the main characters and resorting to terms such as heroism and valiant to describe the main characters: language which, much like the story, has mutated with the society in which it is used.

4.2 Corpus text 2: Tristan et Iseut by Thomas

Introduction

In the chosen corpus of medieval texts, *Tristan et Iseut* especially deserves analysis due to the complexity of argument around its origins and content, as well as the network it has developed up to the modern-day retellings of the tale. In the medieval period covered by this corpus (broadly twelfth century), there were two different examples of the *Tristan* story written in varieties of French, by two known authors. This analysis looks purely at the *Tristan* by Thomas of Britain as opposed to that by Béroul due to its claimed courtly alignment, and thus in keeping with the range of text types targeted in the rationale.[123]

To better locate the ST in time and place, a translator can first look to Thomas' assumed origins. These have been a source of debate for many years due to a paucity of written biographical evidence, leading him to be named 'Thomas de Bretagne' and 'Thomas d'Angleterre' alternately. Although writing in Anglo-Norman dialect, his birthplace and location while writing remain points of discussion, drawing from various sources within[124] and outside[125] his text to identify him as either English or French. An example of the instability of these critical arguments is the tendency to cite the passage with close detail about London in the *Dénouement du Roman*,[126] suggesting the author's knowledge of the place. However, it is possible to have knowledge of a place and not have the same nationality, especially considering the economic growth that the city of London underwent during the twelfth century and its attraction to travellers.

---

[123] A facsimile of the ST manuscript excerpt can be found in the Appendix, pp.455-56.
[124] For example, scholar and translator Bartina Wind claimed his writing showed more of a French than English style being a Frenchman who wrote for the Plantagenet court. Bartina Wind, *Les fragments du roman de Tristan: poème du XIIe siècle* (Vol. 92) (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1960) p.47.
[125] Gottfried von Strassburg calls him 'of Britain' and the writer of the thirteenth-century *Sir Tristrem* claims to have met the author in their preface (as evidenced by Merritt R. Blakeslee, 'The Authorship of Thomas's "Tristan",' *Philological Quarterly*, 64(4) (1985), pp.555-573 (p.556) and Geoffrey Bromiley, *Thomas's Tristan and the Folie Tristan d'Oxford* (Critical guides to French texts 61). (London: Grant & Cutler, 1986) p.15). Other scholars have previously suggested a connection to contemporary texts by a named 'Thomas' (e.g. the *Romance of Horn* or Thomas of Kent's *Roman de toute chevalerie*), but this could equally be a case of coincidence (see Mary Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) p.49.)
[126] See for example Daniel Lacroix and Philippe Walter, *Tristan et Iseut: Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, (Lettres gothiques). (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1989) p.458 :
(l.1373ff.) 'Ço est entree de Tamise ; Vait en amunt a marchandise ; En la buche, dehors l'entree, En un port ad sa nef ancree ; A sun batel en va amunt, Dreit a Lundres desuz le punt […] Lundres est mult riche cité, Meliur n'ad en cristienté…' ([my gist translation] 'that is the mouth of the Thames; ahead he travels with his merchandise ; in the mouth, outside the entrance, in a port had anchored his ship; in his boat he went up, straight to London under the bridge […] London is a very rich city, better was not to be had in Christiandom').

The text also provides evidence of Thomas' social status, which has an impact on ST writing style: our knowledge of the background of the ST can shed light on nuances of the language, usage of key terms and the writer's attitude to social practices. In the medieval period, if the writer was a priest, the translator could look for the influence of scripture; if a *jongleur*, elements of humour or refrain may become pertinent; for a *clerc* working in and for a noble environment, the translator may need to investigate the courtly milieu. This would entail identifying allusions in the ST to the closely delineated social structures of the time and setting, which may affect the choice of register and sociolect for the TT. Such understanding allows the translator a greater control over which terms might be most appropriate. For Thomas, we can point to the audience addressed in his story, the 'seigneurs'[127] and 'amants'[128] which suggest a court milieu, placing him in a position of privilege if writing for this stratum of society. Critics have argued his specific role in the court to be 'undoubtedly' a clerc due to his literacy, but not necessarily priestly: Jonin[129] points to passages where ecclesiastical literature can be seen to have had an influence, such as in the narrator's asides on the morals of lovers,[130] as well as the moral judgement he voices through characters such as Brengain,[131] while William Calin supports this idea, stating there is 'more than a little clerical in its rhetorical and intellectual structure.'[132]

The suggested time of production reinforces the notion of a courtly origin: Bartina Wind aims to create a connection between Thomas and the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine, putting him 'at the heart of Eleanor's conservative literary milieu'[133] as does Mary Dominica Legge, saying that the use of 'seignurs' indicates court usage, as well as the detail about London and Normandy.[134] This is an assertion which has been supported or denied by comparison with other contemporary texts which mention the characters or contain similar

---

[127] Lacroix and Walter, *Tristan et Iseut : Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, p. 434 : (l. 837) 'Seignurs, cest cunte est mult divers.'

[128] Lacroix and Walter, *Tristan et Iseut : Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, p. 480 : (l.39) 'A tuz amanz saluz i dit.'

[129] Pierre Jonin, *Les personnages féminins dans les romans français de Tristan au XIIe siècle : Étude des influences contemporaines* (Publication des Annales de la Faculté des lettres, Aix-en-Provence. nouvelle série ; no.22) (Aix-en-Provence: Editions Ophrys, 1958) p. 450.

[130] e.g. in Lacroix and Walter, *Tristan et Iseut : Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, pp. 350-355 (ll.234-305).

[131] Lacroix and Walter, *Tristan et Iseut : Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, pp.406-411 (ll.234-300)

[132] William Calin, *The French Tradition and the Literature of Medieval England*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) p.50.

[133] Bartina Wind, 'Éléments courtois dans Béroul et dans Thomas', *Romance Philology*, 14.1 (1960), pp.1-13 (p.17).

[134] Legge, *Anglo-Norman literature and its background*, p.48.

themes.[135] Therefore, if we take Thomas' text to have been written in parallel with (if not for) the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine, between 1155 and 1173, his use of language would not only be affected by the environment for which it was produced, this being courtly, but also by the associated period of literary expansion, which is evidenced in crossovers between *Tristan* and other texts, both internally and externally.

The presentation of a ST to its original audience is also a key feature in deliberating the operational norm of a translation. Thomas' *Tristan* is part of an early switch to the written form from orally transmitted tales but was also likely used for reading aloud. This diverges from previous oral traditions in which tales were repeated without a single identifiable source, thereby leaving them open to elaboration by the individual performer. The position of Thomas' *Tristan* as an early written example of literature confers a certain sense of stability to the myth it describes, as Gaunt argues: 'In a manuscript culture, every author, indeed every scribe can change a story as he transmits it. But this instability differs radically from the inherent instability of oral texts […] every performance of an orally transmitted narrative disappears as it unfolds.'[136] For Thomas this solidity meant he could place his text in dialogue with not only other versions people may have known, but with other known myths and stories emerging from the cultural milieu in which he worked. For the translator, this provides not only a firmness of narrative to work from, but a network of texts from which to draw parallels.

Yet, the ST still maintains a connection to the oral form in its potential for recitation, as well as its use of the narrative voice to encourage debate among its readers/listeners, a discursive technique which a translator may choose to replicate in the TT. A key example of this is with Thomas' use of the narrator to engage with the audience, in a manner which harks back to the Latin *exemplum*, a moral tale designed to encourage debate on moral issues.[137] An

---

[135] e.g. Wace's Brut, which is seen to have been a source for many writers in his contemporary milieu, a claim made most clearly in 1931 and still in common usage (see Margaret Pelan, *L'influence du Brut de Wace sur les romanciers français de son temps* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974)); Chrétien de Troyes' Cligès which is seen to have the closest matching content, exemplified by the pun on la mer/amer/l'amer mirroring the opening lines of the Carlisle fragment (Kay, 'Courts, clerks and courtly love,' p.90). However, other contemporary Tristan texts, by Béroul and Marie de France, have been a source of dispute on date, see: Legge, *Anglo-Norman literature and its background*, pp.46-7; Simon Gaunt, *Retelling the tale: An introduction to medieval French literature* (London: Duckworth Academic, 2001) p.135.

[136] Gaunt, *Retelling the Tale: An Introduction to Medieval French Literature*, pp.47-48.

[137] Lacroix and Walter, *Tristan et Iseut: Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, p.480, (l.49) 'Pur essample issi ai fait.'

important feature of the text, this not only reveals insight into its use and possible performative value, but also Thomas' expression of the moral subject matter of his story as a member of the court environment. Thomas' attitude to his lead characters is often gauged in comparison to the way Béroul seemingly sides with the pair, idealising their love. Thomas by contrast has been cited as having a zero-sum relationship with the characters. For example, Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner[138] says he both associates and distances himself from the couple due to lack of personal experience in love, while in the text possible disapproval of their adultery is expressed through the words of the character Brengain.[139] The insertion of the narrator's personal opinion into the text has been argued to be an example of Thomas referencing rhetorical practices familiar to the medieval reader: the religious *exemplum*[140] and courtly culture's tendency to be less interested in idealising the fin amors than encouraging a debate around them.[141] By addressing his audience, he encourages his assumed audience of lovers to engage in his philosophical and moral dialogue, and even recognize their own positive and negative experiences in the story.[142] For the translator, the dialogic aspect of the story creates a dilemma around the extent to which the oral, debate focused aspects of the ST should be emphasised, whether through language choice or form. If designed to be spoken aloud from the written text, should the translation take the form of a poem, evoking its oral roots, or an epistle, following its moral discourse? How far should the discursive nature of the text be taken in terms of language choice, expressing moral judgement on the characters? How can we express the emphatic and demonstrative, as well as potentially musical nature of oral tales?

Alongside the core issues posed by the ST environment and production, we must also consider the wider network of the text, its contemporary parallels and how it is preserved today as part of a continuity of adaptation in various media. This gives us an idea of the image that a translator will have of a text even before reading it, based on the archetype which has been developed in their contemporary media, as well as the supporting ideas they may gather from other sources while translating.

---

[138] Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, 'The shape of romance in medieval France,' in: Roberta L. Krueger, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp. 13-28 (p.16).

[139] See Lacroix and Walter, *Tristan et Iseut: Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, pp.406-411 (ll.234-300)

[140] A story inserted into a sermon or one intended to provide a moral or point of religious doctrine.

[141] Gaunt, *Retelling the Tale: An Introduction to Medieval French Literature*, p.137.

[142] Douglas Kelly, *The Art of Medieval French Romance* (Madison; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992) p.120 and p.249.

From the medieval period, there are seven extant versions and offshoots known and included in the classical *Tristan* corpus: those of Thomas and Béroul, Eilhart von Oberg and Gottfried von Strassburg (Middle High German), *Sir Tristrem* (Middle English), the *Tristrams Saga* (Norse), and the *Folies*. These are held to maintain the core of the story as it would have been passed down before the modern era. Of the Thomas version, which we are studying, there are eight known fragments whereas Béroul's version only exists in one, a testament to its popularity in its time. There is however no known original story,[143] though an Ur-Tristan has been postulated, notably by Bédier, who attempted a replication of this primitive version by combining the Middle High German text, the existing Thomas fragments and the *Prose Tristan*. Similarly, other scholars have created collections of the contemporary texts without attempting to adjoin them, instead presenting the text as fragments, or alternatively compensating for lost passages of text by referring to other, more complete medieval versions such as that by Strassburg, in the intention of creating a rounded view of the available material from the twelfth century. Techniques of compilation and compensation mirror the medieval practice of binding related texts for discursive or thematic reading and are also carried out by translators, publishers and editors throughout this analysis: here especially with Hatto and Ashe.

The *Tristan* story has since then been repeatedly transformed for a new audience, much in the same way that Thomas brought it out of oral tradition and reworked it into a written text to suit the cultural mores of the twelfth century. It was merged with the Arthurian tradition by the *Prose Tristan* of the thirteenth century and this retelling held sway in English and French tradition until its resurgence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This was part of the Romantic revival through writers such as Walter Scott who published the incomplete *Sir Tristrem* (1804) and Swinburne, whose *Tristram of Lyonesse* (1882) would become a new archetype for modern English writers' treatment of the story. Around the same time in Germany, Wagner produced his operatic version *Tristan und Isolde*, first performed in 1862. These parallel traditions exemplify the relevance of the habitus of the writer: while the English writers followed the Thomas branch focusing on romance, beauty and mysticism, Wagner followed the German branch of the medieval myth established by Gottfried, emphasising the tragic and psychological elements of the story. These themes were elaborated not only due to their relevance to the writers' nationalities but the predominant social trends

[143] Lacroix and Walter, *Tristan et Iseut : Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, p.10.

of their times, such as the Romantic era of art and poetry, the rise of psychoanalysis and the contribution of many of these myths to the legitimisation of empire.

Other modern writers in the twentieth century creating their own versions of the myth include Thomas Hardy, with his play *The Queen of Cornwall* (1923), and Arthur Quiller Couch/Daphne DuMaurier's *Castel D'Or* (1925). Two major film productions, Cocteau's *L'Eternel Retour* (1943) and *Tristan & Isolde* (2006) both transform the tale for new audiences and are examples of the impact of contemporary environments in their retelling. The first, transposing the storyline to 1940s France, but retaining the imagery of a medieval castle and a 'beau poison' evokes the tragedy of the story, reminding the viewers of their legendary past while France was still under Occupation. The second, retaining the medieval setting, removes many of the mystical elements and focuses on love and drama, as well as battle, in medieval Britain. The first promotes escapism for the audience via a story infiltrated by medieval imagery, the second aims at visualising the reality of the time rather than fantasising. The network of activity around the *Tristan* myth, beginning in the medieval period and working up to the modern day shows not only the longevity of the tale but its ability to be made relevant to different contemporary environments over time. This continuity of activity mirrors the medieval reworking by Thomas, and highlights the importance of a writer, producer or translator's approach toward the narrative, and their conscious or unconscious adherence to their socio-cultural habitus. The analysis of each translation here will exemplify not only each translator's contribution to the continuity of the tale, but their conformity with the habitus in which they produced their translation.

To sum up this brief review of the theories and themes surrounding Thomas' *Tristan*, we can return to the issues which would have the greatest importance for a translator. When preparing a translation, our perception of the ST writer and their intention is crucial to preparing a suitable approach, and with Thomas' *Tristan* we are faced with multiple lacunae. However, from textual analysis we can understand that a (likely) court audience would have received the story not only as a courtly romance to be read or read aloud, but also as an interrogation of love and morality, possibly to fire debate, or just to entertain. When approaching the translation of the text, it is likely that translators will turn to more than one version of *Tristan* to create a fuller view of the text and to fill in these gaps for the intended reader. The ongoing legacy of this ST will likely have an explicit or implicit effect on the translator's portrayal of the story due to its levels of reproduction, and it will be especially interesting to note if this is in keeping with the cultural habitus of the time when they are

translating, or another period of time: if a translator has engaged with popular culture at any point throughout the twentieth century, they could have been more strongly exposed to a Romantic,[144] tragic, operatic or even cinematic version of this text, and these experiences could then affect the way they view the characters and the scenes portrayed, as much as their own primary reading. In this way, *Tristan* becomes a very interesting text to look at from the viewpoint of translation, due to its longevity, popularity, and the numerous ways it has been replicated in various media to the current day.

[144] In the sense of Romanticism.

4.2.1 Analysis 1: Tristan in Brittany, trans. by Dorothy L. Sayers, (London: Benn, 1929)

Personal Habitus

Dorothy L Sayers' background was that of a member of an educated elite, at a time when access to education, and especially higher education for women, was still in the minority. Born in 1893, Sayers would have been a member of this elite. Her parents were of solid middle-class status, her father the Reverend Henry Sayers, one-time headmaster of Christ Church Cathedral School in Oxford, and her mother the daughter of solicitor and Latin scholar Frederick Leigh, a believer in 'muscular Christianity.'[145] Her father taught her Latin and the Bible from an early age, and this education was supplemented by wide reading, before she was finally sent to Godolphin School at the age of sixteen.[146] From this school, she gained a place at Somerville College, Oxford, a known centre of support for women's suffrage during the time she would have attended.[147] While at Oxford, she studied modern languages and medieval literature, under tutor Miss Mildred Pope, the first woman to hold a readership at Oxford University and later founder of the Anglo Norman Text Society.[148] During her time at Oxford she gained close knowledge of languages and medieval literature as well as experience of the field of translation, as it formed part of her studies there. A broader idea of the extent of her studies, including an early translation of *Tristan,* can be gathered from the collection of her notebooks, undergraduate essays and diaries held in the Wheaton College archive,[149] but we can infer the influence of her time at Oxford on her later translations, as it was to Pope that she dedicated her translation of *Tristan*, noting the importance of her advice in the process.[150] The combined effects of her upbringing and the ecclesiastical influence of her father, the Rev. Henry Sayers, as well as the academic and

---

[145] James Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Biography* (New York: Scribner, 1981) pp.3-5.
[146] Catherine Kenney, *The Remarkable Case of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Saint Louis: The Kent State University Press, 2013) pp.8-9.
[147] See: Pauline Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College, 1879-1993* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Somerville, University of Oxford, 'A Brief History of Somerville - Somerville College Oxford', *Somerville, University of Oxford*, 2019 <https://www.some.ox.ac.uk/about/a-brief-history-of-somerville/> [Accessed 17 February 2019]
[148] Jane Chance, *Women Medievalists and the Academy*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005) pp.147-9.
[149] Wheaton College, 'Undergraduate Notes and Essays Archive by Dorothy L. Sayers, Box 1, Folder 10.' *Marion E. Wade Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL*, 2023 <https://archives.wheaton.edu/repositories/3/resources/477> [Accessed 23 July 2023].
[150] Ralph E. Hone, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Literary Biography* (Kent Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979) p.14; Sayers, *Tristan in Brittany*, p.xxiv.

social environment she joined at Somerville College meant that her viewpoint was not only highly literate, but staunchly religious.

Despite Sayers' largely conventional upbringing, she took advantage of the changing times she lived in, being able to independently take positions as a teacher in Hull, at Blackwell's publishing in 1916, having earlier been approached to publish some of her poetry, and later at Benson's, an advertising agency. Her first book as an independent author, *Whose Body?* was published around the time she joined Benson's in 1923 and began a run of eleven popular fictional mysteries (and some short stories) involving Lord Peter Wimsey. Through her popular writing, which she is best known for today, we can infer a close connection between her personal life and her authorship. Not only can we detect elements of her medieval and Christian interests (*The Nine Tailors* takes place around a medieval church), but also details of the psychological difficulties faced by First World War veterans in *The Unpleasantness at the Bellona Club*,[151] and in *Gaudy Night*, which has been called the 'first feminist mystery novel,'[152] the characters speak at length on the role of women: 'The rule seemed to be that a great woman must either die unwed [...] The great man, on the other hand, could marry where he liked.'[153]

However, outside of popular fiction, her other works included translations of *The Song of Roland,* Dante's *Divine Comedy* in three parts, and plays including *The Man Born to be King*, all of which suggest an enduring connection to her early studies and convictions. Later she also made her own contributions to moral philosophy with lectures on Christianity and the arts, and her book *Mind of the Maker* (1941). We can understand from Bourdieu that, as a social actor, a person is influenced by their upbringing and the environments in which they learn and live.[154] Dorothy L. Sayers' background enabled her to develop an academic taste in literature, as well as the religious sensibilities that would draw her to certain texts for translation. Her Christian background was something that carried on throughout her life, it being noted that however little seriousness she appeared to have about her faith, she kept a crucifix on her desk and crossed herself before meals.[155] Of the *Song of Roland*, she indicated

---

[151] Perhaps reflecting her own family experiences with family veterans suffering from psychological difficulties on their return, see Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Biography*, p.58.
[152] Carolyn G. Hart, 'Gaudy Night. Quintessential Sayers.' *Dorothy L. Sayers: The Centenary Celebration*. Ed. Alzina Stone Dale. (New York: Walker, 1993) pp.45-51 (p.48).
[153] Dorothy L. Sayers, *Gaudy Knight,* 3rd edn (London: Gollancz, 1972) p.53.
[154] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) p.72.
[155] Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Biography*, p.67.

that her interest and praise of the text was due to its' depiction of 'a Christianity as naïve and uncomplicated as might be found at any time in the simplest village church,' and containing aspects of the 'Christian supernatural' rather than a pagan one.[156] Similarly, her attraction to Dante could have been due to his discussion of moral philosophy in the *Divine Comedy*.

Looking at the wider societal changes going on around her, we can establish further areas of influence. One aspect to consider is that she was born toward the end of the late Romantic period of poetry and literature. In her academic life, she was a defender of Tennyson from critics that deemed his poetry too Victorian for the 'modern' age, for example in her lecture on the *Idylls of the King* in 1941, she found that the 'story of a great idealistic social experiment' (gone wrong) in his poem had great relevance to the turmoil of the time. Christine Colón argues further that there are parallels to be drawn between *Gaudy Night* and Tennyson's *The Princess* in their representations of gender roles,[157] and that Sayers was keen to draw on the literature of the previous period; we can find mention of Milton and Donne in her *Peter Wimsey* novels.[158] Yet we can also find their influence in her view of the Middle Ages; in the introduction to her *Song of Roland*, she describes the period as 'That new-washed world of clear sun and glittering colour.'[159] This is not to say that she lacks a critical viewpoint on the age, as in the introduction to *Tristan in Brittany*, she describes the writer in terms that would have been more fitting for the age, Thomas as a 'thoughtful and competent psychologist;' and on the role of character Iseult as 'no longer a chattel; but she has not yet become a cult.'[160] Therefore, in her translation of Tristan, we might perceive aspects of the following factors: Christianity, an academic perspective, a background in the classics in her syntax, Romantic language, as well as the suggestion of some feminist ideals around the role of women.

Concerning the choice of text for translation, we can understand from both Sayers' background as a medieval scholar and her own introduction to the text, that her choice of *Tristan* as a subject was due to her close connection with medieval writing as an academic. In fact she had already published some excerpts of this translation in *Modern Languages*, and

---

[156] Sayers, *The Song of Roland*, p.19.
[157] Christine A. Colon, 'Defending Tennyson', *Christianity & Literature*, 66.2 (2017), pp.274-92 (p.279).
[158] The former in the title of the novel *Thrones, Dominations,* which references Milton's *Paradise Lost* (The latter specifically in *Busman's Holiday*, the relevance of which Bach discusses at length: Rebecca Ann Bach, (Re)placing John Donne in the History of Sexuality. *ELH*, 72(1), (2005), pp.259-289 <https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.2005.0002>.
[159] Sayers, *The Song of Roland*, p.17.
[160] Sayers, *Tristan in Brittany,* p.xxx.

had hoped to publish it in full with *London Mercury,* but eventually fell back on Ernest Benn, the publisher of her popular works, due to lack of interest elsewhere.[161] She speaks at length in her introduction about the text, the genre and her own interest in creating a translation so that 'English speaking readers may get some sort of idea of the shape and proportion of Thomas' work as he originally wrote it.'[162] These details provide a thorough overview of the text in context and give key information to the reader that would otherwise be unavailable at the time outside of an academic environment, such as the extant manuscripts, and details on Thomas' assumed background. She also gives clues to the overall skopos of her translation when she speaks of her line-for-line style as being designed to help students of the period gain insight into the style, as well as 'safeguard against the intrusion' of modern language.[163] This is an assertion which will be explored more thoroughly below. However, what we can gain from this introduction is a reaffirmation of the idea that the translation is aimed at a general, but educated, audience.

We must also consider the role of mediation in this translation, as it plays a key role in the production of the published object. Mediation here means that another translator or editor's version of the text forms the basis of the translation we are studying. Sayers explains in her introduction that her translation is constructed of two distinct aspects: her own translations of extant manuscript texts, based on Bédier's edition, accompanied by summaries based on Bédier's compiled Ur-Tristan.[164] This means that any text surrounding that of the extant manuscript portions available to Sayers appears as summarised prose, whereas the translations have been maintained as metered verse and composed separately. Therefore, there are aspects of mediation, but occurring on two different levels: the first level where the overall story is fleshed out for the reader by excerpts summarised directly from Bédier's work; the second level where his edition was used by Sayers as a partial ST for her own translation. This could influence the presentation of the TT, as Sayers has to juggle these two formats, all the while drawing from a single edition, and applying her own translation choices to the text. It is also arguable that Sayers' translation could be coloured by the nuances of the edition and translation she used as her ST, as she does rely heavily on its content.

[161] Hone, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Literary Biography,* p.58.
[162] Sayers, *Tristan in Brittany,* p.xxxi.
[163] Ibid. p.xxxii.
[164] Ibid.

Publishing environment

The publishing house used for this translation was Ernest Benn, originally the publisher for a trade journal, but transformed in the 1920's to a publisher of art books, travel guides and general literature by Victor Gollancz. Under Gollancz, the publisher's turnover increased ten-fold and attracted authors such as H.G. Wells (a science fiction author) and E. Nesbit (known for children's writing and poetry). Gollancz' own publishing house later became the home of Sayers' mystery novels. The Essex library imprint by this publisher places Sayers' text alongside various notable authors such as the above, along with others such as J.B. Priestley and Nikolai Gogol (both playwrights and writers), as can be seen below in the front and back inserts from Sayers' *Tristan,* and further in the flyleaf for *An English Novel* by J.B. Priestley:[165]

The Essex library was described in its advertising material as '[covering] every branch of literature and knowledge, whilst among the authors will be many of the greatest writers of modern times.' The series was marketed as 'A pocket edition, specially produced to fit the masculine pocket and the feminine handbag, for travelling and for the bedside shelf,'[166] suggesting a wide, if certainly knowledgeable readership, based on the variety of subject matter and origin. What is notable here, however, is that she is highlighted as the translator of the text, whereas the translators of Ibañez or Gogol are not mentioned. This implies that her name also lends capital to the series, due to her popularity as an author of fiction.

Poetry and prose

Beginning with the formal matrix, we can look at the layout of the translation, or the graphic level.[167] The layout of the translation relates to its prosodic level, having been translated to mimic the ST, in octosyllabic rhyme. This means that the translation reads as a poem, in short lines. By translating into poetry, the translator replicates the rhythm of the ST, which was closely related to its orality. The *roman* genre of text in the twelfth century was designed to be read aloud, therefore its octosyllabic assonant rhyme scheme was key to its performative value, and the effect it would have had in its original context. However, translating in a poetic form often implies a degree of loss, in this case the assonance. Instead, the translator

[165] Krygier, 'Essex Library (Ernest Benn),' *A Series of Series (owu.edu)*, 2015 <https://seriesofseries.owu.edu/essex-library/> [Accessed 19 February 2019].
[166] Ernest Benn Ltd., 'Benn Books,' *Times* (London) 4 April 1929, p.10.
[167] Hervey and Higgins, *Thinking French Translation: A Course in Translation Method: French to English,* 2nd edn (London, New York: Routledge, 2002) p.91ff.

compensates for this loss[168] by adding an end-of-line couplet to the text, retaining the rhyme, but in a format more familiar to the reader, and overall, more applicable to English vocabulary. Examples of this effect can be seen here:

ST	**TT**
ll.590-99: Tristran se colche, Ysolt l'embrace, Baise lui la buche e la face, A li l'estraint, del cuer susspire E volt iço qu'il ne desire; A sun voleir est a contraire De laissier sun buen u del faire. La nature proveir se volt, La raison se tient a Ysolt. Le desir qu'il ad vers la reïne Tolt le voleir vers la meschine	ll.641-652:[169] Tristan lies in Iseult's embrace, She kisses both his lips and face, And draws him close, deep sighs doth heave, Longing for that he will not give; Contrary to his will it is To seek, or to renounce, his bliss, Since nature fain would have her way, But Iseult doth his reason sway. Him his desire toward the queen From will toward the maid doth wean, Desire so holdeth will in thrall That nature has no power at all;
ll.803-816: Par plusurs feiz l'ad ja requis Puis que cil parti del païs. Idunc vint il pur corteier; Mais unques n'i pot espleiter, Ne tant vers la reïne faire Vaillant un guant em poüst traire: Ne en promesse ne en grant, Unques ne fist ne tant ne quant. En la curt ad molt demoré E pur cest' amor sujorné.	ll.855-67: Thither he came his court to pay, But still could bear no gain away, Nor win so much of Iseult's love As 'twere the value of a glove; Whether in promise or in fee No jot nor tittle e'er gat he. Long time was he by love detained, And many days in court remained. A right fair knight he was, I ween, Courteous and proud and well-beseen,

[168] Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, *The Translator as Communicator* (London/New York: Routledge, 2005) p.96.
[169] Note that there is a discrepancy in the line numbers between ST and TT caused by the insertion of extra descriptive matter.

Il esteit molt bels chevaliers, Corteis e orguillus e fiers, Mès n'iert mie bien a loer Endreit de ses armes porter.	But yet deserved a lesser meed Of praise, for arms and knightly deed. Long time was he by love detained

In ll.861-2 (below)[170] the emphasis is placed on the end of line rhyme rather than focussing on internal assonance. French language, with its regularity of forms throughout verbs and adjectives provides a variety of outlets for assonant rhyme (consider the modern French noun, adjective and verb endings é, er, ais, and ait for example), whereas the variability of vowel sounds in English (think through, though, thorough) would render this a much more difficult aspect for a translator to replicate. Sayers makes reference to this in her translator's note, apologising to the reader for her 'rough, crabbed or involved couplets,'[171] and we can see examples of her self-stated difficulty, as in ll.649-50 where loyalty to the couplet has restricted the naturalness[172] of the phrase. Another aspect of Sayers' adjustment is found on the sentential level, where the adopted syntax frequently places the verb toward the end of the sentence, and the conjunction at the start. These changes could also be attributed to replication of the source material, where the verb is frequently the source of end of line rhyme, while also conforming to assonance.

For the target audience one possible effect would be to reference other popular historical writers known by the audience, such as Shakespeare, if we look at the example below (with highlighted forms):

> O mistress mine, where are you roaming?
>
> O stay and hear! your true-love's coming
>
> [...]
>
> Journeys end in lovers' meeting—
>
> Every wise man's son doth know.[173]

[170] Sayers, *Tristan in Brittany,* p.135.
[171] Ibid. p.xxxiii.
[172] Baker, for example, aligns 'naturalness' as what is typical in the target language, and places this idea in opposition to 'accuracy.' There are similarities with the term 'readability,' in that it evokes the acceptability of a term or phrase in the target language. *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation,* p.60.
[173] William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, Act 3 Scene 2. *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2005) p.727.

However, Sayers' approach is not always consistent, showing variation between archaic lexis and poetic syntax, and attempts to increase the readability and accessibility of the text for a more general audience. While the ST uses verbs at the end of the line in order to maintain rhyme, the TT audience would more usually expect a subject-verb-object order, and we would expect a translator to respect this cultural norm in order to maintain the text's accessibility. Instead, Sayers' TT format balances recognisable archaic forms while retaining some ST features related to speaking rhythm and layout, albeit in a format which was not intended for public recital.

Archaism

In addition to changes made to the syntax around the applied rhyme scheme, the lexical choices made by the translator reinforce an overall archaising effect. Taking for example the line 'But Iseult doth his reason sway': across the two-hundred-line excerpt from Sayers' translation, the word 'doth,' an archaic third person present of 'do', occurs a total of eight times, with other words being given the same suffix (holdeth, taketh), and further words being contracted into archaic literary forms (o'er, 'gainst, e'er, ne'er). She also uses the formal English pronouns 'thee' and 'thou' in passages of speech. Alongside these examples, the general linguistic choice favours archaic terms which had a predominant usage in the 1800s and before. Words such as 'natheless,' 'troth,' 'wight,' 'wis' 'ween' and 'wot' are evidence of a specific linguistic approach. By using such language, the translator achieves two separate outcomes. As we have seen so far, there is a close interaction between the chosen form of the text, which reflects the layout and rhythm pattern of the poetic ST, and the syntactic level of the text, where the octosyllabic rhyme scheme has an effect on the arrangement of each line. Lexical choice also has an influence here, as by using such terms as those listed above, the translator had wider range of syllable lengths available, using contractions and extensions to words as mentioned above (takes, [one syllable] becoming taketh [two syllables], or ne'er [one syllable] instead of never [two syllables]) which would have aided her in maintaining the line length. Using contractions such as 'o'er' would have been especially valuable in this respect, as is shown in these lines: 'For never did I so before | But that I fainted three times o'er.' (ll.691-2). The second outcome of this approach is to foreignize the text, by placing an artificial temporal distance between the reader and the text. This linguistic feature, in its contemporary context, would have the effect of aligning the translation with other earlier poets such as Tennyson, who in turn also used this approach to

refer back to an earlier, idealised time. Take for example this extract from *The Lady of Shallott*, using the same contraction:

> O'er the stream of Camelot.
> Piling the sheaves in furrows airy,
> Beneath the moon, the reaper weary
> Listening whispers, ''Tis the fairy,
> Lady of Shalott.'[174]

In this way, the translator, in her style, not only creates an intertextual link with the late Romantic literary fantasizing of the British past, but also places her text alongside theirs as evoking a time of a specific version of the practice of chivalry, and for her, Christian values. We can also note on the linguistic level, the use of inverted noun and adjective/verb, as in 'for ne'er did I so,' which is often used as a marker of archaism throughout this corpus.

Characterisation

Moving down to the micro-textual and semantic level of the text, we can explore how the archaic style is played out, and which other linguistic choices could have an effect on the way we view the translation's content. The excerpt chosen here covers two ST episodes, wherein each linguistic choice by the translator could add or take away semantic elements for the target audience, in terms of the characters' emotional state and the way it reflects both the overall story and their relative personalities. The attention to these translation decisions reflect Sayers' opinion of the ST author as mentioned in their translator's note, where she characterises Thomas as a psychologist, more interested in 'feelings, motives and problems of morality,' than battle and adventure;[175] as Sayers attempts to remain faithful to her source, the focus on emotion and thought is visible throughout the excerpt, and shows close attention to the interplay of language and emotion. One example of this is the use of language expressing the introspective character of the passages, for example with the insertion of phrases such as 'I wis' and 'I wot' as mentioned above, and even in the opening line of this excerpt where she adds explicitation 'Therefore, I think, come love, come hate' l. 635) which does not exist in the ST and highlights the active thought process of the character. Similarly, later on we find 'Loves joy and hates love in his mind' (l.662), which again makes the character's mental torment stand out. Further on, the action he takes is modified, where he 'knows not […] what

[174] Alfred Tennyson, 'The Lady of Shalott,' in *The Collected Works of Tennyson* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1994) pp.55-59 (p.43).
[175] Sayers, *Tristan in Brittany*, p.xxx.

words to his wife shall use,' (ll.668-9) whereas in the ST the verb 'deive' is used, a relation of the modern French 'devoir,' indicating a crisis of obligation rather than thought. For Iseult, wife of King Marc, we see that 'No other way her thought can turn,' (l.703) whereas in the ST it is her heart rather than thought that is in question. In this way, Sayers presents the psychological aspect of the story very clearly to the TT reader.

Alongside this, the translator's use of language could be argued to affect the view we have of the main characters, in that we are made aware of their emotions more clearly. Tristan is pictured as the victim, constrained, 'in thrall,' his desires 'quite o'erthrow' his body's will, and shame is 'wrought' upon him. The translator modifies the syntax to make him more passive, where he 'lies in Iseult's embrace' (l.641 as above) and Iseult 'doth his reason sway' (l.648 as above). Although the change of syntax carried out in the first example could be argued to be a feature of natural language rendering, moving the subject of the sentence to the beginning, it also changes the nuance, with Tristan passive in Iseult's arms. Later in his passages of introspection we find the following excerpt:

ST	**TT**
ll.615-45: En grant paine est e en turment, En grant pensé, en grant anguisse; Ne set cume astenir se puisse, Ne coment vers sa femme deive, Par quel engin covrir se deive. Nequedent un poi fu huntus E fuit ço dunt fu desirus, Eschive ses plaisirs e fuit, C'umcore n'out de sun deduit. Dunc dit Tristrans: 'Ma bele amie, Nel tornez pas a vilainie, Un conseil vos voil jo geïr, Si vos pri jo molt del covrir, Que nuls nel sace avant de nos; Unques nel dis fors ore a vos.	ll.666-96: He is in torment and on fire, And in great grief and in great pain, He knows not how he shall refrain, Nor what words to his wife shall use, Nor by what sleight himself excuse. Natheless some shame upon him wrought, He flees the thing that once he sought, His pleasures doth avoid and flee, And of her body gets no glee. Then: 'Fairest love,' did Tristan say, 'Think not the worse of me I pray If now a secret I reveal And beg you straitly to conceal, That none may know it save we two, 'Twas ne'er to any told but you.

De ça vers le destre costé	Know that upon my right-hand side
Ai el cors une emfermeté,	My body doth a sickness hide
Qui tenu m’ad molt lungement;	That now long time hath holden me;
Anoit m’ad anguissé forment.	To-night it pains me grievously.
Par le grant travail qu’ai eü	All the great toils that I have done
M’est il par le cors esmeü;	Makes it throughout my body run.
Si anguissement me tient	It keepeth me in such sore pain,
E si près del feie me vient	And so my vital parts doth gain
Que jo ne m’os plus emveisier	I dare not love’s delight to take,
Ne mei pur le mal travaillier.	Nor yet exert me, for its sake;
Uncques pois ne me travaillai	For never did I so before
Que par treis feiz ne me pasmai:	But that I fainted three times o’er,
Malades jui lunges après.	And after, long lay sick, I wot
Ne vos em peist s’ore le lais:	If I refrain now, blame me not.
Nos le ravrum encore asez	We shall have times for pleasure still
Quant jo voldrai e vos voldrez.	When thou and I alike shall will.’

In the above excerpt, Tristan appears more hesitant, conscious of the effect of his words, as in ll.669-70 (‘Nor what words to his wife shall use | Nor by what sleight himself excuse’) and ll.694-96 (If I refrain now, blame me not. | We shall have times for pleasure still/When thou and I alike shall will) and also frames himself as the subject of his supposed malady as in ll.682-3 (My body doth a sickness hide| That now long time hath holden me). This affects the semantic level of the text, and changes his character from one of active thought, to one subjected to other forces, and conscious of the blame he brings upon himself.

For Iseult’s part of the longer excerpt, the language used to describe her actions also adds to her characterisation, highlighting her annoyance or petulance. The terms in her reported speech are more pejorative than the ST:

ST	TT
ll.826-51:	ll.877-912:
— Vos dites veir,' Ysolt lui dit;	'Well hast thou said,' Iseult replied,
'Bien voil que sa mort signifit.	'I grant the owl's death signified;
Assez est huan u fresaie.	Well may that man be called an owl
Bien devez vostre mort doter,	Who frightens all men by his howl;
Quant vos dotez le mien chanter,	Your death it is you ought to fear
Car vos estes fresaie asez	When death in this my song you hear,
Pur la novele qu'aportez.	For you indeed the owl may be
Unques ne crei aportisiez	For all the news you bring to me.
Novele dunt l'un fust ja liez	Never have you told tidings here
Ne unques chaenz ne venistes	Whereof I might have any cheer,
Males noveles ne desistes.	Nor ever yet my presence sought
Il est tuit ensement de vus	But you some evil tale have brought.
Cum fu jadis d'un perechus,	And it is with you even so
Ki ja ne levast de l'astrier	As with the sluggard long ago,
Fors pur un hom corocier:	Who'd never stir from his hearth-stone
De votre ostel jan en istrez	Save to annoy or vex someone.
Si novele oïe n'avez	So you your lodging will not leave,
Que vos poissiez avant conter.	Save you learn something that may grieve,
Vos ne volez pas luin aller	That you may blab[176] it all about.
Pur chose faire que l'en die.	You will not stir to go far out
De vos n'irt ja novele oïe	For any cause a man may name;
Dunt vos amis aient honur,	Never of you went any fame,
Ne cels ki vos haient dolur.	To honour you in your friends' eyes
Des altrui faiz parler volez:	Nor to distress your enemies.
Les voz n'irent ja recordez.'	You prate of deeds that others do,
	None will be chronicled of you!'

[176] Though this may seem a modern term to use, in fact it has a history leading back to Middle English 'blaberen' and Middle High German 'blabezen' meaning to babble or stammer. Merriam Webster, 'blab,' *Merriam Webster*, 2019 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/blab> [Accessed 19 February 2019].

For example, in the excerpt above ST l.829 is translated as ‘Who frightens all men by his howl’ rather than song, and l.849 as ‘nor to distress your enemies,’ rather than sadden. Furthermore, there are additions and modifications in the lines ‘Save you learn something that may grieve | That you may blab it all about,’ (ll.894-5 ‘Si novele oïe n’avez | Que vos poissiez avant conter’) which add emphasis to her negative viewpoint. The attitudinal meaning of each character’s lines has arguably changed in order to heighten the effect of the emotions portrayed within the text. Where Tristan could be portrayed as an active force with a strong mental attitude towards his difficulties, from Sayers’ language choice he becomes a passive scapegoat. Iseult by comparison could be simply a strong female character, expressing her frustration at the goading of Cariado, whereas she appears more petulant due to the language used, less measured in her speech than a queen should be. This has the effect of changing the reader’s opinion, or attitude, to the characters themselves. The effect of these changes, therefore, has an impact on how we perceive not only the characters as representatives of their time, but also as the intended function of the text for the ST audience as a mirror of their own society and the ways they would have expected the elite to behave.

In the earlier part of this excerpt, there is also a reduction of the sexual nature of the passage, using more euphemistic translations. See for example the earlier excerpt around ll.593-5, and ll.598-99 where the terms ‘desir’ and ‘voleir’ are translated as follows:

ST	**TT**
l.593-99: A sun voleir est a contraire De laissier sun buen u del faire. La nature proveir se volt, La raison se tient a Ysolt. Le desir qu’il ad vers la reïne Tolt le voleir vers la meschine	l.644-70: Contrary to his will it is To seek, or to renounce, his bliss, Him his desire toward the queen From will toward the maid doth wean, Desire so holdeth will in thrall That nature has no power at all;

This euphemising pattern is repeated in l.608, where ‘boen voleir de li faire’ is translated as ‘He had good will his joy to gain,’ and in l.638 where ‘jo ne m’os plus

emveisier' is rendered as 'I dare not love's delight to take.'[177] A simplifying approach is foregrounded in the translator's note to the text, where Sayers cites Thomas' 'two kinds of love – the bodily passion which he calls "voleir" and the finer and higher union of body, soul and spirit which he calls "desir",'[178] and explains they will be rendered as 'will' and 'desire.' However, the examples above show a greater reduction of the third idea of pleasure which is frequently referred to in the text. This is visible where certain terms, such as 'emveisier' above could equally have the sense of amusement or arousal as 'delight,' whereas other euphemisms are rendered as 'joy' or 'bliss,' which have altogether more wholesome connotations than 'to do it.' It is possible that this could be due to her written intention to reduce 'the more exact and scientific terms which we have had the leisure to invent in the course of seven over-civilised centuries,'[179] but it is also possible to infer a connection to the moral environment she was brought up in as the daughter of a clergyman, and also the intended readership – students of the original text and the well-read public. By reducing these inferences, it would be less likely to be subject to critique, and more acceptable to a wider readership. It would also reflect Romantic ideals discussed above, where the past was framed in more mythical, soft tones, and less down to earth language. In each possible scenario we can see there would be some shifts occurring in terms of meaning.

Metaphor/idiom

The use of allusive meaning and metaphor, by contrast, is handled in a variable way. In the ST, there are frequent references made to myth and social practice, a good example of which is in the song which Yseut sings, a story which has not been preserved to the present day. When it comes to inferences to other myths and common metaphor in the ST, Sayers' approach in this excerpt is to reduce them. See for example, the change from 'Nature' to 'natural will', 'Raison' to 'his reason' and the loss of the description of the different types of owl (fresaie/huan) in the metaphor during the conversation between Iseult and Cariado (ll.879-80 and l.906 above). These are parts of the text which are not altogether necessary for a fluent reading of the content, but which represent a cultural element which has been lost. In other cases, she uses an explicative translation, or a change to a more explicative form to help the general reader understand the key terms. 'Druerie' (love, affection, courtly love) is

[177] The term 'emveisier' can equally be translated as 'to amuse oneself,' however the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* specifically notes this line of *Tristan* as being sexual in nature. *AND² Online Edition*, 'enveiser¹,' 2019 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/enveiser_1> [Accessed 19 February 2019].
[178] Sayers, *Tristan in Brittany*, p.xxxiii.
[179] Ibid.

translated as ‘her love to get’, where the ST term infers a type of courtship, and ‘Dru’, a diminutive of the above later as ‘lover.’ ‘Meschine,’is translated as ‘maid,’ where the ST term would mean an unmarried or young woman; the more archaic term in the TT emphasises the fact that the two had only just been married, and the marriage remained unconsummated. When it comes to cultural descriptions, such as those about Cariado’s background: ‘riche tere’ (rich land) becomes ‘wide estate,’ a more modern rendering, and ‘a lesser meed | of praise, for arms and knightly deed,’ uses the line-end addition to not only fill out the rhyme but emphasise the importance of a skill in weapons in the context of the Middle Ages. Finally, there is a possibility that the translator has added more inter-textual meaning relevant to her own time. The form of ‘Bretayn’ for ‘Brittany’ (l.662) pre-dates the majority of the archaisms the translator uses. Though many archaisms can be attributed to usage in the early to mid-nineteenth century, a likely source and referent for this term is *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which uses this precise form but in Middle English rather than Old French, and is arguably a better-known example of medieval writing in this translation’s target culture:

> Langaberde in Lumbardie lyftes vp homes,
> And fer ouer þe French flod Felix Brutus
> On mony bonkkes ful brode *Bretayn* he settez
> wyth wynne.
>
> (and Langobard did likewise, building homes in Lombardy.
> And further afield, over the Sea of France,
> on Britain's broad hill-tops, Felix Brutus made
> his stand).[180]

[180] Simon Armitage, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. (London: Faber, 2009) p.5.

4.2.2 Analysis 2: Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas, trans. by A. T. Hatto, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960)

Personal Habitus

Arthur Thomas Hatto was born, much like Dorothy L. Sayers, into a middle-class household, son of a solicitor who later became the Assistant Chief Solicitor to the British Transport Commission. As a result of his socially privileged position, Hatto was sent to Dulwich College on a scholarship. This college has a long history leading back to the reign of James I, when it was known as Alleyn's College of God's Gift, and today remains an independent boys' school of national renown; it boasts 'a distinguished tradition of inspired teaching and genuine scholarship' and 'a long standing reputation for producing fine actors, musicians, sportsmen and writers' among whom are P.G. Wodehouse and Raymond Chandler.[181] Here Hatto would have studied 'traditional' subjects[182] such as German and French, as well as Latin, taught through the translation method as was common during this period.[183] Although initially favouring the study of biology, he was attracted to the German language due to Mark Twain's essay *The Awful German Language* published as part of *A Tramp Abroad*.[184] Following this path, he went on to Kings College London, studying German under Robert Priebsch and Frederick Norman, both of whom were specialists in the language and philologists, the former having produced *The German Language* (1934), the latter focusing on Germanic heroic poetry such as the *Hildebrandslied*.[185] This scholarly focus on German continued for Hatto, leading him to take positions in the University of Bern as a lector in English, followed by a return to Kings College as an Assistant Lecturer and finally to Queen Mary College where he stayed until retirement.

For Hatto, his linguistic aptitude would not only encourage his academic endeavours but also his wartime employment as a member of the British intelligence service. Alongside his role as an academic and lecturer, Hatto was introduced to the cryptographic bureau at the

---

[181] Dulwich College, 'Notable OAs,' *Dulwich College*, 2020 <https://web.archive.org/web/20200215132222/https://www.dulwich.org.uk/old-alleynians-home/old-alleynians/notable-oas> [Accessed 24 July 2023].
[182] Larry Burton, 'Traditional Subjects.' in *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, ed. by Craig Kridel (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2010) pp.888-891.
[183] Williams, *French Discourse Analysis: The Method of Poststructuralism*, p.167.
[184] Rosmary Combridge and Frank M. Fowler, 'A.T. Hatto: A Tribute,' *German Life and Letters*, 30 (1977), pp.91-93 (p.91).
[185] See, for example: Frederick Norman, *Three Essays on the 'Hildebrandslied.'* (Institute of Germanic Studies, University of London, 1973).

Foreign Office in 1939, and later to Bletchley Park.[186] This was on the recommendation of colleague Frederick 'Bimbo' Norman, mentioned above, who also worked there as head of section 3G, Hut 3, Government code and Cipher school.[187] His role was to translate intercepted communications, working more specifically on German police signals and with the naval decryption team; John Flood notes that while connected to the latter he may have been involved in intelligence collection prior to the Allied capture of Sicily.[188] Later, Hatto was less vocal about his wartime work, focussing instead on his academic role, and even showing some anxiety at the possible repercussions of his having worked for the secret services as the Cold War drew on, and details of the work of Bletchley park were released.[189]

His academic focus on German and Germanic Studies, rather than French, is important to note when considering his translation of Thomas' *Tristan*, as it could have an effect on the style of the translation. As a translator of German and medieval language, he would have been confident with the historicity of the text and the period in reference, as well as many of the key elements of the *Tristan* story. However, his ability in translating medieval French literature might not have the same level of accuracy due to his focus on German, which as a source language has very different features to French, in terms of gender, syntax and typical lyrical structure.[190] For Gottfried von Strassburg's text, Hatto would be able to provide much more personal insight into the textual and historical features appearing there and affecting his TT. For Thomas on the other hand, there is a strong element of mediation supporting his approach. As he writes in the appendix dedicated to Thomas, he translated the text not only with knowledge of other translations (Sayers' 1929 version for example)[191] but with active reference to them, particularly that of Roger Sherman Loomis,[192] while basing his version on the editions by Bédier (as did Sayers) and Wind. This is not to say that Hatto did

---

[186] Bletchley Park, 'Mr Arthur Thomas Hatto,' *Bletchley Park*, 2019 <https://bletchleypark.org.uk/roll-of-honour/4111> [Accessed 19 January 2019].
[187] Christy Campbell, *Target London: Under Attack from the V-Weapons During WWII.* (London: Abacus, 2013) pp.24-25.
[188] John L. Flood, 'Arthur Thomas Hatto 1910-2010.' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Volume 172, Biographical Memoirs of Fellows, X., (2011). pp.171-198 (p.177). <https://doi.org/10.5871/bacad/9780197264904.003.0008> [Accessed 19 January 2019].
[189] Ibid. p.178.
[190] Middle High German, for instance, maintains a case system consisting of the dative, genitive and accusative, the latter of which can be used to supplant the use of prepositions and alter the syntax; see Joseph Wright, *A Middle High German Primer, Third Edition* (Project Gutenberg) p.75. Gottfried's *Tristan* is also written in rhyming couplets rather than assonance as in the Old French: for comparison see Marion Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson. *Medieval German Literature: A Companion*, (Taylor & Francis Group, 1997) p. 160.
[191] Hatto, *Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas,* pp.362-3.
[192] It is worthwhile here to note that despite using Loomis' translation as a reference, there are clear differences between the versions; Loomis, though using prose, much like his contemporary translator Sayers, opts for archaizing language, whereas Hatto uses contemporary English as discussed shortly.

not have any knowledge of French culture during the period he chose to study, as during this period German medieval literature was heavily influenced by the French courtly tradition and its language.[193] For example, articles he wrote in connection with his translation of the German *Parzifal* reveal an intimate knowledge of Chrétien de Troyes;[194] his wider knowledge of medieval language was perceptible elsewhere in 'The lime-tree and early German, Goliard and English lyric poetry'[195] and 'Enid's best dress: A contribution to the understanding of Chrétien's and Hartmann's Erec and the Welsh Gereint.'[196] These explorations of the genre reveal a knowledge of the interplay between French, German and British courtly traditions which likely extended to linguistic exchange.

As Bourdieu states, if the professional field an actor works in is not widely differentiated, it makes up the larger part of their habitus.[197] In the case of Hatto, field is particularly pertinent, as it was his linguistic aptitude which led Hatto from an academic to a State intelligence role, and then later to translate this text. As a participant in the intelligence activities during the Second World War, one of the key characteristics he would have developed as a translator (if he did not already possess it) would have been a fine attention to detail and accuracy of translation of key facts, without excess elaboration (cf. in Campbell the episode describing Norman's dismissive reaction to supplementary information in an encrypted message).[198] There is further evidence of this in 'A.T. Hatto: A Tribute,' written after his retirement by Combridge and Fowler. In this, the authors note his 'aptness and precision of utterance,' as well as his 'painstaking and expert lexical work [seen as] the first requirement for the understanding of any literature.'[199] It would be fair to assume, in terms of analysing the effect of habitus on translator action, that the six years spent working alongside decryption experts had an effect on his style, especially as it had such an effect on his personal life, as mentioned above. It is also intrinsically connected, as above, to his personal

---

[193] Thomas Gloning and Christopher Young, *A History of the German Language Through Texts* (London: Routledge, 2004) pp.123ff.
[194] To be precise, the following: Arthur Thomas Hatto, 'Two Notes on Chrétien and Wolfram.' The Modern Language Review. Modern Humanities Research Association. XLII (2) (1947), pp.243-246; Arthur Thomas Hatto, 'On Wolfram's Conception of the "Graal.' *The Modern Language Review*. XLIII (2), (1948), pp.216-222; and Arthur Thomas Hatto, 'On Chrétien and Wolfram.' *The Modern Language Review*. XLIV (3), (1949), pp.280-385.
[195] Arthur Thomas Hatto, 'The Lime-Tree and Early German, Goliard and English Lyric Poetry', *The Modern Language Review*, 49.2 (1954), pp.193-209
[196] Arthur Thomas Hatto, 'Enid's Best Dress. A Contribution to the Understanding of Chrétien's and Hartmann's Erec and the Welsh Gereint,' *Euphorion*. 54(439) (1960), pp.437-51.
[197] Pierre Bourdieu, 'Le Marché des Biens Symboliques', *Année sociologique*, 22 (1971), pp.49-126 (pp. 83, 106).
[198] Campbell, *Target London: Under Attack from the V-Weapons During WWII*, p.15.
[199] Combridge and Fowler, 'A. T. Hatto: A Tribute,' p.92.

appreciation of linguistics and the need for accuracy, as noted in his introduction to this translation. In the 1960s, translation was in the process of being established as an academic discipline, and it was toward this period that a linguistic focus emerged; scholars such as Vinay and Darbelnet used contrastive grammar to highlight systematic differences between French and English and lay out a set of translation procedures, elaborating on the idea of equivalence.[200] This close linguistic analysis and 'scientific' style of translation creates a parallel with Hatto's own linguistic background and his reported attention to fine detail and methodical nature.

Publishing environment

The second aspect of the preliminary norm affecting translation style is the translation brief, which can equally be provided by the initiator (translator, sponsor) or publisher of the translation. The publisher for this translation was Penguin, under its Classics imprint, to which Hatto would later turn to publish his translation of the *Niebelungslied* in 1969. Penguin is a label recognised worldwide as a publisher of a wide range of subjects, which aims to reach a wide readership with the different branches of its activity. The Penguin Classics imprint began with the translation of Homer's *Odyssey* in 1945, and Penguin would go on to hire the translator E.V. Rieu as editor of the collection. In this position he reached out to literary translators such as Dorothy L. Sayers as a means of ensuring the classics were presented in a communicative and non-academic way.[201] Currently, Penguin Classics describes itself as 'a global bookshelf of the best works throughout history and across genres and disciplines…[providing] authoritative texts enhanced by introductions and notes by distinguished scholars and contemporary authors, as well as quality translations by award-winning translators.'[202] This fits with the format of the text, which is presented with footnotes as well as extensive introduction and appendices, covering the ST reception in its own time, detail of the authors and linguistic and geographical information. For Hatto's translation, the commission for the book appears to come from the translator himself, as stated in the introduction 'After enjoying Gottfried's poem for thirty years I would have never dared translate it but for the unending pleasure.'[203] For the translation of Thomas' *Tristan* adjoined,

[200] Jean P. Vinay, and Jean Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation* (Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. Benjamins Pub. Co., 1995) p.255ff.
[201] 'I designed them to give pleasure even more than instruction.' Penguin, 'A History of Penguin Classics,' *Penguin*, 2021 <https://www.penguin.com/static/html/classics/history.php> [Accessed 24 July 2023]
[202] Penguin, 'Penguin Classics,' *Penguin*, 2021 <https://www.penguin.com/penguin-classics-overview/> [Accessed 21 January 2021].
[203] Hatto, *Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas,* p.31.

there is no such direct statement of intention, however as the French stands in as a final act of the story where Gottfried von Strassburg's version is lacking, we can infer that its inclusion provides a sense of completeness which would otherwise not occur for the target readership. As Hatto says in his introduction to the volume, the two have 'become as inseparable as the rosebush and the vine.'[204] To create a complete story may equally have been based on the intention of the translator, or the needs of the publisher, but in each case, we must consider that the translator made the best effort to unify the style of both sections, in order to improve the readability of the translated text as a whole.

In terms of a combined translation approach, we can consider both the wide readership implied by the publishing house, with the translator's introductory notes on the subject. From the introduction to the German, we can infer that Hatto has a good understanding of the vagaries of translation, as he says 'the best that [a translator] can do is make a good showing in a cause that is doomed from the start,' and that 'in his justice to an author a translator must account to his readers in general terms for the loss suffered by the original.'[205] These statements give a good idea of the basis of his approach, in terms which he repeats throughout his notes to the translation: to create a communicative translation which provides adequate information about the ST content and relevant textual issues. This is supported in his own words about the Gottfried von Strassburg text where he states his intention to aim the translation 'to entertain a general reader, but also to serve those who have some acquaintance with Middle German'. He further notes he intends to account for his errors as a guide to any future edition.[206] His approach of providing further elucidation on the trickier parts of the text holds true for both sections.

In summary, we can suggest from the habitus of the translator, as well as the translator commission and stated intention, that the TT will maintain an accurate yet communicative style. Although translated by a medieval scholar and linguist, this is not to say that the text will favour the ST, instead providing an easily read version aimed at a wide audience, in fitting with the publisher norms and the stated requirements of the TT. By providing extensive notes in the form of introduction and appendices for both STs, the translation here reduces the need for overtranslation of colloquial phrases or parenthetical insertions but strike a balance between this and oversimplification of the more complex notions of the text. We must also note that the

---

[204] Ibid. p.9.
[205] Ibid. p.31.
[206] Ibid. p.35.

translator habitus could equally confer such a style due to his background in German: a more literal and simple rendering may be applied to flatten any difference in the translation of the two languages side by side, due to the differences between ST style, or indeed a feature of the lack of specific expertise in Old French from the translator. Furthermore, due to the mediation noted above and the translator's clear knowledge of other versions of the ST, there may be some degree of interference, implying variations in style or tone which hamper the fluency of the TT for its audience.

Poetry and Prose

For a modern target audience, the expectation of written narrative is that it is presented in prose, for ease of understanding of different episodes of the story, and for differentiation between narrative and reported speech. This is the approach taken by Hatto for both texts contained in the publication: while the ST is presented in (octosyllabic assonant) rhyme, the TT has been arranged in prose, broken by paragraph breaks for differentiation of speaker and scene. A further adjustment made by Hatto is to break up the course of the story into shorter episodes: in this excerpt, we find a chapter separation to mark the change of scene between Brittany and the court of King Marc.[207] This has the effect of breaking down the long passages of text present in both Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* and the Thomas fragments into more digestible episodes, and signalling changes of scene more clearly, especially where we have overlapping speech by both Queen Iseut and Iseut of the White Hands. Although we do not have a complete account of Hatto's skopos for the translation of Thomas' version of *Tristan*, we can extrapolate a general approach from the introduction to the primary text in the publication: Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*. Here, the translator makes it clear that verse is not necessary for a good translation of the ST, by referring to the difficulty of translating Middle High German verse, saying:

> all - barring a poet of comparable gifts – who ventured to render the poem in kind, would run the risk of lapsing into doggerel, as examples in several languages have shown.[208]

For the source culture, the form or graphic level of the text had a strong connection to its usage in society. These tales were designed in their earliest written form to be read aloud, and as such represented part of a continuity of oral storytelling. This sense of accepted use is

[207] Ibid. pp.310-11.
[208] Ibid. p.31.

also implied in the ST rhyme scheme, which has the function of moving along the speech and also making the flow of the narrative recognisable and easily repeated through the rhythm. For Hatto, it is also 'an expected convention of court.'[209] Therefore, the format preserved in manuscript today is imbued with a sense of the orality of the text. Of course, for a modern audience, the oral function is no longer necessary, except as a remnant of the original ST intention. Therefore, the effect of turning the text from poetry to prose is to bring it out of its ST culture and into the TT culture, reformulating it to be digestible in its reception i.e., to be read in silence, as one would a novel of any kind. This choice indicates both a loss and gain for the TT: where we lose a key element of the ST culture, we gain increased readability for the target audience. However, for the purpose of this analysis, we must note the scale of the loss in terms of perception of the ST/language/culture through the translated medium. By removing the oral and poetic elements, the understanding the target language readership gains of this aspect is purely expressed in the introduction and appendices, rather than through direct experience of its effect, a clear if justifiable loss, fitting with the translator's stated intention.

While Hatto removes the poetic aspect of the text, his translation overall follows a line-for-line (or literal) approach, which maintains a close approximation of the ST word order. Vinay and Darbelnet, contemporaries of Hatto, were proponents of the line-for-line approach and refer to literal translation as that which aims to retain the ST language while not affecting the overall meaning of the text. Instances of this line-for-line approach can be seen in many places throughout the excerpt, as in the following examples:

ST	**TT**[210]
ll.584-603: 'U li haïr u li amer M'irt fort paine a endurer; Pur ço qu'a Ysolt ment ma fei, Tel penitance preng sur mei; Quant el savra cum sui destreit, Par tant pardoner le me deit.'	Whether I hate her or love her I shall have great pain to endure But, since I am betraying Ysolt, I take such penance upon me, that, When she learns of my plight, She is bound to forgive me accordingly.

[209] Ibid. p.32.
[210] For the purpose of close linguistic analysis, Hatto's prose has been segmented into units reflect the ST, however no changes to the original line order have been made to retain accuracy of content.

<table>
<tr>
<td>Tristran colche, Ysolt l’embrace,
Baise lui la buche e la face,
A li l’estraint, del cuer suspire
E volt iço qu’il ne desire;
A sun voleir est a contraire,
De laissier sun buen u del faire.
La nature proveir se volt,
La raison se tient a Ysolt.
Le desir qu’il ad vers le reïne
Tolt le voleir vers la meschine;
Le desir lui tolt le voleir,
Que nature n’i ad poeir.
Amur e raisun le destraint,
E le voleir de sun cors vaint.</td>
<td>Tristran lies down and Ysolt takes him in her arms
She kisses his mouth and his face
She strains him to her and sighs from her heart
And wants what he does not wish for.
To give up his pleasure and to have it are both contrary to his will
Nature wants to take its course;
But Reason stays true to Ysolt.
The yearning which he has for the queen
takes away his lust for the girl
True desire dispels his lust,
For nature is powerless in the matter.
Love and reason constrain him
And vanquish the lust of his body.</td>
</tr>
</table>

Here we can compare the opening lines. In ‘Whether I hate her or love her, I shall have great pain to endure;’ there is little difference between the ST and the language of the TT, while in the second example we can see that changes have been made to establish a more natural syntax, such as moving the verb away from the end of the line, e.g. ‘Love and reason constrain him, and vanquish the lust of his body.’ For the ST rhyme scheme, the verb vanquish appears in the at the end of the line by necessity, but in the TT it has been returned to a subject-verb-object format, giving us evidence of Hatto’s intervention to improve the naturalness of the resulting text. However, we can infer the translator’s difficulty here in finding a balance between maintaining the ST line order for the better-acquainted reader of the historical text, and the wider readership implied by the Penguin Classics imprint.

Another aspect of this approach is to supplement the ST lines with additional information, to improve clarity for the target audience where simple paragraph breaks do not suffice. For instance, the ST often uses gender markers or cultural features to introduce characters: in the opening line of Hatto’s chapter ‘Cariado,’ where he uses the title ‘Queen Ysolt,’ to differentiate the subject of the section from her counterpart of the same name in Brittany. In the ST this differentiation does not exist, with ll.649-50 running on from ‘Voil jo

e puis bien desporter,' (I want (intend) and can well do without (abstain)) spoken by Ysolt of Brittany, to 'Ysolt en sa chamber suspire' (Ysolt in her chamber sighs) spoken about the Queen, without any of the typical markers expected in English narrative around the change of scene. A few lines later this technique is repeated, with 'Ysolt has no idea that Tristran is in Brittany,' (l.662: ne set pas qu'il est en Bretaigne) and again Hatto inserts information where it is missing in the ST for some explication of the exact addressee and to add a specific subject to the text where in the ST she had not been mentioned for twelve lines. In the ST, we can only assume that we speak about the other Ysolt, due to the statement that she does not know where Tristan is, but for the target audience, these additions have the effect of making the context clear for the TT reader and improving readability in line with its prose style.

Characterisation

Although these methods have the effect of maintaining the ST content, it also means that there are semantic elements of language which are changed due to the insertion of text and the presence of false friends and words which have a different inferential meaning in the target language. As explained earlier, in many cases the translator has a wealth of vocabulary to draw upon when translating the Old French, rather than just using a literal rendering. In l.603 above in English, the word vanquish, a literal translation of 'vaint' has a martial connotation in the target language.[211] Similarly, a few lines further on in l.609, we find 'Mais l'amur le fait molt retraire,' translated as 'But love compels him to retreat,' which again is a good translation of the sense of the text, but the literal rendering of 'retraire,' which could equally be phrased as to withdraw or step back,[212] is 'retreat,' which again conjures images of battle. Though rooted in a literal rendering, the effect on the target audience would likely be to ally Tristan's character with martial language, linked to the perception of this imagery.

We can see further instances of the closest English equivalent of a word being used throughout this translation changing the sense of the phrase. One such example is the description of Tristan's wound as an 'infirmity,' which in the target language has connotations of age and weakness, where in the ST 'emfermeté,'[213] could equally be an illness or ailment. The inferential meaning here is important, as Tristan is elsewhere in the story a strong and

[211] Merriam-Webster, 'Vanquish,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2023 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/vanquish> [Accessed 5 August 2023].
[212] AND^2 Online Edition, 'retraire,' 2019 < https://www.anglo-norman.net/entry/retraire_1> [Accessed 25 March 2019].
[213] AND^2 Online Edition, 'enfermeté,' 2019 <https://www.anglo-norman.net/entry/enfermeté_1> [Accessed 25 March 2019].

quick-witted opponent, whereas here he is described in terms which make him feeble, and which could possibly highlight the age difference between himself and his young bride.

In other cases, the literal translation means that subtlety of language is lost; this extends not only to inference but to the use of metaphor. For example, in the opening embrace of this excerpt (l.590 above), 'Tristan lies down and Ysolt takes him in her arms. She kisses his mouth and face.' Although exact in its rendering of the SL, this does not read as a lovers embrace due to the very matter-of-fact use of language. Where Thomas' language may be vivid, here we have little sense of the emotion of the scene. Similarly, later when Queen Ysolt is described playing her song:

ST	**TT**
ll.782-95:	
En sa chambre se set un jur	One day she sat in her chamber
E fait un lai pitus d'amur:	and made a sad lay of love
[…]	[…]
La reïne chante dulcement,	The queen sings sweetly
La voiz acorde a l'estrument;	and suits her voice to her instrument.
Les mainz sunt beles, li lais buens,	Her hands are fair, her lay is good
Dulce la voiz, bas li tons.	Her voice sweet and her tone low.

In this excerpt 'her hands are fair, her lay is good, her voice sweet, and her tone low,' again literal and matter of fact in its representation of the scene, avoiding any further affective description, or variation from the SL. However, the word 'buens' in the SL has a variety of possible definitions including correct, skilled, and able which means that there is a possible loss of meaning. [214] Just as above, it is important to note where qualitative language is used, and in what way it is translated, as these simple adjectives can change our perception of a character or even a feature of cultural practice.

Nevertheless, in many ways the translator is successful in portraying the key characteristics of each person, thereby representing them as a character of their time and social status. Take for example the descriptions given to Cariado:

[214] AND^2 Online Edition, 'bon,' 2023 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/bon> [Accessed 5 August 2023].

ST	TT
ll.812-17:	
Il esteit molt bels chevaliers,	Cariado was a very fine knight,
Corteis e orguillus e fiers,	courteous, proud and haughty;
Mès n'iert mie bien a loer	But when it came to bearing arms
Endreit de ses armes porter.	he was not deserving of praise.
Il ert molt bels e bons parleres,	He was handsome, a good talker,
Bels donoiere e bons gaberes.	Gallant towards the ladies, and full of quips.

'A very fine knight, courteous, proud and haughty, but when it came to bearing arms he was not deserving of praise': this translation sets the character out plainly for the reader, showing he may have had many good and worthy characteristics for a courtier, but was lacking in a key aspect the audience would expect from a knight. In this way, the literal use of language benefits the reader, as the description is laid out in simple unembellished terms. A few lines later, the use of language changes, and includes more archaism and the use of the term 'gallant,' a semantic translation of 'doneür.'[215] This rendering adds to the previous framing of his character, and the reason for his staying at court – to woo the queen. The use of literal translation has the same effect for the passage of speech by the queen:

ST	TT
ll.818-833:	
Ysolt trove chantant un lai,	And now he finds Ysolt singing a lay,
dit en riant: 'Dame, bien sai	and says with a smile: 'I am well aware
Que l'en ot fresaie chanter	that when one hears the wood owl, madam,
Contre de mort home parler,	It is time to talk about a dead man,
Car sun chant signefie mort;	for its song forebodes death.
E vostre chant, cum jo record,	And your singing, as I recall,
Mort de fresaie signifie:	means death of the owl!
Alcon ad or perdu la vie.	Someone has just lost his life.'
— Vos dites veir,' Ysolt lui dit;	'You speak truly,' replied Ysolt.

[215] The word gallant originates from Middle French 'galant,' meaning fun-loving or joyful, however today we would expect the definition to be along the lines of formally attentive or chivalrous. Dictionnaire du Moyen Français, 'galant,' *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) Analyse et traitement informatique de la langue française (Atilf)*, 2021 <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/galant1>.

‘Bien voil que sa mort signifit. Assez est huan u fresaie Ki chante dunt altre s’esmaie. Bien devez vostre mort doter, Quant vos dotez le mien chanter, Car vos estes fresaie asez Pur la novele qu’aportez.	‘I quite agree that it does portend its death. A man who sings what dismays another is screech-owl and wood-owl enough! You may well fear for your death, fearing my singing as you do, Since you are owl enough for the news that you bring.

Here her language is largely unembellished, leaving it to the reader to assume her attitude towards her suitor, as with the lines ‘You may well fear your death, fearing my singing as you do,’ where she appears almost playful.

Metaphor/idiom

When we consider the approach to metaphor in the excerpt, we can see that the literal nature of the translation again has an impact on the reader’s understanding of the ST. This means that some important features reflecting the common language of the time are lost. One clear example is the passage of discussion above, where Ysolt and Cariado describe one another in terms of owls. Although the use of an owl has been in the past a common symbol of bad luck or death in western culture (see Virgil’s use of the owl to portend Dido’s death for example),[216] the use of different types of owl here, although translated for the target audience as ‘wood-owl’ and ‘screech-owl,’ lose their sense for a modern readership. This is especially the case with the ‘fresaie’ term, which has the synonym ‘effraie,’[217] close to the modern French effrayer – to frighten. As such, without further explicitation within the text or as an extra textual note, this metaphorical usage is lost.

ST	**TT**
l.807: Vaillant un guant em poïst traire	As much as would earn him a glove
ll.636-8: Si anguissusement me tient E si prés de la feie me vient Que jo ne m’os plus emveisier	It keeps me in such agony and comes so close to my liver that I dare not exert myself

[216] *Aeneid,* 4:463-4.
[217] Trésor de la langue française informatisé ‘fresaie,’ *CNRS/Atilf*, 2012 <http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/fresaie> [Accessed 25 March 2019].

A second instance of this loss of meaning is with the phrase 'Vaillant un guant em poïst traire,' in l.807 translated literally as 'as much as would earn him a glove.' This rendering avoids the figurative meaning of the phrase, where a glove represents a small amount or gesture, instead giving it the sense of a token of favour, an aspect of courtly love which has been much repeated in representations of the time, up to the modern day.[218] As such this changes the effect of the phrase – rather than being worthless, the courtier is only unworthy of the Queen's favour. However, this could equally be connected to the translator's reliance on Loomis, who uses the same phrase.[219] A third example is with the literal translation 'It keeps me in such agony and comes so close to my liver that I dare not exert myself,' (l.636-7: Si anguissement me tient | E si près del feie me vient) which loses the inferential meaning connected to the romantic or sexual nature of the scene. For the ST audience, and for physicians beginning with the Roman Galen, the liver was the seat of passion, unlike today where we consider the heart as the representation of love. Therefore, the description of the pain Tristan feels coming close to his liver has a different inference for the medieval audience, whereas today it would only represent the physical location of the pain. This shows again that the literal nature of this text changes the effect, and the way in which allusive meaning is carried over for the target audience.

Interference

There is also the possibility that the language Hatto uses is not only his own, due to his stated reliance on other editions and translations while compiling this text. This implies the possibility of interference: not from the ST but from the mediating texts in this translation.

The layout of the text may also reflect his use of Loomis' version as a reference; the choice of layout of that TT reflecting that of a prose novel, to the extent of being separated into short chapters. Hatto does not replicate Loomis' approach to segmentation in the same way, however, preferring in the chosen excerpt to use one chapter separation to mark the change of scene between Brittany and the court of King Marc,[220] where Loomis follows the scene separations favoured by the *Tristrams Saga*, as this is one of his sources.

[218] Take for example the painting *God Speed* by Edmund Blair Leighton (Edmund Blair Leighton, *God Speed*, 1900, oil on canvas, 160 × 116cm, private collection); or the film *A Knight's Tale*, where Jocelyn sends a handkerchief and note to William before his jousting match: *A Knight's Tale,* dir. by Brian Helgeland (Sony Pictures Releasing, 2001).
[219] Roger Sherman Loomis, *The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt, by Thomas of Britain; tr. from the Old French and Old Norse*, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1923), p.205.
[220] Hatto *Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas,* pp.310-11.

As stated above, the use of the phrase ‘as much as would earn him a glove’ finds its copy in Loomis’ text, as does the phrase above, ‘proud and haughty,’ and the term ‘gallant.’ ‘Love and reason constrain him, and vanquish the lust of his body’ is also a copy of the same line on p.200. To some extent, this explains the variable nature of the language in Hatto’s translation: where we find more literal or archaic phrases, they are often drawn from Loomis’ version of the text, which is notably archaic in its style much like his contemporary Dorothy L. Sayers. However, this is not to say that the text is a direct copy of Loomis’ version, rather a sign of interference. Taking for example the phrase above ‘you may well fear your death’ which is alternatively rendered by the earlier author as ‘Well ought ye fear your own death sith my singing dismayeth you,’ there are clear differences and developments from Hatto’s predecessor.[221]

This translation, therefore, raises a number of important issues not only relating to the translator and his practice, but the interplay between the academic and professional fields he was a part of and the techniques he employs. Overall, the text has a literal nature to it, and relies more on word-for-word or line-for-line renderings of the ST in order to bring across the meaning. His professional background leads us to assume that this technique was a feature not only of his academic discipline, where his focus on linguistics overflowed into his professional life as a Bletchley Park decoder, but also the influence of the fields around him. Hatto’s intention to create a text which would be accessible to both the academic and the amateur falls in line with the development of the field of comparative literature which was growing at the same time this translation was published. Although the translator produces a fairly consistent and communicative version of the tale, his style means that the text loses some of its more vivid description and certain aspects of the inferential meaning are either lost or changed due to word choice. This could be a feature of his translation style, as is presented throughout the two texts in the publication, or alternatively of his academic specialism outside of Old French. The character of Tristan, for Hatto, is on one hand a warrior framed with martial language, but on the other weak, ‘infirm.’ Yseut and Ysolt are impassive, and the language of love and emotion is reduced, except where borrowed from Loomis. Where the translator has borrowed from Loomis’ text, the language clashes more

[221] Loomis, *The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt, by Thomas of Britain; tr. from the Old French and Old Norse* p.200.

with his overall style, bringing in archaic language and emphasis which does not exist elsewhere.

Yet in the moments where there is a clear connection between Hatto and his predecessor there is evidence of an internal system at play. As Even-Zohar states, systems are self-replicating and consist of norms. In this text we can see some small evidence of that self-replication on an internal level, with the new text drawing on the old due to its prestige, the actor looking to the past to ensure the legitimacy of the present, much in the same way that during the medieval period, literature was created with reference to the past.

4.2.3 Analysis 3: Early French Tristan Poems II, ed. by Norris J. Lacy, trans. by Stewart Gregory (New York: Garland, 1991)

Personal habitus

Stewart Gregory was born in 1946, and though there are few details of his early life available, we can infer his personal habitus from his professional life in order to paint a better picture of the possible influences on his translation of this text.

Gregory's career trajectory was predominantly academic, graduating from Oxford before taking up a lectureship at the University of Leicester, where he remained until his retirement. The University of Leicester maintains a presence in the medieval field, with its Medieval Research Centre[222], established in 1996 during Gregory's tenure at the university and as a member of Carmen (Co-operative for the Advancement of Research through a Medieval European Network).[223] While working in this position he maintained a steady academic output, with one of his notable projects being the development of the *Anglo Norman Dictionary* (*AND*) alongside David Trotter and Andrew Rothwell. His main contribution to this endeavour was the responsibility for collating the letter 'E'. He collaborated further with Trotter and Rothwell on the publication *De Mot en Mot: Aspects of Medieval Linguistics*, showing a close personal affinity with medieval linguistics and the use of Anglo-Norman source material; further to his knowledge of Anglo-Norman he was also known in medieval academic circles as an expert in Old Wallon.[224] Other publications in his name include the translation of *The Twelfth-Century Psalter Commentary in French for Laurette d'Alsace,* Béroul's *The Romance of Tristan,* Chrétien de Troyes' *Cligès* (alongside Claude Luttrell),[225] his translation into English of the *History of William Marshal* (alongside David Crouch and A.J. Holden),[226] and his translation into modern French *La Traduction en*

---

[222] University of Leicester, 'About us,' (2021). *University of Leicester*, <https://le.ac.uk/medieval/about> [Accessed 11 June 2019].
[223] Carmen, 'Membership,' *Carmen,* 2019 <http://www.carmen-medieval.net/membership-1404041621.html> [Accessed 11 June 2019].
[224] Leena Löfstedt, '"La Traduction En Prose Française Du 12e Siècle Des 'Sermones in Cantica' de Saint Bernard", ed. Stewart Gregory (Book Review)', *Romance Philology* (Berkeley: University of California Press Books Division, 1997), pp.347-52.
[225] Stewart Gregory and Modern Humanities Research Association, *The Twelfth-Century Psalter Commentary in French for Laurette d'Alsace: An Edition of Psalms I-L* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1990); Stewart Gregory, *The Romance of Tristan by Béroul* [with English translation] (Amsterdam and Atlanta GA: Faux Titre, Rodopi, 1992); Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès,* eds. Claude Luttrell and Stewart Gregory, Arthurian Studies xxvii, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993).
[226] A. J. Holden, Stewart Gregory, David. Crouch, and Anglo-Norman Text Society, *History of William Marshal* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society from Birkbeck College, 2002)

Prose Française du 12e Siècle des 'Sermones in Cantica' de Saint Bernard.[227] Though diverse in content, the thread which binds these translations and editions is the twelfth century in literature and culture, the time during which the Anglo-Norman dialect came to the fore. His wider writing reveals his preference for commentary on language and linguistics, especially Old French and Anglo-Norman, and that he was a keen reviewer of other scholars' editions and translations from a linguistic point of view, as well as interpreter of the minutiae of editions; these articles appeared in journals such as *Medium Ævum*,[228] *The Modern Language Review*[229] and *Romania*[230] from as early as 1972. His wider writing also shows evidence of his awareness of changes in the field of linguistics that occurred around the time of his greatest activity. The second article in particular shows that he was aware of adaptations of Saussure's theories on synchronic analysis, as well as the field of generative grammar, both of which have also had an impact on translation studies.[231] Therefore, from his translation we can expect an emphasis on the linguistic rather than the literary or wider historical values inherent in the text, as this was his main field of interest, and a special attention to and understanding of the translations of each term, due to his role with the *AND* and wider interest in semantics and language structure.

In the introduction to his translation, he goes into detail on the various postulated origins of the tale and its date, as well as his personal analysis of the text's form and content. He speaks about the changes between the earlier 'primitive' versions of the text (e.g. Béroul and Eilhart), compared to that of Thomas, framing it as a 'clerkly' rather than 'courtly' narrative due to its focus on introspection rather than passion, stating it is 'not a hymn to *fine amor*.'[232] An aspect of the change he mentions in particular is how Iseut's character is 'toned down,' reflecting an overall reduction of the carnal aspect of the previous versions in the tradition in favour of psychological analysis. In fact, he describes Thomas as 'absorbed in the

---

[227] Stewart Gregory, *La Traduction en Prose Française du 12e Siècle des 'Sermones in Cantica' de Saint Bernard*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta GA: Faux Titre, Rodopi, 1994).
[228] For example: Stewart Gregory, 'Jean Rychner, "La Narration Des Sentiments, Des Pensées et Des Discours Dans Quelques Oeuvres Des XIIe et XIIIe Siècles" (Book Review),' *Medium Aevum* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), p.338.
[229] Stewart Gregory, 'Iorgu Iordan and John Orr, "An Introduction to Romance Linguistics," with a Supplement "Thirty Years On", by Rebecca Posner (Book Review)', *The Modern Language Review* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.181.
[230] For example: Stewart Gregory, 'La Description de la Fontaine dans l'"Yvain" de Chrétien de Troyes: Un problème d'Interprétation,' *Romania (Paris: 1872)*, 110.439/440 (3/4) (1989), pp.539-41.
[231] For the use of generative grammar, see especially Nida, who used Chomsky's 'kernel sentences' in the development of his process of decoding and encoding texts through the process of translation. *Toward a Science of Translating,* p.60. Toury crucially references the benefits of synchronic analysis, but relates it more closely to the work of Even-Zohar than directly to Chomsky: *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond,* p.64.
[232] Gregory, *Early French Tristan Poems II,* p.xviii

psychology of love.'[233] In terms of the edition and translation, he depicts his approach as following the 'interventionists' Bédier and Payen, making emendations to lines where absolutely necessary to introduce a regular octosyllabic line, assuming that Thomas intended the use of hiatus as part of the rhyme scheme, and introducing modern punctuation. For the translation, he speaks about 'readability without straying too far from the literal content of the original,' and the parallel translation acting as an 'elucidation' rather than a work in its own right, in line with our previous assumptions about his focus on the linguistics of the ST. A further aspect of this is the editor/translator's inclusion of copious notes on content and language, as well as a list of rejected readings from his edition. However, he also states that he hopes to produce an 'acceptable' English text, emphasising 'naturalness' and in doing so repeats Toury's almost contemporary terminology for the description of a translation.[234]

Publishing environment

The translation was published in 1991 by the Garland Library of Medieval Literature, and again seven years later by D.S. Brewer in the same format as part of a compilation of various existing passages of the *Tristan* myth in edition and translation. The Garland Library was a US imprint specialist in medieval literatures that spanned texts from across Europe. This particular text, for example, is number 78 in the series, appearing after *Le Bel Inconnu* and before *Kudrun*, a Middle High German epic. Garland as a whole was founded in 1969 by Gavin Borden in New York. At first, the main output of the company was eighteenth-century literary criticism through reprints and copies, but due to the market that developed through these minority interest titles, they soon moved on to publish academic reference books, and later scientific textbooks. These are still held under the Garland imprint by Taylor and Francis, who acquired the publishing house as a whole in 1997, six years after this text was first published. However, it is not to say that Garland was primarily a producer of medieval texts, as it was also known as the publisher of Gabler 's highly criticised new edition of Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1986. In the editor's preface to this text, the stated intention is: 'to make available to the general reader modern translations of texts in editions that conform to the highest academic standards […] to render the foreign works in a natural idiom that remains faithful to the originals.' This gives the impression that the imprint aims its texts, as part of the larger output of Garland Publishing, at a wide audience and not necessarily a knowledgeable one. By referring to the General Editors' Preface to the series, we learn that

[233] Ibid. p.xii.
[234] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*, p.58.

there are two approaches to medieval literature by the imprint: Series A which presents a text and translation, and Series B, which presents stand-alone translations. Of the 79 titles listed in the catalogue included with this version, 44 belong to Series A, showing the equal position given to the parallel text format. It is mentioned in the Preface that the intention of the imprint was to ensure 'these volumes will bring the general reader a close awareness of a richly diversified area that has for too long been closed to everyone except those with precise academic training,'[235] however the parallel-text approach would appear to be more suited to the academic, requiring some knowledge of the ST language, as reflected in Gregory's introduction.

As a pure elucidation of the original, and despite the honourable intentions of the editors, it would seem that this particular publication, if not more of the series, would find its most appropriate audience in a reader already au fait with the SL or at least some aspects of the French language. By assuming a learned audience, we can postulate that the translation may contain different features to a text intended for wider diffusion, as with translations by Penguin Classics, as it is provided more as a reading aid than a stand-alone text.

With a facing-page edition and translation, there is also an aspect of mirroring carried out in the translation process, to allow the reader or scholar to recognise/parse the relevance of the ST through the TT. The reader may already have a good knowledge of the ST language or could indeed be using the TT as a learning aid. This means that further attention must be paid to accuracy throughout by the translator, and moreover makes a line-for-line approach to the lyric sections more acceptable, if providing more opportunity for awkwardness in the target language.

Poetry and prose

The translation presented by Stewart Gregory has a different format to the other *Tristan* translations studied here, being a parallel edition and translation. The format not only influences our perception of the text as readers but also changes the perspective of our analysis. One facet of the change is that throughout the analysis below, the ST used for comparison will be the translator's own, rather than one composed by a different editor as has been used before.[236] As the translator is taking his own edition as a ST, not only does this increase his understanding of the intricacies of the text, but also the likelihood of interference

[235] Gregory, *Early French Tristan Poems II,* p.v.
[236] ST and TT lines, therefore, may differ from previous analysis blocks.

between ST and TT on a linguistic level due to his immersion in the language. There is evidence of this complex thought process both in terms of the overall naturalness of the translation as well as the micro-textual decisions which lead to the transfer of inference.

Beginning with the prosodic level,[237] there is a difference between the handling of ST and TT. In the editorial approach, it is stated that lines which do not follow this pattern due to defects in the manuscript, or divergent spelling, have been emended in order that they conform to (around) an 8-syllable line length; this is due to the assumption that the author, Thomas, originally intended a consistent rhyme scheme.[238] Examples of this are with l.647 and l.660 where an 'e' is added to the line and therefore a syllable, or in l.650 where 'qu'il ad' is rejected in favour of 'qu'ad,' reducing the line by a syllable (see below). All of these changes are explained in the notes and rejected readings included with the text on pages 163-97. Yet for the translation, the approach of regulating line length and rhyme is not maintained despite the facing-page layout:

ST	**TT**
ll.646-60: A sun voleir est a contraire De laissier sun buen u del faire; Sa nature proveir se volt, La raison se tient a Ysolt: Le desir qu'ad vers la reïne Tolt le voleir vers la meschine; Le desir lui tolt le voleir, Que nature n'i ad poeir. Amur e raison le destraint, E le voleir de sun cors vaint. Le grant amor qu'ad vers Ysolt Tolt ço que la [na]ture volt, E vaint icele volenté Que senz desir out en pensé. Il out boen voleir de li faire,	 It was against his wishes Both to desist from pleasure and to have it; His natural instincts would have taken their course But reason told him to remain true to Yseut: The longing he felt for the queen Made him incapable of wanting the girl; Deep longing so quelled his lust That his natural instincts were incapable of arousal. Love and reason together restrained him And overcame the lust his body felt; His great love for Yseut Quelled the urge of his natural instincts

[237] Hervey and Higgins, *Thinking French Translation: A Course in Translation Method: French to English*, p.84.
[238] Gregory, *Early French Tristan Poems II*, p.xix.

Mais l’amur le fait molt retraire.	And got the better of that affectionless desire in his mind. His desire to have the girl was strong indeed, But love held him firmly back.

Firstly, the line length is more variable, ranging from seven to eleven syllables in length in these examples; throughout the excerpt the line length varies from three to fourteen syllables in length. Secondly, the rhyme scheme is not carried over, as we can see above in the example couplets: where the ST has line-end rhyme, the TT does not follow this pattern, to the extent that there is no prosodic effect in general, whether in terms of regularity of line length, stress or rhyme. With the layout of the TT matching the ST this has an odd effect, making the translation seem more akin to blank verse, with the narrative broken down as sentences are split between lines to match the ST. This has the effect of a form of syntactic hiatus, but not through an intentional enjambment, rather a strict adherence to the line structure of the ST. However, the choice does not have an impact on the overall readability of the text, as the syntactic structure of each line has a natural style and clear semantic connection to those that come before and after. The interesting factor here is the clarity of intent: that the translation should stand as a companion to the ST edition and a direct aid to understanding, in matching the content of each parallel line to the detriment of the ST rhythm and rhyme. Therefore, the loss of the rhyme scheme is an intentional factor, aimed at increasing naturalness while maintaining the order of the lines (for the most part) and in line with the statement in the introduction that Thomas’ *Tristan* was a read rather than performed piece.[239]

A further feature of the TT intention is the use of tense. In the short description of the translation approach, it is stated that the tense of the ST, which switches between past and present, has been changed uniformly to the past tense, the style ‘disregard[ed] […] in the interests of naturalness.’[240] The effect this has on the translation is to make it conform to expected norms of narrative or reported speech in literature, commonly taking the past tense rather than present continuous as is sometimes seen in French. We can see examples of this

[239] Ibid,. p.xvi.
[240] Ibid., p.xxi.

above in l.646 which moves from present to past, and 661 which moves from active to passive through the past tense. While this gives the reader a more recognisable and coherent style of English to encounter, the change could also be argued to connect to the translator's own appreciation of Thomas' intentions as a writer. If we consider the translator's argument that Thomas' text was designed more to be read than performed, it would stand to reason that the translation should reflect this in its style.

The use of repetition in this text is also supported by the line-for-line approach, which allows the ST language to be carried over directly. Below are just a few examples:[241]

ST	**TT**
ll.662-66: Gente[242] la sent, bele la set, E volt sun buen, sun desir het, Car s'il n'en oust si grant desir, A son voleir poust asentir. Mais a sun grant desir s'asent.	 He was alive to her charms, knew she was beautiful, And wanted his pleasure, all the while hating his Yearning; had that yearning for Yseut not been so deep, He could have given in to his urges. As it was, he accepted to live with his deep yearning
ll.878-89: 'Bien voil que sa mort signifit: Assez est hüan u fresaie Ki chante dunt altre s'esmaie. Bien devez vostre mort doter Quant vos dotez le mien chanter, Car vos estez fresaie asez Pur la novele qu'aportez. Unques ne crei aportisiez	 'I am very happy for it to betoken its death: That man might well be called a screech or wood-owl Who sings a song meant to frighten another. You may well fear your own death As you fear my song, For you are a wood owl truly enough, Bringing news that you bring.

[241] Lines 650, 52 and 56; 648 and 53; 658 and 660; 876 and 9; 878-9; 903 and 908 all contain instances of TT repetition, most of which replicate instances of a repeated notion word in the ST.

[242] 'Gente' is a tricky word to define, as dependent on the intended subject it can refer to perceptions of status, appearance or personal qualities. Paired with 'bele' it is understandable that the whole phrase is interpreted as physical, though this may not have been the inference of the ST. See AND[2] Online Edition, 'gent (2),' 2019 < https://anglo-norman.net/entry/gent_2> [Accessed 19 June 2019].

Novele dunt l'en fust [ja] liez Në unques chaenz ne venistes Males noveles ne desistes'	I do not think you ever brought A piece of news which ever gladdened anyone, And you have never come here Without bringing bad news to tell'

Where the ST has a repeated phrase, the line-for-line method of Gregory's translation means that the repetition is carried over into the TT language e.g. 'hating his yearning; had that yearning for…', or 'had that yearning…not been so deep' and 'his deep yearning.' In some instances, however, repetition is introduced as a means of clarification or emphasis in the ST e.g. 'bringing news that you bring,' as well as the mirroring of 'ever' and 'never' which is introduced. In the source culture, the use of repetition could have more than one purpose: the first, to act as a narrative device in oral storytelling, as an aide-memoire; the second as a rhetorical device, highlighting important passages of text, emotions or ideas, as Katie Wales details.[243] However, for the current translator, the purpose of this text was to be read, rather than orally performed, which means that the effect here is more to emphasise certain notions in the text, for example in the second excerpt above, to add to the rhetoric of Yseut in her speech to Cariado. In most places, there is repetition of a single word or phrase, though in others it becomes an ongoing motif.

Personal and Emotional Characteristics

On the lexical level, certain terms are used on multiple occasions in the ST due to their thematic importance; these are most notably 'desir' and 'voleir', terms which have been explored in detail by scholars as evidence of the clerkly background of the author and the philosophical grounding of the ST. Therefore, their representation in the TT is an important feature for the target audience perception of the main themes of the text. In the example above, we can see that the translator has chosen to use 'yearning' for 'desir,' and 'want' for 'voleir'; this is not the case for the entirety of the excerpt though, where there is a much wider variation in word choice. For 'desir' (or the related verb desirer) we encounter longing [x3], affection, yearning [x3], coveted, pleasure; for 'voleir' (or associated conjugations) we see wishes [x3] wanting, lust [x2], desire [x3], urge. This could be another effect of the line-

[243] Wales describes repetition as both a source of redundancy and emphasis in: Katie Wales, *A Dictionary of Stylistics* (3rd edn). (Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2011) p.366.

for-line approach: the passage of narrative or speech is not considered as a whole, instead tackled as sentence fragments, reflecting the principle of 'kernel sentences' elaborated in the field of generative linguistics and later by Nida in his scientific method.[244] This allows interpretations of the words to be adapted according to their relevance to either the sentence structure of each line, or the most appropriate reading of the word in situ: in English a broad lexicon is available to describe these terms, as opposed to the specific and repetitious use of the two terms in Old French. Moreover, we are much more likely to encounter this type of semantic variation in literary translation as opposed to technical or other operative forms of translation. Yet, these choices rely on the meaning the translator finds most appropriate. In this translation the terms used for 'voleir' have more physical strength: urge is defined as 'a strong wish, especially one that is difficult or impossible to control;'[245] lust as 'a very strong sexual desire' or 'a very powerful feeling of wanting something';[246] and desire 'to want something, especially strongly.'[247] The terms for 'desir' tend to have more emotional or affectionate inference: yearning, 'a strong feeling of wishing for something, especially something that you cannot have or get easily'[248], a synonym of longing 'a feeling of wanting something or someone very much.' Although there is a sense of the power of these feelings in both cases, the exact usage differs between a want or need directed through a physical form, and one focused more on the emotional needs of the character. These terms create an image of Tristan as being torn between his physical and emotional needs which is more clearly defined than in the ST, where the source of his turmoil is the choice between his former lover and new wife.

Highlighting or obscuring certain nuances of meaning of the text also occurs in relation to the sexual material in this excerpt. Tristan's passage of introspection contains the introduction of a stronger level of sexuality, with his feelings toward the other Yseut being described with terms such as 'lust,' (l.655) 'desire' (l.658) and 'arousal,' (l.653) thereby making a distinction between the physical aspect of his intention for his wife Yseut and the 'great love' (l.656) he feels for the queen. In this passage, the terms lust and arousal are also

[244] Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating,* p.60.
[245] Merriam-Webster, 'Urge,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2019 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/urge> [Accessed 25 June 2019].
[246] Merriam-Webster, 'Lust,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2019 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/lust> [Accessed 25 June 2019].
[247] Merriam-Webster, 'Desire,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2019 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/desire> [Accessed 25 June 2019].
[248] Merriam-Webster, 'Yearning,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2019 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/yearning> [Accessed 25 June 2019].

translation additions, straying from literal interpretation of the lines where in the ST the terms are 'poeir' (power) and 'voleir' (as above: want, wish). This also deserves comparison with the portrayal of Cariado's interest in the queen, where the ST line reads 'A cort ert venu pur require | La reïne de drüerie.' The TT rendering of this phrase is 'He had come to *court* for the queen | To ask her to be his mistress' (ll.851-2); the usage of 'court' here could be as noun or verb, but fits with the idea of courtly love for a modern audience, whereas the use of 'mistress' conjures different images, if we take for example the definition of the word as 'a woman who has a sexual relationship over a long period of time with a man who is not her husband.'[249] By comparison, in the line 'Tristan, qu'ele tant desire,' the type of love or desire the two main characters feel for one another is adapted for Yseut's viewpoint. This is especially noticeable in ll.704-708 which mention not only yearning, but love, desire and finally 'No other love or fancy,' which seems to clash with the stronger terms, meaning alternately a wish or temporary liking for something or someone. This interpretation fits with the translator's assessment of Thomas' Yseut being a 'considerably toned down' version of Béroul[250] and is especially noticeable in contrast to the two male characters in the excerpt. For the target audience, the usage of each term has a changing connotation dependent on the referent of the emotion or passage of introspection: male and female viewpoints differ in strength and source of feeling, while different relationships infer more physical or emotional connections.

By contrast with the level of sexual connotation, the translation also introduces language which has moral connotations in the target language, especially in Tristan's passage of introspection. This is an interesting use of language especially if we consider the argument for Thomas' 'clerkly' viewpoint. The character's 'dilemma' (l.640) is phrased in terms of 'breaking faith' (l.638), 'penance' (l.639), 'troubled in mind' (l.669); he has 'coveted' (l.673) and 'shunned' (l.674) and been in 'torment' (l.688). The introduction of terms which could easily have their place in a moral or religious context serves to emphasise the role of this passage in the overall tone of the story. Tristan's passage of introspection is significant to our understanding of the role of the potion in the love story between himself and Yseut, and the extent to which either of the characters have agency in terms of their romantic trajectory. Gregory avers that the potion's role in Thomas' version of the story has no stronger role than in Béroul's version and is in essence a 'macguffin' used to keep the story going, as the story

[249] Merriam-Webster, 'Mistress,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2019 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mistress> [Accessed 25 June 2019].
[250] Gregory, *Early French Tristan Poems II*, p.xv.

is more often ‘second fiddle to the ratiocinations of Tristran (sic) and Thomas’s own commentary.’[251] This means that the use of more moral language fits well with the translator’s assertions about the text, drawing more attention to character agency and thought than the mystical aspect of the ST, and making the target audience more aware of the importance of the text’s psychological and moral discussion.

The role of language in characterisation is also noticeable when looking at the epithets used to describe Cariado, as these give an impression of both positive and negative traits in the eye of the ST author. Taking the example below, we can establish the traits expected of a knight at court:

ST	**TT**
ll.848-71:	
Survint idunc Cariado,	Thereupon Cariado appeared,
Uns riches cuns de grant alo,	A mighty count with extensive domains,
De bels chastés, de riche tere.	Fine castles and fertile lands.
A cort ert venu pur requere	He had come to court for the queen,
La reïne de drüerie;	To ask her to be his mistress
Ysolt le tient a grant folie.	An idea which Yseut thought to be the height of folly.
Par plusurs feiz l’ad ja requis	He had already sought her love on many occasions
Puis Tristrans parti del païs.	After Tristran had left the country.
Idunc vint il pur corteier,	And now he had come to woo her,
Mais unques n’i pot espleiter	But he had never been able to succeed,
Ne tant vers la reïne faire	Had never been able to succeed,
Vaillant un guant em poïst traire,	Had never been able to secure from the queen
Në en promesse ne en graant:	The gift of even a fig,
Unques ne fist ne tant ne quant.	Whether in prospect or actually given:
En la curt ad molt demoré	His efforts ad always come to absolutely nothing.
E pur cest amor sujorné.	Because of this love of his he had stayed
Il esteit molt bels chevaliers,	
Corteis [e] orguillus e firs,	

[251] Ibid. p.xvii.

Mes n'irt mie bien a loer Endreit de ses armes porter. Il ert molt bels e bons parleres, [E] doneür e gabeeres.	And lingered long at court. He was an exceedingly handsome knight, Fine-mannered, proud and haughty, But, as far as bearing arms was concerned, No praise could be lavished on him. He was, in sum, very handsome, a smooth talker, Good with the ladies and something of a wit.

He is strong, handsome (twice), fine mannered, and in possession of fertile, wide ranging lands and castles. However, his other qualities, being haughty and proud, thereby looking down on others,[252] yet having no martial ability frame him as somewhat of a hypocrite despite his looks and inheritance. We could also infer from the phrases around his other skills, 'a smooth talker | good with the ladies and something of a wit' that his talents lie in the more superficial aspects of his role at court. These word choices have again formed one of many different possible portrayals of his character, and arguably one of the more negative possible options at that. His portrayal not only opposes him to the typical knightly archetype we would expect to see from Tristan, but also sets the scene for his encounter with queen Yseut, as their discussion circles around word play and verbal sparring.

Metaphor and idiom

An important aspect of this section of verbal sparring is the inclusion of allusion and metaphor in the ST. In the passage of text containing Cariado and Yseut's head-to-head above, the metaphor lies in the wood-owl and screech-owl and in this excerpt in general, references to past practice or tales of the past are kept in a more exact form: where we see 'fresaie' and 'huan' in the ST we receive wood-owl and screech-owl in the TT. The handling of these aspects may have some relation to the earlier assertion that the translation is not designed to stand alone, rather acting as a secondary reading guide alongside the edition of the ST, but in this situation, it is also due to a lack of an appropriate reference. In modern English we do not use owls in similar idioms and therefore the emphasis is placed on the characters' explanation of the wood-owl bringing news of death and the screech-owl frightening the hearer, suggesting a possible comparison of knowledge and hyperbole for the

[252] Merriam-Webster, 'Haughty,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2019 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/haughty> [Accessed 25 June 2019].

reader. For comparison, the phrase ‘vaillant un guant’ has been handled through cultural transposition, becoming ‘the gift of even a fig’, a reworking of the phrase ‘not give a fig’ meaning to not care, or ‘not worth a fig,’ meaning unimportant, valueless. This brings the phrase into the target culture in a familiar format, while maintaining the meaning of ‘guant’ as a worthless object, something of a small quantity or price.[253] The effect of the treatment of metaphor and the cultural level here, therefore, is to improve readability while respecting the needs of the target audience in terms of flagging up points of cultural reference, and providing explication in or around the text where possible.

Interference

Finally, as with the other texts examined so far, we must consider the extent to which there is linguistic interference between this text and others consulted in the process of translation. In the introduction to his translation, Gregory cites a number of influences, both for his edition and translation. Interestingly, among the other translators he mentions are Hatto and Sayers, alongside Lacroix and Payen, who translated into modern French. Of the two English translators, Hatto is only referred to in notes on two occasions, l.843 and l.2588, but there is little evidence to show that this represents any more interference than fact checking, as most of the textual notes take the form of reference to content, or editorial decisions. The language of this text has mostly unique features not shared by the other two, apart from a few words; the only noticeable interference between TTs may be perceived in the above description of Cariado, where the phrase ‘fine and haughty’ makes a common appearance in these translations. The unique nature of much of the language in this text may also be a feature of the linguistic aptitude and cultural understanding of the translator, making borrowing from other translators less of a necessity than for Sayers or Hatto, for whom translating was not their first skill, or the ST language not their area of fluency.

To conclude this analysis, the feature which has the greatest effect on the outcome of the translation is its format. As we have seen above, the majority of translation decisions stem from the decision to present a parallel edition and translation, which has implications on the graphic and sentential level, but also the prosodic level. In keeping with the stated skopos for translation, the text is readable and accessible, but is restricted by the line-for-line format necessary to enable the reader to appreciate the content of each line of the edition. At the linguistic level this means that the translator approaches the text in a fragmentary manner,

---

[253] AND[2] Online Edition, ‘gant,’ 2019 < https://www.anglo-norman.net/entry/gant > [Accessed 18 Jun 2019].

leading to variable readings of the key terms voleir and desir, which are held in higher esteem by other translators (and scholars), who consider their placement in the text an important rhetorical feature; the wide range of vocabulary employed by the translator creates a rich, if not altogether consistent text. When we look at the translation from a semantic point of view, there appears to be a more sophisticated understanding of the ST as portrayed in the chosen language. The language used to describe Cariado highlights the defects of his character effectively; the language used around Tristan and Yseut's emotions and speech are differently handled, showing the distinction between Tristan's love for Queen Yseut and lust for Yseut of the White Hands, and mirroring that love and affection in Queen Yseut's language. The language used in relation to the female characters is similarly varied with male characters, taking a softer tone. It is also interesting to note that aspects of culture and metaphor are brought over from the ST in their source form; the passage of the Lay of Guirun takes a different form, using a more literal style which sets it apart from the main body of text in a foreignizing or archaizing way, while other metaphorical language is held in its original form, with no explication. Finally, although there is little linguistic interference, this text, as an edition and translation in parallel, draws openly on the preceding editions and translations of the *Tristan* text, which places this version firmly within the ongoing continuity of scholarship and translation around the ST, while adding its own criticisms of previous scholarship.

4.2.4 Analysis 4: Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer, trans. by Laura Ashe (London: Penguin, 2015)

Personal habitus

The most recent translator of *Tristan* remains active in her academic field and therefore we benefit from a wealth of available sources when generating a picture of her working habitus. From her Oxford University profile, we can see that she attended a highly prestigious British university for both her undergraduate degree in English and her further PhD studies (Cambridge) and in the intermediary years was a researcher at Harvard in the United States. Throughout her academic studies there has been a pattern of interest. While at Gonville and Caius, she won the yearly essay prize presented by the *Cambridge Quarterly* journal with her dissertation piece: '"A Prayer and a Warcry" The Creation of a Secular Religion in the "Song of Roland".'[254] Following this success, she was awarded a Kennedy scholarship to Harvard for a year. This particular prize is described as helping 'Scholars use the opportunity to deepen their expertise in their field, but also to explore the diversity within their own field and in new fields altogether.'[255] If Ashe followed her medieval pathway directly through to the School of English during her research at UCL, she would have benefited from 'one of the UK's most prominent specialist centres for the study of the Medieval and Renaissance periods,'[256] and worked alongside specialists in Chaucer (Ardis Butterfield) and Anglo-Norman literature (Marilyn Corrie), both of which subjects she translates in this volume. As a current academic, she lists her fields of interest to include England's Latin and French literatures, the church and chivalry in romance and writing, as well as the themes of 'Interiority, subjectivity, and individuality, in literature and thought,' religious cultures and national identities.[257] Her education places her among the leading bodies in medieval research, part of some of the highest-ranking universities in the UK and USA, and gives her an elite position in a predominantly academic field. Throughout her career, the predominant trends emerging in the medieval academic field have related to gender studies, cultural studies and postcolonialism, all of which look at personal narrative in some sense, and this is

---

[254] Laura Ashe, 'A Prayer and a Warcry: The Creation of a Secular Religion in the "Song of Roland".' *The Cambridge Quarterly,* 28(4), (1999), pp.349-367 <https://doi.org/10.1093/camqtly/28.4.349>.
[255] Kennedy Memorial Trust, 'Kennedy Scholarships,' *Kennedy Memorial Trust*, 2019 <https://www.kennedytrust.org.uk/display.aspx?id=1848&pid=283> [Accessed 30 July 2019].
[256] University College, London, 'Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies,' *University College, London*, 2023 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/medieval-renaissance-studies/> [Accessed 5 August 2023].
[257] University of Oxford, 'Professor Laura Ashe,' *University of Oxford, Faculty of English*, 2019 <https://www.english.ox.ac.uk/people/professor-laura-ashe> [Accessed 30 July 2019].

reflected in her own publications. For example, 'The Ideal of Knighthood in English and French Writing, 1100-1230: Crusade, Piety, Chivalry and Patriotism'[258] discusses the socio-cultural theme of chivalry and its applications in medieval French writing, and how aristocratic culture was represented in relation to contemporary concerns over religion; '*Mutatio Dexterae Excelsi*: Narratives of Transformation After the Conquest'[259] deals with the idea of the self and the development of character through personal (and religious) transformation; the book *The Exploitations of Medieval Romance*,[260] edited alongside Ivana Djordjevic and Judith Weiss, looks at romance from the viewpoint of dogma, and gathers together texts discussing the Romance genre as a vehicle for persuasion in its time, in terms of religion and social practice. From these examples we can see that as an academic, her work is in tune with the dominant trends of her time, possibly due to the prestigious locations of her education and career. The wider aspects of her career also show an affinity with modern dissemination methods around medieval history and literature, and an interest in inviting the wider public to have an interest in what could be seen as a restricted field. This is exhibited in her willingness to engage with public media; on her Oxford University page it explains that she has frequently presented subjects on BBC Radio 4's *In Our Time*, has appeared on documentaries about the Battle of Hastings, C.S. Lewis and knighthood, but also on less serious historical endeavours such as Danny Dyer's *Right Royal Family* and *Cunk on Britain*.[261] While the demographic for all of these publicly broadcast items is arguably much broader than most academic work, there is also a diversity in this wider work; Radio 4 has an average demographic of 56 years old, upmarket listeners, but only gathers 21% of the market,[262] while BBC 1 is watched by an average of 77% of UK adults each week, with an average age of around 60 years old.[263] This shows a distinct interest in reaching a wide and varied audience, both the knowledgeable and the layman, through a variety of presentation styles. From these short examples of her background and output, we can establish that her

[258] Laura Ashe, 'The Ideal of Knighthood in English and French Writing, 1100–1230: Crusade, Piety, Chivalry and Patriotism', in *Writing the Early Crusades*, NED - New edition (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer Limited, 2014), pp.155-68.
[259] Laura Ashe, 'Mutatio Dexteræ Excelsi: Narratives of Transformation after the Conquest', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 110.2 (2011), pp.141-72 <https://doi.org/10.5406/jenglgermphil.110.2.0141>.
[260] Laura Ashe, and others, *The Exploitations of Medieval Romance* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010).
[261] University of Oxford, 'Professor Laura Ashe,' (2019). *University of Oxford, Faculty of English*, <https://www.english.ox.ac.uk/people/professor-laura-ashe> [Accessed 30 July 2019].
[262] BBC, 'BBC Radio 4 44 Minute Drama,' (2019). *BBC Marketing and Audiences*, <https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/radio/commissioning/R4_44_Minute_Drama_Audience_Pack.pdf> [Accessed 30 July 2019].
[263] BBC, 'BBC Trust End of Charter Report,' (2017). *BBC Trust,* <https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/charter/end_of_charter_review.pdf> [Accessed 30 July 2019] p.9.

working habitus is to a large extent academic, but in her outreach, there are attempts to increase the impact of her work. In regard to the translation at hand, this means we could expect a strong intention to open the literature to a wider audience, whether through the use of language, or the presentation of the text itself.

Ashe's personal perspective on the *Tristan* of Thomas is explained in the preface to the translation, where the work is framed almost as a rebuttal of the courtly ideal, a call for 'reason and common sense'[264] that goes against the courtly idea of love as the ultimate sign of self-fulfilment. She highlights the intensity and repetition of the psychological elements of the text, and the way in which characters, through their stresses, reveal different aspects of themselves: fickleness and jealousy, their love threatening rather than reinforcing their social status. This is a love, she states, that does not 'function aesthetically,'[265] rather providing an example of where pain is just pain, and their death and suffering has no particular moral. In the end, *Tristan et Iseut* is portrayed as a tale with no true binary of good and bad, which is aimed at providing a source of reflection, while 'hover[ing] on the edges of nihilism,'[266] a perspective truly for the modern audience of realists.

Publishing environment

The publishing field of the text shares some features with A.T. Hatto's translation. It is also under the Penguin Classics label and shares its pages with other translations. As has been stated previously, the Penguin Classics imprint has the stated aim of making available the best works throughout history accompanied by authoritative notes and introductions by leaders in the particular field of the text, be it history, literature or languages. Today the Penguin Classics catalogue amounts to over 1300 texts, which is arguable proof of the strength of their formula in the general market, and therefore the central nature of their status within the publishing system. Following Bourdieu, the centrality of the publisher within the literary system (in Anglophone countries) would suggest that translations produced by them would follow the contemporary orthodoxy and expectations of the population at the time, as they would be more likely to select those texts which maintained their prestige and societal position. This also reflects well on the capital of a translator or producer of a text where the author is unknown; much like Hatto before her, being published by Penguin Classics confers

[264] Ashe, *Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer*, p.93.
[265] Ibid., p.96.
[266] Ibid., p.98.

a prestige on Ashe among literary producers.[267] The preliminary norm, or translation brief, is partly defined by the stated mission of the publisher, and partly by that of the translator, as described in any paratextual notes such as the introduction and blurb. The book is described in its blurb as 'Essential for all students of medieval literature'[268] and containing texts which 'are inspirations for some of the best-known later works in literature…newly translated into clear modern prose.' As mentioned above, the translation in question here is included as part of an overview of important texts from the period, as the title *Early Fiction in England* implies, which are translated by Ashe, Philip Knox, Richard Sowerby, John Spence, Judith Weiss and Liliana Worth.[269] No text is included in its entirety, instead in extract form, or in the case of Marie de France's *Lais*, presenting an indicative selection of her poems. These texts, extracted from a variety of Middle English, Latin and Old French, are each presented with an introduction to the text as a whole and its author as we know them today. This context is intended 'to offer immediate access to ways of reading these passages, providing necessary information and context, but not the whole apparatus of manuscript and textual history.'[270] This explicative and communicative function is added to in the translator's note, where it is stated that the book: 'has been a working compromise between accuracy and fluency, with the aim of allowing the texts to read naturally in Modern English prose […] we have freely adapted narrative tenses and often restructured phrases and sentences to give a natural flow of meaning over the span of several lines.'[271] This in some ways reflects back on Hatto's presentation of the Thomas text for the same publisher, where the prose translation was intended to be acceptable for all, both the general reader and the academic, thereby necessitating a clear and communicative style.

We must also consider, in relation to the wider appeal of Ashe's work and the nature of the intention of the book as a whole, the changes in the system of university teaching around the

[267] See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006) pp.147-8.
[268] Penguin, 'Early Fiction in England,' *Penguin*, 2015 <https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/193/193407/early-fiction-in-england/9780141392875.html> [Accessed 30 July 2019].
[269] University of Cambridge, 'Dr Philip Knox, Faculty of English.' *University of Cambridge*, 2016 <https://www.english.cam.ac.uk/people/Philip.Knox/> [Accessed 30 July 2019]; The University of Edinburgh, 'About our staff,' *The University of Edinburgh*, 2021 <https://www.ed.ac.uk/history-classics-archaeology/about-us/staff-profiles/profile_tab1_academic.php?uun=rsowerby> [Accessed 25 June 2021]; John Spence, 'About the Author,' *Anglo-Norman: A Blog*, 2016 <https://anglonorman.wordpress.com/about-the-author/> [Accessed 30 July 2019]; Robinson College, University of Cambridge, 'Dr Judy E Weiss,' *University of Cambridge*, 2019 <https://www.robinson.cam.ac.uk/people/dr-judy-e-weiss> [Accessed 30 July 2019]; Liliana Worth, 'Liliana Worth,' *Academia.edu*, 2019 <https://oxford.academia.edu/LilianaWorth> [Accessed 30 July 2019].
[270] Ashe, *Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer*, p.xxvii.
[271] Ibid.

time of publishing and in the preceding decades. Here we can introduce the role of the rise of comparative literature, and the teaching of texts outside of their source language and culture. If we take for example Queens College Oxford and Nottingham University, both of which teach from the medieval period in English, we see that texts are studied almost uniformly in translation, with recommended texts coming from either Penguin or Oxford University Press[272]. Where syllabi use texts edited from manuscripts, this is often the case, although in language courses it is just as likely to see texts translated from Old French to modern French in parallel (for example) as a recommended text. This text in translation, when used in university teaching, could just as easily apply to a language focused course, or alternatively as a piece of comparative literature, intended to exemplify the output of a certain period or genre. Therefore, presenting these texts as a collection exemplifies the growth of the practice of opening up the genre to a wider readership and criticism. With this perspective, we can build a picture of the relevance of this particular translation for the translator and also aspects of its intended reception.

In summary, we can expect Ashe's translation, and the excerpt from it, to conform to norms of readability, not only because of the predominant translation practice at the time of its translation, but also due to the aims of the translator and publisher, to present texts deemed as important to a wide-ranging audience. We could also expect close attention to the use of language around each character due to the translator's personal interests in the depiction of the individual during the ST time period.

Poetry and prose

Beginning with the macro-level features of the text, we must first consider the graphic level. In this case, the translator has chosen to render the text as prose rather than poetry, and moreover in the form we would expect from extended prose such as a novel, rather than blank verse. In this way, the audience is presented with the effect of a story to be read in silence rather than out loud, reducing the performative value of the text. It is interesting to note that the prose format has predominance throughout the book from which the translation was extracted, whether the ST appears in poetry or prose; another notable example of this is

[272] See for example the following reading lists from: University of Nottingham, 'Reading List: Arthurian Literature (ENGL3023) (Q33207),' *University of Nottingham*, 2018 <https://rl.talis.com/3/notts/lists/410876A0-038B-CAF5-3FF5-19DE0F2B575C.html?lang=en-GB>; and: Rebecca Beasley, and Daniel Thomas, 'HEng18,' *The Queen's College, University of Oxford*, 2018 <https://web.archive.org/web/20190713154714/https://www.queens.ox.ac.uk/sites/www.queens.ox.ac.uk/files/HEng18.pdf> [Accessed 5 August 2023].

with Marie de France's *Lais*, excerpts from which are also rendered as extended prose. This translation choice therefore represents a broader decision, as the translations within the book were carried out by more than one agent. If we relate this to the stated intention of the text, the effect is to create a sense of narrative fiction from the time period, an 'immediate access;'[273] the reader receives stories which were told and main themes, rather than an in-depth knowledge of format and origin, as many markers of style will have been erased. Moreover, there are editorial decisions present in this excerpt which follow the simplification of the texts for a wider readership. While sections of each text are selected throughout the book as archetypes of the content (here the 'Marriage' is placed alongside episodes including the 'Betrayal and Death'), for this section, the digression about Orguillus le Fiers is removed, arguably as it strays from content purely examining the central story and belongs more to the overarching Arthurian tradition to which it belongs.[274] Moreover, it fits with the theory postulated in Ashe's introduction that the *Tristan* of Thomas belongs less to courtly tradition; therefore to focus on the more psychological passages of the text would bring this viewpoint into clearer focus for the target audience.

The choice of prose over poetry also has an impact on the prosodic level of the text, removing any rhyme or meter. In contrast to Hatto, however, the application of the prose form is accompanied with attention to the sentential structure of the translation. Whereas Hatto's translation mostly maintains the line separation of the ST, the translator's note for this version states that the narrative structure, including tenses, is changed where necessary to maintain a 'natural' reading for the target audience. This wider decision also has the effect of presenting a text which fits easily within target audience expectations and to some extent minimises foreignness. One way in which this is expressed is in the natural use of collocation and conjunction in the TT, for example:

ST	**TT**[275]
ll.590-609: Tristran se colche, Ysolt l'embrace, Baise lui la buche e la face, A li l'estraint, del cuer susspire E volt iço qu'il ne desire;	 Tristan came to bed and Yseut held him in her arms, kissed his mouth and his face, held him close to her, sighed from her heart,

[273] Ashe, *Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer*, p.xxvii.
[274] Ibid. p.114.
[275] As with Hatto, to adjust for clear linguistic analysis, Ashe's prose has been segmented to mirror the ST.

A sun voleir est a contraire De laissier sun buen u del faire. La nature proveir se volt, La raison se tient a Ysolt. Le desir qu'ad vers la reïne Tolt le voleir vers la meschine; Le desir lui tolt le voleir, Que nature n'i ad poeir. Amur e raison le destraint, E le voleir de sun cors vaint. La grant amor qu'ad vers Ysolt Tolt ço que la nature volt, E vaint icele volenté Que senz desir out en pensé. Il out boen voleir de li faire, Mais l'amur le fait molt retraire.	and wanted that which he had no desire for. It was against his wishes both to refrain from pleasure and to take it; his natural desires would have shown themselves, but reason held him loyal to Yseut. His desire for the queen destroyed his inclination toward the girl; his love-longing killed his lust, so that nature lost all its power. Love and reason held him back, and defeated the desires of his body; the great love he felt for Yseut prevented what nature wanted, and vanquished the urge which he felt without desire. He did indeed want to commit the act, but love restrained him utterly.
l.805 Mais unques n'i pot esploiter	But he never made any progress
ll.845-6 Ne volez pas luin aler Pur chose faire que l'en die	You've no desire to go any distance yourself to perform some deeds that others might want to talk about

The effect of these choices is to bring the TT closer to the audience's expectation of narrative form. While removing the prosody of the lines and their layout, natural verb progression and conjunctions are introduced to create fluency, e.g. 'his natural desires would have shown themselves, *but* reason held him loyal to Yseut.' Emphasis created in the ST by assonance or repetition is introduced through the insertion of emphatic language, e.g. 'He did *indeed* want to' and 'love restrained him *utterly*.' Common idiom further supports this approach, for example in the dispute between Iseut and Cariado:

ST	TT
ll.818-35: Ysolt trove chantant un lai, dit en riant: ‘Dame, bien sai Que l’en ot fresaie chanter Contre de mort home parler, Car sun chant signefie mort; E vostre chant, cum jo record, Mort de fresaie signifie: Alcon ad or perdu la vie. — Vos dites veir,’ Ysolt lui dit; ‘Bien voil que sa mort signifit. Assez est huan u fresaie Ki chante dunt altre s’esmaie. Bien devez vostre mort doter, Quant vos dotez le mien chanter, Car vos estes fresaie asez Pur la novele qu’aportez. Unques ne crei aportisiez Novele dunt l’un fust ja liez	 He found Yseut singing her song and smiled, saying, ‘Lady, I know well that when the owl is heard to sing, it is fitting to speak of someone’s death, for her song signifies death. But your song, I think, signifies the owl’s death: she has now lost her life.’ ‘You speak the truth,’ Yseut told him. ‘I’m very happy for it to signify her death: anyone who sings to frighten another is indeed a screech owl or a wood owl. And certainly you should fear your own death as you fear my song, because the kind of news you always bring makes you a screech owl indeed. I don’t think you’ve ever brought news that has made anyone happy; you never come here without some awful story to tell.

Again, terms such as ‘indeed’ and ‘certainly’ replicate the ST emphasis, and dialogue tags such as ‘and smiled, saying,’ further promote narrative fluency. Furthermore, phrases such as ‘you never come here without some awful story to tell,’ modulate the ST from positive to negative to introduce irony and a tone of friendly debate.

Yet, this is not to say that stylistic elements on the micro-level of the text entirely erase the foreignness of the ST, as to do so would be to reject the prestige and importance of its origin. The register of Ashe’s language choices has a level of formality which we would associate, as a modern audience, with nobility and especially with a historical setting. For example, in passages of speech between characters, this formality creates an emotional

distance usually expected of very polite conversation. Take for example above when Cariado addresses the Queen, saying ‘Lady, I know well that when the owl is heard to sing, it is fitting to speak of someone’s death,’ and during the exchanges between Tristan and Iseult here:

ST	**TT**
ll.624-33 & 643-49: Dunc dit Tristrans: ‘Ma bele amie, Ne tornez pas a vilainie, Un conseil que vos voil geïr; Si vos pri molt del covrir, Que nuls nel sace avant de nos: Unques nel dis fors or a vos. De ça vers le destre costé Ai el cors une emfermeté, Tenu m’ad mult lungement; Anoit m’ad anguissé forment. […] Ne vos em peist si or le lais: Nos le ravrum encore assez Quant jo voldrai e vos voldrez. —— Del mal me peise, Ysolt respont, Plus qu’altre mal en cest mond; Mais del el dunt vos oi parler Voil jo e puis bien desporter.’	Then Tristan said: “my fair love, do not be horrified that I must tell you a secret. And I beg that you keep it hidden, so that no one but we will know. I have never spoken of it except now, to you. All down my right side I have a bodily infirmity; it has gripped me for a very long time, and tonight it is hurting me terribly. […] Do not trouble yourself if we leave it for now; we will have enough in time, when I and you both desire it.’ ‘I am sorry for your illness,’ Yseut replied, ‘more than any other ill in this world; but as for that other matter of which I’ve heard you speak, I am happy and can well manage without.’

The forms of address here, ‘Lady,’ ‘My fair love,’ speak of a respectful and formal relationship between characters, as would be expected of a courtly setting; the full use of phrases ‘do not’ rather than ‘don’t’ also reflect this formality of speech. In terms of the content, the formality of language is an indicator of Tristan keeping his new wife at arm’s length, as there is no sentiment between them. From a wider perspective, this creates a

distance not only between the characters but between the audience and the text, as literary fiction bearing this type of formality either signals for the modern reader a historical setting or origin (or in this case, both).

The formality of speech between characters does not only reflect an indication of setting, but also an emotional distance within the bounds of the translation. If we compare the passage of speech between Tristan and Yseult of the White Hands, or the opening passage of speech between Yseut and Cariado above, with the later passages of speech between Cariado and the queen, there is a clear difference in translation choice. Where the opening of the passage of speech has the same features of formality, 'Lady, I know,' 'you speak the truth,' the later passage where the two argue is more emotional, and for both introduces wide use of contractions: I'm (x2), I've, You'd, You're(x2), You've(x3), We'll. This change in tone is also supported by more colloquial language later in the passage; Yseut uses the words 'gossip' (l.843 'novele') and 'waster' (l.839 'perechus')[276] to describe Cariado's actions, and in return he is just as mocking: 'If I'm a screech owl, you're a wood owl […] from now on you can just keep hunting'(l.861 'Des or vos purrez purchacer').[277] This change in tone and usage in the translation not only indicates the difference in relations between the two, but has the effect of drawing in the reader with the use of informal and common language, involving them more in the conflict. If we look through the excerpt chosen for analysis, we find even less euphemistic language which is more in line with a communicative translation of the ST, for example, where we find 'I must not sleep with the girl [...] I can neither abandon her nor have sex with her,' (l.501 and ll.506-507).

Personal character and emotion

As has been stated in previous analyses, the place of emotion in this text is important to consider, not only because of its central role to the narrative, but also because of how its portrayal helps us to understand the characters and their relationships. Introspection as well as conversation contributes to this overall picture. In this translation, the language used to depict Tristan's emotions come from a place of despair and bellicosity. Tristan's passages of introspection are important features of this text and evidence of the ST author's focus on emotional tensions and psychology. In this excerpt Tristan describes himself as suffering, utterly restrained, in pain, torment, and anguish, but also in part in a state of surrender.[278]

---

[276] Ibid. p.115.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid. p.113.

From the use of these terms we get a sense of the hopelessness of his situation. However, the language also reinforces his masculinity to some extent, as martial language balances his more emotional tendencies. He speaks of a battle, in which his yearnings are things to destroy or kill ('tolt' ll.599-60), defeat or vanquish ('vaint,' ll.603, 606).[279] The translator also replicates the moral language seen before, where Tristan speaks of his penance, and shunning his desires towards his new wife. The choice of terms in this TT not only reflect the ST language but the bi-partite character of Tristan, both the figure of suffering that is out of his hands and therefore a psychological subject for the author, and a representation of his time and social class, where martial skill and moral reasoning were a key feature of nobility.[280]

Regarding the key terms of 'desir' and 'voleir' pointed out previously, in this translation we find that there are key recurring terms to reflect the values of the text. The word 'desir' is mostly translated as 'desire' (e.g. above l.593, l.598 and l.607), but sometimes as love or 'love-longing' (l.600 'Le desir lui tolt le voleir,'), while 'voleir' covers a range of meaning from wanting to wishing to inclination, but all the while maintaining the verb as a means of expressing preference. Despite his wishing and wanting, Tristan in the end follows love rather than desire, the love for Yseut the queen rather than the urges toward his new wife. The consistent use of the word desire in the TT amplifies its importance in opposition to love. When these terms are used around Yseut, their frame of reference changes, with desire having the inference of yearning, a translation we have seen before with Gregory:

ST	**TT**
ll.650-59 Ysolt en sa chambre suspire Pur Tristran qu'ele tant desire; Ne puet en sun cuer el penser Fors ço sul que Tristran amer; Ele nen ad altre voleir, Ne altre amur, ne altre espeir; En lui est trestuit sun desir, E ne puet rien de lui oïr;	Queen Yseut sighed in her chamber for Tristan, whom she so much desired. She could think of nothing in her heart but one thing only: to love Tristan. She had no other desire, no other love, no other hope. All her longing was lodged in him, and she could hear no news of him;

[279] Ibid.
[280] Contrast this with the description of Cariado, whose wit overtakes his skill and therefore societal standing: he is not worthy of Yseut, he is 'ridiculous': ST l.801; TT p.114.

Ne set u est, en quel païs, Ne si il est u mort u vis:	she did not know where he was, in what country, nor even if he were alive or dead.

The inferential level of the text allows the reader to gain an understanding of the moral impact of correct and incorrect action in this situation. We feel for the deep yearning of Yseut, alone in her room, and experience the torment of Tristan, all the while understanding that love is better than lust. The choice of language and inference also has the effect of making a distinction between the male lusts of the body, and the female yearnings of the heart. This is an important distinction when we consider the morally ambiguous content of the ST: it is suggested that it is better for Tristan to yearn for another man's wife rather than his own. This reflects the assertion of the translator in the independent introduction to the text, as she says: 'they have emotional experiences which are confused and confusing, and to which their responses are irrational and changeable […] and the reader is left profoundly uncertain of the appropriate moral judgement of these actions.'[281]

Further examples of this distinction between desirable and undesirable qualities in the ST contemporary literary culture can be seen in the description of Cariado. While there are examples of emotional behaviour with the lovers, the portrayal of Cariado gives us a picture of the culturally acceptable characteristics for a knight or courtier; in this sense he becomes the anti-hero in his section of the text. On one hand, he has all the correct physical characteristics and some of the cultural trappings expected of nobility:

ST	**TT**
ll.796-817: Survint idunc Carïado, Uns riches cuns de grant alo, De bels chastés, de riche tere; A cort ert venu por requere La reïne de druerie. Ysolt le tient a grant folie. Par plusurs feiz l'ad ja requis Puis que Tristrans parti del païs.	 Then Cariado arrived: a wealthy count with a great estate, handsome castles and rich lands. He had come to the court to beg the queen for her love. Yseut thought this ridiculous: he had asked her so many times since Tristan left the country,

[281] Ashe, *Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer,* p.94.

Idunc vint il pur corteier; Mais unques n'i pot espleiter, Ne tant vers la reïne faire Vaillant un guant em poïst traire, Ne en promesse ne en grant; Unques ne fist ne tant ne quant. En la curt ad molt demoré E pur cest amor sujorné. Il esteit molt bels chevaliers, Corteis, orguillus e fiers; Mès n'irt mie bien a loer Endreit de ses armes porter. Il ert molt bels e bons parleres, Doneür e gabeeres:	and now once again had come to persuade her, but he never made any progress. He couldn't get from her so much as a glove; she promised nothing, and gave nothing; he never gained a thing. But he had stayed at court a long time to pursue this love. He was a handsome knight, courtly, proud and strong, but there wasn't a great deal to be said of his skill in combat. He was very good looking and a great talker, a ladies' man and a wit.

The qualitative language here focuses on visual aspects, handsome castles and features, good looking, as well as his emotional qualities, his pride and strength, his ability to talk up a storm. In this way he possesses many of the features of a sought-after man for today's society by being wealthy and handsome. On the other hand, to be a good talker and a ladies' man holds a more pejorative tone for the target audience, suggesting a fickle character.

Furthermore, we learn that he possesses little skill in combat, as expressed above. This would have been an important asset for a member of court, and a symbol of masculinity. The contrast increases further with Yseut's dismissal of his character as we read below:

ST	**TT**
ll.838-51: Il est tuit ensement de vus Cum fu jadis d'un perechus, Ki ja ne levast de l'astrier Fors pur un hom corocier: De votre ostel jan en istrez	 You're like some idle waster who never leaves his fireside except to distress someone else: you never leave your house without some gossip you've heard

Si novele oïe n'avez	that you can go around telling everyone.
Que vos poissiez avant conter.	You've no desire to go any distance
Vos ne volez pas luin aller	yourself,
Pur chose faire que l'en die.	to perform some deeds that others might
De vos n'irt ja novele oïe	want to talk about.
Dunt vos amis aient honur,	We'll never hear any news of you
Ne cels ki vos haient dolur.	that might bring honour to your friends
Des altrui faiz parler volez:	or sorrow to those who hate you.
Les voz n'irent ja recordez.'	You'd rather speak of the deeds of others;
	no one will ever remember yours.'

Here we find that along with his fickle character, he possesses few other traits of the moral fibre of a good knight, no inclination to perform selfless deeds, only spending his time talking about others. The effect of the language choices, both when addressing his positive and negative traits is to highlight his failings in comparison to the culturally beneficial aspects he has inherited. This draws our attention back to the idea of correct and incorrect behaviour, as expressed above. The epithets given to Cariado in some ways express that he has some positive qualities, yet also make us aware of what he lacks: the moral reasoning and martial skill necessary to be the hero of the tale. Despite the anguish and indecision of the main male character, the comparison with Cariado, the idle waster and gossip, has the effect of shedding a better light on Tristan. This is a feature which all of the translators of this excerpt include, proving an overall appreciation of the rhetorical effect of the inclusion of Cariado in the ST. However, it is Ashe's choice of language which makes the distinction stand out for the modern reader, with her use of colloquial adjectives such as 'waster.'

Metaphor

On the cultural level of this translation, we can also look at the use of metaphor and euphemism. Here there is again the influence of the skopos of the text not to provide the reader with excess content, though at times this approach can be variable. The use of the metaphor of the owl as a sign of doom is reduced to simply being mentioned as an owl in its first appearance, and then the screech- and wood-owl versions added later with no extra-textual explanation. As there is little evidence as to the relevance of these today, the reduction falls in line with making the text simpler, to be read at face value alone. However, an alternative approach as has been seen in a previous translation would be to convert this to he-

and she-owl[282] to remove the reference entirely and thereby avoid reader confusion. Similarly, the handling of 'nature' in the early part of this excerpt has been treated as an indication of character – more Tristan's nature as a person than Nature as a force or personified agent in the text. This is indicated in the text by a lack of capitalisation and also the connection to phrases such as 'natural desires,' having the effect of removing a layer of inference. The third key metaphor in this excerpt, 'vaillant un guant em poïst traire,'(l.807) is also translated in a way which reflects a simpler meaning, as 'he couldn't get from her so much as a glove,' rather than using more idiomatic phrasing;[283] other possible approaches that would reflect the communicative aim of the text could have been some explication of the relevance of the glove, or a transposition wherein a more contemporary idiom is used. Finally, on the cultural level, one further omission is noticeable in Ashe's translation, the loss of the word 'Lay' (ST l.783) replaced in the TT by 'Story';[284] this final omission is potentially the most puzzling given that Marie de France's *Lais* are included in the larger collection of texts in which this TT appears, with the use of *Lai* intact. Here then the communicative function varies, between inclusion of unquestioned content, such as the screech-owl and the glove, while others like the Lay/Lai are suppressed.

Interference

Finally, on the level of potential interference from other translators, we can consider the references that the translator makes to previous translations of the ST as an indicator of the possible influence of other texts. In this translation, the main reference made is to Stewart Gregory, from whose edition the translation is drawn, in contrast to all others seen so far who make reference to Bédier for example. As both Gregory's edition and translation are used by Ashe, we can consider that she favoured his approach to the ST as much as benefiting from his translation, and this shows a distinction from the other versions sampled as it suggests an eye towards change (albeit slight) rather than continuity, and a rejection of the canonised edition. Within Ashe's translation, however, there are few examples of direct translation interference, except where we can perceive repetition of some key descriptive terms. Cariado is a 'ladies' man and a wit' for instance, where in Gregory's version he is 'good with the ladies and something of a wit,' the word 'wit' being the connection, as it is a relatively old-

[282] See for comparison l.906 in: Sayers, *Tristan in Brittany,* p.136
[283] Ashe, *Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer,* p.115.
[284] As in 'the story of Guirun,' ibid., p.114.

fashioned or alternatively refined use of the term referring to clever humour.[285] Yet, in most ways the use of language by this translator differs from her predecessor in this corpus, as she tends towards idiomatic language, and avoids the extra repetitions created by Gregory in his translation in favour of fluidity. In fact, it is arguable that a greater influence is exerted in terms of language choice by the previous translators, taking for example the metaphor of the glove: only Gregory chooses to move away from a literal rendering to a cultural transposition.

In conclusion, the handling of this text matches up with the translator's stated intentions: to create an overview text which will introduce the unaccustomed reader of medieval texts to key themes and allow for a natural reading. When we consider the content of the text as read, we can appreciate the impact of the translator's in-depth knowledge of the subject and the time, but also the influence of a more modern viewpoint on the text. The writer rejects that the characters reflect the typical archetype of courtly love or lovers, instead they behave in a much more relatable way for the target audience, and through their stresses reveal different aspects of their characters: fickleness and jealousy, their love threatening rather than reinforcing their social status. In this translation there is less of an inferred binary between good and bad characters, rather an understanding that the emotional pressures the characters suffer provoke a spectrum of reactions. That is not to say we cannot appreciate that there were desirable and undesirable behaviours in this time period, as reflected by Cariado's character, but we are encouraged to accept the main characters as complex and relatable individuals.

[285] Merriam-Webster, 'Wit,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2019 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/wit> [Accessed 3 September 2019].

4.2.5 Summary of analysis: Tristan et Iseut

The main themes characterising the chosen excerpt of Thomas' *Le Roman de Tristan are* indicative of the overall trends represented by the text. We find lovers in torment, elaborating on their emotion in general, and tied by the binds of the courts they inhabit. Our heroes are not-so-heroic, though having many of the key characteristics of courtly lovers: Tristan with his knightly prowess and ethical torment; Iseut bound by her position but still pale and lovely, pursuing such pastimes as we would expect of a lady of her position. The elusive nature of the named author Thomas has led to numerous theories around his background and intent, which imply different approaches to the translation of this text, and the characterisation of the people therein.

The attitudes toward the content and characters themselves can be seen to diverge over time through the chronology of translations here.

While Sayers looks at Thomas as a skilled writer and 'amateur' psychologist, her translation is clearly framed by her own Christian beliefs, if not those of the time in which she lived. The form and morality we see portrayed in her translation is almost hymn-like, reminiscent of verse patterns well-known to the average churchgoer and pushing the idea of the medieval period as a 'new-washed world of clear sun and glittering colour': an idealised, Christianised view of the past. This goes so far as to enhance the characters' emotions so that Tristan is portrayed as a boat adrift on the sea of fate and Iseut a headstrong character, possibly reflecting the frustrations of women in Sayers' own time. Yet this is balanced with a reduction in the sexual content through euphemistic language and the uniform rendering of the terms 'desir' and 'voleir,' which changes the force of the content, turning Tristan's monologue back to 'love' rather than the dissonance between mind and body which is explored in the ST.

For Hatto, whose intent is to place the text in context, as a continuation of the content of Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan,* the focus is on improving the reader's understanding of the time and place of its construction and reception. The literal translation of the ST language emphasises the good and bad characteristics of each character, which frames Tristan as a good or worthy knight, and by comparison Cariado as an unworthy knight and suitor. An emphasis on martial language defines the two, giving the translation an emphasis on the male perspective. However, as a factor of this literal translation, Iseut's character and agency are

reduced due to the more general terms in which she is framed in this excerpt: her figure, form and activities are commensurate with the lady of the court but little more. The emotional language between them is just as literal and therefore lacks the 'vivid' element of the ST. The reduction in qualitative framing for this translation is partly in line with Hatto's appreciation of Thomas, (that he was not a poet, but certainly a clerk) but partly due to the choice of format and the emphasis on simple transfer of information.

Gregory's translation is described as a means of 'elucidation' for his edition of the source manuscript, making this a more ST-focused translation than some of the previous versions, a curious fact for the time period in which it was produced as the majority of theory had moved away from ideas of 'fidelity' to the ST.[286] The line-for-line style, though, does not mean that there is no effort towards expressing Thomas' words accurately for the new TT audience. He goes into detail on the theories around Thomas' background and concludes that though a 'clerk' he was not a 'cleric' and as a result the focus of the content is more on ethics than religion. Tristan is viewed through a psychological and ethical lens, compared to the insufficient Cariado and again neutralised Iseut. Curious to this approach is the seeming attribution of male and female characteristics to the terms 'desir' and 'voleir,' where the physical desire or urge is more male (attributed to Tristan) and the longing or wishing aspect more female (attributed to both Iseuts). The strict adherence to the line-for-line form and focus on ST rather than TT means that some aspects of inference and rhetoric are less apparent, although the translation is deemed 'acceptable' by the translator.

Finally, Ashe approaches the content from the perspective of introducing the genre as a whole to a new contemporary audience. The excerpts are bound together thematically with other early English texts and presented with detailed notes on how they fit in the overall tradition. For Ashe, Thomas is stepping away from the 'courtly' genre into which *Tristan* is usually placed and portraying genuine human emotion rather than idealised romance. Her translation reflects this, bringing the content into a new and candid form for her audience: the characters are morally flawed and the moral boundaries here are even more blurred. It is clear that Cariado is an ineffective model of male values for the time, but both Tristan and Iseut lie

[286] Here 'fidelity' is used as a translation term, with reference to Reiss and Vermeer's *Skopostheorie*, in which the idea of fidelity refers to coherence between the information received by the translator, the translator's interpretation of that information, and the information received by the target audience. *Towards a General Theory of Translational Action*, p.114.

less on a binary line of good/bad and are portrayed with a realistic view of human emotion, a realism which is fitting with the time of production for this version.

All of the chosen translators of this text are academics or have studied at Oxbridge universities, which suggests their approaches are tied to the *doxa*[287] of this field, during their given time period. However, one thread which ties them together is the notion of Thomas as a 'psychologist.' This reflects the inferences of the ST content, the rhetoric which encourages us to question the characters before us, but also draws us away (in three of the four cases) from the poetic form and lyrical intricacy of the ST manuscript which hearkens back to the origins of the story: the oral tale. The insistence on psychology as a focus of this series of translations encourages the TT reader to interrogate the story and characters before them, rather than relegating them to a simple tale of chivalry or courtly love as might have been suggested pre-twentieth century. Nonetheless, the extent to which the characters' actions can be interrogated relies very much on the translator's depiction, through which lens we have found a variety of notions over time: strong and weak male agency, strong and weak female agency, social structures around militarism, religion and ethics. All of these contribute to our interrogation of courtly love as a concept but propose different interpretations of its importance and effect depending on the period in which the text was translated.

[287] 'Doxa': See Bourdieu. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, p.164.

4.3 Corpus text 3: Aucassin et Nicolette

Introduction

The third ST in this corpus is a piece of literature noted for its creative and subversive approach to the genre and intertextuality with other medieval literary sources. The story takes the title characters on a long journey, referencing a number of familiar contemporary tropes along the way: we see the lovers escape their early imprisonment in separate towers and meet in a bower in the forest; they are then kidnapped by pirates and taken to Torelore, a topsy-turvy world where women go to war and men bear children. Later they are separated again and returned to their original lands – Aucassin to Beaucaire and Nicolette to Saracen Cartagena – before being reunited as equals in marriage. The section analysed in this chapter deals with the denouement of the narrative and our introduction to the titular characters and their environment.

Aucassin et Nicolette exists today in a single manuscript and has been dated to between the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.[288] It is bound alongside a miscellany of texts including Marie de France's *Lais*, works by Jean Bodel and Raoul de Houdenc, and a few Grail-related tales; luckily it is intact in the majority, and readable except a few damaged sections. However, within this binding and in the field of extant manuscripts, it stands as the sole example of a *chantefable*. The name of this genre has its only known medieval appearance at the end of this text and represents a hybridisation of poetry and prose, intended to be sung in the poetic sections as attested by the accompanying notation in the manuscript.[289] The sections of poetry and prose alternate throughout the story, and although frequently repeating passages of action, provide different perspectives on the portrayal of each scene, much in the same way as *laisses similaires*. The exact physical reception and method of performance for this text has also been disputed, which impacts on a translator's decision to maintain or reduce reference to musical or poetic elements of the text. The extant manuscript provides musical notation for the poetic sections meant to be sung, and instructions at the beginning of each division instructing us to read or sing. Yet, whether it was performed by a mime, by a single *jongleur*, or by two or more, remains uncertain.[290]Although the text stands alone as a *chantefable*, other examples of an integration

[288] A facsimile version of this manuscript excerpt can be found in the Appendix, p.457-59.
[289] Michel Zink*, Littérature Française du Moyen Age*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992) p.202.
[290] In *Medieval French Literature: An Introduction*, Zink also suggests that it could have even been a one-man-show. p.77.

of poetry and prose do exist, such as that used by Jean Renart in *Guillaume de Dole*, where the writer has included a number of *chansons* into the text as embellishment, but not in such a regimented way.[291] For the translator, this hybridity of format creates an issue balancing the most effective representation of the variation of forms while maintaining consistency of approach to the content and ST reception.

The form of this text is one of the factors deciding on its inclusion in the current corpus, as it represents a different (and unique) mode of storytelling. However, it has been argued that the format and genre of text was one of the reasons behind its rarity today. We remain uncertain of the reception such a text would have had in its own time, though critics have endeavoured to pinpoint its composition and circulation to northern France, Arras, due to the inclusion of local dialect words and the contemporary centre of poetic and theatrical activity there.[292] The origin of the narrative on the other hand has been connected to a variety of locations. An Arabian romance source was suggested due to the name of the title character (Aucassin ≈ Al-Qasim);[293] French folklore has been invoked due to the pastoral language used to describe Nicolette;[294] while Cartagena has been referred to as the location where a contemporary writer would have been most likely to encounter the practice of 'couvade' or *déguisement*[295] described in the last sections of the story.[296] As with *Tristan et Iseut,* our knowledge of the sources of the text necessarily comes from close reading, as there is currently no existing evidence of text, genre or author elsewhere; but to ascribe a varied background would certainly suit such a complex narrative.

Despite there being other examples of texts bearing resemblances to the *chantefable* in style, such as *Guillaume de Dole* above, or *Beuve d'Hantone*, the latter two have been preserved much more widely, in multiple manuscripts and more than one language, which suggests that there was something about *Aucassin et Nicolette* which dissuaded readers and

---

[291] Jean Dufournet, *Aucassin et Nicolette: Édition Critique,* 2nd edn (Paris: Flammarion, 1984) pp.8-9.

[292] An idea elaborated early in the twentieth century by Wilhelm Meyer-Lubke, 'Aucassin und Nicolette.' *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, vol. 34, no. 5, (1910), pp. 513-522. See also in this corpus, Burgess' introduction to *Aucassin and Nicolette*, p.93

[293] Francis William Bourdillon, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 3rd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), p.ix.

[294] See Dufournet, *Aucassin et Nicolette: Édition Critique*, pp.27 and 30.

[295] This term is used to refer to instances where a main character dons, or is provided with, a disguise in order to avoid being perceived, and usually in doing so moving into a position outside of the court, e.g., Tristan's leper disguise, and Floire's disguise as a merchant in his quest. However, it is *Le Bel Inconnu*'s eponymous Guinglain, who is unaware of his own state of 'disguise' from the court, that most directly relates to *Aucassin et Nicolette*, where it is Nicolette that lives unaware of her court status.

[296] Bourdillon, *Aucassin et Nicolette,* p.xii. See also Dufournet, *Aucassin et Nicolette: Édition Critique,* which goes into greater detail on references by Strabo and Marco Polo, p.30.

copyists, making it an even more unique object of study.[297] It is possible that the nature of *Aucassin et Nicolette*'s content was the factor in question, and this has been argued specifically by Payen as follows: 'la pauvreté d'une tradition manuscrite ne signifie pas qu'une œuvre ait eu peu de succès; elle indique au contraire qu'elle avait obtenu une audience inquiétante.'[298]

It was perhaps the text's parodic nature which led it to its 'audience inquiétante,' as throughout the text we see the common tropes of the *chanson de geste* and the *roman* turned on their heads and repeated in an uncommon light. The parody begins with the author's introduction, where the writer introduces himself as 'Le Vieil Antif,' a play on the name of Roland's horse 'Veillantif' in *La Chanson de Roland*.[299] This both connects the text to ancient tradition and gives it a comic edge which the translator need be wary of to apply the appropriate tone for the ST content. The main source of parody in the body of the text is usually the role reversal of male and female character types, with Aucassin being chased and followed by Nicolette throughout the text, even going to the length of appearing in disguise. These tropes reference both the *Chevalier de la Charette* and other texts involving *déguisement* such as *Tristan et Iseut, Floire et Blancheflor* and *Le Bel Inconnu*. Aucassin's behaviour in the text has led to him being described as an 'antichevalier',[300] both rejecting his heritage and refusing to take up arms and appearing as the weeping victim. Moreover, the race and origin of the characters puts the plot into question: as seen above, the lead male character bears an Eastern-sounding name, while Nicolette of the 'visage cler' originates in Carthage/Cartagena, introduced as a Saracen and unsuitable partner for a noble man. As Legge states, there is a comparison to be made with the work of Hue de Rotelande, as the text sets out a 'quizzical view of elegant society, the same amusement at the behaviour of the young, the same descent into the fabliau-esque.'[301] Not only this, but the depth of reproduction of certain scenes taken from other texts can only be fully appreciated today when placed in comparison; the scenes we find in this text exist and are appreciated due to the existence of their direct referent, and we can assume the audience understood this. It is perhaps this attitude toward contemporary fiction and noble society that attracted the

---

[297] Dufournet, *Aucassin et Nicolette : Édition critique*, pp.8-9.
[298] Payen and Dufournet. *Le Moyen Age*, p.23.
[299] This is another phrase which has been widely debated and may have had an early impact on translation before a consensus was reached. Evidence of the earlier stages of debate can be found in:
Grace Frank, 'Aucassin Et Nicolette, Line 2.' *Romanic Review* 40(3) (1949), p.161 and Leo Spitzer, 'Aucassin et Nicolette, Line 2, Again.' *Modern Philology*, 48(3), (1951), pp.154-156.
[300] Dufournet, *Aucassin et Nicolette : Édition critique*, p.25.
[301] Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background,* p.88.

'audience inquiétante,' of Payen, which he goes on to say: 'prouve à sa manière que le public n'était pas tout à fait dupe de la mythologie romanesque et ressentit parfois le besoin de voir remis en question l'arsenal poussiéreux de clichés vieillots.'[302]

Such a wide frame of reference both comes as a boon and a bane to the translator, as while this 'arsenal de clichés vieillots' allows for a greater amount of relevant data to be gathered on language use and internal reference, it also has the same effect as the hybridity of textual format: a greater chance of internal inconsistency and interference.

On a linguistic level, this sense of reference and parody is reflected in the diverse use of vocabulary, drawn from different dialects to evoke features of the landscape, or employed in word play to make us question Nicolette's origin or appearance. The language in prose has been argued to have a greater level of diversity than that in poetry, where there is inevitably repetition and a restriction of usage due to the form. Bourdillon argues that the reason for this in the poetic sections is due to its composition around the music accompanying it, which has a repetitive pattern.[303] Again, the diversity of language provides a challenge for the translator which can either be employed as a feature of the alternating poetry and prose, or as a means of retaining the colour of the ST composition and performative value.

The sections chosen for study here reflect not only this linguistic complexity and the difficulties of translating a mixture of poetry and prose but invoke the research question around the portrayal of personal characteristics. Laisses 2-7 focus on the lead characters' internment in the towers and escape, during which we find long descriptions of personal characteristics, physical and moral, and outpourings of emotion from Aucassin which elsewhere could be viewed as unbecoming of a knight or noble. The anarchic style of this text makes it all the more important to study, as the translation of these subtle references and inferences are crucial to the ST and its context.

[302] Payen and Dufournet. *Le Moyen Age*, p.227.
[303] Bourdillon, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, p.xxviii.

4.3.1 Analysis 1: Aucassin and Nicolete, done from the Old French by Michael West, depictured by Main R. Bocher, music by Horace Mansion, decorated by Evelyn Paul, (London: Harrap / Camperfield Presse, 1917)

Personal Habitus

Michael West was born in 1888 in Bournemouth. The son of a Church of England Minister and headteacher of Ascham school, he moved on to Marlborough College and Christ Church College, Oxford. Although Ascham school no longer exists, being one of many now-defunct private schools in Bournemouth,[304] West received his education at similarly privileged locations.[305] Marlborough college was established for the education of the sons of clergy and aimed at 'providing a reliable stream of able young men to the professions, the armed forces, the Church and all walks of public life,' [306] while Christ Church Oxford has a similarly religious background and reputation for excellence.[307] At any of these institutions you would expect a student to receive a thorough education in typical classics of the age alongside Bible study and languages including Latin, which may also have been encouraged by his father as a clergyman.

However, it was after leaving formal education that West developed his main areas of study: English as a foreign language and education. His next post would be in India, as a trainee teacher and later a 'colonial educator.'[308] Research on West's name and years of activity reveals that his most recognised early publications relate to educational psychology (*Education and Psychology*, 1914), and then after serving in the war, English teaching and learning in India, which earned him his D.Phil. from Oxford (*Education: Selective, Specific, Compensatory,* 1917; *Bilingualism: With Special Reference to Bengal*, 1926). The series of textbooks he compiled as part of his D.Phil. research went on to become the basis of his most

[304] Ed Perkins, 'Terms of endearment?' *Bournemouth Echo,* 23 September 2008, <https://www.bournemouthecho.co.uk/news/2451144.terms-of-endearment/> [Accessed 20 November 2019].
[305] Anthony P. Cowie, *English Dictionaries for Foreign Learners: A History*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) pp.6-8.
[306] Marlborough College, 'Explore our history,' *Marlborough College*, 2019 <https://www.marlboroughcollege.org/about/place/college-history/> [Accessed 19 November 2019].
[307] Christ Church, 'Brief History,' *Christ Church College, Oxford,* 2019 <https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/brief-history> [Accessed 20 November 2019]
[308] Richard C. Smith, 'Michael West's Life and Career,' *Unviersity of Warwick*, 2007 <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/al/research/collections/elt_archive/halloffame/west/life> [Accessed 19 November 2019].

popular work, the *New Method Reader*, a guided reading set designed to aid learning and distinguished by their simplified language. It is in these books that we can perceive West's appreciation of wider literature, which could help to explain his involvement in the production of the current version of *Aucassin et Nicolette*. In these texts he supplied the young reader or language learner with a mixture of fables and fairytales from authors such as Mary de Morgan,[309] who drew heavily from medieval tradition, and abridged versions of popular novels such as *Robinson Crusoe*. However, it is otherwise difficult to connect the translator of this text with his public persona.

Publishing environment

Looking to the publisher of the translation, George G. Harrap and Co., we can perceive a much more tangible link to the medieval period and French texts in particular. The speciality of this publisher was high quality unique books, employing a variety of illustrators and engravers to achieve this aim.[310] In his memoir *Some Memories 1901-1935: A Publisher's Contribution to the History of Publishing*, we find that Harrap aimed to produce 'beautiful' books and 'educational books that looked as little like text-books as possible,'[311] drawing inspiration for his style from an earlier American publisher, Thomas Bird Mosher. Both of these men had the aspiration of instilling a love of books in their readers; Harrap went further than this in aiming both to educate them and 'insinuate' literature into their everyday lives through book-adjacent purchases.[312] Arguably the inclusion of illustrations by well-known artists was part of this intention, attracting a new audience through both content and visual aspect. While many other mass publishers in this period produced embossed and lined pocket novels, Harrap's titles extended this artistic effort to the interior of the book with woodcut chapter markers and hand-drawn illustration. Around the time of the publication of the current translation, Harrap's most prominent imprint was the Harrap Library, early titles of which were bound individually in leather or cloth and possibly intended as presentation pieces. Their content was generally reprints, of fiction, non-fiction and poetry, but there were

[309] For more on Mary de Morgan's work see Donald Haase, *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007) pp.256-7.
[310] Notable examples include Arthur Rackham, Wilhelmina Geddes and Harry Clarke, the last two both recognised more usually for their stained glass.
[311] George G. Harrap, *Some Memories, 1901-1935: A Publisher's Contribution to the History of Publishing*. (London: Harrap, 1935) pp.22-24.
[312] Robert Dixon and Nicholas Birns (eds.), *Reading Across the Pacific: Australia-United States Intellectual Histories*. (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2010) pp.286-89.

also original texts. All were aimed at a general audience of readers, and of all ages, as the content ranged from Andersen's fairy tales to collections of essays and one-act plays.[313]

Unfortunately, these editions do not come with useful paratexts such as a flyleaf, no introduction nor translator's note, so we can only infer their intention from their composition and the wider usage of Harrap's books. The publication environment was in many ways similar to that of Dorothy L. Sayers' *Tristan* in that it was a time when new editions and reprints of books proliferated the market, thereby giving a wider public greater access to the classics, both written by their own culture and others. Harrap most certainly performed this function, however with a greater attention to artistic achievement and educational value than one would find with Ernest Benn, making the skopos of this translation somewhat different. The translation, illustrations and music contained within are an indicator of expected style, a type of medievalism attempting to bring past practices into a modern market. Therefore, despite the translator's academic background in language teaching, semantic effect and especially simplified language, it is equally valid to expect that the TT here bears some mark of medievalist embellishments in its language, due to the preponderant requirements of the publisher.

The translation in question is a unique artefact of its time and as such suggests a range of motivations for its creation: literary, artistic and cultural. Although connected to George G. Harrap publishers, this text is among few to also bear the imprint of the Camperfield Presse, St. Albans, which by name bears closest resemblance to that of the Campfield Press, in the same town.[314] This particular edition of *Aucassin et Nicolette* is among few examples of this imprint, and alongside this text we can find *Clair de Lune* (by Paul Verlaine, 1869) also translated by Michael West, *The New Life of Dante Alighieri* translated by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and *The Romance of Tristram of Lyones & La Beale Isoude*. They stand apart from the main body of Harrap's texts in their production, containing a mixture of printed matter in Harrap's proprietary typeface, illustration by a known artist and engravings in a mock-medieval style, occasionally accompanied by handwritten music. Due to the intricate nature of each of the above texts it is unsurprising that independent printing houses were sought, perhaps for individual expertise in the composition of such books, and examples of these

[313] Krygier, 'Harrap Library,' *A Series of Series (owu.edu)*, 2015 <https://seriesofseries.owu.edu/harrap-library> [Accessed 20 November 2019].
[314] Centre for Printing History and Culture. 'Salvation Army Printing,' *Centre for Printing History and Culture, University of Birmingham*, 2016 <https://www.cphc.org.uk/updates/2016/12/16/salvation-army-printing> [Accessed 20 November 2019].

books' frontispieces can be seen in Appendix III.b.[315] Though similarly ornate illustrations can be found in the interior of the covers and frontispieces created for the Harrap Library, what makes the Camperfield publications unique is the effort exerted in creating a believable replica of medieval manuscript style. To this end, this translation and all of the above the illustrations were produced by Evelyn Paul, an artist known for her efforts to replicate medieval illumination effects in her work, but also her religious and 'orientalist' illustrations. Her style epitomises various elements of that expected from popular art during this period: hazy hues and dark shadows reminiscent of her 'role model' Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and on an artistic level, this work certainly belongs to the Arts and Crafts movement, as was critically recognised at the time. [316] This movement in Britain focused on returning to pre-industrial practices, not only in terms of its production methods, but also its content, focusing on the medieval and folkloric, and often blending the two in their artwork. Depictions of the *Belle Dame Sans Mercy* around this time are exemplars of this treatment, a topic focused heavily on by the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, of which Rossetti was a member. The employment of Paul adds weight to the notion that through including such ornate illustration and unorthodox production methods, not only did Harrap clearly focus on the beauty of his books, but also contributed to the public's view of the medieval. In fact, these texts contain a level of illumination unseen in the source manuscript, which is fairly simple, with only its occasional illuminated capitals and musical notation breaking up the columns of regular writing. With this translation, the visual medieval element was enhanced to such an extent as to surpass that of the ST; the luxuriant, Romantic style of the images arguably changing the reader's first perceptions of the concept of the medieval contained within.

It must also be noted that West's translation forms part of an early trend of translation activity around the *Aucassin* text, which was at its height between the years 1880-1930.[317] Although likely not the best-known translation, the current version joins a group which is distinguished by its translators' non-academic background, and a greater focus on artistic development. Notable examples of translators include A. Rodney Macdonough (newspaper editor), Laurence Housman (writer and illustrator), while more closely related to the field were E.M. Wilmot Buxton (whose writing was more related to the medieval and Norse) and

---

[315] Under Examples of other decorated texts from the 'Camperfield Presse' pp.435-8.

[316] See for example R. Ellis Roberts, 'Fairy Tales.' *The Athenaeum,* no. 4727, 1920, p.783. This is not to say they were not always well received, as we can compare with an earlier edition of the same publication 'The New Life.' *The Athenaeum,* no. 4591, 1915, p.299.

[317] See the charts of publishing data on pp.82-83 of this thesis.

Richard de Galienne (bilingual poet). Many of the early translations of this text were similarly distinguished by their use of illustration and engraving by known artists, especially those associated with the arts and crafts movement. Even the more academic translation produced by Eugene Mason[318] for the University of Toronto Press, showed attention to contemporary tropes with the inclusion of first-line initials and colour illustrations by Maxwell Armfield. These common approaches draw attention not only to the contemporary trend of the beautiful book, but also through the choice of illustrators, that of aligning the medieval with the fairytale. While these are all undoubtedly accomplished versions of the ST, the publishing and societal trends surrounding them may entail a fabulizing approach, both to the textual content and its accompanying visual aspect.

Poetry and Prose

The text at hand does not vary wildly from its ST on the graphic and prosodic levels. As could be expected from a text which alternates between poetry and prose as a distinguishing feature, the translator's approach has been to maintain this effect. Prose is alternated with poetry, and much like Sayers' treatment of *Tristan et Iseut*, West has attempted to employ rhyming couplets in the poetic sections. The techniques applied here both enhance and restrict the translation, as on one hand they maintain the ST form and function, but on the other make the translator's choices narrower due to the constraints of rhyme and metre.

First of all, in both the passages of poetry and prose, archaizing language has been employed. In the prose sections this has a stylistic effect, whereas in the poetry it has both an effect on the style of the text and on the word order. The use of archaising language acts as an enabling factor in composing the same style of rhyming couplets in the TT as in the ST. The translator has paired couplets (and triplets) in lines of seven syllables with a first syllable stress, mirroring the seven-syllable assonant rhyme of the ST, which in modern English reduces the translator's options considerably. Take for example the following:

ST	**TT**
L.3: OR SE CANTE Aucassins fu de Biaucaire	Here you sing once more Aucassin of Biaucaire, Castle stout that standeth there,

[318] Mason was also known for his wide output of medieval French translations, including the *Roman de Brut* and Marie de France's *Lais*.

D’un castel de bel repaire.[319]	From his Nicole sweet and fair
De Nicole le bien faite	Never aught might draw away;
Nuis hom ne l’en puet retraire,	No, not all his sire may say,
Que ses peres ne l’i laisse	And his mother’s words thereto.
Et sa mere le manace:	‘Fool,’ quoth she, ‘what dost thou do?
‘Di ca! faus, que vex tu faire?	Nicolete is fair I ween,
Nicolete est cointe et gaie.	Caught from Cartage hath she been,
Jetee fu de Cartage	Bought with gold from Saracene;
Acatee fu d’un Saisne.	But if wedded thou would’st be
Puis q’a moullié te vix traire,	Take a noble wife to thee.’
Pren fenme de haut parage.	‘Mother mine, how should that be?
Mere, je n’en puis el faire:	Nicolete is debonair,
Nicolete est de bone aire;	Lithe her form and face as fair,
Ses gens cors et son viaire.	Worthy of my love and care –
Sa biautés le cuer m’esclaire	Nicole love-light of my heart,
Bien est drois que s’amor aie,	So fair thou art!
Que trop est douc.’	

Therefore, the use of syntax which produces an archaic tone also aids the translator in following the metrical requirements of the poetic sections of this text. Another feature which enhances this effect is the inclusion of the ST musical notation, which is written in full as with a score for singing, with the poetry written below. Including the notation gives the target audience a more constructed view of the performative aspect of this text (the form of which remains uncertain among critics even today).[320] This is well represented in its simplest form with the inclusion of music and the maintenance of rhyme.

Secondly, the introduction of pronouns such as ‘thee’ and ‘thou,’ conjugations such as ‘hast,’ ‘dost’ and the introduction of the second- and third-person suffixes ‘-est’ or ‘eth’ (sayest, goeth, quoth) generate a feeling of distance in time between the reader and the ST

[319] In Bourdillon’s edition from which this text is most likely drawn, the transcription is ‘re-paire’, which connects with the idea of ‘parage’ – wealth, nobility or status, though he does state that the text is ‘intended for literary rather than palaeographical purposes.’ Bourdillon, *Aucassin et Nicolette,* p.xxxiii.
[320] See previous discussion of the text on pp.217-18.

context. There are also examples of the insertion of deliberately archaic language echoing that of Dorothy L. Sayers with 'I ween' (p.10, p.22) and the use of the word 'bruit' (p.22), both a Gallicism and an archaism used for 'la noise,' meaning rumour or murmur. Choices relating to the representation of locality also support this idea, as the translator carries over the names 'Biaucaire' and 'Colstentinoble,' with 'Almeyne' for Germany (p.9).

Yet, as previously discussed with *Tristan in Brittany*, the use of archaic language and adaptations to syntax can impede the readability of the TT and introduce some awkwardness for the intended reader. When used in the prose sections, phrases such as 'I will put the fire to her,' 'also is it grief,' and 'by her lose I Aucassin' undermine the conventions of target language syntax and in doing so foreignize the language for the target audience, clashing with more fluent passages of speech or narration:

ST	**TT**
L.4: 'Sire quens, car ostés Nicolete vostre filole! Que la tere soit maleoite dont ele fut amenee en cest païs! C'or par li pert jou Aucassin, qu'il ne veut estre cevaliers, ne faire point de quanque faire doie. Et saciés bien que, se lje le puis avoir, que je l'arderai en u fu, et vous meismes porés avoir de vos tote peor. Sire, fait li visquens, ce poise moi qu'il i va ne qu'il i vient ne qu'il i parole.	 Sir Viscount, do away now with Nicolete that god-daughter of thine. Cursed be the land from which she was brought. By her lose I Aucassin, for he will not be Knight nor do anything that he ought. And know well that if I but take her, I will put the fire to her, and thou also shalt have some danger.' The Viscount said: 'Sire, even to me also is it grief that he goes and comes and makes speech with her.

Despite the difficulties implied by maintaining archaic speech and ST rhyme scheme, the overall effect of these approaches on the graphic and prosodic levels is to imply temporal difference and to fabulize the text. These stylistic features would be familiar to the reader, as archaisms have frequently been used to signpost the idea of the historical origin of a text, much in the same way that dialect has been used to indicate the other. In this text however, they also function by connecting the textual content to its accompanying illustration, mutually enhancing a fictitious view of the medieval past.

Characterising language

The language employed by the translator outside of these archaisms also shows some signs of the time of publishing. Terms describing women, have a specific quality, as can be compared between the descriptions of Nicolete and other women in the text:

ST	**TT**
L.2: Nicolete laise ester, que ce est une caitive qui fu amenee d'estrange terre, si l'acata li visquens de ceste vile as Sarasins, si l'amena en ceste vile, si l'a levee et bautisie et faite sa fillole, si li donra un de ces jors un baceler qui du pain li gaaignera par honor: de ce n'as-tu que faire. Et se tu fenme vix avoir, je te donrai le file a un roi u a un conte: il n'a si rice home en France, si tu vix sa fille avoir, que tu ne l'aies. Avoi, peres, fait Aucassins, ou est ore si haute honers en terre, se Nicolete ma tresdouce amie l'avoit, qu'ele e fust bien enploiie en li? S'ele estoit enpereris de Colstentinoble u d'Alemaigne, u roine de France u d'Engletere, si aroit il assés peu en li, tant est France et cortoise et de bone aire et entecie de toutes bones teces.'	 'That cannot be, son. Let Nicolete be. For she is a captive that was brought from a strange land, and the Viscount of this town bought her from the Saracens and took her hither and brought her up to womanhood and baptized her and made her his godchild, and he will give her to some bachelor that will gain bread for her, and that honourably. With that what hast thou to do? But if thou desirest to have a wife then will I give thee the daughter of a kind or of a count. There is no man anywhere so great but if thou desirest his daughter, she may be thine.' Aucassin said: 'Nay, father, but where are there any honours in the world that Nicolete my sweet friend were not worthy of them and might duly have them. If she were Empress of Colstentinoble or of Almeyne, or Queen of France or of England, yet were it not worthy of her, for she is so noble and so courteous and debonair, and full of all good ways.'
L.5: Nicole est en prison mise En une canbre vautie, Ki faite est par grant devisse,	 Nicole doth in prison lie In a chamber vaulted high, Very featly made and well,

Panturee a miramie.	Painted as by miracle.
A la fenestre marbrine	At a window made of stone
La s'apoia la mescine.	Leaneth little maid a-lone.
Ele avoit blonde la crigne	Brightest gol-den is her hair,
Et bien faite la sorcille,	And her fore-head white and fair,
La face clere et traitice:	And her face so clear and neat
Ainc plus bele ne veïstes.	Ne-ver had thou seen as sweet;
Esgarda par le gaudine	On the garden looks below
Et vit le rose epanie	How the great red roses blow,
Et les oisax qui s'ecrient	Hears the bird-lings jol-ly cry,
Dont se clama orphenine:	Quoth she. 'Orphan only I!
'Ai mi! lasse moi, caitive!	Oh unhappy captive maid
Por coi sui jou en prison misse?	All for thee in prison laid!'

While the character is no doubt young, and in places described as sweet or dainty, as part of this parody she is far from the damsel in distress pictured in many folk tales of the time. Yet, the translator is consistent in his use of terms such as 'little maid' ('mescine'), and 'captive maid' ('caitive'), pejorative definitions which clash with the overarching characterisation of Nicolette and indeed Count Garins' estimation of her 'womanhood.' These choices can be compared with the calque of 'dames courteous' (dames cortoises) in laisse 6 which clearly relates either to a term of respect for nobility or high-born women. For Aucassin we find repeated use of the term 'bachelor' to render 'baceler' in the ST (laisses 2, 4 and 6). By creating this emphasis on youth, the translator effects a qualitative change in textual characterisation which focuses the audience on concepts of 'bachelorhood' (for Aucassin) and 'maidenhood' (for Nicolette) which are somewhat out of place with the ST context and may draw the reader to make comparisons with other tropes of young love e.g. *Romeo and Juliet*.

In closer descriptions of each character, there is also a distinction made between male and female ideals which fits with modern convention, but at the same time adapts descriptive and qualitative remarks found in the ST for the TT audience and expectations.

ST	TT
L.2: Cil estoit tex con je vos dirai. Aucasins avoit a non li damoisiax. Biax estoit et gens et grans et bien tailliés de ganbes et de piés et de cors et de bras. Il avoit les caviax blons et menus recercelés et les ex vairs et rians et le face clere et traitice et le nes haut et bien assis. Et si estoit enteciés de bones teces qu'en lui n'en avoit nule mauvaise se bone non.	And that one was even as I will tell you. It was a boy heir, and his name was Aucassin. He was fair to look on, and fair in his ways; big and well-set in limbs and legs and body and arms. He had golden hair, all in little curls, and his eyes were grey and laughing, and his face clear and round, and his nose high and noble.

The difference between the male (in laisse 2) and female figure (in laisse 5) in this excerpt is noticeable: while the male figure is 'big and well-set' the female is 'lithe,' indicating higher and lower levels of muscularity, where the ST is more neutral in its language. Similarly, where the ST aligns their features as 'clere et traitice,' (laisses 2 and 5 respectively) the TT is more specific, Aucassin's face being 'round,' a possible indicator of health, and Nicolette's being 'neat' and 'sweet' which add to the idea of her being dainty, rather than 'bele'. In laisses 2 and 3 we find two uses of 'de bone aire'[321] to describe Nicolette, uttered by Aucassin and the narrator. These result in both cases in a calque ('debonair') and in neither mention Nicolete's features as going beyond normal expectation, a hint to her later-revealed origin. Instead, we see the term 'noble' used to describe Aucassin's nose, a feature comparable to Nicolete's 'forehead white and fair.' Though golden hair and fair features were common signs of beauty, the forehead or nose are more incongruous, a sign of the element of parody in the narrative. The personal descriptions found here are reflective of typical formulaic speech both internally in the text, and externally in other medieval texts at the time of its production. These elements, such as the head-to-toe description of Aucassin, maintain many common features of formulaic personal descriptions found in medieval Romantic literature. In this case, though, the text quite literally turns it on its head, by listing

[321] 'Dont la bonté va jusqu'à un excès de tolérances; qui est bon jusqu'à la simplicité,' Dictionnaire Étymologique de l'Ancien Français (DEAFplus en ligne) 'debonaire,' *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 2024 < https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/debonaire>

his features in the opposite order to that expected, and in similar levels of detail.[322] In the TT however, this element of parody is not highlighted, instead making it stylistically uniform. Only a medieval scholar would be able to distinguish the parody here.

The use of the term 'ways' to describe a mixture of good composure and behaviour is a further example of the adaptation of qualitative values for the target audience. For example, in laisse 2, where Aucassin is 'fair to look on, and fair in his ways,' and laisse 3 where Nicolete is 'full of all good ways.' The idea of 'good ways' is thus employed in a general sense, not only to the word 'tece,' a form of 'tache' indicating a quality or flaw,[323] but in places where there is a possible repetition as with 'biax' and 'gens.' This introduces a vague notion of good and desirable qualities without any specific focus, but in doing so does not invite the reader into greater knowledge of medieval values. The modern reader does not understand from these translations whether 'good ways' refer to military, religious or aesthetic attributes, and in which ways a good character may have been presented for the medieval audience. In the second case, the translation removes a noticeable repetition/alliteration from the text that appears more than once in Aucassin's descriptions of Nicolette. This omission removes an oral quality of the text, as well as any humour inherent in the repetition and alliteration. This omission is curious given the integration of the repetition of 'biax' from laisse 7 (TT pp.28-30), though it is much more tacit in the TT where it aligns with a musical section, which might appear more appropriate for the target language audience. Therefore, in this section of text, the personal qualities and features of Aucassin and Nicolette are amalgamated into wider and more contemporary tropes, rather than including the reader in the medieval joke, and thereby avoids the stylistic parody employed in the ST.

Metaphor/euphemism/outside reference

Reference to contemporary types of narrative provide much of the inferential meaning and intertextual activity in this ST. For example, the intended audience, upon reading that a

---

[322] Compare for example the description of Troilus in the *Roman de Troie* ll.5393-5423, which begins at the head and works downwards in great detail describing the hero, looking at his nose in particular in l.5407. Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vielliard, *Le Roman de Troie : Extraits du Manuscrit Milan, Bibliothèque Ambrosienne, D55* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1998) pp.202-3. For more examples of formulaic descriptions of ideal appearance, see Alice M. Colby, *The Portrait in Twelfth-Century French Literature: An Example of the Stylistic Originality of Chrétien de Troyes* (Vol. 61) (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1965).

[323] DEAFplus en ligne 'tache,' 2024 < https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/tache#tache> [Accessed 8 August 2024]; AND[2] Online Edition, 'teche,' 2020 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/teche> [Accessed 8 January 2020].

character is beautiful in conventional ways would also expect them to behave with a degree of valour or nobility, which is not the case here with Aucassin:

ST	**TT**
L.2: Mais si estoit soupris d'Amor, qui tout vaint, qu'il ne voloit estre cevalers, ne les armes prendre, n'aler au tornoi, ne fare point de quanque il deust. Ses pere et se mere li disoient: 'Fix, car pren tes armes, si monte el ceval, si deffent te terre et aïe tes homes: s'il te voient entr'ex, si defenderont il mix lor cors et lor avoirs et te tere et le miue. Pere, fait Aucassins, qu'en parlés vos ore? Ja Dix ne me doinst riens que je li demant, quant ere cevaliers, ne monte a ceval, ne que voise a estor ne a bataille, la u je fiere cevalier ni autres mi, se vos ne me donés Nicholete me douce amie qu je tant aim.	 But so it was that Love, who overcometh all, had taken hold of him; and no longer would he be Knight, nor take arms, nor go to the tournament, nor do anything that he ought. His father said to him: Come now, son, pray you now take arms and mount thy horse and defend thy land, and give aid to thy men. For if they but see thee amongst them they will the better defend their bodies and all that they have, and thy land and mine.' But Aucassin said: 'What sayest thou, father? God give me nothing that I pray for if ever I be Knight or mount horse, or go into the stress and the battle where Knights smite each other, unless thou givest to me Nicolete my sweet friend that I love so.'

Firstly, we find that Aucassin is too lovelorn to do his duty, not only in a martial sense, but in other endeavours we associate with the knightly ideal, and secondly the Count has to all but beg him to do his duty as a member of a noble family. For the modern audience, the discrepancy between appearance and action needs to be clearer than this in order for the ST inference to be passed across the temporal gap.

Similarly, the concept of 'Amor' provides further inference for the ST audience. Seen as both an abstract noun and personified form in contemporary *romans*, in this text it takes on a dissonant meaning, as 'Amor qui tout vaint' refers not to conquering all obstacles, but to its

destructive effect on the main characters.[324] In translation, the choice between 'Love' capitalised as a personified force or actor in the narrative and the lower case 'love' as an internal emotion thereby varies our understanding of this element of parody. In the example above, we see love as a controlling entity, thereby inferring Aucassin has no choice in the matter, and is a mere pawn of fate.

Repetition is also a key aspect of ST audience expectation, as a feature of the orality of many texts of the period. Repetitions often served as a means of reinforcing the narrative, not only for the audience, but the performer/reader as an aide-memoire. This technique was more common with epic texts, while *romans* employed formulaic language to create stylistic effect when describing people, places or battles for example.[325] In this translation, however, repetition comes in many forms. Most likely related to performance are the similarities between passages of read prose and sung poetry: the poetry acts as a refrain and adds greater style to the content already heard, much like the chorus in a Greek play. However other repetitions seem to have a more comic effect, as they appear throughout the excerpt in less structured places. A notable example of this repetition/formulaic speech is where Aucassin speaks about Nicolette, using the same formulae over and over: in poetry 'Nicolete o le vis cler,' (for example, laisse 7, l.3) and in prose 'Nicolete ma (tres)douce amie que je tant aim.' The latter appears in this excerpt no less than five times, and adds to our understanding of the young man's obsession. [326] In translation, West continues the formulaic language by using the phrase 'My sweet friend' (p.8, p.26) though the effect may be different for an unknowing audience: rather than becoming tiresome, this may prove a repetition of Aucassin's devotion.

Another example of formulaic speech from this excerpt is when different characters speak about the expectations of Nicolette's future husband:

ST	**TT**
L.2, ll.33-35: Si li donra un de ces jors un baceler qui du pain li gaaignera par honor: de ce n'as-tu que faire	p.8 And he will give her to some bachelor that will gain bread for her, and that honourably. With that what hast thou to do?

[324] Compare discussion by Anne Elizabeth Cobby in *Ambivalent Conventions: Formula and Parody in Old French* (No. 101) (New York: Rodopi, 1995) p.60.
[325] See Cobby, *Ambivalent Conventions: Formula and Parody in Old French* p.3 for more analysis, and previous discussion of *La Chanson de Roland* on pp.94-95.
[326] To be precise, in laisses: 2, l.28 and l.39; V6 l.8 and l.27; and 7, l.20.

L.4, ll.13-14: Si li donasse un baceler qui du pain li gaegnast par honor: de ce n'eust Aucassins vos fix que faire.	p.11 And one day I would have given her to a bachelor that would win bread for her and that honourably. With this what has Aucassin to do?
L.6, ll.18-20: Si li donasce un de ces jors un baceler qu del pain li gaegnast par honor: ce n'avés vos a faire	p.22 And one day I will give her unto some bachelor that will gain bread for her with honour. With this thou hast nought to do.

The repetition of the phrase 'Si li donasce un de ces jors un baceler,' strikes us as important not only because of the cultural expectation it represents, but the way in which it is opposed to Aucassin's behaviour and desires toward Nicolette: though he wishes to be her husband, he is lacking in the honour necessary even if the marriage were possible. In translation, the repetition of this phrase throughout the section is faithfully reproduced, including the changes in tense. However, the final phrase alters the affective meaning and introduces more of a sarcastic and annoyed effect with 'With that what has thou to do/hast nought to do,' bringing the inference of 'it is none of your business/nothing to do with you.' In this way, though the formula is maintained, the inference for the target audience is altered, and the repetition of the message loses its gradually increasing hostility and dismissiveness, an aspect of the comedic effect: Aucassin is being rejected by other members of his class just as he has rejected his own role.

There is also some loss of idiomaticity here with the phrase 'gagner du pain,' where the translator has chosen to follow the more literal, and thus biblical, route for the translation. The phrase in the TT creates an echo of the Lord's Prayer, in contrast to a more idiomatic rendering 'make a living' as would be more common in modern French. This is a route taken by other translators at the time including Harold Child[327] and Eugene Mason,[328] who handle the phrase as 'who will gain her bread in all honour' more frequently. This phrasing infers that the characters speak as inhabitants not only of a Christian world, but one dominated by class distinction, thereby applying the translator's contemporary societal expectations to the translated text.

[327] Harold Child, *Aucassin et Nicolete*. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911) pp.6, 11 and 18.
[328] Eugene Mason, *Aucassin and Nicolette: and Other Mediaeval Romances and Legends* (London: Dent, 1910), pp.5, 7 and 10.

Intertextuality and interference

Interference from other translations at this stage of the text's dissemination is likely, for more than one reason. Firstly, the earliest translation of the text into English was in 1880, making the system of activity around this text relatively recent in comparison with other more well-known medieval literature.[329] Secondly, as mentioned above, many of the early-twentieth century translators of this text were not experts in the field, and even those who were, such as Bourdillon and Mason, translated the text with variable results.[330] This appears to be symptomatic of a developing field of interest around the *Aucassin et Nicolette* manuscript, as despite its discovery in 1752, it was not until the early twentieth century that it was published so broadly. Such varied interest, and in particular amateur curiosity around the text could on one hand have led to wide variations in translation approach, but on the other hand greater recourse to existing translations as a reference for the less experienced translator. However, in light of the potential variations, a pattern of approach many contemporary translations of this ST share is that of archaism, and related literal translation. Faithfulness to the ST, and the treatment of the ST as a sacred object (especially with the emphasis on Latin/Biblical translations) led to many translations during this time adopting either a literal approach or aiming to emulate the ST context through the inclusion of archaic language in their TTs. This was possibly a systemic trend, linking to contemporary themes in translation studies espoused by the linguistic school of translation. We can especially look to theorists such as Walter Benjamin, who spoke about 'die reine Sprache' or 'pure language' which stressed the importance of making the ST language and syntax visible to the TT audience, to the extent of deviating from standard syntax in the target language.[331] A broadly literal approach to these texts necessarily means that there will be repetitions in the language used between different translations. In this case it leads to such overlapping phrases as the ST 'gagner du pain,' and also in the descriptions of lands 'de Colstentinoble u d'Alemaigne,' which are frequently

---

[329] See previous tables of publication data in Chapter 3, pp..82-83.

[330] For Bourdillon, who also edited the manuscript, the above phrase 'qui du pain li gaaignera par honor' (laisse 2, l.34) becomes 'to win bread for her in wedlock' in his 1903 translation (p.17), and 'qu'il ne voloit ester cevalers, ne les armes prendre, n'aler au tornoi, ne fare point de quanque il deust' (laisse 2, l.16-18) becomes 'he refused knighthood, abjured arms, shunned the tourney, and left undone all his devoir' (p.16); Bourdillon, F.W., *Aucassin and Nicolette*. (London: K. Paul Trench Trübner, 1903). In a previous edition (*Aucassin & Nicolette: An Old-French Love Story*. 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1897)) he opts for the more common 'honourably,' for the first phrase and 'nor do ought that he should have done' to end the section, in line with Mason, who has it as 'aught that it became his name to do' (1910, p.2). Bourdillon's reasoning for this is that his earlier translation was aimed at reflecting the Old French more exactly, while in the 1903 translation he 'relaxed the restrictions [...] even verging on paraphrase, to bring out the full meaning' (p.12).

[331] Walter Benjamin, 'The Task of the Translator,' in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Readings Vol. 1 1913-1926*, ed. by Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jenkins (London, Cambridge: Belknapp Press, 2002) pp.253-63 (p.261).

calqued or closely matched to the ST rather than modernised. As Michael West was not known to be an expert in Old French or the period in general, and more a linguist and educator, it is likely that within this text there are elements of borrowing from other contemporary editions and translations for this very reason. As mentioned above, Mason would have been one of the best-known translators of the text at the time, and the translation at hand does reflect its archaisms, and some possible borrowings (Alemaigne/Alemayne) but not in such a way as to have been copied from the other translation. It is more likely that this approach stems from the normative systems at play around the TT, encouraging the literal and archaic, but especially in ways which could add to contemporary and desired representations of the medieval past.

4.3.2 Analysis 2: Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales, trans. by Pauline Matarasso, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971)

Personal Habitus

Pauline Matarasso was born in 1929, the daughter of Basil Sanderson, a businessman and public servant, and Evelyn Constance Ismay.[332] A family of businessmen, with a special connection with shipping[333] the Baronetcy was bestowed in 1960, in light of Basil's services during the second world war. The family became members of a new post-war elite by dint of economic status, and her upbringing would have been similar to that of her father (to whom the translation is dedicated), who attended Rugby School and Trinity College Oxford; however there is little information to attest to her early education except the presence of a large 'school room' in her childhood home.[334] Her academic career on the other hand began at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, where she studied modern languages, graduating with first class honours in 1950. She then went on to gain a doctorate from the Université de Paris in 1958, and her thesis *Recherches Historiques et Littéraires sur Raoul de Cambrai* was published in 1962. Though there are good examples of her academic output and involvement, there is little record of her holding a specific post after this point, though she does appear as a source of advice to other authors,[335] and states her use of a network of contacts at various universities for research purposes;[336] elsewhere we read that she has spent most of her life on working farms in England and France rather than in offices.[337] Following her doctorate she continued to write as an academic and began to translate medieval texts in her own right, her most well-known translations being the text at hand and *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (1969),

---

[332] Darryl Lundy, 'Person Page 8387,' *The Peerage*, 2019 <http://www.thepeerage.com/p8387.htm#i83866> [Accessed 24 April 2020].

[333] Harold Sanderson, Matarasso's grandfather was general manager of the White Star Line, and both her father and mother were also involved in shipping, with Basil holding posts in the Ministry of War transport and ports authorities, and Evelyn connected again to the White Star Line through her father, who was Director General until the sinking of the Titanic. Peter R. R. Getz, and Gregg Jasper, 'Harold Arthur Sanderson,' *Encyclopedia Titanica*, 2016 <https://www.encyclopedia-titanica.org/titanic-biography/harold-arthur-sanderson.html> [Accessed 24 April 2020]. See also reference to Matarasso in this article: Ian Jack, 'The Titanic disaster Meant a Life of Shame for its CEO. Not So BP's Tony Hayward,' 16 September 2011, *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/sep/16/bp-tony-hayward-deepwater-horizon> [Accessed 24 April 2020].

[334] Ayot St Peter, 'Basil Lord Sanderson of Ayot,' *Ayot St Peter*, 2020 <https://www.ayotstpeter.com/basil-lord-sanderson-of-ayot/> [Accessed 24 April 2020].

[335] See for example, Janet Shirley's acknowledgement of Matarasso in her translation of *Roland* examined earlier in this thesis on p.106, and Burgess' acknowledgement of her work in the next translation.

[336] For example, in her introduction to *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite*, where she speaks of the various professors and religious who aided in her research: Pauline Matarasso, *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite* (Collegeville, MS: Liturgical Press, 2011) p.vii.

[337] Pauline Matarasso, *Clothed in Language* (Collegeville, MS: Liturgical Press, 2019).

which was accompanied ten years after by her analytical text *The Redemption of Chivalry: A Study of the Queste del Saint Graal*.[338] We can perceive among her publications the influence of her personal interests, including her religious convictions. In her own words, her attraction to the medieval began due to 'Helen Waddell,[339] who led [her], at seventeen, into the Middle Ages to meet the cloud of witnesses of whom Wulfric of Haselbury and John of Forde still hold [her] by the hand'.[340] Matarasso is currently an oblate of Howton Grove Priory in Hereford, a position which requires membership of a Trinitarian religion as well as 'spiritual communion' with the monastery,[341] and we can find in her publishing history various texts dedicated to religious subjects, especially those from the medieval period, or broadly related to monasticism.[342] The acknowledgements in these texts (especially that to *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite* and *Clothed in Language*) are further revealing of this personal connection as she names various colleagues bearing the titles OSA (Order of Saint Augustine), OSB (Order of Saint Benedict) and OSCO (Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance). *The Redemption of Chivalry* is a further example of this crossover of interest, dealing with the symbolic interpretation of medieval literature through the religious lens. The religious aspect of her life may have had an effect on her translation of the text, as, although her historical interests are clear, she may look to the medieval period as a time not only of heroic but of Christian endeavour, much in the same way as Dorothy L. Sayers did.

Her personal opinion of the text at hand can be found in the introduction to this translation, and it provides further insight into her approach to the genre. Her appreciation of the thirteenth century was as 'an age of fulfilment rather than of innovation,'[343] where texts began to be produced as a result of shifting social structures, for a new leisure class of elites and merchants. She speaks about the text as belonging firmly to the 'courtly' genre, as the practices entailed were an important feature of this social restructuring; the upper classes would turn to *courtoisie* as a means of redirecting energies previously required for conflict

[338] Pauline Matarasso, *The Redemption of Chivalry: A Study of the Queste del Saint Graal.* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979).
[339] Waddell was an Irish poet, whose output spanned the Latin, medieval and Holy, most famously with her novel *Peter Abelard* (1933). See: BBC, 'Helen Waddell: the influential author time forgot,' 2 December 2018, *BBC News: Northern Ireland,* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-46377273> [Accessed 24 April 2020].
[340] Matarasso, *Clothed in Language,* p.ix.
[341] Holy Trinity Monastery, 'Oblates and Associates,' *Holy Trinity Monastery, Herefordshire*, 2017 <http://www.benedictinenuns.org.uk/Oblates/oblates.html> [Accessed 24 April 2020].
[342] Examples include *The Cistercian World: Monastic Writings of the Twelfth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993), and the previously mentioned: *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite,* and *Clothed in Language*, which looks at writing as a channel for the divine.
[343] Matarasso, *Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales*, p.9.

toward the more moral duties to love and holy service. She speaks of *Aucassin et Nicolette* and the other short texts included in this book as 'a good picture of the society for whose entertainment they were first composed,'[344] and goes further to say that despite the aspects of fantasy included, they work predominantly 'on a human scale,' showing the interplay between the human characters and their social (and sometimes literal) landscape.[345] She considers *Aucassin et Nicolette* more specifically to be 'a literary pastiche' of the 'more extravagant' literary romances at the time, poking fun not at love and social convention but the literary practices which depicted it. This is an interesting choice of term, as 'pastiche'[346] is an intentional imitation of style, while parody, the term used more frequently by critics of this text, imitates and introduces irony or humour.[347] She further maintains that the text is representative of life, but that it 'refract[s] the past' and shows 'society at a double remove,'[348] a commentary all the more relevant as we read the translation today.

Publisher

The publisher of this text has been described previously, as *Penguin Classics* is a frequent reproducer of classic texts for dissemination to the wider public. The back matter for this edition states that *Aucassin and Nicolette* is 'one of the best-known and best-loved works in medieval literature,' which would certainly make it worth inclusion in their catalogue. It would also follow from the inclusion of the current translation in their repertoire that the text has an informative but widely readable[349] tone, and this is exemplified by Matarasso's clear and explanatory introduction, as well as the notes she provides to aid the reader in understanding any foibles of the manuscript. We must also note here that the translation does not stand alone, but is grouped thematically, as we would find with a medieval manuscript, alongside a number of other shorter texts centred on courtly love.[350] Matarasso describes her choice of this group as 'exceptions that confirm the rule,' as they eschew the 'flights of fancy' of typical lengthy romance 'by their tone and literary aspirations' and 'restraint and realism.'[351] Matarasso had previously translated *The Quest of the Holy Grail* for this

---

[344] Ibid.
[345] Ibid., p.11.
[346] Merriam-Webster, 'Pastiche.' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary,* 2020 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pastiche> [Accessed 15 June 2020]
[347] Merriam-Webster, 'Parody.' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2020 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/parody> [Accessed 15 June 2020].
[348] Matarasso, *Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales*, p.11.
[349] See note on 'readability,' p.10.
[350] These are *The Lay of the Reflection, The Dapple-Grey Palfrey, The Count of Pontieu's Daughter* and *The Chatelaine of Vergy*, all of which were also written within fifty years of *Aucassin and Nicolette.*
[351] Matarasso, *Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales*, p.10.

publisher,[352] and this second compilation must have designated her as one of Penguin's 'trusted voices' in the medieval field. Though at first glance the *Quest* does not seem to have any connection to the later translation, we can find a similar frame of interest for the translator in her introduction: the representation of the preoccupations of court life and individuality in the Middle Ages, especially where it undermines typical tropes of courtly love.[353] Interestingly, it was also around this time that A.T. Hatto published his translation of Thomas' *Tristan* with the same publishing house. This could be considered a sign of a widening medieval output during this period for this publisher, mirroring the patterns of activity elaborated in Chapter 3.

Matarasso's translator's note also provides us with information about how the text connects to contemporary practices of translation. Much like Hatto, she is very aware of the losses a translator can incur in handling this type of text, with its formal versification and assonant rhyme between passages of prose. She explains her approach as comparable to one of her predecessors, Francis William Bourdillon, who attempted to give the sense of the versification by using rhyming couplets, while leaving the prose as it stood in the ST.[354] Her approach is a little different, in that she adapts the Old French assonance into the more typical English stressed syllable patterns, while using couplets only when possible. She also mentions 'taking certain liberties' to introduce assonance, an attitude toward what we could frame as dynamic equivalence[355] shared by Hatto, who also considered divergence from the ST a matter of loss and apology.

As Matarasso mentions clearly, Bourdillon is one of her influences for the current translation, however she also states that she has referred to another predecessor, Suchier (1913), and for her edition the work of Mario Roques (1954). Therefore we understand that although her translation is her own, she bases this on another writer's edition for the greater part, indicating a further level of distance from the ST. Possible signs of interference from these are likely to be found in the employment of rhyme and the use of archaism or formal

---

352 Pauline Matarasso, *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969).
353 See Matarasso, *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, p.15, where she writes: 'Here we have, if one may be permitted the term, an anti-romance. The stage is the same and so are the players, but the accepted values are inverted. The *Quest* sets out to reveal the inadequacies and dangers of the courtly ideal.'
354 Francis William Bourdillon was best known as a poet, producing a total of thirteen collections of poetry, most notably *The Night Has A Thousand Eyes*. He also studied medieval French literature, producing (among others) an edition of *Tote Listoire de France (Chronique Saintongeaise)* (1897), an Old French/Occitan chronicle, his own edition (1896) and translation (1897) of *Aucassin et Nicolete* and a self-styled 'Cantefable' of his own in the year of his death (*Gerard and Isabel,* 1921).
355 Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, pp.167-8.

correspondence (i.e. the preservation of word-for-word or sentence-for-sentence constructions to evoke another time or place for the reader)[356] based on the predominant trends of the early twentieth century in translations of this type. This translation is therefore a text at a fourth level of remove (in Matarasso's terms), from the ST to its referents, to the editor and finally the translation at hand. It will therefore provide many levels of interest regarding translation practice and its representations of the time period.

Poetry and Prose

The employment of poetry and prose in this excerpt reflects the translator's stated approach, in that the sections of prose are treated as such, and the poetry bears shades of rhyme and assonance. For example, in laisses 1 and 3, we find that the end syllable follows an assonance of 'a' ('eə' or 'ɪe') sounds, while laisse 5 uses variations on 'i' ('ɪ', 'i:', 'aɪ') as follows:

'A' sound assonance	**'I' sound assonance**
L.1: Of the deeds of valour rare Compassed for his love so fair? Sweet the song and choice the tale, Well-ordered and in courtly vein; L.3: None could wean his heart away Not though father said him nay And mother spoke with warning grave	L.5: In a vaulted room confined Which art and cunning had combined To decorate in wondrous wise At the window now she leaned

These are not exact rhymes or strict couplets but do follow a pattern which allows the translator to maintain the rhythmic element of the ST in the TT as well as (on the whole) a seven-syllable pattern. A notable feature of this approach reflects that of other translators in that creating a rhyme scheme or rhythm pattern also infers using archaic or over-formal language. As we can see above, phrases such as 'in wondrous wise' and 'well-ordered and in courtly vein' employ a linguistic versatility and formality which increase the likelihood of maintaining the seven-syllable line, while also utilising a sociolect one would expect from a tale set at this level of society and in the medieval time period. This infers that a formality the

356 Ibid. p.159.

reader would relate to the speech found in older texts, aesthetically vivid texts such as Romantic poetry, and highly regulated environments such as the church or fora of nobility. The reversal of noun and adjective or noun and verb is a common example of this and can be found in all of the above. This style can also be found in examples like the previously mentioned *The Lady of Shalott*, by Tennyson,[357] and English hymnal entries such as the Victorian *As With Gladness Men of Old*, which employs the technique to similar effect, e.g. 'As they offered gifts most rare | At that manger rude and bare,' or 'Thou its sun which goes not down.'[358] The effect is also visible in hymns translated from Latin, with verb-ending lines found in examples such as *Deus,Tuorum Militum*[359] or *Dies Irae, Dies Illa,*[360]which further suggests the influence of the Latin translation method on Matarasso's approach to the lyrical sections of the text, due either to her religious or educational background.

By contrast, the sections of prose in translation mostly have a more informal tone and contemporary register.[361] The effect of this approach is to set the two parts of the text apart, giving the prose more a feel of a regular storyline, while the poetry acts as embellishment on the theme. The contemporary register of the prose sections can be exemplified by the descriptions in laisse 2, of Count Bolgar ('a man who had outlived his time'[362]), his statement to Aucassin ('whose daughter you may not have for the asking'), and Aucassin's response to this ('Tush, father!').[363] Another example of this is the knowing substitution later on of 'li vairs e li gris' with 'silk and sable' to represent a more contemporary sign of wealth.[364] The way in which these characters are described and speak to one another certainly belongs to a specific sociolect, representing linguistic variation common to British English and usually that of the middle or upper classes, but it does not pretend to be that of the medieval period.

Archaic language

As a result of the variance in approach between poetry and prose, the majority of archaic language appears in the framework of the poetic sections of this translation and affects both the sentential and semantic levels of the text. Matarasso discusses the difficulty of

---

[357] See p.142 of this thesis.
[358] Percy Dearmer, J. H. Arnold, and Ralph Vaughan Williams, *The English Hymnal: With Tunes 1933.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p.39.
[359] Ibid., p.176.
[360] Ibid., 1933, p.338.
[361] Although there are occasional diversions into a more formal/archaic syntax this is not the case for the majority of the excerpt concerned.
[362] Matarasso, *Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales*, p.24.
[363] Ibid., p.25
[364] Ibid., p.28, and also in her note on p.156 where she justifies the choice as 'a couplet with similar overtones.'

maintaining poetic form in this type of translation, and her 'taking liberties' can be seen in her alteration of syntax and the resulting archaic formulations. This appears to be the case for many translators of this text type, such as her predecessors Bourdillon (1897), Mason (1910) and West (1917). The examples below show some different applications of these archaisms:

ST	**TT**
L.3, ll.1-12: Aucassins fu de Biaucaire D'un castel de bel repaire. De Nicole le bien faite Nuis hom ne l'en puet retraire, Que ses peres ne l'i laisse Et sa mere le manace: 'Di ça! faus, que vex tu faire? Nicolete est cointe et gaie. Jetee fu de Cartage Acatee fu d'un Saisne. Puis q'a moullié te vix traire, Pren fenme de haut parage.'	 Aucassin was of Beaucaire, A castle pleasant, fine and fair. From the lissom Nicolette None could wean his heart away, Not though father said him nay And mother spoke with warning grave: 'What would you do! Fie now, for shame! Pretty she may be and gay; From Carthage city, she's a waif, Purchased from a pagan sheikh. Since you seek the wedded state Take a wife of high estate.'
L.5, ll.1-19: Nicole est en prison mise En une canbre vautie, Ki faite est par grant devisse, Panturee a miramie. A la fenestre marbrine La s'apoia la mescine. Ele avoit blonde la crigne Et bien faite la sorcille, La face clere et traitice : Ainc plus bele ne veïstes. Esgarda par le gaudine Et vit le rose epanie	 Nicolette is in duress, In a vaulted room confined, Which art and cunning had combined To decorate in wondrous wise. At the window now she leaned, Resting on the marble sill; Her hair was bright with golden shine And delicate the eyebrow's line: Fair of feature, fresh of cheek, Never was such beauty seen! Looking to the woodland green She saw the full-blown eglantine,

Et les oisax qui s'ecrient Dont se clama orphenine: 'Ai mi! lasse moi, caitive ! Por coi sui jou en prison misse? Aucassins, damoisiax sire, Ja sui jou li vostre amie Et vos ne me haés mie!	Heard birds singing each to each And felt her plight more bitter still. 'Alas!' she cried, 'Poor wretch am I! Why am I in prison pent? Aucassin, my own sweet squire, All my love to you is given, You I know are fond of me;
L.7, l.17: Je n'en cuit vis aller	'Twill be my death

On the whole, her translations evoke a time past: the use of 'squire,' echoes earlier mention of 'chattels' and going 'a-tourneying' in laisse 2 below (p.245) with the effect of placing the characters in a setting of unfamiliar social constructs in name and spelling. The main characters' interpersonal relations are framed by this archaic language where Aucassin disputes Nicolete's value, dismissing in laisse 2 with a 'Tush!' and in laisse 3 describing his father who 'said him nay,' and mother who chides 'Fie now, for shame!' Matarasso's use of syntax to fit the poetic constraints of the text also confers this effect as 'wondrous wise' shows. The effect of these embellishments and syntactic changes is to distance the reader from the content by their contractions of longer phrases and reversal of common English Subject-Verb-Object syntax; in effect this foreignises the translation, distancing the reader in time rather than place. This is also represents a variance from the formal correspondence[365] we would expect to see in the prose, a possible result of interference from earlier translations, thereby creating a greater aesthetic difference between the styles of the poetry and prose sections and also highlighting its uniqueness. In laisse 5, describing Nicolette's internment in the tower, we see some of the most liberal use of these linguistic changes. A rose becomes an 'eglantine' for the sake of metre and artistic effect, while birds sing 'each to each' rather than together. In terms of syntax, Nicolette is 'in prison pent,' adopting the old French word-order, while the room is fitted out 'in wondrous wise' an archaic word for 'manner,' existing today mostly in composite words such as 'otherwise.'[366]

Matarasso therefore adopts a more interventionist style with her translation of the verse passages, adapting these sections to create a more poetic (in the sense of imaginative or

[365] Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, pp.22-28.
[366] Wiktionary, '-wise,' (2020), *Wiktionary.* <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/-wise> [Accessed 2 June 2020].

expressive) style which both distances the reader from the ST in terms of language, but brings them closer to the source culture with the content.

Depiction of personal qualities/epithets

The personal features, responsibilities and status as translated in this excerpt give us a strong feeling of how the characters relate to the overall social structures depicted by this genre of text; this reflects Matarasso's perception of the genre she translates, which she states closely entwines characters and their social (and literal) landscape.[367] The analysis of personal qualities and the epithets used for each character can begin with the above example of the 'lissom' Nicolette. Descriptions of Nicolette focus on her physical features, due to the content of the ST, but Matarasso's translations help develop a more Romantic[368] picture of her.

ST	**TT**
L.2: Fix, fait li peres, ce ne poroit estre. Nicolete laise ester, que ce est une caitive qui fu amenee d'estrange terre, si l'acata li visquens de ceste vile as Sarasins, si l'amena en ceste vile, si l'a levee et bautisie et faite sa fillole, si li donra un de ces jors un baceler qui du pain li gaaignera par honor: de ce n'as-tu que faire. Et se tu fenme vix avoir, je te donrai le file a un roi u a un conte: il n'a si rice home en France, si tu vix sa fille avoir, que tu ne l'aies. Avoi, peres, fait Aucassins, ou est ore si haute honers en terre, se Nicolete ma tresdouce amie l'avoit, qu'ele e fust bien enploiie en li? S'ele estoit enpereris de Colstentinoble u d'Alemaigne, u roine de France u d'Engletere, si aroit il assés peu en	'Son,' said the father, 'that is out of the question. Leave Nicolette be: for she is a captive who was brought from foreign parts; the viscount of this town purchased her from the Saracens and brought her back and stood sponsor to her at her baptism; he brought her up as his godchild and will provide her one of these days with a young fellow who will earn her bread for her in honourable service. You have no call to meddle in this, and if it is a wife you want I will give you the daughter of a king or a count. There is no man in France, however great, whose daughter you may not have for the asking.' 'Tush! Father,' said Aucassin, 'where is that earthly dignity that Nicolette, my own sweet love, would not enhance, if it were

[367] Matarasso, *Aucassin and Nicolette and other Tales*, p.11
[368] In a sense of Romanticism, defined by the ideals of beauty and nature.

li, tant est France et cortoise et de bone aire et entecie de toutes bones teces. '	hers? Were she empress of Constantinople or Germany, or queen of France or England it would be little enough for her, so filled is she with all good qualities and every grace that goes with gentle birth.'

The inference of these translations portrays Nicolette as a female character typical of Romantic ideals: she is delicate, thin, beautiful, with golden hair and full of grace as in laisse 3 above. This is especially seen where Matarasso manages to evoke the alliteration in the ST 'entecie de toutes bones teces' as 'good qualities and every grace that goes with gentle birth,' while adding the idea of her nobility to the ST meaning and foreshadowing the revelation of her origins at the end of the text. For Aucassin she has special beauty and carries repeated epithets throughout of 'Me/ma douce amie' (laisse 2, 'my sweet love;' laisse 7, 'sweet friend'). In this translation, she possesses many features of the idealised female, brought down through history from Helen of Troy to Grace Kelly. Yet much like these idealised figures, there is a subversive side to these descriptions which we can perceive in the way she is represented by other characters. We are reminded throughout that despite appearances she is a 'caitif' (captive) and that despite her appearance she is not of high estate, instead 'a waif,' which Matarasso expands from the idea of her being 'jetee de Cartage;' this is a word which in medieval times described an item of ownerless property e.g. 'waifs and strays', which fits this translation, but its inference has evolved over time to indicate neglected or homeless children.[369] Nicolette is truly without estate for the majority of this tale and we are reminded of this often. Not only this, but both the Count and Viscount suggest elsewhere that she should not just be burnt in a fire ('je l'arderai en un fu' laisse 4, l.8), but burnt 'at the stake' in this translation, which for the modern reader gives us a greater sense of how much of an outsider she is, suffering what is now associated with the fate of a witch. Though to the reader she possesses the physical characteristics of a Madonna or Helen, to the internal narrative, she is Circe, a subverter of norms.

Aucassin provides another source of contrast between his outer trappings and inner qualities and desires. In physical form, he possesses:

[369] Wikipedia, 'Waif and Stray,' *Wikipedia*, 2020 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waif_and_stray> [Accessed 03 June 2020].

ST	TT
L.2: Li quens Garins de Biaucaire estoit vix et frales, si avoit son tans trespassé. Il n'avoit nul oir, ne fil ne fille, fors un seul vallet. Cil estoit tex con je vos dirai. Aucasins avoit a non li damoisiax. Biax estoit et gens et grans et bien tailliés de ganbes et de piés et de cors et de bras. Il avoit les caviax blods et menus recerclés et les ex vairs et rians et le face clere et traitice et le nes haut et bien assis. Et si estoit enteciés de bones teces qu'en lui n'en avoit nule mauvaise se bone non. Mais si estoit soupris d'Amor, qui tout vaint, qu'il ne voloit estre cevalers, ne les armes prendre, n'aler au tornoi, ne fare point de quanque il deust.	 Count Garin of Beaucaire was old and feeble, a man who had outlived his time. He had no heir, male or female, save one youth whom I will describe to you. Aucassin was the young man's name, and he was handsome and comely and tall, with a fine figure, and legs, arms and feet to match it. He had fair and tightly curling hair, laughing grey eyes, a fresh complexion, and a high-bridged nose well set in an oval face. So well endowed was he with good qualities that there was never a bad one to be found in him; but he was so smitten by all-conquering love that he would neither be a knight, nor take up arms, nor go a-tourneying, nor do any of those things he ought.

As we can see above, the main characters compare well; both are 'fresh-faced,' indicating their youth and beauty, but also by inference, their naivety.[370] This is especially apt for Aucassin as we learn he is 'smitten by all-conquering love,' which has turned him away from his family and duty. When Tristan is smitten by uncontrollable love, we see that he continues his knightly duty, but for Aucassin this turns him away from his social expectations. This is most stark when we look at descriptions of other male characters, as above going 'a-tourneying', and the viscounts and vassals that 'fight for their lives and chattels.' Therefore, the effect of this translation is certainly to set each of the main characters in contrast with the society around them. Though they are beautiful and full of good qualities,

[370] Merriam-Webster, 'Fresh faced,' *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2020 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fresh-faced>. [Accessed 15 June 2020].

inferential meaning shows us that they are just as naive in their outlook, overlooking their own statuses, which to those around them are so diametrically opposed.

Idiom/formulae/metaphor

As expressed in the introduction to this ST, the formulaic and repetitive nature of the text both evokes and questions the shape and format of the *roman*. We do not know whether these repetitions served as an aide-memoire but their translation helps the audience to view them either as a structural point or an increasingly farcical element of an already 'extravagant' text. Matarasso's prosodic level choices mean that there is much greater linguistic diversity in the poetic sections than the prose; this means that any linguistic repetitions between these sections in the ST are much less likely to occur in the TT. However, within the prose sections alone, we find more internal repetition, on the subject of personal qualities, as above, and in the discussions between the Count, Viscount and Aucassin. With personal qualities we can see clear parallels in the depictions of physical characteristics, however with the phrase 'entecie de toutes bones teces' (laisse 2, ll.14-15 and ll.43-44), the translation does not repeat. In the second instance of the phrase, effort has been made to maintain the alliteration, but in the first we see a more literal rendering. This could have many effects: to make Nicolette appear the more Romantic, lyrical figure, or indeed to make her seem this way in Aucassin's eyes only, as he is the speaker. When she is described by her sponsor and the Count, on the other hand, the translation remains mostly the same as that seen above in laisse 2:

ST	TT
L.4, ll.11-14: Je l'avoie acatee de mes deniers, si l'avoie levee et bautisie et faite ma filole, si li donasse un baceler qui du pain li gaegnast par honor: de ce n'eust Aucassins vos fix que faire.	I bought her with my money and stood sponsor to her at her baptism, made her my godchild, and intended providing her with a young fellow who would have earned her bread for her in honourable service. Your son Aucassin had no cause to meddle in this [...]
L.6, ll.15-20: Nicolete est une caitive que j'amenai d'estrange tere, si l'acatai de mon avoir a Sarasins, si l'ai levee et bautisie et faite ma fillole, si l'ai nourie, si lil donasce un de ces jors un baceler qui del pain li gaegnast par honor: de ce n'avés vos que faire.	Nicolette is a captive who I brought back from foreign parts and bought with my money from the Saracens. I stood sponsor to her at her baptism and brought her up as my godchild, and intended on providing her one of these days with a young fellow who would have earned her bread for her in honourable service. You have no call to meddle in this.

In all cases here, where her origin and lineage are described, the translation maintains a strict repetition of the phrases, and goes further to reduce any variation in terms of tense. The effect of this is dual. Firstly, on a linguistic level, any sense of humour or irony in the repetition of this phrase is lost, in contrast with West's translation where the irony is inflated for the target audience. This effect could be reflective of Matarasso's introductory statement that the ST is more of a 'pastiche' than a 'parody,' as we see here that humour is avoided in favour of more 'fidelity' to the literal meaning of the text. Secondly, on a semantic level, the repetition gives us an idea of how fixed Nicolette's role is in the society depicted, as every person discussing her rolls out the same formulaic phrases. This latter point means that in later parts of the text, her rebellion against these social constraints may appear all the more significant.

4.3.3 Analysis 3: Aucassin and Nicolette, ed. by Anne Elizabeth Cobby; trans. by Glyn S. Burgess, (New York; London: Garland (Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 47), 1988)

Personal Habitus

Although little information is available about his early life, much of Glyn Burgess' personal habitus can be gleaned from paratextual information and biographies provided alongside many of his publications. These situate Burgess within a predominantly academic habitus.

As there is little available information on his early education, we begin our analysis with Burgess' higher education credentials. Educated at St. John's College, Oxford, he went on to gain a Master's at McMaster University, Ontario and then a PhD at the Sorbonne. He has taught at academic institutions on both sides of the Atlantic, finally coming to reside at Liverpool University, where he remains today as an Honorary Senior Fellow.[371] Burgess' academic output can be traced across a variety of areas of interest but has a general link to the 'courtly' world of medieval Europe. His early work in his Master's and Doctoral[372] theses looked specifically at the use and evolution of courtly language in the *romans* of medieval France, which would have provided a strong background for his later work as an editor and translator of medieval texts. Among others, he has edited or translated *The Song of Roland* (1990) and *The Lais of Marie de France* (1986) for Penguin Classics, *The Roman de Troie* (2017) with Boydell and Brewer, *Wace: The Hagiographical Works* (2013) for Brill, and *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne,* which appears here bound alongside the text of *Aucassin et Nicolette* and was first published by the Garland Library. These texts exhibit a wide choice of subject matter and indicate a thorough knowledge of the time period and its main concerns, ranging from the *chansons de geste* and *romans d'antiquité* through to courtly poetry and parody. This wide-ranging interest and output would suggest a trusted and effective translation style, as publications appear from both publishers with an academic and more general audience.

---

[371] University of Liverpool, 'Em P Glyn Burgess,' *University of Liverpool,* 2020 <https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/modern-languages-and-cultures/staff/glyn-burgess/> [Accessed 19 July 2020].

[372] Glyn S. Burgess, 'The Preposition De. A Study in Late Latin and Old French Syntax,' (unpublished master's dissertation, McMaster University, 1966); Glyn S. Burgess, 'Recherches Sur l'Évolution Du Vocabulaire Courtois, En Particulier Dans Les Romans Antiques,' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sorbonne, 1968).

Outside of translating medieval texts, Burgess has written widely on the *Lais* of Marie de France and other Old French Lais, the Arthurian legends and the *Voyage of St Brendan*. He has also written more specifically on chivalry and social status in medieval literature, and the terminology associated with these subjects. This focus not only reflects his early studies in linguistics in the court, but also suggests that his approach to the text at hand will show great understanding of the importance of accurate translation and representation of the ST, but also an attention to the interplay between poetry and prose, given his expertise in the Lai form.[373]

In the introduction to this text, we further appreciate this attention to detail. As we have previously seen with Stewart Gregory's translation of *Tristan*, we expect to find a greater amount of the introduction dedicated to close linguistic and historiographical analysis of the text when dealing with Garland Library texts, due to the expected academic audience of the series. His description of the ST is that of one to be enjoyed, a comic mix of fairytale and folk tale which is aware of the 'themes, conventions and formulaic expressions of contemporary literature,'[374] but should not be taken as a critique of its contemporaries. Instead, we are encouraged to laugh at the parody of the current text, rather than laughing at the 'extravagance'[375] (Matarasso) of previous ones. Burgess makes frequent mention of the 'comic' potential of this text,[376] thereby suggesting we will find clear indications of this in his translation.

Burgess' stated translation approach in the introduction is to aim at 'accuracy and attention to detail,' which stands to reason, given his background in Old French linguistics. However, his stated translation approach for the poetic sections of text clashes with his depiction of their importance earlier in the introduction. While he states that the ST's blending of poetry and prose was designed to remind the audience of the potential of the sung lyric form at a time when prose texts were becoming the norm,[377] his own translation eliminates the poetic form, instead choosing a self-consciously termed 'banal…prose.'[378] He even goes further to pay tribute to those who have attempted to replicate the lyric, saying though they 'stray from the syntax and vocabulary of modern English, possess a poetic intensity which…has not been sought or achieved in the present version.' By comparing this

[373] Although the poetic sections of *Aucassin et Nicolette* are not in Lai format, they exhibit similar assonant rhyme.
[374] Burgess, *Aucassin and Nicolette*, p.93.
[375] Matarasso, *Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales*, p.11.
[376] On pages 93, 96, 98 and 101 of the introduction to *Aucassin and Nicolette*.
[377] He suggests a date for the MS as 1270, based on ultraviolet imaging.
[378] Ibid., p.106.

text with his other translations produced under the Penguin Classics imprint (as above), we find that this is his general approach to lyric: to either convert it to narrative prose, or to translate line by line in prose. It is notable here though that the choice is again seen as a failing; by describing the prose as banal and comparing himself to his predecessors, we again see the influence of the idea of 'loss' in translation, in this case the loss of the effect of sung lyric in a prose environment which is depicted as being crucial to the ST.

Publishing environment

As has been previously mentioned, this text was produced by the Garland Library, the same that published Stewart Gregory's version of *Tristan et Iseut*. Before their amalgamation into the larger Taylor and Francis brand, their output was aimed at a predominantly academic audience and edited by Norris J. Lacy and William Kibler, two preeminent medieval specialists; the current publication is volume 47 of Series A, which consists of facing page editions and translations, and represents Burgess' only interaction with the publisher. The general editors state in their introduction that they sought to include helpful paratexts for the academic: full introductions including author biographies and discussions of the text, detailed notes and footnotes, as well as critical bibliographies providing supplementary details of each text's importance. This edition is no exception, providing a total of 24 pages of paratextual information and 10 pages of notes. We should also expect a greater attention to detail and reference to the facing-page edition as a result of the format and respect to the stated intention of the general editors, as well as the intended audience, as previously discussed in this thesis (pp.186-87).

It must also be noted here that the edition for this text was not provided by Burgess, instead this edition and translation represents a cooperative endeavour with Anne Elizabeth Cobby.[379] The edition is described in Burgess' introduction as 'conservative,' falling in line with Bourdillon. Though the translator's choices are perceived to be his own, we must also consider the influence that the edition of a manuscript has on translation, as a lens which can provide variant readings and thus a variant translation. If a translator does not have direct access to the ST, a level of interference can be assumed to occur through the edition. There

[379] Anne Elizabeth Cobby is an Affiliated Lecturer with the Faculty of Modern & Medieval Languages & Linguistics at the University of Cambridge, specialising in medieval French fabliaux. Her thesis (1984) was entitled *The Contribution of Formulae to Parody in the Fabliaux, Aucassin and Nicolette and Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*, which provides a clear tie-in with the content and approach presented in the present paired edition/translations. This thesis was later revised and produced as *Ambivalent Conventions: Formula and Parody in Old French*.

are some particular examples of this effect seen in the translation at hand which are clearly flagged by notes in the TT and will be discussed below as part of the textual analysis. The mention of Bourdillon may also be considered a possible site of interference, as the previous edition and translation is held in high esteem by many of our translators and may have had an influence on either edition or translation, whether directly or implicitly through knowledge of the text. We must also consider other editions and translations deemed worthy of inclusion in the critical bibliography as possible sites of influence or interference on the translation at hand. These include the edition of Jean Dufournet, and prior translations by Andrew Lang and Matarasso, possibly the originators of the 'poetic intensity' cited by Burgess.

Poetry and Prose

There is a strong similarity between Burgess' approaches to both poetic and prose sections of the ST, most likely due to the format of the text as a facing-page edition and translation. The verse is rendered as prose, and in the majority maintains the line structure of the ST, presenting a translation that can be followed in parallel to the edition. This approach necessitates a mostly line-for-line translation style, though there are occasions where lines are reversed in order to maintain a more natural syntax for the TT reader. We can take for example laisse 3, below:

ST	**TT**
L.3: Aucassins fu de Biaucaire, D'un castel de bel repaire. De Nicole le bien faite Nuis hom ne l'en puet retraire, Que ses peres ne li laisse Et sa mere le manace: 'Di va, faus, que vex tu faire?' 'Nicolete est cointe et gaie.' 'Jetee fu de Cartage, Acatee fu d'un Saisne. Puis qu'a moullié te vix traire, Prem feme de haut parage.' 'Mere, je n'en puis el faire.	 Aucassin was from Beaucaire, From a castle of fair repose. No one could make him give up Nicolette, the well formed, Whom his father would not let him have, And his mother threatened him: 'Come now, foolish boy, what are your intentions?' 'Nicolette is elegant and gracious.' 'She was taken by force from Carthage And bought from a Saracen. If you want to take a wife, Marry a woman of high lineage.'

Nicolete est deboinaire; Ses gens cors et son viaire, Sa biautés le cuer m'esclaire. Bien est drois que s'amor aie, Que trop est douce. ’	‘Mother, I can do nothing about it: Nicolette is well born; Her noble body, her face, And her beauty soothe my heart. It is quite right for me to have her love, As she is so sweet.’

In this excerpt we can see Burgess maintains the line structure, while producing natural English syntax. This is not to say however that there is no loss experienced here: despite maintaining the line pattern of the ST, there is no attention to meter or assonance as a means of compensation for the loss of rhyme. Therefore, the performative element of this translation is lost not only in terms of its ability to be read aloud (or indeed sung) with fluency, but also by the loss of the changes of tone effected by the rotation between verse and prose. In the ST the movement between prose and verse allows the latter to provide a refrain of the action and also to amplify its more romantic and emotional elements through its form and creative use of language, while here we have a repetition only of content. We can even note some drawbacks of the line-for-line effect on the TT despite clear efforts to improve the syntax: ‘No one could make him give up’ leaves us with this awkward line-end preposition as part of the phrasal verb.

The accuracy and attention to detail mentioned in the introduction are clearly more directed toward the content than the form here, as evidenced by the detailed notes provided with each translation or editing decision.[380] For instance, in the second section of the example above from laisse 3, the line ‘She was taken by force from Carthage | And bought from a Saracen’ has been attributed to Aucassin’s mother by the editor and translator, in order to contrast Aucassin‘s view of Nicolette (‘cointe et gaie’) with that of the rest of his social sphere.[381] This changes the force of the statement; instead of Aucassin accepting his love’s

[380] Notes for this translation can be found on pp.174-183 of the text. For this excerpt, we find detailed explanation of the introductory ‘or dient et content et fablent,’ Aucassin’s name and the ‘correct’ interpretation of ‘Cartage,’ as well as close readings of the manuscript.

[381] See note on laisse 3, l.8, where Burgess states ‘Editors Suchier, Bourdillon, and Roques reassign Aucassin’s line to his mother. Dufournet may well be right in attributing it to Aucassin. The adjectives cointe and gaie are not easy to translate, but they appear to be positive in this context and apply more to Aucassin's view of Nicolette than to that of his mother.’ *Aucassin and Nicolette*, p.175.

origins, it becomes an accusative phrase by his mother about her unsuitability as a match, thereby accentuating his opposition to the social order in which he exists.

Overall, in the prose sections as well as the verse, the approach is domesticating. In the prose sections, the language focuses on content rather than artistic flair and moves much of the dense description into present-day terminology. However, through such close attention to the parallel reading of ST and TT on the page, this often takes the form of formal correspondence.[382] Take for example the passages below:

ST	**TT**
L.6: Nicolete fu en prison, si que vous aves oï et entendu, en le canbre. Li cris et le noise[383] ala par tote le terre et par tot le païs que Nicolete estoit perdue. Li auquant dient qu'ele est fuie fors de la terre, et li auquant dient que li quens Garins de Biaucaire l'a faite mordrir. Qui qu'en eust joie, Aucassins n'en fu mie liés; ains traist au visconte de la vile, si l'apela: 'Sire visquens, c'avés vos fait de Nicolete ma tres douce amie, le riens en tot le mont que je plus amoie? Avés le me vos tolue ne enblee? Saciés bien que se je en muir, faide vous en sera demandee; et ce sera bien drois, que vous m'arés ocis a vos .ii. mains, car vos m'aves tolu la riens en cest mont que je plus amoie.'	 Nicolette was, as you have heard, imprisoned in the chamber. The cry and the rumour spread throughout the country and over the entire region that she was lost. Some said she had fled the country, others that Count Garin of Beaucaire had murdered her. If anyone else rejoiced at this, Aucassin was not at all happy, so he made his way to the viscount of the town and addressed him: 'Lord viscount, what have you done with Nicolette, my very sweet friend whom I loved more than anything in the whole world? Have you stolen her from me or taken her away? I'll have you know that, if this ends in my death, vengeance will be exacted from you, and rightly so, because you will have killed me with your own two hands, for you have stolen the thing I loved most in all the world.'

[382] Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, p.169
[383] This is a curious choice, possibly rooted in the use of the word 'rumour' to denote noise or uproar in Old French, chatter or prattling, while 'noise' itself can bear a more literal definition. See: Dictionnaire du Moyen Français, 'noise,' *CNRS/Atilf,* 2015 <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/noise1> [Accessed 10 August 2020]; DEAFplus en ligne, 'noise,' 2020 <https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/noise> [Accessed 10 August 2020].

Here we can see the effect of the translator's choice of form over function: each line is maintained in its lexical content and arrangement as far as the target language allows. This again leads to some more awkward phrasing, as in the line beginning 'If anyone else rejoiced at this…', but also some signs of an appreciation of the awkwardness of tracing a translation line by line, as at the end of this phrase where 'ains traist au visconte' becomes 'so he made his way to the viscount', a much more fluent rendering of a polysemous verb.[384] Similarly, when Aucassin speaks the lines 'What have you done with my Nicolette? [...] Have you stolen her from me or taken her away?' the language used is a simple rendering of the ST and despite its fluency has the markers of formal rather than dynamic equivalence, as such serving the ST and source language more than the target language. This approach also means that the repetitions in the text are for the most part maintained.[385] We can see this in both verse and prose sections, meaning that this emphatic element of the text can be appreciated by the reader, where in other translations it may have been suppressed in favour of fully domesticated narration. The importance of this theme in the text is highlighted by the translator in his introduction, where he states that the conflict between father and son is made comic by the employment of simple language and repetition.[386] Therefore, the inclusion of emphatic repetition is arguably not only an effect of the translation style but a consideration of ST effect from the translator. Although this approach has its drawbacks in terms of constructing the most natural TT, it achieves what the translator and series editors set out to do: provide a text which allows the scholar to appreciate the content of the ST and also use the TT as a linguistic guide.

Archaic language/language use

Overall, the use of language in the TT treads the line between formal and dynamic equivalence, however it is in passages of speech we find the most notable shift of tone. While passages of description appear in more neutral tones, the characters and narrator speak in a formal sociolect which can be associated with the middle or upper classes due to the choice of lexis. When speaking of their intentions to one another, the characters use the modal verb 'shall' (as in laisse 2, l.9 and l.29; laisse 4, l.13; laisse 5, l.24), and formal accusative phrases such as 'I'll have you know' (laisse 4, l.7; laisse 6, l.8), and 'Come, now' (laisse 4, l.32). Elsewhere we find less natural and more archaic syntax in exclamations such as 'Cursed be

384 DEAFplus en ligne, 'traire,' 2020 <https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/traire> [Accessed 10 August 2020].
385 As in the line above 'Avés le me vos tolue ne enblee,' where both verbs 'tolir' and 'embler' could be translated as 'to take away.'
386 Burgess, *Aucassin and Nicolette,* p.98.

the land' (laisse 4, l.4) and 'Alas! Woe is me!' (laisse 5, l.15), or 'Certainly… your words are in vain' (laisse 6, l.35). When reading such dramatic accusations and exclamations, a reader may be put in the mind of examples from classic texts such as Shakespeare or the Bible, but also with a sense of irony that relates such language to melodramas.[387] In this aspect, the translator may have achieved the transferral of an element of parody from the ST, but through a different lens; where the ST author may have parodied *romans*, the TT translator parodies a more recent source of excessive drama.

Depiction of personal qualities/epithets

As is common for translations of this text, the descriptions and epithets used for Aucassin and Nicolette mirror each other, bringing them closer together in terms of imagery. The ST effect is depicted as comic, and uses formulae recognisable to the Source audience, applying them to both genders and thereby twisting expectation and outcome.

ST	**TT**
L.2: Aucasins avoit a non li damoisiax. Biax estoit et gens et grans et bien tailliés de ganbes et de pies et de cors et de bras. II avoit les caviax blons et menus recercelés et les ex vairs et rians et le face clere et traitice et le nes haut et bien assis; et si estoit enteciés de bones teces qu'en lui n'en avoit nule mauvaise se bone non. Mais si estoit soupris d'Amor, qui tout vaint, qu'il ne voloit estre cevalers, ne les armes prendre, n'aler au tornoi, ne fare point de quanque il deust.	 Aucassin was the youth's name. He was handsome and noble and tall and his legs, feet, body, and arms were well formed. He had blond hair with little curls and sparkling, laughing eyes, a fair, oval face with a high, well-positioned nose; he was endowed with so many good qualities that he had no bad qualities, only good ones. But he was so smitten by Love, which overcomes everything, that he did not wish to become a knight, or to take up arms, or to go to tournaments, or to do anything he ought to do.
L.5: Nicole est en prison mise, En une canbre vautie	 Nicolette is in prison, In a vaulted chamber,

[387] For example, the sensational *Lady Audley's Secret* (first published 1862) which makes similar over-use of the exclamation, pp.10-11 for instance where nine separate exclamations are employed. Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret,* Oxford World's Classics 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Ki faite est par grant devisse,	Constructed with great care
Panturee a miramie.	And marvellously decorated.
A la fenestre marbrine	At the marble window
La s'apoia la mescine.	The girl leaned out.
Ele avoit blonde la crigne	Her hair was blond,
Et bien faite la sorcille,	Her brows well fashioned,
La face clere et traitice:	Her face fair and slim:
Ainc plus bele ne veïstes.	You never saw a more beautiful girl.
Esgarda par le gaudine	She looked out over the woodland
Et vit la rose espanie	And saw the roses in bloom
Et les oisax qui s'ecrient,	And heard the song of the birds;
Dont se clama orphenine.	This made her bewail her fate.

In this ST-leaning translation, both characters are 'well formed' ('bien taillés' laisse 2; 'bien faite' laisse 3), with Nicolette's brows 'well fashioned' ('bien faite' laisse 5) while Aucassin's nose is 'well-positioned' ('bien assis' laisse 2). The inclusion of the 'bien' repetitions drawn from the ST emphasises the uncanny similarity in their descriptors and therefore the comic element Burgess describes in his introduction. We can also note that the phrase 'entecie/é de tous bons teces' applied to both Aucassin and Nicolette in laisse 2 is handled as 'endowed with every/so many good quality/ies' bringing both characters to the same level, at least in the eyes of the narrator and Aucassin himself.

In this translation, the narrator's attitude to the protagonists reveals a more critical look at their qualities. In the first lines of this excerpt, we hear about Aucassin as a 'young boy' ('vallet') or 'youth' ('damoisiax'), while the hypothetical husband of Nicolette is described as a 'young man' ('baceler'). These translation choices emphasise Aucassin's inexperience or incompetence by comparison, where the target language could be more nuanced: all three of the ST terms could be simply translated as 'young man/gentleman,' though their meaning as understood at the time varied widely in terms of social standing and aspiration rather than age.[388] The close description of Aucassin with his 'blond hair with little

[388] Compare valet : 'jeune homme noble placé, pour sa formation, au service d'un seigneur (comme page, comme écuyer […])' DEAFplus en ligne, 'vaslet,' 2020 <https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/vaslet>; dameisel : 'jeune homme de condition noble qui n'est pas encore chevalier, fils d'un seigneur.' DEAFplus en ligne, 'dameisel,' 2020 <https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/dameisel>; and baceler: 'jeune homme qui aspirait à devenir

curls and sparkling, laughing eyes' with 'a fair, oval face' (Il avoit les caviax blons et menus recercelés et les ex vairs et rians et le face clere et traitice laisse 2, ll.9-10) bears more resemblance to that of a child or woman in its formula of delicacy.[389] This effect is cemented when we compare the translation of Aucassin's appearance to that of Nicolette in laisse 5; while the passages are mirrored, the depth of ST language related to Aucassin is much greater, and avoids typically masculine epithets in favour of more feminine qualities.[390] By drawing Aucassin closer to Nicolette physically, it enhances the sense of his transgression and undermines his traditional place as the hero of the tale.

Nicolette on the other hand bears the epithets 'slave girl' (laisse 2, l.25) and 'captive' (laisse 6, l.13), to describe her origin ('caitive' in both ST instances; laisse 2, l.23; laisse 6, l.11), then 'godchild/goddaughter' (laisse 2 and laisse 4 'fil[l]ole') and 'mistress' (TT laisse 6, l.18; for ST 'asognentee' l.16). These descriptions place her firmly in the position of the 'other,' as property to be bought, altered and traded rather than entitled to her own destiny. She can never be an heir, despite being a goddaughter, while Aucassin holds a comparable background and is named heir; she cannot be a wife, as is repeatedly stated, but could be a mistress, a point stated more directly in translation than in the ST.[391] This draws her into direct comparison with Aucassin's descriptions of her, which endow her with elegance, grace and nobility and his parallel depiction of the 'beautiful courtly ladies' (laisse 5, l.30) in Hell. Later in the story, when we find that Nicolette is indeed of noble birth, the element of transgression and undermining of typical courtly tropes represented by these words is even clearer, as she is not recognised by the society around her.

Idiom/formulae/metaphor

In order to introduce comic and unexpected elements to the text, and remain faithful to the ST content, the TT must clearly establish the formulae it is meant to subvert. Just as we learn what Nicolette cannot be according to the society she inhabits, we also learn about the role

---

chevalier,' DEAFplus en ligne, 'baceler,' 2020 <https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/baceler> [Accessed 10 August 2020].

[389] We can also look to the very first lines of the text for further use of this infantilizing approach, where the lead characters are introduced as 'two lovely little children' (laisse 1, l.3), in the ST 'Deus biax enfans petis.'

[390] Compare Gottfried von Strassburg's early twelfth-century description of Iseult in l.8257-8304 of the Middle High German text, where she is described as dazzling, sparkling, golden: 'diu lûtere, diu liehte Isolt.' August Closs, *Tristan und Îsolt: A Poem*, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1947).

[391] 'Se vous l'aviés asognentee ne mise a vo lit' indicates she could be a concubine or paramour brought to his bed for love, rather than a mistress, which bears more illicit inference in the target language. See: DEAFplus en ligne, 'soing-assoignanter,' 2020 < https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/soing#assoignanter> [Accessed 14 August 2020].

that Aucassin rejects. In laisse 2, l.14ff., we find all the qualities a knight must possess, taking up arms, going to tournaments, defending land; in fact the opening scenes of the ST place Aucassin at the heart of a long-waged battle. However, we find he is ‘smitten by Love,’ instead of smiting others. The use of the word ‘smitten’ for the ST ‘soupris,’ meaning taken unawares, struck down or overwhelmed[392] is an interesting choice by the translator, as it incorporates both the themes of love and war: to smite someone as a verb is to strike them down,[393] whereas we use smitten as an adjective today to describe sudden or intense attraction and feeling.[394] In this sense, the personified ‘Love’ has more military prowess than Aucassin.

It is also worth noting that among the repetitious areas of the text, the passages debating Nicolette’s future bear a close resemblance to the ST, maintaining the emphatic repetition of why she should not be married to Aucassin. However, the translator also adds a phrase of his own to these repetitions, namely ‘raised at the font,’ as seen here:

ST	**TT**
L.2, ll.23-26: Si l'acata li visquens de ceste vile as Sarasins, si l’amena en ceste vile, si l'a levee et bautisie et faite sa filiole, si li donra un de ces jors un baceler qui du pain li gaaignera par honor; de ce n'as-tu que faire	L.2, ll.25-29: And the viscount of this town purchased her from the Saracens, brought her to this town, raised her at the font, baptized her and made her his godchild, and one of these days he will give her a young man who will earn bread for her honourably; this is no concern of yours.
L.4, ll.9-11: ‘Je l'avoie acatee de mes deniers, si 1'avoie levee et bautisie et faite 10 ma filole, si li donasse un baceler qui du pain li gaegnast par honor; de ce n'eust Aucassins vos fix que faire.’	L.4, ll.10-13: ‘I bought her with my own money and raised her at the font and baptized her and made her my goddaughter, and I intended to give her a bachelor who would earn bread for her honourably: this would have been no concern of your son Aucassin.’

392 DEAFplus en ligne, ‘sosprendre,’< https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/sosprendre> [Accessed 14 August 2020].
393 Merriam-Webster, ‘Smite,’ *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2020 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/smite> [Accessed 16 August 2020].
394 Merriam-Webster, ‘Smitten,’ *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, 2020 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/smitten> [Accessed 16 August 2020].

L6, ll.12-14: 'Si l'acatai de mon avoir a Sarasins, si I'ai levee et bautisie et faite ma filiole, si l'ai nourie, si li donasce un de ces jors un baceler qui del pain li gaegnast par honor; de ce n'aves vos que faire.'	L.6, ll.12-16: 'and I purchased her from Saracens with my own money and raised her at the font and baptized her and made her my godchild, and brought her up, and one of these days I would have given her a young man who would earn bread for her honourably; this is no concern of yours.'

This image has the effect of increasing the religious metaphor in this section. Not only do we have the idea of baptism and becoming a godchild, but that child was also raised in a religious setting, thereby potentially washing away any signs of her Saracen heritage. We also have the use of 'earn bread for her' as we can see before, a translation which is more literal than idiomatic and again brings in an implied reference to Christian scripture and teaching. Despite all this, Nicolette is still unworthy, another sign of irony or the comic.

4.3.4 Analysis 4: Aucassin and Nicolette: a facing-page edition and translation, ed. and trans. by Robert S. Sturges (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015)

Personal Habitus

As with many of the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century authors studied as part of this research, Robert Sturges' early life is difficult to pin down. However, his academic output tells us much more about his personal convictions and overall interests, especially those applicable to this ST.

Born in Connecticut, Sturges gained his first degree at the University of Bridgeport before going on to achieve an MA and PhD at Brown University, both focusing on comparative literature, with the latter titled: *Interpretation as Action: The Reader in Late Medieval Narrative*.[395] Since then, he has acted as Associate Professor of English or Literature at a variety of universities across the USA, before settling as a Visiting Professor specialising in Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Arizona State University.[396] It is reasonable to assume this American research environment had the greatest impact on his development as an academic, which implies different cultural preoccupations and uses of the medieval, especially when applied to studies in comparative literature. Sturges' wider scholarly output comes mostly in the form of critical approaches to medieval literature, with noted interests in Queer Studies, Gender Studies, Slavery, the Bible as literature and medievalism. He has made contributions to the *Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, and made critical readings of the *Roman de Silence,* the works of Chaucer and Dante, thereby proving a strong grounding in the late medieval/early modern period and its nuances. On *Aucassin et Nicolette* he has written through the lenses of race and gender[397] and queerness;[398] however, the current translation appears to be his only published edition and translation of a medieval text, suggesting it was a special project akin to the work of early

---

[395] Robert S. Sturges, '*Interpretation as Action: The Reader in Late Medieval Narrative.*' (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1979).
[396] Arizona State University, 'Robert Sturges,' (2020), *Arizona State University.* <https://search.asu.edu/profile/982116> [Accessed 3 October 2020].
[397] Robert S. Sturges, 'Race, Sex, Slavery: Reading Fanon with Aucassin et Nicolette', *Postmedieval a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, 6.1 (2015), pp.12-22.
[398] Robert S. Sturges, 'Beaucaire, 'Cartage,' Torelore: The Imaginary Mediterranean's Queer Carnival in *Aucassin and Nicolette,'* in *Queering the Mediterranean: Transcultural Sea of Sex, Gender, Identity and Culture*, ed. by Felipe Rojas and Peter Thompson. (Leiden: Brill, 2021) pp.155-74.

twentieth century translators. As further proof of this idea, he mentions in his acknowledgements 'testing' the translation on his students at the University of New Orleans.[399] Sturges' reading and edition of the ST is evidently from an expert reader but not editor of medieval literature; this may necessitate reliance on other editions to back up decisions made about the manuscript content. We may also find that his approach to the text is coloured by his main fields of interest – gender and queer studies – which could in turn impact upon the depiction of the two protagonists and their relationship to one another and the world around them.

Sturges' introduction to the edition and translation explores various aspects of both the ST narrative and the context of its production, to give a detailed picture of its contemporary function and reception. For Sturges, the text was intended to be read or sung aloud due to the inclusion of repetition and notation, to an elite audience who would have been keenly attuned to the political and social tensions of the time. The inclusion of allusions to the fourth crusade in the attack on Beaucaire, and the invitation to question ideas of self and other in Aucassin and Nicolette's blurry identities are crucial to the text's reception with its target audience, he argues. His overarching characterisation of the text is a 'comic masterpiece of medieval literature,'[400] which uses its 'carnivalesque'[401] elements to subvert the norms of the audience for which it was proposed.[402] For example, he argues that Aucassin portrays a 'romance-flavored courtliness [that] negates the possibility of his performing as a recognizable hero of either epic or romance;'[403] he is given the role of an epic hero but fulfils few of the promises of courtly love, seeming devoted to the idea of courtly love more than its practice, a theme which ties in to critical thought on the ST which considers it a depiction of where courtly love tropes can be overblown.[404] Sturges' approach to this text overall appears to be one of critical appraisal based on the lens of subversion: he gives us the impression that this ST was never to be taken seriously, describing it as a 'mockery of the noble classes,'[405] or a 'burlesque'[406] that holds up a mirror to society, albeit one usually found in a funhouse. We

---

[399] Sturges, *Aucassin and Nicolette: A Facing-Page Edition and Translation,* p.ix. It is notable that the students were members of a class titled 'Mardi gras, carnival and the carnivalesque,' which, given he taught in the Department of English, is suggestive of a comparative literature focus ranging across time periods and languages.
[400] Ibid., p.xi.
[401] ibid., p..xiii.
[402] Ibid., pp.11-13.
[403] Ibid. p.14.
[404] See, for example the previously mentioned Payen, whose depiction of the text was a means of questioning the 'arsenal poussiéreux de clichés vieillots.' *Le Moyen Age*, p. 227.
[405] Sturges, *Aucassin and Nicolette: A Facing-Page Edition and Translation,* p.xi.
[406] Ibid., p.xiv.

can see the effect of his own specialisms in this introduction (e.g. race theory, queer theory and critical reading) and therefore might expect the translation to be handled with more of a modern than archaic approach, following socio-cultural rather than linguistic preoccupations. Accordingly, Sturges depicts his translation approach as ‘to imitate the sense and spirit of the original rather than [...] word-for-word equivalence;’[407] the overall aim is to produce a readable text, presenting accuracy without archaism. It is also reasonable to suggest, based on the evidence of publisher and translator habitus, that the translation is aimed at students without a full knowledge of the ST or its culture, and in the introduction, he states that terms or concepts unfamiliar to ‘modern’ students (e.g. those not necessarily studying languages in isolation) are explained in notes.[408] These encompass a variety of topics from the social implications of using the terms ‘damoisiax’ and ‘vallet,’ to monetary values, historical facts and common folklore, which clearly indicates a target audience of the beginner or non-specialist in French.

Publishing environment

The publisher for this text is Michigan State University Press, the ‘scholarly publishing arm’ of Michigan State University, which is best known in the USA as one of the first land-grant universities, and thus has its roots in agriculture and applied sciences. Today the university has a wider output and range of available studies and also ranks highly in the field of education. The university press states its mission as: ‘a catalyst for positive intellectual, social, and technological change through the publication of research and intellectual inquiry, making significant contributions to scholarship in the arts, humanities, sciences, and social sciences.’[409] Their catalogue reflects this approach with a wide range of scholarly subjects, as well as adult and children’s fiction titles; they are also members of the ‘University Readers’ course materials programme, which provides a single location for US students to view and order a package of reading materials for a given course.[410] In the field of languages, we find translations of modern or Native American languages, or study guides for modern languages, while their historical output focuses on the post-colonial and modern worlds. This makes *Aucassin and Nicolette* a curious choice for production, as it seemingly does not fit with the press’ areas of interest. Yet, with the publisher’s connection to the ‘University Readers’

---

[407] ibid. p.16.
[408] ibid. xvii.
[409] Michigan State University Press, ‘About us,’ *Michigan State University Press*, 2020 <https://msupress.org/about/> [Accessed 3 October 2020].
[410] Cognella, ‘Course packs,’ *Cognella*, 2020 <https://cognella.com/imprints/custom/course-packs/> [Accessed 3 October 2020].

program, a tie would exist to a myriad of courses across the USA, including or incorporating medieval texts in their corpora. Therefore, we can suggest that the publisher skopos for this text would encompass both the pedagogical side of its interests and the aim of making a contribution to the arts that would encourage a change of viewpoint regarding the ST or the genre to which it belongs. The format of the TT is evidence of a pedagogical approach: by using a facing-page edition and translation, the reader or student is encouraged to better understand the ST language and content, contextualising it through comparison with the translation into modern English.

The format of the TT also raises the issue of interference with past texts. As we have seen previously, the later a translation is produced, the more access the translator has to previous editions and translations to form their version. Interestingly, for this edition and translation, the main point of reference is in fact one of the oldest: Bourdillon. Like Bourdillon, Sturges typifies himself as a conservative editor, but also mentions consulting Roques' and Dufournet's editions of the text for comparison.[411] This brings his field of reference more toward the present day, but does not go quite as far as to Burgess/Cobby's edition, nor does it necessarily indicate anything about his approach to the TT, only the fixity of the ST. Another area of possible interference is found in the dedication to two other translators in the opening pages: Cynthia Hogue (who was possibly a former colleague from Arizona State University) and Sylvain Gallais.[412] Both of these have translated (apart and in collaboration) predominantly modern poetic works on a variety of subjects in French and English. In a joint interview conducted for the *Prairie Schooner* podcast hosted by the University of Nebraska, they describe their translation as influenced by knowledge of the intricacy of the French language but also as experimental.[413] It will be revealing to see whether his contemporaries' approach has any effect on Sturges' use of language in this translation.

Poetry and Prose

Despite Sturges' claims to being a conservative editor of the ST, his approach to the TT is much more liberal than many of the previous translations studied.

[411] Sturges, *Aucassin and Nicolette: A Facing-Page Edition and Translation,* p.xviii.
[412] Ibid., p.vi.
[413] Prairie Schooner, 'Ep. 47: Found in Translation,' *Air Schooner*, Audio podcast, Prairie Schooner, 2013 <https://prairieschooner.unl.edu/airschooner/ep-47-found-translation> [Accessed 3 October 2020].

Beginning with the format of the translation, the seven-syllable assonance presented in the ST is shifted to eight-syllable rhyming couplets. An eight-beat line is much more recognisable for a target audience in the US or UK as four-beat measure forms the basis of most popular performance in Western cultures. This choice raises the issue of maintaining content while fitting the constraints of a new form; for Sturges, the approach to this problem is to use other artistic effects to compensate for the loss of the ST performative value and assonance. For example, in laisse 1, l.12 the phrase 'de grant mal almadie' becomes 'so sick, so sad, so short of zest.' On one hand we can see the effort to compensate for the loss of ST effect by use of alliteration and repetition here, however this solution also necessitates the insertion of extra information not present in the ST. In an effort to maintain the rhyming couplets, this is an approach often taken by the translator, if we look at the examples from the chosen excerpt below:

ST	**TT**
L.3:[414] Aucassins fu de Biaucaire, d'un castel de bel repaire. De Nicole le bien faite nuis hom ne l'en puet retraire, que ses peres ne l'i laisse et sa mere le manace: 'Di va! faus, que vex tu faire?'	 Aucassin was from Beaucaire, a peaceful castle, fine and fair. No one could take his love away from fair Nicole, whatever they'd say. His father wouldn't let it be, his mother threatened warningly: 'What are you thinking, madman? Speak!'
L.5: Nicole est en prison mise en une canbre vautie ki faite est par grant devisse, panturee a miramie. [415] A la fenestre marbrine la s'apoia la mescine.	 A beautifully painted, vaulted room, cleverly made: it's Nicolette's doom to be a wretched captive there. The pretty girl with golden hair (you've never seen anyone so rare), with lovely brow and shining eye,

[414] As with previous facing-page edition and translations, Sturges' edition has been used to maintain accuracy to the reader's experience.
[415] In the edition at hand there is no specific note for this term, but we can refer to Dufournet's edition which in turn looks to it to Rogger's assertion that it is a form of 'a mirabile' (*Aucassin et Nicolette: Édition Critique*, p.17). Compare: AND[2] Online Edition, 'mirabille,' 2020 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/mirabille>; and DEAFplus en ligne, 'mirabile,' 2020 <https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/mirabile> [Accessed 3 October 2020].

Ele avoit blonde la crigne et bien faite la sorcille, la face clere et traitice: ainc plus bele ne veïstes.	leans on the marble sill to sigh, viewing the garden, about her woes.

In these examples, it is evident that the stylistic choice has caused the translator to insert extra content in order to maintain an eight-syllable line and rhyme, but in doing so has misrepresented both original content of the ST and its relation to the TT. When we consider this in the context of his chosen layout, the discrepancies between ST and TT become more important than simple artistic choice: the use of a parallel edition-translation gives the reader an expectation of a parallel meaning on each page, so that the uninitiated reader of the SL can more easily follow the text. This expectation is mostly fulfilled in this translation, but in these examples, the English-speaking TT reader might find difficulty in relating the translation to the ST. Further on in laisse 5, there is a significant reorganisation of the line order which appears to be more in alignment with the adopted rhyme scheme than an effort to clarify meaning. These changes represent a rejection of ST form and content in favour of TT style, removing the direct alignment of ST and TT. Instead Sturges' approach is to maintain the chosen rhyme scheme, which requires a mixture of abbreviation and rearrangement of the ST content.

By contrast, in the prose sections the structure is much more consistently maintained. The translator broadly follows the order of the ST, except again in places where the TT syntax can be made more natural. An initial conclusion we can draw here is that the chosen target audience means that function overrides form somewhat: despite the translator's efforts to produce a parallel reading guide, the focus on acceptability means the target language always wins out, leading to losses, this time in terms of content and inference, as we will continue to explore.

Language use

The approach to lexis in the poetic and prose sections is consistent in its modernity. Sturges' light, eight-beat rhyme is complemented by a natural prose with few elements of archaism (barring some use of 'whom' and the modal 'should'), which incorporates many more modern colloquial phrases than the other translations investigated thus far:

ST	TT
L.2: 'Fix,' fait li peres, 'ce ne poroit estre. Nicolete laise ester, que ce est une caitive qui fu amenee d'estrange terre, si l'acata li visquens de ceste vile as Sarasins, si l'amena en ceste vile, si l'a levee et bautisie et faite sa fillole, si li donra un de ces jors un baceler qui du pain li gaaignera par honor: de ce n'as tu que faire. Et se tu fenme vix avoir, je te donrai le file a un rai 1 u a un conte: il n'a si rice home en France, se tu vix sa fille avoir, que tu ne l'aies.' 'Avoi, peres,' fait Aucassins, 'ou est ore si haute honers en terre, se Nicolete ma tresdouce amie l'avoit, qu'ele ne fust bien enploiie en li? S'ele estoit enpereris de Colstentinoble u d'Alemaigne, u roine de France u d'Engletere, si aroit il assés peu en li, tant est france et cortoise et de bon aire et entecie de toutes bones teces.'	 'Son,' said his father, 'that's not going to happen. Leave Nicolette be, for she's a captive who was brought here from foreign parts and whom the viscount of this city bought from the Saracens, brought to this city, raised and baptized and made his goddaughter. And one of these days he'll marry her off to some young gentleman who will honorably earn her bread. It's got nothing to do with you. But if you want a wife, I'll get you the daughter of a king or a count; there's no man in France so prominent that you couldn't have his daughter, if you wanted her.' 'Go on, father,' said Aucassin. 'Now where on earth is there any honor so great that it wouldn't suit Nicolette? If she were the empress of Constantinople or of Germany, or the queen of France or England, it still wouldn't be good enough for her— that's how generous, noble, and courteous she is, and endowed with all good qualities.'
L.6: 'Mais en infer voil jou aler, car en infer vont li bel clerc, et li bel cevalier qui sont mort as tornois et as rices gueres, et li buen sergant et li franc home: aveuc ciax voil jou aler. Et s'i vont les beles dames cortoises que eles ont deus amis ou trois avoc leur barons, et s'i va li ors et li argens et li vairs et li gris, et	 'I want to go to Hell, because in Hell are the handsome, clever men and handsome knights who have died in tournaments and fabulous wars, and the good soldiers and noblemen: I want to go with them. And the beautiful, courtly ladies go there too, who have two or three lovers along with their

si i vont herpeor et jogleor et li roi del siecle: avoc ciax voil jou aler, mais que j'aie Nicolete ma tresdouce amie aveuc mi.' 'Certes,' fait li visquens, 'por nient en parlerés, que ja mais ne le verrés; et se vos i parlés et vos peres le savoit, il arderoit et mi et li en un fu, et vos meismes porriés avoir toute paor.' 'Ce poise moi,' fait Aucassins; se se depart del visconte dolans.	husbands, and that's also where the gold and silver and different kinds of fur go, and the harpists and minstrels and the kings of this world: these are the ones I want to go with— as long as I could have my sweet love Nicolette with me.' 'Of course,' said the viscount, 'you're wasting your breath, because you're never going to see her again; and if you do speak with her, and your father finds out, he'll burn her and me together at the same stake, and you should fear for your own life as well.' 'That's depressing,' said Aucassin. He sorrowfully left the viscount.

When we combine the language in these phrases with those already seen from laisse 5, there are further examples of the translator's approach. Interspersed with formal language are phrases such as 'that's not going to happen,' 'it's got nothing to do with you,' 'where on earth,' and 'you're wasting your breath,' which express greater idiomaticity and informality of address between the characters. By choosing such modern phrases in the translation, the TT becomes understandable to all and perhaps even relatable to the younger reader. Moreover, this approach reminds us that the parallel edition-translation may be aimed at the complete beginner as much as the seasoned academic. Yet, it also raises the question of whether this is an accurate representation of the ST. While the content is mostly the same in ST and TT, the atmosphere created by the use of such colloquialism is quite different; our appreciation of the medieval period in this translation shifts from the lens of a subverted *Romeo and Juliet* (Shakespeare: c.1595-97) to *Romeo+Juliet* (Baz Luhrmann, 1996) who though retaining the ST language, transposes the tale from Verona, Italy to Verona Beach, Miami. We could argue that in the aim of presenting accuracy without archaism, and targeting a modern audience, this translation goes too far in the direction of modernity to give an altogether accurate rendering of the ST context; however, this would exclude the idea of systemic activity and the culturally dictated framing of the past which this thesis explores. In

this case, the TT is framed for a young, contemporary audience, perhaps to encourage them to better interrogate the content and understand its socio-cultural relevance to the original source audience.

We can also look toward the translation of language referring to societal structures to see the effect of a modernising approach. In the opening passage of laisse 2, we find a description of the land of Beaucaire, the battle taking place and the introduction of our protagonist.

ST	**TT**
L.2: Or dient et content et fablent que li quens Bougars de Valence faisoit guere au conte Garin de Biaucaire si grande et si mervelleuse et si mortel qu'il ne fust uns seux jors ajornés qu'il ne fust as portes et as murs et as bares de le vile a cent cevaliers et a dis mile sergens a pié et a ceval, si li argoit sa terre et gastoit son païs et ocioit ses homes. […] Ses pere et se mere li disoient: 'Fix, car pren tes armes, si monte el ceval, si deffent te terre et aïe tes homes: s'il te voient entr'ex, si defenderont il mix lor cors et lor avoirs et te tere et le miue.'	 Now they speak and tell and recount that Count Bougar of Valence was making mortal war on Count Garin of Beaucaire, such a great and astonishing war that not a single day went by without his showing up outside the gates and walls and defenses of the city with a hundred knights and ten thousand mercenary soldiers, on foot and on horse; and he burned Garin's lands and laid waste to his countryside and killed his men. […] [Aucassin's] father and mother said to him: 'Son, now put on your armor and get on your horse and defend your country and help your people. When they see you in their midst, they will be better able to defend themselves and their property— and your land and mine.'

The use of language here varies here between literal ('faisoit guere') and more interpretive renderings ('merveilleuse') of the adjectives used to describe the war. These translations have the effect of placing emphasis on the more glorious aspects of war: defending one's land and helping its inhabitants. The war itself becomes 'astonishing' rather

than exceedingly large or deadly (and later, as in laisse 6 'fabulous'), shaping the rhetoric around the positive outcomes of battle for the medieval noble in terms of outward show. In the ST however, this description could have been much more literal, framing it in terms of size rather than image. In the passage of laisse 6 where Aucassin describes the inhabitants of hell, we see that the knights dying in battle, tournaments and 'fabulous' wars are all 'handsome' rather than being 'noble', 'fine' or 'worthy'. This translation again shifts the focus and makes it appear that Aucassin is interested only in appearance rather than, in other possible renderings, personal virtue. It is also notable that here the Sturges has translated 'li bel clerc', a phrase seen by some critics to be self-referential by the author,[416] as 'handsome, clever men', thereby erasing the reference and inserting a more image-related phrase. This could be due to this translator's assertion that the author was more likely a jongleur.[417]

Personal qualities/epithets

In the introduction to this text, we understand that Nicolette bears the appearance of a courtly lady, yet is seen by Aucassin (and his peers) only as a mistress; Aucassin on the other hand has the status of a typical hero but none of the good behaviour associated with it. When we look at the descriptions of each protagonist, we can see that Sturges' appreciation of the characters is aligned with his use of language in translation. For Aucassin, Nicolette is 'generous, noble and courteous,' (laisse 2 above) or 'noble, fair and wise; her face, her body, every part' (laisse 3, ll.15-16). Whereas we find a contrasting view from other characters including Count Garin when he describes Nicolette as 'a captive who was brought here from foreign parts,' compared to 'a wife [...] the daughter of a king or a count,' (laisse 2, above, ll.25-29) while elsewhere she is described as a 'mistress' or simply a 'conquest' (laisse 4, below). The effect of this is to set her apart, not only in terms of social structure but overall worth: though for Aucassin on an emotional level she is a worthy partner, her status in Beaucaire is that of an outcast. As stated above, there is more care taken when considering Aucassin's epithets and this is explained in the notes section: where we find 'damoisiax' in the text, Sturges has used 'young nobleman' as it emphasises nobility, while for 'vallet' we see 'young man/gentleman,' as it does not. Both characters are described using the term 'shining' (eye/face), but while Nicolette is 'pretty,' Aucassin's face is described as 'noble,' setting them apart in terms of social standing and value. Yet Aucassin is 'unmanned,' by love, suggesting that while his hierarchical position stands, his social value has been diminished

[416] See Burgess' introduction to *Aucassin and Nicolette*, p.93
[417] Sturges, *Aucassin and Nicolette: A Facing-Page Edition and Translation,* p.11.

somewhat, and later his relationship with Nicolette is described as a 'a burden to [Garin]' (laisse 4, l.9 'ce poise moi qu'). This has the effect of enhancing our understanding of Aucassin as an unconventional hero (if he is a hero at all), by showing us how he does not conform as a man in his position.

ST	**TT**
L.2: Li quens Garins de Biaucaire estoit vix et frales, si avoit son tans trespassé. Il n'avoit nul oir, ne fil ne fille, fors un seul vallet. Cil estoit tex con je vos dirai. Aucasins avoit a non li damoisiax. Biax estoit et gens et grans et bien tailliés de ganbes et de piés et de cors et de bras. Il avoit les caviax blons et menus recercelés et les ex vairs et rians et le face clere et traitice et le nes haut et bien assis. Et si estoit enteciés de bones teces qu'en lui n'en avoit nule mauvaise se bone non. Mais si estoit soupris d'Amor, qui tout vaint, qu'il ne voloit estre cevalers, ne les armes prendre, n'aler au tornoi, ne fare point de quanque il deust.	 Count Garin of Beaucaire was old and frail, and had lived out his years; he had no heir, neither son nor daughter, except for one young gentleman. I'll tell you what he was like. This young nobleman was named Aucassin. He was tall and handsome and courtly, with well-formed legs and feet and body and arms. He had tightly curled blond hair and bright, laughing eyes and a shining, oval face with a proud and well-placed nose. And he was endowed with so many good qualities that there was no room left in him for any faults— but he was so unmanned by love, which conquers all, that he did not wish to be a knight or take up arms or go to tournaments or do anything he was supposed to do.
L.4: 'Biax sire,' fait li quens, 'car laisciés ester. Nicolete est une caitive que j'amenai d'estrange tere, si l'acatai de mon avoir a Sarasins, si l'ai levee et bautisie et faite ma fillole, si l'ai nourie, si li donasce un de ces jors un baceler qui del pain li gaegnast par honor. De ce n'avés vos que faire. Mais prendés le fille a un roi u a un conte. Enseurquetot, que cuideriés vous avoir	 'Dear sir,' said the viscount, 'leave her be. Nicolette is a captive whom I brought from another country; I bought her from the Saracens with my own money, raised her and baptized her and made her my goddaughter; I brought her up, and one day I would have given her to some young gentleman who would honorably have earned her bread. This has nothing to do

gaegnié, se vous l'aviés asognentee ne mise a vo lit? Mout i ariés peu conquis, car tos les jors du siecle en seroit vo arme en infer, qu'en paradis n'enterriés vos ja.'	with you. Take yourself the daughter of a king or count instead. After all, what did you hope to have gained if you had made her your mistress and taken her into your bed? It wouldn't have been much of a conquest for you, because you would have gone to Hell eternally, and you'd never have gotten into Heaven.'

Idiom/Metaphor/Repetition

As the action is brought predominantly into the present-day lexis and form, there is a deal of loss, in terms of nuance and inference.

There is usually consistency when handling the repetitions throughout the prose sections of the translation. Nicolette is bought, baptized and made a goddaughter, and one day will be married off to a young gentleman who will 'honorably earn her bread.' This repeats the most common iteration of 'gagner du pain' which we have seen in all previous translations, conferring both a devout and practical character on her future husband. By comparison, in the poetic laisse 7, we see again that an effort toward maintaining rhyme has eliminated ST repetition:

ST	**TT**
L.7, ll.13-19: Nicolete biax[418] esters Biax venir et biax alers Biax deduis et dous parlers Biax borders et biax jouers, Biax baisiers, biaz acolers, Por vos sui si adolés Et si malement menés […]	 Nicolette, divine at rest, No matter where in talk and jest, In warm embrace, I miss you so, I'm so depressed and feel so low […]

[418] 'Biax' is another word which covers a variety of meaning. Other renderings can be perused here: DEAFplus en ligne, 'bel,' 2020 <https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/lemme/bel1#bel1>; AND[2] Online Edition, 'bel,' 2020 <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/bel> [Accessed 14 August 2020].

By removing this passage of repetition, not only do we lose the content represented here, but also the sense of obsessive adoration and musical refrain we get from the repetitive 'biax' in the ST, as Aucassin laments; the effect of this is to eliminate the intensity of the ST which uses this passage to add to the subversion of our expectations of a typical chivalric hero, showing him as truly 'unmanned by love.' In the TT by comparison, we are given more a sense of Aucassin's emotional pain, making him more a pathetic figure. This aligns well with his last phrase in this excerpt: 'that's depressing'.

4.3.5 Summary of analysis: Aucassin et Nicolette

The core issues revolving around *Aucassin et Nicolette* are again well represented in the choice of translators here, from preoccupations around form and function, to the subversive representation of male and female agency in the French noble courts. In the chosen excerpt, much as in *Tristan et Iseut*, we find lovers in crisis, displaying many familiar emotions of yearning and despair, but also defying the culture in which they are placed. Also in common with *Tristan et Iseut,* the lack of a given author and poetic referent for the unique *chantefable* form mean that both the content and format conspire to present a myriad of possible approaches to and interpretations of the intended effect of the text. Throughout the timeline of translations of this text we can appreciate the translators' efforts to overcome these difficulties.

Michael West's translation is unique in its formatting but less in its outlook. The published item makes a clear attempt to represent a version of the tale as it would have been received by its original audience: the poetic and prose elements are retained, as is the notation, and hand drawn illustrations add to its formatting, giving it the visual aspect of an artefact of the past. However, as a non-specialist in medieval literature, West's translation relies on fairytale tropes to bring the text out of its historical context and into one which would be better appreciated by his target audience. Archaizing language is applied throughout to encourage the reader to distance themselves from the time of the text's production and the main characters are framed as the typical knight and damsel, eschewing elements of irony inherent to the overblown and subversive narrative of *Aucassin et Nicolette* in favour of a more straightforward Romantic portrayal. Aucassin is devoted to Nicolette to the detriment of his career as a knight, while Nicolette is portrayed as a beautiful chattel, both of whom are distinguished by the effect of their emotions. This means that the reader of this translation receives the text as a curiosity of the past, albeit one which conforms to public expectations developed by more popular and superficial representations of the medieval.

Pauline Matarasso creates a different sort of idealisation of the characters, but in line with human character rather than fairytale values, matching her introductory comments focusing on the depiction of humanity. As a scholar of the medieval period, her approach to the translation is framed by her knowledge as well as personal influences. She considered texts from this period as representative of the society they were produced in, but also a refraction of the past or pastiche of past ideas, thereby existing in a continuity with her own

work. Her personal convictions also insert some keener focus on the influence of religious doctrine at the time of the text's composition. The presentation of the text as a mixture of assonanced rhyme and prose means that there can be a greater focus on representation of content without the constraint of rhyme. Matarasso's more contemporary use of language draws our attention more to the content than form, for example the difference between how Aucassin views Nicolette as compared to viewpoints of other characters around her. As a result, Nicolette is pictured as a Romantic figure in the sense of her conformity to tropes of appearance and behaviour, but in language which draws attention to features she shares with familiar pop-culture figures known for either beauty (through Aucassin's eyes) or antagonism of dominant social structures (through Count Garin's). Aucassin on the other hand, is set directly in contrast with the society around him, a delicate soul in a harsh environment, thereby highlighting a key element of subversion in their overturned gender roles, while remaining relevant to the target audience.

Burgess' and Sturges' translations share a common format, that of the parallel edition and translation but differ greatly in their approach to the text at hand from that point forward. The 1988 rendering by Burgess has a clear didactic aim: the translated text is heavily influenced by ST linguistics so that the reader can appreciate the two versions in parallel, almost as a reading guide. By favouring a mirroring effect between the two texts, the poetic form is left behind and poetic and prose sections are approached in the same way. Because of this, we can discern changes to the semantic level of the translation, not only due to the awkward syntax incurred as part of this practice. While repetition is maintained throughout the translation, making the rhetorical effect clear, the comic intensity of the characters' emotion is dulled as Aucassin's nature is drawn closer to Nicolette's for comic effect. Nicolette's character is developed more thoroughly by comparison, as she is shown for all the things she cannot be in reference to the social structures around her e.g. church, state, womanhood and heredity.

If we look at Sturges, writing in 2015, we can see a clear difference of approach to the preceding parallel edition and translation, this being a focus on the target audience, rather than the ST. The immediate impact of Sturges' approach to the text is on the prosodic level: though the attempt to maintain poetic content relates more closely to the assumed use of the ST, it also causes more problems than it solves in terms of establishing a formal and visual equivalence between the ST and TT. As such, in this translation, we almost step back to West's approach a century before, which aims to project a fresh view of the medieval world

to a new, uninitiated audience. The audience however being vastly different (UK/US, general public/undergraduate students, as well as the time period in which it was produced) leads to a greater reliance on modern colloquialism, as opposed to West's archaism, to make the tale relatable to its audience. The content is shifted, avoiding original cultural references in favour of more superficial descriptions of the characters, who are each stripped of their agency, either by their own emotional state or the structures around them. This is perhaps in line with his assertion that it is 'romance-flavored' courtly love, or a 'mockery' of the courts, but by expressing this in contemporary language, it draws on images of the teenage hero/heroine, which is not, in reality, entirely untrue.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

The stated aims of this thesis are primarily to assess whether contemporary cultural precepts can supersede the agency of the translator, by examining the socio-cultural and functional-relational frameworks inherent in translating medieval French literature into modern English and establishing to what extent the resulting translations have an impact on our perceptions of the medieval period. In this conclusion, the intention is to examine, on the basis of this research: to what extent a system of normative activity exists around translations of medieval French literature during different time periods; and to what degree these translations are influenced either by the wider socio-cultural context in which they are produced or the conscious or unconscious biases of the translator themself. To do this, I will consider the evidence provided in the extended analysis to find commonalities of translation practice, relate them to both the translators' personal and professional habitus and explain any anomalies in these patterns, whether caused by differences in personal or professional background or the overwhelming influence of translator agency. Finally, the framework used will be assessed for its advantages and disadvantages, and future applications will be explored. The results of this concluding analysis will go to show that, in line with Toury's explanation, norms exert an effect on translation on a scale between an idiosyncracy and a rule, and that within this, we must also consider translator agency to be an important factor in the evolution and maintenance of systems of normative activity.

Synchronic analysis results

Beginning with the earliest period of translation studied which runs approximately from the years 1915-1930, we can immediately identify commonalities among the three translations. The three earliest translators (Sayers, West, Moncrieff) present versions of their texts which highlight both the historicity and the dominance of the ST. A notable feature of this approach is the adherence to ST structure which covers all three, all approaching the text as an artefact of some kind, and in doing so negating their own agency and maintaining a formal and foreignizing approach.[1] For Sayers the TT must be as faithful as possible to the ST to give

[1] This reflects both Nida's definition of a ST-oriented translation and supports Venuti's definition of foreignization as a resistance to TT fluency. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, p.159; Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation,* p.18.

students/readers an idea of Thomas' work; Moncrieff speaks of an attempt at replicating Old French epic as closely (and accurately) as possible; West's text stands out as an almost complete replication of the ST manuscript for a new age in both form and content. In each case we find that the translator has clearly highlighted the supremacy of the ST in their minds. Further to this, across all three there is a preference for archaic language; this has the effect of foreignizing the textual content for the TT audience, creating an instability in the reader's linguistic and therefore cultural-temporal connections to the narrative. The secondary effect of these literal and ST-facing strategies is to raise the ST to the level of the classic text. These ancient and often religious texts are held to contain established truths and as such are maintained in fixed and archaic language to evoke the historicity and thereby legitimacy of their origins. This is an approach which is, knowingly or unknowingly, closely connected to a tendency of the time documented by lexicographer Henry W. Fowler as 'Wardour Street English,'[2] This idea suggested that writers adopted falsely archaic language and (most damningly for Fowler) syntax, in order to ascribe a sense of authority and attraction to their texts, much in the same way as antiquarians on the eponymous Wardour Street often sold reproduction items to the unwitting public. Interestingly, the most recent edition of *Fowler's Dictionary of Modern English Usage* retains the phrase and describes the use of words such as 'wot,' 'wight' and 'ween' found in Sayers' version simply as 'Wardour Street English.'[3] This suggests a further level of artificiality in their approach, a reach for the historic and also adoption of popular techniques to attract the contemporary reader and ensure legitimacy.

Not only the time of production but also the individual backgrounds of the translators provide insight into the adoption of this technique and trend, as all come from a more-than-usually privileged background, benefiting from private and/or university education. As previously discussed, all would have had contact with Latin and to some extent or another, religious teaching, as well as some level of engagement with late Romantic literature through their education. These would all have been impactful on their perceptions of the past and how it should be represented in their contemporary society. This relates to Pym's assertion that from the nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries, translators were 'likely to be original authors […] subject to critical and commercial constraints' and translations discussed in relation to 'their moral virtues.'[4] Their personal backgrounds also exerted various effects on their

[2] It was first published in the scathing article by Archibald Ballantyne in 1888 of the same title: Archibald Ballantyne, 'Wardour Street English,' *Longman's Magazine*. No. 12 (Oct), pp.585-594.
[3] Henry W. Fowler and Jeremy Butterfield, *Fowler's Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, 4th edn, ed. by Jeremy Butterfield. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[4] Pym, 'Late Victorian to Present,' p.73.

portrayals of the text, whether expressed as a preference for fabulizing the past (West), imposing religious censorship and emphasis on the medieval past (Sayers), or inferring a relationship between the text's contents and the impact of the First World War across Europe through the images of battlefield and brotherhood (Moncrieff). Dinshaw describes the early-twentieth century turn to the past by medievalists as one which relies on 'positions of affect and attachment, from desires to build another world,' and 'that intimate longings – for authenticity, for origins, for meaning, for connections – motivate all turnings toward the past;' sentiments which reflect the personal nature of the introductory and biographical materials for all of the earliest translators analysed.[5] Alternatively, these methods of preserving and promoting the medieval past may also have been promoted by their respective publishing habiti: for the publishers, a text highlighting the historicity of the translation would have cohered with the norms of the time, with public expectations of representations of the past, and therefore been more profitable overall. In this time period, the governing norm appears to act more as a rule, and Sayers and Moncrieff would have been exceptionally affected by this type of normative activity due to their own participation in the field outside of these translations, reflecting Simeoni's assessment that the most powerful social constraints are those internalised by the translator.[6]

Not entirely coherent however, are each translator's representations of their lead characters, the emotions they portray and the visions of life in the medieval period we receive, and this is where the translator's own habitus causes more idiosyncratic changes. Although superficially ancient in terms of lexis and syntax, each of the translations for the earliest period of analysis diverge from their ST in a particular fashion relative to their own perceptions and not necessarily in touch with the norms of the time. Sayers' initial approach to her ST suggests a connection to and understanding of the role of psychology as a key feature of Thomas' writing, and this is especially evident in the passage studied. Her attention to the emotional reactions of both Tristan and Iseut paints the characters in a less positive light and shows them both to be flawed representations of a medieval elite that the reader would more likely expect to be vaunted or idealised. Their behaviour and morality are put under scrutiny, as they are depicted as over-emotional, subverting norms of behaviour, restraint and honour that the audience would be more likely to expect of the medieval age. This emphasis on psychology ties in especially with the rise of psychoanalysis in Anglo-

[5] Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?: Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers, and the Queerness of Time*, p.6.
[6] Simeoni, 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus,' p.18.

American circles during the interwar period, building on the work of European schools led by notable names such as Freud and Jung, and the establishment of the International Psychoanalytical Association in 1910. What has been described as a 'burgeoning' interest in psychoanalysis led to the establishment of the American Psychoanalytical Association in 1911, followed by the British in 1913.[7] Their field of investigation, into the 'unconscious mind' has been described as infiltrating and sharing a boundary with literature, and it is understandable that in a period of rising social interest in its applications, considerations of the unconscious mind could be applied to Tristan's internal monologue:

> With literature, psychoanalysis shares a concern with the subject, with the complexities and contradictions of human actions and with the richness of human emotional life. But whereas literature could be considered a means of describing - or symbolizing — human inner experience, psychoanalysis differs from the expressive world of literature in that psychoanalysis aims not only to facilitate a description of the human inner world but to understand it.[8]

Yet, while pushing back against typical glorified imagery of the medieval, Sayers also connects with a more personal morality and euphemises the sexual elements of the text, heightening references to Christianity more in line with what would be deemed acceptable in terms of censorship[9] and arguably her own convictions. We can compare these interventions with West, who, while attempting to recreate the medieval text in its entirety, flattens the parody and inference integral to the story to impose a superficial image of the medieval past more in line with Sayers' 'new-washed' era.[10] His main characters are removed from the role-reversal at the heart of the story, and through his use of language in the excerpt studied we find a more heroic Aucassin and a more demure Nicolette. This is both a creatively formatted translation and notably non-resistant[11] approach to the text in comparison to the other two

[7] Ken Robinson, 'A Brief History of the British Psychoanalytical Society,' (nd). *Institute of Psychoanalysis,* <https://psychoanalysis.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/pages/history_of_the_bps_by_ken_robinson_0.pdf> [Accessed 6 February 2023].
[8] Joseph Schwartz, *Cassandra's Daughter: A History of Psychoanalysis* (London: Routledge, 2018) p.1.
[9] Publications in the UK at this time were still subject to the Obscene Publications Act, 1857, which called for the burning of any text deemed unsuitable to be read in a family setting. This law was often enacted against translated works of literature, notably Flaubert, Bocaccio and Rabelais. See M.J.D. Roberts, 'Morals, Art, and the Law: The Passing of the Obscene Publications Act, 1857', *Victorian Studies*, 28.4 (1985), pp.609-29
[10] Sayers, *The Song of Roland*, p.17.
[11] See Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, p.19 for the use of 'resistance' as a more discursive term to refer to foreignization.

translators, more content to suit the text to the fairytale view of the past established by the late Romantic era. Finally, Moncrieff, while maintaining close adherence to the structures and content of the ST, can be noted for his personal attachment to the source material and feeling for the characters. His attachment subverts the norms of his own age by highlighting the commonplace emotionality of male characters in medieval texts, perhaps highlighting his own longings for connection. He brings the homosocial relationships already existent in the text to the fore, shining a light on issues of fellowship during times of war, and love between the male characters in an almost Romantic, norm-subverting fashion. Though there are signs that societal norms have impacted on all three translations in such a way as to develop patterned activity fulfilling the aims of cultural capital, these individual perspectives emphasise why we cannot necessarily rule out translator agency, and the role of personal habitus on a translator's view and representation of a given text.

In the second and third groups of translation periods (c. 1960-70, and the 1990s), differences in approach by each translator are more difficult to encompass, as the monopoly over translating these types of texts shifts from private or personal interest to public institutions such as universities. The shift is not yet concrete in the second period, but more so in the third and marks a gradual change in both the environment of production, intended audience and intended effect. This trend ties in neatly with the statement made by Pym that:

> By the second half of the 20th c., however, the people producing translations could no longer be assumed to issue from the milieux of literary journals, underemployed women and occasional churchmen. More and more translators are academics or from academic backgrounds; they tend to be intimately concerned with the linguistic qualities of their originals as well as with effects within the target culture.[12]

Beginning with Pauline Matarasso working on *Aucassin and Nicolette*, we can note similarities in approach to the previous time period, which indicate a mutation of the governing norm of the system between time periods. Though working 40-50 years later than Sayers, West and Moncrieff, she reflects many of their preoccupations with the primacy of the ST, speaking of 'taking liberties' to impose a readable style and carry through elements of the ST poetry for the TT audience. Her background also mirrors that of Sayers in some ways,

[12] Pym, 'Late Victorian to Present,' p.73.

as a first-generation female academic with personal religious convictions which can be argued to carry over into her translation. She also employs archaic language in poetic passages, though this appears to be a chosen approach in contrast with the sections of prose which, although formal, follow a more idiomatic line. However, in other ways she marks the beginning of a move away from this reverence of the past in her approach to non-linguistic aspects of the text such as metaphor and the parodic (or in her terms, pastiche) elements of the text. While her approach to metaphor and repetition is more literal, she provides a more insightful approach to the humour and characterisation present in the excerpt, evoking a more affective side to the tale in line with her appreciation of the text as a snapshot of society. Though beautiful in late Romantic terms in line with the descriptions of the ST, both characters are quite clearly flawed and outcast from society, unlike in West's fairytale rendering. In such a way she both replicates and moves forward from her predecessors, maintaining stylistic elements previously in fashion, but applying the tenets of a more modern analytical style to her translation.

Hatto and Harrison have similar habiti, working in the university or educational environment while translating *Tristan* and *Roland*, and as a result share some commonalities of approach. By choice or necessity both follow literal and line-for-line approaches to their translations. Hatto, as an established translator of German rather than French describes his attempt as 'doomed from the start,'[13] while Harrison provides no criteria for his translation approach other than that we can infer from his position in the field of comparative literature and therefore non-specialism. As both translators were working outside of their primary field of interest, it is likely that the literal approach was necessary to ensure accuracy in the case of relative lack of expertise, but it also reflects the beginning of the move away from translation through personal interest and more toward an educational focus. The potential of the line-for-line approach is to provide greater capacity for comparison with a ST, and while both Matarasso and Hatto are published with the general public in mind (under the Penguin Classics label), Hatto encourages everyone from the uninitiated reader to the academic student to read his translation. Harrison, working in the US, is subject to a different academic environment and, published by a university, has a more direct audience: that of his own students and those subscribing to comparative literature across the US via the New American Library.

[13] Hatto, *Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas,* p.35.

Also in common for Hatto, Harrison and Matarasso is the theme of understanding through comparison. In all three cases, the translated text does not stand alone, instead being framed with either contemporary and complementary texts with the intention to compare, contrast, and build a wider picture of the traditions around each translation and beyond. Matarasso translates *Aucassin and Nicolette* alongside a number of shorter texts centred on courtly love; Hatto translates Thomas' *Tristan* alongside that of Strassburg to create a more complete picture of the Tristan tradition in medieval Europe by connecting the two works; while Harrison's original version of *Roland* would have sat alongside both excerpts of classical and medieval literature to exemplify the transition of epic writing, only later published as a standalone text. In each case the reader is invited to consider the translation not only by itself but also as a feature of an overall trend or tradition, and apply a more analytical approach to their reading, accompanied by introductory information and notes. This allows the reader or student to grasp more of the context of the original production, whether referring to manuscript production issues (graphic issues), or cultural concepts (metaphor, idiom).

For all three translators studied for this period, this allows them to further exemplify the socio-cultural constructs around their ST, whether through their introductory material or the choices made in their translations. As already elaborated, this is reflected in Matarasso's emphasis on the characters' assumed societal roles, but more socio-cultural signposts are also visible in Hatto and Harrison's translations. Hatto's translation ties Tristan to his expected role through language related to martial prowess, while downplaying language of emotion and the roles of the two Yseut/Ysolt characters. This approach is consistent except where we perceive interference from a previous translation, and more decorative archaism is introduced.[14] Harrison similarly reduces proclamations of love, giving an individualistic characterisation to Roland and his compatriots more in line with the epic heroes with which the original translation was bound; this stands in contrast to his predecessor Moncrieff, who emphasised brotherhood in war and the importance of emotion in the ST.

For each of the translations of this period, we find that the reader is encouraged to draw less idealistic conclusions about the past. This begins with the virtual elimination of archaic language as a marker of historicity and a move toward a more interrogative approach for the translator and, as a result, the reader. The translations during the second period are less

[14] This refers specifically to where Loomis' translation is seen to have interfered, however without a clear sense of purpose or usage, e.g. to compensate for complex phrasing. See pp.182-3 of this thesis.

beholden to the assumption of supremacy of the original, and therefore relate more to the translators' own academic appreciation of the ST as part of a wider network of activity in a field or genre. This means that readers (whether they are members of the general public or students) can also be encouraged to engage critically with the wider environment of the ST, developing a more unified view of the ST and the society for which it was written, rather than a simpler fabulized version of the past. If we look at these findings through the lens of comparative literature, we can find links to Bassnett's predictions for the future of translation and comparative literature in her 1993 monograph, and then again in 2006 where she described an increasing reliance on translated literature as an educational resource.[15] The reduction of idealism and encouragement to consider context tie in with these ideas, as they allow for readers to see the translated text as representative of its source culture, while remaining accessible, treading a line between foreignization and domestication of the content, but still leaning somewhat toward the ST. This also allows for greater intertextuality with other texts from the same period, given a consistency of approach.

In the third period of activity, the 1990s, the shift toward an intended academic audience becomes even more accentuated. This narrowing of the potential target audience is exemplified most by the translations by Burgess and Gregory, and to a lesser extent by Shirley who, like Matarasso, conforms more to the themes of activity present in the previous time period.

For Burgess and Gregory, this change is signalled mostly by the change in format of their translations, from standalone, annotated texts, to facing page translations accompanied by new editions of the ST manuscript. The effect of this format is not only to bring the ST back into view, but to present a more didactic and scholarship-oriented view of the text. By presenting the translation opposite the ST edition, the reader is encouraged to engage with both ST and TT, whether using the TT purely as a support to reading the ST or as a guide into learning Old French/Anglo Norman. As such the didactic element is clear, but it can also be argued to place these translations further into the academic niche, as by this period of time the study of dead and ancient languages had become monopolised by academic institutions (and on occasion the interested member of the general public).[16] Further adding to this image of an academic monopoly is the publishing milieu for each, notably the Garland Library, which

---

[15] Bassnett, 'Reflections on Comparative Literature in the Twenty-First Century,' p.6.
[16] See Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction*, pp.41-44, and analysis in the introduction to this thesis.

despite aims to approach general readership through its facing-page translations would seem to have had a more academic audience than, for example, Penguin Classics. As a result of these two factors, both translations adhere to the line-for-line approach in order to allow for parallel reading to take place, thereby eschewing any areas of poetic style, which for Burgess' translation especially constitutes a significant loss of ST format. This also instils a sense of accuracy to which Burgess especially adheres, harking back to Hatto's approach where linguistic transfer supersedes concerns of orality and metre. However, this is not to say that overall this time period entails stagnation in the approach to language and meaning, rather a change of audience and therefore skopos for the translation, which relies on a more foreign format. Burgess for instance employs domesticating techniques to bring the language into a contemporary lexis, allowing the reader to connect more closely with historical text as a carrier of language and culture and apply meaning to the (possibly unknown) language opposite. It is through this self-stated accuracy that the comic elements of *Aucassin et Nicolette* are maintained, and the more subversive elements of Aucassin's character are recreated for the new audience. Burgess' approach brings a similarity in description between the two lead characters which contrasts with an introduction of military language around love, highlighting aspects of Aucassin's femininity and Nicolette's lack of social power. This has the effect of drawing the reader to compare and contrast the ST and TT and place it into a context of criticism rather than acceptance.

Gregory also follows the line-for-line approach, but balances formal and dynamic equivalence, drawing attention to the key terms 'desir' and 'voleir' in a manner which makes distinct the difference between physical and emotional needs in line with the ST's psychological deconstruction of the lead characters. This also has the effect of drawing a line between the male and female approach to love, with the male character's often bellicose physicality in contrast to the female's emotion, though both imply a sense of strength of feeling. We can also find the emphasis on martial prowess appearing as a positive element, dividing the ideal suitor and the pretender. However, in Gregory's case the drawback of the line-for-line approach is the loss of metaphor and cultural references.

Janet Shirley is the anomalous translation in this time period, as she does not follow the trend of facing-page translations rooted in academia but instead works from an independent interest in the period and is published with the independent scholar and interested member of the general public in mind. Though her interests are historical she describes herself as a translator first of all, and this, along with her career as an author, bring a more open approach to the text than that used by Burgess and Gregory. Her translation

domesticates and adjusts the ST content to produce more flowing prose which does not follow the constraints of the ST line. Though she states that this is due to an inability to recreate the genius of the ST author (repeating the common translator's refrain) there is also a sense that the text is being reframed for a new, uninitiated audience. This sets her apart from the two other versions of this time period, and could be considered either as a throwback to the previous periods of opening up the genre to wider audiences, or an early example of the period to come, with her domesticating approach to language. We can also see elements of her innovation, exploring the linguistic intricacies of the ST editions (Bédier and Whitehead) to provide 'new insights' similar to her compatriots working on new editions. When we look to her representation of the characters in *Roland*, we find that socio-cultural structures are again at the forefront: with a focus on military prowess and religious devotion, horizontal homosocial relationships are clearly exemplified through her language of fellowship, but we can also distinguish a language of difference in the variance of epithet between Franks and Saracens. These critical views of social and gender roles and their impact for the characters are a commonality for all three translations during this time period, tying in with the preponderant academic and social themes of this time, notably third-wave feminism, identity and intersectionality. For exemplification of the trend, we can turn specifically to researchers such as Simon Gaunt,[17] and Judith Butler,[18] who during the 1990s led explorations into gender, feminism and queer theory in the medieval field and society as a whole, as well as publications such as the edited volume *Medieval Masculinities*, which challenges stereotypes of masculine identity in the medieval age.[19] Writers in this time sought in many ways to challenge our preconceptions about ideas of difference in society, and it is noticeable in translations produced in this time. This period also marks the rise of the cultural turn in translation theory, which brought translation further away from linguistic preoccupations of word and meaning and toward perceptions of effect and representation in terms of gender and coloniality for example. It was during this period that translation studies assumed the stance which affects the approach taken in this thesis: that the effect of translator perspectives have an inevitable impact on the translation and that rewriting is often a key to revealing these new insights Shirley speaks of. For each here, the opportunity to work outside of a purely

[17] Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[18] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006).
[19] Clare Lees, Thelma S. Fenster and Jo Ann McNamara, *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

linguistic mode of translation and consider more interpretive perspectives on the content leads to different representations of the power female that characters have in their society, the role of military prowess and masculine heroic traits in forming and constraining male characters, and how these structures are self-replicating in medieval society. In the case of the facing-page translations, we can see evidence of the encouragement of new perspectives on the ST content, as readers are guided through the text in modern English but also allowed to reflect critically on its representation of the ST in parallel.

In the fourth grouping, the translators' approach and target audience widen out again from that of the previous two periods studied. While still academically bounded in authorship and origin, these final translations are designed to appeal to general public readership again, reflecting in some ways the intentions of the first period analysed. All three of the translators from this period work or worked in the academic field, holding posts in universities in the UK and USA at the time of translating. Though transatlantic, their personal habiti and therefore fields of influence have this in common, though their texts' dissemination takes place in a manner aimed to encourage wider than academic readership.

For Ashe and Gaunt and Pratt, the key influences on their output come from their positioning as members of the leading UK higher education institutions of Oxford and Cambridge. Leading institutions such as these are often both holders and creators of cultural capital, and central to the production and replication of norms,[20] therefore we can expect publications from such environments to hold similar properties and perspectives on the medieval past. These translators approach the ST as experts in the field of medieval literature, though not through the lens of linguistics, more sociological perspectives such as perceptions of gender, queerness and concepts of knighthood and courtly behaviour.

For Gaunt and Pratt, this means adhering to the line-for-line approach of other translators to maintain reference to the ST, but in other areas such as epithet and social reference, reframing the content for its new audience using modern terminology which at times simplifies the ST concepts in order to reduce foreignness. Though accurate in terms of content, the language employed encourages the reader to make connections with their own frames of reference, leaning on simpler notions of heroism and villainy, evoking emotions but allowing the reader to interpret relationships between characters more fluidly. Ashe achieves

[20] See Even-Zohar, who describes the possibility of culture planners to also become power-holders. In the case of medieval languages, by this period the university sphere is a near-monopole of cultural power, meaning they have the largest influence on both market production and normative activity. 'Culture planning, cohesion, and the making and maintenance of entities,' p.285.

the same domestication both through use of colloquial and less euphemistic language and the reformatting of the tale into narrative prose rather than a line-for-line rendering. Her representation of the characters also reflects the preoccupations of her own research, focusing on the intertwined preoccupations of courtly love and martial prowess in her language to evoke a world tied by polar conceptions of gender and morality. The resulting effect is to show the activity contained in their texts in a starker and more realistic light. They avoid anachronism and any reliance on fairytale tropes of damsel and knight in order to portray more culturally specific concerns such as morality and good and bad social practice clearly for the target audience.

For both, the intended audience is the educated reader though not necessarily the academic, as evidenced by their own introductions and the skopoi laid out by their publishers: while the Oxford World's Classics are intended to reflect scholarship, the Penguin Classics translation is aimed to give 'immediate access' to the reader. Part of this approach is to present the translations as part of wider collections of texts. In Ashe's case this spans a period of roughly three centuries, introducing 'Early' English fiction in the form of a compilation of excerpts accompanied by introductions and notes; for Gaunt and Pratt, this is achieved by grouping *Roland* with other tales around Charlemagne. The intention in either case is didactic, much in the same way as with Matarasso's presentation of *Aucassin* two periods before: by presenting these texts as part of a larger group, the reader is encouraged to compare and contrast perspectives on a certain subject, much in the fashion of medieval bindings, or be introduced to a different facet of literature in a digestible fashion.

While differing from these two in many ways, Sturges maintains that connection to the academic and the opening up of the literature at hand to interpretation. As another specialist in his field focusing on gender and queer theory, his focus is more on critical theory than linguistic analysis (though as is exemplified in this thesis, the two are often inextricable) and this is visible in the translation. Of the three, his approach tries to bridge the widest gap between ST and TT, attempting to replicate rhyme but also reframe the content in modern parlance. This interventionist approach in some ways reflects the simplification of concepts employed by Gaunt and Pratt and similar to both them and Ashe provides detailed notes for the student unfamiliar with the period. The resulting text is clearly re-framed for a younger contemporary audience in terms of language and reference and as a result omits more complex ST repetitions with the aim of creating an easily-read and absorbed TT in a poetic format. Though the text stands alone in translation, by employing these changes to the

translation, it fulfils a similar function in opening medieval literature to new audiences who might be unfamiliar with the period and more pertinently the ST language and culture.

Looking at all three translations in this period, the clarity of their language for the modern reader and avoidance of euphemism, their inclusion of introductory material and notes represent a marker of the translators' position within the academic field and their didactic intention. The source of this skopos could equally be from their publishing habitus, however it is notable that this basic approach of inviting in the new audience and educating them in recognisable terms crosses not only publishing houses but also continents. The time period in which they translated has been noted for a growth in the use of literature studied only in comparison due to falling numbers of language courses which means that literature in translation has become a more fundamental part of academic publishing in order to include the large number of non-language-proficient students.[21] During this time there has also been a greater focus in the academic sphere on opening what at some points may have been perceived as closed areas of study, through public engagement, knowledge exchange and public involvement in research. Both of these influences promote the change in approach to translating literature in any foreign language, not just medieval literature as currently explored, to a less complex and more didactic form, which can be seen in this small cross-section alone.

Throughout all sections of my analysis, the evidence comes together to show that, as established in the main aims for this thesis, in time periods demonstrating high levels of translation activity in the medieval field there are indeed commonalities of practice between translators. Despite some anomalous results which will shortly be addressed, each time period exhibits recurring types of activity in terms of format, lexis and cultural referent, resulting in specific and replicated approaches to the medieval text and the culture it represents. As these commonalities at times cross social and geographical boundaries, the similarity of approach is more noticeable, as it cannot always be tied to a particular location or centre of activity, more to patterned activity across a field which indicates the possibility of a governing system of norms at play. The main factor causing these similarities and differences has often been the working environment rather than personal characteristics, however factors such as religion and a translator's knowledge of wider literature and languages do impact on their choice of lexis. We can often relate these changes to characteristics of the wider culture in which the translator worked, and even further, preoccupations of a society as a whole, thereby

[21] See Introduction, pp.8-9.

establishing that there is a balance between norms which are externally imposed on the translation, and the agency of a translator to exert their own perspectives on the ST/TT relationship. In terms of external influence, we can cite the example of norms enforced by a publishing skopos in terms of format, or an overarching trend such as responses to Romantic literature or the change of academic focus from linguistic accuracy to socio-cultural representation. In terms of translator agency, we can point to a translator's reference to personal trauma, language used specifically for its religious inference, or notes added in personal knowledge of the needs of the average contemporary student or fellow academic. Translators are not simple products of the working environment they inhabit, though there is a tendency to mirror common practice in order to produce texts deemed acceptable to the target audience, culture, or publishing environment.[22]

While differences between time periods are internally distinct, such as with the educated non-experts of the earliest period and the academics of the last, we can also perceive a sense of continuity throughout the entire corpus as the demands of the society for which the translations are produced changes. Beginning with the earliest period, we look at a society where access to literature, especially that from classical antiquity or the medieval period was reserved for the elite outside of fairytale retellings, whether this was the academic or social elite. The period 1910-1930, while heavily disrupted, built on growing access to education and public appetite for the pocket novel, digestible and widely accessible reading material which was promoted by publishing houses such as Penguin and Collins. As a result, we find three texts which, while not entirely aimed at the general public have it in mind to some extent and which were produced by non-experts working outside of academia, having come into the study of these subjects through their own privileges. This cloistering of medieval literature for a certain group of society became more pointed in the second two periods where we saw less activity from the interested individual as a translator, and more from working academics, leading to ST focused texts for learning material, and culminating in the facing-page translations of texts for pure academic focus in the 1990s. During these periods it was also gradually more likely to have both the translator and publishing house existing within the academic field, fully encompassing the TT output and skopos, and confirming Bourdieu's statement that the less differentiated a professional field in which an actor works, the larger part of their habitus it occupies.[23] This may have also been a responsible factor in the

[22] Toury*, Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*, p.56.
[23] Pierre Bourdieu, 'Le Marché des Biens Symboliques'*, Année Sociologique*, 22 (1971), pp.49-126 (pp. 83, 106).

reduction in publishing output for medieval translations observed in the opening data collection for this research.[24] This narrowing of the potential audience of medieval literature then expands again in the most recent period of the 2010s, as the academic field takes on a new business model, looking outward to engage the public with their work and as a result adjusting their reproduction of the past to engage a wider audience. These changing aims can be related to an increasing emphasis in higher education institutions on impact, widening participation and Knowledge Exchange Frameworks as methods of enhancing organisational reputation and securing funding.[25] This is further evidenced by the activities of translators such as Ashe, who, outside of her written academic repertoire, has made a number of appearances on popular audio-visual platforms to disseminate her research. While the publishing houses and translators often remain academic, their approach to translation and presentation of these medieval texts is encouraging of the private reader as well as the student, especially with their use of colloquial and explicatory language and inclusion of explanatory notes.

This is not to say that every translation follows this overarching pattern, as can especially be seen with the translators West, Matarasso and Shirley in the first three groupings. In each case, the translator displays elements of an activity which replicates that of the previous time period: for West this reaches back to the late Romantic period and the 'beautiful book' and the reliance on tropes of damsel and knight; for Matarasso this is her connection to Latin, religious subtext, attempts at poetic form; for Shirley, it is again the attempt at poetry and line-for-line reference, but she also looks forward to the next period by adjusting line breaks and syntax to favour natural rendering in the target language. In each case, it is notable that the translator is not a member of the identified dominant group in the field at the time of translation: academia. Instead, they translate out of personal interest more than contributing to the cultural capital of their field, more like the translators of the first period. These examples also act to prove the existence of commonalities between the other translations in their time period and indicate a greater continuity between the times.

[24] See Chapter 3, pp.82-83.

[25] See for example the Research Impact pages on Oxford University's website, which feature a range of possible outlets, including public-facing audiovisual outputs for research: Oxford University, 'Research Impact,' *Oxford University* (2023). <https://www.ox.ac.uk/research/research-impact>;
The REF (research excellence framework) also gives good examples of these requirements, with evidence of 'impact' being a key criterion for university submissions. See: REF 2021, 'Additional Guidance,' *UKRI* (2023) < https://www.ref.ac.uk/guidance-and-criteria-on-submissions/guidance/additional-guidance/> [Accessed 19 August 2023].

Continuity can further be evidenced on the level of each ST between each text studied and the editions and previous translations on which translators drew to construct their TT. Described in this analysis under the heading of 'interference,'[26] these notes also show patterned activity over time, and a continued reliance on the past to create the present. Outside of West's 'beautiful book,' each translation references a predecessor in its introduction or epitext. For *Tristan*, we find that the edition used until the final text is Bédier; while Hatto (1960) mentions Sayers as a notable translator, Gregory does the same with both his predecessors in our list and finally to round out the process Ashe uses Gregory as the source of her edition. With *Roland,* the continuity can be seen mostly with the use of two key editions by all translators: Bédier and Whitehead. However, we also find change in reference to predecessors with the Shirley and Gaunt and Pratt translations, which in turn speak of Matarasso, Shirley and Burgess' translation works. In the case of *Aucassin*, there is further continuity of practice as translators look to the same editors and translators for guidance in their own work: Bourdillon, Suchier, Roques.

But, what does this tell us about their patterns of activity, and the relevance of systems theory to the translations observed here? First of all, multiple uses of the same reference point are indications of the centre of the system around which these translations are born, the texts which carry the most cultural capital, and the sources used to reinforce normative activity. As Even-Zohar contests, the system is established around a network of activities bearing the same properties, and which can then be observed using that network.[27] In this case the network is born from a practice of translation of medieval subjects which is consistently self-referential. This activity can also be argued as an implication of the translator's own sense of peripherality in a system, and therefore adoption of accepted models in order to ensure legitimacy.[28] Within this we can also find signs of change, signs of independent activity, and the gradual innovation which allows any cultural field to reproduce itself for a new audience. As in the case of *Tristan,* we find that at the end of the time periods selected, this forward movement results in the edition used by the translator changing to one deemed to be more accurate or significant for the time at which it was translated, that is, as a feature of a wider introduction to literary history. While consistently looking back to previous translations in order to reinforce their position in the system of activity, translators can also be seen to look

[26] Under 'Preliminary norms', Toury*, Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*, p.58ff.
[27] Itamar Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem.' *Poetics Today,* Vol. 11: 1 (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1990) pp. 45-51, (p.49).
[28] Even-Zohar, 'Culture planning, cohesion, and the making and maintenance of entities,' p.285 and Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond,* p.271.

to their most recent contemporaries and be conscious of their own place in continuing activity around these STs. This overall reliance on the past to inform the present, while innovating for the future implies a living field around each text here, actively developing over time to shape not only approaches to translating medieval texts, but conceptions of the Middle Ages themselves during each time period. A continuity in this sense suggests that translators working around the medieval period work in a way which is not dissimilar to medieval *translatio studii*, where translators and copyists would rework a tale for a new situation, creating new viewpoints on a given oral tale or classical legend which were more relevant for their court or community and provided themes for discussion or interrogation. This idea relates to notions explored in Michael Cronin's *Eco-Translation* where he describes translation as having the potential to 'recycle' social and cultural energies, something which *translatio* also achieves.[29] *Aucassin et Nicolette* is a curious but telling feature of this idea of recycling. Although it is difficult to posit its use and reproduction in its source culture, a vibrant field of activity developed from the point of the text's discovery to the present day, centring on its uniqueness and encouraging a new cultural energy to grow from a small point of origin, much in the same way medieval transcribers or translators may have managed reproduction of manuscript texts such as the *Aeneid*.

Implications of the research and conclusions

The rationale for this analysis had three main functions: to assess the suitability of DTS and habitus as a framework for analysis of medieval texts in translation; through this analysis, to establish the impact of socio-cultural norms and systems on the translators of such texts and their resulting translations; and finally, the impact of these translations on the receiving culture. Though by the time of writing Toury's *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond* is around four decades old, the format of analysis still holds a range of benefits given these particular conditions. For STs which are distant in time, to an extent to which we cannot be sure of the conditions of their reception and production conditions, let alone their authorship, we can only describe their nature so as not to assume their relevance to or position within their own culture. Using this approach, our assumptions around the qualitative features of the

[29] 'What, however, if we shift our conceptual grid and move away from the ontological conservatism of event-based linear logic and begin to think about cyclical progresses of regeneration? Just as Williams, H.D., Pound and Pater will, in a sense, recycle Lang's translation of a late medieval text are there ways in which translators or translation networks recycle the cultural, social or political energies in a society?' Michael Cronin, *Eco-Translation: Translation and Ecology in the Age of the Anthropocene*, (Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).

ST are reduced: as the ST is assumed as part of the translation process, instead we focus on the linguistic features presented to us and documentary evidence of textual production rather than attempting to decipher ambiguous cultural referents. With STs so open to interpretation due to their lack of definite origin and usage, it is inevitable that the TT systems at play will be dominant and therefore the most useful source of analysis: we cannot form a full picture of the translation process and its effects by abstracting a TT from its socio-cultural environment and the power structures into which it was released and by which it was shaped. However, we also cannot assume that the translator acts only as a cog in the wheel of a larger machine, and must consider not only the conditions of production but the extent to which they impose their own agency and experience on their translation. Therefore, the resulting analysis framework used here demonstrates the necessity of hybridization of DTS with socio-cultural theories to better elaborate on the process of translation.

This hybrid approach to analysis achieved the goals of identifying commonalities of practice and the role of translator experience and background in mediating our view of socio-cultural features of the Middle Ages. This was demonstrated predominantly through anomalous results: translator bias resulting in exceptions and variations proving the rule or effect of a dominant system at play. This reflects Pym's assertion that transgression is also a marker of normative activity and allows us to distinguish both the position a translator may hold in the system and the agency they are able to exert. Looking particularly at approaches to interpersonal relationships, we can identify change in these unconscious biases over time, ranging from censorship to a return to ambiguity and factuality. This is arguably mirrored in the overall approach to translation, beginning with a ST focused and conservative, norm governed, view of translation moving forward to the latter texts which encourage the reader to imprint their own expectations on translation, and the translator once again becoming invisible.[30]

The most notable outcome of this study however is a change of systemic paradigm: from bound system to continuity of activity. This is the benefit of a large-scale longitudinal study: the ability to view and analyse the emergence and mutations of observable patterns of translation. While it is useful to consider overarching systems of power and the effects of normative activity on a series of translations in order to identify commonalities, the emerging pattern from this study provides a different view of the interplay between time-bound systems. We find examples of translators working both within their time period in order to

[30] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, p.6.

create an 'acceptable' version of a text and continue the reproductive activity of the system at play and self-consciously turning back in time to find references, comparisons and inspirations for their work. We gain a sense of the translator's awareness of their position both in their field, and as part of a long genealogy of translators working on their text which goes beyond the simple concept of 'interference' suggested by Toury. It is not a case of the system at play 'interfering' in their work, but a tacit choice not only to draw on the work of other editors and translators, but frequently to reference and flag this to the reader in order to increase the prestige of their translation and provide further elaboration on the difficulties and ambiguities of the text.

There are two implications of this result, one looking back and one looking forward. Firstly, when we look back to the origins of the STs analysed here, we can identify a further commonality of practice which appears to follow the ancient and classic text through time. In the Middle Ages, the ST manuscript was produced in translation or *remaniement* from an unknown ST or tale, usually with reverence for its origin while adapting its content to suit the target culture into which it was released. It was this reverence for the 'truth' or historicity of the ST or its ability to provide a moral point of discussion for the target audience which resulted in its *translatio*, and was often accompanied by a note on the worthiness of the original writer or tale. When we look to the self-conscious notes of many translators here, we find the same process to continue. Not only do they look to the genius of the original producers, but they look to other historical contributors to the lineage of the text and its development up to their own time. Just as the medieval copyist and translator placed themself into the lineage of the tale, so does the modern translator of the medieval, perhaps in the knowledge that one day they will also be referenced as part of the timeline.

Secondly, we can look to the didactic effect of these translations and their role in the UK educational system in the modern day. As the numbers of students entering the UKHE environment without prior knowledge of languages (living or dead) increases, the use of texts in translation is also likely to rise across the sector, giving translated texts a greater share of the intellectual market. At the same time, in recent years researched the UKHE sector has also gained most control over the translation of medieval French and Anglo-Norman texts in the UK publishing market, which implies that the educational milieu is also their most likely point of reception. This notion is supported by evidence in Chapter 3 that both edited, facing-page and target-only translations can be found in UKHE syllabi today. While these particular

TTs' purpose in the receiving culture has changed over the periods studied from personal interest to educational and back again, their overarching intention is to guide the reader into an appreciation of the Middle Ages, their cultural production and socio-cultural mores. In this sense their reception today has value not only for use in single-language or culture-focused teaching, but also in comparison with other languages and literatures. From the earliest period to the most modern studied here, we see near-constant reference to the value of these translations as an educational aid, a prompt for discussion (much like the medieval manuscript), or an aid to linguistic understanding. Whether intended as purely educational or public, both the sense of historical continuity between different translations of a single ST and their clear attention to the cultural and educational impacts of the TT further entwine the modern translator with the medieval concept of *translatio*. Yet, the impacts of this *translatio* for an educational environment can be multiple, and intrinsically tied to the translator as an agent and mediator.

The analysis carried out here has exemplified the variety of impacts this can have for the target audience's appreciation of the medieval ST from textual format through to gender roles and contemporary politics. Though usually ST editions or facing-page editions and translations appear on university-level reading lists (such as Robert Sturges' *Aucassin and Nicolette*), where translations are used as standalone texts, they have the power to represent the time and context of the ST for the uninitiated reader. Left uninterrogated, for the student this may mean that their view of the medieval past is initially framed by the preponderant discourses and mores of the translation recommended to them, unconsciously placed there by the weight of the translator (or indeed editor's) academic interests, personal experience, professional habitus or publishing environment. Moreover these may be biases which do not belong to the time of reception, and therefore cause conflict between the translator's foregrounding of certain themes and contemporary academic approaches.

Though introductions and translator notes provide some guidance for the reader on the translator's influence on the resulting text, for the non-reader of dead languages the TT either stands alone or is actively guided by the hand of the translator, especially in introductory compilations and popular publications such as *Early Fiction in England*. Therefore, especially when it comes to ancient and dead language texts in translation, these biases, both conscious and unconscious, have the potential to reframe the past for the student, the private reader, or even the commercial researcher looking to reproduce the tale for other media and wider dissemination. Texts open to interpretation due to lack of evidence about their origin are consequently more open to change, and this is an issue which recurs with ancient STs.

Furthermore, through these same statements, there is also evidence that a particular edition or translation will maintain its' popularity for many decades among academics in the field, as noted in references, bibliographies and translators' notes. There is further scope for interrogation in these patterns: if a series of translators, or indeed a course syllabus consistently refers to particular editions or translations of a text, their pre-eminence in the field means that the internal biases they carry will gain greater power in the interpretation of the past, and for a greater number of readers. While this is proof that certain editions and translations hold significant cultural capital, it is also cause to reconsider whether reliance on similar versions of these texts constitutes stability or stagnation in the literary-academic system and therefore our views of the past. Going back to the introductory example of the *Odyssey* from my own experience, we can consider how different my viewpoint of the classical past may have been had it been guided, instead of Rieu and Lattimore, by the re-translation of the *Odyssey* by Emily Wilson, whose tacit role as the first female translator of the epic has again reframed the ST by bringing into question the historically male lens through which the tale was translated.[31]

The evidence of the effect of systemic norms and cultural habitus on translator practice found in this thesis therefore has a further implication when considered in relation to the educational field; namely the educator's responsibility to acknowledge the biases of each TT selected for teaching, and especially the role of the translator as an agent in its mediation. Without this acknowledgement, the student may find themselves interrogating a view of the past that does not belong to the ST culture, rather one belonging to the time, place and systemic influences which produced the version in their hands. More importantly, an appreciation of the positionality and agency of the translator allows the student to understand on a deeper level how societies imprint their norms onto a text and gives them the opportunity to approach the long history of each medieval French or Anglo-Norman text they read. Medieval texts in translation not only provide a window onto the past, but they also have the potential to reveal insights on how our reception of the past has changed over time. In doing so, at least with in the UKHE sector, we might ground each new researcher, editor or translator with a sense of their positionality and agency in the reinterpretation of each item of medieval or ancient literature for their own time and space.

[31] Charlotte Higgins, 'The Odyssey Translated by Emily Wilson Review – A New Cultural Landmark,' *Guardian*, 8 December 2017 <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/dec/08/the-odyssey-translated-emily-wilson-review>.

The main drawbacks of this study relate to scope: to go further with this analysis and cement the results, it would be necessary to expand the selection to whole texts, rather than excerpts, an enterprise which is too large for a single researcher or an expository study of this size. Here a range of excerpts from a defined set of STs was chosen in order to postulate the validity of the exercise, but to go further into the effects of personal and normative bias on each text, a full study of each translation would be necessary. Despite this, and given the successful elaboration of the framework here, the study has the potential to be expanded out through the medieval field of translation, restricted to a particular text or a full genre (e.g. the works of Chrétien de Troyes), or spread across renderings of a single text through different media (e.g. the relation of interlingual and intermedial translations of Arthurian literature during a single period). Given the framework's particular relevance to the world of authorless and temporally distant manuscript texts, it also has the potential to be expanded beyond the medieval field and into that of antiquity across the world as a means of exposing unconscious bias, the mediative and transformational role of the translator, and the impact of these on our contemporary perceptions of the past.

Bibliography

1 John 1.7

Aaronson, Jordan. 'Penguin Publishing Group,' *Penguin.com*, 2021 <https://www.penguin.com/category/penguin-publishing-group/ppg-overviews/#:~:text=The%20Penguin%20Publishing%20Group%20is,imagination%20and%20guide%20the%20soul.> [Accessed 10 October 2017]

Adams, Pauline, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College, 1879-1993* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Ailes, Marianne., 'The Chanson de Geste,' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. by Anthony Bale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) pp. 25-38

Ainsworth, Peter, 'Conscience Litteraire de l'Histoire au Moyen Age,' in *Histoire de la France littéraire / Tome 1, Naissances, Renaissances: Moyen Âge-XVIe siècle*, ed. by François Lestringant and Michel Zink (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006) pp.349-419

Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND2 Online Edition), *Aberystwyth University,* n.d. <https://www.anglo-norman.net/>

Archives et Manuscrits, 'Français 2168,' *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, 2021 <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc487197> [Accessed 17 February 2023]

Arizona State University, 'Robert Sturges,' (2020), Arizona State University. <https://search.asu.edu/profile/982116> [Accessed 3 October 2020]

Arlima, *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Age* <https://www.arlima.net/>

—— 'Aucassin et Nicolette,' *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Age*, 2017 <https://www.arlima.net/ad/aucassin_et_nicolette.html> [Accessed 10 April 2017]

—— 'Chanson de Roland,' *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Age*, 2017 <https://www.arlima.net//qt/roland_chanson_de.html > [Accessed 10 April 2017]

—— 'Les Lais, Œuvres de Marie de France,' *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Age*, 2018 <https://www.arlima.net/mp/marie_de_france/lais.html> [Accessed 15 April 2018]

—— 'Le Roman de Perceval ou le Conte du Graal, Œuvre de Chrétien de Troyes,' *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Age*, 2018 <https://www.arlima.net/ad/chretien_de_troyes/perceval_ou_le_conte_du_graal.html> [Accessed 15 April 2018]

—— 'Roman d'Eneas,' *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Age*, 2017 <https://www.arlima.net/eh/eneas_roman_d.html> [Accessed 10 April 2017].

—— 'Thomas d'Angleterre,' *Archives de Littérature du Moyen Age*, 2017 <https://www.arlima.net/qt/thomas_dangleterre.html> [Accessed 10 April 2017].

Armitage, Simon, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009)

Ashe, Laura, 'A Prayer and a Warcry: The Creation of a Secular Religion in the "Song of Roland".' The Cambridge Quarterly, 28(4), (1999). pp.349-367 <https://doi.org/10.1093/camqtly/28.4.349>

—— 'Mutatio Dexteræ Excelsi: Narratives of Transformation after the Conquest,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 110.2 (2011), pp.141-72 <https://doi.org/10.5406/jenglgermphil.110.2.0141>

—— 'The Ideal of Knighthood in English and French Writing, 1100–1230: Crusade, Piety, Chivalry and Patriotism', in *Writing the Early Crusades* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer Limited, 2014), pp.155-68

—— and others, (eds) *Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer*, (London, Penguin Books, 2015)

—— and others, (eds) *The Exploitations of Medieval Romance* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010)

Aucassin and Nicolette: A Facing-Page Edition and Translation, ed. and trans. by Robert S. Sturges (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015)

Aucassin and Nicolette (Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 47) trans. by Glyn S. Burgess, ed. by Anne Elizabeth Cobby (New York; London: Garland, 1988).

Aucassin and Nicolette: And Other Mediaeval Romances and Legends, trans. by Eugene Mason (London: Dent, 1910)

Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales, trans. by Pauline Matarasso, (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971)

Aucassin and Nicolete, Done from the Old French by Michael West, Depictured by Main R. Bocher, Music by Horace Mansion, Decorated by Evelyn Paul, trans. by Michael West (London: Harrap / Camperfield Presse, 1917)

Aucassin Et Nicolete, trans. by Harold Child (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911)

Aucassin et Nicolette: Édition Critique, trans. by Jean Dufournet, 2nd edn (Paris: Flammarion, 1984)

Aveling, Harry, 'Two Approaches to the Positioning of Translations: A Comparative Study of Itamar Even-Zohar's Polysystem Studies and Gideon Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond.' *Kritika Kultura*, 6, (2005), pp.5-24

Ayot St Peter, 'Basil Lord Sanderson of Ayot,' 2020, *Ayot St Peter*, <https://www.ayotstpeter.com/basil-lord-sanderson-of-ayot/> [Accessed 24 April 2020]

Bach, Rebecca Anne, (Re)placing John Donne in the History of Sexuality. *ELH* 72(1), (2005), pp.259-289 <https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.2005.0002>

Baker, Mona, *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*, 2nd edn (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2011)

—— and Luis-Perez Gonzalez, 'Translation and interpreting,' in Simpson, J., *The Routledge Handbook of Applied Linguistics* (Milton Park, Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2011) pp.39-52

Ballantyne, Archibald. 'Wardour Street English,' *Longman's Magazine*. No. 12 (Oct). pp. 585-594

Bassnett, Susan, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993)

—— 'Reflections on Comparative Literature in the Twenty-First Century,' *Comparative Critical Studies*, 3.1 (2006), pp.3-11 <https://doi.org/10.1353/ccs.2006.0002>

—— *Translation Studies*, 3rd edn (London, New York: Routledge, 2002)

—— and Andre Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon; Multilingual Matters, 1998)

—— and Peter Bush, eds. *The Translator as Writer* (London: Continuum, 2006)

Bazin, René, *La Douce France* (Paris: J. de Gigord, 1911)

BBC Marketing and Audiences, *BBC Radio 4 44 Minute Drama*, 2019 <https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/radio/commissioning/R4_44_Minute_Drama_Audience_Pack.pdf> [Accessed 30 July 2019]

BBC Trust, *BBC Trust End of Charter Report*, 2017 <https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/charter/end_of_charter_review.pdf> [Accessed 30 July 2019]

BBC, 'Helen Waddell: the influential author time forgot,' *BBC News: Northern Ireland*, 2 December 2018 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-46377273> [Accessed 24 April 2020]

Beasley, Rebecca, and Daniel Thomas, 'HEng18,' *The Queen's College, University of Oxford*, 2018 <https://web.archive.org/web/20190713154714/https://www.queens.ox.ac.uk/sites/www.queens.ox.ac.uk/files/HEng18.pdf> [Accessed 5 August 2023]

Bédier, Joseph, *Roland à Roncevaux* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921)

Beer, Jeannette M.A. (ed.) *Medieval Translators and Their Craft* (Studies in Medieval Culture; 25) (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1989)

Benjamin, Walter, 'The Task of the Translator,' in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Vol. 1 1913-1926*, ed. by Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (London, Cambridge: Belknapp Press, 2002)

Beowulf: A New Verse Translation, trans. by Seamus Heaney (London: Faber and Faber, 2000)

Blakeslee, Merritt R., 'The Authorship of Thomas's "Tristan",' *Philological Quarterly*, 64(4) (1985), pp.555-573

Bloodaxe Books, ‘Susan Wicks: Author,’ (2003), Bloodaxe Books, <http://www.bloodaxebooks.com/personpage.asp?author=Susan+Wicks> [Accessed 04 August 2021]

Bloor, Meriel and Thomas Bloor, *The Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis*: An Introduction (London: Hodder Arnold, 2007)

Bolduc, Michelle, ‘Translation and the Promise of Analogy,’ *Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies,* 9.3 (2022) pp.245-63 <https://doi.org/10.1080/23306343.2022.2133486>

—— *Translation and the Rediscovery of Rhetoric* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2020)

Bookscans, ‘Pelican/Mentor,' *Bookscans*, 2021 <http://bookscans.com/Publishers/mentor/mentor.htm> [Accessed 13 April 2021].

Bossuat, Robert, and Jacques Monfrin, *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française du Moyen Âge* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986)

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2000)

—— ‘Le Marché des Biens Symboliques,’ *Année sociologique*, 22 (1971) pp.49-126

—— *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)

—— *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998)

—— *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992)

—— *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006) pp.147-8.

—— ‘The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups,’ *Social Science Information*, 24(2), (1985) pp.195-220.

—— *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power* (Stanford University Press, 1998)

—— and Loïc JD Wacquant *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Bourdillon, Francis William, *Aucassin & Nicolette. an Old-French Love Story. Edited & Translated by Francis William Bourdillon ... Second Edition the Text Collated Afresh from the Manuscript at Paris the Translation Revised & the Introduction Rewritten*. (London: Macmillan, 1897)

—— *Aucassin and Nicolette* (London: K. Paul Trench Trübner, 1903).

—— *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 3rd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970)

Brabazon, James, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Biography* (New York: Scribner, 1981)

Braddon, Mary Elizabeth, *Lady Audley's Secret*, Oxford World's Classics 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Brasseur, Annette, *La Chanson des Saisnes* (Genève: Droz, 1989)

Breed, Brennan W., *Nomadic Text: A Theory of Biblical Reception History* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014)

Brepols, and University of Leeds, Institute for Medieval Studies*, International Medieval Bibliography Online* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1967)

British Council, 'Number of GSCE entries in French, German and Spanish in the United Kingdom from 2010 to 2021 [Graph],' *Statista*, (July 19, 2022) <https://www.statista.com/statistics/874702/gcse-entries-in-selected-languages/> [Accessed 05 June 2023]

—— 'Susan Wicks,' *British Council*, 2021 <https://literature.britishcouncil.org/writer/susan-wicks>[Accessed 04 August 2021]

Bromiley, Geoffrey, *Thomas's Tristan and the Folie Tristan d'Oxford* (Critical guides to French texts; 61). (London: Grant & Cutler, 1986)

Brown, Calvin S., Edwin Everett and Robert L. Harrison eds., *Masterworks of World Literature*, Vol. 2. (New York, Chicago and others: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1970)

Büchler, Alexandra, and Giulia Trentacosti, *Publishing Translated Literature in the United Kingdom and Ireland 1990 - 2012 Statistical Report* (Aberystwyth: Mercator Institute

for Media, Languages and Culture, Aberystwyth University, 2015) <https://www.lit-across-frontiers.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Translation-Statistics-Study_Update_May2015.pdf>

Burgess, Glyn S., ‘Recherches sur l'évolution du vocabulaire courtois, en particulier dans les romans antiques,’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sorbonne, 1968)

—— ‘The Preposition De. A Study in Late Latin and Old French Syntax,’ (unpublished master's dissertation, McMaster University, 1966)

Burton, Larry, ‘Traditional subjects,’ in *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, ed. by Craig Kridel (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2010) pp.888-891

Bush, Peter, and Kirsten Malmkjaer, *Rimbaud's Rainbow: Literary Translation in Higher Education*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998)

Butler, Judith, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006)

Calin, William, *The French Tradition and the Literature of Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994)

Campbell, Christy, *Target London: Under Attack from the V-Weapons During WWII* (London: Abacus, 2013)

Campbell, Emma and Robert Mills, eds. *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012).

Cannan, Gilbert, *Time and Eternity, A Tale of Three Exiles* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1919)

Carmen, ‘Membership,’ *Carmen*, 2019 <http://www.carmen-medieval.net/membership-1404041621.html> [Accessed 11 June 2019]

Carr, Carolyn, Alison Gomm and Judith Garner, eds., *The Brown Book* (Oxford: Lady Margaret Hall, 2012)

Catford, J. C., *A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965)

Centre for Printing History and Culture. ‘Salvation Army Printing,’ 16 December 2016, *Centre for Printing History and Culture, University of Birmingham*

<https://www.cphc.org.uk/updates/2016/12/16/salvation-army-printing> [Accessed 20 November 2019].

Cerquiglini-Toulet, Jacqueline, *A New History of Medieval French Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011)

Chance, Jane, *Women medievalists and the Academy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005)

Chang, Nam Fung, 'In Defence of Polysystem Theory', *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies*, 23.2 (2011), pp.311-47

Charny, Geoffroi de, Richard W. Kaeuper, and Elspeth Kennedy, *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry: Geoffroi De Charny* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005)

Chesterman, Andrew, *Memes of Translation* (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1997)

—— 'Bridge concepts in translation studies,' in Wolf, Michaela, and Alexandra Fukari, eds. Constructing a Sociology of Translation (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007)

Chretien de Troyes, Cligés, eds. Claude Luttrell and Stewart Gregory, Arthurian Studies xxvii, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993).

Chrétien de Troyes. *Arthurian Romances*, trans. by D. D. R. Owen (Dent: Charles E. Tuttle, 1993)

Christ Church, 'Brief History,' (2019), *Christ Church College, Oxford* <https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/brief-history> [Accessed 20 November 2019]

Closs, August, *Tristan und Îsolt: A Poem*, 2nd rev. edn (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1947)

Cobby, Anne Elizabeth, *Ambivalent Conventions: Formula and Parody in Old French* (New York: Rodopi, 1995).

Cognella, 'Course packs,' *Cognella*, 2020 <https://cognella.com/imprints/custom/course-packs/> [Accessed 3 October 2020]

Coke, Desmond, *Youth, youth…!* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1919)

Colby, Alice M., *The Portrait in Twelfth-Century French Literature: An Example of the Stylistic Originality of Chrétien de Troyes* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1965)

Collen, Ian, *Language Trends 2020: Language teaching in primary and secondary schools in England* (London: British Council, 2020), p.13. <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/language_trends_2020_0.pdf>

Colon, Christine A., 'Defending Tennyson', *Christianity & Literature*, 66.2 (2017), pp.274-92

Combridge, Rosemary. and Frank M. Fowler, 'A. T. Hatto: A Tribute,' *German Life and Letters*, 30 (1977), pp.91-93

Copeland, Rita, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Cowie, Anthony P., *English Dictionaries for Foreign Learners: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Cronin, Michael, *Eco-Translation: Translation and Ecology in the Age of the Anthropocene* (Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).

Cushman, Stephen, and others (eds), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 4th edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012)

Dearmer, Percy, J. H. Arnold, and Ralph Vaughan Williams, *The English Hymnal: With Tunes 1933*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1933)

Dembowski, Peter F. 'Two Old French Recastings / Translations of Andreas Capellanus's De Amore,' in *Medieval Translators and Their Craft,* ed. by Jeannette Beer (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University, 1989) pp.185-212

—— 'What is Critical in Critical Editions? The Case of Bilingual Editions,' in *De Sens Rassis: Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens*, ed. by Keith Busby, Bernard Guidot, and Logan Whalen (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2005) pp.169-82

Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (DMF), 'noise,' *Centre national de la recherche scientifique. Analyse et traitement informatique de la langue française*, 2015 <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/noise1> [Accessed 10 August 2020]

—— ‘Peser I,’ *Centre national de la recherche scientifique. Analyse et traitement informatique de la langue française*, 2015 <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/peser1> [Accessed 12 October 2020]

Dictionnaire Étymologique de l'Ancien Français (DEAFplus en ligne), *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 2024 < https://deaf.hadw-bw.de/>

Dinshaw, Carolyn. *How Soon Is Now?: Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers, and the Queerness of Time* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012)

Dixon, Robert, and Nicholas Birns, eds., *Reading Across the Pacific: Australia-United States Intellectual Histories* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2010)

Dubin, Nathaniel E. ‘Creative choices: Notes on translating the old French fabliaux,’ in *Comic Provocations: Exposing the Corpus of Old French Fabliaux* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2006) pp.175-192

Dulwich College, ‘Notable OAs,’ 2020, *Dulwich College*, <https://web.archive.org/web/20200215132222/https://www.dulwich.org.uk/old-alleynians-home/old-alleynians/notable-oas> [Accessed 24 July 2023]

Durham University, ‘ENGL2111: Medieval French Literature Level 2,’ *Durham University*, 2023 <https://apps.dur.ac.uk/faculty.handbook/2023/UG/module/ENGL2111> [Accessed April 2024]

Eagleton, Terry, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, Anniversary ed., 2nd edn (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008)

Echard, Siân, ‘House Arrest: Modern Archives, Medieval Manuscripts’, *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 30.2 (2000), 185-210 <https://doi.org/10.1215/10829636-30-2-185>

—— and Stephen Partridge, The Book Unbound: Editing and Reading Medieval Manuscripts and Texts, (Ontario ; New York ; London: University of Toronto Press, 2004)

Eco, Umberto, *Mouse or Rat, Translation as Negotiation* (London: Phoenix, 2003)

éduscol ‘La Liste de Référence Cycle 4 au Format Tableur,’ *Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Jeunesse, Direction générale de l'enseignement scolaire*, 2024

<https://eduscol.education.fr/114/lectures-l-ecole-des-listes-de-reference> [Accessed April 2024]

Ellis, Roger, *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1989)

Ernest Benn Ltd., 'Benn Books,' *Times* (London) 4 April 1929, p.10

Evans, Ruth, 'Vulgar Eloquence?: Cultural Models and Practices of Translation in Late Medieval Europe,' in *Translating Others*, ed. by Theo Hermans, Vol. 2 (Manchester: St Jerome, 2006) pp.296-313

Even-Zohar, Itamar, 'Culture planning, cohesion, and the making and maintenance of entities,' in Toury, G. and others, *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury* (Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2008) pp.277-291.

—— 'Interference in Dependent Literary Polysystems', *Poetics Today*, 11.1 (1990), 79-83 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1772671>

—— 'Polysystem Theory,' *Poetics Today*, Vol 1, 1-2 (1979) pp.287-310 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1772051>

—— 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem,' *Poetics Today*, Vol. 11: 1 (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1990) pp.45-51 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1772668>

—— 'Translation Theory Today: A Call for Transfer Theory,' *Poetics Today*, 2(4) (1981) pp.1-7 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1772481>

—— 'Universals of Literary Contacts,' *Papers in Historical Poetics*, (1978) pp.45-53

Fairclough, Norman, *Analysing discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003)

—— and Ruth Wodak, 'Critical discourse analysis' in *Discourse as Social Interaction: Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, Vol. 2, ed. by Teun A. van Dijk (London: Sage, 1997) pp. 258-284

Felski, Rita, ‘Comparison and Translation: A Perspective from Actor-Network Theory,’ *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 53 no. 4, (2016), pp.747-765 <https://doi.org/10.5325/complitstudies.53.4.0747>

Fickman, Andy, dir. *She's the Man* (DreamWorks Distribution, LLC, 2006)

Findlay, Jean, *Chasing Lost Time: The Life of CK Scott Moncrieff: Soldier, Spy, and Translator* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015)

Fish, Stanley, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1980)

Flood, John L., 'Arthur Thomas Hatto 1910-2010.' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Volume 172, Biographical Memoirs of Fellows, X., (2011) pp.171-198.

Fowler, Henry W., and Jeremy Butterfield, *Fowler's Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. [electronic Resource], ed. by Jeremy Butterfield, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

Frank, Grace, ‘Aucassin Et Nicolette, Line 2.’ *Romanic Review* 40(3) (1949), p.161

Galderisi, Claudio, *La Rumeur des Distances Traversées: Transferts Culturels, Traductions et Translations Entre Moyen Âge et Modernité* (Brepols Publishers, 2021)

Gaskin, Richard, *Language, Truth, and Literature: A Defence of Literary Humanism* (Oxford: Oxford Academic, 2013)

Gaunt, Simon, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

—— and Nicholas Harrison, ‘Integrated Learning: Teaching Literature in French,’ in *French Studies in and for the 21st Century*, ed. by, Philippe Lane and Michael Worton, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011) pp.107-117

—— *Love and Death in Medieval French and Occitan Courtly Literature: Martyrs to Love* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

—— *Retelling the Tale: An Introduction to Medieval French Literature* (London: Duckworth Academic, 2001)

—— and Sarah Kay, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Gentzler, Edwin, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 2nd edn (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001)

Getz, Peter R.R. and Gregg Jasper, 'Harold Arthur Sanderson,' *Encyclopedia Titanica*, 2016 <https://www.encyclopedia-titanica.org/titanic-biography/harold-arthur-sanderson.html> [Accessed 24 April 2020]

Gibbs, Marion, and Sidney M. Johnson, *Medieval German Literature: A Companion* (Taylor & Francis Group, 1997)

Gilbert, Jane, 'The Chanson de Roland' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature,* ed. by Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) pp.21-34.

Gloning, Thomas, and Christopher Young, *A History of the German Language through Texts* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Gomez-Cash, Olga, 'Now Students are Expected to Study a Language Until Age 16, The Work to Rebuild Begins,' *The Conversation* (2 July 2019) <https://theconversation.com/now-students-are-expected-to-study-a-language-until-age-16-the-work-to-rebuild-begins-43808> [Accessed 05 June 2023]

Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas*, trans. A.T. Hatto, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967)

Gouanvic, Jean-Marc, 'A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances: Field, "Habitus", Capital and "Illusio",' *Translator (Manchester, England)*, 11.2 (2005), pp.147-66 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799196>

Gouanvic, Jean-Marc, 'Is Habitus as Conceived by Pierre Bourdieu Soluble in Translation Studies?' in *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies* (Approaches to Translation Studies, Volume: 40), ed. by Gisella M. Vorderobermeier (Boston: BRILL, 2014) pp.29-42

Gouanvic, Jean-Marc, 'Objectivation, réflexivité et traduction Pour une re-lecture bourdieusienne de la traduction,' in *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*, ed. by Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007) pp.79-92

Green, Herman J., 'The Etymology of AOI and AE.' *MLN*, 85(4), (1970) pp.593-598

Green, Peter, ‘Homer Now’, *The New Republic*, 28 June 2012, <https://newrepublic.com/article/103920/homer-the-iliad-translations> [Accessed 29 April 2024]

Gregory, Stewart (trans.), *Early French Tristan Poems II*, *Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 78*, ed. Norris J. Lacy, (New York; London: Garland, 1991).

—— ‘Iorgu Iordan and John Orr, “An Introduction to Romance Linguistics,” with a Supplement “Thirty Years On,” by Rebecca Posner (Book Review),’ *The Modern Language Review* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.181

—— ‘Jean Rychner, “La Narration Des Sentiments, Des Pensées et Des Discours Dans Quelques Oeuvres Des XIIe et XIIIe Siècles” (Book Review),’ *Medium Aevum* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992) p.338

—— ‘La Description De La Fontaine Dans L’“Yvain” De Chrétien De Troyes: Un Problème D'interprétation,’ *Romania (Paris: 1872)*, 110.439/440 (3/4) (1989), pp.539-41

—— *La traduction en prose française du 12e siècle des ‘Sermones in Cantica’ de Saint Bernard* (Amsterdam and Atlanta GA: Faux Titre, Rodopi, 1994)

—— *The Romance of Tristan by Béroul (with English translation)* (Amsterdam; Atlanta GA: Faux Titre, Rodopi, 1992)

—— and Modern Humanities Research Association, *The Twelfth-Century Psalter Commentary in French for Laurette d'Alsace : An Edition Of Psalms I-L* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1990)

Haase, Donald, *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales* [3 Volumes]. (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007)

Hall, Edith, ‘The Iliad by Homer, Translated By Emily Wilson Review – A Bravura Feat’ *The Guardian*, 27 September 2023 <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2023/sep/27/the-iliad-by-homer-translated-by-emily-wilson-review-a-bravura-feat> [Accessed April 2024]

Hanley, Catherine, *War and Combat, 1150-1270: The Evidence from Old French Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003)

Harrap, George G., *Some Memories, 1901-1935: A Publisher's Contribution to the History of Publishing* (London: Harrap, 1935)

Harrison, Robert L., *Aviation Lore in Faulkner* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1985)

Hart, Carolyn G. 'Gaudy Night. Quintessential Sayers.' Dorothy L. Sayers: The Centenary Celebration. Ed. Alzina Stone Dale. (New York: Walker, 1993) pp.45-51

Hasenhohr, Geneviève, 'Le Livre Manuscrit,' in *Histoire de la France littéraire / Tome 1, Naissances, Renaissances : Moyen Âge-XVIe siècle*, ed. by Lestringant, François, and Michel Zink (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006) pp.151-172

Hatim, Basil, and Ian Mason, *The Translator as Communicator*, (London/New York: Routledge, 2005)

Hatto, Arthur T., 'Enid's Best Dress. A Contribution to the Understanding of Chrétien's and Hartmann's Erec and the Welsh Gereint,' *Euphorion,* 54(439), (1960), pp.437-51

—— 'On Chretien and Wolfram,' *The Modern Language Review. Modern Humanities Research Association*. XLIV (3), (1949), pp.280-385.

—— 'On Wolfram's Conception of the "Graal".' *The Modern Language Review. Modern Humanities Research Association*, XLIII (2), (1948), pp.216-222

—— 'The Lime-Tree and Early German, Goliard and English Lyric Poetry', *The Modern Language Review. Modern Humanities Research Associatio*, 49.2 (1954), pp.193-209

—— 'Two Notes on Chrétien and Wolfram,' *The Modern Language Review. Modern Humanities Research Association,* XLII (2), (1947), pp.243-246

Helgeland, Brian, dir. *A Knight's Tale* (Sony Pictures Releasing, 2001)

Hermans, Theo, 'Norms of Translation,' in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, ed. by Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp. 10-15

—— *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1999)

Hervey, Sandor, and Higgins, Ian, *Thinking French Translation: A Course in Translation Method: French to English*, 2nd edn (London, New York: Routledge, 2002)

Hewlett, Maurice Henry, *The Light Heart* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1920)

Higgins, Charlotte, 'The Odyssey Translated by Emily Wilson Review – A New Cultural Landmark,' *Guardian*, 8 December 2017 <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/dec/08/the-odyssey-translated-emily-wilson-review>.

Holden, A. J., and others, *History of William Marsha*l (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society from Birkbeck College, 2002)

Holmes, Diana, 'A Short History of French Studies in the UK,' in *French Studies in and for the 21st Century*, ed. by Philippe Lane and Michael Worton (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011) pp. 12-24

Holmes, James S., and Jacob Lowland, *Translated: Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988)

Holmes, Urban T. 'The Mediaeval Period,' in *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature. (Vol. 1)*, ed. by Jules Brody, Nathan Edelman, and D. C Cabeen (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1961)

Holub, Robert, 'Reception Theory: School of Constance', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. by Raman Selden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp. 319-46

Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. by E. V. Rieu (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1946)

—— *The Odyssey*, trans. by Richard Lattimore (New York: Harper & Row, 1967),

Hone, Ralph E., *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Literary Biography* (Kent Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979)

House, J., *Translation Quality Assessment: Past and Present* (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2015)

Hult, David F. 'Manuscripts and manuscript culture,' in *The Cambridge History of French Literature*, ed. by William Burgwinkle, Nicholas Hammond, and Emma Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) pp.11-19

Hunt, Tony, 'Thorold (fl. c.1100)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27891> [Accessed 10 October 2017].

Huot, Sylvia, ‘The manuscript context of medieval romance,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.60-78

Ingham, Patricia Clare, and Michelle R Warren, *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2003)

Inghilleri, Moira. ‘Habitus, field and discourse: Interpreting as a socially situated activity,’ *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies*, 15.2 (2003) pp.243-268 <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.15.2.03ing>

—— ‘The Sociology of Bourdieu and the Construction of the “Object” in Translation and Interpreting Studies,’ *The Translator*, 11 (2005), pp.125-4 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799195>

Jack, Ian, ‘The Titanic Disaster Meant a Life of Shame for its CEO. Not So BP's Tony Hayward,’ *Guardian*, 16 September 2011 <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/sep/16/bp-tony-hayward-deepwater-horizon> [Accessed 24 April 2020]

Jakobson, Roman, ‘On Linguistic Aspects of Translation’, in *On Translation*, ed. by Reuben A. Brower (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1959/2000) pp.232-9

—— Jurij Tynjanov, and Herbert Eagle, ‘Problems in the Study of Language and Literature,’ *Poetics Today*, 2.1a (1980), pp.29-31

Joint Council for Qualifications, ‘European language exam entries at A level in England from 2011 to 2019, by subject [Graph],’ *Statista*, 2019 [Accessed 05 June, 2023] <https://www.statista.com/statistics/343091/england-european-language-candidates-a-level/>

Jonin, Pierre, *Les personnages féminins dans les romans français de Tristan au XIIe siècle : Étude des influences contemporaines* (Publication des Annales de la Faculté des lettres, Aix-en-Provence. nouvelle série ; no.22) (Aix-en-Provence: Editions Ophrys, 1958)

Junger, Gil, dir. *10 Things I Hate About You* (Buena Vista Pictures Distribution, 1999)

Kaeuper, Richard W. ‘The Societal Role of Chivalry in Romance’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.97-114

Kaeuper, Richard W., *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Kaindl, Klaus, Waltraud Kolb, and Daniela Schlager, *Literary Translator Studies* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2021)

Kay, Sarah, ‘Courts, clerks and courtly love,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.81-96

Kean, Douglas, ‘Books World Uneasy as Pearson To Sell Stake in Penguin Random House,’ *Guardian*, 18 January 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/jan/18/books-world-alarmed-pearson-sale-stake-penguin-random-house> [Accessed 9 October 2017]

Kelly, Douglas, *Medieval Imagination: Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love* (Madison ; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978)

—— *The Art of Medieval French Romance* (Madison; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992)

—— ‘The Fidus Interpres: Aid or Impediment to Medieval Translation and Translatio,’ in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeannette Beer, and International Congress on Medieval Studies, pp.47-58

—— ‘Translatio Studii: Translation, Adaptation and Allegory in Medieval French Literature,’ *Philological Quarterly*, 57 (1978), pp.287-310.

Kelly, Louis G., *The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979)

Kennedy Memorial Trust, ‘Kennedy Scholarships,’ *Kennedy Memorial Trust*, 2019 <https://www.kennedytrust.org.uk/display.aspx?id=1848&pid=283> [Accessed 30 July 2019]

Kenney, C., *The Remarkable Case of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Saint Louis: The Kent State University Press, 2013)

Kestemont, Mike and others, ‘Forgotten Books: The Application of Unseen Species Models to the Survival of Culture,’ *Science*, 375, (2022) pp.765-769

Kibler, William W. ‘Translating Chrétien de Troyes: How Faithful?’ in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeannette M. Beer and International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1997)

King’s College London, ‘Professor Simon Gaunt FBA (1959-2021)’ *King’s College, London*, 2021 <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/news/professor-simon-gaunt-fba-1959-2021> [Accessed 20 September 2021]

King’s College London, ‘Professor Simon Gaunt FBA (archive.org)’ *King’s College, London*, 2021 <https://web.archive.org/web/20210126192503/https://www.kcl.ac.uk/people/professor-simon-gaunt-fba> [Accessed 17 August 2021]

Kinoshita, S., ‘“Pagans Are Wrong and Christians Are Right”: Alterity, Gender, and Nation in the Chanson de Roland’, *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31.1 (2001), pp.79-112 <https://doi.org/10.1215/10829636-31-1-79>

Klimt, Gustav, *The Kiss*, 1907-1908, Oil and gold leaf on canvas, 180 × 180 cm, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna.

Krueger, Roberta L., ‘Introduction,’ *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Krygier, John B., ‘Chapman and Hall’s 2/- Net Library,’ *A Series of Series (owu.edu)*, 2015 <https://seriesofseries.owu.edu/chapman-hall/> [Accessed 19 January 2021].

—— ‘Essex Library (Ernest Benn),’ *A Series of Series (owu.edu)*, 2015 <https://seriesofseries.owu.edu/essex-library/> [Accessed 19 February 2019].

—— ‘Harrap Library,’ *A Series of Series (owu.edu)*, 2015 <https://seriesofseries.owu.edu/harrap-library> [Accessed 20 November 2019].

La Chanson de Roland, ed. by Pierre Jonin (Paris : Editions Gallimard, 1979)

La Chanson de Roland: histoire, analyse, extraits avec notes et glossaire, ed. by Louis Petit de Julleville (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie., 1894)

Lahire, Bernard, 'The limits of the field: Elements for a Theory of the Social Differentiation of Activities,' in *Bourdieu's Theory of Social Fields*, ed. by Mathieu Hilgers and Eric Mangez (London: Routledge, 2014) pp.62-101

—— *The Plural Actor* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011)

Latour, Bruno, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Lees, Clare, Thelma S. Fenster and Jo Ann McNamara. *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994)

Lefevere, André, *Translation, History, Culture: A Sourcebook (Translation Studies)* (London: Routledge, 1992)

Legge, Mary Dominica, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963)

Leighton, Edmund B., *God Speed*, 1900, oil on canvas, 160 × 116cm, (private collection)

Leith, Sam, 'Soldier, Poet, Lover, Spy: Just the Man to Translate Proust,' *The Spectator*, 16 August 2014 < https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/soldier-poet-lover-spy-just-the-man-to-translate-proust/> [Accessed 23 February 2021]

Le Roman d'Eneas, ed. and trans. by Aimé Petit (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1997)

Le Roman de Thèbes, ed. and trans. by Francine Mora (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995)

Le Roman de Troie : extraits du manuscrit Milan, Bibliothèque ambrosienne, D 55, ed. and trans. by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vielliard, (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1998)

Lestringant, François, and Michel Zink, *Histoire de la France littéraire / Tome 1, Naissances, Renaissances: Moyen Âge-XVIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006)

Lewis, C. S., *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936)

Llanerch Press, ‘Song of Roland,’ *Llanerch Press*, 2021 <http://www.llanerchpress.com/book/category/literature/12/song-of-roland/janet-shirley/1861430051> [Accessed 02 August 2021

Löfstedt, Leena, ‘“La Traduction En Prose Française Du 12e Siècle Des ‘Sermones in Cantica’ de Saint Bernard”, Ed. Stewart Gregory (Book Review)’*, Romance Philology* (Berkeley: University of California Press Books Division, 1997), pp.347-52

Long, Lynne, ‘Medieval Literature Through the Lens of Translation Theory: Bridging the Interpretive Gap,’ *Translation Studies*, 3.1 (2010), pp.61-77

Love, Nathan, ‘AOI in the “Chanson de Roland”: A Divergent Hypothesis.’ *Olifant*, 10(4), (1984) pp.182-187

Luhrmann, Baz, dir. *Romeo+Juliet* (20th Century Fox, 1996)

Lundy, Darryl, ‘Person Page 8387,’ *The Peerage*, 2019 <http://www.thepeerage.com/p8387.htm#i83866> [Accessed 24 April 2020]

Lupack, Alan, ‘The Influence of Tennyson’s Poems on Arthurian Drama,’ *Arthuriana*, 24(4), (2014), pp.80-96

Lyons, John., and American Council of Learned Societies, *Semantics*, Vol.2 [electronic Resource] (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977)

Machan, Tim, ‘Editorial Method and Medieval Translations: The Example of Chaucer's “Boece”,’ *Studies in Bibliography*, 41 (1988) pp.188-196

Machin, David, and Andrea Mayr. *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction* (London: SAGE, 2012)

Madame Adam (Juliette Lamber), *La Grande Française from Louis Philippe Until 1917* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1917)

Marlborough College, ‘Explore our history,’ *Marlborough College*, 2019 <https://www.marlboroughcollege.org/about/place/college-history/> [Accessed 19 November 2019]

Martindale, Charles, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Matarasso, Pauline, *Clothed in Language* (Collegeville, MS: Liturgical Press, 2019)

—— *The Cistercian World: Monastic Writings of the Twelfth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993)

—— *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite* (Collegeville, MS: Liturgical Press, 2011)

—— *The Redemption of Chivalry: A Study of the Queste del Saint Graal* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979).

McLoone, Katherine A., *Translatio Studii Et Imperii in Medieval Romance* (University of California Los Angeles, United States, 2012)

Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries, 'MS. Digby 23' *Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford*, 2024 <https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_4352>

Mendelsohn, Daniel, 'Englishing the Iliad: Grading Four Rival Translations,' *The New Yorker*, 31 October 2011 <https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/englishing-the-iliad-grading-four-rival-translations> [Accessed April 2024]

Merkle, Denise, 'Translation Constraints and the "Sociological Turn" in Literary Translation Studies,' in Toury, G. and others, eds. *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2008) pp.175-86

Merriam-Webster, *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, n.d. <https://www.merriam-webster.com >

Meylaerts, Reine, 'Habitus and Self-Image of Native Literary Author-Translators in Diglossic Societies,' Translation and Interpreting Studies. The Journal of the American Translation and Interpreting Studies Association. (2010), 5(1) pp.1-9 <https://doi.org/10.1075/tis.5.1.01mey>

—— 'Sociology and Interculturality: Creating the Conditions for Inter-national Dialogue Across Intellectual Fields,' *The Translator*, 11(2) (2005) pp.277-283 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799202>

—— 'Translators and (their) Norms: Towards a Sociological Construction of the Individual,' in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. by Toury, Gideon and others (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2008) pp.91-102

Michigan State University Press, ‘About Us,’ *Michigan State University Press*, 2020 <https://msupress.org/about/> [Accessed 3 October 2020]

Munday, Jeremy, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications* (London: Routledge, 2001)

Murray, Sarah-Jane, ‘Plato's Timaeus and the Song of Roland: Remarks on Oxford Bodleian MS Digby 23,’ *Philological Quarterly*, 83.2 (2004) pp.115-126

Newmark, Peter, *A Textbook of Translation* (Hemel Hempstead: Prentice-Hall International, 1987)

Nida, Eugene A., ‘A Framework for the Analysis and Evaluation of Theories of Translation,’ in *Translation: Applications and Research*, ed. by Richard W. Brislin (New York: Gardner Press, 1976) pp.47-79

—— and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: Brill for the United Bible Societies, 1969)

—— *Toward a Science of Translating* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1964)

Nord, Christiane, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1997)

Norman, Frederick, *Three essays on the ‘Hildebrandslied’* (Institute of Germanic Studies, University of London, 1973).

NYU, ‘Sarah Kay,’ *NYU*, 2021 <https://as.nyu.edu/content/nyu-as/as/faculty/sarah-kay.html> [Accessed 18 August 2021]

Owen Wilfred, ‘Anthem for Doomed Youth,’ in *The Complete Poems and Fragments, Volume I*, ed. by Jon Stallworthy (London: Chatto & Windus/Hogarth Press, 1983)

Oxford University Press, ‘About Us,’ *Oxford University Press*, 2021 <https://global.oup.com/about/?cc=gb> [Accessed 17 August 2021]

—— ‘Series: Oxford World’s Classics,’ *Oxford University Press*, 2021 <https://global.oup.com/academic/content/series/o/oxford-worlds-classics-owc/?cc=gb&lang=en&> [Accessed 17 August 2021]

Oxford University, ‘Research Impact,’ *Oxford University*, 2023 <https://www.ox.ac.uk/research/research-impact> [Accessed 19 August 2023].

Payen, J-C., and Jean Dufournet, *Le Moyen Age*. *Nouvelle Ed. Revisée* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997)

Pelan, Margaret, *L'influence du Brut de Wace sur les romanciers français de son temps*. (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974)

Penguin, ‘Early Fiction in England,’ *Penguin*, 2015 <https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/193/193407/early-fiction-in-england/9780141392875.html> [Accessed 30 July 2019]

—— ‘The Song of Roland,’ *Penguin*, 2017 <https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/35160/the-song-of-roland-by-trans-glyn-burgesswith-an-introduction-and-notes-by-glyn-burgess/9780140445329> [Accessed 10 October 2017]

Perkins, Ed, ‘Terms of Endearment?’ *Bournemouth Echo*, 23 September 2008<https://www.bournemouthecho.co.uk/news/2451144.terms-of-endearment/> [Accessed 20 November 2019]

Petit, Aimé, ‘Les Chefs-d'Oeuvre à l'épreuve de la traduction: Le Roman de Thèbes et le Roman d'Eneas,’ *Moyen-âge*, 107.3-4 (2001), pp.481-502

Pickford, Susan, ‘Translation Competence and Professional Habitus in the 2009 English Retranslation of Simone de Beauvoir's Le Deuxième Sexe’, *De Genere (Benevento)*, 2020

Plaister, Natasha, ‘Which A-Level Subjects are the Most Popular?,’ *FFT Education Datalab*, 17 August 2022 <https://ffteducationdatalab.org.uk/2022/08/which-a-level-subjects-are-the-most-popular/ > [Accessed 05 June 2023]

Pound, Reginald, *The Lost Generation*. (London: Constable, 1964)

Prairie Schooner, ‘Ep. 47: Found in Translation,’ *Air Schooner*, Audio podcast, Prairie Schooner, 2013 <https://prairieschooner.unl.edu/airschooner/ep-47-found-translation> [Accessed 3 October 2020].

Price, Michael, ‘“Lost” Medieval Literature Uncovered by Techniques Used to Track Wildlife: New Method Turns the Page on Ancient European Texts,’ *Science* (2022) <https://www.science.org/content/article/lost-medieval-literature-uncovered-techniques-used-track-wildlife> [Accessed February 2023].

Price, Roger, *A Concise History of France*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Pym, Anthony, 'Late Victorian to Present,' in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, ed. by Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp.73-81

—— *Method in Translation History* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1998)

Quenzer, Jorg, Dmitry Bondarev and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, (eds.), *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2014)

Rasmussen, Ann Marie, 'Medieval German Romance,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.183-202

REF 2021, 'Additional Guidance,' *UKRI*, 2023 < https://www.ref.ac.uk/guidance-and-criteria-on-submissions/guidance/additional-guidance/> [Accessed 19 August 2023]

Reiss, Katharina, 'Type, Kind and Individuality of Text, Decision Making in Translation,' *Poetics today* 2/4, (1989), pp.121-131

—— and others, *Towards a General Theory of Translational Action: Skopos Theory Explained* (London: Routledge, 2014)

Rikhardsdottir, Sif, 'Bound by culture: a comparative study of the old French and old Norse versions of La Chanson de Roland,' *Medievalia*, 26(2), 2005, pp.243-64

—— *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012)

—— and Stefka G. Eriksen, 'État Présent: Arthurian Literature in the North,' *Journal of the International Arthurian Society*, 1.1, 2013, pp.3-28 <https://doi.org/10.1515/jias-2013-0001>

—— 'The Imperial Implications of Medieval Translations: Old Norse and Middle English Versions of Marie de France's Lais,' *Studies in Philology*, 105(2), 2008, pp.144-16 <https://doi.org/10.1353/sip.2008.0005>

Roberts, M.J.D., 'Morals, Art, and the Law: The Passing of the Obscene Publications Act, 1857,' *Victorian Studies*, 28.4 (1985), pp.609-29

Roberts, R. Ellis, ‘Fairy Tales,*’ The Athenaeum*, no. 4727, 1920, p.783. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/fairy-tales/docview/9231442/se-2> [Accessed 3 December 2019

Robinson College, University of Cambridge, ‘Dr Judy E Weiss,’ *University of Cambridge*, 2019 <https://www.robinson.cam.ac.uk/people/dr-judy-e-weiss> [Accessed 30 July 2019]

Robinson, Ken ‘A Brief History of the British Psychoanalytical Society,’ *Institute of Psychoanalysis*, n.d. <https://psychoanalysis.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/pages/history_of_the_bps_by_ken_robinson_0.pdf> [Accessed 6 February 2023]

Room, James, ‘Translating the ‘Iliad’? Who Isn’t,’ *The Daily Beast*, 13 April 2017 < https://www.thedailybeast.com/translating-the-iliad-who-isnt> [Accessed April 2024]

Royal Holloway, University of London, ‘Ruth Harvey,’ *Royal Holloway University of London*, 2021 <https://pure.royalholloway.ac.uk/portal/en/persons/ruth-harvey(63e3e15d-10bf-4694-9f9d-f3a1d13fdffb)/publications.html> [Accessed 18 August 2021].

Sapiro, Gisele, ‘Normes de traduction et contraintes sociales,’ in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. by Toury, Gideon and others (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2008) pp.199-208

Saussure, Ferdinand de, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. by Roy Harris, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013)

Sayers, Dorothy L., *Gaudy Knight*, 3rd edn (London: Gollancz, 1972)

Schäffner, Christina, 'Parallel texts in translation,' *in Unity in Diversity?: Recent Trends in Translation Studies*, ed. by Lynne Bowker (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1998) pp.83-90

—— (ed.) *Translation and Norms* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1999)

Schwartz, Joseph, *Cassandra's Daughter: a History of Psychoanalysis* (London: Routledge, 2018)

Schwarz, Werner ‘The Meaning of Fidus Interpres in Medieval Translation’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 45.177/178 (1944), pp.73-78

Sela-Sheffy, Rakefet 'How to be a (Recognized) Translator: Rethinking Habitus, Norms, and the Field of Translation,' *Target,* 17(1) (2005) pp.1-26 <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.17.1.02sel>

—— 'Translators' Identity Work: Introducing Microsociological Theory of Identity to the Discussion of Translators' Habitus,' in *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies*, ed. by Gisella M. Vorderobermeier (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2014) pp.43-55

Shakespeare, William, *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Shirley, Janet, *French Translations*, 2004 <https://web.archive.org/web/20040605142053/http://www.french-translator.co.uk/biography.htm> [Accessed 02 August 2021]

Simeoni, Daniel, 'Norms and the State,' in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. by Toury, Gideon and others (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2008) pp.329-342

—— 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus,' *Target International Journal of Translation Studies*, 10.1, (1998) pp.1-39

Simona Cohen, 'Translatio Studiorum,' in *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by Marco Sgarbi (New York: Springer International Publishing, 2016)

Smith, Richard C., 'Michael West's Life and Career,' *University of Warwick*, 2007 <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/al/research/collections/elt_archive/halloffame/west/life> [Accessed 19 November 2019]

Spence, John, 'About the Author,' *Anglo-Norman: A Blog*, 2016 <https://anglonorman.wordpress.com/about-the-author/> [Accessed 30 July 2019]

Spitzer, Leo, 'Aucassin et Nicolette, Line 2, Again.' *Modern Philology*, 48(3), (1951), pp.154-156

Stahuljak, Zrinka, 'Afterword Fixing Translation: Fixers as Paradigm for a Commensurate Social History of Translation,' *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 21.4 (2021), pp.164-77

—— *Bloodless Genealogies: Incest, Parricide and Female Excision in the Literature and Iconography of the French Twelfth Century* (Emory University, 2000)

—— 'Medieval Fixers: Politics of Interpreting in Western Historiography', in *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, ed. by Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), pp.147-63

Stanesco, Michel, 'L'Espace Linguistique Européen: Le Moyen Age,' in *Histoire de la France littéraire / Tome 1, Naissances, Renaissances: Moyen Âge-XVIe siècle*, ed. by Francois Lestringant and Michel Zink (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006) pp.78-96

Steiner, George, *After Babel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975)

Stock, Brian, 'The Middle Ages as Subject and Object: Romantic Attitudes and Academic Medievalism.' *New Literary History: A Journal of Theory and Interpretation*, 5.3, (1974), pp.527-47

Stoll, Jessica, 'The Medieval French Lexicon of Translation', *Neophilologus*, 99.2 (2015), pp.191-207 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11061-014-9404-6>

Sturges, Robert S., 'Beaucaire, 'Cartage,' Torelore: The Imaginary Mediterranean's Queer Carnival in Aucassin and Nicolette.' In *Queering the Mediterranean: Transcultural Sea of Sex, Gender, Identity and Culture*, ed. by Felipe Rojas and Peter Thompson (Leiden: Brill, 2021) pp.155-74

—— 'Interpretation as Action: The Reader in Late Medieval Narrative' (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1979)

—— 'Race, Sex, Slavery: Reading Fanon with Aucassin et Nicolette,' *Postmedieval a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, 6.1 (2015), pp.12-22

Tennyson, Alfred, 'The Lady of Shalott', in *The Collected Works of Tennyson* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1994) pp.55-59

'The New Life,' *The Athenaeum*, no. 4591, 1915, p.299 <https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/new-life/docview/8968802/se-2.> [Accessed 3 December 2019]

The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt, by Thomas of Britain; tr. from the Old French and Old Norse, trans. by Robert S. Loomis (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1923)

The Song of Roland, trans. by Dorothy L. Sayers (Penguin Classics) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957)

The Song of Roland, trans. by Glyn S. Burgess (London: Penguin Classics, 1990)

The Song of Roland, trans. by Janet Shirley (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1996)

The Song of Roland, trans. by John DuVal, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2012)

The Song of Roland, trans. by Michael A. H. Newth, (New York: Italica Press, 2011)

The Song of Roland, trans. by Robert L. Harrison (New York: New American Library, 1970)

The Song of Roland, trans. by Robert L. Harrison and Guy Gavriel Kay (New York: New American Library, 2012)

The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne, ed. and trans. by Simon Gaunt and Karen Pratt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

The Song of Roland, done into English, in the original measure by Charles Scott Moncrieff with an introduction by G. K. Chesterton and a note on technique by George Saintsbury, trans. by Charles.K.Scott-Moncrieff (London: Chapman and Hall, 1919)

The Song of Roland Translated Into English Verse, trans. by Arthur S. Way (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913)

The Song of Roland. Translated into English Verse, trans. by Leonard Bacon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914)

The University of Edinburgh, 'About our staff,' *The University of Edinburgh*, 2021 <https://www.ed.ac.uk/history-classics-archaeology/about-us/staff-profiles/profile_tab1_academic.php?uun=rsowerby> [Accessed 25 June 2021]

The University of Edinburgh, 'C. K. Scott Moncrieff (1889 – 1930),' *The University of Edinburgh* <https://www.ed.ac.uk/alumni/services/notable-alumni/alumni-in-history/ck-scott-moncrieff> [Accessed 23 February 2021]

The Values of French, 'Homepage,' *The Values of French*, 2021 <https://tvof.ac.uk/> [Accessed 18 October 2021]

Tomaryn Bruckner, M., 'The Shape of Romance in Medieval France,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.13-28

Toury, Gideon, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995)

—— 'Sharing Relevant Features: An Exercise in Optimal Translating,' *Meta*, 28(2), 1983, pp.116-129.

—— 'The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation,' in *The Translation Studies Reader*, 3rd edn, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London, New York: Routledge, 2012) pp.168-181

—— 'Translated Literature: System, Norm, Performance: Toward a TT-Oriented Approach to Literary Translation,' *Poetics Today*, 2.4, (1981), pp.9-27

Trésor de la langue française informatisé, 'fresaie,' *Centre national de la recherche scientifique. Analyse et traitement informatique de la langue française*, 2012 <http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/fresaie> [Accessed 25 January 2021]

Tristan et Iseut: Les poèmes français, la saga norroise, (Lettres gothiques), ed. and trans. by Daniel Lacroix and Philippe Walter, (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1989)

Tristan in Brittany, trans. by Dorothy L. Sayers (London: Ernest Benn, 1929)

Tymoczko, Maria, *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators* (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2014)

—— 'Translation, Ideology and Creativity,' *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 2, (2003), pp.27-45

Tyulenev, Sergey, *Applying Luhmann to Translation Studies. Translation in Society* (Routledge Advances in Translation Studies 1) (London; New York: Routledge: 2011)

—— 'Translation in Intersystemic Interaction: A Case Study of Eighteenth-Century Russia,' *TTR*, 23(1) (2010) pp.165-189

University College, London, 'Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies,' *University College, London*, 2023 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/medieval-renaissance-studies/> [Accessed 5 August 2023]

—— 'The Medieval Period (FREN0010),' *University College London*, 2024 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/module-catalogue/modules/the-medieval-period-FREN0010> [Accessed 29 April 2024]

University of Cambridge, 'Dr Philip Knox, Faculty of English,' *University of Cambridge*, 2016 <https://www.english.cam.ac.uk/people/Philip.Knox/> [Accessed 30 July 2019]

—— 'FR7 Bodies in Space,' *University of Cambridge*, 2023 <https://www.mmll.cam.ac.uk/sites/www.mmll.cam.ac.uk/files/fr7_reading.pdf> [Accessed 29 April 2024]

University of Exeter, 'Study information: Love and Death in French Culture,' *University of Exeter*, 2019 <https://www.exeter.ac.uk/study/studyinformation/modules/info/?moduleCode=MLF1014&ay=2020/1&sys=0> [Accessed April 2024]

University of Georgia, 'A Brief History of the Department | Comparative Literature,' *University of Georgia*, 2021 <https://cmlt.uga.edu/brief-history-department> [Accessed 24 April 2021]

University of Georgia, 'Biography of Calvin Brown,' *University of Georgia*, 2021 <https://cmlt.uga.edu/biography-calvin-brown#overlay-context=about-us/history> [Accessed 24 April 2021]

University of Leeds, 'FREN2080 Laughter, Love and Chivalry: Society and Culture in the French Middle Ages,' *University of Leeds*, 2024 <https://classicleedsforlife.leeds.ac.uk/Broadening/Module/FREN2080> [Accessed 29 April 2024]

University of Leicester, 'About Us,' *University of Leicester*, 2019 <https://le.ac.uk/medieval/about> [Accessed 11 June 2019]

University of Liverpool, 'Em P Glyn Burgess,' *University of Liverpool*, 2020 <https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/modern-languages-and-cultures/staff/glyn-burgess/> [Accessed 19 July 2020]

University of Nottingham, 'Reading List: Arthurian Literature (ENGL3023) (Q33207),' *University of Nottingham*, 2018 <https://rl.talis.com/3/notts/lists/410876A0-038B-CAF5-3FF5-19DE0F2B575C.html?lang=en-GB> [Accessed 5 August 2023]

University of Oxford, ‘Professor Laura Ashe,’ *University of Oxford, Faculty of English*, 2019 <https://www.english.ox.ac.uk/people/professor-laura-ashe> [Accessed 30 July 2019]

University of Warwick, ‘Professor Linda Paterson,’ *University of Warwick*, 2021 <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/academic/lp/> [Accessed 21 August 2021]

Van Leeuwen, Theo, *Introducing Social Semiotics* (London: Routledge, 2005)

Ventura, Simone, ‘Simone Ventura,’ *Academia.edu*, 2021 <https://ulb.academia.edu/SimoneVentura> [Accessed 21 August 2021].

Venuti, Lawrence, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998)

—— *The Translation Studies Reader*, 3rd edn (London; New York: Routledge, 2012)

—— *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Vinay, J.-P, and Jean Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation* (Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. Benjamins Pub. Co., 1995)

Wagner, David P., ‘Mentor Books,’ *Publishing History*, 2021 <https://www.publishinghistory.com/mentor-books.html> [Accessed 13 April 2021].

Wales, Katie, *A Dictionary of Stylistics*, 3rd edn (Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2011)

Waterhouse, John Willam, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, 1893, oil on canvas, 112 × 91cm, Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, Darmstadt

Waterstones, ‘The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade - Crusade Texts in Translation (Paperback),’ *Waterstones*, 2021 <https://www.waterstones.com/book/the-song-of-the-cathar-wars/janet-shirley/9780754603887> [Accessed 02 August 2021]

Webb, Jen, Tony Schirato and Geoff Danaher, *Understanding Bourdieu* (London: SAGE, 2002)

Weissbort, Daniel, and Astradur Eysteinsson, *Translation - Theory and Practice: A Historical Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Wheaton College, ‘Undergraduate Notes and Essays Archive by Dorothy L. Sayers, Box 1, Folder 10,’ *Marion E. Wade Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL.*, 2023 <https://archives.wheaton.edu/repositories/3/resources/477> [Accessed 23 July 2023]

Whitchurch, C. *Reconstructing Identities in Higher Education: The Rise of 'Third Space' Professionals* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012)

Wikipedia, ‘Fred Shirley,’ *Wikipedia*, 2020 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fred_Shirley> [Accessed 02 August 2021]

—— ‘Rhoda Sutherland,’ *Wikipedia*, 2021 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhoda_Sutherland> [Accessed 04 August 2021

—— ‘Waif and Stray,’ *Wikipedia*, 2020 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waif_and_stray> [Accessed 03 June 2020]

Wiktionary, ‘Hero’ (Sense 1-3), *Wiktionary*, 2021 <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/hero> [Accessed 27 September 2021]

—— ‘-wise,’ *Wiktionary*, 2020 <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/-wise> [Accessed 2 June 2020]

Williams, Glyn, *French Discourse Analysis: The Method of Poststructuralism* (London: Routledge, 2014)

Wind, Bartina H., *Les fragments du roman de Tristan: poème du XIIe siècle* (Vol. 92) (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1960)

—— ‘Éléments courtois dans Béroul et dans Thomas’, *Romance Philology*, 14.1 (1960), pp.1-13

Wodak, Ruth, and Michael Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 2nd edn (London: SAGE, 2009)

Wolf, Michaela, and Alexandra Fukari, *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007)

—— ‘Sociology of Translation,’ in Gambier, Yves, and Luc Van Doorslaer, eds. *Handbook of translation studies. Vol. 1* (John Benjamins Publishing, 2010)

—— ‘Women in the “translation field”,’ in *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*, ed. by Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger and Zuzana Jettmarová (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2006) pp.129-142

Worth, Liliana ‘Liliana Worth,' *Academia.edu*, 2019 <https://oxford.academia.edu/LilianaWorth> [Accessed 30 July 2019]

Wright, Joseph, *A Middle High German Primer*, 3rd edn (Project Gutenberg)

Zink, Michel, *Littérature Française du Moyen Age* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992).

Zink, Michel, *Medieval French Literature: An Introduction (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 110)*, trans. by Jeff Rider, (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York, 1995)

Appendix I: Source Texts

1a. Source Text editions – La Chanson de Roland

La Chanson de Roland. (Collection Folio, 1150.) ed. by Pierre Jonin (Paris: Gallimard, 1979)

CXLV

1940. Quant paien virent que Franceis i out poi,

Entr'els en unt orgoil e cunfort.

Dist l'un a l'altre: 'L'empereor ad tort.'

Li Marganices sist sur un ceval sor,

Brochet le ben des esperuns a or,

Fiert Olivier derere en mi le dos.

Le blanc osverc li ad descust el cors,

Par mi le piz sun espiet li mist fors,

E dist après: 'Un col avez pris fort!

Carles li Magnes mar vos laissat as porz!

Tort nos ad fait, nen est dreiz qu'il s'en lot,

Kar de vos sul ai ben venget les noz.'

CXLVI

Oliver sent que a mort est ferut.

Tient Halteclere, dunt li acer fut bruns,

Fiert Marganices sur l'elme a or, agut,

E flurs e cristaus, en acraventet jus;

Trenchet la teste d'ici qu'as denz menuz,

Brandist sun colp, si l’ad mort abatut,

E dist après: ‘Paien, mal aies tu!

Iço ne di que Karles n’i ait perdut.

Ne a muiler ne a dame qu’aies veüd

N’en vanteras el regne dunt tu fus

Vaillant a un dener que m’i aies tolut,

Ne fait damage ne de mei ne d’altrui.’

Après escriet Rollant qui l’i aiut. AOI.

CXLVII

Oliver sent qu’il est a mort nasfret.

De lui venger ja mais ne li ert sez.

En la grant presse or i fiert cum ber,

Trenchet cez hanstes e cez escuz buclers

E piez e poinz e seles e costez.

Ki lui veïst Sarrazins desmembrer.

Un mort sur altre geter,

De bon vassal li poüst remembrer.

L’enseigne Carle n’i volt mie ublier:

‘Munjoie!’ escriet e haltement e cler,

Rollant apelet, sun ami e sun per:

‘Sire cumpaign, a mei car vus justez !

A grant dulor ermes hoi desevrez.’ AOI.

CXLVIII

Rollant reguardet Oliver al visage:

Teint fut e pers, desculuret e pale.

Li sancs tuz clers par mi le cors li raiet:

Encuntre tere en cheent les eslaces.

‘Deus !’ dist li quens, ‘or ne sai jo que face.

Sire cumpainz, mar fut vostre barnage!

Jamais n’iert hume kit un cors cuntrevaillet.

E! France dulce, cun hoi remendras guaste

De bons vassals, cunfundue a chaiete’

Li emperere en avrat grant damage.’

A icest mot sur sun cheval se pasmet. AOI.

CXLIX

As vus Rollant sur sun cheval pasmet

E Oliver ki est mort naffret.

Tant ad seinet li oil li sunt trublet.

Ne loinz ne près ne poet vedeir si cler

Que reconoistre poisset nuls hom mortel.

Sun cumpaignun, cum il l’at encuntret,

Sil fiert amunt sur l’elme a or gemet,

Tut li detrenchet d’ici qu’al nasel;

Mais en la teste ne l’ad mie adeset.

A icel colp l’ad Rollant reguardet,

Si li demandet dulcement e suef:

‘Sire cumpain, faites le vos de gred ?

Ja est ço Rollant, ki tant vos soelt amer!

Par nule guise ne m'aviez desfiet!'

Dist Oliver: 'Or vos oi jo parler,

Jo ne vos vei, veied vus Damnedeu'

Ferut vos ai, car le me pardunez!'

Rollant respunt: ' Jo n'ai nient de mel

Jol vus parduins ici e devant Deu.'

A icel mot l'un a l'altre ad clinet.

Par tel amur as les vus desevred.

CL

Oliver sent que la mort mult l'angoisset.

Ansdous les oilz en la teste li turnent,

L'oïe pert e la veüe tute;

Descent a piet, a la tere se culchet,

Durement en halt si recleimet sa culpe,

Cuntre le ciel ambesdous ses mains juintes,

Si priet Deu que pareïs li dunget

E beneïst Karlun e France dulce,

Sun cumpaignun Rollant sur tuz humes.

Falt li coer, le helme li embrunchet,

Tretsut le cors a la tere li justet.

Morz est li quens, que plus ne se demuret.

Rollant li ber le pluret, sil duluset;

Jamais en tere n'orrez plus dolent hume.

CLI

Or veit Rollant que mort est sun ami,

Gesir adenz, a la tere sun vis.

Mult dulcement a regreter li prist:

‘ Sire cumpaign, tant mar fustes hardiz’

Ensemble avum estet e anz e dis.

Nem fesis mal ne jo nel te forsfis.

Quant tu es mor, dulur est que jo vif.’

A icest mot se pasmet le marchis

Sur sun ceval que cliemet Veillantif.

Afermet est a ses estreus d’or fin:

Quel part qu’il alt, ne poet mie chaïr.

CLII

Ainz que Rollant se seit aperceüt,

De pasmeisuns guariz ne revenuz,

Mult grant damage li est apareüt:

Morz sunt Franceis, tuz les i ad perdut,

Senz l’arcevesque e senz Gualter l’Hum.

Repairez est des muntaignes jus;

A cels d’espaigne mult s’i est cumbatuz;

Mort sunt si hume, sis unt païens vencut;

Voeillet o nun, desuz cez vals s’en fuit,

Si reclaimet Rollant, qu’il li aiut:

‘E! gentilz quens, vaillanz hom, u ies tu?

Unkes nen oi poür, la u tu fus.

Ço est Gualter, ki cunquist Maelgut,

Li niés Droün, al viell e al canut!

Pur vasselage suleie estre tun drut.

Ma hanste est fraite e percet mun escut

E mis osbercs desmailet e rumput

Par mi le cors […]

Sempres murrai, mais cher me sui vendut.'

A icel mot l'at Rollant entendut;

Le cheval brochet, si vient poignant vers lui. AOI.

[…]

CLIII

Rollant ad doel, su fut maltalentifs;

En la grant presse cumuncet a ferir.

De cels d'Espaigne en ad getet mort .XX.

E Gualter .VI. e l'arcevesque .V.

Dient paien: ' Feluns humes ad ci!

Guardez, seignurs, qu'il n'en algent vif.

Tut par seit fel ki nes vait envaïr

E recreant ki les lerrat guarir!'

Dunc recumencent e le hu e le cri;

De tutes parz lé revunt envaïr. AOI.

CLIV

Li quens Rollant fut noble guerrer,

Gualter de hums est bien bon chevaler,

Li arcevesque prozdom e essaiet:

Li uns ne volt l'altre nient laisser.

En la grant presse i fierent as païens.

Mil Sarrazins i descendent a piet

E a cheval sunt .XL. millers.

Men escientre nes osent aproismer.

Il lor lancent e lances e espiez

E wigres e darz e museras e agiez e gieser.

As premers colps i unt ocis Gualter,

Turpins de Reins tut sun escut percet,

Quasset sun elme, si l'unt nasfret el chef,

E sun osberc rumput e desmailet,

Par mi le cors nasfret de .IIII. espiez;

Dedesuz lui ocient sun destrer.

Or est grant doel, quant l'arcevesque chiet. AOI.

CLV

Turpins de Reins, quant se sent abatut,

De .IIII. espiez par mi le cors ferut,

Isnelement li ber resailit sus,

Rollant reguardet, puis si li est curut,

E dist un mot: 'Ne sui mie vencut!

Ja bon vassal nen ert vif recreüt.'

Il trait Almace, s'espee d'acer brun,

En la grant presse mil colps i fiert e plus.

Puis le dist Carles qu'il n'en esparignat nul:

Tels .IIII. cenz i troevet entur lui,

Alquanz nafrez, alquanz par mi ferut,

S'i out d'icels ki les chefs unt perdut.

Ço dit la Geste e cil ki el camp fut:

Li ber Gilie, por qui Deus fait vertuz,

E fist la chartre el muster de Loüm.

Ki tant ne set ne l'ad prod entendut.

CLVI

Li quens Rollant gentement se cumbat,

Mais le cors ad tressuet e mult chalt.

En la teste ad e dulor e grant mal:

Rumput est li temples, por ço qu il cornat.

Mais saveir volt se Charles i vendrat:

Trait l'olifan, fieblement le sunat.

Li emperere s'estut, si l'escultat:

'Seignurs, ' dist il, ' mult malement nos vit!

Rollant mis niés hoi cest jur nus defalt.

Jo oi corner que guares ne vivrat.

Ki estre i voelt isnelement chevalzt!

Sunez voz grasles tant que en cest ost ad!'

Seisante milie en i cornent si halt

Sunent li munt e respondent li val:

Paien l'entendent, nel tindrent mie en gab;

Dit l'un a l'altre: ' Karlun avrum nus ja!'

1b. Source Text editions – Tristan et Iseut

Tristan et Iseut: Les poèmes français; La saga norroise, ed. and trans. by Daniel Lacroix and Philippe Walter (Pari : Livre de Poche, Librairie Générale Française, 1989)

576. Ne pois, ço crei, aveir torment

Dunt plus aie paine sovent

Ne dont aie anguisse greinur,

Ait entre nus ire u amur;

Car si délit de li desir,

Dunc m'irt fort a sufrir sun lit.

U li haïr u li amer

M'irt forte paine a endurer

Pur ço qu'a Ysolt ment ma fei,

Tel penitance prang sur mei,

Quant ele savra cum sui destreit

Par tant pardoner le mei deit'

Tristran colche, Ysolt l'embrace,

Baise lui la buche e la face,

A li l'estraint, del cuer suspire

E volt iço qu'il ne desire;

A sun voleir est a contraire,

De laissier sun buen u del faire.

Sa nature proveir se volt,

La raison se tient a Ysolt.

Le desir qu'il ad vers le reïne

Tolt le voleir vers la meschine;

Le desir lui tolt le voleir,

Que nature n'i ad poeir.

Amur e raisun le destraint,

E le voleir de sun cors vaint.

Le grant amor qu'ad vers Ysolt

Tolt ço que la nature volt,

E vaint icele volenté

Que senz desir out en pensé.

Il out boen voleir de li faire

Mais l'amur le fait molt retraire.

Gente la sout, bele la set

E volt sun buen, sun desir het;

Car s'il nen oust si grant desir,

A son voleir poust asentir;

Mais a sun grant desir asent.

En paine est e en turment,

En grant pensé, en grant anguisse;

Ne set cume astenir se poisse,

Ne coment vers sa femme deive,

Par quel engen covrir se deive,

Nequedent un poi fu huntus

E fuit ço dunt fu desirus,

Eschive ses plaisirs e fuit

C’umcore n’oüst de sun deduit.

Dunc dit Tristrans: ‘Ma bele amie,

Ne tornez pas a vilainie,

Un conseil que vos voil geïr;

Si vos pri molt del covrir,

Que nuls nel sace avant de nos:

Unques nel dis fors or a vos.

De ça vers le destre costé

Ai el cors une emfermeté,

Tenu m’ad mult lungement;

Anoit m’ad anguissé forment.

Par le grant travail qu’ai eü

M’est il par le cors esmeü,

Si anguissement me tient

E si prés de la feie me vient

Que jo ne m’os plus m’emveisier

Ne mei pur le mal travaillier.

Uncques pois ne me travaillai

Que trez feiz ne me pasmai;

Malades en jui lunges après.

Ne vos em peist si or le lais:

Nos le ravrum encore assez

Quant jo voldrai e vos voldrez.

—— Del mal me peise, Ysolt respont,

Plus qu'altre mal en cest mond;

Mais del el dunt vos oi parler

Voil jo e puis bien desporter.

Ysolt en sa chambre suspire

Pur Tristan que tant desire,

Ne puet en sun cuer el penser

Fors ço sulment: Tristran amer.

Ele nen ad altre voleir

Ne altre amur, ne altre espeir,

En lui est trestuit sun desir,

E ne puet rien de lui oïr;

Ne set u est, en quel païs,

Ne si il est u mort u vis:
Pur ço est ele en greinur dolur

N'oï piech'ad nule verur.

Ne set pas qu'il est en Bretaigne;

Encor le quide ele en Espaigne,

La u il ocist le jaiant,

Le nevod a l'Orguillos grant

Ki d'Afriche ala requere

Princes e reis de tere en tere.

668. Orguillus ert hardi e pruz…

[…]

782. En sa chambre se set un jur

E fait un lai pitus d'amur:

Coment dan Guirun fu supris,

Pur l’amur de la dame ocis

Que il sur tute rïen ama,

E coment li cuns puis dona

Le cuer Guirun a sa moillier

Par engin un jor a mangier,

E la dolur que la dame out

Quant la mort de sun ami sout.

La reïne chante dulcement,

La voiz acorde a l’estrument;

Les mainz sunt beles, li lais buens,

Dulce la voiz, bas li tons.

Survint idunc Carïado,

Uns riches cuns de grant alo,

De bels chastés, de riche tere;

A cort ert venu por requere

La reïne de druerie.

Ysolt le tient a grant folie.

Par plusurs feiz l’ad ja requis

Puis que Tristrans parti del païs.

Idunc vint il pur corteier;

Mais unques n’i pot espleiter,

Ne tant vers la reïne faire

Vaillant un guant em poïst traire,

Ne en promesse ne en grant;

Unques ne fist ne tant ne quant.

En la curt ad molt demoré

E pur cest amor sujorné.

Il esteit molt bels chevaliers,

Corteis, orguillus e fiers;

Mès n'irt mie bien a loer

Endreit de ses armes porter.

Il ert molt bels e bons parleres,

Doneür e gabeeres:

Trove Ysolt chantant un lai,

Dit en riant: 'Dame, bien sai

Que l'en ot fresaie chanter

Contre de mort home parler,

Car sun chant signefie mort;

E vostre chant, cum jo record,

Mort de fresaie signifie:

Alcon ad or perdu la vie.

—— Vos dites veir,' Ysolt lui dit,

Bien voil que sa mort signifit.

Assez est huan u fresaie

Ki chante dunt altre s'esmaie.

Bien devez vostre mort doter,

Quant vos dotez le mien chanter,

Car vos estes fresaie asez

Pur la novele qu'aportez.

Unques ne crei aportisiez

Novele dunt l'en fust liez,

Ne unques chaenz ne venistes

Que males noveles ne desistes.

Il est tuit ensement de vos

Cum fu jadis d'un perechus,

Ki ja ne levast del astrier

Fors pur un hom coroceir:

De votre ostel ja nen isterez

Si novele oï n'avez

Que vos poissiez avant conter.

Vos ne volez pas luin aler

Pur chose faire que l'en die.

De vos n'irt ja novele oïe

Dunt vos amis aient honur,

Ne cels ki vos haient dolur.

Des altrui faiz parler volez:

Les voz n'irent ja recordez.'

Cariado dunc li respont:

'Coruz avez, mais ne sai dont.

Fols est ki pur voz diz s'esmaie.

Si sui huan, e vos fresaie!

Que que seit de la meie mort,

Males noveles vos aport

Endreit de Tristran vostre dru:

Vos l’avez, dame Ysolt, perdu;

En altre terre ad pris moillier.

Des or vos purrez purchacer,

Car il desdeigne vostre amor

E ad pris femme a grant honor,

864. La fille al dux de Bretaigne.’

Gregory, Stewart (ed. and trans.), Early French Tristan Poems II, Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 78, ed. Norris J. Lacy, (New York; London: Garland, 1991)

628. Ne pois, ço crei, aveir torment

Dunt plus aie paine sovent

Ne dont ai[e] anguisse greinur,

[Qu]'ait entre nos ire u amur:

Car si delit de li desir,

Dunc m'irt grant paine l'astenir,

E si ne coveit le delit,

Dunc m'irt fort a sofrir sun lit.

U li haïr u li amer

M'irt fort paine a endurer;

Pur ço qu'a Ysolt ment ma fei,

Tel penitance preng sur mei

Quant el savra cum sui destreit,

Par tant pardoner le me deit.'

Tristran colchë, Ysolt l'embrace,

Baise lui la buche e la face,

A li l'estraint, del cuer susspire

E volt iço qu'il ne desire;

A sun voleir est a contraire

De laissier sun buen u del faire;

Sa nature proveir se volt,

La raison se tient a Ysolt:

Le desir qu'ad vers la reïne

Tolt le voleir vers la meschine;

Le desir lui tolt le voleir,

Que nature n'i ad poeir.

Amur e raison le destraint,

E le voleir de sun cors vaint.

Le grant amor qu'ad vers Ysolt

Tolt ço que la [na]ture volt,

E vaint icele volenté

Que senz desir out en pensé.

Il out boen voleir de li faire,

Mais l'amur le fait molt retraire.

Gente la sent, bele la set,

E volt sun buen, sun desir het,

Car s'il n'en oust si grant desir,

A son voleir poust asentir.

Mais a sun grant desir s'asent.

En grant painë est e en turment,

En grant pensé, en grant anguisse:

Ne set cume astenir se poisse

Ne coment vers sa femme deive,

Par quel engin covrir se deive.

Nequedent un poi fu huntus

E fuit ço dunt fu desirus;

Eschive ses p[l]aisirs e fuit,

Cum cure n'oust de sun deduit.

Dunc dit Tristans: 'Ma bele amie,

Nel tornez pas a vilainie,

Un conseil que vos voil geïr,

Si vos pri [jo] molt del covrir

Que nuls nel sace avant de nos;

Unques nel dis fors ore a vos.

De ça vers le destre costé

Ai el cors une emfermeté,

[Qui] tenu m'ad molt lungement;

Anoit m'ad anguissé forment.

Par le grant travail qu'ai eü

M'est il par le cors esmeü;

Si anguissusement me tient,

E si près de la feie vient

Que jo ne m'os plus emveisier

Ne mei pur le mal travaillier.

Uncques pois ne me travaillai

Que [par] treis feiz [ne] me pasmai;

Malade en jui lunges aprés.

Ne vos em peist si or le lais;

Nos le ravrum [encore] asez,

Quant jo voldrai e vos voldrez.'

‘Del mal me peise,’ Ysolt resspont,

‘Plus que d’altre mal en cest mond,

Mais del el dunt vos oi parler

Voil jo e puis bien desporter.’

Ysolt en sa chambre suspire

Pur Tristran qu’ele tant desire;

Ne puet en sun cue[r] el penser

Fors ço sulment: Tristran amer.

Ele nen ad altre voleir,

Në altre amur, në altre espeir.

En lui est trestuit sun desir

E ne puet rien de lui oïr;

Ne set u est, en quel païs,

Ne si il est u mort u vis;

Pur c’est ele en greinur dolur

N’oï pich’ad nule verur.

Ne set pas qu’il est en Bretaigne;

Encor le quide ele en Espaigne,

La u il ocist le jaiant,

Le nevod a l’Orguillus Grant

Ki d’Africhë ala requere

Princes e reis de tere en tere.

720. Orguillus ert hardi e pruz…
[…]

834. En sa chambre se set un jor

E fait un lai pitus d’amur:

Coment dan Guirun fu supris,

Pur l’amur de la dame ocis

Quë il sur tute rien ama,

E coment li cuns puis dona

Le cuer Guirun a sa moillier

Par engin un jor a mangier,

E la dolur que la dame out

Quant la mort de sun ami sout.

Ysolt chante dulcement,

La voiz acorde a l’estrument.

Les mainz sunt bel[e]s, li lais buens,

Dulce la voiz [e] bas li tons.

Survint idunc Cariado,

Uns riches cuns de grant alo,

De bels chastés, de riche tere.

A cort ert venu pur requere

La reïne de drüerie;

Ysolt le tient a grant folie.

Par plusurs feiz l’ad ja requis

Puis Tristrans parti del païs.

Idunc vint il pur corteier,

Mais unques n’i pot espleiter

Ne tant vers la reïne faire

Vaillant un guant em poïst traire,

Në en promesse ne en graant:

Unques ne fist ne tant ne quant.

En la curt ad molt demoré

E pur cest amor sujorné.

Il esteit molt bels chevaliers,

Corteis [e] orguillus e firs,

Mes n'irt mie bien a loer

Endreit de ses armes porter.

Il ert molt bels e bons parleres,

[E] doneür e gabeeres.

Trovë Ysolt chantant un lai,

Dit en riant: 'Dame, bien sai,

Quant l'en ot fresaie chanter,

Covient de mort home parler,

Car sun chant signefie mort.

E vostre chant, cum jo record,

Mort de fresaie signifie:

Alcon ad or perdu la vie.'

'Vos dites veir,' Ysolt lui dit.

'Bien voil que sa mort signifit:

Assez est hüan u fresaie

Ki chante dunt altre s'esmaie.

Bien devez vostre mort doter

Quant vos dotez le mien chanter,

Car vos estes fresaie asez

Pur la novele qu'aportez.

Unques ne crei aportisiez

Novele dunt l'un fust [ja] liez,

Ne unques chaenz ne venistes

Males noveles ne desistes.

Il est tuit ensement de vus

Cum fu jadis d'un perechus,

Ki ja ne levast del astrir

Fors pur un hom coroceir:

De votre ostel jan en istrez

Si novelë oïe n'avez

Que vos poissiez avant conter.

[Vos] ne volez pas luin aler

Pur chose faire que l'en die.

De vos n'irt ja novele oïe

Dunt vos amis aient honur

Ne cels ki vos haient dolor.

Des altrui faiz parler volez,

Les voz n'irent ja recordez.'

Cariado dunc li respont:

'Coruz avez, mais ne sai dont.

Fols est ki pur voz diz s'esmaie.

Si sui hüan, e vos fresaie:

Que que seit de la mei[e] mort,

Males noveles vos aport

Endreit de Tristran vostre dru.

Vos l'avez, dame Ysolt, perdu:

En altre terre ad pris moillier.

Des or vos purrez purchacer,

Car il desdeigne vostre amor

E ad pris femme a grant honor,

916. La fillë al dux de Bretaigne.'

1c. Source Text editions – Aucassin et Nicolette

Aucassin et Nicolette: Édition critique, 2nd edn, ed. by Jean Dufournet (Paris: Flammarion, 1984)

II

OR DIENT ET CONTENT ET FABLENT

Que li quens Bougars de Valence faisoit guere au conte Garin de Biaucaire si grande et si mervelleuse et si mortel qu'il ne fust uns seux jors ajornés qu'il ne fust as portes et as murs et as bares de le vile a cent cevaliers et a dis mile sergens a pié et a ceval, si li argoit sa terre et gastoit son païs et ocioit ses homes.

Li quens Garins de Biaucaire estoit vix et frales, si avoit son tans trespassé. Il n'avoit nul oir, ne fil ne fille, fors un seul vallet. Cil estoit tex con je vos dirai.

Aucasins avoit a non li damoisiax. Biax estoit et gens et grans et bien tailliés de ganbes et de piés et de cors et de bras. Il avoit les caviax blods et menus recerclés et les ex vairs et rians et le face clere et traitice et le nes haut et bien assis. Et si estoit enteciés de bones teces qu'en lui n'en avoit nule mauvaise se bone non. Mais si estoit soupris d'Amor, qui tout vaint, qu'il ne voloit estre cevalers, ne les armes prendre, n'aler au tornoi, ne fare point de quanque il deust.

Ses pere et se mere li disoient:

'Fix, car pren tes armes, si monte el ceval, si deffent te terre et aïe tes homes: s'il te voient entr'ex, si defenderont il mix lor cors et lor avoirs et te tere et le miue.

—— Pere, fait Aucassins, qu'en parlés vos ore? Ja Dix ne me doinst riens que je li demant, quant ere cevaliers, ne monte a ceval, ne que voise a estor ne a bataille, la u je fiere cevalier ni autres mi, se vos ne me donés Nicholete me douce amie que je tant aim.

—— Fix, fait li peres, ce ne poroit estre. Nicolete laise ester, que ce est une caitive qui fu amenee d'estrange terre, si l'acata li visquens de ceste vile as Sarasins, si l'amena en ceste vile, si l'a levee et bautisie et faite sa fillole, si li donra un de ces jors un baceler qui du pain li gaaignera par honor: de ce n'as tu que faire. Et se tu fenme vix avoir, je te donrai le file a un roi u a un conte: il n'a si rice home en France, si tu vix sa fille avoir, que tu ne l'aies.

—— Avoi, peres, fait Aucassins, ou est ore si haute honers en terre, se Nicolete ma tresdouce amie l'avoit, qu'ele e fust bien enploiie en li? S'ele estoit enpereris de Colstentinoble u d'Alemaigne, u roine de France u d'Engletere, si aroit il assés peu en li, tant est France et cortoise et de bone aire et entecie de toutes bones teces.'

III

OR SE CANTE

Aucassins fu de Biaucaire

D'un castel de bel repaire.

De Nicole le bien faite

Nuis hom ne l'en puet retraire,

Que ses peres ne l'i laisse

Et sa mere le manace:

'Di ca ! faus, que vex tu faire?

—— Nicolete est cointe et gaie.

—— Jetee fu de Cartage

acatee fu d'un Saisne.

Puis qu'a moullié te vix traire,

pren fenme de haut parage.

Mere, je n'en puis el faire:

Nicolete est de bone aire;

Ses gens cors et son viaire.

Sa biautés le cuer m'esclaire

Bien est drois que s'amor aie,

Que trop est douc.'

IV

Quant li quens Garins de Biaucaire vit qu'il ne poroit Aucassin son fil retraire des amors Nicolete, il traist au visconte de le vile qui ses hon estoit, si l'apela:

'Sire quens, car ostés Nicolete vostre filole! Que la tere soit maleoite dont ele fut amenee en cest païs! C'or par li pert jou Aucassin, qu'il ne veut estre cevaliers, ne faire point de quanque faire doie. Et saciés bien que, se lje le puis avoir, que je l'arderai en un fu, et vous meismes porés avoir de vos tote peor.

—— Sire, fait li visquens, ce poise moi qu'il i va ne qu'il i vient ne qu'il i parole. Je l'avoie acatee de mes deniers, si l'avoie levee et bautisie et faite ma filole, si li donasse un baceler qui du pain li gaegnast par honor: de ce n'eust Aucassins vos fix que faire. Mais puis que vostre volentés est et vos bons, je lenvoierai en el tere et en tel païs que ja mais ne le verra de ses ex.

—— Ce gardés vous! fait li quens Garins: grans maus vos en porroit venir'

Il se departent. Et li visquens estoit molt rices hom, si avoit un rice palais par devers un gardin. En une canbre la fist metre Nicolete en un haut estage et une vielle aveuc li por conpagie et por soisté tenir, et s'i fist metre pain et car et vin et quanque mestiers lor fu. Puis si fist l'uis seeler c'on n'i peust de nule part entrer ne iscir, fors tant qu'il i avoit une fenestre par devers le gardin assés petite dont il lor venoit un peu d'essor.

V

OR SE CANTE

Nicole est en prison mise

En une canbre vautie,

Ki faite est par grant devisse,

Panturee a miramie.

A la fenestre marbrine

La s'apoia la mescine.

Ele avoit blonde la crigne

Et bien faite la sorcille,

La face clere et traitice:

Ainc plus bele ne veïstes.

Esgarda par le gaudine

Et vit le rose epanie

Et les oisax qui s'ecrient

Dont se clama orphenine:

'Ai mi! lasse moi, caitive!

Por coi sui en prison misse?

Aucassins, damoisiax sire,

Ja sui jou li vostre amie

Et vos ne me haés mie!

Por vos sui en prison misse

En ceste canbre vautie

U je trai molt male vie;

Mais, par Diu le fil Marie,

Longement n'i serai mie,

Se jel puis far[e].'

VI

OR DIENT ET CONTENT ET FABLENT

Nicolete fu en prison, si que vous avés oï et entendu, en le canbre. Li cris et le noise ala par tote le terre et par tot le païs que Nicolete estoit perdue: li auquant dient qu'ele est fuie fors de la terre, et li auquant dient que li quens Garins de Biaucaire l'a faite mordrir. Qui qu'en eust joie, Aucassins n'en fu mie liés, ains traist au visconte de la vile, si l'apela:

'Sire visquens, c'avés vos fait de Nicolete ma tresdouce amie, le riens en tot le mont que je plus amoie? Avés le me vos tolue ne enblee? Saciés bien que, se je en muir, faide vous en sera demandee; et ce sera bien drois, que vos m'arés ocis a vos deus mains, car vos m'avés tolu la riens en cest mont que je plus amoie.

—— Biax sire, fait li quens, car laisciés ester. Nicolete est une caitive que j'amenai d'estrange tere, si l'acatai de mon avoir a Sarasins, si l'ai levee et bautisie et faite ma fillole, si l'ai nourie, si li donasce un de ces jors un baceler qui del pain li gaegnast par honor: de ce n'avés vos que faire. Mais prendés le fille a un roi u a un conte. Enseurquetot, que cuideriés vous avoir gaegnié. Se vous l'aviés asognentee ne mise a vo lit? Mout i ariés peu conquis, car tos les jors du siecle en seroit vo arme en infer, qu'en paradis n'enterriés vos ja.

—— En paradis qu'ai je a faire? Je n'i quier entrer, mais que j'aie Nicolete ma tresdouce amie que j'aim tant, c'en paradis ne vont fors tex gens con je vous dirai. Il i vont ci viel prestre et cil viel clop et cil manke qui tote jor et tote nuit cropent devant ces autex et en ces viés capes ereses et a ces viés tatereles vestues, qui sont nu et decauc et estrumelé, qui moeurent de faim et de soi et de froit et de mesaises. Icil vont en paradis: aveuc ciax n'ai jou que faire. Mais en enfer voil jou aller, car en infer vont li bel clerc, et li bel cevalier qui sont mort as tornois et as rices gueres, et li buen sergant et li franc home: aveuc ciax voil jou aller. Et s'i vont les beles dames cortoises que eles ont deus amis ou trois avoc leur barons, et s'i va li ors et li argens et li vairs et li gris, et si i vont herpeor et jogleor et li roi del siecle: avoc ciax voil jou aller, mais que j'aie Nicolete ma tresdouce amie aveuc mi.

—— Certes, fait li visquens, por nient en parlerés, que ja mais ne le verrés; et si vos i parlés et vos peres le savoit, il arderoit et mi et li en un fu, et vos meismes porriés avoir toute paor.

—— Ce poise moi,' fait Aucassins; se se depart del visconte dolans.

VII

OR SE CANTE

Aucasins s'en est tornés

Molt dolans et abosmés:

De s'amie o le vis cler

nus ne le puet conforter

ne nul bon consel doner.

Vers le palais est alés,

il en monta les degrés,

en un canbre est entrés,

si comença a plorer

et grant dol a demener

et s'amie a regreter:

'Nicolete, biax esters,

biax venir et biax alers,

biax deduis et dous parlers,

biax borders et biax jouers,

biax baisiers, biax acolers.

por vos sui si adolés

et si malement menés

que je n'en cuit vis aller,

suer, douce amie.'

Glyn S. Burgess, (ed. and trans.) Aucassin and Nicolette, ed. Anne Elizabeth Cobby (New York; London: Garland (Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 47), 1988)

II

Or dient et content et fablent que li quens Bougars de Valence faisoit guere au conte Garin de Biaucaire si grande et si mervelleuse et si mortel qu'il ne fust uns seux jors ajornés qu'il ne fust as portes et as murs et as bares de le vile a .c. cevaliers et a .x. mile sergens a pié et a ceval, si li argoit sa terre et gastoit son païs et ocioit ses homes.

Li quens Garins de Biaucaire estoit vix et frales, si avoit son tans trespassé. Il n'avoit nul oir, ne fil ne fille, fors un seul vallet; cil estoit tex con je vos dirai. Aucasins avoit a non li damoisiax. Biax estoit et gens et grans et bien tailliés de ganbes et de pies et de cors et de bras. Il avoit les caviax blons et menus recercelés et les ex vairs et rians et le face clere et traitice et le nes haut et bien assis; et si estoit enteciés de bones teces qu'en lui n'en avoit nule mauvaise se bone non. Mais si estoit soupris d'Amor, qui tout vaint, qu'il ne voloit estre cevalers, ne les armes prendre, n'aler au tornoi, ne fare point de quanque il deust. Ses pere et se mere li disoient:

'Fix, car pren tes armes, si monte el ceval, si deffent te terre et aïe tes homes; s'il te voient entr'ex, si defenderont il mix lor cors et lor avoirs et te tere et le miue.'

'Pere,' fait Aucassins, 'qu'en pariés vos ore? Ja Dix ne me doinst riens que je li demant quant ere cevaliers, ne monte a ceval, ne que voise a estor ne a bataille, la u je fiere cevalier ni autres mi, se vos ne me donés Nicholete me douce amie que je tant aim.'

'Fix,' fait li peres, 'ce ne poroit estre. Nicolete laise ester, que ce est une caitive qui fu amenee d'estrange terre, si l'acata li visquens de ceste vile as Sarasins, si l'amena en ceste vile, si l'a levee et bautisie et faite sa fillole, si li donra un de ces jors un baceler qui du pain li gaaignera par honor; de ce n'as tu que faire. Et se tu fenme vix avoir, je te donrai le file a un rai u a un conte; il n'a si rice home en France, se tu vix sa fille avoir, que tu ne l'aies.

'Avoi! peres,' fait Aucassins. 'Ou est ore si haute honers en terre, se Nicolete ma tres douce amie l'avoit, qu'ele ne fust bien enploiie en li? S'ele estoit enpereris de Costentinoble u d'Alemaigne, u roine de France u d'Engletere, si aroit il asses peu en li, tant est france et cortoise et debonaire et entecie de toutes bones teces.'

III Or se cante.

Aucassins fu de Biaucaire,

D'un castel de bel repaire.

De Nicole le bien faite

Nuis hom ne l'en puet retraire,

Que ses peres ne li laisse

Et sa mere le manace:

‘Di va, faus, que vex tu faire?’

‘Nicolete est cointe et gaie.’

‘Jetee fu de Cartage,

Acatee fu d’un Saisne.

Puis qu'a moullié te vix traire,

Prem feme de haut parage.’

‘Mere, je n'en puis el faire.

Nicolete est deboinaire;

Ses gens cors et son viaire,

Sa biautés le cuer m'esclaire.

Bien est drois que s'amor aie,

Que trop est douce.’

IV Or dient et content et flablent.

Quant li quens Garins de Biaucare vit qu'il ne poroit Aucassin son fil retraire des amors Nicolete, il traist au visconte de le vile, qui ses hon estoit, si l'apela:

‘Sire quens, car ostés Nicolete vostre filole! Que la tere soit maleoite dont ele fu amenee en cest païs, c'or par li pert jou Aucassin, qu'il ne veut estre cevaliers, ne faire point de quanque faire doie. Et saciés bien que se je le puis avoir, que je l'arderai en un fu, et vous meismes porés avoir de vos tote peor.’

‘Sire,’ fait li visquens, ‘ce poise moi qu'il i va ne qu'il i vient ne qu'il i parole. Je l'avoie acatee de mes deniers, si l'avoie levee et bautisie et faite ma filole, si li donasse un

baceler qui du pain li gaegnast par honor; de ce n'eust Aucassins vos fix que faire. Mais puis que vostre volentés est et vos bons, je l'envoierai en tel tere et en tel païs que ja mais ne le verra de ses ex.'

'Ce gardes vous,' fait li quens Garins; 'grans maus vos en porroit venir!'

Il se departent. Et li visquens estoit mout rices hom, si avoit un rice palais par devers un gardin. En une canbre la fist metre Nicolete en un haut estage, et une vielle aveuc li por conpagnie et por soisté tenir; et s'i fist metre pain et car et vin et quanque mestiers lor fu. Puis si fist l'uis seeler, c'on n'i peust de nule part entrer ne iscir, fors tant qu'il i avoit une fenestre par devers le gardin assés petite, dont il lor venoit un peu d'essor.

V Or se cante.

Nicole est en prison mise,

En une canbre vautie

Ki faite est par grant devisse,

Panturee a miramie.

A la fenestre marbrine

La s'apoia la mescine.

Ele avoit blonde la crigne

Et bien faite la sorcille,

La face clere et traitice:

Ainc plus bele ne veïstes.

Esgarda par le gaudine

Et vit la rose espanie

Et les oisax qui s'ecrient,

Dont se clama orphenine.

'Ai mi! lasse moi, caitive!

Por coi sui en prison misse?

Aucassin, damoisiax sire,

Ja sui jou li vostre amie,

Et vos ne me haés mie.

Por vos sui en prison misse,

En ceste canbre vautie

U je trai mout male vie.

Mais par Diu le fil Marie,

Longement n'i serai mie,

Se jel puis fare.’

VI Or dient et content et fablent.

Nicolete fu en prison, si que vous avés oï et entendu, en le canbre. Li cris et le noise ala par tote le terre et par tot le païs que Nicolete estoit perdue. Li auquant dient qu'ele est fuie fors de la terre, et li auquant dient que li quens Garins de Biaucaire l'a faite mordrir. Qui qu'en eust joie, Aucassins n'en fu mie liés; ains traist au visconte de la vile, si l’apela:

‘Sire visquens, c'avés vos fait de Nicolete ma tres douce amie, le riens en tot le mont que je plus amoie? Avés le me vos tolue ne enblee? Saciés bien que se je en muir, faide vous en sera demandee; et ce sera bien drois, que vous m'arés ocis a vos .ii. mains, car vos m'aves tolu la riens en cest mont que je plus amoie.’

‘Biax sire,’ fait li quens, ‘car laisciés ester. Nicolete est une caitive que j'amenai d'estrange tere, si l'acatai de mon avoir a Sarasins, si I'ai levee et bautisie et faite ma filiole, si l'ai nourie, si li donasce un de ces jors un baceler qui del pain li gaegnast par honor; de ce n'avés vos que faire. Mais prendés le fille a un roi u a un conte. Enseurquetot, que cuideriés vous avoir gaegnié, se vous l'aviés asognentee ne mise a vo lit? Mout i ariés peu conquis, car tos les jors du siecle en seroit vo arme en infer, qu'en paradis n'enterriés vos ja.’

‘En paradis qu'ai je a faire? Je n'i quier entrer, mais que j'aie Nicolete ma tres douce amie que j'aim tant; e’en paradis ne vont fors tex gens con je vous dirai. II i vont ci viel prestre et cil viel clop, et cil manke qui tote jor et tote nuit cropent devant ces autex et en ces viés cruutes, et cil a ces viés capes ereses et a ces viés tatereles vestues, qui sont nu et decauc et estrumelé, qui moeurent de faim et de soi et de froit et de mesaises. Icil vont en paradis:

aveuc ciax n'ai jou que faire. Mais en infer voil jou aler; car en infer vont li bel clerc et li bel cevalier qui sont mort as tornois et as rices gueres, et li buen sergant et li franc home: aveuc ciax voil jou aler. Et s'i vont les beles dames cortoises, que eles ont .ii. amis ou .iii. avoc leur barons, et s'i va li ors et li argens et li vairs et li gris, et si i vont herpeor et jogleor et li roi del siecle: avoc ciax voil jou aler, mais que j'aie Nicolete ma tres douce amie aveuc mi.'

'Certes,' fait li visquens, 'por nient en parlerés, que ja mais ne le verrés. Et se vos i pariés et vos peres le savoit, il arderoit et mi et li en un fu, et vos meismes porriés avoir toute paor.'

'Ce poise moi,' fait Aucassins. Il se depart del visconte dolans.

VII Or se cante.

Aucasins s'en est tornés

Mout dolans et abosmés;

De s'amie o le vis cler

Nus ne le puet conforter,

Ne nul bon consel doner.

Vers le palais est alés,

Il en monta les degrés,

En une canbre est entrés,

Si comença a plorer

Et grant dol a demener

Et s'amie a regreter:

'Nicolete, biax esters,

Biax venir et biax alers,

Biax deduis et dous parlers,

Biax borders et biax jouers,

Biax baisiers, biax acolers,

Por vos sui si adolés

Et si malement menés

Que je n'en cuit vis aller,

Suer, douce amie.’

Robert S. Sturges, (ed. and trans.), Aucassin and Nicolette: a facing-page edition and translation, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015)

2. Or dient et content et fablent

que li quens Bougars de Valence faisoit guere au conte Garin de Biaucaire si grande et si mervelleuse et si mortel qu'il ne fust uns seux jors ajornés qu'il ne fust as portes et as murs et as bares de le vile a cent cevaliers et a dis mile sergens a pié et a ceval, si li argoit sa terre et gastoit son païs et ocioit ses homes.

Li quens Garins de Biaucaire estoit vix et frales, si avoit son tans trespassé. Il n'avoit nul oir, ne fil ne fille, fors un seul vallet. Cil estoit tex con je vos dirai. Aucasins avoit a non li damoisiax. Biax estoit et gens et grans et bien tailliés de ganbes et de piés et de cors et de bras. Il avoit les caviax blons et menus recercelés et les ex vairs et rians et le face clere et traitice et le nes haut et bien assis. Et si estoit enteciés de bones teces qu'en lui n'en avoit nule mauvaise se bone non. Mais si estoit soupris d'Amor, qui tout vaint, qu'il ne voloit estre cevalers, ne les armes prendre, n'aler au tornoi, ne fare point de quanque il deust. Ses pere et se mere li disoient:

'Fix, car pren tes armes, si monte el ceval, si deffent te terre et aïe tes homes: s'il te voient entr'ex, si defenderont il mix lor cors et lor avoirs et te tere et le miue.'

'Pere,' fait Aucassins, 'qu'en parlés vos ore? Ja Dix ne me doinst riens que je li demant, quant ere cevaliers, ne monte a ceval, ne que voise a estor ne a bataille, la u je fiere cevalier ni autres mi, se vos ne me donés Nicholete me douce amie que je tant aim.'

'Fix,' fait li peres, 'ce ne poroit estre. Nicolete laise ester, que ce est une caitive qui fu amenee d'estrange terre, si l'acata li visquens de ceste vile as Sarasins, si l'amena en ceste vile, si l'a levee et bautisie et faite sa fillole, si li donra un de ces jors un baceler qui du pain li gaaignera par honor: de ce n'as tu que faire. Et se tu fenme vix avoir, je te donrai le file a un rai u a un conte: il n'a si rice home en France, se tu vix sa fille avoir, que tu ne l'aies.'

'Avoi, peres,' fait Aucassins, 'ou est ore si haute honers en terre, se Nicolete ma tresdouce amie l'avoit, qu'ele ne fust bien enploiie en li? S'ele estoit enpereris de Colstentinoble u d'Alemaigne, u roine de France u d'Engletere, si aroit il assés peu en li, tant est france et cortoise et de bon aire et entecie de toutes bones teces.'

3. Or se cante

Aucassins fu de Biaucaire,

d’un castel de bel repaire.

De Nicole le bien faite

nuis hom ne l’en puet retraire,

que ses peres ne l’i laisse

et sa mere le manace:

‘Di va! faus, que vex tu faire?

Nicolete est cointe et gaie;

jetee fu de Cartage,

acatee fu d’un Saisne.

Puis qu’a moullié te vix traire,

prem femme de haut parage.’

‘Mere, je n’en puis el faire:

Nicolete est de boin aire;

ses gens cors et son viaire,

sa biautés le cuer m’esclaire.

que trop est douc.’

Bien est drois que s’amor aie,

4. Or dient et content et flablent.

Quant li quens Garins de Biaucare vit qu’il ne poroit Aucassin son fil retraire des amors Nicolete, il traist au visconte de le vile qui ses hon estoit, si l’apela:

‘Sire quens, car ostés Nicolete vostre filole! Que la tere soit maleoite dont ele fu amenee en cest païs! C’or par li pert jou Aucassin, qu’il ne veut estre cevaliers, ne faire point de quanque faire doie; et saciés bien que, se je le puis avoir, que je l’arderai en un fu, et vous meismes porés avoir de vos tote peor.’

‘Sire,’ fait li visquens, ‘ce poise moi qu’il i va ne qu’il i vient ne qu’il i parole. Je l’avoie acatee de mes deniers, si l’avoie levee et bautisie et faite ma filole, si li donasse un baceler qui du pain li gaegnast par honor: de ce n’eust Aucassins vos fix que faire. Mais puis que vostre volentés est et vos bons, je l’envoierai en tel tere et en tel païs que ja mais ne le verra de ses ex.’

‘Or gardés vous!’ fait li quens Garins: ‘grans maus vos en porroit venir.’

Il se departent. Et li visquens estoit molt rices hom, si avoit un rice palais par devers un gardin. En une canbre la fist metre Nicolete en un haut estage et une vielle aveuc li por conpagnie et por soisté tenir, et s’i fist metre pain et car et vin et quanque mestiers lor fu. Puis si fist l’uis seeler c’on n’i peust de nule part entrer ne iscir, fors tant qu’il i avoit une fenestre par devers le gardin assés petite dont il lor venoit un peu d’essor.

5. Or se cante.

Nicole est en prison mise

en une canbre vautie

ki faite est par grant devisse,

panturee a miramie.

A la fenestre marbrine

la s’apoia la mescine.

Ele avoit blonde la crigne

et bien faite la sorcille,

la face clere et traitice:

ainc plus bele ne veïstes.

Esgarda par le gaudine,

et vit la rose espanie

et les oisax qui se crient,

dont se clama orphenine:

‘Ai mi! lasse moi caitive!

por coi sui en prison misse?

Aucassins, damoisiax sire,

ja sui jou li vostre amie

et vos ne me haés mie!

Por vos sui en prison misse

en ceste canbre vautie

u je trai molt male vie.

Mais, par Diu le fil Marie,

longement n’i serai mie,

se jel puis far.’

6. Or dient et content et fablent.

Nicolete fu en prison, si que vous avés oï et entendu, en le canbre. Li cris et le noise ala par tote le terre et par tot le païs que Nicolete estoit perdue: li auquant dient qu’ele est fuie fors de la terre, et li auquant dient que li quens Garins de Biaucaire l’a faite mordrir. Qui qu’en eust joie, Aucassins n’en fu mie liés, ains traist au visconte de la vile, si l’apela:

‘Sire visquens, c’avés vos fait de Nicolete ma tresdouce amie, le riens en tot le mont que je plus amoie? Avés le me vos tolue ne enblee? Saciés bien que, se je en muir, faide vous en sera demandee; et ce sera bien drois, que vos m’arés ocis a vos deus mains, car vos m’avés tolu la riens en cest mont que je plus amoie.’

‘Biax sire,’ fait li quens, ‘car laisciés ester. Nicolete est une caitive que j’amenai d’estrange tere, si l’acatai de mon avoir a Sarasins, si l’ai levee et bautisie et faite ma fillole, si l’ai nourie, si li donasce un de ces jors un baceler qui del pain li gaegnast par honor. De ce n’avés vos que faire. Mais prendés le fille a un roi u a un conte. Enseurquetot, que cuideriés vous

avoir gaegnié, se vous l'aviés asognentee ne mise a vo lit? Mout i ariés peu conquis, car tos les jors du siecle en seroit vo arme en infer, qu'en paradis n'enterriés vos ja.'

'En paradis qu'ai je a faire? Je n'i quier entrer, mais que j'aie Nicolete ma tresdouce amie que j'aim tant, c'en paradis ne vont fors tex gens con je vous dirai. Il i vont ci viel prestre et cil viel clop et cil manke qui tote jor et tote nuit cropent devant ces autex et en ces viés croutes, et cil a ces viés capes ereses et a ces viés tatereles vestues, qui sont nu et decauc et estrumelé, qui moeurent de faim et de soi et de froit et de mesaises. Icil vont en paradis: aveuc ciax n'ai jou que faire. Mais en infer voil jou aler, car en infer vont li bel clerc, et li bel cevalier qui sont mort as tornois et as rices gueres, et li buen sergant et li franc home: aveuc ciax voil jou aler. Et s'i vont les beles dames cortoises que eles ont deus amis ou trois avoc leur barons, et s'i va li ors et li argens et li vairs et li gris, et si i vont herpeor et jogleor et li roi del siecle: avoc ciax voil jou aler, mais que j'aie Nicolete ma tresdouce amie aveuc mi.'

'Certes,' fait li visquens, 'por nient en parlerés, que ja mais ne le verrés; et se vos i parlés et vos peres le savoit, il arderoit et mi et li en un fu, et vos meismes porriés avoir toute paor.'

'Ce poise moi,' fait Aucassins; se se depart del visconte dolans.

7. Or se cante.

Aucasins s'en est tornés,

molt dolans et abosmés:

de s'amie o le vis cler

nus ne le puet conforter

ne nul bon consel doner.

Vers le palais est alés,

il en monta les degrés,

en une canbre est entrés,

si comença a plorer

et grant dol a demener

et s'amie a regreter:

‘Nicolete, biax esters,

biax venir et biax alers,

biax deduis et dous parlers,

biax borders et biax jouers,

biax baisiers, biax acolers,

por vos sui si adolés

et si malement menés

que je n’en cuit vis aler,

suer, douce amie.’

Appendix II : Target Texts

IIa. La Chanson de Roland excerpts

The Song of Roland, done into English, in the original measure by Charles Scott Moncrieff with an introduction by G. K. Chesterton and a note on technique by George Saintsbury, trans. by Charles.K.Scott-Moncrieff (London: Chapman and Hall, 1919)

CXLV

1940. Franks are but few; which, when the pagans know,

Among themselves comfort and pride they shew.

Says each to each: 'Wrong was the Emperor.'

Their alcaliph on a sorrel rode,

And pricked it well with both is spurs of gold;

Struck Oliver, behind, on the back-bone,

His hauberk white into his body broke,

Clean through his breast the thrusting spear he drove;

After he said: 'You've borne a mighty blow.

Charlès the great should not have left you so;

He's done us wrong, small thanks to him we owe;

I've well avenged all ours on you alone,'

CXLVI

Oliver feels that he to die is bound,

Holds Halteclere, whose steel is rough and brown,

Strikes the alcaliph on his helm's golden mount;

Flowers and stones fall clattering to the ground,

Slices his head, to th'small teeth in his mouth;

So brandishes his blade and flings him down;

After he says: ‘Pagan, accurst be thou!

Thou’lt never boast, in lands where thou wast crowned,

One pennyworth from me thou’st taken out,

Nor damage wrought on me nor any around.’

After, for aid, ‘Rollant!’ he cries aloud.

CXLVII

Oliver feels that death is drawing nigh;

To avenge himself he hath no longer time;

Through the great press most gallantly he strikes,

He breaks their spears, their buckled shields doth slice,

Their teeth, their fists, their shoulders and their sides,

Dismembers them: whoso had seen that sight,

Dead in the field one on another piled,

Remember well a vassal brave he might.

Charlè’s ensign he’ll not forget it quite;

Aloud and clear ‘Monjoie’ again he cries.

To call Rollanz, his friend and peer, he tries:

‘My companion, come hither to my side.

With bitter grief we must us now divide.’

CXLVIII

Then Rollant looked upon Olivier’s face;

Which was all wan and colourless and pale,

While the clear blood, out of his body sprayed,

Upon the ground gushed forth and ran away.

‘God!’ said that count, ‘What shall I do or say?

My companion, gallant for such ill fate!

Ne’er shall man be, against thee could prevail.

Ah! France the Douce, henceforth art thou made waste

Of vassals brave, confounded and disgraced!

Our emperor shall suffer damage great.!

And with these words upon his horse he faints.

CXLIX

You’d seen Rollant aswoon there in his seat,

And Oliver, who unto death doth bleed,

So much he’s bled, his eyes are dim and weak;

Nor clear enough his vision, far or near,

To recognise whatever man he sees;

His companion, when each the other meets,

Above the helm jewelled with gold he beats,

Slicing it down from there to the nose-piece,

But not his head; he’s touched not brow nor cheek.

At such a blow Rollant regards him keen,

And asks of him, in gentle tones and sweet:

‘To do this thing, my comrade, did you mean?

This is Rollanz, who ever held you dear;

And no mistrust was ever us between,’

Says Oliver: ‘Now can I hear you speak;

I see you not: may the Lord God you keep!

I struck you now: and for your pardon plead.'

Answers Rollanz: 'I am not hurt, indeed;

I pardon you, before God's Throne and here.'

Upon these words, each to the other leans;

And in such love you had their parting seen.

CL

Oliver feels death's anguish on him now;

And in his head his two eyes swimming round;

Nothing he sees; he hears not any sound;

Dimounting then, he kneels upon the ground,

Proclaims his sins both firmly and aloud,

Clasps his two hands, heavenwards holds them out,

Prays God himself in Paradise to allow;

Blessings on Charles, and on Douce France he vows,

And his comrade Rollanz, to whom he's bound.

Then his heart fails; his helmet nods and bows;

Upon the earth he lays his whole length out:

And he is dead, may stay no more, that count.

Rollanz the brave mourns him with grief profound;

Nowhere on earth so sad a man you'd found.

CLI

So Rollant's friend is dead; whom when he sees

Face to the ground, and biting it with's teeth,

Begins to mourn in language very sweet:

'Unlucky, friend, your courage was indeed!

Together we have spent such days and years,

No harmful thing twixt thee and me has been.

Now thou art dead, and all my live a grief.'

And with these words again he swoons, that chief,

Upon his horse, which he calls Veillantif;

Stirrups of gold support him underneath;

He cannot fall, whichever way he lean.

CLII

Soon as Rollant his senses won and knew,

Recovering and turning from that swoon.

Bitter great loss appeared there in his view:

Dead are the Franks; he'd all of them to lose,

Save the Archbishop, and save Gualter del Hum;

He is come down out of the mountains, who

Gainst Spanish men, for those the pagans slew;

Will he or nill, along the vales he flew,

And called Rollant, to bring him succour soon:

'Ah! Gentle count, brave soldier, where are you?

For by thy side no fear I ever knew.

Gualter it is, who conquered Maëlgut,

And nephew was to hoary old Droün;

My vassalage thou ever thoughtest good.

Broken my spear, and split my shield in two;

Gone is the mail that on my hauberk grew;

This body of mine eight lances have gone through;

I'm dying. Yet full price for life I took.'

Rollant has heard these words and understood,

Has spurred his horse, and on towards him drew.

CLII

Grief gives Rollanz intolerance and pride;

Through the great press he goes again to strike;

To slay a score of Spaniards he contrives,

Gualter has six, the Archbishop the other five.

The pagans say: 'Men, these, of felon kind!

Lordings, take care they go not hence alive!

Felon he's named that does not break their line,

Recreant, who lets them any safety find!'

And so once more begin the hue and cry,

From every part they come to break the line.

CLIV

Count Rollant is a noble and brave soldier,

Gualter del Hum's a right good chevalier,

That Archbishop hath shewn good prowess there;

None of them that falls behind the other pair;

Through the great press, pagans they strike again.

Come on afoot a thousand Sarrazens,

And on horseback some forty thousand men,

But well I know, to approach they never dare;

Lances and spears they poise to hurl at them,

Arrows, barbs, darts and javelins in the air.

With the first flight they've slain our Gualtïer;

Turpin of Reims has all his shield broken,

And cracked his helm; he's wounded in the head,

From his hauberk the woven mail they tear,

In his body four spear-wounds doth he bear;

Beneath him too his charger's fallen dead.

Great grief it was, when that Archbishop fell.

CLV

Turpin of Reims hath felt himself undone,

Since that four spears have through his body come;

Nimble and bold upon his feet he jumps;

Looks for Rollant, and then towards him runs,

Saying this word: 'I am not overcome.

While life remains, no good vassal gives up.'

He's drawn Almace, whose steel was brown and rough,

Through the great press a thousand blows he's struck:

As Charlès said, quarter he gave to none;

He found him there, four hundred else among,

Wounded the most, speared through the middle some,

Also there were from whom the heads he'd cut:

So tells the tale, he that was there says thus,

The brave Saint Giles whom God made marvellous,

Who charters wrote for th'Minster at Loüm;

Nothing he's heard that does not know this much,

CLVI

The Count Rollanz has nobly fought and well,

But he is hot, and all his body sweats;

Great pain he has, and trouble in his heard,

His temples burst when the horn sounded;

But he would know if Charles will come to them,

Takes the olifant, and feebly sounds again.

That Emperour stood still and listened then:

'My lords,' said he, 'Right evilly we fare!

This day Rollanz, my nephew shall be dead:

I hear his horn, with scarcely any breath.

Nimbly canter, whoever would be there!

Your trumpets sound, as many as ye bear!'

Sixty thousand so loud together blare,

The mountains ring, the valleys answer them.

The pagans hear, they think it not a jest;

2114. Says each to each: 'Carlum doth us beset.'

The Song of Roland, trans. by Robert L. Harrison (New York: New American Library, 1970)

<<145>>

1940. The pagans, when they see the French are few,

Feel proud and reassured among themselves:

'The emperor is wrong,' one tells another.

Astride a sorrel horse sits Marganice;

He rakes him briskly with his golden spurs

And strikes Olivier upon the back,

Lays bare the flesh beneath the shining hauberk

And shoves his lance entirely through his chest,

And then says: 'You took a mortal blow!

Great Charles should not have left you at the pass,

He's done us wrong, he has no right to boast;

Through you alone, our side is well avenged.'

<<146>>

Olivier feels wounded unto death,

But gripping Halteclere, whose blade was polished,

Strikes Marganice's high-peaked golden casque;

He smashes downward through fleurons and gems

And splits the skill wide open to the teeth.

He wrenches free and lets the dead man fall,

And afterward he tells him: 'Damn you pagan!

I do not say that Charles has had no loss,

But neither to your wife nor to any woman

You've seen back where you came from shall you brag

You took a denier of loot from me,

Or injured me or anybody else.'

Then afterward he calls for help to Roland. AOI

<<147>>

Olivier feels injured unto death,

Yet he will never have his fill of vengeance:

He battles in the thick crowd like a baron,

Still shearing through those shafts of spears, those bucklers,

And feet and wrists and shoulder-bones and ribs.

Whoever saw him maiming Saracens

And piling dead men one upon the other

Would be reminded of a worthy knight.

Not wanting Charles's battle cry forgotten,

He sings out in a loud, clear voice: 'Monjoy!'

He calls to him his friend and peer, Count Roland:

'My lord companion, come fight here by me;

Today in bitter anguish we shall part,' AOI

<<148>>

Count Roland contemplates Olivier:

His face is grey and bloodless, wan and pale,

And from his trunk bright blood is surging out

And dripping down in pools upon the ground.

The count says: 'God, I don't know what to do.

Your valor was for naught, my lord companion –

There'll never be another one like you.

Sweet France, today you're going to be robbed

Of loyal men, defeated and destroyed:

All this will do the emperor great harm.'

And at this word he faints, still on his horse. AOI

<<149>>

See Roland, who has fainted on his horse,

And, wounded unto death, Olivier,

His vision so impaired by loss of blood

That, whether near or far, he cannot see

Enough to recognize a living man;

And so, when he encounters his companion,

He hits him on his jeweled golden casque

And splits it wide apart from crown to nasal,

But doesn't cut into his head at all.

On being struck so, Roland studied him,

Then asked in a soft and gentle voice:

'My lord companion, did you mean to do that?

It's Roland, who has been your friend so long:

You gave no sign that you had challenged me.'

Olivier says: 'Now I hear you speak.

Since I can't see you, God keep you in sight!

I hit you, and I beg you to forgive me.'

And Roland says: ‘I’ve not been hurt at all,

And here before the Lord I pardon you.’

And with these words, they bowed to one another:

In friendship such as this you see them apart.

<<150>>

Olivier feels death-pangs coming on;

His eyes have rolled back into his head,

And his sight and hearing are completely gone.

Dismounting, he lies down upon the ground,

And then confesses all his sins aloud,

With both hands clasped and lifted up toward heaven.

He prays that God may grant him Paradise

And give His blessing to sweet France and Charles

And, most of all, to his companion Roland.

His heart fails; his helmet tumbles down;

His body lies outstretched on the ground.

The count is dead – he could endure no more.

The baron Roland weeps for him and mourns:

On earth you’ll never hear a sadder man.

<<151>>

Now Roland, when he sees his friend is dead

And lying there face down upon the ground,

Quite softly starts to say farewell to him:

‘Your valor was for naught, my lord companion!

We’ve been together through the days and years,

And never have you wronged me, nor I you;

Since you are dead, it saddens me to live.’

And having said these words, the marquis faints

Upon his horse, whose name is Veillantif;

But his stirrups of fine gold still hold him on:

Whichever way he leans, he cannot fall.

<<152>>

Before Count Roland has regained his senses

And recovered from his fainting spell,

A great calamity descends on him:

The men from France have died – he’s lost them all,

Sace the archbishop and Gautier of Hum,

Who finally has come down from the [sic] mountains;

He has been in heavy fighting with the Spaniards;

His men are dead – the pagans vanquished them.

Now racing down the hillsides willy-nilly,

He loudly calls for Roland to come help him.

‘Oh noble count, courageous man, where are you?

I never was afraid with you around –

It’s Gautier, who overcame Maelgut –

The nephew of old grizzle-headed Droon!

My courage once made me your favourite.

My lance-shaft has been snapped, my shield is pierced,

My hauberk torn apart and stripped of mail;

My body has been run through by a lance.

I'll die soon, but I've brought a handsome price.'

These final words were understood by Roland,

Who spurs his horse and gallops out to him. AOI

<<153>>

Now Roland, grown embittered in his pain,

Goes slashing through the middle of the crowd:

The throws down lifeless twenty men from Spain,

While Gautier kills six, and Turpin five.

The pagans say: 'These men are infamous;

Don't let them get away alive, my lords:

Whoever fails to rush them is a traitor,

Who lets them save themselves, a renegade.'

So once more they renew the hue and cry;

From every side they go to the attack. AOI

<<154>>

Count Roland is a noble man-at-arms,

Gautier of Hum a splendid chevalier,

The archbishop an experienced campaigner:

No one of them will ever leave the others.

Engulfed within the crowd, they cut down pagans.

A thousand Saracens get down on foot,

And forty thousand stay upon their horses:

They do not dare come closer, that I know,

But they hurl at them their javelins and spears

And darts and wigars, mizraks and agers.

The first barrage has killed Count Gautier;

Turpin of Reims – his shield is pierced clear through,

His helmet broken, injuring his head,

His hauberk torn apart and stripped of mail;

His body has been wounded by four spears;

They kill his destrier from under him.

Great sorrow comes as the archbishop falls. AOI

<<155>>

Turpin of Reims, when he sees that he’s been downed

By four spears driven deep into his body,

The brave man leaps back quickly to his feet

And looks toward Roland, then runs up to him

And says this word: ‘By no means am I beaten;

No loyal man gives up while still alive.’

He draws Almace, his sword of polished steel;

In the crowd he strikes a thousand blows or more.

Charles later on will say he spared no on –

He found about four hundred, all around him,

Some only wounded, some who’d been run through,

And others who had had their heads cut off.

Thus says the *geste* and he who was afield,

The noble Giles, for whom God brought forth wonders,

At the minster of Laon he wrote the charter;

Whoever doesn't know that much knows little.

<<156>>

Count Roland keeps on fighting skilfully,

Although his body's hot and drenched with sweat:

He feels great pain and torment in his head,

Since, when he blew his horn, his temple burst.

Yet he has to know if Charles is coming back:

He draws the ivory horn and sounds it feebly.

The emperor pulled up so he might listen:

'My lords,' he says, 'it's very bad for us;

Today my nephew Roland will be lots.

From his horn blast I can tell he's barely living;

Whoever wants to get there must ride fast.

So sound your trumpets, all this army has!'

And sixty thousand of them blare so loud,

The mountains ring, the valleys echo back.

The pagans hear it, take it as no joke,

One tells another: 'Now we'll have King Charles.'

***The Song of Roland*, trans. by Janet Shirley (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1996)**

145

The heathen saw how few the Frenchmen were,

Took courage and rejoiced. 'The emperor's wrong!'

They said among themselves. Now Marganice,

Riding a sorrel, drove in golden spurs,

And from the rear charged Oliver. He pierced

The close-meshed mail and thrust the iron head

Right through his chest.

'There, that's a blow for you!'

The caliph cried, 'Unlucky was the day

Your Charlemagne placed you here! He's done us wrong

And it's not right he should rejoice at it.

On you alone I've taken full revenge!'

146

He has his deathblow, Oliver knows that.

He grips bright Halteclere and brings its edge

Down on the caliph's golden-pointed helm,

Scatters the jewelled florets to the ground

And splits his head down to the small front teeth.

With a strong sideways thrust, he flung him dead,

Cried out,

'Heathen, to hell! I don't deny

King Charles has suffered loss, but you shan't go

And boast about it to your womenfolk

Or say you took a pennyworth of loot

Or injured me or any of my friends.'

Then he called out to Roland, wanting help.

147

Count Oliver can feel that death is near.

He craves and thirsts for vengeance and attacks

Deep in the thickest of the heathen throng.

What ashen spearshafts snap, what strong shields break,

What hands and feet fly off beneath his blade,

What saddles and what ribs he slashes through!

Any who saw him lop off heathen limbs

And toss dead infidels aside in heaps,

One corpse upon another, could be sure

He'd seen true valour there. Nor did the count

Forget great Charles' battlecry, but loud

Cried out, 'Mountjoy!' And then to Roland called,

To his dear friend and equal,

'Comrade, here!

In bitter pain today we two must part.'

148

Count Roland looked into his comrade's face

And saw it livid, pale, discoloured, blue.

Bright blood streamed down his body, spurted, fell

In splashes on the ground

'God,' said the count,

'I don't know what to do. Comrade, alas

For your great valour! No one equals you,

Nor ever will do. Ah, sweet France, so stripped

Of fighting men, bereft and destitute!

How this will harm the king!' As Roland spoke,

Still in his saddle, he lost consciousness.

149

Roland sits senseless on his horse. Nearby

Count Oliver is dying. He has bled

So freely that his eyes are troubled; now

He cannot see to tell two men apart.

Roland came near; Oliver struck at him,

Struck on the helmet rich with gems and gold,

From top to nosepiece cracked the helm in two,

But did not touch his head. Roland looked up,

Kindly and gently asked him,

'Comrade, friend,

Did you intend that blow? It's Roland here,

Roland who's always loved you. I don't think

You gave me any challenge.'

'That's your voice.

But I can't see you.' Oliver replied.

'The Lord God see you! Was it you I hit?

Brother, forgive the blow!'

'You did no harm,

None,' said his comrade. 'I forgive it you

Here and before the face of God.' At this

The two men bowed. In such dear love they part.

150

Death's anguish gripped Count Oliver. His eyes

Rolled in his head, hearing and sight were gone.

Now he dismounted, knelt down on the ground,

Aloud and painfully confessed his sins,

Pronounced his *mea culpa*. Palm to palm

He held his hands upraised and prayed to God

To grant him Paradise, to bless the king,

Sweet France and Roland, comrade, more than all.

His heart stopped beating and his helmet fell

Forward over his face. He lay full length

Stretched on the ground. The count is dead and gone,

He'll make no more delay. Brave Roland wept

And grieved for Oliver. No sadder man

Would you hear mourning anywhere on earth.

151

Count Roland saw that Oliver was dead,

Looked at his body, face down on the ground,

Softly began to mourn: 'Sir comrade, friend,

Alas for all your valour! Such long years

Our fellowship has lasted! In that time

You never did me wrong, nor did I you.

Now that you're dead, I grieve to be alive.'

Again he lost his senses, mounted still

Astride good Wideawake. Go where he may

The golden stirrups will not let him fall.

All have fallen to the enemy except for Roland, Turpin and Walter of Hum:

152

Before he had recovered from his swoon,

While he was still unconscious, Roland lost

All the remaining Franks, except for two:

Turpin of Rheims and Walter, count of Hum,

Who came down from the mountains, where he'd fought

Long with the Saracens. His men were dead,

All conquered by the heathen. He'd no choice,

But fled down from the peaks and called for help,

Called upon Roland:

'Ah, my noble lord,

Brave count, where are you? Let me be with you,

And then I'm not afraid! It's Walter here,

Old Droon's nephew, Maelgut's conqueror!

You used to love me for my valour. Now

My spearshaft's broken and my shield pierced through,

My hauberk ripped and torn, they've struck their spears

Right through my body. Soon I shall be dead,

My life is done. Oh, but I sold it dear!'

As he said this, Count Roland heard his voice,

Spurred and rode fast across the battlefield.

The three heroes attack the Moslem hordes

153

Grieving and full of anger, Roland drove

Into the thickest of the heathen throng

And slaughtered twenty of the infidels.

Walter killed six, Archbishop Turpin five.

'How dangerous these are,' the heathen cried.

'My lords, make sure that none of them survive!

He's a foul traitor who does not attack,

A coward any man who lets them live!'

At this they raised once more their hue and cry,

And from all sides returned to the attack.

154

Count Roland was a noble warrior,

Walter of Hum a very valiant knight,

The archbishop brave and expert. None of them

Would leave the others. Side by side the three

Struck deep among the close-ranked infidels.

Round them were forty thousand mounted men;

A thousand men on foot; there was not one,

In my opinion, dared go near the three.

Lances they flung, and spears, shot arrows, darts,

All kinds of quarrels, javelins and bolts.

Count Walter died at once. They pierced the shield

On Turpin's shoulder, cracked his helm apart,

Wounded him in the head, broke through his mail

And thrust four spearheads deep into his flesh.

His horse they killed beneath him. Ah, what grief,

What sorrow when Archbishop Turpin falls!

155

The moment Turpin fell, pierced by four spears,

He leaped up, looked for Roland, ran to him

And said,

'I'm not defeated! No true knight

Surrenders while he lives!' He drew his sword,

Almace, bright steel, and struck a thousand blows

And then still more wherever he could find

Infidels closely clustered. Afterwards,

Charles said that he'd spared none of them: they found

Four hundred dead around him, slashed, run through

Or with their heads cut off. The *Frankish Deeds*

Record this. So does he who saw the fight,

Being present of the field, the valiant Giles,

For whom God does such wonders. It was he

Who wrote the account in Laon monastery.

Any who don’t know this are misinformed.

Roland blows a last call on the oliphant; Charlemagne’s bugles reply:

156

Nobly Count Roland battles, but he’s soaked

In sweat from head to foot, is burning hot,

And suffers agony from the cracked skull

He split apart, blowing the oliphant.

But still he wants to know if Charles will come,

So takes the horn and blows a wavering call.

Great Charles drew rein and listened.

‘Hark, my lords,

The day goes very ill,’ the emperor said.

‘Roland is lost to us. That call’s so faint,

I know he can’t survive. Ride, every man

Who wants to reach him, ride! All bugles sound!’

And sixty thousand high-pitched clarions call,

The mountains answer and the valleys ring.

The heathen hear their voices and they know

How great their danger. ‘Charles is here!’ they cry.

The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne, ed. and trans. by Simon Gaunt and Karen Pratt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

145

1940. When the pagans saw that few Frenchmen remained,

They feel reassured and gain in confidence.

They say to one another: 'The emperor was wrong!'

Marganice was mounted on a sorrel warhorse,

He urges it forward with his golden spurs,

And strikes Oliver from behind in the back.

He shatters his shiny hauberk into his flesh,

And drives his spear right through his chest.

Afterwards he says: 'You have taken a good beating!

Charles the Great will regret he left you in the passes!

He did us wrong, it is not right that he should boast,

For with you alone I have fully avenged our men.'

146

Oliver realizes that he is mortally wounded.

He wields Halteclere, with its gleaming blade.

He strikes Marganice's golden, pointed helmet,

Knocking the decorative flowers and gems to the ground.

He slices his skull in two down to his front teeth,

Lifts his sword again and has struck him dead.

Upon which he said: 'A curse on you, pagan!

I can't deny that Charles has suffered losses here.

But never to your wife, nor to any lady that you know,

In the kingdom from which you hail will you boast

That you took away even a pennyworth of my wealth,

Or did any harm to me, or anyone else.'

Then he cries out to Roland for his help.

147

Oliver realizes that he is fatally wounded.

His thirst for revenge will never be sated:

He renews his blows now, like a true warrior,

Smashing to bits many lances and bucklers,

Feet and fists, saddles and ribs.

If you had seen him dismembering Saracens,

Piling dead bodies one on top of another,

You would have known what true bravery was.

Nor does he wish to forget Charles's war cry.

He shouts out 'Monjoie!' loud and clear.

He calls out to Roland, his friend and peer.

'My lord, companion, join me in battle now.

Today our parting will be most painful.'

148

Roland looks Oliver squarely in the face.

It was livid and wan, pale and ashen.

Bright red blood streamed down his body,

Falling to the ground around him in spurts.

'My God!' said the count. 'What shall I do now?

My lord, companion, alas for your heroism!

No man will ever be as valiant as you.

Ah, fair France, how bereft you will be today

Of good vassals, confounded and cast down!

Our emperor will suffer a terrible loss!’ On saying this, he passes out astride his horse.

149

See how Roland has passed out astride his horse

And Oliver has been fatally wounded.

He has bled so much that his eyes are dim:

He cannot see clearly enough, at any distance,

To be able to recognize anyone at all.

So when he comes across his companion,

He strikes him on his bejewelled gold helmet,

Splitting it from the top to the nose guard,

But without harming his head in any way.

When struck thus, Roland stares at him,

And he asks him gently and softly:

‘My lord, companion, did you mean to do this?

For this is Roland, who has always loved you so!

You had in no way issued me with a challenge.’*

Said Oliver: ‘Now I can hear you speaking,

But I cannot see you. May God watch over you!

Did I strike you? I beg you to forgive me!’

Roland replies: ‘I have not been harmed at all.

I forgive you for this now, and before God.’

After Roland has said this, each bows to the other.

See now how they part with such great love.

150

Oliver realizes that death has him in its grasp.

Both his eyes are swivelling in their sockets,

He is losing his hearing and is completely blind.

He dismounts and lies down on the ground.

As loudly as he can he proclaims his mea culpa,

With his hands together, raised towards the sky.

He prays to God to let him enter paradise,

And he blessed Charles and France the fair,
Also his companion Roland, above all other men.

His heart stops beating; his helmet falls forward.

His entire body crumples onto the ground.

The count is dead, for he is no more.

Valiant Roland laments and weeps for him.

Never on earth will you hear a more grief-stricken man.

151

Now Roland can see that his friend is dead,

Stretched out on the ground, with his face down.

He began most tenderly to lament him:

'My lord, companion, alas for your great boldness.

We have spent many days and years together:

You never did me wrong, nor did I ever let you down.

Now you are dead, it pains me to go on living!'

On saying this, the marquis passes out,

Sitting astride his horse called Veillantif.

He is held on by his stirrups of pure gold:

Whichever way he leans, he cannot fall off.

152

As soon as Roland regained consciousness,

Recovered and came round from his faint,

He immediately saw the full extent of the carnage.

The French are dead, he has lost all of them,

Except for the archbishop and Gautier del Hum.

He has come back down from the mountains,

Having fought tooth and nail against the Spanish.

His men are dead, vanquished by the pagans.

He has no choice but to flee down the valleys,

And he calls out to Roland to come to his aid:

‘O noble count, most valiant of men, where are you?

I have never been afraid with you by my side.

It’s me, Gautier, who defeated Maëlgut,

The nephew of white-haired old Droün.

My bravery meant I used to be your favourite.

My lance is shattered and my shield broken,

My hauberk is coming apart and in pieces,

My body has been pierced by lances all the way through.

I am about to die, but I have made them pay dearly.’

As he was saying this, Roland heard him.

He spurs on his horse and gallops over to him.

153

Roland is sorrowful and was full of rage.

He starts to strike out in the middle of the fray.

He has thrown twenty men of Spain down dead,

And Gautier six, and the archbishop five.

The pagans say: ‘These men are arch-villains.

Make sure, my lords, that they don’t get away alive!

Anyone who doesn’t attack should be deemed a traitor,

And called a coward if he allows them to escape!’

Then the great noise and shouting begins again,

They are renewing their attack on all sides.

154

Count Roland was a worthy warrior,

Gautier del Hum is a most excellent knight,

And the archbishop is a noble, experienced man.

None of them wishes at any price to leave the others.

Each strikes pagans in the middle of the fray.

A thousand Saracens dismount from their horses,

And forty thousand remain on horseback.

It seems to me that they dare not approach them,

So they throw lances and spears in their direction,

Javelins and darts, pikes and assegais.*

With the first wave, they have killed Gautier,

Pierced all the way through Turpin of Rheims’s shield,

Penetrated his helmet and wounded him in the head,

Smashed his hauberk and ripped it to shreds.
His body has been pierced by spears all the way through.

They kill his warhorse from underneath him.

What sorrow now as the archbishop falls in battle!

155

When Turpin of Rheims realizes he has been felled,

His body pierced by spears all the way through,

This brave man swiftly gets back on his feet.

He looks at Roland, then runs over towards him,

And spoke thus: ‘No way am I beaten yet.

Never will a worthy knight be taken alive.’

He draws Almace, his shiny steel sword,

He strikes, in the fray, a thousand blows or more.

Charles said afterwards that he had spared no one,

When he found four hundred bodies piled up around him,

Some with flesh wounds, some pierced through.

There were also those who had been decapitated.

Thus state the annals and an eyewitness to the battle,

The noble Giles, for whom God performs miracles,

And who made the charter at the monastery of Laon.

If you don’t know this, you have not understood properly.

156

Count Roland continues to fight heroically,

But he has a fever and is sweating profusely.

His head pounds with a searing pain:

His temples have ruptured from blowing the horn.

But he wants to know if Charles will return:

So he takes up the oliphant and blows it feebly.

The emperor stood stock still, and listened.

‘My lords,’ he said, ‘we are in dire straits!

My nephew Roland will leave us this very day.

I can hear from his horn that he’ll not live much longer.

If we wish to be there, we need to ride quickly!

Sound all the bugles you have in this army!’
Sixty thousand of them are blown so loudly

That the hills resound with them and the valleys echo.

The pagans hear them and do not take this lightly:

2114. They say to one another: ‘We will soon meet Charles!’

IIb. Tristan et Iseut excerpts

Tristan in Brittany, trans. by Dorothy L. Sayers (London: Ernest Benn, 1929)

635. Therefore, I think, come love, come hate
I must endure a torment great;
Since I to Iseult troth did break.
This penance on myself I take,
And when she knows what straits I'm in,
I shall have pardon for my sin.
Tristan lies in Iseult's embrace,
She kisses both his lips and face,
And draws him close, deep sighs doth heave,
Longing for that he will not give;
Contrary to his will it is
To seek, or to renounce, his bliss,
Since nature fain would have her way,
But Iseult doth his reason sway.
Him his desire towards the queen
From will toward the maid doth wean,
Desire so holdeth will in thrall
That nature has no power at all;
Reason and love constrain him so
His body's will they quite o'erthrow.
Yea, for Iseult is mighty love
His natural will doth clean remove,
And slays that will and craving thought
Which 'gainst desire upon him wrought.
He had good will his joy to gain,
But love doth greatly him restrain.
He knows her fair, he feels her kind,
Loves joy and hates love in his mind,
For if desire were any less,

Then he might yield to his will's stress.
But now he yields him to desire.
He is in torment and on fire,
And in great grief and in great pain,
He knows not how he shall refrain,
Nor what words to his wife shall use,
Nor by what sleight himself excuse.
Natheless some shame upon him wrought,
He flees the thing that once he sought,
His pleasures doth avoid and flee,
And of her body gets no glee.
Then: 'Fairest love,' did Tristan say,
'Think not the worse of me I pray
If now a secret I reveal
And beg you straitly to conceal,
That none may know it save we two,
'Twas ne'er to any told but you.
Know that upon my right-hand side
My body doth a sickness hide
That now long time hath holden me;
To-night it pains me grievously.
All the great toils that I have done
Makes it throughout my body run.
It keepeth me in such sore pain,
And so my vital parts doth gain
I dare not love's delight to take,
Nor yet exert me, for its sake;
For never did I so before
But that I fainted three times o'er,
And after, long lay sick, I wot/
If I refrain now, blame me not.
We shall have times for pleasure still
When thou and I alike shall will.'
'Thy pain,' said Iseult, 'grieves me more

Tan any grief the wide world o'er;
As for the rest whereof you tell,
Without it I can do full well.'

Within her room Iseult doth sigh,
Desiring Tristan wearily;
No other way her thought can turn
But still on Tristan's love to yearn,
No other will her mind can move,
No other hope, no other love;
On him her whole desire is set.
Yet she of him no news can get,
Where he may be, or far or near,
Living or dead, she cannot hear.
Therefore she dwells in deeper sorrow
To get no word for many a morrow.
She knows not he is in Bretayn,
Rather believes him still in Spain,
The land where he the giant slew
Was nephew to the great Orgoilleu.
That rode to seek, from Afric's strand,
Princes and kings in many a land.
719. Orgoilleu was a hardy wight […]

833. She in her chamber sat one day
Making of love a piteous lay.
How Guiron was surprised and ta'en,
And for his lady's love was slain,
Whom he loved more than all alive.
And how the count did after give
Sir Guiron's heart, by wicked cheat,
Unto his wife one day to eat,
And of the lady's dolorous cry
At learning of how her love did die.

Sweetly and well the lady sings,
The voice accordeth with the strings,
Fair are the hands, the lay also,
Sweet is the voice, the singing low,
When Cariado thither went,
A noble count, and rich in rent,
With castles fair and wide estate.
He to the court had come to wait
Upon the queen, her love to get;
Iseult but made a mock of it,
Yet many a time he'd made demand
Since that the other left the land.
Thither he came his court to pay,
But still could bear no gain away,
Nor win so much of Iseult's love
As 'twere the value of a glove;
Whether in promise or in fee
No jot nor tittle e'er gat he.
Long time was he by love detained,
And many das in court remained.
A right fair knight he was, I ween,
Courteous and proud and well-beseen,
But yet deserved a lesser meed
Of praise, for arms and knightly deed.
He of fair speech was well possessed,
Gallant in love and quick in jest,
He found Iseult that sang her lay
And laughing, thus began to say:
'Well know I, dame, the owl's heard singing
When news of death is in the bringing,
Death of her song the burden is,
This song of yours, as well I wis,
The owl's own death doth signify,

For one there is that's doomed to die.'
'Well hast thou said,' Iseult replied,
'I grant the owl's death signified;
Well may that man be called an owl
Who frightens all men by his howl;
Your death it is you ought to fear
When death in this my song you hear,
For you indeed the owl may be
For all the news you bring to me.
Never have you told tidings here
Whereof I might have any cheer,
Nor ever yet my presence sought
But you some evil tale have brought.
And it is with you even so
As with the sluggard long ago,
Who'd never stir from his hearth-stone
Save to annoy or vex someone.
So you your lodging will not leave,
Save you learn something that may grieve,
That you may blab it all about.
You will not stir to go far out
For any cause a man may name;
Never of you went any fame,
To honour you in your friends' eyes
Nor to distress your enemies.
You prate of deeds that others do,
None will be chronicled of you!'

Thus Cariado made reply:
'Now are you wroth, I know not why.
Who's scared at you, the more fool he!
Am I the he-owl? You're the she!
Howe'er my death may be decreed,
For you I have ill-news indeed

About Tristan, your lover true:
Dame Iseult, he is lost to you,
He's wed a wife in a foreign place.
Henceforth you may for love go chase,
For he your love doth clean disdain,
And in great pomp a wife has ta'en,
915. Heir to the Duke of Brittany.'

Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas, trans. A.T. Hatto, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967)

Whether I hate her or love her

I shall have great pain to endure

But, since I am betraying Ysolt,

I take such penance upon me, that,

When she learns of my plight,

She is bound to forgive me accordingly.

Tristran lies down and Ysolt takes him in her arms

She kisses his mouth and his face

She strains him to her and sighs from her heart

And wants what he does not wish for.

To give up his pleasure and to have it are both contrary to his will

Nature wants to take its course;

But Reason stays true to Ysolt.

The yearning which he has for the queen takes away his lust for the girl

True desire dispels his lust,

For nature is powerless in the matter.

Love and reason constrain him

And vanquish the lust of his body.

The great affection which he has for Ysolt

Quells the urge of nature

And conquers the loveless lust in his mind.

His will to do the deed is strong;

But love compels him to retreat.

He feels that the maiden is charming, he knows that she is lovely

He longs for his pleasure and he hates his yearning for Ysolt;

For he did not so yearn for the queen he could now assent to his lust.

But it is to his great yearning that he assents.

He is in pain and torment

In great perplexity and anguish;

He does not know how he may refrain

Nor how to behave towards his wife

Behind what pretext he ought to hide himself.
Nevertheless, he is somewhat ashamed, and flees what he desires;
He avoids his pleasures and flees from them
So as to have no more of his delight.
'Darling,' says Tristran, 'do not think badly of it,
But there is something I wish to confess to you.
I beg you earnestly to keep this hidden
So that none beside us may know it.
I never spoke of it except now, and to you.
Here on my right side I have a bodily infirmity
That has long been with me.
Tonight it has been giving me much pain.
Because of my great exertions
It has spread throughout my whole body.
It keeps me in such agony and comes so near to my liver
That I dare not exert myself,
Or give myself further to pleasure for fear of ill effects.
I have never since made any effort
Without swooning three times over
And lying ill of it long afterwards.
Do not let it vex you if I leave this for now
We shall have our fill another time
When you and I both wish it.'
'I am more sorry for your ailment than for any other ill in the world,' replied Ysolt,
'But I will and can forgo the other thing I hear you speak of.'
Queen Ysolt sighs in her chamber for Tristran,
Whom she so much desires.
She can think of nothing in her heart save loving Tristran.
She has no other wish or love, nor any other hope
All her desire is with him; yet she can learn no news of him
She does not know where or in what land he is
Nor whether he is dead or alive
And her sorrow is greater for it
She has heard no true report for a long while.

Ysolt has no idea that Tristran is in Brittany
But imagines that he is still in Spain
Where he slew the giant,
Nephew to mighty Orgoillos
Who came from Africa
To seek out kings and princes from land to land.
[…]
One day she sat in her chamber and made a sad lay of love
How my lord Guirun became enamoured
And was slain for love of the lady whom he cherished above all,
And how thereupon, one day, in treachery
The count gave his wife Guirun's heart to eat
And what grief the lady felt
When she learned of the death of her friend.
The queen sings sweetly and suits her voice to her instrument.
Her hands are fair, her lay is good
Her voice sweet and her tone low.
Then Cariado arrives on the scene,
A mighty count of great inheritance
With fine castles and rich lands.
He has come to court to sue for the queen's love.
Ysolt considers this great folly.
He has wooed her many times before since Tristran left the country
And now he has come to stay at court.
But never has he succeeded in achieving anything
Or doing in the Queen's eyes as much as would earn him a glove,
Either by gift or by promise- he has accomplished nothing at all.
Cariado has stayed at court for a long time
And lingered there for this love of his.
Cariado was a very fine knight, courteous, proud and haughty;
But when it came to bearing arms he was not deserving of praise.
He was handsome, a good talker,
Gallant towards the ladies, and full of quips.
And now he finds Ysolt singing a lay, and says with a smile:

‘I am well aware that when one hears the wood owl, madam,
It is time to talk about a dead man, for its song forebodes death.
And your singing, as I recall, means death of the owl!
Someone has just lost his life.’
‘You speak truly,’ replied Ysolt.
‘I quite agree that it does portend its death.
A man who sings what dismays another is screech-owl and wood-owl enough!
You may well fear for your death, fearing m singing as you do,
Since you are owl enough for the news that you bring.
I believe you never brought news that gladdened anyone,
Nor did you ever come here without recounting bad news.
With you, it is the same as once with an idle fellow
Who never rose from his hearth but to vex some man or other.
You will never leave our lodgings
Unless you have heard some news that you can retail.
But you will not stir abroad to do a thing that is worth recounting.
No news will ever be heard of you from which your friends would reap honour
Or those who hate you, sorrow.
You love to tell the deeds of others;
Your own will never be remembered!’
‘You are angry,’ said Cariado, ‘but why, I do not know.
He is a fool who is put out by anything you say.
If I am a screech-owl, and you are a wood-owl,
Ignoring the question of my dying,
I bring you bad news on the subject of your lover Tristran.
Ysolt, you have lost him! He has taken a wife in another land.
From now on you can get another lover
Since he disdains your love
And has taken a wife with great honour,
The daughter of the Duke of Brittany.’

Stewart Gregory, (ed. and trans.), Early French Tristan Poems II, Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 78, ed. Norris J. Lacy, (New York; London: Garland, 1991)

636. No matter if the feeling is affection or antipathy
The pain I shall have to bear will be a great one
Because I am breaking faith with Yseut,
I impose such a penance on myself that,
When she hears of m impossible dilemma,
She could do nothing save forgive me,'
Tristran lay down and Yseut embraced him.
She kissed him on the lips and face,
Held him closely to her, and sighed deeply
In her longing for what he had no longing for;
It was against his wishes
Both to desist from pleasure and to have it;
His natural instincts would have taken their course
But reason told him to remain true to Yseut:
The longing he felt for the queen
Made him incapable of wanting the girl;
Deep longing so quelled his lust
That his natural instincts were incapable of arousal.
Love and reason together restrained him
And overcame the lust his body felt;
His great love for Yseut
Quelled the urge of his natural instincts
And got the better of that affectionless desire in his mind.
His desire to have the girl was strong indeed,
But love held him firmly back.
He was alive to her charms, knew she was beautiful,
And wanted his pleasure, all the while hating
His yearning: had that yearning for Yseut not been so deep,
He could have given in to his urges.
As it was, he accepted to live with his deep yearning.
He was in pain and torment,

Sorely troubled in mind and perplexed: he did not know how he might abstain,
Nor what his course of action should be with his wife,
What excuse he ought to hide behind.
Nonetheless, because he felt some shame,
He turned his back on what he coveted;
He avoided and shunned his pleasure
As if having no care for such sport.
And so, Tristran said: ‘My darling,
Think not the worse of me when you hear
The secret I wish to confess to you.
Also, I entreat you to keep it a secret,
So that nobody may know it but the two of us;
I have never revealed it, except now, to you.
Here, down the right side of my body,
I have an ailment
That has for so long afflicted me;
Tonight I have been in great pain from it.
Because of my great exertions
It has spread throughout my body;
It gives me such torment,
And reaches so close to my liver,
That I dare no longer take my pleasure
Or exert myself, for fear of ill effects.
Since contracting the illness, any exertions of mine
Have resulted in a triple bout of fainting,
And a long illness after that.
Please, do not be aggrieved if I leave it there for now;
We shall have more than our fill in days to come,
When we are both so inclined.’
Yseut replied: ‘it is your ailment that grieves me,
More than any other ill the world over,
But as for that other thing you speak of,
I am both willing and well able to do without.’
Yseut, in her chamber, sighed

For Tristran, the object of her deep longing;
All her heart could think of was
Loving Tristran.
She had no other desire
No other love or fancy.
All her longing was for him alone,
And yet she could learn no news of him;
She did not know where he was, in what land,
Even whether he was dead or alive.
And her greatest source of pain
Was that she had for long had no firm news of him.
She did not know he was in Brittany
Thinking him still in Spain
Where he had killed the giant,
That nephew of the mighty Orguillus,
Who went from Africa to land after land
719. To challenge princes and kings.
[…]
834. One day she sat in her chamber
And composed a tragic lay about love:
How my lord Guirun was taken unawares
And killed for the love of a lady
He loved beyond all else,
And how the count her lord one day
Tricked his wife by giving her
Guirun's heart to eat,
And of the sorrow the lady felt
When she learned of the death of her loved one.
Yseut sang so sweetly
Her voice in tune with her instrument.
Her fair hands played, the lay she sang was good,
Her voice soft-pitched, the tone of her instrument low.
Thereupon Cariado appeared,
A mighty count with extensive domains,

Fine castles and fertile lands.

He had come to court for the queen,

To ask her to be his mistress

An idea which Yseut thought to be the height of folly.

He had already sought her love on many occasions

After Tristran had left the country.

And now he had come to woo her,

But he had never been able to succeed,

Had never been able to succeed,

Had never been able to secure from the queen

The gift of even a fig,

Whether in prospect or actually given:

His efforts ad always come to absolutely nothing.

Because of this love of his he had stayed

And lingered long at court.

He was an exceedingly handsome knight,

Fine-mannered, proud and haughty,

But, as far as bearing arms was concerned,

No praise could be lavished on him.

He was, in sum, very handsome, a smooth talker,

Good with the ladies and something of a wit.

He came on Yseut as she sang her lay,

And, smiling, said: ‘My lady, I am well aware

That, when the song of the wood-owl is heard,

It is the time for talking of some man’s death

Since its song betokens death.

And your song too, in my view,

Betokens death as brought by the wood-owl:

Someone has now lost his life.’

‘You are right,’ Yseut replied.

‘I am very happy for it to betoken its death:

That man might well be called a screech or wood-owl

Who sings a song meant to frighten another.

You may well fear your own death

As you fear my song,
For you are a wood-owl truly enough,
Bringing the news that you bring.
I do not think you ever brought
A piece of news which ever gladdened anyone,
And you have never come here
Without bringing bad news to tell.
It is exactly the same with you
As it once was with an idle fellow
Who never would get up from his bed by the hearth
Except to go and vex some other man:
You will never leave your lodgings
Unless you have heard some gossip
That you can go and bruit abroad.
It is no wish of yours to go afar
To do deeds that people might speak of.
Never will news be heard of deeds of yours
Which might bring honor to your friends
And sorrow to your enemies.
Your wish is to speak of others' deeds,
your own will never be remembered.'
At this Cariado replied:
'You are angry, though i know not why.
He would be a fool who was scared by your words.
If I am the screech-owl, then you are the wood-owl:
Never mind my death,
The fact is that I bring you bad news
About your lover Tristran.
Yseut, my lady, you have lost him:
He has taken a wife in a foreign land.
From now on you can go and find another lover
Since he spurns your love
And has taken for wife a high-born lady,
916. The daughter of the Duke of Brittany.'

Laura Ashe and others, (eds) Early Fiction in England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Chaucer, (London, Penguin Books, 2015)

I think I could not suffer more than to have this lasting pain, nor could I have greater anguish, regardless of whether there is anger or love between us: for if I desire to take pleasure with her, so it will give me great pain to refuse; and if I do not want any joy from her, then it will be hard to bear lying in bed with her. Whether there is hatred or love, I will have to endure great pain. Because I have broken my promises to Yseut, I take this penance on myself. When she knows how I am distressed, she will have to forgive me.'

Tristan came to bed and Yseut held him in her arms, kissed his mouth and his face, held him close to her, sighed from her heart, and wanted that which he had no desire for. It was against his wishes both to refrain from pleasure and to take it; his natural desires would have shown themselves, but reason held him loyal to Yseut. His desire for the queen destroyed his inclination toward the girl; his love-longing killed his lust, so that nature lost all its power. Love and reason held him back, and defeated the desires of his body; the great love he felt for Yseut prevented what nature wanted, and vanquished the urge which he felt without desire. He did indeed want to commit the act, but love restrained him utterly. He felt her to be lovely, he knew her to be beautiful, and he wanted his pleasure, hating his love-longing – for if he had not felt such great desire, he would have been able to surrender to his urges. But he surrendered to his great love instead. He suffered pain and torment, in great confusion and anguish; he knew not how he was to abstain, nor how he ought to behave with his wife, what scheme he should invent to cover the truth. Nevertheless he felt a degree of shame, and fled from that which he desired; he shunned his pleasures and rejected them as though he had no care at all for delights.

Then Tristan said: 'my fair love, do not be horrified that I must tell you a secret. And I beg that you keep it hidden, so that no one but we will know. I have never spoken of it except now, to you. All down my right side I have a bodily infirmity; it has gripped me for a very long time, and tonight it is hurting me terribly. Because of all my great labours it has spread through my body. It grips me with such agony, and comes so close to my liver, that I do not dare take my pleasure, nor risk any physical activity for fear of damage. I can never undertake any labour without passing out three times, and lying sick for long afterwards. Do

not trouble yourself if we leave it for now; we will have enough in time, when I and you both desire it.'

'I am sorry for your illness,' Yseut replied, 'more than any other ill in this world; but as for that other matter of which I've heard you speak, I am happy and can well manage without.'

Queen Yseut sighed in her chamber for Tristan, whom she so much desired. She could think of nothing in her heart but one thing only: to love Tristan. she had no other desire, no other love, no other hope. All her longing was lodged in him, and she could hear no news of him; she did not know where he was, in what country, nor even if he were alive or dead. This was the source of her greatest suffering, that she had heard no news of him.

[There follows a short digression recounting King Arthur's battle with a giant, and Tristan's defeat of the giant's nephew some years earlier, while in Spain.]

One day she sat in her chamber and composed a sad song about love: the story of Guirun, who was taken by surprise and killed for the love of the lady he loved above all else; and how the count then wickedly gave Guirun's heart to his wife to eat, and the sorrow that the lady felt when she knew of the death of her beloved. Yseut sang most sweetly, her voice in perfect harmony with the instrument. Her hands moved beautifully; the song was lovely; her voice was sweet and the tone was deep.

Then Cariado arrived: a wealthy count with a great estate, handsome castles and rich lands. He had come to the court to beg the queen for her love. Yseut thought this ridiculous: he had asked her so many times since Tristan left the country, and now once again had come to persuade her, but he never made any progress. He couldn't get from her so much as a glove; she promised nothing, and gave nothing; he never gained a thing. But he had stayed at court a long time to pursue this love. He was a handsome knight, courtly, proud and strong, but there wasn't a great deal to be said of his skill in combat. He was very good looking and a great talker, a ladies' man and a wit. He found Yseut singing her song and smiled, saying, 'Lady, I know well that when the owl is heard to sing, it is fitting to speak of someone's death, for her song signifies death. But your song, I think, signifies the owl's death: she has now lost her life.'

'You speak the truth,' Yseut told him. 'I'm very happy for it to signify her death: anyone who sings to frighten another is indeed a screech owl or a wood owl. And certainly you should

fear your own death as you fear my song, because the kind of news you always bring makes you a screech owl indeed. I don't think you've ever brought news that has made anyone happy; you never come here without some awful story to tell. You're like some idle waster who never leaves his fireside except to distress someone else: you never leave your house without some gossip you've heard that you can go around telling everyone. You've no desire to go any distance yourself, to perform some deeds that others might want to talk about. We'll never hear any news of you that might bring honour to your friends or sorrow to those who hate you. You'd rather speak of the deeds of others; no one will ever remember yours.'

Cariado then replied: 'You're offended, but I've no idea why. Only a fool would be dismayed by your words. If I'm a screech owl, you're a wood owl: whatever there is to be said about my death I do bring you bad news about your lover, Tristan. Lady Yseut: you have lost him; He has taken a wife in another land. From now on you can just keep hunting, for he disdains your love. He has taken a very noble wife, the Duke of Brittany's daughter.'

IIc. Aucassin et Nicolette excerpts

Aucassin and Nicolete, Done from the Old French by Michael West, Depictured by Main R. Bocher, Music by Horace Mansion, Decorated by Evelyn Paul, trans. by Michael West (London: Harrap / Camperfield Presse, 1917)

Now you speak and tell the story

The Count Bougars of Valence was making war against Count Garins of Biaucaire. Very great and marvellous war it was. For there was not a day but they were at the gates and the walls and the barriers of the town, with a hundred Knights each, and ten thousand common men-at-arms, both on foot and on horseback. And they burned and spoiled each other's land and killed each other's men.

Now the Count Garins of Biaucaire was old and feeble. For he had passed his due time long ago and he had no heir, neither son nor daughter, save one. And that one was even as I will tell you. It was a boy heir, and his name was Aucassin. He was fair to look on, and fair in his ways; big and well-set in limbs and legs and body and arms. He had golden hair, all in little curls, and his eyes were grey and laughing, and his face clear and round, and his nose high and noble. But so it was that Love, who overcometh all, had taken hold of him; and no longer would he be Knight, nor take arms, nor go to the tournament, nor do anything that he ought. His father said to him:

Come now, son, pray you now take arms and mount thy horse and defend thy land, and give aid to thy men. For if they but see thee amongst them they will the better defend their bodies and all that they have, and thy land and mine.'

But Aucassin said:

'What sayest thou, father? God give me nothing that I pray for if ever I be Knight or mount horse, or go into the stress and the battle where Knights smite each other, unless thou givest to me Nicolete my sweet friend that I love so.'

Then his father said:

'That cannot be, son. Let Nicolete be. For she is a captive that was brought from a strange land, and the Viscount of this town bought her from the Saracens and took her hither

and brought her up to womanhood and baptized her and made her his godchild, and he will give her to some bachelor that will gain bread for her, and that honourably. With that what hast thou to do? But if thou desirest to have a wife then will I give thee the daughter of a kind or of a count. There is no man anywhere so great but if thou desirest his daughter, she may be thine.'

Aucassin said:

'Nay, father, but where are there any honours in the world that Nicolete my sweet friend were not worthy of them and might duly have them. If she were Empress of Colstentinoble or of Almeyne, or Queen of France or of England, yet were it not worthy of her, for she is so noble and so courteous and debonair, and full of all good ways.

Here you sing once more

Aucassin of Biaucaire,

Castle stout that standeth there,

From his Nicole sweet and fair

Never aught might draw away;

No, not all his sire may say,

And his mother's words thereto.

'Fool,' quoth she, 'what dost thou do?

Nicolete is fair I ween,

Caught from Cartage hath she been,

Bought with gold from Saracene;

But if wedded thou would'st be

Take a noble wife to thee.'

'Mother mine, how should that be?

Nicolete is debonair,

Lithe her form and face as fair,

Worthy of my love and care –

Nicole love-light of my heart,

So fair thou art!

This is story

When Count Garins of Biaucaire saw that he might not take his son Aucassin from Nicolete, he went to the Viscount of the town, who was his man, and said to him:

Sir Viscount, do away now with Nicolete that god-daughter of thine. Cursed be the land from which she was brought. By her lose I Aucassin, for he will not be Knight nor do anything that he ought. And know well that if I but take her, I will put the fire to her, and thou also shalt have some danger.'

The Viscount said: 'Sire, even to me also is it grief that he goes and comes and makes speech with her. For I have bought her with my money, and I have brought her up and baptized her as my godchild, and one day would I have given her to a bachelor that would win her bread for her and that honourably. With this what has Aucassin to do? But since it is thy will and pleasure, I will send her to some country and some place where he will never meet her eyes.'

'Look thee well then,' said the Count Garins, 'lest thou mayest have some great evil otherwise.'

So they parted from each other.

Now the Viscount was a very rich man and he had a very rich palace, and in front of it a garden. And he put Nicolete in a chamber very high up, and an old woman with her to give her company, and he had put there bread and meat and wine and such other things as there might be need of. And he made seal it up so that no one could go in nor come out. And there was no way left save only a window looking out into the garden where-through there also came a little air; but it was a very little one.

And this is sung slowly

Nicole doth in prison lie

In a chamber vaulted high,

Very featly made and well,

Painted as by miracle.

At a window made of stone

Leaneth little maid a-lone.

Brightest gol-den is her hair,

And her fore-head white and fair,

And her face so clear and neat

Ne-ver had thou seen as sweet;

On the garden looks below

How the great red roses blow,

Hears the bird-lings jol-ly cry,

Quoth she. 'Orphan only I!

Oh unhappy captive maid

All for thee in prison laid!

Aucassin my lover, sire

Still am I thy heart's desire!

Though in pri-son be my lot,

Yet I ween thou hat'st me not.

From a vaulted cell I gaze,

Idly fly my yes-ter-days.

All for thee a captive I;

Jhesu child of Maid Ma-rie

Here no lon-ger will I be,

If I may fly!'

This is story

So Nicolete was in prison, as I ween ye have listened and heard. And the cry and the bruit of it went through all the country that Nicolete was lost. Some were saying that she had fled from the land, and some said that Count Garins of Biaucaire had murdered her. Whosoever had joy in gossiping of it, Aucassin had none, for he went straight to the Viscount and said thus:

'Sir Viscount, what hast thou done with Nicolete my very sweet friend, the thing in all the world I love most? Hast thou taken her and stolen her away from me? Know well that if I die thereof, vengeance will be asked of thee. And that is true, for thou hast killed me with thy two hands in that thou hast taken from me that which I love better than life.'

The Viscount said:

'Gentle Sir, let this thing be. Nicolete is a captive that I led from a strange land and bought her with my own money from the Saracen. And I have brought her up and christened her, and made her my godchild and set her in my house. And one day I will give her unto some bachelor that will gain bread for her with honour. With this thou hast nought to do. Moreinover, what thinkest thou would be the gain if she went with thee to thy bed? Little gain wouldst thou get. For all the days of thy life would thy self be dishonoured and afterward would thy body burn in hell. Into Paradise wouldst thou enter never.'

And Aucassin said:

'What have I with Paradise? I seek not to enter there, unless to have Nicolete my sweet friend that I love so. For into Paradise go folk as I shall tell you. Thither go the old priests and the old beggars, halt and lame, that day after day and night on night stoop before the altars and in the ancient dingy places; such as have old capes and worn, old tattered clothes, that are shoeless and full of sores, and are dying of hunger and cold and disease. Such folk go into Paradise. But into hell would I go. For there goeth the fair clerk, and the fair Knight, such as die in tourneys and noble wars. There goeth the good man-at-arms and the man of freedom. Even with such would I go. And there goeth the fair dames courteous, that have two or three lovers and an husband. There goeth the gold and the silver, ermine and minever, harper and jongeleur, and the Prince of this World and its ways. With such would I go. And yet that only if so I have Nicolete, my sweet friend, there with me.'

The Viscount said:

'Of a certainty for nought thou talkest. Never wilt thou see her. And if thou speak with her and thy father doth know it, then will he put both me and her to the fire, and thyself mayest know danger.'

'That grieves me,' quoth Aucassin. And he went from the Viscount very sad.

Aucassin is full of grief,

And with weeping sad and drear;

None might bring him aught relief

For his friend of face so clear,

None might any counsel show.

To the palace doth he go,

And he mounted on the stair,

Cometh to a room and there

'Gins to weep and to regret:

This is very sad singing

Fair thou art my Ni-co-lete

Fair in coming, Fair in going,

Fair in play and Fair in wooing,

Fair in sorrow, Fair in bliss,

Fair to hold and Fair to kiss.

All be-cause I love thee so

Do I suffer so much woe

That I fain my life would end,

Sister, sweet friend, sweet friend.

Aucassin and Nicolette and Other Tales, trans. by Pauline Matarasso, (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971)

Here they say and tell and relate

[2] that Count Bolgar of Valence was engaged in a war against Count Garin of Beaucaire, a war so desperate, fierce and murderous that not a day dawned without finding him at the gates and walls and defences of the town with a hundred knights and ten thousand foot and horsemen; and meanwhile he burned and ravaged the land and killed Count Garin's men.

Count Garin of Beaucaire was old and feeble, a man who had outlived his time. He had no heir, male or female, save one youth whom I will describe to you. Aucassin was the young man's name, and he was handsome and comely and tall, with a fine figure, and legs, arms and feet to match it. He had fair and tightly curling hair, laughing grey eyes, a fresh complexion, and a high-bridged nose well set in an oval face. So well endowed was he with good qualities that there was never a bad one to be found in him; but he was so smitten by all-conquering love that he would neither be a knight, nor take up arms, nor go a-tourneying, nor do any of those things he ought.

His father and mother would say to him:

'Go to, son, take your arms and mount your horse and set about defending your land and helping your men, if they see you among them they will put up a better fight for their lives and chattels and for the land that is yours and ours.'

'Father,' replied Aucassin, 'what are you talking about? May God never grant me up arms, or anything I ask Him, if ever I take up arms, or mount a horse, or go to do battle in the press where I might strike some knight or he me, unless you give me my Nicolette, my own sweet love, whom I love so dearly.'

'Son,' said the father, 'that is out of the question. Leave Nicolette be: for she is a captive who was brought from foreign parts; the viscount of this town purchased her from the Saracens and brought her back and stood sponsor to her at her baptism; he brought her up as his godchild and will provide her one of these days with a young fellow who will earn her bread for her in honourable service. You have no call to meddle in this, and if it is a wife you want I will give you the daughter of a king or a count. There is no man in France, however great, whose daughter you may not have for the asking.'

‘Tush! Father,’ said Aucassin, ‘where is that earthly dignity that Nicolette, my own sweet love, would not enhance, if it were hers? Were she empress of Constantinople or Germany, or queen of France or England it would be little enough for her, so filled is she with all good qualities and every grace that goes with gentle birth.’

Here it is sung

[3] Aucassin was of Beaucaire,

A castle pleasant, fine and fair.

From the lissom Nicolette

None could wean his heart away,

Not though father said him nay

And mother spoke with warning grave:

‘What would you do! Fie now, for shame!

Pretty she may be and gay;

From Carthage city, she’s a waif,

Purchased from a pagan sheikh.

Since you seek the wedded state

Take a wife of high estate.’

‘Mother, I will not be swayed.

In Nicole there is nothing base,

Svelte of body, fair of face –

My heart is lightened by her grace;

When she’s so sweet, ‘tis quite in place

Her love to claim.’

Here they say and tell and relate

[4] When Count Garin of Beaucaire saw that he would never manage to wean his son Aucassin from his love for Nicolette, he went to the viscount of the city, who was his vassal, and hailed him with the words:

'Sir viscount, you must get rid of your daughter Nicolette. A curse upon the land from which she was brought to this country! For now, on account of her, I am losing Aucassin, since he refuses to be a knight or do anything he ought. And let me tell you that if I hear any more of it I will burn her at the stake, and you will have good cause to fear for yourself as well.'

'Sir,' said the viscount, 'his comings and goings and parleyings I wholly deplore. I bought her with my own money and stood sponsor to her at her baptism and made her my godchild, and intended providing her with a young fellow who would have earned her bread for her in honourable service. Your son Aucassin had no call to meddle in this. But since it is your will and your good pleasure, I will despatch her to a country so far distant that he will never set eyes on her again.'

'Look to it then,' retorted Count Garin. 'It could go ill with you else.'

With that they parted.

Now the viscount was a rich man and had a fine palace giving onto a garden. There he had Nicolette shut up in a room on an upper storey with an old woman as associate and companion, and had them furnished with bread and meat and wine and everything they needed. Then he had the door sealed up so that there was no way in or out, save that there was a narrow window on the garden side which gave them a little air.

Here it is sung

[5] Nicolette is in duress,

In a vaulted room confined,

Which art and cunning had combined

To decorate in wondrous wise.

At the window now she leaned,

Resting on the marble sill;

Her hair was bright with golden shine

And delicate the eyebrow's line:

Fair of feature, fresh of cheek,

Never was such beauty seen!

Looking to the woodland green

She saw the full-blown eglantine,

Heard birds singing each to each

And felt her plight more bitter still.

'Alas!' she cried, 'Poor wretch am I!

Why am I in prison pent?

Aucassin, my own sweet squire,

All my love to you is given,

You I know are fond of me;

For you I'm under lock and key,

In this vaulted room confined

Where a weary life is mine,

But, by Mary's Son divine,

Here I will not long repine

Of my free will.'

Here they say and tell and relate

[6] Nicolette, as you have heard, was held captive in the chamber. The rumour went abroad through all the land that she was lost. Some said she had fled the country, others averred that Count Garin of Beaucaire had had her murdered. If anyone rejoiced, it was not Aucassin; he went straight to the viscount of the city and hailed him with the words:

'Sir viscount, what have you done with Nicolette, my own sweet love, the person I loved best in all the world? Have you taken her away? Let me tell you that if I die as a result

of this, you will be made to pay for it, and rightly so, for you will have killed me with your own two hands by taking from me that which I loved best in all the world.'

'Good sir,' said the viscount, 'leave this be. Nicolette is a captive whom I brought back from foreign parts and bought with my money from the Saracens. I stood sponsor to her at her baptism and brought her up as my godchild, and intended providing her one of these days with a young fellow who would have earned her bread for her in honourable service. You have no call to meddle in this; take instead the daughter of a king or a count. Besides which, what do you think you would have gained if you had made her your mistress or taken her to your bed? Precious little, for your soul would sojourn in hell for it till the end of time, for you'd never enter heaven.'

'What would I do in heaven? I have no wish to enter there, unless I have Nicolette, my own sweet love, whom I love so dearly. For to heaven go only such people as I'll tell you of: all those doddering priests and the halt and one-armed dotards who grovel all day and all night in front of the altars and in fusty crypts, and the folk garbed in rags and tatters and old, worn cloaks, who go barefoot and bare-buttocked and who die of hunger and thirst and cold and wretchedness. These are the ones who go to heaven, and I want nothing to do with them. Nay, I would go to hell; for to hell go the pretty clerks and the fine knights killed in tournaments and splendid wars, good soldiers and all free and noble men. I want to go along with these. And there too go the lovely ladies, gently bred and mannered, those who have had two lovers or three besides their lords, and there go the gold and the silver, and silk and sable, and harpers and minstrels and all the kings of this world. I want to go along with these, provided I have Nicolette, my own sweet love, with me.'

'In truth,' said the viscount, 'it's no use you talking of her, for you will never see her again. And if you should speak to her, and your father heard of it, he would burn her and me at the stake and you would have good cause to fear for yourself as well.'

'It grieves me much,' said Aucassin. And he left the viscount, most disconsolate.

Here it is sung

[7] Aucassin retraced his steps,

Most dejected and distressed,

No one can his sorrow mend

At having lost his pretty friend

Nor any helpful course suggest.

To the palace now he pressed,

Climbed the stairway step by step,

Then into a chamber went

Where he with woe and wild lament

And tears of sorrow freely shed

Began his dear one to regret:

‘Nicolette, most sweet your presence,

Sweet at meeting, sweet at severance,

Sweet your converse and addresses,

Sweet your dalliance, sweet your jesting,

Sweet your kisses, sweet caresses,

For you I am with sorrow vexed

And with grief so sore beset

That I fear ‘twill be my death,

Most dear, sweet friend.’

Glyn S Burgess, (ed and trans) Aucassin and Nicolette, ed. Anne Elizabeth Cobby (New York; London: Garland (Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Series A, 47), 1988)

II

Now they say and recount and relate that Count Bougar of Valence was waging war on Count Garin of Beaucaire so great and so marvellous and so mortal that not a single day dawned without his being at the gates, the walls, and the barriers of the city with one hundred knights and ten thousand soldiers on foot or on horseback, and he was burning his land and devastating his territory and killing his men.

Count Garin of Beaucaire was old and frail and he had outlived his span of life. He had no heir, son or daughter, except for one young boy; he was such as I shall describe him to you. Aucassin was the youth's name. He was handsome and noble and tall and his legs, feet, body, and arms were well formed. He had blond hair with little curls and sparkling, laughing eyes, a fair, oval face with a high, well-positioned nose; he was endowed with so many good qualities that he had no bad qualities, only good ones. But he was so smitten by Love, which overcomes everything, that he did not wish to become a knight, or to take up arms, or to go to tournaments, or to do anything he ought to do. His father and mother said to him:

‘Son, take up your arms, mount your horse, defend your land and help your vassals: if they see you amongst them, they will then be better able to defend themselves and their possessions, and your land and mine.’

‘Father,’ says Aucassin, ‘what are you talking about now? May God never give me anything I ask of Him, if I ever become a knight or mount a horse or enter combat or battle, where I would strike a knight or be struck by other knights, if you do not give me Nicolette, my sweet friend whom I love so much.’

‘Son,’ said the father, ‘that is impossible. Leave Nicolette be, for she is a slave girl who was brought from a foreign land, and the viscount of this town purchased her from the Saracens, brought her to this town, raised her at the font, baptized her and made her his godchild, and one of these days he will give her a young man who will earn bread for her honourably; this is no concern of yours. If you wish to have a wife, I shall give you the daughter of a king or a count. No man in France is so rich that, if you wanted his daughter, you could not have her.’

‘Come now, father,’ said Aucassin, ‘where on this earth does there exist such a high honour that, if Nicolette, my very sweet friend, had it, it would not be enhanced by her? If she were empress of Constantinople or Germany, or queen of France or England, even this would be little enough for her, so worthy and courtly and noble is she, and so well endowed with every quality.’

III Now it is sung.

Aucassin was from Beaucaire,

From a castle of fair repose.

No one could make him give up

Nicolette, the well formed,

Whom his father would not let him have,

And his mother threatened him:

‘Come now, foolish boy, what are your intentions?’

‘Nicolette is elegant and gracious.’

‘She was taken by force from Carthage

And bought from a Saracen.

If you want to take a wife,

Marry a woman of high lineage.’

‘Mother, I can do nothing about it:

Nicolette is well born;

Her noble body, her face,

And her beauty soothes my heart.

It is quite right for me to have her love,

As she is so sweet.’

IV Now they say and recount and relate.

When Count Garin of Beaucaire saw he could not prevent his son from loving Nicolette, he made his way to the viscount of the town, who was his vassal, and addressed him:

‘Count, get rid of your goddaughter Nicolette: cursed be the land from which she was brought to this country, because through her I am losing Aucassin, since he refuses to become a knight or to do anything he ought to do; and I’ll have you know that, if I could catch her, I should burn her at the stake, and you yourself would have reason to fear for your life.’

‘Lord,’ said the viscount, ‘it grieves me that he comes and goes and talks to her. I bought her with my own money and raised her at the font and baptized her and made her my goddaughter, and I intended to give her a bachelor who would earn bread for her honourably: this would have been no concern of your son Aucassin. But since it is your will and desire, I shall send her away to a land and a country such that he will never again set eyes on her.’

‘Mind you do,’ said Count Garin. ‘Great harm could come to you because of this.’

Then they parted. The viscount was a very rich man and he possessed a rich palace with an adjoining garden. He had Nicolette placed in a chamber on an upper floor and with her an old woman to keep her company, and he gave them a supply of bread, meat, wine, and everything they needed. Then he had the door sealed so that no one could enter or leave from any side, leaving just a very small window overlooking the garden to let in a little air.

V Now it is sung.

Nicolette is in prison,

In a vaulted chamber,

Constructed with great care

And marvellously decorated.

At the marble window

The girl leaned out.

Her hair was blond,

Her brows well fashioned,

Her face fair and slim:

You never saw a more beautiful girl.

She looked out over the woodland

And saw the roses in bloom

And heard the song of the birds;

This made her bewail her fate.

‘Alas! Woe is me! Wretched one!

Why am I in prison?

Aucassin, my young lord,

I am your friend,

And you do not hate me.

For you I have been imprisoned

In this vaulted room,

Where I lead a life of woe.

But, by Christ, the son of Mary,

I shall not remain here long,

If I can help it.’

VI Now they say and recount and relate.

Nicolette was, as you have heard, imprisoned in the chamber. The cry and the rumour spread throughout the country and over the entire region that she was lost. Some said she had fled the country, others that Count Garin of Beaucaire had murdered her. If anyone else rejoiced at this, Aucassin was not at all happy, so he made his way to the viscount of the town and addressed him:

‘Lord viscount, what have you done with Nicolette, my very sweet friend whom I loved more than anything in the whole world? Have you stolen her from me or taken her away? I’ll have you know that, if this ends in my death, vengeance will be exacted from you, and rightly so, because you will have killed me with your own two hands, for you have stolen the thing I loved most in all the world.’

‘Lord,’ said the count, ‘let this be. Nicolette is a captive whom I brought from a foreign land, and I purchased her from Saracens with my own money and raised her at the font and baptized her and made her my godchild, and brought her up, and one of these days I would have given her a young man who would earn bread for her honourably; this is no concern of yours. You should take the daughter of a king or a count. Besides, what do you expect to have gained by making her your mistress and putting her in your bed? You would have gained very little, as your soul would remain in Hell for the rest of time, since you would never enter Paradise.’

‘Why should I be interested in Paradise? I have no wish to go there, unless I have with me Nicolette, my very sweet friend whom I love so much; because the only people who go to Paradise are these. That is where old priests go, and old cripples, and the maimed who grovel day and night in front of altars and in old crypts, and there are those clad in old, threadbare cloaks, and old rags, naked, barefoot, and in tatters, dying of hunger, thirst, cold, and misery. They go to Paradise: I don't want anything to do with them. What I want is to go to Hell, for Hell is where handsome clerics go, and handsome knights who have died in tournaments and rich wars, and brave men-at-arms and noblemen: I want to go with them. That is where beautiful courtly ladies go, because they have two or three lovers as well as their husbands, and the gold and silver goes there, and all the fine furs, and the harpists and jongleurs and the kings of the lay world. I want to go with them, provided I have with me Nicolette, my very sweet friend.’

‘Certainly,’ said the viscount, ‘your words are in vain, for you will never see her again. If you spoke to her and your father found out, he would burn me and her at the stake and you yourself would have reason to fear for your life.’

‘This viscount, distresses me,’ said Aucassin, and disconsolately he left the viscount.

VII Now it is sung.

Aucassin turned away,

Distressed and anguished:

Because of his friend with countenance so fair

No one could comfort him

Or give him good counsel.

He made his way to the palace,

Climbed the steps

And entered a chamber,

Where he began to cry

And give vent to his grief

And mourn his beloved:

‘Nicolette, how sweet it is to be with you,

How sweet to see you come and go,

How sweet the pleasure which you give, how sweet your words,

How sweet your smile, how sweet your laughter,

How sweet your kisses and embraces.

Because of you I am beset with grief

And in a plight so dreadful

That I doubt I can escape alive,

My dear, sweet friend.’

Robert S. Sturges, (ed. and trans.), Aucassin and Nicolette: a facing-page edition and translation, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015)

Now they speak and tell and recount that Count Bougar of Valence was making mortal war on Count Garin of Beaucaire, such a great and astonishing war that not a single day went by without his showing up outside the gates and walls and defenses of the city with a hundred knights and ten thousand mercenary soldiers, on foot and on horse; and he burned Garin's lands and laid waste to his countryside and killed his men.

Count Garin of Beaucaire was old and frail, and had lived out his years; he had no heir, neither son nor daughter, except for one young gentleman. I'll tell you what he was like. This young nobleman was named Aucassin. He was tall and handsome and courtly, with well-formed legs and feet and body and arms. He had tightly curled blond hair and bright, laughing eyes and a shining, oval face with a proud and well-placed nose. And he was endowed with so many good qualities that there was no room left in him for any faults— but he was so unmanned by love, which conquers all, that he did not wish to be a knight or take up arms or go to tournaments or do anything he was supposed to do. His father and mother said to him:

'Son, now put on your armor and get on your horse and defend your country and help your people. When they see you in their midst, they will be better able to defend themselves and their property— and your land and mine.'

'Father,' said Aucassin, 'Now what are you talking about? Should I become a knight, may God give me nothing I ask for if I agree to mount a horse or to go into battle or combat, where I'd strike knights and get hit back, unless you give me my sweet love Nicolette, whom I love so much.'

'Son,' said his father, 'that's not going to happen. Leave Nicolette be, for she's a captive who was brought here from foreign parts and whom the viscount of this city bought from the Saracens, brought to this city, raised and baptized and made his goddaughter. And one of these days he'll marry her off to some young gentleman who will honorably earn her bread. It's got nothing to do with you. But if you want a wife, I'll get you the daughter of a king or a count; there's no man in France so prominent that you couldn't have his daughter, if you wanted her.'

‘Go on, father,’ said Aucassin. ‘Now where on earth is there any honor so great that it wouldn’t suit Nicolette? If she were the empress of Constantinople or of Germany, or the queen of France or England, it still wouldn’t be good enough for her— that’s how generous, noble, and courteous she is, and endowed with all good qualities.’

Now it is sung.

Aucassin was from Beaucaire,

a peaceful castle, fine and fair.

No one could take his love away

from fair Nicole, whatever they’d say.

His father wouldn’t let it be,

Nicolette is gay and chic,

his mother threatened warningly:

‘What are you thinking, madman? Speak!

but from Carthage she was brought,

and from Saracens was bought.

If you wish to take a wife,

choose her from our walk of life.’

‘Mother, I can’t do otherwise:

Nicole is noble, fair, and wise;

her face, her body, every part—

her beauty heals my aching heart.

To have her love is right and smart:

that’s how sweet she is!’

Now they speak and tell and recount.

When Count Garin of Beaucaire saw that he could not restrain his son Aucassin from loving Nicolette, he went to the city's viscount, who was his vassal, and demanded of him:

'Sir Count, send your goddaughter Nicolette away! A curse on the country from which she was brought here! For now because of her I am losing Aucassin, who does not wish to be a knight or to do anything else he's supposed to do. And understand this: if I could catch her, I'd burn her at the stake; and you should also fear for your own life.'

'Sire,' said the viscount, 'it's a burden to me that Aucassin is always coming and going and talking with her. I bought her with my own money, raised her and baptized her and made her my goddaughter, and I'd like to give her to some young fellow who could honorably earn her bread; it shouldn't have anything to do with your son Aucassin. But, because you wish it and because it's for your good, I'll send her away to such a distant land and country that he'll never lay eyes on her again.'

'Now make sure you do!' said Count Garin, 'or she might bring you great misfortune.'

They parted. And the viscount was a very rich man, and had a rich palace giving onto a garden. He had Nicolette put into a chamber on a high floor, with an old woman to keep her company and share her society, and he had bread, meat, wine, and other necessaries brought to them. Then he had the chamber door sealed so that no one could get in or out from any direction, except that there was a tiny window overlooking the garden, through which a little air came to them.

Now it is sung.

A beautifully painted, vaulted room,

cleverly made: it's Nicolette's doom

to be a wretched captive there.

The pretty girl with golden hair

(you've never seen anyone so rare),

with lovely brow and shining eye,

leans on the marble sill to sigh,

viewing the garden, about her woes.

Looking down at a flowering rose,

and hearing the birds,

she declared that she was an orphan.

‘Woe, oh woe is me! Imprisoned in this barbican!

Hear me, young lord Aucassin:

I am still your own true love!

You like me, too, by God above.

I’m here detained because of you,

and life’s unhappy. Still, it’s true,

by Mary’s son, I’ll get to you—

if only I can do it!’

Now they speak and tell and recount.

Nicolette was imprisoned in this room, as you have already heard and understood. The rumor was noised about throughout the land and over all the countryside that Nicolette was lost; some said that she had fled the country, others that Count Garin of Beaucaire had had her killed. Whoever else may have rejoiced at these rumors, Aucassin was not one bit happy, but went to see the viscount, and called out to him:

‘My lord viscount, what have you done with my sweet love Nicolette, the creature I love most in the whole world? Have you taken her off and stolen her from me? You should know that if this kills me, you will be held accountable; and that will only be just, for you will have killed me with your own two hands, because you took from me the creature I love most in this world.’

‘Dear sir,’ said the viscount, ‘leave her be. Nicolette is a captive whom I brought from another country; I bought her from the Saracens with my own money, raised her and baptized her and made her my goddaughter; I brought her up, and one day I would have given her to some young gentleman who would honorably have earned her bread. This has nothing to do with you. Take yourself the daughter of a king or count instead. After all, what did you hope to have gained if you had made her your mistress and taken her into your bed? It wouldn’t

have been much of a conquest for you, because you would have gone to Hell eternally, and you'd never have gotten into Heaven.'

'What do I care about Heaven? I don't care if I go there, as long as I have my sweet love Nicolette, 1 whom I love so much, because the only people who go to Heaven are the ones I'm going to tell you about now: the ones who go there are all these old priests and maimed people, who grovel all day and all night before these altars and in all these old crypts, and people wearing old, torn cloaks and dressed in old rags, who are naked and barefoot and threadbare, and who are dying of hunger and thirst and cold and discomfort. These are the ones who go to Heaven, and I don't want anything to do with them. Instead, I want to go to Hell, because in Hell are the handsome, clever men and handsome knights who have died in tournaments and fabulous wars, and the good soldiers and noblemen: I want to go with them. And the beautiful, courtly ladies go there too, who have two or three lovers along with their husbands, and that's also where the gold and silver and different kinds of fur go, and the harpists and minstrels and the kings of this world: these are the ones I want to go with— as long as I could have my sweet love Nicolette with me.'

'Of course,' said the viscount, 'you're wasting your breath, because you're never going to see her again; and if you do speak with her, and your father finds out, he'll burn her and me together at the same stake, and you should fear for your own life as well.'

'That's depressing,' said Aucassin. He sorrowfully left the viscount.

Now it is sung.

Aucassin has now gone back,

sorrowing (alas, alack)

about his fresh-faced Nicolette.

From no one, nowhere, can he get

advice or aid or counsel, so

back to the palace he must go,

up the stairs up to a room on high.

Aucassin began to cry

and sorrow for his Nicolette.

Making moan, he voiced regret:

'Nicolette, divine at rest,

no matter where, in talk and jest,

in warm embrace, I miss you so,

I'm so depressed and feel so low,

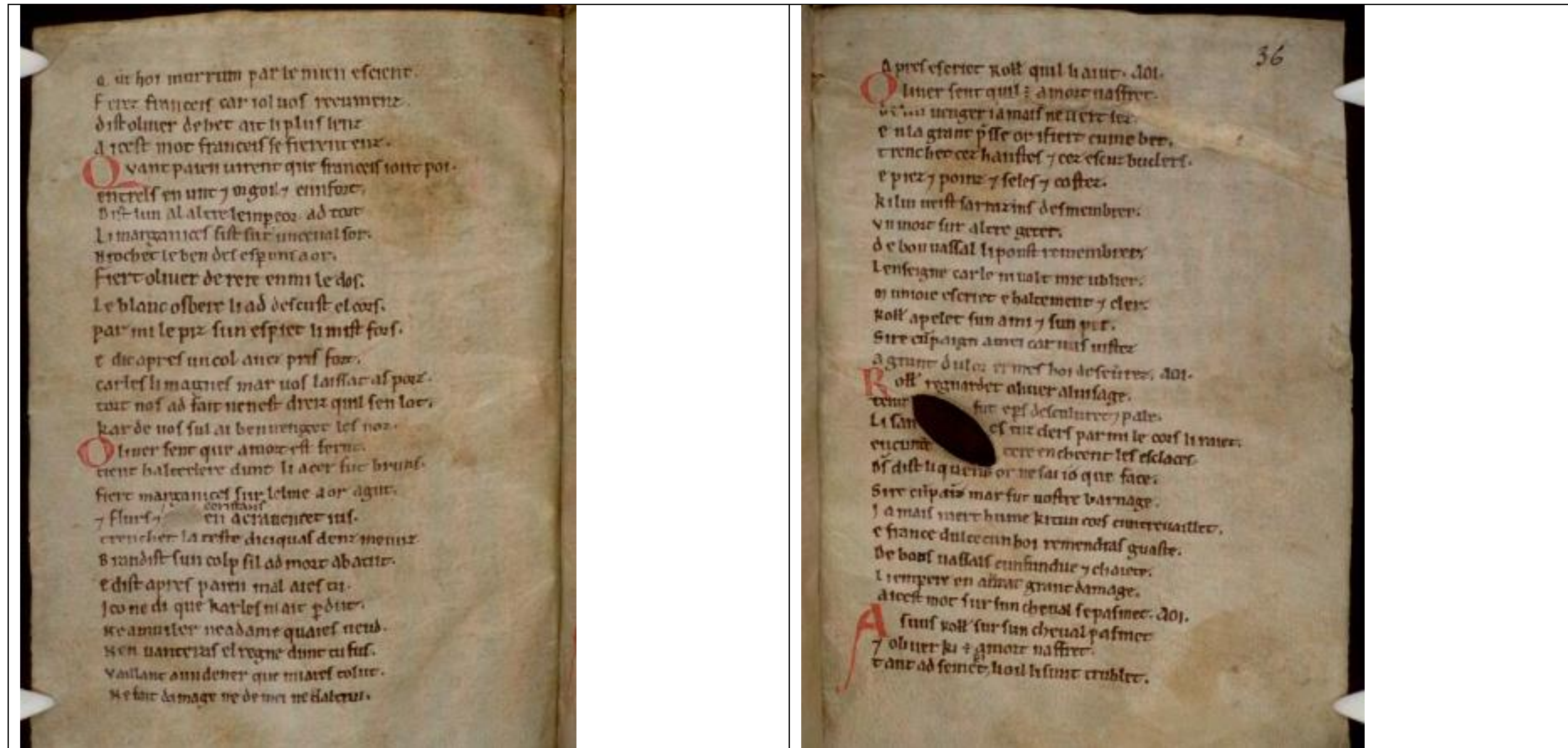
without your love, my life is woe,

my sister, my sweet love.

Appendix III: Images

IIIa. Manuscript fascimiles:

Figures 6 – 12. Le Chanson de Roland (Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 23, Part 2: fols 35v-38v)



37

Li nies Droün, al vieill e al canut,
Pur vasselage suleit estre cum drut.
Malquiant est fraite e percet mun escut,
E mis osbercs desmailet e rumput,
Par mi le cors hoz une lance ... feruz.
Sempres murrai, mais cher me sui vendut.
A icel mot l'at Rollant entendut.
Le cheval brochet, si vient poignant vers lui. AOI
Rollant ad doel si fut mal talentifs,
En la grant presse cumencet a ferir.
De cels d'Espaigne en ad getet mort .xx.
E Gualter .vi. e l'arcevesque .v.
Dient paien: Felun [illegible] humes ad ci.
Guardez, seignurs, qu'il n'en [illegible] algent vif.
Tut par fei [illegible] nuns vait envair
E recreant ki les lerrat guar[ir].
Dunc recumencent e le hu e le cri.
De tutes parz le revunt envair. AOI
Li quens Rollant fut noble guerrer,
Gualter de Hums est bien bon chevaler,
Li arcevesque prozdom e essaiet:
Li uns ne volt l'altre nient laisser.
En la grant presse i fierent as paiens.
Mil Sarrazins i descendent a piet
E a cheval sunt .xl. millers.
Men escient nes osent aproismer.
Il lor lancent e lances e espiez
E wigres e darz e museras e agiez e gieser.

38

As premers colps i unt ocis Gualter.
Turpins de Reins tut sun escut percet,
Quasset sun elme, si l'unt nasfret el chef,
E sun osberc rumput e desmailet,
Par mi le cors nasfret de .iiii. espiez,
Dedesuz lui ocient sun destrer.
Or est grant doel quant l'arcevesque chiet. AOI
Turpins de Reins quant se sent abatut
De .iiii. espiez par mi le cors ferut,
Isnelement li ber resailit sus,
Rollant reguardet, puis si li est curut,
E dist un mot: Ne sui mie vencut.
Ja bon vassal nen ert vif recreut.
Il trait Almace s'espee de acer brun,
En la grant presse mil colps
i fiert e plus
Puis le dist Carles qu'il n'en esparignat nul:
Tels .iiii. cenz i troevet entur lui,
Alquanz nafrez, alquanz par mi feruz,
Si out d'icels ki les chefs unt perdut.
Ço dit la geste e cil ki el camp fut:
Li ber Gilie, por qui Deus fait vertuz,
E fist la chartre el muster de Loüm;
Ki tant ne set ne l'ad prod entendut.
Li quens Rollant gentement se cumbat,
Mais le cors ad tressuet e mult chalt;
En la teste ad e dulor e grant mal:
Rumput est li temples por ço que il cornat.

Figures 13 – 16. Tristan et Iseut (Oxford : Bodleian Library, MS Fr d.16, fols.8v-9r ; 10r-10v)

P co valt mult feinz companiun.
Et tel dunt nement si mal avint.
Itel compainuns aver
Dunt est haire e pur amer
De tels entur marchis tirez
Ki nel ament ne portent fei.
Le bien quoient tut Ysolt celent
Le mal par tut espurpeilent
Mesolent le bien quoient dire
Pur la reine ki le desire
E pur ce aunl en avient
Ço que plus ber ço enchient.

sa
cha
bre
se
set
un
ior
estant

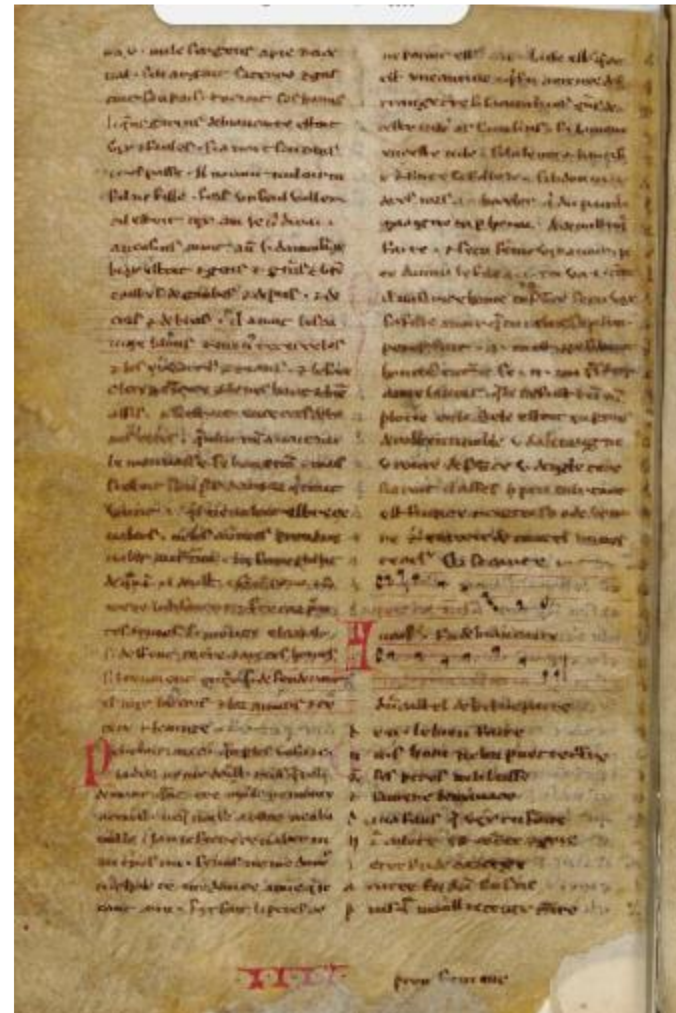
Vit lai pitus clamur
Coment dan Guirun fu supris
Pur lamur de la dame ocis
A qui il sur tute rien ama
E coment li cuens puis li dona
Le cuer Guirun a sa moillier
Par engin un ior a manger
E la dolur que la dame out
Quant la mort de sun ami sout
La reine chante dulcement
La voiz acorde al estrument

Les mainz sunt bels li lais buons
Dulce la voiz bas li tons
Survint idunc Caradoc
Uns riches cuns de grant alo
De bels chastels de riche terre
A la curt ert venu pur requere
La reine de druerie
Ysolt le tenent a grant folie
Par plusurs feiz l'ad requise
Puis que Tristran partit del pais
Sovent venoit pur cointeier
Mais unkes ni pot espleiter
Ne tant nen la reine faire
Vaillant un gant en un point trere
Ne enprumesse ne enguaunt
Unques n'esteit ne tant ne quant
E il a tere ad molt demore
E pur cest amor sujorne
Il esteit molt chevaliers bels
Corteis orguilleus e fiers
Mes est nert mie bien aloez
Endreit de ses armes porter
Il ert molt bels e bons parlere
Doneur e gabeeres
Trove Ysolt chantant un lai
Dit en riant dame bien sai
Que l'en ot fresaie chanter
Contre le mort de home parler
Car sun chant signefie mort
E vostre chant cum io recorde
Mort de fresaie signefie
Alcon ad ore perdu la vie

Vos dites veir Ysolt li dit
Bien voil qu'a sa mort signifit
Assez est huan u fresaie
Ki chante dunt altre s'esmaie
Bien devez vostre mort doter
Quant vos dotez le vostre chanter
Car vos estes fresaie asez
Pur la novele qu'aportez
Unques ne crei aportissez
Novele dunt l'en fust liez
Ne unques chaenz ne venistes
Que males noveles ne deisistes
Il est tut ensement de vos
Cum fu iadis dun perechus
Ki ia ne leissast del atre
Fors pur alcon home conoistre
Dedenz ostel iamais n'entrez
Se novele oi n'avez
Que vos puissiez avant conter
Ne volez par lui aler
Pur chose faire que l'en die
De vos uncore novele oie
Dunt voz amis aient honte
E cels ki vos haient dolor
De altrui faire parler volez
Les voz n'avez unques celez
Caradoc dunc li respont
Coruz aver mais ne savont
Fols est ki pur vostre dit s'esmaie
Si sui huan e vos fresaie
Mes queles que la mort
Males noveles vos aport

E ndreit de ce vostre dru
Vos l'avez dame Ysolt perdu
E il alerent vers altre moillier
Desore vos purrez purchacer
Car il desdeigne vostre amor
E ad pris femme a grant honor
La fille al duc de Bretaigne
Ysolt respont par engaigne
Tut dis avez este huan
Pur dire mal de dan Tristan
Jadeus ne dont que io bien aie
Vendreit de vos ne sun fresaie
Vos manez dire male novele
Ui ne vos dirrai io bele
Eurent vos de pire mein manez
Jamais d'amie bien [illegible]
Ne vos ne vostre diver[illegible]
Mainenant la ioi dem[illegible]
Malement perch[illegible]
De vostre amor [illegible]
Vos [illegible] que avent perdue
E vostre amor revue
T[illegible] de novele dire manier
Dunt ia cevres pro venaunt
Ele sen ad une fermeut
E Caradoc bien l'entent
Si clamolt par dur anguissier
Ne tant potrer ne coneser
De la chambre uiar sennant
E Ysolt molt grant dolor fait
Sun corage est anguissos
De ceste novele [illegible]

Figures 17 – 21. Aucassin et Nicolette (Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Paris, Fr. 2168, fols.70v-72r)



IIIb. Exemplar epitexts, flyleaves and decorations:

BENN'S ESSEX LIBRARY

Edited by Edward G. Hawke, M.A. (Oxon.)
Published by Ernest Benn Limited,
Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4
Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, gilt back, 3s. 6d. each net.

LIST OF TITLES
(already published)

EVELYN INNES
By George Moore

CLIMBS ON ALPINE PEAKS
By His Holiness Pope Pius XI

THE ROVER
By Joseph Conrad

BLOOD AND SAND
By Vicente Blasco Ibáñez

FUNDAMENTAL THOUGHTS IN ECONOMICS
By Gustav Cassel

THE RAIDERS
By S. R. Crockett

RHYMES OF A ROLLING STONE
By Robert W. Service

EVE'S RANSOM
By George Gissing

For further titles see end of book.

BENN'S ESSEX LIBRARY
Edited by Edward G. Hawke, M.A.

TRISTAN IN BRITTANY

Being the fragments of The Romance of Tristan, written in the XII century, by Thomas the Anglo-Norman. Drawn out of the French into the English by Dorothy Leigh Sayers, M.A., sometime scholar of Somerville College, Oxford.

With an Introduction by George Saintsbury.

LONDON: ERNEST BENN LTD.
Bouverie House, Fleet Street.

220 TRISTAN IN BRITTANY

3125 Here Thomas brings to end the tale,
Here he bids all true lovers hail,
The dolorous, the amorous,
The envious, the valorous,
The joyous and the frenzied—all
3130 Upon whose ears the tale shall fall.
Though here they find not all their will
I did the best with my poor skill,
And the whole truth I have rehearsed
As I made promise at the first.
3135 I wrought the story and the rime
As an example to all time,
That I the tale might beautify
And please all lovers' hearts thereby,
So that they find in every part
3140 Matter to give them greater heart.
May they draw comfort from my song
Against all change, against all wrong,
Against all tears, all griefs that move,
And against all the wiles of love.

The End of the Romance of Tristan.

BENN'S ESSEX LIBRARY
(Already published, continued from facing title).

THE DRAMA OF THE LAW
By Sir Edward Parry

AN OUTCAST OF THE ISLANDS
By Joseph Conrad

MR. TEDDY
By E. F. Benson

THE LAND OF HEART'S DESIRE and THE COUNTESS CATHLEEN
By W. B. Yeats

SISTER TERESA
By George Moore

SONGS OF A SOURDOUGH
By Robert W. Service

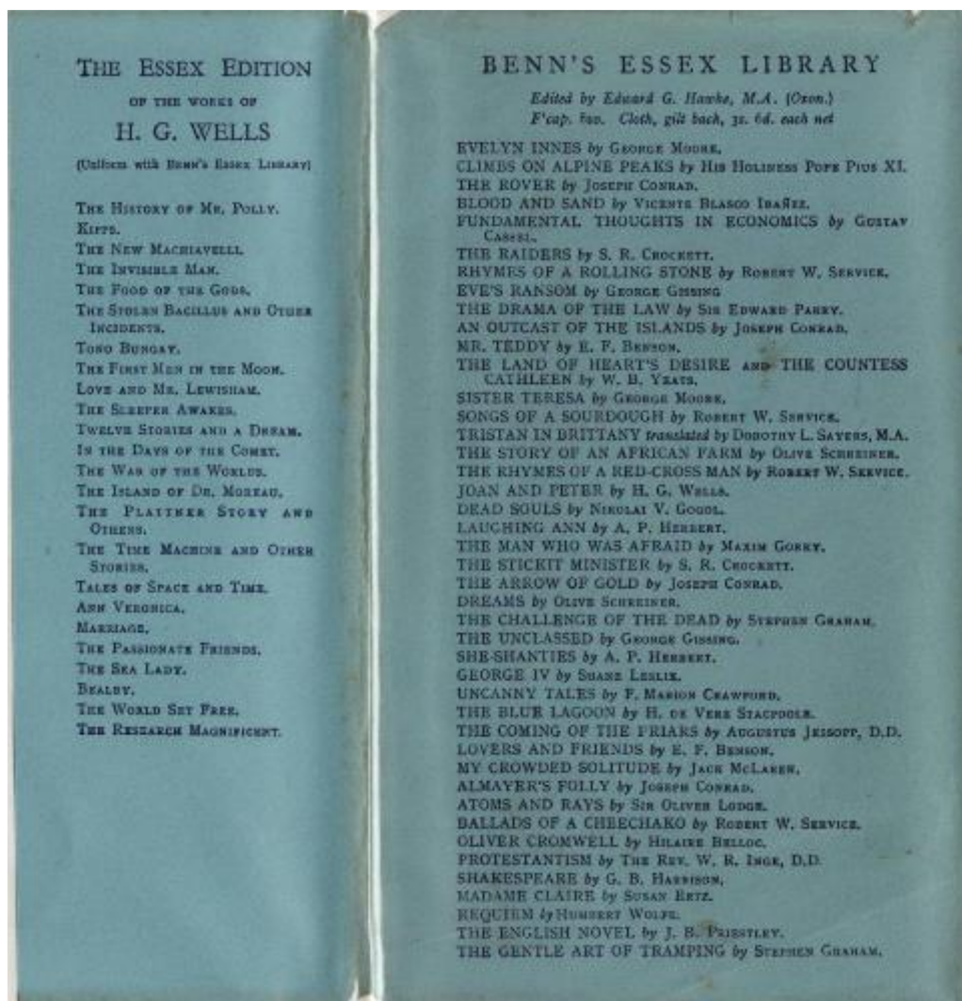
TRISTAN IN BRITTANY
Translated by Dorothy L. Sayers, M.A.
With an Introduction by George Saintsbury

THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM
By Olive Schreiner

Other titles will be announced from time to time.

Ernest Benn Limited, Bouverie House, Fleet Street, E.C. 4

Figures 22 – 23. Inside front and rear covers of *Tristan in Brittany*



THE ESSEX EDITION

OF THE WORKS OF

H. G. WELLS

(Uniform with Benn's Essex Library)

THE HISTORY OF MR. POLLY.
KIPPS.
THE NEW MACHIAVELLI.
THE INVISIBLE MAN.
THE FOOD OF THE GODS.
THE STOLEN BACILLUS AND OTHER INCIDENTS.
TONO BUNGAY.
THE FIRST MEN IN THE MOON.
LOVE AND MR. LEWISHAM.
THE SLEEPER AWAKES.
TWELVE STORIES AND A DREAM.
IN THE DAYS OF THE COMET.
THE WAR OF THE WORLDS.
THE ISLAND OF DR. MOREAU.
THE PLATTNER STORY AND OTHERS.
THE TIME MACHINE AND OTHER STORIES.
TALES OF SPACE AND TIME.
ANN VERONICA.
MARRIAGE.
THE PASSIONATE FRIENDS.
THE SEA LADY.
BEALBY.
THE WORLD SET FREE.
THE RESEARCH MAGNIFICENT.

BENN'S ESSEX LIBRARY

Edited by Edward G. Hawke, M.A. (Oxon.)
F'cap. 8vo. Cloth, gilt back, 3s. 6d. each net

EVELYN INNES *by* GEORGE MOORE.
CLIMBS ON ALPINE PEAKS *by* HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XI.
THE ROVER *by* JOSEPH CONRAD.
BLOOD AND SAND *by* VICENTE BLASCO IBAÑEZ.
FUNDAMENTAL THOUGHTS IN ECONOMICS *by* GUSTAV CASSEL.
THE RAIDERS *by* S. R. CROCKETT.
RHYMES OF A ROLLING STONE *by* ROBERT W. SERVICE.
EVE'S RANSOM *by* GEORGE GISSING
THE DRAMA OF THE LAW *by* SIR EDWARD PARRY.
AN OUTCAST OF THE ISLANDS *by* JOSEPH CONRAD.
MR. TEDDY *by* E. F. BENSON.
THE LAND OF HEART'S DESIRE AND THE COUNTESS CATHLEEN *by* W. B. YEATS.
SISTER TERESA *by* GEORGE MOORE.
SONGS OF A SOURDOUGH *by* ROBERT W. SERVICE.
TRISTAN IN BRITTANY *translated by* DOROTHY L. SAYERS, M.A.
THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM *by* OLIVE SCHREINER.
THE RHYMES OF A RED-CROSS MAN *by* ROBERT W. SERVICE.
JOAN AND PETER *by* H. G. WELLS.
DEAD SOULS *by* NIKOLAI V. GOGOL.
LAUGHING ANN *by* A. P. HERBERT.
THE MAN WHO WAS AFRAID *by* MAXIM GORKY.
THE STICKIT MINISTER *by* S. R. CROCKETT.
THE ARROW OF GOLD *by* JOSEPH CONRAD.
DREAMS *by* OLIVE SCHREINER.
THE CHALLENGE OF THE DEAD *by* STEPHEN GRAHAM.
THE UNCLASSED *by* GEORGE GISSING.
SHE-SHANTIES *by* A. P. HERBERT.
GEORGE IV *by* SHANE LESLIE.
UNCANNY TALES *by* F. MARION CRAWFORD.
THE BLUE LAGOON *by* H. DE VERE STACPOOLE.
THE COMING OF THE FRIARS *by* AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.
LOVERS AND FRIENDS *by* E. F. BENSON.
MY CROWDED SOLITUDE *by* JACK McLAREN.
ALMAYER'S FOLLY *by* JOSEPH CONRAD.
ATOMS AND RAYS *by* SIR OLIVER LODGE.
BALLADS OF A CHEECHAKO *by* ROBERT W. SERVICE.
OLIVER CROMWELL *by* HILAIRE BELLOC.
PROTESTANTISM *by* THE REV. W. R. INGE, D.D.
SHAKESPEARE *by* G. B. HARRISON.
MADAME CLAIRE *by* SUSAN ERTZ.
REQUIEM *by* HUMBERT WOLFE.
THE ENGLISH NOVEL *by* J. B. PRIESTLEY.
THE GENTLE ART OF TRAMPING *by* STEPHEN GRAHAM.

Figure 24. Essex Edition of H.G. Wells, taken from John B. Krygier, 'Essex Library (Ernest Benn).'

Aucassin et Nicolette: West's translation decorative pages

Figure 25. Inside front page decorations for *Aucassin and Nicolete*.

Other decorated texts from the 'Camperfield Presse'

Figure 26. Inside front page decorations for Michael West, *Clair de Lune and other Troubador Romances* (Camperfield Press, 1913)

Figure 27. Inside front page decorations for Robert de Boron, *Tristram of Lyones et La Beale Isoude* (Camperfield Press, 1920)

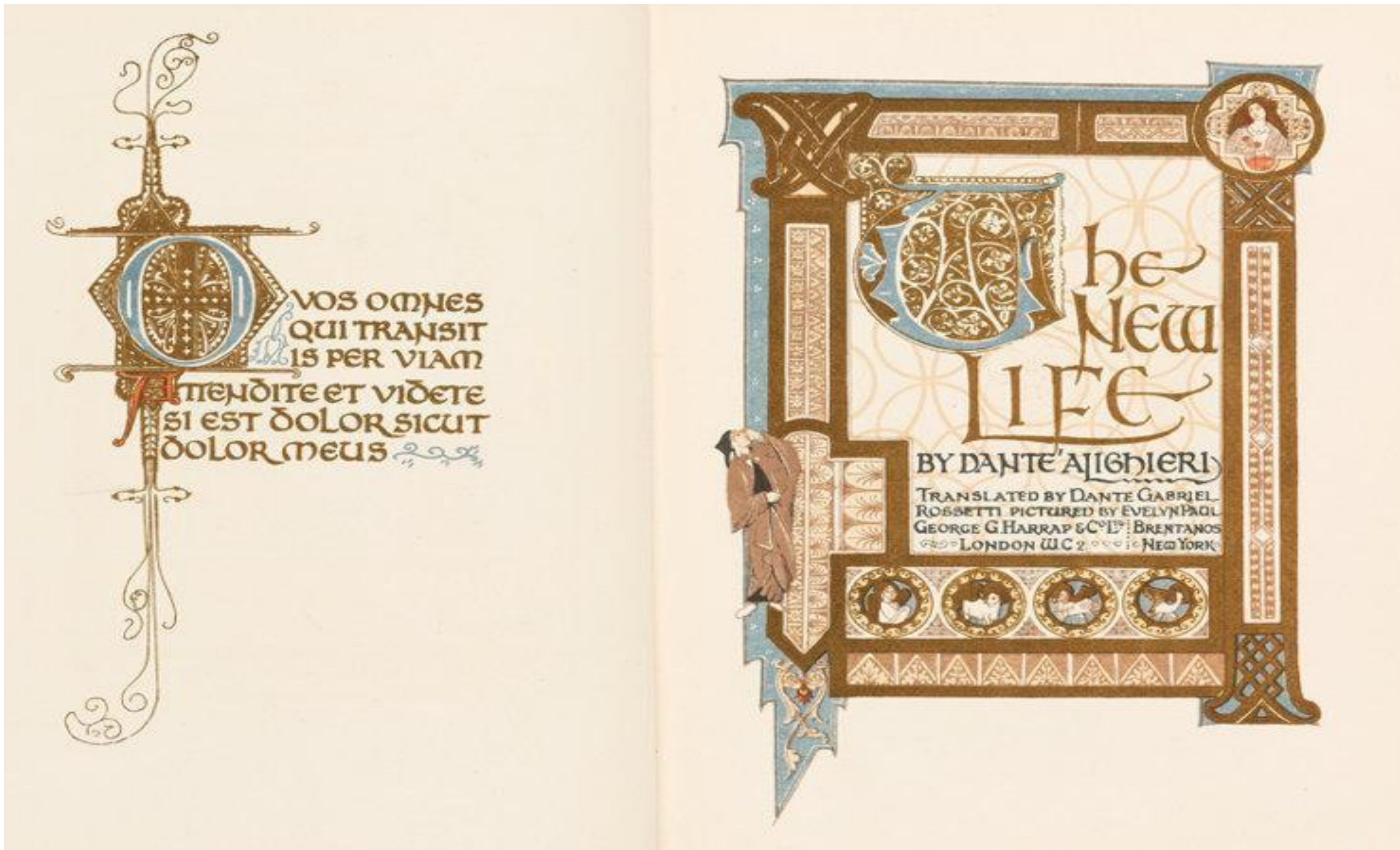


Figure 28. Inside front page decorations for Dante Alighieri, *The New Life,* trans. Dante Gabriel Rossetti (Camperfield Press, 1915)