Multilingualism, Language Trouble, and Linguistic Infelicity in Early Modern English Writing, 1550-1642

by

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For my parents

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NOTE ON THE TEXT

I have maintained early modern spelling conventions in the body of the dissertation, with several exceptions. I have regularized i/j, as well as replacing *vv* with *w*. Capitalization remains unchanged. Finally, I have shortened a number of titles in the body of the text, but preserved them in full in the footnotes and bibliography.

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ABSTRACT

Early modern intercultural exchange is characterized by the need to find a common language. Depictions of that exchange for an English audience tend to translate that improvised, *ad hoc* work in ways that downplay the uncertainty and promote the image of the triumphant English traveler or translator. Evidence of these extemporaneous exchanges nonetheless remains visible in early modern writing. In "Multilingualism, Language Trouble, and Linguistic Infelicity in Early Modern English Writing, 1550-1642," I argue that these linguistic workarounds are linked to writers' imaginings of their role in international exchange and the formation of an English proto-national identity. This dissertation looks at how "language trouble," my term for how the possibility of perfect communication goes awry, is depicted in a variety of genres.

Chapter 1, "Language as Travail: Language Trouble in Depictions of Early Modern Emissaries," focuses on emissaries (unofficial ambassadors who cast themselves as advocates for England's political interests abroad) and the ways their accounts erase the possibility of failure in multilingual communication. By comparing letters, published first-person accounts, and staged depictions of historical events, I examine how the complications of documented situations were packaged for an English public's consumption. I argue that fictional accounts (such as *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*) present a fantasy of perfect communication in which English Protestant interests triumph; published narratives and private communication, instead, work to diminish the possibility of miscommunication. Chapter 2, "Language as Workaround: Multilingualism in Travel

Narratives," examines prose narratives of "merchant venturers": traders, captains, sailors, and others who participated in transnational mercantile economies. This chapter takes up one genre of text written by many different types of authors to illustrate the variety of potential failures in linguistic workarounds, both those experienced and those avoided, with which early modern venturers were preoccupied. No one narrative emerges as the genre's standard, indicating how situational and contingent these workarounds were. Chapter 3, "Language as Labor: Learning, Language Manuals, and Multilingual Discourse," turns to multilingual dictionaries and language manuals to more fully address questions of imperfection and sufficiency that previous chapters raise. Early modern dictionary compositors were distinctly aware of the impossibility of creating the perfect dictionary, and developed discourses emphasizing sufficiency to assuage the readers that their product would provide a good enough framework for the level of learning at which it was advertised. Finally, Chapter 4, "Language as Performance: The Pleasures of Failure and the Role of Understanders on the English Stage," looks at the ways in which linguistic infelicity depicted on the early modern stage indicates social or national boundary-crossing. Plays such as Jonson's *Volpone*, Shakespeare's *Love's Labours Lost*, and Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* show how the humor to which that linguistic infelicity regularly gave rise demonstrates the limits of social mobility. By examining linguistic infelicity by genre as well as by subject, I argue that there is no one framework by which to examine early modern language trouble: multilingual communication is heterogenous, messy, and resistant to easy categorization.

INTRODUCTION

In 1609, an anonymous pamphlet was published alerting the English population of news from the Mediterranean concerning the operations of two of the early 17th century's most notorious pirates, Zyman Danziger and John Ward. The pamphlet is mostly concerned with Ward and the abuses that Ward purportedly heaped on his countrymen when they were captured by Ward's men, a group of English and Turkish sailors. The author tells his audience that Ward's crew was a "gallimaufry of rogues I dare now call them so, beeing indeede more renegadoes than Turkes, for what conference wee had wee receiued from them in *Italian.*"[1] This portrayal of Ward and his men as a gallimaufry, a conflicting, unharmonious mixture of multiple elements, speaks to Ward's status as a syncretic figure to early modern English audiences.[2] An English sailor pressed into the King's service, he mutinied and stole an English ship, sailing to the Mediterranean where he made a contract with the head of the janissaries at Tunis for protection in return for first refusal of pirated goods. He later converted to Islam, changed his name, and married an Italian woman; he did, however, continue to send money from his piracy to his first wife in England. Ward sits at a complex intersection of early modern anxieties about renegados, about religious conversion, and about the porous boundaries of national identity, aspects of his life that have been amply discussed by other scholars. What interests me, however, is that the

[1] Anonymous, *Ward and Danseker two notorious pyrates, Ward an Englishman, and Danseker a Dutchman. With a true relation of all or the mo[st] piraces by them committed vnto the first of Aprill* (London, 1609) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 25022.5), C4 recto-C4 verso.

[2] The *Oxford English Dictionary* (3rd ed.) defines "gallimaufry" in its earliest attested usage as "a heterogeneous mixture, a confused jumble, a ridiculous medley." It often refers to people, clothing, and eventually food that is a hodgepodge of composite elements that do not necessarily accord.

anonymous author makes a note that Italian was used to communicate between the two groups; while this might denote actual Italian, it more likely refers to the Mediterranean *lingua franca*, sometimes called "bad Italian."[3]

Because both groups presumably had numerous fluent English speakers, it is worth wondering about the function or use of Italian or *lingua franca* here. Clearly, it serves as a go-between between the English Protestant reporter and the lapsed renegados, but why this is the linguistic go-to choice is not made clear to the English readership. Indeed, such uncertainty limns the author's account when he labels Ward and his crew by means of the adjective "gallimaufry." The word here evokes not only the heterogeneity of Ward's position but also the messiness that multilingual communication can give rise to and the complexity of such speakers' linguistic positions. Ward and his crew are marked as figures whom the cultural, religious, and economic circulation of the Mediterranean has impacted so fully that, while they are obviously no longer "fully" English, they are not precisely Turks. The language by which they communicate emerges as an aside in a tense narrative moment about the treatment of the prisoners by their ostensible fellow countrymen, and yet it does not function purely as an aside but as an indication of Ward's departure from the socially sanctioned methods of cultural encounter. Speaking Italian or *lingua franca* to English speakers, when Ward has command of the latter language, is a sign of his assimilation: it also signals that the author has enough facility in the Mediterranean vehicular language of circulation to complete this exchange without having to insist that Ward's crew speak English.[4]

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[3] As Karla Mallette describes, *lingua franca* was "a language of convenience used by speakers of mutually-incomprehensible mother tongues, mainly Arabic, Turkish, Greek and the Romance vernaculars, in the pre-modern Mediterranean." "Lingua Franca," in *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, eds. Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 330. It had no written grammar and no speakers for whom it was their first language. While it borrowed heavily from Italian grammar, it featured a vocabulary drawn from various sources in the aforementioned languages. *Lingua franca* permitted people who shared no common tongue to navigate practical matters in the region.

[4] A vehicular language, as opposed to a vernacular language which is localized within a population, is one that goes beyond the borders of its original speaker community and is adapted for speakers of different languages to

This small aside in a much longer work is indicative of the complexity by which acts of cross-cultural communication occurred in the early modern Mediterranean: for any encounter to proceed successfully, a common language needed to be established, and that language was very unlikely to be English, given England's late arrival to early modern Mediterranean trade and the prevalence of a Romance-based *lingua franca* that was already attested to be in use.[5] As a result, ambiguities tends to linger at the margins of English texts involving circulation: events in which individuals or groups from different cultures come together in a syncretic or multicultural space for the purpose of economic trade, political negotiation, religious conversion, knowledge production, etc., and in which power dynamics between the groups are not unilateral. "Circulation" here refers to the emergence of these moments in networks of constant movement, even flows, of goods, services, knowledge and people; where "exchange" evokes ideas of specific individuals or groups of individuals, in "circulation" the focus is on the flow of interactions themselves. How were these encounters completed? Did they involve the use of an interpreter, or were one or both of the speakers multilingual? If the latter was the case, how much facility did each speaker have with the language that was not their first, or with *lingua franca*? Given different assumptions about cultural values, these moments necessarily involve a significant amount of opportunities for linguistic miscommunication and breakdown.

England's introduction to the complex network of transnational circulation, and rapidly expanding globalization, comes relatively late among the European economic powers. While Latin serves as a language in which high-level diplomatic communications can pass from heads of state power and their educated representatives, not all who participate in England's ventures in the Mediterranean and continental web of circulation have the same familiarity and fluency with

communicate with each other. While *lingua franca* has no native speakers, it evolves into the language of commerce in the early modern Mediterranean and becomes a vehicular language that allows for cross-cultural trade.

[5] Mallette, "Lingua Franca," 332.

the languages they need in order to communicate. In addition, multilingualism is always a complex endeavor; languages are bound up with the communities in which they are indigenous, and even a fluent speaker is at risk of error if they have been trained outside that community's context. These negotiations, moreover, are rarely low-stakes: the English abroad are often advocating for their national and/or economic interests. They thus have an investment in portraying themselves as adept at multilingual encounters.

For all of the importance of cross-cultural communication to early modern cultural and political networks of circulation, and the networks of personnel they enable, support, and constitute, I argue in this dissertation that texts depicting it, both fictional and non-fictional, often deliberately *erase* evidence of its complexity: both multilingualism and English monolingualism tend to be textually elided, and the actual practicalities of how communication occurred remain unclear. The possibility of disfluency, arising from mistakes with interpreters or speakers who have poorly learned their languages, is portrayed as a trial for the intrepid English traveler to overcome or else as an almost cartoonishly surmountable simple task, if it is not elided entirely. But these depictions sometimes still leave traces of the difficulty of multilingual communication lingering at the margins, where authors allude to the different backgrounds of their interlocutors, and the foreignness of the exchange remains. English writers portray themselves or their subjects as frequently triumphant over a series of misfortunes and capable of negotiating their way out of them, and simultaneously as sometimes dependent on their countrymen or a translator to resolve a particularly difficult situation. Although these figures of linguistic aid appear only briefly, their presence disrupts the preferred vision of the Englishman abroad as a seamless, multilingual communicator.

"Language trouble," I argue, is a notable feature of early modern English depictions of circulation abroad, especially situations in which an English figure must participate in a

complex, syncretic web of overlapping economic, social, religious, and intellectual investments.[6] By linking language to trouble, I mean to denote the ways in which language and its possibilities intersect with English imaginings of the porous boundaries of nationality and culture, and the difficulties that individual speakers may have when attempting to speak a language in which they are not fluent or when negotiating outside their own culture. "Language trouble" refers to the ways in which the possibility of perfect cross-linguistic communication, defined by fluency, facility, and success, is confronted by the practical execution of these ideals in actual encounters. In these moments, imperfection, misunderstanding, and messiness inevitably result. The term refers not only to moments of linguistic infelicity, when listeners fail to understand a speaker's verbal meaning, but to the entire apparatus of understanding: gestural and nonverbal communication as well as rhetorical valences of speech. These moments of linguistic misprision do not always signify ruin, however; polysemy can offer poets a rich array of tools, and early modern comedy mines moments of misunderstanding for humor. Indeed, linguistic infelicity itself resists univalence; it cannot be resolved neatly into one category that always yields a predictable result when it occurs textually. Like its depictions, "language trouble" is a category that is always imperfect and defined by its messiness, its overspilling of the boundaries of stable definitions.

These complexities are often evinced by the textual invocation of workarounds: imperfect, improvised linguistic acts marked by difficulty and labor as well as the potential for misunderstanding and failure. It refers as well to what linguistic infelicity means for English negotiations abroad and at home. Often portrayed humorously, misprision tends to be

[6] Carla Mazzio introduces "language trouble" in *The Inarticulate Renaissance: Language Trouble in an Age of Eloquence*, though Mazzio focuses more on ruptures in language: stammering, stuttering, and ineloquence depicted in expresssions of an English vernacular considered to lack elegance. I use the term differently, focusing more on how fantasies of perfect articulation are intruded upon by the necessity of improvised, imperfect workarounds. See Carla Mazzio, *The Inarticulate Renaissance: Language Trouble in an Age of Eloquence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

represented by fictionalized Englishmen abroad, who are held up as the subject of jokes at their inability to understand their own shortcomings. But these accounts are produced for an audience at home, and the infelicitous Englishman serves as a touchstone and a warning about the dangers of over-assimilation into a linguistically, religiously, and culturally polyvalent identity which retains little allegiance to English interests.

This dissertation explores how and why English authors raise the possibility of linguistic failure while simultaneously attempting to assuage such failure. I do not usually differentiate between fictional and non-fictional sources because my focus is on the rhetorically-constructed textual self as it exists on the page. The textual self's verbal exchanges and circulations are presented to their audience in language that will be most accessible; conversations in, say, Italian are usually written in English and followed with the comment "he said in Italian." Early modern writers are free to elide the role of translators entirely: in fact, many travel accounts may have been aided through the linguistic intercession of multilingual interpreters in ways for which future audiences would be entirely unaware. In the cases I examine, however, traces of others' presences are deliberately left in. This tension between presence and absence characterizes many early modern English accounts of multilingual encounters, leading to a palpable sense of incoherence or of a complex negotiation that remains unresolved.

Early modern networks of transnational circulation were not limited to or, in fact, exclusively centered around the Mediterranean. The Dutch mercantile economy facilitated significant portions of the shipping industry in the latter half of the 16th century.[7] The transatlantic slave trade imposed European colonialist systems on Africa and the Caribbean in ways that belied the more benign notion of fluid circulation I take up in this project.[8] Literary

[7] Marjorie Rubright, "Double Dutch: Approximate Identities in Early Modern English Culture," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2007), Proquest (3287620), 21-6.

[8] It seems outrageous to suggest that slavery and proto-colonial encounters operated on the same principles as the transnational networks of circulation I discuss, as the latter contain power dynamics which are complex rather than

networks often went through Basel or other European printing centers. Wittenberg and other university towns served as nexus points of religious debate and ideological spread. Some of the early language manuals and cultural touchstone texts of the 15th and 16th centuries circulated through the continent, including to England, before they received their own printings in London. London itself was not monocultural: it had ambassadors, merchants, migrants, and travelers from abroad, as well as people from within the shifting and complex borders of what would become Britain. Welsh and French on the early modern stage would not seem unexpected to the ears of Londoners used to the networks of circulation—not only the movement of specific goods or individual people, but also the transformative aspects of the market on the London landscape—that passed through their city.[9]

As Goran Stanivukovic points out, the early modern Mediterranean was a locus of conflicting identities and definitions; in his introduction to *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writings*, he asks if the Mediterranean is geographical and topological, or if it "suggest[s] a looser, more conceptual, and broader political allegory of empire, unrelated to a specific location in the Mediterranean but emerging out of the idea of early (proto-)colonial discourses about the region?"[10] My dissertation is not confined to the Mediterranean, even as this looser, conceptual space; it imagines the intersections of various "political allegories" as having an impact on English conceptions of their own cultural conversations, even when those conversations are confined within the (porous, complex) borders of the nation. In places where

externally and unilaterally imposed. But neither does it seem acceptable to outright ignore 16th and 17th century slavery, as the institution comprises part of these systems of transnational economics, and to disregard it would perpetuate the imbalance of power and dehumanization that the institution incited. While some of my later accounts do address forced servitude in Turkish galleys, that is a fundamentally different system than the establishment which was at this time emerging as chattel slavery.

[9] Peter Musgrave, *The Early Modern European Economy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); and Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[10] Goran V. Stanivukovic, "Introduction: Beyond the Olive Trees: Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writings," in *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writings*, ed. Goran V. Stanivukovic (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 2.

this dissertation narrows its focus to England and its borders, I look at moments where authors' constructions of England are inextricable from the networks that bring multilingual and multicultural knowledge and trade into the country. The dissertation takes its boundaries as starting with England's increased participation in cross-cultural Mediterranean trade in the 1550s and ends with the outbreak of the English Civil War, which required England to temporarily shrink back from its global connections and focus on the internecine conflict in the Atlantic archipelago. The Mediterranean and its networks, though geographically far away from England's shores, touches upon a great many of England's interests, and is, I argue, inextricable from how England constructs itself as a multilingual power capable of negotiating abroad for its own interests.

Andrew Hadfield argues for the genre of travel writing as a sociopolitical act, saying that "much early modern travel writing and colonial writing was written, in whole or in part, in order to participate in current pressing debates about the nature of society…the fear of foreign influences undermining English/British independence, the need to combat the success of other rival nations, religious toleration and persecution, and the protection of individual liberty."[11] While I agree with Hadfield that depictions and descriptions of travel serve this purpose for an early modern public, this dissertation explores how that participation was thought to occur.[12] I do so by focusing on the ways in which the material conditions of voyages and travels are depicted for an audience in various kinds of texts: travel narratives, stage plays, multilingual dictionaries and language learning manuals, and published diaries. I am less interested in reconstructing the

[11] Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 12.

[12] Hadfield's collapse of English and British interests suggests a monolithic project of proto-colonialism that Goran Stanivukovic, Lisa Jardine, Gerald MacLean and others press against, and which I argue was complicated even in the early modern period by the conflicting, complex actions of travelers and statesmen abroad. See Stanivukovic, Lisa Jardine, "Alien Intelligence: Mercantile Exchange and Knowledge Transactions in Marlowe's The Jew of Malta," *Reading Shakespeare Historically*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 98-113, and Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720*, (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 2004.

material journeys of authors than in identifying how those journeys are represented, for it is the rhetorical structures of the texts that allow me to consider such questions as: which portions of the journey, networks of circulation, or moments of communication are elided as unworthy of interest? Are there narrative segments that run counter to the goals the text seeks to accomplish? In what ways does the text's composition, from genre to paratextual arrangement, support or undermine the author's presentation of cross-cultural language exchange? By considering the rhetorical structures that authors chose to organize their texts within, and the ways in which those structures can fail to wholly contain a singular, clear narrative, I examine those failures as themselves productive: of the traces of a complex and not always smoothly working network of transnational traffic.

As others have argued, the collapse of these circulatory networks into a binary in which one speaker is "familiar" and one is "other," especially when mapped onto a binary of "West" and "East," flattens out the rifts, conflicts, and heterogeneity within each culture being examined. Jane Grogan argues that "'traffic' and 'exchange' seem to be the paradigms *du jour* for conceptualizing east-west relations in the period, emphasizing the considerable material and commercial connections managed on the English side by the joint-stock merchant companies, and the frequency of movement of people, goods, and ideas between the English channel and the farthest reaches of the Mediterranean."[13] But this summation, understandably advanced by a number of contemporary scholars, itself can be qualified, expanded, and complicated by deliberately incorporating multiple voices and perspectives. Mediterranean studies has recently developed a framework within which multiple lenses can be applied to various material, social, and economic encounters, in which (ideally) English and Ottoman sources of accounts are read

[13] Jane Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549-1622* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 29-30.

in tandem or contrapuntally.[14] While this is not always possible when sources are inaccessible, there are nonetheless still ways of opening up spaces to make room for these textual and cultural heterogeneities, such as acknowledging the places where these gaps exist, and what has been lost.[15] My particular contribution to this genre of scholarship is to look at what is not being translated, how translations remain imperfect, what disfluency remains at the margins, and what lingers in the text despite an author's focus elsewhere.

In this regard, it is important to acknowledge the extent to which translation theory supports this project. As our models of globalization and circulation have become more complex, translation studies has been enjoying a resurgence in early modern studies. Laurence Venuti somewhat controversially defines translation as when the "translator negotiates the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text by reducing them and supplying another set of differences, basically domestic, drawn from the receiving language and culture to enable the foreign to be received there. The foreign text, then, is not so much communicated as inscribed with domestic intelligibilities and interests."[16] Venuti's vision of translation posits a superimposition of the receiving language's preoccupations, interests, and values on the foreign language's text. The more "successful" a translation, the more the receiving culture's mores blur any disagreement between the foreign language and the receiving language by subsuming the former and erasing the evidence.[17] Translation, in this view, involves a double speaking, or a speaking over, which

[14] For work on this, see the Introduction to McJannet, Linda and Bernadette Andrea, ed. *Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1-20.
[15] See Jyotsna G. Singh, "Introduction: The Global Renaissance," in *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*, ed. Jyotsna G. Singh (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 1-28; and Pompa Banerjee, *Burning Women: Widows, Witches, and Early Modern Travelers in India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
[16] Laurence Venuti, "Translation, Community, Utopia," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Laurence Venuti (New York: Routledge, 2000), 468.
[17] A. E. B. Coldiron suggests that Venuti's ideas of erasure and invisibility are not directly translatable to early modern notions of (in)visibility, and that visibility should not be overlooked. She suggests that two common preoccupations, *sprezzatura* and *imitatio*, are linked to a tension between surfacing the effort of a translation: for *sprezzatura* to be read as effortless, at least some of the translator's effort must surface, and thus graceful translation cannot appear wholly invisible. I do not believe that this is as disconnected to Venuti's claims about superimposition

inscribes a foreign text with the receiving culture's preoccupations. In a similar way, early modern reporting of foreign language inflected exchanges inscribes these encounters within a rhetorical structure that is legible to an English audience rather than faithfully representative of an actual multilingual encounter. Most foreign language is rendered in English, with an occasional comment about the language in which the thoughts were originally communicated; sometimes, certain words remain untranslated to lend an impression of fidelity to the text, though they are often glossed. This act of superimposition for legibility is a form of double-speaking, in which the foreign language is never fully erased.

Lexical culture offers a way to think through the multivalent linguistic behaviors and translation objectives in early modern networks by considering how forms of linguistic superimposition or cohabitation operate. Jacques Lezra describes lexical culture as "the loose subgroups of practices and ideologies that surround and concern the writing, copying, printing, and transmission of lexicons, grammars, hard-word books, and dictionaries, both monolingual and multilingual, in the new print culture of the European elite."[18] Textual production and print culture itself is embedded, both economically and ideologically, in these networks of circulation. Jacques Lezra and Belén Bistué's work has surfaced the role of collaborative multilingualism in translation, by which individual authors produce individual works informed by a larger collective and multicultural intellectual tradition. Even the seemingly-monolingual text bears traces of the multicultural networks from which it emerges. Bistué suggests that "the model of the unified text (as opposed to a text in which the versions, languages, and styles of both author and translator are visible) functions as a place where early modern writers and readers can grasp their emergent

as Coldiron might argue, but that the interplay between the visible surfacing of the translator's hand and the erasure of other lexical markers is a complex, nuanced tension in early modern multilingual texts. See "Visibility Now: Historicizing Foreign Presences in Translation," *Translation Studies* 5, no. 2 (2012): 189-200.

[18] Jacques Lezra, "Nationum Origo," in *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, eds. Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 206.

national selfhood."[19] Thus, the emergence of the monolingual translation, involving the smoothing out of various editions or previous translations, shows how early modern authors actively seek to construct a national identity in nominal opposition to the other nations and cultures that nonetheless impacted and shaped early modern England. These linguistic ideologies are themselves difficult to identify in their porousness of boundaries and resistance to a unified, contained structure.[20] Lezra, in considering Ascham's construction of the utility of double translation—the process of translating from Latin to English and back into Latin again—posits that the schoolmaster's or the language manual's instructions to the student are erased in the act of translating. The language or learning production which gives rise to these translations surfaces and then vanishes; it is subsumed into the finished translation project which appears to bear only the mark of the student's hand, but behind which a vast network of translation and multilingual labor lingers.[21]

This pattern occurs not only in language manuals but also in both fictional and non-fictional accounts of travelers abroad; the pedagogical history of the speaker or translator is briefly surfaced, only to be erased by the visible textual consequences of the depicted exchange—even though the material circumstances which enabled it do not magically cease to exist once the textual focus is shifted. It is this invisible persistence that, I argue, lingers at the margins of early modern visions of encounter: even in cases where linguistic variation is elided, the conscious choice on the part of the author to excise the *manner* of communication contributes to a vision of the Englishman abroad as capable of circulating without losing his identity. This depiction, like translation, is never perfect; it is often repeatedly threatened by intrusions and

[19] Belén Bistué, *Collaborative Translation and Multi-Version Texts in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 35.
[20] Kathryn A. Woolard, "Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry," in *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, eds. Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn. A. Wollard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 37-39.
[21] Lezra, "Nationum Origo," 212.

interruptions either within the text's rhetorical structure or paratextual materials.

English itself, of course, is not an uninterrupted monolith, as Paula Blank has demonstrated, and the "imaginative borders" of its many vernaculars are produced by the emergence of rhetoricians, authors, and lexicographers attempting to create a sanctioned, fluent, and even poetic, English.[22] This construction is created not only by means of debates around English vernacular and "inkhorn" terms, or in apologies for English poetry, but also in situations in which English is portrayed as more flexible and useful than we might otherwise expect to find it. Multilingual language manuals profess the utility of English even as they teach readers how to dine and find lodging in Spain; travel literature portrays monolingual Englishmen as bumbling about, but still capable of acquiring basic necessities on their journeys. Fantasies of English dominance or legibility erupt in moments where an emerging national identity might find itself under siege. The ideological effort required by the production and reification of early modern English is significant, and factions often come into conflict with each other. Edmund Spenser's archaic English is an attempt to construct a stable English past tied to Anglo-Saxon rather than Latinate language;[23] Protestant preachers claim that the use of excessively Latinate words in religious services veers on popery.[24] What emerges is a language marked by these debates and by its lexical borrowings from other languages. This English, however bounded, is still influenced

[22] Paula Blank's seminal *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1996) is not the only work to address the labor behind the construction of an English that could be considered poetic or eloquent. R.F. Jones, Albert Baugh and Thomas Cable, Carla Mazzio, and Peter Burke, among others, have all written about the interlocking systems of linguistic production, and the points of failure, when constructing a "national" language for England.

[23] Willy Maley, "Spenser's Languages: Writing in the Ruins of English," in *The Cambridge Companion to Spenser*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 162-179; and Helen Cooper, "Edmund Spenser and the Passing of Tudor Literature," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature 1485-1603*, eds. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 749-766.

[24] William Fulke, *A defense of the sincere and true translations of the holie Scriptures into the English tong against the manifolde cauils, friuolous quarels, and impudent slaunders of Gregorie Martin, one of the readers of popish diuinitie in the trayterous Seminarie of Rhemes. By William Fvlke D. in Diuinitie, and M. of Pembroke haule in Cambridge. Wherevnto is added a briefe confutation of all such quarrels & cauils, as haue bene of late vttered by diuerse papistes in their English pamphlets, against the writings of the saide William Fvlke* (London, 1583) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 11430.5).

by other languages, especially French, which assimilate into written and spoken English. In English universities, neo-Latin flourished; while a significant portion of the neo-Latin theatrical output was religious theatre, a significant number of classical plays were staged in the latter half of the 16th century.[25]

The "inkhorn controversy" also touched on English's dependence on other languages and its elegance (or lack thereof); these concepts were often rhetorically paired.[26] The late 16th century saw a debate about the nature of English's suitability for verse, as compared to Italian and Latin, and English's reliance on loanwords from those and other languages. Florio, in discussing English's reliance on other languages in his *First Frutes* (1578), imagines an English in which all foreign terms are removed and very few words remain. This Latin-inflected English had its supporters, however, in a number of authors and lexicographers; the noted lexicographer and headmaster Richard Mulcaster advocated for its teaching in a way that would codify English and mirror Latinate education. Still other early modern scholars, such as Thomas Wilson and Sir John Cheke, advocated for an English "written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangeled with borowing of other tunges."[27] By the time Florio retracts his previous statement in his bilingual dictionary, the *Worlde of Wordes* (1598), and praises the "manie-fold Englishes" ten years later,

[25] Howard B. Norland, "Neo-Latin Drama in Britain," in *Neo-Latin Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Jan Bloemendal and Howard B. Norland (Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2013), 471-544.

[26] The inkhorn controversy refers to a long-standing argument in the 16th and 17th centuries over the use of "foreign" terms imported into the English language; as they were most often introduced by authors, these terms received the derisive label of "inkhorn." Those against the practice, such as Puttenham, Wilson, and Cheke, preferred English to remain "pure" and often reverted to Anglo-Saxon etymology rather than relying on the Latin, whereas authors and compilers from Elyot to Shakespeare introduced Latinate terms into their writing. Detractors often felt that such terms were too obscure for non-scholars and scholars alike to recognize and use these new terms, while proponents felt that English was inadequate and could flourish at the level of Italian only with augmentation. For more on the controversy, see Alvin Vos, "Humanistic Standards of Diction in the Inkhorn Controversy," *Studies in Philology* 73, no. 4 (1976): 376-96; R.F. Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953); and Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable*, A History of the English Language*, 5th ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 202-18.

[27] Sir John Cheke, "A Letter of syr I. Cheekes To his louing frind Mayster Thomas Hoby" in *The courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio diuided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place, done into English by Thomas Hoby*, (London, 1561) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 4778)., p. 393.

the language has not become less complex or pared down its dependence on loanwords; in fact, it has only become more complexly syncretic. But now this complexity seems to be a feature of English, and the monolingual English dictionaries that emerge at the turn of the 17th century speak to the need to interpret English *in English*. English's fractured state does not resolve into a clean and seamless unity, but rather remains a feature of the language as both linguistic structures and national identity begin to coalesce. While individual authors have their convictions, the boundaries of the English language remain in flux; they never are and can never be definitively settled. Just as there is no perfect translation, there is no "unmixed" English; while English writers may strive for the creation of these impossible abstractions, their products are marked by polyphony and messiness.

Holinshed's second edition of his *Chronicles* (1586/7) gives a long account of the English spoken in the English pale of Ireland, and it contrasts the English retreat to the pale away from the Irish with the breakdown, he alleges, in the division of the languages. Those living there, he claims, "haue so aquainted themselues with the Irishe, as they haue made a mingle mangle, or gallamaulfrey of both the languages, and haue in such medley or checkerwyse so crabbedly iumbled them both togyther, as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neyther good English nor good Irishe."[28] If gallimaufry is a figure for the English in their efforts at national self-definition, it is also, as we saw with the depiction of the pirate Ward, an anxious figure of the Englishman abroad. It is specifying the terms of this gallimaufry that gives this project its motive, as I analyze the depiction of English speakers who occupy spaces outside England's borders, whether geographic or imagined, and the ways in which their workarounds are assimilated into the project of producing Englishness.

[28] Raphael Holinshed, *The Second volume of Chronicles: Conteining the description, conquest, inhabitation, and troblesome estate of Ireland; first collected by Raphaell Holinshed; and now newlie recognised, augmented, and continued from the death of king Henrie the eight vntill this present time of sir Iohn Perot knight, lord deputie: as appeareth by the supplie begining in pag. 109, &c*. (1586) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 13569), 3.

Chapter 1, "Language as Travail: Language Trouble in Depictions of Early Modern Emissaries," addresses the difficulties of unsanctioned emissaries performing Englishness, ostensibly on behalf of their nation. In these situations, these negotiators often do not possess full fluency, but erase some or all of the travail they undergo in participating in these cross-cultural networks of circulation. These figures employ workarounds, both in the employment of translators, *lingua franca*, or other improvised communication methods, and in the textual presentation of their adventures. Reading such authors as Thomas Dallam, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Nixon and John Day, Chapter 1 addresses a variety of genres, from travel and captivity accounts to dramatizations of emissaries on the early modern stage; this generic movement suggests that the common thread between the types of unrecognized emissaries is the amount of labor and effort that goes into performing their role as an extension of England's interests abroad, and the travail—both the trouble and the movement—that constitutes these improvisational, responsive, imperfect workarounds. When these unsanctioned emissaries are depicted on stage, these methods are often smoothed over, and English interests are reified; but the travail nonetheless remains at the margins, especially in their source material.

Chapter 2, "Language as Workaround: Multilingualism in Travel Narratives," addresses the ways in which linguistic performance and failure are correlated in accounts of extranational trade circulation. Taking as its subject the accounts of those traveling for financial gain, such as narratives by William Biddulph, Robert Coverte, and William Davies, this chapter examines how early modern English merchants often claim that linguistic failure or fallibility shores up their own religious and national identity, even as it limits their economic ventures. Figures of multilingual intercessors in this chapter provide mediated access to a shifting and interstitial extranational sphere which seems to promise as much as it threatens. Failure, as depicted in these travel narratives, is rarely straightforward, but is itself mediated by these intermediary

multilingual figures, who provide workarounds which often complicate or confuse the author's assertions about their encounters and participations in the early modern transnational economy.

Chapter 3, "Language as Labor: Learning, Language Manuals, and Multilingual Dictionaries," focuses on how multilingual facility is acquired by the early modern English reading public and examines the traces of labor interwoven with the composition and production of these texts. Dictionary compilers exert significant effort to create homogenous, bounded texts which can stand independent of the intellectual tradition through which they were produced in order to impart their knowledge to a reading public outside of those networks of knowledge circulation. While creators and compilers such as Sir Thomas Elyot, John Florio, and William Bullokar often erase or elide some of their sources, anxieties about a dictionary's sufficiency or utility often surface in prefaces, and paratextual materials bear the marks of visible integration and contention. This labor is often evoked to claim a dictionary's success, and thus must be surfaced enough to be visible to the reader, in order to validate the claim of the book and its author's participation in these sanctioned networks of intellectual production.

Chapter 4, "Language as Performance: The Pleasures of Failure and the Role of Understanders on the English Stage," examines the ways that linguistic infelicity or disfluency in the context of fictional performance can be a source of pleasure as well as anxiety. This chapter turns to drama in a way that differs from my treatment of the genre in Chapter 1; there it served as one genre in a cross-genre explication of the phenomenon of improvised workarounds in cross-cultural circulation, whereas this chapter takes up specific issues of imagined and embodied performance in the genre itself. Where the unsanctioned emissaries of Chapter 1 attempted to, at least nominally, represent English interests, the foreign-language speakers of Chapter 4 only advocate for their own self-interest. In plays by William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Thomas Dekker, characters attempt to employ Latinate linguistic patterns to advance

a social agenda, most often in situations where two or more cultures intersect in large- or small-scale negotiation. Almost invariably, these attempts are undercut as other characters, whom I term "understanders," comment on these attempts to harness this facility; the play thus signals to audience members, who may not possess certain fluencies, that these characters fail as they attempt to employ language they cannot master in order to cross social boundaries. Linguistic infelicity surfaces through their interactions, only to be contained within the plot structure in ways that suggest the inevitability of misunderstanding across cultural or social boundaries as well as the failure of those attempts to change one's class status. This chapter asks what the features of early modern drama are that prioritize the surfaced demonstration of failure in ways that allow understanders to derive pleasure from these linguistic infelicities in ways that are absent in other genres.

In all of these encounters, across a wide variety of genres of early modern writing, traces of circulation are not absent, but emerge and are then contained by the narrative, or else they are elided in ways such that traces still remain. In both instances, circulation and the attendant specter of language trouble that threatens to derail multilingual encounters haunt the margins of these texts. A significant amount of labor is required to surface and contain or elide these linguistic workarounds, but despite authorial positioning, these traces produce the figure of the multilingual English speaker as constantly producing his or her own identity in such a way that linguistic infelicity opens the subject to anxiety, threat, or failure. These moments of misprision gesture to the impossibility of perfect understanding or translation, and the messiness inherent in producing depictions of multilingual communication in early modern English writing

CHAPTER 1

Language as Travail: The Language Trouble of Emissaries

In 1601, Henry Timberlake set off on a pilgrimage from Cairo to Jerusalem. Such pilgrimages were not uncommon, nor were they free from hardship. In his journal, he recounts sailing to Alexandria, and then his difficult overland voyage to Jerusalem with an English companion by the name of Burrell. Upon reaching the gates of the city, however, Timberlake faced the problem common to early modern Protestant European pilgrims of how to enter Jerusalem, as access was controlled by the sanction of religious leaders, and Protestantism had no influence in the city. Timberlake's refusal to pass himself off as religiously or nationally different caused him no small amount of problems, as he recounts:

> Then Master Burrell requested mee to say that I was a Greeke, only to auoid going to Masse: but I not hauing the Greeke Tongue, refused absolutely so to doe; affirming to him, euen at the Gates, that I would neither deny my Countrey nor Religion, so that when they asked what we were, Master Burrell answered in the Greeke Tongue that hee was a Greeke, and I an Englishman, so hee was admitted to the Greeke Patriarch, and I was taken and cast into Prison, after that I had stayed an houre at the Gate, for the Turkes did all denie that they had heard either of my Queene or Countrey, or that shee paid them any tribute. Then the Pater Guardian, who is their defender of all the Christians Pilgrimes, and the principall actor of my imprisonment, because I would not offer my selfe vnder his protection, but said I would rather bee protected vnder the Turke then vnder him, made the Turke so much my foe, that they supposed I was a spie, and so would not let mee out of the dungeon.[29]

[29] Henry Timberlake, *A true and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English pilgrimes what admirable accidents befell them in their iourney to Ierusalem, Gaza, Grand Cayro, Alexandria, and other places: also what rare antiquities, monuments, and notable memories (concording with the ancient remembrances in the holy Scriptures), they saw in Terra Sancta, with a perfect description of the old and new Ierusalem, and scituation of the countries about them. A discourse of no lesse admiration; then well worth the regarding: written by one of them, on the behalfe of himselfe, and his fellowe pilgrime* (London, 1603) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 24079), 6.

Here, Timberlake paints a portrait of diplomatic negotiation and retaliation, and the practical matters that go into such discourses. The Greek Patriarch refuses to assist Burrell, because of the latter's refusal to adhere to the typically-agreed upon customs for Western Christians visiting Jerusalem. Timberlake continues to frame himself as operating outside of a framework of Protestant Christian negotiation when he explains how he eventually was able to continue traveling, stating:

> at Ramoth Gilead I went to a Fountaine to wash my foule linnen, in which time one came and called me by my name, and tooke my linnen from mee to helpe me. Whereat I maruelling: What Captaine, quoth hee, in the Frank tongue, I hope you haue not forgotten me. It is not yet fortie dayes since you landed mee at Alexandria among the passengers, which you brought from Argier in your Ship called the Troian. Here is also another that you brought. I asked if he dwelt there, hee answered no, but that hee and his fellow were going in the Carauan to Damasko, which they call Sham: and from thence to Bagdet, which wee call Babylon, and so to Mecha to make a Hadge, for so they are called when they haue beene at Mecha. He dwelt in Fez in Barbary.[30]

Timberlake's encounter and deliverance depends, significantly, on his and other European travelers' ability to understand multiple languages. His companion, Master Burrell, passes as Greek Orthodox to avoid having to declare himself a Catholic. Timberlake's framing of the encounter is noteworthy; while he does assert the common trope of early modern English travelers, swearing fealty to both England and Protestantism as linked concepts, the "but" that begins the sentence suggests that it might be his lack of linguistic facility that closes off the avenue his countryman takes. Timberlake's choice, while presented as philosophical, also has a practical element. It has significant consequences as well, given that it causes his imprisonment. And while his deliverance depends on his recognition by a fellow-traveler, language plays a

[30] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimes In fiue bookes. The first, contayning the voyages and peregrinations made by ancient kings, patriarkes, apostles, philosophers, and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne world: enquiries also of languages and religions, especially of the moderne diuersified professions of Christianitie. The second, a description of all the circum-nauigations of the globe. The third, nauigations and voyages of English-men, alongst the coasts of Africa ... The fourth, English voyages beyond the East Indies, to the ilands of Iapan, China, Cauchinchina, the Philippinae with others ... The fifth, nauigations, voyages, traffiques, discoueries, of the English nation in the easterne parts of the world ... The first part* (London, 1625) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 20509), 1641-2.

crucial part in that recognition. Timberlake explicitly mentions that the recognition occurs in German, and then provides the national and religious affiliations of his companion, deliberately drawing attention to the ways in which transnational encounters were conducted multilingually. Timberlake's experience is shaped by an unstable network of religious and national identities which are shaped by linguistic facility.

Timberlake's encounter is indicative of the variety of difficulties faced in early modern transnational travel. Linguistic incomprehension and cultural knowledge, or lack thereof, complicated cross-cultural encounters, and travelers often required improvised workarounds to negotiate them. Travelers of every sort to the Levant and further east, whether sent on official court business or traveling for other reasons, often had to hire interpreters when whatever Latin or French they may have possessed did not sufficiently enable communication, or when *lingua franca* was not an available option. However, the act of translation itself, whether verbal or written, only rarely features prominently in travelers' reports, despite its necessity to the venture. Accounts like Timberlake's slip between professions of English (and Protestant) inviolability, downplaying the intercession of non-English speakers, while raising the specter of flexibility, fungibility, and failure. This contrast, once raised, rarely resolves itself in the body of the text.

Travelers' own depictions of their experiences, in letters or published material, serve as a form of mediation or translation. In this case, it is the cross-cultural network of circulation itself that is translated into an understandable linguistic and cultural form for an English audience. In particular, figures who negotiate these interstitial spaces exemplify this, especially when advocating or embodying English interests when faced with one or more non-English cultures. Travelers, merchants, ambassadors, and classical scholars all can occupy these interstitial spaces, but the figure of the emissary in particular occupies a polyvalent position in these negotiations, moving between multiple languages, cultures, and ambitions. Additionally, the role of interpreter

is not a stable category of identity; it emerges during moments where such negotiation is required to produce meaning, but outside of career diplomats and translators, it is often not inherent to an individual interlocutor's role in cross-linguistic negotiations. In these translations, a great deal of the anxieties attendant on linguistic and cultural misunderstandings are often erased, and fictionalized accounts are even more likely to depict the exchange as easy. While this chapter focuses on English emissaries outside the nation's borders, it does include dramatic representations of emissaries in cases where these incidents are portrayals of actual occurrences which could have had a material impact on England's travel and trade. While these moments are not an accurate view of historical events for an audience, they occur in conversation with these actual encounters which could have slipped further towards miscommunication and failure. As a result, fictionalized depictions of emissaries in actual circumstances frequently downplay even the possibility of English interests foundering in the exchange. Whether in drama or prose, these accounts often elide the role of the interpreter, gloss over or stylize any possible moments of misunderstanding or danger, or depict the emissary or translator as capable of fully mending the inevitable rupture that occurs in translation in a way that solidifies English linguistic and proto-national supremacy.

Despite this construction, early modern travel accounts were very much a multilingual enterprise. Many popular English travel accounts were in fact translations of Spanish or Italian firsthand accounts; often a text would pass through more than one language before being translated into English. In the *Principal Navigations* (1589), Hakluyt justifies England's finding of the North-Eastern Passage as equivalent to Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, positioning both his text and English exploration as entering into a conversation with these other cultures. These Spanish and Portuguese discoveries were well known, written in their native languages,

and translated into English,[31] with the translator noting the text's benefit for English knowledge of the world. The practice of translation itself is often depicted as a kind of "travail" by its practitioners in their prefatory material, a word which itself takes on other meanings related to labor, travel, and parturition, among others.[32] All of these themes emerge in these prefaces at times, as books are compared to children, the compositor's labor is surfaced, and journeys the author may have taken are all unearthed as evidence for the difficulty of the translation's venture. The result of these labors was a transnational network of knowledge that spanned classical studies, political and economic maneuvering, and "discovery" texts.[33]

These moments of travail also emerge in more subtle ways in early modern literature: often there is a treatise in the body of a narrative in which a figure—either the narrator or another figure introduced by the narrator—must serve as a linguistic translator or interpreter for an English speaker and their foreign interlocutor. In these moments, the process of translation is sometimes alluded to or otherwise raised, making the labor of translation and, more broadly, cross-cultural communication more apparent. The question of an accurate recovery of the words spoken by emissaries in early modern negotiations is not the focus of this chapter; however, the depictions of translation as a crucial component to these negotiations, and the ways in which the labor of its process is represented by its practitioners, reveals the complicated, improvised, often imperiled nature of these conversations.

M. G. Aune argues that early modern travel accounts in the Ottoman Empire and

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[31] Diego Pirillo, "Balance of Power and Freedom of the Seas: Richard Hakluyt and Alberico Gentili," in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowett, Hakluyt Society Extra Series, vol. 47 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 177-9.

[32] The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives definitions from the period of "bodily or mental labour or toil, especially of a painful or oppressive nature; exertion; trouble; hardship; suffering," "a piece of bodily or mental labour; a work, a task; in plural labours," "the outcome, product, or result of toil or labour; a (finished) 'work'; esp. a literary work," and, in the phrase "in travail" as "the labour and pain of child-birth," as well as the secondary definition of "journeying, a journey." The *Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed., s. v. "travail."

[33] I use "discovery" in quotes here after Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh as a way to indicate that the discourse of "discovery" itself was and is inflected by discourses of colonialism. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh, eds., *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

surrounding environs indicate "the slippery dynamics of alterity and identity in the cross-cultural encounters in the eastern Mediterranean" and touches on how the choices travelers make in translating their encounters contributes to this unstable dynamic.[34] Aune examines William Lithgow's account of his pilgrimage in 1613, published in 1632, and focuses in particular on a moment in which Lithgow is termed a "Frank," the catchall term frequently used by Arabic speakers to refer to Western Christians. Lithgow states that when his group had left Samaria,

> immediately there came riding towards us, sixe naked fellowes, well mounted on Arabian Geldings, who demanded what wee were? and whither we were bound with such a multitude ; and if there were any Franks of Christendome in our company. To whom the Janisaries replied, we were purposed to Jerusalem, and that there was but one Franke with them : Upon the which they presently sought me, demanding Caffar, Caffar; that was tribute for my head, & caused me perforce notwithstanding of the resisting Caravan, and Janizaries, to pay them presently for my life seven Chickens of gold, seven times nine shillings starling: And this is, because sayd they our King is resident in these Tents, and therefore we have tripled his tribute.[35]

Lithgow, here and elsewhere, seems to misunderstand the horseman's cry of "caffar," or "unbeliever" in Arabic, as a demand for money; early modern readers would be familiar with the label from other travel accounts about Arabic speakers.[36] He does seem to understand "caffar" as the linguistic utterance that leads to the paying of the tribute, rather than a label for the money itself, as he references gold *zecchinos* as the payment demanded. Lithgow then tells his readers that the reason he is given for the extortionate fee is that the group's leader is present, and thus

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[34] M.G. Aune, "Passengers, Spies, Emissaries and Merchants: Travel and Early Modern Identity," in *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550-1700*, eds. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 129.

[35] William Lithgow, *The totall discourse, of the rare aduentures, and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene yeares trauayles from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica Perfited by three deare bought voyages, in surueighing of forty eight kingdomes ancient and moderne; twenty one rei-publickes, ten absolute principalities, with two hundred ilands. The particular names whereof, are described in each argument of the ten diuisions of this history: and it also diuided in three bookes; two whereof, neuer heretofore published. Wherein is contayned, an exact relation, of the lawes, religion, policies, and gouernment of all their princes, potentates, and people. Together with the grieuous tortures he suffered, by the inquisition of Malaga in Spaine, his miraculous discouery and deliuery thence: and of his last and late returne from the northerne iles* (London, 1632) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 15712.5), 225-6.

[36] Lithgow states that he encountered "poore miserable people called Turcomanni, living in Tents, and following their flocks to whom I payed sundry Caffars." Ibid., 197. The grammatical construction of the sentence seems to heavily imply that Lithgow believes "caffar" to be a synonym for tribute or payment.

he demands a greater fee as a sign of respect and tribute.[37] Aune suggests that by textually transcribing the Arabic, Lithgow "assigns aspects of the Other [...] to himself," he also ascribes "aspects of Englishness to the horseman by rendering the rest of his language as English," and Aune also focuses on the ways in which English and Other function as unstable identities in this scenario. However, Aune does not interrogate Lithgow's choice of moments to render into English or Arabic: in other words, why certain "aspects of the Other" are more desirable for Lithgow to adopt. Lithgow's deliberate Anglicizing here simultaneously draws attention to and erases the moment in which he performs bilingual understanding, such as it is; by introducing "caffar," and not glossing it adequately, he draws his reader's attention to the fact that this exchange is not taking place in English, but then by interjecting "they said" in the middle of the translated assertion, he renders the scene as simultaneously reported and English. It is this double-speaking, the simultaneous awareness of a linguistic gap and the partial to total textual erasure of that gap, that characterizes a significant number of texts concerned with travel and diplomacy in the early 17th century. Even in an essay dedicated to unraveling the idea of an English-Other binary in which each is monolithic, the way in which language allows the type of interpersonal and specific exchanges that Aune focuses on remains underarticulated.

Early Modern Emissaries and the Role of the Translator

Early modern translators were emissaries, as Linda McJannet argues.[38] Emissary itself is

[37] For tribute paid to local kings or pashas, see Lawrence Danson, "The Sultan's Organ: Presents and Self-Presentation in Thomas Dallam's 'Diary,'" *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 5 (2009): 639-58. Lithgow's report might not be unfamiliar to early modern readers, who might recognize the trope of travelers being labeled as "caffar" by Arabic-speaking interlocutors. Sir Thomas Herbert felt it worthwhile to gloss the term in his travelogue, *A relation of some yeares trauaile begunne anno 1626. Into Afrique and the greater Asia, especially the territories of the Persian monarchie: and some parts of the orientall Indies, and iles adiacent. Of their religion, language, habit, discent, ceremonies, and other matters concerning them. Together with the proceedings and death of the three late ambassadours: Sir D.C. Sir R.S. and the Persian Nogdi-Beg: as also the two great monarchs, the King of Persia, and the Great Mogol* (London, 1634) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.:13190). But not all travelers reported these incidents in their texts, making Lithgow's inclusion interesting.

[38] Linda McJannet, "The Translator as Emissary: Continental Works about the Ottomans in England," in *Emissaries*

an unstable term, both in contemporary and early modern discourse; I use it here as a way to talk about formal ambassadors sent by one monarch to another, as well as informal diplomats conducting missions on behalf of their countries. It can also refer to individual agents who claim to operate in their nation's interests, but who are not explicitly sent or sanctioned by their ruler. It is this flexibility that allows McJannet to frame the practice of translation as a process of conducting a diplomatic mission on behalf of the translator's country. These translators often constructed the process of translation as "travail" in their prefaces, conflating themselves with travelers who ventured abroad and underwent difficulties. However, just as importantly, emissaries themselves were often translators by necessity. Though not all ambassadors possessed a fluency in the language of the country in which they were employed, many did, and the ones that did not relied on specifically appointed interpreters to do the necessary translation for them. Translation was a crucial component to cross-cultural negotiation; at some point, both parties would be working in an agreed-upon diplomatic language. Whether this language was one in which both speakers were reasonably fluent, one that was learned specifically for such encounters, or one that was improvised in the moment, both speakers had to expend a significant amount of labor to facilitate a successful interaction. Whether early modern negotiations took place intra-culturally, between two or more cultures using one common language, or between multiple cultures involving two or more languages, the success or failure of the negotiation depended on the ability of all parties to successfully communicate between whatever linguistic and cultural barriers existed.

Early modern emissaries rarely declared this necessary aspect of their job, at least not in publicly circulated accounts, such as travel narratives; nor do dramatic depictions highlight this dynamic. In private documents, such as letters to other diplomatic figures, however, the necessity

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in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550-1700, eds. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2009), 147.

of interpreters and the difficulties of cross-linguistic communication occur more frequently. As a result, scholars of cross-cultural circulation have not always paid attention to the crucial role language and fluency play in assertions of English identity abroad when textually re-presented for an English-speaking audience at home.

These crucial negotiations were not always presented as the crucial components to diplomacy that they were in practice. Their representation varies dramatically across genres. Official logistical communications, private letters, and diaries written for personal use or private circulation often acknowledge the presence of interpreters and their necessity to successful negotiations. However, in travail narratives and dramatizations of events, in which circumstances are stylized, the difficulty of multilingual communication is frequently elided in significant ways. The result is a series of texts in which the ability to speak a common language or to find an interpreter capable of navigating between two or more languages is alternately depicted as crucial to economic and diplomatic ventures, especially in the Levant, the Near East, and China, and also as a relatively rare concern in fictional depictions of these networks. With this tension, modern scholarship is left with fictional early modern accounts of travel and circulation that erase the difficulty of cross-linguistic communication but leave markers of this difficulty. These markers cannot always be retrieved fully or clearly, but nonetheless their traces can be recovered and reexamined.

The role of ambassador or emissary in the early modern period is as difficult to define linguistically as it is to identify practically. The terms used for emissaries, interpreters, and ambassadors overlap at times both in contemporary scholarship and in the early modern period itself, though there are sometimes noticeable distinctions between them. In John Florio's 1598 bilingual English-Italian dictionary, the *Worlde of Words*, "*feciale*," "*nuntio*," and "*messaggiere*" are all glossed as "ambassador." "*Feciale*" is also glossed as "herald," but not "interpreter";

"*araldo*," however, is both "herald" and "interpreter" but not "ambassador."[39] "Emissary" does not frequently appear in early modern texts before 1650, and there is very little overlap in either English or bilingual dictionaries between "ambassador" and "interpreter." Writers of the first bilingual early modern dictionaries tend to simplify the translation of foreign words into English, suggesting an oversimplification that exists neither in the original language being glossed nor the experiences of the travelers who need to speak it. Early modern English itself differentiates between "ambassador," "messenger," "legate" and "interpreter" in both usage and in descriptive linguistic manuals, as Edmund Coote's 1596 dictionary suggests. In Coote, "*legate*" is glossed simply as "ambassador," and "*ambassadour*" is defined as "messenger." However, "*herault*" is defined as "kinges messenger," which indicates the position of the ambassador or legate as more ambiguous as it relates to the monarch.[40] While a legate and an ambassador are, in early modern dictionaries, often paired together, the position of this word becomes more difficult to define. In language learning manuals that translate foreign words into English, however, these subtle distinctions are erased. For Florio, the word "*ambasicadore*, *ambasciatore*" can be translated as any of "an embassador, a legate, a messenger."[41] These three words appear elsewhere in Florio as well, but separately; an "*annuntiatore*" can be a messenger and a pronouncer, but neither of the other two terms. A "*messagiere*" can be either an ambassador or a messenger, but a "*ordinario*" can only be a messenger. There are clear distinctions, then, between the Italian terms, but by using several similar terms which overlap but do not entirely signify the same concepts, Florio's manual erases those subtleties by suggesting that several early modern English terms will serve to encompass the whole of the language. The result then simplifies the foreign

[39] John Florio, *A worlde of wordes, or Most copious, and exact dictionarie in Italian and English, collected by Iohn Florio* (London, 1598) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 11098).
[40] Edmund Coote, *The English schoole-maister teaching all his scholers, the order of distinct reading, and true writing our English tongue* (London, 1596) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 5711).
[41] Florio, *The Worlde of Words*.

languages which Englishmen might learn for economic or political advantage; if an early modern reader learns solely from one of these manuals, his vision of other cultures' systems of linguistic expression may indeed erroneously seem flatter and more simplistic than his own.

Although dictionaries fail to emphasize this fact, in practice, emissaries occupied the position of translators and interpreters. They translated general directives to specific policy in an abstract sense, but they were also often expected to linguistically mediate between their own language and that of the host country. In some cases, where they did not speak the language, they employed designated translators to interpret on their behalf; they also were responsible for reporting the political occurrences in their native language to their own countrymen. As a result, the writings of emissaries and the prefatory materials written by translators share similar objectives.

Timothy Hampton's seminal study of ambassadorship in the early modern period delineates the ways in which ambassadors functioned as both autonomous agents and extensions of their monarch's policy abroad.[42] Those ambassadors that he looks at, no matter how well educated, still employ workarounds: as Hampton notes, the early modern diplomat "speaks in an alien context, where the rules of discourse are constantly changing and may well be unfamiliar."[43] For even these figures, the possibilities and perils of miscommunication abound and the need for improvised, potentially imperfectly crafted, solutions is clear. However, Hampton's book takes up the figure of the humanist ambassador, sent by one proto-national state to another, and focuses less on moments in which political and mercantile figures could also serve as unofficial or incidental ambassadors not sent or sanctioned by their home country. Hampton's careful negotiation between the power of the monarch, as embodied in the emissary,

[42] Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 1-13 and 45-52.
[43] Ibid., 20.

and the emissary's own autonomy is complicated when we consider the ways in which people who did not embody monarchical authority negotiated (and sometimes failed to successfully negotiate) with emissaries of foreign powers. These figures did not serve as extensions of state power and yet they often negotiated with the same figures in foreign governments as the official ambassadors did. In addition, the travel accounts circulated by these incidental emissaries represented a different but nonetheless significant way of reporting and circulating knowledge. These unofficial "reports" covered the political and social organization of other countries and cities as well as geographical, topographical, and cultural information. In this way, these unofficial emissaries served as a bridge between their readers and the other culture in ways that are similar to the ways official ambassadors served as links between their home country and the country with whom they served as a negotiator.

Quite possibly the most significant difference between official and unofficial ambassadors, however, was the presence of one or more interpreters in the former's party. Frequently, ambassadors would have translators or interpreters who were not official negotiators in their own right, but who served as the practical bridge between the ambassador, as extension of the monarch's power, and the foreign government. Unofficial emissaries, however, including merchants, traveling noblemen, prisoners of war or piracy, or other figures not serving in an official capacity, did not have recourse to a stable and semi-permanent network of translators residing in or around the residence of an official ambassador.

As a result, state-sanctioned ambassadors enjoyed an established framework in which to conduct their interactions. However, as recent studies on ambassadorship have suggested, even this position was not entirely stable in terms of the ambassador's identity. While ambassadors are supposed to act solely for their nation's benefit according to early modern ambassadorial treatises, in practice it seems to have been more complicated, with the ambassador expected to

operate with a degree of autonomy and settle numerous matters without referring them back to his monarch. However, the position becomes even more complicated by unofficial ambassadors, figures who claim to operate on behalf of England and English interests, but who are not directly sent by the Queen and act in ways which do not always assert English interests above their own.

As a result of the multiple layers at which negotiations could founder, these interactions are often presented as less complex than they actually were to navigate. These elisions of linguistic instability, while characteristic of translated texts in the early modern period, seem to be reflected in contemporary scholarship's acceptance of these lacunae of comprehension. Anthony Parr, in his introduction to *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, adopts a binary view of cross-linguistic negotiated when he writes that "the English were looking for brothers, not Others."[44] This statement obscures the ways in which Otherness is a constructed category on the part of Western imperialism and here treats it as a natural phenomenon that was "discovered" by English travelers, rather than discursively imagined through the circulation of ideas and texts. Parr's naturalization of Otherness here reflects a similar shift in early modern English accounts of contact; in initial reports, the difficulty of both linguistic comprehension and more abstract communication is simultaneously brought to the reader's attention and elided. However, as contact becomes more regularized and knowledge from unofficial and officially sanctioned ambassadors shapes the linguistic and cultural conversation in the country sending out ambassadors, the elisions become more frequent while simultaneously homogenizing the portrait of the "Others" that the traveler meets. It is perilously easy for a modern reader to take these elisions as read; however, as Pompa Banerjee points out, in the absence of any linguistic common ground, English travelers to India superimposed their own culturally-determined

[44] Anthony Parr, "Introduction," in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 19.

narratives onto new experiences.[45]

Ambassadorship and Language: From Personal Narrative to Practical Manuals

Thomas Dallam's diary, which records his impressions of his voyage to Constantinople, provides an insight into the ways in which early modern travelers could perform some of the functions of ambassadors. Dallam, an organ-maker, traveled from London to Constantinople in 1599 to deliver and assemble an organ as a present from Queen Elizabeth to Sultan Mehmet III. While there, he resided in the house of Henry Lello, then Elizabeth's chief ambassador to the Porte. Dallam's account is significant as he does not travel for any of the reasons articulated in early modern travel manuals, such as direct diplomacy or cultural enrichment; however, the account he provides is one of cross-cultural access often mediated by official diplomatic structures.[46] Dallam's account highlights moments of linguistic instability, where a traveler's language puts them in real or imagined peril, and moments in which an interpreter is needed to intercede on either a linguistic or a diplomatic matter. A curious moment in his account is the acknowledgement of the utility of *lingua franca* and its place in the usual negotiations of Mediterranean travel. When Dallam's party lands at Rhodes to resupply, he recounts their adventures in the town: "As we weare a drinkinge, thare came unto us tow stout Turkes, and sayd: Parlye *Francko*, sinyore? which is: Can ye speake Ittallian, sinyor?"[47] Maye, the group's preacher, replies in the affirmative, and ends up imprisoned; Dallam is spared by parsing non-linguistic hand gestures from a different Turk who seems to have a pre-existing relationship with the organ-maker. Dallam shows his audience that *lingua franca* is indeed the common currency

[45] Pompa Banerjee, *Burning Women*, 2.
[46] While Dallam's account was not published in his lifetime, there are discursive markers in the text that indicate he meant for it to be circulated. Lawrence Danson speculates that Dallam intended for the text to circulate among his close family and friends.
[47] Thomas Dallam, *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599–1600*, in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. J. Theodore Brent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1: 36f.

of Mediterranean travelers and indicates how these cross-linguistic negotiations might begin. The ending, of course, is neither ideal nor inevitable, but represents, as Danson suggests, the possibility of miscommunication and the misreading of custom.[48] This citation of *lingua franca* demonstrates the wide variety of possibilities that communication in a vehicular and improvised language offered.

But in Dallam's account, and in other accounts of travelers abroad, these cross-linguistic moments are still sometimes conflicted or elided. Directly after his account of Maye's imprisonment, Dallam states that "what wordes did pass betwyxte our Mr. and me I will omitt till God send us into Inglande."[49] It is a curious moment, and if Dallam's readers would have understood the reasons for this omission, it remains obscure to contemporary readers. Perhaps Maye was still in danger of further imprisonment, or else Dallam felt that expounding upon the encounter would open himself up to reprisals were the diary discovered, or else for another reason entirely. But in this deliberate, signaled omission, Dallam invokes both the discursive, dialogic aspect of his diary and the elision of language clinging to the margins of his narrative. At other times, the actual communication of the exchange is often paraphrased into English. Early in the voyage, an Englishman must pretend not to speak English in order to not lose his purse to pirates and traveling companions of Dallam's are imprisoned for speaking Italian, and therefore indicating their Christian background, though Dallam and his companions escape through the means of a Turkish man giving them nonverbal signs. In the first case, Dallam's companion "presently answered, swearinge a greate othe, and sayde that he was no Inglishman, nether could speak one worde of Inglishe ; and yeat he spoke as good Inglishe as any of us."[50] The language in which the companion answered, and how he managed to convince the pirates, is

[48] Danson, "The Sultan's Organ," 641-2.
[49] Dallam, *The Diary*, 37.
[50] Ibid., 10.

not indicated in the text. Later, when Dallam is ordered to perform on the organ for the Sultan and the court, Lello gives him deliberate instructions on his behavior, which correspond very closely to ambassadorial conduct manuals circulating at the time. In this way, Dallam is turned into a interstitially-placed ambassador, one who represents his monarch and who performs the duties of an ambassador, while having no political power to negotiate on behalf of his realm.

While Dallam's text is exceptional for the access a non-diplomat had to Mehmet III, his encounter is fairly indicative of early modern travel experiences; despite having greater access to interpreters than shipwrecked merchant sailors would have, the diary still takes up the concerns of translation and communication that preoccupied many early modern travelers. Official ambassador accounts make frequent reference to the presence or absence of the interpreter, whereas travel reports often obscure both the presence of and need for a translator; where a translator is present, he often appears as a flatly-rendered version of a savior figure from the larger genre of travel narratives. Instead, they often make attempts to elide linguistic difficulty while simultaneously drawing the reader's attention to the hardships of incomprehensibility. Dallam, on the other hand, frequently mentions his interpreter and relates stories in which speaking a language could lead to peril. One of the text's key moments is the reason for Dallam's journey to the Mediterranean, the organ recital in front of the Signior, and it is marked by a misunderstanding due to cultural stereotyping and the lack of a common language between Dallam and the Sultan. Nonetheless, this miscommunication is resolved easily, as Jonathan Burton shows.[51] Dallam is fascinated by the mute men in the Sultan's entourage, and how "they

[51] Jonathan Burton writes about this moment at some length in *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579-1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); he points out that "Dallam's most significant and telling relationships in Constantinople develop in his interactions with the "jenglamanes" and "drugaman" assigned to aid him." Dallum, *The Diary*, 50. This occurs in the context of establishing multiple possibilities of encounter, interaction, and negotiation, both in Dallam's account and in other early modern English writing. Burton's book attempts to complicate claims that early modern Anglo-Ottoman encounters were always already heavily stereotyped and entirely imbued with xenophobic and reified rhetoric. Burton is careful not to assert that Anglo-Ottoman encounters were free from, or not driven by, xenophobia, nor does he suggest that the reification and stereotype often present in English depictions of the Ottoman Other were not significant in the rise of English

lett me understande by theire perfitt [signs] all thinges that they had sene the presente dow by its motions."[52] Dallam's awareness of the necessity of a mutually-understandable language indicates how a kind of linguistic aporia could create tremendous difficulties in cross-cultural conversations, and how crucial improvised workarounds were.

While Dallam's diary likely did not circulate beyond his circles in his lifetime, there were numerous other texts on offer for audiences interested in discourses around cross-cultural communication. Jean Hotman wrote a manual in which he articulates his views on the proper behavior and deportment for potential emissaries. Hotman, a Frenchman who tutored the sons of the English ambassador to France and later took a degree at Oxford and eventually became an ambassador himself, had a great deal of familiarity with ambassadorial customs. The text was published for public consumption from a manuscript by James Shaw that circulated in 1603. Hotman's text contains complicated and sometimes conflicting ideas about the necessity of language learning for ambassadors abroad. He claims to draw expertise from his years of experience and skills as the son of a diplomat, a scholar, and a cross-cultural negotiator. He frames his work as an extension of classical knowledge and translates between Latin and the vernacular in the body of the work; the text itself seems to have been written in French originally, as evinced in James Shaw's preface, and translated into English either by Shaw or Hotman himself. In this way, the original linguistic origins of the text are obscured. The text itself, in drawing on multiple languages, navigating numerous terms for specific kinds of ambassadors used in discrete languages, but ultimately translating and contextualizing them for an audience that will then use this knowledge to negotiate abroad, positions itself as a transnational work.

Hotman begins by suggesting that his text fills a gap in the classical record, indicating

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colonial endeavors.

[52] Dallam, *The Diary*, 70.

that "Polibius indeede hath left some collections de Legationibus, but not de Legato."[53] He also places his text squarely within the classical tradition in which he was trained by positioning his text next to Polybius, despite then arguing that "de Legato" would not have been necessary before this moment since the group of men called to be ambassadors is growing:

> I will not stay upon searching out, either the name Ambassador...Neither will I spend time in telling that the name Ambassador is not so general as the Latine word Legatus: and is not vnderstood properly, but of those who vnder the assurance of the publike faith, authorized by the law of nations, are employed to negociate with forraine Princes or Commonwealths the affaires of their Masters, and with dignitie to represent their persons and greatnesse during their Ambassage. [54]

Hotman claims that his interests are not linguistic but prescriptive, but nonetheless is unable to stop himself from touching on both the linguistic origins and modern context of the word, both of which he claims are at least partially illegible. He simultaneously glosses "ambassador" as "*legatus*" while underscoring that the term "ambassador" both denotes and itself serves as specialized knowledge, and in this way performs his own translation within the text. He goes on to differentiate between the types of ambassadors and common terms for them; he calls those sent for a specific purpose, often to pay tribute to a foreign monarch or for a short length of time, "extraordinary ambassadors." It is, however, "ordinary ambassadors" that he spends most of the rest of the treatise dealing with. Hotman provides a variety of specific terms, spanning multiple languages, which fall under the category of "ordinary ambassadors," which he glosses as *ligiers*, *legates* and *nuncios*, and agents. By doing this, he calls attention to the ways in which early modern diplomacy was difficult to label. This serves as a direct contrast to the repetition of the same few words of the English dictionaries; those manuals linguistically simplify the diplomatic experience that Hotman exhaustively details.

It is significant that Hotman provides a complex and shifting glossary for his primary

[53] Jean Hotman, seigneur de Villers-Saint-Paul, *The Ambassador* (London, 1603) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 13848), B1 recto.
[54] Ibid., B2 recto.

subject; since the text is a practical manual, knowledge of various official modes of address is useful for the reader. Hotman's text acknowledges the ways in which linguistic terms are embedded in specific diplomatic contexts attached to certain countries, and provides the reader with cultural knowledge that is inextricably linked to these complex terms which shift between nations and connotations.

Given Hotman's practical glossing of specific linguistic terms, his advice on ambassadorial speech is unsurprisingly pragmatic. Hotman insists that an ambassador's ability to speak eloquently is of primary importance, but that a complete understanding of the country's language is not a necessity. He states:

> If he know the language of the Countrie where he is, it will be a great furtherance vnto him, to the more perfect vnderstanding of the histories and affaires of that estate. Cicero saith "Sumus surdi omnes in linguis quas non intelligimus." It is alone to be deaf, and not to vnderstand what is saide. Neuerthelesse many without this qualitie haue not failed to performe their charge well and worthily. And although he knew the language, I had rather that he should faine, not to vnderstand it: for so hath he the more aduantage to speake and negotiate in his owne language: or at least in Latine which is common vnto all, as they do in Germany, Polonia, and other countries. And he must, as much as may be, accommodate himself to the fashion of the prince and people to whom he speaketh.[55]

Hotman's advice seems to be that if an ambassador knows or can learn a new language, then this is a clear and material benefit, which seems sound; however, he also asserts that this skill is unnecessary. "An olde writer hath verie well obserued in the disposition of the Frenchman, that hee giueth himselfe chiefly to the profession of armes, and to a briefe & subtile form of speaking, *Duas res*, saith hee, *accuratè norunt, rem militarem, & argutè loqui*," he writes.[56] By using a translated passage as a bridge between these two thoughts, in which the overall meaning is preserved but the nuances of the language and glosses of specific words are lost, Hotman demonstrates the value of translation and interpretation in diplomacy for his readers. Although the specific nuance of Cicero's speech may not fit with Hotman's assertion, the overall sense is

[55] Hotman, *The Ambassador*, C2 verso-C3 recto.
[56] Ibid, C3 verso.

preserved for readers who do not understand Latin. Hotman's further suggestion that an ambassador should dissemble his fluency, regardless of how well he speaks the language, is striking. Negotiation in the ambassador's own language or in Latin is preferable to speaking the language of the other nation, so that the ambassador has more control over the discourse.[57] Hotman's assertion indicates that the relationship between linguistic fluency and "passing," as seen in numerous travel and captivity narratives, is not entirely congruent; here, he recommends linguistic fluency be obscured in order to gain an advantage of comfort and familiarity in cross-cultural negotiation. In the interests of a diplomatic power, linguistic aporia is to be performed even if not truly experienced as a form of deception.

Depictions of Multilingual Diplomacy on the English Stage

Thomas Heywood's city comedy *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* (1605) provides an example of the ways in which ambassadorial relations were dramatized for an English audience. Critics writing on the play focus on its generally positive view of Thomas Gresham and the Royal Exchange, and the ways in which English mercantile fortune and proto-capitalism tie in with the political events of Elizabeth I's reign.[58] However, the play's scope is broadly transnational; Gresham's ventures depend on the sugar trade and other cross-cultural economic ties. The way the play dramatizes these cross-cultural ventures seems to be indicative

[57] Ambassadors were trained in the target language of the country in which they would reside, with few exceptions. For a deeper investigation of what early modern European resident ambassadors were expected to know, see Christian Weiland, "The Consequences of Early Modern Diplomacy: Entanglement, Discrimination, Mutual Ignorance—and State Building," in *Structures on the Move: Technologies of Governance in Transcultural Encounter*, eds. Antje Flüchter and Susan Richter (New York: Springer, 2012), 274-81.

[58] Charles Crupi has situated *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* at the center of early modern trade expansion, arguing that it performs a certain kind of intellectual labor of reflecting and re-contextualizing the burgeoning institutions of London at the turn of the century. Jean Howard argues that *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*'s focus on Gresham's Royal Exchange and its increasing role in transnational economic trade "render[ed] the unfamiliar intelligible." Her reading of the play is especially significant given the number of times foreign languages are spoken by ambassadors and political figures, and even by the central economic figure of Gresham himself, as ways of marking participation in a transnational venture that consistently returns to shore up English fortunes.

of a larger trend in English drama. Ambassadors on stage often either speak English, and claim to be translating, or speak Latin or another diplomatic language which are often translated for the English audience. In Heywood's play, which seeks to reflect and celebrate contemporary English identities, the presence of spoken Latin and foreign languages are depicted in such a way that it contains the foreign elements while also positioning them as existing in the service of a broader English identity. While the play primarily focuses on Gresham's Royal Exchange and some of the most significant historical triumphs of Elizabeth's reign, the very existence of foreign language speakers and ambassadors in a play so concerned with celebrating Englishness serves to denote how central their presence was to both real and dramatized cross-cultural negotiations.

In the second part of the play, linguistic fluency comes up as a significant asset to the realm during Gresham's negotiations with the Russian ambassadors. Historically, Elizabeth I did receive several visits from Russian ambassadors, and while this visit is likely meant to represent the 1557 diplomatic visit, the encounters dramatized and alluded to in the text seem to reflect the 1582 meeting more closely.[59] It is initially established that the Russian Prince, who serves as ambassador to the Emperor, does not speak English, so an interpreter is commanded to bid him welcome. The interpreter states that "The Prince speakes Latine, / And in that language weele interpret for him" and welcomes him to London in Latin.[60] Despite the Russian Prince's lack of English, his role of ambassador is solidified by his understanding of Latin as a universal diplomatic language, at least within Europe and the Mediterranean. Several diplomatic lines

[59] The English court had several visits from Russian ambassadors in 1557, 1582, and 1600. The most significant was the visit in 1582, which involved, the ultimately failing, negotiations for exclusive trading rights for the Muscovy Company and a possible marriage to Mary Hastings. While this visit would have been historically anachronistic for Gresham to participate in, as he died in 1567, it was during this embassage that Elizabeth and the Russian ambassador, Fyodor Pisemsky, negotiated privately. While the historical record indicates that translators were employed in the contract negotiations, the possible presence of a translator during the private exchange between Elizabeth and Pisemsky over the proposed marriage is elided. Whether or not a translator was necessary is less significant; early modern English sources construct the Queen as capable of negotiating without the aid of a translator.

[60] Thomas Heywood, *If you know not me, you know no bodie: or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth,* (London: 1605) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 13328), E4 verso-F1 recto.

follow, translated from Latin to English for the benefit of audience members not fluent in Latin. Then Gresham, responding to seemingly nothing in the written play text, asks "What was it that the Russian whispered?" as a prompt to indicate a representation of physical communication that is not aurally accessible to the audience. This is the only in-text marker to signal any speech from the Russian ambassador prior to his query; what occurs is inaccessible and is "translated" by the interpreter into English with a paraphrase of the Russian ambassador's ostensible query. Here, non-Latinate languages are elided; the Russian's speech is so uninterpretable for English readers as to be omitted entirely from the text. While Latin can be translated in both written and spoken form in an English play, the language the Russian ambassador speaks is illegible when the playtext is transcribed; whatever sound was produced onstage to trigger Gresham's response is not incorporated into this printed distillation of a representation of English history. In this way, languages which fall outside recognizable western European languages are partially erased from the discourse, while the dramatizations of diplomacy and gestures, though not full representations of multilingualism, remain.

In response to Gresham's English and written query, the interpreter states that the Prince asked "what interpreter the Queene / Would in his Embasse imploy"; Gresham's reply to this serves to underscore Elizabeth's skill as a diplomat and solidify English diplomatic fluidity. Gresham states that the Queen

> is a rare Linguist,
> Where other Princes vse Interpreters,
> She propria voce, I haue some Latin too:
> She of her selfe heares all their Embassies,
> And herselfe answers them without Interpreter,
> Both Spanish, Latin, French, and Greeke,
> Dutch, and Italian, so let him know.[61]

While Elizabeth's language skills and abilities to converse with ambassadors and heads of state

[61] Ibid., F1 recto.

in their own languages was well known in the early modern period, Gresham's list is extraordinary, especially after the Russian ambassador is established as "only" bilingual. Elizabeth's list of languages reads like a list of the multilingual dictionaries that begin to emerge around this time. Janet Green points out how early modern audiences were more appreciative and attuned to Elizabeth's foreign language, especially Latinate, rhetorical abilities than modern critics seem to be. Indeed, this praise of the monarch comes in the middle of the Russian ambassador's arrival, and it seems to solidify previous scholars' claims about how the play positions English pride in a system of transnational economic circulation, which is here represented by the successful merchant Gresham praising Elizabeth's multilingualism. Curiously, Gresham's little knowledge of Latin (as he cannot follow the previous Latin conversation that occurs several lines before this) is deployed in service of the talents of his monarch; in praising her, he himself becomes a bilingual ambassador, though not an entirely successful one. It is Elizabeth's linguistic and diplomatic skills that are displayed here.

The rest of the play features bilingual conversations between Gresham, the interpreter, and the Russian Ambassador, in which the ambassador speaks in Latin, the interpreter replies to him in Latin, and then translates the replies into English for Gresham and the other merchants' benefit. The non-English words are printed in full in the text, as are the translations. Latin, then, is a language which the play is fully comfortable transcribing in written and spoken form, as is French in the scene with the courier; Latinate languages, then, seem to be familiar enough to be textually represented. Given this, though, there is a significant and curious moment when Elizabeth actually addresses the ambassadors. At the end of the play, she asks Lester if the men brought in are the ambassadors. He replies in the affirmative, identifying each man by his country, stating "he that formost stands, / The Emperours, the second is the French, / The last is the Florentine." Elizabeth then states her willingness to receive them, and this stage direction

follows: “Here the Queene entertaines the Ambassadors, and in their seuerall languages confers with them.”[62] Spoken Latin and French is written out and even punned on earlier in the play, such as when the courier’s specific French words instigate Hobson’s humorous misinterpretations, or when the ambassador and his interpreter negotiate over the price of a merchant’s pearl. However, here, the playtext is silent concerning the specifics of the actual language spoken; it is unclear whether language was spoken, whispered, or represented by gesture. Like the texts which gesture at conversations conducted in languages other than English, the play obscures Elizabeth’s multilingualism while also calling attention to it. The actual words spoken on stage go unrecorded.

This gesture towards Elizabeth’s foreign-language diplomacy, written in English, re-inscribes the languages of European trade and diplomacy, as well as the Queen’s linguistic facility, as belonging to a wholly English enterprise. The linguistic content of her negotiations is not the focus of this exchange; rather, the-actor-as-Queen’s performance of a multilingualism is more important as a stylized performance than as a legible communication is the center of the action. The audience’s understanding of the individual words is less important than the existence of the successful performance. The exchanges themselves are translated into performative English, erasing the words spoken on stage in favor of an English paraphrase of the action. In this way, cross-cultural diplomacy and its potential for shifts in cultural identity are solidified within English national interests. No space is left for linguistic misunderstandings, at least on the part of the Queen and those serving England’s diplomatic interests, in the performative version of these potentially more fraught historical events.[63]

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[62] Ibid., H1 recto.

[63] Negotiations during the 1582 diplomatic visit involved a potential contract of marriage between Mary Hastings and Czar Ivan IV, though it never came to pass, and further alliance with Muscovy stalled, see Robert M. Croskey, “Hakluyt’s Accounts of Sir Jerome Bowes’ Embassy to Ivan IV,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 61, no. 4 (1983): 546-64.

Translation and Negotiation: The Shirley Brothers in Print and On Stage

The Travels of the Three English Brothers (1607), a dramatic portrayal of the diplomatic adventures of the Shirley family in the first decade of the 17th century, belongs to a subgenre of early modern drama that portrays the experiences of Englishmen in the Mediterranean and Levant. The play by John Day is notable for the complexity with which it depicts interactions between European and Islamic cultures as well as political and ideological distinctions between Shi'a and Sunni Islamic empires in the early modern Middle East. This nuance not only extends to the Safavid empire but is also present in the ways in which characters from non-English and non-Persian cultures interact. While *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* dramatizes relatively nuanced moments of transnational circulation, it also displays a common trope in early modern English travel documents. The play dramatizes the Shirleys as linguistically facile Englishmen who are capable of negotiating complex and multilingual negotiations in "foreign" spaces without losing their loyalty to their own nation. Sir Robert and Sir Thomas Shirley are figured as rhetorically and linguistically gifted enough to assimilate into two different Muslim courts and impress their rulers with their loyalty and faith, respectively. This linguistic facility is more problematic in Anthony Nixon's prose narrative, *The Three English Brothers* (1607), published shortly after Day's play, and to which Anthony Parr suggests the play likely is indebted. In particular, two key moments in the play are either invented or negotiated in ways that smooth out the difficulties and anxieties of cross-cultural circulation. These moments also portray the Shirleys as a new type of traveler, linguistically and politically somewhere between an official ambassador or interpreter and a private citizen who must rely on the former category of officials to accomplish his goals. By portraying the Shirleys in this manner, Day lends a legitimacy to their private enterprises while also constructing a linguistically-based fantasy about

the position of English travelers outside the borders of their nation.

Day's dramatization of the Shirley brothers' forays into Mediterranean diplomacy seems to be indebted to the travel accounts circulating in England in the summer of 1607. Parr suggests that while the play was staged before Nixon's full account of the brothers' travails was out in print, Day may have had access to early copies. There are also a number of other source materials that detail the adventures of the brothers, most of which are anonymous pamphlets describing the diplomatic missions that the brothers find themselves in abroad. While these accounts are relatively straightforward, they too illustrate the difficulties inherent in cross-linguistic communication, even when a fluent speaker or interpreter is involved. One pamphlet, titled "A true report of Sir Anthony Shierlies iourney ouerland to Venice" (1600), offers an account of several politically significant moments in Shirley's journey as part of the Persian embassy to several Mediterranean powers.[64] Jonathan Burton points out that, despite early modern English writers positioning Shirley as an "ambassador," the Persian position of "safir," while linguistically equated to "ambassador," actually carried far fewer responsibilities and less autonomy than those of European ambassadors.[65] This failure of translation, in which a false but useful equivalency is drawn between two culturally-embedded terms, allows English authors to position Anthony Shirley's diplomatic efforts more securely in the category of national interest than his actual position might otherwise indicate. Anthony Shirley's own ability to negotiate both linguistically and diplomatically is rendered in complex terms, even in this anonymous pamphlet.

The pamphlet is ostensibly by "two gentlemen who have followed him" and is a

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[64]Sir Anthony Shirley, *A true report of Sir Anthony Shierlies iourney ouerland to Venice fro[m] thence by sea to Antioch, Aleppo, and Babilon, and soe to Casbine in Persia: his entertainment there by the great Sophie: his oration: his letters of credence to the Christian princes: and the priuiledg obtained of the great Sophie, for the quiet passage and trafique of all Christian marchants, throughout his whole dominions* (London, 1600) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 22425).

[65] Jonathan Burton, "The Shah's Two Ambassadors: *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* and the Global Early Modern," in *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550-1700*, eds. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2009), 34-40.

straightforward account of Thomas Shirley's imprisonment, Anthony Shirley's Mediterranean travels, and Robert Shirley's travel into Persia including his speech to the Shah and the letters which the Shah sent with him to European heads of state. As its purpose is to inform an English audience of events abroad, the entire pamphlet is in English, but there is a curious break in the linguistic homogeneity of the text when Shirley speaks to the Shah. The text states that "Sir Antony… made his Oration in Italian, as followed."[66] The speech that follows is not in Italian but in English. Significantly, it is called "the true copie of Sir Anthonie Sherlie's Oration to the Sophie," whereas the other letters are only identified as "copie[s]."[67] The distinction, then, between the "true copie," which seems to indicate that it is taken from Shirley's actual manuscript, and the other letters which may not have that claim, is set up by the text itself. The construction of Shirley's speech as the "true copie," however, is complicated by the text's own assertion that the speech was delivered in Italian. The space that translation always leaves is here made apparent to the reader, who is confronted with the knowledge that the text in front of them, while possibly a "true" representation of Shirley's intended words, is not in fact a representation of what Shirley actually said. The gesture creates a space that the reader is aware of but has no access to, thus mirroring the linguistic experience of being unable to comprehend a language with which others have a facility. In this way, the reader's own assumed inability to parse Italian underscores Shirley's linguistic facility; Shirley has access not only to the political and cultural knowledge to which the text alludes, but to a linguistic knowledge that allows this cross-cultural circulation to happen. Despite Shirley's flexibility, though, his companions must still construct the experience in a way that underscores the divide between those who have access to a foreign language and those who do not in order to convey their desired narrative.

Day's play follows a more elaborate narrative than the anonymous pamphlet, and a more

[66] Shirley, *A true report*, A3 verso.
[67] Ibid.

streamlined version of the Shirley's adventures than Nixon's account, leaving out some of the more embarrassing or unpatriotic mistakes and problems that befell the siblings. Both Day and Nixon, as well as Hakluyt, agree on the general structure of the Shirleys' escapades in the Mediterranean and the Levant; in addition, both texts attempt to frame the Shirleys' negotiations, diplomatic forays, and other economic and political maneuvers as designed to benefit England's national interests abroad, even in cases where individual gain seems to be a more likely motive. Each follows Thomas Shirley as he tries his hand at legitimate mercantile trading and then piracy, and to his imprisonment in the Ottoman Empire; the diplomatic forays of both Anthony and Robert, neither of which was entirely sanctioned by the English court, are also detailed. Neither Day nor Nixon structures their narrative around the tribulations of one brother at a time. Instead, both texts make spatial leaps within the confines of the text that present the construction of a cohesive Mediterranean that is, while containing some dangers, fully capable of being navigated by knowledgeable and competent Englishmen. This permeability of space, of ethnic and national boundaries, and of language that makes Day's dramatization of the Shirley brothers' difficulties a particularly unrealistic fantasy of what multilingualism could offer an English speaker when moving through transnational and interstitial early modern spaces.

Compared to the prose narratives, however, Day's dramatization appears as a fantasy in which the labor of the diplomatic process and the linguistic aporia experienced by the brothers is erased.[68] Nixon's text is much clearer about the specific difficulties involved in multilingual discourse, and also has fewer moments of stylized Orientalism that center around a linguistically-driven display of English virtue. Nixon's account is not always clear about which languages the Shirley brothers speak, nor their abilities to communicate abroad, but it does raise moments in which the labor of cross-cultural communication is apparent; unlike both the anonymous account

[68] This absence of the historical linguistic aporia is a fact Anthony Parr, among other scholars, fails to note in his introduction.

and Day's play, it does not attempt to homogenize language.

Nixon's text clearly alludes to the problems of interpretation that the brothers face in their travels. When Thomas Shirley is captured by the Ottomans and must plead his case, Nixon offers a curious and chaotic moment. In this account, when the Bashaw has levied a ransom and has kept Shirley in prison to make him more willing to pay it, the moment where Shirley refuses and is sentenced to death is interrupted by an explication of how the Bashaw's court usually works. Nixon declares that Shirley

> continued in this estate, from Saturday the 23 of August, 1603. vntill the Tuesday following· in which time, hee was suffered to rise but 4. times in 24. houres. That Tuesday, about nine of the clocke, he was brought againe into the presence of the Bashaw, as he fate in open Court, where he renued his olde demaunde of filtie thousand Chickeno's. All Christian Embassadours haue in the Bashawes Court continually two Interpreters, to haue a care and regard of such causes and occurrents, as may concerne their Country. This day the English Embassador had none there, belike to avoyde the importunities that Sir Thomas in this his Tragicke state might haue vsed. But to return to the Bashaw his demand: Sir Thomas answered him, that hee found little constancy in his wordes; that if his life might make satisfaction, that was in his power : and more iust, and honourable it were for him to take it, then to prolong it still with torment: for his own part, hee would promise no more, because hee could performe no more. To be briefe, he told him, hee might haue his life, but neuer his demaund. The Bashaw neuer replied, but presently commanded his head should bee stricken off.[69]

Nixon alludes to the constant presence of a system of ambassadors and interpreters that allow for negotiations between countries. He seems to suggest that the English ambassador has chosen to not bring any interpreters so that Thomas Shirley would not be able to negotiate his freedom or a lessening of the ransom.[70] Nonetheless, Nixon clearly focuses on Shirley's words; the way in which this narrative is structured implies that Shirley responds to the Bashaw with a specific and cogent refusal, which the Bashaw requites with a death sentence. However, given the absence of

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[69] Anthony Nixon, *The three English brothers Sir Thomas Sherley his trauels, vvith his three yeares imprisonment in Turkie: his inlargement by his Maiesties letters to the great Turke: and lastly, his safe returne into England this present yeare, 1607. Sir Anthony Sherley his embassage to the Christian princes. Master Robert Sherley his wars against the Turkes, with his marriage to the Emperour of Persia his neece* (London, 1607) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 18592), D3 verso.

[70] The absence of ambassadors might indicate that Shirley's actions were not wholly favorable for English interests; if Shirley's actions imperiled Anglo-Ottoman relations, the appearance of the ambassador's intercession might be a politically unwise choice.

the English ambassador and the lack of mention of other interpreters, the extent to which Thomas Shirley could be understood by the Bashaw and his court is uncertain.

Nixon's text closes with the recounting of a particular request by Robert Shirley. Upon marriage to the Sophy's niece, Robert asks for

> a number of young infants of that country to be brought vp in a house appointed for that purpose, that altogether estranged, & kept from hearing or speaking their owne Language, may in time learne our English Speech, and come at length to Christian knowledge, being brought vp & educated among Christians. [71]

In Nixon's account, language is clearly linked to both nationality and culture; he uses "owne" and "our" to refer to Persian and English respectively, suggesting that "native" or first languages have an impact on the socialization of their speakers. "English" speech is specifically highlighted here as both Shirley's linguistic allegiance and the language in which he wants the children to be raised; specific nationality, as expressed through linguistics, is here linked to religious identity, and for an early modern English readership, to salvation.

Day's play smooths over some of the rifts present in Nixon's text. Matthew Dimmock argues that James I's call for a transnational Christian alliance against the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of his reign inaugurates a reification of previously-fluid Ottoman stereotypes.[72] While it is impossible to determine if an immediate solidifying of perceptions of Ottoman Turks occurred in the wake of James' decree, this may indicate a reason for Day's staging of the Shirley brothers positions them as triumphing over a stylized Other in a way that erases the labor of cross-linguistic communication that would have occurred during Elizabeth's more open and multilingual policies in the eastern and southern Mediterranean. Even if James' policy did not have an immediate impact on writers or travelers, these texts attempt to rehabilitate the Shirley brothers as advocates of clearly English matters, and in the service of this unified Englishness

[71] Nixon, *The three English brothers*, K4 verso.
[72] Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005).

against a reified Ottoman Other, the Shirley brothers are presented as protagonists who can linguistically and religiously negotiate the "perils" of the Islamic East and the Catholic Mediterranean.

While Day's play begins with the exploits of Anthony Shirley and emphasizes the Persian Sophy's acceptance of and mild deference to Shirley's national and religious identities, linguistic negotiation is significantly absent. Anthony Shirley's interactions with the Sophy are depicted in English, and even though Shirley may have communicated in Italian without the need for an interpreter, his scenes are presented as though all of the figures present possess a perfect understanding of Shirley's language and his rhetorical skill. The length Day goes to in order to establish Shirley's ability to transgress linguistic, and therefore cultural, boundaries is significant. After Shirley establishes his importance to the Persian wars against the Turks, the Sophy's niece and her maidservant Dalibra discuss the valor of the Christian knights. After Dalibra praises them as "comely and civil," the niece retorts with "but they are strangers Dalibra." The Sophy's niece here articulates a position that is not unfamiliar to Day's English audiences, early modern discourses on travel warn them about encounters with cultural "Others." Dalibra, however, responds by saying "Strangers? I see no strangnesse in them, they speake as well or rather better then our owne Countrymen, and I make no question can do as well if it came once to execution."[73] While Dalibra's association is a suggestive pun on execution, her assertion that the English brothers speak as well or better than men of the Persian court is curious. First, Dalibra links linguistic facility with insider status; it is because of the brothers' linguistic facility that they can pass beyond the social construction of "stranger" and, in the later case of Anthony, can even be entrusted with serving as an ambassador on behalf of the Persian court. Both Robert and Anthony's ability to assimilate to the culture and needs of the Persian court is here presented

[73] John Day, *The Three English Brothers*, in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), iii. 20-5, 79.

as a natural outgrowth of their ability to speak in a way that integrates them with another culture.

Day's handling of the narrative of Thomas Shirley's imprisonment suggests even more strongly than Nixon's account that it is Shirley's words that persuade the Bashaw of the strength of English Christians. In Day's dramatization, Thomas Shirley and the Bashaw have a debate in which the latter tries to persuade the eldest Shirley brother to give in to the ransom demands. Shirley's refusal angers the Bashaw, but eventually inspires admiration in him and the Turkish sultan, who asks that Shirley convert to Islam:

> we stand amazed at thy constancy.
> Yet answer vs, wilt thou forsake thy faith,
> Become as we are, and to Mahomet
> Our holy prophet, and his Alcoran
> Giue thy deuotion, and by our Kings we sweare
> We will accept thee in the place of Kings.[74]

The Turkish sultan here is clearly able to understand Shirley's refusals, as his repudiation serves to persuade him of Shirley's noble character; in addition, the sultan is the character who establishes a path of possible linguistic exchange in his demand to be answered. This is a clear departure from Nixon's account, which neither confirms nor denies the possibility of cross-linguistic understanding. Here, linguistic porosity prefigures possible apostasy; the ability to understand and speak to his captors puts Thomas Shirley in the position of possibly becoming a renegado. In this case, Shirley's refusal is also structured by language. He states:

> First shall the Sunne melt from his rest-lesse seat,
> Ere that our name shall turne Apostata:
> Thy Kingdomes be vnpeopled, and thy nations
> Become as free for beasts as now for men.[75]

Thomas Shirley's concern is not for his soul, which other travelers in early modern captivity narratives often are concerned for, but for his name. Since renegade Englishmen often took Arabic names when converting to Islam, Thomas Shirley's assertion that his name will not turn

[74] Ibid., xii. 107-12, 124.
[75] Ibid., xii. 113-16, 124.

apostate is an assertion of national and cultural identity encoded within a specifically English-language structure. Shirley's assertion of strength here proves persuasive in a way that it is not in Nixon. Shirley's refusals are not only heard but understood, as the Turkish sultan responds to his speech by telling him that "thy strength of faith hath bred a wonder in vs, … We yet resolue not how to deale with him."[76] This rewrites Nixon's account of both Shirley's sentence and thus his actual peril, as well as Shirley's ability to cross, possibly insurmountable, linguistic boundaries. His reprieve in the play is portrayed as a direct result of his ability to linguistically assert his own identity in an understandable manner.

Shirley's linguistically isolationist proposal which concludes Nixon's narrative is also featured in Day's play, despite Day's positioning of the benefits of linguistic facility to international diplomatic relations throughout. Robert Shirley begins his suit by asking the Sophy for "a Church, / Wherein all Christians that do hither come / May peaceablie heare their owne Religion."[77] "Hearing" religion in a language that is presumably comprehensible to European Christians is a difficult proposal, as it would seem to require one or more priests conversant in multiple European languages; however, Day glosses over how the mechanics of this proposal will occur. After the Sophy grants this and asks Shirley what the final part of his suit is, Shirley states that he

> will not hide my heart: your further leaue,
> I would by your permission raise a house,
> Where Christian children from their cradles,
> Should know no other Education,
> Manners, language, nor Religion,
> Then what by Christians is deliuer'd them. [78]

Day's choice to close the narrative this way is curious, since his play has dramatized the ability of Englishmen to negotiate with other cultures, languages, and even religions without losing an

[76] Ibid., xii. 122-4, 124.
[77] Ibid., xiii. 178-80, 131.
[78] Ibid., xiii. 186-91, 131.

essential sense of Englishness. Shirley's request, however, speaks to an anxiety about religious and cultural blending, and specifically one that comes about through linguistic exposure. In Day's account, the children will be raised not just religiously "Christian" but "Christian" in language and manner as well. This, however, is a fanciful proposal, as European languages are varied and, as accounts by English travelers in Europe show, manners and customs vary drastically among Christian nations. The fantasy of unity that Robert Shirley's proposal suggests is itself fraught with cultural rifts.

Day's play, like Heywood's, ends with an event that is significantly focused on linguistic negotiation. In the case of Heywood's, Elizabeth's transnational and cross-cultural economic policy and her own diplomatic achievements on behalf of the nation are the focus. Multilingualism is displayed and celebrated, only to be contained within the linguistic and textual body of English. In Day's play, however, Robert Shirley's insistence on a house where only Christian languages can be spoken seems to promote a homogenous identity, but it proves to be more complicated. Nevertheless, Robert's presentation of a unified Christianity is in keeping with English foreign policy in the Levant moving into the 17th century, and this reification of stereotypes only increases throughout the century. It is significant, though, that this reification happens in a moment of linguistic display and through explicitly linguistic concerns; the idea that English and Christian identities are corruptible by foreign influence is one the play has, up until this moment, been invested in disproving through displays of the Shirley brothers' linguistic and diplomatic prowess. Once this is established, however, Shirley promotes a vision in which difference and cross-cultural communication is effectively erased, removing the labor of multilingual exchange both in the text and outside it.

These diplomatic accounts all take up the issue of multilingualism as it impacts travelers and would-be diplomats in the early modern Mediterranean. Significantly, all of the texts address

the issue of linguistic aporia and the effects of incomprehensibility in cross-cultural encounters. Dallam's account admits his reliance on interpreters and speaks of moments where mutual linguistic incomprehension caused misunderstandings. Hotman's manual asserts that while it is beneficial for an ambassador to speak the language of the country he is posted in, it is not necessary, and indeed he should dissemble his full understanding of the language—in essence, performing a kind of linguistic aporia that may or may not be real. Hotman's suggestion of performative incomprehension implies the possibility of its reverse: performative linguistic comprehension that speaks to the imagined stability of Englishness outside the nation's boundaries. Both plays dramatize multilingual diplomatic encounters and present English figures as supremely capable of multilingualism, whereas, as this chapter shows, the historical record seems to be more complicated. It is this reality of the potential messiness involved in multilingual exchange, and the necessity of employing workarounds, that these plays seek to expunge but cannot entirely erase.

CHAPTER 2

Language as Workaround: Performance and Fallibility in Travel Narratives

Early modern emissaries, whether official or unsanctioned, were not the only travelers whose experiences were shaped by multilingualism and cross-cultural encounters. Private travelers—merchants, pilgrims, and other tourists—did not have access to the official channels that state-sanctioned ambassadors enjoyed, but they also often hired translators or otherwise relied on relationships forged in moments of multilingual communication. Whether the author is merchant, pilgrim, tourist, or ambassador, early modern travel narratives often employ similar generic conventions, such as comparing observed religious customs to English ones or relaying temptations to remain abroad. However, a curious and significant feature across many of these texts is the presence of linguistic failure, where the linguistic workaround deployed by the English reporter is inadequate to achieve his ends. This occurrence can take several forms, including allusions to *lingua franca*, but one of the most notable is when the writer indicates that he was unable to navigate a situation without the intercession of a third party who used both linguistic facility and economic power to free the hapless Englishman from a difficult situation.

Linguistic facility here encompasses a command of another language (or multiple languages) such that the speaker is considered fluent, and an ability to improvise a workaround involving some combination of each speaker's known language, a vehicular language, such as *lingua franca*, and non-verbal communication. The method of language acquisition is less

important than the ability of the speaker to communicate their point in some way, whether clearly or in part. Fluency, as considered in an early modern context, is a term attached to Latin, Arabic, Italian, French, and English at various times; what characterizes the term's presence seems to be an easy and uninterrupted flow of sound.[79] Fluent communication in early modern transnational encounters, as I use it here, is speech that is textually presented to the audience as accomplishing its goals with little or no difficulty on the part of the speaker. Workarounds, by contrast, do not always possess that ease; instead, they are marked by the presence of improvisation, halting, awkwardness, multiple attempts at communicating an idea, imprecision, and labor.

Whether or not these incidents of linguistic facility actually occurred as easily as reported is less crucial than their textual ubiquity. Richard Carew claims that Englishmen have a unique capacity for linguistic adaptation, "turn an Englishman at any time of his age into what Countrey soever, allowing him due respite, and you shall see him profit so well, that the imitation of his utterance will in nothing differ from the pattern of that native language,"[80] suggesting that they adapt so perfectly as to be undetectable from those whose societies they are assimilating to. This contention is qualified, however, by the numerous depictions of English travelers failing to fully adapt, either in language or in accent, to the society through which they are moving. Where English travelers outside the borders of Britain succeed, they most often do so by employing linguistic workarounds.

As this chapter will show, linguistic fallibility—the failure of a conversation due to a

[79] See John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica Eliots fruits for the French: enterlaced with a double new inuention, which teacheth to speake truely, speedily and volubly the French-tongue. Pend for the practise, pleasure, and profit of all English gentlemen, who will endeuour by their owne paine, studie, and dilligence, to attaine the naturall accent, the true pronounciation, the swift and glib grace of this noble, famous, and courtly language* (London, 1593) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 7574); and Raphael Holinshed, *The Second volume of Chronicles: Conteining the description, conquest, inhabitation, and troblesome estate of Ireland; first collected by Raphaell Holinshed; and now newlie recognised, augmented, and continued from the death of king Henrie the eight vntill this present time of sir Iohn Perot knight, lord deputie* (1586) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 13569).

[80] Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, ed. F. E. Halliday (London: Andrew Melrose, 1953), 305.

mismatch in understanding between interlocutors—and the presence of the improvised workaround, are in fact staples of the travel narrative. The surfacing, then, of this incoherence and incomprehension serves a significant purpose in the creation and curation of the English experience abroad for the reading public. The intersection of language with specific patterns in cross-cultural networks, however, produces linguistic workarounds which are uniquely bound up with the primary concerns of the traveler. Englishmen traveling for political or intellectual gain, for instance, have different preoccupations than those traveling for financial reasons, and their strategies reflect this.

Merchant venturers occupy a liminal space in early modern travel accounts; though some do write their own, often in the context of pilgrimage or captivity, they often appear as figures in works by diplomats or lay travelers. Sometimes merchants appear at the margins of texts and facilitate the writer's journey; at other times, they are figures who require intercession by a diplomat or another, more comfortably positioned, individual. When merchants appear, it is often to demonstrate a linguistic workaround for a potentially fraught multilingual encounter; however, these encounters are haunted by the potential that the workaround will fail.

The category of venturer, like emissary, is diffuse. Henry Timberlake presents his text, *A True and Strange Discourse on the travailes of two English Pilgrims,* as a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; his initial reason for being in the Mediterranean, however, is as a trader. His pilgrimage is afforded to him by reason of his economic circumstance, a fact which is not particularly highlighted in the narrative. Fynes Moryson, traveling for leisure, nonetheless produces his *Itinerary* (1617), which often informs travelers about the economic circumstances they might encounter following his route. Robert Coverte's narrative, *A True and Almost Incredible Report of an Englishman* (1612), depicts him as an intrepid adventurer who must find his way across India after disaster, rather than highlighting his position as ship captain and

representative of a merchant company. William Biddulph is a chaplain, not a merchant, but he serves as religious advisor to a company of men whose sole purpose in Aleppo is to facilitate mercantile circulation. Biddulph's narrative, recounted in *The Travels of Certaine Englishmen* (1609), is adjacent to and dependent upon the economic circulation of goods. Even in William Davies' *A true relation of the travailes and most miserable captiuitie of William Dauies* (1614), Davies is not technically a wealthy merchant but is still in the Mediterranean to earn his living; while not someone in charge of circulating large amounts of currency, he benefits from, and participates in, these networks.

Other texts are penned by travelers who might not consider themselves primarily traders, but who are still embedded in these systems. Thomas Coryate frames himself as an educated traveler in the Levant in *Coryat's Crudities* (1611), drawing on the connections of foreign courts, though verses from his contemporaries mocking his pretensions are appended to the front matter before publication. Nonetheless, some of Coryate's subsequent letters were deemed worth including Samuel Purchas' *Hakluytus Postumus, Or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625), which expanded on Richard Hakluyt's work in promoting English trade and navigation, and in which Christopher Burroughs' account of his voyage into Russia also appears.

This chapter will discuss self-interested traders: individuals who are not necessarily always merchants, but whose primary reason for being in the Mediterranean is connected to this transnational system of monetary exchange. Unlike emissaries, whose main purpose is to facilitate the possibility of diplomatic connections, the individuals discussed in this chapter are marked by their participation in networks of mercantile traffic. In these cases, commercial potential, linguistic ability, and national identity are often interconnected. Often, English financial means are foregrounded and linked to their possessor's mobility; they are presented as the solution to possible peril and to loss of English identity. In situations where physical currency

is not available to an individual, linguistic or social credentialing often substitutes to complete a transaction. Social and national links thus become entwined with economic transactions as potentially interdependent ways for the independent English traveler to improvise his way through these interchanges.

The performance of both linguistic competence and failure permeates these narratives of English trade, as do imperfect workarounds: negotiations using improvised communication, vehicular languages, or gestures in situations where interlocutors do not share a native tongue. Circulation—money offered for goods, bodies for money, one body for another—makes up the bulk of these narratives, and authors gesture towards language performance frequently when explaining the movements of these networks. Fluency or success is not the only axis on which linguistic performance operates; texts frequently demonstrate improvised, imperfect moments of workarounds. Often one text will contain moments where displays of multilingual expression offers vastly different outcomes for the speaker. What emerges from these narratives is the sense that no one method of communication is sufficient to assure English success in economic negotiations, but that venturers must depend upon improvised and negotiated workarounds, both during these encounters and in the presentation of these stories to an English audience.

"Enghilterra, is it not?": Multilingual Learning In Service of English Gain

A moment in Christopher Burroughs' account of his voyages into Russia and Persia (1579-81) on behalf of the Muscovy Company illustrates the proximity of linguistic and economic circulation. After several days of negotiation with the captain of the port of Baku on the Caspian Sea, an agreement is secured that the captain will escort the English merchants to a nearby town where the pasha is currently residing. The captain, concerned for his safety before the meeting should the English merchants back out of their deal, "requested to haue some one for

a pledge: wherefore M. *Garrard* one of the factors offered himselfe to go, who, because he could not speake the Russe tongue, tooke with him *Christopher Burrough,* and a Russe interpretour."[81] Garrard here is willing to be a temporary hostage, but requires two more men to accompany him in this role, because he is unable to speak Russian or the Turkic languages in use in Astrakhan. Garrard's intercessors, however, are unable to fully facilitate the conversation on the journey:

> at supper time the captaine had much talke with M. *Garrard* of our countrey, […] for by the Russe name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we should be: but when by the situation he perceiued we were Englishmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called *Enghilterra,* is it not?[82]

Burroughs and the Russian interpreter, who the text indicates also speaks Turkish, are seated near the captain and Garrard, in a chain that should ostensibly allow communication. Burroughs seems to know English and Russian, the interpreter is familiar with Russian and Turkish, and the captain knows some Russian (though evidently not the names of countries). Conversation does occur successfully, as Burroughs indicates later, but this moment involves confusion and workarounds. The captain cannot figure out the Englishmen's national identity through translational linguistic clues; instead, he relies on a longer chain of concepts that allows him to make the associational leaps to "Enghilterra." Additionally, it's logically more likely that the captain says "Inghilterre," the Turkic rendering of the country's name, rather than the Italian, but Burroughs here presents the Italianated spelling, bringing representations of four different languages into the depicted encounter. Language here stutters initially, even when interpreters are provided; it is unclear what role the interpreters play in this associational assemblage of

[81] Richard Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation made by sea or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600. yeres: deuided into three seuerall volumes, according to the positions of the regions, whereunto they were directed. The first volume containeth the worthy discoueries, &c. of the English ... The second volume comprehendeth the principall nauigations ... to the south and south-east parts of the world ... By Richard Hakluyt preacher, and sometime student of Christ-Church in Oxford*, (London, 1599), (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 12626a), 423.
[82] Ibid.

signifiers. It is only through a process involving context clues, rather than vocabulary that understanding can occur. This moment offers a sort of reading in which the legibility of Englishness is not dependent upon people actually speaking English; in this system, English merchants abroad are allowed to participate in multilingual networks without having access to fluency or even facility with another language. The context of this encounter is surely significant as well; English trade with Russia was one of the few routes in which England could discursively present its dominance, as George Best does in *A true discourse of the late voyages of discoverie* (1578).[83] Nonetheless, England is not recognized by its own name, but by its signifier in another language, signaling both its participation in multilingual trade networks and the limited use of monolingual Englishness in these networks.

Burroughs is not the only early modern travel writer to offer practical proof of multilingual facility alongside assertions of a stable English identity. In fact, a number of travel narratives incorporate similar experiences into their own texts, to the point where it becomes a discernable feature in the genre. The veracity or actual frequency of these narratives are less interesting than how often this gesture appears as a trope, and how little that trope varies; while travel narratives of course have their own genre conventions, the particularities of this encounter are strikingly specific. An Englishman is saved from peril, almost always induced by his religion or national identity, by an outsider who does not speak, or is not culturally, English but who nevertheless finds common ground with the traveler. While these incidents of travail often point to anxieties about religious identity, as Stephan Schmuck has shown, the specific and often complicated handling of language, and the frequent reliance on workarounds, is largely

[83] George Best, *A true discourse of the late voyages of discouerie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northvveast, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall deuided into three bookes. In the first wherof is shewed, his first voyage ... Also, there are annexed certayne reasons, to proue all partes of the worlde habitable, with a generall mappe adioyned. In the second, is set out his second voyage ... In the thirde, is declared the strange fortunes which hapned in the third voyage ... With a particular card therevnto adioyned of Meta Incognita ...* (London, 1578) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 1972), a iii recto-verso.

underexamined.[84] What linguistic fluidity, and specifically the improvisational workaround, offers English travelers is the ability to participate in these networks of circulation and cross-cultural and multilingual webs where information and goods flow. Multilingualism is represented in these encounters as the key to rescuing the English traveler, but the textual re-presentation of that practical reality is often confusing, simultaneously illustrated and elided in equal measure. Authors sometimes indicate which language, if not English, an encounter happens in; sometimes they directly transcribe and translate words or full sentences which were ostensibly part of the reported conversation. Traces of this linguistic complexity and cross-cultural aid are not only a key feature of travel narratives as a whole, but crop up with significant frequency in encounters involving physical imprisonment or economic debt, where English identity or mutual recognition of a shared participation in a mercantile economy provides the saving factor.[85]

Thomas Coryate occupies a space between merchant, traveler, and ambassador. Though his journeys take him throughout Europe and to India, he does not deliberately position himself in the same fashion as the emissaries, both official and unofficial, in the previous chapter. Though traveling for intellectual rather than primarily economic gain at first, he credentials himself offering a representational network of England's economic interests abroad; throughout his ordeals, he meets other travelers who appear in or pen their own accounts later. Coryate is well aware of how crucial language is to his mobility; in one of his letters which is later printed in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, he concludes by saying:

> Commend mee likewise to Maister *H. Holland,* and *Inigo Iones*: at this time I haue many Irons in the fire; for I learne the *Persian, Turkish,* & *Arabian* tongues, hauing already gotten the *Italian* (I thank God) I haue bene at the *Moguls* Court three moneths already,

[84] Stephan Schmuck, "Dissimulation, Tolerance and Faith in Early Anglo-Ottoman Travel," in *Forgetting Faith?: Negotiating Confessional Conflict in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Isabel Karremann, Cornel Zwierlein, and Inga Mai Groote (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 243.

[85] Erroneously claiming a fluid understanding of an encounter also occurs outside the borders of the Mediterranean; Columbus' encounters and those of other European explorers, English journeys to map the Northwest Passage, and the Virginia Colony's sending forth a Welsh speaker to speak with the Monacan tribe all involve assumptions of linguistic sympathy or malleability. These claims seem potentially correlated to ethnographic encounter literature, where the potential for misunderstanding is rarely acknowledged but workarounds are often employed.

> and am to tarry heere (by Gods holy permission) fiue moneths longer, till I haue gotten the foresaide three tongues, and then depart herehence to the *Ganges,* and after that, directly to the *Persian Court.*[86]

Coryate's entire journey is shaped by his desire to learn the languages well enough to navigate later potential encounters. This assertion occurs after his mention of an encounter with Robert Sherley and his Persian wife at the beginning of the letter, in which Coryate states Sherley "shew mee to my singular contentment, both my Bookes neatly kept; and hath promised me to shew them, especialy mine *Itinerarie,* to the Persian King; and to interpret unto him some of the principall Matters in the Turkish tongue."[87] Sherley promises to act as advocate for Coryate and to serve as translator, thus increasing Coryate's reputation by the time he should return. Linguistic facility serves as a way of increasing Coryate's reputation in a way Coryate cannot, at the moment, perform. It thus becomes necessary for him to learn these languages so that he can enjoy the same sort of geographical mobility which learning Italian (or perhaps *lingua franca*) afforded him in the encounters depicted in the rest of his text.

William Biddulph, the chaplain for the Levant Company sent to minister to English merchants living in Aleppo, writes a series of letters collected and published by Theophilus Lavender. Though Biddulph himself is not a merchant, Lavender's preface firmly establishes the ways in which Biddulph was embedded in these fiscal networks. Lavender describes his text as a collection of letters from a group of men describing travels including a "voyage to *Ierusalem* by Land, from *Aleppo* in *Syria Comagena,* […] vndertaken and performed by fiue Englishmen there soiourning, viz Master *William Biddulph* (Preacher to the Company of English Merchants resident in *Aleppo*) Master *Ieffrey Kirbie* Merchant, Master *Edward Abbot* Merchant, Master *Iohn Elkin* gentleman, and *Iasper Tyon* Ieweller."[88] Biddulph, then, while not a trader, is paid by

[86] Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimes*, 595.
[87] Ibid., 593.
[88] William Biddulph, *The trauels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea And into Syria, Cilicia, Pisidia, Mesopotamia, Damascus, Canaan, Galile, Samaria, Iudea, Palestina,*

the same networks of mercantile circulation and thus was involved in the transnational circulation of goods. On their way back from Jerusalem, they travel on an Italian ship, and Biddulph takes the opportunity to contrast Catholic superstition with English Protestantism. During a storm, he states that the Italians became very superstitious, and

> the master of the ship called master *Samson Newport* (an English Merchant) and told him in Italian that hee vnderstood that the Signior *Reuerendo Dotore Inglese:* that is, That the reuerend English Doctor (who was in his ship) had bin at *Ierusalem,* and requested him to speake vnto him, if he had any holy reliques in his chest which hee brought from *Ierusalem,* to giue him some to throw into the Sea, to pacifie the rage thereof. M. *Newport* made answer, that he knew that their English Preacher had no such Reliques as he desired.[89]

Again, the language in which the exchange occurs is signaled by the foreign subject and not the English interlocutor; though the Englishman may well be speaking Italian or *lingua franca*, this is not indicated in the text, as his dialogue is presented unmediated to his English-reading audience.[90] The Italian captain depicted here is, in practice, multilingual, or at least understands enough English to have overheard Biddulph's discussion. Curiously, Biddulph not only indicates that the captain conveyed this request in Italian but includes some of the Italian phrasing. This distances the captain from the English Protestant travelers; though the captain can speak English, he is presented as Italian-speaking, Catholic, and superstitious, and this mediation allows him to be linguistically separated from Biddulph's monolithically English protagonists. Indeed, the English are presented as unified and unassailable; Newport refuses to let the captain speak to Biddulph to convey the request directly, but asserts that he knows there would be no relics because of their shared Protestant faith. English Protestantism thus transcends linguistic

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Ierusalem, Iericho, and to the Red Sea: and to sundry other places. Begunne in the yeare of iubile 1600. and by some of them finished in this yeere 1608. The others not yet returned. Very profitable to the help of trauellers, and no lesse delightfull to all persons who take pleasure to heare of the manners, gouernement, religion, and customes of forraine and heathen countries (London, 1609) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 3051), 8.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Extra-community members are always the ones marked as speaking another language; even when it would make logical sense for an Englishman to be doing so, it is not always clearly indicated in the text. I argue that this is not solely a trope of intra- and extra-communitarian depiction in early modern texts, but that erasure of these linguistic forays (and, by contrast, their surfacing) is itself always significant.

expression: there is no need for Newport to confirm with Biddulph, because the shared national and religious bond means that Newport knows Biddulph's religious character in a way that does not require words to be exchanged. The two men discover a linguistic workaround, comprised of either Italian or *lingua franca*, despite their religious and national differences, but it is one that does not result in compromise. Englishness and Protestantism remain unthreatened by this improvised communication; in fact, it is Newport's refusal to bring Biddulph into the multilingual discussion that asserts their shared bond and rejection of the Catholic request.

Languages and legibility are of particular concern for Biddulph. The chaplain's letters, in describing the Arabians or Bedouins, go into significant detail about their linguistic facility:

> The chiefest thing that I haue obserued in them, worth praise, is this, that they retaine the vse of speaking their naturall tongue to this day, speaking the *Arabicke* naturally, which is a farre more learned language than the *Turkish:* for as the *Turkes* Religion is a mixed Religion, compounded of many Religions; so is their language also a medly language, or (as I may iustly call it) a linsie wolsie Religion and language, compounded of many other languages, wherein nothing is written. But the *Arabian* tongue is a learned language, wherein Avicen and many learned Physitians haue written much, and to this day the *Turkes Alcoran* and all their Law and Religion is written in the *Arabicke* tongue, which is one of those Orientall Languages which depend on the Hebrue tongue, wherin because you haue some knowledge, and are studious in the tongues, (according to your request in your last letters) I will àcquaint you what languages are héere spoken, and which languages are most common and commendable to trauellers to goe furthest withall.[91]

Biddulph takes a moment here to discuss the various potentialities of Arabic and Turkish and offers a particular reading of how languages borrow from others. Because Turkish is comprised of multiple languages, as befits its evolution through the absorption of different cultures, Biddulph presents it as "linsey-woolsey," a rather undesirable fabric of alternating warp and weft. Both fabric and language, according to this analogy, are blended composite; Turkish is depicted as just barely serviceable rather than a language of commerce and communication that other early modern travelers found useful enough to want to learn. Biddulph asserts that "nothing

[91] Ibid., 71.

is written" in Turkish, and thus contrasts it with "learned" Arabic. His reading, of course, is incorrect across several axes; court documents and other works from the Ottoman Empire were written in Turkish. Turkish, however, is framed as a pidgin in this reading, a language which does not produce and has no genealogy, in the same way he incorrectly claims Arabic "depends" upon Hebrew (despite many of Ottoman Turkish's words and its alphabet relying on Arabic).[92] Even as Biddulph privileges Arabic over Turkish, his framing of the contrast is insulting and denies Arabic a context outside Protestant structures of linguistics. Language here becomes inextricable from the production of Ottoman religious and political policies for an English audience.

Biddulph's letter suggests that his detail is due to his friend's interest in linguistic variation; Lavender, however, has considered it an interesting enough moment to include for general audiences. Thus, a piece of text which was originally intended for a particular well-educated, multilingual reader becomes a showcase for a more public readership, whose education is far more varied. Whether or not readers can make use of this letter is less relevant than its position as a signifier of Biddulph's knowledge acquisition in the moment. The content of the original explanation becomes less important than the display of erudition and linguistic ability:

> There are héere spoken so many seuerall languages as there are seuerall Nations héere dwelling or soiourning, euery Nation (amongst themselues) speaking their owne language. And héere are of most Nations in the world some, who either come with their Merchandise to sell or by commodities, or soiourne héere as strangers, or else haue accesse, and recesse to this City as trauellers. But of all Christian languages, the *Italian* tongue is most vsed, and therewithall a man may trauell furthest. But of all the Orientoll tongues, these foure are most spoken in these parts, *Arabicke, Turkish, Armenian,* and *Persian,* or *Agimesco:* Of euerie one of which languages (that you may sée how they differ) I will shew you how they number from one to twenty, to satisfie your expectation.[93]

[92] I do not mean to suggest that Turkish is actually a pidgin, or that Biddulph was aware of the ways in which pidgin languages are formed; however, the way in which he denigrates the language correlates closely with the ways later scholars have criticized pidgin languages.

[93] Ibid. It is difficult to tell if the Italian Biddulph here refers to is *lingua franca* or actual Italian, the latter of which did have widespread use in the early modern Mediterranean.

At this point, Biddulph includes a chart which contrasts: English and Arabic; Turkish, English again, and Armenian; and, Persian. The presentation he makes is of a city which, while ostensibly multilingual, separates out into national groups which prefer to remain linguistically monolithic. Language learning is not an identity but a currency which allows for circulation in the economy; in a city, which Biddulph frames as essentially marked by comings and goings, Italian is the language that allows the most freedom for circulation, and thus becomes the most valuable. Biddulph's focus, however, is on detailing the "Oriental Tongues," since his reader seems to be familiar enough with Italian not to need elaboration. Significantly, "Christian" and "Oriental" tongues are presented as contrasting; we are not told what language is most common, nor is there any overlap. The inclusion of a chart, however, undermines this assertion; the chart suggests the possibility of a direct translation from English to the "Oriental" languages, a space in which the linguistic separation Biddulph asserts as the practice in Aleppo is not actually well-maintained. Biddulph's position, like the multiplicity of languages spoken in Aleppo, is inextricable from these transnational, interlingual networks of circulation.

The Complexities of Self-Presentation in Transnational Networks

Monolingualism could threaten both the safety and wealth of English merchants; time and again, we see linguistic fluency's ability to avert or contain these threats. Robert Coverte, captain of a ship on a merchant expedition, publishes a narrative of his travails around the Cape of Good Hope to India in 1612. Most of *A True And Almost Incredible Report of an Englishman* is concerned with the potential and actual perils he and the merchants he transported suffered or might suffer. At the same time, it is linguistic flexibility that is able to resolve these issues again and again. When the *Ascension* makes landfall at Pemba, they have an encounter with residents of the island which later results in violence; Coverte signals its beginning in this way:

> Then two or three of the people of the Iland demanded in the *Portugall* language what we were, and one of our men made answer, that we were *Englishmen.* Then they demanded againe what we had to doe there, in regard the King of *Portugall* was King of that Iland: wee replied, that wee knew not so much, neither came we thither for any euill intent whatsoeuer, but only to water.[94]

Facility with Portuguese allows Coverte's crew to navigate what might be an otherwise simple trade of goods, but it also signals to English readers that Coverte and his crew are outside the boundaries of their native linguistic expertise and are participating in an encounter which has the possibility for misunderstanding.

While the encounter does become fraught later, Coverte's description of the next day's result is fascinating, since it illustrates the complexities of asserting a linguistically and culturally multivalent position in these interstitial networks of circulation. A further negotiation is held, also in Portuguese; Coverte takes care to note that those they meet are not the same Portuguese-speakers from the day before, and that these new interlocutors offer differing information. One of Coverte's passengers, a Master Jordan, insists upon placing himself at the nexus of multiple cultures, which illustrates the complexities of early modern cross-cultural economic networks:

> The 12. day our Pinnis went on shore to the same place, with master *Iordan,* one of our Merchants. At whose comming on shore, after some conference with some that could speake *Portugall,* but not with those (as it seemed) with whom we spake the day before, for these told master *Iordan* the King was a *Mallaibar,* and after some other conference, master *Iordan* told them, that although our ship were an English ship, yet he was a *Portugall* Merchant, and the goods in the ship were *Portugals* goods.[95]

He states that while the ship (and captain) are English, as was asserted yesterday in the first exchange, he considers himself a Portuguese merchant and that the goods being transported are also Portuguese. Since the merchants were told the previous day that the island is under

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[94] Robert Coverte, *A trve and almost incredible report of an Englishman, that (being cast away in the good ship called the Assention in Cambaya the farthest part of the East Indies) trauelled by land through many vnknowne kingdomes, and great cities With a particular description of all those kingdomes, cities, and people. As also a relation of their commodities and manner of traffique, and at what seasons of the yeere they are most in vse. Faithfully related. With a discouery of a great emperour called the Great Mogoll, a prince not till now knowne to our English nation* (London, 1612) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 5895), 10.
[95] Coverte, *A trve and almost incredible report*, 11.

Portuguese control, this positioning seems to be a way to gain favor or trust, rather than a true assertion of Jordan as a Portuguese. Jordan's patronym at least suggests an English father, and the language which he speaks during this encounter is not deliberately signaled in the way Coverte does in the previous paragraph. Jordan's position during this negotiation, then, is between Portuguese and English; he performs or asserts a Portuguese identity that the crew the day before did not attempt in order to secure negotiations. Whether or not Jordan actually considers himself aligned with Portuguese interests is not significant here; rather, it is significant for its presentation of the adoption of a different national position through linguistic workarounds within a multicultural web of transnational economic interdependencies. Significantly, Coverte does not mention here if Jordan is speaking Portuguese, or *lingua franca*, or how this encounter is practically negotiated. In this way, Coverte mediates the complexity of the exchange for his English readers, and positions Jordan closer to Englishness in the textual depiction of the encounter than Jordan himself seems to have claimed in the moment. Despite all of Jordan's positioning, the end result is unfortunate; the company is overtaken and attacked. Jordan's workaround, potentially an attempt to gain favorable terms for the voyage, ultimately fails.

If improvisation is perilous, then the comparatively stable bonds created by shared national identity serve as the solution. But the complex trade disputes between Portugal and England even haunt the voyage into India. After a shipwreck, Coverte's crew continues on their journey over land, until they reach

> *Surrate,* where we found one *William Finch* an English Merchant, and seruant to Master *Iohnson* in *Cheapside,* who very curteously went to the Gouernour, and acquainted him with our distresse, who (as hereafter we found it to be true) was bribed by the *Portugals*, which told him we were a kinde of turbulent people that would make mutinies, and sow ciuill discention in the Towne, and so aduenture to surprise the Towne.[96]

[96] Coverte, *A trve and almost incredible report*, 25.

Finch's intercession serves as a foil in multiple ways to the previous encounter Coverte describes. Finch is deliberately marked as English, and Coverte takes pains to embed him in a specifically-English economic network, where his previous master's name and place of London residence is established. Interestingly, the language Finch speaks in acting as unofficial emissary here for Coverte's crew's distress is not mentioned but elided; he negotiates this exchange in an "unmarked" fashion. Finch himself has been a merchant traveler for some time at this point and has been residing in Surat; his own narrative can be found in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*.[97] Notably, it is clearly not the same Portuguese who set upon the English crew at Pemba who here sends word ahead to Surat that the English are untrustworthy, and yet Coverte elides this difference throughout this narrative, even when he describes Aden and other ports earlier in the text. Considering how Portuguese interests have been counter to English interests throughout the narrative, Coverte's conflation is understandable; but when pressed upon, those interests become just as variable as those of the English mission.[98] And it is the language of the Portuguese that here works against the English travelers; reports have circulated ahead, from the Portuguese merchants who controlled European shipping to India at the time, that the English party is untrustworthy. Englishness, here, is unreliable: capable of inciting riot, disrupting these transnational networks of shipping and circulation through mutiny and unrest. Only Finch, as English intercessor, negotiates these false and linguistically inaccessible rumors, and the result is

[97] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimes In fiue bookes. The first, contayning the voyages and peregrinations made by ancient kings, patriarkes, apostles, philosophers, and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne world: enquiries also of languages and religions, especially of the moderne diuersified professions of Christianitie. The second, a description of all the circum-nauigations of the globe. The third, nauigations and voyages of English-men, alongst the coasts of Africa ... The fourth, English voyages beyond the East Indies, to the ilands of Iapan, China, Cauchinchina, the Philippinae with others ... The fifth, nauigations, voyages, traffiques, discoueries, of the English nation in the easterne parts of the world ... The first part*. (London, 1625) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 20509), p.414.

[98] In an aside, Coverte speaks of a mutiny that was discovered when a pinnace returned from shore; two of the four mutineers were condemned to death. These eruptions of maritime justice occur sporadically throughout the text and are rarely remarked upon further, but they offer a clear sense that the English voyage is not exactly unified in purpose or interest.

economic surety. Coverte's crew receives "(by the good aduise of the said *William Finch*) […] Coaches, Horses, and other things to trauell to th, e great *Mogol,* & certifie him of our great distresse and misfortunes."[99] The crew is provided with the financial necessities to ensure safe passage and allow them to reach their destination through the negotiation of Finch, an English merchant who is facile enough with workarounds and embedded in this mobile, transnational economic network to successfully facilitate a multilingual negotiation and ensure an encounter which will benefit his countrymen.

Indeed, linguistic ability, whether acquired by previous language study or by employing improvised workarounds, seems to be one of the best ways to diminish the perceived dangers and failures of transnational travel. Later in his journey, Coverte advises an English traveler named John White, who asserts that he has been sent to the East Indies and is traveling to Ispahan to reach a John Midnall. Coverte, however, has another plan:

> Then did I and *Ioseph Salebancke* perswade him to trauell to the red sea of Cambaia, whether he tolde vs Sir *Henry Midleton* was bound from England […] why we thus aduised him was for that he, hauing the *Turkish* language might accompany my friend *Ioseph Salebancke* to Sir *Henry Middleton* to acquaint him with the true discourse of our whole voyage and trauels, whereby he might beware of and auoid the like dangers that we sustained and were in: […] And although *Ioseph Salebancke* was then verie poore, (hauing been formerly robbed) yet was he very willing to take this long and dangerous iourney vpon for the good of his Country.[100]

The possibility of failure looms large over this encounter; Salebancke and Coverte's mishaps might be avoided by Middleton, if they can assist him, but these misadventures have nonetheless befallen the men already. John White's facility with Turkish itself becomes a resource which can be transferred from English traveler to English traveler, according to need and availability. Coverte specifically asserts that while Salebancke has little to no fungible money, his reason and purpose—to share warnings with an English emissary to help him avoid danger—is deemed

[99] Coverte, *A trve and almost incredible report*, 25.
[100] Ibid., 59.

sufficiently important. Where currency is lacking, a shared cultural bond can serve as its replacement in a mutually beneficial mercantile trade; additionally, one Englishman's linguistic facility can be the workaround for another Englishman who would otherwise have no recourse. In this way, improvisational language is the gateway for Englishmen embedded in these networks of economic circulation to disseminate their experiences among each other, to gain necessary knowledge, and to avoid danger and failure. Nearly every English account of traveling contains a moment in which the English traveler lodges at a house deliberately set up for other English travelers; this is a phenomenon that is not exclusive to the English, of course, but which every nationality seems to participate in at this time.[101] That moment of English community and conversation is often presented as a grounding moment of security in what is otherwise a precarious and fraught venture, in which shared values are assumed and a common language is all that is necessary to communicate.

The relationship between linguistic success and economic success is not always a directly linear one; financial success is not a clearly-correlated result with a previous linguistic performance, successful or not. Fynes Moryson, traveling across Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, details a number of stories in his *Itinerary* which draw on these expectations of the travel genre. Though Moryson is a gentleman and not traveling for immediately economic reasons, he has a number of encounters with merchants abroad in which this link between language and rhetoric, failure, and the economic viability of England's trade endeavors is illustrated. At some points in his narrative displays of linguistic fallibility are in fact directly linked to economic failure. At the beginning of Moryson's journey, when traveling through Germany, the cost of transportation and lodging comes up with great frequency. He provides alternatives to his own practices which would increase the material benefit for his audience:

[101] Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 21.

> Let me admonish the Reader, that if when we tooke boat we had onely crossed the *Elue,* we might haue hired a Waggon from *Tolspecker* a Village to *Hamburg* (being three miles) for two Dollors amongst six persons. Being at *Hamburg* and purposing to goe vp into *Misen,* because I had not the language, I compounded with a Merchant to carry mee in his Coach, and beare my charges to *Leipzig* for tenne gold Guldens.[102]

Had Moryson greater facility with German, he suggests, he would have been able to find the less costly route, which he then advocates to his audience, and blames his alternative on his inability to communicate successfully. Moryson, however, does not account for the possibility that it is not the content of his utterances but his rhetoric, or other factors entirely, that cause this negotiation to flounder. Moryson appears to believe that there exists a display of language so competent that it is instantly persuasive. Needless to say, this is quite a lot to ask of language.

While the previous instance recounts a straightforward assertion that linguistic failure is linked to monetary cost, at another point in the *Itinerary*, he captures a more complex element of the relationship between linguistic ability and Englishness, in which that facility serves as a cultural shibboleth. Moryson claims that at Voghera he saw

> an English Merchant in the Inne, who talking rashly, did voluntarily (without being examined whence he was) professe himselfe to be a Dutchman, and my selfe in disguised poore habit, sitting at the lower end of the table, and speaking to him in the Dutch language, he was forced for want of the language, to say that he was a Dutch-man, but borne upon the confines of France; and knowing no other language but the French, whereupon I speaking to him in the French tongue, he had as little skill in that, as in the Dutch; so as I might perceiue that he dissembled his Countrey, and being not willing to presse him, as hauing beene my selfe often forced in like sort to dissemble my Countrey, did forbeare to speake any more to him in the Dutch or French tongue.[103]

Moryson deliberately grounds his unfortunate interlocutor as a participant in mercantile

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[102] Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres trauell through the twelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Diuided into III parts. The I. part. Containeth a iournall through all the said twelue dominions: shewing particularly the number of miles, the soyle of the country, the situation of cities, the descriptions of them, with all monuments in each place worth the seeing, as also the rates of hiring coaches or horses from place to place, with each daies expences for diet, horse-meate, and the like. The II. part. Containeth the rebellion of Hugh, Earle of Tyrone, and the appeasing thereof: written also in forme of a iournall. The III. part. Containeth a discourse vpon seuerall heads, through all the said seuerall dominions* (London, 1617) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 18205), 6.
[103] Ibid., 168-9.

circulation from the outset; he also takes pains to reassure his readers that the man openly asserted a false nationality instead of waiting to be interrogated. This verbal rejection of Englishness gives Moryson both a plausible reason to interrogate the stranger and a justification for his behavior, especially given Moryson's own encounter with passing as Dutch earlier in the volume. Moryson pivots between multiple languages, improvising his next challenge depending upon his partner's answer; the unfortunate individual, however, cannot speak any tongue so well as to seem a native of the place. The stranger's disguise depends upon the complexity of these economic networks, in which vehicular language is spoken as a common tongue, and few individuals have familiarity with each other's countries of origin enough to declare whether or not their dialect is standard.[104] Moryson challenges the man to perform fluency as a type of cultural validation; when the man cannot, however, Moryson claims (rather dubiously) that he does not wish to press him. A comparison between Moryson's own experiences as an Englishman "passing" as another nationality and the traveler's own performance is drawn, highlighting their shared social position.

Moryson does not discover that his companion is English until a type of shibboleth gives the merchant's position away. The English merchant is in fact able to speak Italian, but readers are told that

> we began to discourse in Italian, wherein he had spoken little before he uttered these words, *Iome ne repentiua*: that is, I repented my selfe therof, whereas an Italian would haue said, *Iome ne pentiua*, by which sillable added by him, I presently knew he was an English man. Supper being ended, he perceiuing himselfe to haue beene thus pressed by a poore fellow, sitting at the lower end of the table, tooke me for a spie, and feared I should betray him, and presently went into the stable, where he commanded his seruant to saddle their horses, that they might ride all night towards Genoa. But I following him, and boldly speaking English to him, he was soone content to stay all night, and to take me in my homely apparell for his bedfellow.[105]

[104] This assumption additionally ignores the possibility of multiple dialects and pronunciations, which all early modern vernaculars possessed; Moryson's assumption about linguistic facility is itself essentializing and reductive.
[105] Ibid., 169.

The merchant's grammar gives him away to the better-travelled and better-educated Moryson; the grammar books by which English travelers learned enough language to manage basic tasks abroad here have provided Moryson's companion with sufficient ability to converse, but not to pass as another nationality. By attempting to assimilate into another culture, his Englishness is in fact made more apparent. This suggests a sort of reassuring fantasy: that Englishmen who attempt to assimilate can still be discerned by their countrymen, who will not expose them before the non-English, but will assist them. And this assistance is not unidirectional, as the vignette ends with the two men, formerly at odds, bunking down together for the night. Moryson, after designating himself as linguistically homologous, is granted access to the merchant's economic advantages as a member of the same nationality, despite the outward markings of his "homely apparel." Sufficient economic capital is enough to result in a positive outcome for Moryson's new companion, even if his language skills are less than exemplary.

Multilingualism and Overlapping Allegiances in Mediterranean Encounters

There are more complex cases in which the intersection of improvised language workarounds and economic networks indicate both practical realities and convenient fictions about England's role in these webs of interchange. To return to the previously introduced case of Henry Timberlake: his wildly popular *A True and Strange Discourse on the travailes of two English Pilgrims* (1603) reads as a standard iteration of the genre. First published in 1603, it went through over half a dozen printings and was excerpted in *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613). Timberlake's narrative is typical of a travel account, balancing both travails and adventures for the audience at home; foreign experiences are made legible to an English audience via the author's framing, which often involves the genre's frequent textual elision of the language(s) spoken by intra-communitarians abroad. Timberlake's English Protestantism is one of the key

cornerstones of his narrative, by which he justifies to his countrymen his presence as a pilgrim to Catholic-controlled Jerusalem. Indeed, Timberlake's refusal to deny both nationality and religious identity gets him imprisoned when he arrives at Jerusalem in one of the narrative's key moments:

> I with my companion M. *Iohn Burrell,* went singing and praising God, till we came to the west gate of the Cittie, and there we staied, because it is not lawfull for a Christian to enter unadmitted. My companion advised me to say I was a Greeke, onely to avoid going to Masse: but I not having the Greeke tongue, refused so to doo, telling him even at the gates entraunce, that I would neither denie my Countrie nor Religion: whereupon being demaunded who wee were, M. *Burrell* (answering in the Greeke tongue) told them that he was a Greeke, and I an Englishman. This gave him admittance to the Greeke Patriarke, but I was seazed on and cast in prison […] for the Turkes flatly denied, that they had euer heard either of my Queene or Countrey.[106]

Timberlake refuses to be represented as Greek, though he offers variable reasons for this decision. He casts his decision as an assertion of national and religious identity, which to him are inextricably connected, but in the same sentence, admits to not having the same facility with Greek that Burrell possesses. It is not difficult to imagine an incident like Moryson's occurring, had Timberlake gone along with Burrell's misrepresentation, but what actually occurs is not much better: Timberlake is imprisoned for not successfully communicating that his nation actually exists to the gatekeepers. Though he does not speak Greek, he does manage to communicate something of his nationality to his interlocutors, possibly in *lingua franca*; the utterance, however, does not have its desired effect. While he frames it as a triumph of his English Protestant spirit, this cannot be said to be a successful encounter in terms of Timberlake's aim of passing through Jerusalem safely. The profession of his faith is key to Timberlake's narrative; from the outset, he frames the incident with a vocalized expression of his

[106] Henry Timberlake, *A true and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English pilgrimes what admirable accidents befell them in their iourney to Ierusalem, Gaza, Grand Cayro, Alexandria, and other places: also what rare antiquities, monuments, and notable memories (concording with the ancient remembrances in the holy Scriptures), they saw in Terra Sancta, with a perfect description of the old and new Ierusalem, and scituation of the countries about them. A discourse of no lesse admiration; then well worth the regarding: written by one of them, on the behalfe of himselfe, and his fellowe pilgrime* (London, 1603) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 24079), 6.

religious identity. He is careful to indicate where his companion ceases to speak English, ensuring that the boundaries of linguistic comprehension are clear to his readers. However, while multilingualism here allows one cross-cultural encounter to proceed without trouble, Timberlake frames his own inability to speak Greek as a strength; his incomprehension of the language means that he stays faithful to his Queen, country, and religion.

Timberlake's answer, though it asserts the supremacy of both Queen Elizabeth and his Protestant faith, nonetheless carries with it significant moments of doubt, as well as gestures toward how early modern travelers' identities can resist easy resolution in interstitial spaces. Timberlake's companion, John Burrell, possesses bilingual knowledge and so is able not only to pass into the city but to avoid Catholic mass. Greek, then, serves as useful cultural capital. Also significant is Timberlake's reason for refusing to go along with Burrell's ruse: because he does not speak Greek, he would be unable to successfully be read as a Greek pilgrim. Despite his zealous tone and professions of faith, the interjection of his inability as well as his disinclination to pass as Orthodox denies him even the possibility of doing so. Rhetorically, his rejection is not solely an ideological disavowal of Burrell's stratagem, but framed as a practical one as well. Whatever his motivations, he is barred from passing due to his inability to improvise in another language like Burrell does.

Timberlake contrasts his fate and Burrell's in every sentence of the paragraph, at every moment holding up the specter of possibility. What exists on the page is a dual model of possibilities for Englishmen in Jerusalem. The multilingual model of travel offers not only free passage but exemption from Catholic mass, one of the greatest concerns for the English traveler. Timberlake's model possesses far fewer perks.

What Timberlake's situation does have in its favor is a surprising account of cross-cultural aid that seems to transcend the clearly-delineated linguistic boundaries of the previous

passage. Where Timberlake makes entirely clear where, when, and for what reason Burrell speaks Greek, later parts of his narrative do not possess the same asides about multilingualism. In telling the story of his release, he states that he will explain "how it pleased hope (that very day) to deliuer mee, and graunt my passe as a Protestant, without yeelding to any other ceremonie, then cariage of a waxe candle only."[107]

It was not, of course, hope that interceded, but a Muslim traveler whom Timberlake had encountered earlier at Ramoth in Gilead. Timberlake breaks the flow of the narrative to remind his readers that the man had been one of the passengers he took from Argier to Alexandria before his own pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The "Moore" told Timberlake "in the Franke tongue" of his intended itinerary; Timberlake states that the Moore "and his fellow were going in the *Carauan* to *Damasco,* which place they call *Sham,* and thence to *Beggdatt,* which we call *Babylon,* thence to *Mecha* to make a *Hadgee,* for so they are called when they haue bin at *Mecha*."[108] Timberlake's linguistic switch is interesting here; he is careful to indicate that his new companion, who changes plans and accompanies Timberlake to Jerusalem, speaks "Frankish," very likely *lingua franca*. This suggests both that Timberlake has enough facility with that vehicular language to speak and understand it—even though that linguistic knowledge does not help him at the gate of Jerusalem—and that Timberlake wants to draw attention to the foreignness and improvised nature of communication in this encounter.

The latter implication is supported since he switches from English to Arabic when stating the place names, asserting the Moor's linguistic affiliation as an Arabic speaker rather than the Frankish language he is quoted as speaking. Timberlake switches from an English primary referent to an Arabic translation, then, in the next clause, uses an Arabic primary referent which he then translates to English. Rhetorically, then, the two languages are balanced, given equal

[107] Ibid., 6.
[108] Ibid., 7.

primacy in the text's structure. Arabic is not solely the foreign language that must be translated from but is given as a detail that grounds Timberlake's reader in the culturally and linguistically rich Levant.[109]

Timberlake continues, saying that:

> this man (in my mind) God sent to be the meanes of mine immediate deliverie. For after I had taken good notice of him, I well remembred that I saw him in my ship; though one man among 300. is not very readily knowne: for so many brought I from *Argier* into those partes of different Nations, as Turkes, Moores, Iewes and Christians. […] & such kind care had the Infidel of me, as he would not leaue me unaccompanied in this strange Land, which I cannot but impute to Gods especiall providence, for my deliverance out of prison, else had I bin left in most miserable case.[110]

Timberlake imputes his rescue to divine (Protestant) grace, twin assertions which bookend an admission of cultural plurality and sensitivity. It is Timberlake's multi-ethnic passenger list and his conveyance of religiously diverse pilgrims to places for which he clearly does not share a religious or cultural attachment that serves to engender appreciation in the man from Fez. The captain's participation in the culturally heterogenous Mediterranean economy is the means for his deliverance; however, since such an assertion runs counter to the anxieties of transnational experience that travel manuals so often profess, Timberlake is careful to frame his deliverance in specifically English terms. The Muslim from Fez is incorporated into a legible system of Christian causality which does not threaten Timberlake's narrative.

When Timberlake is freed at the intercession of the Moor, he is taken to the "Pater Guardian" who then asks why Timberlake

> would so much erre from Christianitie, as to put my selfe rather vnder the Turkes then his protection. I told him, what I did, was because I would not goe to Masse, but keepe my conscience to my selfe. He replyed, that many Englishmen had beene there, but (being Catholiques) went to Masse, telling the Turks at the Gates entrance, that they were Frenchmen, for the Turkes knowe not what you meane by the worde Englishman: aduising me further, that when any of my Countreymen vndertooke the like trauaile, at the gates of *Ierusalem* they should tearm themselues either Frenchmen or Fritons [sic],

[109] The word "pilgrimage," interestingly, is specifically avoided when describing the hajj, perhaps to avoid similarities between his own professed purpose and those of his companion.
[110] Ibid., 7.

because they are well knowne to the Turkes.[111]

The Franciscan's advice to Timberlake is only applicable if Timberlake is willing to conform to Catholic ritual, which Timberlake disavows earlier as a denial of his Protestant religion. The specter of the Catholic mass, then, seems to be the signifier Timberlake worried it would be; the English who attend are Catholics, and so attending means being read as a member of an opposing religion. The dialogue Timberlake reports here implies a greater degree of similarity between Muslims and Protestants than English Protestants and English Catholics. Englishness, here, is considered illegible to Jerusalem's guards; because so few Englishmen pass into Jerusalem, the Franciscan asserts that it is simpler to pass as French than to assert Englishness. However, he states that it is the Catholic English who pretend to be the already-suspect French, thus suggesting a correlation between linguistic and national flexibility and religious instability and conversion. In the face of this, Timberlake's insistence on claiming Englishness and Protestantism can be read as a deliberately pious gesture, as opposed to a practical act undertaken because no other recourse was available to him. While Timberlake takes great pains to assert his religious zeal to his English audience, the specter of these other possibilities that Timberlake rejects, but that other early modern travelers like Burrell readily accept, still lingers in the margins.

Stephan Shmuck, in "Dissimulation, Tolerance and Faith in Early Anglo-Ottoman Travel," suggests that Timberlake's account is concerned with the triangulation of Catholic, Protestant, and Turk, and that there is no confirmation of its occurrence.[112] I am less concerned with ascertaining the factual accuracy of Timberlake's account than reading it as an exemplum to English readers. What is suggested in this moment of cultural confusion seems to be not only about the mingle-mangle of power relationships among Greek Orthodoxy, Catholicism,

[111] Ibid., 8.
[112] Schmuck, "Dissimulation, Tolerance and Faith," 243.

Protestantism, and Islam, but also about how national and religious identities can be as mutable as the languages in which a traveler is fluent. The ability to engage in improvised workarounds opens up opportunities for the English traveler to escape peril, but also to moments in which he has the opportunity to reject or erode his faith. What Timberlake resists is the threat that travel manuals consistently warn against: the English traveler, and specifically the mercantile traveler, as legibly and linguistically not-English. In the face of this anxiety, travel writers assert English identity in a complex negotiation between multilingualism, the possibility of occupying multiple identities in interstitial spaces, the primacy of economic circulation, and the triumph of English nationalism. When Timberlake's account is read against other travel narratives that feature imprisonment, a pattern emerges. The imprisoned traveler is freed in a situation where his specifically English identity is invoked and honored while his facility with non-English languages and cultures permits him access to gain.

The presence of linguistic workarounds in economic endeavors and the questions of how much access they allow their speakers reaches a fascinating degree of complexity in William Davies' captivity narrative, which was published in 1614. Davies takes particular care to mark himself as a "barber surgeon of London," locating himself both professionally and geographically within a specifically English network. Though he is not a merchant, he is embedded in these transnational shipping networks; his captivity tale is vouched for, he asserts, by a number of signatories. Most of these men are either fellow-surgeons from other places in England, or ship captains. In this fashion, Davies asserts his place within geographically diverse networks both in England and outside it.

The first moment of Davies' deliverance, in which economic surety and English national identity intervene in his favor, occurs when Davies has already been imprisoned in the galleys of Ferdinand de Medici for eight years. His deliverance comes not from any unprompted act of

mercy from the Duke, but rather from an assertion of national identity that comes from an English captain embedded in these economic networks of circulation. Davies states that the Duke furnished a ship for a voyage to the West Indies and the Amazon river, and that he "appointed Captaine Robert Thornton, an Englishman to be chiefe Commanunder of the Ship."[113] While the Duke is then appointing the rest of the crew, and attempting to find a physician, Davies claims that "Captain Thornton standing by, said, your Highness may do well to deliver a poore Englishman that hath continued a great while in your gallies."[114] Thornton makes the claim that Davies is experienced both in medicine and sea-travel, and is thus more useful to the voyage. Davies places the responsibility for his deliverance squarely on Thornton's advocacy to his captor and highlights their shared nationality as the reason that Thornton was aware of Davies' plight and wished to free him from it. The bond of Englishness between Thornton and Davies is what causes the former to recommend Davies to the position so that he can gain his freedom, or at the very least, more autonomy. Davies is eventually freed, as he makes explicitly clear, by Thornton's intercession. He states that the Duke, upon freeing him, said "I have often beene spoken to for that fellow, whose liberty now I give upon thy good report, Thornton."[115] The Duke has known about Davies' existence in the galleys, and possibly of his medical skills, but has done nothing until Thornton intercedes.

Thornton's social leverage is not the only surety Davies needs; however, the Duke is at first reluctant to free Davies, citing that "as soone as hee is out of chaynes, he will give me the slip and not goe the voyage into the Indies with thee. But if he can give five hundred Crownes

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[113] William Davies, *A true relation of the travailes and most miserable captiuitie of William Dauies, barber-surgion of London, vnder the Duke of Florence Wherein is truly set downe the manner of his taking, the long time of his slauierie, and meanes of his deliuerie, after eight yeeres, and ten moneths captiuitie in the gallies. Discouering many manye landes, ilandes, riuers, cities, and townes, of the Christians and infidels, the condition of the people, and the manner of their countrey: with many more strange things, as in the booke is briefely and plainely expressed. By William Dauies, barber-surgion of London, and borne in the citie of Hereford* (London,1614) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 6365), C1 recto.

[114] Ibid, C1 verso.

[115] Ibid., C1 verso-C2 recto.

securitie to goe the voyage, he shall be released presently out of chaynes."[116] Neither Davies' nor Thornton's words are sufficient surety alone; only monetary remittance will suffice. Fortunately, Davies is sufficiently embedded in English mercantile networks; he indicates that the "securitie I did sodainely procure by an English Marchant, whose name was Maister *William Mellyn,* of *Bristow*."[117] Davies is able to raise a not insignificant sum by appealing to an English merchant resident in Livorno. Despite William Mellyn's presence in Italy and his transnational economic success, Davies takes pains to establish Mellyn's place of origin and re-embed him within his geographically English origins. Without Mellyn's presence outside England and his access to finances gained through cross-cultural trade, Davies would remain languishing in servitude; nonetheless, Davies ensures that his English audience reads both merchant and captive as definitively English, despite their significant ties to Italy.

After Davies' initial economic salvation, another moment occurs in which linguistic success and participation in these networks is inextricably linked to positive outcomes. He is brought before the Duke and questioned after his release:

> But tell me, quoth hée, with what substance of wealth camest thou out of thy Countrey: I answered with two purses full: Full said hée, of what? I said of Siluer and Gold, which I lost when I was taken by his Highnes Gallies, and the other full of Patience, which doth continue full still: Then said the Duke to one that stoode by, giue him a hundred Crownes to spend to strengthen himselfe, and bring himselfe to courage; thus did the Duke take delight in discoursing with me, in respect I spake the Italian tongue very perfectly, for I bought it déere, with many a droppe of my bloud, in the time of my slauerie.[118]

Davies' language acquisition is deliberately connected to embodiment and violence; his fluency—rather than a basic knowledge—is tied to his repeated physical suffering. He presents significant pain as the cost of "perfect" Italian. The Duke's enjoyment of Davies' company is predicated on the latter's fluency, acquired not through study or in a textually obscured fashion,

[116] Ibid., C2 recto.
[117] Ibid., C2 verso.
[118] Ibid.

but through blood shed in the galleys. Davies' knowledge is thus not a result of deliberate advancement but of constraint; nevertheless, it is the cause for the Duke to recompense him for the money lost when he was seized. Davies' value as a multilingual companion materially enriches him.

This is not the only significant moment in which linguistic fluency occupies a central role in Davies' narrative. On the return voyage from South America, a fellow English sailor dies, and Davies buries him according to Protestant rites. Afterwards, several Catholic priests claim that the deceased sailor was Catholic and thus deserved a Catholic burial, and Davies is arrested and imprisoned for sixteen days. His interrogation is framed as a vindication of Protestant faith and English ingenuity in the face of the criminalized exotic Catholic threat. The moment in which Davies vindicates himself in the eyes of the Catholic authority is inextricably bound up in concerns of Englishness and multilingualism's potential to erode national identity. Davies asks to speak in his own defense, and the court agrees. He asks if the priest who claims the deceased Englishman converted to Catholicism spoke English, and he is told that the priest does not. At which point he says, "tell me how an Italian Frier can confesse an Englishman speaking no English, nor the Englishman speaking no Italian, nor other language but his mother tongue? For you know well there must be no interpreter in confession."[119] The moment the Catholic court begins to be convinced that Davies is innocent and should be freed is bound up in the possibilities and problems of communicating cross-culturally. Davies uses his familiarity with the Italian language to assert an unbridgeable gulf of understanding between his deceased English Protestant shipmate and the Italian Catholic priest; he states explicitly that there would be no possibility of conversion or sacramental rite in a relationship in which neither party spoke

[119] Ibid, C4 recto.

a common language.[120] Davies fashions himself as a linguistic interpreter and adjudicator, able to negotiate this seemingly impassable space between the two languages where a workaround is not possible. It is Davies' ability to assimilate, to a certain degree, using his language abilities that allows him to defend himself, and he uses this ability to connect with the "other" culture to assert the impossibility of his own countryman mingling, either linguistically or religiously, with the Italian Catholics. Davies asserts the primacy of English Protestantism by drawing on his multilingual ability; indeed, he attributes his salvation to the fact that he "could speak the Italian tongue, for if I had had an interpreter in this, though my cause was iust, yet I had surely died."[121] Davies does not trust an interpreter, fluent or not, to advocate vociferously enough on his behalf, even if innocent; only his own language skills will do. For Davies, the possibility of mediation erases the agency he feels he must assert in order to remain alive.

Despite the defense he claims as successful, he is nonetheless imprisoned; perhaps unsurprisingly at this point, his delivery depends upon the recognition of a fellow Englishman, a mutual language in which to negotiate, a simultaneous identification of belonging to the same mercantile network, and the promise of economic surety. Each of these elements—shared national identity, mutual linguistic comprehensibility, English mercantilism—is dependent upon the others in the equation in order to ensure a successful negotiation.

Richard Rowe "of *Milbrooke,* in the countie of *Cornwel*," another Englishman, happens to meet Davies by the prison gates.[122] Rowe, like so many of Davies' countrymen, has come to the Mediterranean to trade, but despite the perilous social role of the traveler-trader, he and

[120] Significantly, *lingua franca* as a vehicular language seems not to be acceptable for confession. The improvisational nature of its speech, the possibility of miscommunication and failure, and the fact that it had no native speakers all may have been factors which contributed to its exclusion. Whatever the reason, no one in this encounter seems to consider it possible that sacramental confession would "translate" into *lingua franca*.
[121] Ibid., C4 recto.
[122] Ibid.

Davies are able to capitalize on their Englishness. Davies recounts this fortunate encounter in a way that leaves no doubt as to the social and economic function that a shared cultural identity plays in this cosmopolitan and culturally heterogenous space. The first thing that Rowe does, as Davies explains, is "demaund of me what Countrey-man I was."[123] Davies replies not that he is an Englishman, but that he was "borne in the Citie of Hereford."[124] The municipal grounding, common in Italy given the lack of national consolidation (true as well within the borders of England), features less frequently in English travel narratives. In these accounts, possible differences in municipal attachments are sometimes elided in favor of a mutually-encompassing Englishness; here, that attachment surfaces as a way to mark an even closer allegiance rather than a way to compare geographical origins. This specification not only grounds Davies firmly in his English identity, but also in an English landscape that is remote from his current situation, geographically, chronologically, and culturally. Despite the fact that Davies has been in Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and the Atlantic for nearly a decade, he still frames himself as belonging on and to a very specific piece of English soil. Rowe, a merchant in Italy, is also geographically linked to his English origins; in this way, Davies establishes their mutual credentials as not only nationally but geographically English, even when not within the confines of their shared country.

When Davies has established himself as grounded in his Englishness, Rowe then asks his name. For Rowe, confirmation of Davies' group identity is more important than his individual identity; whether or not he is English is the most necessary point for Rowe to establish with the traveler-captive he is addressing. Davies then recounts how he was further assimilated back into English culture after he identifies himself. Rowe asks him, "know you one Master Dauies in Plymmouth. I said I was an vnfortunate brother of his. With that he was very sorely grieued, in

[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.

respect he knew my brother very well, and loued him directly."[125] Once Davies is established as English, he is able to frame himself as a particular, individual participant in that culture and be recognized by someone who has never met him but nonetheless has participated in the same social network. Rowe recognizes Davies from a series of shared social bonds; his assertion that he loves Davies' brother "directly" raises connotations of that affection translating indirectly to Davies himself. It is "direct" affection that is transferred and traded to Davies, in a manner that is not only social but economic, when Rowe promises to pay his bond and spring him from prison. Davies recounts that Rowe "deliuered me sixe Crownes, and bid me spare for no money, for he knew my brother would repay it again."[126] Although Rowe initially (and perhaps legitimately) claims affection for Davies' brother, it is the economic trustworthiness of Davies' brother that allows Davies to go free. The fee to free Davies is not forgiven, but rather traded back to his brother in England who can be counted on as a surety to repay. In essence, Davies and Rowe have verbally signed a common contract in early modern Mediterranean trade; however, in this case, the commodity being traded between Rowe and Davies' brother is Davies' own English body. Davies' freedom would not be possible without the social and economic connections that he has in England, a fact that is reinforced by Rowe's initial interest in where Davies is from rather than why he is imprisoned or even who he is.

Despite advancing Davies money, Rowe cannot free the unfortunate narrator, and Davies must devise his own plan to free himself. He decides to "send for a Frenchman, in whose house I had alwaies layne before, who presently came vnto me, vnto whom I imparted my minde, telling of him that if he would faine a matter of debt against me, I would giue him ten Crownes for his labour, though I ought him nothing."[127] Davies draws upon his experiential knowledge of these

[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid, C4 verso.

foreign economic and penal systems to find an advantage, and he disguises himself as the adversary of a trusted associate. National allegiances are transcended by mutual membership in these extranational networks.

While Davies' French associate requires a bit of convincing, as the matter seems to be one that could get him into trouble should their dissembling be discovered, he eventually relents:

> he gaue consent, and went to the Gouernour and told him, that in the Prison where debters are, there is an Englishman who oweth me money […] which charge I paid presently, and was freed, departing away with the Frenchman, and brought him to Master *Hunts* house, the English Counsell, where I gaue him his tenne Crownes.[128]

Davies fabricates a false claim of debt with a Frenchman with whom he is clearly on good terms; the entire encounter is a negotiation between the two over what is feasible and what might result in disaster and imprisonment. Here, the actual language of negotiation is obscured; where in the encounter with Rowe it seemed feasible to imagine the two conspiring in English, here the improvised linguistic mechanism that gives rise to their improvised plan is unclear. The narrative reverts to English as the unmarked default, despite what the reader knows of Davies' linguistic mastery; it would be surprising if this encounter did not occur in French, Italian, or *lingua franca,* and yet there is no indication given as to the language used in the encounter, which is in direct contrast to Davies' assertions of his own skill in Italian only sentences earlier. Additionally, their retreat to the English counsel's house after their scheme is successful, rather than adjourning to the French consul's abode, corroborates the primacy of Englishness in this series of encounters.

Davies presents a view of English mastery in which extemporaneous Englishmen can triumph over the foreign, Papist, Italian other. It is worth observing, however, that the reader has only Davies' assertion that he would have lost his life if he had an interpreter, rather than his

[128] Ibid.

own linguistic ability, interceding for him; in any case, he is returned to prison and not freed. The practical use of his multilingual capabilities does not, in fact, allow for utter mastery over his fate. For that he must rely on distinct and particular networks of French and English trade. These networks, however much Davies attempts to ground them in specific geographical English markers, depend on polyvalent cultural identities. His net worth is increased and his life is ostensibly saved because of his own Italian fluency; it is a journey halfway across the world, on a ship commissioned by an Italian and with a multicultural crew, which buys his release from the galleys; a Frenchman with whom he has had previous economic dealings, and who thus knows his reliability, is the one to free him from jail. While Davies tries to assert the importance of these specifically English networks, the reality of the Mediterranean lived experience is more complex.

These exchanges detail the ways in which successful economic circulation frequently depended upon improvised workarounds which were often prone to failure, and upon the alignment of English travelers with other national and religious identities. In recounting these fraught sites of potential and actual failure, writers deploy a variety of methods to assert power in their texts when recounting these situations. Moryson's hapless fellow-traveler attempts and fails to navigate cross-cultural encounters by dissembling French, Dutch, and finally Italian, and when his ruse is discovered, it is by someone who means no ill but who nonetheless ensures his own advantage in the encounter. For Davies, these linguistic workarounds serve him, to some degree, during his trial, when he has no political or economic power. By contrasting his own facility with Italian to the Protestant sailor's inability to speak anything but English, Davies credentials himself as a cross-cultural intermediary capable of distinguishing what is translatable and what is beyond the scope of improvisational language. And yet, his extemporaneous argumentation is not enough to fully free him; for that, he relies on geographic networks of recognition between

fellow Englishmen and merchants with similar aims. Neither Garrard and Burroughs nor Timberlake are capable of conveying to their interlocutors the country to which they belong, with admittedly very different results for each. While Timberlake's imprisonment is more perilous than Garrard's, the workaround that the interpreters provide is crucial to the success of the evening Burroughs goes on to describe. These complex economic negotiations are always capable of failing, whether they flounder through linguistic infelicty, other nonverbal miscommunications, or outside factors. The perceived value of linguistic access, however, is clear throughout multiple narratives. Coryate frames language as a skill which will serve a purpose similar to currency in the way it affords him mobility. Coverte asserts the link when he sends his fellow Englishman off with a recently encountered interpreter, attempting to assert that Joseph Salebancke's mission is enough to compensate for his inability to pay the English interpreter for this valuable service.

Conversely, the failure of the workaround is always framed as limiting, no matter one's national identity, as in the cases of Coverte's ambush and the Italian priest's attempt to accuse Davies. These moments of linguistic infelicity are often covered up by an assertion from the author that involves a financially redemptive or powerful result. Textually, these workarounds (and its contrast to the specter of imagined linguistic dominance) are performed in close proximity to the possibility of economic dominance. This has the effect of suggesting that the success of these crucial economic networks depended upon the ability to communicate in an extemporaneous, fragmented fashion; even though this was clearly not the only factor to affect the outcome, its presence in these traders' representations looms (perhaps disproportionately) large.[129]

[129] Though the presence of linguistic workarounds may appear frequently in these texts, they are comparatively rare depictions compared to how often multilingual communication, gestural language, *lingua franca*, or other such vehicular, fragmentary, and improvised languages would have been experienced by these merchant venturers.

These emergences, asides, and even elisions of workarounds represent the difficulty of conveying the reality of early modern Mediterranean trade to an English audience, and the ways in which most successful merchants and captains were in fact embedded in complex transnational, linguistically dynamic frameworks of circulation that depended upon knowledge of local languages or the ability to improvise such languages. While mastery of the sort that Moryson seems to assert, and Coryate desires to possess, is seen as preferable, the ability to practically navigate tenuous situations outside the borders of England is more important than traditional linguistic fluency of the sort which might be learned at court and of which very few Englishmen abroad might be capable.

This muddling of the relationship between traditional and practical linguistic fluency, as well as textually-performed fluency or successful workarounds, allows for narratives in which English dominance (real or imagined) takes a preeminent place. If the English merchant traveler passes through his trials, either because or in spite of his facility with languages, then a particularly teleological English mastery is asserted. If a traveler cannot speak foreign languages fluently enough to dissemble his identity (as in Moryson and Timberlake's texts) another Englishman or a foreigner who has benefited from his efforts will act as his surety. If a traveler is monolingual, it may, from an early modern perspective, save his soul, as with the sailor in Davies' account. If a traveler is successfully multilingual, he may nevertheless be able to assert his place within primarily English and Protestant networks of economic circulation and suggest that this is the primary deliverer of his salvation, as Davies does at the end of his tale. No singular, stable assertion of what manner of linguistic ability will most benefit an Englishman emerges from these texts. Instead, what they all indicate is the figure of the English trader as simultaneously Protestant and protean. He is capable of assimilating successfully into a transnational economic network seamlessly enough to make a profit; nevertheless, his accounts

insist he is religiously and ethnically faithful not only to the proto-national identity, but in some cases to specific geographic places within England.

Linguistic flexibility, then, itself becomes flexible. It is a facile enough signifier to occupy multiple positions across multiple merchant venturers' accounts; the workaround method of communication that exists to achieve an end is applicable to these accounts as well. Whereas multilingualism may remain consistent throughout one author's narrative, other writers and travelers will frame their experiences with monolingualism, polyglottism, translators, and loosely-aligned fellow travelers differently. The workaround thus offers the solution to the ever-shifting boundary surrounding all English mercantile operations. Perhaps the idea of language as unstable is not unexpected in the early modern period, as the number of authors decrying the influence of continental and Latinate phrases on "good" English might suggest. But in texts where it serves as the shibboleth of identity, it is curious that the identities it purports to shore up are not necessarily stable across multiple texts. Workarounds call into question the assertion of how crucial acquiring languages is, and for whom: if a monolingual merchant employing a translator can triumph in the same fashion as a multilingual merchant, and if fluency in Italian achieves the same general end as fumbling through a conversation in *lingua franca*, what benefit does the time and effort spent exhaustively learning languages convey to these traders?

I suggest that the presence of improvised multilingual workarounds, as reported in (largely) monolingual form for an English audience, serves as a demonstration of the early modern merchant traveler's adaptability to circumstances, and as a way of limiting and contextualizing the possibility of failure. Despite his circulation through economic and physical networks, he frames his experiences with these multinational systems as legible within the experience of Englishness. Thus, multilingual practice is demonstrated by the ways in which it serves the greater English purpose abroad—much in the way that *The Three English Brothers*

attempts to frame the Shirley brothers' personal interests in the Levant as projects undertaken to aid English diplomatic aims. The linguistic workaround is not a stable schema, but its use does reliably indicate a similar concern of the genre: ensuring that the mobile, transnationally-active Englishman remains consistently able to press his skills, whatever they may be, in service of performing proper Englishness for his audience of readers. As early modern travelers display their ability to adapt and improvise the information they present to their interlocutors in perilous situations, they re-contextualize failure itself into part of a larger English venture of identity, security, and presence in these transnational trade networks.

CHAPTER 3

Language as Labor: Learning, Language Manuals, and Multilingual Dictionaries

The early modern English situated themselves in transnational networks of circulation during a period of dramatic increase in the publication of language-learning texts. Though bilingual Latin-vernacular dictionaries and word lists existed in the 15th century, and earlier, dictionaries, grammars, and phrasebooks, both monolingual and multilingual, enjoyed a surge in production in the 16th and 17th centuries.[130] These texts do not have a homogeneous purpose: some attempt to systematize formal language learning for readers who are beginning to study a new language, while others seek to provide a stable knowledge base for those who require a supplementary reference or reminder. The variety of information offered within language-learning materials suggests that compilers were not always certain about the membership of their audience; often dictionaries have multiple prefaces, sometimes in multiple languages, each targeting a different sort of scholar. Belén Bistué points out that this uncertainty "about social categories may have gone hand in hand with uncertainty about linguistic identity."[131]

Linguistic identity is not the only unstable factor in dictionary production or language learning. As previous chapters have shown, the possibility of incoherence an

[130] This upswing corresponded with an expansion of the languages these texts included; between the middle of the 16th century and the end of the 17th century, hundreds of these texts were printed and reprinted in England and on the continent. This number does not include influential texts such as Robert Estienne's *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae,* Ambrogio Calepino's *Dictionarium Latinum* or the *Lexicon Graeco Latinum*, texts printed in Europe but imported to England; it also does not count the multilingual dictionaries in circulation on the continent in which English was included as one of many languages.

[131] Bistué, *Collaborative Translation*, 99.

miscommunication hangs over multilingual encounters. As authors of language manuals construct their texts, the paratextual material—from marginal glosses in colloquies to prefaces that assure readers of a text's completeness—claims a degree of control that seems idealistic at best. In John Minsheu's edition of Richard Perceval's Spanish-English *A Spanish Grammar* (1599), for instance, the dialogues appended to the end present two columns of identical line-by-line scenarios, with English on one side and Spanish on the other, to assist readers, but also to present "representative" situations. <Figure 3.1> Puns or dual meanings in one language, however, are not always translated within the facing page translation in these texts; rather, they are explained on the side, in a marginal note. Absent that explanation, a subtext occurring in one language is potentially lost to non-fluent readers. Marginal notes, textual intrusions, and paratextual material also guide readers in many language manuals, attempting to assure their readers that the text is stable, representative, and useful, even when complete understanding across all encounters can never be assured. Early modern multilingual dictionaries attempt to construct a coherent English multilingualism that can be learned, regimented, and circulated, which restrains the flexibility and illegibility of foreign languages as something that can be contained within the boundaries of English. Though these compilers try to present a controllable, stable version of multilingual encounter, textually the possibilities of incoherence and miscommunication continue to erupt.

To this end, authors often expend a great deal of rhetorical effort highlighting the labor involved in the production of their text and the intellectual genealogies of their projects to shore up a text's completeness. Citation of personal or educational history, intellectual pedigree, relationships with famous scholars, multilingual fluency, and other markers are common in every dictionary's prefatory material, as are references to previous scholars, whether those scholars are other dictionary compilers or classical authors. Readers must trust the veracity of paratextual

claims of expertise and comprehensiveness, as the entire purpose of acquiring knowledge rests on the source's credentials. Language learning, however, is more unstable than a subject such as mathematics; as translation theorists have shown, cross-linguistic fluency is fraught, contextual, and capable of significant slippage. Without the visible textual production of credentialing, which is surfaced in the invocations of the labor process of compilation and in the intertextual relationships with other scholars, the work and value of a particular dictionary is in constant danger of seeming epistemologically suspect.

Even the category of "the multilingual early modern English dictionary" is itself epistemologically unstable. As Bistué points out, early modern translation and knowledge production often blurs the lines of language, nation, and intellectual community. Even monolingual dictionaries, which emerge in English at the beginning of the 17th century, are not a separate taxonomic category of linguistic learning. When considering the monolingual English dictionary as the teleological end of its multilingual predecessor, as some scholars do, the fact that multilingual dictionaries continued to flourish, even when the former was emerging, is often erased. John Considine, tracing English (and Romance) vernacular dictionaries, posits that "their primary focus is always on the elucidation of foreign words rather than on the riches of the English language";[132] this connects the venture of even ostensibly monolingual dictionaries to a network of cross-linguistic borrowing. Such a tendency towards elucidation of the foreign surfaces in many monolingual projects, such as when Robert Cawdry describes his monolingual *Table Alphabeticall* (1604) as explaining "ynkhorne" terms, which are words borrowed from Latin and other languages but now so common as to be incorporated into an English vernacular; furthermore, Cawdry and later authors rely on the paratextual organizational structures of their

[132] John Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern English: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 12.

multilingual predecessors. The complex environment of language-learning materials and their interrelated connections in the late 16th and early 17th centuries suggest a linguistically and even culturally heterogenous model of knowledge transmission, one that early modern English dictionary writers grappled with in positioning their own texts for an English audience.

Given these attempts at regimentation and the difficulty therein, the early modern English multilingual dictionary's assimilation and reconstruction of source material is a particularly fraught site of the tension between homogeneity and the inability to homogenize. The language manual is intended to be a self-contained text, presenting itself as a discrete, bounded source of knowledge from which the reader can derive a benefit. But it necessarily draws from other external texts and sources in its construction; even a bilingual dictionary to which an English section is added is not a direct transcription of the original text for a new target audience, as the English translation of foreign words must originate somewhere, even if only in the translator's educational history and the knowledge networks which comprise it. Nevertheless, these manuals, in their prefatory and paratextual materials, ask readers to view them as discrete texts, each of which ostensibly surpasses other forays into the field in its effort to position itself in a complex, often transnational, network of knowledge in order to strengthen its credibility. This tension is rarely resolved but instead erupts continuously in the margins of the texts, as compilers seek to balance the construction of a dictionary that is comprehensive but not excessive, sourced from erudite past authors but new enough to be worth purchasing, and, above all able, to assuage anxieties around cross-linguistic networks of circulation.

The Good Enough Dictionary

Early modern dictionary compilers grapple with the need to sort multiple heterogenous

and sometimes contradictory sources into one homogenous, seamless text.[133] No lexicographer employs the exact same method as his peers; each devises his own system, which attempts to contain as much information as possible while leaving space for exceptions, intrusions, and omissions. These projects are instances of the "good enough" dictionary: collections of material which seek to gesture towards external, acclaimed sources, but are restricted in their aims by material circumstances. The authors who compile material into these volumes are keenly aware of the necessary limits (e.g., space, time, access to material, finances, etc.) on their own projects and the sorts of material they exclude. These limits, however, are different for each lexicographer, and thus interpretations of "a sufficiently copious dictionary" vary across volumes.

To create the most exhaustive and accurate text, early modern multilingual compilers necessarily engage in a long history of borrowing from other language scholars, but these borrowings are not always accurately represented in their prefatory material.[134] In their effort to credential their work, however, every author devises a legible and expressive rhetorical system

[133] A. E. B. Coldiron argues that early modern translators have other desires outside what contemporary scholars might associate with homogeneity. Coldiron states that "despite the nation-forming power of the 'Englishing' imperative expressed by so many translators, invisibility could not have been the only or the highest early modern literary-aesthetic value." "Visibility Now: Historicizing Foreign Presences in Translation," *Translation Studies* 5, no. 2 (2012): 192. This does, to some extent, apply to dictionary compilers as well. The homogenous dictionary does not, in fact, always seek to make the efforts of previous compositors invisible; instead, it integrates them while also re-contextualizing them through rhetorical and paratextual constructions. Early modern multilingual dictionaries fall at various places on Coldiron's proposed axis of *sprezzatura* and *imitatio*, but I am concerned less with the presence of these two features of early modern translation theory, and more with how these techniques were used to present the labor and difficulty of composing a sufficient text.

[134] Prior to the 16th century, the list of available dictionaries that compositors could draw from was fairly narrow. In addition to Ambrogio Calepino's wildly popular Latin lexicon of the early 16th century, discussed later in the chapter, Robert Estienne created the remarkable *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, published in both Greek and Latin. Johannes Balbus published the *Catholicon*, a Latin dictionary with an appended grammar and some encyclopedic entries, in 1286. Johannes Crastonus penned the *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (an unknown length of time) prior to its second printing date of 1483 in Milan. There were late antique Greek and Byzantine lexicographic projects, such as Apollonius the Sophist's Homeric word list, Julius Pollux's *Onomasticon*, and the anonymous *Sudas*, a 30,000 word work on Byzantine history, literature, and culture. Additionally, there was also a rich tradition of Arabic-Greek and Arabic-Latin dictionaries. But these texts were not widely accessible to scholars prior to the printing press, at least not compared to the profusion after; scholars were unlikely to have access to more than one or two different dictionaries. By the 15th and 16th centuries, though, word lists and grammars were printed much more frequently on the continent, supplemented by material brought by Byzantine scholars fleeing Ottoman incursion.

that adheres to recognizable *topoi* of translation in which his project's intellectual genealogy can be traced (regardless of the truth of that system), and positions his text along an axis of sufficiency or insufficiency. One element that marks a sufficient dictionary is the author's rhetorical construction of his labor. Even without tangible marks in the work's main body, the paratextual material of multilingual dictionaries often explicitly highlights how much effort compilers have expended in creating their text's organizing principles. While other scholars have emphasized the enormous amount of effort, time, and finances that dictionary assemblage requires,[135] I am less concerned with the material factors surrounding the production of these texts than the ways in which authors make their efforts apparent to their audiences, and how that demonstrated labor contributes to their constructions of textual sufficiency. The visible labor of researching and situating the new volume in a transnational network offers a form of intellectual capital that authors sometimes explicitly cite. But the ways in which authors employ these common themes vary from project to project. Thomas Elyot invokes Ambrogio Calepino (an Italian lexicographer who compiled one of the largest and most influential Latin multilingual dictionaries of the early 16th century) and a royal patron to shore up his text's intellectual lineage while also rhetorically producing the labor of the dictionary in the paratext. In his *Alvearie* (1574), John Baret invokes the shortcomings of other projects, including Elyot's, as well as a joint effort with Richard Huloet which never came to fruition, to gesture at the impossibility of the perfect dictionary. And John Higgins addresses his revision of Huloet's *Abecedarium* (1572) by indicating the labor of his revision through marking out additions and criticizing the subtractions he claims were necessary. Every early modern dictionary author addresses the tension between heterogeneity and homogeneity, and the need for a flexible, mutable structure for a language manual; but each finds a significantly unique solution to the problem. Their

[135] See Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern English*; Gabriele Stein, *Word Studies in the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

strategies, I maintain, suggest the fundamental heterogeneity and plurality of the multilingual process.

Each language manual exhibits its own priorities and targets a particular audience with different needs and competence levels; as such, no one text is able to be *the* definitive multilingual dictionary. Nonetheless, many authors argue for the superiority of their organizational methods over those of their predecessors. The most commercially successful of these texts are reprinted, sometimes dozens of times, but successive editions claim to be "newly" revised and expanded.[136] With this claim, compilers who aim to expand prior texts imply that the previously created system of language arrangement, which found an audience in the early modern market, is in fact inadequate and must be augmented. Though compilers of language manuals often articulate the rigors and completeness of their methods in their prefatory material, they also sometimes gesture towards the great difficulty of composing a closed and complete framework for multilingual facility. This admission, coupled with frequent revisions of material, suggests that the systems created for organizing translation are flexible, mutable, and subject to change and adaptation. Previous chapters argued that discourses around translation and language performance rarely neatly resolve into a "perfect" communication; I show how, in prefatory material to translated texts, authors repeatedly assert English's unsuitability for the beauty and complexity of Latin rhetoric and question the possibility of a translation that preserves all facets of the original.[137] The result is that traces of concerns about legibility, translatability, and communication erupt as frequently in translated material—and in the texts that allow access to

[136] Most revisions do not actually contain an overwhelming amount of new material, though there are exceptions to this. The most common changes seem to be revised introductory material and formatting changes. Much like contemporary textbook advertising, most changes seem to be cosmetic and designed to suggest a new and improved version.

[137] Contemporary translation theory agrees on the impossibility of creating a text that is not "deformed" by the influence of either the source or target language, though translation theory also posits new and different methodologies not present in early modern discourses of language.

these languages—as in the recounted or fictionalized English-language encounters. It is in the context of this fear of failure and incomplete understanding that early modern dictionary compilers assert the ways in which their project can offer a palliative to the potential complications in cross-cultural communication.

Though translators and compilers acknowledge that perfect translation is impossible, many dictionary prefaces offer a rhetorically-produced fantasy of a text that will prove sufficient to all of its readers' needs. This sufficiency exists independently of whether an individual dictionary rhetorically situates itself among a long history of previous texts or if it eschews those previous texts as themselves inadequate. Whether authors position themselves as part of an open network of scholars working collaboratively or as outside these networks, the aim of the early modern multilingual dictionary is to achieve sufficiency. This drive for sufficiency, instead of perfect word-for-word correlation, is echoed in classical translations of the era, such as the preface to William Fowldes' translation of the comic Greek epic *Batrachomyomachia* (1634). Fowldes imagines his readers' objections, claiming:

> it will be thought amisse, that every verse answers not their expectation, because I have not word for word concurd with the Author in my translation: yet if they will but looke a little into the difficulty of this thing, considering the kinde of verse which I have used, I hope they will rest satisfied.[138]

Fowldes attempts to head off the potential displeasure of an audience who might hope to use a word-for-word translation as a crib, as these sorts of translations often could be, while also establishing his artistic intention. Satisfaction and implied sufficiency are Fowldes' counter to the impossibility of creating an elegant *ad verbum* translation of the epic poem, an argument that

[138] William Fowldes, *Batrachomyomachia: or: The wonderfull and bloudy battell betweene frogs and mice The occasion of their falling out: their preparation, munition, and resolution for the warres: the severall combats of every person of worth, with many other memorable accidents. Interlaced with divers pithy and morall sentences, no lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be observed. Paraphrastically done into English heroycall verse, by William Fowldes, late one of the cursitors of his Majesties high Court of Chancer*y (London, 1634) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 13627), A3 recto.

other translators, including George Chapman in his preface to Homer, also contend with.[139] The arguments for sufficiency rather than eloquence depend upon the rejection of a perfect one-to-one translation from a classical language into English, and a doubt that the result could equal the source text in grace. English translators frame fluent translations as a matter of underappreciated skill, and dictionary authors have similar concerns.[140] Whereas verse translators are concerned with the arrangement of lines, compilers collate definitions, but the choice of how to render a word for a native-English-reading audience is itself a significant judgment on fluency and linguistic representation. Missing or incorrect words are not only misleading—as in the way of a mistranslated line—but can limit or constrain a learner's facility with the new language itself. Additionally, if English as a target language for translation can never achieve intellectual parity with the source language, at least in terms of early modern discourses around adequacy, then compilers must construct an equivalency between English and the source language(s) that highlights English's departures while also positioning it as sufficiently capable.[141] Thus, by emphasizing utility and adequacy over an eloquence that Latin-reading humanists despaired of ever reaching with unaugmented English, dictionary authors aim to assure readers that their texts

[139] Early modern translators often debate the possibilities of English, especially when translating from Latin; English is often said to lack the metrical quality of Latin, and writers bemoan the inconsistency of language roots. A dichotomy between pleasing verse and retaining the nuance of the original text is often portrayed. This is the tension between *imitatio* and *sprezzatura* that Coldiron notes, though most translators claim in paratextual material that this tension is irreconcilable, and one feature must take precedence.

[140] As R.F. Jones indicates, early modern writers despaired over English's "rudeness," especially when contrasted with the sophistication of Italian or Latin. While some writers sought to supplement English with borrowed inkhorn terms, others disdained that commingling of languages; both reactions, however, sprang from a feeling that English on its own was inadequate, or must be argued into a place of capability. Because writers often bore the conviction that the language itself was insufficient and required supplementation or emendation, "sufficiency" thus becomes an acceptable compromise between English's capabilities and aspirations. R. F. Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), p. 4-31.

[141] As a result, early modern multilingual dictionaries often place English on the right, or in the most important place, even if the goal is to learn a different language, as seen earlier in Perceval's text and in Claudius Hollyband's *Il Campo dei Fior, or the Flourie Field of Four Languages*. Where Latin takes a Roman font, English often uses blackletter, indicating both design legibility and its separate heritage from the romance tradition. For more on the paratextual design layouts of early modern dictionaries, see Guyda Armstrong, "Coding Continental: Information Design in Sixteenth-Century English Vernacular Language Manuals and Translations," *Renaissance Studies* 29, no. 1 (2015): 78-102.

are simultaneously sufficient for their needs and ones which they can trust have corrected the errors of their predecessors.

Regardless of voiced concerns about his text's ability to satisfy, sufficiency of the text—especially as that text relates to its predecessors—is every compiler's aim. William Clerk, in the English preface to the 1602 edition of John Withals' *Short Dictionarie in Latine and English*, a text already augmented already by Lewis Evans and Abraham Fleming, opens by claiming "the reader, whatsoever he be, so he be ingenuous, would know what he may looke for, or hope for here in this labor of mine, let me not offend him that I tell him *that which was wanting, and wished for before* [emphasis Clerk's]."[142] While the title and the structure of the volume imply its audience is comprised of burgeoning Latinists, the sentence suggests that any previous inadequacies in this volume, or in the state of Latin learning materials at the turn of the 17th century, will be addressed for *all* readers—a tall order for at least the fourth edition of an admittedly popular student dictionary.

Despite the impossibility of creating a dictionary that can perfectly serve the needs of every reader, scholar, and traveler, compilers nonetheless attempt to assert the ways in which their work comes close to this goal. Thomas Elyot, writing the preface to his 1542 edition of his *Bibliotheca Eliotae*, dedicates this volume to Henry VIII, "with lyke benignitie as you receyued my fyrste edition, whyche neyther in dilygence, nor syncere exposition, nor in copy of wordes, nor in abundaunce of matter and sentence, is in any wyse to be hereto compared."[143] This dictionary, then, attempts to approach closer to sufficiency on several different measurable axes of composition: utility of definitions, number of words included, and the labor expended by the

[142] John Withals, *A dictionarie in English and Latine for children, and yong beginners: compiled at the first by Iohn Withals, (with the phrases, and rvthmicall, and prouerbiall verses &c. which haue bin added to the same, by Levvis Evans, and Abr Fleming, successiuely.)* (London, 1602) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 25884), A4 recto. (Emphasis is Clerk's.)
[143] Sir Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis librarie* (London, 1542) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 7659.5), A iii verso.

lexicographer. It does so by comparing itself to its own prior inadequate form.

These gestures towards sufficiency are frequently paired with compilers' justifications of their process, and the texts of which they claim an awareness. Elyot's 1538 dictionary cites half a dozen Latin scholars but, despite the story he tells in the preface about using the library of Henry VIII, takes much of its content almost exclusively from a single source. Baret's *Alvearie* (1574) hints at an unpublished hybrid dictionary, for which the *Alvearie* serves as a replacement. These open admissions of textual interdependence allow lexicographers considerable freedom. Authors who revise popular extant dictionaries often use interdependent intellectual lineages to criticize the imperfections in the previous text, and to claim that they have either augmented faulty material or removed extraneous detail. Compilers who begin without an English multilingual predecessor often establish their credentials by citing the intellectual lineages and the number of sources upon which they draw. All, however, are aware of the tension between the perfect text and a dictionary that will be sufficient for readers. While some lexicographers acknowledge the impossibility of constructing both, others suggest they have either achieved, or come very close to, a perfect dictionary.

That the unimpeachable dictionary is the ultimate aim is clear in Elyot's *Dictionary of Sir Thomas Elyot* (1538), renamed the *Bibliotheca Eliotae* in subsequent reprintings, in which he admits that he began his project when he was "occupied about my necessarye busynes, whiche letted me from the exacte labour and study requisyte to the makynge of a perfyte Dictionarie."[144] He then explains the change in circumstances that allowed him to revise his previous work, suggesting that it now more closely approaches perfection—or at least that he has begun to strive for it. This narrativization of his dictionary occurs directly before Elyot lays out a genealogical structure of Latin dictionaries in a way that highlights the difficulty of creating an ideal text and

[144] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght,* (London, 1538) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 7659), A ii verso.

the omissions in other sources:

> I well perceyued, that all though dictionaries had ben gathered one of an other, yet nethelesse in eche of them ar omitted some Latin wordes, interpreted in the bokes, whiche in order preceded. For Festus hath manye, whiche are not in Varros Analogi: Nonius hath some, whiche Festus lacketh: Nestor toke nat all that he founde in them bothe.[...] Nebressensis was both well lerned and diligent, as it appereth in some wordes, which he declareth in Latin: but bicause in his dictionarie wordes are expounde in the spainyshe tunge, whiche I do nat vnderstand, I can nat of hym shewe myn opinion: Budeus in the exact triall of the natiue sence of wordes, as well Greke as Latine, is assuredly right comendable, but he is moste occupied in the conference of phrasis of bothe the tunges, whiche in comparison are but in a fewe wordes.[145]

These are not the only authors Elyot includes in his litany; Lorenzo Valla and his main source Calepino also appear, but the trajectory of their involvement unfolds through the paragraph. The litany is itself a systematization, an attempt to trace the lacunae left in "comprehensive" dictionaries which have themselves made curated choices. By visibly demonstrating the inadequacies of previous dictionaries and identifying what needs to be augmented, Elyot makes the case that his own text is at least aware of and attempting to make up these deficiencies, and thus is approaching its own sort of sufficiency, even as he admits his own incompetence in Spanish.

As dictionaries expand beyond the English-Latin bilingual vernacular, authors' attempts to contain the complexity of their projects gesture more heavily toward their lack of comprehensive control. John Baret's *Alvearie*, first published around 1574, despite containing English, Latin, French, and the occasional bit of Greek, makes similar gestures towards linguistic aporia in his paratextual material. Baret's English preface in his *Alvearie*, and its bee-related central conceit, have been studied by a number of scholars, but most have focused on his significant achievement and not the ways he gestures at potential shortcomings.[146] However, the

[145] Ibid., A iii recto.
[146] See Andrea R. Nagy, "Defining English: Authenticity and Standardization in Seventeenth-Century Dictionaries," *Studies in Philology* 96, no. 4 (1999): p. 447-8.

ways in which he suggests a fundamental lack of overarching knowledge in certain areas of this endeavor is no less significant for the *Alvearie*'s place in the discourse of early modern dictionaries. Most apparent is Baret's differential treatment of his source material in the English and Latin prefaces. The dictionary is meant for an audience who has at least some familiarity with Latin, so a strict repetition of the Latin preface may have seemed extraneous. While the two paratexts understandably have different aims, tones, and structures, the divergence in the treatment of the historical sources Baret uses is curious, as it indicates two different intellectual genealogies available to readers, depending on their abilities. In the Latin preface, his debt to Calepino is attested, as is his awareness of Elyot's dictionary at the very end, well after the beehive metaphor and other classical allusions. However, in the English preface, Elyot's name is mentioned in the first several sentences, in the context of a lack of other suitable material for his students to use to gloss hard words. In English, Elyot is useful but insufficient, incapable of successfully encompassing and parsing the plethora of Latin learning that would be necessary for a reader. In the Latin, Elyot, Calepino, and other lexicographers' efforts partially constitute the text itself, and Baret's project is framed as a comprehensive synthesis, an open system which can contain the significant legacies of previous scholars while advancing something new.

This idea of synthesis, one which troubles the neat boundaries of discrete printed dictionaries, is furthered when Baret brings up Huloet's efforts. Baret raises the issue of the nonexistence of a potential Huloet-Baret hybrid text, claiming that another printer "intended to print it out of hand, augmented with our notes also if I would. But this bargaine went not forward with him for divers causes which here it were to long to reherse."[147] The curious move here, to

[147] John Baret, *An aluearie or triple dictionarie in Englishe, Latin, and French: very profitable for all such as be desirous of any of those three languages. Also by the two tables in the ende of this booke, they may contrariwise, finde the most necessary Latin or French wordes, placed after the order of an alphabet, whatsoeuer are to be founde in any other dictionarie: and so to turne them backwardes againe into Englishe when they reade any Latin or French aucthors, & doubt of any harde worde therein* (London, 1574) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 1410), 6 recto.

raise the specter of a nonexistent text over his own, actually extant, text, and the multiple earlier printings of Huloet's efforts, raises the tension of a more complete, more emended text that haunts the pages of Baret's completed volume.

Baret raises the specter of insufficiency, particularly the loss of his time in that effort, as the reason for any imperfections in his text. But his actual text is concerned with excision and pruning what he considers "extraneous" Latin words:

> Now therefore (gentle Reader) looke not to finde in this booke everie thing whatsoever thou wouldest seeke for, as though all things were here so perfect that nothing lacked, or were possible to be added hereunto. But if thou maiest onle find here the most words that thou needest, or at the least so many as no other Dictionarie yet extant, or made hath the like.[148]

For Baret, sufficiency is an adequate panacea to the impossibility and even undesirability of a perfect text. While his dictionary does not, and cannot, contain everything a reader might look for, it will, he asserts, contain enough. This claim of adequacy hinges on a comparison between the *Alvearie* and other dictionaries. While Baret is gesturing toward an open system of knowledge production and circulation that has helped him compile this text, he shuts down the possibility that any of them are as complete as his own. Diligence and labor, as marks of competence, are also invoked to stave off criticism of incomplete definitions or lax editing in the Greek; he claims "as for the Greeke, although everie word be not exactlie annexed to the taile of the Latine: yet notwithstanding, we have done our diligence, with what faithfulness we could, to let none, or verie fewe escape."[149] The specter of the missing Greek is circumscribed in Baret's assurance that he has labored to ensure as little is missing as possible, and also paratextually in the Greek printed at the bottom of that page. By gesturing towards the text's possible lack, Baret and other early modern compilers attempt to create a sufficient dictionary that is aware of and articulate about its own shortcomings. Baret's strategy for managing the multiplicity of a Latin,

[148] Ibid., 6 verso.
[149] Ibid., 6 recto.

French, and fragmentary Greek dictionary is to constantly raise the complex, heterogenous, interdependent history of his work. Even when authors explicitly reject the work that comes before them, by evoking it and positioning themselves against it, they create intellectual networks from which their texts cannot be easily extricated.

The Work of Creation

Compilers' demonstration of their effort is often bound up with the aim of demonstrating a text's sufficiency: in persuading readers that the text before them is worthwhile, lexicographers display their erudition, situate their text in relation to other dictionaries, lay out their methodologies, and make the difficult work of the compilation process visible. By articulating the intellectual legacies with which these texts are in conversation, the labor of the composition process, in particular, rises to the surface. This discursive display of intellectual labor enables authors to justify the expense of their projects, especially in markets where other successful dictionaries already exist. Almost every dictionary lays out some narrativized version of its process and stakes, which often intersect with explicit evocations of labor, effort, and travail. These articulated processes, which shore up the authors' gestures toward sufficiency, vary significantly among authors; nonetheless, they often serve to reveal their lexicographers' investments in the compilation process, and how they position the actual labor of their project in relation to the fundamental impossibilities of compiling a "complete" dictionary. Often, though, the narrativized labor diverges from the labor that is legible in the dictionary's layout, structure, and sources. As compilers articulate the process of their labor, whether the revision of a previous dictionary or a "new" dictionary compiled from heterogenous, often transnational, sources, they sometimes navigate conflicting ideas about sufficiency and labor in their paratextual arguments.

The rhetoric surrounding a lexicographer's process does not always match the material

conditions of the text's production, but that rhetorical framing suggests the specific element the author most wants his readers to value. Elyot's *Bibliothecae* overwhelmingly draws from Calepino; despite this fact, he narrativizes his process of compilation in a way that seems far more diverse than his actual sources indicate. He states that he had begun his project "wherin I vsed lyttell study, beinge than occupied about my necessarye busynes, whiche letted me from the exacte labour and study requisyte to the makynge of a perfyte Dictionarie,"[150] but adds that when his dictionary had been halfway done, it had come to Henry VIII's attention, who offered him the use of his library. This generous offer caused Elyot to

> founde forthwith an augmentation of myn vnderstandynge, in so moche, as I iuged all that, whiche I had writen, not worthy to come in your gracis presence, with out an addition. Wherfore incontinent I caused the printes to cesse, and beginninge at the letter M, where I lefte, I passed forth to the last letter with a more diligent study. And that done, I eftesones returned to the fyrst letter, and with a semblable diligence performed the temenant.[151]

The latter half of the dictionary is not in fact significantly expanded from the first, but the way Elyot frames the initial project and his subsequent perceptions of it within the discourse of multiplicity is striking. He claims to have not done much studying initially—which seems a possibility given how much he borrows from Calepino—and that this lack precedes from insufficient time, without which he is unable to adequately labor. As Considine points out, though, there is not a great deal of difference in the dictionary before and after the printer's break, which suggests an exaggeration or at least a disconnect, between Elyot's claims and the material process of revision. As the paratextual narrative is largely a traditional articulation of patronage, its existence serves to assure both reader and patron that a tremendous amount of effort distinguishes the former process from the latter. The preface gestures toward the possibility of seamlessly incorporating a wide variety of Latin sources despite the difficulty this

[150] Sir Thomas Elyot, The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght, A ii verso.
[151] Ibid, A iii recto.

would cause for 16th century printing techniques. Elyot's labor here involves not only the compilation of material, but a fantasy of seamless compilation which can halt and incorporate a plethora of diverse new material without the overall structure of the translation system needing to be significantly modified. The process of dictionary preparation is framed as inherently too taxing to execute perfectly, but between the rhetorical construction of his process and his reliance on Calepino, Elyot seems to aspire to sufficiency rather than perfection. The presentation of anecdotal labor and imagined revision is enough to produce "semblable diligence."

Elyot also deliberately signals absences in his own knowledge as a method of containing the information his dictionary will necessarily lack. He claims he has no knowledge of Spanish and therefore cannot discern whether Nebressensis' definitions are suitable for the otherwise-approved word list. Omitting this author in his list of those consulted would be simple, with the readers none the wiser, but Elyot takes care to discursively demonstrate the gaps in his knowledge, just as before he indicated his lack of time and effort in compiling the beginning of his dictionary. He continues on this theme, discussing the "difficultie in the true expressynge the lyuely sence of the latine wordes, as also the importable labours in serching expending and discussing the sentences of ancient writers […] desperation was euen at hand to rent al in pieces that I had written."[152] The gaps in Elyot's learning become, in this imagined narrative, almost a destructive lacuna, in which, due to the difficulties involved with its production, the dictionary is nearly torn up. But the dictionary exists. The trouble is merely an anecdote in the prefatory material, another piece of the rhetorical system Elyot has created to contain as much linguistic riot as possible. Labor, as it is articulated here, becomes a way to indicate to readers that the finished text exists within both its material conditions of production and transnational networks

[152] Ibid., A iii recto.

of knowledge; its thematization serves as a signal that the dictionary is worth the reader's attention.

It is not only anecdotal prefatory material that contains authors' justifications for insufficiency or lack in their final product. Every dictionary must explain to its readers how to use the system of ordering words so that they will be able to navigate the text successfully. In explaining their layouts, though, authors often justify not only excisions but also overall structure and intellectual investments, preemptively signifying the potential failures of their work. Baret, at the end of the preface to his *Alvearie*, states that "in the tables ye shall find few hard words lacking that are in any other dictionarie. And as for common easie words such as Ego, Tu, Et, Si, &c., and participles also, as Ambulans, Currens, &c. I thought it not meete to stuff this book with them, or with old obsolete words, which no good writer now a dayes will use."[153] While he goes on to discuss how to use the tables, this contrast between containing all "necessary" words that are in other dictionaries while excluding the obsolete, or no longer necessary (which other dictionaries also presumably contain), is in clear tension. Within his instructions, Baret is preemptively justifying both the material that is indexed in the tables and that which has been removed; both fall under the purview of his scholarly assessment and suggest the deliberate rhetorical exhortation of sufficiency or "meetness." Slightly later, Baret confronts the material insufficiencies of his text, saying "as for Greeke I could not joine it with every Latin worde, for lack of fit Greeke letters, the printer not having leasure to provide the same."[154] Baret suggests here that the inconsistently applied Greek glosses in the "triple" dictionary are linked to material lack, rather than insufficient zeal or knowledge on his part; by invoking the tangible production of the text, he exerts what control he can by admitting the lack and positioning it rhetorically

[153] Baret, *An aluearie or triple dictionarie,* A4 verso.
[154] Ibid., A4 verso. This was a significant problem for some early modern printers. For the difficulty in maintaining a set of Renaissance Greek ligatures, see William H. Ingram, "The Ligatures of Early Printed Greek," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 7, no. 4 (1966): 371-89.

within the intellectual aims of his project. Inconsistent or insufficient Greek might merit the student's disappointment, but Baret's framing prophylactically protects him from censure as an "insufficient" compiler, in much the same way that he claims to have excluded only obsolete words and contained all the necessary ones.

Explanation of a dictionary's organizing structure in the prefatory material is sometimes more explicitly interwoven with the labor of dictionary compilation and its potential modes of failure. John Minsheu, in *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* (1599), compiles a Spanish-English word list mostly (though not exclusively) drawn from Richard Perceval's *Biblioteca Hispanica* (1591).[155] Minsheu's career as a dictionary compiler involved some degree of rhetorical self-aggrandizement, and his note on alphabetical organization moves seamlessly into an opportunity to expound upon his original labor:

> For the learners more readie finding out of wordes in this Dictionarie, I bestowed a good deale of time and paines in bringing the wordes into the Alphabet, I heere vse in this booke differing from *Nebrissensis, Cristóuall de Casas,* and M. *Perciuals* in English: which place next Ca Cl, and not Ce Ch, and place Ch after the ende of Cu, &c. And for the giuing notice of what I haue done without defrauding any thing from the labours of any that haue trauelled in this kinde, I haue made a difference of the words I haue merely added by a starre thus*, whereby it may be seene what and how much I haue enlarged by my long labour and paines: and for the most part of the rest of the wordes I haue augmented with diuers Englishes more then heretofore hath beene set downe, as I haue found them in Authors, which the nature of the word may and will containe: as also put out, and quite altered the English of sundry of them mistaken."[156]

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[155] There is considerable debate over Minsheu's scholarly credentials and the degree to which he lifted his word list from Perceval, though most do not go so far as Ben Jonson who deemed Minsheu a "rogue." Jürgen Schäfer casts doubt on Minsheu's scholarly credentials. See Jürgen Schäfer, "John Minsheu: Scholar or Charlatan?", *Renaissance Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1973): 23-35. The debate generally seems to center around agency on the part of dictionary compiler: while few compilers construct their word list entirely anew, there is a greater sense of borrowing than in other texts. As this section addresses the way that authors rhetorized their own efforts rather than the attempts to situate these texts within dictionary studies, as has already been done, the debate over Minsheu's originality seems necessary to mention but largely tangential to the argument as a whole. See Roger J. Steiner, *Two Centuries of Spanish and English Bilingual Lexicography (1590-1800)* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1970), 48-50.

[156] John Minsheu and Richard Perceval, *A dictionarie in Spanish and English, first published into the English tongue by Ric. Perciuale Gent. Now enlarged and amplified with many thousand words, as by this marke * to each of them prefixed may appeere; together with the accenting of euery worde throughout the whole dictionarie, for the true pronunciation of the language, as also for the diuers signification of one and the selfsame word: and for the learners ease and furtherance, the declining of all hard and irregular verbs; and for the same cause the former order of the alphabet is altered, diuers hard and vncouth phrases and speeches out of sundry of the best authors explained, with diuers necessarie notes and especiall directions for all such as shall be desirous to attaine the perfection of the Spanish tongue. All done by Iohn Minsheu professor of languages in London. Hereunto ... is*

Minsheu does not claim to have pruned out obsolete words here but to have corrected the mistakes of the authors he has borrowed from, and also to have augmented them with a plethora of meanings. The two statements together imply that badly organized alphabetic tables are functionally similar to mistaken English; that both mislead an English-speaking learner in their goal to learn Spanish. When Minsheu talks about enlargement, he conceives of both paucity and error; while other authors group these two together, they rarely extend the "error" of previous lexicographers to their paratextual organization as well. Insufficiency remains grounded in the amount, quality, and obsolescence or relevance of words, at least among the multilingual dictionaries of the late 16th century. But Minsheu, in borrowing so significantly from Perceval, lists not only the English word list that he adds, but also the ways in which he has restructured that original Spanish word list.

Minsheu's dual navigation between approving of his predecessors' labor and claiming its insufficiency is even more common in revisions of economically successful dictionaries published by other authors, usually after the original author's death**.** These later editions attempt to balance the tension between adding enough material to brand it as "newly revised and expanded" and keeping the original author's structure recognizable. This tension creates a deliberate disruption to the text's homogeneity, with the new editor seeking to rhetorically construct continuity between his clear revisions, which must be made visible to justify the expense of the new product, and the well-loved dictionary. Reprinted early modern multilingual dictionaries see the most variation in their prefatory material; though editions of the *Bibliotheca Eliotae,* for instance, might not add many words in half a decade, the project's paratextual shaping shifts significantly, moving from humble assertions of its rudimentary nature to

annexed an ample English dictionarie ... by the same Iohn Minsheu (London, 1599) (STC 2nd ed.: 19620), A2 verso.

celebratory acknowledgement of its many reprintings.

The prefatory material in Huloet's *Abcedarium Anglico-Latinum* (1552), for instance, differs widely from the 1552 printing and Higgins' revisions in the 1570s. The first dictionary's paratextual material is solely in Latin, geared toward a population who had facility with, if not a perfect fluency in, Latin. Higgins' edition (1572), however, replaces the original Latin preface with one of his own Latin creation and, more significantly, he amends an English preface in which he articulates the purpose of his revised edition. Higgins asserts that his intention was "onelye to enlarge, and when I had herein passed some paineful time, I perceyued it almost a more easye matter to make new, then to amende: for there were many such woordes, as eyther served not for the matter, or were out of use."[157] Higgins claims that despite the plethora of words that Huloet provided, there were not enough relevant words for the enterprise he envisioned. Nonetheless, he rejects the enterprise of re-creation, and instead embraces revision. In this manner, he lays out his system for choosing which of Huloet's entries are obsolete or ill-fitting, with the implication that his is newly and appropriately modernized, with nothing that will mislead a reader.

Higgins goes on to detail his labors of creating a new system that both resembles Huloet's original and takes on a new form at length:

> such woordes as were not sufficient (by consent of authoritye) I eyther displaced, and put farre bettter in their roumes, or if they were doubtfull, confirmed by sclender authority, or els served the place but not so fitlye, I gave them an Asteriske or note in this maner and in some places if I had better, & yet thought those would stande, I gave the same note and set such woordes or Phrases as I founde after it. I have also where myne Author wrote the Englishe and not the Latin, filde those places.[158]

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[157] John Higgins, *Huloets dictionarie newelye corrected, amended, set in order and enlarged, with many names of men, townes, beastes, foules, fishes, trees, shrubbes, herbes, fruites, places, instrumentes &c. And in eche place fit phrases, gathered out of the best Latin authors. Also the Frenche therevnto annexed, by which you may finde the Latin or Frenche, of anye English woorde you will. By Iohn Higgins late student in Oxeforde* (London, 1572) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 13941), 3 recto.
[158] Ibid., 3 recto.

Higgins displays a curious tension between his present and the past text; according to him, Huloet's text has too many words that are unfit, but he retains them in diacritically marked form. According to him, words that he deems insufficient are so by virtue of multiple scholarly opinions, and words that are considered precarious lack sufficient attestation. Even though Higgins' goal is to create a homogenous dictionary, he relies on both outside sources and external markers: "the consent of authoritye" rules out words that are obsolete or unnecessary, and asterisks denote the new phrases which augment insufficient entries. In this way, Higgins marks the revision process clearly, and leaves his own clear traces on a revised dictionary; despite his earlier claim that he could produce an entirely new dictionary, he chooses to offer a visibly emended volume. This tension, between the fantasy of a brand-new dictionary, unmarked by revision, and a visually heterogenous product, exists not only in Higgins' preface but on every page. For even where no asterisk exists, the reader is led to believe that the material is either unaugmented or entirely Higgins' revision; despite the lack of its material presence, the asterisk creates an organizing principle between the supplemented, the new, and the unchanged, all of which create a different reading process than Huloet's original. <Figure 3.2>

Higgins' solution to augment his "consent of authoritye" is to surface his non-dictionary sources in his preface, grounding himself not only within the framework of Huloet's work but his own knowledge of literary Latin authors:

> And for y^{e} better attayning to the knowledge of words, I went not to the common Dictionaries only, but also to the Authors themselues, and vsed the rein conference with them which wrote particularly of suche things, as the place requyred. As in herbes I followed the iudgement of Master *Turner, Dodoneus, Pineus, Fuchius*, and sometime *Plinius* […] finallye I wrate not in the whole Booke one quyre, without perusinge and conference of many Authors. Therefore wher you finde in the Booke any of the first letters, of the names aboue, or the like: that same standeth for a note of the Authors name, where I founde suche Phrase, Frenche, name, or word as is there placed. And if any shall doubt hereof, let him but conferre *Huloet* and this together, and peraduenture in one letters lookinge ouer he shal finde so muche added, as shall seeme

more painful to him in accompte, then I deemed the laboure in doinge it.[159]

Higgins credentials himself in his scholarly lineage, citing a list of scholars from English to Roman. This account of Higgins' sources is exhaustively long, but it builds an intellectual genealogy of corpus-building which Higgins is attempting to claim as unassailable. He highlights one author as expert in a particular subject and moves on to the next subject, establishing a dual authority between himself as a writer and his readers' recognition of textual plethora. All of this is to explain the notation of author's initials, instead of full names, following words or definitions, which in turn supports the notion of a radically augmented dictionary, since he then challenges the reader to compare his version with Huloet's. Any potential doubt is to be satisfied by comparing the previous edition to the new and discovering new material. (Outside of a library or school, one wonders how simple a task this might have been.) This method of comparison presupposes enough of a similarity for the two texts to be compared; for Higgins' assertion to be plausible, his revision cannot depart too much from the source text. Thus, despite his assertions that his additions are so numerous as to make the process of comparison difficult for a reader, this very comparison still depends on continuity with the original.

Florio's Fruites and Bullokar's Books: Closing the Genealogical Circle

Early modern dictionary compilers often invoke the intellectual legacies of other scholars, but two significant metaphorical variations on this positioning arise which seek to control the influence of external sources and construct a lightly historicized genealogy of their own text's construction. Metaphors of horticulture and family lineage are widely employed to evoke the reproduction and inheritance of knowledge. In addition, certain authors use these tropes of genesis, procreation, fecundity, and fruitfulness to rhetorically posit a parthenogenic

[159] Ibid., 3 recto.

narrative of their own sources, mainly or exclusively pollinated and fertilized by their own previous work. These attempts are not wholly successful. John Florio's second edition of his popular Italian-English language learning manual, for instance, consciously moves away from heterogeneous sources which he did not have a hand in compiling—nonetheless, he does not entirely succeed in excising the specter of his prior transnational inheritance. William Bullokar explicitly rejects other English orthographers in favor of a complex genealogical tree of his own work, but he is unable to avoid citing these authors in his claim of solitary supremacy; while he attempts to depart from previously noted discourses of sufficiency, he is unable to fully disconnect from their structures. Despite attempts to construct a linguistic parthenogenesis and assert a homogeneity within the body of one text, the specters of other sources linger, creating the impression of a text tinged with the influences of others.

Florio's *Second Frutes* (1591) marks a departure from the organizational structures of his previous work. In contrast to the multilingual prefatory material that leads into Florio's *First Fruites* (1578), his *Second Frutes*' prefaces are entirely in English, save for several bits of contextualized or translated Latin and Italian. The layout of the text is also a departure from the previous volume; whereas *First Fruites is* organized much like a short phrase manual, with Italian and English phrases on the same page, *Second Frutes* closely resembles a dialogue. <Figure 3.3> The most curious feature of the later work's prologue is an extended gardening analogy, linked to the title, which then gives rise to a longer contextualization of both this edition of Florio's text and the previous one within a genealogical framework:

> These two I brought forth as the daughters and offsprings of my care and studie: my elder (as before is noted) because she was ambitious (as heirs are wont) I married for preferment and for honour, but this younger (fayrer, better nurtured, & and comelier than her sister) because my hope of such preferment and honor as my first had, fayled me, I thought to have cloystred up in some solitaryness, which she perceiving […] hath voluntaryly made her choice […] and therefore have I given her my consent, because she hath […] not aspired so high that she might be upbraided either with her birth or baseness

whe[re] she could not mend it.[160]

By likening both texts to his offspring, Florio establishes a framework for viewing his labors in a related, continuous lineage. *First Fruites*, he claims, was matched hastily due to "her" ambition to come forth into the world, but her younger sister has had advantages that the other did not have, and therefore conforms to the metaphorical model of the younger and more desirable daughter. Florio posits himself here as both lexicographer and father: his labors have produced "children" who are clearly traceable to the lineage of his mind, experiences, and learning. Florio does not disown his previous "child," even though he considers the text to have "fayled," but rather claims that he felt unable to find a patron for this text that would suit the potential of the intellectual issue he has produced. The genealogical metaphor does not here depend upon the rejection of the previous heir, but on the integration of her new, improved sister into Florio's intellectual lineage; the legitimization of the intellectual legacy and justification for the second printing necessitates an admittance of the inadequacy of the first edition.

Florio again shifts genres, from dialogue to dictionary, with his *Worlde of Wordes* (1598). Florio still considers this later project to be part of the same intellectual legacy, and again deploys the genealogical metaphor in his preface to the Earls of Rutland and Southampton and the Countess of Bedford:

> Two overhastie fruites of mine now some years since, like two forward females, the one put herself in service to an Earl of Excellence, the other to a Gentleman of Worth, both into the world to run the race of their fortune. Now where my rawer youth brought forth those female fruites, my riper years affoording me I cannot say a brain babe Minerva, armed at all affairs at first hour; but rather from my Italian Semele, and English thigh, a bouncing boy, Bacchus like, almost all names.[161]

Florio continues the gendering and genealogical metaphors that were begun some years hence;

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[160] John Florio, *Florios second frutes to be gathered of twelue trees, of diuers but delightsome tastes to the tongues of Italians and Englishmen. To which is annexed his gardine of recreation yeelding six thousand Italian prouerbs* (London, 1591) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 11097), A4 recto.
[161] Florio, A Worlde of wordes, or Most copious, and exact dictionarie in Italian and English, collected by Iohn Florio, (London, 1598) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 11098) A3 recto.

this time, however, his intellectual legacy is even more complicated. He raises some uncertainty by simultaneously addressing and eschewing the metaphor of Minerva (who emerged fully-armed and grown from Zeus's head), but perpetuating the comparison of himself to Zeus (the most powerful god, who "birthed" both Minerva and Bacchus) by choosing to liken his text to Bacchus. Interestingly, he claims a deliberately bicultural parentage for his dictionary by claiming that the Italian portion of his learning is Semele, whereas the nurturing, birth-giving element is English. The dictionary, then, is gendered as a male Bacchus, whereas his nebulous intellectual labor is gendered as a female Minerva, suggesting a separation between the two that is not entirely clear. The earlier dialogues are also female, and yet they all still participate within the particular intellectual framework of Florio's translational labors. Whether female or bi-gendered, the complex network of relationships that Florio asserts over the decades to figure his work always resorts to displaying the inadequacy of his earlier offspring.

Indeed, Florio deliberately addresses the impossibility of perfect knowledge. He raises the question, since the dedicatees have studied the language at length in England and traveled to Italy, "what need is a Dictionarie."[162] However, Florio then suggests that his dictionary is not only of use to "truantlie-schollers, which ever-and-anon runne to Venuti, and Alunno, or to new-entred novices,"[163] but that even the best academics are capable of lapses. He claims to have "seen the best, yea naturall Italians not only stagger, but stick fast in the mire, and at last give it over," before offering a litany of which Italian authors are difficult to read, for which reasons, and why many of the most well-known Italian source materials are insufficient when compared to Florio's own project.[164] He then asks a series of questions concerned with whether true mastery of every word or dialect of Italian is even possible, only to declare at the end his own

[162] Ibid., A3 verso.
[163] Ibid, A3 verso-A4 recto.
[164] Ibid., A4 recto.

confusion:

> If I, who many yeeres have made profession of this toong, and in this search or quest of inquirie have spent most of my studies, yet many times in many words have beene so stal'd, and stabled, as such blushingly made me confesse my ignorance, and such confession indeede made me studiouslie seeke helpe, but such helpe was not readilie to be had at hand. Then may your Honours without any dishonour, yea what and whosoever he be that thinkes himself a very good Italian […] sometimes be at a stand, and standing see no easie issue, but issue with a direction, which in this mappe I hold, if not exactlie delineated, yet conveniently prickt out.[165]

Although the conceits he uses to display his humility are curious, Florio's argument is relatively straightforward. Directly after establishing his credentials, he readily admits to difficulty in his own language studies in order to highlight how even scholars might need assistance. Part of his argument, however, is that no current text exists that can sufficiently assist him when he stumbles. This tension between presenting himself as the pinnacle of lexicographers while admitting his own linguistic limitations is, I argue, an attempt to address the complex heterogeneity of multilingual language manuals at the end of the 16th century. Using his own lack of knowledge as a strength to claim that momentary linguistic aporia can be overcome with the right resources, he can then point to the resources he has conveniently provided. Linguistic multiplicity and its attendant threats are thus ostensibly contained by Florio's projects, even as he gestures towards the fractured, even contradictory, effects of multilingualism.

The genealogical strategies that multilingual dictionaries refine in the latter half of the 16th century are perpetuated, perhaps surprisingly, in the *mono*lingual English-focused works that begin to emerge around the turn of the 17th century. Comprehensive multilingual lexicography, especially as each language evolves, is difficult, and English—inflected with other languages and irregular usage—is subject to similar fluctuations. William Bullokar's work on early modern orthography draws on the impulse to construct a complex system that can contain the heterogeneity of linguistic structures as well as changes in usage. His several guides to a new

[165] Ibid.

system of orthography often gesture toward the idea of a complex genealogical tradition and network in their prefaces.

Bullokar's first, shorter, guide, *A short introduction or guiding to print, write, and reade Inglish speech* (1580), figures itself as part of an interconnected family of language texts, where financial limitations prevent Bullokar from presenting the more complete "brother" text, which is imagined as more "comely" to the reader. While poverty is invoked as a limit on his efforts, the specters of potential future tomes are conjured, structuring the reader's expectations for Bullokar's efforts. The "sister (grammer)" and "cousin Dictionarie" are both constructed as extant but absent texts, existing in imagination but held back from physical manifestation to the reader due to insufficient funds. In verse, *A short introduction* claims that:

> My Sister (Grammer) lieth at home
> Abyding my good chaunce
> If I speede ill, she will then mourne
> And never hir advaunce. [166]

This suggests that the grammar already exists, at least in note form, but that Bullokar lacks the funds to bring additional projects to print without the aid of *A short introduction*'s financial success.

However, Bullokar claims that the potential remains for these absent, unpublished texts to surpass the first; the value of this text, he seems to suggest, lies not only within its pages but also in the gaps it gestures towards and promises that later work will be equipped to fill. Here, Bullokar exploits the strategy of rhetorical adequacy seen in other early modern English dictionaries, suggesting that his own, currently nonexistent, manuals will address that lack. Bullokar's deployment of the trope of sufficiency is located not in a transnational network of

[166] William Bullokar, *A short introduction or guiding to print, write, and reade Inglish speech conferred with the olde printing and writing / deuised by William Bullokar ; and he that doubteth in any part thereof, shall be more fully satisfied by a booke deuised by the same author at large, for the amendment of ortographie for Inglish speech, which shall be imprinted shortly* (London, 1580) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 4086.5), 2.

knowledge circulation, but in his own future production.

It is not until the next, longer publication, *Bullokars booke at large, for the amendment of orthographie for English speech* (1580), that Bullokar places his project within a larger genealogy of named orthographers. Published the same year as *A short introduction*, here Bullokar directly addresses his audiences, without resorting to an apostrophaic poem addressed from the book to the reader. In the introduction "to his Countrie," he readily names Sir Thomas Smith and a "Maister Chester" as authors he expected to write on orthography if they were still alive.[167] However, he states in the margins that their work "helps in the old, but not sufficient" and seems to suggest that disagreement with their work has spurred him to publish his volume. In this way, he still situates the project of his work in a larger networked conversation, in a similar way to the positioning employed by non-orthographic dictionaries. However, he claims their insufficiency comparative to his own work; Bullokar states that after reading Chester and Smith, "I found our arguments to one effect, touching the great abuses in writing and printing of English speach, and therefore I leave out of this Treatise many of my arguments, which I had purposed to enlarge, for the satisfying of every mans doubts and objections."[168] Instead, his text serves as an ostensible alternative to the extant sources, sources which Bullokar claims exclude necessary symbols and adopt new models which close off previously-understood symbols from usage. Bullokar's initial claim of textually-contained sufficiency, the closed system of orthography that he invented and popularized, is here undermined by the outward references to

[167] "Maister Chester" is likely to be John Hart, the orthographer and Chester College herald who died in 1574, seven years before the publication of Bullokar's volume, who wrote *The Opening of the Unreasonable Writing of Our Inglish Toung*, *An Orthographie* and published *A Methode or Comfortable Beginning for All Unlearned* (London, 1570) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 12889).

[168] William Bullokar, *Bullokars booke at large, for the amendment of orthographie for English speech wherein, a most perfect supplie is made, for the wantes and double sounde of letters in the olde orthographie, with examples for the same, with the easie conference and vse of both orthographies, to saue expences in bookes for a time, vntill this amendment grow to a generall vse, for the easie, speedie, and perfect reading and writing of English ... There is also imprinted with this orthographie a short pamphlet for all learners, and a primer agreeing to the same ... Heerevnto are also ioyned written copies with the same orthographie. Seene and allowed according to order* (London, 1580) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 4086), 2.

other English linguists whom Bullokar must still identify and dismiss in order to rhetorically produce his homogenous orthographic method. By creating a self-contained family of knowledge, Bullokar attempts to manipulate and reframe the complicated intellectual schematics that characterize language manuals in order to close the gap of insufficiency.

The genealogical systems of these authors gesture toward the desire for a regulated, closed framework from which the reader can derive sufficient knowledge, but their rhetorical construction nonetheless positions their texts as unperfected and contingent on a much larger intellectual tradition. Frameworks which separate a compiler's works from other dictionaries still often cite other sources which are in conversation with these "new" language-learning materials. Even in ostensibly closed systems or homogenous texts, the difficulties of multilingual communication are not erased (as they often are in fictional depictions of multilingualism); they can only be displaced onto the labor effected by the compiler. The assurances of effort and sufficiency serve to highlight the complexities of early modern language acquisition and to actively produce a system that can contain as many of those anxieties as possible, while maximizing the possibilities of developing levels of understanding sufficient for most forms of communication and translation.

Haunting the Text

The presence and absence of other branches of the multilingual language-learning tradition is not a binary dynamic, but a complex network of interconnections that haunt the margins of all dictionaries. Because transnational and multicultural lineages contextualize all early modern English dictionary labor, the question that remains is what aspects of these lineages circulate, which are removed, and what remains within the pages even when lineages are not explicitly contained within them. Early modern lexicographers grapple with the difficulty of

fully excising the work of a predecessor they consider unacceptable, obscene, or insufficient; often, these ostensibly-removed fragments haunt the later editions of the work, complicating the relationship between inclusion and exclusion. The tension between homogeneity and heterogeneity, between what is contained in the text and what is excised even from the margins, is one that is not easily resolved. This tension is especially evident in compilers' penchant to utilize sources without citation, or to downplay how reliant the compositor has been on the cited text.

John Withals, in the preface to *A shorte dictionarie for yonge begynners* (1553), his bilingual Latin-English dictionary, has the same problem that Higgins faces in revising Huloet, and to which Elyot also alludes: namely, the variety of scholars who cannot agree on canonical definitions for words, let alone their inclusion in different dictionary editions. Late in the prefatory material Withals says:

> Now if in the translating, or in the Englishing of these words I have erred, as I cannot but so do in so weighty a matter, *or if I have omitted anything, as I have done many [sic] purposefully, because divers great learned men cannot agree upon them,* I humbly submit my self to your maistershippes correction.[169]

This rhetorical split between translation, Englishing, and omission actively links errors of translation and acts of omission, both of which emerge from different sources but still result in a book that fails its readers. Still, Withals ascribes the latter lack not to his own human failings, but to a lack engendered by the copiousness and heterogeneity of scholarship: too many scholars have failed to come to a solid consensus, and thus Withals omits the word for fear of muddling a reader's understanding. The assertion that he has left out those words upon which Latinists cannot agree is not entirely necessary; since this is a new text and not a revision, the omission of these words would not otherwise be paratextually signaled, but here the lexicographer actively

[169] John Withals, *[A shorte dictionarie for yonge begynners]. [Gathered of good authours. English and Latin.]* (London, 1553) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 25874), A ii verso.

seeks to draw the reader's attention to their absence in a strategy I will call "haunting." Withals insists upon the streamlining of his text, as earlier he indicates that its purpose is to prevent the common habit of "us[ing] in the stead of the proper or natural word, a paraphrase or circumlocution."[170] *A shorte dictionarie for yonge begynners*, as its title suggests, is designed to exclude some of the more ornate and less useful Latin phrases, and thus to present the most practical text possible. Drawing attention to the omission of words strengthens the focused purpose of Withals' text; the haunting of removed possibilities ostensibly makes the extant work appear more coherent.

Nevertheless, Withals' own optimistic preface is entirely scrubbed by Lewis Evans, and in some printings Withals' name is removed from the title entirely, only to be restored in Abraham Fleming's later editions; Withals then haunts later editions of his own text through his organizational structures alone. In the 1568 printing, before subsequent versions are dedicated to Robert Dudley, Evans terms Withals' project a "smale dictionarie" and claims to have made it even more profitable than it was before. Lewis asserts that in revising the work, he has

> weeded out a number of barbarous wordes, and in their places I have planted, wordes which be in use, and well allowed: I have added unto substantives sundrye epithetens, and diverse adjectives: I have joyned unto verbes certaine, approved phrases: to be short, I have diligentlye laboured according to the small leasure I had.[171]

Lewis' evocation of "barbarous" words echoes the complaints of Sir John Cheke, Roger Ascham, and others about English's rudeness and ill-suitedness for eloquence; Thomas Thomas' *Dictionarium* glosses the adjective "*barbarus*" as "barbarous rude in doing or speaking: fierce, cruel, ignorant, rusticall, churlish: without eloquence, uncivill: in olde time all saving Greekes

[170] Ibid., A ii verso; emphasis mine.
[171] John Withals and Lewis Evans, *A shorte dictionarie most profitable for young beginners, novve newelie corrected, and augmented with diverse phrasys, & other thinges necessarie thereunto added. by Lewys Euans* (London, 1568) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 25878.5), ii verso.

were called Barbari."[172] Barbarousness, in early modern Latin dictionaries, was associated with unfit speech, often coupled with notions of an inability to speak successfully. Utility and sufficiency are here set in clear opposition to ineloquence.

Though other scholars' works are often invoked in early modern multilingual prefaces, the phrases "allowed" and "approved" seem to be more particular to Evans' revision. These augmentations or replacements to the dictionary's previous word list are marked by their acceptability for young scholars, as Evans' preface establishes early on. Where Withals omits words based on intellectual disagreement, Evans removes words based on unsuitability for his imagined readership; still, both authors carefully indicate that they have omitted or removed words and seek to justify that choice. Through Evans' prefatory construction, "barbarous words" and potential ineloquence haunt the margins of his text, just as Withals' original text haunts the edited text, even as his name is elided. The early modern multilingual dictionary, especially in revision, is a text constantly haunted by what remains at the margins: previous editions and omitted words, external compilers and other sources.

Thomas Cooper, in revising Elyot's incredibly popular Latin-English dictionary, also raises the specter of insufficiency contained in previous editions, as well as other specters of heterogeneity and scholarly conflict, in the margins of the dictionary. He claims his project's aim is "castigatying and augmenting this Dictionarie, in time past compiled by Sir Thomas Eliote"; he claims to be aware of how Elyot's own lacunae in his word lists gave rise to censure, and is concerned that such lapses might be ascribed to him.[173] Like Higgins, Cooper borrows from

[172] Thomas Thomas, *Thomae Thomasii dictionarium tertio jam summa fide ac diligentia accuratissimè emendatum, magnaque insuper rerum scitu dignarum, & vocabulorum accessione, longè auctiùs locupletiùsq[ue] redditum : huic etiàm (praeter dictionarium historicum & poeticum ...) novissimè accessit ...* (London, 1592) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 24009), G1 recto.
[173] Sir Thomas Elyot and Thomas Cooper, *Bibliotheca Eliotae = Eliotes dictionarie the second tyme enriched, and more perfectly corrected, by Thomas Cooper, schole maister of Maudlens in Oxforde* (London, 1552) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 7662), A2 recto.

other texts to achieve greater copiousness. But while Cooper's revision augments Elyot's already significant work, there are moments where even Cooper's triumphantly expanded text cannot or does not wish to incorporate elements it considers obscene, unfit, or otherwise extraneous; instead of removing them entirely, though, it uses this space to justify its own organizational principles.

"*Cinaedus*," for instance, is a term which seems to give early Latin dictionary authors some trouble, whether they choose to include it accompanied with allusions or omit it entirely. Elyot's definition is simply "a wanton boy without shamefastnes. Also a daunser of galyardes and wanton maskes. It is also taken for a tumbler."[174] Cooper expands on Elyot's rather circumspect description by appealing to other continental Latinists. Cooper's definition reads as follows:

> of Nonius Marcelleus is expounde to be an exerciser of wonton daunces and motions of the body in dyuers fourmes. Perottus in Cornucopie declareth it to be a person exercisynge actes of lechery detestable, and agaynste natural fourme and order, whiche I wyll not expresse, and if he had omytted it also, he had nothyng offended, being a thing worthy to be out of remembraunce.[175]

Though much more explicit than Elyot, Cooper's definition draws from previous definitions and thus do not require him to innovate; by invoking the wider historical tradition, he can distance himself from the act of reporting. Significantly, though, he *does* still report; Cooper would certainly be able to omit the word if he so chose, taking his predecessor's own model of judgment about the continental sources and their collections as a description of the potential forms a bilingual Latin dictionary might adopt. However, he chooses to signal the potential of its absence to the reader, and to suggest that there are concepts which are unfit for learning. Despite claiming he will not express these acts, he does so by allusion and by gesturing to the genealogy of Latin dictionaries. The word is included, but so is the lingering possibility not only of its

[174] Elyot and Cooper, *Bibliotheca Eliotae*, D ii recto.
[175] Ibid., i verso.

removal, but of the explicit and deliberate signaling of the composition process. "*Cinaedus*" and its attendant meanings thus are not excised cleanly from Cooper's vision of 16th century Latin learning, but visibly disrupt the idea of a seamless, homogenous organizational structure. Due to the structural networks and organizational choices of other early modern lexicographers, the elements which Cooper asserts as antithetical to a sufficient dictionary haunt the margins of his text.

The tensions between homogeneity and heterogeneity, sufficiency and perfection, presence and absence, are never fully resolved in early modern English language manuals. While continental, multilingual collaborative texts do often struggle to resolve to a presentation of a single-author, single-origin work, their stakes are different: they are not contending with a need to create a framework which would position a vernacular language which was frequently seen as ineloquent on equal footing as Latin. Even when rigid structures to combat insufficiencies, errors, and absences are imposed, a complex multicultural network of intellectual labor remains. Paradoxically, this labor often entails the admission of error and the deliberate creation of absence. The lingering traces of intellectual labor, rather than being out of place, perform the crucial function of credentialing the finished product. A seamless dictionary, which bears no signs of authors or scholars from the target language, has no legible connection to previously extant intellectual lineages, and must attempt different methods to convince its readers of its utility. Only through deliberately visible absences and acknowledgements of imperfection does the sufficient dictionary emerge as a constructed artifact.

CHAPTER 4

Language as Performance: The Pleasures of Failure and the Role of Understanders on the English Stage

Linguistic infelicity is a fairly frequent feature on the early modern English stage. Sometimes the deployment of foreign language provides a venue for audience amusement, as in the language-learning scene in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599); at other points, it can drive the plot of a tragedy, as in Hieronimo's gallimaufry play at the end of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (1592). Since the early modern stage becomes a place in which embodied representations of contemporary English interests, concerns, and anxieties can be explored, multilingualism and the emergence of a transnational economy centered around bustling urban centers surfaces as a frequent subject of contemporary dramatic works. In particular, incidents when a character's use or misuse of another language draws another character to remark upon it (often disparagingly) frequently occur in plays that thematize the negotiation of English identity against that of another culture. These plays often deliberately surface a character's linguistic mistakes by having another character, often the addressee of the incomprehensible statement, signal to the audience that a form of linguistic boundary-crossing is transpiring.

There is a great deal of work on the practical ways in which multilingualism was performed and embodied on the early modern English stage, including how much of these foreign languages a London audience might have understood. Londoners living in a cosmopolitan metropolis might have heard the languages and accents of Dutch, French, and

Italian from neighbors and in the London exchanges, as well as those of Celtic languages still considered foreign, such as Scottish, Welsh, and Irish.[176] Critics have laid out multiple ways in which languages represented in printed playtexts (sometimes offset by typography) might have been conveyed to an audience.[177] I address the aspects of performative multilingualism that dramatize linguistic incomprehension and misused or ill-fitting rhetoric, in which characters deploy non-English languages to impress, alienate, or manipulate other characters who do not have the same facility. Playwrights use the comedy of misunderstanding to highlight the unsuitability of multilingual speech: how it can fool the gullible or less educated, and how it can mislead in rhetorical argument. These plays often employ or satirize subject matters which in previous chapters were of grave concern, in order to play with misunderstanding and misleading: the Latin education of English grammar schools and the written accounts of travelers and traders attempting to do business in multicultural contexts frequently arise as vectors for these characters to haphazardly deploy. The textual presentation of characters who employ these linguistic constructions intersects with international, intertextual forms of reading and knowledge in early modern rhetoricians' concerns about the influence of foreign languages, especially Latin and Italian.[178] It also intersects with how non-English British languages such as Welsh are experienced in a country whose borders contain people of multiple linguistic and national identities. Indeed, Latin and Welsh, to which this chapter turns, represent two different accounts

[176] Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Jacob Selwood, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010); Laura Wright, "Speaking and Listening in Early Modern London," in *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture Since 1500*, eds. Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 60-74.

[177] Andrew Fleck, "'Ick verstaw you niet': Performing Foreign Tongues on the Early Modern English Stage," *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 20 (2007): 204-21; Patricia Parker, *Shakespeare from the Margins: Language, Culture, Context* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996); and Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

[178] For more on the controversy around inkhorn terms, see Paula Blank, "The Babel of Renaissance English," in *The Oxford History of English*, updated ed., ed. Lynda Mugglestone (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 264-93; and Hannah Crawforth, "Linguistics, Lexicography, and the 'Early Modern,'" *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14, no. 2 (2014): 94-9.

that the early modern English depend upon when thinking through issues of national identity: Latin represents the classical tradition, whereas Welsh alludes to the ancient Britons (who themselves are linked to the former by the figure of Brutus).

When stage characters deploy language that their prospective audience may not understand, the play shepherds the audience through the potential misunderstanding. Sometimes the character to whom the statement is directed—we might term them an understander[179]—remarks on the incomprehensibility of the words or argument, allowing space for the audience to perceive the speaker as not as secure in their linguistic mastery as they project. At other times, the play makes space for the audience—who might also be considered understanders of these utterances—to remain within the experience of their potential incomprehension. In all cases, the moment of linguistic infelicity is a rupture of the linear flow of the audience's understanding of the play, one which playwrights provoke only to assuage via the actions of their own characters. William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1596-7) and Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1607) both feature an English traveler out of his cultural and linguistic depth in Italy. Whereas *Merchant*'s monolingual Englishman, Baron Falconbridge, is mute and mostly sidelined in matters of cross-cultural exchange, *Volpone*'s Sir Politic Would-Be harbors fantasies of participation. Sir Politic Would-Be believes in his ability to comprehend the multilingual and multicultural Mediterranean, but the absurdity of his beliefs and language, and the comments upon this from his shrewder countrymen, remind the audience of his posturing. In Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 1* (1596-7), Mortimer cannot understand his own wife's Welsh, and her father serves as her translator for both Mortimer and the audience; but her song remains untranslated and exists only

[179] I use the term "understander" here to play with the dual meaning of the term in the early modern period. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (3rd edition) offers the definition as "a spectator standing on the ground or floor, *spec*. in a theatre," in addition to the other meaning of "one who understands," s. v. "understander." While the theatrical context implies the former meaning more heavily, Ben Jonson's preface to *The Alchemist* begins "if thou beest more, thou art an Understander, and thus I trust thee," playing with the dual sense of spectating audience and comprehender. Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, (London, 1612) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 14755), A3 recto.

in the stage direction denoting its existence in the playtext, leaving the audience without a literal, direct translation of her words and meaning. Thomas Dekker's *Patient Grissil* (1603) features understanders who are themselves marked with derision; while the greatest scorn is reserved for the illiterate and Latinate-deploying Emulo, Sir Owen's Welsh identity is still marked by accented Welsh over-pronunciations of English words. It is the textually unmarked Italian characters who mock both prospective suitors and guide the audience through their disagreements, ensuring that the audience knows both men are implicated in varying degrees of linguistic infelicity.

This complexity of incomprehension among potential understanders only increases in Shakespeare's *Love's Labours Lost* (1594-6). The King of Navarre's court navigates disagreements via rhetoric borne from the study of Latinate pedagogy, which the ladies of France puncture easily with their own better understanding of not only language but also the underlying argumentation. This series of nested errors is echoed in the interplay between Costard, Don Armado, and Holofernes, each of whom has a particular set of malapropisms and linguistic infelicities, the intersections of which amplify the absurdity of all three. The line between performance and posturing that Emulo and Don Armado display is even clearer in Thomas Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1630). Tim's Latin scholarship, which his parents' social aspirations have allowed him to receive, is not particularly good, and his misjudgment of Sir Walter Whorehound's mistress' Welsh for Hebrew creates a particularly comic misunderstanding that shows the audience the limits of posturing without comprehension.

All of these plays address or implicate mercantile trade, national identity, and social status, as well as the potential crossing of social and national boundaries to enhance financial and class position. Thus, the stakes for these characters in the performance of misunderstood and

misapplied language are particularly high.[180] Each of these characters believes that a multilinguistic performance will allow them access to their desire; almost all of these characters fail to entirely achieve their goal. The gap between linguistic mastery and misapplied learning often produces a pleasure of recognition on the part of the understander in moments where the original intention of a familiar cultural touchstone is misused by a hapless character. Even though these characters often fail to be understood by their audience, they continue to rely on language; the question thus arises as to why language is imagined by these characters as an enticingly powerful nexus of access to social and economic mobility, when it is, in fact, so altogether fraught.

Rhetorical Travelers and the Failures of Border Crossing

This dissertation's first chapter explored the appeal of the fantasy of the effortlessly multilingual English diplomat who is able to use his linguistic facility to advocate on behalf of his national interests. This, however, is not the only linguistic figure that emerges in the drama; plays set in foreign lands often present gallimaufry English travelers, who take on parts from the countries which they visit, and thus become figures of ridicule. The stage figure of the naïve traveler who goes abroad for personal fulfillment, as opposed to the ambassador or merchant moved by larger external aims, often serves as a representative of the kind of linguistic licentiousness that early modern writers worried about. Just as these travelers dress in "borrowed clothes," they often decorate their speech with ornate metaphor and words from other languages. Their language, like their clothing, marks them as neither fully integrated into the culture they

[180] A robust body of scholarship addresses how cultural circulation and boundary crossing in these areas can be used to solidify social positions; see Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); and Eric Dursteler, *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

visit nor the culture they left behind.

Baron Falconbridge, in *The Merchant of Venice*, is a traveler who clearly represents the limits of monolingual English rhetoric—a figure who simultaneously borrows too excessively (in his choices of clothing) and not enough (of the languages) from other nations. When Nerissa and Portia embark on a categorization of Portia's visiting suitors, Portia describes her thoughts on the English suitor:

> You know I say nothing to him, for he understands not me, nor I him: he hath neither Latin, French, nor Italian [...] He is a proper man's picture, but, alas, who can converse with a dumb-show? How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany and his behavior every where. (*The Merchant of Venice*, 1.2.58-65)[181]

Falconbridge's linguistic limits exclude him from full participation in the economic centers that Venice, and to a lesser extent Belmont, represent. It does not, however, exclude him from mimicking the fashions of these very countries in which he is unable to be fluent, taking on a sartorially mismatched identity that renders him "oddly… suited" for marriage and its related social and economic privileges. This culminates in Portia's observation that his mannerisms now stem from everywhere; the English baron is now detached from all national and linguistic signifiers and is censured for it. Portia offers up the same censure a travel writer might offer about the perils to English voyagers, and she indicates the reason for the ridicule the audience is invited to feel about Falconbridge, compared to the rest of the suitors, in the play's catalogue of national stereotypes.

A failure to embrace the difficulties and complexities of mastering foreign language and travel makes English figures the subject of ridicule and bars them from true participation in multilingual economic networks, as Sir Politic Would-Be's character in *Volpone* demonstrates. *Merchant of Venice*'s Falconbridge has some ties to Sir Politic Would-Be, but where

[181] Stephen Greenblatt et al., eds., *The Norton Shakespeare Third Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2016).

Falconbridge cannot participate in Venetian high society at all, Sir Politic Would-Be knows only enough to compromise his own ventures. In addition to poking fun at tropes about how English travelers are influenced by textual accounts of continental travel and Italy, *Volpone*'s subplot satirizes the efficacy of transnational circulation and extranational English networks by depicting the English merchant embedded within them as only parroting what he has learned from literary sources on these subjects. The conversations between Sir Politic Would-Be and Sir Peregrine are embedded in the same sorts of mercantile circulatory relationships that previous chapters have laid out. In this case, however, the narrative is inverted. In narratives penned by English travelers and merchants, they are often saved from peril by their, already economically established, countrymen residing in Mediterranean port cities. In this play, however, the resident Englishman is less knowledgeable than the wandering traveler, and the inversion of the usually realistic dynamic causes comedy as Sir Peregrine goads Sir Politic Would-Be into greater and greater displays of nonsense. In response to Sir Peregrine's report of an English tavern fool's death, Sir Politic Would-Be claims to have known that the man was a spy who

> received weekly intelligence,
> Upon my knowledge, out of the Low Countries,
> For all parts of the world, in cabbages;
> And those dispensed again to ambassadors,
> In oranges, musk-melons, apricocks,
> Lemons, pome-citrons, and such-like. (2.1.68-73)[182]

Sir Peregrine, of course, recognizes the improbability of this dining-table subterfuge, and pushes Sir Politic Would-Be into ever-more ridiculous imagery. But the fantasy of an Anglo-Dutch trade network, in which goods are used to pass messages, while ridiculous in the political realm, does employ a metaphor of the actual economic networks of England's import-export relationships with its foreign neighbors. Sir Politic Would-Be's conjectures, then, are not utterly absurd: they

[182] Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, in *English Renaissance Drama*, eds. David Bevington et al. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2002).

are just aware enough of transnational complexities to draw entirely wrong conclusions from them. When Peregrine attempts to counter this absurdity by plainly stating, "I have heard, / He could not read, sir," Sir Politic Would-Be uses the same divide between linguistic performance and linguistic competence that occurs in other plays during moments of linguistic infelicity. Sir Politic Would-Be insists that "So 'twas given out, / In policy, by those that did employ him: / But he could read, and had your languages" (2.1.83-6). The ignorant English traveler here exploits the gap between feigning and possessing language ability to create an imagined transnational network which relies not on observation and conventional knowledge but on absurdist speculation.

Sir Politic Would-Be continues to illustrate the divide between posturing competence and true understanding when he offers to tell Sir Peregrine of Sir Politic Would-Be's great plans for economic success in Venice. While searching his pockets for his papers, he divulges such plans as selling red herring in a fishing port and using onions to draw plague fumes out of incoming ships, before stating how he "could shew you reasons / How I could sell this state now, to the Turk" (4.1.128-30). When his notebook is in fact discovered, it is full not of political secrets that would be valuable to Venice's eastern rival but of a litany of daily activities:

> Item,
> I went and bought two tooth-picks, whereof one
> I burst immediately, in a discourse
> With a Dutch merchant, 'bout ragion del stato.
> From him I went and paid a moccinigo,
> For piecing my silk stockings; by the way
> I cheapen'd sprats; and at St. Mark's I urined. (4.1.139-44)

The intrusion of Italian and the presence of an Italian numismatic denomination in ostensibly private notes suggests that Sir Politic Would-Be's cross-linguistic posturing extends even to his own self-conception. The switching between English and Italian mirrors the switching from high to low acts, from discussing political strategy to public urination. Sir Peregrine declares his

itinerary to be "politic notes" (4.1.145); and the ironic citation of Sir Politic Would-Be's name allows the audience to see Sir Peregrine's skepticism and incredulity rather than believing that he is gulled by the credulous Englishman.

Sir Peregrine tricks Sir Politic Would-Be into thinking that the Venetian government is about to arrest him for bragging about selling the state of Venice to the Turks, claiming that his study and notes are to be searched. At this point, Sir Politic Would-Be confesses "Alas, sir, I have none, but notes / Drawn out of play-books— [...] and some essays" (5.4.41-3). At this moment, Sir Politic Would-Be's posturing is fully revealed: his knowledge is all mimicked, fictional rather than practical, and bounded by the conceits of fiction—in much the same way as the story that the audience would currently be enjoying. While his notes are ostensibly mostly in English, Sir Politic Would-Be uses borrowed languages to suggest a competence he does not possess, and Sir Peregrine exposes the flaws in that desire to the audience for comic effect.

Those travelers who would cross linguistic lines, however, are not limited to those outside the borders of England. In *Henry IV, Part 1*, Mortimer simultaneously joins the Welsh rebels and marries Glendower's daughter, marking his marriage as bound up in treason. In the only scene where Lady Mortimer appears, Mortimer does not address her initially, but rather speaks to her by using her father as a translator. He claims that his "deadly spite" is that "My wife can speak no English, I no Welsh" (*Henry IV Part 1*, 3.1.186-7). Even from his opening lines, Mortimer's parallelism here implies an essential equality and utility between the two languages, despite the play's obsession with the control and subjugation of the Welsh political and cultural rebellion. Glendower's translation of his daughter's meaning after Mortimer's statement, however, seems odd both within the context of translation and the military action that overshadows the play. Glendower tells Mortimer that his "daughter weeps: she will not part with you; / She'll be a soldier too, she'll to the wars" (3.1.189-90). Glendower's insistence on relating

the visual element of his daughter's emotional state is strange, especially in light of Mortimer's comment several lines later that he can understand her through her facial expressions and tears. The repetition suggests the potential that, without the proper context provided by translation, even legible or visible signs, without a linguistically clear component, can be misread by those perusing the playtext, despite an audience's ability to parse them independently in the moment.

After several more exchanges through Glendower, who reports that his daughter cannot be persuaded to leave Mortimer, Glendower disappears for a moment. During this time, Mortimer and his wife exchange speeches twice; however, in the printed texts of the play, her answers to him are represented by the enigmatic lines "the lady speaks in Welsh" (3.1.194) and "the lady again in Welsh" (3.1.198). [183] His answers are able to be interpreted by an English-speaking audience: hers, however, are rendered twice inscrutable by the original distance between Welsh and English, and then again by the lack of even a phonetic representation of spoken Welsh. While the *Norton Shakespeare* suggests that the Chamberlain's men had at least two Welsh speakers in the company,[184] and thus what was spoken on the early modern stage may well have been fluent Welsh, I am less concerned with the accuracy of the Welsh than its signified incomprehensibility. This lacuna represents a further demonstration of Glendower's earlier point in interpreting his daughter's visible signs into words: a phonetic translation would capture her language only for Welsh readers and would leave the matter incomprehensible for English readers. "The lady speaks in Welsh" is an abstracted representation of the action of the scene, rather than a representation of the language that passes between Mortimer and his wife. What matters in this moment is not Lady Mortimer's words but their incomprehensibility.

While Lady Mortimer's unusual representation renders her "untranslatable" to readers, if not necessarily audiences, of the play, Mortimer's responses to her speech suggest an attempt to

[183] Stage directions from *The Norton Shakespeare Third Edition*, p. 1214.
[184] Ibid., p. 1214.

find a bridge over the chasm of linguistic incomprehensibility. He represents himself several times as able to "read" her in ways that are nonverbal:

> I understand thy looks: that pretty Welsh
> Which thou pour'st down from these swelling heavens
> I am too perfect in; and, but for shame,
> In such a parley should I answer thee. (3.1.195-98)

Mortimer makes several significant linguistic moves in these few short lines; first, he offers facial expression (her "looks") as a form of communication that does not rely on a shared language, but nonetheless presumes an intimate knowledge of his interlocutor. In this way, he is able to linguistically represent a mode of knowledge that relies only on *his* linguistic ability to represent it, and not on a mutual verbal understanding. He then conflates her tears with the Welsh language and suggests that he knows how to interpret that form of her language perfectly; this simultaneously establishes her as irrevocably Welsh, since, for him, even her nonverbal signs are marked by her foreign language, while suggesting a way in which he could learn her language. Even if he speaks no Welsh, he understands her "Welsh" tears, which is rhetorically another step closer to speaking her language. At the end of these lines, he suggests the only thing holding him back from fully connecting with her in a way that could nonverbally answer her is a sense of "shame." Shame then prevents any possible meaningful relation or communication between the Welsh and English in two very different moments in the play.

Lady Mortimer responds to this speech with more Welsh, and Mortimer progresses from imagining an understanding of Welsh that would allow them to communicate to actively seeking it. He states:

> I understand thy kisses and thou mine,
> And that's a feeling disputation:
> But I will never be a truant, love,
> Till I have learned thy language; for thy tongue
> Makes Welsh as sweet as ditties highly penn'd. (3.1.199-203)

The exchange of what he sees as mutually signifying kisses allows Mortimer to treat their

interactions as a disputation, from which a specific truth can be proven true and from which knowledge can emerge. It is this imagined mutual communication that allows Mortimer to make his declaration that he will learn Welsh before he is a "truant" (which has a cognate in the Welsh "truand"). This connection of "truancy," or vagabondage and desertion, however, is not necessarily connected to an object which he will betray: it is instead left ambiguous in a way that hinges on the meaning of "till." While one meaning is that Mortimer would sooner turn truant than remain in a state of linguistic limbo, another is that once Mortimer learns Welsh, he will then become a truant—the object to which he would be truant is not his Welsh wife but the English state (as indeed he already is). Fluency in Welsh here potentially leads to lessened loyalty to the English project of subjugating the non-English within the borders of Britain. It also, however, offers the potential of boundary-crossing: English fluency is not lost once Mortimer learns Welsh, and so he can move back and forth between both groups, potentially belonging to—or potentially committing treason towards—both.

The scene of imagined language-learning and full bilingual ability come to a close with Mortimer's wife's singing. The text merely indicates "here the Lady sings a Welsh song"; the words and music are left unintelligible to the reading audience.[185] The song's lyrics are not conveyed, nor its overall meaning redacted; it serves as a counterpoint to Hotspur and Kate's flirtatious banter over a "proper" oath, with Hotspur rejecting both his wife's linguistic substitution and the Welsh lady's music. No Welsh, phonetic or otherwise, is recorded in the playtext, only the substitute presence of it, leaving later readers to conjure an unintelligible, untranslatable scene of aural, embodied, and present Welsh alongside its future acquisition by the loving but truant husband. The distance between the sung and embodied Welsh present in the playhouse may be less than that which lingers in the margins of the written text, but the intrusion

[185] Ibid., 1215.

of Hotspur's condescension and the loss of the song both serve as distancing moments that alienate this language which was, and still is, alive within the borders of Britain. While Glendower usually shepherds the audience and Mortimer through his daughter's language, in this respect the audience has no guide.

Latin Learning and the Failures of Rhetoric

This sense of the audience being shepherded occurs not only in plays where large passages of a non-English language are spoken on stage, but even when Latinate rhetoric, which would be familiar to many audience members through schoolroom exercises, is deployed by a character, often in the context of an intellectual argument. These instances follow a fairly regular pattern: a character declares something incorrectly, and an understander makes an aside, to the audience or another character, to debunk it. This indirect qualification serves as a guide to inform the audience that the statement or phrase is, in fact, not sound, and is only meant to seem so. Humor derives from the mismatch between the speaking character's assumptions about the world and the reality into which the audience has now been guided. In each case, the speaker is the recipient of comic derision, and the purpose of their excessively Latinate rhetoric is to demonstrate a gap between the posture of seeming to have learned rhetoric and the reality of actually having done so. In this instance, knowledge of Latin vocabulary is also knowledge of the principles of rhetorical performance. While the understanders who ridicule faulty Latinate-speakers are sometimes well-educated themselves, they do not always have to be; they are, instead, characterized by being more self-aware than the speaker—though this does not mean they are immune from being similarly derided by other, even more self-aware, characters.

In Dekker's *Patient Grissil*, loosely based on the tale of Griselda that moves from Boccacio's Italian *Decameron* to Petrarch's Latin and to Chaucer's English, several members of

the Italian nobility negotiate marriages across economic boundaries. While the main plot involves the poor but virtuous Grissil being mistreated by her noble husband Gwalter, there is a subplot in which a Welsh knight, who speaks in dialect, and an illiterate posturer, who claims knowledge of Greek but has no control of the language, fight for the hand of a Welsh widow. Two bystanders observing the conflict, Farneze and Urcenze, argue over Signior Emulo's linguistic capabilities; when Urcenze claims to have seen Emulo read sonnets to women, Farneze responds that Emulo has memorized them, and will "come into a Stationers shop, call for a stoole and a cushion, and then asking for some greeke Poet, to him he falles, and there he grumbles God knowes what, but Ile be sworne he knowes not so much as one Character of the tongue."[186] Emulo, then, cultivates an image of scholarship; between memorizing and the performance of linguistic mastery, he casts himself as learned and multilingual. When Emulo opens his mouth to disagree with Sir Owen, who speaks alternately in dialect in English and Welsh, Farneze predicts, "now the gallimaufry of language comes in."[187] Indeed, Emulo immediately begins throwing out Latinate words, which begin with "condolement" and progresses to a declaration that he will "oblivionize [his] love to the Welsh widow."[188] It is not, interestingly, Sir Owen's code-switching between dialect English and early modern Welsh that is considered the ill-fitting gallimaufry,[189] but Emulo's abuse of ill-fitting bits of language that he has picked up. The unsuccessful performance of Latinate language, then, is what sets Emulo apart and marks him as

[186] Thomas Dekker, *The pleasant comodie of patient Grisill As it hath beene sundrie times lately plaid by the right honorable the Earle of Nottingham (Lord high Admirall) his seruants* (London, 1603) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 6518), C1 recto.
[187] Ibid., C2 recto.
[188] Ibid., C2 verso.
[189] Sir Owen speaks Welsh to the Lady Gwenthyan, greeting her with "Belly the ruddo whee: wrage witho, Mandageny Mou du ac whellock en wea awh," which makes Farneze plead with Sir Owen to intervene and ask her to speak so he "may vnderstand you, and haue at you" (Dekker, C3 verso). Sir Owen hears the implications in Farneze's turn of phrase and objects: "haue at her: nay by Cod is no haue at her to, Is tawge tn her prittish tongue, for tis fine delicates tongue, I can tell her welshe tongue is finer as greeke tongue." The play seems to suggest something similar, if not exactly as strong, allowing Sir Owen the conclusion delivered in both Welsh and dialect inflected English: "*Man gras wortha whee, Man gras wortha whee.* God night Cozens awl" (Dekker, L2 verso).

a hapless gallimaufry who is unable to make himself understood.

Love's Labours Lost furthers the idea of Latinate rhetoric as a performative mask for real intellectual ability, most noticeably in its subplot with Holofernes, as numerous critics have noted and to which I will turn,[190] but also indirectly in the context of the King of Navarre and his court's plan for an all-male academy of learning. It is important to recall that all early modern training in rhetoric is channeled through Latin pedagogy; thus, all of the rhetorical maneuvers in which the king's court engage stem from an environment which emphasized the absorption of classical authors, the skill of translating a text from Latin to vernacular and back again, and the art of *declamatio*.

The King of Navarre's proposal depends on literary and rhetorical performance and the founding of a transnational center of learning; however, their intention to bar women from this model runs counter to historical Navarrean ventures of this sort.[191] The women of France, though, dismantle the dominant tropes of masculine literary culture and refigure them against their suitors, who seek to be encountered by means of multilingual, transcultural assumed identities which obscure their true national origins and aims. Holofernes and Sir Nathaniel are also part of this pedagogical system in which their increasingly reified education serves not as a bridge, but as a way to reinforce divisions between the Latin-educated and those who lack that knowledge. Sometimes considered Shakespeare's most densely intertextual play, the question of which characters have access to which forms of language is central to issues of social status, rank, and when (if ever) these boundaries can be crossed.[192] *Love's Labours Lost* addresses the

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[190] See John S. Pendergast, *Religion, Allegory, and Literacy in Early Modern England, 1560-1640: The Control of the Word* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006); Delphine Lemmonier-Texier, "'To teach a teacher ill beseemeth me' (ii.i.107): The Dynamics of Teaching and Learning in *Love's Labour's Lost*," *Actes des congrès de la Société française Shakespeare* 32, (2015): 1-12, doi: 10.4000/shakespeare.2981.

[191] Elizabeth Pentland, "Shakespeare, Navarre, and Continental History," in *Interlinguicity, Internationality, and Shakespeare*, ed. Michael Saenger (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 23-4.

[192] See William C. Carroll, *The Great Feast of Language in Love's Labours Lost*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

ways in which multilingualism and multilingually-inflected forms of communication could be used as a kind of cultural currency, as well as the ways in which their failure could prevent very real economic, social, and political exchanges from occurring.

The ways in which linguistic fluency functions as social capital are clear from the very beginning in the different ways Berowne attempts to negotiate with the King of Navarre's strict precepts. At first, skeptical of the oath he has sworn, and without reading the particulars, Berowne plays with the same rhetorical tropes that Navarre would advocate for the court to engage in for the next few years. His persuasion is convincing enough that one of the other lords remarks, "how well he's read, to reason against reading!" (*Love's Labours Lost*, 1.1.94) Berowne's strategies stem entirely from within the constructs that the courtly-educated gentlemen are accustomed to and wish to perpetuate, and the harsh strictures, including the one in which no woman "will come…within a mile of my court…on penalty of losing her tongue," prove to be unrealistic when the aims of multicultural diplomacy must be addressed (1.1.119-23). In the face of economic and social necessity, the King caves, and agrees that "sheer necessity" requires the princess to be given lodging. Berowne seizes the escape clause, agreeing that if he should "break faith, this word shall speak for me; / I am forsworn on 'mere necessity'" (1.1.151-2). Language, in this encounter, moves from binding contract to the very arbiter of that contract; what is constructed as unbreakable on the page, and with the verbal oath, is just as quickly undermined by a trick of language. If necessity can counter the strict and violent punishments that are to be imposed upon women who violate a masculine space of ascetic education, then, Berowne argues, "necessity" is rhetorically and linguistically flexible enough to cover a multitude of violations. Madhavi Menon points out the ways in which rhetoric and desire are bound together in early modern discourses, and, in particular, draws attention to "the necessary

distance between words and things" that Renaissance tools of rhetoric amplified.[193] By uncritically adopting rhetorical education's tropes, Berowne and the lords of Navarre set themselves up for the sort of linguistic and ideological failure that Menon details. But this failure is not only due to the necessary distance between words and concepts; it speaks to the lords' mistaken belief that sufficiently performed language can bridge that unbridgeable gap. Their misjudgment, then, is one of assuming that the most elegant speech is the correct one—an assumption that the ladies of France disabuse them of later in the play. What occurs here is the failure to understand Erasmian copiousness and the underpinnings of Latinate rhetoric: Erasmus' warning against speakers who would "pile up a meaningless heap of words and expressions without any discrimination, and thus obscure the subject they are talking about" is ignored for the pleasure of the exercises in competence themselves, rather than the actual skill the Latin pedagogical curriculum sought to teach.[194]

The King and his courtiers are consistently outmatched by the women, who, from the beginning, express doubt and amazement at the overly-extensive scheme. The Princess' first speech grounds her entirely in the rhetorical world from which the men seek to exclude her and her ladies; she is well-versed in the political language of polite negotiation. This willingness to speak in the register of mutually-understood diplomacy falls apart when Boyet informs her that she is to camp in the field rather than be invited to court, violating the social bargain that rhetoric operates within. When the King greets her in the field with "fair princess, welcome to Navarre," she dissects the difference between his rhetoric and the practical surroundings it is meant to describe. "'Fair' I give you back again; and 'welcome' I have not yet: the roof of this court is too high to be / yours; and welcome to the wide fields too base to be mine" (2.1.91-4). Even the

[193] Mahdavi Menon, *Wanton Words: Rhetoric and Sexuality in English Renaissance Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 32.
[194] Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. and trans. Betty I. Knott and Elaine Fantham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 295.

usual rhetorical forms of diplomatic engagement here are up for debate, given that the Princess correctly points out she is not, in fact, welcome to Navarre. What follows, then, is a minute disagreement over the specific words Navarre uses, and whether or not he will break his oath, before the diplomatic issue of Navarre's repayment of a hundred thousand crowns to the King of France can even be discussed.

Predictable for a comedy, the men break their vows after Berowne delivers a rhetorically persuasive speech, which the men are already inclined to be persuaded by, in which he deconstructs the words of their vows to reframe wooing as a type of study. In deciding to leave aside their promises in order to woo the ladies of their choice, the King decides that they should disguise themselves in order to talk to the French women. Boyet informs the Princess and her ladies that the men will come to visit them masked and dressed as Russians, and the women immediately decide to hide their faces and switch signifying tokens in order to return their deception in kind. Despite the fact that the parlay is conducted entirely in English, the Princess asks for an interpreter when the "Muscovites" arrive:

> What would these strangers? know their minds, Boyet:
> If they do speak our language, 'tis our will:
> That some plain man recount their purposes
> Know what they would. (5.2.175-9)

By positioning Boyet as the interpreter, however unnecessary his job in fact is, the Princess causes a kind of double-speaking which divorces the initial speaker from their language. As I argue in the first chapter, the interpreter simultaneously facilitates interaction while opening the space for potential verbal misunderstandings; Boyet's presence as interpreter serves as a perpetual reminder that conversation and meaning can be even more destabilized than it has already been. In a play where the divorce of language and meaning is not only posited but celebrated by the King of Navarre, the Princess' ploy takes the jest to its extreme. When the men and women speak privately, a series of adept back and forth conversations occur in which each

woman takes the traditional wooing metaphor employed by her unknowing suitor and explores it as pure signifier, unraveling the ways in which a clever understander can pierce the façade of postured language.

Berowne, the most rhetorically nimble of the men, is unwittingly paired with the Queen, the most perspicacious of the women. He begins with a traditional blazon: "white-handed mistress, one sweet word with thee." She addresses him literally, replying "honey, and milk, and sugar: there is three" (5.2.231-2). By responding to the content of the jest, and not the signifier behind it, she exposes the artifice inherent in the structure of early modern wooing. Berowne catches on immediately, and lists several sweet intoxicants, to which the Princess counters "since you can cog, I'll play no more with you" (5.2.236). This picks up on his dice metaphor from a line earlier and suggests he is cheating at the game by adapting his strategy to hers. When she withdraws her willingness to play along, Berowne gives in immediately, begging "one word in secret": the most straightforward request he has made during this exchange (5.2.237). The copiousness and flexibility of the men's pedagogical training has failed to yield results, and rhetorical training fails similarly with the rest of the couples: in each case, the women seize upon a dual meaning of the men's initial metaphor and turn it either into absurdity or, in the case of Katherine and Longaville, brutality. Latinate rhetoric is a tool that is only as useful as the comprehension and consent of the understander allows: if the women refuse to play along with the rhetorical structures in which they themselves have been trained,[195] the men's overreliance on this skill is exposed as comic and absurd.

The Pleasures of Linguistic Posturing

Despite his susceptibility to his own rhetorical fallacies, the King of Navarre is aware of

[195] For a historical perspective on the education of women at the court of Navarre, see Lemonnier-Texier, "'To teach a teacher.'"

the humor and delight made possible by playing with language, even if that play is infelicitous. Although not possessing the degree of rhetorical facility that the Princess of France or even Berowne command, he is able to identify the gap of incomprehension in others who have even less ability than he does and exploit it for amusement. When asked about the entertainment in the Lenten court for the next several years, the King proposes listening to the stories of Don Armado,

> a refined traveller of Spain;
> A man in all the world's new fashion planted,
> That hath a mint of phrases in his brain;
> One whom the music of his own vain tongue
> Doth ravish like enchanting harmony…
> How you delight, my lords, I know not, I;
> But, I protest, I love to hear him lie. (1.1.161-73)

Don Armado is diverting to the King not because his stories of travel and heroism have truth or relevance, but because the aural experience of Don Armado's tale-telling is pleasurable. The King admits that Armado is "vain" and lies, but that does not counteract the delight he takes in the Spanish traveler's craft; in fact, it suggests a possible pleasure the audience might experience while witnessing linguistic infelicity more generally on the stage. According to the King, Don Armado is enjoyable to listen to because he has captivated himself with his own extravagance; his stories and words are excessive and not entirely fitting, and pleasurable for their implausibility. Don Armado is the sort of traveler that English travel manuals warn their readers against, one who has absorbed "fashion" from everywhere in a way that links behavior, clothing, and linguistic performance. Yet, while Don Armado's linguistic capacity is greater than Baron Falconbridge's, he does not possess a repository of knowledge but a word list of short phrases, demonstrating the same surface ability that Sir Politic Would-Be held up as so crucial to travelers as to make mention of it a tired cliché. Berowne agrees that Don Armado's "fire-new words," the neologisms of the travelers who have circulated through enough places to pick up the

ability to invent phrases and improvise meanings in vehicular languages like *lingua franca*, are worth listening to specifically for Armado's own enraptured self-construction as orator, and the divide between that vision and reality. What amuses the King is the overly-earnest figure who is unable to identify the ways in which they err.

Don Armado, however, is less concerned with the King and more immediately preoccupied with a love triangle which draws heavily upon his skill with words and his rival's lack thereof. Costard, the fool, is brought in by the constable, who cannot pronounce Armado's name, along with a letter from Don Armado accusing Costard of breaking the King's oath. The letter begins with a variety of rhetorically embellished strategies, including *repetitio*, to ridiculous effect; Don Armado begins with an elaborate and excessive description of the concept of noon. He finally manages to say that he came upon Costard, who "sorted and consorted, contrary to thy established proclaimed edict and continent canon, which with,—O, with—but with this I passion to say wherewith,—" (1.1.246-8).

Don Armado's circumlocutions prove too excessive for Costard, who helpfully supplies "a wench." This, of course, will not suffice for Armado's description, which continues by describing Jacquenetta as "a child of our grandmother Eve, a female; or, for thy more sweet understanding, a woman" (1.1.248-51). In supplying this clarification, Don Armado extrapolates Ciceronian rhetorical technique to an absurd degree (which itself involves Shakespeare playing with the rhetorical trope of *amplificatio* for his audience), but has at least some degree of awareness that his speech is not exactly plain. Rhetorical copiousness, however, deliberately draws attention to the instability of words: the labeling of Jacquenetta as "woman," "wench," and "child of Eve" draws three very different associations. It is Costard's inability to handle this shifting rhetoric (in the way that Armado arguably does) that causes him to be imprisoned. He admits "I do confess the wench," but when the King tells him "it was proclaimed a year's

imprisonment, to be taken with a wench," Costard counters, saying "I was taken with none, sir: I was taken with a damsel" (1.1.271-4). Costard attempts in vain to imply the same sort of synonyms Don Armado has just used successfully, trying to find a strict interpretation of the law that will exempt him from punishment. Ironically, this is just what Berowne and the King have done earlier in the scene by falling back on "necessity" as an exemption clause; it is only their familiarity with this sort of linguistic play that makes it read as "light" and not to be taken seriously as an actual legal expedient. Costard proceeds through "wench," "damsel," "virgin," and "maid," before being unable to resist making a vulgar joke about "turning"; it is this break from arguing the definition of woman, which was initially introduced by Don Armado's rhetorical copiousness, that motivates the King to enforce his decree (1.1.273-81). It is the very novelty of Don Armado's "fire-new" language that causes pleasure for the King and his court; the rhetorical excesses displayed in Don Armado's letter about Costard and Jaquenetta's transgression cause mirth amongst the classically-trained lords, who can recognize the absurd juxtaposition of florid language that exceeds the bounds of the possible and the parsable.

Don Armado and the nobility of Navarre are not the only figures in the play to rely on a form of rhetoric that signifies less than it purports to; Sir Nathanael and Holofernes, two country scholars who appear, with Constable Dull, after the Princess goes hunting to discuss the deer she has killed, also employ Latinate rhetoric in an absurdly comic fashion. If Don Armado draws haphazardly and excessively on Ciceronian tropes of rhetoric, Holofernes' and Sir Nathaniel's overreliance on adhering closely to Latin particulars creates their source of comedy. Sir Nathaniel, the local curate, claims that the Princess shot "a buck of the first head," or a five-year-old deer. Holofernes counters his disbelief, saying "Sir Nathaniel, haud credo." Dull, predictably, pipes up to correct what he mistakenly assumes is Holofernes' correction with "'twas not a haud credo, was a pricket," or an immature male deer with unbranched horns (4.2.9-11). Dull has

heard the end of "credo" and assumes that Holofernes is claiming that the deer was a doe, where the visual difference would be immediately obvious. Instead of explaining the misunderstanding, however, Holofernes laments Dull's lack of learning, proving a comedic example of Erasmus' *De Copia* taken to extremes:

> Most barbarous intimation! yet a kind of insinuation, as it were, in via, in way, of explication; facere, as it were, replication, or rather, ostentare, to show, as it were, his inclination, after his undressed, unpolished, uneducated, unpruned, untrained, or rather, unlettered, or ratherest, unconfirmed fashion, to insert again my haud credo for a deer. (4.2.12-17)

Here Holofernes glosses his own Latin insult of Dull's ignorance; "*ostentare*" and "*in via*" both have definitions provided, though "*facere*" does not. Dull, of course, stubbornly repeats the meaning he's taken, given that Holofernes' critique is nearly impenetrable; but of course, the purpose of Erasmian copiousness here is not to explicate but to obfuscate. The performance of literacy, and a particularly Latinate, educated, rhetorical literacy, is the aim of the speech. By the time Holofernes reaches "ratherest," seeing well-known educational methods misused in a situation in which they do not belong might bring the pleasure of recognition to an audience who would have been familiar with those methods from their own schooling. That Dull does not care about Holofernes' ornate *interpretatio* and simply repeats that the deer was a pricket after this long speech amplifies the absurdity of the situation and underscores the unsuitability of Holofernes' posturing.

Undeterred, Holofernes becomes even more obscure, peppering his speech with Latin and Italian clauses, as the conversation continues:

> Fauste, precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra
> Ruminat,—and so forth. Ah, good old Mantuan! I
> may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice;
> Venetia, Venetia,
> Chi non ti vede non ti pretia.
> Old Mantuan, old Mantuan! who understandeth thee
> not, loves thee not. Ut, re, sol, la, mi, fa.
> Under pardon, sir, what are the contents? or rather,

as Horace says in his—What, my soul, verses? (4.2.87-94) [196]

He begins with a line from Mantuanus' *Eclogues*, very much in the schoolmaster's arsenal, and waxes poetic on the value of Mantuan poetry, adapting a proverb about appreciating Venice's beauty. He translates this, however, not relying on his understanders' command of the language to absorb his meaning, and prepares to begin quoting from Horace, before he is interrupted by Sir Nathanael's evident interest in the letter.

Though Sir Nathanael is the one to read aloud Berowne's love sonnet, Holofernes appoints himself critic of the entire venture:

> You find not the apostraphas, and so miss the
> accent: let me supervise the canzonet. Here are
> only numbers ratified; but, for the elegancy,
> facility, and golden cadence of poesy, caret.
> Ovidius Naso was the man: and why, indeed, Naso,
> but for smelling out the odouriferous flowers of
> fancy, the jerks of invention? Imitari is nothing:
> so doth the hound his master, the ape his keeper,
> the tired horse his rider. But, damosella virgin,
> was this directed to you? (4.2.112-20)

As a Latin teacher, Holofernes focuses on Sir Nathanael's failure to read metrically, suggesting that the cadence of poetry supersedes the meaning in an even further widening of the divide between rhetorical device and signification. In praising Ovid over Berowne's efforts, Holofernes perhaps unwittingly censures both his own rhetorical habits and those the courtiers of Navarre employ. If "*imitari*," to employ the device of *imitatio*, "is nothing," then by mimicking the forms of pedantic education and courtly wooing respectively, both Holofernes and the courtiers have stripped sense and agency from their efforts.

The scholars' insistence on proper Latin declamation, even in the most ill-fitting scenarios, gives rise to the pleasure of comic absurdity: here are two men insisting upon proper

[196]There are textual disagreements over this line and its emendations. I am inclined to follow the Norton Shakespeare's editors' reasoning that such a line is likely to be a printer's error rather than Holofernes' mangling or Shakespeare's mistake, see *Norton Shakespeare Third Edition*, Digital Edition TC 8 (Folio edited text).

Latin pedagogical definitions of verbs to discuss the death of a deer. The men of the court are bested by the women who have a better understanding of not only the structures of argument but also when to deploy them, and comedy arises from seeing the women trip them up using the men's own assumptions about the purpose of language. Whereas the men of the court believe in rhetoric only to the point where it serves their aims, Holofernes believes in rhetoric to the detriment of being understood by anyone around him, and thus the comic aspect of Latinate rhetoric in those scenes resides in its very incomprehensibility to the audience. The more convoluted the terms Holofernes uses, the more amusing the scene becomes: until the point where he uses Shakespeare's longest word, *honorificabilitudinitatibus*, the dative/ablative plural form of "*honorificabilitudinitas*," the state of being able to achieve honor.

The pleasure of Holofernes and Don Armado's mishaps is similar, as they both stem from a conviction of mastery that is contrasted with the play's signaling to the audience all the ways in which that mastery is, in fact, inadequate. While Don Armado's language is excessive, and delights in the pleasures of ingenuity and invention, Holofernes' is conservative, and depends upon the dispensing of classical education in even the most absurd situations. Pleasure in the former case depends upon Don Armado's mobility and the blurring of linguistic boundaries, even if those attempts are nonsensical or inappropriate to his situation; the audience delights in watching the attempt. In the latter case, however, it stems from watching the flailings of a scholar well-versed in everything about Latinate rhetorical techniques except when not to use them. But both situations involve the pleasure of understanding more than the speaking character about the aptness of language in the scene. *Love's Labours Lost* concludes with a play-within-a-play, a staging of the Nine Worthies of classical mythology, in which the court mocks the low characters for misspeaking and the excessive physical contrast between the heroes they are meant to portray and their own embodiment. Theatrical pleasure, the structure of the pageant

suggests, is to be found in observing the gap between a character's belief in their skill and their execution of that skill. The pleasure found in the court's mishaps is subtly different: it is the pleasure of a character being rhetorically bested by someone more skilled, as the Princess and her ladies do in the masquing scene, and again at the end of the play when they negotiate the men's year-and-a-day penance. In this case, pleasure stems from watching competence best incompetence, rather than sheer incompetence muddle a situation. In both situations, though, there is a pleasure in being, or identifying with, the understander who can recognize the characters' mistakes, and early modern comedies often reward the character who is able to adapt to the rules of rhetoric being deployed by their interlocutor and use them to their advantage.

Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* features a Welsh prostitute whose bilingualism, while mocked by her previous lover and misread by her prospective suitor, ultimately gives her more rhetorical facility than her Cambridge-educated husband by the end of the play. As a city comedy, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* provides a very different reading of the possibilities that fluency in Welsh allows a female character than those represented in Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 1*. To briefly summarize the relevant parts of the plot: the goldsmith Yellowhammer and his wife have sent their son Tim to Cambridge to become a Latin scholar, and they wish to marry him off to a, supposedly rich, Welsh "gentlewoman" who their daughter's suitor, Sir Walter Whorehound, has proposed as a suitable match. The Welsh lady, in fact, is Sir Walter's former mistress, and neither rich nor a gentlewoman, but Yellowhammer and his wife do not know this and only see the wealth and possible social status that such a match might provide. At the beginning of the play, Sir Walter suggests that the gentlewoman's English is not as good as it could be, and that to "lie with thee so often, to leave thee without English: that were

unnatural."[197] The Welsh lady's syntax, at least, is not significantly different from the rest of the characters, though, and in fact it is her comfort with rhetoric and her ability to play with the meanings of words that ultimately resolves the last thread of the plot at the end of the play. Sir Walter implies that it was his task to have taught her English, and that he has failed, but it seems that the Welsh lady has not needed his assistance. Notably, in this play, the discourse of "unnatural" is more concerned with the ability to speak English than any anxiety about marrying a Welsh woman.

When Tim meets the Welsh gentlewoman, he is upset that he is being forced to court her by his parents, and resolves to confuse her, stating that "She shall take no hold of my words I'll warrant her." When she arrives, he greets her by saying "Salve tu quoque puella pulcherrima, /Quid vis nescio nec sane curo— / Tully's own phrase to a heart." The Cicero he quotes means "Save thee, too, most beautiful maid; what you want I do not know, indeed, nor do I care," but the Welsh lady does not understand, and says as an aside, "I hold my life he understands no English."[198] The gender and national relationship we see in *Henry IV, Part 1* has flipped: here the Welsh woman believes that the London-born Tim is unable to speak his native tongue, and attempts to translate his Latin into similar sounding English and thereby "interpret" Tim. This resolve only lasts until Tim speaks in Latin again; translating several words into their English false cognates, she becomes convinced he is mocking her. When Tim stops quoting Latin maxims and attempts to speak *ex tempore* (and does so very poorly), the Welsh lady wonders if he can speak Welsh, and asks him two questions in Middleton's phonetically-depicted Welsh. She asks "Avedera whee comrage? Derdue cog foginis?" The first question is "do you speak Welsh?"; the second is difficult to parse due to the difficulties presented by the phonetics of early

[197] Thomas Middleton, *A chast mayd in Cheape-Side· A pleasant conceited comedy neuer before printed. As it hath beene often acted at the Swan on the Banke-side, by the Lady Elizabeth her Seruants* (London, 1630) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 17877), 4.
[198] Ibid., 47.

modern Welsh. Tim, however, hears her Welsh as Latin, and states, "Cog foggin? I scorn to cog with her, I'll tell her so, too, in a word near her own language.—Ego non cogo."[199] Tim attempts to find a cognate, if you'll pardon the pun, in Latin that can create meaning, and speak to her in a way that he hopes will be able to bridge, what he imagines as, a small gap. It is significant that the Welsh she uses here is not only reported as Welsh (as opposed to an English representation of staged Welsh), but Welsh that is translatable and directly relevant to the scene. Middleton's use of Welsh, then, is not a moment to poke fun at the Welsh language, but to contrast it with Latin in the early modern consciousness. Both Latin and Welsh are depicted as foreign in this play, but by being staged and written out (in contrast to *Henry IV, Part 1*), they are represented as linguistically comprehensible.

The Welsh lady speaks another sentence, and this last display of a language Tim cannot understand causes him to project his own imagined status onto the incomprehensible language that she speaks. He muses "By my faith, she's a good scholar... / She has the tongues plain, I hold my life she has travelled; / What will folks say? There goes the learned couple."[200] Where early modern travel literature is marked by the ability to coherently present foreign locale and experience back to the travelers' communities, Tim's fantasy of his future marriage is based on a dual lack of understanding: his own lack of knowledge of the Welsh lady's speech, and his neighbors' projected inability to match the imagined learning of Tim and his wife-to-be.

When Tim's mother comes in, the confusion between Latin and Welsh becomes immediately clear. The Welsh lady expresses that she finds "neither Welsh nor English in him." Tim is not situated between two national identities; he is perilously close to losing his identity altogether as someone who is not audibly English. Tim defends himself by saying that he spoke to the lady in Latin, and that "she recoiled in Hebrew"; when his mother corrects him that the

[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid., 48.

language is Welsh, he states that "all comes to one."[201] Obviously, there is a clear difference between the two languages, but in a certain sense Tim is right: if he cannot parse either language, they are both equally outside the realm of his comprehension. However, Tim's attitude drastically changes when he finds out the Welsh lady is able to speak English. He asserts "she can speak English, I'll clap to her, / I thought you'd marry me to a stranger."[202] According to this structure, lack of English makes her foreign, but when he believes she can speak English and be assimilated, he re-evaluates his previous frustration with her linguistic abilities. Now, when he considers her bilingual, he values her facility with the Welsh that he believes to be Hebrew; Tim imagines himself happily married to her, as Hebrew has a place in the classical tradition of erudite languages. Speaking Welsh only, then, is the marker of being a "stranger"; despite Wales' proximity, Tim's England has no way to incorporate the Welsh "other" who cannot first be linguistically incorporated. Once the lady proves herself linguistically acceptable, Tim is able to express relief that he will not be married to a foreigner.

The Welsh lady's linguistic dexterity, both in English and in Welsh, ultimately solves the comic plot concerning her marriage to Tim. After their marriage, Tim discovers that his wife was Sir Walter's mistress and bemoans his fortune that he has married a whore. His mother challenges him, reminding him of his boast earlier in the play that through rhetoric, he could prove a whore to be an honest woman. The only argument Tim is able to make is "Uxor non est meretrix, ergo falacis" or "a wife is not a whore, therefore this is false."[203] Tim's Latin and rhetorical flexibility is not able to address the cultural anxieties about female chastity, but his wife's logic solves the problem. She states "Sir, if your logic cannot prove me honest, / There's a thing called marriage, and that makes me honest."[204] By focusing on the name of marriage and

[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid., 49.
[203] Ibid., 71.
[204] Ibid.

what that word is culturally able to do, she persuasively makes the case for her honesty. Tim's response to her logic indicates his awareness that it is a rhetorical trick dependent on her manipulation of English meaning; he states "I perceive then a woman may be honest according to the English print, when she is a whore in the Latin. So much for marriage and logic. I'll love her for her wit."[205] Tim's distinction between his narrow, tautological Latin logic that binarizes *uxor* and *meretrix*, and his wife's flexible use of English and rhetoric to prove her point, allows Tim to dismiss both methods of rationalizing while still praising her for her linguistic flexibility.

This is not to suggest that Welshness is valorized in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* in a way that it is not in *Patient Grissil* or in *Henry IV, Part 1*, but *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* plays with Welsh stereotypes while also exploring the implications of bilingualism in the construction of an urbanized economy in which social and national mobility is possible. While Tim Yellowhammer is ultimately unable to cross social boundaries as a result of his education, the Welsh lady does achieve a marriage from her position of polyvalent identity, in which her Welshness is not her only avenue of self-presentation, and intersects with her own understanding of and facility with linguistic performativity. Here, she has an ability to adapt, to turn the rules of rhetoric to her own economic and social aims, and, in fact, to inhabit multiple identities across languages: to be one thing in Latin and another in English or in Welsh. She does this with more grace and fluidity than her future husband, who has learned to perform but not to employ the rules of Latinate rhetoric, and this allows her to achieve social mobility in a way that integrates her into the cosmopolitan London city.

The Welsh lady is, in fact, the only character in all of the plays discussed in this chapter to achieve the social mobility she aspired to through the use of language. She succeeds, not necessarily because her argument is significantly better or more eloquent than her husband's—it

[205] Ibid.

isn't—but because his assumptions about how language operates in the world have failed so spectacularly. Tim's logic cannot prove her honest. Neither can the King of Navarre's logic justify a year's retreat from politics, nor can Sir Politic Would-Be's claim to have access to the Venetian state stand without severe consequences. The Welsh lady's social mobility is a reward for spotting the facility, and ultimately the emptiness, of misused rhetoric, and applying the same faulty logic inherent in it. Tim's capitulation marks his recognition of his foolishness, and the paradoxical limits of language as a tool for social mobility.

The pleasure that exists in watching these characters is not that of seeing them master the worlds around them through misapplied Latin pedagogy, but at watching the ways in which excessive overreliance on "inkhorn terms" turn them into objects of ridicule. Early modern theatre signals to its audience where characters overstep or assume too much of their own abilities, so that even audiences who are not familiar with the languages spoken can be understanders of the theatrical cues of excessive and misapplied rhetoric. In this framing, there is no perfectly eloquent language that can achieve its user's aims; the "correct" discourse markers in the mouth of a speaker who does not fully understand their significance leads to linguistic infelicity and ridicule. Language facility in these plays is not a universal tool but a shibboleth which separates those who see the limitations of language from those who uncritically adopt rhetoric's signifiers.

CONCLUSION

As previous chapters have shown, there is no one consistent method of representing depictions of multilingual exchanges and the impossibility of a perfect translation. Conventions do emerge in various genres to address the complexity and fallibility of communication, but individual authors engage with these conventions differently. Most often, they either reify or attempt to subvert a vision of translation where nearly all the traces of mess and failure are removed. The process is not simple, however, and debates around the goals of translation and the boundaries of "clene and pure" English are constantly in the process of being renegotiated. Approaching the use of English in the 16th and 17th centuries as messy, contingent, and constantly in circulation allows us to examine the discursive complexities by which English authors experiment with the particular affordances and limitations of their language and various textual forms.

Linguistic workarounds arising from this process are not and cannot be governed by one set of rules; workarounds tend to be devised extemporaneously and situationally. The process of hitting upon them in a given interchange often depends upon individuals discovering commonalities across multiple cultural axes, including linguistic, national, ideological, and religious. Yet, what always seems to exist in the margins of these exchanges is the specter of failure. And indeed, sometimes communication does fail: political aims go unrealized, ventures founder, attempts at speech are mocked. But just as perfect success does not exist, neither does complete failure: in every interaction that falters, interlocutors discover both possibilities and limitations.

Language needs these open spaces, these moments of potential failure, in order to expand. A certain amount of looseness, of mess, of experimental space is required in order to develop the frameworks of accepted understanding. Certain rules of English begin to solidify through this process. English spelling begins to be standardized, as does the typeface used for different foreign languages in printed texts. Latinate and continental words are incorporated into vernacular English. The monolingual dictionary flourishes while the idea of an unmixed English with its roots only in Anglo-Saxon recedes. English, by grappling with its perceived limitations, begins to achieve a stronger self-conception.

But this is not to suggest a teleological evolution of the English language, nor that the mess and imprecision of communicating in interstitial spaces ever resolves neatly. Rather, this dissertation's examination of language trouble across a variety of genres demonstrates an obscurity in many incidents which cannot be fully resolved. My observation of these troubles yields a richer understanding of the tremendous difficulties involved with any communication—and especially multilingual communication—especially before the widespread availability of, and trust in, language manuals.

Early modern texts that engage with multilingualism tend to question the English language and its borders, limitations, possibilities, and efficacy in interstitial spaces. A perfect and stable view of English never emerges from these interrogations. Instead, the authors I have examined here created multiple discourses of sufficiency across multiple genres. "Sufficiency" in early modern dictionaries and language manuals differs drastically among texts, often depending on the compositor's intention and audience. The communication sufficient to navigate one space relatively successfully is parsed differently at the gate of Jerusalem than in a London playhouse.

As my chapters have shown, early modern emissaries have less flexibility for errors than private travelers, as these emissaries textually represent themselves as representatives of

Englishness whose travails influence the direction of politics and other international ventures. Their performance of authority can result in the specter of failure being dismissed from these narratives—but, as I demonstrate, it cannot be entirely erased. Merchant venturers are more forthright about the potential for failure in their accounts, as they frequently present themselves as adventurers who are saved by the beneficial intervention of others. The venturers' roles in these vast multicultural and multilingual networks of economic circulation are often downplayed. Instead, merchants' travel narratives, many of which are compiled by Hakluyt and Purchas, highlight common geographic or linguistic commonalities in cross-cultural exchanges while assuaging the fear that English religious or cultural identity is unstable. Failure is likewise apparent in the multilingual language manuals and dictionaries which grapple with difficult questions about their utility to large audiences of language learners, and "good enough" becomes the metric by which a dictionary's sufficiency is measured. Finally, the stage affords early modern dramatists and audiences a place to speculate about the possibilities and limits of multilingual communication in embodied play. Across genres, early modern writers grappling with multilingual negotiation constantly devise workarounds for the complex problems of meaning and recognition they address. No text's strategy is exactly the same as another's because the connections each author seeks to make differ according to situation, purpose, and genre. The common thread is the workaround itself: imperfect, improvised, and ideally sufficient.

As language play and linguistic workarounds create the opportunity for connections, they are also used to draw boundaries around those who are not included—or actively excluded. For instance, in Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well* (1606-7), the braggart Parolles is unmasked by the other soldiers in his troop, who are tired of his incessant boasting and lies. They devise a plan in which they will pretend to be enemy soldiers and speak a nonsense language as they

ambush and bind him. The First Lord Dumaine counsels the party to "speak what terrible language you will. Though you understand it not yourselves, no matter, for we must not seem to understand him, unless some one among us, whom we must produce for an interpreter." (*All's Well That Ends Well*, 4.1.2-6) As these words make clear, the goal is not understanding but obfuscation: it is unimportant result whether the party can understand each other, so long as Parolles cannot. When the interpreter is decided upon, the First Lord Dumaine asks him "what linsey-woolsey hast thou to speak to us again?" (4.1.11-12) "Linsey-woolsey" comes up again, as it did for Turkish in William Biddulph's travel narrative, as a descriptor of a functional language rather than a neatly or wholly constructed one, one made of disparate pieces mingled together. The language they settle on is no language at all, but is a negative dialect comprised from what Parolles *does not know*, rather than what the soldiers do. The First Lord Dumaine admonishes that Parolles "hath a smack of all neighbouring languages; therefore we must every one be a man of his own fancy, not to know what we speak one to another… choughs' language, gabble enough, and good enough." (4.1.15-19) Here, the "good enough" language that I have argued characterizes early modern dictionaries is on display: the men's speech does not have to possess unimpeachably constructed grammar or adhere to a set vocabulary, but must only be passable. Linguistic isolation, rather than unity, is key.

But despite the stated aim for each man to create what he considers to be "foreign" enough to confuse Parolles, almost immediately the language spoken becomes a mutual language, based on a kind of call and response. To the First Lord Dumaine's direction of "Throca movousus, cargo, cargo, cargo," the rest reply seemingly in unison, "Cargo, cargo, cargo, villiando par corbo, cargo." (4.1.60-61) This type of mirroring playfully performs the discovery of commonality that often emerges in actual linguistic negotiations. It serves as a bridge between

the plotters, and seems to indicate a level of recognition between them.[206]

Parolles, too, seizes on context clues, attempting to attach meaning to the unintelligible words the soldiers speak. The First Soldier, who is serving as interpreter, begins the interrogation with "Boskos thromuldo boskos." (4.1.63) Parolles evidently hears "Muskov" in "boskos" and bemoans, "I know you are the Moscows' regiment, / And I shall lose my life for want of language." (4.1.64-65) This is, of course, the soldiers' plan; to create a language where speculation can be made about meaning but no real purchase can be found. Immediately recognizing the stakes of such a situation, Parolles begins to plead for an interpreter, listing a catalogue of languages which could easily comprise the front matter of a continental multilingual dictionary: "If there be here German or Dane, low Dutch, / Italian, or French, let him speak to me." (4.1.66-67) Without the First Lord Dumaine's previous confirmation of Parolles' language skills, this would read as yet another brag in Parolles' litany of self-aggrandizement. But this flexibility—if not necessarily fluency—is the sort of skill that would benefit an early modern traveler in peril, and it seems plausible for Parolles (whose name in fact evokes an excess of language) to possess a working knowledge of them. This is not enough, however, to give him access to the deliberately unparseable "chough's language," designed to distance rather than connect, and in so doing, to unify the audience in shared laughter.

My point in analyzing Parolles' linguistic situation is to highlight that even during moments of complete cacophony in multilingual encounters, where communication via language (rather than gesture) should not be possible, meaning still arises associationally from a pre-existing framework of cultural and semantic correspondences. Even when these associations are incorrect and are played for laughs, the attempt to make connections is clearly present;

[206] It may also additionally serve as a partial stage direction, an indication of where and how to move, so that Parolles can be captured without having to use commands that he could recognize. Again, the meaning's obscurity remains unresolved.

additionally, the connections made by the spectating audience persist and result in comic understanding. But what is considered comic about language and dialect difference is just as impermanent as other aspects of language trouble are. The accent that characterizes Captain Jamy in Shakespeare's *Henry V* nearly drops off the stage when the Scottish James I ascends the throne; John Marston, George Chapman, and Ben Jonson are jailed for writing "something against the Scots" in *Eastward Ho*.[207] But Jonson recovers from this and pens *The Irish Masque at Court* (1613) for James, in which the Irish accent rather than the Scots is lampooned as a signifier of Irish buffoonery and incivility. Political power redraws the boundaries of who is included and who is excluded, and by what means they can be linguistically and socially categorized.

Outside of royal decrees, narratives about linguistic facility, ease, and utility remain complex; perceptions of an author's skill can vary wildly depending on the audience. Thomas Coryate, whose *Coryats Crudities* was discussed in Chapter 2, published his volume at the court of James I's son, Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales. Playing upon the early modern custom of panegyrics appended to the front matter, notable poets at court wrote verses mocking Coryate's self-presentation as a linguistically savvy traveler. There does not seem to be any ill will in their mockery, since in later documents Coryate mentions drinking with Inigo Jones, Ben Jonson, and John Donne, all of whom contributed verses to the 1611 volume. Donne's poem is particularly salient to my discussion, as it employs a macaronic style and is printed in a variety of typefaces corresponding to the multiple languages it features:

> Qvot, dos haec, Linguists perfetti, Disticha fairont
> Tot cuerdos States-men, hic livre fara tuus.
> Es sat a my l'honneur estre hic inteso; Car I leave
> L'honra, de personne n'estre creduto, tibi.[208]

[207] Whether that refers to the First Gentleman's accent or several lines of anti-Scots sentiment throughout the play is unclear.

[208] Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities hastily gobled vp in five moneths trauells in France, Sauoy, Italy, Rhetia co[m]monly called the Grisons country, Heluetia aliàs Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the*

Philip S. Palmer glosses the first couplet of the poem: "as many perfect linguists as these two Distichs will make / so many sensible Statesman will be made by this, your book."[209] Donne compares his macaronic verse to an evidently chaotic and unbelievable text, and implies that no decent understanding can be gleaned from either. Yet Donne's poem is in fact parseable, if only to those who possess enough of these languages to understand macaronic verse. Palmer's translation of the subsequent two lines preserves the parallelism of Donne's verse: "For my honour it is enough to be understood here; for I leave / the honor of being believed by no one, gladly, to you."[210] Participating in a long English tradition of macaronic poetry which refuses to relinquish traces of multilingual knowledge circulation, the poem asserts that it alone cannot allow access to the scholarly tradition from which it originates. But, as Donne asserts in the third line, perfect understanding is not necessary: one must only understand enough to recognize the general meaning.

The effect of Donne's dismissal of Coryate's account is to suggest a continuity between Coryat's unreliable travels and the disorder of macaronic text, but the technique Donne uses evokes the vehicular nature of travelers' multilingual workarounds. Macaronic verse is, for Donne, the most effective way to address the contradictions of such an account. Yet, his mockery is not the only authority on Coryate's utility as a source for travel narratives; in fact, Coryate published several more volumes of his accounts, and some of his letters were posthumously compiled in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*. Despite Donne's assessment that no one will believe Coryate, his narratives and letters are consumed into an eager reading public and have passed into the collected archives of early modern travel writing. If Coryate's reliability as a trustworthy narrator

Netherlands; newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the county of Somerset, & now dispersed to the nourishment of the trauelling members of this kingdome, (London, 1611) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 5808), d4 recto.
[209] Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities: Selections*, ed. Philip S. Palmer, Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2017, p. 231.
[210] Ibid.

is unstable, I argue that for early modern writers, instability is the hallmark of multilingual communication.

As this dissertation has argued, as much as this feature may be perceived to be a limitation, in fact it indicates the complexity of early modern English's evolution and its capacity for devising strategic workarounds, without requiring one reductive resolution to the many issues raised by translation, multilingualism, and fluency. By examining a wide array of texts across genres, I suggest that heterogeneity is the key to defining the multilingual English experience, and all of the contradictions which that phrase evokes. Even in circumstances where the effort of devising a workaround is mostly erased, a framework for discovering that labor can be read; obscurity and confusion produced by reading an account is itself a marker of those workarounds and their relative successes. English depictions of multilingual communication, then, are always a negotiation: between characters depicted, between an author and a reading public, between a text and the tradition from which it emerges.

APPENDIX

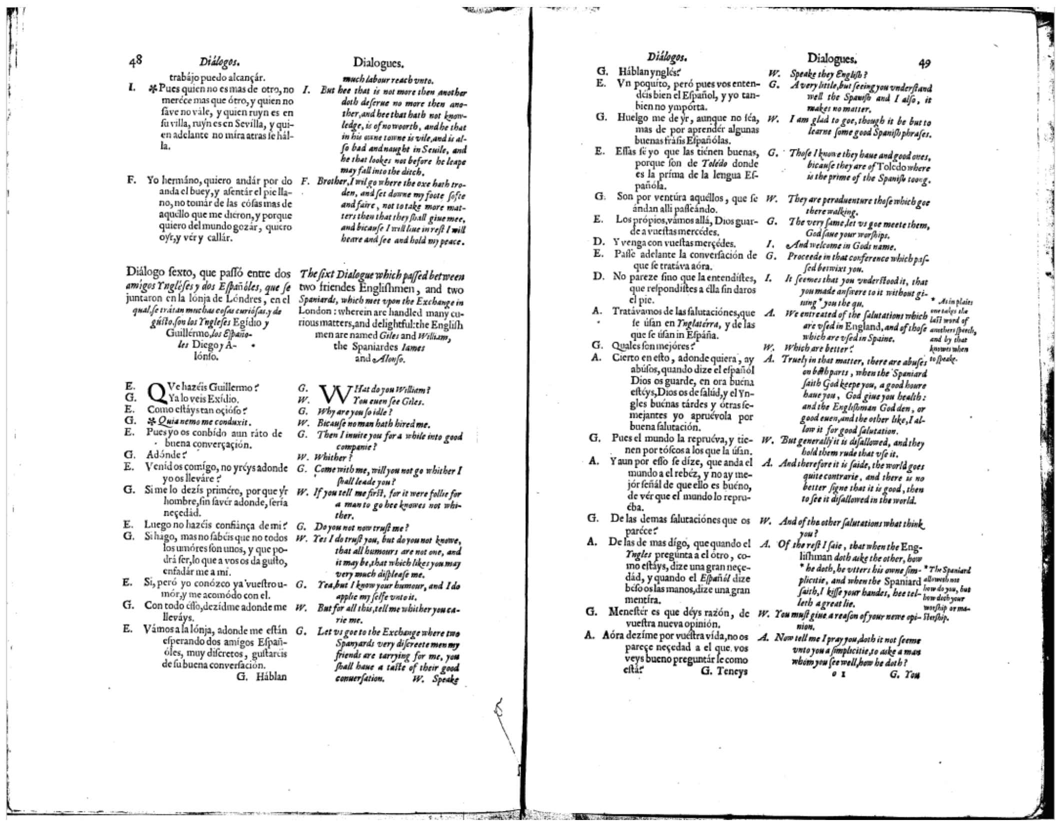


Figure 3.1: John Minsheu's edition of Richard Perceval's *A Spanish Grammar,* featuring dual column dialogues of Spanish and English, with marginal English notes.

John Minsheu*, A dictionarie in Spanish and English, first published into the English tongue by Ric. Perciuale Gent. Now enlarged and amplified with many thousand words, as by this marke * to each of them prefixed may appeere; together with the accenting of euery worde throughout the whole dictionarie, for the true pronunciation of the language, as also for the diuers signification of one and the selfsame word: and for the learners ease and furtherance, the declining of all hard and irregular verbs; and for the same cause the former order of the alphabet is altered, diuers hard and vncouth phrases and speeches out of sundry of the best authors explained, with*

diuers necessarie notes and especiall directions for all such as shall be desirous to attaine the perfection of the Spanish tongue. All done by Iohn Minsheu professor of languages in London. Hereunto ... is annexed an ample English dictionarie ... by the same Iohn Minsheu (London, 1599) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 19620), 48-49.

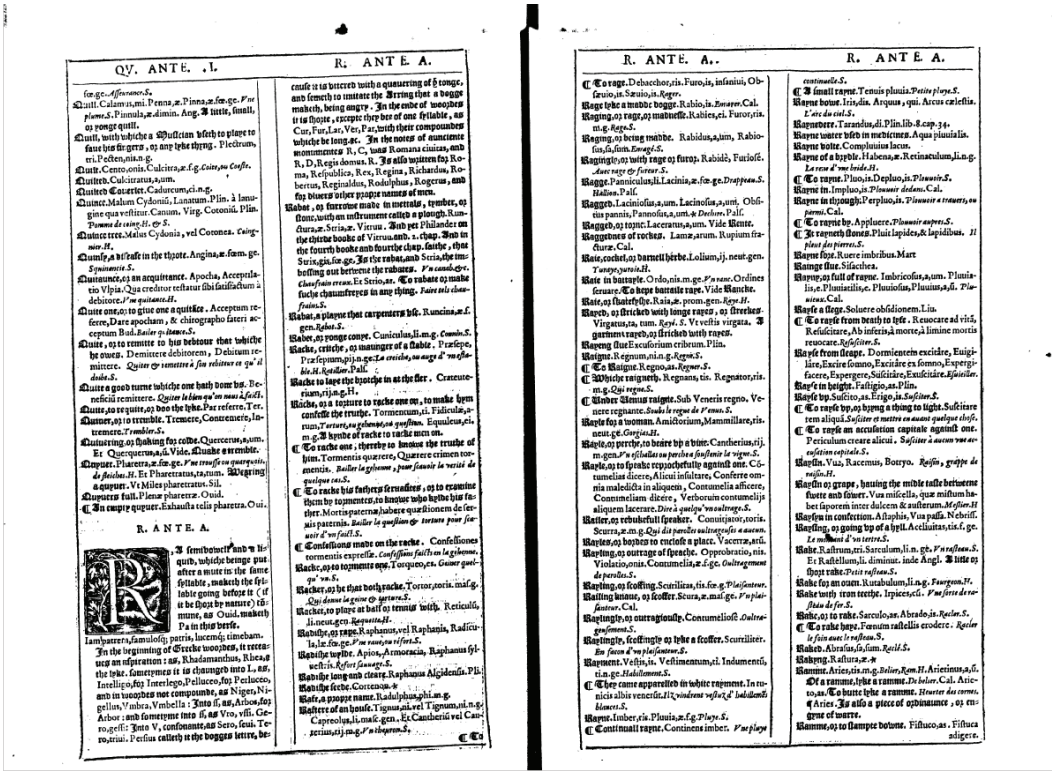
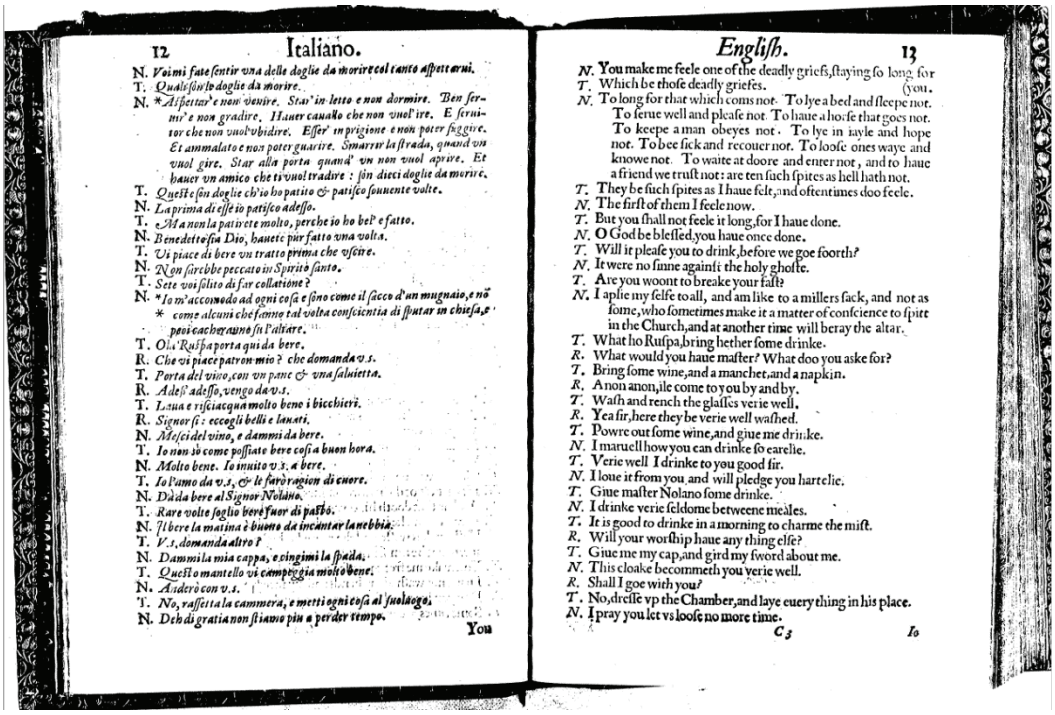


Figure 3.2: John Higgins' emendation of Richard Huloet's dictionary. Asterisks appear on the bottom right of each shown page.

John Higgins, *Huloets dictionarie newelye corrected, amended, set in order and enlarged, with many names of men, townes, beastes, foules, fishes, trees, shrubbes, herbes, fruites, places, instrumentes &c. And in eche place fit phrases, gathered out of the best Latin authors. Also the Frenche therevnto annexed, by which you may finde the Latin or Frenche, of anye English woorde you will. By Iohn Higgins late student in Oxeforde* (London, 1572) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 13941), 3 recto.



12 Italiano.

N. Voimi fate sentir vna delle doglie da morire col tanto aspettarmi.
T. Quale sono le doglie da morire.
N. *Aspettar' e non venire. Star' in letto e non dormire. Ben ser-
mi' e non gradire. Hauer cauallo che non vuol'ire. E ferni-
tor che non vuol'vbidire. Esser' in prigione e non poter fuggire.
Et ammalato e non poter guarire. Smarrir la strada, quand vn
vuol gire. Star alla porta quand' vn non vuol aprire. Et
hauer vn amico che ti vuol tradire : sin dieci doglie da morire.
T. Queste son doglie ch'io ho patito & patisco souuente volte.
N. La prima di esse io patisco adesso.
T. Ma non la patirete molto, perche io ho bel' e fatto.
N. Benedetto sia Dio, hauete pur fatto vna volta.
T. Vi piace di bere vn tratto prima che vscire.
N. Non sirebbe peccato in Spirito santo.
T. Sete voi solito di far collatione?
N. *Io m'accomodo ad ogni cosa e sino come il sacco d'un mugnaio, e nō
* come alcuni che fanno tal volta conscientia di sputar in chiesa, e
poi cacher sauno su l'altare.
T. Ola' Ruspa porta qui da bere.
R. Che vi piace patron mio? che domanda v.s.
T. Porta del vino, con vn pane & vna saluietta.
R. Adesso adesso, vengo da v.s.
T. Laua e risciacqua molto bene i bicchieri.
R. Signor sì: eccogli belli e lauati.
N. Mesci del vino, e dammi da bere.
T. Io non so come possiate bere così a buon hora.
N. Molto bene. Io inuito v.s. a bere.
T. Io l'amo da v.s, & le farò ragion di cuore.
N. Dà da bere al Signor Nolano.
T. Rare volte soglio bere fuor di pasto.
N. Il bere la matina è buono da incantar la nebbia.
T. V.s, domanda altro?
N. Dammi la mia cappa, e cingimi la spada.
T. Questo mantello vi comporta molto bene.
N. Anderò con v.s.
T. No, rassetta la cammera, e metti ogni cosa al suo luogo.
N. Deh di gratia non stiamo più a perder tempo.

You

English. 13

N. You make me feele one of the deadly griefs, staying so long for
T. Which be those deadly griefes. (you.
N. To long for that which coms not. To lye a bed and sleepe not.
To serue well and please not. To haue a horse that goes not.
To keepe a man obeyes not. To lye in tayle and hope
not. To bee sick and recouer not. To loose ones waye and
knowe not. To waite at doore and enter not, and to haue
a friend we trust not: are ten such spites as hell hath not.
T. They be such spites as I haue felt, and oftentimes doo feele.
N. The first of them I feele now.
T. But you shall not feele it long, for I haue done.
N. O God be blessed, you haue once done.
T. Will it please you to drink, before we goe foorth?
N. It were no sinne against the holy ghoste.
T. Are you woont to breake your fast?
N. I aplie my selfe to all, and am like to a millers sack, and not as
some, who sometimes make it a matter of confcience to spitt
in the Church, and at another time will beray the altar.
T. What ho Ruspa, bring hether some drinke.
R. What would you haue master? What doo you aske for?
T. Bring some wine, and a mancher, and a napkin.
R. A non anon, ile come to you by and by.
T. Wash and rench the glasses verie well.
R. Yea sir, here they be verie well washed.
T. Powre out some wine, and giue me drinke.
N. I maruell how you can drinke so earelie.
T. Verie well I drinke to you good sir.
N. I loue it from you, and will pledge you hartelie.
T. Giue master Nolano some drinke.
N. I drinke verie seldome betweene meales.
T. It is good to drinke in a morning to charme the mist.
R. Will your worship haue any thing else?
T. Giue me my cap, and gird my sword about me.
N. This cloake becommeth you verie well.
R. Shall I goe with you?
T. No, dresse vp the Chamber, and laye euery thing in his place.
N. I pray you let vs loose no more time.

C 3 Io

Figure 3.3: John Florio's *Second Frutes*, where each language has a separate facing page.

John Florio, *Florios second frutes to be gathered of twelue trees, of diuers but delightsome tastes to the tongues of Italians and Englishmen. To which is annexed his gardine of recreation yeelding six thousand Italian prouerbs* (London, 1591) (EEBO, STC 2nd ed.: 11097), A4 recto.

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