

‘Bugge-beares’ or ‘bouquets’: translations of the Latin quotations in Florio’s English and de Gournay’s French editions of the *Essais*¹

In his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549), Joachim Du Bellay used a metaphor foregrounding the binary opposition between birth and sterility to deplore the time writers must expend on learning classical languages:

‘Car ci le Tens que nous consumons à aprendre les dites Langues, estoit employé à l’etude des Sciences, la Nature certes n’est point devenue si Brehaigne, qu’elle n’enfantast de nostre Tens des Platons, et des Aristoteles.’²

He equates creative composition to birth, whereas learning and deploying a foreign language are implicitly associated with sterility. As debates over the merits and demerits of translation continued to exercise writers across early modern Europe,³ John Florio, the first to publish a complete English translation of Montaigne’s *Essays*, looked to similar metaphorical oppositions to articulate these tensions.⁴ His preface of 1603, addressed to his patronesses Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and her mother Lady Anne Harrington, combines jocular wit with serious literary insights: indulging his taste for dramatic impersonation, Florio adopts the identity of the ‘fondling foster-father’ of a work downgraded to the category of ‘this defective edition (since all translations are reputed femalls, delivered at second hand [...]).’⁵ His oppositions, more complex than simply birth/sterility, revolve around birth-/foster-fatherhood, male/female offspring, but also male/female performative roles in birthing.⁶

¹ I am grateful to Colin Burrow and Will Hamlin for reading drafts of this chapter and generously sharing their insights with me. All remaining errors of fact or judgement are my own alone.

² *La Deffence, et Illustration de la langue françoise*, or.ed. 1549, l.10 : in J. Du Bellay, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. F. Goyet and O. Millet (Champion: Paris, 2003), vol. I, p. 39. [For if the time we expend learning these languages were spent on studying knowledge, Nature has certainly not become so sterile that she could not today produce Platos and Aristotles.]. All translations from French are my own unless otherwise indicated.

³ See T. Hermans, ‘The Task of the Translator in the European Renaissance’ in *Translating Literature*, ed. S. Bassnett (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997, pp. 14-40); P. Burke, ‘Cultures of translation in early modern Europe’ in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 7-38). Translation studies have recently prompted a succession of revisionist accounts pertaining to early modern England, including: M. Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); G. Braden, R. Cummings and S. Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2: 1550-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); F. Shurink (ed.), *Tudor Translation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); S. Barker and B. Hosington, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, print and culture in Britain, 1473-1640* (Boston: Brill, 2013).

⁴ Two recent major studies are key to this chapter: W. Hamlin examines annotations by early readers of Florio’s translation in *Montaigne’s English Journey. Reading the Essays in Shakespeare’s Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); W. Boucher considers Florio’s translation in *The School of Montaigne in Early Modern Europe* volume 2: *The reader-writer* (OUP, forthcoming, 2015).

⁵ *The Essayes or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses of Lord Michael de Montaigne*, London: by Val. Sims for Edward Blount, 1603, fol. A2^r.

⁶ Critics discussing the imagery of the foundling father and of birth include: J. Goldberg, *Desiring Women Writing: English Renaissance Examples*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977, pp. 75-82; G. Ziegler, ‘Engendering the subject: Florio’s feminization of Montaigne’s moy-mesme’, *Montaigne Studies* 8 (1996), pp. 131-132; C. Johnson, ‘Florio’s conversion of Montaigne, Sidney and six patronesses’, *Cahiers Élisabéthains* 64

This was an age when daughters might still be considered to result from nature's failure to produce a male. In 1625, the French physician Louis de Serres, a champion of women, entitled one chapter of his *Discours de la nature, causes, signes, et curation des empeschemens de la conception, et de la sterilité des femmes* 'Si les femmes qui ne font que de filles doivent ester appellées steriles?'.⁷ Yet Florio's apparent denigration of his female 'offspring' needs to be read against his respect and admiration for his patronesses. These are women capable of reading Montaigne 'in fine French', generously encouraging Florio's English version. Florio delights in acting the part of the birthing woman who delivers the translation only after a hard labour, accomplished in the Countess of Bedford's house:

'your Honor having dayned to read it, without pittie of my failing, my fainting, my labouring, my langishing, my gasping for some breath (O could so Honorable, be so pittie-lesse? [...])'⁸

Florio plays the stereotypically weak woman, while Lucy, forbidding him to renounce his task, is the stronger presence. She might be thought to play a masculine role, except that Florio also teases her with the language of a Petrarchan suitor: 'Madame, now doe I flatter you?',⁹ before adding a further twist by likening her to 'the Spartan imperious Mother' who equips her son with a shield to fight on.¹⁰

Whether adopting the persona of son, male admirer, or labouring woman, Florio convinces the reader of the herculean nature of his undertaking. Such, indeed, that the Countess must provide him with several companions, so that the version becomes a collaborative effort.¹¹ Theodore Diodati, tutor to John Harrington (heir of the Harrington-Russell household), is credited with guiding Florio through the labyrinth of Montaigne's prose 'like Ariadne's thread', while Doctor Guinne (or Gwinne), a former student and then perpetual Fellow of St John's College Oxford, and first Professor of Physic (1597) at Gresham College, London, was the 'scholler' who translated Montaigne's quotations.¹² Florio uses a combination of popular legend and heroic male figures to conjure Matthew Gwinne's part:

(2003), pp.8-10 ; M. Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice*, p. 84; N. Rhodes in (eds.) H. Smith and L. Wilson, *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 112-119; O-A. Zaharia, 'Translata Proficit: revisiting John Florio's translation of Michel de Montaigne's *Les Essais*' (*Sederi* 22, 2012, 115-136), pp. 124-6. My interest lies in the intertwining of performative and gendered aspects of the metaphor. For a wider analysis of appropriations of metaphors of female fertility by early modern male authors, see K. Eisaman Maus, 'A Womb of His Own: Male Renaissance Poets in the Female Body,' in J. Turner, *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe. Institutions, Texts, Images* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), pp. 266-288.

⁷ *Treatise on the nature, causes, signs and remedies concerning failures to conceive, and sterility among women*. (Chapter III Whether women who bear only daughters should be called sterile?) See my translation of the text in *Pregnancy and Birth in early modern Europe. Treatises by caring physicians and surgeons (1581-1625)*. Toronto: Iter Inc University of Toronto, 2013, pp. 318-333.

⁸ *The Essayes*, 1603, fol. A2^v.

⁹ See Johnson: 'Florio's conversion of Montaigne', p. 12.

¹⁰ On the interplay between friendship and textual production in the prefatory materials, see A. Keener, 'Prefatory Friendships: Florio's Montaigne and material technologies of the self', in *Renaissance Papers 2013* (Rochester New York: Boydell and Brewer Ltd, 2014, 83-100).

¹¹ For the growing scholarship on collaborative translation, see B. Belén, *Collaborative Translation and Multi-Version Texts in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

¹² F. Matthiessen's *Translation: an Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1931) and F. Yates's *John Florio, the Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

‘So Scholler-like did he undertake what Latine prose; Greeke, Latine, Italian or French Poesie should crosse my way (which as Bugge-beares affrighted my unacquaintance with them) to ridde them all afore mee, and for the most part drawne them from their dennes [...] So was hee to mee in this bundle of riddles an understanding *Oedipus*, in this perilous-crook’t passage a monster-quelling *Theseus* or *Hercules* [...].’¹³

Like Florio, Gwinne displays protean qualities, as virtuosic monster-tamer; Shakespearean tableaux unfold before our eyes. Yet these metaphors also indicate the way in which Florio viewed the quotations’ relationship with his translation, at once frightening, unwelcome monsters to be ‘drawn’ from their lair, and crooked riddles that only a male ‘scholar’ can unravel.¹⁴ Gwinne had already acquired an impressive literary reputation, alongside his medical practice. He collaborated in 1590 with Fulke Greville on the edition of Sidney’s *New Arcadia*; composed a neo-Latin tragedy of some 5000 lines, *Nero*, published in 1603; and in 1605 his poem *Tres Sibyllae*, in dactylic hexameters, was performed in both Latin and English – the latter for the royal family.

This is in striking contrast to the approach of Marie de Gournay, Montaigne’s *fille d’alliance*, editor of the 1595 posthumous edition of the *Essais* and of subsequent revised editions until 1635.¹⁵ Until 1617 – well after the first edition of Florio’s translation had circulated widely in England – the French *Essais* offered no translations of the quotations. The only concession was the identification in the margins of the 1611 edition of the sources.¹⁶ According to de Gournay, the references were compiled by ‘un incogneu’, but she herself had corrected and augmented them in 1617.¹⁷ I would hypothesise, however, that printers in Paris used the 1603 English edition as their basis in 1611, in which case the ‘incogneu’ would be Gwinne.¹⁸

1934) have been substantially augmented by the work of W. Boutcher, ‘Marginal Commentaries: The Cultural Transmission of Montaigne’s *Essais* in Shakespeare’s England’ (in eds. Jean-Marie Maguin and P. Kapitanak, *Montaigne et Shakespeare: vers un nouvel humanisme*. Montpellier: Société Française Shakespeare, 2004, 13-27), and ‘The origins of Florio’s Montaigne: “Of the institution and education of children, to Madame Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford”’, *Montaigne Studies* 24 (2012) 7-32.; and M. Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: a cultural politics of translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹³ *The Essayes*, 1603, fol. A3^r.

¹⁴ Gwinne had travelled to France attending the ambassador Sir Henry Unton, and displayed familiarity with the *Essais* as early as his 1598-9 Gresham College orations (published in 1605): see Boutcher: ‘Marginal Commentaries’, p. 19.

¹⁵ On the editorial history of French editions of the *Essais*, see R. Sayce and D. Maskell, *A Descriptive Bibliography of Montaigne’s Essais 1580-1700* (London: The Bibliographic Society, 1983); and P. Desan, ‘Editer et publier les *Essais* au XVII^e siècle’, *Cahiers de l’Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises*, 51 (1999), 205-23. On de Gournay’s editorship, see C. Blum’s essay ‘L’éditrice des *Essais*’ in the critical edition of her works (*Œuvres complètes*, 2 vol, eds. J.-C. Arnould, E. Berriot, C. Blum, A. L. Franchetti, M.-C. Thomine and V. Worth-Stylianou. Paris: Honoré Champion: 2002), Vol. I, pp. 27-43.

¹⁶ See Maskell and Sayce, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, p.66, note 1.

¹⁷ *Œuvres complètes*, p. 335.

¹⁸ I am assuming that one or more copies of the 1603 translation reached Paris before 1611: even though de Gournay and most printers did not know English, the references would still have been intelligible. In the 1617 edition overseen by de Gournay, however, she substantially revises the *loci*, as she points out in her Préface (*Essais*, 1617, fol. I2^v).

However, as McKinley has shown,¹⁹ it was only with apparent reluctance that de Gournay acceded, in 1617, to the printer's desire:

L'Imprimeur m'a encore pressée de tourner les passages Latins des Essais, sur le desir qu'il pretend, que plusieurs ignorans de leur langage, ont de les entendre [...] Neantmoins pour servir à l'utilité du mesme Imprimeur, je me suis flechie à les tourner.²⁰

I have argued elsewhere that the passage of nearly forty years between the first edition of the *Essais* in 1580 and the 1617 edition witnessed a significant transformation in the French linguistic and cultural landscape, with the result that de Gournay was left defending a stylistic position that came to appear anachronistic.²¹ As Blum has observed, increasingly, the taste of court circles for *honnêteté* displaced previous generations' respect for humanist learning, with the result that French readers were unwilling or ill-equipped to appreciate the subtleties of a bilingual text.²²

We might have expected de Gournay, who had taught herself Latin, to be sympathetic at least to women readers, most of whom would have received little or no education in the classics. Yet her attitude echoes Montaigne's comment in III.5:

'Je m'ennuie que mes essais servent les dames de meuble commun seulement, et de meuble de sale. Ce chapitre me fera du cabinet.'²³

On the surface, her preface does not engage with the gender of readers. Rather, she focuses on their competence to appreciate Montaigne, a quality she explicitly distinguishes from mere classical scholarship. Her choice of metaphor, nonetheless, evokes masculine rather than feminine spheres of activity:

'un Lecteur qui cognoist ces passages-là [les citations], n'est pas plus prest de demesler ce Livre à point, que celuy qui ne les cognoist pas, s'il n'est d'ailleurs ferré à glace.'²⁴

Implicitly portraying herself as an ideal reader of Montaigne, she can ride across the ice, barely stumbling, because she appreciates the true value of 'ceste masse ou plustost nuée et moisson

¹⁹ M. McKinley, "'Fleurs estrangeres": Gournay's translation of Montaigne's quotations in the 1617 *Essais*', *Montaigne Studies* 7 (1995), 19-30. Based on the paratexts (rather than the translations of the quotations), she argues that this edition represented a new stage in de Gournay's editorial relationship with the *Essais*.

²⁰ *Les Essais*, 1617, p. 989. [The printer also urged me to translate the Latin passages in the *Essais* because he claimed that some people that do not know this language wish to understand them. [...] Nevertheless, to satisfy the printer's requirements, I reluctantly translated them.] In the 1635 edition, de Gournay pluralizes the reference to 'Les imprimeurs [...] à l'utilité des mesmes Imprimeurs ou Libraires' (*Œuvres complètes*, p. 338).

²¹ 'Marie de Gournay et la traduction: défense et illustration d'un style', *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Montaigne* 7 (janvier-juin 1996), 193-206. By 1617, even de Gournay accepted that the vocabulary of the *Essais* needed some modernisation, an editorial task she herself undertook. (Blum, 'L'éditrice des *Essais*', in *Œuvres complètes*, p. 43)

²² *Œuvres complètes*, p. 285. On the early reception of the *Essais* in France, see also J. Brody, 'La première réception des *Essais* de Montaigne : fortunes d'une forme', in *L'Automne de la Renaissance*, eds. J. Lafond and A. Stegmann (Paris: Vrin, 1981), 19-30; and O. Millet, *La Première Réception des Essais de Montaigne (1580-1640)*, Geneva: Honoré Champion, 1995.

²³ III.5 (V, p. 847). ['I am annoyed that my essays serve the ladies only as a public article of furniture, an article for the parlor. This chapter will put me in the boudoir.' F, p. 781.]

²⁴ *Essais*, p. 989. [A reader who knows those passages is no nearer to making good sense of this book than someone that does not know them, unless he wears hobnailed boots.]

d'auteurs Latins [...] la cresse et la fleur choisie à dessein, comme on voit, de l'ouvrage des plus excellents Auteurs'.²⁵ Hence, she feels equipped to meet the double challenge posed by translating these quotations, respecting both Montaigne's use of them and their original source.²⁶ Her discussion is couched in abstract terms, the only use of a metaphor of birthing being reserved for Montaigne's 'excellente application' of these authors that is sometimes 'opposite de leur intention natale'.²⁷ Is there any indication in the Preface that she nonetheless presents her translation as a gendered performance? Her use of the marked form 'traductrice' invites attention, since, when theorising about translation in general, she uses the masculine form, 'un pertinent traducteur'. In contrast, she applies to herself adjectives that suggest female domestic virtues: 'fidelle traductrice', 'une austere traductrice'. In addition, the closing sentence of the preface acknowledges that her status as a self-educated woman could expose her to criticism from 'un Lecteur habile homme'. Her lexis, especially 'me quereller' evokes stereotypical disputes between husband and wife:

'Enfin s'il se trouve quelque faute en mon ouvrage, j'espere qu'elle sera faute, non de prevoyance, ains de Grammaire, en laquelle je suis peu versée: et que partant un Lecteur habile homme; prendra la peine de m'avertir, plustost que de me quereller.'²⁸

In short, where Florio had delighted in playfully feigning feminine weakness, deferring to another to translate the quotations, de Gournay parries criticism of her work by shielding herself behind her identity as a female without formal education; to translate may be a 'female' act of delivery at second-hand, but it is not necessarily a skill expected of a Renaissance woman.²⁹

When we turn from the prefaces to the 1603 English and 1617 French texts, the different status Florio and de Gournay accorded the quotations is apparent from the typographic presentation. Florio had argued that 'every language hath its Genius and inseparable forme', selecting examples such as: 'The Tuscan altiloquence, the Venus of the French, the sharpe state of the Spanish, the strong significancy of the Dutch'.³⁰ Hence, to translate the Latin and Greek quotations within the

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 990.

²⁶ 'Ç'a esté certes une de mes peines, me trouvant sur quelque passage contourné ou frelaté, de l'exprimer en telle sorte, qu'il quadrait sortablement s'il estoit possible, à la composition originaire et à l'application.' (*ibid.*, p. 991). ['It was one of the challenges when I came upon a passage which had been adapted or doctored, to express it so that, as far as possible, it fitted both the original text and the new use of it.']

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 991. ['excellent borrowing ... different from their original conception']

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 991. [Finally, if any error is found in my work, I trust it will be not of interpretation but only of syntax, in which I am not expert. And an expert reader would do well to draw my attention to it rather than upbraiding me.']

²⁹ When publishing translations of extracts from Tacitus and Sallust in 1619, de Gournay emphasised that she had worked from the Latin text, rather than from existing French translations for 'quelques-uns croyent qu'une femme ne peut entendre le Latin, et que je traduis sur les Traducteurs.' (*Œuvres complètes*, p. 1436.) ['some people believe that a woman cannot understand Latin, and that I work from other translations.']

³⁰ Since the foundational study of the cultural nationalism of translation in the Renaissance by R. Jones (*The Triumph of the English Language*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), critics reappraising the issue include notably S. Keilen, *Vulgar Eloquence: On the Renaissance Invention of English Literature*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006 (pp. 21-27); and C. Nicholson, *Uncommon Tongues: Eloquence and Eccentricity in the English Renaissance*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013 (pp. 2-11). Florio's list of national linguistic traits may be compared with Thomas Dekker's a few years later: *Lantern and*

Essais was a similar challenge to translating Montaigne's French.³¹ It is his own English version for which Florio apologizes:

'Why then belike I have done by Montaigne, as Terence by Menander, made of good French no good English [...] His horse I set before you; perhaps without his trappings; and his meate without sause [...].'³²

Indeed, he compares it unfavourably with the rendering of the quotations by Gwinne, his 'peerelesse deere-deerest and never sufficiently commended friend', underlining the ease with which his version accommodated the translation of the quotations.

The lay-out adopted by the printer, Valentine Sims, would have pleased Montaigne, for it distinguishes the poetic borrowings: prose quotations run on, but verse is carefully inset. For the prose, Sims uses italics for both the Latin and English. The Latin verses are also set in italics, but the printer reverts to Roman type for the English translation, which is also indented. Because they share the same font, the reader's eye runs effortlessly from the English version of the verse quotations to Florio's translation; only the Latin verse obtrudes, in italics. On the one hand, Florio's reader is thus initially still conscious of the foreign bugbears. Yet for the verse passages, all but the most scholarly readers might adopt a pattern of reading only the text in roman font, so that the bilingual character is at once present yet domesticated. This pattern would be interrupted, producing a sudden visual and conceptual jolt, only when a quotation is not translated, notably in the case of some racy or erotic verses.³³ It was an approach which also set the template for Charles Cotton's new English translation of the *Essais* in the late seventeenth century (1685-6).³⁴

In contrast, de Gournay did not make it easy for her readers to avoid the mental encounter with Montaigne's Latin quotations. Although the title page of the 1617 edition advertised the new features (*Edition Nouvelle. Enrichie d'annotations en marge, du nom des Auteurs citez, et de la version du Latin d'iceux*), the translations are placed at the end of the *Essais*, in an appendix - paradoxically making of them a florilegium for the desultory reader. This format was maintained in the 1625 edition, but in 1635, the final edition overseen by de Gournay, the translations of the quotations moved one stage nearer to integration within the French text, being placed at the end of each chapter. In moving from one chapter to another - particularly the short chapters of Book I - French readers could no longer ignore their presence.

While the typographic presentation of the 1617 edition suggests that de Gournay was reluctant to disturb the bilingualism of the *Essais*, her preface emphasizes the difficulties inherent in

Candlelight: 1608 by Thomas Dekker, ed. with introd. and annotations by V. Comensoli, Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007, p. 83.

³¹ In contrast, Naselli's early partial translation of the *Essais* into Italian (*Discorsi morali, politici, et militari*, Ferrara, 1590) - which probably inspired Florio's choice of title for his English translation - left the quotations in the original languages, and did not identify any of the sources. See M. Tetel, 'Idéologie et traductions de Girolamo Naselli à John Florio', *Montaigne Studies* 7:1-2 (1995), 169-182.

³² 'To the curteous Reader', *The Essayes*, 1603, fol. A5'.

³³ See below (p. XX).

³⁴ A comparison with the versions of Florio/Gwinn shows Cotton to be a competent if less adventurous translator; his assimilation of the quotations fits his pragmatic approach to englishing the entire text. See P. Ford's comparison of sections of the translations by Florio and by Cotton, 'Charles Cotton's Montaigne', *Montaigne Studies* 24 (2012), 105-120.

her task. She was not an inexperienced translator: she had produced a polished version of Book II of the *Aeneid* (published in 1594) and a draft translation of one of Ovid's *Heroides*, and had probably completed substantial extracts from Tacitus and Sallust. However, she was acutely aware that the quotations posed a particular challenge. The adjectives she chooses to characterize the classical writers are telling: 'auteurs outreplus figurez et pressez' (1617) or 'figurez et succincts' (1625-35).³⁵ In her extensive writings on poetic theory, De Gournay defended the Renaissance love of daring metaphors and tropes against the restrictions the Malherbian camp sought to impose upon poetic language, and her treatise 'Sur la Version des Poetes antiques' (1626) is subtitled 'ou des Metaphores'. To translate the idiom of Montaigne's favourite poets was to grant an unfashionable licence for a rich metaphorical style. The other adjective, 'pressez' / 'succincts', signals her awareness of the challenges of translating without excessive paraphrase. While claiming to have respected 'les loix d'une austere traductrice',³⁶ she concedes that in a few places she has incorporated an explanatory gloss within her translation; yet she cannot overlook the competing demands of the quotations as independent Latin or Greek texts, remodelled or even distorted by the writing in which they are embedded.

Editors of the *Essais* in the 1650s and 1660s continued to reproduce de Gournay's 1635 version, word for word, with Christophe Journal including a French translation of Montaigne's Italian quotations in 1659. This apart, de Gournay dictated the reception of the quotations in French for approximately half a century, from 1617-1669.³⁷ However, there was one notable advance in the 1652 edition by Henri Estienne: the translations of the Latin and Greek quotations were finally printed in the margins of the text.³⁸ It was a sure sign that at the mid-point of the century Montaigne had passed from the hands of readers numbering many humanist scholars to those of the 'honnêtes gens'. Estienne, a scion of the famous humanist printing dynasty, recommended his modern lay-out as serving the need of 'ceux qui n'ont pas cét advantage d'entendre lesdites Langues [Grecque et Latine]', and in particular of the female reading public: 'J'espere qu'un chascun, et les Dames mesmes, y prendront tres-bonne part, puisqu'en cette Edition il n'y a plus rien de l'estranger, qu'elle est toute Françoisse, et toute intelligible par le moyen de ladicte traduction.'³⁹ De Gournay would

³⁵ *Essais*, 1617, p. 989; *Œuvres complètes*, [1635 text], p. 349. ['most figurative and concise authors'; 'figurative and succinct']

³⁶ *Essais*, 1617, p. 990. ['the rules of a strict translator']

³⁷ The late seventeenth century saw two radical abridgements of the *Essais*, one by Charles de Sercy in 1677, retaining fewer than 50 of the quotations, of which hardly any are translated or glossed; and the other (attributed to Artaud) in 1700, entitled *Pensées de Montaigne, propres à former l'esprit et les mœurs*, in which all the quotations are excised, without comment from the editor. In addition, Guillaume Béranger's polemical defence of Montaigne in 1667 presented short passages from Montaigne's text, together with some of his quotations (see P. Desan, 'Les Essais en cinq cents pensées ou la réponse de Guillaume Béranger aux "injures et railleries" d'Arnaud et Nicole contre Montaigne (1667)', *Renaissance Journal*, II-4, 2005, 6-13). However, it was not until the complete edition of the *Essais* published in 1724, by Pierre Coste, that a new French translation of the quotations replaced de Gournay's. Coste's approach and typography are resolutely scientific, anticipating modern editions: Montaigne's quotations are set in italics in the text; they are translated in numbered footnotes at the bottom of the page, in much smaller type, indicating the source. They have the status of apparatus for the reader to judge Montaigne, including measuring his shortcomings with a critical eye (as Coste does in his running commentary on the unclear allusions and errors in the *Essais*).

³⁸ See Maskell and Sayce, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, p. 145, note 2.

³⁹ *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne*, Paris, Henri Estienne, 1652: fol. aiii^r. ['those who do not possess the advantage of understanding the Greek and Latin languages ... I hope that everyone, even the ladies, will benefit from it, since this edition has left nothing foreign; it is entirely in French, and completely comprehensible thanks to the translation.']

hardly have been flattered by this estimation of women's intellectual capacities, nor, one suspects, would she or Montaigne have approved of the way in which the verse translations were crammed into the margin without regard for the start of lines.

The discipline of translation studies requires a dual approach in the appraisal of literary translations: on the one hand, paratextual materials and typographic choices, of the type discussed above, illuminate the cultural contexts in which target texts circulate; on the other hand, a philological analysis of the practices of the individual translator is essential to defining a target text's literary identity. Despite the significant, long-standing interest in Florio⁴⁰ and the modest recent interest in de Gournay, there is as yet no comparison of the translation of Montaigne's Latin and Greek quotations in their two versions. Yet the manner in which the quotations are translated, as much as their physical presence within the published text, contributed to how Montaigne was read in England or France. We have established that readers of Florio's Montaigne never had to tussle with the original Latin or Greek quotations unless they chose to, and that the presentation of the English editions assimilated the translations within the body of the text, whereas French readers of the earlier seventeenth century had no translation of the quotations, and later the translations were still confined to an appendix. Does this contrast between the principles of assimilation / distancing also hold true when we compare the translation styles of Florio-Gwinne⁴¹ and of Gournay? Hamlin, for example, has shown that handwritten marginal annotations commented on Gwinne's versions of the quotations, proposing improvements;⁴² however, de Gournay's translations, separated - until 1652 - from Montaigne's text, by contrast avoided claiming a literary life of their own.

One striking difference between the versions is that whereas Gwinne has a proclivity for turning both short and longer quotations into English verse, de Gournay generally prefers prose. Her partial translation of the *Aeneid* attested her competence in using alexandrine rhyming couplets,⁴³ but most of her writings throughout her life were in prose. Furthermore, keenly aware of the stylistic value Montaigne attributed to his quotations from Latin poets, she is almost abruptly defensive of her position:

'Si j'ay rendu la Poësie comme l'oraison, sous le seul genre de la prose, pour estre plus fidelle, à l'exemple d'autres versions autorisées de nostre siecle ; on m'en doibt reputer soulagée de temps,

⁴⁰ Gwinne's role is rarely accorded more than a cursory nod by critics. Even in the *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2: 1550-1660*, Cummings writes off Gwinne's contribution in half a sentence (p. 400). Keener explores the prefatory acknowledgement of the friendship ('Prefatory Friendships', pp. 87-89), while Hamlin's more detailed appraisal is a notable and welcome exception (*Montaigne's English Journey*, pp. 54-55).

⁴¹ Hereafter, for simplicity I shall speak of the translation of the quotations as the work of Gwinne, although it is possible that Florio (or Diodati) had some hand in polishing the English draft. Nonetheless, Florio's preface clearly acknowledges this work was accomplished by Gwinne.

⁴² *Montaigne's English Journey*, pp. 19-20.

⁴³ See my analysis in *Œuvres complètes*, pp. 63-64.

non de sollicitude ayguë : la moins espineuse et scabreuse circonstance de telle traduction estant de la bastir en vers.’⁴⁴

Her appeal to precedent is flimsy, for by this date few French translations of Latin poets used prose; even partial translations of poetry were usually in verse.⁴⁵ Rather, the key point is her desire, as self-appointed custodian of the integrity of the transmission of the *Essais*, to be a ‘fidelle traductrice’, avoiding imposing her own style upon them. Nevertheless, she allows several concessions. First, some ‘breves sentences’ are rendered by one or two lines of verse, to make them ‘plus faciles à retenir’.⁴⁶ Secondly, several more substantial passages are rendered in verse, ‘tant par esbat, que pour piquer, si je puis quelqu’un par exemple à faire le mesme du reste’.⁴⁷ The first reason reinforces the idea that translation stimulates a creative impulse that is hard to resist. Yet the second seems to contradict de Gournay’s general approach: nowhere else does she invite others to collaborate in defining the transmission of the *Essais*. The statement is probably better read as a literary trope, the challenge intended to indicate the adequacy of the present version,⁴⁸ while ensuring the reader appreciates the scale of her labours.

I have offered a detailed appraisal of de Gournay’s translations in the introduction to her complete works,⁴⁹ so propose here to concentrate on the Florio-Gwinne version. However, it is important first to highlight one aspect of her mediation of Montaigne’s quotations, to set up a contrast. Many critics have explored how Montaigne played with the bilingual texture of the *Essais*,⁵⁰ exploiting readers’ close familiarity with his sources by making subtle changes within quotations, conflating quotations from several sources into a *cento*, and – especially in III.5 – opposing intricate Latin poetry with earthy French prose. It is precisely the distance between Latin and French which achieves these effects. When de Gournay accepts the obligation in 1617, to make the *Essais* speak in a single voice, she follows as far as possible Montaigne’s tactics, keeping the playful distortions of original sources, retaining *centones*. However, monolingualism imposes choices between echoing the Latin source or Montaigne’s French: there is a perceptible movement of gravity away from calques derived from the Latin, and towards a lexis inspired by Montaigne’s own French.⁵¹ For example, in ‘Du Démentir’, where Montaigne cites humorous lines from Perseus to define the essence of the *Essais*:

⁴⁴ *Essais*, 1617, p. 989. [‘I have translated the poetry, like the prose passages, simply into prose to be a more faithful translator, following the practice of some other translations that have won approval in our age. It may be said that I spared myself some time, but not painful effort, for versifying a translation is the least delicate and tricky part of the task.’]

⁴⁵ See, for example, book 5 of the second volume of *Les Meslanges* (1583) of Jean de La Jessée, a Gascon contemporary of Montaigne, consisting of fragmentary and partial translations into French verse from a host of Latin and Greek poets.

⁴⁶ *Essais*, 1617, p. 990.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Compare her apparent admiration for two earlier translators of Virgil, Du Perron and Bertaut, when she published her own version of parts of the *Aeneid*; yet setting extracts from these two translations alongside her own in fact drew attention to the shorter, more modern style of her own versions. See ‘Marie de Gournay et la traduction’, pp. 199–202.

⁴⁹ ‘Marie de Gournay traductrice’, in *Œuvres complètes*, pp. 56–79.

⁵⁰ Notably the detailed studies of M. McKinley, *Words in a Corner: Studies in Montaigne’s Latin quotations* (Lexington Kentucky: French Forum, 1981); and F. Gray, *Montaigne bilingue: le latin des Essais* (Paris: Champion, 1991).

⁵¹ See my discussion in *Œuvres complètes*, pp. 76–79.

'Je ne dresse pas icy une statue à planter au carrefour d'une ville, ou dans une Eglise, ou place publique:

Non equidem hoc studeo, bullatis ut mihi nugis
Pagina turgescat.
Secreti loquimur.'⁵²

De Gournay offers the following translation, many of the words (my italics) recalling other comments by Montaigne in the course of the *Essais*:

'Ce n'est pas *mon dessein*, de *bouffir* ce Livre, du vent seigneurial de ces magnifiques *frivoles*. Je parle *bassement* en *particulier*.'⁵³

When translating into the same language as that used by adoptive father, she was subject to his influence in a way that Gwinne was not.

Beyond Florio's acknowledgement in the preface of Gwinne's role as translator of the 'bugbear' quotations, we are given no insights into his method of translation, yet we may assume the versions were intended to stand up to close scrutiny by the elite English readership of the early seventeenth century, since they are printed with the Latin or Greek in parallel. Overall, his versions are those of a proficient classical scholar; he looks to translate neatly, conveying the sense clearly but also pleasingly. His style is necessarily constrained by the brevity of the sources. In the prose quotations, he generally avoids expansion; in verse, however, he allows some padding in order to produce a rhyming couplet, even for a single line of Latin. For example, at the end of I.37, Gwinne substitutes a couplet where Montaigne concluded his appraisal of Cato with a part-line of Virgil,:

'– His dantem jura Catonem

Chiefe justice *Cato* doe decree
Lawes that for righteous soules should be.'⁵⁴

In contrast, longer verse quotations are usually rendered by the same number of lines in English, demonstrating that Gwinne is not unnecessarily verbose by habit. Indeed, some of his translations have a distinctively snappy quality, reminiscent of Montaigne's taste for 'un parler succulent et nerveux'.⁵⁵ For example, in III.5, arguing the need for limiting sexual relations in marriage, Montaigne cites a line from the *Georgics* in which Virgil depicts a cow kept hungry for its encounter with the bull:

'[les medecins...] disent d'autre-part, qu'à une congression languissante, comme celle là est de sa nature, pour la remplir d'une juste et fertile chaleur, il s'y faut presenter rarement et à notables intervalles,

⁵² II.18 (V, p. 664); Perseus V.19. ['I am not building here a statue to erect at the town crossroads, or in a church or a public square : « I do no aim to swell my page full-blown/ With windy trifles .../ We two talk alone.'"] F, p. 611].

⁵³ *Essais*, 1617, p. 1055.

⁵⁴ *The Essayes*, 1603, p.115; *Aeneid* VIII. 670. Compare de Gournay's brief prose version : 'Caton est là, qui donne à tous la loy'.

⁵⁵ I.26 (V, p. 171).

Quo rapiat sitiens venerem interiusque recondat.’⁵⁶

Where Florio’s prose translation of Montaigne’s French is exact, but unadventurous, Gwinne’s couplet adds a brisk, playful note:

‘Some other [Phisicians] say, besides, that to a languishing congression (as naturallie that is) to store it with a convenient and fertile heate, one must but seldome, and by moderate intermissions present himselfe unto it;

Thirsting to snatch a fit,
And inly harbor it.’⁵⁷

Gwinne’s confidence as a translator is also clear in his readiness to adapt syntax to suit his metre, particularly reordering clauses on occasions. It is notable that he tends to eschew enjambements,⁵⁸ even when present in the source text, preferring a tidier translation, as in the rendering of the two lines from Terence, cited by Montaigne towards the close of I.28 to express his grief for the loss of La Boétie.

‘[...] je ne fay que trainer languissant; et les plaisirs mesmes qui s'offrent à moy, au lieu de me consoler, me redoublent le regret de sa perte. Nous estions à moitié de tout; il me semble que je luy desrobe sa part,

Nec fas esse ulla me voluptate hic frui
Decrevi, tantisper dum ille abest meus particeps.’⁵⁹

Gwinne’s translation of ‘Decrevi’ is set at the start of the couplet, simplifying the structure, but carefully preserving the first person (‘frui’/ ‘I may’) at the end of the first line, contrasted with the double reference in the following line to the absent La Boétie (‘ille...particeps’/ ‘he my partner’):

‘I doe but languish, I doe but sorrow: and even those pleasures, all things present me with, in stead of yeelding me comfort, doe but redouble the grieffe of his losse. Wee were copartners in all things. All things were with us at halfe; mee thinkes I have stolne his part from him.

I have set downe, no joy enjoy I may,
As long as he my partner is away.’⁶⁰

The way that Gwinne’s lexis echoes Florio’s (my partner/ co-partners), provides intralingual imitation of Montaigne’s bilingual echo of the last word of Terence (‘sa part’/ ‘particeps’), the careful crafting perhaps paying testimony to I.28’s position as the emotional summit of Book I.⁶¹

⁵⁶ V, p. 850 (*Georgics* III.137 – Virgil’s line started with ‘Sed’, which Montaigne changed to ‘Quo’). By contrast, de Gournay did not translate this spicy quotation.

⁵⁷ *The Essayes*, 1603, p. 510.

⁵⁸ In this respect, his style departs from euphuistic emulation of the fluid syntax of classical inflected languages, discussed by C. Nicholson, *Uncommon Tongues*, pp. 77-78.

⁵⁹ V, p. 193 (Terence, *Heautontimoroumenos*. I.i.97).

⁶⁰ *The Essayes*, 1603, p. 95.

⁶¹ De Gournay, translating into prose, reworks this quotation significantly in 1625 and 1635, adding a concluding paraphrastic clause (my italics) for similar effect: ‘Et j’ay donné cét arrest contre moy-mesme; que

In addition, there are some features of the translations in which we may distinguish Gwinne's voice. Like Florio, he is charmed by novel compound forms, on occasion experimenting with several in close succession. In II.37 this is prompted by the source text, where Montaigne borrows Cicero's periphrasis describing a tortoise, to conclude his caustic comments on physicians' use of unintelligible language:

'quoy qu'en sente la philosophie, que c'est follie de conseiller un homme pour son profit par maniere non intelligible: Ut si quis medicus imperet utumat: Terrigenam, herbigradam, domoportam, sanguine cassam.'⁶²

'Howbeit Philosophie supposeth it to be folly to perswade a man to his profit, by wayes not understood: 'As if a physitian should bid a man take.

One, earth-borne, goe-by-grasse, house-bearing, slimilie, bloodlesse.'⁶³

However, on other occasions Gwinne introduces compounds independently, particularly in III.5 where the rich poetic texture stems in large part from the accumulation of allusive quotations. For example, Montaigne cited Ovid's *Amores* to criticise the overly-strict chaperoning of Italian women:

'Il leur faut un peu lacher les resnes:

Vidi ego nuper equum, contra sua frena tenacem,
Ore reluctanti fulminis ire modo.'⁶⁴

Gwinne's version is calculated to catch the reader's attention:

'They must have the reynes given them a little.

I saw, spite of his bit, a resty colte,
Runne head-strong headlong like a thunder-bolt.'⁶⁵

His attention to sound patterns both responds to the poetic qualities of the source text, but also pushes the boundaries of translation towards independent writing; in addition, the couplet provides a striking illustration of his mastery of the decasyllabic rhyming couplet – a fresh, modern metre⁶⁶ A quotation from Virgil earlier in the same chapter displays Gwinne's ability to imitate the sound-patterning and alliteration that in Latin derived partly from the inflected forms (my italics):

'Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque,
Et genus aequoreum, pecudes, pictaeque volucres,

je ne pourrois pas loisiblement jouyr d'aucun plaisir, tandis qu'il est separé de moy: luy qui estoit mon personnier *et mon adjoint en toutes choses*.' (*Œuvres complètes*, 1635 text, p. 376).

⁶² V, p. 770 (Cicero, *De Divinatione* II).

⁶³ *The Essayes*, 1603, p. 441. De Gournay's French version also imitates the ridiculous compounds: 'Comme si quelque Medecin luy commande de prendre, la terre nee, l'herbe marche, la porte maison, la vide de sang.' (*Essais*, 1617, p. 1061).

⁶⁴ V, p. 883 (Ovid *Amores* III.4.13: Montaigne substituted 'frena' for 'vincla').

⁶⁵ *The Essayes*, 1603, p. 530.

⁶⁶ In contrast, de Gournay's prose translation departs little from the Latin: 'je vis nagueres un cheval cabré contre son frein ; le luttant d'une bouche revesche, s'envoler comme un foudre.' (*Essais*, 1617, p. 1061).

In furias ignémque ruunt.’⁶⁷

Swirling streams of echoes (again, my italics) compensate for the absence of inflections:

‘All kindes of things on earth, wilde beasts, man-kinde,
Field-beasts, faire-fethered fowle, and fish (we finde)
Into loves fire and furie runne by kinde.’⁶⁸

In the introduction to her translation of Gwinne’s neo-Latin tragedy *Nero*, Sutton defended Gwinne’s Latin style from earlier detractors, arguing that he was ‘attempting to develop a novel poetics by importing Euphuism into Latin’.⁶⁹ We might counter that euphuism was scarcely novel in England in 1603;⁷⁰ critics have also located various features of it in Florio’s translation. Nonetheless, Gwinne’s translations of the quotations show various euphuistic qualities: a fondness for couplets expressing antitheses, the use of protracted word-repetition (e.g. ‘kinde’ in the above example), and extreme use of alliteration. He is not, in short, a translator seeking to hide his light under Florio’s or Montaigne’s bushel. Only in the case of the most directly erotic quotations does he pass up the challenge. Hamlin has analysed in detail the omission of some twenty-two such passages, which he suggests matches Florio’s limited but delicate censorship of some of the most forthright passages of Montaigne’s French text.⁷¹ Whether the choice not to translate these quotations was made singly or collaboratively by Gwinne, Florio or even the printer, we cannot know, but it is testimony to the resistance of one trait of Montaigne’s bilingual text. It is paralleled by de Gournay’s declaration that she is content to ‘avoir laissé dormir les libertins, souz le voile de leur langue estrangere, ny d’avoir tors le nez à quelque mot joyeux de l’un d’entr’eux’.⁷² She omits to translate some twenty quotations in 1617, and excises several more in 1635, a sign of the growing distaste for coarseness as *préciosité* gained ground.⁷³

One other aspect of Gwinne’s translation reinforces a novel feature of Florio’s translation, identified by Hamlin:⁷⁴ the foregrounding of dialogic qualities inherent Montaigne’s text. Hamlin argues that its unusual sensitivity - by comparison with contemporary prose treatises - to many of the strategies routinely drawn upon by dramatists rendered it all the more readily assimilable to the literary projects of dramatists such as Shakespeare, Marston, Daniel. Gwinne’s translation of the quotations lends momentum to the tendency for Montaigne’s text to be read almost as a theatrical series of conversations. It is notable that Gwinne’s own Latin orations were peppered with classical quotations, and Sutton shows that his *Nero* is replete with the rhetorical devices of stichomythia and antilabe.⁷⁵ I would surmise that he was at ease with an antiphonal style in which dialogue moved

⁶⁷ V, p. 859 (Virgil, *Georgics*, III.242-4).

⁶⁸ *The Essayes*, 1603, p. 516.

⁶⁹ A hypertext critical edition by Dana F. Sutton (posted 1997, revised 2012)

<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/Nero/intro.html>, section 32ff. (Accessed 1/1/15.)

⁷⁰ For an analysis of this ‘wayward style’, and notably of the influence of John Lyly, see C. Nicholson, *Uncommon Tongues*, pp. 72-99.

⁷¹ *Montaigne’s English Journey*, pp. 55-66.

⁷² *Essais*, 1617, p. 990.

⁷³ The translation of ‘Omne adeo’ (rendered in prose in 1617) is one of those excised in 1625/1635. McKinley’s points to this quotation’s ‘levelling force, putting the women’s passion on the same plane with the mare’s frenzy’ (*Words in a Corner*, pp. 88-89).

⁷⁴ *Montaigne’s English Journey*, pp. 35-49.

⁷⁵ <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/Nero/intro.html>, section 43.

rapidly between speakers. Gwinne sometimes adds personal pronouns or adjectives in his translation of the quotations, implicitly drawing the reader into the text. For example, in I.26, a quotation from Perseus's satire upon education elaborates upon what Montaigne considers a child should be taught. The source text used only impersonal constructions until the introduction of 'te' at the end of the third line:

'Aux exemples se pourront proprement assortir tous les plus profitables discours de la philosophie, à laquelle se doivent toucher les actions humaines comme à leur reigle. On luy dira,

quid fas optare, quid asper
Utile nummus habet; patriae charisque propinquis
Quantum elargiri deceat: quem te Deus esse
Jussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re;
Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur.'⁷⁶

We can assume that Gwinne was quite familiar with the original context, and thus aware of Perseus's deliberate oscillation between universal (impersonal) forms and direct address to the reader,⁷⁷ but it suits his dramatic purpose better to use the second-person singular from the outset:

'Unto examples may all the most profitable Discourses of Philosophie bee sorted, which ought to be the touch-stone of humane actions, and a rule to square them by, to whom may be saide,

What *thou* maiest wish, what profit may come cleare,
From new-stampt coyne, to friends and cuntry deare
What *thou* oughtst give: whom God would have thee bee,
And in what parte mongst men he placed thee.
What we are, and wherefore,
To live here we were bore.'⁷⁸

Or, to take another example, from III.5, Montaigne cites Virgil's simple half-line concluding Venus's appeal for Vulcan to forge her son's armour:

'Voire elle luy faict requeste pour un sien bastard,
Arma rogo genitrix nato,
qui luy est liberalement accordée [...].'⁷⁹

Gwinne renders this by a couplet in English, and - in the absence of inflections- employs personal pronouns to carry the emotive force of the appeal, thereby conjuring up a scene of two actors on stage, talking of an absent third character:

'And which is more, she becomes a suter to him in the behalfe of a bastard of hers,

⁷⁶ V, p. 158 (Perseus, *Satire* 3: 69-72, 67 – i.e. Montaigne has rearranged the order of the lines).

⁷⁷ De Gournay's prose translation preserves this opposition, but replaces 'te' with the first-person plural: 'Ce qu'il est licite de souhaitter ; quelle utilité git en la pecune gravée : ce qu'il est seant de faire pour les proches chers, et pour la patrie : quels Dieu nous commande d'estre : quels nous sommes en effect : qu'elle est nostre charge au monde, et pourquoy nous naissons.' (*Essais*, 1617, p. 1001).

⁷⁸ *The Essayes*, 1603, p. 75.

⁷⁹ V, p. 864 (*Aeneid* VIII.383).

A mother for a sonne, / crave,
An armor *he of you* may have.

Which is freely granted hir:⁸⁰

In such ways, I would argue that his translations of the quotations contributed a further modern edge to Florio's work through their jauntiness, the self-confident play with sound patterns and neologistic compounds, and the theatrical thrust of the personalisations.

Both the English professional male scholar and the French female autodidact of limited social means had produced from Montaigne's classical quotations 'femalls, delivered at second hand', but the two infants looked rather different, the cultural influences of nurture having refashioned the original products of nature. To use Venuti's terminology, we might contrast the domesticating, assertive translation into English with the foreignizing, more restrained translation into French. Yet both translators essentially accomplished the same end: what Hamlin has defined, in respect of Florio-Gwinne's work, as 'the immense extension of audience, across class and gender boundaries'.⁸¹ Translating Montaigne's quotation was not a sterile occupation; the physician de Serres might well have included them as testimony to the fertility of bearing daughters. The undertaking caused both Gwinne and de Gournay – two highly skilled readers of Montaigne – to reflect substantially upon the bilingual texture of the *Essais*, but also upon the capacity of their respective and rapidly evolving vernaculars to ensure a transit across national, cultural and linguistic frontiers.

Successive translators would continue to wrestle with the bugbears or bouquets, particularly the erotic quotations, but whereas de Gournay in 1617-1635 seems to have worked without any reference to Gwinne's English translations, Coste, a century later, clearly had Cotton's new version before him, and found in it at least one novel solution. Latin was not the only language in which a Frenchman of the Enlightenment could entertain salacious thoughts. In place of a translation, Coste provides the following footnote on the quotation 'Et nudam pressi corpus adusque meum' (from Ovid):

'ce que le Traducteur Anglois a rendu par ces deux vers,

And in the naked Arms of mine
Her naked Body I did twine.

⁸⁰ *The Essayes*, 1603, p. 519. In contrast, de Gournay's prose translation ('Mere je te requires des armes pour mon fils.') echoes the poetic simplicity of the Latin.

⁸¹ *Montaigne's English Journey*, p. 66.

On ne sauroit dire la même chose si ouvertement en François: et plus enveloppée, elle feroit un contraste ridicule avec ce que Montaigne ajoute immédiatement après.⁸²

Veiled by the cloak of translation into another vernacular, Montaigne's bilingualism is recreated for Enlightenment Anglophiles!

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⁸² *Amores* I.5.24. ['which the English translator rendered by these two lines ... We could not say the same thing so openly in French; and if it were dressed up more delicately, it would make a ridiculous contrast with what Montaigne adds immediately afterwards.']