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From Hólar to Lisbon: Middle English Literature in Medieval Translation, *c*. 1286-*c*.1550

[Abstract: This paper offers the first survey of evidence for the translation of Middle English literature beyond the English-speaking world in the medieval period. It identifies and discusses translations in five vernaculars: Welsh, Irish, Old Norse-Icelandic, Dutch, and Portuguese. The paper examines the contexts in which such translation took place and considers the role played by colonial, dynastic, trading, and ecclesiastical networks in the transmission of these works. It argues that English is in the curious position of being a vernacular with a reasonable international reach in translation, but often with relatively low literary and cultural prestige. It is evident that most texts translated from English in this period are works which themselves are based on sources in other languages, and it seems probable that English-language texts are often convenient intermediaries for courtly or devotional works more usually transmitted in French or Latin.]

> Este libro es llamado confisyon dei amante el qual compuso Juan Goer natural dei rreyno de Ynglaterra. E fue tornado en lenguaje portogues por Ruberto Paym natural del dicho rreyno et canonygo de la cibdad de Lixboa.[1]
>
> (This book is called the 'Confession of Amante' and it was composed by John Gower, a native of the kingdom of England. It was turned into the Portuguese language by Robert Payn, a native of the aforementioned kingdom and a canon of the city of Lisbon.)

This statement survives only in a translation of a translation – a Castilian version of the Portuguese translation of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. The Portuguese Gower is fairly well known, but it is only one example of an important but seldom

examined phenomenon: the vernacular translation of Middle English writing beyond the Anglophone world itself in the Middle Ages. Although there has been significant engagement with the question of Middle English literature's relationship to other linguistic traditions in the past decades,[2] Lowland Scotland and the English-speaking areas of Ireland are generally treated as the very limits of the 'reach' of English-language writing in the medieval period. Yet, translators were engaging with Middle English writing much further afield. Evidence for translation from Middle English into five vernaculars survives: Welsh, Irish, Old Norse-Icelandic, Dutch and Portuguese. In what follows, I will examine the contexts in which such translation took place and consider what, if anything, the notion of 'English' literature might have meant beyond the English-speaking world in the later Middle Ages. In addition, the appendix to this paper offers the first survey of texts translated, or possibly translated, from Middle English before *c*. 1550.

The surviving evidence suggests that translations from Middle English outside England are only made in any number from the fifteenth century onwards. This can be partially accounted for by the growing status and availability of English-language texts in England itself in that period. However, the cultural and historical contexts in which these translations were produced are also significant and impinge on the late date of the translations – local conditions made these regions particularly receptive to English texts at that time. Each region in which Middle English was translated offers somewhat different conditions of linguistic contact. As we might expect, translations typically appear in areas where English-speaking culture came consistently into contact with other vernaculars. Largely as a result of colonisation, Ireland and Wales had significant communities of English-speakers and it is not surprising that the most extensive evidence for translation from Middle English survives in these two

languages. In Wales, translations of English political prophecies begin to appear in the fifteenth century.[3] There is also a number of translations of religious, instructional and historical works, many of them dating from the sixteenth century and derived from early prints. In Ireland, texts translated from English include romances, travel literature, historical writing and hagiographical and devotional work. Yet, as we will see, although colonisation may have created conditions where English texts were available, it was not the only, or often the most significant, factor influencing translation in these regions.

Additionally, translation from Middle English also occurred beyond Britain and Ireland. We have evidence of early translation in Norway and a considerable number of *exempla* is translated into Icelandic in the fifteenth century. Several translations of English printed works appear in Dutch in the early sixteenth century. Finally, as we will see, Gower's *Confessio Amantis* may not have been the only English work translated into Portuguese in the fifteenth century. Of course, Norway, Iceland, the Low Countries and Portugal were not regions subject to formal English political control, nor had they significant numbers of English speakers; textual and circumstantial evidence suggests that translation from Middle English in these regions may well reflect the 'soft power' of trading, ecclesiastical, or dynastic networks.

Translation from Middle English in Context

a) Translations into Welsh

In Wales and the March, the relationships of the various vernaculars varied by region and shifted over the course of the Middle Ages. English was traditionally associated

with towns and their surrounding areas and did not gain wider use as a language of record until the fifteenth century.[4] Literary evidence from late-medieval Wales suggests a reasonable degree of cross-linguistic pollination and 'translingual' practice.[5] We have, for instance, some fifteenth-century manuscripts that collect Welsh- and English-language texts side by side.[6] Much of this evidence comes from the Welsh March.[7] Manuscripts such as Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 50, which may be from Neath, and MS Peniarth 26, from Oswestry, feature texts in Welsh, Latin and English. Examples of macaronic poems and, indeed, of instances where Welsh poets attempted to adapt English verse to Welsh metrical forms also survive.[8] Although English-Welsh bilingualism may not have been widespread among the population as a whole, it appears to have been a reasonably common feature of elite literary culture.[9] The *uchelwyr*, the gentry class who stepped into the vacuum left by the Welsh princes after 1282, patronized both Welsh- and English-language literary work.[10] They were also involved in the production of a range of translations from French romances that appeared in Welsh in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[11] Firm evidence for translation from English does not emerge until a good deal later, but the ground for cross-linguistic interaction was certainly fertile.[12]

No translations from English can be identified with any certainty until the fifteenth century when a range of political prophecies regarding the rulers of the island of Britain appear to have been adapted from Middle English.[13] Both Welsh and English literatures had long-standing prophetic traditions, but it is only at the end of the Middle Ages that the two traditions begin to interpenetrate. This is largely a result of shifts in the political landscape. Following the defeat of Owain Glyn Dŵr at the beginning of the century, Welsh expectations were raised by the political upheavals of

the mid to late 1400s. Yorkist figureheads, such as Henry IV and William Herbert, and Lancastrian leaders, like Owain, Jasper and Henry Tudor, had Welsh connections, producing a situation in which Welsh and English factional ambitions coalesced around the same figures and the same political events.[14] In these circumstances, political prophecy in both traditions began to look very much like a common body of work. Furthermore, dialogue between the two literatures was facilitated by longstanding literary affinities. The Galfridian tradition offered, in Victoria Flood's words, 'a nodal point' between the two literatures, and prophecies from Wales and England shared key ciphers and formal features.[15]

As Helen Fulton and Aled Llion Jones have demonstrated, MS Peniarth 50 offers a window onto the political and cultural factors that may have informed translation in Wales in this period.[16] The manuscript appears to have been compiled over several years and various dates from 1425 to 1456 appear in the codex.[17] It includes a large number of political prophecies. The scribe has been connected with Cistercian houses in Glamorgan, possibly that at Neath, a context with which other significant Welsh codices have been associated.[18] However, the manuscript appears to have been in lay hands at an early point and Fulton has suggested that it may have been commissioned by Rhys ap Siancyn (*fl. c*. 1440) or one of his sons. Rhys lived at Aberpergwm in the Neath Valley; he was patron of a number of Welsh poets and owned a substantial collection of books.[19] There is every reason to think that the *uchelwyr* worked closely with clerical scribes and translators in producing their manuscripts.

A long note on pp. 87-88 of the manuscript gives us some insight into the politics of MS Peniarth 50. This passage appears intended to preface the prophetic text *Darogan yr Olew Bendigaid* (The Prophecy of the Blessed Oil). The author of the

note laments the subjugation of the Welsh by the English, but draws comfort from predictions that the English will be punished for their sins by losing territories.[20] As Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan has observed, a series of small changes made in the process of translating the prophecy itself reflect a similar political stance: references to England are routinely reframed as references to the island of Britain as a whole and the text also makes allusions to the Arthurian legend that appear in no other version of the work.[21] Other translations in MS Peniarth 50 reflect a similar political perspective. *The Prophecy of the Six Kings* circulated widely in Anglo-Norman and in English, partly because of its incorporation into the *Brut*. However, this work is also adapted in translation to fit a Welsh political context. For instance, the cipher which refers to Edward I – the king who brought Wales definitively under English control – is omitted in the surviving Welsh versions.[22] Fulton reads the Welsh translations as a response to the crisis in English kingship presented by the Wars of the Roses. In this context, the text's prediction of the failure of the line of English kings, 'seems to be advising the Welsh to hope for a restoration of British rule in a renewed form', perhaps in the person of Henry Tudor.[23]Another text in MS Peniarth 50, the prophecy known as *The Cock in the North*, is also likely to be translated from English.[24] This text is derived from the closing section of the *Six Kings* and seems, at first, to circulate in Wales as a statement of Yorkist sympathies. However, by the end of the fifteenth century, it may have become associated with the Lancastrian cause: in MS Peniarth 58, the pro-Lancastrian work known as *Proffwydoliaeth y Wennol* (The Prophecy of the Swallow) has been grafted onto the Welsh *Cock in the North*.[25]

Translation of political prophecy seems to have fed into the wider literary tradition in Wales and it is possible that these works laid the foundation for further translations from English. However, there is no firm evidence for any such work until

well into the sixteenth century when Welsh translators made a number of adaptations of early printed texts.[26] These translations are generally much longer than the prophecies and do not articulate such clear political interests. They include translations of parts of John Mirk's *Festial*, *Dives et Pauper*, the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Seven Sages of Rome*. These translations are particularly difficult to contextualize, though they seem likely to have been produced for clerical use.[27] Although their printed sources offer useful *termini a quo* for their translation, the fact that these texts often survive in post-medieval manuscripts makes it difficult to date them precisely, and it is possible that some of them may post-date 1550. The most significant translator from this later period is Elis Gruffydd (*d. c.* 1552) who produced a number of devotional, historical and medical works.[28] Although he was born in Flintshire, he was a beneficiary of the rise of a large number of Welshmen in the Tudor administration and much of his work was produced outside of Wales, in London and in Calais.[29] A number of Elis Gruffydd's works are based, to a greater or lesser extent, on English-language sources. These generally appear to be derived from printed texts and include translations of the *Virtuose boke of the distyllacyon of the waters of all maner of herbes*, *The Regiment of Lyfe*, Thomas Elyot's *Castel of Helth* and *The Compost of Ptholomeus*. These works are all preserved in a holograph completed at Calais in 1548.[30] His most famous work, *Cronicl o Wech Oesoedd* (Chronicle of the Six Ages), cannot be called a translation in the strict sense. Produced between 1530 and 1552, it is based on a range of Latin, French and English texts. Lloyd-Morgan has highlighted the sheer range of sources used and the difficulty involved in disentangling the material in various languages: among the English sources are Caxton's *Chronicles of England*, Fabyan's *New Chronicles of England*

and France, John Rastell's *The Pastyme of People* and, quite possibly, Layamon's *Brut*.[31]

In general, Welsh translators appear more interested in Middle English works of *sentence* than in works of *solaas*. The texts chosen for translation reflect cultural discourses that Wales shared with England – such as interest in 'British' history – and with the wider world – as evidenced in the translation of religious and scientific texts. There appear to be two phases of Welsh translation from Middle English, mapping roughly onto these discourses. The earliest translations, which emerge in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, are of political prophecy and are produced in response to contemporary political concerns. Later translations tend to be of religious and instructional works, often from the print tradition. As we will see in other contexts, engagement with English works seems to be part of a wider interest in translation: in Wales, in this period, Latin and French works are also being adapted alongside works from English.[32]

b) Translations into Irish

The chronological profile of the Irish translations is similar to that of the Welsh; there is no firm evidence for translation from English before the middle of the fifteenth century. The Gaelic-speaking world, particularly Ireland, offers clear, though rather different, opportunities for language contact in this period. Manuscripts in Hiberno-English dialect and surviving library inventories provide good evidence that literature in English made it to Ireland in reasonable quantities.[33] Yet Irish-language culture was vigorous. Beyond the Dublin Pale and other urban enclaves, English was by no means the dominant language. Much of the island was divided between functionally autonomous, and increasingly Gaelicised, Anglo-Norman families and a

range of Gaelic lords. These groups had a good deal in common. Marriage between Gaelic and Anglo-Norman families was a reasonably frequent practice and many of the latter participated fully in Gaelic cultural life, collecting and commissioning Irish manuscripts and patronising Irish poets.[34] Increasingly widespread use of Irish by Anglo-Norman families may have contributed to the translation of texts from English. The fifteenth century also sees a number of religious orders, such as the Franciscans, expand beyond the English-speaking towns into the Gaelic-speaking regions of the country for the first time.[35] These groups are closely associated with translations into Irish in this period.

Given this rather different pattern of language use, it is perhaps not surprising that, in contrast to Wales, Ireland offers few multilingual codices. Here and there we see the same scribes copying Latin, French and English texts, or Irish and Latin texts, but as a rule English and Irish do not appear in the same codices: they were rarely used in the same milieu. Interestingly, the surviving corpus of Irish translations from English is comparable in extent with that of Wales, and the texts are more consistently lengthy. This seems, on the face of it, to be counterintuitive, given the relatively greater penetration of English in Wales and Wales' proximity to England; however, it is possible that lower levels of bilingualism in Ireland made translation between vernaculars more prevalent there than it was in Wales.

Translations of romances are particularly numerous in Ireland. Three such works survive in the same late-fifteenth-century manuscript, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1298, and can be contextualised with particular precision. These are Irish versions of *Sir Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Bevis of Hampton* and William Caxton's *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*.[36] They survive in the hand of their probable translator, Uilliam Mac an Leagha. We have no biographical information about Mac an Leagha, but he

seems to have been a member of one of the learned families – hereditary groups who often specialized in particular educated professions.[37] The relevant sections of Trinity College, MS 1298 seem to have been produced for a minor Anglo-Norman family, the Fitzgeralds of Allen in Kildare.[38] Despite their relatively low profile, it is clear that the family had access to the sort of international networks that would have facilitated such translation in this period. They maintained close ties with their distant relatives, the powerful Earls of Kildare, who had a particularly extensive library of works in Latin, French, English and Irish.[39] In addition, the family had links to religious organisations, such as the Knights Hospitaller. Indeed, the Irish translation of *Bevis of Hampton* may bear the imprint of this connection. It tracks surviving English versions closely except in the appearance of a unique episode: an account of Bevis's visit to the Knights Hospitaller at Rhodes.[40]

An Irish translation of Mandeville's *Travels* has also come down to us with a good deal of context. Its prologue dates the translation to 1475. Unusually, it refers explicitly to the text's English-language source and names the translator as a minor Gaelic chieftain from the south-west of Ireland, Finghin O'Mahony.[41] The notice of his death in the *Annals of the Four Masters* stresses his learning in English, describing him as 'saoí eccnaidhe i l-Laidin & i m-Berla' (a wise man, learned in Latin and in English).[42] The annalist's emphasis on O'Mahony's skill in English could reflect the rarity of such proficiency in Gaelic Ireland. The translation of the *Travels* may also offer evidence of the sort of close link between castle and monastery that we saw in the Welsh context. The oldest surviving copy of the Irish *Travels* was written at a Franciscan foundation near Bandon, not far from O'Mahony's stronghold, and it seems plausible that O'Mahony drew on the friars' bibliographical resources in producing his work.[43]

A range of religious works may also have English sources, though it is difficult to exclude the possibility of sources in French or Latin. For instance, a number of saints' lives associated with Mac an Leagha could possibly be from English.[44] In addition, a version of the *Charter of Christ*, an account of the harrowing of hell and a *Life of St Mary of Egypt* are particularly close to Middle English versions of the same material.[45] Such translations may form part of a much broader engagement with European writing in Ireland at this time. A considerable number of religious works were translated from Latin into Irish in the fifteenth century and many of these translations can be connected to the international religious orders. For instance, a Franciscan manuscript compiled in south-west midlands of Ireland, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 667, offers evidence that translation was taking place in religious houses. This manuscript is largely in Latin, but it also includes a number of folios written in Irish and some material presented in Latin elsewhere in the codex appears in Irish translation in these pages. In addition, roughly a dozen Latin texts from this manuscript circulate in Irish translation in other codices of the same period.[46] Many of these are homilies, devotional texts, or works of religious instruction, but some are at the more pious end of the chivalric narrative tradition, and include translations of the Matter of France, such as the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, and a curious two-stage translation of *Fierabras* from French into Latin and from Latin into Irish.[47]

While many of the Welsh translations from English reflect partisan political interests, only one Irish translation is of 'local' interest: an adaptation of Gerald of Wales' *Expugnatio Hibernica* which was not made from the Latin original, but from a late medieval Hiberno-English adaptation.[48] In Wales, translation of prophetic and historical material is facilitated by shared interest in the history and the future of the

island of Britain, but in Ireland translations seem motivated by more international factors – by pious interests that might be considered pan-European. This emphasis reflects the role international religious orders appear to have played in the production of translated works and, perhaps, the growing distance of many of the descendants of Anglo-Norman settlers from specifically English concerns. Ireland also seems to differ from Wales in translating generic and thematic material that was largely absent from the 'native' literary tradition. While the Welsh prophetic tradition shared certain motifs and ideas with material in English, Irish translators seem to be absorbing novel forms, such as romance, and themes that had not been prominent in Irish literature before that point, such as chivalry and crusade. In Wales, by contrast, a considerable number of romances had already been translated into Welsh from French in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It seems likely that translations also had an impact on the sort of writing produced in Ireland. A particular type of romance-influenced narrative, usually termed 'romantic tales' (*scéalta romansaíochta*), begin to appear in Ireland at around the time that these translations are made and grow rapidly in number over the following centuries.[49]

c) Translations into Old Norse-Icelandic

The evidence of translation from Middle English in Scandinavia and Iceland is much more limited than in Wales and Ireland and seems to reflect short-lived circumstances, rather than sustained cultural interactions. Nonetheless, the Norse-speaking world may well offer our earliest example of translation from Middle English. The following remark prefaces *Olif ok Landres* a version of the *chanson de geste*, *Doon de la Roche*, which survives as part of the Old Norse Charlemagne cycle, *Karlamagnús saga*:

> Fann þessa sögu herra Bjarni Erlingsson or Bjarkey ritaða ok sagða í ensku máli í Skotlandi, þá er hann sat þar um vetrinn eptir fráfall Alexandri konungs.[50]
>
> (Lord Bjarni Erlingsson of Bjarkey found this saga written and told in the English language, in Scotland, when he stayed there during the winter after the death of King Alexander.)[51]

The 'Alexander' referred to here is Alexander III of Scotland, who died in 1286 and the translation seems likely to have been made soon after this date. Bjarni Erlingsson was an influential nobleman who visited the English and Scottish courts on diplomatic missions for the kings of Norway on a number of occasions between 1281 and 1312.[52] The preface goes on to flesh out the context of this particular journey: Bjarni was on embassy to Scotland on behalf of Alexander's granddaughter and claimant of the Scottish throne, the Maid of Norway. The identification of the source language is quite unequivocal; however, there is no other evidence that an English translation of *Doon de la Roche* ever existed.[53] A Middle English *Doon* that predates the late 1200s would be among the earliest English translations of a French *chanson de geste* and provide some of our earliest evidence of English-language literature circulating in Scotland.[54] Although no other translation from English is known in Norway, translation of European narrative texts was nothing new. The reign of Hákon Hákonarson (d. 1263), in particular, saw the translation of a large number of French texts, including around ten *chansons de geste*. Many of the exemplars for these works may have travelled to Norway from the island of Britain, rather than coming directly from France.[55]

In the fifteenth century, particularly strong trading and ecclesiastical links developed between England and Iceland. One of the primary catalysts for this was the flourishing stockfish trade which saw the English establish their own fisheries on the island. The connections were so persistent that this period in Icelandic history has

been called 'the English century' (*enska öldin*).[56] This English presence may well have produced a situation of *de facto* control by Englishmen at certain times and in certain places.[57] The second quarter of the century also saw the northern diocese of Hólar become home to John Craxton (Jón Vilhjálmsson) one of several Englishmen appointed to Icelandic sees, but the only one who appears to actually have resided in his diocese. Unsurprisingly, there appears to have been a degree of linguistic cross-pollination. The Middle English *carole* form may have influenced the development of *vikivakakvæði* – poems intended as accompaniments for dancing. It has also been suggested that English influence may have played a part in the emergence of a range of metrical narratives known as *rímur* from the late fourteenth century onwards.[58]

Ecclesiastical connections may well furnish the context for the surviving fifteenth-century Icelandic translations from Middle English. These amount to forty-eight *exempla*, some of them quite long, which seem to have been derived from English sources in the period. Obviously, this suggests the presence of Middle English manuscripts in Iceland in the fifteenth century, but whether it demonstrates that there were very many such codices or, indeed, more than one, is another question. Peter Jorgensen has made the most comprehensive study of these translations and has shown that, where identifications can be made, they come from three sources: from Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, from English translations of the *Gesta Romanorum* and from a translation of the works of Odo of Cheriton.[59] In the absence of further evidence, we can only make an informed guess as to why these works were brought to Iceland, but it seems likely that such *exempla* would have offered a practical resource for clergy who may have been preaching to congregations of English fishermen. Although the earliest surviving manuscripts date from the end of the fifteenth-century, Jorgensen has argued that the production of these translations

took place somewhat earlier, perhaps during the episcopacy of Craxton himself.[60] We must be somewhat cautious in drawing any conclusions about the wider circulation of English-language codices in Iceland from the number of *exempla* translated. As Jorgensen observes, material from Robert Mannyng, the *Gesta Romanorum* and Odo of Cheriton travels together in the Middle English manuscript tradition; for instance, a good number of these *exempla* occur in very similar form in London, British Library, MS Additional 9066.[61] It is quite likely, therefore, that the Icelandic works represent a one-off instance of translation from a single English codex, rather than evidence of a series of engagements with multiple manuscripts.

The body of translated *exempla* seems to have enjoyed reasonably wide dissemination, surviving in four manuscripts dating from the late fifteenth through to the late sixteenth century. These translations also had a tangible impact on the wider literary tradition. One *exemplum*, *Jónatas ævintýri,* enjoyed particular popularity and was adapted into several different versions over the following centuries. Jorgensen has argued that this work also furnished motifs for a range of other texts, such as *Viktors saga ok Blávus* and *Sigrgarðs saga frækn*.[62]

d) Translations into Dutch

Given the particularly close trading and political connections between England and the Low Countries in the late medieval period, it is no surprise to find evidence of translation between English and Dutch (although under Burgundian control the southern Low Countries often also used French as a literary language).[63] A number of instances of apparent translation from Dutch into English, such as the morality play *Everyman* and Caxton's printed version of *Reynard the Fox*, are relatively well known; however, translation in the opposite direction has not enjoyed a high profile

and, as Elisabeth de Bruijn has recently emphasised, is in need of considerable further study.[64] English-language sources have been suggested for a number of Dutch printed texts; however, establishing the priority of a given work within its larger tradition is particularly difficult in the Low Countries. A number of further Dutch texts bear close comparison to English printed works, but it has not, so far, been possible to exclude sources in other languages.[65] Nonetheless, there are three translations which can be traced to an English source with some confidence. These are *Van den jongen geheten Jacke* (On the youth called Jack), *Merlijn* (Merlin) and *Van den thien esels* (On the ten donkeys). The first two works are clearly translated from the English texts *A Mery Geste of the Frere and the Boy* and *A Lytel Treatyse on the Byrth and Prophecy of Merlyn*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the early 1500s. A note in the text of *Van den thien esels* claims that the text was translated from an English-language source; however, although there is no reason to doubt the truth of this statement, no work of this name survives in English.[66]

These translations have several notable features. *Merlijn* is the only surviving Arthurian romance among the early products of printing in the Low Countries and also seems to be the only Arthurian text translated from Middle English into any language.[67] *Jacke* has the distinction of being the only translation of a Middle English work which was not adapted into prose in the target language; the adaptor followed his source text's form of rhyming couplets throughout.[68] Like *Olif ok Landres*, *Van den thien esels*, seems to bear witness to an English-language text that no longer survives.[69] The work may have been translated by its printer, Jan van Doesborch. Van Doesborch produced several works in English for the English market and seems also to have translated material into English from Dutch.[70] The work gives ten separate examples of people who behave like 'asses' and the narrator claims that the tenth

example is his own contribution and was not in his source.[71] This is borne out by the fact that a somewhat similar work known as *Von den neun Eseln* survives in German and we can assume that the putative English source (possibly translated from German?) was also called something like 'The nine asses'.[72]

As we have seen, a number of Welsh and Irish translations appear to have been made from English prints; however, in the Low Countries the translations that survive seem to have been made exclusively from printed texts. It seems likely that we owe the small body of translations from English into Dutch to the particularly close links between printers in England and the Low Countries in the early years of that technology. It is also possible that print facilitated translation. Not only did the advent of print often make texts more readily available and more mobile, the economics of producing a printed text seems to have encouraged publishers to be cautious in their choice of works. It seems likely that the texts chosen for translation from English by Dutch printers had already been commercial successes in England.

e) Translations into Portuguese

The translation of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* from English into Portuguese seems to have been facilitated by contacts between royal courts. Significant political links developed between England and Portugal at the end of the Middle Ages, around and after the Treaty of Windsor in 1386. John of Gaunt's daughter, Philippa, became queen of Portugal on her marriage to João I in 1387. The Gower translation is in prose and seems likely to have been made before the queen's death in 1415. Indeed, Philippa may have commissioned the translation; as Joyce Coleman has outlined, she maintained close ties to England throughout her life and 'imported English liturgy, exempla, alabasters, architecture, and purses, spreading anglophilia across many

levels of Portuguese society'.[73] It seems likely that other texts, primarily in French, also travelled from England to Portugal in Philippa's time.[74] Inventories made of the royal library in the reign of Philippa's son, Duarte, list a work by the title of 'O amante', which must be this text. Furthermore, *Leal conselheiro* (Loyal Counsellor), a work of around 1438 attributed to Duarte himself, also lists the 'Livro do Amante' among the author's influences.[75] As we have seen, the later Castilian translation names the original translator as one 'Ruperto Paym', presumably 'Robert Payn(e)'. Peter Russell has suggested that the translator might be a man of that name who served as an official in Philippa's household in 1402.[76] Although the reference to Payn in the Castilian translation stresses his Englishness, there are hints that he had strong Portuguese ties. A family connection with Philippa's treasurer, Thomas Payn, who married a Portuguese woman, seems possible; if Robert was his son, then he could have been bilingual.[77]

At least one further English text may have been translated in Portugal. In the mid-fifteenth century, Joanot Martorell produced an account of a knight called 'Guillem de Varoich' (William of Warwick) in the Valencian dialect of Catalan. The work is clearly based on a version of *Guy of Warwick*. Martorell later adapted and incorporated this story into his much more celebrated work, *Tirant lo Blanch* (Tirant the White), which was printed posthumously in Valencia in 1490.[78] A dedication that appears in the printed text claims that the work was translated 'no solament de lengua anglesa en portoguesa, mas encara de portoguesa en vulgar valenciana' (not only from the English language into Portuguese, but again into the language of Valencia).[79] The reliability of this statement has been much debated.[80] However, there is good reason to take it seriously: the Valencian text shares several narrative details with a Middle English version of the work that do not appear in any of the surviving Anglo-Norman

or French versions. The Portuguese text appears to have been lost, but, like the Gower translation, it may have been connected to the Aviz dynasty: Martorell states that he made his Portuguese translation for Ferdinand, a grandson of Philippa of Lancaster. Further evidence of Portuguese interest in *Guy of Warwick* does survive from this period, but not in the vernacular. A Latin prose epitome of the romance is preserved in a mid-fifteenth century hand at the very end of manuscript from the Cistercian monastery at Alcobaça.[81] The text is so brief that it is difficult to determine whether it has a connection to Martorell's work, but it is worth noting that this monastery had close links to the royal household.[82]

It seems probable that both these translations can be placed in the context of the anglophile Aviz court, but more pan-European interests may also be at work. Recent work on the Iberian tradition of the *Confessio Amantis* has suggested that interest in the work was also driven by a vogue for texts of courtly instruction, specifically mirrors of princes.[83] *Guy of Warwick* is one of a number of romances translated into Portuguese in this period, but there are signs that it too may have been viewed as an instructional text. In Martorell's work, the narrative introduces a broader discussion of chivalry and courtly conduct, based in large part on Ramon Llull.[84]

Middle English Abroad: Politics and Prestige

The fact that translation does *not* take place in some regions close to England, where English-speaking communities were present, is also interesting. The transmission and translation of English-language works seems to have taken place primarily along the Atlantic littoral of Western Europe, with the notable exception of France. I cannot find evidence that Middle English texts travelled more deeply into the continent in the way some Anglo-Norman texts did. Nor is there evidence of English-language texts

among the religious works by English writers that were transmitted to Bohemia in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[85] In the case of the Anglo-Norman material, the Francophone world seems to have acted as a conduit, transporting works such as *Boeve de Haumtone* and *Le Roman de Horn* (via *Ponthus et Sidoine*) into other regions and languages, such as German. For English-language texts, Francophonia appears to have presented an obstacle, not an aid, to transmission. Why might this be? We have seen that areas of cultural mixing are particularly fertile ground for translation. With that in mind, we might expect late-medieval France, particularly regions where there were large English communities, to provide similar conditions. Calais, for instance, clearly had a lively literary culture and, as we have seen, Elis Gruffydd produced many of his Welsh translations there.[86] Nonetheless, I have been unable to uncover any evidence of translation from English into French in France. Of course, translation from English into French is also very rare in England itself.[87] Factors other than proximity and opportunity for translation are clearly at work here and it seems likely that the relative resources of the two literatures are of significance. The lower status and more limited tradition of Middle English in comparison to French that likely restricted its translation in England itself may have produced similar results abroad. In addition, Middle English literature is so deeply indebted to Francophone literature in both form and content that there seems little that translations of English literature could offer that was not already available, and available in abundance, in French.

The absence of French translations outside England raises the broader question of the status of Middle English writing in the regions in which it was translated. Was the fact that their sources were in English culturally or ideologically significant for the translators we have been considering? This is not a question that

can be answered with certainty. As we have seen, only a few translations, such as *Olif ok Landres*, the Irish Mandeville, *O Livro do Amante*, *Tirant lo Blanc* and *Van den thien esels*, clearly signal that their source text was in the English language. Of these, only the Irish translation of the *Travels* offers more than a brief, matter-of-fact allusion to its linguistic source. Other languages are also mentioned alongside English in O'Mahony's prologue: 'Óir iss é do chuir an lebursa a berlai & a Laidin, a Greigc & a h-Eabra a n-Gaeidhilgc …' (For it is he who put this book out of English and Latin and Greek and Hebrew into Irish …).[88] There can be little doubt that O'Mahony's translation is based on the Middle English 'defective' version of the *Travels*, though he abbreviates his source considerably.[89] The references to Latin, Greek and Hebrew must refer to the presence of terms and phrases from these languages in his source. The 'defective' family of texts features a range of Latin words and phrases (usually accompanied by a translation); however, engagement with Greek and Hebrew is limited to some proper names, transliterations of Greek inscriptions from the site of the crucifixion and a Hebrew alphabet.[90] While O'Mahony does either copy or translate a range of Latin phrases in his work, his text omits the sections in which the Greek inscriptions and Hebrew alphabet appear. In light of this, the prominence given to these languages in O'Mahony's prologue is particularly curious. The unwarranted emphasis on 'authoritative' languages such as Latin, Greek and Hebrew could suggest a perception of insufficiency in claiming English-language source material alone. Similar motivations may underlie the general silence of other translators using English sources. After all, when sources are acknowledged by medieval translators, they are often sources in prestige languages and their citation enhances the authority of the translation: the frequency with which Middle English translators fanfare their French sources, is a case in point.[91]

Middle English, it seems, is in the curious position of being a vernacular with a reasonable international reach in translation, but with a relatively low literary and cultural prestige. Drawing upon postcolonial discourse, Ardis Butterfield has characterized Middle English as a 'subaltern' literary vernacular.[92] One of the manifestations of this status is the particularly high proportion of English texts that are translated from French and Latin sources. Paradoxically, it is precisely this quality that often seems to have encouraged the translation of English texts themselves far beyond the English-speaking world. In most of the cases I have discussed here, the English language seems to have had a largely 'functional' status.[93] The types of works translated suggest that English texts are often mediators of very international religious and cultural interests. Indeed, when we look at vernacular translations from English we see some interesting omissions. The literature most associated with English's reinvention as a courtly vernacular within England is only represented in a single translation, the Portuguese *Confessio Amantis*. There are no translations of the works of Chaucer or of any of his fifteenth-century imitators and no translation of Langland. Nor are there any translations of 'home-grown' romances, such as the Gawain romances. A similar situation obtains for religious works: vastly popular Middle English texts, such as the *Prick of Conscience*, do not appear in translation. This is despite manuscript evidence that works like these clearly circulated in the English-speaking regions of Ireland and Wales, and were 'translated' into Hiberno-English dialect.[94] With only a few exceptions, such as the Dutch translation of the *Frere and the Boy* and the Welsh political prophecies, translations from English into other vernaculars in the Middle Ages tend to be of texts which had an international reputation beyond England. Not only were works like *Bevis of Hampton* and the *Seven Sages of Rome* widely read in French and in Latin, but a number of the texts

discussed here were also translated into other vernaculars from Latin or French. For instance, French-language versions of *Bevis* were translated into Old Norse, Welsh and a range of continental languages, Latin texts of the *Seven Sages of Rome* were translated into Welsh in the fourteenth century and into Irish in the fifteenth century, while a Welsh translation of Odo of Cheriton's fables also survives, probably from Latin. In most cases, the Middle English source text for a vernacular translation was itself a translation, usually from Latin or from French and it was in Latin or French versions that the work became widely known.

The subaltern nature of Middle English writing is, therefore, closely bound up with its transmission and translation beyond England. So thoroughly has English writing absorbed the values and matter of literatures in prestige languages that it functions as proxy for them in some contexts. Nonetheless, too ready an application of postcolonial perspectives might lead us to assume that that target languages, such as Irish and Welsh, also occupied a similarly subaltern position in relation to English in Ireland and Wales. The evidence of the translations discussed here, at least, suggests that this does not always appear to have been the case. If anything, translation from English in Wales and Ireland seems to be a matter of literary appropriation, rather than of cultural subordination to an encroaching colonial power. After all, in this period, Welsh and Irish literature had highly-developed traditions, large and varied corpora, as well as long-standing and intimate relationships with elite audiences. Even when overtly political texts were at issue, translation may be a form of political self-assertion. In discussing Welsh translations of political prophecy, Fulton observes that:

> [b]y appropriating the English tradition of prophecy … the Welsh writers are reclaiming what appears to be an authentically 'British' Arthurian past and using it to repeat traditional laments over the loss of British sovereignty to the English.'[95]

So thorough was this appropriation that the 'Englishness' of some of these works was obscured in their own country; for instance, a late-fifteenth-century copy of the *Cock in the North* produced in Bedfordshire is prefaced by a comment identifying the prophecy (erroneously) as one originally produced in Wales.[96] Even the politics of translating a seemingly colonial author like Gerald of Wales are not as straightforward as they might seem; the late medieval Hiberno-English and Irish translations of his *Expugnatio Hibernica* seem to have been created and circulated to bolster local and dynastic identities, rather than the power of the English crown.[97]

What emerges from this overview is the necessity of applying a number of explanatory models and perspectives when considering the reach and reception of English literary works in the medieval period. It is clear that ecclesiastical networks and trading connections had a significant role to play in the movement of Middle English works beyond England and the types of text translated may have been determined by religious and commercial interests, as much as by political ones. Jonathan Hsy's work on medieval multilingualism is especially relevant here: he advocates an approach to language contact that attends not only to 'politically charged scenes of social conflict' but also to 'more mundane interactions of the sort facilitated by trade or travel'.[98] Decentering the political allows for a more flexible approach to the relationship between Middle English and other languages and reflects the varied ways in which English literature seems to have been received in medieval translation. Expanding our perspective on 'Middle English writing' to take in medieval translation from English can be a fruitful conceptual move. These works connect Middle English literature to a range of cultural and linguistic contexts with which it has not always been readily associated. It can enable us to frame familiar texts in novel ways by

examining reception contexts that are culturally removed from those of the Anglophone world. In some instances, translations provide evidence of texts or versions of text that do not survive in the English-language corpus itself. It can also offer further insight into the reception of writing in English in the period of its reemergence as a literary vernacular. In many of these cases, the status of English seems to be 'functional' rather than prestigious. English works act as convenient intermediaries between the culture of the target language and wider European religious or courtly interests. Throughout the medieval period, the influence of other languages on Middle English writing, whether through translation or by other means, was much more persistent than the movement of literature from England into the wider world. However, it seems clear that these two phenomena are linked: Middle English writing owes a particularly profound debt to other languages, much more so than many other vernaculars. This dependency of English on other linguistic traditions might well have been what encouraged its translation and carried its texts beyond the little world of Anglophonia, and from Hólar in the north to Lisbon in the south.

Appendix

Translations from Middle English into other vernaculars before 1550

We are by no means close to the point where a corpus of texts translated from Middle English can be confidently and comprehensively defined. This is partly a result of the relative neglect of translated work in many disciplines, but this uncertainty also follows from the nature of the Middle English corpus itself. After all, given that

Middle English literature features a high number of translations from other languages, primarily French and Latin, how can we be sure that a given translation is derived from the English rather than the Anglo-Norman or Latin version of the same work? As we have seen, a few of the works discussed here allude to the language of their source. In other instances, the presence of loanwords from the source language may provide clues; however, these are not always a reliable indicator. Indeed, many of these translations exhibit particularly high levels of assimilation into the linguistic and formal norms of the target literary culture. This means we often must rely on textual variants (assuming they exist and are followed by the translator) to identify the likely source language. Thus it is unsurprising that many uncertainties remain.

Given these ambiguities, the list that follows casts its net particularly widely. In addition to texts where identification of an English source is secure, I have included instances where an English source has been proposed by scholars but is by no means certain. Where relevant, uncertainties are dealt with in annotations to individual entries; however, where such information is given in the article above, it is not repeated in annotations. Information in annotations is derived from the cited edition of the text in question, unless otherwise stated. Translations have been categorized by target language (in the order followed in the article above) and within those categories are presented in approximate chronological order. Since many of these translations lack titles in their target language, the entries have been given the title conventionally used of the source text.

Translations into Welsh

Title *Life of Saint Katherine of Alexandria*

Date fourteenth century

Edition *Vita Sancti Tathei and Buched Seint y Katrin*, ed. H. Idris Bell (Bangor, 1909).

The closest surviving analogue to this work is a Middle English verse text. However, there is no evidence that the English text was in circulation earlier than the fifteenth century, and it seems very likely that a lost version of the life in French or in Latin lies behind both the Welsh and the English versions. [99]

Title *Legend of Ipotis*

Date fourteenth century

Edition J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'L'Enfant Sage ac Adrian et Epictitus yn Gymraeg', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 19-20 (1960-2), 259-95, 17-28.

Williams observes that the text is very close to the English verse text, but that the dependency of the Welsh on the English cannot be proved. Both may well derive from a shared source in another language.

Title *Prophecy of the Six Kings*

Date early to mid fifteenth century

Edition Helen Fulton, *Welsh Prophecy and English Politics in the Later Middle Ages* (Aberystwyth, 2009), 21-35.

As Fulton observes, the Welsh text is adapted from the revised prose version of the work, but we cannot be certain whether the source language was French or English. On purely circumstantial evidence, however, an English source seems most likely: surviving manuscripts of English texts of this prophecy outnumber those containing the Anglo-Norman version by nearly ten to one.

Title *Prophecy of the Blessed Oil*

Date mid fifteenth century

Edition R.W. Evans, 'Darogan yr Olew Bendigaid a Hysdori yr Olew Bendigaid', *Llên Cymru* 14, (1981-2), 86-91.

The preface states that this text was compiled from a variety of sources in various languages, including English: '… ryw ddirgeledic gydymddaith ydolygawdd ym drossi man betheu droganawl o ladin franghec a saesnec ynghymraec' ('… a mysterious companion made me translate odds and ends of prophecy from Latin, French and English into Welsh').[100] However, Lloyd-Morgan identifies Latin and French sources only in her study of the work.[101]

Title *Cock in the North*

Date mid fifteenth century

Edition R. Wallis Evans, 'Canu Darogan: testunau amrywiol', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* 36 (1989), 84-96.

Title *Lily, Lion and Son of Man*

Date fifteenth century

Edition R. Wallis Evans, 'Proffwydoliaeth y Fflowrddelis', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* 21 (1966), 327-3.

As Flood demonstrates, the Welsh text is particularly close to the English prose version.[102]

Title *Prophecy of the Swallow*

Date fifteenth century

Edition R. Wallis Evans, 'Daroganau', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 9 (1939), 314-19.

Although this seems likely to be a translation from English, Flood has argued, drawing on the suggestion of Erich Poppe, that the possibility that this particular English text was translated into English from Welsh cannot be discounted.[103]

Title *The Nine Answers*

Date 1522-1528

Edition Robin Flower, 'The Nine Answers', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 1 (1922), 133-9.

This work was translated by Elis Gruffydd and may be from a Latin or an English text. Flower makes a good case for it to have been derived from English.

Title *Virtuose boke of the distyllacyon of the waters of all maner of herbes*

Date second quarter of the sixteenth century

Edition none

This work was translated by Elis Gruffydd, probably from an English text first printed in 1527.[104]

Title *Compost of Ptolemy*

Date second quarter of the sixteenth century

Edition Extract in W. G. Harries, 'Fersiwn Cymraeg o Ragair Gyntaf *The Kalendar of Shepherds*', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 27 (1976), 65-80.

Translated by Elis Gruffydd. May be based on *The Compost of Ptholomeus* (first printed 1530) or on the French *Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers* (first printed in 1491).[105]

Title Thomas Elyot, *Castel of Helth*

Date 1540s

Edition *Castell yr lechyd gan Elis Gruffydd*, ed. S. Minwel Tibbott (Cardiff, 1969).

Translated by Elis Gruffydd, probably from an English edition of 1539.

Title *Regiment of Lyfe*

Date late 1540s

Edition none

Translated by Elis Gruffydd, probably from an English edition of 1544.[106]

Title John Mirk, *Festial*

Date sixteenth century

Edition *Darn o'r Ffestifal (Liber Festialis): Allan o lawysgrif Havod 22, td. 80-195, gyda rhagymadrodd a nodiadau*, ed. Henry Lewis (London, 1925).

The translation seems to be based on a printed version of the English text which appeared in over twenty editions between 1483 and 1532. Lewis suggests a date sometime after 1525 for the translation, though the surviving manuscript dates from the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

Title *Dives et Pauper*

Date sixteenth century

Edition none

The translation bears a close resemblance to Henry Parker's English version of *Dives et Pauper*, printed in 1493, but the work only survives in manuscripts dating from the end of the sixteenth century.[107]

Title *Kalender of Shepherdes*

Date sixteenth century

Edition W. G. Harries, 'Fersiwn Cymraeg o Ragair Gyntaf *The Kalendar of Shepherds*', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 27 (1976), 65-80.

This is likely to be from an early printed text in English.

Title *The Seven Sages of Rome*

Date sixteenth century

Edition H. Lewis, 'Y Seithwyr Doethion', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 2 (1924), 201-28.

This seems to have been based on Wynkyn de Worde's English text published in 1515; however, the earliest surviving manuscript of the translation dates from around 1590.[108]

Title *Gesta Romanorum*

Date sixteenth century

Edition none

The Welsh *Gesta Romanorum*, seems to have been partly based on Wynkyn de Worde's edition, but could be late-sixteenth-century in date, at least in its present form.[109]

Translations into Irish

Title	John Mandeville, *Travels*
Date	1475
Edition	Whitley Stokes, 'The Gaelic Maundeville', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 2 (1899), 1-6, 226-300.

Title	Gerald of Wales, *The Conquest of Ireland (Expugnatio Hibernica)*
Date	late fifteenth century
Edition	Whitley Stokes, 'The Irish Abridgment of the *Expugnatio Hibernica*', *The English Historical Review*, 20 (1905), 77-115.

Title	*Sir Guy of Warwick*,
Date	late fifteenth century
Edition	F. N. Robinson, 'The Irish Lives of Guy of Warwick & Bevis of Hampton', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 6 (1908), 9-180, 273-338, 556.

Title	*Sir Bevis of Hampton*
Date	late fifteenth century

Edition F. N. Robinson, 'The Irish Lives of Guy of Warwick & Bevis of Hampton', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 6 (1908), 9-180, 273-338, 556.

Title William Caxton, *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*

Date late fifteenth century

Edition *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules*, ed. Gordon Quin, Irish Texts Society 38 (Dublin, 1939).

Title *Charter of Christ*

Date late fifteenth century

Edition Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'Carta Humani Generis', *Éigse*, 8 (1956-7), 204-221.

Translated by Uilliam Mac an Leagha. The work bears comparison with the Vernon manuscript's *Testamentum Christi*; however, a source in Latin or in French is also possible.[110]

Title *The Devil's Parliament*

Date late fifteenth century

Edition J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'An Irish Harrowing of Hell', *Études Celtiques*, 9 (1960-61), 44-78.

Translated by Uilliam Mac an Leagha. Particular similarities with the Middle English *Deuelis Perlament* have been noted; however, a source in Latin or in French cannot be excluded.

Title *Life of St Mary of Egypt*

Date late fifteenth century

Edition A. Martin Freeman, 'Betha Mhuire Eigiptacdha', *Études Celtiques*, 1 (1936), 78-113.

Translated by Uilliam Mac an Leagha. It may be from English, but, as Freeman notes, it also bears close comparison to an Anglo-Norman text.[111]

Title *Three Sorrowful Tidings*

Date late fifteenth century

Edition Andrew Breeze, 'The Three Sorrowful Tidings', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 43 (1989), 141-50.

Possibly from English, but it is such a short work that its precise source may be impossible to ascertain.

Title *Octavian*

Date ?fifteenth or early sixteenth century

Edition Carl Marstrander, 'Sechrán na Banimpire', *Ériu* 5 (1911), 161-199.

This text combines elements from all known insular versions of the text and was probably made from a version that no longer survives in English or in Anglo-Norman.[112]

Title *William of Palerne*

Date sixteenth century (after 1515)

Edition *Eachtra Uilliam: An Irish Version of William of Palerne*, ed. Cecile O'Rahilly (Dublin, 1949).

There are points at which the Irish text is closer to the English prose *William* than to any other extant version, including versions in French. Only two leaves of the prose work survive and they seem to be from the press of Wynkyn de Worde.

Title	*Letter of Prester John*
Date	mid sixteenth century
Edition	David Greene, 'The Irish Versions of the Letter of Prester John', *Celtica*, 2 (1954), 117-45.

Greene suggests that the source was an English printed version published at Antwerp in the second decade of the sixteenth-century, but the surviving Irish manuscript seems likely to date from the middle of the century.

Translations into Old Norse-Icelandic

Title	*Doon de la Roche*
Date	late thirteenth century
Edition	*Karlamagnús saga ok kappa hans*, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania [Oslo], 1860).

Title	'Expanded' *Gesta Romanorum* – including *exempla* from Odo of Cheriton and Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*
Date	fifteenth century (second quarter?)
Edition	The *exempla* have been edited across a number of publications: Hugo Gering, *Islendzk æventyri. Isländische legenden, novellen und märchen*, 2 vols (Halle, 1882-83); Peter A. Jorgensen, 'Ten Icelandic Exempla and Their Middle English Source', *Opuscula* 4 in *Bibliotheca*

Arnamagnaeana XXX (Copenhagen, 1970), 177-207;

Einar G. Pétursson, *Miðaldaævintýri: þýdd úr ensku* (Reykjavík, 1976); Peter A. Jorgensen, *The Story of Jonatas in Iceland* (Reykjavík, 1997); Jeffrey S. Love, Beeke Stegmann, Tom Birkett, 'Gnýs ævintýr', *Opuscula* 14 in *Bibliotheca Arnamagnaeana* XLVIII (Copenhagen, 2016), 25-87.

Translations into Dutch

Title *Saint John of Beverley*

Date *c*. 1512

Edition *Historie van Jan van Beverley*, ed. G. J. Boekenoogen (Leiden, 1903).

Jan van Beverley is a life of an Anglo-Saxon saint; however, there is no evidence of the circulation of a similar text in English and the Dutch text gives no indication of the language of its source.[113]

Title *Helias, the Knight of the Swan*

Date *c*. 1512-1520

Edition *Historie van den ridder metter swane*, ed. G. J. Boekenoogen (Leiden 1931).[114]

Franssen notes similarities with an edition by Wynkyn de Worde. It is also possible that this work may be from French.[115]

Title *Robert the Devil*

Date *c*. 1516

Edition *Robrecht de Duyvel*, ed. R. J. Resoort (Muiderberg, 1980).

Similar to versions of this narrative printed by Wynkyn de Worde; however, these English texts were translated from French sources that were also readily available in the Low Countries.

Title	*Poem in praise of Early Marriage*
Date	*c*. 1520
Edition	R. Resoort, 'Nieuwe gegevens rond het "Gedicht tot lof van vroeg trouwen"', *Queeste*, 4 (1997), 141-54.

Similar to a text printed by Wynkyn de Worde around 1505, but may also be derived from the original French text by Pierre Gringore.[116]

Title	*On the ten donkeys*
Date	*c*. 1520-1531
Edition	*Het Volksboek Vanden, X, Esels,* ed. A. van Elslander (Antwerp, 1946).

Title	*A Mery Geste of the Frere and the Boy*
Date	*c*. 1528
Edition	*Vanden jongen geheeten Jacke*, ed. G. J. Boekenoogen (Leiden, 1905).

Title	*Lytel Treatyse on the Byrth and Prophecy of Merlyn*
Date	1540 (possibly 1510s)
Editions	M. E. Kronenberg, 'Een onbekend volksboek van Merlijn (c. 1540)', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde*, 48 (1929), 18-34.

Merlijn survives in an edition printed at Antwerp by Simon Cock around 1540, though Franssen suggests that a much earlier edition, dating to the early 1510s, may once have existed. [117]

Translations into Portuguese

Title	John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*
Date	early fifteenth century
Edition	The prologue and books I-IV are transcribed in Manuela Faccon, *Fortuna de la Confessio Amantis en la Península Ibérica: el testimonio portugués* (Zaragoza, 2010) <https://zaguan.unizar.es/record/2009/files/TESIS-2009-024.pdf > accessed 18 May 2019. Books V-VIII have been transcribed in Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, 'Confessio Amantis', *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, 8 (2007), 38–73 <https://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/publications/confessio-amantis> accessed 18 May 2019.

Title	*Sir Guy of Warwick*
Date	mid fifteenth century
Edition	Both versions of what claims to be a Valencian translation of the lost Portuguese text are edited in Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc i Altres Escrits de Joanot Martorell*, ed. Martí de Riquer (Barcelona, 1969).

[1] *John Gower: Confesión del Amante. Traducción de Juan de Cuenca (S. XV). Edición Paleográfica*, ed. Elena Alvar (Madrid, 1990), 141. The translation is my own.

[2] See, for instance, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor and Ruth Evans (eds), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter, 1999); David Trotter (ed.), *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Cambridge, 2000); Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (ed.), *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100-c.1500* (York, 2009); Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford, 2009); Elizabeth Tyler (ed.), *Conceptualising Multilingualism in England, c. 800-c.1250* (Turnhout, 2011); Judith A., Jefferson, and Ad Putter (eds), *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066-1250): Sources and Analysis* (Turnhout, 2013); Jonathan Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism, and Medieval Literature* (Columbus OH, 2013).

[3] English sources have been tentatively suggested for fourteenth-century works in Welsh, but the evidence is not strong. Further details of two possible early translations are given in the appendix to this paper.

[4] Helen Fulton, 'Negotiating Welshness: Multilingualism in Wales before and after 1066', in Tyler (ed.), *Conceptualising Multilingualism*, 145-7; Llinos Beverley Smith, 'The Welsh and English Languages in Late-Medieval Wales', in Trotter (ed.), *Multilingualism*, 7-21. See also, Ad Putter, 'Multilingualism in England and Wales, *c*. 1200: The Testimony of Gerald of Wales', in Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby (eds), *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and its Neighbours* (Turnhout, 2010), 83-106.

[5] A term Hsy, *Trading Tongues*, 6-7, applies to the capacity of medieval writers to work in several languages at once.

[6] Smith, 'The Welsh and English Languages', 10-11; Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'Writing Without Borders: Multilingual Content in Welsh Miscellanies from Wales, the Marches and Beyond', in Margaret Connolly and Raluca Radulescu (eds), *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain* (Oxford, 2015), 175-91.

[7] Helen Fulton, 'The Geography of Welsh Literary Production in Late Medieval Glamorgan', *Journal of Medieval History*, 41 (2015), 325-40.

[8] Smith, 'The Welsh and English Languages', 11.

[9] Smith, 'The Welsh and English Languages', 16-17.

[10] On the literary activities of this social group, see Dafydd Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr* (Cardiff, 2006) and Helen Fulton, 'Literature of the Welsh Gentry: Uses of the Vernacular in Medieval Wales', in Elisabeth Salter and Helen Wicker (eds), *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c. 1300-1550* (Turnhout, 2011), 195-218.

[11] On translation from French in this context, see Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'French Texts, Welsh Translators', in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Medieval Translator II* (London, 1991), 45-63. The most extensive inventory of translations into Welsh from Latin, French, and English is in the appendix to Diana Luft, *Medieval Welsh Translation: The Case of Ymddiddan Selyf a Marcwlff*, unpublished PhD thesis (Harvard University, 2004). Luft has also offered an analysis of the relative neglect of translations in Welsh studies: 'Tracking *ôl cyfieithu*: Medieval Welsh Translation in Criticism and Scholarship', *Translation Studies*, 9 (2017), 168-82.

[12] On this literary and linguistic context, see further, Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr* , 421-53, and Lloyd-Morgan, 'Crossing the Borders: Literary Borrowing in Medieval Wales and England', in Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (eds), *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales* (Basingstoke, 2008), 159-73. On the relatively low status of English in Wales before around 1400, see Fulton 'Negotiating Welshness'.

[13] Welsh prophecies have received renewed attention in the work of Victoria Flood, Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, Helen Fulton and Aled Llion Jones. See, for instance, Flood, *Prophecy, Politics and Place in Medieval England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Thomas of Erceldoune* (Woodbridge, 2016); Lloyd-Morgan, 'Prophecy and Welsh Nationhood in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1985), 9-26; Fulton, *Welsh Prophecy and English Politics in the Later Middle Ages* (Aberystwyth, 2009); Jones, *Darogan: Prophecy, Lament and Absent Heroes in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff, 2013).

[14] Flood, *Prophecy*, 177.

[15] Flood, *Prophecy*, 157, 185.

[16] Fulton, 'The Geography of Welsh Literary Production'; Aled Llion Jones, 'Prophecy as Criticism: MS Peniarth 50, Tradition and Translation', *Translation Studies*, 9 (2017), 137-51.

[17] Fulton, 'The Geography of Welsh', 327-8.

[18] Fulton, 'The Geography of Welsh', 333-5.

[19] Fulton, 'The Geography of Welsh', 335-7.

[20] Lloyd-Morgan, 'Prophecy and Welsh Nationhood', 18-20.

[21] Lloyd-Morgan, 'Prophecy and Welsh Nationhood', 17.

[22] Fulton, *Welsh Prophecy*, 22-4.

[23] Fulton, *Welsh Prophecy*, 25-6.

[24] Victoria Flood, 'Henry Tudor and English Prophecy in Wales', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 34, (2015), 67-86 (p. 73) and Flood, *Prophecy*, 180-2.

[25] Flood, *Prophecy*, 175-6, 191-2. Although MS Peniarth 58 is a sixteenth century manuscript, Flood makes a convincing case for dating this composite text to the period immediately before Bosworth (*Prophecy*, 192).

[26] On the influence of prophecies on Welsh poetry and on later translations, see Flood, *Prophecy*, 195-7, and Flood, 'Early Tudor Translation'.

[27] For further exploration of the possible religious contexts for the transcription of these works, see, D. Mark Smith, 'Llawysgrifau rhyddiaith Morgannwg yr unfed ganrif ar bymtheg: cynnyrch ysgol o gyfieithwyr?', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 32 (2001), 205-23.

[28] On Elis Gruffydd, see Thomas Jones 'A Welsh Chronicler in Tudor England', *Welsh Historical Review*, 1 (1960), 1-17 and Prys Morgan, 'Elis Gruffydd yng Nghalais', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 21 (1965), 214-18.

[29] On his literary career see, J. Hunter, 'Taliesin at the Court of Henry VIII: Aspects of the Writings of Elis Gruffydd', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 10 (2004), 41-56; Lloyd-Morgan, 'Elis Gruffydd a thraddodiad Cymraeg Calais a Chlwyd', *Cof Cenedl*, 11 (1996), 29-58; Lloyd-Morgan, 'Welsh Tradition in Calais: Elis Gruffydd and his Biography of King Arthur', in Norris J. Lacy (ed.), *The Fortunes of King Arthur* (Cambridge, 2005), 77-91

[30] Delwyn Tibbott, 'Llawysgrif Cwrtmawr 1', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 11 (1960), 276-83.

[31] Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, *Elis Gruffydd and Multiple Versions of Geoffrey's Historia* (pubd online 2011) <https://www.univ-brest.fr/digitalAssets/36/36990_Ceridwen-Lloyd-Morgan-com---crite-Aber.pdf > accessed 18 May 2019. On his treatment of the *Polychronicon* see, Lloyd-Morgan, 'Welsh Tradition in Calais', 80. On his sources in all languages, see P. Morgan, 'Elis Gruffudd of Gronant: Tudor Chronicler Extraordinary', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal*, 25 (1971–2), 9-20 (pp. 18-19).

[32] Lloyd-Morgan, 'Crossing the Borders'.

[33] On Hiberno-English writing, see Angus Mclntosh and M. L. Samuels, 'Prolegomena to a Study of Mediaeval Anglo-Irish', *Medium Ævum*, 37 (1968), 1-11. For medieval library inventories from Ireland see, Aisling Byrne, 'The Earls of Kildare and their Books at the End of the Middle Ages', *The Library*, 14 (2013), 129-53.

[34] For an overview, see Art Cosgrove, 'Ireland beyond the Pale, 1399-1460', in Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534* (Oxford, 1987), 569-90

[35] For an account of this late medieval development, see Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400-1534* (Dublin, 2002), 53-86.

[36] F. N. Robinson, 'The Irish Lives of Guy of Warwick & Bevis of Hampton', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 6 (1908), 9-180, 273-338, 556; *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules*, ed. Gordon Quin, Irish Texts Society 38 (Dublin, 1939).

[37] For an account of the family to which Uilliam probably belonged, see Paul Walsh, 'An Irish Medical Family – Mac an Leagha', in Colm Ó Lochlainn (ed.), *Irish Men of Learning: Studies by Father Paul Walsh* (Dublin, 1947), 206-18.

[38] Aisling Byrne, 'Cultural Intersections in Trinity College Dublin MS 1298', in Axel Harlos and Neele Harlos (eds), *Adapting Texts and Styles in a Celtic Context: Studies in Honour of Erich Poppe* (Münster, 2016), 289-304.

[39] Byrne, 'The Earls of Kildare'.

[40] Erich Poppe, 'Codes of Conduct and Honour in *Stair Bibuis*', in Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (eds), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), 200-10 (p. 208, fn. 44) and Byrne, 'Cultural Intersections', 294-5.

[41] Whitley Stokes, 'The Gaelic Maundeville', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 2 (1899), 1-6, 226-300. On its English source, see M. C. Seymour, 'The Irish Version of Mandeville's *Travels*: the Insular Version', *Notes and Queries*, 208 (1963), 364-6.

[42] *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed. John O'Donovan, vol. 4 (Dublin, 1856), 1224-5.

[43] Stokes, 'The Gaelic Maundeville'.

[44] Erich Poppe, '*Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* – Rewriting Hercules in Ireland', in Kevin Murray (ed.), *Translations from Classical Literature: Imtheachta Æniasa and Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* (London, 2006), 37-68 (pp. 37-8).

[45] For further details of these works, see the appendix to this paper.

[46] See further, Aisling Byrne, 'Language Networks, Literary Translation and the Friars in Late Medieval Ireland', in Mary Carruthers (ed.), *Language in Medieval Britain: Networks and Exchanges* (Donington, 2015), 166-78.

[47] Byrne, 'Language Networks', 177-80.

[48] Aisling Byrne, 'Family, Locality and Nationality: Vernacular Adaptations of the *Expugnatio Hibernica* from Late Medieval Ireland', *Medium Ævum*, 82 (2013), 101-18.

[49] Alan Bruford, *Gaelic Folktales and Mediaeval Romances: A Study of the Early Modern Irish "Romantic Tales" and their Oral Derivatives* (Dublin, 1969).

[50] *Karlamagnús saga ok kappa hans*, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania [Oslo], 1860), 50.

[51] *Karlamagnus Saga: The Saga of Charlemagne and his Heroes*, tr. Constance Hieatt, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1975), 178.

[52] Henry Goddard Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (Cambridge, 1921), 68-71, 241-5.

[53] On this text and its source see, Ralph O'Connor, 'History or Fiction? Truth-claims and Defensive Narrators in Icelandic Romance-sagas', *Medieval Scandinavia*, 15 (2005), 101-69, and H. M. Smyser, 'The Middle English and Old Norse Story of Olive', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 56 (1941) 69-84. Constance Hieatt has tentatively suggested that some other parts of the *Karlamagnús saga* might also be from Middle English based on the presence of certain loan words: 'Some Unidentified or Dubiously glossed Loanwords in *Karlamagnús saga* and their Implications for Translations and Source Studies', *Scandinavian Studies*, 50 (1978), 381-8.

[54] Rhiannon Purdie, 'Medieval Romance and the Generic Frictions of Barbour's *Bruce*', in Steve Boardman and Susan Foran (eds), *Barbour's Bruce and its Cultural Contexts: Politics, Chivalry and Literature in Late Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2015), 51-74 (pp. 58-9).

[55] For recent accounts, see Liliane Irlenbusch-Reynard, 'Translations at the Court of Hákon Hákonarson: A Well Planned and Highly Selective Programme', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 36 (2011), 387-405 and Sif Rikhardsdottir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia* (Cambridge, 2012).

[56] The classic account of this period is Björn Þorsteinsson, *Enska Öldin í Sögu Íslendinga* (Reykjavík, 1970). For a more recent overview, see Gunnar Karlsson, *Iceland's 1100 Years: The History of a Marginal Society*, (London, 2000), 118-122 and Jón Th. Thór, 'Foreign Fisheries off Iceland, c. 1400-

1800', in Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (eds), *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800)* (Hilversum, 1996), 124-34.

[57] Karlsson, *Iceland's 1100 Years*, 118.

[58] Shaun Hughes, 'Late Secular Poetry', in Rory McTurk (ed.), *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture* (Oxford, 2005), 205-22.

[59] Peter Jorgensen, 'The Icelandic Translations from Middle English', in Evelyn Firchow et al. (eds), *Studies for Einar Haugen* (The Hague, 1972), 305-20. See also, Jorgensen, 'Ten Icelandic Exempla and Their Middle English Source', *Opuscula* 4 in *Bibliotheca Arnamagnaeana* XXX (Copenhagen, 1970), 177-207.

[60] Peter Jorgensen, *The Story of Jonatas in Iceland* (Reykjavík, 1997), xci-xciii.

[61] Jorgensen, 'The Icelandic Translations', 305-20.

[62] Jorgensen, *Story of Jonatas.*

[63] On the long-standing use of Dutch and Flemish in England itself, see Laura Wright, 'Trade Between England and the Low Countries: Evidence from Historical Linguistics', in Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (eds), *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1995), 169-79; Erik Spindler, 'Flemings in the Peasants' Revolt, 1381', in Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner and R. L. J. Shaw (eds), *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale* (Woodbridge, 2012) and Hsy, *Trading Tongues*, 18-20, 122-5.

[64] Elisabeth de Bruijn, 'To Content the Continent: The Dutch Narratives *Merlijn* and *Jacke* Compared to their English Counterparts', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde*, 133 (2017), 83-108. For another recent overview of translation between English and Dutch, see P. J. A. Franssen, 'Jan van Doesborch: the Dutch Connection' (pubd online December 2017) <http://janvandoesborch.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/The-Dutch-connectionPJAFranssenLV.pdf> accessed 18 May 2019.

[65] For some examples and further discussion, see the appendix to this article.

[66] de Bruijn, 'To Content the Continent', 84.

[67] Bart Besamusca, 'The Low Countries', in Norris Lacy (ed.), *Medieval Arthurian Literature: A Guide to Recent Research* (New York, 1996), 211-38 (p. 214). For indications that *Merlijn* may not have originally been an isolated instance of printed Arthuriana in Dutch, see Sjoerd Leverlt, 'New Evidence

for an Interest in Arthurian Literature in the Dutch Low Countries in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', *Arthurian Literature*, 29 (2012), 101-10.

[68] de Bruijn, 'To Content the Continent', 98.

[69] de Bruijn, 'To Content the Continent', 84.

[70] On this printer and his connections to England, see Anja Hill-Zenk, *Der Englische Eulenspiegel: Die Eulensiegel-Rezeption als Biespiel des englisch-kontinentalen Buchhandels im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2010), 257-344 and Franssen, *Tussen tekst en publiek*.

[71] Franssen, 'Jan van Doesborch', 26.

[72] J. M. Wagner, 'Von den neun eseln', *Archiv für die Geschichte Deutscher Sprache und Dichtung*, 1 (1874), 526-39.

[73] Joyce Coleman, 'Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal – and Patron of the Gower Translations?', in Maria Bullón-Fernández (ed.), *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2007), 136-65 (154). See also, R. F. Yeager, 'Gower's Lancastrian Affinity: The Iberian Connection', *Viator*, 35 (2004), 483-515. For Anglo-Portuguese relations in this period more generally, see Tiago Viúla de Faria, *The Politics of Anglo-Portuguese Relations and their Protagonists in the Later Middle Ages, c. 1369-c. 1449*, unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2012).

[74] Literary activities also played an important role in the courtly self-fashioning of the Aviz dynasty. On Duarte specifically, see Carolina Chaves Ferro, 'A Livraria de D. Duarte', *História e Cultura*, 5 (2016), 129-49. On the culture of literary patronage and translation more generally see, Saul Antonio Gomes, 'As políticas culturais de tradução na corte portuguesa no século XV', *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales*, 33 (2010), 173-81, and Ana Isabel Buescu, 'Livros e livrarias de reis e de príncipes entre os séculos XV e XVI: Algumas notas', *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, 8 (2007), 143-70.

[75] Clara Pascual-Argente, 'Iberian Gower', in Ana Sáez-Hidalgo, Brian Gastle, R. F. Yeager (ed.), *The Routledge Research Companion to John Gower* (Abingdon, 2017), 210-21 (p. 211). The surviving manuscript of *O Livro do Amante* also has royal connections. The scribe states that the work was copied in Ceuta for the son of Fernando de Castro, a nobleman who was in the household of another of Philippa's sons. On this manuscript more generally, see Ana Sáez-Hidalgo 'Iberian Manuscripts of Gower's Work' in Sáez-Hidalgo et al. (eds), *The Routledge Research Companion to John Gower*, 110-16.

[76] P. E. Russell, 'Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca: Translators of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*', *Medium Ævum*, 30 (1961), 26-32 (pp. 28-31).

[77] Russell, 'Robert Payn', 29-30.

[78] For an overview of this text, see Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *The Legend of Guy of Warwick* (New York, 1996), 153-62. We know Martorell was at the English court at least once, in 1438-39, see, Robert B. Tate, 'Joanot Martorell in England,' *Estudis Romànics*, 10 (1962), 277-81.

[79] Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc i Altres Escrits de Joanot Martorell*, ed. Martí de Riquer (Barcelona, 1969), p. 113. For a recent discussion, see Lluís Cabré, 'British Influence in Medieval Catalan Writing: An Overview', in María Bullón-Fernández (ed.), *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th–15th Century: Cultural, Literary and Political Exchanges* (New York, 2007), 29-46.

[80] For further discussion of the lost Portuguese text and of the language of Martorell's ultimate source, see Josep Guia and Curt Wittlin, 'Nine Problem Areas Concerning *Tirant lo Blanc*', in Arthur Terry (ed.), *Tirant lo Blanc: New Approaches*, (New York, 1999), 109–26.

[81] Aires A. Nascimento, 'Guido de Warwick, historia latine exarata: um epígono de romance de cavalaria, entre os monges de Alcobaça', in Juan Paredes (ed.), *Medioevo y literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval* (Granada, 1995) III, pp. 447-62.

[82] Thomas L. Amos, *The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, vol. I: Manuscripts 1-150* (Collegeville: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1988), p. xx.

[83] Pascual-Argente, 'Iberian Gower', 215-17.

[84] Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanc.*

[85] On transmission of texts from England to Bohemia, see Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2012). Van Dussen notes that only one text in a Bohemian manuscript features English-language material – a copy of the poem 'Heu quanta desolatio Angliae praestatur' – however, the use of English is limited to the short refrain and a few scattered words (pp. 33-4).

[86] Julia Boffey 'Books and Readers in Calais', *The Ricardian*, 13 (2003), 67-74 and Lloyd-Morgan, 'Welsh Tradition in Calais'.

[87] The most prominent example is the French translation of *Ancrene Wisse*. We also have Marie de France's insistence that her *Fables* are translated into French from a text in English, though this source,

if it existed, may have been in Old English. Translation from English into Latin is also rare, the most substantial such works are a Latin *Ancrene Wisse* and Richard Metheley's versions of *The Cloud of Unknowing* and *The Mirror of Simple Souls*.

[88] Stokes, 'Gaelic Maundeville', 2-3.

[89] Seymour, 'The Irish Version'. From Seymour's analysis it seems that O'Mahony's source text was particularly close to what he classifies as subgroup 1 of the defective version in his edition: *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour, EETS O.S. 319 (Oxford, 2002), xvii-xix.

[90] *Defective Version*, ed. Seymour, 29, 45.

[91] See further, Wogan-Browne et al., *The Idea of the Vernacular.*

[92] Ardis Butterfield, 'Chaucerian Vernaculars', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 31 (2009), 25-51.

[93] The term is that of William Marx in 'Middle English Texts and Welsh Contexts,' in Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (eds), *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales* (Basingstoke, 2008), 13-26 (pp. 17-19). See further, Flood, *Prophecy*, 183

[94] McIntosh and Samuels, 'Prolegomena'.

[95] Fulton, *Welsh Prophecy and English Politics*, 2.

[96] Flood, *Prophecy*, 190.

[97] Byrne, 'Family, Locality, and Nationality'.

[98] Hsy, *Trading Tongues*, 5.

[99] For discussion, see Jane Cartwright, '*Buchedd Catrin*: A Preliminary Study of the Middle Welsh Life of Katherine of Alexandria and her Cult in Medieval Wales', in Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis (eds), *St Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2003), 53-86 (pp. 81-3).

[100] This is Lloyd-Morgan's translation in 'Prophecy and Welsh Nationhood', 19.

[101] Discussed most fully in Lloyd-Morgan '*Darogan yr Olew Bendigaid*: chwedl o'r bymthegfed ganrif', *Llên Cymru* 15 (1981), 64-85.

[102] Victoria Flood, 'Early Tudor Translation of English Prophecy in Wales', in Aisling Byrne and Victoria Flood (eds), *Crossing Borders in the Insular Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2019), 53-70.

[103] Flood, *Prophecy*, 192-4.

[104] Jones, 'A Welsh Chronicler', 4-5. See further, Tibbott, 'Llawysgrif Cwrtmawr 1'.

[105] Jones, 'A Welsh Chronicler', 4.

[106] Mari Davies Evans, 'Astudiaeth o gyfieithiad Ellis Gruffydd o rannau o "The Boke of Children" ac o "The Regiment of Lyfe"', unpublished MA thesis (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1968).

[107] Lloyd-Morgan, 'Crossing the Borders', 168.

[108] See further, H. Lewis, 'Modern Welsh Versions of the *Seven Wise Men of Rome*', *Revue Celtique*, 46 (1929), 50-88.

[109] Patricia Williams, 'Arlliw y Diwygiad Protestannaidd ar destun pabyddol honedig', *Llên Cymru*, 25 (2002), 28-42.

[110] Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum [British Library]*, vol. 2 (London, 1926), 499. See also, Andrew Breeze, 'The Charter of Christ in Medieval English, Welsh and Irish', *Celtica*, 19 (1987), 111-20.

[111] See further, Erich Poppe, 'Favourite Expressions, Repetition, and Variation: Observations on *Beatha Mhuire Eigiptacdha* in Add. 30512', in Poppe and Bianca Ross (eds), *The Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography* (Dublin, 1996), 279-99 (p. 299).

[112] Aisling Byrne, 'A Lost Insular Version of the Romance of *Octavian*', *Medium Ævum*, 83 (2014), 386-401

[113] For an analysis of this text's possible source(s) see, Alan R. Deighton, 'The Sins of Saint John of Beverley: The Case of the Dutch "volksboek" *Jan van Beverley'*, *Leuvense Bijdragen*, 82 (1993), 227-46 and Ben Parsons and Bas Jongenelen, '"In which land were you born?": Cultural Transmission in the *Historie van Jan van Beverley'*, *Medieval English Theatre*, 34 (2012), 30-76.

[114] The text is edited from a seventeenth century edition, see p. 87 for the fragment of the earliest edition.

[115] Franssen, 'Jan van Doesborch', 22.

[116] Franssen, 'Jan van Doesborch', 22-3.

[117] Franssen, *Tussen tekst en publiek: Jan van Doesborch, drukker-uitgever en literator te Antwerpen en Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1990), 60.