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Culture-bound Shifts in the First French and Italian Translations of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to compare Christopher Marlowe's play *Doctor Faustus* (1604, 1616) with the first French translation by Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy (1850) and the first Italian translation by Eugenio Turiello (1898) in search of the changes that are symptomatic of the cultural and ideological context of translation production.

The case of *Doctor Faustus* represents the epitome of the instability of a dramatic source text. Two main versions of the play (the so-called A-text and the B-text) differ in structural, thematic and doctrinal terms. At the same time, neither version delivers a coherent vision. The research seeks to examine whether Bazy's and Turiello's translation, emerging at 50-year intervals and belonging to different yet related geographical, historical and literary traditions, further multiply the potential readings of the original or whether they display a more consistent framework. In addition, we will analyse the causes of textual variation.

The regularities of the translators' behaviour and their intervention in translation are manifested across a consistent trend of changes, technically labelled as shifts. First, we will apply a comparative model of translation analysis in order to identify the shifts that occur in the process of linguistic rendering. Then, we will discuss the ways in which the identified patterns of shifts affect the general meaning and the structure of the target texts in question. Finally, adopting a socio-cultural approach, we will show how certain shifts are conditioned by different cultural and ideological factors operating in the recipient systems. This will confirm or reveal the translators' own ideology and the interpretation of the original, which is in turn indicative of their positions within the complex political and ideological space that surrounds them.

The results demonstrate that the two translations represent the ideological extremes in the general reception of the Faust myth and that they mirror a different point in the cultural and political evolution of nineteenth-century Europe.

Abbreviations

A_1 (A)   The so-called A-text (quarto of 1604): *The Tragicall History of D. Faustus.* London: Thomas Bushell, 1604.

B_1 (B)   The so-called B-text (quarto of 1616): *The Tragicall History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*. London: John Wright, 1616.

ST   The source text (the original text for translation)

TT   The target text (the translated text)

Ox.   The English edition of *Doctor Faustus* (B-text) edited by W. Oxberry, presumably used by the French translator. *Doctor Faustus, a tragedy; by Christopher Marlowe, with prefatory remarks, notes critical and explanatory*, London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshal, 1818.

Goll.   The English edition of *Doctor Faustus* (conflated version) edited by Sir Israel Gollancz, used by the Italian translator. *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus, a Play written by Christopher Marlowe, edited with a Preface, Notes and Glossary by Israel Gollancz, M.A.*, London: J. M. Dent and co., Aldine House, 1907. First published in London in 1897 as part of the Temple Dramatists series.

DF   *Doctor Faustus A- and B-texts (1604, 1616) by Christopher Marlowe,* edited by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, Manchester University Press, 1993. The quotations from *Faustus* in this study apply to this edition in cases where Oxberry's or Gollancz's edition do not lexically differ from Bevington and Rasmussen's text.

FTT   The French target text. The first French translation of *Doctor Faustus* by Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy. *Études historiques, littéraires et philosophiques sur C. Marlowe et Goethe et sur les seizième et dix-neuvième siècles, suivies de l'Histoire allégorique de la vie et de la mort du docteur Jean Faust, drame de Christophe Marlowe, traduit pour la première fois, avec des notes explicatives par J.-P.-A. Bazy*, Paris : Garnier frères, 1850.

ITT   The Italian target text. The first Italian translation of *Doctor Faustus* produced by Eugenio Turiello. *La Tragica storia del dottor Fausto. Dramma di Cristoforo Marlowe, prima traduzione italiana di Eugenio Turiello*, Napoli: Tipografia Giuseppe Golia, 1898.

OED   *Oxford English Dictionary*, edited by J. A Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Littré   *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, edited by Émile Littré, Paris: L. Hachette, 1873-1874.

Garzanti   *Grande Dizionario Garzanti di Italiano*, Milano: De Agostini Scuola S.p.A – Garzanti linguistica, 2013.

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Introduction

The idea for carrying out research on literary translation originated during my master's studies when I worked on a thesis written in English which examined the dramatisation of the socially conditioned origin of violence in Shakespeare's tragedies. The joint and international character of the programme required that the oral examination in front of members of the panel be delivered in French and Italian. For that matter, I made use of the French and Italian translations of Shakespeare's plays that formed part of my corpus in order to get acquainted with Shakespearean vocabulary expressed in translation, thus facilitating the presentation of the topic and public discussion. To my astonishment, I discovered that the basic premises of my argument, backed up by an array of convincing textual evidence in the original, would have lost any support were they grounded on the translated texts only. The translated versions displayed a certain pattern of changes that ultimately affected the general framework of the target texts, which contrasted starkly with the original.

What was brought to my attention from my experience has been at the core of translation reflection for decades. Over time translation has moved from being considered a mere mechanical reproduction of the original to an act and a product of rewriting that expresses inevitable changes consciously or unconsciously made by the translator. Therefore, the view of translation has shifted from a marginal, second-order and transparent activity not "worthy of serious critical attention" (Gentzler 2001: 5) towards the acknowledgement of its transformative, interpretative and creative quality, and as such it deserves to be treated as a text in its own right.

Ever since Translation Studies evolved from a sub-branch of linguistics into an independent academic discipline in the 1980s, the scope of observation has been further extended relying on previous methodological and theoretical advances in translation discussion. Traditional normative and purely linguistic approaches to translation analysis that discussed the relationship between the original and translation in terms of the conventional faithful/free duality, evaluative in orientation, have been replaced with the descriptive paradigm. This target-text and target-culture-oriented approach, developed in detail by Gideon Toury (1995) involves non-prescriptive discussion of STs and TTs with a view to identifying the underlying translation behaviour, namely the "general characteristics and laws of translation" (Hatim and Munday 2004: 338), thus explaining the textual modification and composition of the translated text.

Toury's descriptive outlook evolved from the previous systems theories in the 1970s voiced by the Israeli group of translation scholars and the functionalist and *skopos* theories developed in Germany in the 1970s and 1980s. Emphasis on the position of a TT in the recipient system or subsystem that hosted it and the function the translation is intended to fulfil has changed the nature of translation investigation ever since. It laid the groundwork for the advent of the so-called 'cultural turn' in Translation Studies in the 1990s elaborated by André Lefevere, Susan Bassnett, Lawrence Venuti, and others. Translations stopped being viewed in a contextual vacuum but "as facts of a target culture" (Toury 1995: 29) in which they were produced. The translator began being regarded as a social, communicative and psychological entity who occupies a particular position within a wider socio-cultural environment, the norms and values of which he/she often projects onto the translated text.

Hence, André Lefevere pushed forward the concept of translation as the rewriting of the original[1], which inevitably implied a certain degree of manipulation of the ST (1992b: xi). Lefevere reproduced earlier theoretical discussions to distinguish between two types of changes that occur in the process of linguistic rendering – obligatory and optional shifts[2]. Obligatory shifts occur due to general structural, formal and stylistic differences between the source and target language, and as such they are studied isolated from the context of translation production. Optional shifts, on the other hand, "depend on the translator only, who may use them as stylistic features in order to influence the text he is producing" (Lefevere 1980: 155). Anton Popovič (1979) had previously labeled them 'individual shifts' and defined them as "a system of individual deviations motivated by the translator's expressive propensities and his subjective idiolect" (qtd. in Campanini 1998). As Gentzler reminds us, Popovič was among the first to have read the shifts symptomatically by analysing them in terms of the different social and cultural values (2001: 88). In his seminal work *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), Lefevere further incorporated into the description of optional shifts the triad of external conditions that have an impact on the translation process – ideology, poetics and patronage. Hence, optional shifts are the manifestation of the translator's own idiolect, his/her interpretative reading of the original, as well as his/her poetics or ideology. They in turn mirror a complex ideological and *poetological* space that surrounds the translator (Lefevere 1992a: 7). Poetics involves the

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[1] The term 'manipulation' to describe the translation process was first used by Theo Hermans (1985).
[2] In their seminal comparative analysis of general stylistic features between French and English, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (1958), Vinay and Darbelnet use the term *servitude* to refer to obligatory changes conditioned by structural differences between the two languages and *option* to denote non-obligatory changes attributable to the translator's own stylistic imprint and preferences (31).

dominant cultural and literary norms, such as the requirements of a genre or the prevailing literary model of a given culture. Ideology is either understood in general terms as a more unified set of principles, "a point of view which derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value-systems which are shared collectively by social groups" (Baker 2000: 22) or it is interpreted as a realm of competing policies, defined as "a set of discourses which wrestle over interests which are in some way relevant to the maintenance or interrogation of power structures central to a whole form of social and historical life" (Gentzler 2001: 136). Therefore, different social, cultural and political pressures within the target system result in the 'manipulation' of the TT and determine, to a certain degree, its production. The translator can consciously or unconsciously conform to the dominant poetics and the dominant ideology (or competing ideologies) or he/she can rebel against them. The translation can thus become either a compliant or a subversive act.

It is within this framework that the present research discusses the historical, cultural and political circumstances under which the first French translation of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* by Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy (1850) and the first Italian translation by Eugenio Turiello (1898) were made. The aim of the research is to investigate optional shifts manifested in the translations in question conditioned by different social and extratextual factors in operation in each target culture at a given point in time. I argue that certain shifts are systematic, in the sense that they become a discernible trend over the body of the TTs, and systemic, in the sense that the identified recurrent pattern of changes influence the general narrative and the composition of the TTs. This ultimately alters the ways in which the target reader or the spectator actualise the meaning of the respective translations. Therefore, each TT invites a different interpretation from that of the versions of the ST and from each other. Finally, the research discusses the translators' implied motivation behind the textual distortion, examining how their choices reveal their individual dimension and the interpretation of the original and how they fit into a wider social, cultural, historical and political framework.

In cases in which it is difficult to categorise a particular change as obligatory or optional, I will have recourse to the subsequent retranslations from the same cultural and translation tradition and linguistic community that occur within close temporal intervals. French retranslations of *Doctor Faustus* produced in the second half of the 19th century or the Italian retranslations that came into being in the first decade of the 20th century will thus occasionally serve as a control corpus against which we will test whether Bazy's or Turiello's textual choices are language-bound and attributable to general stylistic features or habits of

each target culture's literary production at the time or whether they are the result of the translators' own stylistic and linguistic preference and as such possibly done with a particular conscious aim.

The term culture in the title refers to the target culture – a linguistic and cultural community from which the translation emerges or, in other words, a context of translation production. Drawing from the postulates of the Polysystem theory, each translated text enters a literary polysystem which is "correlated with other cultural systems and embedded in the ideological and socio-economic structures of society" (Hermans 1985: 11). As such, target culture is not a fixed and unified notion but defined rather as a "differentiated and dynamic interplay of systems characterized by internal oppositions and continual shifts" (11). These opposing ideologies and competing subsystems are particularly evident in the 19th century, a period marked by transition that occurred on different levels in society. In politics, the period saw a progressive shift from traditional forms of government to more democratic systems. Similar opposition to authoritative norms was evident in art and literature as well. The aesthetics of Romanticism sought to give the artist more freedom of expression by overcoming rigid neo-classical forms, rules and themes. The further rise of Realism shifted the focus onto the social and domestic issues of the rising middle-class. This coincided with a marked change in the general attitude towards translation practice. Free translations/adaptations of foreign pieces of literature that were mainly acculturated into the prevailing literary conventions and edifices were gradually replaced by a more ST-oriented practice that remained closer to the textual and linguistic narrative codes of the original.

The description of the translators' intervention which manifests itself in the target texts under study thus needs to be set against the main trends in the political landscape in each target culture at the time, as well as the cultural and literary norms at work in the recipient system and the prevailing model and attitude towards translation theory and practice in each national tradition. To narrow down the main focus of investigation, the emphasis will be on the analysis of the textual modification symptomatic of the context of a political change. We will see how the two translations are posited within the political and religious debates of the period in each target culture and how the two translators inscribe their own ideology and political and (anti)religious stances into their respective translations.

The French and the Italian 19th-century social contexts were correlated in the sense that many of the political events and debates in one society would immediately influence the other one. The Revolution of 1848 in France sparked off a series of chain events that gradually moved European societies from traditional monarchies towards more secular and democratic

forms of government. One year later, the Pope's temporal power was challenged in Rome by Italian revolutionaries and republicans led by poet Mazzini, to which French main political currents immediately replied and remained divided on the influence of the Church over state affairs. The spirit of change was unleashed. Nevertheless, throughout the second half of the 19th century the general political and religious reorganisation of society occurred in irregular stages and the whole transitional process was characterised by constant vacillation between the traditional and progressive ideals. Each translation under study thus marks a particular stage in the rise of the secular age, the weakening of the monarchy and the development of a liberal state. The first French translation of *Faustus* that appeared during the French Second Republic (1848-1852) was posited within the pro- and counter-revolutionary debate inseparable from pro- and anti-Catholic discourse in the wake of the gradual yet unsteady secularisation of society. By the time the first Italian translation was produced, the final decline of the Papal States (1870) leading to the Unification of Italy and a system of constitutional monarchy, had already secured a ground for a more successful implementation of Mazzinian republican ideals. However, the last decade of the 19th century saw a crisis of the liberal state and the re-emerging tension between the conservatives and the liberals, echoed in Turiello's version of *Faustus*. The two translations under study are not linked by a place or a translation tradition. Yet what lends the two separate case studies a degree of unity is the fact that each translation expresses the translators' responses to political and social changes, though diametrically opposing ones. Bazy's ideological profile receives clear articulation in his wealth of paratextual material and writings. He was a devout Christian, a supporter of the Papal authority and a biased historian with strong anti-Republican and counter-revolutionary sentiment. On the other hand, Turiello never openly revealed his religious or political persuasions. Nevertheless, we will see how the translator's "mediating presence" (Munday 2008: 14) repeatedly surfaced in translation, making him emerge as a discreet spokesman for a secular society based on modern democratic values. What both translators had in common is that they perceived the Faust character as the embodiment of a rebellion against the traditional establishment. However, we will see how Bazy and Turiello, driven by different political beliefs, delivered their respective texts which exemplified the two ideological extremes of the general reception of the Faust myth.

The view that both Bazy and Turiello re-mould their translations in the service of a particular political agenda gains considerable ground given that, apart from their translations of *Faustus*, no other integral translation attributed to Bazy or Turiello ever reached print.

Their choice to translate Marlowe's treatment of the Faust myth was suitable for delivering a translation which expresses the society's main ideals, concerns and tensions. As Inez Hedges reminds us in her *Framing Faust: Twentieth-Century Cultural Struggles* (2009), throughout centuries, the Faustian myth is seen "as a battleground on which opposing ideologies fight for power" (8). Namely, Marlowe dramatised the life and the tragic fall of a protagonist who, by the time Bazy's and Turiello's translations reached print, had begun to gain international and universal mythical status and had evolved into perhaps "one of the archetypal manifestations of modern Western experience" (Werres 2008: 2). No other modern mythical figure has received such massive articulation in art and popular culture as Faust. Ever since the social, political and theological currents of sixteenth-century Germany laid the groundwork for the emergence of the Faust figure, it has never ceased to fascinate and inspire scholars who have continuously revised, reevaluated and readdressed the different aspects of the myth in their myriad artistic and popular undertakings of the legend in the subsequent centuries. Over time, it has undergone a constant change of meaning and transformation dependent on the resolution of the dialectic inherent in the Faust story – is he a blasphemous and an egotistic sinner who deserves his punishment or should we celebrate him as a an epitome of Renaissance aspiration and a non-conformist hero who seeks to break free from the rigid strictures of the traditional establishment? This dual vision secured the longevity of the Faustian myth which has proved to be "endlessly versatile and adaptable" (Levin 1989: 2) to different aesthetic, social, political and ideological contexts.

This would also make the production and the analysis of translations of *Doctor Faustus* in target cultures more complex than any other text by Marlowe. The history of the critical discussion of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* is thus closely related to the history of the reception of the Faust myth at large and the symbolic value given to Faust's character. Therefore, the first French and Italian translations of *Doctor Faustus* need to be initially placed within a timeline of changing trends in Marlowe criticism as well as the constant vacillation in interpreting the general myth as it transcends time in order to see whether Bazy and Turiello, whose translations emerge within a span of fifty years, conform to or detach from the contemporaneous understanding and reception of the popular myth and contemporaneous orientation in criticism of *Doctor Faustus*. In addition, each target culture at a particular time may unveil certain aspects of the myth in different ways. All these factors can, to a certain degree, shape the translations of *Doctor Faustus*.

Even though at one point the Faust legend took a trail of development independent from Marlowe's dramatic treatment, the vision of both Faustus and Faust throughout the 19th

century generally overlapped. As a matter of fact, the critical rediscovery and the reception of Marlowe's *Faustus* in the nineteenth century were considerably influenced by popular and influential Romantic treatments of the Faust story, in particular Goethe's version.

The late 18th and the 19th centuries saw "a radical break with the myth" (Berghahn 2008: 167) in its ending, which significantly differed from its German sources during the Reformation period or from Marlowe's drama. The original "criminal who sins against the eternal laws of life, as a rebel against holiness who ruins his better self" for which he receives a merited punishment (Francke 1910/2009: 399), a view that prevailed for much of the 16th and 17th century, turned into "a champion of freedom, nature and truth" in the age of Enlightenment and into a "symbol of human striving for completeness in life" in the century of Romanticism (399).

This marked change was first introduced by G. E. Lessing (1772-75), who in the light of his time modified the story (which survived in fragments of an unfinished play) in order to deliver a defence of Rationalism. As Klaus L. Berghahn states in his survey of the transformations of the Faust theme over the course of cultural history, Faust became "the modern myth of the human quest for knowledge and truth" (2008: 160) and as such a hero driven by his intellectual *curiositas*. A change of the cultural frame and the rise of a secular age eventually reconciled Faust with God. Later on, Goethe re-affirmed this optimistic vision of Faust in his canonical reevaluation of the legend (Part One, 1808; Part Two 1832). Through suffering and earthly experience, Faust fulfils a quest for understanding the totality of human existence and deeper knowledge about his true self. In his introspection on the changing representations of Faust's character, Peter Werres underlines a changing form of human affection in Goethe's *Faust*. The German author rewarded Faust with ultimate redemption for his ability to show compassion and for prioritising altruistic service over solipsistic and egotistic ends (2008: 6). Hence, Faust's end underwent a transformation from a "one-way ticket to hell" (5) towards salvation. A rather unflattering portrayal in the 16th and 17th centuries yielded to a more admirable and even heroic vision of the protagonist.

It was this vision that dominated the reception of Faust at the time Bazy and Turiello introduced the French and Italian public to Marlowe's version of the story written two and a half century before. However, as Harry Levin points out, "the early Faust can hardly claim that virtue" (1989: 6). Similarly, Gerald Strauss draws attention to the fallacy of reading the earlier traditional forms of the Faustian bargain in a distorted historical frame (1989: 28).

In Marlowe's time, the viewpoint on the famous magician was quite the opposite to that fashioned by the Enlightenment and the Romantics. The Faust story received its first written

articulation in a compilation of anecdotes and accounts of the life of a notorious magician written by an anonymous author and published in Johannes Spies printing house in Frankfurt in 1587 under the title *Historia von D. Johann Fausten…*, generally known as the German Faust Book or the *Faustbuch* (hereafter referred to as the GFB). Later in the 19th century the so-called Wolfenbüttel manuscript was discovered (1572-1587), upon which the Frankfurt imprint was presumably based (Watt 1996: 18). In the comparative analysis between the German and English Faust books and Marlowe's play, M. E. D'Agostini and G. Silvani conclude that both the manuscript and the GFB were marked by a severe judgmental tone in accordance with the convictions of the Lutheran orthodoxy of the time. Nevertheless, whereas the humanist undercurrents are more readily detected in the manuscript, Spies' chapbook is structured entirely upon the traditional morality pattern (1978: 18). The extremely long and descriptive title of the GFB interpolated phrases such as "reserved his well deserved wages", "abominable example", or "a sincere warning to all conceited […] and Godless persons"[3] (Watt 1996: 19). It was thus meant to be read as a cautionary tale – a warning to a sinner who breaks the natural and divine law in search of a pseudo-science and forbidden occultism.

The Faust myth made its first big entrance in English-speaking culture in 1592[4] thanks to the anonymous P. F. who delivered a rather free and faulty translation of the German *Historia*. The popular English Faust Book (henceforth the EFB), titled *The Historie of the Damnable Life, and Deserved Death of Doctor Iohn Faustus…*, served as a model for Marlowe's dramatic conception. It displayed additions, omissions and other lexical modifications and is thereby treated in criticism as a distinctive narrative. The comic material in the scenes of Faustus's trickery on the Pope was further developed in the EFB stressing anti-Catholic sentiment. But more notably, even though the title itself is judgmental in tone and the story exemplifies the moral condemnation of the apostate, on numerous occasions the author attenuated the religious commentary and severe Lutheran orthodoxy (D'Agostini and Silvani 1978: 30). The text also manifests a radical change in attitude towards Faustus's motivation, exploring his intellectual prowess (Watt 1989: 41). Furthermore, Faustus is portrayed in a slightly better light. The repeated accusations of pride and arrogance that pervaded the German original were notably omitted (D'Agostini and Silvani 1978: 30).

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[3] In his thorough examination of the four best-known myths of the modern Western world – Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan and Robinson Crusoe – in which the scholar traces how the myths were transformed over time into the manifestations of modern individualism in a secularised age, Ian Watt gives a full word-for-word English translation of the long title of the GFB.

[4] Although the phrase "newly imprinted" on the title page suggests that the lost publication had reached print earlier.

Mephistopheles, too, "gains in stature" (Butler 1952: 36). All in all, as Bevington and Rasmussen assert, the EFB introduced "the ambivalence of attitude between disapproval and fascination" for the protagonist (1993: 6).

Christopher Marlowe further elaborated on each of these subtle transformations. Ian Watt opens his article *Faust as a Myth of Modern Individualism: Three of Marlowe's Contributions* by stating that "it was above all Marlowe who established the myth of Faust" (1989: 41) and goes on to suggest that the Elizabethan dramatist contributed to a later perception of the Faust myth as the triumph of individuality over tradition and collectivism. Marlowe introduces Faustus as an eloquent intellectual dissatisfied with traditional knowledge and establishment, thus bringing the humanist undercurrents of his source to the fore. By exploring motivation and inner conflict and by introducing the notion of choice and reprobation (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 6) – not evident in his source – the dual vision of Faustus is carefully interwoven into the texture of the dramatic narrative. Consequently, Faustus's character is elevated to a more dignified stature and portrayed in a mildly better light, eventually inciting more sympathy from the audience. Nevertheless, even though Marlowe did much to explore the tragic possibilities of the EFB, his Faustus still fails miserably and his play ends in confirming traditional orthodoxy.

The general view is largely dependent on the version we choose. Namely, Marlowe's play survived in two distinctive versions that differ in structural, thematic and doctrinal terms – the so-called A-text (1604) and the B-text (1616), both of which were published posthumously and contain numerous post-Marlovian textual revisions. Each version manifests a specific viewpoint. Yet neither version delivers a consistent reading. Generally, Marlowe scholars attribute to the A-text a more ambivalent status, in which Faustus both incurs his own destruction and unjustly suffers at the hands of forces beyond his own control. The B-text, on the other hand, featuring the extended final scene in which Faustus's physical torment is verbally and visually actualised as well as other textual modifications,[5] moves from the tragic character towards the traditional morality akin to the English and German Faust Books. Even though Marlowe exploits the dialectic form of the early Modern drama and delivers a play that echoes "Romantic values of individual revolt and heroic aspiration" (Cole 1989: 185), in each version, Faustus deteriorates into a depraved figure, and as such he considerably differs from the positive role-model found in the 19th-century versions of the legend. Therefore, between the poles of the critical debate of the Faust myth, Marlowe's

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[5] The examination of the thematic differences between the two versions will be explained in detail in Chapter Two.

protagonist is still posited relatively low in comparison with the Romantic apotheosis at the time Bazy and Turiello wrote. This raises the question pursued in this research as to whether and how the two translators bridge the gap in their respective translations between the 19th-century praiseworthy intellectual rebel and a public-spirited hero on the one hand and a seemingly self-centred and power-thirsty individual in Marlowe's text on the other; between admiration for his achievements and contempt for his decline. This gap is marked by a question mark in the following chart.
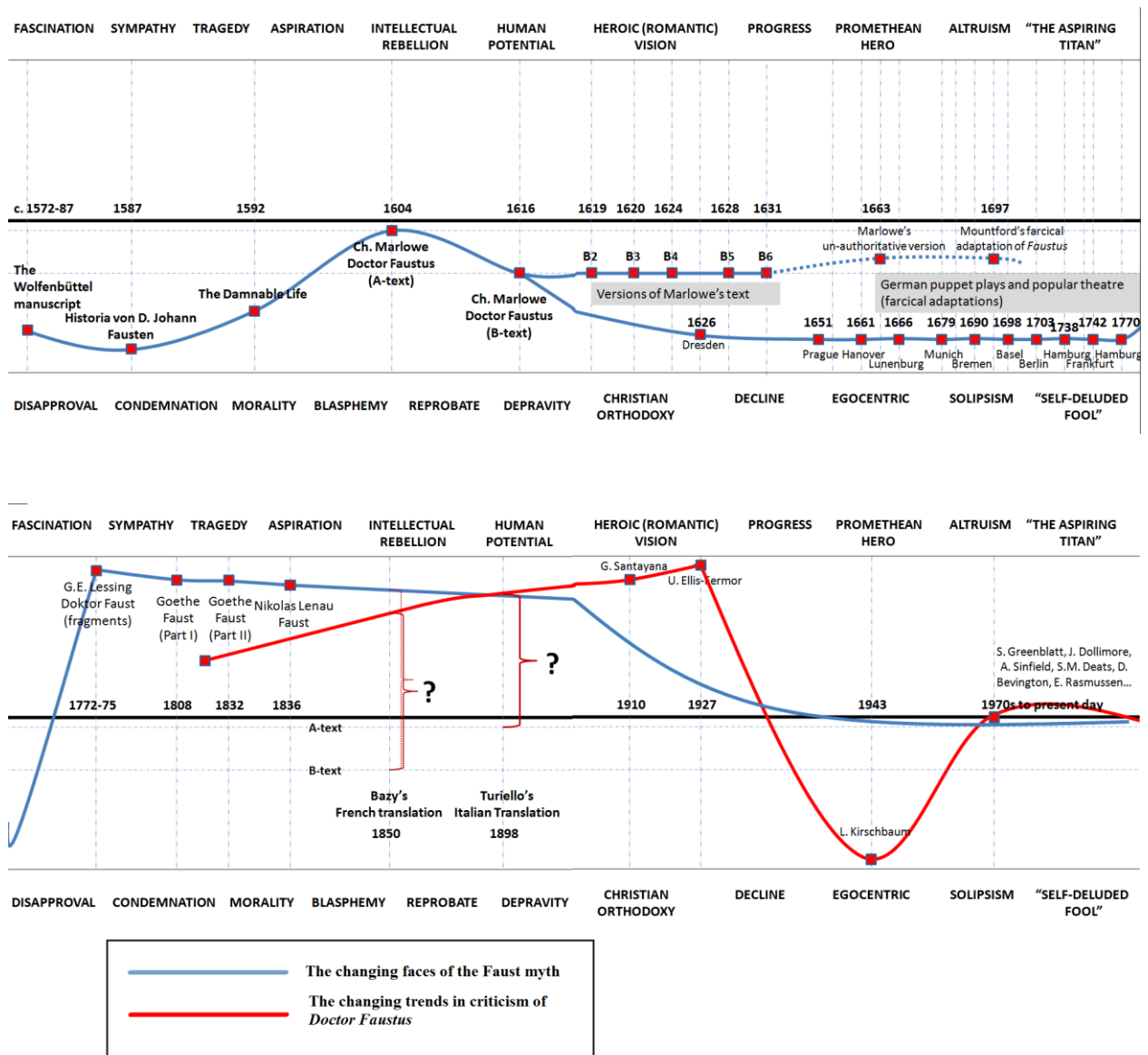
Figure 1: The transformations of the general Faust theme and the changing trends in criticism of *Doctor Faustus*[6]

[6] It should be stressed that the chart represents a general overview of the reception of the Faust myth over centuries, devised upon M. Butler's thorough critical survey *The Fortunes of Faust* (1952), André Dabezier's historical account of Faust representations *Le Mythe de Faust* (1972) and the collection of essays on Faust-related topics that cover a range from its historical origin to modern day, such as *Four Centuries: Retrospect*

The figure illustrates a timeline of the transformations of the Faust myth at large (blue curve) and the changing orientation of the critical discussion of *Doctor Faustus* in Marlowe scholarship (red curve), the latter to be discussed in due course. Each notable treatment of the legend occupies a particular place between the binary opposites according to the general vision of the Faust character: fascination/disapproval, human potential (creativity)/depravity, human aspiration/blasphemy, rebel/reprobate etc. or the nature of the narrative: tragedy/morality, heroic vision/Christian orthodoxy. The central black line on the chart represents the realm of the ambiguous treatment of the legend. Due to the mountainous literature on Faust, the 20th-century representations are omitted in the chart. Generally speaking, throughout the 20th century the earlier optimistic and positive quality associated with Faust significantly declined. The Faustian figure once again "surfaced in some of the most important cultural crises of the twentieth century" (Hedges 2009: xiii). The revised note of criticism encompassed his character, primarily centering on the misuse of individual freedom. Faust is not punished because he wants to exert his freedom and individuality, but because he uses "this long-awaited freedom for destructive purposes: for the sake of obtaining military, political and monetary power" (Kostić 2013: 3). Marlowe's Faustus certainly exemplifies this unflattering trait. At the same time, Marlowe's protagonist can also loosely relate to another tendency of the 20th-century treatment of the legend, which often depicts Faust as a dissident and as the embodiment of opposition against unjust social structures (Hedges 2009: 6). As such, he emerges as a rebel, a revolutionary or a socialist (2).

The history of critical discussion of *Doctor Faustus* has shown similar vacillations in interpreting the play. Ever since Marlowe was rediscovered by the Romantics in the 19th century, his canonical play has incited a bewildering variety of readings and interpretations, evoking rather mixed and contradictory critical responses. In his *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age* (1989), John S. Mebane divides the field of criticism on *Doctor Faustus* into three main trends:

> […] those who believe that Faustus and Mephistopheles express the dramatist's own rebellious criticism of traditional ideas and institutions, those who interpret Faustus as entirely orthodox, and those who see the play as ambivalent. (qtd. in Mitchell 2006)

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and Analysis edited by Peter Boemer and Sidney Johnson (Tübingen, 1989) and *Lives of Faust: The Faust Theme in Literature and Music,* edited by Lorna Fitzsimmons (Berlin and New York, 2008).

The first current in Marlowe scholarship has come to be called heroic, romantic or humanist criticism whereas its interpretative counterpart has been generally referred to as the orthodox, moralistic or Christian reading.

In commemoration of the 450th birthday of Christopher Marlowe (2015), Sara Munson Deats delivers the state-of-the-art survey of the critical discussion of the dramatist's works and sums up the main traits of each of the two contrasting orientations. The heroic proponents mostly see Faustus's character as a Promethean hero and the embodiment of a Renaissance scholar and a free thinker who, trying to seek after knowledge and transcend the limitations imposed on his human freedom and potential, eventually falls prey to restrictive traditional authority. Thus they undermine Faustus's individual responsibility and free will in his demise (2015: 80) and point to the noble and altruistic motivation of his action. The Romantic reinterpretation of the Faust figure shaped the popular and positive evaluation of Marlowe's hero for a long time, reaching its peak by the 1930s. The most notable proponents of this view were George Santayana (1910), for whom Faustus represents "the ideal of the renaissance free thinker" (Barker 1988: 94), Philip Henderson (1937), who regards him as "the adventurous scholar" (94), and the most sympathetic to Faustus of all, Una Ellis-Fermor (1927), who sees in Marlowe's Faustus a rebellious and sceptical mind and an innocent victim of a sadistic God (Sinfield 1992: 44).

On the other hand, orthodox commentators insist on Faustus's own responsibility for his destruction. They underline the protagonist's free will in choosing between good and evil and reproach him for refusing the possibility of repentance that is constantly open to him throughout the text. Moreover, they "deflate Faustus and his heroic aspirations" (Deats 2015: 75), advancing the position that he is not driven by the admirable desire to transcend the boundaries of human knowledge, but by a more egotistic yearning for power, glory, pleasure, fame and wealth (76). Hence, the more sympathetic Romantic portrayal of Faustus yields to the moralising condemnation of the reprobate and the tragic overtones are replaced with a homiletic character of the narrative. Jill Barker sums up this contrasting view of *Faustus* in orthodox criticism: "Faustus's punishment is seen as just and the play is regarded as strongly validating Christian ideals" (1988: 94). As evidenced in the figure above, the mid-20th century saw a huge downward trajectory in interpreting the Faustus character. The orthodox vision of the play was most loudly articulated by Leo Kirschbaum, who, insisting that "there is no more obvious Christian document in all Elizabethan drama than *Doctor Faustus*" (1943/1969: 80), strongly reacted against the oversimplified Romantic interpretation. He has a good point in arguing that Marlowe's protagonist is far from epitomising the noble

aspirations of a Renaissance man. Yet he categorically refuses to acknowledge any textual evidence for the heroic reading. Faustus receives a series of unappealing epithets. He is "a wretched creature who for lower values gives up higher values" (80); "swollen with pride in his attainments, comes to a deserved end" (82); "egocentric" who "wallows in a delusion of self-importance" (83); "self-deluded", "foolishly boastful", emotionally unstable (84), driven only by "uncontrolled appetite" (85); "the incorrigible hedonist" (89) preoccupied mainly with power and sensuous pleasure (88), etc.

In the following decades, critics generally assume less hyperbolic positions and place themselves between the two extremes set by Ellis-Fermor and Kirschbaum. With the advent of the poststructuralist approaches to literature, Renaissance English drama has been granted an interrogative and ambivalent character. Drawing from Joel Altman's views in *The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of Elizabethan Drama* (1978), Deats asserts that early modern plays were constructed in a way that they "ask questions rather than providing answers and deliberately evoke mixed reactions from their audiences" (74). Therefore, the alternative views co-exist and are never resolved (75). William Tydeman sees Marlowe as a progenitor of this practice: "Marlowe created a revolution in English drama by refusing to pass overt judgment on his leading figure's conduct" (qtd. in O'Connor 2003: 188). This is perhaps the only point in which Marlowe scholars are nowadays generally unanimous – neither of the versions of *Doctor Faustus* delivers a coherent vision. Deats insists that both views are equally defensible, thus contributing to the text's ambiguity; yet, on the whole, the moralistic reading nevertheless prevails (2015: 75). Toni Francis refers to Deats to overcome the traditional dichotomy of critical responses: "*Doctor Faustus* is neither a Christian play nor a heroic tragedy, but both at once, depending on the critical lens with which the critics or the audience view the tragedy" (2010: 116).

A close comparative analysis between each TT and the original will reveal "the critical lens" with which Bazy and Turiello approach *Faustus*. The following questions are raised: do they further multiply the potential readings or do they deliver a more coherent framework? Is the heroic or orthodox interpretation accentuated or alleviated in the TTs and for what cause? If the latter, what is the dominant theological framework that encompasses Faustus's universe in the translation? Many critics insist that the dramatic narrative is structured upon the tension between moderate Protestantism or even Catholicism on the one hand and radical Calvinism on the other, mirroring the complex theological and ideological landscape of post-Reformation England. How is the tension in each translation resolved in relation to the treatment of the notions of free will and the predestination doctrine, the availability of grace

and the possibility or repentance and salvation? This will ultimately confirm and reveal the translators' ideological, political and religious profile.

The research is divided into five chapters. Chapter One is expository and serves as a necessary framework for the case study analysis. It provides a theoretical foundation and background for discussing the manifestation of the translator's subject in translated texts in relation to the socio-cultural and ideological context of translation production. Since the topic calls for an interdisciplinary approach, we will make use of the elements and metalinguistic formulations for translation description by drawing upon different theoretical models, which are clearly defined in the discipline of Translation Studies. The research is generally embedded within Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS).

A comparative discussion of ST-TT corresponding segments in search of consistent shifts that generally affect the framework of the TTs under study requires the establishment of the identity of the ST itself. The case of Marlowe's *Faustus* raises a problematic issue in this sense, concerning the existence of multiple versions and their general instability and indeterminacy over the course of their editing history. Therefore, preliminary to translation description is an investigation into the structural and thematic differences of each ST version, which is the main focus of Chapter Two. The aim of this section is to determine which version or modern English edition of the ST (the A-text, the B-text or the combination of the two) constituted a textual basis for Bazy's and Turiello's translation and what is the nature of their doctrinal and ideological framework. We will see how the textual starting points of each translator were different. Bazy made use of the B-text, the identity of which is determined based on the comparison between Bazy's text and all the previous English editions (discussed in 2.6). We will provide convincing textual evidence in support of the argument that Bazy exploited Oxberry's B-text edition of 1818. On the other hand, Turiello explicitly revealed the source edition he used – Israel Gollancz's version of 1897. Given that this edition represents a conflated version, it is a text on its own which expresses a specific point of view (discussed in 2.7). In Chapter Two, we will also see how each translation is situated in the editing history of *Doctor Faustus* during which the general editorial and scholarly preference for a particular version constantly changed. A chronological survey of translations of *Doctor Faustus* in each target culture will be provided in order to see whether and how each translation is set against contemporary orientations in Marlowe editorship and scholarship and to reveal the main criteria for text selection.

Chapter Three is historical in nature and it provides an exhaustive compilation of the European translations of *Doctor Faustus*. Even though Marlowe's play has provoked a

substantial amount of attention among critics, a more thorough investigation into its translated versions has not received sufficient credit. The latest publications that provide a state-of-the-art critical landscape of Marlowe studies show little concern for this level of textual transmission. A chronological survey of the translations of Marlowe's canon (with a focus on *Faustus*) is accompanied by a discussion of the conditions and main trends in literary criticism, cultural history and translation theory that ultimately gave rise to their emergence and influenced their reception in the hosting culture. We will focus on the French and Italian literary context and translation tradition in order to see how the two translations under study relate to the prevailing trends. Since both Bazy and Turiello are relatively unknown figures and since their translations quickly sank into oblivion, outshone by the subsequent retranslations, we will plot their translations onto the "map" of the history of translation.

Finally, a detailed analysis of Bazy's and Turiello's texts will be the focus of chapters Four and Five respectively. In light of Descriptive Translation Studies and a target-oriented approach, the chapters will progress from the general towards the specific. In Chapter Four, the French translation is first set against a larger historical, religious and political landscape. Then, the examination of the translator's ideological profile is submitted to detailed scrutiny based on the analysis of a myriad of his critical and historical writings. Finally, the TT is compared with the ST in search of the consistent textual deviations that are culturally or ideologically conditioned. The approach carried out in Chapter Five will differ slightly. The Italian text will also initially be contextualised with a focus on the main political, religious and ideological aspects of the period. However, unlike with Bazy, there is a noticeable lack of any paratextual material and additional writings produced by the translator. Therefore, conclusions about Turiello's background and his reading of the original in relation to the social and political issues of the time will come as a result of a comparative analysis between his translation and the original.

The function assigned to each TT in the corresponding target cultures differs, which ultimately influences the initial translation strategy – the choice of the form. Bazy published his version with the purpose of making the work of a foreign author, previously non-existent in French, available to scholarly analysis. His translation is accompanied by a comparison between Goethe's and Marlowe's treatments of the Faust legend. Bazy's critical study looks into the ways the two works reflect the elements of different cultural, political and philosophical movements that dominate the period of their production. The translation of *Faustus* is therefore delivered in prose, which is also in line with the Romantic translation

tradition of the time. The full title of Bazy's publication reads: *Études historiques, littéraires et philosophiques sur C. Marlowe et Goethe et sur les seizième et dix-neuvième siècles, suivies de l'Histoire allégorique de la vie et de la mort du docteur Jean Faust, drame de Christophe Marlowe traduit pour la première fois, avec des notes explicatives par J.-P.-A. Bazy* (Paris: Garnier frères, 1850).

On the other hand, Turiello's text is written in order to enter the canon of Italian literature. As such it represents a literary product whose stylistic features adhere to the prevailing literary norms and conventions. It is therefore rendered in verse, following the metrical requirements of the genre – the Italian 19th-century tragedy. The Italian hendecasyllable, just like the French alexandrine, is a classical metrical form analogous to English blank verse, the main mode of Elizabethan dramatic expression. Turiello's text was published as a single-text edition under the title *La Tragica storia del dottor Fausto, dramma di Cristoforo Marlowe. Prima traduzione italiana di Eugenio Turiello* (Napoli: Tipografia Giuseppe Golia, 1898).

It should be stressed that the two translated texts are perceived in this research as literary artifacts written for the page rather than scripts realised in performance. In other words, since neither of them has ever been performed on stage, I will approach Bazy's and Turiello's version as texts primarily addressed to the reader. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude that the two translators took into account the possibility of their texts being performed, which is in particular more evident in Turiello's case. Hence, certain changes will be discussed in terms of the dominant theatrical norms of the period.

Chapter One:
Theoretical Framework

Adopting an interdisciplinary approach and eclectic interplay of theoretical models, the present research has been generally carried out within the descriptive branch of Translation Studies. It goes further by encompassing the tenets of the subsequent cultural and ideological turns, which expanded the methodological and theoretical horizon of the field of study, always operating within the descriptive framework. Different models of descriptive translation studies, target-oriented in nature, shifted the focus of investigation to extratextual factors operating in the recipient culture that dictate translation behaviour and influence the modification of textual material in translated texts. Contextualisation emerged as an important stage preliminary to any detailed examination of the TTs in question. Toury's influential *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995) remains to this day a valuable reference point for any descriptive and target-text approach to translation analysis. This study makes use of some of the principles of Toury's theoretical agenda. His model will be complemented by different varieties of the socio-cultural approaches to translation analysis, in particular André Lefevere's study on the impact of external conditions within a target culture at a given time on translation production.

Toury's model does not exclude ST analysis. As a matter of fact, according to his descriptive agenda, the positioning of the TT within the cultural environment of which it forms part is followed by the identification of the ST. It also entails the mapping of TT segments onto their ST counterparts in search of shifts and regular patterns of their occurrence. Therefore, the important phase of the methodological apparatus employed in this research is comparative in nature. In order to study the ways patterned changes have implications for the overall make-up and framework of the translations in question, a set of metalinguistic formulations devised to describe and systemise shifts needs to be provided. With this aim in view, I will have recourse to Vinay and Darbelnet's *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (1958) and van Leuven-Zwart's model of translation shift analysis (1989, 1990), which provide a detailed terminology and taxomony in wide use in the comparison of ST and TT paired segments.

This research partly draws upon van Leuven-Zwart's two-phase comparative-descriptive exercise. Contributing to the rising branch of descriptive translation studies, the Belgian scholar's model was devised with an eye to analysing how the identified and

systemised microstructural shifts operating on a number of linguistic and grammatical levels have an impact on the macrostructure of the translated text. In other words, it shows how a higher narrative framework of the TT is altered in comparison with the original. Her illustrative case studies reveal the translator's interpretation of the ST manifested in different layers in the TT.

The view of translation as rewriting and, as such, an inevitable manipulation of the original began to acquire more prominence thanks to Theo Hermans (1985) and was further pushed forward by André Lefevere in his influential work *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), whose terminology and concepts this research partly exploits. Representing a mediating link between the systems theories and the cultural turn, Lefevere explains translation behaviour as indicative of the ideological and *poetological* space that the translator occupies. However, as he admits, not all shifts are expected to be systematic and symptomatic. With the advent of the cultural dimension in translation analysis in the 1990s, increased emphasis was placed on the subjectivity of the translator, no longer seen as a transparent entity but as a social, psychological and cognitive agent engaging in the interpretative reading of the ST and the creative rewriting of the TT. Consequently, factors attributable to the socio-cultural and ideological milieu to which the translator belongs are complemented by the translator's individual dimension, whose conscious or unconscious choices are mirrored in the final product. Antoine Berman criticised Toury's neutral stance (France 2000: 7) when he argued in support of a more careful investigation into the translator's subjectivity and individuality (Berman 1995: 75). Malmkjaer contends that Berman reminds us that the translator can carry out translation with a particular aim, thus intentionally arousing a specific set of responses in the readership (2004: 13). Many scholars (Theo Hermans, Jeremy Munday, Giuliana Schiavi, Kirsten Malmkjaer, etc.) have conducted important methodological and empirical work with a focus on the translator's voice (understood from different points of view, ranging from the narratological to poststructuralist perspective), which surfaces at different places in translated texts. Such intervention was labelled as "discursive presence" by Theo Hermans (1996: 23), "the Implied Translator" by Giuliana Schiavi (1996: 1), and the "mediating presence" by Kirsten Malkmkjaer (Munday 2008: 14).

As mentioned above, this research does not only examine how certain shifts lead to the alternative distribution of linguistic and discursive features of the TT, but it also seeks to explain the causes of such variation. In order to pursue this aim, it is posited well within Kirsten Malmkjaer's methodology for analysing the translator's idiolect and motivation in

translated texts which she coins "translational stylistics" (2004). Her model consists of three stages: the identification of linguistic and stylistic regularities by a comparison between the TT and ST paired elements, the study of how changes affect the "total meaning of the text" (2004: 13) and finally, speculation about the external factors on the translator's explicit or implicit motivation. This and many elements of the methodological apparatus adopted in my research are inspired by Jeremy Munday's *Style and Ideology in Translation: Latin American Writing in English* (2008), in which Munday explores the features of the translators' style and their linguistic imprint in relation to the cultural and ideological context of translation production.

In order to explain the conditions that govern the emergence of translations of *Doctor Faustus* listed in a chronological survey in Chapter Three of this research, which is historical in nature, I will draw upon the methodological considerations for writing translation history, outlined by Antony Pym in his *Method in Translation History* (1998) and Lieven D'hulst in his *Translation History* (2011).

1.1 Descriptive Orientation in Translation Analysis

Descriptive orientation in translation analysis, most vividly championed and elaborated by Israeli scholar Gideon Toury, abandons earlier evaluative and normative theoretical models of translation in favour of the descriptive analysis of TTs. Instead of focusing on different levels of fidelity or equivalence between ST and TT elements and imposing a rule-governed set of assumptions of what translation should be, the descriptive paradigm explains why the TT is constructed in a particular way, attributing much of the observed textual phenomena to extratextual factors. Driven by the lack of any serious critical considerations accounting for translational behaviour, Gideon Toury set about the task of devising a methodological and theoretical foundation of a descriptive branch of Translation Studies[7], explained in detail in his work *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995). In pursuing his aim, Toury further built up on the concepts of the functionalist approaches and systems theory of translation. As a matter of fact, Toury's earlier theoretical considerations and empirical studies were contained within the framework of the Polysystem theory, whose prime proponent was his fellow compatriot, Itamar Evan-Zohar. As Gentzler shows in his account of the evolution of the modern paradigm of translation investigation, the Polysystem

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[7] Toury earlier coined the term Descriptive Translation Studies as a sub-discipline of Translation Studies and outlined its main objectives in *A Rationale for Descriptive Translation Studies* (1985).

tenets had in turn evolved from the work of the Russian Formalists and Czech and Slovak Structuralists. The view of literature as a polysystem gradually incorporated the historical dimension and the receptive context of a literary and translated text into translation analysis. (Gentzler 2001: 81). An emphasis on the relationship between a translated text and the complex and dynamic literary polysystem that surrounds it was at the core of systems theories. Within this hierarchically structured system, the place that the TT occupies, the function it was supposed to perform, and the text type and its intended purpose (Verheer's concept of *skopos*) will have consequences for the strategies employed and the choices made by the translator in the translation process. By observing how translated literature relates to target culture and its literary tradition, Evan-Zohar differentiates between the primary and secondary position that a particular TT occupies. The former represents "the principle of innovation" (Heylen 1993: 7), the latter "conforms to established norms and codes" (7). In other words, if a translated text is said to take up the primary position, it will introduce new forms, genres and devices into the target system. Its secondary position, on the other hand, implies that the recipient culture will appropriate the foreign into the dominant poetical rules, norms, genre and other requirements, viewing translation as a secondary and transparent activity. This is closely related with the two main fields that make up a stratified whole of a literary system, which Evan-Zohar terms canonised and non-canonised literature. Canonised literature reflects "the most accepted, institutionalized aesthetic" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 2014: 127), whereas non-canonised literature is deemed inferior due to its alleged lack of aesthetic value or non-compliance with the dominant poetics. In addition, as mentioned in the introduction, the literary system correlates with other cultural systems, such as "the ideological and socio-economic structures of society" (Hermans 1985: 11). As a result, different pressures from the wider cultural background of the target language system may restrict or shape translations.

This view of translated literature as a product of a receptive literary system changed the nature of translation investigation. With the advent of this approach, a transition from the static and narrow relationship between the TT and ST towards the incorporation of context, participants and culture in translation analysis was permanently secured. This gave rise to the definite orientation which is descriptive, explanatory, systemic, functional and target-oriented. The next generation of translation scholars continued to leave behind any restrictive, absolute and formalistic remnants in translation theory.

It is in this light that Toury advances his methodological research techniques. He suggests the reversal of direction in approaching the subject matter. Instead of preordained

theoretical formulations and a priori definitions whose validity will be tested by its application to the exemplary case study, he sees a corpus of translated texts as a display of empirical data leading to the formulation of "explanatory hypothesis" which will constantly be re-addressed as the study proceeds (1995: 32). He starts from the revised concept of translation seen as "facts of the [target] culture", thus inevitably leading to examining target constraints and conditions that had been subsidiary in previous exclusively source-oriented approaches (1995: 26). Therefore, target culture-bound factors that determine the translation process and product come to the fore by proper cultural contextualisation, which is an initial step in any explanatory and descriptive activity.

In his comprehensible history of translation theory, Jeremy Munday roughly divides Toury's methodology into three stages: the positioning of the TT within a target culture, the comparison between the ST and TT pairs in search of shifts and regularities of the translator's behaviour and "draw[ing] implications for decision-making in future translating" (2001: 112). The methodology applied in this research will follow the first two steps of Toury's agenda. This will help uncover "the underlying concept of translation" (112) and prevailing strategies and shifts that are potentially attributable to the social context of translation production.

1.2 Translation Shift Taxonomy

The first scholar in the history of translation theory to have used the term 'shift' as a more technical term denoting a change that occurs in translation was John Catford, defining the concept in his seminal work *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (1965). Catford initially makes a distinction between two types of relationships between a ST and TT corresponding elements – formal correspondence and textual equivalence. Formal correspondence is defined as "any TL[8] category which may be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the 'same' place in the economy of the TL as the given SL[9] category occupies in the SL" (1965: 32). In other words, it concerns "the general, systemic relationship between a SL and TL element" that can be examined without the context of translation production (Hatim and Munday 2004: 340). For example, the English possessive adjective *my* and the French *mon/ma/mes* are said to be formal correspondents. Differences that naturally occur between the two elements in a relationship of formal correspondence are attributable to general formal and stylistic

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[8] TL – target language.
[9] SL – source language.

differences between two languages. On the other hand, textual equivalence is defined as a relationship between the source language and target language corresponding elements in cases where a close adherence to the original linguistic form is not achievable (27).

Catford defines shifts as "departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL" (73) and particularly focuses on the analysis of shifts that occur at different grammatical levels in translation. He distinguishes between a level and a category shift as two main types of changes (73), further dividing category shifts into four sub-categories: structural shifts, class shifts, unit or rank shifts and intra-system shifts. Shifts are thus defined in purely linguistic and grammatical terms and as such perceived as unavoidable.

However, translated texts display other patterns of changes and deviations that, if explained within Catford's framework, would often be mistakenly labelled as the manifestation of the translator's linguistic ineptitude. Therefore, Anton Popovič expanded the notion of shift in order to account for all necessary or unnecessary changes, gains or losses in translation and to explain the translator's motivation behind these changes. In his essay *The Concept 'Shift of Expression' in Translation Analysis* (1970), the scholar writes:

> Each individual method of translation is determined by the presence or absence of shifts in the various layers of the translation. All that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected, may be interpreted as a shift.
> (qtd. in Gentzler 2001: 88)

Understood in this way, shifts are not considered as pertaining to the domain of linguistic competence but rather as linguistic performance (Bakker and al. 2009: 269). Moreover, they do not only refer to purely linguistic phenomena, but they are said to arise from the translator's own individuality and "textual, literary or cultural consideratios" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 2014: 153). As mentioned above, both Toury and Lefevere further moved in the direction of explaining a great deal of deviations in the translated text in terms of different types of constraints and norms that are socially conditioned. Toury does not use the term *constraint* in his descriptive-explanatory methodology in a negative sense, understanding it not as an element that necessarily hinders the translator's creativity, but rather in more general terms as an extratextual factor that governs the translation process and manifests itself in the surface structure of a TT (1995: 88).

As outlined in the introduction, this research mainly focuses on non-obligatory (Toury, Lefevere) or optional shifts (Popovič) rather than obligatory or constitutive shifts, i.e., those

that are linguistically motivated. Prior to the analysis of shifts that are symptomatic of the translator's own subjectivity or of different cultural and social constraints in the TTs in question, metalinguistic formulations and vocabulary used to describe these shifts needs to be provided.

1.2.1   Vinay and Darbelnet's Model

Even though they used the term *procedure* (*les procédés*) instead of *shift* to denote the change that occurs in the process of linguistic rendering, Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet's comparative stylistics of French and English introduced a classical metalanguage for translation description, which was later elaborated and adopted by many translation scholars who worked within the framework of a translation shift approach. Their study, published under the title *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (1958) has had an immense influence on subsequent comparative and contrastive models of translation analysis.

Vinay and Darbelnet start by defining a translation unit (*l'unité de traduction*), which is a prerequisite to the identification and description of changes in translation. They make use of Saussure's concepts of the sign, the signified and the signifier to define a unit of translation as "des unités lexicologiques dans lesquelles les éléments du lexique concourent à l'expression d'un seul élément de pensée" (1958/1973: 37). Hence, the unit of thought, the lexicological unit and the unit of translation are interchangeable terms for Vinay and Darbelnet. A group of lexical elements that form a unit of thought are said to make up a unit of translation. "L'unité de traduction," they add, "est le plus petit segment de l'énoncé dont la cohésion des signes est telle qu'ils ne doivent pas être traduites séparément" (37). Since the focus of a translator is on the semantic field and not on the formal characteristics of the signifier, Vinay and Darbelnet reject the word as a translation unit (Hatim and Munday 2004: 18). Shuttleworth and Crowie refer to the translation unit as "the linguistic level at which ST is recodified in TL" and go on to provide Barkhudarov's definition as "the smallest unit of SL which has an equivalent in TL" (2014: 192). In this way, a translation unit can include various categories, ranging from a morpheme, an individual word, a phrase, or a sentence to the text as a whole.

Vinay and Darbelnet distinguish between translation strategies and translation procedures. Translation strategy, defined as a general method of translation or "deux directions dans lesquelles le traducteur peut s'engager" (1958/1973: 46), includes direct translation (*traduction directe ou littérale*) and oblique translation (*traduction oblique*). This

distinction is similar to the traditional faithful/free duality commonly used in the past to describe the relationship between the translation and the original. The Canadian scholars' taxonomy of translation shifts consists of seven main procedures that may occur in translation, three of which are said to represent cases of direct translation (borrowing, calque, and literal translation), and four of which have an oblique quality of linguistic rendering (transposition, modulation, equivalence, and adaptation). Each of the seven strategies can operate on three levels – the lexicon, syntactic structure and the semantic message.

Borrowing (*l'emprunt*) is a translation procedure whereby a source-language word is transposed directly into the TT. A loan word usually retains its original formal output or it can be merely adapted to the system of phonological, orthographic or grammatical/inflectional rules of the target language, in which case naturalisation of the form occurs. Borrowing is a recurrent technique in a general strategy of foreignisation (Venuti 1995), since it transfers a "flavour" of the foreign textual material or culture into the receptive system. It is also widely used in translating neologisms and distinctive elements of the original author's style or in order to create a specific stylistic effect in translation. Generally speaking, translators resort to borrowing in order to translate new or unknown concepts (e.g. technical terms) that have not received a standardised lexical form in a target language.

Calque represents a special type of borrowing in which the target language borrows an expression from the source language without changing the syntactic or morphological arrangement of elements. Vinay and Darbelnet distinguish between a lexical and structural calque. A lexical calque "respects the syntactic structure of the TL, whilst introducing a new mode of expression" (1958/2000: 85), such as the translation of 'compliments of the season' into 'compliments de la saison'. A structural calque (e.g. *science-fiction*) "introduces a new construction into the language" (85).

Literal or word-for-word translation involves the close adherence to the sequence of elements of a source-language portion of a text, at the same time abiding by the rules of a target-language grammatical system (1957/1977: 48). Word-for-word translation is more frequent between structurally close languages.

Transposition is said to occur in the process of translation if a grammatical change is noted without affecting the meaning of an utterance (50). In other words, it involves the replacement of one part of speech with another without changing its semantic quality. This type of structural change can take place within the same linguistic system, in the process which Roman Jacobson terms "intralingual translation or *rewording*" (1959/2000). Transposition can be obligatory or optional. For example, 'dès son lever' is obligatory

transposed into English as 'as soon as he gets (got) up' (1958/1977: 50), whereas 'après qu'il sera revenue' can be rendered as either 'after he comes back' or 'after his return'. The latter represents a case of optional transposition. Contending that transposition is perhaps the most common procedure undertaken by the translator (96), Vinay and Darbelnet further list ten specific subcategories of transposition:

- adverb /verb (situation *still* critical → la situation *reste* critique)
- verb/noun (as soon as he *gets up* → dès son *lever*)
- noun/past participle (with the *help* of → *accompagné* de)
- verb/preposition (reports *indicate* that → *d'après* des informations)
- noun/adverb (it is *popularly* supposed that → *les gens* se figurant que)
- past participle/noun
- adjective/noun
- adverb (adverbial phrase)/adjective
- adjective/verb
- and supplementation of demonstratives.

While transposition operates on the grammatical level, modulation occurs on the semantic level. Modulation as the fifth procedure is defined as "a variation of the form of a message, obtained by a change in the point of view" (1958/2000: 89). As with transposition, it can be obligatory (e.g. the time when → le moment où) and optional (e.g. it is not difficult to → il est facile de). Munday underlines Vinay and Darbelnet's observation that whereas transposition "shows a very good command of the target language", modulation represents "the touchstone of a good translator" (2001: 58). Modulation operating at the level of the semantic message is further divided into several subcategories.

The abstract for concrete type of modulation (*l'abstract pour le concret* or *le général pour le particulier*) works along the generalisation/specification axis or vice versa. In the example 'she can do no other', which is rendered as 'elle ne saurait agir autrement', the verbal action expressed by a more general *do* in the original is specified in the translation (1958/1977: 236).

Another type of modulation is explicative modulation (*la modulation explicative*) which can include three kinds of changes of the information value of a translation unit: cause/effect (*la cause pour l'effet*), means/result (*le moyen pour le résultat)* and substance/object (*le substance pour l'objet*). For example, 'named after him' gives the cause for the effect expressed in 'portant son nom' (237).

The part for the whole modulation (*la partie pour le tout*) involves the translation of a synecodoche – when a linguistic sign expressing a specific characteristic or part of an object/concept also denotes the whole of an object/concept (e.g. Le Palais Bourbon → the French Parliament).

Other types of modulation are: part for another part *(une partie por une autre)*, an example of which is the pair 'from cover to cover'/'de la première à la dernière page'; reversal of terms: 'you can have it' → 'je vous le laisse' (238); negation of the opposite (*le contraire négativé*): 'he made it plain' → 'il n'a pas caché que'; active to passive and vice versa; space for time; and change of symbol, which involves the translation of metaphors (240).

Equivalence as the sixth main procedure listed by Vinay and Darbelnet occurs when a TT segment refers to the same situation or a concept expressed by its ST correspondent, even though the two differ in stylistic or structural terms (52). Equivalence can be thus regarded as an extreme case of modulation and it usually applies to transferring fixed idiomatic expressions or proverbs.

Adaptation as a special kind of equivalence "is used in those cases where the type of situation being referred to by the SL message is unknown in the TL culture" (1958/2000: 91). In other words, it represents the modification of "a cultural reference for the TT readership" (Hatim and Munday 334). Newmark refers to this shift as cultural equivalence (1988: 82-83). If, for example, 'cricket' is used in the original to express the idea of an especially popular sport in a source culture, the French translator may adapt it into "Tour de France" to transfer the same degree of connotative meaning (Munday 2001: 58).

Vinay and Darbelnet observe other recurrent phenomena that appear in translation, such as explicitation, implicitation, amplification, and economy (reduction).

Explicitation introduces new lexical material into the TT for the sake of rendering the implicit sense of a ST element clearer (1958/1977: 9). In Chapter Four we will see how Bazy frequently resorts to the method of explicitation even though added information is not easily evident from the situational context in the original.

In translation terminology, implicitation appears as a technical counterpart of explicitation. Implicitation is a procedure whereby the translator does not communicate in his/her TT the information that is explicitly stated in the original (10).

Like explicitation, amplification involves the use of new elements in translation. However, while amplification also detaches from the formal correspondence between the TT and ST coupled pair, it retains their semantic parallelism or reinforces the same idea. Vinay

and Darbelnet point to supplementation (*l'étoffement*) as a particular kind of amplification and distinguish between three main subcategories: supplementation of particles, supplementation of the demonstrative pronoun by a noun, and supplementation of conjunctions.

Supplementation of particles (*l'étoffement des particules*) primarily applies to supplementation of prepositions. Moving from English to French, ST one-word prepositions are often amplified, in particular by a verb (109). Vinay and Darbelnet give the example of supplementation of a preposition by a noun (*to* the trains → *accès* aux quais); supplementation by a verb (he stopped … *for* his mail → il s'arrêta *... pour prendre* son courriel); supplementation by an adjective or past participle (the plot *against* him → le complot *ourdi* contre lui); and supplementation of the prepositional phrase by a participle or a relative clause (the courtiers *around* him → les courtisans *qui l'entouraient*).

Supplementation of a demonstrative pronoun by a noun makes TT material lexically more evident (*this* proved to be → *ce materiau* s'est révélé). Bazy frequently employs this technique in order to set a highly moralistic tone of his translation.

A typical example of supplementation of conjunctions is the rendering of 'when' as 'à une époque où' or 'where' as 'à l'endroit où' (113). Bazy often combines this type of supplementation, which introduces a noun in the TT prepositional phrase, with abstract for concrete modulation in order to create a particular effect.

As opposed to amplification, economy (reduction) is a shift whereby words are dropped in translation without a major effect on the overall sense or with only slight modification of meaning. Whereas Bazy extensively exploits the methods that generally add new forms and information in translation (addition, explicitation and different types of amplification) and modulates the original message on different levels (specification), Turiello's text generally displays cases of economy, a great deal of which are conditioned by the formal and metrical requirements of a genre, given that his version is delivered in verse.

1.2.2   Van Leuven-Zwart's Comparative-Descriptive Model of Translation Shifts

In the abridged and revised version of her doctoral dissertation of 1984, Kitty van Leuven-Zwart, former Head of the Translation Studies Department at the University of Amsterdam (Gentzler 2001: 133), proposed a method for the identification and a detailed description of translation shifts with the intention of revealing the dominant translation

strategies and norms adopted by a translator. Two parts of the article titled *Translation and Original: Similarities and Dissimilarities,* published in the Target International Journal of Translation Studies in 1989 and 1990, represent to this day "the most detailed attempt to produce and apply a model of shift analysis" (Munday 2001: 63). Van Leuven-Zwart's methodological framework consists of a comparative and descriptive model. The first phase involves the systematic study and classification of microstructural shifts that operate on different grammatical levels. The second stage explores how the identified pattern of shifts has an impact on the general framework from which the story is told in the translation. According to the scholar, this leads to "the formulation of hypothesis concerning the translator's interpretation of the original text" (1989: 154). The method was initially applied to the analysis of the Dutch translations of the Spanish novel *Don Quixote* by Cervantes.

Even though her methodological framework was not fully implemented in practice due to its complexity, its scientific contribution to the field of Translation Studies cannot be neglected. First, the Dutch scholar helped pushed forward a model of translation analysis that significantly advanced the rising descriptive branch of translation studies at the time. Secondly, much of her taxonomy of translation shifts is used by translation scholars in their translation analysis.

Van Leuven-Zwart starts off with the observation that shifts may occur on two levels: microstructural and macrostructural (1989: 154). Microstructural shifts are observable on the level of sentences, clauses and phrases where modification of the stylistic, semantic and pragmatic value of the translation unit can take place. Macrostructural shifts go beyond the sentential level and they can alter different aspects of the translated narrative.

The starting point in the comparative model is the identification of a comparable translation unit, which van Leuven-Zwart terms the 'transeme'. Drawing upon criteria suggested by Simon C. Dik's functional grammar (1987), van Leuven-Zwart defines the transeme as "a comprehensible textual unit" (155). In her view, "sentences are generally too long and words too short to be easily compared" (155). There are two types of transemes – *the state of affairs* transeme and the *satellite* transeme. The former consists of a predicate (a lexical verb or a copula) and its arguments (e.g. she sat up quickly), while the latter is "an adverbial specification or amplification of the state of affairs transeme (e.g. in her steamer chair). Upon breaking down the selected passages into transemes, the relationship between the coupled ST-TT segments is established based on the concept of 'architranseme'.

The architranseme is "the common denominator" which is used independently as a criterion for the evaluation of similarity between the two corresponding elements. It is usually

the denotative dictionary meaning of the ST term that is used as this hypothetical comparator (Hatim and Munday 2004: 32). The architranseme can be descriptive (semantic) and pragmatic. Only content words and not function words can appear in the architranseme (1898: 157). If the ST and TT transemes correspond to the architranseme, their relationship is that of similarity, which means that no shift occurs. A shift is said to occur when neither of the transemes bear synonymic relationship to the architranseme[10] (159).

Van Leuven-Zwart identifies three main types of shifts: modulation, modification and mutation. Modulation occurs when one of the transemes corresponds to the architranseme, whereas the other displays a certain degree of disjunction (159). For example, for the English-Spanish pair 'sat up quickly'/'se enderezó' the architranseme is identified as 'to sit up'. While the Spanish transeme tallies with it, the English counterpart contains the adverb that provides additional information on the manner of verbal action. In the case of modulation, one of the two corresponding transemes appear in a hyponymic relationship with the architranseme. Van Leuven-Zwart uses the form/class/mode formula to express the hyponymic relationship (158, 159). In this example, transeme [sit up quickly] is a mode of the architranseme [to sit up]. Modulation can also entail the specification or generalisation of the message.

Modification is a shift in which both transemes differ from the architranseme in semantic, stylistic or pragmatic terms (each transeme is in a hyponymic relationship with the architranseme). In this case, the relationship between the two transemes is that of contrast (165). For example, both the English 'to the lane' [=narrow road in the country[11]] and the Spanish 'en la callejuela' [=narrow road/street in town] exhibit a more specific characteristic of the architranseme [narrow road]. Hence, the translation displays semantic modification (165).

Mutation is defined as a category of shift in which it is impossible to establish the architranseme "due to the lack of any aspect of conjunction" (168). Addition, deletion or the radical change of meaning are types of mutation.

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[10] The architranseme is similar to Toury's concept of the 'invariant', based on which the relationship of similarity or difference between the ST and TT segments can be established (1995: 83). In Translation Studies terminology, this is known as *tertium comparationis*: "a non-linguistic, intermediate form of the meaning of a ST and TT, […] an invariant meaning independent of both texts, which can be used to gauge or assist transfer of meaning between ST and TT" (Hatim and Munday 2004: 31). However, many scholars such as Gentzler and Hermans find that centring translation analysis around this "hypothetical construct" which cannot be determined objectively undermines the descriptive and heightens the prescriptive orientation of theoretical discussion (Gentzler 2001: 130).

[11] Based on the situational context in the text, van Leuven-Zwart excludes the second meaning of the ST word 'lane' as a narrow street surrounded by buildings on both sides in a city.

Each shift is further divided into subcategories, making overall 37 specific shifts, as indicated in the following table:

Category	Sub-category
1a) Semantic modulation (generalization, specification)	01 – f/c/m 02 – aspectual element 03 – subjective element 04 – concrete element 05 – intensive element
1b) Stylistic modulation (generalization, specification)	06 – register element 07 – professional element 08 – temporal element 09 – text-specific element 10 – culture-bound element 11 – syntagmatic element 12 – paradigmatic element
2a) Semantic modification	13 – f/c/m 14 – aspectual element 15 – subjective element 16 – concrete element 17 – intensive element
2b) Stylistic modification	18 – register element 19 – professional element 20 – temporal element 21 – text-specific element 22 – culture-bound element 23 – syntagmatic element 24 – paradigmatic element
2c) Syntactic-semantic modification	25 – tense 26 – person 27 – number 28 – gram. class/function 29 – function word
2d) Syntactic-stylistic modification	30 – explicitation 31 – implicitation
2e) Syntactic-pragmatic modification	32 – speech act 33 – deixis/anaphora 34 – thematic meaning
3) Mutation	35 – deletion 36 – addition 37 – radical change of meaning

Table 1: Van Leuven-Zwart's categorisation of translation shifts (1989: 170)

Van Leuven-Zwart's classification of shifts is extremely detailed and complex. Translation scholars rarely use her comparative model in its totality due to the impossibility of applying it to larger bodies of text. In addition, a shift cannot be easily identified because it is difficult at times to locate the architranseme as the common denominator, which van Leuven-Zwart admits herself (158). However, this research borrows some of the vocabulary

used by the scholar for shift description: semantic modulation (intensive element), semantic modification (intensive element); syntactic-stylistic modification (explicitation and implicitation; syntactic-pragmatic modification (deixis/anaphora), mutation (deletion, addition, radical change of meaning), etc. The nature of these categories of shifts will be fully clarified when discussing their effect on TT narratives in chapters Four and Five.

The second stage of van Leuven-Zwaart's methodology is descriptive in nature. As mentioned above, while the comparative model serves to detect the microstructural shifts in the translation, the descriptive model seeks to examine the ways these shifts have consequences at the macrostructural level of a piece of translated literature. They can alter different units of meaning of a text as a whole, such as "characterization of persons, the nature and ordering of the action and the time and place of events" (154, 155), "the narrator's attitude towards the fictional world and the point of view from which the narrator looks at this world" (171). Only when a consistent pattern of a particular shift or set of shifts has been noted in the translation, can we say that a shift in macrostructure occurs.

A recurrence of a particular shift can also evoke a different set of responses in the readership or alter "the mind style", which van Leuven-Zwart defines as "the ideational function as it operates on the discourse level"[12] (1990: 70). For example, the Dutch scholar asserts that the frequent use of specification of intensive element in semantic modulation can result in a more aggressive, overstated and suggestive mind style in translation (71). Moreover, syntactic-pragmatic modulation may affect the interpersonal function on the story level (85). Accordingly, we will see in chapters Four and Five how certain changes alter the discourse level and the interpersonal nature of the narratives. The modification of the latter, which determines the way the speaker/writer communicates with the hearer/reader, is particularly evident in Bazy's case.

1.3 André Lefevere: Translation, Ideology and Poetics

Even though van Leuven-Zwart's model discusses the overall change on the macrostructural level of the TT, the shifts are perceived as absolute categories independent from the cultural context of translation production. Bruno Osimo refers to this approach as a

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[12] In setting up her descriptive model, van Leuven-Zwart draws upon Halliday's (1970) classification of three main functions of a language – the interpersonal, the ideational and the textual function. The ideational function concerns the way "the information concerning the fictional world is given" (1989: 172). She also makes use of the concepts of Bal's narratology (1980), who singles out three text levels in narrative prose – the history, story and discourse levels. The discourse level is identified as "the linguistic expression of the fictional world as it is created on the story level" (172).

bottom-up model in contrast with the top-down model, which is "of a culture-oriented kind" (2008: 215). Kirsten Malmkjaer's methodology (see 1.4) further supplements the model by relating identified patterns of shifts to extratextuality. In order to discuss how certain shifts are conditioned by different contextual factors, this research goes beyond the initial phase that involves a textual discussion of ST-TT pairs and borrows from the cultural-studies model of translation analysis.

The metaphor 'cultural turn' was coined by Snell-Hornby and first appeared in the collection of essays *Translation, History and Culture* (1990), edited by André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett (Hatim and Munday 2004: 102). The volume was part of a series[13] that contributed immensely to the cultural orientation in translation analysis. In the general editors' preface, reproduced on several occasions, Lefevere and Bassnett write:

> Translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given time.
> (1992a: xi)

In addition to translation, Lefevere lists other types of written production as rewriting: compilation of histories (historiography), anthologisation of texts, editing and criticism (1992b: 4, 9). However, translation represents "the most recognizable type of rewriting" (9). This view implies that translation is located within a complex system of constraints that operate in the socio-cultural, ideological and poetical context. Lefevere singles out four main factors that influence the translation process to which he ascribes a different degree of importance: ideology, poetics, universe of discourse and language (Hermans 1994: 139). As Hatim and Munday state, there is no clear delineation between these elements. "These conceptual systems," they assert, "are in constant interaction, with patronage serving as an area of interface between the poetic and the ideological" (2004: 101). It is the notion of patronage that represents the main theoretical innovation by Lefevere. Namely, the translation theorist reproduces earlier methodological tools and theoretical considerations (in particular those of systems and functionalist theories), introducing new metatextual formulations for the discussion of a translated product.

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[13] The other two books from the series are *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), and a historical reader *Translation, History, Culture: A Sourcebook* (1992), both written by Lefevere and co-edited by Bassnett.

The four 'intra-systemic' constraints (Asimakoulas 2009: 241) listed above are regulated by three forces or "control factors" (Lefevere 1992b: 14) that directly or indirectly affect the translator's behaviour – professionals within the literary system, patronage outside the literary system and the dominant poetics.

Professionals within the literary system include critics, reviewers, teachers and the translators themselves (14). Munday sums up the role of each group. Critics and reviewers are said to "affect the reception of a work" by constituting criteria to evaluate whether it is a good piece of literature (2001: 128). Teachers "decide whether a book is studied or not", whereas translators may "decide on the poetics and […] the ideology of the translated text" (128).

The second control factor is referred to as patronage outside the literary system. Lefevere contends that whereas the literary establishment and critics shape the translator's 'poetological' space, "patrons circumscribe the translators' ideological space" (1992a: 7). Patronage is defined by Lefevere as "the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature" (1992b: 15). Lefevere draws the reader's attention to the meaning of the word 'power' in his definition. It is not meant to be understood as a repressive force only, but rather as an entity that has the ability to form the dominant system of values of the target culture, which in itself is not monolithic. In his words, "patrons try to regulate the relationship between the literary system and the other system, which, together, make up a society, a culture" (15).

According to Lefevere, a patron can be one figure, such as a prominent or influential political personality or a holder of political power in a culture. Patrons can also include a larger a group of people, (a political party, a religious body, or the media), or an institution, such as "academics, censorship bureaus, critical journals, […] and the educational establishment" (15). The reading public is also said to constitute patronage.

Lefevere goes on to list three main components of patronage – the ideological, the economic and the status components. Out of the three elements, the ideological component is considered to be the most important one. Ideology is not only understood in narrow political terms, but rather as "a general world view that guides people's actions" or "as a diffuse, taken-for-granted frame of mind" (Asimakoulas 2009: 242). Lefevere defines it as "grillwork of form, convention and belief which orders our actions" (1992b: 16). Hence, we can speak of dominant, more coherent and state-sanctioned ideology that the patronage can exert in some way upon the translator and which the translator can conform to or oppose. But we can also perceive it, just like a culture at large, as a less uniform space in which each cultural sub-

set has a specific system of norms. In this case, ideology is defined as "the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members" (van Dijk 2002 qtd. in Wing-Kwong Leung 2006: 138). Since the translator does not work in isolation from the social surroundings, he/she can relate to a particular social group or subculture, the ideology of which is projected onto the translation. This means that there is not always a direct control mechanism exercised by a particular group in society upon the translator. Neither Bazy nor Turiello were directly subjected to a centralised repressive entity. Nevertheless, their behaviour was guided by the way they posited themselves within the surrounding ideological space. In Bazy's case, the influence of a political party (Party of Order) and a religious body (the ultramontanist faction of Catholicism) had an impact on his decision-making. In Turiello's case, it was the diffusion of the ideals of *libre-pensée*. Hence, their translations become the manifestations of their own ideology, which is perceived as "the translator's experience, thoughts and beliefs as an actor in a particular socio-cultural and historical site" (Munday 2008: 47-8). This is in turn indicative of a wider social and ideological context.

The other two elements of patronage are the economic and the status component. The economic component concerns the financial compensation for the translator's work. The status component refers to the status that a writer or a translator enjoys in society, which enables him/her "integration into a certain support group and its lifestyle" (Lefevere 1992b: 16). This element ultimately affects the reception of their work. The status component involves the translator's willingness to meet the expectations of patronage. As Munday points out, "membership of a particular group involves behaving in a way conducive to supporting that group" (2001: 129).

Based on the way each component is distributed across social groups, patronage can be undifferentiated and differentiated. In undifferentiated patronage, all three components are in the hands of one figure (centralised or totalitarian society). In such a system, the patrons usually act with the aim of upholding the order and stability of the system at large and its dominant ideology. Literary and translation production that supports the status quo is thus strongly promoted. In contrast, both writing and rewriting that is perceived as subverting the official policy receives the status of low literature for its dissident nature (Lefevere 1992b: 17).

As for differentiated patronage, it is composed of the components that are not interdependent. In a social system that is differentiated and decentralised in nature, a piece of writing can be highly lucrative while its status component is deemed relatively low.

Finally, the third factor of the target system is the dominant poetics. Levefere divides poetics into two components. The first component comprises a set "of literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols" (26). The second component is functional and it concerns the role and the position of native and translated literature, which affects the selection of themes and the form of expression. This area of Lefevere's study is directly indebted to the functionalist and systems theories of translation mentioned above. The translator's reaction to the dominant poetics determines two initial translation strategies, which Lawrence Venuti terms foreignisation and domestication[14]. The translator's intention to adhere to the literary and cultural conventions of the target system (e.g. the conformity of translated literature to the French neo-classical aesthetics) is central to the domesticating method (1995: 17), which is carried out so that translation becomes aesthetically appealing to the local readership or can be read as a fluent discourse (2). In contrast, foreignisation is said to occur when translation defies the local norms and brings innovation. Domestication or foreignisation do not apply to the acceptance or refusal of the literary establishment only. They also refer to the translator's attitude towards a more general set of values of the target culture. Hence, translation can either reinforce them or appear "as part of counter-cultural movement" (Gentzler 2001: 39).

Turiello's version is a classic example of the acculturation/domestication of the foreign form into the target-culture reigning literary norms. It was delivered in verse, primarily the hendecasyllable, a standard metrical form for the Italian classical tragedy and poetry. However, on the ideological level, his text defies certain political and cultural subsets.

On the other hand, Bazy's version, delivered in prose, is placed well within the Romantic translation tradition that had begun to gradually overcome the previous domestication methods, of target-text and target-culture-oriented nature. However, it displays a great level of conformity to the ideology of the dominant political currents.

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[14] This is basically not an innovative theoretical assumption. Venuti draws upon the German Romantic translation tradition, in particular the work by Friedrich Schleiermacher. In his 1813 study on translation, Schleiermacher distinguished between a domesticating method ("ethnocentric reduction of the foreign") and a foreignising method, ("ethnodeviant pressures" of the foreign) opting for the latter approach in reaction to the French tradition of the time (Venuti 1995: 20). Accordingly, Toury uses the terms adequacy and acceptability. Adequacy is the translator's general orientation towards the source text, language and culture, whereas acceptability is a strategy in which much of the translation behaviour is submitted to different values of the target culture (1995: 73, 74). According to Toury, each translation is placed between these two hypothetical poles. Neither translation is completely 'accepted' or 'adequate'. In translation theory, terms such as acculturation, familiarisation, appropriation, naturalisation are used synonymously with domestication or acceptability.

1.4 Kirsten Malmkjaer's Translational Stylistics

This research is generally structured upon the methodological model called "translational stylistics" termed and devised by Kirsten Malmkjaer, one of the founding members of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST). Her three-step methodology not only reveals the translator's linguistic imprint, but it also analyses the translator's motivation for textual modification by taking extratextual and contextual factors into consideration.

Over the last fifteen years, there has been a rising interest in stylistic approaches to translation, which basically reproduce or sum up the cultural agenda discussed so far in this chapter. Stylistic approaches to translation analysis do not restrict attention only to the notion of style defined in traditional terms as a way a language is structured or a mere "sum of linguistic choices made by both author and translator" (Munday 1998: 12). Joan Boase-Bieier informs us that contemporary stylistics expands the focus of investigation from the linguistic and formal features of the text to include the cultural and cognitive context as well (2011: 154). This implies that "the stylistic study of translation" encompasses diverse questions, such as the "historical context of source and target texts, the cognitive state both texts convey, the emotion they express or give rise to in their readers, the way they achieve literary effects, and ideologies that they reveal or hide" (2011: 154).

Accordingly, Malmkjaer applies her methodology to an illustrative case study – Henry William Dulcken's English translation of Hans Christian Andersen's stories. She initially distinguishes between three types of style analysis: text-oriented, reader-oriented and writer-oriented. Text-oriented stylistic analysis includes the investigation of the general linguistic make up of the narrative. The reader-oriented stylistic analysis involves the ways "certain features of a text affect the reading mind" (2004: 14), which is closely related to the question of how the writer tends to incite a certain reaction or emotion in his projected readership. Writer-oriented analysis investigates why an author structures the text in a particular way, focusing on both conscious and unconscious choices. Malmkjaer states that this type of investigation reveals factors that are within the author's conscious control, such as his/her religious persuasion, political stance or "ideological gender position" (15).

Parting from the view of translation as a decision-making process, Malmkjaer argues that the writer-oriented stylistic analysis of translated texts cannot be carried out in the same way as with the original literary creation. Unlike the original author's generally unconstrained choices, the translator is bound by both his culture and his subjectivity but also

by the subjectivity and the source culture of the original author, which is reflected in the ST (15). In addition to the obvious restrictions imposed on the translator's output conditioned by the already established linguistic fingerprint of the original, the translator is faced with the following constraints: his/her own interpretation and understanding of the original, the function and the position the TT is intended to have in the recipient system, which always differs from the purpose of the original text, and finally the target culture audience and expectations which also differ from that of the original culture. Hence, she proposes a new methodology for analysing translations within writer-oriented stylistic studies, which she coins "translational stylistics".

Her model consists of three steps. The first step is comparative in nature and it involves mapping TT units of translation onto their ST counterparts. She argues that linguistic and stylistic regularities or recurrent patterns of the translator's behaviour can be identified only by observing the relationship between the TT and the ST. Malmkjaer's model is thus contrasted with corpus-based approaches to the stylistic study of translation. In her lengthy essay *Towards a Methodology for Investigating the Style of a Literary Translator* (2000), Mona Baker proposes that the individual style of a literary translator should be weighed against larger-scale corpora of both original and translated material in a target culture. Consequently, we can determine which repeated occurrences in the translation are attributable to the translator's distinctive and personal imprint (Baker 2000: 258) and which elements are more likely reflective of the cultural norms or general linguistic habits of the writers in a target system. The translator's linguistic and stylistic preferences that are identified will ultimately reveal "the social, cultural or ideological positioning of the individual translator" (248). Malmkjaer, too, arrives at speculation about the place of the translator in the wider socio-cultural and ideological context. Yet the scholar insists on the relationship between the ST and the TT as a preliminary phase to translation analysis: "unless this relationship is taken into consideration, many textual features of potential interest are unlikely to come to the notice of the analyst" (2004: 16). A detailed comparative analysis of the original and the translation will thus reveal a certain pattern.

The second stage of Malmkjaer's analysis looks into the ways "the alternative sets of means of expression" (18) in the translation affect the reading mind and examines how the identified patterns are relatable to the "total meaning of the text" (19). This phase matches van Leuven-Zwart's descriptive component of her comparative-descriptive model of translation shifts (see 1.2). The results of Malmkjaer's comparative analysis of Andersen's story *Deb kukke Ouge ned Scickstujjerbe* (1845) and Dulcken's translation *The Little Match*

Girl (1866) show that the English translator repeatedly shied away from reproducing Andersen's romantic blending of the secular, the divine and the supernatural (20).

Finally, the textual evidence leads to the final speculation about the relationship between the translator's explicit or implicit motivation and the context of translation production. Malmkjaer concludes that Dulcken modified Andersen's unified universe and restored a sharp duality between the worldly and the divine in order to conform to the Victorian audience's rising contemporary attitude to religious dogma. Prior to the publication of Dulcken's translation, the Church of England had recently broken with some supernatural phenomena in their preaching (23). It can also reveal the English translator's personal religious and ideological stance.

1.5 Methodology for Translation History

Translation history encompasses a set of discourses on the history of translation practice and changing attitudes towards translation theory over time, addressing the question of the role of translation in the history of literature and literary theory and, more generally, the question of how it relates to cultural practices in a particular socio-cultural context at a particular point in time. Over the last two decades there has been a rising need among translation scholars to establish a more systematic theoretical apparatus for historiographical research within Translation Studies.

1.5.1   Anthony Pym: Method in Translation History

In 1998 Anthony Pym set out a comprehensible methodological framework for academic research in the field of translation history. Motivated by the "lack of any strong interdisciplinary framework" (Pym 1998: i), which impedes a more systematic approach to translation history, Pym draws upon his life-long scholarly experience in the field, primarily his work on twelfth-century translation activity in Spain and nineteenth-century interaction between French and German poetry by means of translation. He points out that the two different geographical and temporal contexts require that his study be carried out with a different and revised set of approaches and methods. His book *Method in Translation History* is based on the methods he uses to overcome methodological mistakes that he encountered in dealing with two distinctive case studies. Pym emphasises the tentative nature of his work. Admitting that his aim is not to postulate a fixed methodological apparatus for translation

history, he refrains from privileging a particular approach. In his words, the research delivers a collection of theoretical reflections on the subject and, as such, it primarily aims at facilitating scholarly work in the field, thus charting the future directions of translation history methodology.

The scholar starts by outlining four principles that are generally incorporated in the investigation within the discipline of translation history: social causation of translation, attention to the human translator, intercultural space of translation activity, and the priority of the present.

Social causation involves looking into the existing conditions in the recipient system that give rise to the emergence of translated texts. Pym suggests that descriptive orientation in translation theory does not bring causation fully into the picture. This principle seeks to answer the initial question of why translations were done in the first place.

The second principle concerns the view of the translator as a social agent who expresses his/her own subjectivity. Pym contends that the understanding of the translator as a socially conditioned subjectivity entails the observation of his/her social entourage which includes patrons, commissioners, editors, readership etc. According to Pym, the human dimension of translation activity, preliminary to any work in translation history, was neglected in James Holmes' revolutionary map of Translation Studies (1972), which set the outline for the subsequent evolution of translation theory as an academic discipline. As a matter of fact, Pym opts for the revision of the Holmes map advocating the incorporation of a separate and more "unified area for the historical study of translation" (1). To Pym, the central preoccupation of research in translation history and any historical knowledge at large should move from the sole analysis of translated texts or even their contextual systems towards a human agent, for it is people and not texts that are "agents in social causality" (Gielen and Kaldjärv 2016: 31).

The principle of intercultural space of the translation process brings about yet another revision of a term popularised in translation theory – that of the target culture. Pym warns against the danger of identifying the translator with an oversimplified monoculture – the target system in the translator's day and age. The translator occupies or may even form with other kinds of intermediaries a hypothetical intercultural social group, a space at the intersection of cultures and linguistic systems (2). Or (s)he can belong to a particular sub-culture that defies the dominant cultural, social and ideological norms operating in the recipient system.

Pym's fourth principle involves the priority of the present. This means that the reasons for taking up historiographical research in translation activity are relatable to the present-day context, which is inhabited by a researcher seen as a humanised and subjective entity.

Pym goes on to define translation history as a sub-discipline of Translation Studies, dividing the branch into three separate yet interrelated subcategories: translation archeology, historical criticism, and explanation.

Translation archeology includes a mountainous "detective" work, ranging from "the compiling of catalogues [of translations] to the carrying out of biographical research on translators" (5). A survey of translations linked by a particular period or cultural tradition is accompanied by a series of questions: "who translated what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect?" (5).

According to Pym, historical criticism discusses "the way translations help or hinder progress" (5). In other words, it tackles the question of whether translation is perceived as a progressive force in the sense that it introduces new genres, concepts or devices into the local system, thus enriching the native literature (Lefevere 1992a: xi), or whether it is assimilated to the prevailing norms of the receiving culture. The view of translation as progressive or conservative practice does not apply only to the literary context but also to a more general social and ideological space of a target culture. In this regard, translation analysis reveals whether translations mirror "alternate value systems" (Gentzler 2001: 6) or whether they abide by the traditional literary establishment and cultural policies of the target system.

Finally, translation archeology and historical criticism will help formulate an explanatory hypothesis with a view to clarifying the nature and composition of translated texts.

Carol O'Sullivan singles out two elements in Pym's methodology which were of great importance to the development of future historiographical research in translation – a shift of emphasis from the text itself to the translator, as well as the use of quantitative data and empirical and corpus-based approaches in constructing a research hypothesis (2012: 131).

1.5.2   Lieven D'hulst: Object of Translation History

Lieven D'hulst is a professor of Translation Studies and Francophone literature at the University of Leuven. He contributed to the publication of the *Histoire des traductions en langue française, XIX siècle (1815-1914)*, the third volume of a four-volume set of national importance which follows the translation practice and prevailing theoretical discussions in

France from the 15th to 20th century. This volume is on a par with the British national project on translated literature, *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* (2006).

In the article published in *Handbook of Translation Studies* in 2010, D'hulst outlines the main points that should be addressed in compiling a list of translations. He starts by differentiating between three terms: history, historiography and metahistoriography.

He proposes the dictionary definition of history as "the proper sequence of facts, events, ideas, discourses, etc." (D'hulst 2010: 397). Historiography is also pinned down in a traditional sense. It denotes the study of the methods employed by historical researchers as well as the historical survey of the discourses of writing history. Anthony Pym previously equated translation history with historiography, suggesting that the latter was "the less pretty term" for the same thing (1998: 4). According to D'hulst, the concept of metahistoriography represents a metalinguistic discourse on the methods and concepts used in history-writing (398).

D'hulst repeats Pym's observation that translation history has been a neglected branch of Translation Studies ever since the Holmes model in which a historiographical study of translation was not addressed separately, but as part of either product-oriented descriptive translation studies or the function-oriented description, the latter enabling to a certain degree the investigation of the historical function of translation (Pym 1998: 1). Therefore, delineating a clearly defined aim and postulating a methodological framework for translation history will enable this sub-discipline to secure a more prominent place within Translation Studies (D'hulst 2010: 399).

In order to outline the main objectives of translation history, D'hulst makes use of classical empirical methods of questioning which comprise a set of loci, each referring to a particular point of interest. Each translation historian should tackle seven questions which will reveal much about the conditions that give rise to translations, their position and effects they might have on a wider cultural space: *quis*, *quid*, *ubi*, *quibus auxilis*, *cur*, *quomodo*, and *quando*. (399).

Quis (who?) focuses on the translator. The preliminary research phase involves the investigation of the translator's background, training, "socio-economic, ideological and cultural profile" (399), and his/her written production. Much of the authorial and critical writings produced by the translator (if any) can help construct the translator's dominant views which may be projected onto his/her translation.

The question of *quid* (what?) involves the examination of "what has been translated? And what not?" as well as "what have been the selection criteria and the concrete selection

procedures that have been applied for texts to be translated" (400). Looking into the bibliographies of translations from a particular period within a national tradition or a linguistic community will reveal the dominant poetics and the favoured genres, authors, and themes. In addition, D'hulst suggests the investigation of "what has been written on translation" at a given time in a target culture in order to determine a prevailing attitude towards translation in general. Thus, we can determine whether or not the translator complies with or deviates from dominant translation strategies or popular and widespread reflection on translation.

Ubi (where?) seeks to explore where the translations are published and diffused, in which series and who commissioned their production. The same inquiry is needed for compiling a survey of translation thought and theory.

Quibus auxilis (by whose assistance/help?) tackles the general attitude of external mechanisms towards translators and their work in a target system. Dealing with this question will lead to a better understanding of the "recognition of translators and their work by partnerships", the development of "network structures between publishers, authors, and translators," the contemporaneous relationship between censorship and translation, and finally, "the issue of power relations in translation communication processes and in translation institutions" (401).

The question of *cur* (why?), as the question of causality of translation activity, has been frequently at the centre of critical focus in Translation Studies. D'hulst singles out Chesterman's 1998 study *Causes, Translation, Effects*, which particularly tackles this issue. As mentioned above, Pym confines this concept to the branch of translation history and devotes a great deal of his methodological inquires to the question of social causation of translation activity, which, according to him, is at the core of any historical research. With a view to examining why a particular translation appears in a particular form, D'hulst invites investigation into the external conditions, such as the prominent norms, procedures or different types of economic, cultural or political constraints within a target culture, which ultimately have an impact on the form and the function of a translated text.

The previous *cur* leads on to the question of *quomodo* (how?) – i.e., how are translations made? D'hulst asserts that this area of interest has received sustained attention in the historical research of translation. Attention to norms at work which shape translations and how they change in time has been productively framed by different systems theories. On the other hand, D'hulst calls for the focus of critical attention on the role of translation training institutes in translation process (402).

According to D'hulst, the question of *quando* (when?) encompasses a number of issues, such as "the origins of translation, the clines of translation, the modes of temporal categorization of translations" (402).

Cui bono (for whom?) concerns the effects of translation and their function in a target society. It examines whether translation holds an independent position, thus exerting influence in terms of importing innovation into local systems or whether it is assimilated into the reigning poetics and edifices in the receiving culture. This is similar to Evan-Zohar's concept of canonized and non-canonized literature, discussed above.

In delivering a chronological list of the translations of Marlowe's *Faustus* in Europe, some of the questions raised by Pym and D'hulst are tackled. Nevertheless, the more detailed investigation into the "historical criticism" and "social causation" of all the translated texts listed in Chapter Three is beyond the scope of this research. The question of how each European translation of *Doctor Faustus* is submitted to contextual conditions is reserved for a separate research project. Hence, the historical part of this study is primarily expository in the sense that it will help us understand the position of the two translations under study in the history of translation thought and practice.

Chapter Two:
The Instability and Indeterminacy of the Source Text

Translation, in its broadest sense, is defined as rendering the meaning of the source text into another language. Such a general definition of the translation process presupposes that the source text is a well-established and clearly defined piece of written material. Hence, in communicating a message to the target reader, the translator draws upon a fixed product whose stability is secured by the original author and the editorship. However, this view of a literary text is dependent upon a particular current in textual scholarship and the nature of the relationship between editorial practice and literary study that textual scholars advocate. The proponents of New Bibliography would certainly redeem the translator from performing the role of editor of the source text. One of its pioneers, Sir Walter Wilson Greg, who sparked this new trend in Anglo-American editorial tradition, subsequently followed by Fredson Bowers and G. Thomas Tanselle, stressed the importance "of selecting the established text as the object of scholarly and critical scrutiny" by "purging transmissional corruption and emending a copy-text with later authorial substantive revisions" (Cohen 1997: xii). In other words, new bibliographers advocate the (re)construction of a text, making it as close as possible to the initial textual production. In the pursuit of a text expressing the ultimate intentions of the author, editorial practice should eliminate all the additions or modifications on the path from the original author's conception to publication. Hence, literary criticism as well as translation is postponed until the text has been definitively established. Greg and Bowers' primary aim was to apply their approach to systemising the editing principles of Elizabethan drama. As a matter of fact, Greg published a conjectural reconstruction of Marlowe's *Faustus* in 1950 in an attempt to hypothesise the original Marlovian material, relying on his influential, yet controversial resolution of textual problems. However, Greg's insistence on the importance of authorial copy-text incited a spectrum of critical responses, with the main reproach that his "statements reflect matters of judgment rather than of scientific observation" (Warren 1981: 118), thus pointing to the futility of searching for the author's intentions in a text. As Mitchell states, the reaction of the next generation of scholars prefigured the contemporary postmodern textual scholarship which undermined the concept of authority and underlined the indeterminacy of the text (2006: 51).

The idea of a stabilised text based on a systemised editorial and critical practice could be to some degree applied to any other literary genre except for drama. Roma Gill reminds us:

> Nowadays it is generally recognized that plays, more than any other literary artefacts are 'unstable' – that is to say, their texts are subject to constant revision and re-revision throughout their theatrical lives.
> (2004: vi)

Therefore, it seems impossible to look for the authorial intention in cases in which the first publication of a play-text would take place after a period of textual modification during stage practice. Early modern English drama particularly epitomises such tendencies. The play-scripts served as a blueprint for stage performance and they usually reached print after a long and exhaustive performance history. The early modern English period saw every seventh performed play in print (Kostić 1959: xiv). In fact, drama at large was considered an inferior genre compared to poetry. It was primarily written for the stage and not viewed as a worthy literary text addressed to the reader.

The production of the play-text was usually the result of a collaborative effort of many dramatists. Upon handing over the script to the theatre company, the author(s) would lose ownership of the text and any control of subsequent textual revision. It was further susceptible to changes and modifications crafted by theatre managers, actors, censors, or other people in charge of stage production. They were fully entitled to "alter, elaborate, rewrite or cut [it] according to the demands of the particular production or the audience" (Smith 2002: 156). Many factors contributed to the constant text revision and modification. First, commercial motivation played an important role. Thomas Healy primarily attributes the changes to "things an audience wished to pay to see" (1994: 22). In fact, Elizabethan and Jacobean theatres were, above all, commercial institutions, and the production needed to conform to the dictates and desires of the audience. The fuller use of stage and visual effects was appealing to the masses, so the play-text was often modified in accordance with such popular demands. Alterations due to changing theatrical norms and conventions are closely related to this general view of drama as an entertainment commodity. Thomas Healy reminds us that many plays descended into their farcical forms in order to satisfy the audience's desire for farce. He goes on to state that "comedies, far more than tragedies were the staple of the Jacobean theatre" (28). Therefore, the expansion and further elaboration of the comic

material of a particular play was commonplace on the early modern stage. The plays that survived into the Restoration repertory had to cope with the changing taste and the criteria by which they were assessed. As Tydeman and Thomas point out, "the Neo-Classical standards of restraint, harmony of elements, balance and proportion also brought demands for a more explicit dimension of moral didacticism" (1989: 5). Finally, the context of constant political, religious and social change that convulsed sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English society considerably affected the variations and interpolations in the texts throughout their performance history. Many excisions and additions echoed changing hybrid political and social environment. In this regard, certain government acts aiming at sanctioning the use of provocative and controversial language on stage would significantly alter the scripts and plays in performance.

Almost all critics concur that the case of *Doctor Faustus* by Christopher Marlowe represents the uttermost example of the textual instability of an Elizabethan[15] play-text, for it has been handed down to us in a number of divergent versions. In the following sections, the textual and conceptual differences between the two main versions of "the Everest of Elizabethan dramatic editing"[16] (Proudfoot 2000: 52) in relation to a survey of the early stage and textual history of the play will be discussed at greater length. The formal characteristics and ideological weight that each version carries need to be explained in detail in order to better determine the text which serves as the basis for translation, and the points on which the TTs diverge need to be discussed, as well as how the translator copes with the textual instability of the ST.

2.1 *Doctor Faustus*: From Stage to Page

In her state-of-the-art survey on the development of Marlowe criticism, Sara Munson Deats refers to Marlowe's canonical work as one of the most controversial plays ever written, second only to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (2015: 71). Even though this claim may be seen as a critical overstatement, the scholar justifies it on the grounds that almost every aspect surrounding the play and its production has provoked a myriad of contradictory, yet potentially viable critical responses in the history of Marlowe criticism. It is certainly the

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[15] The term 'Elizabethan' is not deployed in a strict sense referring to the period of Queen Elizabeth's reign, but to cover the theatre production from the mid-16th century to the Puritan ban on theatrical performances in 1642.

[16] In his examination of the early editing history of *Doctor Faustus* titled *Marlowe and the Editors* (2000), Richard Proudfoot uses this amusing metaphor, echoing W. W. Greg's references to the text (52).

most problematic and enigmatic text of all Marlowe's dramas. Uncertainties about numerous issues are abundant and have not been completely resolved even to this day. Debates continue on the date of the play, the authenticity of the text, the authorship of certain sections (primarily the comic scenes), the aesthetic and dramatic superiority, the meaning of the play, etc. On some points there is a certain degree of unanimity of opinion among Marlovian scholars. However, many aspects continue to be constantly revised and re-addressed. If we add that even the account of Marlowe's life is based on fragmentary facts, any attempt to read the author's personality into the play in order to produce a more solid interpretation may be easily contested.

Critical opinion on dating the play has shifted back and forth throughout the decades. Two dates have emerged as the year of the premiere on the London stage – 1588 and 1592-3, with critics now being generally in favour of the earlier date. The former advocates of the later date associated *Faustus* with the 'mature' phase of Marlowe's work, considering it the playwright's best achievement (Wiggins 2013: 10) and hence produced at the end of the evolution of his dramatic expertise. The most distinguished critics who favoured the later date, such as W. W. Greg, Fredson Bowers, and John Jump[17], pointed to the date of Marlowe's source, *The Historie of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus,* which dates from 1592. However, Bowers himself stresses the possibility of the lost earlier edition of the source (1973: 124). The popular English Faust Book contains the phrase "newly imprinted" on the title page – a strong argument for early date proponents, who claim that Marlowe must have had access to the earliest publication of the EFB. Current scholarship agrees with Eric Rasmussen and David Bevington, who argue for the earlier date, basing their view on William Prynne's reference to "the visible apparition of the devil on the stage at the Belsavage playhouse, in Queen Elizabeth's days" (qtd. in Bevington and Rasmussen: 49). The fact that the Belsavage playhouse was in use until 1589 removes all the suspicion, if we take Prynne's statement for granted. Bevington and Rasmussen go on to suggest that the play may have also been staged at the Theatre between 1590 and 1594 (49).

The diary of Philip Henslowe, the owner of the Rose Theatre and the manager of the Admiral's Men, an acting company which frequently performed Marlowe's plays, provides indisputable evidence of the early performance history of *Doctor Faustus*. Henslowe's diary reveals the first recorded performance of the play, on 30 September, 1594, performed at the Rose by the Admiral's Men, with famous Edward Alleyn in the title role. It is certain that the

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[17] W. W. Greg and John Jump express their view on the issue in a detailed introduction to their influential editions of *Faustus* published in 1950 and 1965 respectively.

acting company came to legally possess Marlowe's play a year or two after his death in 1593. The same diary records 21 additional performances up to January 1597, with one revival by Pembroke's Men later that year (Bevington 2010: 43).

In early 1601, Thomas Bushell entered an edition "the plaie of Doctor ffaustus" in the Stationers' Register[18] (Healy 2004: 179) with no mention of Marlowe's name. Another crucial moment in the early performance history of the play occurring prior to its first publication was the revival of 1602 attested by Henslowe's Diary. The infamous record of Henslowe paying two other dramatists, William Birde and Samuel Rowley, a sum of £4 for "adyciones in doctor fostes" is strong evidence that the existing versions of Marlowe's plays, all published after his death, are the product of the revisions made during theatrical performance, and not a "reliable witness to what Marlowe wrote" (Maguire 2004: 48). They only differ in the degree of post-Marlovian textual corruption.

The *editio princeps,* or at least the first surviving edition of the play reached print in 1604 under the full title of *The Tragicall History of D. Faustus. As it hath bene Acted by the Right Honorable the Earle of Nottingham his seruants. Written by Ch. Marl.*[19] The quarto of 1604, the unique copy of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, is commonly referred to as the A-text as opposed to the distinctive 1616 edition known as the B-text, existing in the single British Museum copy. The original B-text title reads *The Tragicall History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus,* with the now famous woodcut of Faustus conjuring a devil, widely used as an illustration in modern editions and shown in figure 2. Each version was reprinted on numerous occasions with its own variants and un-authoritative interpolations, as indicated in Table 2.

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[18] Stationers' Register is an official record book in which publishers entered their claim to a work. In the essay *Marlovian Texts and Authorship,* Laurie E. Maguire affirms that the entry of *Faustus* comes later in comparison with other Marlowe's works, such as *The Jew of Malta*, *Edward II*, or the *Tamburlaine* plays (43). *The Massacre at Paris* was never officially registered.

[19] In the remarkable introduction to his critical edition of *Doctor Faustus* (1991, 2008), Keefer gives an exhaustive list of both early and modern editions of Marlowe's play. Fredson Bowers states that the Admiral's Men became the Earl of Nottingham's Men when their patron received that title in 1597, which explains the title-page of the earliest quarto (1973: 124).

Version	Year	Publisher	Printer	Surviving copy
A_1 (A)	1604	Thomas Bushell	Valentine Simmes	The Bodleian Library
A_2	1609	John Wright	George Eld	The Staatsbibliothek Hamburg Huntington Library, California Petworth House
A_3	1611	John Wright	George Eld	The Henry E. Huntington Library
B_1 (B)	1616	John Wright	not mentioned[20]	The British Museum
B_2	1619	John Wright		Princeton University
B_3	1620	John Wright		The British Museum Worcester College, Oxford
B_4	1624	John Wright		The British Museum
B_5	1628	John Wright		Lincoln College, Oxford Royal Library, Stockholm
B_6	1631	John Wright		The British Museum The National Library of Scotland The Bodleian Library
C	1663	William Gilberston		

Table 2: Early editions of *Doctor Faustus*[21]

In his monumental parallel text edition, Greg states that there are five extant copies belonging to three different editions of the A series, while out of six editions from the B series, three survive in unique copies: B_1, B_2 and B_4 (12-14). Both the A- and the B-text exist in only one copy.

The A_2 title adds "the horrible life and death" in front of "Doctor Faustus", reprinted in the A_3 edition. The title-page of the 1619 edition inserts the words "With new Additions", repeated in the later quartos, suggesting further interpolations by actors and revisers. The sections of the B-text rely heavily on A_3 when it comes to numerous un-authoritative variants. Bowers contends that B_5 seems to have mixed the quartos of B_2 and B_4 (1973: 125). The edition of 1631 echoes scenes from another of Marlowe's plays, *The Jew of Malta.* The 1663 version replaces the scenes at the Pope's court with the scene in Babylon to avoid offending Roman Catholic sympathizers at the Restoration court of Charles II (Potter 2004: 262). This version was used for the 1662 revival and bears the title *The Tragicall History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus. Printed with New Additions as it is now Acted. With several new Scenes. Written by Ch. Mar.* Critics usually discard the unofficial C version as a debased variant and rarely consider it in their editions[22]. In preparing their own critical

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[20] According to Robert Ford Welsh's account of the printing of early modern quartos *The Printing of the Early Editions of Marlowe's Plays* (1964), it may also be Goerge Eld (128).

[21] The list is indebted to Keefer's survey of early modern editions (2008). The information on the surviving copies of each early edition is drawn from W.W. Greg's introduction to his parallel text edition (1950) and Fredson Bowers' two-volume set of Marlowe's canon (1973).

[22] Lois Potter shows considerable interest in the 1663 version and the late 17th- century farcical adaptation in his essay *Marlowe in theatre and film* (2008) published in Patrick Cheney's Companion to Christopher

edition of the play, many scholars try to conflate the existing lexical alterations from the existing editions in order to correct what they perceive as a misprint or a copyist's error. However, the criteria for evaluation can be highly subjective and may not accord with general criticism. As Mitchell argues, "each reader and director of *Doctor Faustus* is faced with the necessity to create her or his own play from different elements" (2006: 51). Likewise, each editor, and finally, each translator engages in similar efforts to resolve the textual problems. The choice of a version (the A-, the B-, or the hybrid conflated text) is primarily made by an English editor. A translator can choose to closely follow the English edition or (s)he can deviate from the original. The latest Canadian translator of *Doctor Faustus*, Charles Le Blanc, asserts that, if the translator opts for the latter, their behaviour is based on their own critical and philological approach to the text, as well as their personal aesthetic choice[23] (2012). To better understand the translators' choices in this regard, the close examination of structural and thematic differences between the two main versions must be tackled. This will help us determine the general nature of the English editions that Bazy and Turiello followed respectively. Only then can we compare the TTs and the ST and see on which points the two translations in question detach from their sources.

2.2 The A- and B-text: Textual and Structural Differences

The most obvious element on which the A- and the B-version diverge in structural terms is the length of the text. The A-text has 1,517 lines, whereas the B-text introduces more material making it almost one third longer. It is composed of 2,121 lines, and is thus closer to the average length of an Elizabethan play. The exact number of lines varies among the different modern editions depending on the distribution of the material, particularly in the prose sections of the play. The aforementioned numbers apply to Greg's edition (1950), whose B-text is longer by 604 lines of print. Keefer's recent enlightening critical edition of the A-text (2008), with the full B-text in the appendix, delivers the second version longer by 614 lines. Bevington and Rasmussen's edition of 1993 prints the B-text longer by 676 lines. The addition of new lines and the expansion of the existing scenes is the main structural

Marlowe. Moreover, C. F. Tucker Brooke included the altered scenes from the C version in the Oxford edition of *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (1929).

[23] "qui est autant le fruit de l'étude philologique et critique du texte à traduire, que d'un choix esthétique de la part du traducteur" (Le Blanc 2012).

characteristic of the B version. However, it also omits some 70 lines, particularly in the first two acts[24].

It is now generally agreed that both versions espouse alternations of tone and mood (between the tragic and comic/farcical scenes), of form (the tragic sections are usually delivered in verse, whereas the comic lines in prose), and of meaning and dramatic structure. Neither version provides a coherent style, language or a unanimous point of view. Both versions show signs of revision and collaboration. Yet the A-text is considered to be closer to the authorial manuscript.

Greg's landmark study introducing his old-spelling parallel edition of 1950 is now outdated and considerably contested by the next generation of scholars, who refuted his views on the authorship and the nature of the two versions. Nevertheless, chapter two of his study dealing with the general structural comparison of the texts, together with complete parallel texts printed on facing pages, is still indispensable for a visually clear textual distinction between the versions. Greg distinguishes three types of relation between the texts: parallel (where the texts are substantially the same with minor alterations), correspondent (the action is essentially the same, but with only occasional verbal resemblance), and the episodes present in only one of the two versions (15).

If we apply a modern five-act structure, the two versions overlap in Acts One, Two, and Five. The scenes comprising these three acts are primarily with tragic overtone and mostly attributed to Marlowe: Chorus, Faustus's opening monologue, his dialogues with the Good and Bad Angel, the conjuring scene, the signing of the pact with the devil, the evocation of Helen, the exhortations of the Old Man, the final monologue, the damnation scene, and the epilogue. Act Five is expanded in the B-version. The additional scene in B featuring the vivid representation of hell, the trinity of devils presiding over Faustus and the scholars' discovery of Faustus's body torn asunder seem to intensify the didactic nature of the morality pattern (Smith 2000: 156). On initial consideration, the B-text is close to A in these tragic sections. Yet numerous omissions of the individual lines and verbal changes constitute the most significant differences. The thematic implications of the final scene altered in B (a

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[24] The act and scene division is not applied to the original quartos of 1604 and 1616 and it is a modern editorial assumption. The A-text was first divided into scenes by Ward (1878) and later by Breymann (1889). The 1663 "debased" version shows act division. Chappell's B-text based edition of 1818 is divided into acts and scenes. F. S. Boas (1932) proposes the act division of the B-text based on the 1663 edition and on the logical sequence of the episodes. Many critics nowadays confirm that the A-text reads more easily as a series of scenes, whereas B is more probably designed to be divided into five acts (Lawton 2012: 163). All subsequent references to numerical scenes and acts are based on The Revels Plays Edition devised by Bevington and Rasmussen (1993), unless stated otherwise.

controversial intrusion of the devils and the apparition of the Good and the Bad Angel that provoked a heated debate among the critics), as well as other variants in the tragic sections will be elaborated in due course.

Figure 2: Title page of the B-text of *Doctor Faustus* (1616)
Source: Leah S. Marcus. *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996, p. 50.

The two versions considerably diverge in their middle section depicting the comic and farcical scenes. Faustus's travel scenes are noticeably extended in B. They introduce new political, ecclesiastical, and comic characters. The most significant is German Bruno, the rival Pope, ousted by Roman Adrian. The episode of Faustus's rescue of Bruno, whom he

escorts to the German Emperor Charles V (unique only to B) further intensifies the anti-Catholic zeal already present in A in the form of the trickery that Faustus pulls on the Pope in the banquet scene. Other characters missing in A in order of appearance are: Raymond - King of Hungary, two mock Cardinals (of France and Padua), the Bishop of Rheims, Martino and Frederick (two gentlemen at the Emperor's court accompanying Benvolio), and Benvolio (the knight), who remained unnamed in A. The Benvolio sub-plot,[25] a merely incidental theme in A, is expanded into almost three new scenes in the B-text. Furthermore, new minor comic characters are introduced at the court of the Duke of Vanholt – the Carter and the Hostess. Additional low life prose farcical scenes are modified in B: Scene iv.5 and iv.6 with the clowns' meeting with the Horse-Courser and their humiliation. Some characters that remain silent in A are given voice in B, such as Beelzebub. Rafe, a clownish companion of Robin (a tandem whose function is to parody Faustus's actions) becomes Dick in the B version.

The original quarto shows signs of inconsistency in the spelling of the characters' names. The most obvious example is Mephistopheles, who in the original A-copy varies between *Mephostophilis* and *Mephastophilus,* in contrast with the more consistent form in B, *Mephostophilis*[26]. All modern editions deploy the modern spelling variant. Similarly, the A-text consistently prints *euill Angell* as opposed to the inconsistent naming of the Bad Angel in B as *Spirit* and *Bad Angell*. From the beginning of modern editorial practice, Dilke (1818) and Oxberry (1818) imposed a standard of consistency in naming the characters by printing *the Bad Angel* in their respective B-based editions.

Criticism has been traditionally harsh on the comic and farcical scenes of the play, particularly in the B version. Tydeman and Thomas assert that Edward Dowden (1870) condemned "the low comedy in *Faustus*", while H. N. Hudson (1872) argued that "his whole style collapses into mere balderdash" (1989: 8, 9). A more distinguished literary figure, Bernard Shaw, showed no mercy in his review of the William Poel production of *Faustus* in 1896 when he stated that Marlowe was "vulgar and wooden in humour and stupid in his attempts at invention" (1896/1979: 214). The late 19th-century critics seem to have echoed the Marlowe editors of the time. Early Marlowe editor Dyce (1850) would certainly agree with Bullen (1885), who claimed that the Muses had withheld the gift of humour from Marlowe (Bullen: xxviii). Bullen goes on to hypothesise that the comic scenes are not Marlowe's working, but the product of a collaborator, an assumption that would gain

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[25] The scene featuring Faustus's humiliation of Benvolio and the knight's attempt to take revenge on Faustus which results in Faustus's subsequent retaliation.

[26] The Early English Books Online (EEBO), which digitalised original early modern copies, provides direct access to the unique versions of the 1604 and 1616 quartos, "uncorrupted" by modern editorship.

scientific validity later by Marlowe scholarship. The striking differences in style and quality and the view of the play as structurally incoherent is accounted for by the collaborative hand[27], not only in B, but in A as well. The difference is only in the time of textual corruption. Keefer delivers an updated critical stance on the issue when he states that "the collaborative work that produced A seems to have been largely synchronic" whereas the B-version is "temporally heterogeneous" (2008: 18). Some twenty years before Keefer, Bevington and Rasmussen provided strong evidence for a diachronic collaboration of B, singling out at least three phases of text revision: at the time of original composition, in 1602, and later on during the performance history (1993: 76). Modern criticism has thus relegated what are perceived as unskillful and less eloquent farcical passages to other compositors or writers.

The primary motive for the B-text's exploration of the farcical material from A (present already in the EFB as well) was commercial. Another 'intervention' was made with similar intentions to make financial benefits from former theatrical success of the play. It concerns the visual effects and "the fuller use of the resources of the Elizabethan stage" (Tydeman and Thomas 1989: 38). The audience was more attracted not by the hero's inward experience, which are more carefully portrayed in A (38), but by the thrilling spectacle promised by the summoning of the spirits. As Michael Hattaway remarks, "it was the spectacle of the devils, and not the mind of the hero that was at the center of the play" (1982: 167). At least, this claim is more viable in the B-text. Bevington and Rasmussen insist that the B-text additions "call for more characters on stage, more props and special effects, and more exploitations of physical space" (1993: 43). Hence, the stage directions are the elements where the two texts are not always in agreement. The B-text introduces staging matters like thunder, music, processions, and fireworks displays. Characters exit in 'several ways', action takes place from 'above', and the like (75). The two scholars analyse the different stage directions of the B-text to conclude that the additions derive from on-going practical use in theatre, thus arguing against Greg's view that the B-text shows no signs of Birde-Rowley interpolations. On the other hand, the B-text shows no consistency in adding more material to the stage directions. A number of stage directions, in particular in the first two acts are redundant in B.

Of great interest to this study are textual differences: the omissions and additions of lines and the alterations at lexical levels. I will primarily focus on parallel[28] and some

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[27] Not only by the documented interpolations by Birde and Rowley in 1602, but by anonymous revisers as well.

[28] Greg's aforementioned categorisation of the relation between the A and B scenes.

correspondent tragic scenes, not because they are of superior quality and genuinely Marlovian, but because it is in these sections that the occasional disagreement between the versions produces nuanced yet significant differences that affect the general framework of the text. The parallel scenes from Act One (excluding the correspondent Scene 4), the entire Act Two (except for the Robin/Rafe comic relief) and the most important portions of Act Five are given in the tables below. Acts Three and Four are not included in the subsequent tables due to the extreme cases of structural divergence between the two versions. However, the general thematic effect that the revised Act Three creates in the B-text will receive attention in 2.3, since it is a discussion of preliminary importance for the analysis of ideological differences in TTs, particularly in Bazy's version.

I have divided the verbal and textual variants into eight categories: (1) obvious errors and misprints; (2) accidental variants with no particular implications; (3) alterations whose reading is potentially defensible in both versions; (4) the changing modes of address; (5) omissions of lines and words; (6) differences with arguably significant implications; (7) alteration of modal auxiliary; and (8) disagreement in spelling and punctuation in the original quartos. It is true that some categories can easily merge, owing to the fact that the strict delineation resides in the matter of taste or of theoretical possibility. In fact, scholarly consensus offers no unanimity on the nature or the implications of numerous textual modifications. Moreover, some categories are not mutually exclusive in logical terms. Some line omissions will clearly influence the reading of the altered text. Therefore, they can easily be associated with category (6). Likewise, certain alterations of modal verbs prove to change the ideological or theological framework of the text, and as such, they can be labelled as "significant". These important passages from tables other than 3.6 are marked with an asterisk (*).

Obvious errors and misprints occur as a result of careless printing or the intelligibility of the source or playbook manuscript, depending on the hypothetical basis. If we accept Bowers' claim that the compositors of B used the A_3 text not in printed form, but rather a handwritten copy[29], the errors are attributable to the intelligibility of the source material. As a result, much of the textual decisions were based on the early modern compositors' guesswork. B_1 mostly corrects A_1's obvious errors (for example, *for Venice* in A is replaced by *from Venice* in B). At some points, it is B that gives the erroneous reading. Modern editions correct what is indisputably a misprint.

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[29] Due to the disagreements in spelling throughout the same version.

	Act I, scene 1[30]		
24	F: Wouldst thou make **man** to live eternally?	Couldst though make **men** to live eternally?	22
25	Or, being dead, raise them to life again?	Or, being dead, raise them to life again?	23
A₁	**The deuill** and illiberall for me	**Too servile** and illiberall for me	B₁
A₁	Ile haue them flye **to India** for gold,	I'le have them flie **to Indian** for gold;	B₁
A₁	**For** Venice shall they dregge huge Argoces,	**From** Venice shall they drag huge Argosies,	B₁
	Act I, scene 3		
12	And characters of signs and **erring** stars,	And characters of stars and **euening** starres.	B₁
	Act II, scene 1		
77	'Homo fuge!' **Whither** should I fly?	'Homo fuge1' **Whether** should I fly?	77

Table 3.1: Obvious errors and misprints[31]

Accidental variants result from the years of theatrical manipulation, printing practice or the memorial reconstruction by actors. They usually do not produce a major change in meaning, but only in form. They play no significant role in arguing for more distinctive thematic characteristics of the two versions based on textual modifications. They usually represent paraphrased parts of speech produced by actors on stage and transcribed as such in the copy-texts.

	Chorus		
7	Only this, **gentlemen:** we must perform	Only this, **gentles**: we must **now** perform	7
8	The form of Faustus' fortunes, good or bad	The form of Faustus' fortunes, good or bad	8
9	To patient judgements we **appeal** our plaud,	**And now** to patient judgements we appeal,	9
24	And glutted **more** with learning's golden gifts	And glutted **now** with learning's golden gifts	23
	Act I, scene 1		
34	F: **His** study hits a mercenary drudge	**This** study hits a mercenary drudge	32
	Act I, scene 3		
79	M: Think'st thou that I, who saw the face of God	Think'st thou that I, that saw the face of God	76
110	F: And make that **land** continent to Spain	And make that **country** continent to Spain	107
	Act II, scene 1		
80	F: I see it plain. **Here in this place** is writ	O, yes, I see it plain. **Even here** is writ	79
81	'Homo, fuge!' Yet shall not Faustus fly.	'Homo, fuge!' Yet shall not Faustus fly.	80
85	M: And **to show** thee what magic can perform.	And **let** thee **see** what magic can perform.	85
86	F: But may I raise **up** spirits when I please?	But may I raise **such** spirits when I please?	86
89	**Here**, Mephistopheles, receive this scroll.	**Then** Mephistopheles, receive this scroll.	88
95	Then hear me read **them**.	Then hear me read **it, Mephistopheles**.	94

Table 3.2: Accidental variants

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[30] All quotations from this table and hereafter apply to the edition of Bevington and Rasmussen (1993). When lines are directly drawn upon the original A₁ and B₁ quarto, available at the EEBO internet resource, the *A₁* and *B₁* reference are used instead of the line number in the table. As mentioned above, the variants from tables before 3.6 deemed significant for the revision of the text's meaning are marked by an asterisk (*). The characters names are abbreviated as follows: F. for Faustus, M. for Mephistopheles, G.A. for Good Angel, B.A for Bad Angel, O.M. for Old Man. The points of lexical modification are highlighted in bold.

[31] The categorisation and annotation of textual differences illustrated in the subsequent tables is a result of the systematisation and compilation of the critical assessment by different editors: John Jump (1965), Fredson Bowers (1973), Bevington and Rasmussen (1993), David Wootton (2005) and Michael Keefer (2008). It is also the product of my own detailed comparison between the two versions.

The third group of textual variations consists of a pair of words whose readings can be defensible in both versions. In contrast to accidental variants, they alter the meaning. Nevertheless, the change is usually restricted to the line or a sequence of lines with no wider implications on the interpretation of the text as a whole. The verbal alterations potentially viable in both readings are possible errors resulting from the different stages of the process of textual transmission. However, owing to the subjectivity of assessment, no clear distinction can be made between an obvious and a possible error. In other words, it is difficult to assume which of the two is a misprint and which is more "authorial". Some critics discard the alterations illustrated in table 3.3 as obvious errors, while others assume a more neutral stance and show their inclination towards one preferable textual resolution or leave an open question.

The "pretty case/petty case" distinction preceding the prepositional phrase *of paltry legacies* in both texts, used by Faustus to refer to Justinian's Institutes, is an example of the lack of certainty in this regard (B 2.1.28). Dyce (1850) acknowledges the possibility of the A-variant *pretty* with no evidence, even though he bases his version on the B-text (1850: 90). Later on, Wootton and Bevington and Rasmussen agree on the meaning of *pretty* as 'fine' uttered ironically. While Wootton defends the A reading which "captures the idea of the intellectual puzzle" (2005: 5), Bevington and Rasmussen, equally defending the A-variant, privilege the B-form, for it "seems manifestly superior in the legalistic context of the line" (1993: 112). Similarly, numerous alterations to be found in the two texts provide no textual resolution and the editorial choice is often based on a matter of taste.

Different lexical variants appear throughout all the A and B versions. The mid-19th-century editorship of *Faustus,* which usually printed the B-text, would draw upon different B-text versions in search of a plausible choice. Together with the accidental variants in table 3.2, the role of the equally viable alterations (table 3.3) was crucial in determining the modern English edition followed by the translators who did not provide clear information on the source edition. Even though they obviously followed the B version, neither J. P. Antoine-Bazy (1850) nor F. V. Hugo (1858) explicitly named the modern English edition that served as the basis for their translation. However, a careful lexical and formal examination of the English editions that reached print prior to the publication of the first two French translations (Dilke, 1814; J. Chappell, 1818; Oxberry, 1818; Robinson, 1826; Dyce, 1850) suggests that Bazy based his version on Oxberry's edition, whereas F. V. Hugo probably grounded his translation on the 1818 edition published by Chappell. Even though Chappell divides the play into scenes, F. V. Hugo refrains from such division. In his notes, he explains that the original

plays did not undergo scene and act division, in contrast to contemporary English editions. However, the translator divides the text according to the setting of a particular scene, which largely corresponds to Chappell's scene division. Moreover, lexemes and punctuation that are unique to Chappell's edition (a conflation of some lexical material from B_1, B_4, and B_6) almost fully match those of F. V. Hugo. Given that F.V. Hugo's translation is not the main focus of this research, the establishment of its ST edition needs to receive a more in-depth analysis. On the other hand, the textual evidence revealing the identity of the English edition followed by Bazy will be discussed in detail in 2.6.

	Chorus		
6	Intends our muse to **daunt** his heavenly verse	Intends our muse to **vaunt** his heavenly verse	6
22	And melting heavens conspired his overthrow.	And melting**,** heavens conspired his overthrow.	20
	Act I, scene 1		
22	F:And thousand desp'rate maladies been **eased**?	And thousand desperate maladies been **cured**?	20
65	Here, Faustus, **try** thy brains to gain a deity.	Here, , **tire** my brains to get a deity.	62
153	That I may conjure in some **lusty** grove	That I may conjure in some **bushy** groove	145
	Act I, scene 3		
12	G. A: Faustus, repent yet, God will pity thee.	Faustus, repent! Yet God will pity thee.	12

Table 3.3: Readings potentially defensible in both versions

	Act I, scene 1		
65	F: Here, Faustus, try **thy** brains to gain a deity	Here, , tire **my** brains to get a deity.	62
	Act I, scene 2		
33	Nay, then, I fear **he** is fall'n into that damned art	O Faustus,	29
		Then I fear that which I have long suspected,	30
34	for which they two are infamous through the world.	That **thou** art fall'n into that damned art	31
		For which they two are infamous through the world.	32
	Act I, scene 3		
60	The word 'damnation' terrifies not **him**,	The word 'damnation' terrifies not me,	57
61	For **he** confounds hell in Elysium.	For **I** confound hell in Elysium	58
	Act II, scene 1		
25	What god can hurt **thee**, Faustus? Thou art safe	What power can hurt me? Faustus, thou art safe	25
48	Ay, Mephistopheles, I give it **thee**.	Ay, Mephistopheles, I'll give it **him**.	48
53*	Lo, Mephistopheles, for love of thee	Lo, Mephistopheles, for love of thee	53
54	**I cut mine** arm, and with **my** proper blood	**Faustus** hath cut **his** arm and with **his** proper blood	54
55	Assure **my** soul to be great Lucifer's,	Assure **his** soul to be great Lucifer's,	55
77	'Homo fuge!' Whither should I fly?	'Homo fuge!' Whether should I fly?	77
78	If unto God, he'll throw **thee** down to hell.	If unto heaven, he'll throw **me** down to hell.	78
	Act II, scene 3		
94	Nor will I henceforth. Pardon **me** in this,	Nor will Faustus henceforth. Pardon **him** for this	96
95	And Faustus vows never to look to heaven.	And Faustus vows never to look to heaven.	97

Table 3.4: The changing modes of address

The fourth group of textual modification represents what Agnus Fletcher labels as one of the most striking features of the play: Faustus's constant changing of mode of address (2005: 202). Faustus often refers to himself in the 2nd or 3rd person, which produces different thematic implications. Campanini asserts that it "symbolizes the character's inner conflict and the implacable tension between the diabolical thirst for power and the wish to return to God" (1998). Similarly, for Fletcher, it dramatises alternations "between a brash confidence and a wavering uncertainty (2005: 202). Michael Keefer contends that this rhetorical function of Faustus's speech is at the core of his dramatic identity. It mirrors a split between his wilfulness (1st-person address) and "passive selfhood" (2nd- or 3rd-person address) (2007: 49). When the grammatical and semantic subject is the same, Faustus shows a greater degree of control of the verbal process. When dissociated, the presence of the external force is implied in directing Faustus's action. Therefore, this shift of self-reference may reveal one of the central issues of the critical debate surrounding the play, whether it more convincingly dramatises the confirmation of Faustus's free will or the predetermination of his actions. As evidenced in the table above, the B-text shows occasional alternations of modes of address in comparison with the A version, thus altering the general framework of the text in this regard. In 4.3.3 we will see that similar shifts appear in translation in comparison with the ST edition, which ultimately change the interpretative reading of the text.

		Act I, scene 1		
18 19	F: Why Faustus, hast thou not attained that end? Is not thy common talk sound aphorisms.	Why Faustus, hast not thou attained that end? X		17
53	Lines, circles, **signs**, letters, **and** characters	Lines, circles, , letters, characters		51
61	Nor can they raise the wind or rend the clouds;	X		
105	Yet not your words only, but mine own fantasy,	X		
106	That will receive no object, for my head	X		
107	But ruminates on necromantic skill.	X		
108	Philosophy is odious and obscure;	Philosophy is odious and obscure;		102
110*	Divinity is the basest of the three,	X		
111	Unpleasant, harsh, contemptible, and vile.	X		
		Act I, scene 3		
33	Now, Faustus, thou art conjurer laureate,	X		
34	That canst command great Mephistopheles.	X		
35	*Quin redis, Mephistopheles, fratris imagine!*	X		
		Act II, scene 1		
8	Abjure this magic, turn to God again!	Abjure this magic. Turn to God again!		8
9*	Ay, and Faustus will turn to God again.	X		
10	To God? He loves thee not.	Why, he loves thee not.		9
	X	B.A: Go forward, Faustus, in that famous art.		14
92	All prescribed between us both	All covenants and articles between us both		91
119	Ay, take it, and the devil give thee good on't.	X		
141	M: But, Faustus, I am an instance to prove thee	But I am an instance to prove thee the		139

142	the contrary, For I am damned and now in hell.	contrary, For I tell thee I am damned and now in hell.	140
144	F: What? Walking, disputing, etc?	What? Sleeping, eating, walking, and disputing?	142
149 150	How, a wife? I prithee, Faustus, talk not of a wife. Nay, sweet Mephistopheles, fetch me one, for I will have one.	X X	
152 153	M: Well,. Thou wilt have one. Sit there till I come. I'll fetch thee a wife, in the devil's name.	Well, Faustus, thou shalt have a wife. X	146
155	F: A plague on her for a hot whore	Here's a hot whore indeed! No, I'll have a wife	149
184* 185	F: O, thou art deceived. M: Tut, I warrant thee.	X X	
	Act II, scene 3		
	X	M: 'Twas thine own seeking, Faustus. Thank thyself.	4*
20* 21	F: But fearful echoes thunder in mine ears: Faustus, thou art damned!	X X	
96 97 98	Never to name God or to pray to him, To burn his Scriptures, slay his ministers, And make my spirits pull his churches down.	X X X	
	Act V, scene 2		
	X X X	M: "Twas I that, when thou wert I'the way to heaven, Dammed up thy passage, When thou took'st the book To view the Scriptures, then I turned the leaves And led thine eye.	98* 99 100

Table 3.5 Line and word omissions/line alterations

As mentioned above, the B-text is longer by a third due to the elaboration of the scenes in Act Three and Four. At the same time, certain lines from the tragic sections in B are omitted, as evidenced by table 3.5.

The alterations marked with (*) together with many of the pairs from the following table (3.6) will serve as an illustrative example of the next section in which a close analysis of the doctrinal, thematic, and theological differences between the two main versions will be discussed in detail. We will see in chapters Four and Five of this research how their further modification in translation has an effect on the overall structure of the TTs.

	Act I, scene 1		
32 33	Such is the subject of the Institute And universal body of the **Church**.	Such is the subject of the Institute And universal body of the **Law.**	30 31
64	A sound magician is a **mighty god**.	A sound magician is a **demigod.**	61
134	That yearly **stuffs** old Philip's treasury	That yearly **stuffed** old Philip's treasury	126
	Act I. scene 3		
53 54	M: Therefore, the shortest cut for conjuring Is stoutly to abjure **the Trinity**	Therefore, the shortest cut for conjuring Is stoutly to abjure **all godliness**	50 51
	Act II, scene 1		
9	Ay, and Faustus will turn to God again.	X	

25	F: What **god** can hurt thee, Faustus? Thou art safe;	What **power** can hurt me? Faustus, thou art safe	25
26	Cast no more doubts.	Cast no more doubts.	26
170	ready to execute what thou **desir'st**	Ready to execute what thou **command'st**	164
	Act II, scene 3		
32	F: I am resolved, Faustus shall **ne'er** repent.	I am resolved, Faustus shall **not** repent.	30
19	My heart's **so** hardened I cannot repent	My heart is hardened; I cannot repent.	18
82	Ah, Christ, my Saviour	O Christ, my Saviour, my Saviour,	83
83	**Seek** to save distressed Faustus' soul:	**Help** to save distressed Faustus' soul.	84
	Act V, scene 1		
41	O.M: Tears falling from repentant heaviness	Yet, thou hast **an amiable soul**,	40
42	Of thy most vile and loathsome filthiness,	If sin by custom grow not into nature.	41
43	The stench whereof corrupts the inward soul		
44	With such flagitious crimes of heinous sins	…, I speak it not in wrath	47
45	As no commiseration may expel…	Or envy of thee, but in tender love	48
		And pity of thy future misery:	49
		And so have hope that this my kind rebuke,	50
		Checking my body, may **amend thy soul**.	51
60	O. M: I go, sweet Faustus but with heavy cheer,	Faustus, I leave thee, but with grief of heart,	63
61	Fearing the ruin of thy **hopeless** soul.	Fearing the enemy of thy **hapless** soul.	64
	Act V, scene 2		
77	O, I'll leap up to my **God**! Who pulls me down?	O, I'll leap up to **heaven**! Who pulls me down?	150
78	See, see where Christ's blood streams in the firmament!	X	
79	One drop would save my soul, half a drop. Ah my Christ!	One drop of blood will save me. O, my Christ!	151
82	Where is it now? "Tis gone: and see where **God**	Where is it now? 'Tis gone;	155
83	Stretches out his arm and bends his ireful brows!	And see, a threat'ning arm, an angry brow.	156

Table 3.6 Arguably significant differences

	Chorus		
18	F: Excelling all whose sweet delight disputes	Excelling all, and sweetly **can** dispute	17
19	In heavenly matters of theology;	In th'heavenly matters of theology;	18
	Act I, scene 1		
24*	**Wouldst** thou make man to live eternally?	**Couldst** thou make men to live eternally?	22
	Act II, scene 1		
37	M: If thou deny it, I **will** back to hell.	If thou deny it, I **must** back to hell.	37
60*	M: But Faustus, thou **must** write it in manner of a deed of gift.	But Faustus,	59
		Write it in manner of a deed of gift.	60
61	F: Ay, so I **will**.	Ay, so I **do**.	61
79*	G.A: Never too late, if Faustus **can** repent.	Never too late, if Faustus **will** repent.	80
	Act V, scene 2		
94*	F: So that my soul **may** but ascend to heaven	But **let** my soul mount and ascend to heaven.	165

Table 3.7 Alterations of modal auxiliary

Modal auxiliary alteration is yet another frequent element on which the two versions differ. Much of the textual incongruity in this regard probably stems from the accidental change during the actors' delivery on the stage which was later recorded in the B-text. However, many critics assert that a shift of modality changes the overall theological framework (to be discussed in due course). In section 4.3.3 I argue that certain cases of

modality distortion in Bazy's translation contribute to the revised theology of the TT, in keeping with the translator's religious background.

Throughout the play			
A$_1$	Mephostophilis Mephastophilus	Mephostophilis	B$_1$
A$_1$	euill Angell	Bad Angell	B$_1$
Chorus			
*A$_1$	Wertenberge	Wittenberge	B$_1$
Act I, scene 1			
A$_1$	Oncaymaeon	Oeconomy	B$_1$
A$_1$	The reward of sinne is death : tha[…]s hard.	The reward of sin is death? That's hard:	B$_1$
Act II. Scene 1			
*A$_1$	Now Faustus must thou needs be damned, And canst thou not be saved?	Now Faustus, must thou needs be damn'd? Canst thou not be sav'd?	B$_1$

Table 3.8 Spelling and punctuation in the original quartos

This category of textual modification is evident only in the original quartos. Modern English editions tend to resolve all inconsistency in spelling and punctuation. Some critics, such as Leah Marcus, illustrate their claims on the ideologically motivated textual changes in the B version with differences in the spelling of proper names in the original quartos. The scholar focuses on the implication of the spelling 'Wertenberge' in A that modern editors perceived as an error and prioritise the modern-day spelling of the B-text 'Wittenberge'. Marcus associates the A-form 'Wertenberge' with the Duchy of Württemberg, known for its anti-imperial orientation and left-wing Protestantism, as opposed to the B-form Wittenberg, the intellectual centre of Lutheran orthodoxy (1996: 45). Michael Keefer contests Marcus' claims at this point, but generally accepts his relation between textual and ideological differences of the two versions (2008: 37).

This leads us to a discussion of the theological and doctrinal differences between the A- and the B-text.

2.3 The A- and B-text: Thematic and Doctrinal Differences[32]

As mentioned above, the two versions of the play considerably diverge in the expanded papal, imperial and ducal episodes in Acts Three and Four. In addition to the exploration of

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[32] This section is drawn upon my essay *Textual Variants of* Doctor Faustus *by Christopher Marlowe: Theological Differences*, published in the proceedings of the international scientific symposium *Art in Context: Religion in Works of Art*, organised by the Center for Scientific Research of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) in Nis, 2016, pp. 89-100.

farcical possibilities, many critics have pointed out that these post-Marlovian additions further strengthen antipapal and anti-Catholic feeling, the material already present in the A-text. They mirror the belligerent Elizabethan attitude towards Catholicism in the aftermath of Henry VIII's break with the Roman Catholic Church and his rejection of papal authority. Whereas the A-text Faustus plays a series of innocent tricks on the Pope in the banquet scene, the B-text Faustus becomes a political activist and intervenes in the power game between the Catholic Pope Adrian and his foil Bruno, appointed by the German Emperor. In an elaborate scene where Faustus rescues Bruno, Faustus emerges as a more distinguished anti-papal and pro-Reformation hero in the eyes of the Elizabethan spectator. The interpolated scene of the Pope's humiliation of his rival and the subsequent punishment, borrowed from John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563), further adds to a rather unflattering portrayal of the pontiff as arrogant, proud, power-thirsty, ambitious and morally corrupt. The extended subplot also gives Faustus "an opportunity to play more pranks" (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 47), reducing both the Pope and conventional Catholic sacramental and ceremonial rites to objects of ridicule.

At the same time, despite the apparent expansion of papal scenes in B, certain line omissions and textual modification in the latter version attenuate a parody on the Catholic practices. Mephistopheles' attack on the corruption of the clergy "whose *summum bonum*[33] is in belly cheer" (A 3.1.53) is removed in B. Similarly, in the clownish exchange between Robin and Rafe, Robin utters "*ecce signum*" (A 3.2.2) while holding the conjuring book he stole from Faustus, a line with no lexical counterpart in B. Bevington and Rasmussen explain the phrase as "behold the sign", which "echoes the language of the Mass" (1993: 167). Despite these omissions and revisions, the B-text generally intensifies the satire of Catholicism. Whereas anti-Catholic sentiment prevails on the surface[34], numerous textual modifications suggest that the Protestant doctrine is subverted as well.

Theology infuses *Doctor Faustus* more markedly than any other Elizabethan tragedy of the time. The play was first staged in a decade in which the mixed theological ideologies during the long process of the Protestant Reformation did not wane. Likewise, the early

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[33] The editor of the New Longman 2003 A-based edition of *Doctor Faustus* John O'Connor defines *summum bonum* as "greatest good" and goes on to underline the reversal of the theological term. Instead of normally referring to the goodness of God and Christ, here it is used in association with "the friars' chief delight – gluttony" (64).

[34] In both the A- and the B-text, Mephistopheles first appears dressed as a friar, reflecting the common Anglican association of the Pope and the Catholic clergy with Satan. In addition, the parody of the Catholic Mass, the Eucharist, Purgatory, exorcism and other Catholic rituals and beliefs is present in both versions. Depicted as theatrical tricks, they are "empti[ed] of their significance" (Stegner 2016: 75).

performance and editing history of the play coincided with a period of great political and religious unrest in England and shifts in the official policy. Patrick Collinson insists on the "pluralization" of the English Protestant Reformation, stating that "the process of Protestantization occurred in irregular and inconsistent stages" (2003: 207). It was characterised by shifts in state religion, making England vacillate back and forth between the old Catholic and the new Protestant doctrinal and liturgical elements (Woods 2013: 222). Similarly, Thomas Healy seems to echo Alan Sinfield's term "ideological faultlines" to sum up early modern England's course of religious culture. The scholar rejects the existence of a uniform doctrine:

> Literary criticism in particular tends to categorize English religious positions during this period by rather fixed and well-delineated categories: Calvinist or Puritan, Episcopalian Anglican, Roman Catholic, and so forth, with the assumption that each of these categories has a well-defined set of principles. The reality was very different, with positions shading into one another (2007: 387).

Under the rule of Elizabeth I, a sort of a compromise between the opposing religious currents struggling for supremacy was established in the form of Anglicanism, which encompassed a mixture of the old hierarchical structure of episcopacy, semi-Catholic liturgical service and a predominantly Calvinist theology (Cressy and Ferrell 1996: 5). The old religion relying on the doctrine of works, free will and a conscious effort and participation in sacramental rites as a means of salvation was replaced with the Calvinist concept of predestination of the sinner to salvation or damnation, thus relegating the possibility of receiving grace from the believer's initiative and free will to God's choice. Yet, the doctrinal norm was not firmly established. Sharp denominations within Protestantism began to emerge. The wave of Arminianism[35] "rejected the doctrines of unconditional election" (Bray 2004: 102) and reinforced the possibility of free will, coming closer to Catholic doctrinal stances (Hamilton 2003: 597).

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[35] In the examination of the complex religious reality in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, Donna B. Hamilton states that the main opposition to William Perkins' influential reaffirmation of the Calvinist theology of predestination (articulated in his *Armilla Aurea*, 1590) came from the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609). His views that "God wills the salvation of all people who believe" (597) undermining the principles of predestination, were partly supported by King James I and Charles I. Gerald Bray asserts that King James' Bible (1611) was a "translation acceptable to all shades of church opinion" as a way to contest "sharp denominational divisions in the Church" (2004: 101).

A series of posthumous re-publications of Marlowe's canonical work encompass the hybrid and constantly changing theological environment. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that no consistent or unique theology operates within the play. In addition to the possible humanist and Promethean reading of the play particularly popular during its Romantic revival (see chapter 3.1), Marlowe offers a multiform theological universe in which different philosophies and religious doctrines reside – not only seemingly predominant Protestantism and its factions (Lutheranism, Calvinism, Arminianism), but also Classical Stoicism, Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism (Healy 2007: 383), Manichaeism (Dollimore 1984/2004: 112), Augustinianism (O'Connor 2003: 135), religious scepticism (Bertram 2004) and atheism. Faustus's initial pledging "Resolve me of all ambiguities" (A 1.1.82/B 1.1.79) foreshadows doubt in the face of ambiguous theological universe that keeps sending him contradictory and mixed messages as guidelines for his behaviour and salvation. The possibility of Faustus's salvation and his conscious choice in the initial renouncing of divinity remains one of the central points of disagreement in Marlowe criticism. Of course, the possible resolution depends on which version we choose. Many critics have dealt with the ideological nuances borne by each version. However, almost all agree that no "text delivers an unequivocal doctrinal message" (Marcus 1996: 51), an idea that began to gain ground after Alan Sinfield's and Jonathan Dollimore's seminal post-modern re-evaluations of Elizabethan drama. No surviving versions, not even the earliest one, correspond to the coherent and individual dramatic vision.

Many modifications are directly attributed to state censorship. Certain government acts were passed in order to control the controversial language on stage with a view to preventing stirring divisions within the Church, or alleviate the subversion of the official church and state policy. The act of 1602 and the more effective Act to Restrain the Abuses of Players (1606), issued only three years after James I's accession to the throne would change the play-texts in London by a long way. All the subsequent editions and performances of *Doctor Faustus* were considerably affected by this government imposition. Numerous alterations on the lexical level or the omission of individual lines in the B version directly result from this parliamentary act. It prohibited the use of "the holy name of God or of Christ Jesus, or of the Holy Ghost or of the Trinity" (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 76) combined with profanities with ironical overtones. Therefore "universal body of the Church" (A 1.1.33) becomes "universal body of the Law" (B 1.1.31). Christ's blood no longer "streams in the firmament" (A 5.2.78), nor can it "ransom" Faustus in the B-text. The A-line "yet for Christ's sake, whose blood hath ransomed me" (A 5.2.100) is missing in B. Mephistopheles' advice to

"abjure the Trinity" (A 1.3.54) becomes "abjure all godliness" (B 1.3.51), and many references to Christ or God throughout the B version are substituted with 'heaven' or 'power'. The lines that are directly influenced by this act[36] are: table 3.4: A/B 2.1.78; table 3.5: A 2.1.9/B:ø; A 2.3.96/B ø (the omitted lines in B); table 3.6: A 1.3.54/B 1.3.51; A 2.1.9/B ø; A 5.2.77/B 5.2.150; A 5.2.82/B 5.2.155.

Consequently, the B-text Faustus no longer dares to deliver a direct attack on divinity by stating that it is "basest" of all arts and "unpleasant, harsh, contemptible and vile" (A 1.1.110-11). The controversial line that dropped out of B led to a text that is "more orthodox – in terms of the doctrine of the early seventeenth-century English church" (King 2008: xxii). Similarly, Keefer signals the main shift – the A-text's "interrogative force" and dissident reading yielded to the homiletic character of the B-text (2008: 19). The addition of the final scene in the B-text that includes a vivid representation of hell and features the scholars' discovery of Faustus's remains, thereby intensifying his physical torment, further stresses the narrative's orthodoxy. The extended closing scene attenuates the mystery surrounding Faustus's tragic fate, compared with the A-text's more ambiguous conclusion. The alteration of the final scene was the basis for many critics to argue for the main conceptual difference between the two texts.

Whereas the B-version seems to be closer to "the didactic medieval form of the morality play" in which vice is severely punished, the A-text is closer to our idea of tragedy "in which individual volition is paramount" (Smith 2000: 155). Similarly, Bevington and Rasmussen imply that the B-text reduces Faustus's freedom of choice, thus echoing the mainstream of Calvinist thought (48). Mephistopheles' confession appearing only in the B-text that he "turned the leaves / And led thine [Faustus's] eyes" (B 5.2.100-1) confirms the determinist readings. In his new historicist approach, Alan Sinfield argues that new additions, such as the devil's gloating over Faustus in the end, seem to enhance that "the Reformation God is at work" (Sinfield 1992: 234). On the other hand, Sinfield goes on to provide evidence that also suggests the more vivid alternative reading, such as the more sympathetic exhortations of the Old Man in the B-text, implying that salvation is still possible. Therefore, the scholar concludes that the B version "sharpens the theological polarity" (235). As a matter of fact, as mentioned above, critical opinion has concurred in the impossibility of providing a coherent theological reading of a given version. Any attempt to do so would be a simple overgeneralisation ignoring the evidence for a possible alternative view. For example,

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[36] According to Bevington and Rasmussen (1993: 76-77).

the B version prints Mephistopheles' aforementioned confession redeeming Faustus from the responsibility for his downfall. At the same time, Mephistopheles stresses "'Twas thine own seeking, Faustus. Thank thyself"[37] (B 2.3.4), which is missing in the A-text. Keefer perceives this line addition as one of the most important cases of the revision of meaning, directly revealing Faustus's "autonomous willfulness" (2007: 117). To Constance Kuriyama, the two contradictory lines peculiar only to B create "theological confusion", for Faustus is portrayed both as a figure responsible for his tragic end and the helpless victim of authority (1975: 177). Hence, the scholar refers to the 1616 quarto as "the critical nightmare" (177). Similarly, certain cases in the B-text imply a greater hope for Faustus. The impossibility of Faustus's repentance in A marked by the adverb *never* in "Faustus shall ne'er repent" (table 3.6: A 2.3.32) is slightly attenuated in B where "Faustus shall not repent" (B 2.3.30). On the other hand, Faustus's announcement that he "will turn go God again" (tables 3.5, 6.6: A 2.1.9) is missing in the B-text, confirming the inevitability of damnation in this version.

Despite doctrinal ambiguity, Marlovian scholars have sought to outline the general pattern of the B-text revisions in an attempt to argue for the thematic and ideological differences they produce. Elaborating on the revised function of the Old Man in the B-text, Michael Warren, Leah Marcus and David Wootton transgress the heterodox/orthodox polarity attributed to the A-text/B-text relationship. Wootton contends that in both versions the Old Man, traditionally viewed as the personification of Mercy in medieval moralities, stands for a promise of salvation. Yet, in B his theology is revised. While the A-text regards the Old Man as offering the prospect of salvation by faith alone (hence Lutheran/Calvinist), the B-text adds a few lines showing that he is no longer Calvinist (Wootton 2008: 147). According to Wootton, the Old Man's more sympathetic tone in "yet though hast an amiable soul, / If sin by custom grow not into nature" (B 5.1.39-40) suggests that "the dreadful consequences of the Fall" and the emphasis on man's sinful nature are toned down (147). Instead, Faustus can achieve salvation relying on his conscious will to "amend [his] soul" (B 5.1.50). According to Wootton, the implied free will[38] and even the importance of sacraments move us closer from Calvinist thought to the Arminian faction, or even Catholicism (149).

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[37] Alan Sinfield and Rasmussen point out that Mephistopheles in the B-text on numerous occasions might actually lie to Faustus. Sinfield wonders whether his claims represent "a devilish manipulation or a theological commonplace" (232). Rasmussen is more certain that Mephistopheles does not speak the truth, something he never did in A (Keefer 2007: 232). If we accept Mephistopheles' claim that Faustus devised his own damnation to be a manipulation, then B may be more coherent.

[38] Michael Keefer (2008) also confirms that the A-text retains Calvinist readings. Ceri Sullivan offers the Catholic reading of the play in his work *Faustus and the Apple* (1996), by insisting that *Doctor Faustus* "operates under the older, Catholic paradigm of sin: knowing and choosing between good and evil" (1996: 50). .

Attempts were made to argue for the opposition between the solifidian/determinist[39] and the voluntarist/free will view of the play, evident in the different use of modal auxiliary in the Good Angel's urge. "Never too late, if Faustus can repent" (A 2.3.79) contrasts with "if Faustus will repent" (B 2.3.80). The latter version suggests more independent agency and volition granted to Faustus, as opposed to the possible presence of external pressure on the verbal process of repentance inherent in the modal *can* in A[40]. However, the possible theological implications of the change of the auxiliary are later contested by David Lawton, who insists that such a claim is overstated and that "a variation of modal auxiliary does nothing to boost or diminish Faustus' prospects of salvation, which are effectively nil in both texts" (Lawton 2012: 164).

David Wootton's views were the further elaboration of Leah S. Marcus' benchmark study on the doctrinal differences between the two versions (1996), which, in turn, drew upon Michael Warren's study *The Old Man and the Text* (1981). Warren was among the first to examine the revised function of the Old Man in B, setting his friendly "fervent and charitable plea" against the "hell-fire" sermon in A (133). On the other hand, he looked into the last apparition of the Good and Bad Angel missing in the A-text and suggested that the moralising character of their speech implied Faustus's inevitable fate (134). Together with the entrance of the "infernal trinity" and the revision of Faustus's last soliloquy, the B-text ending stresses that "the choice is no longer open to him [Faustus]" (135). In contrast, the possibility of salvation is longer at stake in the A-text. Salvation remains unrealised in A due to Faustus's own choice rather than God's damnation (138). Again, the critical response is stuck in a vicious circle.

Nevertheless, Leah Marcus further analyses the possibility of salvation granted to Faustus in relation to the contrasting versions of the Old Man's appeal to the protagonist to give B a more consistent reading. Marcus implies that the Old Man in the A-text is promoting the "usual hallmarks of strenuous Protestant spirituality" (1996: 48). The scholar suggests that in contrast to the emphasis on sin and repentance as "a soul-searching individual struggle", the B-version offers the Arminian and even semi-Pelagian idea that sin is not a state of inborn human corruption and salvation is attainable by man's capability of choosing good over evil (48).

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[39] Ceri Sullivan juxtaposes the voluntarist reading of the play whose proponents assert the hero's free will (hence the Catholic view) on the one hand and the determinist/solifidian view on the other. He states that solifidianism "pre-empted the possibility of free will exercised over sinful or meritous behaviour", thus in keeping with the Calvinist doctrine (1996: 48).

[40] Bevington and Rasmussen too point to the can/will opposition, which contrasts with their previously expressed view that Faustus' free will is reduced in B, thus affirming inconsistency of the latter version.

To prove her point, she states that in the A-text, the Old Man leaves the stage uttering "fearing the ruin of thy hopeless soul" (A 5.1.61), which is juxtaposed with his confirmation in the B-text "fearing the enemy of thy hapless[41] soul" (B 5.1.64). The emphasis is that sin is the product of an exterior force – the devilish agent who corrupts man's inborn innocence. Therefore, the Old Man takes the traditional confessional function of "guiding the erring Christian into paths of right conduct" (48), the less Calvinist and more Catholic principle. Similarly, Michael Keefer comments on this line: "The B_1 revisers have shifted the emphasis from Faustus's hopelessness (i.e., his lack of the faith necessary for salvation[42]) to the agency of the demonic enemy who will victimize this unfortunate man" (2007: 225). Keefer suggests that the revisions of 1602 and 1606 blunted the Calvinist underpinnings (2008: 21). Yet, he seems to repeat Bevington and Rasmussen's conclusion that it is difficult to ascertain whether the consistent shift in theology is part of a conscious plan of the revisers mirroring the social context or whether it is merely accidental (45). Nevertheless, if we restrict our attention to the textual evidence only, a shift from the Reformation orthodoxy towards Pelagianism evidenced by Marcus proves to be plausible.

The implied Pelagian undercurrents of the B-text appear as the antithesis of the Calvinist concept of double predestination and original sin. Of all possible theological frameworks in the text(s), Pelagianism offers perhaps the most optimistic vision of man. The theological current, named after the British monk Pelagius (c. 350 – c. 420) insists on the refusal of original sin and lays emphasis on individual freedom in salvation (Vannier 1998: 880). Acknowledging the "human capacity for good", Pelagians believe that no divine intervention or "supernatural grace" is necessary for the soul's deliverance (Brown and Flores 2007: 210). Hence, the initial step in absolution is granted to man and not divinity.

In reaction to the overemphasis on man's moral faculties and freedom independent of God's works, Saint Augustine reintroduced the absolute primacy of God's grace in salvation (Madec 2007: 109). He still asserted the presence of the believer's free will, yet it was not sufficient "to raise him again" (Brown and Flores: 36). Hence, in salvation, God acts first.

As a compromise between Pelagianism and Augustinianism, semi-Pelagianinsm emerged advocated by John the Ascetic (c. 360 – c. 435). He acknowledged both God's grace and man's free will that co-operated in salvation. Its proponents distinguished between the beginning of faith and the development of faith. The first phase always involves man's will (*initium bonnae voluntatis*), whereas the second phase is guided by God's action (Meslin

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[41] *Hapless*] unfortunate.
[42] Justification by faith only in Calvinist terms.

1998: 116). It was also deemed heresy by the Catholic Church. In semi-Pelagian philosophy, it is man who acts first.

Over the centuries, the interpretation of the Augustinian thought has taken two forms: moderate and strict. Moderate Augustinians claim that God takes the initiative. Yet, it is man's decision to accept or decline his offer of grace (Meslin 1998: 117). On the other hand, more radical Augustinianism gives more agency to divine providence and reduces man's volition. The latter was further elaborated by the Reformers who took one step further in diminishing man's influence over salvation in the doctrine of predestination. Sinfield states that "repentance is not something for the individual to achieve but it is a divine gift", according to Elizabethan (Calvinist) orthodoxy (1992: 232). In reaction to Luther and his followers, the Council of Trent (1545-1563) accepted moderate Augustinianism and a more voluntarist conception as the official policy, which has remained a hallmark of the Catholic perception on salvation to this day (Delumeau 1998: 885). In addition, the importance of participation in the sacraments provided by the Church was strengthened. Without the official sacraments man could not ascend to heaven, another point of disagreement with the Protestant Reformers, who valued a private confession not mediated by the priesthood.

Figure 3 offers a visual representation of the aforementioned doctrines measured along the believer's free will/predestination of human action axis. The A- and the B-text are posited based on the aforementioned textual evidence provided by Warren, Marcus, Wootton and Keefer.

Figure 3: Dominant theologies in the A- and B-text
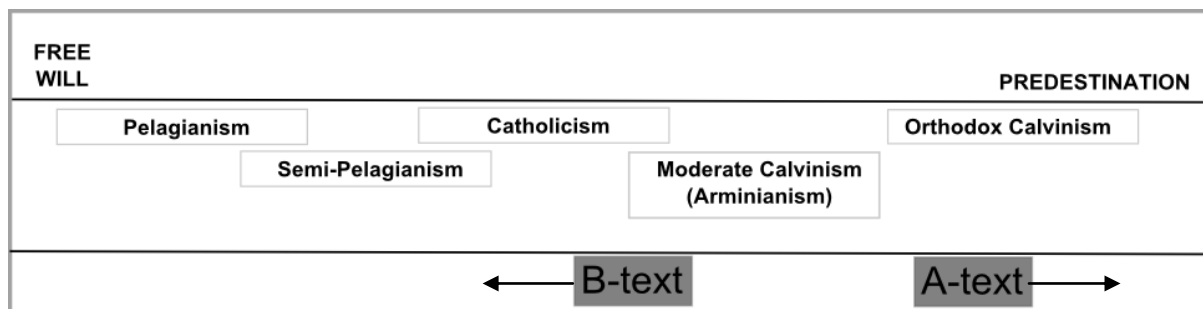
We will see in chapters Four and Five of this research how Bazy and Turiello deal with the doctrinal and ideological instabilities of the ST(s). The detailed analysis of linguistic modification in TT(s) will reveal a pattern of changes that further revise the dominant theology. This will help us determine their position between the poles of free will and predestination.

Whereas Marlowe stages a universe in which the new theology swayed over much of English religious society, the remnants of old habits, beliefs and doctrinal and liturgical elements were still present in the collective and individual consciousness. Placing the play within the context of religious and political change and exploring the dissident reading of *Doctor Faustus*, Benjamin Bertram argues that, despite the apparent undermining of the Catholic Church, Faustus also seeks to find consolation in the Catholic sacramental practice, thus rebelling against the Protestant doctrines as well. Drawing upon C. L. Barber's views (1988), Bertram focuses on Faustus's longing for the gratification of Christ's presence in the Eucharist (2004: 110). The physical presence of Christ in the communion (the Catholic concept of transubstantiation according to which ceremonial bread and wine become Christ's body and blood) fell into serious dispute during the English Reformation. Over the years the official position remained ambiguous until it was progressively eradicated. The play alludes to the Eucharistic presence of Christ by its vivid imagery of blood – emblematic of salvation and eternal life. Bertram stresses that the most obvious example is found in Faustus's last cry (see table 3.6: A 5.2.77-9/B 150-1).

In the B-text Christ's blood can no longer save Faustus. The version prone to the omission of direct references to Christ and divinity lost the powerful image of Christ's blood in the firmament, thus neglecting the implied presence of Christ in the Anglican liturgy. However, it retains the next line directly alluding to it with slight alterations "one drop of blood will save me" (B 5.2.151). Nevertheless, Faustus's action of leaping up to God is substituted with an attempt to leap up to heaven, stressing the absence of divinity in B. In addition, the line "for Christ's sake, whose blood hath ransomed me" (A 5.2.100) is irrevocably lost. Therefore, Faustus's yearning for God's grace and absolution traditionally received through Christ's blood in the Catholic Mass is blunted in the B-version. Bertram concludes: "The Anglican Church may have done away with the material aspect of the Eucharist, but it could not get rid of the individual's desire for that physical presence" (2004: 110).

Furthermore, the Protestant unease with the sacramental practice viewed as sufficient for salvation is evident in the treatment of the rite of penance – the ritual that lost its sacramental value under Protestantism. In his study on the memories of the old confessional system in Early Modern English literature, Paul Stegner shows that the pre-Reformation penitential apparatus is evident through Faustus's impulse to repent (2016: 76). Yet, the scholar asserts that the new theological vision of the play rejects the freely chosen ability to repent and no longer enables consolation by the conscious confessional rite. Therefore, in

seeking the rituals of the old religion, Faustus subverts the Protestant theology. As a matter of fact, the cornerstone doctrines of Protestant thought are articulated by the traditional forces of evil. It is the devil who firmly endorses the doctrine of predestination already referred to in this chapter (Lawton 2012: 162) and it is the Bad Angel who discards "contrition[43], prayer, repentance" as "illusions, fruits of lunacy" (A/B 2.1.18). In contrast, the more Catholic stance on the sacrament of penance is delivered by the Good Angel for whom "they are means to bring thee unto heaven" (A/B. 2.1.17). Even though both texts parody the Catholic rituals and beliefs, Faustus is also portrayed as a troubled Catholic recusant who refuses to attend the services of the Church of England.

All in all, the play, officially fraught with anti-Catholic sentiment and ending in the apparent confirmation of the Reformation religion, becomes a powerful means of subverting Protestant theology and any religious order at large. Gillian Woods asserts "where religion claims to answer questions, Marlowe's plays pose doubts" (2013: 222). Bertram extensively argues that Marlowe takes "religious skepticism further than most" of his contemporaries, by questioning both conventional and reformed religious and social morality (2004: 96).

As a devout Catholic, Bazy would significantly exploit the Catholic reading of Faustus in his translation, even though he wholeheartedly denounces Marlowe's conscious tendency to question the Protestant state-sanctioned policy and worship.

2.4 A- and B-texts in the Editing History of *Doctor Faustus*

The editing history of *Doctor Faustus* can be divided into two phases: early modern (1604-1663) and modern (1814-present). During one and a half centuries of editorial neglect, the farcical adaptations of the play appeared in print following their theatrical lives on the Restoration stage and on the Continent. However, the play yielded into its "debased" form and bore only occasional resemblance to the original. Moreover, no publication printed Marlowe's name on its title-page. C. W. Dilke's publication of *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (1814) in volume 1 of the six-volume series titled *Old Plays* marked the beginning of modern editorial practice and the rise of critical interest in Marlowe's canonical work. The two-hundred-year long editing history of the play[44], shows

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[43] Contrition is an essential part of penance in the Catholic doctrine.

[44] In composing the survey of modern editing practice of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, I have had recourse to the account of history of Marlowe scholarship found in *An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism since 1950* by Kenneth Friedenreich (1979), *State of the Art Christopher Marlowe: a Guide through the Critical Maze* by William Tydeman and Vivien Thomas (1989), *A Survey of Resources* by Sarah K. Scott (2010), as well as the

that critical and editorial opinion on the preferable version has constantly shifted back and forth: the endorsement of B in the early 19th-century was replaced with critical praise for A from late-19th century to the 1930s. Between the early 1930s and the late 1970s the B-text reclaimed its superior status. Finally, the last two decades of the 20_{th} century saw the accolade of A once again, which has remained a dominant view to this day. Over the centuries, the criteria used for evaluating the textual variant worth printing have primarily been textual authenticity (which version most faithfully represents Marlowe's original dramatic vision), aesthetic and tragic superiority, and artistic and dramatic integrity (which version is better structured to carry the narrative's tragic intensity).

As illustrated in Appendix A, the early editors reserved their praise for the B-text: Dilke (1814), Oxberry (1818), Chappell (1818), and Robinson (1826). Dyce's editions signal a transition in thought about the preferable version. His 1850 edition printed the fully collated B_1 followed by the parallel and correspondent A-text scenes in the appendix. The 1858 revised and corrected edition further stressed the endorsement of the A-text. Dyce's influential critical study inspired the scholars in decades to follow to reject the B-text due to the textual corruption by Birde and Rowley in favour of a less revised A-version. W. Wagner (1877), Adolphus William Ward (1878), A. H. Bullen (1885) and Havelock Ellis (1887) gave priority to the A-text, at the same time insisting that both versions showed signs of un-authoritative revision. Bullen spoke for many modern-day editors when he claimed that both versions were "printed from imperfect and interpolated play-house copies, and that neither gives the correct text" (1885: xxxiii). The view of the A-text as closer to the genuinely Marlovian original ran through most late-19th-century editions until the mid-20th century. The exception was the edition by Cunningham in 1870 (reprinted in 1887), based on the B-text. However, as Bevington and Rasmussen assert, he still "allowed the A-text to be closer to Marlowe's original" (63). The fourth edition of Ward's A-based volume appeared in 1901, followed by a landmark one-volume edition of the complete works of Marlowe edited by Tucker Brooke in 1910. Tucker Brooke insisted that A was "probably the most faithful representative extant of Marlowe's manuscript" (141). He printed the scenes appearing only in B in the appendix. R. S. Knox and John S. Farmer followed this trend in Marlowe criticism in their respective editions of 1924 and 1929.

Oxford Bibliographies Series devised by M. L. Stapleton and Richard Proudfoot's *Marlowe and the Editors* (2000). Moreover, David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen's seminal Revels Plays edition (1993), and Keefer's revised edition of *Doctor Faustus* (2008) give the exhaustive editing history of the play. In addition, the Marlowe Society of America (2013) generated a list of Marlowe editions and studies until 1952.

However, a major reversal of editorial opinion took place in 1930s with the publication of the seminal six-volume edition of Marlowe's canon, supervised by R. H. Case. Volume 5 (1932) delivers a modern-spelling edition of *Doctor Faustus* edited by Frederick S. Boas, who chose to print B. According to Tydeman and Thomas, Boas found the B-text to be a preferable version on the whole, especially in the comic scenes, whereas the A-text gave the impression of "having been printed, often unintelligently, from a manuscript that had been doctored both by cuts and additions for the benefit of the groundlings" (1989: 38). Boas heralded an influential turning point in Marlowe scholarship voiced by Leo Kirschbaum and W. W. Greg. In his paper *The Good and Bad Quartos of 'Doctor Faustus'* (1946), Kirschbaum departs radically from the past opinion and advances a controversial hypothesis that the A-text represents a "bad quarto", awarding more authority to the B version (272). Nevertheless, like Boas, he did not attribute all the episodes peculiar to B to Marlowe (Kuriyama 1975: 173). Kirschbaum's textual criticism would later result in the 1962 edition of *The Plays of Christopher Marlowe*, printing the B-text of *Faustus*.

I have already pointed out the importance of Greg's textual introduction to his parallel edition of 1950, which would immensely influence the editing practice of *Doctor Faustus* until the late 1980s, even though major attacks on his critical views appeared much earlier than this. Michael Mitchell sums up Greg's view that A represents an abridged version used for provincial tour and the product of "memorial reconstruction" made by actors. On the other hand, the 1616-text was "superior in content and form" (2006: 54) and did not include Rowley/Birde additions. Greg's worldwide reputation as a textual scholar led to a series of editions based on the B-text, with the exception of three editions independent of Greg's view that appeared in the immediate aftermath of his monumental work: Kocher (1950), Ridley (1955), and Wright and Lamar (1958). Warren states that Wright and Lamar "assert, without evidence, that the B-text addition are by Birde and Rowley, and they ignore the existence of Greg's work" (1981: 111). The critical endorsement of B dominated the Marlowe editing tradition for a few decades. John Jump's popular scholarly edition of 1962 was reprinted many times. The scholar took into account Greg's view in discrediting A (Friedenreich 1979: 27). Furthermore, B-based editions proliferated: Irving Ribner's *Complete Plays* (1963), replicated in his 1966 single-text edition; Roma Gill (1965); Paul A. Bates (1969); Sylvain Barnet (1969); J. B. Steane (1969); Roma Gill (1971), as part of her edition of collected works of Marlowe; Keith Walker (1973); Fredson Bowers (1973), republished in 1981 with textual emendations; E. D. Pendry and J. C. Maxwell (1976). Pendry and Maxwell's publication is largely based on Bowers' critical edition. The same year saw the publication of

the revised edition by Irving Ribner, reprinted in 1985. This distinguished proponent of the heroic interpretation of *Doctor Faustus* reproduced his useful student edition of 1966, *Doctor Faustus: Text and Major Criticism.* Even though the Romantic interpretation of *Faustus* endorsed by Ribner was best preserved in A, the scholar followed Greg's preference for the B-text.

In spite of the disparaging view of the A-text, which marked the editing practice for more than three decades after Greg's hypothesis, its rehabilitation was announced much earlier. It is true that Roma Gill's 1965 edition was based on B, whose integrity she praised, seeing the comic scenes as satirical, and not farcical, and as such, as part of Marlowe's original conception [45] (Friedenreich 1979: 26). Nevertheless, she expressed personal preference for A, thus anticipating her late 20th-century editions that print A as the main text. Similarly, Steane's student and general-reader edition of 1969 printed B influenced by Greg's arguments. At the same time, he perceived the B-text as inferior. Although Fredson Bowers gave priority to the B version published in his edition of the complete works of Marlowe, he seriously contested Greg's theory about the authenticity of B, thus signaling a shift in favor of A. As Sarah Scott points out, Bowers' old-spelling edition of B was preceded by the essay in which he asserted that the B version had been produced from authorial manuscript, with the exception of the additions by Birde and Rowley (2010: 165).

In the background of the contemporaneous editorial landscape, similar oppositions to Greg's theory appeared, particularly in the works of critics like Constance Kuriyama, Michael Warren and Michael Keefer. C. L. Barber had anticipated the vigorous debate on which was a more authentic and superior version by insisting that the B-text lacked "imaginative and stylistic relation to the core of the play" (1964: 93). Perhaps the major disagreement with the mainstream thought was voiced by Kuriyama. In her study, *Dr. Greg and Doctor Faustus*, the scholar introduced new evidence to denounce Greg's textual arguments as insubstantial, and concluded that "regardless of its flaws the A text has an aesthetic integrity far superior to that of the B text" (1975: 177). As mentioned above, Kuriyama denigrated the B-version on the grounds of creating theological confusion and expressed the fiercest statement of the time by denouncing the 1616 quarto as "an aesthetic monstrosity" (177). Similarly, Michael Keefer (1981) defended the A-text, which "presents the play as a whole in a form that is both more authentic – that is, closer to its original form – and also aesthetically superior" (1981: 325), simultaneously insisting that in some parallel

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[45] Roma Gill echoes Greg's claim that Marlowe planned the whole.

passages B was generally better and more authoritative (321). He further elaborated the textual arguments in his 1991 edition and the revised 2008 edition, which both incorporate the passages from B viewed as demonstrably antecedent and better than those of the 1604 quarto (Keefer 2008: 12). On the whole, to Keefer, "in dramatic terms, the A version of *Doctor Faustus* is tauter, more coherent and more troubling", whereas "the additions in B_1 […] are for most part unskillful and tedious" (20).

Contrary to Barber, Kuriyama and Keefer, Roy Eriksen (1987) regards B as "a coherent and unified whole" (Tydeman and Thomas 1989: 39) His praise for B reflects the earlier justification of its structure by Robert Ornstein (1955) and G. K. Hunter (1964). Sara Munson Deats reminds us that these two critics argued in support of the "careful thematic counterpart between comic and tragic episodes of the drama" (2015: 73). Deats goes on to suggest that, in *Five-Act Structure in Doctor Faustus*, G. K. Hunter, focusing primarily on the B-text, provided a carefully planned "trajectory of social and professional descent operating throughout the comic sections" (73). Nevertheless, the spokespeople for the authenticity and superiority of the B-text waned in the 1980s. Impartial stances and Eriksen's praise for B subsided in the face of the more influential critical views championed by Michael Warren, Leah Marcus, David Bevington, and Eric Rasmussen. They were unanimous in privileging the A-text, confirming at the same time that each version was at some distance from the original. The critical views were mirrored in editing practice. David Ormerod and Christopher Wortham's 1985 edition was the first of recent the editions of the A-text, followed by Gill's 1989 and 1990 editions. The third revised edition of her 1989 single-text publication was published in 2008 and has been reprinted on an annual basis since then. Keefer's aforementioned 1991 edition values A as more authentic and dramatically superior.

In *The Old Man and the Text*, Michael Warren espouses his position that has significantly shaped editorial practice ever since. First, the author defends the B-text against Kuriyama's accusations (Tydeman and Thomas 1989: 39), but prefers the earlier quarto. He vigorously points out that Greg's attempts to reconstruct the hypothetical original or explain the errors in A as the evidence of a reported text are matters of taste rather than accurate scientific scrutiny (Warren 1981: 118). Insisting that textual preferences are closely related to critical judgments, Warren argues for the practical irreconcilability of the two extant texts. He contests the editorial and critical view that a single text close to the authorial original can be established. Hence, according to Warren, the two versions should be regarded as separate plays, and therefore printed and critically approached accordingly (118). Rasmussen and Bevington's views accord with those of Warren. They state that B "deserves to be treated as a

text by itself" (1993:77) and consequently print both versions in sequence. Their 1993 edition marked the turning point in editorial practice – *Doctor Faustus* was presented to the general reader in two distinctive versions. Proudfoot reflects the ruling opinion on this matter when he states, "A is A, B is B, and never the two shall meet" (2000: 51). Numerous recent editions contain both texts: The World's Classics Series edition of 1995 by the same editors, Mark Thornton Burnett's 1999 edition, Wordsworth Classics edition of Marlowe's collected plays edited by Emma Smith in 2000, and David S. Kastan's two-text edition of 2005, etc. The "foul-paper" hypothesis elaborated by Rasmussen, and inspired by Bowers and other predecessors, according to which A derives from an authorial copy, is the rooted opinion nowadays. As a result, A-based single-text editions have flourished over the last two decades: Romany and Lindsey (2003), David Wotton (2005), Roma Gill (3rd edition, 2008), Richard Gill (2008), Ross King (2009), etc. Occasional B-text editions that appear are the revised editions of earlier works: in 2001, the second edition of Sylvain Barnet's 1969 publication came off the press and the revised edition of Ribner's modern-spelling edition of 1985 reached print, edited by James Lake and Irving Ribner.

A certain degree of opposition to the editorial decision to print both texts in full or in the integral A-version comes from Keefer. As mentioned above, Keefer provides compelling evidence neglected by the previous critics and asserts that at some points the B-text preserves more authentic and better readings. Nevertheless, his editions of 2007 and 2008 are based on the A-text, whereas parallel passages from B are given in the appendix.

2.5 A- and B-texts in the Translation History of *Doctor Faustus* in each Target Culture

The chronological survey of the French and Italian translations of *Doctor Faustus* is provided in order to place a particular translation within the changing attitude towards a preferable version in the Marlowe editing practice. This will help us determine whether they conform to or deviate from the popular assumption resulting from a critical debate on the assessment of the two texts discussed above. The table in Appendix B generates an exhaustive list of the French translations. Translations produced for performance are not taken into consideration at this point. A chronological survey of all the Italian translations is given in Appendix C. When explicitly stated in the translators' notes, information on the English edition serving as the basis for each translation is provided in the table. In the case of Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy and François-Victor Hugo, an English edition is attributed to their

respective versions based on the textual comparison mentioned above. The source for Bazy's version is fully elaborated in section 2.5. Figure 4 represents the timeline of A/B preference in general Marlowe criticism and the English editing history set against the contemporaneous endorsement of A/B in translation practice within each target culture.
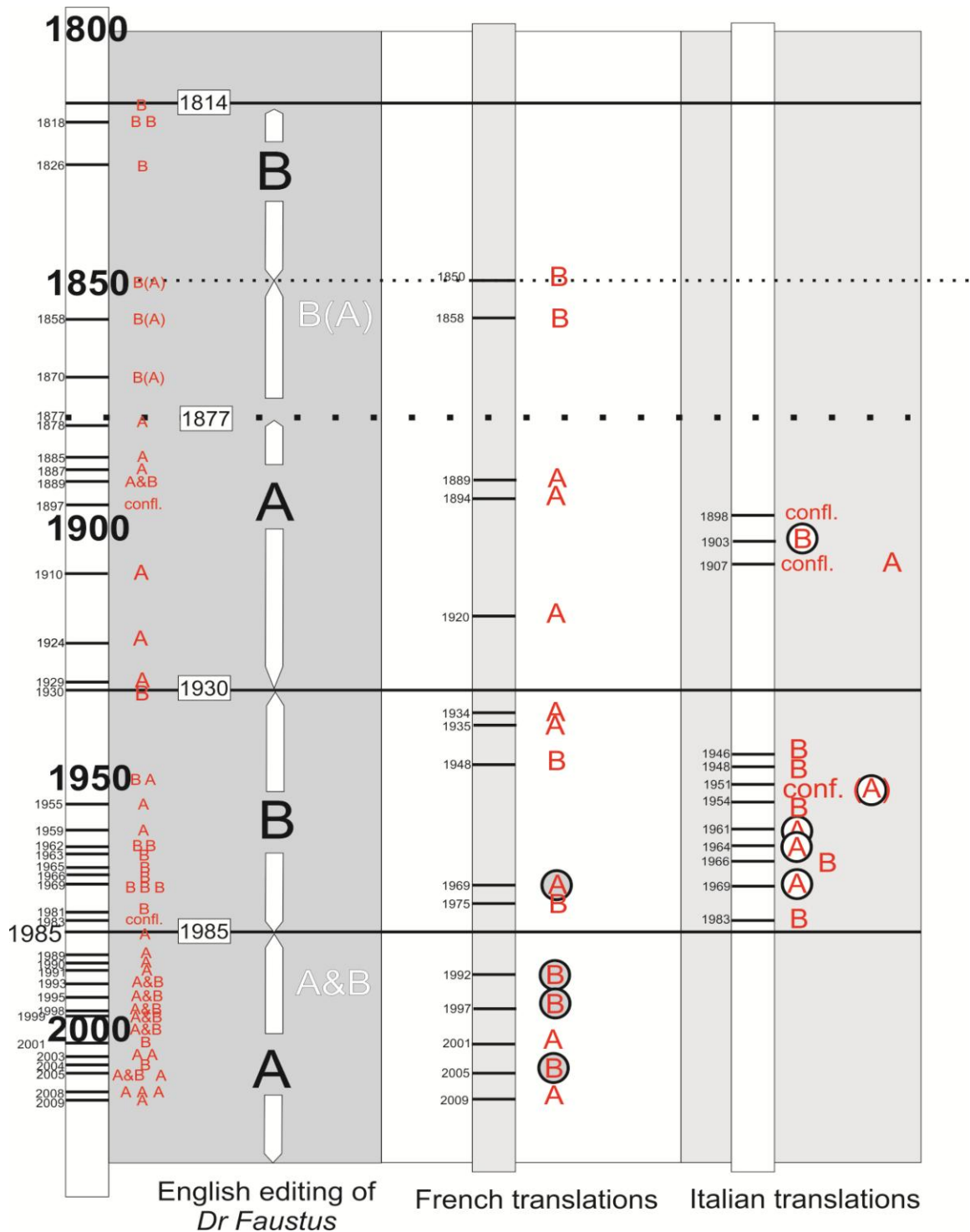

Figure 4: A/B text in the history of translating *Doctor Faustus* in French and Italian

The information from Appendices B and C are incorporated into the figure. As illustrated in figure 4 (circled letters), when it comes to French translations, the main deviation from the mainstream thought appears in the 1969 translation by Isabelle Drouin, the 1992 text by Bernard Fichera, the 1997 translation by Jean-Pierre Villquin and François Laroque, and the translation by Charles le Blanc from the 2000s[46]. Mélèse's 1934 translation that appeared in volume 2 of the anthology *Les Contemporains de Shakespeare,* together with Danchin's 1935 first bilingual edition of *Faustus*, were published only a few years after Boas' influential edition had signalled the major shift from A to B in the editing practice. They represent the last remnants of the printing tradition to subside shortly afterwards in the wake of the mid-century preference for B. Therefore, their preference for the A version as edited by Ward and Tucker Brooke respectively should not come as surprise given that Boas' edition had not yet received greater critical acclaim. On the other hand, Drouin's 1969 A-based version reached print in the midst of the general editing endorsement of the B-text. Drouin's lavishly illustrated translation in prose divided into four acts is primarily based on the A-text, in contrast to a series of English editions of the time based on the B version, influenced by Greg's arguments. However, her evaluation of the A and B parallel passages echoes the critical discussion on the matter mentioned above. Drouin finds the A-text "plus pure" and the B-text "inusitée" (6). However, at certain points she would draw upon the B version, parts of which she integrates into the text to fill the potential cuts in A. She particularly praises the two extended scenes at the papal court unique to B, emphasising the political role played by Faustus in saving the Pope's rival. On the other hand, she restates the contemporaneous critical views, discarding B as a text which "trivializes the very nature of Faustus's tragic experience" (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 47), by deploring the fifth apparition of the Good and Bad Angel in B. According to Drouin, the scene in which the two angels descend to deliver a moralising sermon is a catastrophe for a tragedy (8). She goes on to suggest that the scene makes the play lose its metaphysical dimension and ruin the dramatic effect.

In contrast, some seventy years earlier, even though Henri Gautier and Alfred Ernst (1894) based their translated version on the A-text, they included this controversial scene from B "qui nous semble d'une grande beauté" (257). The two contradictory evaluations of the same scenes by two translators belonging to different periods in the history of Marlowe

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[46] I included Charles le Blanc's recent translation in this figure (even though it was primarily written for the stage and published outside France) because of the Canadian translator's critical assessments on text selection.

criticism and translation practice show a certain degree of subjectivity in assessing the textual versions as well as the constant changes in criteria used for their evaluation.

Holding their personal view or agreeing with general critical consensus, many translators took on the editorial role. Their choices introduce yet another level of linguistic modification in the process of textual transmission of the play-text. Henri Gautier and Alfred Ernst assert their independence in their introductory notes: "Nous avons cru devoir cependant avoir notre version à nous, traduisant en toute liberté et dans la forme qui nous a paru préférable l'œuvre étrange, parfois obscure, de Marlowe" (237). In contrast, Pierre Messiaen (1948) does not openly express preference for a particular version, except for affirming that the B version is more complete (352), thus restating Boas' view whose edition he follows. At the same time, he acknowledges the superiority of certain comic scenes from A and in these sections he slightly deviates from the English edition.

Bernard Fichera (1992), Villquin and Laroque (1997) and Charles le Blanc (2000s) defy the editorial praise for the A-text in the last 30 years. In the lengthy introduction to the second French bilingual edition of *Faustus* for scholarly use, François Laroque explains the choice of the text. According to him, the B-text is more complete and the digressive comic and farcical scenes are part of the harmonious structure (39). He thus echoes the aforementioned arguments of Ornstein, Greg and G. K. Hunter for a carefully devised thematic counterpart between the episodes of different tone and impulse. Nevertheless, Laroque confirms that the A-text was more authorial and he includes the passages from A absent from B, signalling the intrusion with square brackets. In an attempt to reflect the general consensus about the need to consider the two versions as distinctive plays, Laroque and Villquin include the parallel scenes that considerably differ from the B counterparts in the annex.

Two other translations that oppose concurrent critical and editorial choice of a particular version are Fichera's version of 1992 and Le Blanc's translation of the 2000s. The former uses the 1998 reprint of E. D. Pendry's 1973 edition of *Doctor Faustus* and the latter relies heavily on J. B. Steane's 1969 edition. Both English editions are close to that of Fredson Bowers. Fichera incorporates some minor lines from A to "corriger les erreurs éventuelles" (3), whereas Le Blanc adds to his predominantly B-text version the passages from A "qui nous sommes apparus plus forts" (2012).

If we take a look at the Italian translation practice, similar statements of individual or general assessment on aesthetic or authoritative grounds occur. Some of them accord with the current critical consensus. Arturo Graf's *Studi drammatici* (1878), in which he gives an in-

depth analysis of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* in comparison to Goethe's treatment, appears at the end of the early printing tradition which privileged the B-text. For the purpose of his study, the Italian scholar produces the first Italian partial translation of *Faustus* relying on Cunningham's B-text edition. In keeping with the English editor's views, Graf discards the A-text, referring to it as "infidele" and containing "molte alterazioni ed interpolazioni." (219). He translates the scenes from B that he finds more genuine and sincere (219).

Many Italian translators followed the general scholarship and felt obliged to accept the well-established arguments, particularly those by Boas, Greg, and Bowers, even apparently against their better judgment. Piero Rebora (1946), Nemi d'Agostino (1948), and Maria Antonietta Andreoni (1954) use B as copy-texts in their translation, commenting on the passages from A that they consider superior. They all based their version on Boas' 1930 edition. The 6-volume collected edition of Marlowe's canon by R. H, Case, which contained Boas' edition, was unsurpassed as a multi-editor set by the time the three Italian translators reached print. However, in the introduction to his collection of Elizabethan drama[47] Piero Rebora states that "in alcuni parti, indicate a nota a piè di pagina, sono tornato invece al testo dell'inauqrto del 1604, che è più sobrio, meno prolisso nelle scene buffonesche interpolate" (1946: xxx).

Similarly, Andreoni generally follows the B-text. Yet she resorts to certain alterations from its structure and justifies her decision in the notes. The conversation between Wagner and the clown in the final scene of Act One (in Boas' edition) is taken from A. The translator explains her personal choice on the grounds that the dialogue seems "più vivo e spontaneo", and as such more authentic (1954: 37). Another point on which she diverges from the original edition is the meditations of the German Emperor portrayed in the third scene of Act Four.

Nemi D'Agostino's first translation of 1948 is a version replete with points where he moves away from the chosen B edition. Sylvia Campanini gives a comparative analysis of D'Agostini's two verse translations (1948 and 1980) with a view to examining how different translational strategies used by the same translator are indicative of a different point in the Italian literary and translation tradition. In her study, she rephrases the main translator's criterion used for altering the scenes in D'Agostini's 1848 translation. The modifications consist of the omission of some short passages and the inclusion of the lines that appear only in A. According to the translator, they are of "undeniable poetic value" (1998: 121).

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[47] Rebora edits and translates plays by Marlowe, Heywood, Tourneur, Webster, and Middleton for his 1946 collection *Tragici Elisabettiani*.

Campanini states that the translator's objective was to "give the readers an aesthetically more appealing version" (121).

Three years after D'Agostini's first translation, Alfredo Obertello's two-volume anthology of Elizabethan theater prints Eugenio Montale's prose translation of *Faustus*. The praised Italian Nobel laureate acted independently of Greg's views and chose Gollancz's outdated edition. Gollancz's edition, the same text that Turiello exploits for his translation, represents the conflation of the two versions. However, in the textual modifications it is closer to A. Hence, Montale's 1951 version anticipates the subsequent editorial shift from B to A and precedes a number of Italian versions from the 1960s which defy the general endorsement of B. Ermanno Barisone (1961), Corrado Pavolini (1964) and Roberto Sanesi (1969) resort to the editions pre-dating the 1930s in search of the A version. Corrado Pavolini seems to speak for the remaining two translators when he states that he would ignore the 1616 quarto which is "più ampia – ma sicuramente in gran parte apocrifa, piena d'interpolazioni grossolane com'è, e insomma tanto meno 'pura'" (9). Even Rodolfo Wilcock, the first scholar to translate the complete works of Marlowe into Italian in 1966, shows general preference for the A-text, against the popularity of Boas' edition and Greg's views. The popular Gli Adelphi edition prepared by Wilcock does not disclose the English edition used. However, the omission of the Benvolio and the Bruno subplot together with the scene in which the scholars lament over Faustus's dead body point to the structure of the A version.

The first main disagreement from the simultaneous rooted opinion (in the opposite direction) came much earlier. In his 1903 translation, Virgilio Panella favoured the B-text. In the second complete Italian translation, the translator did not reveal the English edition he used. He delivered a conflated version which is closer to the B-text judging from verbal elements and the scenes and characters typical of B. Despite the general preference for A at the time, the choice of the B-text better served the purpose of delivering the homiletic message that, according to the translator, Marlowe's treatment of the Faust myth was supposed to convey.

All in all, whereas the Italian translators show much independence from mid-twentieth-century views of the B-text as more appealing and authoritative, thus echoing a fierce critical reaction to Greg's resonating views, the French translators primarily oppose the mainstream support for the A-text in the last thirty years, with the exception of Jean-Louis Backès and the most recent translation delivered by Robert Ellrodt in 2009, which appeared in the two-volume Gallimard edition of the anthology of Elizabethan theatre.

2.6 The Nature and Identity of the Source Text Edition
Serving as the Basis for Bazy's Translation

Whereas Bazy's authoritative paratextual material provides an invaluable source of information used for setting up his ideological profile (see chapter 4.2), the scholar shows apparent lack of concern for reflecting upon his intervention as a translator revealing no explicit criteria that guided his translation behaviour. Though much more usual in the 20th century and modern-day annotated translation, it was not uncommon in the 19th century to find the translator's commentary on the process, dominant translational norms he/she adopted or the solutions for certain translation problems. As a matter of fact, this type of metatextual introspection, conducted primarily by poet/translators, helped modern translation scholars to outline the prevailing trends in the translation thought of the 19th century within a specific literary tradition.

In our case, however, the dominant strategies Bazy set up for his translation can be deduced only from a closer observation of TT-ST pairs. Here lies another problem in the preliminary stage to translation analysis – the establishment of the identity of the source text itself. As opposed to Eugenio Turiello, Bazy never explicitly reveals which modern English edition(s) constituted a textual basis for his translation. Nor does he ever mention the existence of the multitude of distinct versions of Marlowe's play. On first consideration, the characters and scenes peculiar only to B reveal that the French TT exhibits the surface structure of the B version. However, this general glance does not exclude the possibility of occasional borrowings from other versions of the original play throughout translation. In order not to mistakenly give importance to a particular shift that is, in reality, attributable to a certain English editor's personal textual or interpretative choice (as discussed in 2.4), the identification of the specific edition of the ST proves to be a crucial task. We must also consider the fact that the previous European translations of the play might have served as intermediary textual versions. As we will see in 3.2, prior to the emergence of Bazy's publication, only two translations of *Faustus* had appeared in print, the 1818 German version by Wilhelm Müller and the 1839 Swedish text by Carl Julius Lénström. It is unlikely that Bazy knew Swedish and that he could ever have been in possession of the Swedish text. As for the German text, there is no evidence that Bazy was equipped with a profound knowledge of German either. In his comparative study of Goethe's and Marlowe's Faust plays (1850), Bazy would usually leave the quotations in a foreign language spoken by the scholar in the original, whereas references to other foreign sources are given in French translation. All the

quotations in Latin (most of them are from Erasmus' writings) are given in the original language, which Bazy excelled in [48]. Similarly, some English quotations remain in the original. On the other hand, towards the end of the study, he gives the French translation of the final scene from Goethe's *Faust* in a footnote[49]. But more convincingly, if we compare Müller's verse and Bazy's prose translation, there is no evidence of textual or structural indebtedness. The places in the TT in which Bazy significantly detaches from any known version of the ST do not come from the German translation. Bazy's tendency to introduce new lexical material in translation through the excessive use of explicitation, amplification and addition, sets him apart from the concision of Müller's poetic line. In addition, Ludwig Achim von Arnim makes it clear in the preface that Müller's translation is based on Dilke's second edition of 1816 (1818: v). As demonstrated below, Dilke's edition does not account for Bazy's abundant linguistic modification in the TT either.

When it comes to the modern English editions Bazy could have made use of, the list of potential candidates is slightly longer. As seen above, five editions came to light before the French translation: C. W. Dilke in 1814, J. Chappell in 1818, W. Oxberry in 1818, G. Robinson in 1824 and A. Dyce in 1850. As Toury points out, in the case of multiple versions of the ST, the establishment of its identity is subjected to the comparative analysis of the TT and all the ST variants prior to its emergence (1995: 74). Oxberry's and Chappell's publications are single-text editions. Dilke's edition forms part of a multi-volume anthology of old English plays. Robinson's 1826 edition is the first collection of Marlowe's complete plays. Both Dilke and Robinson print Dekker's *Lust's Dominion*, which the period's editorial consensus had mistakenly attributed to Marlowe. The four editors deliver only the B-text. In his seminal collection of the complete works of Marlowe, Dyce prints both A- and B-texts, giving priority to the latter. Chappell and Robinson made the first attempts at act/scene division. Bazy's text based on the B version is not divided in scenes or acts. This surface structure suggests that we can rule out Dyce's, Chappell's and Robinson's editions as his potential source. The following textual evidence confirms this premise.

On the lexical level, Robinson's, Oxberry's and Dilke's edition are similar. Chappell uses the 1624 B_4 quarto as his main source and gives extensive critical and editorial remarks in his footnotes, pointing to any lexical variations in other early modern quartos. A close comparative analysis suggests that Bazy closely followed Oxberry's edition of 1818, which

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[48] Only once does Bazy translate a Latin extract into French. He gives his own translation from Saint Augustine's *Rule* (c. 400), in which the theologian expresses his disapproval of man's pride and excessiveness (1850: 100).

[49] An extract from Henry Blaze de Bury's French translation of 1831.

shows only occasional lexical and structural deviation from Dilke's printed text. The two English editions differ in that Dilke extensively explains his textual and editorial decisions in the footnotes and follows Chappell in providing the readings from other B versions (B_1-B_6). Robinson deters from any additional notes and comments to the reader.

Published under the title *Doctor Faustus, a tragedy by Christopher Marlowe, with prefatory remarks, notes critical and explanatory*, Oxberry's text is a single-text edition based on the B version. Unlike Dilke, who gives a lengthy introduction and frequent comments in his footnotes, Oxberry delivers a rather brief three-page introductory remark and only occasionally leaves a comment in his notes. Towards the end of the play, the editor explains that he consciously abstained from making editorial and critical comments due to their inconclusiveness (*Ox*. 63). But it is these occasional footnotes as well as some stage directions unique only to Oxberry's edition which also appear in Bazy's text that suggest that the French translator generally grounded his text on this English edition. Moreover, certain line omissions and lexical alterations that fall under the category in tables 3.2, 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 from our classification discussed in chapter 2.2, are peculiar only to Oxberry's text. These elements not to be found in other modern English editions are faithfully reproduced in Bazy's translation.

In table 3.4 we have seen that the mode of address and voice occasionally varies throughout the different textual versions. The change of the referent resulting from a variation of the pronominal linguistic sign is evident in the scene in which Faustus cuts his arm to strengthen the deal by signing it with his own blood: "And let it [the blood] be propitious for my wish" (B 2.1.59). In this address by Faustus to Mephistopheles, Chappell and Dyce retain the B_1 reading here *my*[50], whereas Dilke, Oxberry and Robinson choose the B_4 and B_6 reading *thy* (*Ox*. 15, Robinson 136, Dilke 27). This change of the personal adjective shifts the act of yielding to dark forces from being entirely Faustus's own decision to being the product of an external entity. Bazy reproduces the noun phrase as *ton désir*. Similar textual renderings will discard Dyce's edition as the basis of Bazy's translation. Faustus grants Lucifer the exclusive right to have "full power to fetch or carry the said John Faustus, body and soul, flesh and blood, into their habitation wheresoever" (*DF* B 2.1.110-1, Dyce 104), at least in Dyce's text and all other successive editions. Scholars before Dyce omit "flesh and blood". So does Bazy.

The following lexical variations dismiss other nineteenth-century editions. In chapter 2.2 we referred to the two variations of the line "a [A: pretty/B: petty] case of paltry legacies"

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[50] They both stress the different possessive adjective *thy* used in other versions.

(B 1.1.28) as an example of the reading equally defensible in both versions. Dilke (13), Chappell (3), and Robinson (1.1.121) retain the B_1 reading "petty" without pointing to the A-text's alternative solution. Dyce, too, chooses "petty", at the same time giving logical and aesthetic preference for the A's variation (90). Oxberry is the only editor who incorporates here the A-version lexeme into his B-text, without any explanation (2). Accordingly, Bazy's translation reads: "le joli cas de misérable legs !" (113). Moreover, Oxberry's line in which Faustus announces the exchange with Valdes and Cornelius, who are equally enthusiastic about conjuring and occultism, differs from other 19th-century editions: "and make me wise with your sage conference" (*Ox.* 4). The adjective 'wise' is the borrowing from the 1624 B_4 and 1631 B_5 quarto[51]. All of Oxberry's contemporaries print the usual B_1 lexical occurrence 'blest'. The latter reading is perhaps more appealing for it successfully avoids the semantic repetition in the same line. Bazy continues to closely follow Oxberry's choice and brings it into his translation: "[…] et que l'entretien que je vais avoir avec vous me rende sage," skillfully omitting the repetition of near-synonymy in the ST's noun phrase ('sage conference' rendered with the omitted adjective in translation).

Punctuation and orthography of foreign names and phrases unique to Oxberry are to be found sporadically in Bazy's text as well. One such example is evident in what appears to be the hallmark of the Protestant doctrine voiced by Faustus: "Che serà serà" (*Ox.* 4). No other early nineteenth-century editor prints the Italian phrase with the diacritical mark used to denote the grave accent. Bazy follows Oxberry's orthography (114). Furthermore, the French translator often retains Oxberry's intra-sentence punctuation, in particular colons and semi-colons.

Yet, more conclusive evidence grows in Bazy's close maintenance of the stage directions found exclusively in Oxberry's edition. Upon officially signing the contract by which he surrendered his soul to the devil, Faustus seeks to unravel the mystery of afterlife: "Thinkst thou that Faustus is so fond to imagine / That after this life there is any pain?" (*Ox.* 17; *DF* B 2.1.136). Oxberry explains the meaning of the word 'fond' in this context as 'foolish' (17). Dyce also provides the same semantic meaning in his footnote (33). Yet, Oxberry goes on to find the same semantic occurrences in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus His Fall* (1603) and *The Case is Altered* (1609), the information missing in Dyce. Bazy too gives a word-for-word translation of Oxberry's comment together with the extracts from Jonson's plays (151). Bazy continues to provide a faithful reproduction of unique Oxberry's footnotes.

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[51] Oxberry frequently borrows lexical material from the B_4 version. However, he rarely signals it in his edition.

Oxberry explains the term 'freshmen', misspelling it in a note as 'fresmen' (29). Bazy gives a French translation of the editor's comment and equally rewrites the English misprint in brackets (157). Dyce makes use of all the previous editions of the play and frequently reproduces Oxberry's footnotes. Yet, here he corrects Oxberry's misprint (38), which Bazy retains. This is perhaps the most convincing textual evidence that it is Oxberry's version that was in Bazy's possession.

Moreover, in the Old man's scene, significantly altered from that in the A-text, we find the Old man exhorting Faustus to give up his path of damnation: "Do not persevere in it like a devil" (*Ox*. 56). The evaluative footnote explaining the stress pattern in 'persevere'[52] appears only in Oxberry's edition. The scholar suggests that the stress on the first syllable of this word was common in Marlowe's time. He goes on to illustrate this mode of accentuation with examples of the rhythmical structure of some metrical lines that contain the word, found in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and other Elizabethan plays. In the translation of the footnotes, Bazy retains all four examples listed by Oxberry (237). In addition, after the scene in which Mephistopheles gives Faustus a book of necromancy and astronomy, earlier quartos print the Wagner monologue, which reappears later in the form of the chorus. Modern English editions print it only at the beginning of Act Three as the chorus' announcement to Faustus's adventures in Rome. Commenting on the illogical intrusion of Wagner's lines, Oxberry also refuses to place it at its first original occurrence in the main body of the text and prints it at this point only in the footnotes (18). Bazy seems to reply to the English editor and states that, even though the source edition deleted the lines in order to avoid repetition, he decided to retain it twice given that "le traducteur a dû suivre le texte" (153) – a rather ironical statement bearing in mind his frequent lexical departures from the ST. Other English editions of the time repeat twice Wagner's monologue in the main body of the text. It should be stressed that Bazy does not retain all of Oxberry's evaluative notes.

Another argument in favour of Bazy's adherence to Oxberry's text is found in the examination of stage directions. The following stage directions found only in Oxberry's edition are retained by the French translator. Seeking revenge on Faustus for humiliating Benvolio in front of the Emperor, Benvolio and his followers Frederick and Martino ambush Faustus in an attempt to strike a fatal blow. The stage direction suggesting that Benvolio hits Faustus is missing in Dilke, Robinson and Chappell, as well as in the 1616 original quarto. Dyce prints "[He stabs Faustus]" (134), whereas the latest modern English editions that

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[52] All the other early nineteenth-century editions print 'persever'.

mostly follow Bevington and Rasmussen's text usually read "[He strikes Faustus]" (Bevington and Rasmussen 258). Among all of the early nineteenth-century editions, only Oxberry uses the form "[Strikes him]" (*Ox.* 44). Bazy closely follows it: "il le frappe" (208). Furthermore, when the Horse-coarser, Robin, Dick and the Carter gather in the Hostess' inn and accuse Faustus of all the trickery he pulled on them, Faustus, in reply, uses his magic skills to make them unable to speak. Oxberry and Dyce are the only editors who offer the longer form "[Faustus, in the middle of each speech, charms them dumb.]" (*Ox.* 54; Dyce 144). Robinson, who places the exchange in the first scene of Act Five, in one of the earliest attempts at act/scene division, uses the form "[Faustus charms him dumb]" (187). The missing prepositional phrase, together with the conversion of the pronoun *them* into *him* is equally noted in Dilke (75) and Chappell (57). Bazy renders Oxberry's and Dyce's addition : "Faust, au mileu de chaque discours, les rend muets par ses charmes" (233). Considering that we have already discarded Dyce's edition for its occasional lexical incompatibility with Oxberry's text or Bazy's rendering, this is yet another piece of evidence for Bazy's indebtedness to Oxberry's edition.

All in all, Oxberry's edition alone cannot explain the radical changes that are unique only to Bazy's text. Numerous places in the TT where Bazy significantly shies away from the ST structure cannot be attributable to Oxberry or any other existing source edition or translation.

2.6 The Nature and Identity of the Source Text Edition
Serving as the Basis for Turiello's Translation

Unlike Bazy, Turiello explicitly revealed in his introduction the English edition that he used as the source for his translation – Israel Gollancz's 1897 edition of *Doctor Faustus*, the first case of the conflation of the A- and the B-text in the modern textual and editing history of the play. Therefore, it is not necessary to conduct a comparative textual analysis between Turiello's translation and all the previous editions in the source culture in search of the identity of the ST. However, due to its specific nature, it is worth considering more closely the effects of Gollancz's philological and textual choices on the general framework of the text. Whereas the qualities of the B-text discussed in 2.3 can apply to Bazy's source edition (Oxberry's text shows cases of occasional textual mismatch with the general 1616 quarto with no significant implications for the higher discourse level of the text), Gollancz's version is a text in its own right with particular structural, thematic and doctrinal characteristics.

Their analysis, submitted to more detailed scrutiny in this section, is hence a prerequisite to the discussion of Turiello's translation in Chapter Five.

Gollancz's publication was first printed in London, as part of The Temple Dramatists series, by J. M. Dent & sons under the name *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus, a Play written by Christopher Marlowe, edited with a Preface, Notes and Glossary by Israel Gollancz, M.A.* It ran in several editions by 1912. In his Preface, the scholar delivers a brief overview of early editions and early stage history, together with some remarks on the source of the plot and the relationship between the early quartos. Gollancz stresses that his text represents a mere attempt to blend the two versions, based on his editorial and critical assumptions that can be highly subjective and personal. Therefore, he goes on to refer to his edition as an experiment (vi) and, as such, open to question and critical debate by future Marlowe scholarship.

Even though, on the whole, the general structure follows the B-text, Gollancz refrains from delivering a traditional 5-act division typical of other 19th-century B-text based editions. He divides the text into twenty scenes, borrowing much from the A-text scene division introduced by Ward in 1878. Similar to Ward, stage directions that introduce each scene are complemented by information on the specific localisation of action: "Before Faustus's house" (sc. II), "a grove" (sc. III) "a street" (sc. IV), "Faustus's study" (scene V), "in the house of Faustus" (scene VI), "the Pope's privy-chamber" (scene VIII), "near an inn" (scene IX), etc. This explication of stage directions missing in the original quartos has never gained considerable ground in the editing practice of Marlowe's play in the editions to follow. Apart from these additions, the stage directions mostly follow standard B-text editions, in particular Dyce's text of 1850. Certain stage directions are also omitted in Gollancz.

As regards punctuation and spelling, his version represents a modern-spelling edition largely indebted to Dyce's edition. For example, both print the apostrophe-forms in the past participle: *escap'd* (*Goll.* 1.21), *eas'd* (1.22), *ravish'd* (1.111), *renown'd* (1.142), etc. Gollancz shows some inconsistency in the spelling of proper names throughout the text. Mephistopheles varies between *Mephistophilis* (5.89, 5.83, 6.40, 8.66, 8.57, 18.80, ...) and *Mephistophilus* (5.52, 5.38, 5.48, ...). Unlike Dyce, quotes in Latin and Greek are retained in Gollancz in their original language with no explanation.

If we apply Greg's aforementioned categorisation of A/B scenes, two of three categories in Gollancz's version match those of the B-text. Gollancz prints all the scenes from B that are missing in A. Furthermore, correspondent scenes – the scenes in which action

is extended in B – are also taken from the B-text. Gollancz signals the borrowings from the B-text by printing them in italics. In cases where the B-text omits the lines from A, Gollancz fills in the gaps in B and shifts to the A variants. For instance, in the B-text, scene II which delivers the conversation between Wagner and the scholars and the following conjuring scene are slightly shorter than their A counterparts. In his version, Gollancz extends them and repeats the same editorial decision throughout the text. In parallel scenes where the action is virtually the same with only slight textual differences, Gollancz prioritises the A-text reading. As we have seen in 2.2, these "minor" textual and lexical differences produce important thematic effects. In his notes, he draws the reader's attention to lexical variations from other versions of the play. Turiello was therefore fully aware of the A and B variants. Gollancz also corrects obvious mistakes and misprints, choosing a grammatically and logically appealing option. For example, "Too servile and illiberal for me" (*Goll*. 1.36) instead of the A-text "the deuill" or "I'll have them fly to India for gold" (*Goll*. 1.83) instead of the A-text error "Indian".

The adherence to the B-text structure generally confirms the morality pattern. The Angels' last entrance and the scholars' final lament revealing the reprobate's more agonising physical torment add to the moralising ending. Nevertheless, Gollancz's general preference for the A-text parallel scenes delivers a text that is at the same time in line with the heroic commentators and more sympathetic for the hero, thus further contributing to thematic and theological confusion. Hence, Clifford Leech's statement from his essay *Faustus: a Moral Play?* (1986) that Marlowe's play represents "both the supreme example of the genre [morality] and simultaneously the play marking the genre's ending, its merging into tragedy" (qtd. in Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 9) is perhaps more readily applicable to Gollancz's conflated version.

Despite the merging of the two versions, Gollancz's text provides a more convincing ground for arguing for the sense of predetermination of Faustus's action. One of the most obvious revisions of the play's meaning (Keefer 2007: 117), evident in "'Twas thine owne seeking Faustus, thanks thy selfe" (B$_1$ 573), which appears only in the B-text, is left out in Gollancz's version. As a result, this direct accusation by Mephistopheles that Faustus was responsible for his demise is lost and together with it the persuasive case of orthodox commentators. Gollancz simultaneously retains Mephistopheles' confession that it was him who "damned up thy passage" that prevented Faustus from his course of salvation (*DF* 19.79-85). Moreover, Gollancz's choice of A's "If Faustus can repent" (6.84) against B's "If Faustus will repent", which has already received much attention in this research, further

reduces Faustus's voluntary act. Even though Gollancz prints variants that carry subtle shades of meaning implying Faustus's wilfulness, the most important textual evidence for the impact of factors outside of his control is retained. He even alters punctuation to more convincingly back up this reading. The first signs of Faustus's wavering thought appear at the beginning of Act Two (scene V in Gollancz's edition): "Now Faustus, must / Thou needs be damn'd, and canst thou not be saved" (*DF* 5.1-2). The early quartos print question marks (the A-text once at the end of the second line, the B-text twice) at this point, which made many critics insist that salvation is still possible and dependent on Faustus's own ability[53]. However, unlike other standard 19th-century editions, Gollancz prints a full stop here, making the protagonist's tragic fate predetermined.

Finally, the Old Man's appeal to Faustus is reproduced by Gollancz in a manner that shows frequent alternation of A- and B-text lines. Consequently, we are faced with the rather contradictory nature of his revised speech, both sympathetic and reproachful at the same time. Generally speaking, the view that Faustus is unable to have control over his fate prevails. Nevertheless, Gollancz also acknowledges Faustus's own fault by having his Old Man utter "the ruin of thy hopeless soul" (*DF* 18.68-9) instead of the line that underlines a manipulative force "the enemy of thy haplesse soule" (B$_1$ 1842).

Gollancz's edition also adds to a more positive portrayal of Faustus by attenuating his blasphemous and excessive character. Even though he generally prefers the A-text lexical choices, the scholar borrows from B in order to smooth out Faustus's blasphemous identification with Christ in the following example. According to Roma Gill the A-text "Wouldst thou make man to live eternally. / Or, being dead, raise them to life again"[54] (A$_1$ 54-5) reaffirms Faustus's self-aggrandising attitude in praising his ability to bring the dead to life, thus raising himself to the level of Christ and God (2008: 34). By contrast, the change of the modal in the B-text's *Couldst*, the form that Gollancz takes, acknowledges Faustus's human limitations, thereby blunting blasphemy.

Even though it is difficult to look for consistency in Gollancz's edition, these subtle revisions of meaning cast a more sympathetic light on the Faustus character and move from orthodox towards heroic criticism. This potential reading will be further explored by Turiello in his translation.

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[53] For a more elaborate discussion of the effects of varying punctuation on the prospect of salvation see section 4.3.3.
[54] Faustus referring to himself in the 2nd person.

Chapter Three:
Doctor Faustus – Translation History

3. 1 The Romantic Revival of Marlowe

The emergence of translated texts either anticipates or reflects the critical fortune of a particular author or a set of writings linked by theme or genre within a foreign literary and cultural tradition. Therefore, providing a chronological survey of the translations of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and his canon in Europe is inseparable from better understanding the development of the critical interest and reception of Elizabethan drama at large and Marlowe in particular. This ultimately clarifies the conditions and main trends in literary criticism, cultural history and translation theory that gave rise to the appearance of the first translated versions of Marlowe's works in nineteenth-century Europe.

The critical, publishing and reception history of Marlowe's canon can be roughly divided into three stages: the early modern editing and performance history (c. 1588/1604 – 1637/1675); the period of critical and editorial neglect (1637/1675 – 1744); and the revival of critical interest and the development of serious Marlowe scholarship (from 1744/1814 to the present day).

The first phase has already received much attention in Chapter Two. As for the period of critical neglect, the admiration for Marlowe's oeuvre waned rapidly after his plays were reduced to their harlequin forms on the Restoration stage – the common practice which virtually touched the performance of every Renaissance play, including Shakespeare. Whereas the myth of Faust continued to 'live' and flourished in German puppet theatres in the 17th and 18th century until it received its influential treatment in Goethe's dramatic poem, Marlowe as a literary figure and his version of the Faust story lapsed into obscurity. If we exclude the aforementioned 1663 version of *Doctor Faustus* with a plethora of un-authoritative interpolations and Mountford's farcical adaptation performed in 1675 and published in 1697, no authentic work by Marlowe was published for 107 years since the last posthumous and uncorrupted edition of his poem *Hero and Leander* in 1637 (O'Neill 1969: 6). No play was performed for 185 years since the 1633 staging of *Doctor Faustus* (Hopkins

2005: 183) and *The Jew of Malta* (Bevington 2015: 276).[54] It was only in 1818 that *The Jew of Malta* was revived on the stage. *Doctor Faustus* had not been performed until 1896.

However, the eighteenth century, which brought about the changing literary tastes, saw the rediscovery of Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists. Shakespeare was the first to break out of the rigid neoclassical literary and theatrical norms, thus paving the way for the easier reception of his contemporaries and predecessors in the ensuing century. A number of popular and influential editions of his complete works began to emerge in the first half of the eighteenth century. In *A Short History of English Renaissance Drama*, Helen Hackett accounts for Shakespeare's immensely growing popularity by stating a common knowledge that his works "harmonized with the literature of sentiment that became fashionable from the 1740s onwards" (2013:192). There is a general consensus that the Romantic period rediscovered Shakespeare and his contemporaries. The romanticised view of Shakespeare according to which "he was held to personify the Romantic idealization of the artist as a divinely inspired genius" (192) ensured the "immortal bard's" unprecedented popularity by the end of the eighteenth century. It also inspired numerous scholars to gradually bring his contemporaries into critical focus.

Robert Dodsley's *Old English Plays* (1744), an anthology of Elizabethan drama in twelve volumes, represented a marking point in the history of English literature, for it brought renewed appreciation for early modern English drama and contributed to the new ways of understanding its evolution and development. Even though Marlowe received almost no notice in his introduction, the collection included *Edward II*, the first of Marlowe's works to be printed after more than a century. As such, not only did this seminal collection of old plays mark the reawakening of the critical concern for non-Shakespearean drama but it also foreshadowed an upsurge of critical interest in Marlowe's work[55]. The second edition of Dodsley's anthology (1780), edited by Isaac Reed, printed *The Jew of Malta* (Tucker Brooke 1922: 389).

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[54] However, Bevington that *Doctor Faustus* was performed at the Fortune Theatre by Prince Charles's Men in 1642 (2015: 258).

[55] The invaluable source for the survey of the publishing history and the critical fortune of Marlowe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century is Tucker Brooke's detailed study *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe* (1922) that many contemporary critics draw upon. Moreover, Lisa Hopkins has recently delivered a clear and detailed chronology of the author's life, career and the editing history of his works with frequent recourse to Tucker Brooke's work as well as to other seminal papers on the subject, in particular John Bakeless' *Christopher Marlowe* of 1938. Equally valuable was Hans Henning's exhaustive bibliography of all literary and critical works that tackled the Faust theme (vol. 1, 1966).

As Thomas Dabbs reminds us in his account of the Victorian critical revival of Christopher Marlowe, the "Muses' darling"[56] was falling behind other Elizabethan dramatists in the second half of the eighteenth century. Dabbs informs us that toward the end of the eighteenth century when the biography of the poet printed in Dodsley's collection resided on speculations and accounts of Marlowe's degenerate and atheist life uttered by his contemporaries, in particular the infamous indictment by Thomas Beard in *The Theatre of God's Judgement* (1597), conservative literary and public milieu was not able to separate the evaluation of Marlowe's canon from the alleged debauchery and immorality of the poet himself. His reported "degenerate" life was a major obstacle to receiving much higher public acclaim (Dabbs 1991: 29). At the turn of the century, other dramatists such as Ford, Chapman or Brome were held more highly than Marlowe (17). Nevertheless, by the end of the nineteenth century Marlowe was regarded as "second only to Shakespeare as a Renaissance dramatist" (21). The appearance of modern editions, the revival of his plays on the stage and rising interest in translating his works, aroused by the vogue for popular romantic translations of Shakespeare throughout Europe over the century, attest to Marlowe's growing status.

In his *Specimens of the English Dramatic Poets who Lived about the Time of Shakespeare* (1808), Charles Lamb drew public attention to the old English dramatists. He directly exalted the death scene *of Edward II*, thus bringing Marlowe back into the focus of literary criticism. In 1810, *Edward II* and *The Jew of Malta* were included in *The Ancient British Drama* (Tucker Brooke 1922: 389). In the same year, a single-text edition of *The Jew of Malta* was printed[57] with an interesting phrase on the title page "imitated from the works by Machiavelli". After 183 years of the publishing neglect[58], *Doctor Faustus* was finally revived in print thanks to the C. W. Dilke's edition of 1814, part of the *Old English Plays* series. The same series included *Edward II*. The following year, Marlowe's poem *Hero and Leander* found its way into print in Sir Egerton Brydges' *Restituta* (1815). The poem was reprinted in the anthologies of old English poetry in 1820 and 1821 (Dabbs 1991: 30).

The year 1818 was a decisive moment in the rediscovery of Marlowe's work. First, W. Oxberry printed a series of separate editions of *Edward II*, *the Jew of Malta*, *Doctor Faustus*, *the Massacre at Parris*, and *Lust Dominion*, mistakenly attributed to Marlowe at the time (Hopkins 2005: 182). Secondly, it marked a turning point in Marlowe performance history.

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[56] To borrow the phrase coined by George Peele in praise of Marlowe's powerful poetic expression, a label that does not cease to resonate in Marlowe critical studies.

[57] According to the list of the editions of Marlowe's works provided by the Marlowe Society of America in 2013.

[58] Once again excluding the corrupted textual editions after the 1631 B_6 text.

On April 24, *The Jew of Malta,,* which borrowed the lines from *Edward II* (Potter 2004: 262), was revived on London stage with Edmund Kean in the leading role. However, the real theatrical success of Marlowe's plays came at the beginning of the twentieth century. Tucker Brooke reminds us that, despite the play being acted twelve times and receiving rather positive reviews in *The New Monthly Magazine,* it was not a huge success (1922: 402). Throughout the century, the staging of Marlowe's works was reserved for amateur and academic environment mainly. It is the revival of *Doctor Faustus* in 1896 by William Poel for the Elizabethan Stage Society that restored "interest in Marlowe as a practicing playwright" (Tydeman and Thomas 1989: 13). Finally, the first translation of *Faustus* appeared in print – the German translation by Wilhelm Müller published in Berlin. Hence, numerous scholars take the year 1818 as signaling the real revival of Marlowe in literary criticism, mirrored in the poet's rising popularity among the literati.

Inspired by Lamb's study, William Hazlitt too exalted the death scene of *Edward II* in a series of lectures on *the Dramatic Literature of the age of Elizabeth* (1819, 1820). At the same time, as reported by Tydeman and Thomas, he condemned the play as a whole for the lack of "much dramatic effect" (1989: 8). However, when it comes to *Doctor Faustus*, he had words of praise, thus opposing Thomas Warton's observations made a few decades earlier. In his *History of English Poetry* (1744), Warton had appreciated Marlowe only as a poet and not as a dramatist, denying *Faustus* any literary value. We will see shortly how Hazlitt's positive views laid the groundwork for the Romantic interpretation of *Doctor Faustus*. Finally, the two remaining plays came off the press. Oxberry added both parts of *Tamburlaine* to his series of single-text editions. In 1825 *Dido* was published in Hurst and Robinson's *Old English Drama* (Tucker Brooke 1922: 389). The next year, the first edition of the collected works of Marlowe appeared in three volumes, printed by William Pickering in London, and believed to have been edited by Robinson. Oxberry's single-text editions were brought together in the second publication of the complete works of Marlowe in 1827. By the mid-century, Marlowe's complete works went through three more editions by three different editors (Dabbs 1991: 29). His critical fortune reached its peak with Dyce's seminal three-volume edition of 1850, which contributed immensely to the modern understanding of Marlowe.

By the end of the 19th century critical consensus established the conventional portrayal of the playwright as "the flawed genius, the manic, humourless dramatist with exceptional poetic gifts who never learnt to construct a play or create a three-dimensional character" (Tydeman and Thomas 1989: 13). Marlowe was particularly praised for his vigorous

language and for exploring the possibilities of blank verse, making it a standard metrical vehicle for dramatic expression. Because of this, Lamb called Marlowe a "true, though imperfect, father of our tragedy" (qtd. in Tucker Brooke: 403) and similar critical remarks were later repeated by J. A. Symonds (1884) and Swinburne (1875) at the turn of the century. Marlowe's oeuvre received mixed critics. *Dido* and *The Massacre* were generally deemed inferior, whereas the isolated passages of the remaining plays were generally praised. *Tamburlaine* emerged as a fine example of great beauty, eloquence, and the expressive qualities inherent in Marlowe's language. As for *Faustus*, scholars particularly admired the detached tragic passages, such as the last hour of Faustus and the Helen scene, denying comic scenes and reproaching the poet for his inability to construct the integrity of the narrative. All in all, scholarly interest in Marlowe continued to grow.

Two factors contributed to Marlowe's increasing reputation, which was reflected in both the editing and translation activity. First, his language and the alleged life were placed well within the spirit of the Romantic Movement. Second, the popularity of Goethe's *Faust*, which now made the mythical hero gain the universal status, inspired the scholars and translators to revive the author who, two centuries earlier, was the first to deliver the dramatic enactment of the now popular legend.

It has become evident that the Romantic poets and critics gradually helped resurrect the forgotten Marlowe figure and shaped the unique understanding of his oeuvre. Thomas Dabbs is right when he asserts that "Marlowe was originally invented by Victorian scholars, critics, and educators and then handed on to us" (1991: 9). Similarly, Kenneth Friedenreich opens his annotated bibliography of Marlowe criticism by stating that "Marlowe, like his contemporaries, was a beneficiary of Victorian industriousness" (1979: 1). It is the "industriousness" of Marlowe's life, constructed around the sketchy, conjectural and often manipulated and erroneous facts that made the dramatist fit well into the intellectual and literary currents of the time. In the nineteenth century he was revealed not only as an atheist and heretic, but also as a mad genius struggling to control his temper. Robert Chambers' biography of Christopher Marlowe in *Cyclopaedia of English Literature* (1844) mistakenly reported that Marlowe had been killed in a tavern brawl over a woman he had been attracted to. Drawing upon the earlier accounts of Anthony à Wood (1691), Chambers stated that our passionate poet, in a fit of jealousy and rage, had attacked his adversary who stabbed Marlowe in defence (1844: 171-174). A great specialist in the biographical research on Marlowe, Constance Brown Kuriyama, reminds us that Dyce would soon correct the mistake, even though he mistakenly revealed the name of Marlowe's nemesis as Archer, not Frizer

(2015: 328). It is the development of serious biographical studies in the twentieth century that later revealed Marlowe's possible association with the secret Elizabethan service, which raised speculations about the cause of his death in the tavern. Earlier, the emerging portrait of the artist as a "volatile genius" (Matusiak 2015: 281) and a "mad" and passionate Romantic poet dominated the nineteenth-century criticism. It was the time when the biographical critical approach according to which the author was equated with his literary creations was a common practice. As we have seen in the opening pages, the tendency to romanticise Marlowe and his Faustus survived well into the first half of the twentieth century.

In *La Fortuna del dramma elisabettiano*[59], a prominent Italian Elizabethan scholar of international renown Mario Praz, general editor of the volume, reaffirms that the strict regulations and decorum of traditional neoclassical drama yielded up to the new Romantic conventions. This marked change made the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama both in style and theme more appealing to the changing tastes of the literary and commercial public. Praz suggests that Charles Lamb was among the first to remind the public of the "gridi di passione" inherent in Elizabethan drama, which was now more in accordance with the new theatrical conventions and the Romantic sensibility (1948: xi). As such, a link between English Renaissance drama and the aesthetics of Romanticism began to take a strong hold. The first to regard Marlowe as a precursor of the romantic anti-hero was Hazlitt in the aforementioned 1820 lecture. As O'Neill observes, "in Hazlitt we see the first signs of the 'romantic' view of Marlowe as the daring, imaginative and unshackled genius of the Renaissance" (1969: 7). The reputation of Marlowe as a dissident, a non-conformist, and an atheist who would undermine the status quo, conventional thought and traditional authority were further explored by the Romantics. As reported by modern critics, they regarded Marlowe as the embodiment of "The Dionysian and Byronic energies of the Artist" (Friedenreich 1979: 3). He emerged as "an avatar of poetic rebellion" (Hopkins 2004: 287), "a passionate idealist" (Dabbs 1991: 21), a "Promethean seeker after knowledge" (Tydeman and Thomas 1989: 41), who showed a fierce "Romantic contempt for authority" (Dabbs 1991: 20). At the turn of the twentieth century, Israel Gollancz, whose edition served as the basis for the first Italian translation, repeated the affiliation of Marlowe's work with the Romantic cultural movement by referring to Marlowe as "the adventurous founder of English Romantic Tragedy, who first seized the dramatic possibilities of the weird legend, and

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[59] An overview of the development of Elizabethan studies on the continent with a particular focus on its critical fortune in Italy, published in an introduction to the 1948 collection of the Italian versions of early modern English drama entitled *Teatro elisabettiano*[59] (2nd edition in 1963), edited by Mario Praz.

impressed it with his own Titanic genius" (1897/1907: xiii, xiv). Moreover, comparisons were drawn between Marlowe and the two celebrated subversive role models of the time – Byron and Shelley – not only on the grounds of paralleled biographical elements, but also in terms of language and style. Lisa Hopkins, who particularly devotes herself to the study of Marlowe's influence on the subsequent literary production, observes that *Hero and Leander* was an obvious influence on Byron's versification and aesthetic sensibility (2013: 311), at the same time stating that Byron drew upon Goethe and not Marlowe for his *Manferd*. The scholar goes on to demonstrate the Marlovian material in other literary constructs of the time, such as Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Marie Corelli's *The Sorrows of Satan*, Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, etc. Even though Byron himself renounced the indebtedness to Marlowe's play, *Manfred* and *Doctor Faustus* were often compared, though unfavorably for Marlowe (MacLure 1975: 11). The qualities of vigour, the occasional irregularity of poetic expression which captures the uncontrollable creative energies of the author, as well as the vital imagery and the wild passions of the protagonists – all the elements that describe Marlowe's work – are the characteristic strands of Byronic language as well. This will posit Marlowe firmly in the Romantic tradition of the age, since both the Elizabethan dramatists and the Romantics stood as the antithesis of clarity, harmony and refined vocabulary of the neoclassicists.

3.2 Nineteenth-Century Translations

The European Romantic poets, predominantly in Germany and soon after in France, who were inspired by the same passionate and lascivious themes as in Renaissance, wholeheartedly welcomed Marlowe. It comes as no surprise that the realms of German cultural tradition at the moment when Romanticism reached its peak proved to be a fertile soil for sprouting the first published translations of Marlowe's plays and the general scholarly interest in the dramatist's work. According to Tucker Brooke, admiration for Marlowe on the continent began in the time of Tieck and Schlegel in Germany (1922: 406). Goethe's influential revival of the Faust story in 1808 (*Faust Part One*) inspired Wilhelm Müller to set himself up as the first scholar to translate Marlowe's version of the legend. His 1818 B-text translation of *Doctor Faustus,* the first continental translation of any of Marlowe's works, reintroduced the local public to the forgotten variant of the native legend. His *Doktor Faustus*, rendered in verse and printed in Berlin, is preceded by a twenty-five-page preface, commissioned to a celebrated Romantic Achim von Arnim, who in accordance with the

cultural movement of the time, celebrated Marlowe's protagonist as the embodiment of heroic struggle against authority and traditional morality. Unlike many of the first national translations of *Doctor Faustus* in Europe which were merely forgotten and outshone by successive retranslations (Bazy's and Turiello's texts are fine examples of a lack of critical and editorial consideration), Müller's version has been republished regularly and it is easily accessible online today. It was reissued in 1847 in Stuttgart, around 1880s in Leipzig, in 1911 in Munich, then again in 1918, 1930s, 1970s[60] and 1990s. Finally, the Hofenberg publishing house reprinted the text in Berlin in 2016.

Doktor Faustus.

Tragödie
von
Christoph Marlowe.

Aus dem Englischen übersetzt
von
Wilhelm Müller.

Mit einer Vorrede
von
Ludwig Achim von Arnim.

Nebst einem Steindrucke.

Berlin 1818.
In der Maurerschen Buchhandlung.
Poststraße No. 29.

Figure 5: Title page of Wilhelm Müller's translation of *Doctor Faustus* (1818)

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[60] Fritz Wolter edits and revises Müller's text, published in 1975 in Norderstedt.

The progress of Marlowe's reputation in Germany was considerably accelerated by Goethe's tribute. Lisa Hopkins, echoing Bakeless' detailed survey of references to Marlowe in literary criticism, lists Goethe's discussion of *Doctor Faustus* in 1824 and his admiration for Marlowe in 1829 (2005: 183). The latter was revealed in Henry Crabb Robinson's diary, which reported that Goethe exclaimed "How greatly is it all planned!" referring to Marlowe's *Faustus* (184). Two years later, Marlowe's two other works were translated into German. *The Jew of Malta* and *Edward II*, translated by E. von Bülow, evidence the beginning of serious critical interest in Marlowe in Germany. By 1870 three other German retranslations of *Faustus* appeared in print. In 1857 a praised translator of English literature Adolf Böttger translated both Marlowe's play and the old English ballad of Doctor Faustus, brought together in the same Leipzig publication. Three years later Friedrich Bodenstedt, a noted Shakespearean translator and poet gifted with immense technical skill in translation (he also excelled at translating the classics of Russian and Persian literature), edited a three-volume anthology of Elizabethan drama titled *Shakespeare's Zeitgenossen und ihre Werke*[61] (1860). The compilation boasts detailed discussions of the plays by Webster, Dekker and Rowley, Ford, Lilly, and Greene, accompanied by the partial or complete German translations. Tucker Brooke reports that in the third volume of Bodenstedt's collection, more than two hundred pages are devoted to Marlowe, followed by the scholar's translation of the B-text of *Doctor Faustus*. In Tucker Brooke's view, the publication "may be said to have paved the way for the very extensive investigation of the poet in Germany" (1922: 406). In 1870 Alfred von der Velde's B-text verse translation appeared with a descriptive title *Marlowe's Faust: die älteste dramatische Bearbeitung der Faustsage*[62], totaling overall four German translations of the play by the end of the century. Von der Velde's edition has been reissued several times. In 1960 the text was reprinted together with von Baudissin's translation of *The Alchemist* by Ben Jonson. In 1966 the Reclams Universal-Bibliothek edition of von der Velde's version came out. Finally, Naby Press, the publishing house specialised in providing digital and hard copies of historical editions, has recently reissued von der Velde's translation (2010).

In his study of Goethe's relation to Marlowe (1931), Otto Heller gave a brief overview of the nineteenth-century German versions of Marlowe's play and mistakenly included the translation of 1868 by A. Kühne in the list. Kühne's publication only involves the critical edition and discussion of the German *Faustbuch*. The zeal for translation of Marlowe's work in Germany did not wane toward the end of the century. *Tamburlaine* (Part One), printed in

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[61] Tr. Shakespeare's contemporaries and their works.
[62] Tr. Marlowe's *Faustus*: the oldest dramatic treatment of the Faust legend.

Helmstedt, was added to the German list of translations in 1893 by Margaret Vöhl. As shown in the figure below, which illustrates a chronological account of the European translations of *Doctor Faustus* in the nineteenth century, it was initially in Germany that Marlowe's canonical work was given higher regard compared to the rest of Europe, at least in translation.
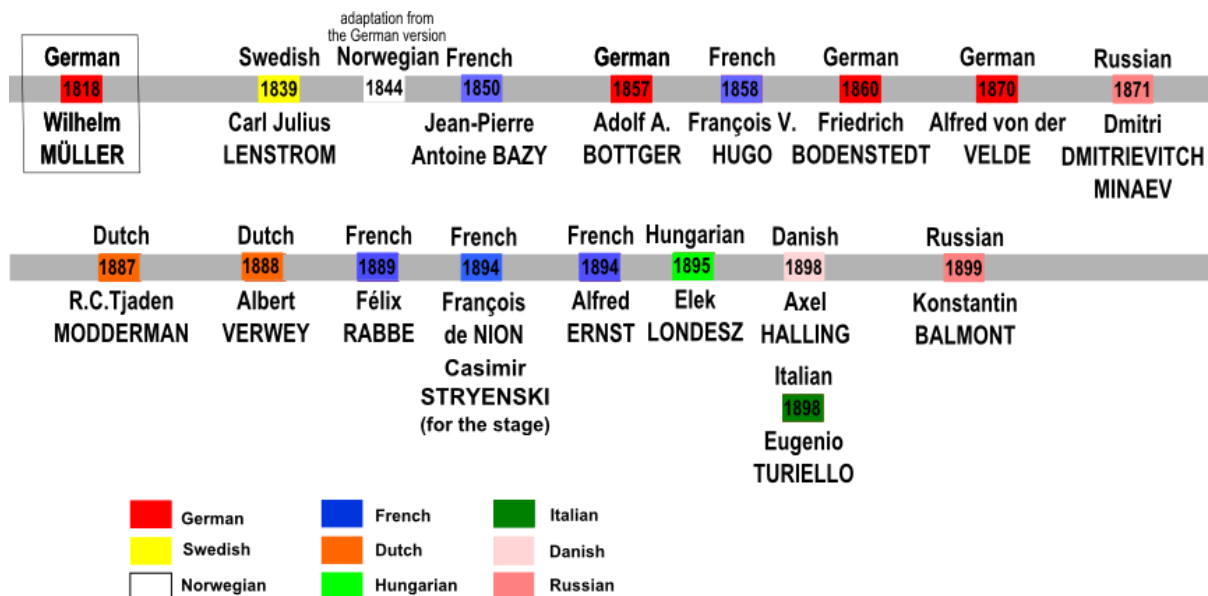
Figure 6: Chronological survey of translations of *Doctor Faustus* in the 19th century

By the time Germany saw three translations of three different plays by Marlowe (1831), no integral translation of any of his works had appeared in print in the rest of Europe. Yet Marlowe's status in translated literature soon took a favourable turn, in part owing to the vogue for translating the Romantic poets that swept throughout the continent in the nineteenth century. Marlowe seemed to have been a deck passenger on the vessel of translation that secured the textual transmission of Goethe's Faust and the works of Byron, Shelley, and Coleridge. In almost every language the translated version of Goethe's *Faust* predated that of Marlowe, and in almost every country the first play in the Marlowe canon to be translated was *Doctor Faustus*[63]. With the spread of Romanticism and the rise of interest in non-Shakespearean English drama, the translations of *Faustus* emerged initially in the countries traditionally close to the German literary production.

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[63] One of the rare exceptions was the Czech translation production where *Edward II* (1922) by Otokar Fischer, eminent poet and dramatist, precedes the first Czech translation of *Doctor Faustus* – Stanislav Stuna's version of 1925. *Edward II* also predates *Doctor Faustus* in Catalan and Slovak translation history, whereas one year before the first Greek version of *Doctor Faustus*, *The Jew of Malta* reached print.

Marlowe's text set sail from Berlin at a high tide of translation activity to reach the Nordic countries first. In 1839 Carl Julius Lénström made the first Swedish translation of *Faustus* in Upsala. Certain sources mention the Norwegian adaptation of 1844, thirty years after Norway's secession from the Danish crown. It was the time when the Norwegian vernacular began to be appreciated in literary production. As Hjørnager Pedersen and Qvale observe, the mid-nineteenth century marked a turning point in the Norwegian translation production when Ivan Arsen, "a pioneer of Norwegian as an independent language" translated the works of Shakespeare, Cervantes, Byron, Schiller and Luther in 'rural Norwegian' (2009: 389). However, even though independent Norwegian translations date back to the late seventeenth century, the scholars suggest that many foreign works were still read in Danish. In the Danish tradition, German was still the dominant source language and the German romantic drama was a main model for dramatic production and translation, before the French influence and new translations directly from English and the Romance languages emerged (387). Hence, it is probable that in this climate the first Norwegian version of Marlowe's *Faustus* appeared as an adaptation of the German translation. It seems that only in 1987 will Norway see the version that is directly indebted to the English B-text, thanks to Roy T. Eriksen, a celebrated Norwegian Renaissance scholar.

By 1870 Germany was the leading literary and translation tradition in the critical reception of Marlowe on the continent. However, France gradually began to catch up with their eastern neighbour's craze for the dramatist. The strong tradition of French classical tragedy, which stood in stark contrast with the general sensibility, form and aesthetics of Elizabethan drama, accounts for a French slow start in translating Marlowe in comparison with the German literary establishment. Nevertheless, the reception of Elizabethan playwrights had already been made easier due to the rise of new tastes and conventions of the Romantic theatre in the first half of the century. The main battle between French neoclassical standards and Romantic/Elizabethan dramatic tenets had been fought for over a century or so primarily in translating and staging Shakespeare. From the first fragments of translations of Shakespeare's works by Antoine de la Place (1745) "composed in beautifully flowing alexandrines" (Heylen 1993: 27), the standard meter of French classical tragedy, to the late 19th century translations, we can follow the shifting criteria for evaluating and accepting Shakespeare on the stage, moving from a praise for acculturating his plays into the firmly established French theatrical, metrical and aesthetic standards towards a more source text and source culture oriented translations. In her study *Translation, Poetics, and the Stage: Six French Hamlets*, Romy Heylen analyses six translated versions of *Hamlet* (starting from

Ducis' late eighteenth-century adaptation to the translation made for the stage production at the *Théâtre du Miroir* in 1977). Heylen incorporates into her critical discussion a socio-cultural context and the function each translation plays within the recipient culture at a given time. The author makes evidence for the claim that "the early history of *Hamlet* in France represents the establishment of new literary models into French canon" (60). Comparing Ducis' version of 1760 with Dumas and Meurice's target text of 1847, she states that the former represents a strong neoclassical verse translation, thus following the rules mainstream tragedy in order to be accepted by the *Comédie Française* for staging, whereas the latter, even though written in alexandrines, contains split lines and enjambments, which makes the dialogue and the action more natural, thus placing the translation more "firmly in the Romantic/melodramatic tradition" (55). Even though Dumas and Meurice's version showed clear signs of modifications of the structure akin to previous target texts[64], it was still closer to tenets of the new Romantic theatre built upon the Shakespearean model and posited by Stendhal in *Racine et Shakespeare* (1825) and by Victor Hugo in his *Preface to Cromwell* (1827). Stendhal read Marlowe, Webster, Massinger, Ford, and other dramatists in the original, and spoke of them with enthusiasm and praise (Praz 1948: xvi). His loud defence of Shakespeare and Elizabethan drama against Voltaire's accusations challenged the classical French taste and anticipated a wave of anglomania by the end of the century.

The wind of change was hence blowing in Marlowe's favour, whose *Doctor Faustus* now became more suitable for translation and eventual theatrical production. The play's alternation of the sublime and grotesque, the succession of tragic scenes and their comic counterparts, the lack of unity of time, space and action, the emphasis on plot and spectacle, and occasional vulgarity would have been proved unstageable earlier. Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy and François-Victor Hugo, who produced the first two translations of *Doctor Faustus* in 1850 and 1858 respectively, preceded the influential anthologies and studies on Elizabethan drama in France, in particular that of Taine of 1863. The two texts seem to have been born out of the two poets' personal interest and urge to finally provide the French literary public with the first translations of someone other than Shakespeare in a dazzling array of English Renaissance dramatists[65]. In addition, the Faust theme had already been known to a wider

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[64] The French translation tradition of the 19th century still involved assimilation of foreign playwrights into the domestic literary and dramatic system. Antoine Berman states that German Romantic poets and translators reproached the French translation school of the period for naturalising the foreign and violently making it conform to the authoritative local norms and taste (2012: 16). Similarly, George Steiner states that "the French Romantics while proclaiming themselves rebels and pioneers, cast their plays in traditional alexandrines and hardly modified the armature of French prose" (1975: 16). The same trend was evident in drama translation.

[65] Yet there is a notable political aim behind Bazy's selection of the text, as discussed in the next chapter.

French public thanks to the re-workings by numerous French scholars. Gérard de Nerval's prose translation of Goethe's version (1828) had won high praise from his contemporaries. Hector Berlioz had made Faust mount the French stage in the form of opera/cantata in 1847. Translating Marlowe, Bazy and F. V. Hugo introduced one of the earliest forms of a popular legend. Both target texts were rendered in prose, in part conditioned by their primary function, that of expanding the literary canon and making the text available to the local readership. In addition, Bazy's version was never meant to be staged. As mentioned above, it was produced with the aim of illustrating his comparative study of Goethe's and Marlowe's Faust, the latter still non-existent in the French language. F. V. Hugo's B-text version also discarded verse in translation. Compared to Bazy's text, his translation is much more source-text oriented. He showed greater concern for philological accuracy and the syntactic-rhythmic structure of the original. The same guiding principle is evident in his translations of the complete works of Shakespeare, published in 18 volumes (1859-1866), resembling Schwob and Morand's late-century prose translations of *Hamlet*, which retained the original imagery and vocabulary as much as possible (Heylen 1993: 71). In his reflections on the technical aspects and difficulties in translating Shakespeare, Dirk Delabastita reminds us that the French scholars who were more philologically oriented in translating Shakespeare's works generally prioritised prose over verse as the format for textual rendering (2009: 265).

As shown by Line Cottegnies in the Preface to the first volume of the 2009 collection of Elizabethan drama *Théâtre élisabéthain,* the beginning of more serious Elizabethan studies in France is evidenced in the second half of the nineteenth century primarily by Hippolyte Taine's *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (1863), Ernest Lafond's four-volume collection of the French translations of Shakespeare's contemporaries *Les Contemporains de Shakespeare* (1863 – 1865), Alfred Mézières's *Prédécesseurs et contemporains de Shakespeare* (1863) and *Les Contemporains et successeurs de Shakespeare* (1864), the revision of a series of studies published earlier in the periodical *La Révue de France* (2009: xvi). Lafond produced for the first time the French translations of Jonson, Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ford, Webster and others. Even though Taine's work played a significant role in the critical fortune of Elizabethan drama in France and resonated in academic environments throughout Europe, Percy E. Pinkerton suggested that the wider circles of men of letters were reluctant to give more credit to Marlowe. The English poet and translator delivered a rather harsh statement on the appreciation for Marlowe on the continent in the second half of the 19th century:

Marlowe has not yet got the ear of Europe. In England even, few comparatively give him high regard; abroad, he still counts as a barbarian. Germans may sympathize, perhaps, with one who first touched their Faust-legend; the French have never seen more in him than a wild pioneer and road-breaker for Shakespeare. A distinguished modern Italian poet and critic, in verses made by him while reading Marlowe, expressed the belief that his author seemed to have been inspired by the fumes of beer […] From such a singular judgment we may conclude that foreigners, with their curious slowness to appreciate any Anglo-Saxon poets but Byron and Shakespeare, have not yet got at the true Marlowe.

(Pinkerton 1885, qtd. in Tucker Brooke 1922: 407)

Pinkerton would have considerably revised his views on the slow critical reception of Marlowe in France if his study had been written only a few years later. The facts attest to a rather solid critical run of Marlowe and his contemporaries in the ensuing decade. In 1889 Félix Rabbe was the first to translate the complete works of Marlowe into French, contributing to the increasing status of the English poet, which now reached unprecedented heights. His extensive ninety-page introduction, the most elaborate reflection on Marlowe's life and work delivered by a French scholar at the time, is preceded by Jean Richepin's brief preface. Richepin reaffirmed the parallels between the cultural currents of the nineteenth century and that of Renaissance, insisting on the Promethean revolt as their shared trait, and singling out Marlowe and his protagonists as their quintessence (1889: viii-ix). Mario Praz reminds us that Marcel Schwob, in Richepin's fashion, would later exalt John Ford and Elizabethan theatre at large[66] for epitomising "il trionfo dell'individuo" (1948: xix).

In the meantime, Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* reached the Russian linguistic and cultural community. Vilen Komissarov refers to the nineteenth century as the golden age of Russian translation production (2009: 520). After two partial Russian translations of *Doctor Faustus* produced by Sergey Uvarov in 1859 and Michail Michajlov in 1860 (both printed in Saint Petersburg), the first integral version was delivered in verse by Dmitri Dmitrievitch Minayev in 1871 (Henning 1966: 185). At the time, translation in the Russian Empire evolved into a high artistic activity and as such, it was usually undertaken by talented poets only (Komissarov 2009: 520). Minayev, Russian poet, journalist and literary critic, belonged to the generation of such prominent figures as Vasily Zhukovsky, Alexander Pushkin and Mikhail Lermontov, who considerably contributed to the theory and practice of the Russian school of translation (520). Far more influential and critically praised version of the play was

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[66] Mario Praz refers to the conference talk delivered by Schwob at the *Théâtre de l'Oeuvre* in Paris on 6 November 1894.

carried out by the prolific Russian poet and translator Konstantin Balmont. Further on in this chapter, we will see how his translation of 1898 had a profound influence on the reception of Marlowe in the local literary scene.

Long before Balmont's treatment of the Faust story, Marlowe's play made its first entrance in the Dutch-speaking countries. In the midst of the extremely rich nineteenth-century publishing and translation activity in the Low Countries, two different translations by two scholars came out within only two years. R. S. Tjaden Modderman delivered the tenth European translation of *Faustus – Het oudste Faust-drama: Marlowe's tragische historie* (Gronignen, 1887). Otto Heller states that Modderman's text is "regarded as especially competent" (1931: 152). In 1888 (already reprinted in 1889) Albert Verwey published the second Dutch translation[67] of *Faustus* in the periodical *De Nieuwe Gids* (eng. *The New Guide*, vol. 3, Amsterdam). This literary journal, co-founded by Verwey, became the main pillar of the Dutch literary production and criticism in the 1880s and an important medium for introducing foreign literatures to local readers.

The last decade of the nineteenth century inspired rising enthusiasm for translating Marlowe in Europe. Two retranslations of *Faustus* appeared in France and the play made its first appearance in three different national traditions. More importantly, it is a decade that saw what appears to be the first European modern theatrical performance of *Faustus*[68], preceding the London stage revival of 1896 by Elizabethan Stage Society. The *Théâtre d'Art*, a Parisian playing company that emerged as a significant force on the Parisian stage and was managed by Paul Fort, delivered a single production of *Faustus* at the *Théâtre de Montparnasse* on 5 February 1892. The title page of the official programme, showing a costume designer Henry Cole's interesting illustration of Mephistopheles as a female figure[69], is followed by a cast list and the translators' brief account of Marlowe's life and career and their views on the play-text. According to the bulletin, *Les Flaireurs* by Charles van Lerberghe was staged on the same occasion together with the closing recitation of Rimbaud's poem *Le Bateau ivre*. The bulletin also reveals that the play was divided in 10 scenes and 3 prologues and, more importantly, it discloses the translators' identity.

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[67] A digital version of Verwey's edition based on the A-text is available on the official page of the Digital Library of Dutch Literature (Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren): www.dbnl.org.

[68] Not taking into consideration the 17th-century productions in German-speaking countries by English touring companies, which were only loosely based on Marlowe's text.

[69] Both Mephistopheles and the Bad Angel were played by two female actors.

THÉATRE D'ART

Programme

DE LA

DEUXIÈME REPRÉSENTATION

DE LA

SAISON 1891-1892

DONNÉE LE

VENDREDI, 5 FEVRIER 1892

A 8 H. 1/2 DU SOIR

DANS LA SALLE

DU THÉATRE MONTPARNASSE

(Rue de la Gaité)

LA TRAGIQUE Histoire du Docteur Faust
Dessin de Henry Colas

PROGRAMME

DE LA

Deuxième Représentation de la Saison 1891-1892

LA TRAGIQUE HISTOIRE DU DOCTEUR FAUST

DRAME DE CHRISTOPHE MARLOWE

Traduction (prose et vers) de FRANÇOIS DE NION et CASIMIR STRYIENSKI

Adaptation en 10 tableaux et 3 prologues du chœur (*)

Décors pour les Prologues de H. G. IBELS et DECREPT

Costumes artistiques dessinés par Henry Colas

Le docteur Faust.	M. Favre	L'Archevêque de Reims.	M. Bertal	
Méphistophélis	Mlle Georgette Camée	Premier Moine.	B. Château	
Wagner	MM. Albert Félix	Troisième Cardinal	Karl	
Charles-Quint.	Laudner	Le Chœur.	Mmes Vérynas	
Le Pape.	Depas	Le Bon Ange	Page	
Le Maquignon.	R. Lagrange	Le Mauvais Ange	Suzanne Gay	
Le Vieillard	G. d'Esquilly	L'Orgueil.	Mauvrac	
Le duc de Vanholt.	G. Chaillou	L'Avarice	Tissier	
Germain Valdès	Baudouin	La Colère	Morny	
Cornélius	Donnet	L'Envie	Maria Bertaux	
Bruno.	V.....	La Gourmandise	Da Macha	
Le Clown	M.....	La Paresse	Blanche Laurens	
Le Prince de Rhodes.	Lenner	La Luxure	Roche	
Le Chevalier	Victor Martel	la duchesse de Vanholt.	de Sokolow	
Premier étudiant, ami de Faust.	Granier	Démons et Lutins.		
Deuxième étudiant	Albert Girault	Evêques, Cardinaux, Moines.		
Troisième étudiant	A. Guérin	Seigneurs, Dames de cour, Pages, Soldats.		
Premier Cardinal.	Mazade	Apparitions d'Hélène, d'Alexandre et d'Almène.		

LES FLAIREURS

DRAME EN 3 TABLEAUX (*) DE CHARLES VAN LERBERGHE

Partie musicale de ABEL BUTEIL D'OZANNE

La Mère	Mlles Suzanne Gay	Voix de l'homme avec	
La Fille.	Georgette Camée	le linge	Margeot
Voix de l'homme avec		Voix de l'homme avec	
l'eau	MM. Albert Félix	le cercueil	Favre

BATEAU IVRE

POÈME D'ARTHUR RIMBAUD

Partie picturale de PAUL RANSON

LE Récitant. . . . . M. Prad.

(*) Nous prévenons les personnes qui pourraient être étonnées de l'importance du programme, que plusieurs tableaux du Faust et les 3 tableaux des Flaireurs sont très courts, et que le spectacle ne sera que d'une longueur ordinaire.

Figure 7: Programme of the stage production of *Doctor Faustus* in Paris by the *Théâtre d'Art* (5 February 1892)
source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

The translation for the stage production was made by François de Nion and Casimir Stryienski. The same duo later edited the publication of *Journal* by Stendhal in 1888. In his reflections on Marlowe's text, de Nion reaffirmed strong affiliation of Marlowe's spirit with Romanticism, stating that Marlowe, Lyly, Greene, Beaumont and Fletcher should be compared with Hugo, Gautier, Dumas, Musset, and the like. Similarly, the poet advocated a translation strategy according to which the text of *Faustus* should be rendered into French in a form that imitated that of the great Romantics: "C'était dans la forme, – ou du moins entachant de l'approcher le plus possible – des maîtres du Romantisme français qu'il fallait, croyons-nous, essayer de traduire *la Tragique Histoire du Docteur Faust*" (de Nion 1892: 3). Stryienski and de Nion's translation was the first French verse[70] translation of *Doctor Faustus*. However, the audience reacted with uttermost disdain. According to Edward Braun, the French premiere of *Doctor Faustus* was characterised by "a translation that was unanimously condemned" (1982: 44). Scarce reviews of the stage production[71] do not reveal reasons for the audience's disapproval of the text in performance. Yet all the sources are unanimous in agreeing that the production met with widespread criticism so that it did not remain in the theatrical repertory after the premiere. Maeterlinck's 1894 translation/adaptation of '*Tis Pity She's a Whore* by John Ford remained the most popular stage production of a play by a Shakespeare's contemporary in France at the turn of the century (Cottegnies 2009: xv).

Marlowe's work continued to attract French-speaking poets and translators. In 1894 came the publication of a joint project of Alfred Ernst and Henri Gautier. Their translation of *Doctor Faustus,* based on the A-text[72] and divided in twelve scenes, appeared in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque populaire*, a Parisian literary journal that regularly printed the classics of world literature. Two years later, the second French translation of *Edward II* came to light in Brussels, produced by celebrated Belgian poet Georges Eekhoud. The text was issued in volume xxiv and xxv of the *Societé Nouvelle*.

Marlowe's *Faustus* was gradually moving to the east where it initially appeared as a product of the Hungarian publishing activity in 1885. After the late eighteenth-century craze for translating the French and English works promoting the ideals of the Enlightenment and

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[70] It was actually delivered predominantly in verse and partly in prose, closely following the alternation of form in the original.

[71] A review by a certain Hermès that appears in the periodical *Mercure de France* (vol. IV, no 27, March 1892, pp. 269-272) shows more concern for the author's interpretation of the play than for the stage production. Even London's Daily Telegraph (April 13, 1892) devotes a paragraph to the French premiere in a column Continental Gossip marveling at the fact that the performance lasted four hours.

[72] With certain borrowing from the B-text, already mentioned in 2.5.

the golden era of translating Shakespeare in the first half of the nineteenth century (Radó 2009: 449-450), translated literature reached new peaks in Hungary by 1900. Moreover, serious theoretical works on translation which date back to the early seventeenth century continued to attract eminent nineteenth-century literary historians, such as Ferenc Toldy, who anticipated the common discussion in translation theory – whether to remain faithful to the content or the form (439). A myriad of works of foreign literature appeared on the Hungarian literary scene in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It is in this climate that Elek Londesz, a playwright and art historian, translated *Doctor Faustus* in 1895. The first edition was published in Arad, modern-day Romania, part of the Kingdom of Hungary at the time. The second and the third edition, published in Budapest in 1900 and 1911 respectively, enabled a more widespread circulation of the text.

In 1898 *Doctor Faustus* reached two other European languages. Axel Halling produced the Danish version of the text, printed in Copenhagen, while Eugenio Turiello carried out the first Italian translation in Naples. Praz concurs that, as opposed to France or Germany, Shakespeare's contemporaries were brought quite late into critical focus among Italian scholars, pointing to the non-existence of Italian translations as a proof of such a claim: "l'indice della fortuna di un autore straniero tra noi è di solito la frequenza delle versioni" (1948: xxvii). Apart from Shakespeare, hardly any other complete translation of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays was printed in Italy by the end of the nineteenth century.

The influence of French culture and literary tastes, firmly established in northern Italy in the eighteenth century, survived well into the following century. Italian scholars imitated their French counterparts' critical appreciation and translation of foreign authors, which influenced the selection of literary products to be translated. Rebora states "anche per quanto riguarda le traduzioni, l'attenzione degli italiani e contamporanea a quelle delle altre grandi nazioni europee" (Rebora 1949: 217), the French being the dominant model. Not only was French the prevailing source language in translation, it was often mediating between foreign literatures, including English, and the Italian readership. As a result, a particular foreign author would start to gain sway among the intelligentsia or the general public only after their full approval in the French literary establishment. In the case of Marlowe, it took a few decades. The first signs of the reception of non-Shakespearean Elizabethan drama, signalled by Turiello's late-century translation of *Doctor Faustus,* had occurred in the aftermath of early Marlowe criticism among French scholars. The nineteenth-century Italian translation activity, which began to produce direct translations from languages other than French, gave more importance to the Anglophone works. Ricardo Duranti maintains that, apart from

Shakespeare, the poems of Ossian and Byron enjoyed notable success in the mid-century (2009: 464). On the other hand, it was only in the first half of the twentieth century that an intense translation activity in Italy encompassed Elizabethan drama and Marlowe as its emerging leading figure. By 1950, eminent scholars such as Mario Praz, Aurelio Zanco, Benvenuto Cellini, Piero Rebora, Nemi d'Agostino, Salvatore Rosati and Alfredo Obertello contributed to the establishment of serious Elizabethan studies in Italy.

It seems that serious consideration of Marlowe's work in Italian criticism and translation activity was impeded by the lack of critical acclaim voiced by influential poets of the time. On the contrary, as stated by Pinkerton, strong disapproval of Marlowe's poetic and dramatic expression was uttered by a reputed Italian literary figure. Who was that "distinguished modern Italian poet and critic" that Pinkerton accused of openly discarding Marlowe's genius referring to his poetic energy as "the fumes of beer"?

We have seen how Marlowe's genius had already received positive recognition in Europe by highly acclaimed authors such as English Swinburne, German Goethe and Achim von Arnim, and French Richepin and Stendhal. On the other hand, one of the first references to Marlowe in Italian literature was far less complimentary[73]. General praise of Marlowe's verse inherent in a popular phrase "mighty line" stands in stark contrast with Carducci's condemnation of his "reo verso bieco" (1882: 131). This "cruel and ferocious verse"[74] appears in Carducci's poem *Pe'l Chiarone da Civitavecchia* with a subtitle *Leggendo il Marlowe*. The poem was published in Book Two of the collection *Odi Barbare* (1882), a work that would later make him the first Italian Nobel laureate in literature. Traveling in a carriage along the Chiarone River under the veil of the gloomy atmosphere of the Maremma swampy area, Carducci reads Marlowe, most probably *Doctor Faustus*. The play gives him disturbing visions and he decides to throw it into the water. The poem was first published in the Zanichelli edition of 1882, the second volume of the collection. Historical records show that it was written before, in 1879, only two years after the publication of the first volume. Bearing in mind that the first complete Italian translation of Marlowe's *Faustus* came to light a decade later and that the poet was not equipped with a profound knowledge of English language (as opposed to his mastery of German), the question arises as to which version of the text served as the basis for his judgement and whether he could fully grasp Marlowe's

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[73] This section is drawn upon my essay *The Translation History of Christopher Marlowe's* Doctor Faustus, published in *Horizons de Recherche II – Research Horizons II*, edited by Anna Paola Soncini Fratta, Bologna: I Libri di Emil, 2016, pp. 37-60.

[74] The translation of Carducci's verse into English is taken from *Letters of John Paul I,* edited and translated into English by Albino Luciani (reprinted in 2001).

powerful blank verse reading the original. Carducci seemed to have taken less interest in English literature in comparison with his fascination with Roman and Greek classical poetry or German literature, some of which he translated into Italian. Even though he "devoured […] translations of Scott and Byron" (Williams 1914: 11) as a student of the prestigious *Scuole Pie* and wrote a preface to Sanfelice's translation of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* in Italian in 1894, English literature and language attracted the poet's least attention. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that, in his article *Le nere piume di Marlowe* (1993), in commemoration of 400 years of Marlowe's tragic death, Guido Almansi delivers a harsh statement on Carducci, ascribing his rather negative evaluation of Marlowe's poetry to "profonda ignoranza della letteratura inglese" (1993). But before the linguistic barrier is taken as an argument for the apparent lack of appreciation for Marlowe, one might look into Carducci's entourage. It would also clarify the possible conditions that explain why Marlowe was brought up in the first place.

Only one year before Carducci mentioned Marlowe, some scenes from *Doctor Faustus* had been translated into Italian for the first time, thanks to Arturo Graf. In his *Studi drammatici* (1878), the Italian poet and critic backed up his in-depth analysis of Marlowe's famous play with his own partial translations used for the purpose of his study. Given that Graf and Carducci exchanged many letters on literary criticism and other topics, could it be that this study was in Carducci's hands while he was travelling across the Maremma? Of course, his poem would have lost much of its intensity if his famous "io leggo Marlowe" (Carducci 1882/1921: 132) had been substituted with "io leggo le traduzioni italiane di alcune scene del Marlowe."

Another academic and literary critic who may have influenced Carducci's allusion to Marlowe is Giuseppe Chiarini, a colleague and a close friend of his. Pietro Bardi highly praised Chiarini to whom he dedicated his translation of Marlowe's *Faustus* (1907). On the first page of his *Tragica storia del dottor Fausto*, the third published Italian translation of Marlowe's masterpiece, he writes "A Giuseppe Chiarini che fra i primi divulgò in Italia l'amore e lo studio della poesia inglese" (Bardi 1907: 1). Together with Carducci, Chiarini was one of the co-founders of the so-called *Amici pedanti,* a literary association whose members found inspiration in Greek and Roman literature and the Italian Renaissance, and were staunchly anti-Romantic. It seems that Carducci's voice against the Romantic aesthetics was much louder than that of Chiarini's. Namely, Carducci embraced classical elements in theme and style, strongly opposing the irregularities of the Romantic forms of poetic expression. Here lies one of the reasons for his disapproval of Marlowe's verse. Whereas

Marlowe's dramatic poetry was perceived as a reaction against classicism at the time, Carducci strived to reestablish the regulated classical form that Romanticism had discontinued. Therefore, Carducci's critique of Marlowe becomes the general depreciation of the spirit of the time, rather than a personal attack on the Elizabethan playwright. After all, they both shared an anticlerical zeal and atheistic attitude. All in all, Carducci's "io leggo Marlowe" anticipated rising interest in Marlowe's works in Italy.

The second half of the nineteenth century was not devoid of occasional signs of scholarly interest. In addition to Graf's and Chiarini's treatments of Elizabethan drama, De Bosis gave an analysis of Massinger's and Ford's plays and D'Annunzio highly praised Renaissance dramatists in England.[75] It is worth mentioning two studies on Marlowe in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Chiarini is the author of three articles on Marlowe, published in the periodical *La Letteratura* in Torino in June and July 1890 (D'Agostino 1950: 109). Prof. Giuseppe Brugari delivered a presentation titled *Minori poeti drammatici dell'età di Elisabetta* at a conference in Genoa in 1883, for which he translated a few lines from *Doctor Faustus* and *The White Devil* by Webster (Praz 1948: xvii). Nevertheless, the first complete Italian translations of Elizabethan dramatists came later. The apparent critical neglect was waning rapidly in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Marlowe's *Faustus* was translated four times by four different scholars by 1907. In 1914, in what appears to be the first selected collection of Elizabethan drama in Italian, came the publication of the translations of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy,* Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, Peele's *The Old Wives' Tales,* and Marlowe's *Edward II*, translated by Raffaello Piccoli.

As mentioned above, the last nineteenth-century published translation of *Doctor Faustus* was that of Konstantin Balmont, who, in a remarkable array of previous translators of the play, perhaps stands out as the best-known literary figure. One of the main Symbolist poets of the Silver Age of Russian literature, who also translated from Italian, Spanish, Norwegian and many other languages, completed his translation of *Faustus* (A-text) in Saint Petersburg. The text was originally published in the journal *Жизнь* (*Zhiznya*[76]). In the article *Christopher Marlowe and Konstantin Balmont* (2014), Ryabova and Zhatkin examine the translator's immense contribution to the widespread reception of Marlowe and Elizabethan dramatists in Russia. They also provide a brief account of Balmont's views on Marlowe and

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[75] Mario Praz states that De Bosis and D'Annunzio showed only enthusiasm for the playwrights rather than a profound knowledge of their work (1948: xxvii).

[76] Tr. The Life.

his main literary creation, delivered in the introduction to the second edition (1912), as well as in a series of research articles, essays and personal letters. The authors report that Balmont reserved only words of praise for Marlowe and his work. Romantic undercurrents resonate in Balmont's interpretation of Faustus as the Promethean hero whose demise results from "aspiration to go beyond [his] true self"[77] (Balmont qtd. in Ryabova and Zhatkin 2014: 718). As for Marlowe, Balmont regarded him as a poet who communicated a "psychological moment full of unrestrained passion" (718) and "equal to Shakespeare"[78] (719). Profoundly impressed by the poet's creative genius, Balmont wrote a sonnet dedicated to Marlowe in 1916.

All in all, by 1900 there were 18 complete translations of *Doctor Faustus* (16 published texts, one translation produced for the stage and one presumably free translation/adaptation via a mediating language) in 9 European languages, making Marlowe second only to Shakespeare when it comes to translated Elizabethan drama on the continent.

3.3 Twentieth-Century Translations

Throughout the course of the twentieth century, due to the growing publishing market, an expanding readership and the development of serious Elizabethan Studies and Marlowe scholarship, *Doctor Faustus* was virtually rendered into all European languages.

The turn of the century was marked by the transition from rather free translations/adaptations towards strategies that advocated higher philological and lexical accuracy in relation to the original. Shifting attitudes towards translation discarded mediating languages in the translation process. As Pym reports, in Spanish culture, the nineteenth-century hegemony of French, which was a main source language and whose tradition imposed the acculturating model of translation, was waning rapidly. From the early twentieth century, there was an outburst of translation activity that drew directly from source languages, introducing new pieces of world literature. At the same time, there was a growing tendency to replace the existing translations with new versions that were more source-text oriented (Pym 2009: 533-534).

The first two Spanish translations of *Doctor Faustus* produced in the early twenty century within the span of seven years, clearly reflect the changing ideas about translated

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[77] The authors quote from Balmont's introduction to the second edition of his translation published in Moscow in 1912 by K.F. Nekrasov Publishing House.

[78] The authors quote from Balmont's *Mountain Peaks: A Collection of Articles.*

literature. Josep (José) Aladern's version of 1904 was most probably an indirect translation through a French text, whereas José Alcalá Galiano's text of 1911 directly drew upon the English source text. Catalan poet, linguist and translator Josep Aladern produced much of his writings in Catalan. One of his rare works written in Castilian was the translation of *Doctor Faustus* which he completed in 1904 in Barcelona. Not only does Aladern reproduce F. Victor Hugo's introduction to his 1858 French translation of *Faustus*, but the Spanish version is strikingly similar to the syntactic structure, lexical alterations and overall textual modifications (omission, punctuation) peculiar only to F. V. Hugo's text. This suggests that the Catalan poet directly translated from F.V. Hugo's version, which was much more diffused and popular than Bazy's text. José Alcalá Galiano, Spanish progressive writer and freethinker, published his translation *La trágica historia del Doctor Fausto* in Madrid in 1911. As opposed to Aladern's version in prose, Galiano delivered the A-text in verse, thus reflecting yet another tendency in Spanish translation production at the turn of the century, that of replacing the existing prose translations of English or foreign verse texts with new renderings in the original form. During the nineteenth century, Spanish translation practices looked up to dominant strategies in translating poetry in France (Pym 2009: 539). Rendering verse in prose was commonplace in the French translation tradition of the time: Nerval's translations of Goethe's *Faust,* Mallarmé's and Baudelaire's translations of Poe's poetry, Chateaubriand's rendering of Milton, to name but a few. Likewise, as Anthony Pym points out, "Byron […] entered Castilian from French not as a poet but as a writer of short stories" (539). Galiano's verse version of *Doctor Faustus* appeared in the midst of restoring the original verse form in translation (at least in its analogous meter). Before his *Faustus* project, he retranslated dramatic poems of Byron driven by the same motivating passion.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, eastern European capitals witnessed rich cultural activity. Parallel to large-scale literary production ran a mania for theatrical performances, whose variety and innovation were significantly enhanced by the translation and staging of foreign dramatic material. Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Prague, and Polish cultural centres particularly stood out in this respect. The first Western Slavic version of Marlowe's *Faustus* was printed in Poland in 1908 in a text produced by Jan Kasprowicz, poet and translator with firm affiliation to the modernist Young Poland movement. Even though it was not performed in Poland until the influential 1963 production at the Laboratory Theater in Opole by Jerzy Grotowski, whose script was based on the re-workings of Kasprowicz's text, the first Polish version was produced in the vogue for popular European theatre with a view to being eventually realised on stage. *Doctor Faustus* had already enjoyed considerable

theatrical success in Heidelberg (1903), and continued to attract the masses in Göttingen, Essen, Frankfurt (1910), and Hamburg (1911), in theatres that enthusiastically produced Ibsen, Strindberg and Chekov (Bevington 2015: 263). Being a dramatist himself, Kasprowicz was following and anticipating the dictates of European and local audience's taste by translating the plays by Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Shakespeare, etc. His good technical skills in translation, excellent command of a variety of European languages and exceptional poetic talent enabled him to produce praiseworthy translations from a wide range of genres and national literatures.[79] Kasprowicz's translation was later published in 1912 in vol. 1 of the collection *Arcydziela europejskiej poezyi dramatycznej* (eng. Masterpieces of European dramatic poetry).
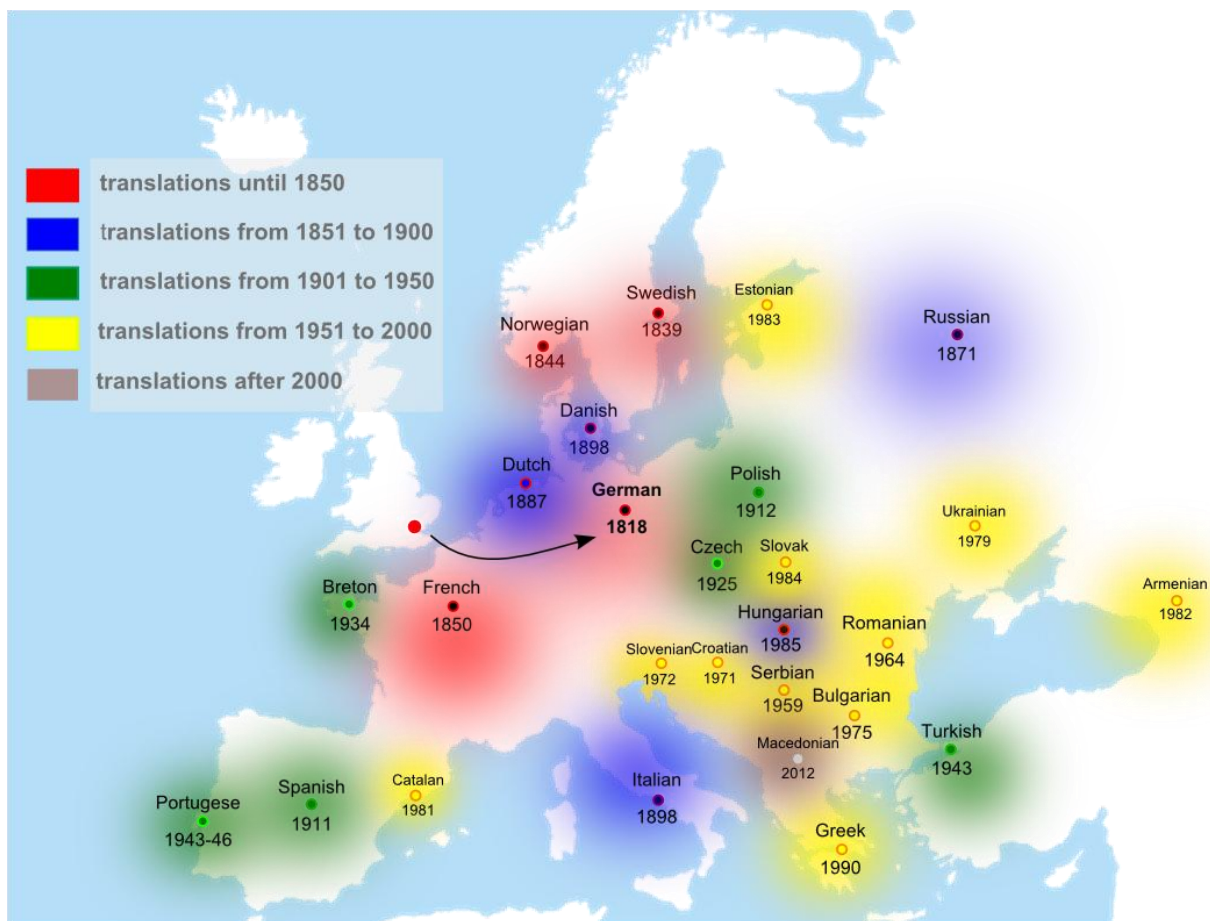

Figure 8: The 'migration' of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* in Europe

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[79] Kasprowicz translated from English (Byron, Shelley, Swinburne, Keats, Wilde), German (Schiller and Goethe), French (Rimbaud, Bertrand), Norwegian (Ibsen), ancient Greek (classical tragedy), Italian, Dutch. The list is far from exhaustive.

In Prague, one of the major centres for theatrical activity in eastern and central Europe in 1920s, Marlowe was soon realised in performance. Before the Czech version of *Doctor Faustus*, *Edward II* was translated for the 1922 production staged by the National Theatre director Dr. K. N. Hilar (Curran 1970: 209). The popular stage production was based on the translation by Otokar Fischer, founder of the renowned Prague translation school. The Czech poet, dramatist and translator demonstrated a high degree of fidelity to the original architecture and rhythmic regularity, which was in accordance with the main principles of his own poetics (Levý 1963/2011: 201). The 1922 production was a European premiere of *Edward II*. It even preceded a well-known adaptation by Brecht, based on Alfred Walter Heymel's German translation of 1912 and performed at the Munich Chamber Theatre in 1924 (Potter 2004: 272). The popularity of the production of *Edward II* on the Czech stage inspired Stanislav Stuna to deliver the first translation of *Doctor Faustus* in Kladno in 1925.

The stage revival of Marlowe both in England and on the continent was occurring at a fast pace, leading to new European translations. The text of *Doctor Faustus* reached smaller linguistic communities and regional languages as well. In 1934, an active promoter of literary production in the Breton language Roparz Hemon issued the Breton adaptation titled *Fostus an Doktor daonet*[80]. The Breton version, published in the literary magazine Gwalarn[81] (no 67), which Hemon had founded with Olier Mordrel in 1925, ran in 166 issues by 1944. Ronan Calvez reports that the radio production based on Hemon's text was aired on 12 June 12 1943. Together with four other plays in Breton aired during the war, the text was reprinted the following year in a collection *C'hoariva brezhonek. Pemp pezh-c'hoari berr*[82] by the Skridoù Breizh publishing house in Brest (Calvez 2000: 166).

During the war, translation activity did not completely disappear. In addition to Breton radio plays, *Doctor Faustus* was translated for the first time into Turkish in 1943 by Īrfan Şahinabaç, distinguished scholar and co-founder of the Turkish-British Cultural Association in Istanbul. On the other end of Europe, the same turbulent period witnessed the first Portuguese translation carried out by Adolfo de Oliveira Cabral. The Portuguese version came after the study *Aspetos e problemas de Fausto de Marlowe* (1943), conducted by the same scholar. In the same year, the first Italian version of Marlowe's controversial play *The Jew of Malta* was printed by the Sansoni publishing house in Florence in the midst of

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[80] Tr. Faustus a Damned Doctor.

[81] The electronic version of the text was issued by The Breton and European Digital Library (Institut de Documentation Bretonne et Européenne), available on bibliotheque.idbe-bzh.org.

[82] Tr. Theatre in the Breton language: five short plays. Calvez lists three other plays in the volume: *Les deux visages* by Langleiz, *Près du lavoir* by Perrot, and *Le crime du frère Juniper* by Henri Ghéon.

widespread anti-Semitic sentiment. The text was delivered by Giorgio Melchiori, who belonged to the new generation of Italian Elizabethan scholars (successors to Mario Praz). Melchiori immensely contributed to the development of Elizabethan studies in post-war Italy.

As Bevington points out, by the mid-century the play of *Doctor Faustus* evolved into the standard classical repertory (2015: 264) and secured itself a prominent place in world literature. Thus Marlowe's works became the subject of frequent scholarly investigation and part of the university curriculum at the existing and newly formed English departments throughout the continent. After the Second World War, southeastern Europe was a growing market for translating Marlowe. The change of political climate in former Yugoslavia after the war did not entail the discontinuity of translation activity. If before the war, reflections on a more systematic translation theory appeared in publications related to the studies on literary criticism, literary theory and linguistics, the post-war period saw the emergence of independent treatise on translation. Translation production already abundant in the first half of the twentieth century now reached new heights with the foundation of the National Association of Literary Translators in 1951 (Živojin Simić, a co-author of the first Serbian translation of *Doctor Faustus* being one of the founding members) and Association of Scientific and Technical Translation of Serbia in 1961.

The advent of New Bibliography in the mid-twentieth century pioneered by W. W. Greg that remodeled the editing of literary texts brought Shakespeare's contemporaries to translators' attention. The first Serbian translation of *Doctor Faustus* was published in an anthology of selected plays of Elizabethan drama (together with Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, and Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*) in 1959. Živojin Simić and a famous poet Sima Pandurović, who provided verse renderings, were also known for their joint translation projects on the works of Shakespeare from the 1920s and 30s. Their translations of Shakespeare are frequently used in their adapted forms for contemporary stage revivals. Simić and Pandurović's version was delivered in Serbian, a national variant of Serbo-Croatian, the official name for the language(s) spoken in Yugoslavia. It soon reached other languages and standardised variants in former Yugoslav republics.

Having previously collaborated on the Croatian text used for the performance of *Arden of Feversham* in 1969, Tonko and Flora Maroević completed their verse translation of *Doctor Faustus* in 1971. It was not performed until 1982[83] when it was produced by Gerogij Paro, reputed stage director who managed more than 150 stage productions since the 1950s.

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[83] According to the archive of the Matica Hrvatska, the national cultural and scientific institution.

The Slovenian premiere[84] of *Doctor Faustus* was staged at the SLG[85] Theatre in Celje in 1972. For this occasion, the translation was commissioned to Janez Menart, one of the most renowned poets of post-war Slovenian literature and the major exponent of the Intimist poetic movement. Four years later the Slovenian text reached print in a collection *Drame angleške renesanse*[86], together with the versions of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and Jonson's *Volpone*.

After the Second World War, Macedonian language[87] was granted the official status in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and underwent standardisation. From then on, literature was produced in Standard Macedonian, running parallel to growing translation practices. Until the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1990, together with Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian was the official language in the republic, and it was widely used at schools and universities. A local readership usually had no difficulty in reading the Serbo-Croatian versions of foreign works still unavailable in Macedonian. Hence, translation into Macedonian, though abundant in the Yugoslav era, flourished after the independence. It comes as no surprise that the first Macedonian translation of *Doctor Faustus* has come only recently. In 2012 Rajna Koška-Hot, eminent professor at the English Department (Faculty of Philology, Skopje) and praised translator of contemporary English drama (Caryl Churchill, Arthur Muller, Edward Albee, Samuel Beckett, etc.) published the Macedonian version of Marlowe's play. She also engages in translating contemporary Macedonian drama into English.

Marlowe's canon attracted reputed translators in Romania as well. Five years after the text had entered neighbouring Yugoslavia, the text moved further in the east. Leon D. Levitchi demonstrated a tremendous poetic and linguistic skill in rendering a verse drama into Romanian. His translation of *Doctor Faustus* of 1964 already foreshadowed his distinguished career as a Shakespearean scholar and a translator[88] – he received Romanian Writers' Union's Award on two occasions in the ensuing decade. His version of *Faustus* was initially printed in the anthology of English Renaissance Drama. It was later republished in

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[84] According to the catalogue of Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Art (ZRCSAZU). The same source reveals that the translation of *Edwuard II* came to light in 1996 (rpt. 2004) and served as a play-text for the 2005 stage production in Nova Gorica. The following year *Faustus* was revived on stage in Slovenia's capital Ljubljana.

[85] *Slovensko Ljudsko Gledalište* (tr. Slovenian People's Theatre)

[86] Tr. English Renaissance Drama, published by the Državna založba Slovenije Publishing House in Ljubljana.

[87] South Slavic language spoken in the Republic of Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic.

[88] Levitchi contributed to the seminal edition of English-Romanian dictionary (1991). He is also praised for his translations of the works of Shakespeare.

1988 with two other plays by Marlowe – the *Tamburlaine* plays and *The Jew of Malta*, translated by different scholars.

The new developments in Elizabethan studies and Marlowe criticism in the 1970s further intensified the translation of their fine examples in the Balkans. This was also the period of new advancements and shifts in a general theory of translation that would quickly lead to the establishment of Translation Studies as a separate academic discipline. Moreover, the translator was granted a professional status. Hence, systematic attempts at formulating standards of professional translation practice and fostering scholarly training and education of future translators were conducted. With this aim, different professional associations and national unions of translators and interpreters continued to be formed on the continent. Members of literary translation unions were particularly involved in enriching the domestic literary canon with translations from world literature that had never reached the source culture before. A. V. Shubranov, the first Bulgarian translator of *Doctor Faustus* was also one of the founding members of the Union of Translations in Bulgaria in 1974 ("BTU": 2015). One year later, his translations of selected Elizabethan plays reached print in Sofia where he was working as a professor of English literature at university. In addition to Marlowe's *Faustus*, the anthology contained the first Bulgarian versions of Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*, Thomas Decker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, John Webster's *The White Devil* and Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's *The Changeling*. Over the years he continued to produce notable translations of English and American drama and poetry.

Simultaneously, the translations of Marlowe's work emerged in former Soviet republics. Despite the hegemony of Russian language in the Soviet era, translating literature into Ukrainian was never neglected. Diverse literary journals, founded even before the Second World War, continued to promote the publishing of Russian and Ukrainian translations of the works of world literature. The first Ukrainian version of Marlowe's *Faustus* was issued in the periodical *Всесвіт*[89] in Kiev, translated by Evgen Dmitrovych Kryzhevych. Solomiya Albota compares the two existing translations of *Faustus* into Ukrainian – Kryzhevych's version of 1979 and Maxim Strikha's translation of 2003. The author concludes that the former more faithfully renders the original imagery, structure and lexicon, pointing to changes in the target text that are not distinctive or stylistically marked (2015: 210). It is interesting to notice that both Romanian and Ukrainian translations follow the A-text, even though the English editing practice of the time still prioritised the B-version

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[89] The *Vsevsit* (tr. Universe) periodical was founded in 1925 with the aim of publishing the translations of world literature into Ukrainian.

in recognition to Greg's influential textual arguments. Nevertheless, the two translators reflect a change in Marlowe criticism voiced by Kuryiama, Roma Gill, and others, who, as discussed in 2.4, began to ascribe more authority and aesthetic value to the A-text.

Soon after the Ukrainian version, Marlowe's *Faustus* reached two non-Slavic languages within the Soviet Union. In 1982 came the publication of the Armenian translation carried out by Aram Topchyan and printed in Moscow. The text was soon reprinted in Armenia's capital Erevan in 1985. In the meantime, the fruitful collaboration between three translators, Harold Ramaets, Krista Mits and Avo Keerend, resulted in what appears to be the first Estonian versions of Marlowe's dramatic works. The collected edition of the *Tamburlaine* plays, *Eduard II*, and *Doctor Faustus* were published by the Tallinn's Eesti Raamat printing house in 1983.

In the meantime, the Catalan literary and linguistic community welcomed the text in translation for the first time. Prior to Josep Carner-Ribalta's Catalan translation of *Faustus* in 1981[90], Marlowe's *Edward II* had already been known among Catalan readers. In a survey of Marlowe's performance history and film adaptations, Loic Potter observes that *Edward II* had became the most adapted and performed Marlowe's play by the late twentieth century together with *Doctor Faustus*. He points to Brecht's revolutionary treatment of Marlowe's play as one of the reasons for a number of stage revivals (2004: 272). Bevington asserts that its theatrical success was partly ensured by the fact that it was often paired with Shakespeare's *Richard II*, in the same manner as *The Jew of Malta* was compared to *The Merchant of Venice* (2015: 263). Barcelona theatre directors and translators responded to this widespread interest in theatrical productions of the play. Moreover, it was placed well within the context of political changes in Spain. Not surprisingly, the leftist underpinnings already inherent in Brecht's adaptation of 1924 were further explored by two different Catalan translators in 1978, the year which marked the beginning of a new era of Spanish history and the final decline of any remnants of Francisco Franco's totalitarian Spain. Carles Reig, driven to exile in the last days of Franco's regime, translated the play directly from English. The same year saw a recording of the Catalan version based on Brecht's adaptation at the Teatre Lliure in Barcelona (June 1978). The production was overseen by prominent theatre director lluís Pasqual, who made use of Carme Serrallonga's translation from German.

That translation may serve as an antidote to mainstream thought and as an alternative vision to dominant ideology or the oppressive political system is vividly demonstrated by

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[90] Catalan poet and political activist also translated Joseph Conrad and Paul Valery's *Mon Faust*.

Slovak translator, dramatist and essayist Ján Boor. As a matter of fact, in translating Marlowe's *Faustus* into Slovak (1984) under the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, Boor made use of dissident elements on a three-fold level: translation, drama, the Faust myth. The history of translation had already showed its potential for proposing "a cultural and political alternative" as in the case of Pavese and Vittorini, whose translations were set against the Fascist regime in Italy (Duranti 2009:465). Drama as a tool of social change had already been explored by Edward Bond. Greenblatt's new historicist re-readings of Elizabethan drama and Marlowe inspired a new wave of political interpretation according to which English Renaissance drama was read as "the marginalized voices of the ruled, exploited, oppressed, and excluded" (Wilson 2000: 124), and Marlowe's *Faustus* was viewed as hiding, in Minshull's words, "rebellious subtext" in which "the exercise of absolutist authority [is portrayed] as repressive, entrenched, unjust, and implacable" (Minshull 1990 qtd. in White 2004: 82). This mirrors the contemporaneous understanding of the Faust figure. As mentioned above, the Faust myth is said to reflect main cultural crises throughout the course of history. Moreover, Dollimore's seminal *Radical Tragedy* in which *Faustus* is viewed as inscribing "a subversive discourse within an orthodox one" (1984/2010: 119), reached print at the same time as Boor's *Doctor Faustus*. It is in this spirit of rebellion that Boor, having already published his study *Dráma proti útaku* (tr. Drama against oppression) two years earlier, delivered the Slovak version of *Faustus*. Slovak readership was already familiar with Marlowe's oeuvre thanks to the existing Czech versions[91]. In addition, the increasing popularity of *Edward II* led to the Slovak translation by Stanislav Blaho in the 1960s, preceding Boor's version of *Doctor Faustus*.

In the last decade of the twentieth century there was an abrupt surge of interest in translating Marlowe into Greek. According to the Index Translationum database, Serafim Velentzas delivered the Greek translation of *The Jew of Malta* in 1989, while his *Edward II* and *The Massacre at Paris* were published in a single volume in 1995. Greek poet and translator Kleitous Kyrou produced the translation of *Doctor Faustus* in 1990, which later granted him a prestigious Greek Translators' Society Award.

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[91] Most dialects of the two languages are mutually intelligible. The official Czechoslovak language was an attempt to provide a common written standard for linguistically related communities.

Year	Language	Translator	Place of publication	Title	Publisher
1818	German	Wilhelm Müller	Berlin	Doktor Faustus	Maurersche Buchhandlung
1839	Swedish	Carl Julius Lénström	Upsala	Doktor Faustus; tragisk dikt	Wahlström & Låstbom
1844	Norwegian	presumably			
1850	French	Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy	Paris	L'Histoire allégorique de la vie et de la mort du docteur Jean Faust	Garnier frères
1871	Russian	Dmitri Dmitrievitch Minayev	Saint Petersburg	Фауст	The periodical *Дело* (Delo)
1895	Hungarian	Elek Londesz	Arad	Doktor Faustus; drámai költemény	
1887	Dutch	R. S. Tjaden Modderman	Groningen	Het oudste Faust-drama: Marlowe's tragische histoire	P.Noordhoff
1898	Danish	Axel Halling	Copenhagen	Doktor Faustus	
1898	Italian	Eugenio Turiello	Naples	La Tragica storia del dottor Fausto	Tipografia Giuseppe Golia
1904	Spanish	Josep Aladern	Barcelona	Cristobal Marlowe: Fausto (version castellana) Introducción de F. Victor Hugo	Libreria de Antonio López
1908	Polish	Jan Kasprowicz	Lviv-Warsaw	Tragiczne dzieje dra Fausta	Nakładem Tow E. Wende i Sp.
1925	Czech	Stanislav Stuna	Kladno	Doktor Faustus	Šnajdr
1934	Breton	Roparz Hemon	Brest	Fostus an doktor daonet	The literary journal Gwalarn
1943	Turkish	İrfan Şahinabaç	Istanbul	Doktor Faustus	
1943-6	Portugese	Adolfo de Oliveira Carbal	Lisboa	O Fausto	Fernandes
1959	Serbian	Sima Pandurović Živojin Simić	Belgrade	Faust In *Engleske renesansne tragedije* (tr, English Renaissance Tragedies)	Nolit
1964	Romanian	Leon D. Levitchi	Bucharest	Tragica istorie a doctorului Faust In *Teatrul Renaşterii engleze: Predecesori hu Shakespeare*, v. 1	Editura pentru literatură universală
1975	Bulgarian	Alexandar Vladimirov Shubranov	Sofia	Доктор Фаустус In *Театър на английския ренесанс* (tr. The Theatre of English Renaissance)	Narodna kultura
1972	Slovenian	Janez Menart	Ljubljana	Tragedija o doktorju Faustu	Production at the SLG Celje Theater
1979	Ukrainian	Evgen Kryzhevych	Kiev	Трагічна історія доктора Фауста	The journal *Всесвіт*, No 9 (Vsevit)
1981	Catalan	Josep Carner-Ribalta	Barcelona	La tràgica història del Doctor Faust	Edicions 62
1971	Croatian	Tonko and Flora Maroević	Zagreb	Tragična povijest života i smrti Doktora Fausta	
1982	Armenian	Aram Topchyan	Moscow	Doktor Fausti oghbergakan patmut'yunĕ	Vyssaja skola
1983	Estonian	Harold Rajamets Krista Mits	Tallinn	Doktor Faustus In *Tragöödiad*	Eesti Raamat

1984	Slovak	Ján Boor	Bratislava	Doktor Faustus: trágedia v 5 dejstvách	Slovenska litérarna agentúra
1990	Greek	Kleitos Kyrou	Athens	Δόκτωρ Φάουστους	Agra
2012	Maceonidan	Rajna Koška Hot	Skopje	Трагичната повест за животот и смртта на Кристофер Марлоу и на доктор Фаустус	Magor

Table 4: The first translations of *Doctor Faustus* in each European language

From mid-twentieth century to this day retranslations of *Doctor Faustus* in different target cultures abound. This stems from the continuous need to readdress the text in the course of new trends in literary criticism and translation theory and from the increasing number of theatrical performances on the continent. It also mirrors the longevity of the Faust myth at large, whose aspects continue to be explored in different social, political, cultural and aesthetic contexts and endlessly relate to burning social issues. Reproductions of Marlowe's *Faustus* in different languages in Europe attest to its recognised status as a classic of world literature.

The list of all European retranslations is extensive. We have already referred to the chronological account of French and Italian translations of *Doctor Faustus* in 2.5 and fully given in appendices B and C. Besides the new editions of nineteenth-century seminal German translations of *Faustus* that have been frequently republished to the present day, the German language equally boasts a substantial number of new twentieth-century translations: the versions by Adolf Seebass (1947), Richard Kaufmann (1958), Beatrice Aebi, Gaby Brodrecht and David Esrig (1980), Alfred Marnau (1988), Markus Bothe (2001), to mention but a few. Seebass gave more authority to the A version, while Marnau's edition delivers both A- and B-text in translation. Kaufmann and Bothe translated their respective texts directly for the stage.

A large number of rewritings of Marlowe's *Faustus* in translation is evident in Spanish tradition as well, in particular in the second half of the twentieth century. Juan G. de Luaces' translation of 1982 was published by the Ediciones Orbis in Barcelona. In 1984, the translation by Julio César Santoyo and José Miguel Santamaria was printed in Madrid. The same year saw the collection of four Marlowe's plays translated by Aliocha Coll. This bilingual edition comprising more than thousand pages, printed in Madrid, contains David Bevington's introduction. One year before, the Spanish version of Brecht's adaptation of *Edwuard II* was issued in Madrid by the Centro Dramatico Nacional. In 2006 Julián Jiménez Heffernan delivered yet another translation of *Faustus* in the capital. Simon Braden, who has

devoted much of his career in higher education to the study and practice of theatre production with a particular focus on the modern staging of Spanish Golden Age drama, has recently edited, translated and published the Spanish versions of both the A- and B-text. The edition, to which I have had frequent recourse in providing an overview of Spanish versions of *Doctor Faustus*, also includes the stage version used for the 2012 production at the *Teatros del Carnal* in Madrid, supported by the Foundation Siglo de Oro, and directed by Braden himself. The latest study conducted by Braden tackles the issue of translating Marlowe for the stage (2016). In 2015, Aliocha Coll's collection of four plays was complemented by Andrés Ehrenhaus and Andreu Jaume's translations of the remaining texts in Marlowe canon. Hence, they contributed to the publication of the complete works of Marlowe in Spanish, published by the Penguin Classics. A considerable number of editions (either the existing or new retranslations of Marlowe's works) were printed in other Spanish-speaking countries.

A need to constantly "revisit" Marlowe in translation was evident in the rest of Europe: Russian *Faustus* (1949, tr. T. Kudrjavcev; 1958, tr. N. N. Amosov; 1961, tr. E. Birukov); Hungarian *Faustus* (1960, tr. András László), Swedish *Faustus* (1964, tr. Karl Ragner Gierow), Czech *Faustus* (1969, Vladimír Pražák), Polish *Faustus* (1971, tr. Bohdan Korzeniewski; 1982, tr. Juliusz Kudruńsky), Polish *Tamburlaine* (1977), Serbian *Tamburlaine* (1990, tr. Ivan Lalić), Slovenian *Edward II* (1996, tr. Srećko Fišer), Ukrainian *Faustus* (2003, tr. Maksim Vitalyovych), Finish *Edward II* (2003, tr. Jarno Haapanem and Kekki Lasse). The list is far from exhaustive. As of late 1980s to this day numerous translations have been conducted directly for stage production as a response to a growing enthusiasm for staging Marlowe's *Faustus* on the continent.

As noted above, literary translation and literary history are closely related in the sense that the former evidences the changes and well-established views and claims in literary criticism. As we have seen, one of the rooted opinions in Marlowe criticism is that his critical revival is indebted to the parallels drawn between his work (both in terms of theme and style) and his perceived personality on the one hand and the spirit of the Romantic time on the other. We have suggested that high demand for translated versions of popular Romantic poets in Europe facilitated to a certain degree a textual transmission of Marlowe's works in translation as well. If we observe the interests of scholars who engaged in translating Marlowe and their selection of translated literature, the same link between his oeuvre and Romantic sensibility can be established. Many European translators of Marlowe were particularly attracted to popular Romantic poetry which they rewrote in translation.

The German scholar Adolf Böttger also translated the complete works of Byron. A few years before his translation of the complete plays of Marlowe, French Félix Rabbe translated the Shelley canon into French (4 vol., 1885-87). The first volume contains a thorough critical study on the life and works of Shelley. In addition, he produced translations of the works of Poe and Byron. Apart from the Italian translation of *Faustus*, only two additional publications are ascribed to Eugenio Turiello. One of the two is his study on Shelley delivered at a conference talk in 1894. One year before the first stage production of *Faustus* in France, the same playing company had staged Shelley's *Cenci* (1891) in the same venue. The first Marlowe and Shelley theatrical productions coincided in the Prague theatres as well. Six months after the Czech premiere of *Edward II*, Karel and Josef Capek produced Shelley's *Cenci* in July 1922 (Curran 1970: 209). Both play-texts, written in strict blank verse, were translated by Otakar Fischer, "a romanticist by heart" (Welleck 1938: 215). Konstantin Balmont added to his extensive list of translated works from around thirty source languages the translation of the complete works of Shelley (1893), a rather subjective end-product marked by the translator's own expressive and stylistic features. Moreover, Polish Jan Kasprowicz's equally impressive collection of translations encompasses a variety of languages and literary traditions. As for English literature in translation, the poet's focus was primarily on Shakespeare, Marlowe, and the Romantics (Byron, Shelley, Keats, Swinburne). Both the taste of the local readership and trends of symbolism, decadence, and neo-romanticism that echoed in his poetry dictated to a certain degree his selection of English source texts to be treated in translation.

The bond between the two historically distant yet conceptually related epochs is perhaps more strongly evidenced by the translators/poets with less intense translation activity. As mentioned above, Galiano's last work, Spanish version of *Faustus* (1911) postdated the only three translations he had produced by that time in his career – Byron's *Manfred* (1861), *Cain* (1873), and *Sardanapalus* (1886). Isabelle Drouin, writer and translator, who printed the tenth French translation of *Faustus* in 1969, took an avid interest in translating Shelley's *Cenci* (1990) and his essays on vegetarianism (2005). She also translated *The Wanderings of Cain* by Coleridge (2007). The aesthetics of the Intimist literary movement that Slovenian poet Janez Menart enthusiastically embraced was in accord with the Romantic spirit and Marlowe's poetics. Among a variety of his translations of English and French drama and poetry, it is Shakespeare's sonnets, Byron's and Robert Burns' poetry that particularly stand out as highly praised achievements. Stanislav Blaho's Slovak translation of *Edward II* coincided with his versions of Shakespeare's sonnets, comedies and the selected poems by

Robert Burns. The earliest phase of Ukrainian Kryzhevych's translation activity was marked by his interest in Shelley and Marlowe. His translation of the collected poems of Shelley (1976) was completed three years before his version of *Faustus* (Matsyako). Finally, Greek translator and poet Kleitous Kyrou was particularly praised for his translations of Marlowe and Shelley. In addition to the aforementioned public recognition for his translation of *Faustus*, Kyrou received a prestigious State Literary Award in 1994 for his poetic rendering of Shelley's *Cenci*.

All in all, even though current critical consensus views the text as a fine example of interrogative drama, where both opposing readings are plausible, yet the proponents of orthodox interpretation might "have the stronger case" (Deats 2015: 75), the Romantic undertones that run through Marlowe's works continued to be explored and readdressed in translators' ink for much of the twentieth century.

Chapter Four:
The First French *Faustus*

In light of descriptive orientation in translation analysis and a cultural studies model, the approach adopted in this chapter will move from the general to the specific. We will first contextualise the translated text, revealing the main ideological and political trends of the period. Primarily focusing on ideology and patronage that together with poetics make up André Lefevere's triad of external conditions on translation production, we will move to the analysis of the translator's established framework and stances articulated in a wealth of his extensive writings and paratextual material. This will help us better understand how the translator relates to the complex ideological space that surrounds him. Moreover, Bazy's lengthy introduction to his translation of *Doctor Faustus* reveals his understanding of the symbolic meaning and political undercurrents of Marlowe's treatment of the Faust myth and how it resonates with contemporaneous issues. Finally, comparing the TT and the ST we will show how the translator deforms the linguistic material on a regular basis in order to fit it into his personal view and political agenda, which, in turn, reflects a wider cultural background.

4.1 Political, Ideological and Religious Context

Just as the early performing and editing history of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* reflected a dynamic political reality in the aftermath of a complex process of the Protestant Reformation on the British Isles, so was the first French translation of the play set against an equally turbulent post-revolutionary background two and a half centuries later. The first French *Faustus* was born in the short-lived French Second Republic (1848-1852) and mirrored many of intellectual and political debates of the time. The ideological panorama of the age stems from a tumultuous time of constant political and religious change that convulsed post-revolutionary French society. As a matter of fact, the first half of the nineteenth century is a period charged with unresolved tensions of battling ideologies. By the time Bazy printed his translation of *Faustus* in 1850, different forms of government and political systems had succeeded at a relatively fast pace: the First Republic, the First Empire, the Bourbon Restoration which saw two different monarchs, the July Monarchy, and the Second Republic, ultimately replaced by the Second Empire. As in early modern England, French nineteenth-century society during this turbulent time saw frequent violent revolutions,

state sanctioned violence, religious and political persecution, exile, political arrests, attempts at assassination, the conflict between the monarch and Parliament, economic crisis, social anxiety, etc. The main tension in the post-revolutionary years that would be resolved only in the more stable Third Republic from 1870 onward was between the revolutionary (republican) and counter-revolutionary (monarchist) spirit. The question of the importance of religion and the role of the Catholic Church in contributing to social order and its involvement in matters of state was often at the core of the heated debate. Moreover, numerous factions within each orientation further contributed to complex social and political landscape. It is primarily within this pro- and counter-revolutionary debate inseparable from pro- and anti-Catholic discourse in the face of the gradual yet unsteady secularisation of society that Bazy firmly situated his translation of *Faustus*. The play which dramatised the multiform theological reality as well as the apparent antipapal sentiment also re-emerged as a fair reflection of denominations within Catholic proponents of the time, who themselves were divided on the acknowledgment of papal temporal and spiritual authority. In this regard, Bazy's political and religious views on the burning issues of the time governed much of his translation behaviour. Hence, Marlowe's *Faustus,* largely infused with theology and the Faust myth at large, which proved to be continuously adaptable to different social and political contexts, emerged once again as speaking on a rather sensitive and controversial topic. In order to fully understand the translation strategies employed by Bazy that are conditioned by external socio-political factors, we will give a brief overview of the evolution and vacillation of the main political currents in the first half of the nineteenth century from which the translator's attitude derives.

4.1.1 Vacillation between Traditional and Democratic ideals

It is generally agreed that the French Revolution was a watershed event in the late modern era that set off on a global scale the formation of a secular society based on the ideals of individuality and human rights in opposition to the absolutism of the previous monarchies. This social and political upheaval instantly triggered opposing reactions making the succeeding secularisation a tumultuous, complex and multiform phenomenon, in which religious consideration continued to occupy an important place in post-revolutionary debate. The emancipation of the individual attained by the power of reason celebrated by the Enlightenment thinkers laid the foundation for the French Revolution. However, its promise of social order built on individual affirmation and excluding religious dogmas as a traditional

guarantee of stability was quickly put into question. The immense degree of violence aimed at monarchists and other right-wing affiliates of the *Ancien Régime*, used as a legitimate tool of radical left-wingers during the Reign of Terror, and repeated in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, left counter-revolutionary thinkers disillusioned with the promise of the republic. It also secured the longevity of the right-wing parties on the French political scene for much of the nineteenth century. In addition, on two occasions people witnessed how the leader of the republic, who allegedly spoke and acted in their name, quickly turned into the absolutist emperor.

Three groups are generally considered to make up the French political reality of the nineteenth century with regard to their response to the revolutionary ideals: royalists, liberal republicans and radical republicans. Traditionalists or royalists would naturally oppose political innovation and deny any possibility of building civil society based on the exclusion of Christian (more specifically Catholic) values. Liberal republicans claimed the revolutionary inheritance, dismissing its excessive use of violence against political adversaries, whereas radical republicans would wholeheartedly embrace it as a necessary means of cleansing any remnants of the *Ancien Régime* and its undemocratic values (Fredj 2009: 20). The former sought to construct society around reorganised religion with a social function. The latter believed that order could be maintained without any referent to dogmatic religious thought (Grondeux 2002: 26). It was between these two poles that post-revolutionary political thought vacillated until the mid-nineteenth century and the publication of the first French translation of *Faustus*. Royalists too lacked ideological unity. The ultra-royalist party or the Ultras were a conservative political faction of far-rightist orientation particularly influential during the Bourbon Restoration (1814-1830). A number of Ultras sought to reinforce royal absolutism. The so-called Doctrinals (or constitutionalists), on the other hand, were more fond of the concept of limited monarchy[96]. According to this faction, greater legislative power was granted to the Assembly which restricted royal sovereignty. As such, their ideology revolved around the firm reconciliation between traditional monarchy and the Revolution (Fredj 2009: 123).

During the July Monarchy (1830-1848), the Legitimists appeared as the successors to the Ultras, whereas the Orleanists evolved from the Doctrinals as moderate monarchists. They supported the new king, more liberal Louis Philippe I (r.1830-1848)[97]. Whereas

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[96] A political regime granted by the Charter of 1814.
[97] King Louis Philippe I came from the Orléans branch of the Bourbon dynasty. Hence, the name Orleanists given to his supporters.

legitimism was rooted in the belief in natural order superior to reason and human will (Albertini 2000: 21), the Orleanist political doctrine was based on the concept of liberalism and constitutionalism. The bipolarisation of the political scene of the Second Republic, manifested in the translation in question, resulted from the previous evolution of the aforementioned political factions. The alternation of their political power was mirrored in the French experimenting with different political systems in which fierce religious debates did not wane and the status of the Catholic Church was in a state of constant flux.

A stepping stone to a more secular society, unprecedented in Europe, was the 1790 abolishment of Catholicism as the national religion and the subordination of the Catholic Church to the government. The act according to which Catholicism became the religion of the majority of the French rather than the official national religion directly implied the acknowledgement of religious freedom and pluralism in civil society. Religion was considered as hostile to the revolutionary ideal of social progress. However, the bloodshed of the Reign of Terror and the royalist reaction in the First White Terror gave rise to the reconsideration of the policy by those who now viewed religion as necessary for providing social morality essential for the upkeep of social peace. Moreover, the nationalisation of the Church properties and the anticlerical zeal of the revolutionary years had already increased the opposition of devout Catholics towards the state, leading to the constant instability of the Republic.

In an attempt to effect reconciliation between the Catholics and the Republic, Napoléon I Bonaparte (r. 1804-1814) issued the 1801 Concordat which reaffirmed an important role of the clergy in society. Religious pluralism remained at work, yet Catholicism was granted a more privileged status. At the same time, ties to papacy were strengthened. Afterwards, the First Empire was marked by the progressive absolutist rule of Napoleon who eventually sought to overcome the authority of the Pope by annexing the Papal States. This provoked a fierce hostility of the Catholics to the imperial regime, resulting in his abdication in 1814.

With the Bourbon Restoration in 1815 Catholicism gradually re-emerged as the influential force in French politics. Constitutional monarchy was established with King Louis XVIII (r. 1815-1824) as its sovereign. The Constitutional Charter of 1814 was issued with the aim of providing balance between two opposing political currents. On the one hand, it further favoured the clergy, reintroduced Catholicism as the national religion and reinforced the principle of the divine right of the monarch. On the other, the establishment of the bicameral legislature limited the King's executive power and ensured the promulgation of the principles of the Revolution such as legal equality and religious freedom (Boudon 2014: 330). The

electoral law of 1817 introduced censitary suffrage, a tax-based voting system according to which the voting right was primarily granted to the elite and higher bourgeoisie (Fredj 2009: 122), who were traditionally in favour of the Bourbon dynasty. Numerous measures and acts were implemented shortly (from 1814 to 1821) moving the French society in the counter-revolutionary direction (122) and reaffirming the political presence of the Church. Moreover, the rise of the so-called *parti prêtre* led to the increasing control of the Catholics over public education to the dismay of the liberals (202). In 1821 the Ultras won a parliamentary majority in the election forming the conservative government led by Joseph de Villèle (1821-1828), who announced the religious restoration as his main objective (125). In 1822 an act was passed with the aim to reorganise episcopacy and create new dioceses, which ensured the return of many exiled bishops of the *Ancien Régime.*

The further rise of the counter-revolutionary spirit, which ran parallel with the rising role of the Catholic Church in state policies, was announced by the accession of Charles X (r. 1824-1830) in 1824, upon the death of Louis XVIII. The period of his rule was more conservative and royalist in comparison with his predecessor's. By the end of his reign, Charles X passed laws that restricted freedom of press and further intensified the interference of the Church in secondary education. His willingness to reinforce royal power to the detriment of the Assembly provoked fierce opposition from the liberals. They strongly opposed the absolutist interpretation of the Charter and insisted on the superiority of the legislative body over the monarch's executive power. The tension between the liberals and the monarch grew as the King unconstitutionally dissolved the Parliament, which eventually led to the Revolution of 1830 and the end of the Bourbon monarchy.

The Revolution was marked by deep anticlerical sentiments already announced at the end of the Bourbon dynasty[98]. The immediate consequences of the revolution were the exile of Catholic bishops and Jesuits tied to the pre-revolutionary period and the following revision of the Charter that once again changed the status of Catholicism. It became the religion of the majority of people rather than the national religion (Boudon 2014: 331). At the same time, the less traditionalist Louis Philippe I (r. 1830-1848) rose to power and immediately repealed unpopular laws passed during the previous regime, consequently weakening the influence of the Catholic Church and redistributing power in favour of the Parliament. The revised Charter formally placed people above the national sovereign, who was no longer referred to as King of France, but as King of the French (Albertini 2000: 15). The Charter also enlarged the

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[98] Even before 1830 a decree was passed to meet liberal opposition and restrict the participation of Catholic clergy in higher education (Milbach 2014: 344).

number of legitimate voters, who still exerted their right to vote based on age-limit and the amount of tax paid. Hence, this so-called July Monarchy was a project carried out primarily in an attempt to reunite the republicans and the conservatives.

Nevertheless, the signs of failure to fulfill the promise of a stable civil society and more liberal ideals were evident from its earliest phase[99]. The Orleanist rule met considerable opposition from the Legitimists[100], the Bonapartists, and more apparently, the Republicans, keen to eradicate kingship from state governance. The period also saw the bloodshed in the government reaction against republican rioters in 1834. The revolt and attempted assassinations of the King resulted in the repression of political opponents[101]. It did not, however, hinder the rising need for social and political reform in the 1840s aiming at ensuring more political rights to lower class citizens. According to François Guizot (1787-1874), one of the most important political figures of the Orleanist regime, the reform of the electoral law was a threat to social order, rather than a warrant of progress (Rosanvallon 1985: 396). By the end of his mandate, he would incline more to legitimism than yield to moderate left-wing politics. This attitude would only encourage wider crowd, excluded from the political system, to demand more fiercely the power granted to them by universal suffrage. In a similar fashion, as we will see in a due course, Bazy was doubtful about the all-pervading political affirmation of the individual and their role in the recreation of a more stable and just society. He was primarily unconvinced of man's genuine altruistic motives, as dramatised in Marlowe's play[102]. In this sense, Marlowe's Faustus, a person "of parents base of stock" (*DF* Prologue 11) emerged as a low-class citizen who tended to take control of his own destiny by yearning for more political power promised to him by republican principles.

By 1848, the French society plunged into a harsh economic crisis to which the King and the prime minister were unable to respond. High unemployment, Guizot's recurrent refusals to push through the voting reform, and the King's rising authoritarian rule left a large part of the middle class determined to bring an end to the system that failed to meet their needs, thus paving the way for the future republic.

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[99] Vincent Adoumié accordingly label this period as "the illusion of parliamentary monarchy" (Adoumié 2010: 45).

[100] They traditionally supported the dynastic succession and never came to terms with the new king.

[101] With this aim, republican associations were dissolved and antimonarchist propaganda was prohibited (Albertini 2000: 18).

[102] In his 1864 lecture given at the University of Poitiers titled *La révolution et les partis en Angleterre sous les Stuarts*, Bazy prefers the principle of aristocratic democracy to the popular one. The former relies on the system in which representatives or the leader is chosen by nobility. He goes on to state that the principle of individual sovereignty in state politics was an unsuccessful and faulty project (Bazy 1864a: 29).

4.1.2 The Political and Religious Landscape of the Second Republic

The republican ideals gradually grew on the middle and lower class, as the memory of violence and instability, historically documented as inseparable from revolutionary acts, was waning in the collective consciousness. In February 1848, the Assembly was seized by radical republicans who eventually proclaimed the Second French Republic and set up the Provisionary government of a generally moderate republican and socialist orientation. Its aim was to restore social peace and secure stable democratic institutions. Effective measures were taken. General male suffrage was introduced giving more political power to the masses. Government-funded jobs (the so-called national workshops) were formed in order to combat the high unemployment rate inherited from the previous regime. The freedom of press was restored and capital punishment was abolished. The short-lived political unanimity made doctrinally opposed movements (republicans, socialists and conservatives) gather around the idea of the social republic that would promote the general welfare of the common citizen. However, upon the so-called June revolt, the common people were quickly left with a mistrust of the republican government.

Reacting against the officials' plan to close the national workshops as an unsustainable and inefficient practice, workers organised an uprising in Paris. General Louis Eugène Cavaignac (1802-1857), appointed Minister of Defense in the Executive Commission[103], was given full power and total freedom by the government to deal with the crisis. Cavaignac resorted to the brutal military repression of the masses, which resulted in thousands of dead and wounded, some 15,000 people arrested and many deported (Adoumié 2004: 65). Consequently, the large part of the working middle-class and people in rural areas broke up with the republicans, who showed that they would not refrain from brutally raising their hands against their own people.

The June days' violence directly led to the rise of the Right, disillusionment with democratic values, and social anxiety, which permeated all levels of society by the end of the Republic. The common people (hence Faustus) seemed to have been once again excluded from the political life. Vincent Adoumié informs us that Cavaignac[104], future head of government, sought to devise a hybrid system of limited democracy, uniting orleanism and

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[103] The Executive Commission of 1848 was the governing body formed after the April legislative elections with François Arago as head of government. It was mostly comprised of moderate republicans and performed the role of an executive body. It was followed by the so-called Cabinet of General Cavaignac, established upon the June uprising.

[104] Shortly afterwards Cavaignac took on the role of the head of state and chief of the executive power as the President of the Council of Ministers.

universal suffrage in which general public would lose once again eligibility to more actively participate in the political life (66). Moreover, a series of restrictive laws sustaining the position of the government were passed. Even though the constitution of November guaranteed civil rights and confirmed that "la souveraineté réside dans l'universalité des citoyens" (66), in practice, public order was maintained at the expense of the individual needs and expression. Freedom of press and freedom of religion and worship were particularly under threat. In response, the conservative right wing re-emerged, reorganised under the newly formed Party of Order (*Parti de l'Ordre*). This heterogeneous union of primarily rightist orientation quickly turned out to be an influential political force in the subsequently bipolar political landscape of the Second Republic. Its formation and political programme is of great importance for our study of ideologically motivated changes in the first French translation of *Faustus*, for Bazy will show strong affiliation to this political group.

With a view to defending society "jeopardized" by democratic aspirations and radical republicanism, different monarchist factions (Legitimists, Orleanists), Bonapartists, and even moderate Republicans promoted the ideology of liberal conservatism centred around the triple defence of order, family and public morality attained only through traditional religion. In other words, the religious (Catholic) order once again emerged as a supporting pillar of social (re)organisation and stability. Recent turmoil had demonstrated how the eradication of Christian values in the all-secular society promoted by the Republicans could easily lead to anarchy and instability. Blaming the Republicans for the economic crisis, and a tax increase and driven by the danger of "revolutionary atheism" (Boudon 2014: 331), the bourgeois class and *les petits* would support the Party of Order, which emerged as a new promise of social stability.

The Party of Order quickly rose to power and formed an overall majority in the Parliament after the 1849 legislative elections. At the same time, moderate Republicans almost disappeared from the political scene. Their candidate Cavaignac had already lost the presidential elections. In the legislative elections of 1849, the Republicans won only 75 seats in the Parliament (about 10%). (Adoumié 2004: 68). The Party of Order, a major force in the Parliament, and the Democratic Socialists (the so-called *démoc-soc)*, occupying a fourth of parliamentary seats, were the two main political forces by the end of the Second Republic. The key figures of the Party of Order were the Orleanist Odilon Barrot and the Legitimist Alfred de Falloux, whereas Socialists were led by Alexandre Ledru-Rollin. As one of the ministers in the Provisional government, the socialist leader Ledru-Rollin was considered partly responsible for the violent repression of protesters in the June uprising. Therefore, he

lost the presidential elections of 1848 to Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (1808-1873). Nevertheless, the Democratic Socialists [105] put up a direct opposition to the right-wing parliamentary majority, strongly disagreeing with their clerical and pro-papal policy.

The last two years of the Second Republic were marked by rising tensions between the Party of Order and their opponents: the Republicans, the *democ-socs* and the President. Even though the conservative faction reluctantly supported the candidature of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, in whom they saw a strong figure of the opposition to the republican and socialist candidates and a great promoter of the concept of order in association with the Church, they quickly broke up with the Bonapartist spirit. Despite assuming the conservative role on the outside, the first elected president of France soon began to prepare the ground for seizing absolute power and abandoned the official policy formulated by the Party of Order. From 1850 on, the conflict between the Assembly and the president reached new heights. Feared by the apparent opportunistic practice of the President, the Party of Order sought to impose a series of measures that would ultimately marginalise both the last remnants of republican opposition and the executive power of the president. The latter stood for a main obstacle to their rising tendency towards the restoration of the monarchy (Adoumié 2004: 70). They witnessed the absolutism in the making through the misuse of the principles of the democratic republic. Their fear was confirmed in the coup d'état of December 1851 and the eventual proclamation of the Second Empire governed by the former president, now given the official name Napoleon III (1852-1870). Some Republicans who were more in favour of the form of collective presidency in which members of parliament functioned as a joint head of state, had already called the presidential election by direct popular vote into question. Adoumié takes Jules Grévy's concern as an obvious example. The future president of the Third Republic saw the concept of one person holding executive power as a potential threat to the system:

> Etes-vous sûrs qu'il ne se trouvera jamais un ambitieux pour tenter de s'y perpétuer ? Et si cet ambitieux est un homme qui a su se rendre populaire […] répondez-vous que cet ambitieux ne parviendra pas à renverser la République ? (qtd. in Adoumié 2004: 66)

In this short address, personal ambition (repeated three times) is stressed as a guiding principle in legitimately ascending the social and political hierarchy in a democracy, whereas the alleged concern for the well-being of society is reduced to mere illusion. This shattering

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[105] Also called the *montagnards* in memory of the political group active the late 18th-century French Revolution.

of the Promethean aspirations is already present in Marlowe's *Faustus* and is fully elaborated in Bazy's translation. We will see how Bazy adds a homiletic character to his version, a sort of warning against the opportunistic and utilitarian tendencies of the republican whose main motivation behind his actions are personal ambition and a thirst for power. In this sense, Bazy anticipates the contemporary approaches to Marlowe's play that focus on the imperialistic undertones of the Faustus character evident in the use of vivid imagery and language. Relying on William Tale's investigation of references to imperialism in the play, Toni Francis equates Faustus's necromancy and devilry with imperialism and colonisation and sees the overall framework as a subtle critique of the British imperialist policy (2010: 116). The scholar focuses on Faustus's urge to control, exert power over the suppressed and exploit them for the sake of material gain, which is perceived as a dominant impulse that animates the play.

Faustus's anticlerical and antipapal attitude stands in stark contrast with the official policy of the conservative Party of Order. Their attempt to establish the hybrid political system was based on incorporating clerical and elitist attitudes into the republic. The clerical presence on the political scene was not disrupted by the Revolution of 1848, which, unlike that of 1830, did not result in the exile or suppression of members of the clergy. The legitimist-oriented clergymen had never given full support to the Orleanist July Monarchy and actually contributed to its downfall.

The conservative government enacted a new law that considerably reinforced the clerical presence in education. The progressive secularisation of society promised by the Revolution suffered a major setback when the so-called Falloux Law (*La loi Falloux*) was passed in 1850. The parliamentarian majority, threatened by the state-controlled education system which primarily divulged the republican, secular and anti-clerical ideas, gave priests and other members of ecclesiastical order a legitimate right to participate in instruction. As a result, education was no longer fully controlled by secular institutions and a number of private Catholic schools flourished rapidly. Their teaching further strengthened an intimate connection between public and religious order with a view to preventing the escalation of the conflict and republican anarchy. In this sense, not only did the first French Faustus embody the imperialistic tendencies of a future autocratic ruler, but he also emerged as a personification of the socialist and radical republican threat. They were considered to have shattered the political order without the ability to deliver anything in return, as the promise of progress and stability in a religion-free society was difficult to attain, at least through the critical lens of traditionalists.

The political influence of the Catholics in the Second Republic was evident in the official support that the French government and military lent to the Papal States during the 1849 crisis. The spiritual and temporal sovereignty of the Pope was challenged by the Italian revolutionaries. The Pope was forced to temporarily leave Rome and the political events on the Apennine peninsula immediately sparked off an intense debate among the French political factions, divided on the restoration of pontifical power (Adoumié 2010: 69). Naturally, the Catholics of the traditionalist regime would fervently support the defence of the Papal States and the preservation of the Pope's temporal and jurisdictional primacy. On the other hand, the Left strongly opposed the view of the Pope as head of secular government and saw the abolishment of the Papal States as the victory of the individual. Under the pressure of the Party of Order parliamentarians, the president approved of the government decision to send French troops to Rome to assist the Pope's military in their opposition against Italian revolutionaries. The socialists led by Ledru-Rollin organised a protest in Paris asking for the resignation of the minister and calling off the troops. Nevertheless, people refused to join. The authorities, led by monarchist General Changarnier, easily quelled the riot. Thirty nine montagnard members of Parliament were put on trial and Ledru-Rollin fled into exile leaving the extreme Left without the leader (Fredj 2009: 135). The French expedition in Rome ended the Roman Republic led by Italian liberals and restored papal temporal power. President Napoleon Bonaparte emerged as the Pope's mythical savior, thus securing the support of the Catholics in the future empire.

The translation of *Faustus*, appearing only one year later, conveniently echoes the events in Rome and the concurrent French political debate on the pontifical power. Based on the B-text which further intensifies antipapal propaganda, the translation retells the political battle between, on the one hand, Protestant reformers seeking to undermine papal authority and the head of the Roman Catholic Church aiming at strengthening its sovereignty and infallibility, on the other. The German Emperor Charles the Fifth and his appointed Pope Bruno resemble the defiant republicans of Bazy's day and age in challenging papal political power. In this sense, Faustus, as their supporter in the play, takes on the role of a revolutionary republican and a fierce adversary to the ultramontane attitude.

Not only was papal authority put into question by the leftist parties trying to reinforce secular society, but it also met a degree of opposition coming from certain orientations of Catholic proponents. The question of acknowledging papal political sovereignty over the worldwide Catholic Church or restraining its authority in favour of the independent hierarchical structure of the Church of France was the central issue which the doctrines of

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ultramontanism and gallicanism strongly disagreed on. French religious society was marked by a strong tradition of Gallican independence "in which the bishops opposed any infringements on their jurisdiction by either pope or king" (Forrestal 2008: 91). The Gallican circle never denied the papal primacy in the Catholic Church. However, it sought to undermine his supremacy and restrain his political authority by giving more powers to bishops or the French monarch, thus reinforcing "a distinct national identity characterized by considerable autonomy" (Betros 2010). The Concordat of 1801 was, among others, the expression of the Gallican ideas (Bédouelle 1994: 124). On the other hand, ultramontanism grew quickly as the opposition to the influential Gallican attitude. As their name suggests[106], the ultramontane proponents claim full allegiance to the figure beyond the Alps. They were in favour of the pontiff's spiritual, jurisdictional and political primacy in state affairs. Hence, the clergy, members of parliament, and the monarch were all submitted to papal authority. By the mid-century, different political figures and intellectuals accepted "l'acte pontificale dans son acception la plus absolue" (Fredjs 2009: 202).

Claire Fredj informs us that ultramontanism met the counter-revolutionary spirit with the work of Félicité de Lamennais (1782-1854), who, from 1817 on, had called for the restoration of pontifical power, before he rejected these ideas in favour of liberal Catholicism (203). Together with other conservative and traditional thinkers, such as Louis de Bonald (1754-1840) and Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821), he contributed to the subsequent rise of general support for papal authority and Rome's doctrine of infallibility. De Maistre's treatise *Du pape* (1819) and Lamennais's works *L'Essai sur l'indifférence* (1817) and *La Religion considerée dans ses rapports avec l'ordre politique et civil* (1825) stressed the fundamental importance of the pontiff in the reconstruction of post-revolutionary European society (Milbach 2014: 343) and the restoration of political order. In addition, Louis Veuillot (1813-1883) revived the traditionalist journal *L'Univers* in 1840, a major tool of the promotion of ultramontanist philosophy, which continued to grow in the Second Republic. The French involvement in resolving the turmoil in the Papal States of Pious IX further strengthened the doctrine. It reached its climax during the Second Empire, when the dogma of the Pope's infallibility in matters of faith and public morals was adopted in the Vatican in 1870. Following the evolution of two opposing yet interrelated factions of religious thought in 19th-century France (intransigent Catholicism, commonly associated with ultramontanism and liberal Catholicism, evolving from the Gallican attitude), Sylvain Milbach sums up

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[106] From Italian *ultramontano* (going beyond the mountains, i.e., the Alps).

ultramontanism as a quadruple refusal – the rejection of the Protestant Reformation, of the Enlightenment, of the Revolution, and of the Liberal State (2014: 344). The idea of favouring papal supremacy was rooted in the reaction against the revolutionary principles of liberalism, individualism and rationalism. Each of the ideals that ultramontanism or intransigent Catholicism rejected was inherent in the myth of Faust, who now re-entered the French literary scene as an adversary of dominant political and religious ideologies.

In the next section of the research, we will see how Bazy and Faustus belong to two opposing political doctrines and how Bazy modifies the text in translation in order to express the on-going social fear and doubt about the republican and revolutionary ideals. The target text becomes the ground for a political confrontation, a pacifist duel in which Bazy has a powerful tool of translation strategies at his disposal and Faustus's voice is mediated by the strong translator's presence in translation discourse.

4.2 Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy

4.2.1 Biography

Information about Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy's life is relatively scarce. According to Henri Piers' *Biographie de la ville de Saint-Omer* (1835), he was born on 4 June 1804 in Saint-Omer, France (Piers 1835: 280). Huguet and Noguès (2011), the creators of the data base *Les professeurs des facultés des lettres et des sciences en France au XIXe siècle (1808-1880)*, signal 5 June as Bazy's date of birth. According to the two scholars, his father was a captain of the 57th infantry regiment stationed in Boulogne. Bazy married a certain Alexandrine Honnorie Gallois, a thirty-year younger woman from Watten, Northern France, with whom he would spend the rest of his life. He died on 14 February 14 1883, at the age of 78 in Watten.

Bazy was the holder of a bachelor's degree in Spanish. In 1833, he was awarded a doctoral degree in humanities in Paris. He successfully defended his doctoral dissertation on the history of epic poetry from antiquity to modern times written in French. The complementary thesis in Latin examined the relationship between the works of Francis Bacon and René Descartes (Huguet 2009). Since 1833 he pursued an academic career, taking up positions as a teacher in secondary education and a professor at different universities throughout the country. From 1833 to 1850 he taught history in high schools in Agen, Auch, Tournon and Dijon. In Agen he was also in charge of philosophy courses (Piers 1835: 280).

While working as a high school teacher in Dijon in 1847, in the wake of the Second Republic, he was also appointed a professor of Latin literature at the University, the position he held only one year. The same year he published a twenty-page overview of the history of public education in France. In this study he examined the role of education in promoting a dominant ideology at a given time. In 1850 he became a deputy headmaster of different secondary education institutions in Toulouse, Nime, Clermont and native Saint-Omer, which allowed him to set about the task to reorganise and reform the school curriculum. The new responsibilities were taken soon after the adoption of the aforementioned Falloux Law, promulgated and adopted by the monarchist parliamentary majority, which gave Catholics more liberties to interfere in public education. In 1856 Bazy was dismissed from his post, followed by a five-year period of professional inactivity. Huguet and Norguès inform us that he was forced to give up his position on account of enforcing an overloaded syllabus on students (2011). However, as will be seen in a due course, Bazy did not refrain from frequently and radically expressing his political persuasions in his writings and lectures. He fiercely opposed republicanism and delivered an implicit attack on Bonapartism, blaming its proponents for social disorganisation and anarchy. Therefore, could he have been dismissed from service for promoting the ideals of the Party of Order and being a political opponent of Napoleon III in the last years of the Second Republic and in the wake of the French Empire?

In the academic 1861/62 year he taught a course in ancient history and philosophy at the University of Clermont. The following two years he spent in Poitiers, where he worked as a university professor of modern history. The nature and subject of his lectures during his affiliation with the University of Clermont and University of Poitiers are well documented. From 1861 to 1864 a series of four history lectures and one ancient literature lecture came out. The published series gives us insights into his views on major events in the political and cultural history of Europe and how they relate to the ideological strife of his day and age.

Apart from his vocation as a history teacher, Bazy was involved in research activities. He showed a particular interest in studying different historical events from seventeenth-century Saint-Omer, brought to light after the examination of the material found in the town's archives. In 1862 he published a local episode from the Thirty-Year War. The official report of the prefect representing the department of Pas-de-Calais from 1858 informs us that Bazy asked for a research grant for the publication of the illustrated history of the Bailliage of Saint-Omer in 1638. However, the General Council dismissed his appeal during the session of 26 August (Département du Pas-de-Calais, Conseil Général 1859: 373) and the volume never reached print.

He retired in 1865 and spent the rest of his life in Watten. This gave him more time to carry out further historical research. As reported by a certain Mr. Cousin in the 1873 edition of the Bulletin of the Historical Commission of the Department of Nord, Bazy also engaged in excavation activities in his retirement. His country house estate outside Watten partially covered the site of an ancient monastery (Commission Historique du Nord 1873: 300). In the same year his last work, an account of the siege of Saint-Omer in 1638 drawn from the evidence found in unpublished sources, found its way into print. From 1861 he was a member of the Ethnographic Society of Paris, created two years earlier.

Year	Title	Publisher	Place and Format
1833	Thèse française de littérature : De l'épopée ancienne et moderne	Faculté des lettres de Paris Imprimerie. de Vve Thuau	Paris 39 pages In-8
1833	Thèse latine : Thesis philosophica de Fr. Bacone et Renato Cartesio	Faculté des lettres de Paris Imprimerie. de Vve Thuau	Paris 34 pages In-8
1842	Histoire de la société chrétienne en Occident et particulièrement en France, depuis les premiers siècles du christianisme jusqu'à la fin du règne de saint Louis, tableau historique de l'influence du principe chrétien sur le développement et sur l'ordre de la société (Tom 1) Première partie : Histoire de la société chrétienne jusqu'à l'établissement permanent des Franks dans les Gaules	Juste Tessier	Paris 306 pages
1847	Esquisse rapide d'une histoire de l'enseignement public en France, considéré par rapport à l'Etat et aux changements opérés dans la situation politique, morale et intellectuelle de la monarchie	Imprimerie Loireau-Feuchot	Dijon 20 pages In-8
1848	Histoire politique, morale et littéraire de Rome à l'époque de Cicéron puisée dans les écrits de cet auteur. Fragments du cours de littérature latine fait à la Faculté de Dijon. Deuxième semestre : explication et commentaire des deux premiers livres du Traité des Lois	Imprimerie Loireau-Feuchot	Dijon 63 pages In-8
1850	Études historiques, littéraires et philosophiques sur C. Marlowe et Goethe et sur les seizième et dix-neuvième siècles, suivies de l'Histoire allégorique de la vie et de la mort du docteur Jean Faust, drame de Christophe Marlowe, traduit pour la première fois, avec des notes explicatives par J.-P.-A. Bazy	Garnier frères	Paris viii-260 pages In-16
1861	Faculté des lettres de Clermont. Cours de littérature ancienne. Discours d'ouverture prononcé par Bazy	F. Thibaud	Clermont 27 pages

1862	Un épisode de la guerre de Trente Ans d'après les archives inédites de Saint-Omer	F. Thibaud	Clermont-Ferrand
1863	Tableau de l'histoire du Moyen Age		Poitiers In-8
1864	Cours d'histoire moderne. Leçon d'ouverture : La révolution et les partis en Angleterre sous les Stuarts	Faculté des lettres de Poitiers Henri Oudin	Poitiers 35 pages
1864	Cours d'histoire moderne. Leçon d'ouverture : Sur la réforme religieuse dans les temps modernes	Faculté des lettres de Poitiers Imprimerie de A. Dupré	Poitiers 26 pages In-8
1864	L'Etat militaire de la monarchie espagnole sous le règne de Philippe IV – Les mercenaires au XVIIe siècle. Chargé de cours d'histoire à la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers.	Létang et Girardin	Poitiers 112 pages In-12
1872	L'Esprit révolutionnaire	Typographie V.B. Kien	Dunkerque iv-42 pages In-8
1873	Précis des opérations du siège de Saint-Omer en 1638 Rédigé d'après les archives de cette ville et des documents inédits, recueillis dans les communes des environs (2ᵉ édition)	Libraire Tumerel-Bertram	Saint-Omer In-8

Table 5: List of publications by Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy[107]

The table above lists full titles of all published works of Bazy's. Almost all of them are available in at least one copy at the National Library of France. The only work included in the list whose copy has been lost over time was the 1863 short survey of the history of the Middle Ages printed in Poitiers. A few of them (*L'État militaire de la monarchie espagnole sous le règne de Philippe IV* of 1864, *L'Esprit révolutionnaire* of 1872, *Précis des opérations du Siège de Saint-Omer* of 1873) are digitalised thanks to the Gallica project which provides direct access to the nineteenth-century French public domain publications. His translation of *Doctor Faustus* is the only publication that is not available in hardcopy but is reproduced in a microfiche format. As for the publication characteristics, most monographs were published in a small octavo or twelvemo format with the exception of the 1842 treatise on the early history of Christianity. This relatively long piece of writing was envisioned to make up a multi-volume set that would follow the course of the history of Christianity to his day. However, this ambitious project was never realised.

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[107] The most detailed yet incomplete chronological survey of Bazy's publications is found in an entry of A. de Gubernatis' *Dictionnaire international des écrivains du jour* (1891: 214), as well as Otto Lorenz's *Catalogue Général de la Librairie Française* (1905: 214), an eleven-volume series that covers the period from 1840 to 1885. Both works are available in digital version on gallica.bnf.fr. De Gubernatis' *Dictionnaire* also delivers a short biography of the historian.

In the next section we will closely observe the main elements that run through Bazy's writings in order to build up his ideological and political profile which will ultimately account for his intervention in the translation process.

4.2.2 Bazy's Ideological Profile

Throughout Bazy's writings and reflections on diverse topics that were published with different aims, whether a history or literature lesson delivered at university, a critical introduction to his translation of *Faustus,* a more lengthy treatise on the history of Christianity or a reflection on the political circumstances of the period, we can discern clear ideological stances that reflect the socio-political milieu that surrounded him, thus placing him within the on-going debate of his time discussed in the previous section. From an extensive list of his writings, we will focus here on the following publications: his study on the relation between Marlowe's and Goethe's Faust story (1850), a detailed study of the history of Christianity that covered the period from the Roman times to thirteenth-century France (1842), the 1864 lecture on the political climate in seventeenth-century England, the 1864 lecture on the Protestant Reformation and its influence on the subsequent course of European history and finally a summary of his political stances that received a clear articulation in his monograph *L'Esprit révolutionnaire* (1872).

A continuous thread of strong counter-revolutionary and anti-republican spirit runs through all of his studies. Holding traditionalist and moderate right-wing views, he emerges as a loud spokesman for constitutional monarchy. A central focus of Bazy's writings is his preoccupation with social order. As a devout Catholic, he points to the seminal role of Christian theology and, more importantly, the Catholic Church in the creation and preservation of social order, morality and stability. In this regard, he emerges as an ardent supporter of papal authority. These positions inevitably entail his strong anti-Protestant and anti-Lutheran sentiment, expressed so fiercely and repeatedly in almost all his works.

4.2.2.1 Bazy's Political Thought

A cornerstone of Bazy's political thought is his conviction that the French Revolution and the Republic, instead of fulfilling the promise of organised society and individual freedom, created disorder and anarchy that arose from an overemphasis on individual supremacy. His disillusionment with the republican ideals, triggered by the military

repression of the June days of 1848, pervades much of his writings and reaches its peak in the wake of the Third Republic in his *L'Esprit révolutionnaire* (1872).

All of Bazy's stances previously explicitly or implicitly stated are summed up in this publication which represents a strong protest against radical republicanism and revolutionary actions. According to Bazy, European history clearly documents that behind the actions of the revolutionaries longing for the ideal of individual emancipation is nothing but personal ambition, material gain and usurpation of political power. As a result, the promoters of the new system frequently resort to violence in order to preserve the new distribution of power relations, thus practicing the same absolutism and despotism they allegedly fight against.

In the opening lecture of a one-year course on modern history taught during the academic year 1863/64 at the Department of Arts and Humanities of the University of Poitiers, Bazy gives an overview of the key events from the seventeenth-century British history. The lecture which found its way into print under the title *La Révolution et les partis en Angleterre sous les Stuarts* tackles English political reality and conditions that led to the revolutions of 1684 and 1688. Many pages from this 35-page publication printed in the octavo format were dedicated to the English Civil War and the following establishment of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. Bazy particularly lists this event as a case in point for the repudiation of republican convictions. The Commonwealth, ruled as a short-lived republic proclaimed at the end of the Second English Civil War, is labelled by the historian as "le règne de la force" (1864a: 22). Bazy openly accuses devout Republican Oliver Cromwell, head of the Protectorate, of misusing democratic principles for his own personal ends – the usurpation of unlimited power. According to Bazy, democratic ideals are only the instruments of his ambition and his presidency relies on the "régime de compression" (23). He reproaches prominent apologists of the Republic, including Milton himself, for their inability to perceive that absolutist governance was never eradicated. Bazy further attacks Milton for regarding the execution of Charles I as the act of divine justice in his *Defense of the People of England* (1651). These echoes of the Gandhian "means are ends-in-the-making" philosophy according to which the means of change are already building the foundations of a desirable society also relate to the Reign of Terror in the French revolutionary years, a violent reaction against the remnants of the *Ancien Régime*, as well as the military repression at the earliest phase of the French Second Republic.

Violence as a necessary method of pushing through the reform is an argument that Bazy frequently puts forward in order to contest radical republicanism and revolutionary zeal. Previous hints at the destructive nature of the revolutionary action is clearly expressed in his

L'Esprit: "partout où le Révolutionnarisme (passez-moi le mot barbare comme le lait) fait irruption, il ne laisse que des ruines" (1872: 19). The professor continues to be extremely harsh on the governance of Cromwell, condemning him for treating the Catholic Irish as slaves and annexing the Scottish monarchy. He goes on to summarise his rule as cruel and inflexible which ultimately reflect the egotistic politics of his country (1864a: 24). He later repeats the opportunistic aspirations of Cromwell and generally exposes the republican "chants de la démagogie" (1872: 34).

Constantly seeking refuge in tradition in search of a preferable and sustainable political system[108], Bazy sees the restoration of the monarchy that the British never abandoned to his day as a convincing proof that it is impossible to implement the republican form of government among people in whose national tradition and consciousness monarchy is deeply rooted. The opening lines of his lecture are full of praise for the English people who managed to reconcile progress and tradition by means of the bicameral parliamentary monarchy[109]. Bazy openly states that France, in the midst of constant political strife, should draw from the English republican experience and follow the example set by people who rejected the republic, "cette chimère républicaine née du Calvinisme" (1864a: 22) in favour of parliamentary monarchy. The former failed to fulfill their needs, whereas the latter proved to be the sole guarantee of both social order and individual freedom (29). Bazy here expresses the moderate royalist and Orleanist attitude, advocating constitutional monarchy as a more efficient system. Bazy seems to be more in favour of hereditary monarchy rather than an elective one. He states that the elective monarchy can easily lead to public disorder and anarchy at the time of crisis, whereas the hereditary system ensures more stability to society (1864b: 10). The moderate conservative group within the French Second Republic would naturally support the idea of a hybrid system in which Orleanism and limited popular vote co-exist[110]. This is achieved in a limited Christian democracy in which a monarch is replaced by the president whose governance is restricted by the Assembly. In line with the reactionary

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[108] Perhaps the only common point with the early French Romantics.

[109] One of the rare times in all his writings that Bazy gives some credit to a Protestant nation or individual. Nevertheless, as his anti-Protestant attitude grows in his later writings, he contests this positive view of the British political system of government. In his *L'Esprit révolutionnaire* (1872), he firmly opposes the general idea that the British and German societies, whose organisation heavily relies on the Protestant understanding of man's relation to God and the world, are able to preserve moral law and order. In Bazy's views, closer observation reveals that the countries that broke away from Catholicism are not able to maintain a just and ordered society (6). He goes on to conclude that it is impossible to incorporate the ideal of social perfection, as it has been suggested by the scholars in France, drawing upon the model of the English or American political system. In Bazy's view, these republican attempts do not ensure civil liberties (29).

[110] It should be stressed that the supporters of moderate-right politics were not entirely hostile to the new republican government. They would greet the new political system as long as the Catholic Church was granted a prominent place in society (Verneuil 2008: 68).

politics of the Party of Order during the Second Republic, Bazy prefers the idea of the aristocratic to popular republic, arguing for restrictions on the universal popular vote (1864a: 29).

Bazy thus belongs to the moderate-right faction of the heterogeneous Party of Order. It is important to stress that he never calls for a simple return to the *Ancien Régime* or the restoration of unlimited kingship, thus alienating himself from the legitimist and ultra-royalist currents. As a matter of fact, he strongly disapproves of absolutism or despotism of any kind in any form of government, be it the absolutist monarchies of James I (1864a: 8) or Louis XIV (1864a: 27), the military despotism of the rulers in the pre-Christian Roman Empire (1842: 5) or the republican absolutism already mentioned above. Hence, Robert Filmer (1588-1653), a passionate defender of absolutism and the rule by divine right (expressed in his *Patriarchia or the Natural Power of Kings,* 1680) is, in Bazy's words, the creator of "une philosophie monstrueuse" (1864a: 30) which severely undermines civil rights. On the other hand, he draws attention to the error of generally equating monarchy with despotism, something that Diderot, Mably, Rousseau or Raynal did in search of a just political and social system (1872: 29).

Bazy seems to praise a system that provides a reconciliation between civil liberties and external authority. He takes a middle-ground position between all-encompassing liberalism and a centralised political power (1864b: 2), thus voicing the tenets of liberal conservatism, and refusing to go to either extreme. He rejects the so-called social contract theory advanced by Thomas Hobbes, according to which people should be submitted to a centralised sovereign authority with the executive power to act as the only means of securing stability and progress from which the individual will eventually benefit (1864a: 30). Even though it ensures the control of man's uncontrollable passions, thus preventing potential anarchy (the phenomenon for which Bazy reserves his most withering scorn), Bazy remains unconvinced of Hobbes' idea. It too can be susceptible to misuse and easily fall to absolutism. Therefore, the balance between freedom and power is the only promise of social order. In this respect, he reproaches Luther for promoting the unrestrained freedom of the individual instead of only partly restraining it.

If he is dubious about the sole existence of an external authority, he voices an even more serious doubt about the unlimited affirmation of the individual, the fulcrum of the philosophical and intellectual currents ever since the Protestant Reformation. Nineteenth-century thinkers eagerly analyse the French Revolution as the political application of the ideals of the Enlightenment *philosophes* (Grondeux 2002: 24). Bazy belongs to the

reactionary intellectual tide that questions the emancipation of the individual based on the sole strength of reason. This attainment of truth through logic with no recourse to tradition and the religious dogma gained ground rapidly with the growing *laïcité* of French society and the advent of the *libre pensée* from the mid-nineteenth century on[111]. As mentioned above, it simultaneously raises questions as to whether reason has its limits and whether the social order is put in danger by the affirmation of the individual. To both questions Bazy vigorously gives an affirmative response. He takes the constant turmoil and agitation of the post-revolutionary years in France as a straightforward example, at the same time using Marlowe's *Faustus* as a tale that conveniently resonates with this troubled reality.

Even though Bazy never directly mentions a great adversary to the French Revolution Louis de Bonald, the indebtedness to his critique of liberalism, his defence of Catholicism and support of monarchy is apparent. Bazy takes Bonald's claim that political liberalism, strongly appealing to the *philosophes,* directly leads to violence and anarchy. In his *Démonstration philosophique du principe de la société suivie des méditations politiques tirées de l'Evangile* (1830), Bonald states that the foundation of society on the basis of human and civil rights only means that the individual sacrifice, which is crucial for maintaining social and political order, is denied (Grondeux 2002: 35). Anarchy and violence, which pervade the French society in the aftermath of the Revolution, originate from constantly pushing forward the concept of individuality. Similarly, Bazy seems to ask himself where the line between the exercise of unlimited personal freedom independent of authority and the subjugation of others in the name of the same freedom is: "Mais où s'arrêtera ce droit?" (1864b: 17). If man is unwilling to sacrifice a certain portion of his unlimited freedom that he passionately celebrates, the freedom of the other is necessarily restricted. Hence, the whole system cannot ensure civil rights and liberties to all its members and immediately plunges into a paradox and chaos. He points out that the republican principles of liberty, fraternity and equality have never been effectively put into practice, echoing the myriad counter-revolutionary intellectuals of the period:

Depuis bientôt un siècle, l'esprit révolutionnaire en France n'a produit que des conflits et la tyrannie des partis, bien loin d'assurer la liberté politique et de garantir l'exercice des droits et de pratiquer, en prétendant d'affirmer, l'amour des devoirs que comprennent ces mots, dont on

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[111] Even though the *libre pensée* reached its peak in the Second Empire, this philosophical viewpoint had already begun to gain ground during the French Second Republic with the formation of the *Société démocratique des libres penseurs* in the spring of 1848 (Lalouette 1997: 25).

a tant abusé, liberté, égalité et fraternité, qui sont écrits au frontispice de nos constitutions républicaines. (1872: 15)

Bazy ends his *L'Esprit* by concluding that every time individualism seeks to assert supremacy, the founding principle of every republic, anarchy emerges as an inevitable result (1872: 42). Accordingly, Bazy perceives Marlowe's *Faustus* as a warning against a republican anarchist who strives to secure and maintain his freedom and individuality at any cost and by any means necessary. As Ines Hedges reminds us, the Faust figure is frequently depicted as a dissident and a figure of opposition (Hedges 2009: 6). Bazy calls into question the heroic aspirations of the Faustian rebellion. To him, Marlowe's Faustus is the embodiment of an egotistic revolutionary, who ultimately misuses the newly acquired freedom for personal benefit and who easily resorts to violence in order to assert the sovereignty of the individual.

According to Bazy, violence as the legitimate tool of asserting one's rights and defending their stances is made possible due to modern man's loss of moral sensibility. An emphasis on individualism gives rise to egoism which weakens man's soul leaving him unable to enforce justice and show compassion. Thus, surrendering one's soul to the devil becomes the symbolic loss of conscience and compassion that naturally prevents man from doing harm to others. Hence, he sets a highly reproachful and contemptuous tone in referring to the nineteenth-century post-revolutionary French society as the age of "désordre moral" (1864a: 29), "les progrès de la démoralisation" (1872: 4), "la lassitude morale" (22) and "la siècle d'incrédulité" (ii). He goes on to stress "la désorganisation lente de notre pays", "l'esprit de désordre" (16), "l'abime du désespoir" (22), "cette plaie sociale" and "déchéance" (24).

4.2.2.2 Anti-Protestant Sentiment and Counter-revolutionary Spirit

The central focus of Bazy's writings is the examination of cultural and political practices that gave rise to what he perceives as the unfavorable nineteenth-century human and political condition. In a highly radical tone, he identifies the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation as a movement that set off a series of chain events in the ensuing centuries and influenced the revolutionary ideals in France leading to moral decay, disorder and corruption (1850: 71).

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Bazy's aggressive tone showing a fierce critical attitude towards Protestantism is particularly evident in the 1850 introduction to the French translation of the play, the 1864 history lecture on the Protestant Reformation and his *L'Esprit révolutionnaire* of 1872. Towards his latest volume we can follow the evolution of his political thought, the growing contempt for Protestantism and counter-Revolutionary thought and the radicalisation of his language. It comes as no surprise that *L'Esprit* exhibits the most severe criticism of both French secular society and Protestantism. It was published in the immediate aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War and upon the proclamation of the Third Republic. Comparing it with the failure of the previous republican project, Bazy sees the Third Republic as a renewed threat to order. This is in keeping with the new traditionalist political coalition that regroups the right-wing parties and emerges as a sort of the successor of the Party of Order. After the fall of Napoleon III, the so-called Moral Order (*L'Ordre moral*) entered the scene as the Orleanist project of recreating the hybrid system of the elitist and clerical republic, hoping to pave the way for the third restoration of the monarchy (Adoumié 2010: 70). It insisted on religious education, which was perceived as an antidote to "poisonous" republican radicalism stemming from the Enlightenment philosophy (Bazy 1872: 120).

With this aim, Bazy delivers his protest against republicanism and the revolutionary spirit, making it into a sort of manifesto of the Moral Order. Unlike his earlier writings, he seems now more politically engaged desperately calling for social action and hoping to inspire the masses to oppose revolutionary ideals. In the opening address to the reader, Bazy feels that it is high time he reacted against the anarchy and lack of belief of his time brought about by the revolutionary spirit. He takes on a didactic role of an intellectual on a mission to combat republican instruction in education that detaches people from the real truth. He reproaches the conservative currents for being inert, indifferent and unable to prevent republican disorder from triumphing again. He labels the republican project of individual emancipation and the supremacy of reason over faith as "mauvaises doctrines" (1872: i) and "des idées fausses" (ii) and juxtaposes them with "des saines maximes" (iv) of men of order that should be dispersed to the masses.

From the opening pages of his essay, Bazy traces the "damaging" revolutionary spirit back to the Lutheran Reformation and refers to it as "la source du mal"[112] (ii). In his highly biased and harsh words, it is Luther and the reformers that unleashed the dangerous spirit of what Bazy earlier termed "des théories désorganisatrices" (1850: 35), which never ceased to

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[112] He later repeats: "le luthéranisme est la souche à laquelle se rattachent toutes les branches du révolutionnarisme moderne" (1872: 8).

animate and shake Europe ever since. Thus, Bazy's publication quickly turns into a frenzied attack on Protestant philosophy and the Reformation.

The same attitude persists in his earlier writings, clearly articulated in his critical introduction to the translation of *Faustus* of 1850. The author's short preface to the reader is followed by a twelve-chapter study. The critical introduction is announced as a comparative analysis of Marlowe's and Goethe's treatments of the Faust legend with a view to demonstrating how the two narratives are indicative of a particular point in cultural, political and philosophical movements of each century. However, the study itself seems unbalanced.

Etude Sur Christophe Marlowe et Goethe et sur les Seizième et dix-neuvième siècles.	
Avertissement au lecteur (pp. v-vi)	
Chapitre I (pp. 1-4)	Objet de ces études
Chapitre II (pp. 5-14)	De la passion dominante dans le Faust de Marlowe – Jugement que le critique Hazlitt a porté du Faust de Marlowe
Chapitre III (pp. 15-21)	Caractères distinctifs du Faust de Marlowe et du Faust de Goethe
Chapitre IV (pp. 22-30)	Raison d'être des deux Faust. Révolution dans les idées au XVIe siècle
Chapitre V (pp. 31-37)	Conséquences de la révolution dans les idées au XVIe siècle
Chapitre VI (38-42)	De la lassitude morale dans les deux Faust et dans Manfred
Chapitre VII (pp. 43-54)	Sciences occultes au siècle d'Elisabeth – Sources du merveilleux dans la poésie
Chapitre VIII (pp. 55-71)	Le Faust de Marlowe et le Faust de Goethe considérés comme les expressions du mouvement moral de la société au XVIe et au XIXe siècle
Chapitre IX (pp. 72-83)	Influence des théories morales du XVIe siècle sur le développement du caractère du premier Faust. – Erasme et Luther
Chapitre X (pp. 84-89)	Fatalisme chrétien de Luther et de Calvin – Rapport entre la marche des idées au XVIe siècle et celle du Faust de Marlowe
Chapitre XI (pp. 90-99)	Caractère de l'endurcissement dans le Faust de Marlowe, dans la Manfred de Byron et dans Hayraddin – Réhabilitation de l'activité morale dans le Faust de Goethe
Chapitre XII (pp. 100-103)	Résumé et Conclusion
Histoire allégorique de la vie et de la mort du docteur Jean Faust (pp. 105-258)	

Table 6: The contents page of Bazy's 1850 publication that contains the translation of *Doctor Faustus*

The table above reproduces the contents page of Bazy's study. The author focuses more on the analysis of Marlowe's *Faustus* as the dramatisation of the consequences of Protestant philosophy upon the human condition rather than a more elaborate examination of Goethe's dramatic poem. Six chapters are entirely dedicated to Marlowe's play and the cultural context of its production, whereas four chapters give a comparative analysis between Marlowe's and Goethe's works[113]. The translator shows more concern for examining the role of the Protestant Reformation in alleviating social and moral order pointing to the contradictions inherent in the new religious policy. In this way, the announced aim of the study suggested in the title is relegated to the periphery of his critical interest. What comes to the fore is his personal and disparaging views on the 16th-century religious movement and on the negative and harmful consequences it had on the course of European history in the centuries to follow.

The author's accusatory tone and belligerent attitude towards religious reformers is persistent till the very end of his study. He describes the tenets of the new theology as "les fantaisies des systèmes" (1850: 27) that bring about "un grande vide […] dans les âmes" (29). He stresses the destructive nature of the religious reformation accusing it of raising the spirit of disorder (30) and "désorganisation" (34). It leads to "perturbation morale" (27), "l'anarchie morale" (61) and "desctruction radicale"[114] of society, thus making man who embraces its philosophy descend into "des abîmes et des ténèbres" (30). In Bazy's view, Luther and his followers use "des idées parasites" (62), "les sophismes" and "illusions" (101) as the arguments to build up their "fausses doctrines" (102). Showing a lack of constraint and self-control (75), Luther launches a phantasmagorical (70) doctrine replete with "traits empoisonnés" (74) and vanity. Bazy stresses that the whole Protestant project is a blasphemy (89) with devastating repercussions on the Christian world and Western civilisation (87). Hence, chapter ten of his study is entitled *Fatalisme chrétien de Luther et de Calvin*. How does Bazy justify this fierce attack on Protestantism expressed in such a radical manner?

Bazy was certainly not a pioneer of relating the Reformation to revolutionary zeal and republicanism. Many nineteenth-century thinkers insisted on the Protestant Reformation as one of the important cultural movements that held a prominent place in the ideological evolution that eventually led to the French Revolution. Moreover, the Protestant community in France was naturally associated with revolutionaries and republicans. The change of political and social climate brought about by the French Revolution was favourable to

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[113] Even in these four chapters Goethe's *Faust* receives less attention in comparison with Marlowe's *Faustus*.

[114] We have seen how similar terms are used to refer to the 19th-century French society, thus strengthening the parallelism between the post-revolutionary period in France and the 16th-century Protestant societies.

religious minorities. French Protestants and Jews generally enjoyed the period of increasing visibility. The declaration of human rights granted the Protestants religious freedom and legal recognition, enabling their gradual integration into nationhood and the French society throughout most of the nineteenth century (Fabre 1999: 3). Naturally, they were perceived as supporters of the system that sought to alleviate the presence and control of the Catholic Church, its involvement in state policies as well as its sovereign status. The tenets of liberal Protestantism were viewed as a fundamental element of republican and secular ideals (Fredj 2009: 215). For being considered in line with republicanism, the Protestants were often accused of creating revolutionary anarchy for which they even suffered persecution from the monarchist opponents, as was the case during the Second White Terror upon the restoration of the monarchy in 1815 (Boudon 2014: 330).

We can discern significant debts of Bazy's association of revolutionary spirit with Protestantism to early century monarchists and anti-revolutionary thinkers. The triad Bonald/de Maistre/Lamennais is once again invoked for they saw the Revolution as the expression of pride of reason and hubris (Milbach 2014: 343), which originated from the religious reformation of the 16th century. Bazy echoes their strident criticism of Protestantism.

First, Bazy accuses the Protestant Reformation of dividing Europe and the Christian world. Before, unity and stability was provided by the Catholic Church[115] and it was Catholicism that was the building foundation of order and the progress of humanity (1850: 31). The separation of the Protestant Church from papal authority led to undermining Christianity at large and, consequently, the moral order it had secured (32). The result of Luther's theories is the emerging belief that the Catholic religion was not in tune with the concept of freedom (33), the idea that found its way into liberal politics of Bazy's day and age. Parting from the view that the religious order meets the needs of civil society (1872: 12), Bazy claims that the reformers' revolt against authority, repeated in the cultural and political movements of the 18th and 19th century, eventually undermined what they had promised – freedom, social progress and order (1). Luther's cry "guerre au Pape!", Bazy writes, "se développe, deux siècles après, au cri de: guerre au Christ! et, de nos jours, au cri de: guerre à la société! et elle aboutit à l'avènement de l'ochlocratie" (1872: 2). Treating Christianity as a

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[115] Clear echoes of Lamennais' early writings.

mere myth, the philosophy of "docteurs en rien" [116] (2) seeks to reorganise a society independent of traditional religious values, offering nothing in return.

Secondly, Bazy goes on to state that the germ of modern scepticism and incredulity was planted by the Lutheran promotion of unrestrained freedom dissociated from authority (3), which was the main point for which he reproaches the Lutherans. He is eager to demystify the quintessence of Protestant theology, exposing the contradiction inherent in the concept of *liberum examen*[117]. In his 1864 lecture, he points to the fallacy of the concept of evangelical freedom by revealing the gap between preaching and practice. First, if the reformers promote evangelical freedom – the personal interpretation of the divine word not mediated by priesthood – why, Bazy wonders, will they fiercely oppose and punish other Christian doctrines, even the rising denominations within their own philosophy (1864b: 18)? In completely rejecting traditional dogma and hierarchy as a guarantee of stability (1872: 10), *liberum examen* fails because the general law is devised according to the whim of one individual opinion (11). Moreover, voicing the cries of the fanatic intolerance towards others' opinions, "clameur d'une intolérance fanatique" (1864b: 17), the reformers regularly resort to violence to combat their opponents. Bazy uses a metaphor to refer to this practice, saying that Luther was operating war machinery embellished with the name of freedom – "cette machine de guerre qu'ils décoraient du nom de liberté" (1850: 28). Secondly, Bazy argues that the freedom of the Christian is inevitably denied by the Calvinist concept of predestination. On the one hand, the Protestant Reformation promises to set the believer free from political and ecclesiastical authority; on the other, the believer is subjugated to another external force – predestination to salvation. This Calvinist doctrine denies man any volition and conscious ability to take matters into their own hands and devise their own salvation in co-operation with God's mercy. It deprives man of dignity and free will in salvation (1872: 15). The paradox that Bazy calls "la servitude de volonté" and "obéissance passive" (1864b: 19), stands in stark contrast with the individual freedom cherished by the Lutherans. Moreover, Bazy continues that man subjugated to the mercy of Protestant God directly implies indifference and moral inertia. If man is denied a certain degree of free will in choosing between good and evil, he is necessarily exempt from any responsibility for his actions. Bazy asserts: "sans la puissance active qui lui a été répartie par Dieu, l'homme échappe à la responsabilité de ces actes" (1850: 86). It is in this context that Bazy refers to Lutheran and

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[116] Bazy borrows the phrase from Erasmus and continues to use it to refer to Luther, his followers and the French republicans (1872: 35).

[117] Freedom of inquiry, free examination.

Calvin theology as fatalism for it brings an end to human moral sensibility and ethical responsibility. Bazy concludes that if man's moral faculties are threatened, he can easily succumb to violence, which further leads to chaos, anarchy and disorder.

Finally, Bazy undermines the Promethean and noble aspirations of the reformers. In the fourth chapter of his 1850 study, he exposes ulterior motives behind the whole Reformation movement. The alleged freedom of the Christian promised by the reformers is misused for the sake of grasping power. The triumph of the individual freedom is the triumph of Luther himself. The reformers tend to subvert the existing system of power relations and the hierarchical structure of social and religious institutions only to fulfill their personal ambition (23). He takes Thomas Muntzer (1489-1525), a radical German preacher and theologian, as an epitome of such a practice (25). The reformers' contempt for restrictive authority does not come from their concern for a more just society: it is their pride and personal interest that stand out as their guiding principle. Words such as pride, power and ambition dominate Bazy's writings on the subject and are frequently ascribed to his political adversaries. In 4.2.3 we will see that both Marlowe and Faustus are repeatedly accused of the same 'crime'.

4.2.2.3 Defence of Catholicism and Papal Authority

The early Lutherans devised a set of binary opposites in defining Protestantism, setting the true church of the reformers against the false church of Rome; "the godly prince defending true religion" against the Pope portrayed as Antichrist (Hamilton 2000: 594), equating the Reformation with freedom and Catholicism with slavery (Bazy 1864b: 14). Bazy angrily replies to this dualistic ecclesiology using the same rhetorical strategy. Decline, disorder, damnation, confusion, anarchy and immorality, ascribed to Protestantism, are counterbalanced by progress, order, salvation, meaning, stability and morality, facilitated by Catholicism. His diverse writings thus become a three-century late reply to Luther's attack on Catholicism and papacy. Hence, Bazy's defence of Catholicism and his contempt for Protestantism are inextricably linked.

The view that Christianity is a supporting pillar of social order and the progress of civilisation is already made evident in the title of one of Bazy's earliest publications, the part of which reads *tableau historique de l'influence du principe chrétien sur le développement et sur l'ordre*. This 1842 study examines the history of Christianity from its early years to the end of the rule of French Saint Louis in the 13th century, thus covering the age of pre-Reformation "harmony". According to Bazy, Christianisation of the Roman lands was a

watershed event in the cultural history of Western civilisation for it emerged as an antidote to moral disorder and anarchy. Unfavourable epithets are used to depict pre-Christian times and classical philosophy that celebrated human pride. Early Western societies exuded immorality, social injustice (1842: 152), confusion and tyranny (215), whereas Christianity brought justice, prosperity, order and set common people free from imperial despotism (215). He stresses a crucial role of the clergy and episcopacy in securing civil rights (268) and in conjoining the political life with the rising religious and moral order (207). The active role of the members of the clergy in the political life after the great invasion of the 5th century is praised by Bazy for contributing to social progress (287). Establishing a decisive link between Christian education and progress, Bazy voices the clerical policy of the Party of Order:

Le christianisme, germe de tout progrès, de toute civilisation, de toute liberté, confère au prêtre une mission de lumière, de civilisation, de liberté progressive […] Dans l'essence du christianisme, l'idée de progrès s'étend à toute chose humaine. (1842: 154)

Bazy again finds support in the early writings of Lamennais, for whom Catholicism provides "la synthèse de toutes les traditions" where "toute sagesse y est concentrée" and, as such, represents a promise of progress (Grondeux 2002: 39, 40).

He goes on to praise ecclesiastics and Christian education for contributing to the unity of the Gallo-Romans and Franks, thus paving the way for the creation of the French nation (293). In other historical writings he remains a passionate defender of clericalism, highlighting the positive effects of religious education in the social and national growth and reorganisation of society in times of crisis. In his brief history of public education in France published in 1847, he specifically applauds the "noble mission" undertaken by religious fathers and their contribution to "social regeneration" during the reign of Charlemagne (1847: 4). The view that religious education should form part of public instruction is the touchstone of the clerical policy of the conservative factions of the Party of Order. Jean Garrigues and Philippe Lacombarde sum up the Falloux project discussed above in the following maxim: "Dieu dans l'education. Le pape à la tête de l'Eglise. L'Eglise à la tête de l'éducation" (2011: 79). Bazy often implies or directly argues for the clerical presence in education in his writings. At the same time he is aware of the potential corruption of the clergy and the Church as an institution. Nevertheless, he firmly insists that the institution should not be confused with the genuine uncorrupted nature of the Catholic faith. The historian states that

Luther and his followers projected this erroneous judgment onto the entire set of Christian values (1850: 2), undermining the importance of religion in society at large. He also replies to the reformers' view that Catholicism is no longer in keeping with social and cultural progress and that it eventually hinders human creativity and potential. To contest this claim, Bazy gives a survey of the main European cultural and scientific achievements to prove that English or German literary and scientific societies are not superior to that of Italy or France. Expressing strong national pride, he insists that the Catholic countries dominate the field of artistic creation and scientific invention even after the Protestant Reformation (1864b: 21).

In Bazy's view, just as Catholicism protected civilisation against the vandalism of the reformers in the past (1864b: 15), it should once again re-emerge as the remedy to turmoil of the French society caused by the last successors of the Protestant philosophy:

> Le retour au catholicisme est la condition de la restauration morale et politique de la France […] le catholicisme rétablira, à l'extérieur, la puissance politique de notre pays, et lui fera retrouver, à l'intérieur, les éléments de vitalité, de force et de perfectionnement. (1872: 39)

In addition to the aforementioned progressive nature of Catholicism, Bazy stresses two other positive aspects. First, as opposed to the eradication of ethical responsibility resulting from the Protestant doctrine (see 4.2.2.2), Catholicism remains a true promoter of traditional values of tolerance, charity and generosity (1850: 57). Man's excessive conduct inspired by Protestantism is set against the system of Catholic sobriety and restraint (1872: 20). Whereas Lutheran doubt and pride remove the true meaning of Christ from the believer's heart, the restoration of love, compassion and utility is achievable only in the Catholic doctrine (57). Bazy resorts to Bossuet (1627-1704), a passionate defender of Catholicism, in claiming that Lutheran philosophy detaches human activity from its moral aspiration (1850: 32) and in suggesting that Catholicism compensates for the absence of "cette sobriété chrétienne" inseparable from "l'amélioration morale de l'homme" (82). Regarding Catholicism on par with moral sensibility that secures order and justice in society, Bazy aligns himself with the proponents of liberal Catholicism of the period which insist that the Catholic doctrine is indispensable in setting the guidelines for the compassionate and ethical conduct of the citizen.

Second, Bazy insists that, whereas Protestantism offers a set of contradictory and confusing ways of the believer's deliverance and is perceived as an obstacle to salvation, only Catholicism offers a clear "principe de la voie du salut" (1850: 37). This is perhaps the

central issue in the Protestant/Catholic polemics. The old Catholic religion relies on the doctrine of works and free will. The individual can attain salvation by means of conscious effort and freely chosen participation in sacramental and ceremonial rites provided by the Church and priesthood, who mediate between man and God. Bazy insists that the earliest Lutheran reformers "shattered" the comfortable old world of harmony promised by Catholicism. The defined system of rewards that secure eternal life for the believer, articulated by the Catholic Church, is substituted by Luther's more pessimistic vision of corrupted human nature and inscrutable death. Bazy blames Luther and the Protestant spirit for imposing more mystery and uncertainty about afterlife and man's salvation (1850: 30). Moreover, the doctrine of predestination insists that certain Christians are predetermined by God to salvation, whereas others are condemned to damnation. Hence, free will in personal salvation yields to "the otherness of the deity and the predestination of human action" (Fletcher 2005: 189), emphasised in a theology according to which deeds are no longer the means but the consequence of faith, and deliverance and God's grace are only promised to the elect.

In his examination of the multiform theological universe of Elizabethan England mirrored in Marlowe's play, Alan Sinfield exposes the network of battling and inconsistent philosophies Faustus is forced to cope with. The scholar sums up the Catholic doctrine as encouraging "belief in a continuity between human and divine experience", whereas Protestantism "insist[s] on the gap[118] between the two, emphasising the utter degradation of humankind and the total power of god to determine who shall be saved" (1992: 144). Ian Watt reminds us that Erasmus' major criticism centers on this void between man and God created by Luther (1996: 18). Bazy constantly refers to Erasmus to give his own claims more authority. Erasmus' seminal *On Free Will*[119] is the most frequently exploited volume in Bazy's critical introduction. The scholar dedicates chapter nine of his 1850 study entirely to the seminal religious polemics between Luther and Erasmus and makes much use of Erasmus' views to back up his anti-Lutheranism discussed so far. Bazy echoes Erasmus in accusing Lutheranism of entrusting the Christian with a difficult task – to bridge the gap between the human and the divine in a theology that lets man float in "fantasies" and "obscurities" and gives him nothing in return. In order to fill this void, man resorts to

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[118] Bazy also points to the Reformation for undermining man's harmonious and meaningful relation to himself, God and society at large. This harmony is available only in a clearly defined Catholic theological framework (1850: 27).

[119] Erasmus' second response to Luther titled *De libero arbitrio diatribé sive collatio, Hyperaspistes diatribae adversus servum arbitrium Martini Lutheri* (1526).

substitutions in the form of material wealth, sensual pleasures and power, which he greedily aspires to. In reality, these ideals are not in keeping with the requirements of his true nature and consciousness (1872: 23). Consequently, man is left in agony and distress and his soul never reaches consolation (1850: 27). "La pure flame de la foi qui anime les cœurs" (1850: 24) in the pre-Reformation (hence Catholic) system which enables the Christians a more active participation in their salvation contrasts sharply with "une foi oisive" and "morte" (1850: 86), which makes man unable to "se porter librement au bien avec le secours de la grace" (1850: 86).

Finally, as a man of order, Bazy naturally perceives hierarchy as a guarantee of stability. Therefore, he strongly defends the apostolic nature and the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church, as well as the legitimate and righteous papal authority and supremacy. He argues for the Pope's spiritual sovereignty by stressing that the latter is the sole legitimate successor to Saint Peter. As such, he has an exclusive right to intervene and guide the erring Christians on their path to salvation, the power delegated to him by Christ himself (1850: 28). Bazy expresses an ultramontane attitude by insisting that the figure of supreme power leading the Christian Church is necessary to give unity and stability to the Christian world and to prevent the outbreak of violence and destruction during the revolutionary crisis (28). In Bazy's view, when Luther denied the authority of "la vieille prostituée de Babylone"[120] (1872: 28), both Christendom and society at large were seriously endangered (14).

4.2.3 Bazy's Interpretation of the Faust Myth

The defence of the infallibility of the Catholic Church and doctrine is also evident in the contrasting ways Bazy approaches Marlowe's and Goethe's Faust stories. Seeing the myth as the product of the Lutheran Reformation, Bazy insists that Marlowe's Faustus is driven by the urges which ultimately lead to the destructive consequences discussed above. It is a story of descent into doubt and despair of a man devoid of support that religion used to give him (1850: 16). It depicts a man who lost its meaningful connection with God in a Calvinist theology and, consequently, longs for wrong ideals that, in reality, never satisfy his need for restoring the lost union. On the other hand, Goethe's dramatic poem tells the story of the return to God, depicting a hero who overcomes the futility of the material world (1850: 18). Marlowe's *Faustus* is a fine example of what Bazy calls "littérature du désespoir" (35), a

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[120] Bazy often reminds the Catholic reader of the fierce insult that Lutheran reformers threw at the Catholic Church by identifying it with this metaphorical figure and place of evil in Revelation.

convincing echo of "tous les ravages" inspired by "le despotisme du moi exalté" (1850: 36) in the midst of the Protestant Reformation. In this sense, the literature of the period mirrors the pains of society whose members are dissociated from moral force and consequently engage in blasphemous actions (35). In contrast, Goethe's *Faust* stands for the "œuvre de réparation" for it offers the reunification of reason and faith/morality by "le savant régénéré" (15), celebrating the totality of human being and experience (37). In this regard, Marlowe witnesses and dramatises the dissociation of one's true self from divine love offering no solution, whereas Goethe's hero, through suffering, shows spiritual and moral regeneration (61) thus offering a remedy to the consequences of the Reformation for human spirit. In describing Marlowe's hero, Bazy's radical language is persistent: Faustus is overcome by the "lassitude morale"[121] that the 16th-century movement pushed him into. Goethe's hero, on the other hand, shows strength to successfully pull out the seed planted by the reformers' "idées parasites" (62) that overtime grew into the weed that corrupted society. He draws from human tradition and all the knowledge from the past and manages to reaffirm the recognition of the Gospel as the ultimate truth and aim of human aspiration and progress (62). Goethe's Faust thus experiences the spiritual purification that puts an end to the turbulent state of consciousness and "maladie de l'âme" (38) that the earlier Faustus suffers from. In sum, Marlowe's *Faustus* mirrors the confusion, agitation and anxiety of its time, which Goethe's protagonist overcomes with success.

According to Bazy, this comfort in the newly-found and restored ability to perceive the divine sparkle (64) is available only in Catholicism. The title of the last chapter of Bazy's critical study is the highest accolade awarded to Catholicism. On the one hand, we have the discrediting image of the "endurcissement" of Faustus's heart echoing his painful cry "My heart is so harden'd I cannot repent" (*DF* 2.2.18)", which makes Alan Sinfield ask an almost rhetorical question "Who hardened it?" and denote it as "a key question in the [Calvinist] theology of election and reprobation" (1992: 232). On the other, Bazy suggests a carefully phrased juxtaposition in the title *réhabilitation de l'activité morale dans le Faust de Goethe* (90) and two pages later ascribes it to the ability of the German genius to throw himself into "les plus hautes régions du catholicisme" making his hero rediscover "la plentitude de la vie dans la foi religieuse" (101).

Bazy offers the Catholic reading of the two versions of the Faust myth. The Catholic theological framework is offered to Marlowe's Faustus, but it eventually yields to the obscure

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[121] As indicated above, the same term "lassitude morale" is used to describe the French 19th-century society (1872: 22).

Protestant universe that encompasses him, resulting in Faustus's downfall. On the other hand, Goethe's Faust wholeheartedly embraces the Catholic theology, which consequently leads to his salvation. In this regard, the tragic end of the first Faust is a direct consequence of the hero's own fault – his hubris and the abuse of acquired freedom. Bazy explicitly rejects any possibility of the Romantic undercurrents of Marlowe's story. He seems to remind the reader that Faustus should not be understood as an epitome of heroic rebellion against oppressive authority since his motives are far from being noble and altruistic. As such, he articulates a rather independent voice from the mainstream Faust criticism which, as we have seen in the Introduction and Chapter Three, was beginning to slowly romanticise Faust at the time Bazy wrote, reaching its peak by the end of the nineteenth century. In his opening chapter, Bazy delivers a rather literal translation of the extracts from Hazlitt's *Lectures Chiefly on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (1820), which the English scholar dedicates to the analysis of Marlowe's play. Bazy explicitly contests Hazlitt's view that "the regard to learning is the ruling passion of this drama" by insisting that "ce n'est pas pour satisfaire une curiosité speculative qu'il se donne à cet art mystérieux" (5) and goes on to provide a series of convincing yet ideologically motivated evidence to combat Hazlitt's Romantic views and mild judgment pronounced on the Faust character (5). From the very beginning, Bazy is harsher on the hero. Even though he suggests that the analysis of the development of his character will progressively reveal Hazlitt's error in judgment, Bazy immediately proposes that Faustus's guiding principle is his personal ambition, pride, lust for power and sensual pleasure. "Celui qui agite le docteur Faust," Bazy claims, "n'est autre que l'orgueil de la domination, qui est pour lui le moyen d'assouvir ses appétits sensuels" (6, 7). Bazy insists that Faustus renounces from the opening scenes any traits of idealistic impulses and humanist concern for higher truths for the sake of his urge to dominate the other. This urge for domination that fully consumes him is the main cause of his fall, or in Bazy's words, "cette soif du pouvoir et des plaisirs sensuels cause toutes les agitations et la déchéance de Faust" (12).

As a highly moralistic critic of the play, Bazy anticipates the mid-twentieth century critical consensus voiced passionately by Leo Kirschbaum, Greg and other Christian proponents, who protested against the oversimplified heroic views and one-sided readings of the play. Their orthodox criticism "points out what is depraved and selfish in Faustus's seemingly public-spirited plans" (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 17). If Bazy had been a more influential literary figure (if he had been a literary critic in the first place), he might have changed or at least accelerated the course of Marlowe scholarship. Pointing out that

Faustus was the reflection of the social and cultural processes of the time it was produced in, Bazy warns against the error of placing the narrative in a wrong historical context. This thought seems to be ahead of its time, for it is only in the twentieth century that the critics would insist on the right historical frame of the sixteenth-century literary product. In his article *How to Read a Volksbuch: The Faustbook of 1587*, Gerald Strauss asserts "to portray him (Faust) as a prefiguration of the Enlightenment, a titanic intellectual rebel[122], is to misread a text distorted by the wrong historical frame" (1987: 28). The textual evidence for Bazy's deconstruction of noble actions and grandeur ascribed to Faustus is abundant in the play. Yet, by completely ignoring the evidence for the opposite critical response, he stubbornly holds onto another extreme – a firm orthodox position. Only once does he admit that the desire to expand the horizons of human knowledge is vaguely hinted at in the opening scenes of the play. However, he stresses that Faustus is quick to consciously abandon any dignified aspirations for more solipsistic aims (1850: 11).

Bazy's voice of a fierce condemnation of the Faustus character unparallel to his day is particularly evident in his translation. He excludes the possibility of portraying Faustus in a better light by eliminating the points which allude to unjust external forces as the agents of his fate (the ST certainly offers this view among a variety of readings). In order for Bazy's interpretation to be more convincing, the narrative framework of the ST is significantly modified and adjusted in translation by means of the extensive use of different translation strategies.

Bazy is aware of the versatility of the Faust legend, which resonates strongly with the on-going political issues. For that matter, he projects onto his character a series of discrediting and unfavourable traits – a radical republican whose only motivation is a thirst for power; a Lutheran activist whose dangerous passions need to be tamed in order for disorder and moral apathy to be prevented; an atheist and revolutionary anarchist; an anti-Catholic propagator. He is regarded as the embodiment of a self-sufficient intellectual, the rising power of the *laîque* and a freethinker who seeks to reorganise society without referring to the Christian values and the Catholic Church; the promoter of individual emancipation based on the sole strength of reason exercised to the detriment of order and the freedom of the other. In sum, he promotes the ideology Bazy fiercely opposes and, as such, emerges as his fierce doctrinal and political adversary.

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[122] And Bazy would add, as a Romantic passionate hero's endeavor to break free from unjust social paradigms.

Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy	Faustus
Moderate right	Extreme (radical) left
Monarchist	Republican
Order	Anarchist
Counter-revolutionary	Revolutionary
Catholic	Protestant
Papal	Anti-papal

Figure 9: The battling ideologies of the French translator and Marlowe's protagonist

Marlowe, too, is accused by Bazy of being dominated by the same passions. As a cynic, apostate and highly sensual (58), Marlowe "se laisse emporter par l'aiguillon de l'ambition et de la volupté" (67) and voices the Lutheran "no popery" as the expression of a frantic intolerance towards Catholicism and the expression of his personal overwhelming pride (58). Marlowe, in Bazy's view, identifies himself with his literary creation. His play, in turn, reflects dominant passions, customs, habits, ideas and traditions (anti-Catholic at its core), which convulse all the members and aspects of early modern English society (47, 61).

Bazy's voice as a translator is explicitly heard in a footnote of the translation of the banquet scene in which Faustus, assisted by Mephistopheles, pulls out a series of trickery on the Pope and his guests. Here, the translator feels an urgent need to raise his voice against "cette charge sacrilège" brought by "la muse ivre de Marlowe" that the translator finds it disturbing to even reproduce in the French language (189). Mimicking the discourse of a political confrontation, Bazy sees the text as a political project pushing through anti-Catholic propaganda:

Le drame de Faust n'étant souvent que le trop fidèle miroir du mouvement social au XVIe siècle, il m'était interdit de n'en laisser réfléchir que l'image mutilée, et l'intérêt de la religion me faisait un devoir de montrer à quel point on a abusé de la parole et da la force brutale dans ce siècle où la fiction poétique, reflet des réalités contemporaines, semble répondre à cet appel de Luther : *Il faut s'assembler de toutes les villes et de tous les bourgs contre le pape* (*FTT* 189).

Marlowe, who is "animé des mauvaises passions excitées de son temps par la politique" (189), enables his hero to turn the Pope into a laughing stock, thus reducing the play into a tool of promoting the Lutheran ideology. Thus, this sixteenth-century dramatic text is a fine example of what Bazy later calls a "livre corrupteur" (1872: 27) – a corrupting book, a piece of literature that glorifies the false image of grandeur (23) and loose morals (27). By equating

the poet with his hero, Bazy fails to perceive any subversive elements inherent in the original, which in reality undermine the very Protestant theology and the dominant cultural practices of Marlowe's day and age. This hidden Marlovian subtext and the dissident reading of Elizabethan drama at large are to be acknowledged much later with the advent of new historicism and cultural materialism.

Bazy insists that Marlowe's intention in devising the play is ideologically informed. Ironically, the French scholar actively intervenes in translation, inscribing the protagonist in his own ideological and political agenda and adding a moralistic tone. He amplifies and even plants new evidence against Faustus in the process of linguistic rendering in order to "evoke a particular set of responses in his projected readership" (Malmkjaer 2004: 19). He hopes to evoke condemnation rather than sympathy for the character among the readers, who would eventually return a verdict of guilty. The TT thus serves as a warning to the French public against "propagateurs du désordre" (1872: 36), "provocations du radicalisme" (37) and "les doctrines extravagantes de notre siècle" (38), which Bazy regards as having their roots in the Protestant revolution.

In what follows, we will provide evidence for the claim that Bazy's translation is an example of a "refracted text" (to use the concept introduced by André Lefevere in 1981), a text "that [has] been processed for a certain audience […], or adapted to a certain poetics or […] ideology" (qtd. in Gentzler 2001: 137). I argue that certain changes form part of a wider pattern of linguistic modification employed deliberately by the translator to achieve a particular effect.

ÉTUDES

HISTORIQUES, LITTÉRAIRES ET PHILOSOPHIQUES

SUR

C. MARLOWE ET GOETHE

ET SUR LES SEIZIÈME ET DIX-NEUVIÈME SIÈCLES,

SUIVIES DE

L'HISTOIRE ALLÉGORIQUE

DE LA VIE ET DE LA MORT DU DOCTEUR JEAN FAUST

DRAME DE CHRISTOPHE MARLOWE

TRADUIT POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS, AVEC DES NOTES EXPLICATIVES

PAR J.-P.-A. BAZY.

PARIS

GARNIER FRÈRES, LIBRAIRES-ÉDITEURS

Péristyle Montpensier, 215 bis, au Palais-National,
OU RUE RICHELIEU, 10.

1850

Figure 10: Title page of Bazy's 1850 study that contains his translation of *Doctor Faustus*

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4.3 Bazy's Translation: a Warning against the republican *main sacrilège*

Three recurrent trends emerge throughout the translation. First, textual evidence for moralistic criticism is considerably intensified in Bazy's version. An emphasis on Faustus's fault for his own demise coincides with undermining the noble character of his impulses. Secondly, antipapal sentiment is toned down in the translation, mirroring Bazy's ultramontane attitude. Thirdly, Bazy gives the complex theological universe of the original more consistency in his translation. Blunting the Calvinist undertones, Bazy vividly exploits and sets up the Catholic framework operating in the play.

4.3.1 Moralistic Criticism Stressed/Romantic Undertones Reduced

Modern-day historians have devised a set of various descriptive labels to denote a historical and political moment in the target cultural system which ultimately hosted the production of the first French translation of *Doctor Faustus*. In historiography, different phases of the brief French Second Republic have gone under many names: "la république incertaine" (Aprile 2000: 17) and "compromise" (87), "la république impossible […] en quête d'identité" (Adoumié 2010: 59), "la république hésitante" (Albertini 2000: 47) and others. But it is the "illusion lyrique" that has certainly established itself as its trademark epithet. It primarily refers to the earliest phase in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution of 1848. Christophe Verneuil defines this lyrical illusion as "l'apogée du romantisme politique" – the age of love, peace and harmony, a romantic ideal of the general welfare and a violence-free society in which social classes are reconciled and civil liberties are secured (2008: 67). By the time Marlowe's *Faustus* entered the French literary scene in translation, romantic sensibility had already been strongly allied with the republican ideals and had undergone a shift from its early aspirations for traditional systems of government. Disillusioned with the July Monarchy, the Romantics had moved away from the nostalgic memories of illusionary royalist harmony, stopped idealising the past and no longer feared an uncertain future (Francis 2002: 226). The French Romantic movement at its peak in the 1820s and 30s had discarded the remnants of counter-revolutionary reaction and turned to social action, progressive ideas and novelty both in art and politics, following Victor Hugo's maxim expressed in his preface to *Hernani* (1839): "la liberté dans l'art, la liberté dans la société" (qtd. in Caron 1993: 81). The obstacle to artistic freedom was the aesthetics of neoclassicism, whereas the monarchy stood as a barrier to political freedom for the common

people. Thus, a backward-looking attitude in politics was replaced with aspirations for a democratic republic, leading gradually to the new revolution. Poet/politician Lamartine, leader of the Provisionary government of the Second Republic, sought to put into practice this optimistic vision of so-called social romanticism. However, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, it turned out to be a failure and a utopian dream, at least through the critical lens of traditionalists.

The shattering of the romantic lyrical illusion of the republican and revolutionary project is mirrored in Bazy's translation of *Doctor Faustus*. Bazy identified Faustus as the carrier of republican ideals and, accordingly, downplayed the Romantic underpinnings of the play. He radically exposed Faustus's blasphemous transgression in order to dispel "cette chimère republicaine née du calvinisme" (1864a: 22).

As we have seen in the opening pages of the study, the history of Marlowe (*Faustus*) criticism had established two interpretative opposites – the so-called Romantic/heroic/humanist reading and the Christian/orthodox/moralistic one – before contemporary Marlowe scholarship adopted more neutral and less hyperbolic stances, advocating its interrogative status. The former insists on the absence of the hero's free will and no responsibility for his downfall, portraying him as a victim of restrictive authority (secular, divine and ecclesiastical) that stands in the way of achieving his human potential and freedom. As such, it resonates with the political project of social romantics and republicans of Bazy's day and age. Heroic proponents explore the Promethean aspects of the Faust myth, thus evoking more sympathy and even admiration for the hero's altruistic ends.

On the other hand, moralistic critics would expose Faustus's free will in choosing between good and evil, shifting the blame for his demise from unjust external forces to merely personal desires. Furthermore, they tend to "deflate Faustus and his heroic aspirations" (Deats 2015: 75), exploring the selfish motives behind his allegedly noble actions. It is not a quest for forbidden knowledge, "intellectual curiosities" (Levin 1989: 4), individual affirmation and social cohesion, but "his desire for power, pleasure, fame and wealth" (Deats 2015: 76) that is at the core of Faustian urges. As a result, the narrative would incite condemnation, rather than empathy for the hero. We have seen how the same arguments were frequently used by the translator to contest the republican supporters. Many critics claim that both views co-exist, never to be resolved, at the same time admitting that the orthodox apologists provide a more "impressive array of evidence" (80). Leah Marcus coined the term "the Marlowe effect" to denote the on-going inconclusiveness, defining it as "a theatrical event balanced on the nervous razor edge between transcendent heroism and

dangerous blasphemy" (1996: 42). Similarly, C. L. Barber seemed to have appealed to the advocates for both views by claiming that the play "dramatizes blasphemy also as heroic endeavor" (1988: 88).

The French translator dismantles the dual vision inherent in "the Marlowe effect" by providing a more consistent framework, intensifying blasphemy and diminishing transcendent heroism. He wholeheartedly embraces the moralistic attitude and, in his translation, systematically overemphasises Faustus's self-interest as his main motivation and adds a distinctive homiletic character to the TT narrative. Consistent lexical variations and additions that become a trend over the body of the text considerably reduce instances in favour of the heroic reading of the play. It is true that the choice of the B version (in reality general preference for the B-text was established by editorial consensus at the time) plays to Bazy's advantage. As Keefer points out, the B-text "lends itself to interpretation as a more or less orthodox morality play" (2008: 28). Nevertheless, as demonstrated in 2.3, neither the B-text offers a consistent vision. Bazy's changes further affect the TT narrative in order for his moralistic reading to be more plausible and convincing to the French reader.

The revised narrative framework of the TT is already announced in the translation of the prologue. The chorus traditionally provides an opening commentary about the plot and performance, announces the main themes and sets the scene for the action to follow. In traditional drama, this address to the audience directly guides and directs their understanding and interpretative responses to the play "by proposing a fairly clear model for reception" (Pavis 1989/1998: 289). Even though the chorus in the original *Faustus* tends to assume a more neutral stance by inviting the audience to independently evaluate "the form of Faustus' fortunes, good or bad" (Prologue 8), the subsequent trajectory is relatively fixed. Faustus is introduced as an overreacher who excessively indulges in greed and personal ambition. The chorus also pronounces an indicating judgment – his fault for choosing "a devilish exercise" (22) over "chiefest bliss" (26). The opposition to Faustus's actions and philosophies in the opening lines prevails (O'Connor 2003: 2). But, as Munson Deats observes, "the verbal challenges to a Christian reading of the play" (2015: 81) are equally evident in the chorus:

> Till, swoll'n with cunning of a self-conceit,
> His waxen wings did mount above his reach,
> And melting, heavens conspired his overthrow.
> For, falling to a devilish exercise.
> And glutted now with learning's golden gifts,

He surfeits upon cursèd necromancy;

(*DF*, Prologue 18-23)

The lines above offer the two contradictory visions of the play. On the one hand, Faustus's excessive nature is didactically implied through the obvious allusion to Icarian hubris as the cause for his downfall. Moreover, the lexical item *swoll'n* meaning "gorged or stuffed full" (Richard Gill 2008: 83) introduces the recurrent imagery of feeding and gluttony associated with Faustus's aspiration and insatiable hunger for knowledge and power. The expression of this transcendent urge is further intensified towards the end of the chorus and repeated regularly over the course of the text. Faustus is "glutted with learning's golden gifts" (23) and "surfeits upon cursed necromancy" (25). Magic is so "sweet" to him (26) that he "falls to"[123] conjuring and black arts. Bazy faithfully reproduces the verbal images: Faustus is "gorgé des dons précieux" and "s'enivra de la nécromancie maudite" (108). Even though Bazy's text extensively deviates from the textual codes and vital imagery active in the ST, the translator shows great philological accuracy in rendering the language of appetite and gluttony throughout his translation. Whenever the inevitable loss of imagery occurs, he immediately compensates for its omission in the same sentence or in the next line, showing his reluctance to give up the verbal images that stress Faustus's excessive nature. In translating "How am I glutted with the conceit of this" (*DF* 1.1.77) the quality of excess inherent in the verb *glutted* is briefly lost "je suis passionné pour cet art" only to be restored in the next line by the interpolation of "c'est une veritable ivresse" (*FTT* 116). Throughout the text, he has recourse to the shift of intensive element, a sub-category of what van Leuven-Zwart labels semantic modification (1989: 165). For example, when the Carter reveals how Faustus played a trick on him, the ST reads "he had eat up all my load of hay" (*DF* 4.5.31), while the TT uses the verb form denoting a higher degree of connotative value within the same semantic field: "il eut dévoré tout mon chargement de foin" (*FTT* 221). Even though 'dévorer' is a relatively common counterpart of the English 'eat up', it intensifies the speaker's pejorative attitude towards the protagonist by further stressing his excessiveness.

Pride and arrogance as two other unfavourable traits of the Faustus character are inherent in *self-conceit* (Prologue 18), which Roma Gill defines as "pride in his own abilities" (2008: 5). At the same time, the scholar ascribes to this lexical item the meaning that grants Faustus the traits of a freethinker: "individual thinking, unregulated by religion or convention" (5). A vague hint of a person who strives to set himself free from all-pervasive

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[123] In the sense of "beginning to eat" (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 108).

authority adds to a more sympathetic portrayal of the protagonist. However, more convincing textual evidence supporting the heroic interpretation comes from the image of "heavens [that] conspired his overthrow" (Prologue 20). Munson Deats absolves the hero from full responsibility to a certain extent by arguing that this imagery implies the agency of malignant Deity or external force presiding over Faustus's fate and predestining it to reprobation. The French translator renders the lines as follows:

> Faust se laissa emporter par son orgueil, et, cédant au plaisir d'un vol audacieux, il porta trop haut son essor. Dans les régions voisines du soleil, les rayons de l'astre amollirent et fondirent la cire parfumée de ses ailes. Ce nouvel Icare s'agita en vain dans les airs où il ne put se soutenir, et il expia son imprudence. Faust se mit à cultiver l'art du démon, et, gorgé des dons précieux de la science, il s'enivra de la nécromancie maudite. (*FTT* 108)

The corresponding TT passage represents a microcosm of Bazy's general translation process clearly manifested in his translated product. The strategies that radically change the semantic meaning – free translation, mutation, addition (van Leuven-Zwart), and paraphrase – dominate the extract from the TT, in addition to optional modulation (Vinay and Darbelnet) and different types of syntactic-semantic and syntactic-pragmatic modification (van Leuven-Zwart). The extensive use of paraphrase, which Newmark defines as "amplification or explanation of the meaning of a segment of the text" (1988: 90) makes this section of the TT a highly interpretative articulation of the translator's voice. The paragraph above thus seems to echo the language of Bazy's critical introduction rather than representing an actual example of drama translation.

The set of radical strategies has thematic implications on the macro-level of the text. Here, Bazy intensifies the hubristic nature of Faustus's actions. First, the implicit information in the original regarding the myth of Icarus is made explicit in the TT. Bazy provides more pragmatic information for the reader through the addition of the whole line with no clear counterpart in the original. He directly identifies Faustus as "ce nouvel Icare", making his transgression even more evident. Secondly, the line unique only to the TT expresses a moralising attitude and justifies the hero's tragic end, suggesting that he eventually pay for his imprudence ("il expia son imprudence"). Bruno Osimo states that the strategy of addition, which is a common trait of Bazy's translation process, always involves a degree of specification (2008: 222). The result is that new linguistic and lexical material in the translation significantly restricts or directs the interpretation and realisation of meaning by the

TT reader (222). Here, it amplifies Faustus's fault and consequently, anticipates a well-deserved punishment.

Bazy continues to somewhat forcefully interpret certain segments of the ST for the reader. The ST lexeme 'self-conceit' contains only the undertones of pride and vanity, which Bazy brings fully to the surface and the reader's attention. While O'Connor interprets the whole line as "intellectual pride engendered by arrogance" (2003: 2), Keefer gives Hamlin's less moralising interpretation: "pregnant with self-engendered cleverness" (2007: 74). Bazy transforms 'self-conceit' into 'orgueil', making Faustus's arrogance and vanity inherent in the ST lexeme resonate more vividly with one of the seven deadly sins in the TT ('orgueil' as the sin of pride). Furthermore, he introduces another of Faustus's disparaging principles that govern his behaviour, missing in its corresponding place in the original. Faustus is literally described as giving in to the pleasure of audacious flight. In "cédant au plaisir d'un vol[124] audacieux" the inclusion of the word 'plaisir' reinforces longing for pleasure as essential to Faustus's ignoble motivation, thus in keeping with Christian commentators.

While Bazy highlights Faustus's responsibility in the chorus, he simultaneously eliminates any exterior factor complicit in his damnation. Not only do the heavens no longer conspire against the hero in the TT (the verb 'conspire' is omitted), but Bazy here seems to greatly blur out imagery of the heavens in the first place. While the ST 'heavens' allude more conveniently to divine providence, questioning its responsibility in Faustus's fate, Bazy's use of a free and descriptive noun phrase, twice repeated to denote the same concept, "les régions voisines du soleil" and "les rayons de l'astre", provides a looser association with the Deity. As a result, a hint of God or authority as a conspiratorial power is considerably toned down. On the other hand, Bazy retains all the occurrences of the verbal signs for the act of conspiracy throughout his translation. More importantly, they are preserved whenever enemies of God or Catholics are the carriers of the verbal action. Mephistopheles explains to Faustus that Lucifer and other fallen angels are banished from heaven for "conspir[ing] against our God" (*DF* 1.3.70). Later on, the Pope urges the cardinals to punish the German Emperor and his appointed Pope Bruno for their "conspiracy / against our state and papal dignity" (*DF* 3.1.170-1). The lexical repetition aligns the Catholic Church with the forces of good and its Protestant opponents with the forces of evil. Even though lexical inconsistency is a general characteristic of Bazy's translation[125], the scholar here adheres to the ST lexical

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[124] The double meaning of the French *vol* as both *flight* and *theft* seems convenient for Bazy's aim.

[125] Bazy's translation boasts greater lexical variety for he frequently translates the same ST word differently, alternating synonyms or near-synonyms throughout his version.

parallelism: "nous vivons avec Lucifer pour avoir conspiré contre notre Dieu" (*FTT* 133) together with "leur conspiration récente contre notre Etat et la majesté du pape" (182). In 4.3.2 we will see how Bazy uses similar rhetorical devices introduced in the TT to set the infallibility of the Pope against the amplified moral and political corruption of the Protestant protagonists.

The diminished role of external factors in presiding over Faustus's life runs parallel to continual emphasis on Faustus's free will throughout the TT. In the final scene where scholars lament over Faustus's dismembered body, the ST reads "The devils whom Faustus served have torn him thus" (*DF* 5.3.8), stressing that Faustus was doing the devils' bidding. On the other hand, the TT points to Faustus's volition in his act: "Les diables auxquels Faust s'est donné l'ont déchiré ainsi" (*FTT* 257). Faustus did not serve but consciously chose to be in league with evil spirits, which eventually led to his damnation. In 4.3.3 we will see how Faustus's free will is systematically increased in a revised theological framework in which the possibility of salvation was continuously open to the hero in contrast to its ambiguous treatment in the ST.

The strategies employed in the chorus alter the ways the target reader or the spectator would emotionally respond to the hero's avowed fate. By the time they meet the central character of the story in his study room, the sympathy for the hero is significantly reduced in comparison with the original. We will see later in Chapter Five how Turiello's translation of the chorus produces diametrically opposing effects, provoking a more empathetic reaction in his projected readership.

Bazy continues to revise the nature of Faustus's transgression, aligning it with less ethical and more egotistic motives. That Faustus's immersion in magic and black arts serves as a tool for wielding more power and gaining wealth and sensual pleasure is evident in the ST. Faustus makes it quite clear in his opening soliloquy, uttering the words that represent a stronghold of orthodox criticism:

O, what a world of profit and delight,
Of power, of honour, and omnipotence,
Is promised to the studious artisan!
(*DF* 1.1.53-5)

Bazy further elaborates on each of these motivating factors through the use of descriptive amplification, explicitation and addition, constantly reminding the TT reader of

the protagonist's ignoble aspirations. The translator's greatest liberty is most evident in fashioning the Faustus character as "a power thirsty hedonist" (Bacon 2008: 211). Faustus's initial self-reference in the ST as "the studious artisan" (1.1.55) is conveyed through "l'artisan actif de sa puissance" (*FTT* 118). From that moment on, the word 'puissance' continues to resonate more sharply throughout the TT. If "power is a resonant word in Marlowe" (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 15), it is as much as two times more resonant in Bazy, quite literally. Faustus's obsession with power in Marlowe is evident in lexical repetition. Lexical items with the semantic root [power(ful)] in all its grammatical and derivational forms (power, powerful, mighty, omnipotence…) appears 17 times in the original text[126]. On the other hand, the number of occurrences in the French text amounts to 33 (pouvoir: 9 occurrences; puissance: 16; puissant: 6; impuissant: 2 and impuissance: 1).

The departure from the multiple codes of the original text is evident in the following examples where zero lexical substance in the original is mapped onto the addition of a new lexeme in the TT or where modification on the lexical level is carried out:

The Source Text		Bazy's translation
Faustus: You art thou still but Faustus, and a man? Couldst thou make men to live eternally, Or, being dead, raise them to life again? (1.1.23-5)	(1)	Faust: et pourtant, Faust, avec ta science tu n'es qu'un homme, <u>et ton pouvoir est toujours limité</u> ; tu ne saurais faire vire tes semblables éternellement si cette profession pouvait rappeler les morts à la vie je l'estimerais peut-être (113).
For, ere I sleep, I'll try <u>what I can do</u> (1.2.159)	(2)	Je mettrai à l'épreuve <u>ma puissance dans la magie</u>. (122)
And then be thou as <u>great</u> as Lucifer (2.1. 53)	(3)	Et su seras aussi <u>puissant</u> que Lucifer. (144)
Nothing, Faustus, but to delight thy mind, And let thee see what magic <u>can perform</u>. (B: 2.1.84-5)	(4)	Rien, Faust ; il ne s'agit que de récréer ton esprit et de te montrer <u>la puissance</u> de la magie. (147)
Ay, Faustus, and <u>do</u> greater things than these. (2.1.87)	(5)	Oui, Faust, et tu <u>as le pouvoir de faire</u> des choses plus merveilleuses. (148)
So charm me here That I <u>may</u> walk invisible to all (3.2.11)	(6)	Donne-moi <u>le pouvoir</u> de marcher sans que personne ne me voie. (184)

Table 7: Increased density of the lexical representation of semene [power(ful)] in the TT

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[126] *Concordance to the Plays, Poems, and Translations of Christopher Marlowe* edited by Robert J. Fehrenbach, Lea Ann Boone and Mario A. di Cesare (London: Cornell University Press, 1982) provides rapid access to the instances of lexical items and their immediate context in the ST, which facilitates our examination of the reproduction and distortion of lexical cohesion in the TT. The concordance is based on the second edition of Fredson Bowers' collection of Marlowe's complete works (1981). Bowers' and Oxberry's editions show the cases of occasional lexical and structural mismatch. However, no divergence is apparent in lexical instances to which the present study restricts its attention.

In the ST-TT pair (1) Bazy adds a sentence which contains his paraphrase of Faustus's introspection in which the latter acknowledges the limitations of mortal man and earthly sciences. In the TT interpolation, Bazy specifies the reasons for Faustus's lamenting. It is his limited power ("ton pouvoir limité") that is troubling him most. On the verbal level, Faustus's fixation on the notion of power runs through the translation in a more apparent manner.

Moreover, the initial exchange between Faustus, Valdes and Cornelius ends with Faustus's statement that he will resolutely pursue an examination of the possibilities of magic. In the ST he is still not certain of the outcome ("I'll try what I can do"). On the other hand, Bazy gives Faustus more resolution and certainty about magical achievements, stressing power[127] as their final end. The ST object clause is replaced with a TT noun phrase (ex.2) containing an explicit and direct link between 'magie' as a means and 'ma puissance' as its outcome, both lexemes missing in the original at this point. It also increases Faustus's self-aggrandising attitude.

The promise of power is later on explicitly repeated when Mephistopheles summons a patch of devils revelling in riches. Whereas ST Faustus (ex.4) needs to see for himself what gains are brought by magic ("see what magic can perform"), Bazy resorts to specification making the gains more obvious to both Faustus and the reader ("de te montrer la puissance de la magie").

Furthermore, power as a reward for his alliance with demons is made more evident through Bazy's inconsistence in rendering 'great Lucifer', constantly shifting from 'grand Lucifer' to 'puissant Lucifer' in the translation. By using the adjective with a different connotative value and a higher degree of intensity within a similar semantic field ('great' amplified with 'powerful'), Faustus's transgression is more convincingly associated with Lucifer's sin in the TT. Hence, "the shift in emphasis from a longing for forbidden knowledge (the admirable trespass of Prometheus) to a yearning for power (the not-so-admirable sin of Lucifer)" (Deats 2015: 75) is more readily detected in the French version.

The power to take control of his own life in reaction to restrictive authority and traditional dogmas would naturally bring the protagonist closer to an epitome of a Renaissance hero. However, Bazy shows that this long-awaited personal power and capability to secure mastery over his own life is to be used, in reality, for subjugating and exploiting others. For example, in the conjuring scene Faustus is encouraging himself to

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[127] Even though in this context the French *puissance* means *efficiency,* the word itself is used commonly in political terms, as *autorité* (*Littré*, s.f. 1), *domination, empire* (*Littré*, s.f. 5) or *état souverain* (Littré, s.f. 6), further strengthening Faustus's inclination towards domination and control.

persist and see what "the uttermost magic can perform" (*DF* 1.3.15). The TT renders the line as "et vois ce que tu peux exécuter avec les plus secrètes ressources de la magie" (*FTT* 129). First, addressing himself in the second person, Faustus becomes the grammatical subject of the TT sentence which gives him more agency in dominating and controlling the object. Second, the vocabulary of exploitation and control is introduced in the TT through the noun 'resources' and the action of 'exécuter'.

Lines (5) and (6) from the table above demonstrate the distortion of (modal) verbs and their substitution with a verbal phrase that contains the added item 'le pouvoir'. The non-compulsory syntactic modification and lexical addition suggests that Faustus has internalised the obsession with power to a degree that it is reflected in his everyday syntax and speech[128]. Section 4.3.2 will further examine the immediate context of other occurrences of the items 'pouvoir' and 'puissance' missing in the original with a view to discussing the important thematic implications they produce.

Bazy continues to "plant" new textual evidence re-evaluating the nature of Faustus's motivation for his acts. Faustus's opening soliloquy in the ST depicts the scholar's rejection of traditional disciplines as unrewarding and useless to his aspirations. His striving for liberating knowledge is mixed with the articulated personal gain mentioned above. Bazy goes further by undermining the former and stressing the latter.

The translator is more explicit in accusing the hero of personal ambition. In the chorus and Faustus's first soliloquy 'ambition' and 'ambitieux' are repeated three times as opposed to no lexical occurrence in their corresponding places in the original. When Faustus rejects the possibilities of medicine:

> Why Faustus, hast thou not attained that end?
> Are not thy bills hung up as monuments. (*DF* 1.1.16-7)

the translator interpolates a commentary between the two lines:

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[128] This is evident in other characters' modes of expression that are also drawn to practising magic. Upon seeing the spirit of Helen summoned by Faustus, the third scholar says "Too simple is my wit to tell her worth" (*DF* 5.1.29), which Bazy transposes to a more extensive "Mon esprit est impuissant à retracer les grâces admirées de la beauté" (*FTT* 236). Similarly, Faustus's power inherent in diabolism is once again made lexically more evident. Before Benvolio's final act of revenge on Faustus, he expresses his confidence in his ability to overpower the magician: "If that be true, I have a charm in my head / shall control him as well as the conjurer" (*DF* 4.1.46-7). The TT gives: "Si cela est vrai, j'ai dans la tête un charme qui, n'en doutez pas, réduira à l'impuissance le mauvais esprit aussi bien que le magicien" (*FTT* 198).

Mais qu'as-tu à faire pour atteindre ce bien suprême ? Ici encore ton ambition n'est-elle pas satisfaite, lorsque déjà tes prescriptions sont exposées aux regards comme des monuments ? (*FTT* 113)

The passage exhibits yet another set of amplifications of the message operating on the generalisation/specification axis (hung up → exposées aux regards), the addition of a non-compulsory adjective (end → ce bien suprême) together with lexical modification (end → bien), which are common traits of Bazy's translational behaviour. But more importantly, on the thematic level, the interpolated line makes it clear that Faustus's insatiable ambition is guiding his action.

Bazy does not let the readers interpret things for themselves, nor can he let them briefly forget about Faustus's hedonism. For that matter, he delivers a text replete with yet another accusatory remark – appetite for pleasure. The word 'plaisir' is more resonant in the TT as well, introduced in reference to Faustus and his deeds. Benvolio scorns Faustus for sprouting horns on his head in an attempt to humiliate him in front of the Emperor: "'Sblood, and scholars [Faustus] be such cuckold-makers to clap horns of honest men's heads o' this order" (*DF* 4.1.164-5). In Bazy's version, "Palsambleu ! si les étudiants sont de pareils drôles, s'ils se font un malin plaisir d'orner de corner les têtes des gens de qualité" (*FTT* 205), the repetition of the conditional clause introduces a direct reference to the sly pleasure Faustus took in his deed. Similarly, "leave us thy victory" (*DF* 4.2.23) is transferred as "ne nous laissez que le plaisir de la victoire" (206). In addition, the sense of the word is rendered clearer in the translation to underline sensual pleasure and not the pleasure from learning. Faustus's claim that he will spend the allotted time in pleasure (*DF* 3.1.62) becomes more specific "les plaisirs des sens" in the translation (*FTT* 175). His excessive indulgence in physical pleasure is stressed on several more occasions in the TT. Mephistopheles' announcement of Faustus's eternal damnation: "Fond worldling, now his heart-blood dries with grief" (*DF* 5.2.12) is conveyed through the reversal of terms in the modulation of the message (Vinay and Darbelnet), where the object of the preposition 'grief' becomes the subject of the sentence: "La douleur glace maintenant ce cœur mondain". This is followed by the addition of the judgmental noun phrase "esclave des sens" (*FTT* 244), with no counterpart in the ST. The addition is used for emphasising again Faustus's guilt of voluptuousness. Slave imagery is mirrored in the latter rendering of "He that loves pleasure" (the Bad Angel addressing Faustus in his final moralising) into "l'esclave passionné du plaisir" (253), which once again stresses Faustus's excessive indulgence in physical pleasure.

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These highly judgmental interpolations and modifications mimic the accusatory attitude Bazy adopts towards Faustus in his critical introduction. The language of overfeeding and appetite dominate Bazy's authoritative writings and his introduction to the translation as well. It is frequently combined with words such as power, ambition, sensuality and pride, all the traits of Faustus's character that Bazy amplifies in his translation. Bazy is highly repetitive in articulating his unflattering portrayal of excessive Faustus: "Il éprouve la satiété et le dégoût que produit l'assouvissement de tous les appétits" (1850 : 3); "Faust est rassasié de spéculations" (8); "l'effet de [sa] convoitise insatiable" (10, 63), etc. Bazy further accuses Faustus of yearning for power:

> Faust est alors dirigé exclusivement par une convoitise ardente […] elle lui donnera les richesses, le pouvoir […] de gouverner les éléments (11); cette soif du pouvoir et des plaisirs sensuels cause toutes les agitations et la déchéance de Faust (12); soif du pouvoir et des plaisirs sensuels (12); Au prix de sa liberté, de la véritable grandeur et de sa dignité, Faust a pu pendant quelques années s'enivrer de pouvoir et de volupté (13); la raison de Faust […] a renoncé à la libre contemplation du vrai, du bon et du beau, pour ce pouvoir […] d'agrandir sa domination sur le monde matériel (13).

of being guided by personal ambition:

> On reconnait sous ses traits une âme ambitieuse, insatiable et à laquelle de noble facultés ont été réparties (41); le monde trop étroit pour contenir son ambition (41); il se laisse emporter par l'aiguillon de l'ambition et de la volupté[129] (67).

of indulging in sensual pleasure:

> La soif des jouissances physiques (7); lorsque le docteur se flatte par ces moyens surnaturels… le sensualisme a triomphé de ses dernières aspirations idéalistes (9); la séduction du sensualisme (13); une image complète du sensualisme effréné (14); il a consommé la sacrifice de devoir à la volupté (18); l'ivresse des sens (19); des chimères qu'il convoite (18); Faust lancé dans le tourbillon des plaisirs […] au milieu du tumulte des passions (19).

of the sin of pride:

> Il exalte l'orgueil du rationalisme (24); ces excès fiévreux de son esprit dominé par l'orgueil (82).

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[129] This line refers to both Faustus and Marlowe. According to Bazy, Marlowe identified himself with his protagonist and shared his sensualist and ambitious traits (1850: 67).

We can note how the language of two different types of discourses, literary criticism and literary translation, merge easily into one another. The former becomes highly poetic, and uses occasional amusing metaphors that add to the reproachful and patronising tone. The latter, through the overuse of descriptive and interpretative interpolations and paraphrasing, dilutes the compactness of the poetic line. Bazy's remark from his introduction "lancé dans le tourbillon des plaisirs, entend rarement, au milieu du tumulte des passions, la voix de sa conscience" (18) can easily form part of the verse drama. On the other hand, his frequent departure from the linguistic codes and the rhythmic-syntactic structure of the original[130] would better fit into the mode of expression reserved for the language of literary criticism. Moreover, Bazy replicates the exact same lines in two discourses. The aforementioned "L'esclave passionné du plaisir se perd par le plaisir" (*FTT* 215), a loose translation of "He that loves pleasure must for pleasure fall" (*DF* 5.2.135) also appears in the critical introduction as the articulation of his critical view with no reference to the source or translation. Similarly, "Faust se laissa emporter par son orgueil" (*FTT* 108) in the translation, while Marlowe "se laisse emporter par l'aiguillon de l'ambition et de la volupté" (67) in his critical study.

The repeated accusatory tone emerges at different places in the TT, particularly evident in the cases of depronominalisation – a shift which features a change of a pro-form in the original "with a referential function" (van Leuven-Zwart 1989: 168) into the specification of the referent realised by a proper name or lexical material in the TT (or simply put, pronoun/noun substitution). Bazy's frequent use of this strategy further contributes to the generally more explicit style of his translation. This change which van Leuven-Zwart technically labels syntactic-pragmatic modification/deixis-anaphora always involves a "shift in pragmatic information" (1989: 168) in the sense that the contextual identity in ST anaphora is brought closer to the reader by lexical specification. Bazy exploits this inherent quality to express a highly critical attitude towards Faustus, as seen in the following examples.

In a parodic scene of comic relief, Robin the clown brings Dick the stable boy the conjuring book he stole from Faustus. Dick's mockery of Robin's illiteracy "why thou canst not tell ne'er a word on't" (*DF* 2.2.12) becomes "quoi ! mais tu ne sauras jamais déchiffrer un mot de ce grimoire" (*FTT* 170). The pronoun *it* and its referent [Faustus's book of magic] is specified in the translation by *grimoire*, making Faustus's involvement in magic more

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[130] See for example "Une pareille étude ne convient qu'au mercenaire destiné aux plus viles occupations et dont l'ambition ne vise pas au-delà des rebuts de ce monde visible" (*FTT* 113) corresponding to "This study fits a mercenary drudge / Who aims at nothing but external trash" (*DF* 1.1.33-4).

apparent. The double meaning of the French lexeme, the neutral "livre des sorciers pour évoquer les demons" (*Littré*, s. m. 1, 1937) and figurative "discours obscur, écriture difficule à lire" (*Littré*, s. m. 2, 1937) adds a shade of a mocking and judgmental attitude towards Faustus's actions. This is nevertheless only a subtle change in tone in comparison with the following examples of more extreme cases of depronominalisation:

The Source Text		Bazy's translation
Benvolio: I do not really believe <u>him</u>. (4.1.72)	(7)	Benvolio : <u>le magicien</u> ne m'inspire pas une grande confiance. (199)
Carter: I'll tell you how <u>he</u> served me. (4.5.24)	(8)	Le charretier : Que je vous raconte d'abord ce que <u>le damné</u> m'a fait. (221)
Horse-courser: Now, sirs, you shall hear how villainously <u>he</u> served me. (4.5.35-6)	(9)	Le maquignon: Ecoutez, mes amis, et apprenez le mauvais tour que <u>ce pestiféré du diable</u> m'a joué. (222)

Table 8: Depronominalisation: increased accusatory tone in the TT

Different characters in the ST express their suspicion about Faustus's magical feats or contempt for the tricks he played on them. In the ST examples above the pronoun *he/him* refers to Faustus. The corresponding TT lexical actualisation of the referent reveals the gradual development of a reproachful attitude missing in the original. As the TT play progresses, the portrayal of Faustus shifts from 'le magician' across 'le damné' and finally to 'le pestiféré du diable'. Whereas (ex.7) is on a par with the *it/grimoire* rendering, for it only draws the reader's attention to the hero's occultism, examples (8) and (9) are more tangible expressions of overt judgment. In this tavern episode (the exchange between the hostess, the Carter and horse-courser), Bazy shows the most radical departure from the ST. He eagerly has the characters express in his name a highly contemptuous attitude towards the protagonist, thus constantly stressing his deplorable blasphemy.

Bazy's condemnation of occultism surfaced in different places in the TT. Martino announces Faustus's demonstration of his conjuring skills in front of the Emperor stating that the former will "accomplish whatsoever the doctor please" (*DF* 4.1.28). Bazy's version delivers "pour satisfaire toutes les fantaisies du docteur" (*FTT* 197). The replacement of one grammatical category (subordinate object phrase) with another (elaborate noun phrase) in the process of optional transposition (Vinay and Darbelnet) is carried out alongside the lexical specification. The modified *fantaisies* as the head word of the TT noun phrase depicts

Faustus not as an erudite scholar, but as a "self-deluded fool" (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 17), striking again a chord with moralistic commentators[131].

Similar strategies reveal the translator's attitude to occult arts in his introduction. In chapter six of his introductory study Bazy examines occult sciences in the age of Elizabeth. For that matter he translates a few pages from Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the queens of England* (1843). The extract delivers an episode from the British monarch's life in which she pursues her interest in alchemy and meets the famous magician John Dee[132]. Unlike Strickland's original text, Bazy's translation exudes a highly moralistic tone and contempt for occultism not evident in the original. We can identify the same translation strategy used for inciting a particular critical response from his projected readership in the TT – disdain for magic. The original pronoun *he*/*him* referring to Dee is progressively rendered in the translation as 'Dee', then as 'magician de Mortlake', and finally, as 'cet imposteur' (53). Other numerous modifications reveal the translator's attitude. Whereas the original text has 'the forbidden arts' (1843: 277), Bazy's translation reads 'cette vaine science' (49). The queen's "reliance on his [Dee's] predictions herself" (277) is rendered as "la reine […] convaincue de l'efficacité de la magie" (50). The scholar's critical voice is clearly articulated in the addition of the appositive with no corresponding material in the original text: "l'objet de toute les malédictions et des plus folles espérances" (49). Finally, Elizabeth's transgression is intensified in the same manner as that of Faustus in the TT. The most striking example is the interpolation of "le sorcier avait / ouvert une autre perspective à l'ambition de la reine […]" (51,52). While Strickland's text is a rather neutral account showing relative indifference for the subject matter, Bazy's brings to the fore and condemns Elizabeth I's involvement in occultism portraying it as an instrument for pursuing political power and personal ambition.

Insisting that the activity of occult arts "n'a pour objet que les richesses, les honneurs, les voluptés et les chimères" (46), Bazy denies any cognizant and progressive aspects of the 16th-century occultist/scientist. In his study of the ambiguous treatment and symbolic importance of magic and occult philosophy in Renaissance England, John S. Mebane lists John Dee as one of many occultists who were seen as transitional figures from occultism to

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[131] That Faustus is imbued in the world of "idle fantasies" (*DF* 5.2.14) is implied in the ST. Nevertheless, Bazy more frequently exploits this view in his translation.

[132] John Dee (1527-1608/9) was an English scientist, occultist and advisor to Queen Elisabeth I. Some scholars such as Rhode (1910) used to identify John Dee as the mysterious P.F., the author of the EFB (Classe 2000: 433), a free translation of the German original, which served as a main source for Marlowe's dramatic text. Even though it is unlikely that Dee translated the *Faustbuch*, we know for certain that Marlowe's Faustus "was built upon the model of John Dee" (Bertram 2004: 108).

genuine science (1989: xvii). In addition, Benjamin Bertram asserts that "like Mirandolla and Ficino, John Dee saw magic in Christian, spiritual terms" (2004: 107).

On the other hand, stressing that the magician is "serviteur de Satan" and that magic is "la science qui lie la terre et l'enfer" (46), Bazy discards magic as a promise of progress and knowledge and condemns it as heresy. He portrays the whole of Protestant England as a place of sin and in league with the devil. In Bazy's view, Marlowe voices the Elizabethan ideology based on the project of protestant reformers. The narrative hence reflects the sensuality of Elizabethan times (47) and "l'orgueil britannique" (1850: 58) which leads to "la déchéance de l'Angleterre" (42) equated with Faustus's fall. Hence, Bazy carries out a reversal of the intentional message of the original GFB. While "the Faustbuch narrator aligns Faust's magic with Catholicism and thus with superstition" (van der Laan 2013: 10), the French scholar associates Protestant spirit with magic and devilish practice.

As a devout Catholic, Bazy believed that the realm of the spiritual world belonged only to the official Catholic Church. It remains unclear whether he actually believed in the reality of devils and occult arts or whether he just condemned them to defend his political stances. Robert Muchembled, in his *Une histoire du diable XIIe – XXe siècle*, asserts that the devil did not perish in western consciousness with the French Revolution and continued to occupy an important place in man's reflection on human nature throughout the nineteenth century (2000: 250). While Protestants perceived the devil as hidden inside the body of the sinner, the Catholics were still drawn to the idea of the real physical presence (251). The scholar goes on to state that conservative political thinkers of the time such as de Maistre identified the devil with Revolution, disorder, "dégénérescence morale" and the refusal of traditional authority, in particular kingship and the Pope (251). Bazy is a milder version of de Maistre. Yet he shares his disapproval of antipapal and counter-revolutionary attitude, aligning both with devilish practice.

When the Pope yells 'Lollards'[133] (*DF* 3.2.69) in the ST at invisible Faustus who amuses himself by snatching some food at the banquet, Bazy cannot help but reply with the addition of 'détestés Lollards'[134] (*FTT* 188), expressing uttermost disdain for the anarchist who undermines traditional authority. Similarly, the same emphatic device is evident in the transposition of the Pope's cry "I am slain"[135] (*DF* 3.2.88) into "Porter sur moi une main sacrilége !" (*FTT* 189). This modification of the ST information value, which leads to "the

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[133] *Lollard*] "a name of contempt applied in the fourteenth century to followers of Wycliffe; subsequently synonymous with *heretic*" (Keefer 2007: 187).
[134] Previously 'loathsome Lollards' (3.2.42) is translated as 'misérable Lollards' (186).
[135] Uttered when invisible Faustus hits him on the head after the Pope has crossed himself.

blasphemous hand" and "the hated heretic" in the TT, can equally refer to all the successors of Luther's "heretical philosophy" (1870: 11) that Bazy deplores. As seen earlier, Bazy was hostile to the Protestant Reformation and repeatedly insisted that the Enlightenment philosophers, "les derniers fils de Luther, au siècle de Voltaire" (1850: 102), "disoriented" freethinkers (1870: 4), modern atheist skeptics (1870: 11), and radical republicans and revolutionaries of his time were all inspired by the same "fausses doctrines" (1850: 102) and "sophismes" (1850: 101) of the reformers. Identifying Faustus as an antecedent progenitor of their ideology and philosophy, Bazy uses translation to show that their attempt to recreate French society independent from the Pope, religious order and traditional authority is the blasphemous expression of their pride and ambition and as such a fallacy. Hence "les fantaisies du docteur" (*FTT* 197), a term that runs more vividly through the TT are paralleled with "fantaisies des systèmes" (1850: 27), "fantasmagorie" (70) and "illusions" (101), terms that Bazy uses in his introduction in reference to both Protestant reformers and the left-wing supporters of his time[136].

More importantly, he warns against the dangerous consequences that French society may face if these "destructive" liberal ideals meet with widespread public political support. France too may descend into despair and agonising pain akin to Faustus's eternal suffering. With this aim in view, Faustus's damnation is more clearly and more horrendously portrayed in the TT ending.

If ST Faustus's last hours are "the most powerful, agonizing journeys into despair and terror ever staged" (Simkin 2001: 202), Bazy's Faustus goes through even more intense agony in a narrative that dramatises more vividly the painful reality of his anticipated hellish experience. As elaborated in 2.3, whereas the A-text at its general structural level offers a more ambiguous ending regarding Faustus's punishment, for "we are left to imagine the details of Faustus's hellish faith" (Smith 2000: 156), the B-text (with the Old Man's revised speech, the Angels' pious moralising, the visual representation of hell and Faustus's dismembered body) delivers a more vivid representation of the protagonist's anguished decline. As Kirschbaum points out, it is thus "contained within an orthodox frame" (Roberts 2000: 56), moving close to the traditional morality pattern. Alan Sinfield points to William Empson's view that the B-text revisions are done by a censor "who wanted to make it clear that Faustus must suffer and be damned for conjuring" (1992: 234). Bazy goes further in

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[136] In his *La Religion des intellectuels français au XIXe siècle : Essai sur les origines de la modernité religieuse*, Jérôme Grondeux paraphrases Bonald's claim that "les libéraux, héritiers des protestants, ont pensé pouvoir faire un ordre civil indépendamment de l'ordre religieux : funeste illusion" (2002 : 38).

offering greater certainty about Faustus's suffering seen as an appropriate and inevitable punishment for his transgression[137]. Thus he posits the translation more firmly within a conventional framework of a cautionary tale.

The eternal torments of hell are already anticipated more clearly in the TT long before the final damnation scene. When Faustus asks Mephistopheles about the nature of hell, the devil utters the famous words:

> Mephistopheles:
> Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it. (*DF* 1.3.75)

One of the earliest dramatic visions of hell seen not as a physical place, but "the spiritual condition of those who are entirely separated from God"[138] (Jump 1965: 30) is reproduced by Bazy in the following manner:

> Méphistophélès :
> L'enfer ? mais il est ici ; je ne quitte jamais ce lieu de supplices. (*FFT* 134)

Here again the substitution of a pronoun for a noun phrase provides more pragmatic information to the reader. The pronoun *it* is not actualised in the TT as its referent [hell] but rendered as a more specific 'lieu de supplices', laying stronger emphasis on the sinner's eternal anguish. Roma Gill interprets the scene as giving a clear warning sign about the dreadful consequences that Faustus may suffer if he persists in his action. Therefore, he could "make no appeal on grounds of ignorance" (qtd. in O'Connor 2003: 20). Bazy intervenes in his translation to give Faustus a more poignant reminder of the dangers of his action, thus exposing more convincingly his own responsibility for his downfall.

The same rhetorical device is repeated in the TT on a few more occasions. A short while later, when Faustus signs the contract, Mephistopheles reiterates the same vision of hell, which Bazy syntactically and semantically elaborates to an astonishing degree:

> Mephistopheles:
> Within the bowels of these elements,
> Where we are tortured and remain for ever.

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[137] It should be stressed that Bazy's version attenuates the sense of predestination of Faustus's action. Yet, once Faustus consciously chooses to hold onto his "sinful" behaviour (see chapter 4.3.3), his punishment becomes more severe.

[138] This vision is perhaps the strongest echo of Marlowe found in Milton's *Paradise Lost* when Satan (IV. 75) pronounces "Which way I fly in hell; my self am hell" (Keefer 2007: 95).

Hell hath no limits, nor but where we are is hell,

And where hell is there must ever be.

(*DF* 2.1.123-6)

Méphistophélès :

Dans les entrailles de ces éléments, lieu de supplices où nous sommes destinés à vivre éternellement dans les tortures. L'enfer n'a point de limites, aucune portion de l'étendue ne circonscrit sa place ; l'enfer est pour nous dans tous les lieux. Nous portons en tous lieux l'enfer avec nous ; nous devons exister à jamais où est l'enfer.

(*FFT* 150)

The lexical repetition of hell in the ST is further elaborated in the translation. In this example, the word 'l'enfer' appears four times in the TT as opposed to three occurrences in the ST. In addition, the more illustrative 'lieu de supplices' is reintroduced as part of the supplementation of a conjunction. This change is a rather common strategy in translation moving from English to French in which the conjunction *where* in a subordinate adjective clause often turns into the amplified form 'à l'endroit où' (Vinay and Darbelnet 1957: 113). Bazy further resorts to the abstract for concrete lexical modulation (236) and prioritises a more moralising 'lieu de supplices où' over a neutral 'l'endroit où'. Its lexical repetition retains a closer parallelism between Mephistopheles' two statements on hell which carry a stronger premonitory degree.

The TT paragraph also reveals some unusual syntactic repetition. "Hell has no limits" receives two successive renderings in the translation, "l'enfer n'a point de limites" and "aucune portion de l'étendue ne circonscrit sa place". The paraphrase of the previous sentence contrasts with the general stylistic nature of French discourse. Eirlys E. Davis reminds us that many scholars, such as Bonnard (1953), Ballard (1989), Delisle (2000) and others showed that translation from English into French tends to reduce lexical and syntactic repetition for it is traditionally "judged negatively in French discourse" (Davis 2007: 457). Nevertheless, Bazy continues to use it extensively and further sets the ST "but where we are is hell" against "l'enfer est pour nous dans tous les lieux. Nous portons en tous lieux l'enfer avec nous" (*FTT* 150). The repetition of two slightly varied syntactic structures with the same informative value additionally stresses the all-pervasive reality of hell that will fall upon every sinner.

Whenever the torments of hell are lexically evident in the ST, Bazy further engages in the explicitation of the message with a view to producing a stronger effect. That anyone who

defies established authority and natural law will face a definite punishment is evident in the exchange between the Pope and his antagonist. The Pope warns Bruno of the fatal consequences for contesting his authority, stressing "the pains of hell" (*DF* 3.1.60) as an ultimate sentence for his transgression. Bazy gives an extensive noun phrase "les lourds châtiments réservés aux damnés" (*FTT* 181), laying greater emphasis on a more severe nature of retribution.

In cases where verbal signs in the ST offer no clear allusion to the anguish of hellish experience, the French translator carries out lexical modification. The foreshadowing of the TT Faustus's more agonising fate is evident in the following pair:

Faustus:

Despair doth drive distrust into my thoughts. (*DF* 4.4.25)

Faust :

Sans espoir dans l'avenir, je suis en proie à une affreuse anxiété. (*FFT* 217)

This radical change of the syntactic structure in the translation contains the modification on the lexical level in which Bazy gives his understanding of the original lexemes *despair* and *distrust*. While to Bazy *despair* means no hope for the future, *distrust* or lack of faith is 'une affreuse anxiété', a striking premonition of Faustus's subsequent anguish not evident in the original at this point. The examples below further demonstrate that the translator dispels any doubt as to the nature of Faustus's anticipated suffering.

The Source Text		Bazy's translation
Faustus: Sweet friends, what shall become of Faustus, <u>being in hell forever</u>? (5.2.55-6)	(10)	Faust : Chers amis, que deviendra Faust, <u>condamné pour l'éternité aux tourments de l'enfer</u> ! (247)
O friend, I fed thy words to comfort my distressed soul. Leave me a while to ponder on <u>my sins</u>! (5.1.61-2)	(11)	Oh ! mon ami, je sens que tes paroles descendent comme un baume dans mon âme désolée. Laisse-moi un moment apprécier <u>l'énormité de mes péchés</u>. (239)
Bad Angel: Nothing but <u>vex</u> thee more, <u>To want</u> in hell, that had on earth such store. (5.2.109-10)	(12)	Un mauvais ange: La privation de tous ces biens dont tu étais comblé sur la terre <u>doublera tes tourments</u> dans l'enfer. (251)
But yet all <u>these</u> are nothing. (5.2.131)	(13)	Mais tous <u>ces supplices</u> ne sont rien ; (253)

Nay, thou must feel them, taste the <u>smart</u> of all. (5.2.134-5)	(14)	Non, tu dois les sentir ; il faut que tu essaies <u>la pointe de tous ces instruments de supplices</u>. (253)
Faustus: The devil will come, and Faustus <u>must be damned</u>. (5.2.149)	(15)	Faust : le diable viendra, et <u>la damnation éternelle commencera</u> pour Faust. (254)
O, if my soul must suffer for <u>my sin</u>,	(16)	si mon âme doit subir <u>la peine de mes péchés</u>,
Impose some end to <u>my incessant pain</u>.	(17)	mettez un terme aux <u>tourments qui ne me laissent point de trève</u>.
Let Faustus <u>live in hell</u> a thousand years,	(18)	Que Faust <u>expie son crime dans l'enfer</u> pendant mille ans,
A hundred thousand, and at last be saved.	(19)	pendant cent mille ans, et qu'au-delà Faust soit sauvé… <u>Mais l'éternité !</u>...
ø No end is limited to <u>damned souls</u>. (5.2.167-171)	(20)	aucun terme n'est assigné <u>aux souffrances des damnés</u>. (254)
All beasts are <u>happy</u>, (5.2.178)	(21)	Les animaux du moins sont <u>exempts de ces tourments éternels,</u> (255)

Table 9: Explicitation of the message: increased moralistic character of the TT

The table gives paired extracts from Faustus's exchange with the Old Man, his final conversation with the scholars, the last apparition of the Good and Bad Angel and his last soliloquy. Bazy has his Faustus ponder on the 'enormité' of his sins instead of the ST neuter 'my sins', thus strengthening the weight of his offence (ex.11). Consequently, his punishment is more severe.

In his exchange with the scholars, while ST Faustus is uncertain of what to expect in hell (ex.10), Bazy gives a specific answer to his TT counterpart. The ST interrogative sentence[139] turns into the TT exclamation with a semantically elaborate message "condamné pour l'éternité aux tourments de l'enfer", a frightening premonition giving certainty to a more severe punishment.

The final intervention of Good and Bad Angels, unique only to B, already offers a highly moralising attitude that fits well into the TT's altered morality structure. The Good Angel reproaches Faustus for not following his advice that would secure him "celestial happiness" (*DF* 5.2.111). The Bad Angel, in turn, gloats over Faustus's chosen path and delivers a horrendous vision of hell as a "vast perpetual torture-house" (*DF* 5.2.122). Even though Bazy does not need to intervene at this point, he nevertheless further contributes to the disturbing articulation of the torments of hell. He uses his trademark strategy of the supplementation of a deictic element by a noun in which *these* is rendered as *ces supplices*

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[139] Oxberry's edition also prints a question mark at the end of the line (*Ox,* 60).

(ex.13), thus continuing to repeat the lexeme. In (ex.14), the ST noun *smart* already denotes "mental pain or suffering […] of the nature of punishment and retribution" (*OED*, n. 2a). Bazy makes use of the dictionary definition in the translation to reiterate *supplices*. Exploiting the lexical repetition as an emphatic device, he translates the noun phrase as a more detailed "la pointe de tous ces instruments de supplices".

He increases the number of words denoting different levels of suffering and pain by a double. The noun phrase 'damned souls' in Faustus's last monologue (ex.20) becomes 'souffrances des damnés' in the translation. Its counterpart 'happy' used in references to 'beasts' a few lines later (ex.21) is translated as 'exempts de ces tourments éternels'. This line is paralleled with the previous rendering of 'pain' (ex.17) as 'tourments'. Moreover, the Bad Angel in the ST states that the core of Faustus's trouble in hell will be his longing for the "riches, pleasures, pomps" (*DF* 5.2.108) that he enjoyed in abundance in his earthly life. Whereas the ST Faustus will only be *vex*[ed][140] (ex.12), the loss of such material gains will 'doublera tes tourments' for TT Faustus.

Just as the words *tourments*, *supplices* and *souffrances* are more resonant in the TT, so is the concept of eternity expressed by different verbal signs. As shown in the table, it is added in the process of structural modification in (ex.15) where 'must be damned' is conveyed by 'la damnation éternelle' and in (ex.19) where the exclamation 'mais l'éternité!' is interpolated to stress that the final punishment is not only physically more intense but also indefinite agony.

Finally, Faustus's anticipation to 'live in hell' (ex.18), which relates to the former inquiry about the nature of his 'being in hell' (ex.10), becomes a more moralising construction 'expier son crime dans l'enfer'. The explicitation of the verbal message reminds the reader of Faustus's recurrently amplified transgression and, consequently, a well-deserved punishment. It echoes the previous 'epxier son insolence' for 'quit my infamy' (*DF* 4.1.13) in the original, which in turn, further strengthens the link between Faustus's and Lucifer's sin, who, in both ST and TT, was expelled from heaven for "aspiring pride and insolence" (*DF* 1.3.66)/"en soufflant l'orgueil et l'insolence" (*FTT* 133). The French version offers a clearer parallelism between the opening lines where the prologue announces that Faustus will atone for his guilt, "expier son imprudence" (explicitly articulated only in the TT through the strategy of addition) and the final reminder that Faustus will "expier son crime", made lexically evident in the TT only as opposed to its ST corresponding line.

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[140] *Vex*] to irritate, annoy tease (*OED*, v. trans. 2b) as well as to afflict a mental agitation or trouble (*OED*, v. trans, 3a).

The play ends in the scholar's report on Faustus's physical torture, which once again becomes more disturbing in the TT.

Third scholar:
For, 'twixt the hours of twelve and one, methought
I heard him shriek and call aloud for help,
At which self time the house seemed all on fire
With dreadful horror of these damnèd fiends.
(*DF* 5.3.9-10)

Troisième étudiant :
[…] entre minuit et une heure ; il me semblait que j'entendais pousser des cris de douleur et de désespoir, et appeler au secours. Dans le même moment toute la maison paraissait en feu et enveloppée dans la redoutable horreur que répandaient ces ennemis damnés.
(*FTT* 257)

Faustus's physical torment in stressed. His 'shrieks' in the ST receive a more descriptive form in the TT, 'des cris de douleur et de désespoir'.

All in all, Bazy's version resembles the original German *Faustbuch* or its English translation, which, unlike Marlowe's dramatic treatment of the legend, were more moralising in tone. Bazy seems to have added to their inherent warning to the pious Christian a warning against the republican and secular tendency to reorganise society with no recourse to religious dogma or traditional values.

4.3.2 Antipapal Sentiment Reduced

As indicated in 2.3, by introducing the Bruno sub-plot, the B version further intensifies the anti-Catholic sentiment already present in A. To the amusement of the Elizabethan spectator, Faustus emerges as a political hero who helps the German anti-Pope escape from his Roman Catholic counterpart, the latter portrayed as a greedy and arrogant figure obsessed with power. In addition, a parody of the Catholic Church and its practices is further elaborated through Faustus's and Mephistopheles' practical jokes.

This undermining of papal authority conveniently echoes a fierce opposition to the Papal States carried out by Italian romantics and republicans at the time of Bazy's translation.

As discussed above, it received a strong support from the French socialist and republican parties and aroused strong disapproval among conservative political currents.

Whereas the Elizabethan public would find antipapal jokes laughable and amusing, a devout Catholic such as Bazy regards them as insulting and blasphemous. As an ultramontanist and a passionate defender of the apostolic nature of the Pope and the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church, Bazy actively engages in the political battle he witnesses in Marlowe's play. We have seen how his most elaborate commentary in his translation notes appears in reply to the episode of Faustus's public humiliation of the Pope. In translating the banquet scene fraught with Faustus's practical jokes, Bazy inserts in the main body of the text a highly critical remark "une main sacrilège" (*FTT* 189), finding the whole episode even too appalling to render into French. Even though the translator openly claims that he will faithfully reproduce all the elements of what he perceives as anti-Catholic propaganda because "la papauté est à une hauteur que les traits de la muse ivre de Marlowe n'atteignent pas" (189), the translator nevertheless intervenes and delivers a text that considerably attenuates the overall anti-Catholic sentiment, portraying the Pope in a far better light in comparison with the original. Changes in the translation set the infallibility of the Pope against the erroneous and corrupt nature of Faustus and all the Protestant characters. For that matter, the derogatory remarks about the Pope or Catholic liturgical rites are toned down or even omitted on a few occasions in the translation.

Omission is certainly not a characteristic trait of Bazy's translation for his TT generally shows a tendency to amplify and expand the existing lexical material. However, the translator resorts to occasional deletion of lines perceived as potentially offensive. In the scene at the imperial court, Martino announces to Benvolio that Faustus is about to demonstrate his conjuring abilities in front of the Emperor and the German Pope, to which Benvolio replies:

> Has not the Pope enough of conjuring yet?
> He was upon the devil's back late enough;
> An if he be so far in love with him,
> I would he would post with him to Rome again. (*DF* 4.1.34-7)

The image of the German Pope being on the devil's back refers to Bruno's supernatural ride from Rome to Germany "on a fury's back" (*DF* 4.1.7), with the assistance of Faustus's magic. At the same time, in light of the common Protestant association of the Catholic Pope with Antichrist and the devil, Bruno's riding "the devil's back" may also refer to the previous

episode in which he fights for supreme authority with Pope Adrian. A double entendre with offensive undertones that suggests that the Catholic Pope is the incarnation of the Satan is lost in the TT due to the omission of Benvolio's statement. The four lines are rendered as a simple condemnation for diabolism "Au diable la magie!" (*FTT* 197).

Another implicit offence to the Pope is missing in the translation. The same scene gives Benvolio overlooking Faustus's conjuring show from the window. The German knight continues to discard Faustus's demonstration of magic as the works of a trickster: "He looks as / a conjurer as the Pope to a costermonger[141] !" (*DF* 4.1.72-3). However, if the devil-ridden universe of the play confirms a convincing reality of Faustus's conjuring skills, so is the high position of the head of the Catholic Church compellingly brought down to the level of an open street apple seller. This unflattering association receives zero lexical material in the TT in which the whole line is omitted. Oxberry's edition prints the line (*Ox*. 39), as well as all other existing English texts prior to Bazy's version. This makes Bazy's decision to omit the lines an arguable personal attempt to eradicate the conventional Elizabethan attack on Roman Catholicism. Similarly, the ST stage direction "[strikes him]" (*Ox*. 35), referring to invisible Faustus landing a mild blow on the Pope's head, does not appear in the translation.

The Pope and the churchmen are also portrayed in the ST as immersed in gluttony. Jill Barker reminds us that "the Pope is very persistent in his repeated attempts to eat and drink" (2004: 81), making his character on a par with Faustus's equal unfavourable quality. However, this insult is played down in Bazy's translation. The Pope invites the Cardinal of Lorraine to join him for the feast to which invisible Faustus sarcastically replies aside:

Faustus:
Fall to. The devil choke you an you spare. (*DF* 3.2.59-60)

Faust :
A la besogne; que le diable vous étrangle, si vous ne marchez pas à mon gré ! (*FTT* 187)

Two verbal forms are used in the context of eating in the ST. 'Fall to' means "set to work", "make a start", but also "begin to eat" (Jump 1965: 127), while 'an you spare' is interpreted as "if you eat sparingly" (Keefer 2007: 135). Both Jump and Keefer remind that Gluttony curses Faustus with the same "the devil choke thee" (*DF* 2.3.148) at the earlier pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins. However, the verbal representation of the churchmen's

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[141] *Costermonger*] – a street fruit seller.

excessive behaviour is not apparent in the translation. While it is difficult to render the double meaning of 'fall to', Faustus's commentary 'an you spare', which ironically alludes to the Pope's anticipated lack of restraint in food consumption, is revised in the TT. A parody on the Pope and his guests is nevertheless turned into a critical attitude to Faustus, who is seen more as an authoritarian figure eager to punish anyone who does not act according to his desire[142].

Other lexical omissions and line variations alter the fashioning of the Pope character in the TT. Not only is he less gluttonous but he is also less proud and arrogant in Bazy's version. Upon their arrival in Rome, Faustus and Mephistopheles state that they will disrupt the festive celebration of Saint Peter's day in the papal chambers. Faustus's announcement in the form of a rhyming couplet "Then in this show[143] let me an actor be, / That proud Pope may Faustus's cunning see" (*DF* 3.1.75-6) is translated partially as "Laisse-moi mêler en acteur à cette solennité" (*FTT* 176). The line in which the Pope receives an explicit epithet 'proud' does not appear in the TT. In addition, Mephistopheles' words that encourage Faustus to mock the papacy:

Mephistopheles:
And then devise what best contents thy mind
By cunning in thine art, to cross the Pope,
Or dash the pride of his solemnity. (*DF* 3.1.80-1)

receive a much shorter form in translation:

Méphistophélès :
[…] et imagine ce qui saurait le plus à ton esprit pour troubler cette solennité. (*FTT* 176)

The French equivalent of the word 'pride' is once again dropped out. The TT reader at this point cannot perceive the Pope in line with Faustus, error-prone secular monarchs or Lucifer himself, portrayed on the lexical level as exuding excessive pride in both ST and TT.

Moreover, lexical inconsistence in rendering this ST word further detaches the Pope from pride as one of the seven deadly sins. At the same time, this close association is maintained in the case of Protestant reformers in the TT. Whenever 'proud' or 'pride' is used in reference to the Pope's doctrinal and political opponents, Bazy uses a lexical item with

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[142] Compare F. Rabbe's more ST-oriented translation "le diable vous étouffe, s'il vous reste quelque chose" (1889: appendix 3, sc. VI, 333).

[143] The use of the word *show* already exposes falsity behind the outward appearance of Catholic solemn festivities (*OED*, n. 3).

'orgueil' as its semantic root, increasing the weight of their sin. We have already seen how the TT Faustus more explicitly "se laissa emporter par son orgueil" (*FTT* 108) and how Lucifer fell for "aspiring pride and insolence" (*DF* 1.3.66) or "l'orgueil et l'insolence" in the translation (*FTT* 133). The Pope's accusation against Charles the Fifth that "he grows too proud in his authority" (*DF* 3.1.132) is conveyed through the use of a grammatical category change, evident in the verbal form "il s'enorgueillit de plus en plus de son autorité"[144] (*FTT* 179), thus strengthening the cardinal sin of pride inherent in the Emperor's actions. Likewise, "the flow'ring pride of Wittenberg" (*DF* 1.1.108) is retained in the TT as "la fleur et l'orgueil de Wittemberg" (*FTT* 118). Finally, "proud disturbers of the Church's peace" (*DF* 3.1.177), used in reference to the anti-Pope and the German Emperor, does not receive the form 'orgueilleux' in the translation, but is rendered as "des perturbateurs impudent de la paix de l'Eglise" (*FTT* 182). Nevertheless, the lexical choice echoes the earlier TT interpolation of its near-synonym in the chorus in which Faustus "expia son imprudence" (*FTT* 108).

On the other hand, Bazy deconstructs and recreates new patterns of lexical cohesion with the aim to soften the subversive intratextual links that make the Pope guilty of the same sin of pride. In addition to the aforementioned lexical omissions, the subsequent rendering of 'pride' or 'proud' applied to the Pope or priesthood further attenuates a direct link with the capital sin. When Bruno addresses the Pope by "proud Lucifer" (*DF* 3.1.118) in a scene in which the latter uses him as a stepstool to mount his throne, the TT uses a slightly softened "fier Lucifer" (*FTT* 177), and not the expected 'orgueilleux'. Similarly, when Faustus utters to himself "this proud confronter of the Emperor" (*DF* 3.1.119), referring to Pope Adrian, the TT again delivers "ce fier antagoniste de l'empereur" (*FTT* 179). The altered and omitted lexical evidence in the TT less persuasively invites the reader or the audience to question the righteousness of the Pope, who is, in effect, overwhelmed with the sin of pride in the original.

The similar web of lexical interrelations and lexical parallelism in the ST is altered and recreated in the translation with a view to contrasting the infallible nature and legitimate rule of the Pope with the illegitimate pretenders to his throne. This emphatic effect is achieved by the lexical reiteration of the words 'puissance' or 'pouvoir' with no lexical equivalent in the original in their corresponding place, stressing yearning for power as the main motivation of

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[144] In Bazy's historical writings Protestant monarchs are often portrayed as expressing their "orgueil royal" (1864a: 6). The whole Anglican society is guilty of "l'orgueil britannique" (1850: 58). Protestant reformers display the same quality, "l'orgueil des novateurs" (1850: 29) and, accordingly, French nineteenth-century republicans (1872: 7). More specifically, a lecture on the history of the Reformation demonstrates that Bazy often uses the vocabulary of eating and appetite to stress their excessive character. The Faustian motif is inherent in the character of German post-Reformation monarchs. Charles the Fifth is explicitly described as cherishing "les rêves de domination universelle [qui l'] enivrent" (1864b: 12).

secular sovereigns. Moreover, certain lexical modification exposes human fallibility and incompetence inherent in the Emperor's character in a more direct manner.

The Pope's portrayal of the Emperor already anticipates his deplorable transgression and political ambition with the added line "il prétend paraître au-dessus de nous" (*FTT* 180). Later on, a seemingly unimportant exchange between the Emperor and Faustus reveals two other unfavorable traits. The Emperor's "O, pardon me…" (*DF* 4.1.105) is translated as "je reconnais mon erreur" (*FTT* 201), while "to satisfy my longing thoughts" (*DF* 4.1.110) is modified into "pour satisfaire entièrement mon impatience" (*FTT* 201). Hence, the TT reader's attention is drawn to proneness to human error and impatience, explicitly articulated characteristics of bad governance, missing in the original.

The Source Text		Bazy's translation
Lucifer: I am Lucifer, And this <u>is my companion prince</u> in hell. (2.2.88-9)	(22)	Lucifer : Je suis Lucifer, et <u>celui-ci associé à ma puissance</u> dans l'enfer. (162)
Faustus: With walls of flint, and deep-entrenched lakes, Not to be won by any <u>conquering prince</u>. (3.1.4-5)	(23)	Faust : Avec ses murailles de cailloux et ses lacs profonds qui le protègent ; cité imprenable, contre laquelle se brisent <u>la puissance de tous les conquérants</u>. (173)
Faustus: Now, by the kingdoms of infernal <u>rule</u>, Of Styx, Acheron and the fiery lake. (3.1.44-5)	(24)	Faust : Par les royaumes soumis à <u>la puissance</u> de l'enfer, par les régions où coulent le Styx et l'Achéron... (175)
Pope : But we'll pull down his naughty insolence And as Pope Alexander, our progenitor, Trod on the neck of German Frederick, Adding this golden sentence to our praise, 'That Peter's heirs should tread on <u>emperors</u>. (3.1.135-140)	(25)	Le Pape : Mais nous abattrons sa fière insolence, ajoutant à notre louange cette maxime précieuse que les héritiers de saint Pierre doivent tenir sous leurs pieds <u>la puissance impériale</u>. (180)
So will we quell that haughty schismatic And by authority apostolical Depose him from his <u>regal government.</u> (3.1.143-4)	(26)	… nous dompterons le superbe schismatique, et, en vertu de l'autorité apostolique, nous le dépouillerons de son <u>pouvoir royal</u>. (180)
Emperor: Great Alexander and his paramour <u>In their true shapes and stately majestical,</u> That we may wonder at their excellence. (4.1.76-8)	(27)	L'empereur : Alexandre-le-Grand, et sa femme <u>dans l'éclat de la puissance</u> pour offrir à notre admiration l'image de la grandeur. (199)

Table 10: Addition of lexeme *pouvoir/puissance* in reference to secular authority

Moreover, lexical alteration adds to the perception of the actions of the German characters as merely usurping. Faustus disguised as the Cardinal in pronouncing the sentence

on the accused Bruno informs the Pope that his German rival "seek[s] to wear the triple diadem" (*DF* 3.1.180). In the translation, a relatively neutral verbal form 'wear' is set against 's'emparer de', which resonates more vividly with the act of taking a position of power illegally or with force. The TT corresponding line is "[…] a cherché à s'emparer du triple diadème" (*FTT* 182). Other 19th-century French translations use more philologically "accurate" equivalent that does not stress at this point the usurping nature of Bruno's action. Both François-Victor Hugo and Félix Rabbe, for example, deliver the identical neutral rendering "[…] cherché a porté le triple diadème" (Rabbe 1889: appendix 3, sc.6, 321; Hugo 1858: 128).

That any secular governance at the hands of imperfect monarchs can easily lead to the exertion of absolute power and, as such, should be restrained and controlled by righteous papal authority is suggested in the cases of lexical addition or modification in the TT, as evidenced by the table above.

The table illustrates the textual instances of royal or imperial government that are rendered in the TT with close lexical links with the notion of power not evident in the original. The rule of Alexander the Great 'dans l'éclat de la puissance' (ex.27) is thus paralleled with 'la puissance impériale' (ex.25) and 'pouvoir royal' (ex.26) of Charles the Fifth or with any secular authority which the TT refers to as 'la puissance de tous les conquérents' (ex.23). They are in turn brought closer to Satan's 'infernal rule' transposed as 'la puissance de l'enfer' (ex.24). The association of secular governance with devilish kingdom was repeated earlier in the TT, when Lucifer's 'companion prince[145] in hell' (ex.22) turns into his 'puissance dans l'enfer' with no lexical equivalent in the original

Bazy eagerly exploits the view of the Pope as an apostolic successor to Saint Peter, from whom he received the keys of Heaven. As such, he possesses divine wisdom to distinguish between right and wrong, enabling him to justly decide on the redemption or damnation of the believer. While this portrayal is delivered in the ST with irony, Bazy emphasises the exercise of personal power inherent in state governance in order to seemingly justify the Pope's tendency to restrain the imperial rule as well as his humiliating actions against Bruno. Hence, by means of lexical interpolation he reminds the TT reader in a more efficient manner of the Emperor's and Bruno's obsession with power akin to the same amplified quality of the TT Faustus. Consequently, the Pope's self-aggrandising claim that he can legitimately restrict the German ruler's 'regal government' and even to 'tread on

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[145] Mephistopheles.

emperors' is given a shade of ethical justification in the translation. The two ST phrases receive the TT respective forms 'la puissance impériale' (ex.25) and 'son pouvoir royal' (ex.26), calling into question the righteousness of secular governance.

With this aim in view, the TT Pope and clergymen are given the infallible status not evident in the original, which is demonstrated in the following TT-ST pairs:

Pope:

We will determine of his life and death. (*DF* 3.1.190)

Le pape:

Nous déciderons dans notre sagesse s'il doit vivre ou mourir. (*FTT* 182)

First Friar:

Come, brethren, let's about our business with good devotion. (*DF* 3.2.95)

Premier religieux:

Venez, mes frères, remplissons notre mission sainte avec une grande dévotion.

(*FTT* 190)

The final sentence on the sinner pronounced by the Pope is perceived as just and morally fair for he is granted divine wisdom with the addition of 'dans notre sagesse' in the translation. Bazy further vents his clerical sentiment by turning the ST churchmen's 'business' into 'notre mission sainte', in keeping with his previously expressed view on the importance of the involvement of priesthood in matters of the state. In addition, when the Pope expresses his anger at the mysterious force that keeps disturbing his reception, he utters 'lubbers'[146] (*DF* 3.2.75). The word that is aimed either at Faustus or members of the clergy urging them to discover who is behind this act is missing in the translation. Bazy cannot allow his respected Pope to have such a low-life word in his vocabulary. But more importantly, anticlerical zeal is also slightly reduced, though, in this instance, probably due to the translator's unconscious act. Keefer notes that according to *OED* the word 'lubbers' missing in the translation was commonly used as an insult to monks in the medieval period (Keefer 2007: 192).

In addition, the TT Pope emerges as a less authoritarian character. The Pope's hostile treatment of Bruno evident in the example "to me and Peter shalt thou groveling lie / And

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[146] [*Lubbers*] clumsy louts (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 244); clumsy stupid fellows (Jump 1965: 83).

crouch before the papal dignity[147]" (*DF* 3.1.94-5) adds to his harsh and arrogant character in the ST. Bazy's version turns a commanding tone in the affirmative ST statement into a seemingly more polite question: "Veux-tu ramper pour moi et pour Saint-Pierre ? T'humilieras-tu devant la majesté pontificale ?" (*FTT* 177). A change of modal auxiliary from more commanding 'shalt' to 'vouloir' in the translation gives Bruno more volition in accepting the traditional order, thus avoiding severe punishment. However, the lexical modification, which turns 'crouch' into the form with a different connotative value 'humilier', may suggest that the Pope adopts a sarcastic tone and that Bruno's choice is effectively denied in the TT as well. Whether the utterance represents a mockery of Bruno or portrays the Pope's milder character will depend entirely on the actor on stage. The release of what Stanislavski calls 'the gestural subtext' (Bassnett 2000: 96) in the physical realisation of a dramatic text in performance results from the actor's interpretation of the implicit meaning (Pavis 1989/1998: 353). It contributes to the overall gesture, emotional impulse and intonation given to the character or situation on stage. The translator too can have a significant role in guiding the actors' encoding of the unsaid. In his essay on translating contemporary drama, Dragoslav Andrić gives practical examples from the Serbian translations of English and French play-texts to show how even the slightest changes in translation on the level of grammar or punctuation can significantly change the overall tone of dramatic exchange (1981: 238-9). In this sense, Bazy's rendering offers a greater possibility for the Pope's character to be delivered as less rigid and imperious in performance, as opposed to the original or other nineteenth-century French translations. Neither F. Rabbe nor F.V. Hugo changes the syntactic form of a transeme from statement into question at this point. Moreover, they both translate a modal 'shalt' as the near future *(le future proche)* verbal form evident in "[…] tu vas t'étendre en rampant" (Rabbe 1889: appendix 3, sc.6, 319) and "tu vas ramper" (Hugo 1858:124). Hence, they retain certainty and the "intrinsic modal sense of obligation" (Peters 2013: 372) inherent in the ST 'shall' with the immediacy of near future actions expressed in the TT verbal grammatical form.

Finally, the TT Pope is even elevated to the level of sainthood, whereas Protestantism is more closely allied with the spirit of disorder. The Archbishop interprets the inexplicable disturbance at the banquet as the workings of wandering spirits who ask for papal forgiveness:

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[147] The punctuation in Oxberry goes as: "To me and Peter shalt thou groveling lie, / And crouch before the papal dignity" (*Ox*. 29).

Archbishop:

Please it your Holiness, I think it be some ghost crept out of purgatory and now is come unto your Holiness for his pardon[148]. (*DF* 3.2.80-2)

These lines express a stinging Protestant satire on the Catholic doctrine of purgatory and the practice of indulgences as remission of sins. Bazy's version reads:

Archevêque :

Avec la permission de Votre Sainteté, je crois que ce désordre est causé par quelque âme échappée du purgatoire et qui vient demander l'intercession de Votre Sainteté. (*FTT* 188)

Two lexical modifications alter the informative value of the entire message. First, the deictic element in the ST is replaced with the specific lexical referent 'ce désordre' in the TT. This resonant word in Bazy's writings seems to emerge in the translation to emphasise the Protestant antipapal project of Faustus's as producing disorder on a larger scale in society. As discussed above, Bazy firmly insists that Christianity emerges "au milieu du désordre moral et matériel de l'Occident" (1842: 5). In his view, the moment Luther defies papal authority, "l'esprit de désordre" (1850: 30) is yet again unleashed on Western society and never subsided to his day. Accordingly, radical republicanism and the *libre-pensée* "qui a cette origine, n'engendre que le désordre" (1872: 5). Bazy's defence of papal supremacy and the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church as the pillar of social order is mirrored in the alteration on the lexical level. Secondly, the ST 'pardon' is translated as 'intercession', thus alluding to his saintly and divine status. In the Catholic theology, 'intercession' implies the mediation between man and God through Christ, the Virgin, angel or the saints. According to the New Advent Catholic encyclopedia, the term is primarily restricted to the action and intervention of the saints, who are invoked in order to pray for the souls in purgatory (Scannell 1910). The achieved lexical association between the Pope and sainthood further strengthens his infallible nature and indispensible role in bringing every Christian to eternal salvation.

Bazy also subconsciously holds the Pope in a greater respect, shifting the modes of address in the TT. The table below lists the renderings of a degree of reverence towards characters of different rank in the social hierarchy. The characters' social status is given in descending order.

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[148] *Pardon*] indulgence (Bevington and Rasmusen 1993: 244).

Source Text	Bazy's translation
Addressing the Pope	
First Cardinal: my lord (3.1.110) your sacred Holiness (3.2.33) your Grace (3.2.44) Raymond : my lord (3.1.166) Archbishop of Rheims: your Holiness (3.2.58) Faustus (dressed as Cardinal): most sacred patron (3.1.172) Faustus: sir (3.2.63)	Premier cardinal : Votre Sainteté (178) Votre Sainteté (185) Votre Sainteté (186) Raymond : Saint-Père (181) L'évêque : Votre Sainteté (187) Faust (en costume de cardinal): très-saint patron (182) Faust : monsieur (187)
Addressing the German Emperor	
Faustus: most royal Carolus (4.1.60) your Grace (4.1.65) your Grace (4.1.70) your Majesty (4.1.79) my lord (4.1.92) your Grace (4.1.95) my gracious lord (4.1.103) your Majesty (4.1.114) my lord (4.1.125) my gracious lord (4.1.157) your Majesty (4.1.158)	Faust : très-auguste empereur (199) votre grâce (199) votre majesté (199) votre majesté (200) monseigneur (200) votre grâce (200) mon gracieux seigneur (201) votre majesté (202) mon seigneur (202) mon gracieux seigneur (204) votre majesté (204)
Addressing Duke of Vanholt	
Faustus : my good lord (4.6.6) your Grace (4.6.7) your Grace (4.6.27) your Grace (4.6.57) your Grace (4.6.71) your Grace (4.6.74)	Faust : mon bon seigneur (224) votre grâce (224) votre grâce (225) votre grâce (228) votre grâce (229) votre grâce (229)
Addressing Benvolio the knight	
Faustus: sir (4.1.139) sir (4.1.162)	Faust : monsieur (204) monsieur (205)

Table 11: Modes of address to characters of different social rank in the ST and TT

We note that the French translator shows greater concern for philological accuracy in translating the modes of address to the characters of lower social rank. Hence, 'sir', commonly used in reference to the German knight, is faithfully reproduced as 'monsieur', whereas the dominant 'your Grace', applying to the German duke, repeatedly receives the unvaried form 'votre grâce'. Charles the Fifth enjoys greater prestige in both the ST and TT.

'My lord', 'Your Grace', 'your Majesty' and 'my gracious lord' have as their TT counterparts 'mon seigneur', 'votre grâce', 'votre majesté' and 'mon gracieux seigneur'. At the same time, social stratification and the distinction between secular and ecclesiastical authority in the ST is less rigid in comparison with the translation. Pope Adrian is twice addressed by 'my lord' and once by 'your Grace', a mode of address which is primarily reserved for both the duke and the Emperor. Bazy's translation does not allow the Pope to be aligned in this sense with the holders of different positions in the secular hierarchical structure. He establishes uniformity in addressing the Pope and renders a problematic textual occurrence of 'my lord' and 'your Grace' as 'Votre Sainteté', placing him firmly on the top. Another instance of 'my lord', spoken by the Hungarian king Raymond, is turned into 'Saint-Père', which further sets him apart from monarchs or lower social strata at the same time strengthening his infallible status. Only Faustus will address the Pope by 'sir' reducing his status to that of Benvolio. The TT delivers the French equivalent 'monsieur', which exposes Faustus's lack of respect[149] rather than the pontiff's undermined status.

It is difficult to argue whether the latest pattern of shifts results from the translator's deliberate and conscious decision. In the poststructuralist terms, just as the authorial intention is discarded in the original writing, so is the translator's intention in the process of literary translation. The latter is no longer considered a derivative activity and of inferior status but a creative process worthy of the original. Mona Baker refers to Ian Mason's (1994) claim that sometimes "there is no need to attribute the divergent discourse of the target text to any deliberate intention of the translator because 'mediation' can be an unconscious process" (2000: 23). Consequently, the TT narrative as the necessary manipulation of the ST codes speaks for itself independently of the translator. With this in view, it is more probable that Bazy transfers his deep admiration for the head of the Catholic Church, clearly documented in his writings, onto the more respectful language used by different TT characters when addressing the pontiff. A similar effect is apparent in a change of register in the translation. When Faustus announces his conversation with the Pope, the word 'parley' is translated as 'conférer avec' (*FTT* 179), switching to a more elegant register. The same lexical item 'parley', uttered by the First soldier, used to denote the anticipated exchange between the gentlemen at the Emperor's court and Faustus, is rendered as a more common 'parler' (212), hence expressing the style of everyday language.

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[149] It is spoken when invisible Faustus steals food from the table in front of the Pope and the ecclesiastics.

In what follows, we will demonstrate how Bazy's Catholic background affects the revision of the dominant theological framework that operates within the TT.

4.3.3 Theology Revised

In 4.2.2.3 we expounded Bazy's view on one of the main issues on which the Catholic and Protestant religious doctrines strongly disagreed – the availability of grace and the possibility of salvation. According to the Catholics, God's grace is available to all and the believer's free will and participation in sacramental rites is partially asserted in the process of repentance and, consequently, salvation. According to the Elizabethan Church of primarily Calvinist orientation, grace is promised only to the elect in the doctrine of predestination and the believer's conscious and deliberate action in salvation is obviated. As we have seen in 2.3, many critics assert that the main tension in the play stems from the opposition between the voluntarist framework mirroring moderate Calvinism or Catholicism on the one hand and the determinist reading of radical Calvinism on the other. Each version of the play offers a multiform and ambiguous theological reality. At the same time the B-text more generally dramatises the voluntarist reading[150], granting Faustus a certain degree of autonomy in salvation. Bazy offers a version that considerably resolves the ambiguity inherent in the ST. Faustus's conscious choice in the act of sin is intensified as well as the continual possibility of repentance and salvation that can be realised through his free will in collaboration with divinity. Divine providence is portrayed not as a vengeful and malevolent but as a more generous force offering Faustus redemption that he stubbornly and consciously rejects till the very end. That the TT protagonist is granted more autonomy in salvation and that his damnation is not as imminent as in the ST is made evident by the systematic distortion of modal auxiliaries and the introduction of new imagery.

In *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Grammar* (2013) Pam Peters defines modality as "the speaker/writer's perspective on the verbal process" in relation to the "likelihood or certainty of it happening and whether there is some obligation or necessity tied up in it" (212). The scholar provides a traditional distinction between deonic and epistemic modality and borrows Bas Aarts's (1997) list of seven main categories of possible meanings borne by modal auxiliaries: possibility, ability, permission, obligation, necessity, intention and prediction (212).

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[150] Even though there is convincing textual evidence for the opposite case (see chapter 2.3).

If we look into a category of meaning that a particular modal auxiliary adds to the main verb that denotes the verbal act/state of repentance or salvation, we can uncover the degree of the subject's volition or the effect of external permissive or prohibitive conditions on the verbal process. This can help determine the prevailing theological outlooks in different versions of the text. The variation of modality in the translation can thus alter its theological framework.

The meaning expressed by modals that are of generally polysemous nature is dependent on the pragmatic and linguistic context (Peters 2013: 212). In order to determine the operative sense of the modal restricted to a particular textual context of its occurrence in the ST and compare it with its TT equivalent, I have had recourse to Sadao Ando's *Descriptive Syntax of Christopher Marlowe's Language* (1976), an extremely detailed grammatical and syntactic description of Marlowe's canon. Among other things, the scholar gives a specific category of meaning and the relative strength attributed to each modal auxiliary used in Marlowe's works.

The first apparent case of the alteration of modality in the TT appears in the opening scene of Act Two as printed in modern English editions. Upon offering his soul in exchange for twenty-four years of pleasure and knowledge, but prior to the official signing of the contract, Faustus shows the first signs of irresolution:

Now, Faustus,
Must thou needs be damn'd; canst thou not be sav'd. (*Ox*. 13)

There is no notable difference on the verbal level between the A- and the B-text in these lines, apart from the omission of the conjunction 'and' from the second line of B. The B version here also retains all the modal verbs in A. Before we look at the shift of modal auxiliary in the translation, another structural change leads to the revised meaning in the TT. Bazy turns the imminence of damnation inherent in the ST negative statement into a more plausible salvation implied by the use of an interrogative sentence:

A présent, Faust, dois-tu nécessairement être damné ? ne saurais-tu être sauvé ? (*FTT* 140)

None of the modern English editions prior to Bazy's version print the interrogative sentence at this point. However, the same change of informative value is evident in the early quartos. The 1604 quarto retains the declarative sentence, whereas the 1616 quarto prints the

question mark[151] (see chapter 2.2, table 3.8). Stevie Simkin argues that this change in B "offers a ray of hope that the A-text shuts out" (qtd. in O'Connor 2003: 32). It is unlikely that the early quartos were available to Bazy. Nevertheless, in a similar manner, he changed a sense of impending doom in Oxberry's edition into a more realistic hope of salvation in his translation.

But more importantly, it is a change of the modal verb that plays well to Faustus's advantage. Whereas the modal '*must*' in this example turns into its usual counterpart 'devoir', the transposition of 'canst'[152] into 'savoir' denoting a higher degree of ability leads to the revision of the TT's theology. If we observe the linguistic and pragmatic context of its occurrence in the ST, we might reduce the potential operative meanings of 'can' to only one.

The Cambridge Dictionary of English Grammar offers three possible categories of meaning of 'can': possibility, ability and permission (Peters 2013: 212). To Sadao Ando, the line stands as an example of theoretical possibility expressed by the collocation with a passive infinitive (331). According to the scholar, theoretical possibility denoted by 'can' involves the presence of external conditions that enable or disable the subject to perform the action of the main verb depending on whether it appears in an affirmative or a negative form (325). The subject's inherent volition is thus excluded in this example (in the sense 'you do not know how to be saved'), whereas permission (= 'you are not allowed to be saved') is also implied. The affirmation of theoretical possibility or permission points to a higher degree of obstruction supplied by the external force. Therefore, Faustus's salvation in the ST is dependent on factors beyond his own potential and control.

The sense of ability inherent in the modal *'can'* is commonly rendered into French as the verbs 'savoir' or 'pouvoir'[153], whereas theoretical possibility or permission exclusively takes the verbal form 'pouvoir' followed by the main verb. If we follow Ando's interpretation, a French translator would here opt for the second option. However, Bazy uses 'savoir' granting TT Faustus greater intrinsic ability to take matters into his own hands. By implying that salvation is not completely beyond Faustus's control (= 'don't you know how to be saved?' as opposed to the ST 'you are not allowed be saved'), the TT is less Calvinist

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[151] Bevington and Rasmussen assert that questions marks in early texts were frequently used as exclamation points. Therefore the question mark printed at the end of the A-text line "must thou needs be damned" is omitted in their edition. On the other hand, the scholars retain the interrogative sentence in the B-text stating that the revisers accidentally anticipated the apparent question in the next line (1993: 132).

[152] The early 2nd-person singular present form of *can*.

[153] Both *savoir* and *pouvoir* can be used to express the physical and mental ability inherent in the subject. However, *pouvoir* denotes a weaker relative degree of the subject's ability in comparison with *savoir* (Vetters 2012).

and more Catholic at this point. The two subsequent French translations render the modal verbs in a more ST-oriented manner:

Maintenant, Faust, tu es nécessairement damné ; tu ne peux plus être sauvé.

(F. V. Hugo 1858: 89)

Maintenant, Faust, te voilà nécessairement destiné à être damné et tu ne peux être sauvé.

(Rabbe 1889: sc. v, 39)

Contrary to Bazy, both translators downplay the subject's wilfulness by using the more restrictive 'pouvoir' as well as the statement instead of the question. In addition, we can observe the progressive denial of Faustus's free will which is either in line with the Calvinist doctrine or, more presumably, the play's heroic reading. Rabbe further intensifies the parameter of necessity introduced by 'must' into the predication in the original by using the form 'destiné à' in his translation, thus making Faustus's damnation an inevitable end. The table below illustrates the cases of modality distortion in the TT that intensify the subject's inherent initiative and freedom in repentance and weakens external prohibitive conditions.

The Source Text		Bazy's translation
Faustus: My heart is harden'd, I <u>cannot</u> repent. (2.3.16)	(28)	Faust: Mon cœur est endurci, je <u>ne puis y faire entrer</u> le repentir. (155)
Good Angel: Never too late, if Faustus <u>will</u> repent. (2.3.80)	(29)	Le bon ange: Il n'est jamais trop tard, si l'âme de Faust <u>s'ouvre à repentir</u>. (160)
Second scholar: Yet Faustus, call on God. (5.2.27)	(30)	Deuxième étudiant: Faust, vous <u>pouvez</u> encore invoquer Dieu. (247)
Yet Faustus, look up to heaven. (5.2.42)	(31)	Tu <u>dois</u> alors, Faust, élever ton âme à Dieu. (248)
Faustus: Now hast thou but one bare hour to live, And then thou <u>must</u> be damned perpetually. (5.2.141)	(32)	Faust: Faust, oh Faust ! tu n'as plus qu'une heure à vivre ; dans une heure commencera pour toi la damnation éternelle. (253)
Yet <u>will</u> I call on him [Christ]. O, spare me, Lucifer! (5.2.53)	(33)	Oui, Faust, <u>hâte-toi</u> d'invoquer sa miséricorde. Oh ! épargne-moi, Lucifer ! (254)
… or let this hour be but A year, a month, a week, a natural day, That Faustus <u>may</u> repent and save his soul! (5.2.144-6)	(34)	Fais que cette heure dure autant qu'une semaine, qu'un jour seulement ; donne à Faust le temps de sentir la contrition et de se sauver. (253)

Table 12: The modification of modality in the TT altering the subject's conscious will in salvation

The scholars pay a visit to Faustus before his last hour on earth in order to urge him to repent. Whereas their suggestions in the ST are delivered in the imperative without the use of modal forms, "call on God" and "look up to heaven" (ex.30, 31), the TT uses the indicative mood of the main verb with a degree of modality: "vous povez encore invoquer le Dieu" and "tu dois alors élever ton âme à Dieu". The added 'pouvoir' intensifies the subject's capability for repentance (='you are still able to call on God'), whereas the added 'devoir' involves a higher degree of necessity (= 'you must lift up your soul to God'). Here, modality coincides with the embroidery of poetic imagery in the translation. Its function will be discussed in due course.

TT Faustus is more determined to follow the scholars' advice. His intention of calling on to Christ (ex.33) is already implied in the ST by the use of the modal 'will' (= 'I intend to call on God'). Bazy takes the subject's initiative further in the TT as a result of syntactic and lexical modification. Just as the A- and the B-text frequently differ on the grammatical person in which Faustus refers to himself (see chapter 2.2, table 3.4), so does Bazy's version show sporadic signs of Faustus's shifting modes of self-reference in comparison with the ST. An important rhetorical effect is produced in the shift from the ST 1st-person to the TT 2nd-person mode of address (ex.33). Faustus becomes both a speaker and an addressee. As the former, he is a person in authority. As the latter, he receives an insistent command, request and some advice. The imposed obligation upon himself combined with the interpolation of encouraging 'hâte-toi', makes the certainty of Faustus's turning to God more plausible. At the same time, the ST verbal action remains in the realm of prediction or intention with an uncertain outcome.

Moreover, Faustus's long closing monologue during his final hour shows similar cases of modality alteration. His initial ST statement that he "must be damned perpetually" (ex.32) contains the certainty of damnation borne by the modal 'must', implying that he reached a point of no return. Sadao Ando asserts that 'must' in Marlowe's language takes two cognitive meanings – necessity and inevitability – and excludes the use of epistemic 'must' expressing logical entailment (345). In this example, 'must' expresses inevitability followed by a passive infinitive (354). The syntactic modification in the translation slightly weakens the inevitability of the verbal action for we can note the absence of its common French counterpart 'devoir'[154], making Faustus's damnation less certain than in the ST.

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[154] Compare F. V. Hugo's "tu dois être damné à perpétuité" (202).

A few lines later Faustus implores the universe to make his final hour last longer so that he "may repent and save his soul" (ex.34). Ando lists four major meanings that 'may' takes in Marlowe – ability, factual possibility, permission and eventuality (333). The occurrence of 'may' in this example is, however, listed under a particular sub-category in which it appears as an auxiliary of the subjunctive mood (343). 'May', used in the adverbial 'so that' clause, denotes the probable effect/result of the cause/condition expressed in the main clause. This adverbial clause is naturally translated into French by the subjunctive mood of the verb, evident in F.V. Hugo's translation: "[…] pour que Faust puisse se repentir et sauver son âme" (203). However, Bazy removes the subjunctive in the translation thus eliminating the doubtful and hypothetical nature of Faustus's repentance and salvation. In the ST, even if he is given more time, we are still uncertain whether he will be able to repent. On the other hand, the TT syntactic structure "Donne à Faust le temps de sentir la contrition et de se sauver" (*FTT* 253) makes his contrition a more certain statement of fact provided that his initial appeal is granted by the universe.

In his critical study, Bazy anticipates the distortion of modality which ultimately affects the subject's ability. Bazy contends that Faustus's conscience speaks that he is in full possession of his inborn faculties: "Tu as en toi la force de sortir du cercle où tu te crois fatalement enfermé, Dieu te permet de pouvoir". Bazy continues: "et la chaine qui pèse sur l'homme est celle qu'il s'est donné lui-même, lorsqu'il ne veut pas agir ; il faut qu'il puisse n'accuser que lui s'il succombe" (88). In his view, everything is in Faustus's hands. Bazy seems to alter the distribution of lexical material in the translation in order for this vision to take a firmer stand.

One of the main arguments of heroic apologists is that, while Faustus's universe is devil-ridden, God remains eerily silent in the play. Bazy responds to the absent malevolent Deity in the ST, by making it a more visible force that patiently waits for Faustus to approach it. Example (31) from the table above illustrates the lexical modification in which the ST 'heaven' turns into the TT 'Dieu' acknowledging God's presence and creating a lexical parallelism with the previous line. Further shifts in the translation imply a more caring divinity. Example (33) demonstrates a pronoun/noun substitution. The ST *him* referring to Christ receives a more elaborate lexical material in the TT, strengthening his function – 'sa miséricorde'. A short while later, in one of Faustus's last attempts to evoke heavenly forces, his cry "oh, my Christ" (*DF* 5.2.154) is specified in translation as 'Rédempteur' (*FTT* 254). God's merciful and redemptive force is literally embodied in the Christ figure in the TT, adding to more generous divinity at work.

This is indicative of the reorganisation of the Catholic Church in France. By the mid-19th century, the French Church was re-emerging as influential in society and it drew upon Rome to give unity to its rituals and teaching. This was manifested on the liturgical, doctrinal and spiritual levels. Claire Fredj contends that "sous l'influence du liguorisme romain, on observe dans le deuxième tiers du siècle le passage d'un Dieu terrible à un Dieu d'amour" (2009 : 208).

Merciful providence continues to be actualised more frequently on the lexical level in the translation:

Good Angel:
Hadst thou affected sweet divinity
Hell or the devil had had no power on thee
Hadst thou kept on that way, Faustus behold… (*DF* 5.2.113-14)

Le bon ange:
L'enfer ou le démon eût vainement déchaîné contre toi sa puissance, si tu avais dirigé toutes les pensées vers la divinité miséricordieuse. Oh ! Faust, pourquoi n'as-tu pas suivi cette route d'un pas fermé ? (*FTT* 252)

The frequent apparitions of the Good and Bad Angel, remnants of medieval moralities, imply that the choice is open to Faustus. Bazy further exploits this function in the TT. First, 'sweet divinity' in the example above becomes the modified 'divinité miséricordieuse', again strengthening the availability of mercy to the believer. Secondly, the meaning of the ST verb 'affect' underlines the two-way process of salvation. As discussed in 2.3, the question of who takes the initiative in salvation – the believer or God – was a fiercely debated point between the Reformed and the Roman Catholic Church. The double-entendre of 'affect' implies this dualism. If we understand it as 'drawn to' (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 281), it places God's decision over man's action. If it means 'aspire to', 'prefer' or 'love' (Keefer 2007: 233), it can either reflect the Calvinist justification by faith as a prerequisite for salvation ultimately decided by God or it gives Faustus more volition in taking up the first move towards heaven, hence a more Catholic principle. The modification of the TT verb phrase intensifies man's initiative (= 'if you had directed all your thoughts towards merciful divinity'). In addition, Bazy does not reproduce the parallel syntactic structure. Two successive conditional phrases in the ST are reproduced by the TT conditional phrase followed by a question. Expressed in the third conditional, we do not know why ST Faustus

lacked resolution in "keep[ing] on that way [of salvation]". In the TT, however, the Good Angel asks Faustus why he was not more resolute in his path towards God (further stressed by the interpolated 'd'un pas fermé'). A more reproachful tone in the Angel's moralising in the TT is indicative of his greater certainty about Faustus's possibility to devise his own salvation, as opposed to his ST counterpart.

Furthermore, in the ST, God refuses to answer Faustus's calls for help and, consequently, "we are left none the less with the perception that […] in his separation from God Faustus finds repentance seemingly impossible" (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 30). On the other hand, Bazy somewhat bridges the gap between the sinner in need of God's sign and silent and indifferent divinity in the ST by turning the latter into a more patient, generous and vividly portrayed force. This view is given more consistency in the TT from the very beginning, when Bazy removes the perception of heaven as a conspiratorial entity (as demonstrated in 4.3.1).

Transformation of imagery in the translation further alters its theological outlooks. In the B-text, the recurrent imagery of an open hell lends the sense of determinism to Faustus's course of action. Faustus evokes it in "the ebon gates of ever-burning hell" (*DF* 4.1.68). Later in the play, the Good Angel's last words to Faustus carry the disturbing vision, "the jaws of hell are open to receive thee" (*DF* 5.2.120). This premonition of his eternal suffering is followed by the vivid representation of "the hellmouth" (*DF* 5.2.121) missing in A, which ultimately seals Faustus's destiny. On the other hand, heaven is almost never explicitly open to Faustus in any of the versions of the ST. Bazy provides an alternative trajectory for the hero by opening up the gates of heaven in his version, setting them against the continuously open hell, as evidenced by the following examples.

The Good Angel replies to Faustus's wondering about the nature of "contrition, prayer, repentance" stating that they are "means to bring thee unto heaven" (*DF* 2.1.16-17). The lines are further elaborated in the translation:

Faust:
La contrition, la prière et le repentir ; que trouvez-vous sous ces mots ?
Le Bon ange:
Ah ! c'est par eux que les portes du ciel te seront ouvertes. (*FTT* 141)

As long as Faustus shows signs of repentance, God will wholeheartedly open the doors of his heavenly realm and receive him. The introduction of new imagery "les portes du ciel

[…] ouvertes" is strongly contrasted with Faustus's later introspection, "les portes d'ébène de l'enfer qui brûle toujours s'ouvriront devant mes charmes magiques" (199). Two options are hence offered to Faustus in the TT – he can either incline towards God or the devil. Which path he will take is entirely up to his act of free will. If he opts for the latter, the possibility of repentance is however never in question in the TT. "Pour la miséricorde divine", states Bazy, "il n'y a point de crimes inexpiables" (1850: 40). Bazy clearly echoes the Catholic principle explicitly stated by Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica* (1485): "Wherefore to say that in this life there is no any sin of which one cannot repent is erroneous" (qtd. in O'Brien 1970: 5). In the examination of the Catholic view of Marlowe's play, Margaret Ann O'Brien shows the indebtedness of *Doctor Faustus* to Thomas Aquinas' philosophy. She refers to the lines above to conclude that, despite his flaws, Faustus still "has a chance for redemption" (5), the view that is more apparent in Bazy's translation.

Hence, in Catholic theology, God is helpless unless the believer co-operates with him. In order for God's mercy to reach the sinner, (s)he must also open up to the possibility of receiving it. Example (29) from the table above vividly illustrates this Augustinian stance and shows how Bazy creates a new image that is set against an open hell. As mentioned above, many critics have argued for a shift from Calvinist to more Catholic theology evident in the change of modal auxiliary (see chapter 2.2, table 3.7 and chapter 2.3). The Good Angel's urge in the A-text "never too late if Faustus can repent" (*DF* 2.3.79) implies the presence of external pressure on the verbal process. On the other hand, the B-text's line "if Faustus will repent" (*DF* 2.3.80) points to the subject's less thwarted abilities. Bazy's version further moves in a semi-Pelagian direction: "Il n'est jamais trop tard, si l'âme de Faust s'ouvre à repentir" (*FTT* 160). God's grace is waiting on the threshold of man's soul; yet, believers need to open their souls on their own. David Martin's Bible translation (1744) reads: "Voici, je me tiens à la porte, et je frappe : si quelqu'un entend ma voix, et m'ouvre la porte, j'entrerai chez lui, je souperai avec lui, et lui avec moi" (Revelation 3:20). St Aquinas reflects on this line in his *Quaestiones Disputatae de Veritate* to stress that "we can open our hearts to God, but only with Divine help" ("Free Choice" q. 24, art. 15, ad. 2). Bazy creates parallelism of imagery to secure the passage of the free flow of God's grace, for both the believer's soul and the gates of heaven are potentially open. The absence of such imagery in the ST cannot make this interpretation plausible. The Good Angel's advice in the TT stages a universe in which God's mercy will meet the sinner as long as they show willingness to be saved.

Towards the end of the play, the Old Man in the TT reinforces the Good Angel's perception of the soul whose opening and closing is under the control of the believer. The

following pair of ST and TT transemes exhibits a degree of semantic divergence evident in the case of syntactic-semantic modification. Bazy turns the Old Man's claim that "thou [Faustus] hast an amiable soul" (*DF* 5.1.40) into "ton âme n'est pas encore fermée à la vertu" (*FTT* 237). The added 'vertu' as "force morale, courage" (*Littré*, s. f. 1: 2467) and "ferme disposition de l'âme à fuir le mal et à faire le bien." (*Littré*, s. f. 2: 2467) reaffirms the on-going prospect of salvation. We have seen how the revised exhortation of the Old Man in the B-text evidences a shift from unquestionable faith in divine mercy to the increased role of the believer's act in both sin and salvation, as well as from an emphasis on sinful human nature towards the vision of sin as a product of exterior force. In this sense, the A-text is read within the framework of Calvinist orthodoxy, whereas the B-text moves in the direction of moderate Calvinism and even Catholicism. The lexical choice in Bazy's version further stresses the genuinely righteous nature of the human soul and individual freedom as complicit in sinful acts, echoing the philosophy of St Augustine. The theologian implied that the human soul is itself incorruptible, but that the fall of man is the result of "a perverse choice made by free will" (O'Connor 2003: 13).

Bazy continues to add a metaphorical value to rather neutral corresponding elements in the original to align the process of absolution with Aquinas' perception of it as a movement of both grace and free will. In Question 113 of *Summa*[155] dealing with the effects of grace, the 14th-century Italian theologian clarifies the implications of the sinner's free will on his/her justification:

> It is man's proper nature to have free will […] God's motion to justice[156] does not take place without a movement of the free will. (I-II, q. 113, art. 3)
> Justification of the sinner is a certain movement […] from the state of sin to the state of justice. […] Hence the human mind while it is being justified must by a movement of its free will withdraw from sin and draw near justice. (I-II, q. 113. art. 5)

Aquinas sums up the process:

> There are four things which are accounted to be necessary for the justification of the ungodly, the infusion of grace, the movement of the free will towards God by faith, the movement of the free will regarding sin, and the remission of sins (I-II, q. 113, art. 6).

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[155] Quotes from the *Summa Theologica* are keyed to the 1947 edition by Benziger Brothers, New York, used in Peter Kreeft's *Practical Theology: Spiritual Direction from Saint Thomas Aquinas* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2014).
[156] Grace.

In his interpretation of the key points of Aquinas' philosophy, Peter Kreeft contends that the first and fourth steps are God's part, whereas the second and third are human action (2014: 148). Aquinas' notion of movement of the believer's repentance and God's redemptive force is further exploited in the translation. Faustus is not only offered to open up his soul, but he is also reminded that his soul, in turn, is capable of finding its way and moving towards God's justice. The scholar's advice that Faustus should "look up to heaven" (ex.31) becomes "tu dois alors, Faust, élever ton âme à Dieu[157]" (*FTT* 248).

Moreover, as evidenced above, the ST "affect sweet divinity" is conveyed in an elaborate idiomatic verb phrase. Its head verb denotes the act of moving ("diriger tes pensées") combined with the adverbial phrase (*le complément circonstanciel de lieu*) which discloses the final end of action – "vers la divinité miséricordieuse" (*FTT* 252). Accordingly, Faustus's self-address "Faustus vows never to look to heaven" (*DF* 2.3.97) becomes "Faust, jure de ne jamais porter les yeux vers le ciel" (*FTT* 163).

Another example is evident in Faustus's longing for Christ's assistance in his salvation. It is expressed by the act of movement inherent in the TT idiomatic verb phrase not evident in the original. "O Christ, my Saviour, my Saviour, / Help [A: Seek] to save distressed Faustus' soul" (*DF* 2.3.83-4) turns into "O Christ ! mon saveur, mon saveur, viens à mon aide et délivre l'âme du pauvre Faust" (*FTT* 161). The expression 'venir en aide à quelqu'un' is an elaborate French option for the English 'help' or 'assist', agreeing more literally with the English phrase 'come to somebody's aid'. Its use in the TT conveniently alludes to the movement of grace embodied in Christ[158]. Keefer sums up the general stance of Marlowe scholarship on the disagreement between the A-text's "seek" and the B-text's "help to save distressed Faustus' soul". The A-text verb has Calvinist undertones for it emphasises that salvation can be initiated only by Christ (2007: 124). The B-text lexical choice, on the other hand, involves the sinner's endeavour combined with Christ's saving power. Bazy further heightens this collaboration by exploiting the concept of the movement of grace that, in Aquinas' view, can only work along the movement of man's free will. As such, the translator moves away from Calvinist orthodoxy.

That repentance through God's working is moving towards the sinner is further stressed in the following pairs. Faustus's agonising cry "I do repent, and yet I do despair" (*DF* 5.1.66) becomes "Le repentir vient et cependant je désespère encore" (*FTT* 239). It is anticipated by

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[157] Compare A Psalm of David: "Eternel, j'élève à toi mon âme" (Psalm 25:1) or "car j'élève mon âme à toi, Seigneur" (86:4), David Martin Bible (1744).

[158] "Avant tout," states George Casalis in Duquesne's *Dictionnaire de la théologie chrétienne* (1998), "la grâce désigne la venue, en Jésus-Christ, de la Parole de Dieu" (378).

the earlier amplification of "My heart is hearten'd, I cannot repent" (*DF* 2.3.16) into "Mon coeur est endurci, je ne puis y faire entrer le repentir" (*FTT* 155). The notion of repentance entering the believer's heart is introduced in the translation at this point. But in both the original and the translation there appears to be an obstacle in the form of a hardened heart. In the TT this obstacle hinders the free flow of mercy. Aquinas proposes an origin and a solution to the problem:

> Spiritual blindness and hardness of heart in heart imply two things. One is the movement of the human mind in cleaving to evil, and turning away from the Divine light; and as regards this, God is not the cause of spiritual blindness and hardness of heart, just as He is not the cause of sin… On the other hand, God, of His own accord, withholds His grace from those in whom He finds an obstacle. (*Summa* qtd. in O'Brien 1970: 9)

Roma Gill reminds us that, in Aquinas' view, God always has the ability to forgive. Yet, those who are "beyond the reach of God's mercy" are those who "lacked the capacity to repent and receive forgiveness" (2004: 14). Aquinas thus proposes that removing the obstacle within one's heart is not beyond the individual's control. Bazy closely follows this view in his translation. He endows his Faustus with the capacity to melt his hardened heart and let the repentance flow back into it (no obvious reading in the ST).

As can be inferred from the evidence above, the guidelines for Faustus's absolution are more clearly defined in the translation. They are articulated by the Good Angel, the scholars and the Old Man. Yet, Faustus does not act upon it. Ironically, Faustus himself puts forward a solution to his mental strife and troubled consciousness:

Faustus:
Be I a devil, yet God may pity me;
Yea, God will pity me if I repent. (*Ox*. 19)

Faust :
Quand je serais un diable, Dieu n'est-il pas plein de miséricorde Oui, mon repentir excitera la pitié de Dieu. (*FTT* 155)

This example shows that Bazy continues to make 'miséricorde' a more resonant word in his translation. Moreover, in the ST the action of repentance is contained within the conditional clause, hence with no certainty of being actualised. God's action of pitying Faustus is dependent on Faustus's capability of repentance. Both actions remain theoretical

possibility and we do not know for sure what is preventing Faustus from performing his action. On the other hand, Bazy uses the syntactic modification which removes the conditional clause and turns it into a noun phrase, making Faustus's repentance a less obstructed and a more probable act which can eventually arouse God's forgiveness.

The believer's initiative and autonomy in salvation is perhaps most clearly articulated in the translation of the Old Man episode. His speech is modified and rewritten to further accord with Catholic principles. In addition to the aforementioned modification of the original "amiable soul", the following example evidences the points of disagreement between the ST and the TT carrying subtle nuances of revised theology.

> Old Man:
> […] but in tender love
> And pity of thy future misery.
> And so have hope that this my kind rebuke
> Checking thy body, may amend thy soul. (*DF* 5.1.48-51)
> […]
> I see an angel hover over o'er thy head,
> And with a vial full of precious grace
> Offers to pour the same into thy soul.
> Then call for mercy and avoid despair. (*DF* 5.1.57-60)
>
> Le Vieillard :
> Ce langage est dicté par la tendre compassion qui m'inspire ta | misère future. J'espère que la réprimande bienveillante que je te fais, en domptant la chair, corrigera ton âme. (*FTT* 237- 8)
> […]
> Je vois planer un ange sur ta tête : il le tient le vase précieux de la grâce et n'attend qu'un mot de toi pour l'épancher dans ton âme. Appelle sur toi la miséricorde qui veille sur le coupable et qui triomphe du désespoir. (*FTT* 238)

The Old Man's vision of an angel hovering over Faustus's head contains an important structural extension in the TT. Whereas the ST angel offers to pour grace into Faustus's soul independently of the receiver, the TT angel literally waits for Faustus to act ("il […] n'attend qu'un mot de toi") before he can bestow forgiveness upon him. This amplification of the verbal message represents a vivid case of the blunting of Calvinist undertones. While the Calvinist orthodoxy of Elizabethan England states that "we cannot, of ourselves move towards God" since "any move towards God depends on God moving first" leaving the

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individual "without influence over his or her salvation" (Sinfield 1992: 147), Bazy offers an antithesis to Calvinist thought by interpolating a hallmark of semi-Pelagian philosophy, according to which it is the believer who moves first. The modification in the translation in this regard is already foreshadowed in his introduction where he expressed similar views. In his harsh and biased words, Bazy labels Protestantism as idle and dead faith on the grounds that it does not allow man "de se porter librement au bien avec le secours de la grâce" (1850: 86). He goes on to suggest that "Dieu ne visite pas ceux qui l'ont pas appelé" (88) and that God will infuse Divine light into the human soul only if the individual is ready to call for him in advance. According to Bazy, God's grace will not be granted to the believer unless (s)he makes an appeal to him. Bazy concludes "la grâce seconde l'homme qui a la courage de vaincre ses mauvaises penchants […] la lumière se répand dans l'âme qui veut la trouver" (88). Bazy's Faustus lacks both the courage and willpower to find the divine and to be saved. The original text does not portray the hero as a master of his destiny so clearly.

The Old Man's 'kind rebuke' of the ST is further intensified by 'réprimande bienveillante', further stressing the supervision of a benevolent God who works through his earthly messenger and the sinner's spiritual guide. A hint at the watchful eye of God in the adjective 'bienveillante' is reaffirmed in the translation of the Old Man's final appeal "call for mercy and avoid despair" (*DF* 5.1.56). The noun 'mercy' is amplified with the addition of a relative clause functioning as a post-nominal modifier: "la miséricorde qui veille sur le coupable" (*FTT* 238). Information added to the meaning of the head noun reinforces the idea that God does not easily give up on the sinner. If late-twentieth century critics insisted that "God and Lucifer seem equally responsible in his [Faustus's] final destruction" and that God also is in possession of "heavy wrath" (5.2.157) and tyrannical power (Dollimore 1984/2004: 111), Bazy absolves God from full responsibility to a certain degree and portrays him as less tyrannical till the very end. However, the recreated lexical parallelism in the TT suggests that God eventually yields to the devil. The latter now watches over Faustus and confirms his doom. Lucifer and his entourage reappear to "bring with us lasting damnation / to wait upon thy soul" (*DF* 5.2.5-6). The TT reads: "Nous portons avec nous la damnation éternelle pour veiller sur ton âme" (*FTT* 244). God and his representatives no longer look after Faustus because his mercy that used to "veille[r] sur le coupable" is replaced with the trinity of the devils who "veill[ent] sur ton âme". Moralistic critics would blame Faustus's own choice for making God withhold his mercy, agreeing with Gerald H. Cox's claim that "Faustus's tragedy is one of free will gone wrong" (1973: 136).

Bazy alters the intratextual links to create new patterns of lexical cohesion achieved through lexical repetition of the verb 'diriger' to underline this stance. We have seen how the introduced image of an open heaven is paralleled by the existing image of an open hell to suggest two possible paths for Faustus. Here, the idea that Faustus has the power to choose his path is more clearly implied – he can either head towards earthly pleasures and the devil or spiritual gratification and God. Faustus's initial claim that "J'aperçois l'objet des ardents désirs de Faust ; c'est vers ce but qu'ils se dirigeront toujours" (*FTT* 115) is a loose translation of "Ay, these are those that Faustus most desires" (*DF* 1.1.52); 'these' referring to wealth, power and pleasure made clear in the following line in both ST and TT. When Faustus shows the first signs of regret, Lucifer appears to impose on him the commanding "Think on the devil" (*DF* 2.3.94), which becomes "dirige tes pensées vers le demon" (*FTT* 115). Yet, there is another option open to Faustus. As evidenced above, Faustus was later reminded of his missed opportunity to "dirigé toutes tes pensées" towards God (*FTT* 252). In the end, Mephistopheles' announces the scholars' arrival, who, having met with Faustus, "come from drawing Faustus' latest will." (*DF* 5.2.18). The TT renders the line as "Ils viennent l'un et l'autre de tracer les dernières volontés de Faust. Voyons vers quel côté elles se dirigent" (*FTT* 244). 'Les dernières volontées', Faustus's last testament, but also his own choice and desire (Littré, s. f. 2: 2538) eventually condemn him. The same verb that points to Faustus's own decision was already used in Bazy's introduction: "Le Faust de Marlowe n'a point la force de se diriger vers cet asile inaccessible à l'esprit du mal" (97). What is the moment in which Faustus damns himself in the TT?

Some moralistic critics follow Greg's arguments and take Faustus's encounter with the spirit of Helen of Troy as a moment in which he wreaks havoc upon himself. This view proves to be particularly persuasive in the translation. In *The Damnation of Faustus* (1946), Greg gives Faustus's second invocation of Helen a climactic significance, asserting that it is a point of no return, an argument that is more convincing only in the B-text (Warren 1981: 133). According to Greg, Faustus consciously engages in the sin of "demoniality", namely intercourse with the dark spirits, for it is a succubus who impersonates this classical beauty. Hence, Roma Gill refers to Helen as "the key figure of *Doctor Faustus*" (2004: 16). Although repeatedly refuted in the decades to follow, many scholars draw upon certain elements of Greg's stance to argue for Faustus's conscious act in the Helen episode. Clifford Leech (1986) asserts that the moment when Faustus has the greatest authority and control over his action, the moment "he is nearest to freedom, is not when he signs the bond but when he

addresses the shape Helen and puts himself to hell" (qtd. in Gill 2004). Tom Rutter adds: "Faustus chooses to mistake hell for Helen (the pun seems to be implied)" (2012: 56).

Even though Greg advanced his thesis only in the mid-twentieth century, Bazy modified Faustus's words to Helen, making the aforementioned claims more apparent in the translation. While the action of Faustus kissing Helen is not as evident as in the ST, his personal choice to surrender himself to dark spirits and sensual pleasure is intensified. Thus, Bazy would align himself with the critics such as J. C. Maxwell (1947) and Nicholas Kiessling (1975), according to whom "Faustus' damnation resides in his proud persistence in sin and in rejection of God's grace" (Warren 1982: 132).

The translation of the episode in which Faustus takes Helen as his lover is longer by a third. Many critics claim that Faustus's invocation of Helen represents the highpoint of Marlowe's poetic expression. Much of the expressive and poetic strength of the English blank verse is however diluted in translating the Helen scene due to unjustified expansion. For example, to render the following lines:

> Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
> And burnt the topless towers of Ilium? (*DF* 5.2.94)

Bazy introduces new details in the TT to clarify the information in the ST, making it an interpretative paraphrase:

> Est-ce que pour cette beauté que sont sortis des ports de la Grèce mille vaisseaux et les guerriers | qui ont brulé les plus hautes tours d'Ilion ? (*FTT* 241-2)

As for the effect of translation shifts on the general macro-level of the TT, Bazy seems to reaffirm that Faustus discards God's grace in favour of his affiliation to Helen:

> Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss.
> Her lips suck forth my soul. See where it flies! (*DF* 96-7)

receives the following form in the translation:

> Hélène, viens et égale-moi aux immortels ! Sa beauté captive mon âme ; mon âme est attirée par cet objet divin ! (*FTT* 242)

We can note the following translation procedures: the raise of register ('make me' → 'égale-moi'), word category change (adj. 'immortal' → n. 'immortel'), omission of the

prepositional phrase 'with a kiss', the concrete for abstract or part for whole modulation of the message ('her lips' → 'sa beauté'), lexical modification ('suck forth' → 'captiver'), addition of the verb 'venir', lexical repetition in depronominalisation (it → mon âme) and free translation/mutation in the exclamatory sentence.

The insertion of the verb 'venir' in the imperative by means of which TT Faustus implores Helen to come to him and make him immortal alludes to the previous modification in the translation where Faustus calls upon Christ to come to his aid ('viens à mon aide'). That he finally substitutes Christ, which would traditionally provide him with immortality, with Helen and that he chooses attraction to her physical[159] beauty over the love for Christ is made evident in the paraphrase of the last sentence in which Helen is literally described as the 'objet divin'. No such parallelism or reading is possible in the ST in these lines.

Moreover, Faustus's final words to Helen "And none but thou shalt be my paramour[160]" (*DF* 5.2.113) become "tu seras seule l'arbitre de ma vie" (*FTT* 243). If "l'homme est l'arbitre de son sort" (Bazy 1850: 89), TT Faustus here consciously relegates his intrinsic ability to resist temptation onto the external force who can act on his behalf. Combined with the earlier "Faust viendra se soumettre au droit qu'il a donné sur lui au prince des ténèbres" (*FTT* 238) instead of the ST "And Faustus now will come to do thee right" (*DF* 5.1.55), and the later "les diables auxquels Faust s'est donné" (*FTT* 257) instead of the ST statement "the devils whom Faustus served" (*DF* 5.3.8), Faustus's responsibility for persisting in sin and holding onto diabolical forces seems to be repeatedly stressed.

Other popular French treatments of the Faust legend at the time show similar signs of revised theology and exhibit the homiletic character on a par with Bazy's translation. In *The Faust Theme in Romantic Music*, Henry Bacon analyses the 19th-century musical adaptations of the Faust story based on Goethe's tragedy. Comparing Hector Berlioz' *La Damnation de Faust* (1846) with Charles Gounod's influential opera in five acts *Faust* (1859), Bacon concludes that Berlioz' version resembles Marlowe's play more in the ending (206), even though it exploits de Nerval's 1827 French translation of Goethe's work. Whereas Goethe's hero is saved and Gounod's hero's fate is open to question, Berlioz' cantata ends in Faust's final perdition. Bacon concludes that, unlike the two other versions, *La Damnation*, premiered on the Parisian stage only four years before the first French translation of Marlowe's *Faustus*, is more moralistic in tone, portrays Faust as more hubristic and

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[159] Bazy asserts in the footnote: "Le désespoir de l'athée est distrait un moment de ses tourments par la contemplation de la beauté plastique" (241).

[160] Bazy repeatedly refuses to render the occurrences of *paramour* into French.

intensifies his free will (207). As evidenced above, Bazy, too, turns his translation into Christian moralising and intensifies Faustus's transgression and freedom of choice in comparison with the original.

Finally, Bazy further strengthens the sacramental efficiency and pre-Reformation penitential apparatus provided by the Church in his translation, thus reinforcing the Catholic undertones. In reply to the Protestant reformers' tendency to diminish the corruption and visibility of the Church and to promote private confession and preaching, the Catholics insisted on its indispensable role in defining the true nature of worship and providing "set prayer and the sacraments" (Hamilton 2003: 597), without which salvation is not possible.

Evidence in the TT for this view of the play can be found in the episode in which the scholars meet with Faustus before his damnation. The scholars comfort Faustus in the end wondering "why did not Faustus tell us of this[161] before, that | divines might have prayed for thee?" (*DF* 5.2.73-4). Bazy carries out a lexical and syntactic modification, dividing the ST sentence question into two independent sentences in the TT: "Pourquoi, Faust, ne nous as-tu déjà fait part de ta position? l'Eglise eût prié pour toi" (*FTT* 248). The past conditional expressing the action that did not happen ("divines[162] might have prayed for thee") turns into an indicative mood of *passé antérieur*[163], thus strengthening the certainty of the past action of praying performed by the priesthood. Consequently, the efficiency of their mediating action proves to be more apparent in the TT. Moreover, Bazy changes the ST 'divines' into the TT 'Eglise'. The lexical variation lays greater emphasis on the Church at large as a mediating institution that connects God and the individual and assists in the realisation of their "chiefest bliss" (*DF* Prologue 27) or "sa plus haute félicité" (*FTT* 108).

Contrition and penance are also implied in the translation. In the same scene, Faustus attempts to raise his hands in an act of penance and prayer: "I would lift up my hands, but see, they hold 'em, they hold 'em". (*DF* 5.2.62). Bazy's version reads "Je voudrais lever mes mains suppliantes; mais, voyez, ils les arrêtent, ils les arrêtent !" (*FTT* 248). Here, the ST 'my hands' becomes a more descriptive 'mes mains suppliantes' in the translation. The insertion of a non-compulsory adjective stresses Faustus's impulse to repent, a practice that in the old religion would be more efficient for salvation (Stegner 2016: 76).

The intensification of sacramental efficiency in the TT is symptomatic of the on-going trend in the cultural background. In the post-Revolution period, many Catholic practices such

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[161] *This*] his imminent damnation.

[162] *Divines*] priests.

[163] Instead of the more common *conditionnel passé,* evident in "Des théologiens auraient pu prier pour toi" (F.V. Hugo 198) or "Des théologiens auraient pu prier pour ton salut" (Ernst and Gautier 1894: sc. XII, 33).

as the cult of saints, relics or sacramental devotion were undermined and lacked a clear definition. However, at the time Bazy wrote, the ultramontanist spirit had given unity to ritual and liturgical practices in the French Catholic Church (Vivier et al. 2002: 257). Albertini notes that from 1820 to 1840 the Church gradually sought to reconcile the sinner with the official sacramental life, thus making absolution more feasible (2000: 41). Fredj asserts that re-grouped church officials insisted on sacramental devotion, in particular participation in the Sunday mass and confession. She continues "la piété ultramontaine s'illustre également dans la dévotion Eucharistie avec la fête su Sacré-Cœur de Jésus, élevée au rang de fête universelle en 1856" (208).

The Eucharistic presence of Christ's blood, the redeeming feature in the Catholic mass, is also further elaborated in the translation. As discussed in 2.3, critics such as C. L. Barber and Benjamin Bertram take the following lines from Faustus's final expression of anguish and despair as an example of his longing for the symbolical or literal appearance of Christ's flesh and blood in the communion that would eventually save him from perdition:

> Oh, I'll leap up to heav'n! – Who pulls me down?
> See where Christ's blood streams in the firmament.
> One drop of blood will save me: oh, my Christ!
> Rend not my heart for naming of my Christ;
> Yet will I call on him. Oh, spare me, Lucifer!
> Where is it now? – 'tis gone!
> And see, a threatening arm, an angry brow –
> Mountains and hills, come, come, and fall on me,
> And hide me from the heavy wrath of heaven. (*Ox.* 63)

Unlike general B-text editions that drop the line, Oxberry's edition retains Faustus's vision of Christ's blood streaming in the firmament which Bazy extensively modifies:

> Oh non ! fuis ; élance-toi vers le ciel ! Malheureux ! Le ciel te rejetterait vers la terre… Le sang du Rédempteur me trace dans le firmament la voie du salut. Au prix d'une seule goutte de ce sang précieux je serais sauvé ! O Mon Dieu, ne déchire pas mon cœur si je prononce le nom de mon Christ. Oui, Faust, hâte-toi d'invoquer sa miséricorde… Oh ! épargne-moi, Lucifer ! Où est-il maintenant ? il est parti !... Vois ce bras vengeur qui te repousse et ce front courroucé qui te menace. – Montagne et collines, que vos fondements s'ébranlent ; anéantissez-moi et dérobez sous vos ruines le malheureux Faust à la colère du ciel. (*FTT* 254)

The translated paragraph seems to sum up Faustus's theological universe. The addition of the evaluative adjective, which turns the ST 'blood' into the TT 'ce sang précieux' intensifies that a drop of Christ's blood brings the promise of absolution which Faustus desperately longs for. The change of the substance of the Eucharistic elements into Christ's blood brings its redemptive power in a closer relationship with the sinner. This function is strengthened in the translation by a change of ST 'Christ' into TT 'Rédempteur'. Moreover, Christ the Redeemer literally shows Faustus a path to salvation in the TT. Bazy seems to interpret Marlowe's most famous line (Simkin 2001: 203) in which Faustus sees Christ's blood in the firmament and delivers a line of equal poetic strength: "Le sang du Rédempteur me trace la voie du salut". As evidenced above, Faustus throughout the translation did receive clearer and less ambiguous guidelines for his salvation, but he failed to more actively engage in moving along this "voie de salut". Whereas the Reformation perceived the believer's participation in the act of communion as "a passive reception" (Barber 1964: 99), the Catholic view would insist on the believer's more active effort. Both ST and TT Faustus now attempt to be saved, but it is too late. In the ST it is the devils that usually hinder Faustus from approaching God. Modern stage direction would often have the literal representation of the devils on stage that hold Faustus's hands (5.2.62) or pull him down in this scene (5.2.150). This can imply the predestination of Faustus's action, in which case devils intervene within the divine plan (Sinfield 1992: 231). In this regard, there is a major shift in the translation at this point. Whereas the ST implies "the invisible action of the Devil" (Simkin 2001: 203), the TT removes any doubt and leaves no freedom to stage directors to speculate on the mysterious force. Bazy explicitly answers Faustus's question "who pulls me down?" It was God himself: "Le ciel te rejetterait vers la terre". God becomes more actively involved in punishing the reprobate. The action denoted by the verbal noun in 'a threatening arm' or adjective in 'an angry brow' turns into a specific and more elaborate sequence of action verbs in the translation: "vois ce bras vengeur qui te repousse et ce front courroucé qui te menace". The TT God lost his patience due to Faustus's previous lack of will to follow his signs.

In his study, Bazy asserts the cornerstones of the Catholic doctrine according to which God continuously offered Faustus generous gifts that Faustus refused to accept, for he lacked faith both in his own ability and God's divine grace (1850: 96). Neither are the devils to be blamed. While Calvinist thought perceives them as God's "hang-men" who act according to divine predestination (Sinfield 231), the Catholic devil is attracted by the individual's

conscious act of sin. Yet, people have the ability within themselves imparted by God to free themselves from the devil's control (Bazy 1850: 29). This pre-established stance is projected onto Bazy's translation.

The A-text	The B-text	Bazy's translation
Calvinism	Moderate Calvinism (Arminianism) Semi-Pelagianism	Semi-Pelagianism Catholicism (Thomas Aquinas)

Table 13: Theological outlooks in different versions of the text

All things considered, Faustus's world in the translation is imbued with the doctrine of choice and free will rather than the doctrine of predestination. The modification in the TT evidenced above suggests a shift towards a more consistent theological framework, indicative of the translator's religious persuasions and Catholic background.

Chapter Five:
The First Italian *Faustus*

The approach adopted in this chapter will be slightly modified in comparison with the previous case study. Operating within the descriptive framework and applying a socio-cultural model of translation analysis, the Italian translation will also be initially placed in its historical context, with a focus on the main elements of the complex ideological and political environment of which Turiello forms part. However, unlike the extensive authorial and paratextual material revealing the traits of Bazy's cultural profile that are arguably inscribed into his translation, there is no clear articulation of Turiello's pre-existing ideological framework. Therefore, D'hulst's question *quis*? (who?), which applies to the translator's background and his perspective on the social issues of his time, is not preliminary to translation analysis in Turiello's case, but will rather come as a result of a close textual comparison between his translation and the original.

5.1 Political, Ideological and Religious Context

The first Italian translation of *Doctor Faustus* (1898) was published in post-unification Italy – thirty seven years after the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy (1861), twenty eight years after the annexation of Rome and Latium to a unified state (1870) and twenty seven years after the proclamation of Rome as the capital city. The latter symbolically marked the end of the Italian *Risorgimento* – a process of territorial unification during which the former city-states, duchies and kingdoms on a fragmented peninsula were consolidated into a single unified state and into the Italian nationhood under King Victor Emmanuel II (r. 1861-1878), the former sovereign of the Kingdom of Sardinia. As a project of territorial unity, the *Risorgimento* began in the first half of the 19th century and ended in 1871 (with the exception of the regions of Trentino and Alto-Adige that became part of Italy in 1919). However, understood as a larger cultural and social movement central to which were the ideals of individual emancipation, civil rights and liberties, the *Risorgimento* began much earlier and ended much later. Aspirations towards political and social reforms with the aim of transforming older despotic systems into a civil and a more democratic secular society had been fuelled by the Enlightenment philosophy and the late 18th-century French Revolution. The process of political and social reorganisation in the 19th-century spirit of liberalism was

not uniform across the peninsula traditionally marked by centuries of political, economic, linguistic and cultural differences. Moreover, it did not end with the unification either, but continued to exist and evoke a set of diverse cultural responses by different currents of intellectual, religious and political thought until the end of the century and beyond (Bouchard 2005: 9).

By the time the first Italian translation of *Doctor Faustus* was printed, secularisation of society and tenets of freethought had reached new heights thanks to the state-sanctioned measures. At the same time, the question of the role of the Pope and the Catholic Church in unified Italy never ceased to animate the social reality. In addition, the last decade of the 19th century, termed in the Italian historiography *la crisi di fine secolo*, was marked by the crisis of liberal constitutionalism – a dominant political model ever since the unification and the establishment of the parliamentary monarchy. The period saw the political and military oppression and a bitter conflict between the government and opposition – both the Catholics and socialists who were excluded from the political life and labelled as enemies to the official state policy. Certain thinkers proposed a solution to the institutional crisis arguing for strong centralised government powers exercised at the expense of the individual. A tendency to weaken the authority of Parliament as a people's representative body and strengthen the executive role of the monarch or the Senate in order to maintain social order was often interpreted by many as means of protecting the government and not the people. The government was entitled to engage legitimately in violent and authoritative means of repression. Hence, these events during the end-of-century crisis in Italy called into doubt the possibility of popular political participation and the exercise of civil rights and freedoms granted by the Statute.

Faustus as an advocate of individualism and a promoter of secularism entered the turbulent Italian scene to speak on the burning issues of the time and to set a new sense of direction of the Italian society.

5.1.1 The Secularisation of Italian Society

The post-unification period in Italy saw the progressive secularisation of society and the rise of the state-approved anticlerical, antipapal and antireligious sentiment. By the end of the century, anticlericalism reached widespread popular support throughout the country. Nevertheless, the so-called Roman question (*la questione Romana*) continued to occupy a

dominant place in society, challenging the new state that was frequently troubled by a fragile political system and social and economic agitations.

From the very beginning, the Pope's temporal power and the political influence of the Catholic Church were considered as an obstacle to the ideals of the *Risorgimento*. By mid-century, the prominent figures of the national movement insisted on the restriction of the authority and influence of the Catholic Church at all levels of society. Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour (1810-1861), Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia and one of the leading figures of Italian unification and political reforms, launched the maxim "Libera chiesa in libero stato" (Pécout 2004: 191), opting for the separation between the Church and the State as a prerequisite to the foundation of a civil and liberal society. During the *Risorgimento* process and beyond, many government measures were taken to secure the anticlerical orientation. Even though the so-called *Statuto Albertino* of 1848, promulgated by Charles Albert of the Savoy House, King of Sardinia (r. 1831-1849), re-affirmed Roman Catholicism as the official religion, it also granted many civil freedoms, including religious pluralism (Durand 1999: 32). Later on, the Albertine Statute became the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy in a revised form and many laws and codes were enforced to complement the Constitution in support of secular society. In 1866 civil marriage was introduced. The laws of 1866 and 1867 further enabled the nationalisation and confiscation of many church state properties and the abolition of ecclesiastical institutions (53). Two years later, members of the clergy were submitted to military service, whereas according to the Coppino Law of 1877 (*la legge Coppino*), religious instruction was removed from the school curriculum in primary education (Foro 2009: 52); the latter became compulsory in all Italy.

What Mazzini, Garibaldi and other republicans sought to implement during the Revolution of 1849 when they proclaimed a short-lived Roman Republic was finally put into practice after the dissolution of the Papal States in 1870. The fact that the French troops under Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte were no longer able to protect Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) due to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war was used by the Italian revolutionaries to inflict a final defeat on the Pope. After the capture of Rome, the so-called Law of Guarantees of 1871 (*La legge delle Guarentigie*) passed by the Parliament denied the Pope's temporal power. Yet, it never called into question his spiritual leadership of the Catholic Church (Pécout 2004: 192). To the detriment of the Left and former republicans, the law was still favourable to the papal status. It guaranteed the Pope diplomatic immunity. The papacy was allowed to establish and maintain diplomatic relations with representatives of foreign countries but only in matters of religion and ecclesiastical policy. Moreover, church officials

enjoyed a certain level of independence. Freedom of religious councils and conclaves was granted (Durand 1999: 54), as well as the Pope's ownership of the papal palace.

Nevertheless, Pope Pius IX decided to reject the law in his encyclical *Ubi nos* (54) and proclaimed himself a prisoner within his own state. Even before 1870, in the midst of the national movement, the official Church was clear on following the intransigent policy, categorically refusing any compromise or the reconciliation with the emerging liberal and unified state. In 1864, the papal encyclical *Quanta Cura* represented a fierce condemnation of the ideals of liberalism, secularisation and the parliamentary system. The proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy embraced the system of representative monarchy based on the censitary suffrage which was progressively enlarged. In opposition to the state policy, in 1863 the Roman Catholic priest and journalist Giacomo Margotti coined a popular maxim *nè eletti nè elettori* in the Catholic journal *L'Unità Cattolica*. The "neither elect nor elected" policy of non-participation in state institutions and parliamentary elections as a protest against the government's attempts to annex the papal states was later repeated by the Holy Penitentiary that officially enforced a decree *Non expedit* in 1868 (Pécout 2004: 195). According to the Pope, to vote meant to take part in and sustain a system that denied him a sovereign status and, as such, it was considered an act of infidelity to the Catholic Church. Moreover, just before Rome was seized by the Italian army in September 1870, the First Vatican Council reaffirmed the dogma of papal infallibility as a means to secure his sovereignty.

The pontificate of Leon XIII (1878-1903), Pius IX's successor, was more adaptable to the changing political climate and the requirements of the new liberal regime. Even though his encyclical *Immortale Dei* of 1885 still prohibited the political participation of the Catholics at national level, his *Rerum Novarum* of 15 May, 1891 encouraged them to be more politically active in their communities and allowed them to take part in local elections. Thus, Leon XIII promoted the idea of social Catholicism – the examination of the role and function of the Catholic Church in addressing the issues of social justice, distribution of wealth, the status of the working classes, the role of the state in enforcing human rights, etc. His encyclical criticised both liberal capitalism and socialism – the former for being unfavourable to a common worker, the latter for undermining Christian values and for advocating a violent clash of the social classes (Foro 2009: 28). This social and political engagement of the Catholics was a predecessor to the later formation of the Christian Democratic Party.

Nevertheless, the Church did not officially give up on the idea of restoring papal temporal power. In October 1890, the question of the restoration of the pontifical state was still on the agenda at the Eighth Catholic Congress (Pécout 2004: 193). Pope Leon XIII

continued to perceive the abstention of the Catholics from national parliamentary elections as their moral obligation and the only real form of political dissent in the face of the liberal state. Moreover, the 1870s and the 1880s had already been marked by a growing militancy among the papal supporters, inspired by the dogma of papal infallibility and Pius IX's rejection of modernism and liberal ideals. The Catholic periodical *La Civiltà Cattolica*, founded in 1850, and *L'Osservatore*, first printed in 1861, played an important role in diffusing the more radical Catholic views. All in all, by the end of the century, Rome remained a powerful symbol of the conflict between the Church and secular society. However, the Catholic claims found little praise in the subsequent Italian governments, primarily dominated by the historical Left and firmly dedicated to move further in a secular and anticlerical direction.

In the last two decades of the century, the official anticlerical measures were intensified and the image of secular Italy began to crystallise more firmly into a definite state policy. The government of Agostino Depentis, Prime Minister of Italy from 1876 to 1887, who established the first cabinet of the Left, reaffirmed the anticlerical course of Italian society, which was later followed by Francesco Crispi (in office 1887-1891, 1893-1896), a former Mazzinian republican. These two most prominent Italian statesmen of the late 19th century regarded the notion of the Catholic state as outdated. The so-called Zanardelli Code, named after Minister of Justice Giuseppe Zanardelli (in office 1898-1899), no longer mentioned Roman Catholicism as state religion but only as a cult (Pécout 2004: 193). If the Coppino Law of 1877 still allowed freedom of religious discourse, the Italian Penal code devised by Zanardelli that came into force in 1890 imposed repressive measures against the clergy, restricting their freedom of speech and actions in cases where they were considered acts of public disorder (248).

The antireligious sentiment began to permeate all levels of society and was particularly diffused with the advent of freemasonry organisations in the last decade of the 19th century or was popularised by prominent intellectuals. Giosuè Carducci (1835-1907) particularly contributed to the overall rise of anticlericalism and the philosophy of freethought, which successfully penetrated the urban intellectual milieu and the regions with the strong republican and socialist tradition. Moreover, by the end of the century the *Risorgimento* movement evolved into a strong unitary myth running deep in the national consciousness. This was mirrored in an increased number of occasions commemorating the distinguished figures of the national movement. The Italian general Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) had received a cult status of a national hero, incarnating the patriotic ideals of freedom, democracy and unity, thus gradually replacing the traditional unitary function of the Pope

himself. In commemoration of twenty-five years of the breach of Porta Pia and the Capture of Rome, the city officials inaugurated on the Janiculum Hill in Rome on 20 September, 1895 the statue of Garibaldi looking towards Saint Peter's Basilica (Foro 2009: 53). Similarly, the process of secularisation is evident in the use of the traditionally religious language to honour the figures and events of a secular state. As Gilles Pécout reminds us, many people would celebrate 19 March not as St Joseph's Day (*San Giuseppe* in Italian) but as the day of "San Giuseppe Garibaldi" (2004: 34). Pécout refers to historian Mauruzio Ridolfi to sum up the course of the Italian society at the turn of the century – the gradual replacement of "Amor di dio" by "amor di patria" (250).

As we will demonstrate in this chapter, Turiello allows his Faustus to define himself in more secular terms in the light of the official state policy of the time. Even though by insulting the Head of the Catholic Church, Faustus violates the Law of Guarantees of 1871, still in force by the end of the century, Article Two of which states:

> Le offese e le ingiurie pubbliche commesse dirattemente contro la persona del Pontefice con discorsi, con fatti, o coi mezzi indicati nell'articolo 1 della Legge sulla stampa, sono punite colle pene stabilite all'articolo 19 della legge stessa.
> (*Legge* no 214, Titolo I, art. 2)

there would be a lack of political will to prosecute the criminal and enforce the law in the all-secular age. As a matter of fact, his act of undermining papal temporal authority would be considered as a direct support of the anticlerical policy and secular institutions. Thus, Faustus echoes the advent of freethought as the triumph over religious dogmatism, the exercise of the political freedom of the individual, and the pursuit of truth on the basis of reason and empirical study rather than traditional authority. However, the ideal of civil society promised by the *Risorgimento* and the liberal state, in which the possibility of achieving individual freedom and civil rights are measured against the constraints of political and religious institutions, was called into question at the end of the century – something that Turiello thoroughly exploits in his translation. If Faustus is enabled to fashion himself without recourse to God or the Pope, modifications in Turiello's text also lead to the portrayal of his character as a victim of the repressive authority. The last years of the century were indeed characterised by the crisis of liberal constitutionalism and "una vera e propria svolta di segno autoritario e liberticida" (Guazzaloca 2016: 34). As in many cases throughout European cultural history, the myth of Faust once again emerged to relate to the main social concerns and crises of the time.

5.1.2 Political Repression during *la crisi di fine secolo*

Parliamentary monarchy as the political system of unified Italy consisted of three main bodies – the King, the Parliament and the Cabinet of Ministers (Foro 2009: 23). The King was in possession of executive power. He was commander-in-chief of the army and was entitled to name the ministers and ambassadors. The Italian Parliament as the holder of legislative power was a bicameral institution comprising the Senate as the upper house and the Chamber of Deputies as the lower house. Members of the lower house of Parliament were elected on the basis of censitary suffrage defined in 1865. Men older than age 25 practising a specific profession and paying at least 40 liras per year of taxes were allowed to take part in parliamentary elections. By the end of the century the electorate was gradually enlarged. In 1870, only 2% of the population was eligible to vote, whereas after the electoral reform of 1882, at least 2 million people (7% of the entire population and about 25% of the adult male population) formed the electoral body (Durand 1999: 52). Nevertheless, the suffrage reform of 1882 left the majority of peasantry and lower classes out of the electoral system, due to their inability to meet the literacy qualification (Duggan 1984: 160). Hence, the political power was still in the hands of the social elite.

The Cabinet of Ministers was led by the Prime Minister (President of the Council) as the head of the government. The post-unification period was characterised by continuing ministerial instability, the formation of which was often the result of coalitions of different interest groups. In addition, Parliament was frequently dominated by corruption. A number of deputies and ministers themselves were involved in various financial or political scandals that particularly shook the establishment in the 1890s. This coincided with economic crisis and the growth of the regime's political repression.

Two main political currents were in power in the post-unification period. Until 1876, the government was dominated by the Right (later labelled the Historical Right by historians to separate the group from 20th-century right-wing factions). The Historical Right mainly consisted of the nobility and the upper middle class from the Northern regions, united in their politics of conservatism, liberal nationalism and political and administrative centralisation based on the Jacobin model (Foro 2009: 31). One of the most prominent figures of the Right was Marco Minghetti, who held the position of Prime Minister twice, from 1863 to 1864 and from 1873 to 1876.

He was succeeded by Agostino Depentis in 1876, the year which marked the rise of the Historical Left to power. Depentis defined the programme of the Left: the rise of the

registered electorate, social and educational reforms, measures for reducing regional differences, etc. Depentis is particularly noted for implementing the practice of transformatism (*transformatismo*) in constituting the government. Transformatism was a means of forming the government of general centrist orientation, balancing between left-wing and right-wing politics, in order to secure political stability. It sought to transcend the traditional differences and distinctive characteristics of the Historical Left and the Right[164]. With this aim in view, Depentis marginalised the extreme Left and the extreme Right from the Italian political scene. By the end of the century, the so-called *neri*, a radical group of the Catholics adopting a firm intransigent position, discussed above, and the *rossi*, "la sinistra repubblicana, anrachica e socialista" (Guazzaloca 2016: 34) – two forces antagonistic to each other – were marked as the main opponents of mainly centre-left governments. In reality, transformismo was devised to "to give the regime an air of impregnability" (Duggan 1984: 164). Historian Sergio Romano contends that the ambiguous fusion of the Historical Left and the Right made difficult "le rapport dialectique entre governement et opposition" (1977: 73), a pillar of any democratic society.

As a reaction against tranformatism, socialism entered the Italian political scene in 1881 when the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Romagna (*Partito Socialista Rivoluzionario di Romagna*) was formed by Andrea Costa. As Christopher Duggan asserts, the creation of socialism in Italy evolved from a variety of traditions and political currents whose ideology was often mutually incompatible (161). It drew upon a Mazzinian radicalism "with its stress on duty, personal dignity, and independence within a collective framework" (161). But its earliest phase was also influenced by the social anarchism of Michael Bakunin. The Russian anarchist of international reputation came to Italy in the 1860s, and his ideas of "communal autonomy and opposition to the [liberal] state" quickly grew on a number of students and artisans, particularly in Eugenio Turiello's Naples (163). Duggan goes on to suggest that whereas the Marxist ideas of state ownership and a one-party system found little praise in Italy at first, the anarchist strand of socialism was better received, constantly fuelling the revolutionary climate and social insurrections of working classes throughout the 19th century (163), to which the authorities responded with violence in the last decade.

The first challenge to Depentis' centre-left politics occurred in 1882 when Andrea Costa was elected the first socialist member of parliament in Ravenna (Pécout 1993: 308). The real Socialist Party was still in the making. In 1884 Costa broke with anarchism and

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[164] The followers of the Historical Left thus included both former supporter of Mazzini's and Garibaldi's republicanism and more conservative and moderate spokesmen for constitutional monarchy (Durand 1999: 52).

adopted more democratic socialism as the official policy of his reformed political party, which now became known under the name The Italian Revolutionary Socialist Party (*Partito Socialista Rivoluzionario Italiano*). The period also saw the proliferation of other workers' parties and associations, such as The Italian Labour Party (*Partito Operaio Italiano*) founded in Milan in 1882. The two socialist parties merged into The Party of Italian Workers (*Partito dei Lavoratori Italiani*) formed in 1892 at the congress in Genoa, which marked the official foundation of modern Socialism in Italy (308). In 1895 it became The Italian Socialist Party (*Partito Socialista Italiano*), the most prominent figures of which were intellectuals Filippo Turati, Antonio Labriola, Alberto Costa and his wife Anna Kuliscioff. Turati took up Costa's rupture with anarchism and was determined to integrate the socialist programme into the institutionalised political system. He was also the founder of the influential Socialist periodical *Critica Sociale* in Milan in 1891. Together with *Avanti*, founded in Rome in 1896, the journal emerged as an influential voice of the Italian Socialist Party. The diffusion of socialist ideas affected the South as well, in particular Naples, where the first Italian *Faustus* was produced, thanks to Antonio Labriola (1843-1904). The prominent Marxist philosopher, highly influenced by Hegel, promoted his ideas of the reconciliation of social classes in *Critica Sociale*, which was widely read by the Socialist affiliates in Naples.

As mentioned above, socialists were perceived as disturbers of political order. Both King Umberto I (r. 1878-1900) and Francesco Crispi, the most influential Italian political personality at the end of the century, pursued the ideology of social order resembling the official programme of the Party of Order that was dominant during the French Second Republic. The developments on the Italian political scene were astonishingly similar to the French scenario some fifty years earlier. The maintenance of order quickly evolved into political repression, reaching its peak in the year of publication of Turiello's *Faustus*. Even though *Faustus* reached print two years after Crispi had resigned as Prime Minister in 1896, the dominant political trends and practices of Crispi's era continued to rumble on. The gap between the promise of the liberal state and the fragility and contradictions of its political system exposed in the last decade of the century was somehow mirrored in the contradictory character of Crispi himself. Sergio Romano describes Crispi in the following manner:

> Jusqu'en 1860, il fut mazzinien et républicain ; en 1865, il rompit bruyamment avec Mazzini et devint monarchiste. Il fut à la fois partisan de la décentralisation et jacobin ; il défendit les irrédentistes à l'occasion d'un célèbre procès et supprima leurs associations quand il arriva au pouvoir ; il prit durement position contre transformisme de Depentis et fut lui-même

transformiste autant en plus que Depentis ; il incita les électeurs à surveiller sévèrement l'intégrité morale de leurs candidats et fut impliqué dans deux graves scandales, l'un familial et l'autre financier ; il accusa tous les gouvernements de ne pas avoir compris le drame moral et du Mezzogiorno et réprima brutalement les émeutes siciliennes de 1893 ; il proposa à la vie politique italienne le modèle de la vie parlementaire britannique et envisagea vers la fin de sa carrière la suppression du Parlement ; il fut âprement anticlérical et tenta par deux fois la réconciliation avec la papauté ; il fut progressiste et déclara aux associations « subversives ». (Romano 1977: 86)

Many historians point to Crispi's betrayal of democratic ideals and Mazzinian legacy. The Crispi era is frequently labelled as authoritarian, totalitarian, and quasi-dictatorial due to the growth of political control and oppression. The events certainly attest to such unfavourable claims. In the 1880s some political analysts had already influenced the course set by Crispi's first government (1887-1891). Eugenio Turiello's more famous namesake and fellow citizen, Neapolitan writer and intellectual Pasquale Turiello (1836-1902), who just like Crispi, had taken an active part in the *Risorgimento* movement alongside Garibaldi, suggested in his influential book *Governo e governati in Italia* (1882) that the Italian state should be founded upon the principles of "an authoritarian and militaristic state" (Duggan 1984: 164) in order for political and social order to be maintained. According to Pasquale Turiello, representative government could not meet the needs of such a policy. The disbelief in Parliament was shared by Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), another Southern political theorist and affiliate of the Historical Right. He advocated the restriction of the role and the influence of the Chamber of Deputies in favour of the King or the leader of the government, who should "take the initiative from parliament and elevate [themselves] into a strong unifying force" (164). This current of political thought took a firm hold on Crispi and his successors. It was later repeated in 1897 by Sidney Sonnino[165] (1847-1922), conservative liberal and member of the Historical Right. In his famous article *Torniamo allo Statuto* published in the Nuova Antologia[166] in 1897, Sonnino stated that the Chmaber of Deputies is inefficient at responding to the political crisis. According to him, the monarch or Prime Minister should act independently from the Assembly. The government itself should not be held responsible to Parliament but only to the crown (Pécout 2004: 197). Just like Pasquale Turiello or Mosca, he argued in support of strengthening the executive power of one strong political figure. However, the last events during the last decade of the century attest that the privileged status

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[165] Sonnino later became Prime Minister of Italy towards the end of the first decade of the 20th century.
[166] A journal of literature, science and arts founded in Florence in 1866.

of a centralised authority can be easily misused, leading to absolutism. This was a major setback in the democratic evolution of Italian society.

The first government led by Crispi (1887-1891) was marked by the reinforcement of central government executive powers. Crispi, who also held the position of Minister of Internal Affairs, was thus enabled to gain more control of the Council. The law of 1888 entitled him to form and denounce ministries without the approval of the legislative body (Pécout 2004: 290). The rise of an authoritarian regime and political control continued during Crispi's second government (1893-1896). He authorised the use of extreme force in dealing with a wave of riots during the agricultural crisis in Sicily led by the Sicilian Worker League, the so-called *Fasci Siciliani dei Lavoratori*[167]. The protests of Sicilian peasants against the new rental policy, taxation and the privatisation of agricultural land escalated into large-scale demonstrations in 1893-94. Crispi proclaimed a state of siege in 1894 in order to quell the public disturbance.

In 1896, the Central State Archives (*Casellario politico centrale*) were formed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs with the aim of allegedly upholding public order and stability. The Archives listed all the figures coming from radical Catholic factions and social anarchist circles that represented a potential threat (248). In reality, it became a legitimate tool of political repression and censorship that helped the government keep the subversive forces at bay. The law enacted in 1894 already gave the regime power to dissolve all the organisations perceived as engaging in seditious activities. Consequently, associations of both the extreme Right and the extreme Left were touched by the new repressive measures (296) that were even intensified after the Crispi era.

In March 1896, following the defeat of the Italian army in the battle of Adwa that ended the Italian colonial aspirations, Crispi's government was dissolved. He was succeeded by Antonio Starabba, Marchese di Rudini (in office 1896-1898), who continued his predecessor's authoritarian policy. Even though he acknowledged the excessive use of violence towards the *Fasci Siciliani*, a similar brutal repression of rioters occurred during his regime. The year of 1898 was dense with social agitations. An increase in the price of wheat and bread raised a storm of protest across the peninsula, which quickly turned into a full-scale popular revolt. The government declared a state of siege in Milan following the riots in May. The intervention of the forces led by General Fiorenzo Bava Beccaris (1831-1924) led to the death of 300 people (295). The repressive measures quickly swept across the rest of Italy.

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[167] *The Fasci Siciliani* was a popular movement of socialist inspiration that consisted of various labour organisations that advocated workers' rights.

The government also placed the city of Naples, and the regions of Campania and Tuscany under a state of siege. In addition, a number of prominent political opponents were prosecuted. The censorship laws allowed a ban on the popular Catholic journal *L'Osservatore Romano* and the socialist periodicals *L'Italia del popolo* and *Avanti*. Davide Albertino, director of *L'Osservatore Romano*, and Filippo Turati, leader of the socialists, were arrested. They were sentenced to three and twelve years of prison respectively (Durand 1999: 53, 56), though Turatti was liberated in the following year. Rudini even awarded general Bava Beccaris with the "ordine del servizio alla patria" (Pécout: 290), despite his hostility to the masses.

It is in this tumultuous context that Turiello published his translation of *Faustus*. We will see how certain recurrent changes in Turiello's version transform Marlowe's protagonist into a rebel who articulates the voice of the oppressed, those labelled by the authorities as anarchists or enemies to the state for merely raising the question as to whether the government and military officials were at the service of the state and its citizens or at the service of their own personal ambition and position of power.

5.2 Eugenio Turiello

Eugenio Turiello remains to this day a merely forgotten and unknown literary figure. If he had not introduced the Italian literary public to the first translation of Marlowe's canonical play, his name would have probably sunk into complete oblivion.

Information about his life is virtually non-existent. We know that he was born in Naples in the second half of the 19th century. The back cover of his version of *Faustus* reveals his exact home address at the time of translation production. In 1898 he lived in the centre of Naples in 73, Via Museo (nowadays Via Enrico Pessina). Interestingly, he was a neighbour to Leonardo Bianchi (1848-1927), a famous Neapolitan physicist and politician, who lived in the same historical building at the time (Furbesco 2011: 4).

The records of Turiello's written production are relatively scarce. Only three known publications are attributed to his name, two of them published during his lifetime and one published posthumously. In 1894, a two-page written account of the presentation on Percy Shelley, delivered at a round table held on 11 November 1894 reached print. However, the publication has been lost over time and it is only listed in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice. Luckily, the publication of his translation of *Doctor Faustus* of 1898 survived, although it is nowadays categorised as an extremely rare book. Despite its

poetic vigour, it did not receive any serious critical attention at the turn of the century. There are also no records of theatrical performances of *Faustus* based on his translation. Turiello's version was surpassed by the subsequent Italian retranslations abundant in the first half of the 20th century and has never been reprinted. Nevertheless, we find sporadic signs of critical praise for Turiello's text pronounced by his contemporaries. In *I tempi, la vita, i costume, gli amici, le prose e poesie scelte di Francesco Saverio Arabia* (1903), Neapolitan critic and writer Luigi Antonio Villari praises the last scene of *Faustus* and briefly comments on Turiello's competence, saying that the first Italian translation "è stato egregiamente tradotto dal Dott. Eugenio Turiello" (1903: 317). In his critical study on the latest Italian translation of Goethe's *Faust*, Historian Augusto Franchetti delivers a more complimentary remark: "fatta in buoni versi con elegante fedeltà da un giovane promettente Eugenio Turiello" (1900: 109).

Nevertheless, Turiello's name appeared in surveys of Italian translations of *Doctor Faustus* only in mid-20th century, when the critical fortune of early modern English drama reached its peak in Italian literary criticism. Piero Rebora, Nemi d'Agostino and Alfredo Obertello were among the first notable Elizabethan scholars that acknowledged Turiello's publication. In Rebora's anthology *Tragici Elisabettiani: Marlowe, Heywood, Tourner, Webster, Middleton*[168] (1946), Alfredo Obertello's two-volume collection of Elizabethan plays translated into Italian *Teatro Elisabettiano* (1951) and Nicola D'Agostino's criticial study on Christopher Marlowe (1950), we find references to Turiello's work.

Year	Title	Publisher	Place
1894	*Percy Bysshe Shelley (estratto dalla tavola rotonda – 11 novembre 1894)*	-	-
1898	*La Tragica Storia del Dottor Fausto : dramma di Cristoforo Marlowe; prima traduzione italiana di Eugenio Turiello*	Tipografia Giuseppe Golia	Naples
1955	*Canti editi ed inediti*, edited by M.T and M.B.	Istituto della Stampa	Naples (published posthumously)

Table 14: List of publications by Eugenio Turiello

Thanks to the 1955 collection of Turiello's poems prepared by the anonymous editors M. P. and M. T., we can gain some insight into the poet's authorial voice. The editors drew from Turiello's manuscripts and poems that had been previously published in different literary journals. A brief two-page introduction does not disclose any details from Turiello's

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[168] As mentioned above, the volume contains Rebora's translation of *Faustus*, the fifth Italian translation.

life. The editors confirm that the Italian poet did receive some positive critical acclaim by prominent figures such as Michele Kerbaker and the aforementioned Augusto Franchetti.

Turiello's poems display a wide range of forms and themes. He is not bound by Italian classical rules of prosody, as with *Faustus*. He devotes himself to introspection and looking into the human nature and his position in the world. Displaying Romantic sensibility, his poetry observes the internal agony of a disconnected wanderer and reexamines the meaninglessness of existence. Nevertheless, his attitude is not pessimistic. He has great confidence in human potential and ability and embraces the completeness of human experience.

Canti editi ed inediti also contains Turiello's partial translation of the last scene of Marlowe's *Edward II*. We do not know for sure whether Turiello ever produced the complete translation that had been lost overtime. The extract demonstrates a significant shift in the translator's attitude and strategy in comparison with his *Faustus*. Even though it was also delivered in verse, Turiello seems to have freed himself from the formal "constraints" of the traditional Italian poetry. There is a notable change of register – Turiello moves from a more elegant and archaic language in his *Faustus* toward a less refined vocabulary and a more easy-going tone in *Edward II*. Anastrophe, hyperbaton, the use of apocopic and truncated forms typical of his *Faustus* and the traditional meter are significantly reduced in *Edward II*. He also abandons the hendecasyllable. Based on these changes, we can assume that *Edward II* postdates his translation of *Faustus*, since it marks the evolution of the main trends in the Italian translation tradition. Turiello's revised approach thus anticipated the critical observations and practices of the Italian translators in the decades to follow. Nemi D'Agostino asserts that even though the Italian hendecasyllable represents a historical equivalence of Elizabethan dramatic expression, the translators should discard such this formal analogy[169]. D'Agostino states that English blank verse should not be substituted with the principal meter of Italian poetry for two reasons. First, it increases the number of lines as the Italian has more polysyllabic words than English and, consequently, alters the specific musicality and pace of the original (Here D'Agostino opts for the method of foreignisation). Secondly, the Italian hendecasyllabic meter "a uno spirito che non hanno nulla a che fare col teatro elisabettiano" (1983: 27). Therefore, D'Agostino decided to abandon his first translation of *Doctor Faustus* from 1948, rendered in hendecasyllables, which he now found

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[169] Similarly, Jean-Louis Backès gives the reason for refraining from the use of alexandrines in his 2001 French translation: "le rythme de Marlowe est rarement un rythme classique" (22).

"illeggibile" (27). In 1980, he retranslated the play and found the results more satisfactory. The reception of his translation attests to viability of his critical self-evaluation. The Mondadori bilingual edition of his translation (frequently republished to this day) has become the most diffused Italian version of Marlowe's *Faustus* in Italy.

Nevertheless, Turiello's *Faustus* is certainly a very efficient and aesthetically appealing translation of Marlowe's complex language and style. A tentative formulation of Turiello's poetics and ideology will come as a result of the detailed analysis of his translation of *Faustus* in the following section.

5.3 Turiello's Translation: Rebellion against the Traditional Establishment

As mentioned above, Bazy and Turiello had different textual starting points for carrying out their tasks of translating due to the varying identity and nature of the respective ST editions, previously established by a different English editor or Marlovian scholar. Whereas Bazy drew from the B-text, more homiletic and orthodox by its very nature, Turiello was faced with the conflated version, which in itself carried a more inconsistent framework, and thereby interpretative confusion and inconclusiveness. The translators' intervention in their respective translations further widened the gap between the French and Italian versions.

From the very beginning we can note clear differences in the two translators' approaches to the subject matter. In Chapter Four we have shown how the French translator further exploited the moralistic character of the B-text portraying Faustus as responsible for his own decline and systematically diminishing the influence of exterior factors. As a result, the narrative gives a trenchant critique and condemnation of the protagonist. By contrast, the Italian translator invites the reader/the spectator to question the righteousness of divine providence and external authority. At the same time, Faustus is depicted in a much better light. His blasphemous action and overindulgent nature are toned down. The particular pattern of translation shifts places greater emphasis on the Promethean and idealistic aspects of the Faustian urges, implying that he is a victim of unjust and restrictive authority. Consequently, Turiello's version evokes more empathy for the hero. The two conflicting readings of the French and Italian version are indicative of the translators' opposing political persuasions. Whereas Bazy incorporates his openly stated traditionalist and conservative stances into his translation, Turiello emerges as a discrete spokesman for secular society and more liberal and progressive systems of government. For both scholars, Faustus epitomises the spirit of social and political change.

The Italian translation of the chorus already foreshadows a trajectory of Faustus's life and the subsequent plot design that contrasts with Bazy's version or is altered in relation to the ST.

> Till swolln with cunning, of a self-conceit,
> His waxen wings did mount above his reach,
> And, melting, heavens conspired his overthrow;
> For, falling to a devilish exercise,
> And glutted now with learning's golden gifts,
> He surfeits upon cursed necromancy;
> Nothing so sweet as magic is to him,
> Which he prefers before his chiefest bliss:
> And this the man that in his study sits.
> (*Goll.* Chorus 20-28)

Turiello assumes a less patronising attitude towards Faustus, slightly shifting the blame for his anticipated downfall to factors beyond his own control:

> Finchè gonfio d'orgoglio e di sapere,
> Su fragile di cera ali fidato,
> Volò tropp'alto, e il ciel, nel suo corruccio,
> Alla ruina il condannò. Satollo
> Degli aurei frutti del sapere, or gode
> Dell'intelletto esecitar l'acume
> Nell'arti maledette, e la magia
> Gli è grata si, che tutte a lei pospone
> Le più soavi voluttà. Questo'uomo
> Ora mirate nel suo studio assiso.
> (*ITT* Coro 25-34)

The first lines from the example above reveal the dual vision of Faustus in both the ST and the TT. He is introduced as an Icarian overreacher overwhelmed with a seemingly disapproving pride but also as an erudite intellectual with a favourable appetite for learning. However, Turiello is quick to smooth out the traits of Faustus's excessiveness.

LA TRAGICA STORIA

DEL DOTTOR FAUSTO

DRAMMA

DI

CRISTOFORO MARLOWE

PRIMA TRADUZIONE ITALIANA

DI

EUGENIO TURIELLO

Figure 11: Title page of Turiello's translation of *Doctor Faustus*

The audience's evaluation of Faustus's action is significantly directed in the translation due to the omission of the line with a highly moralistic tone. Faustus's immersion in "a devilish exercise" (23) receives zero lexical material in the TT. The same line that dropped out of the TT foreshadows a recurrent pattern in Turiello's version – the decrease or neutralisation of the verbal imagery of feeding and gluttony that stresses Faustus's fault. The verb *fall to*, used in the sense of eating and emphasising Faustus's insatiable urge, is lost together with the omitted line in the translation.

Furthermore, his gluttonous and obsessive behaviour inherent in the ST form *glutted* takes the form *satollo* which, even though it restores the dualism in characterisation, leans towards the quality of being full, complete and satisfied rather than the subject's excessiveness (*Garzanti*, agg. 1,2). The ST lexical pattern of repeated unwarranted indulgence evident in the next line's "surfeits upon cursed necromancy" (25) is not reproduced in the translation. The ST metaphor of the gluttonous surfeit of black magic becomes a less judgmental statement in which Faustus merely enjoys the benefits of his ardent curiosity: "gode dell'intelletto esercitar l'acume [...]" (29-30). The same line in the translation further depicts Faustus in a more favourable light. Even though in both the ST and the TT Faustus engages in activities that are deemed *cursed* and *maledette* respectively, the ST reader's attention is drawn to the hero's disdainful involvement with black magic, whereas the TT lexical actualisation *arti* provokes a rather neutral response. The ST *necromancy* is replaced with the TT *arti* and is reinforced by the addition of the verbal action of practising and displaying *acume* by a person proud of his *intelletto* and *sapere*. The shrewdness, insight and sagacity (*Garzanti*, n. m. 1, 2) embedded in the terms makes Faustus's activities more praiseworthy. Hence, the TT at this point displays a shift from a mere condemnation of the occultist to praise for the intellectual acuity of the figure of the 16th- century magus/scientist or the 19th-century freethinker. This shift heralds the later systematic rendering of Faustus's *cunning*, to be elaborated in due course.

This view is further stressed in the modification of the original Christian moralising. In the ST Faustus exchanged his "chiefest bliss" (27), i.e., the Christian hope of an afterlife, for knowledge and earthly pleasures. No such trade is evident in its corresponding place in the translation. Turiello acknowledges that Faustus seeks "le più soavi voluttà" (33). Yet, by eliminating "chiefest bliss" in the translation, he denies that the promise of eternal life was ever an open option for Faustus in the first place. Consequently, he defines the universe that encompasses Faustus in the TT in more secular terms.

The remnants of the divine in the chorus translation are certainly less benevolent. The line that has traditionally served as one of the main textual arguments of the heroic apologists of the play – containing the image of the conspiratorial heavens complicit in Faustus's fall – is intensified in Turiello. The interpolation of the prepositional phrase *nel suo corruccio* (27) functioning as adjunct adverbial provides additional information about the manner in which the heavens treat Faustus. Turiello stresses the fury and wrath of the authority that eventually destroys Faustus and condemns him to a heavy sentence: "il ciel alla ruina il condannò" (28).

Each of the elements that Turiello modifies in the chorus – the blunting of Faustus's blasphemous and excessive behaviour and the heightening of the external influence – becomes a discernible trend over the remaining body of the text. It is important to note, however, that Turiello's rewriting of Marlowe's play displays a far less coherent vision in comparison with Bazy's text.

5.3.1 Faustus's Guilt Downplayed

On numerous occasions, Faustus's fault is reduced in the translation. Thus, Turiello delivers a version in which it is far easier to sympathise with the hero and to regard his punishment as an unjust and unreasonable act.

First, Turiello continues to emphasise Faustus's scientific and intellectual capacities rather than his charlatanry. Over the course of cultural history, literary criticism has given a dual symbolic significance to the Faust character, raising the question of whether he should be interpreted as "the rebellion of the new sciences against religious authority or the rejection of Renaissance humanism" whose proponents proved to be as corrupted and faulty as the traditional system they fought against (Weeks 2013: 17). Hence, both Marlowe's Faustus and Faust at large emerge as ambivalent characters that are either praised or blamed, depending on the critical approach.

That Faustus's activity in Turiello's version does not arouse contempt or ridicule in this regard but praise or even fascination is implied in the rendering of the ST *cunning*. In the original, the word is frequently used either as an adjective or a noun to give a double meaning to Faustus's feats. In his self-introducing soliloquy in which he attacks medieval scholasticism, Faustus initially states that he "will be as cunning as Agrippa was" (*Goll.* 1.118). Historical Faust and Marlowe's Faustus indeed shared common traits with Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535), the 16th-century polymath, scientist and occult philosopher. Agrippa, too, was praised as a humanist, progressive thinker and a

sceptic. At the same time he underwent a posthumous demonisation. Keefer notes that Agrippa was known for a "marvelous genius"; yet, he was also condemned for being "a servant of the devil" and a trickster by religious opponents and forces of repression for whom any act of deviation from the authoritative norm or teaching was deemed heresy (Keefer 2013: 72). Marlowe labels Agrippa and Faustus as cunning, thus keeping the ambiguous nature of their action and leaving the judgment to the audience. On the one hand, Faustus seeks to be a learned scholar who possesses true scientific knowledge (*OED*, n. 1a) as well as a skilful person equipped with practical knowledge (*OED*, n. 1b). On the other hand, he hopes to be granted magical abilities that would enable him to dabble in conjuring skills and black arts (*OED*, n. 3). Finally, if we interpret *cunning* as "skillful in compassing one's ends by covert means" (*OED*, n. 5a), the meaning with negative connotations as we know today that began to take on in the 16th-century, Faustus is exposed as involved in ill-conceived scheming and trickery. Throughout the text, Turiello eliminates this potentially disapproving portrayal of Faustus's character and intensifies praise for a learned scholar. The first occurrence is translated as "[…] io vo un gran dotto, / Siccome Agrippa divenir, […]" (*ITT* 1.138). The admiration for a *gran dotto* is later reaffirmed in the scholars' last lament over Faustus's brutish fate when they express their praise for his earthly achievements. The ST's statement "he was a scholar" (*Goll.* 20.15) becomes "egli fu gran dotto" (*ITT* 21.17). The amplification by a non-compulsory adjective parallels Faustus's earlier aforementioned aspiration to become known for great erudition.

The studious, diligent and zealous traits of Faustus's character overpower necromantic displays and trickery and are reinforced throughout the TT narrative. When Faustus announces his disruption of the papal feast, the ST has "Then in this show let me an actor be, / That this proud Pope may Faustus' cunning see" (*Goll.* 8.75-6), whereas the TT reads "a questo papa altero / Qualche saggio vo dar dei miei talenti" (*ITT* 8.77-8). The lexical choice of *saggio* and *talenti* once again highlights Faustus's intellectual capacities. Similarly, Mephistopheles' words of encouragement to Faustus to:

> […] devise what best contends thy mind
> By cunning in thine art to cross the Pope,
> Or dash the pride of this solemnity.
> (*Goll.* 8.79-81)

demonstrate a similar shift in the translation. Turiello once again removes the negative connotations of Faustus's *cunning* by omitting the word and focuses on his skilful *art* instead. He delivers the line as follows:

> Poi con l'aiuto di tua scienza pensa
> Di giucar qualche tiro al papa e l'alta
> Solennità turbar di questo giorno.
> (*ITT* 8. 81-3)

On the lexical level, Faustus's possession of scientific knowledge comes to the fore. The word *scienza* as central to Faustus's activities runs throughout the TT more vividly. Towards the end of the play, Faustus's lament to the scholars over his anticipated damnation "Ah, gentlemen, I / gave them my soul for my cunning!" (*Goll*. 19.45-6) is translated as "Io detti loro l'anima in / cambio della scienza!" (*ITT* 20.51-2). In the translation, Faustus does not pay the price for his aspirations for magical feats or craftiness but for scientific inquiry only. As such, he emerges as an Enlightenment thinker who evolved into a proponent of Positivism and Naturalism. Positivism in Italy coincided with the project of national unity. By the time Turiello produced his translation, positivist and empirical inquiry had sought to overcome the increased tendency of the traditional Catholic dogma to reclaim its intervention in state politics. In the translation, it is easier to identify Faustus as a promoter of empirical scientific study as the only true religion that will secure valid methods for putting forwards practical solutions at all levels in society. By portraying Faustus's fall as an unjust act (as I argue below in 5.3.2), Turiello seems to suggest the direction Italian society should take at the turn of the century when the rise of the conservative forces began to reconsider delegating more power to a centralised government, a monarch or the Catholic Church.

Secondly, Turiello continues to downplay Faustus's immoderate nature reflected in the language of overfeeding. Faustus's statement in his opening incantation "How am I glutted with the conceit of this" (*Goll*. 1.79) is rendered as "Quanta mi gonfia il petto alla superbia / A ciò pensando (*ITT* 1.89-90). The verb phrase *gonfiare il petto* points to Faustus's pride and arrogance rather than greed itself. Turiello eliminates the compulsive and obsessive need for material possession and power inherent in the ST *glutted* − the action of providing an excessive amount of the object. Jump interprets the lines as "filled with the notion of obtaining such power" (1965: 116). Turiello's Faustus at this point can only be accused of pride, which in itself can even be an admirable trait of a curious intellectual. It is true that many moralistic critics would insist that Faustus condemns himself to divine retribution by

swelling with the sin of pride as "the ultimate source of Faustus's fall" (J. C. Maxwell 1947: 89). But, as Bevington and Rasmussen assert, pride itself is an ambiguous concept, and Maxwell too acknowledged intellectual curiosity as essentially human (1993: 18). Hence, we can note a shift from the obsession with power towards intellectual pride in speculative knowledge in a secularised age. This moves the reader's perception of Faustus from an Elizabethan apostate in the ST to a "titanic intellectual rebel" (Strauss 1987: 28) in the TT. On the lexical level, Turiello also leaves behind the initial epithet *orgoglio* (Coro 25) ascribed to Faustus, and further detaches the hero from the deadly sin[170]. Even the intellectual centre of the Protestant Reformation is spared from overt judgment in this sense. While in the ST Faustus tends to make Wittenberg the place of "the flowering pride" (*Goll.* 1.115), in Turiello's eyes, the birthplace of Lutheranism is associated with the place of honour: "[…] di Vittemberga onore" (*ITT* 1.134). Lexical parallelism in the TT is lost and Lucifer's sin of "pride and insolence" (*Goll.* 3.71) or "insano orgoglio" (*ITT* 3.77) and potential egocentrism does not consume reformers in Wittenberg, as was the case in the original version or in Bazy's translation. We have seen how Bazy's lexical choices suggested the opposite. The fact that Faustus and the Catholic opponents were often deemed as *orgueilleux* instead of *fier* and that the French scholar faithfully retained the verbal signs of gluttony throughout his translation incited an opposite response in comparison with Turiello's version. In the system of values cherished by Turiello, there is nothing wrong with Faustus being proud of his own intellectual abilities. It is the critical and mental faculty that is the carrier of social progress and that defies traditional thought, often regressive by its nature.

Moreover, Turiello celebrates Faustus in his totality and does not dissociate his rational intellect from uncontrollable human emotion. When ST Faustus urges Mephistopheles to summon the spirit of Helen in order to "glut the longing of my heart's desire" (*Goll.* 17.90), the Italian version slightly revises the nature of his motives: "[…] in cor m'arde un desio / che tu potresti satisfar" (*ITT* 18.96-7). Once again, there is no judgmental and superfluous *glut* but a relatively reasonable amount of his urges in the TT. For a Romantic critic, there is nothing overindulgent in seeking to satisfy the needs of the heart aflame with passion. In his introduction, Turiello gives credit to the totality of human experience and the urgings of the Romantic passionate hero, drawing from Hippolyte Taine's influential exalting of the dual nature of both Marlowe and Faustus:

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[170] Even though, as discussed above, Faustus is introduced as *orgoglio* only of his intellectual capacities, i.e., *sapere*, in the translation.

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Voilà l'homme vivant, agissant, naturel, personnel, non pas le symbole philosophique qu'a fait Goethe, mais l'homme primitif et vrai, l'homme emporté, enflammé, esclave de sa fougue et jouet de ses rêves, tout à l'instant présent, pétri de convoitises, de contradictions et de folies, qui, avec des éclats et des tressaillements, avec des cris de volupté et d'angoisse, roule, le sachant, le voulant, sur la pente et les pointes de son précipice.

(Taine 1866 qtd. in Turiello 1898: 7-8)

For both Taine and Turiello, the Faustian spirit exudes audacity and vehemence but also grandeur and poetic passion. Turiello expressed his Manichaean conception of man in his poem *Il Demone,* published posthumously in his collection of poems in 1955. According to Turiello, *un demone funesto* resides within the human heart, or more specifically within *il seno*, and takes part in the ever-lasting internal battle between contradictory impulses.

Odio, risponde, quand'io grido: Amor.

[…]

Vizio, mi dice, s'io dico: Virtù

 (Turiello, *Il Demone* 1958: 47)

According to Turiello, the fierce debate and contradictory force that rage from within make man capable of both good and evil, creation and destruction. It is human to do right but also to err. Man is caught in the whirlpool of unstable emotion but he is also able to incur stability by the power of reason. He strives for both spiritual and sensual pleasure, and yearns to satisfy the requirements of both his soul and flesh. Ironically, it is Mephistopheles who praises a dignified man in all his glory and completeness and places him even above God's realm: "I tell thee, Faustus, 'tis [heaven] not half so fair / as thou, or any man that breathes on earth" (*Goll*. 6.5-6) or in the TT: "Assai più bello è l'uomo / E più bello sei tu" (*ITT* 6. 5-6). Whether the words represent a devilish manipulation or a sincere accolade of unrestrained human potential and beauty, Mephistopheles utters the cornerstone of humanism to which Faustus is passionately attracted.

The root of Faustus's agony is that he has to give up his integrity and sacrifice part of his human nature in order to conform to the conception of himself devised by secular or religious society. With an eye to fitting into predetermined social and gender roles in society he will have to repress his emotion and conscience, overemphasise rationality or suffocate his aspiration to freely move in a stratified society. If he wants to secure his eternal afterlife according to the Christian doctrine, he will have to give up his human yearning for material

possessions and sensual experiences. In both cases, he is kept at bay and forced to maintain the status quo. Faustus seems to strive for more freedom and rebel against the limited idea of himself and the dissociation of his sensibility imposed by others. This rebellious spirit against a restrictive God or state authority is more lexically evident in the translation, seen in the following examples.

Upon summoning the devil, Faustus informs Mephistopheles that he agrees on the terms of the legal contract with the devil:

Go bear these tidings to great Lucifer:
Seeing Faustus hath incurr'd eternal death
By desp'rate thoughts against Jove's deity.
(*Goll*. 3.91-3)

The TT reads:

Or va, reca al tuo sir questa novella,
Che Fausto contro Iddio fiero e ribelle
È condannato a sempiterna morte.
(*ITT* 3.101-3)

The use of anastrophe, common for 19th-century Italian poetry, gives these lines more ambiguity in the TT. Does God proudly rebel against Faustus's choice to embrace the dark forces or does Faustus emerge as a proud, disobedient and rebellious character for which he is punished? The second reading seems more plausible, though. Faustus is associated with Romantic rebellion against authority. However, he is punished for fighting for more rights and freedom. In the ST, it is his own action that leads to his destruction – *incurr'd eternal death (3.92)*. In contrast, TT Faustus is exempt from guilt by being portrayed as less responsible. Turiello stresses that Faustus is literally sentenced to death, making the readership perceive this act as unmerited oppression. There is no rebellion of the oppressed and no language of political persecution in the original at this point.

Later on, Faustus's rebellious spirit surfaces once again in the TT. Faustus is urging Mephistopheles to punish the Old Man for trying to inspire in him the act of rebellion: "[…] che a ribellarmi m'incitò" (*ITT* 18.91). This view is missing in the original "[…] that durst dissuade me from thy Lucifer" (*Goll*. 17.84).

That Faustus's rebellion might be given a nobler and less anarchist and destructive character is implied at the moment in which Faustus asks Mephistopheles to provide him a

wife for he is "wanton and lascivious" (*Goll.* 5.142). Faustus's guilt of voluptuousness in the ST is slightly diminished in the translation by means of the double meaning and ambiguity of the chosen lexical item. TT Faustus is "libertino e lascivo" (*ITT* 5.165). The context imposes the understanding of *libertino* as a person of loose morals inappropriately displaying licentious behaviour, which matches the ST adjective *wanton*. At the same time, the choice of the word adds to the ambivalence of the Faustus character, for it can express its primary meaning with positive connotations. The Italian form *libertino* more persuasively depicts the nonconformist attitude and the qualities of a freethinker than the English *libertine* which carries only the remnants of a challenger of traditional thought. Mario Praz celebrates both Marlowe and his Faustus as a *libertin*, understood as a freethinker and "a scoffer at institutional religion" (Praz 1931: 1). By means of his lexical choice, Turiello seems to counterbalance a long list of serious accusations filed against Marlowe and Faustus by his predecessors (Bazy in particular), thus aligning himself with those that see in Faustus a hero who undermines the status quo, attempts to transcend the unjust paradigms of his time and asserts his individuality and willpower, a view that was rapidly gaining ground in Marlowe scholarship at the time.

Even if we understand *libertino* in its contextual meaning in line with Faustus's claim that "io mi struggo dal desiderio di prendere moglie" (*ITT* 5.165), the author or the reader would not consider man's striving to pursue both his intellectual curiosities and satisfy his sexual desire as a punishable act. Nevertheless, Turiello further attenuates textual evidence for moralistic criticism in this regard. He transforms Faustus's longing for sensual pleasure to spiritual joy, making his transgression less severe. Moralistic critics often reproach Faustus for stating that:

> My four-and-twenty years of liberty
> I'll spend in pleasure and in dalliance.
> (*Goll.* 8.62-3)

They take this claim as proof that Faustus is explicit in planning to squander his time allotted on wantonness seen as a trivial pastime. Turiello elevates Faustus's motivation to a more dignified nature:

> Questa mia breve libertà in soavi
> Gaudi spender vogl'io, […]
> (*ITT* 8.62-3)

Not surprisingly, Turiello considers that the time given to Faustus to realise his human potential and transcend the limits of the known as too short, although the replacement of what would be a more valid equivalent *ventiquattro anni di* with the chosen adjective *breve* may be dictated by formal requirements. More importantly, while ST Faustus will merely enjoy amorous pleasures, suggested by *dalliance*, TT Faustus's announced immersion in *soavi gaudi* [171] suggests that he is a seeker after spiritual delight and delicate and pleasant sensations. Later on, the Old Man's comforting words to Faustus are described as *la soave parola* (*ITT* 18.68-9). By contrast, we have seen how Bazy systematically dashed any idealistic or noble traits of the Faustian impulses throughout his version, voicing fierce condemnation for his sensual pleasure that he even amplified in the translation.

In addition, Faustus's self-important attitude is downplayed in the translation. Many critics have pointed out that Faustus constantly addresses himself by his own name. Richard Gill states that, even though this rhetoric device might have served to indicate whom the spectators were watching on stage, it certainly contributed to a substantial level of Faustus's self-admiration (2008: 85). Turiello reduces Faustus's self-references by a third [172], thus toning down his self-aggrandising attitude and making him more appealing to the masses. It is true that this translation strategy may be conditioned by formal requirements, obliging the translator to sacrifice the rendering of proper names throughout his version in order to fit as much ST lexical material into the Italian hendecasyllable as possible. Nevertheless, this economy in translation produces an effect that is more favourable to Faustus.

Not only is Faustus less narcissistic, but he is also less overconfident in the TT. In their first exchange, Faustus cannot understand why Mephistopheles is so swayed by emotion at being expulsed from heaven and "deprived of everlasting bliss" (*Goll.* 3.80) and encourages the summoned spirit to be as courageous as he is: "Learn thou of Faustus manly fortitude" (*Goll.* 3.89). John Jump contends that Marlowe's use of the word *manly* serves to express Faustus's "human self-sufficiency which he enjoys at this stage in his career" (1965: 120) and goes on to stress the ironical overtones in his "arrogant recommendation of manliness to a supernatural being" (120). Turiello omits the adjective thus reducing Faustus's overconfidence and arrogance at this point: "Da Fausto apprendi la fortezza" (*ITT* 3.100).

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[171] *Gaudio*] "gioa intensa, soprattutto di natura spirituale o religiosa" (*Treccani,* s. m. 1) or "vivo piacere per lo più spirituale" (*Garzanti*, n. m. 1).

[172] The cases of the omission of Faustus's self-address in the translation: ST 3.69 – TT 3.73; 5.49 – 5.59; 5.149 – 5.129; 6.80 – 6.89; 8.62 – 8.64; 8.211 – 8.221; 17.19 – 18.16; 17.58 – 18.60; 19.122 – 20.135; 19.158 – 20.153.

Finally, the tendency of orthodox critics to focus on the depravity of Faustus's nature rather than on his altruistic beheviour would not meet with support if we based our criticism on Turiello's version only. Faustus's serious villainy is reduced to simple shenanigans in the translation. Before they witness the Pope's humiliation of Bruno, Mephistopheles reclaims his allegiance to Faustus:

> Or any villainy thou canst devise,
> And I'll perform it, Faustus: Hark! they come.
> (*Goll*. 8.86-7)

Whereas Faustus in the ST is about to engage in wicked behaviour, Faustus in the TT is expected to commit only harmless mischievous trickery:

> Eseguirò qualunque bricconata,
> Fausto, ti detti il core. Ecco, essi, vengono,
> (*ITT* 8.90-1)

Turiello assumes a less critical tone. Faustus's guilt is toned down by the use of the less judgmental *bricconata* that occurs within van Leuven-Zwart's shift of intensive element as part of the semantic modification. Moreover, Faustus's attraction for mere amusement comes from the most intimate part of his human nature – his heart. The translation often displays justification of Faustus's action as the natural expression of his human and innate impulses. This effect is achieved by the recurrent interpolation of *il cor(e)*, the apocopic and truncated form of the lexical item *il cuore*.

The Source Text		Turiello's translation
Mephistopheles: Am not tormented with ten thousand hells, (3.83)	(1)	Mefistofele: Mille inferni ho <u>nel cor</u>. (3.94)
Faustus: When I behold the heavens, when I repent, And curse thee, wicked Mephistophilis, Because thou has depriv'd me of these joys. (6.1-3)	(2)	Fausto: Quando contemplo i cieli, o Mefistofele, Io mi pento, <u>il mio cor</u> ti maledice Poi che di tanta gioia orbo mi festi. (6.1-3)
Sweet Mephistophilis, so charm me here, That I may walk invisible to all, And do whate'er I please, unseen of any. (8.231-5)	(3)	Rendimi tal ch'io possa andar su e giù, E far qualunque cosa <u>il cor</u> mi detti Invisibile a tutti, o dolce amico. (8.223-5)
Mephistopheles: Or any villainy thou canst devise, And I'll perform it, Faustus: Hark! they come: This day shall make thee be admired in Rome. (8.86-8)	(4)	Mefistofele: Eseguirò qualunque bricconata, Fausto, ti detti <u>il core</u>. Ecco, essi, vengono, Essi vengon, son qui; Ti coprirai di gloria in questo di. (8.90-3)

Faustus:		Fausto:
Gentlemen [scholars],		Poichè mai sempre d'amistà verace
For that I know your friendship is unfeign'd,	(5)	Prova mi deste, ed <u>il mio cor</u>, se giusta
And Faustus' custom is not to deny		È la richiesta, di negar non usa
The just requests of those that wish him well.		Nulla a chi mama, or v'è concesso, amici,
(17.17-20)		(18.15-7)
Ay, my sweet friend [Old Man], I feel		Ah, dolce amico, <u>al cor</u> scende soave
Thy words to comfort my distressed soul!	(6)	La tua parola.
(17.65-6)		(18.68-9)
Wagner:		Wagner:
Sir, so wondrous well,		A meraviglia, e in segno
As in all humble duty, I do yield	(7)	<u>Del mio cor</u> grato io dedicar vo tutta
My life and lasting service for your love.		A servirvi la vita, o buon signore.
(19.3-5)		(20.4-6)

Table 15: Addition of lexeme *cor(e)* in the translation

It is the heart that dictates both the creative and destructive action of Faustus and his entourage in the TT. When Faustus asks Mephistopheles to make him invisible so that he can pursue his mischievous tricks on the Pope (ex.3) and do "whatev'r I please", Turiello incites the reader's less reproachful and even more affectionate attitude towards Faustus given that the latter acts in accordance to "qualunque cosa il cor mi detti". The translated lines display a reversal of Bazy's contemptuous tone aimed at the individual who tends to misuse the newly acquired ability and freedom for the sake of obtaining more power (see 4.3.1).

Faustus's heart also tells him to disrupt social conventions and bridge the gap between social classes, which adds to his favourable trait of public-spiritedness. He does not speak to his fellow scholars according to the custom seen as a socially constructed norm as implied in the ST (ex.5), but out of his heart. Turiello turns *Faustus' custom* into *il mio cor*. In addition, a shift from his self-reference in the ST 3rd-person to the TT 1st-person makes his address a more sincere statement of fact which is more affectionate towards his friends. Here, the omission of Faustus's addressing himself by his proper name further gives him a more humble and self-effacing air.

In turn, other characters assume a more intimate relationship with Faustus. Similarly, Wagner does not speak to Faustus out of the imposed social role, "in all humble duty" (ex.7) and sense of obligation that he is supposed to take on in the servant-master relationship, but out of his heart, "del mio cor grato". The TT undertones of the reconciliation of social classes and the subversion of stratified society (Faustus too is a person of humble origin who challenges traditional hierarchy) mirror the ideology of the newly-formed Socialist Party (1892) and move Faustus away from possible associations with the anarchist spirit towards the socialist devotion to public welfare.

As evidenced above, charges of depravity, egocentricity, greed and fierce pride traditionally filed against Faustus by moralistic commentators are considerably reduced. In the translation, Faustus cannot be easily found guilty of blasphemy either.

Criticism is unanimous in describing the play as replete with the reversal of Christian myths, ideas and rituals. The most striking example is certainly Faustus's cry *Consummatum est* (*DF* A/B 2.1.74) in the scene in which he seals his bargain with Lucifer. Faustus replicates Christ's last words on the cross (meaning 'it is finished'), as evidenced in St John's Gospel (19:30). Throughout the play he continues to ironically echo elements of Christian mythology, which devout Christians may find offensive and blasphemous, and hence justify his fall. He repeatedly equates himself with Christ, as seen, for example, in his urge to have the ability to raise the dead (*DF* A 1.1.25). He subverts religious language and the Christian philosophy of life and death by constantly referring to his immersion in magic and conjuring feats as "heavenly words" (*DF* A/B 1.3.28). This "ironic application of religious language" (O'Connor 2003: 6) is introduced when he states that "necromantic books are heavenly" (*Goll.* 1.51), which in Turiello's version becomes "Queste son cose, affè, sublimi (*ITT* 1.59). Whereas the Italian adjective *sublime* can refer to having divine and transcendent quality, it primarily expresses elevated and exalted nature often dissociated from divinity itself (Garzanti, n. m. 1). Turiello's Faustus hence does not blasphemously mistake God's word for that of the devil in such an apparent manner. However, two scenes later Faustus boasts of necromantic power "in my heavenly words" (*Goll.* 3.30), which is rendered in the translation as "nelle divine mie parole" (*ITT* 3.29). Only now does TT Faustus start to undermine the Christian universe upon which the TT narrative is premised. Nevertheless, his blasphemy is reduced by half.

When Faustus implores Christ to "seek to save distressèd Faustus' soul!" (*Goll.* 6.84), Turiello attenuates Faustus's heretical questioning of "Christ's power to save" in which he demands that Christ put additional effort into treating the reprobate (Greg 1946 qtd. in Keefer 2007: 55). Turiello's version reads "Redimi un'alma vinta dal dolore!" (*ITT* 6.94), omitting the problematic verb *seek*. Hence, TT Faustus is not doubtful of Christ's redemptive powers.

Finally, the Second scholar compares the summoned spirit of Helen with "heavenly beauty" (*Goll.* 17.33), foreshadowing the later moment in which Faustus calls her "heavenly Helen" (*Goll.* 18.92). This heretical confounding of Christ, who offers a true path to salvation, with Helen that leads him to damnation is given more proficiency in the ST and particularly in Bazy's version and is attenuated in Turiello. As shown in 4.3.3, the French translator intensifies Faustus's blasphemous identification of Helen with Christ by the

addition of his claim "mon âme est attirée par cet objet divin !" (*FTT* 242). While Bazy sees Helen as a devil whose deceiving beauty and majesty *séduirent* (*FTT* 236) men and *captive* their souls (*FTT* 242) – there is no such reading in the ST – Turiello, mimicking the beauty of Dante's language, reserves his utmost praise for classical beauty: "Quella eccelsa mirar greca beltade" (*ITT* 18.19). There is neither a misogynistic attitude in Turiello, nor a perception of Helen as a devilish force that eventually damns Faustus, but rather she is a symbol of liberating beauty and ancient past as the source of inspiration to a humanist thinker. The potentially blasphemous undercurrents in "heavenly beauty" (*Goll.* 17.33) are removed. Turiello delivers "questa beltà" (*ITT* 18.32).

Nevertheless, Turiello retains the blasphemous and ironical connotations elsewhere. In the conjuring scene, both ST and TT Faustus pray to the devils instead of normally praying to God and the saints. The original author and the translator give an ironic perspective to his zeal for conjuring. The effect is repeated later when Mephistopheles states that "the shortest cut for conjuring / Is stoutly to abjure the Trinity, / And pray devoutly to the prince of hell (*Goll.* 3.55-7), which Turiello conveys by "[…] il miglior modo / Da usar negli scongiuri è d'abiurare / La Trinità, porgendo ardenti preghi / Al signor dell'Inferno (*ITT* 3.56-9).

Moreover, throughout the translation, Faustus's materialistic aspirations remain. However, a Romantic critic would not blame a person of lower social rank like Faustus for asking for more material possessions for himself as he ascends the social hierarchy and overcomes servility to nobility, as a reward for his intellectual capacities and achievements. As such, Faustus can embody the rise of the middle-upper class who seek to obtain more material security, even luxury – something that had traditionally belonged only to the aristocracy, royal family or the Church fathers.

All things considered, whereas textual evidence for sentencing Faustus to death is even irrefutable in Bazy and rather ambiguous in the ST, it proves to be far less convincing in the Italian translation. Faustus is more persuasively portrayed as a rebel who strives to break from rigid social conventions. In a passionate effort at self-assertion, he defies authority for which he will suffer undeserved punishment. This reading is more difficult to attain in either of the ST versions and almost impossible in Bazy's translation.

5.3.2 A Victim of the Oppressive Regime

Throughout the TT, we can discern a trend of dramatising Faustus's course of action as predetermined and guided by forces beyond his control – the devils, God or the universe at

large, which can all stand for an authority of some kind. At the same time, this authority that Faustus defies emerges as a less benevolent and more oppressive entity.

In addition to the aforementioned instances in the translation in which Turiello intensifies the more active role of external factors in devising Faustus's fall[173], the following examples further depict Faustus more as a victim and less as a person who self-inflicts his own misfortune. These changes in the TT strike a chord with heroic criticism.

In *Doctor Faustus: Subversion Through Transgression*, printed in his influential book *Radical Tragedy* in which the scholar deconstructs traditional polarisation of general critical approaches to Elizabethan drama, Jonathan Dollimore states: "God and Lucifer seem equally responsible in his [Faustus's] final destruction, two supreme agents of power deeply antagonistic to each other yet temporarily co-operating in his demise" (1984/2010: 111). Dollimore suggests that both Lucifer and God are possessed with tyrannical power that they exert upon the protagonist (112). This view is particularly tenable in Turiello's version.

In the ST, Lucifer's and God's realms are often referred to as a monarchy or kingdom, which Turiello further exploits in his translation. Mephistopheles explains that Lucifer wants Faustus's soul in order to "enlarge his kingdom" (*Goll.* 5.40) or "egli ingrandisce / Per tal guise[174] il suo regno" (*ITT* 5.47-8). Furthermore, Mephistopheles refers to Lucifer as his "sovereign lord" (*Goll.* 17.75), which becomes "tuo monarca" (*ITT* 18.78) in the translation. The subjugation of the monarch's newly acquired subordinates is implied when Lucifer ascends from hell "to view the subjects of our monarchy" (*Goll.* 18.2), faithfully reproduced as "A visitar del nostro regno i sudditi" (*ITT* 19.2).

On several occasions, Turiello further equates Lucifer with a sovereign equipped with supreme power. When Mephistopheles, for instance, suggests that Faustus will benefit from his collaboration with the prince of hell, "And then be thou as great as Lucifer" (*Goll.* 5.52), the TT reads, "[…] poscia sarai / Pari al re delle tenebre possente" (*ITT* 5.63-3). This grammatical category change, in which the ST adjective phrase is transformed into the TT noun phrase with the added *re* as its headword stresses the supreme authority of the monarch. The same effect is produced a few lines later by the more specific description of Lucifer as a sovereign, which further leads to the confirmation of omnipresent authority. "I cut mine arm, and with my proper blood / assure my soul to great Lucifer's" (*Goll.* 5.54-5) is translated as "Ecco, l'alma prometto, o Mefistofele, / Al grand sovrano dell'eterna note" (*ITT* 5.64-5).

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[173] The modification of the original "heavens conspired his overthrow" (*Goll.* Prologue 22) into "e il ciel, nel suo corruccio, / Alla ruina il condannò" (*ITT* Coro 27-8) and "Faustus hath incurr'd eternal death" (*Goll.* 3.92) into "È condannato a sempiterna morte" (*ITT* 3.103).

[174] *Per tal guise*] (archaic) in that manner.

Faustus in the translation is indeed treated by the devilish forces in a more violent and oppressive manner. Mephistopheles states that devils are attracted to the individual's immersion in sin which makes them "fly in hope to get his glorious soul" (*Goll.* 3.52). The action of taking one's soul is intensified in the translation: "voliam sperando conquistar quell'alma" (*ITT* 3.54). The verbs *get* and *conquer* share a similar semantic property. Yet Turiello's use of *conquistar(e)* heightens the all-pervasive external force. At this point man's conscious and initial act in his self-destruction is acknowledged only to be dismissed two scenes later when a similar rise of intensive element reappears in the translation, as evidenced in the following example. Mephistopheles is convincing Faustus to seal his bargain with Lucifer, uttering aside: "O, what will not I do to obtain his soul?" (*Goll.* 5.73). Turiello translates the line as "A posseder quest'alma / Che non farei?" (*ITT* 3.85-6), reintroducing the vocabulary of dominance and control. The verb *posseder(e)* matches the ST *obtain* in its referential meaning as "avere in possesso, in proprietà" (*Garzanti*, n. m. 1). But it also expresses a more forceful action of exerting control and dominance (*Garzanti*, n. m. 3) and even the action of colonising the object. In addition, in the ST, Faustus accuses Mephistopheles of depriving him of "the joys of heaven" (*Goll.* 19.171). In the TT, the action of preventing Faustus from enjoying celestial bliss receives a more aggressive quality. Faustus asserts to himself: "Maledici Lucifero che il gaudio / In sempiterno ti rapì dei cieli" (*ITT* 20.186-7). Faustus is literally extracted from heaven by force in the translation.

Faustus's ability to assert his free will is generally less evident in the translation. The TT even attenuates his conscious choice in the initial sin. While the scholars have a sense of foreboding that Faustus is incurring his own downfall in the ST: "Nay, then I fear he is fallen into that damned art" (*Goll.* 2.35-6), Turiello shifts the blame onto external forces by literally labelling Faustus as a victim of circumstances over which he had hardly any control: "Ahimè! Temo che Fausto sia divenuto vittima di quell'arte diabolica" (*ITT* 2.34-5). A short while later, Faustus begins his incantation by encouraging himself to "[…] try if devils will obey thy hest, / Seeing thou hast pray'd and sacrificed to them" (*Goll.* 3.6-7). Turiello demonstrates philological precision (with the altered word order in an anastrophe) in rendering the lines. His lexical choice nevertheless ironically echoes the previously asserted status of a victim: "Or puoi veder se i demoni, a cui molte / Preci[175] e vittime offristi, i cenni tuoi / Son pronto, Fausto, ad obbedire" (*ITT* 3.6-7).

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[175] *Preco*] (lit.) prayer.

The fatal necessity of Faustus's damnation independent from his conscious choice is noticeable elsewhere in the translation. As shown in 2.7, Gollancz already moved away from the standard A- or B-texts in printing the following lines: "Now, Faustus / Must thou needs be damn'd, canst thou not be sav'd (*Goll*. 5.1-2). By delivering a declarative sentence instead of a question, the English editor enhances the imminence of Faustus's tragic end. Turiello goes further and downplays any doubt as to the nature of Faustus's end that still remains in Gollancz's statement. Through redundancy in translation, he removes the repetition of similar concepts expressed by two parallel sentences in the ST and prints "Or senza scampo tu sarai dannato" (*ITT* 5.1), further stressing that Faustus's fate is sealed.

Faustus did not stand a chance in the face of authority and the whole world around him. When the Good Angel sums up the course of Faustus's life, saying that he brought upon himself his fall because "thou didst love the world" (*Goll*. 19.88), Turiello deploys a significant syntactic modification in which the object of the ST sentence becomes the grammatical subject of the TT utterance: "Il mondo / In cambio ti sedusse" (*ITT* 20.95-6). Hence he gives the exterior world more agency in the verbal action, which is also transformed from love to seduction. The world that Faustus loves in the original, in turn, seduces him in the translation. This change implies the influences of malignant forces.

Towards the end of the play, in the midst of his agonising pain Faustus somewhat paraphrases this Good Angel's claim in the TT. Having previously cursed himself and Lucifer for his misery, Faustus attempts to shift responsibility for his deeds onto the entire universe and an avoidable fate. The ST reads: "You stars that reign'd at my nativity, / Whose influence hath allotted death and hell" (*Goll*. 19.146-7), while the TT displays the amplification of a noun by an adjective: "Voi, stele, che splendeste allor ch'io nacqui, / E il cui maligno influsso or mi conduce / Alla morte e all'Inferno […]" (*ITT* 20.163-5). Turiello emphasises that the influence of external factors is vicious and malignant, and as such presumably unjust. The Devil, God, and the universe at large co-operate against Faustus.

If we took this claim as Faustus's desperate justification for his own guilt, then arguments in support of his innocence would seem less convincing. However, a similar conclusion in the translation is reached by the Old Man, a person of greater integrity. As discussed in 2.7, by borrowing from both the A- and the B-text, Gollancz makes the exhortation of the Old Man both sympathetic and reproachful. Turiello slightly intensifies the tragic and reduces the moralistic tone. The Old Man states that he approaches Faustus not *in wrath* but *in tender love* and in "pity of thy future misery" (*Goll*. 18.52). In the translation, his words become: "[…] amara / Pietà mi stringe del tuo fato acerbo" (*ITT* 18.53-4).

Faustus's anticipated suffering of mind and body becomes his painful and bitter fate in the translation. While *il fato* can denote death as the ultimate end (*Garzanti* n. m. 3), it can also express unavoidable necessity that is divinely decreed. "Nella concezione cristiana", according to the Garzanti dictionary, "il fato esprime la volontà di Dio" (*Garzanti* n. m. 1). This lexical change in the translation places greater emphasis on the influence of divine providence rather than individual responsibility. In addition, the Old Man in the ST leaves Faustus "fearing the ruin of thy hopeless soul" (*Goll.* 18.69), thus confirming the inborn state of error-prone human nature. In the TT he grieves over Faustus's "Sciagura eterna, inesorata" (*ITT* 18.73). Turiello once again removes the human factor in Faustus's demise and labels his end as disastrous misfortune and tragedy (*sciagura*) which receives a poetic epithet *inesorata*, i.e., un-eased by prayer, but also cruel, ruthless and unscrupulous (*Garzanti* agg. 1), and as such almost unfair and undeserving. The translator intuitively or consciously invokes the B-text reading here: "fearing the enemy of thy hapless soul" (*DF* B 5.1.64), in which the soul is labelled as hapless (unfortunate) and the exterior force that presides over man's action is implied. Even though the main body of Gollancz's text prints the line from the A-version here, Turiello was familiar with all the A- and B-text variants thanks to the information provided by the English editor in the appendix. Therefore, these freely translated lines can be ascribed to his conscious editorial choice made with an eye to giving his version more consistency.

Faustus is not subordinate to conventional malevolent forces only. God is also portrayed as an authoritarian figure that imposes limitations on his aspirations and actions. In the TT, divine providence is more vividly portrayed as uncaring and more violent. In this regard, Turiello's text is starkly contrasted with Bazy's translation, whose God is significantly more caring and understanding, while the ST is posited between these two binary poles.

Just like Lucifer, God is also described as an absolute ruler who tolerates no opposition. He is seated on the "throne of the blessed" and governs "the kingdom of joy" (*Goll.* 19.33-4) as "the monarch of the sky" (*Goll.* 18.115). Accordingly, he enjoys "il trono dei beati" governing "il regno della goia" (*ITT* 20.37-8) in the TT. These words can easily be delivered with irony, in particular in the translation where Faustus, despite being portrayed as more innocent, cannot experience the celestial joy that God's kingdom allegedly offers. God's dominant and privileged position of authority and power is further intensified in the translation. Mephistopheles in the ST "saw the face of God" (*Goll.* 3.88), while in the TT he met the heavenly king: "fissi il guardo / In volto al re celeste" (*ITT* 3.88-9). Richard Gill

asserts that, in Christian theology, seeing the face of god represents "the final stage of redemption" (2008: 97). This ultimate encounter between the individual and God, the so-called beatific vision, is less comforting in the translation. Instead of seeing "a face of unsurpassable and eternally satisfying beauty" (97), Mephistopheles and Faustus in the TT can only see the face of a king who will treat his subordinates in a more oppressive manner, as illustrated in the following cases.

When Faustus tries to sign the deed, a warning sign "Homo, fuge[176]!" (*Goll.* 5.77) is inscribed on his arm. It makes him consider the possibility of turning back to God. However, he immediately replies to himself:

> Whither should I fly?
> If unto God, he'll throw me down to hell.
> (*Goll.* 77-8)

In the TT, God's hypothetical treatment of the reprobate becomes:

> […] Fuggire? Ed in qual parte?
> Se a Dio mi volgo ei mi respinge, e giù
> Nell'Inferno mi piomba.
> (*ITT* 5.89-91)

Even though Turiello's translation generally displays patterns of redundancy that omit semantic repetition, the translator here reiterates God's verbal act of rejecting the sinner despite its structural concision in the ST. The TT God is involved in two near-synonymous actions. He denies Faustus's access to his realm and throws him down to hell. Hence, a more dominant authority over the individual and a more malevolent deity is emphasised at this point.

Similarly, towards the end of the play, Faustus's hope of salvation is dispersed when he sees "where God / Stretches out his arm, and bends his ireful brow" (*Goll.* 19.139-40). Turiello once again moves away from Gollancz's A-text line and borrows from the B-text to give God in his version a more unforgiving and rancorous air: "Da dio veggio[177] la man che mi minaccia / E il suo ciglio crucciato" (*ITT* 20.156-7). The B-text reads: "And see, a threat'ning arm, an angry brow" (*DF* B 5.2.155), at the same time removing a clear reference

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[176] (Latin) "Fly, O Man!" a quote from the Bible: 1 Timothy 6.11 (Bevington and Rasmussen 1993: 162).
[177] *Veggio*] (archaic) I see.

to God from the previous line. Turiello combines the A- and B-text variants to stress that this threatening arm that he introduces in his translation belongs to God.

The image of God's *mano che mi minaccia* is foreshadowed by the previous specification of the verbal action in the translation. In his initial exchange with Bruno, the Pope warns:

Thus, as the god creep on with feet of wool,
Long ere with iron hands they punish men. (*Goll.* 8.99-100)

The image of a vengeful God is already present. Yet Turiello carries out a lexical modification moving from a more generic *punish* to a more specific *colpire*, stressing the aggressive and violent manner in which disobedience is punished:

Pria di colpir col ferreo braccio gli uomini
S'avanzano gli Dei con passo tacito. (*ITT* 8.105-6)

God is simultaneously far less merciful in the TT in comparison with the original. As a matter of fact, we can hardly argue that salvation was ever offered to Faustus. As opposed to Bazy's version which intensifies Christ's redemptive powers and makes God's mercy resonate more sharply throughout the text – a precious gift that Faustus stubbornly refuses to accept – Turiello systematically omits God's presence in this sense. Interestingly, the word *misericordia* appears only once in the translation. The table below illustrates a gradual eradication of the prospect of salvation provided by God's mercy.

The Source Text		Turiello's translation
Good Angel: Faustus, repent; yet <u>God will pity thee</u>. Evil Angel: Thou art a spirit; God cannot pity thee. (6.12-3)	(8)	Angiolo: Fausto ti penti, e <u>ancor potrai salvarti</u>. Spirito: Tu sei spirito, e Dio non ti perdona. (6.13-4)
Faustus: Accursèd Faustus, where is <u>mercy</u> now? I do repent, and yet I do despair. (18.70-1)	(9)	Fausto: Misero Fausto ov'è <u>lo scampo</u>? A un tempo Io mi pento e dispero […]. (18.74-5)
Ah half the hour is past! 'twill all be passed anon. O God, If thou wilt not have <u>mercy</u> on my soul, Yet for Christ's sake, whose blood hath ransom'd me, Impose some end to my incessant pain. (19.154-7)	(10)	Gia mezz'ora è trascorsa e tutto in breve Sarà finito. Ø Ah, se <u>penar</u> m'è forza Ø Un fine almeno al mio martirio imploro. (20.170-3)

Table 16: Omission of God's mercy in the TT

In the ST, the Good Angel suggests that salvation is something the individual can achieve with the aid of God's pity (ex.8). However, the TT Angel urges Faustus to rely exclusively on his own capabilities and to fashion his character and salvation independent from God. God remains absent when he is supposed to provide necessary grace. At the same time, he appears only to punish or express his strong condemnation of the sinner. In the statement by the Bad Angel in the next line, God emerges in the translation only to reaffirm that he cannot pity Faustus. The TT further dramatises Faustus's universe devoid of God's compassion. Example (9) shows that Faustus seems to have taken the Bad Angel's modified advice in the translation and seeks forgiveness in more secular terms, convinced of the absence of caring divinity. While asking for mercy in the ST unquestionably involves calling on God, searching for *lo scampo*, understood as a simple and more worldly salvation, solution or a way out of his mental distress, removes God as the object of his quest. Finally, God's forgiveness is replaced with God's punishment in the translation (ex.10), reducing the generous and intensifying the vengeful nature of divine providence. Here, Turiello has recourse to the cause/effect modification of the message (Vinay and Darbelnet). In the translation, he delivers Faustus's punishment ("se penar m' è forza") as a consequence of God's act of withholding his mercy in the ST ("if thou wilt not have mercy on my soul"). The TT reader is thereby reminded that God will punish rather than provide grace. The same example omits Faustus's invoking God[178] and removes the redemptive power of Christ's blood that traditionally secure salvation to the Christian. Earlier in the play, the role of Christ as a redeemer was already attenuated in the TT. The translation of Mephistopheles' aforementioned claim that devils approach those who "Abjure the Scriptures and his Saviour Christ" (*Goll.* 3.51) drops the lexical actualisation of Christ's healing function[179]: "Abiure / I sacri libri e Cristo" (*ITT* 3.53). The universe in the TT shows clear signs that Faustus cannot count on God. Turiello acknowledges this by modifying of the modal verb that complements Faustus's action of approaching God. His desperate attempt "O, I'll leap to God!" (*Goll.* 19.134) becomes "Vorrei salire al ciel" (*ITT* 20.149). Not only is God substituted with heaven, but Faustus's wishful control over an action imbedded in the modal *will* is also transformed into the limitations imposed on his action of leaping towards God expressed by the TT conditional *vorrei*.

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[178] God as a promise of salvation is omitted elsewhere in the translation. Faustus's vow "never to name God" (*Goll.* 6.73), thus acknowledging Lucifer's benevolent counterpart, is not reproduced in Turiello.

[179] Even though it is retained in the next occurrence when Faustus's call "Ay, Christ, my Saviour" (*Goll.* 6.83) becomes "O Cristo Salvatore" (*ITT* 6.93).

Turiello's God seems more violent and less caring in his behaviour than Marlowe's. Therefore, Una Ellis Fermor's view that Faustus is the victim of a sadistic God, perhaps the most sympathetic portrayal of Faustus in all Marlowe scholarship, receives convincing textual support in Turiello. Consequently, seeing that God does not collaborate with the individual in reaching salvation, Faustus seeks to define himself autonomously. Turiello already expressed a similar stance in his poetry. The internal voice that eradicates God from man's idea of himself prevails in the ending of Turiello's *Il Demone*:

> Se gli occhi, gravi di mestizia, al cielo
> Alzo, ei si pone tra la luce e me,
> Se l'alma, accesa di fervido zelo,
> A dio si volge, ei grida: Dio non è.
> (Turiello, *Il Demone* 1958: 47)

This secular and self-sufficient conception of the individual and the rejection of God's merciful presence are confirmed in the translation.

God does not only suppress Faustus, a person of lower rank, but he resorts to more violent means in competing for absolute power with those who more directly jeopardise his status, such as Lucifer himself. In the ST, Mephistopheles reminds us that Lucifer is expelled from heaven for swelling with the sin of pride: "by aspiring pride and insolence / For which God threw him from the face of heaven" (*Goll*. 3.71-2). The manner in which Lucifer is treated in the TT makes God look like a more tyrannical force protecting his privileged status: "Insano orgoglio / L'assalse, e Dio lo rovesciò dai cieli" (*ITT* 3.77-8). The use of the verb *rovesciare* in the sense *to overrule* implies that God deposed and overthrew Lucifer by force from the position of power (*Garzanti* n. m. 5). This political battle for the authority between two oppsing forces is later on reinforced by the Old Man. At Faustus's request, the devils take away the Old Man to torment him to which he replies: "Ambitious fiends, see how the heavens smile / At your repulse, and laugh your state to scorn!" (*Goll*. 17.124-5). The heavens in the ST gloat over the act of repelling or forcing away an assailant or hostile force (*OED* n. 2a). The heavens in the TT seem to celebrate a final defeat in a more intense combat, implied by the *sconfitta*:

> Ecco, protervi demoni, già i cieli
> Sorrider veggio alla sconfitta vostra
> E beffarvi sinanco. (*ITT* 18.137-9)

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The network of power relations upon which Faustus's world is premised is more strictly and legitimately established in the TT. Faustus's action is thwarted by Mephistopheles who, in turn, serves Lucifer. The latter does the bidding of God as a more oppressive authority. If we accept this rigidly hierarchical structure, then the devils' influence over Faustus's deeds becomes part of a divine plan (a less Catholic and more Calvinist principle). Consequently, Faustus's attempts to assert his individuality, to move and act freely and transcend the limits of his social role and rank are easily quelled and prove to be futile.

Faustus in the TT questions the justness of social stratification of which Mephistopheles is also a victim. When he asks Mephistopheles "[…] is not thy soul thine own?" (*Goll*. 5.68), Turiello eliminates the definition of the individual relationship with the world in metaphysical terms and underlines the servant-master relationship: "[…] e non sei tu signore / Di te stesso, del tuo spirito?" (*ITT* 5.77-8). Faustus wonders whether both he and Mephistopheles have control over their own lives. However, he is quick to give himself an answer in the translation, which he repeats on a regular basis. Common occurrences of *great* or *mighty Lucifer* in the original, which already add to his position of influence and power, are modified in the TT to make the subjugation of the oppressed and servility to figures of authority more apparent.

The Source Text		Turiello's translation
Mephistopheles: And then be thou <u>as great as Lucifer</u>. Faustus: Lo, Mephistophilus, for love of thee I cut mine arm, and with my proper blood Assure my soul to be <u>great Lucifer's</u>. (5.52-5)	(11) (12)	Mefistofele: […] Poscia sarai Pari al <u>re</u> delle tenebre possente. Fausto: M'incido il braccio e per tuo amor col sangue, Ecco, l'alma prometto, o Mefistofele, Al <u>gran sovrano</u> dell'eterna note. (5.62-5)
Faustus: Go bear these tidings to <u>great Lucifer</u>: (3.91)	(13)	Fausto: Or va, reca al <u>tuo sir</u> questa novella, (3.101)
Go and return to <u>mighty Lucifer</u>. (3.102)	(14)	[…] Vanne al <u>tuo sire</u>, (3.111)
And bring glad tidings from <u>great Lucifer</u>;– (5.27)	(15)	Liete novella dal <u>tuo sir</u> mi reca. (5.34)

Table 17: Servant-master relationship stressed /Lucifer's position of power amplified in the TT

By constantly reminding Mephistopheles that he is also subordinate to a more powerful entity, we are under the impression that Faustus tends to transform the portrayal of ST Mephistopheles as a conformist into a more rebellious figure in the TT akin to Milton's

Satan. He is also more sympathetic to Mephistopheles in the translation. In the ST, Faustus constantly refers to him as gentle and sweet. In the TT, his compassion about Mephistopheles' inferior position and lowly status is further emphasised. He literally refers to him as a friend. "Nay, stay, my gentle Mephistopheles" (*Goll.* 8.66) becomes "Resta, amico gentil, resta al mio fianco" (*ITT* 8.67), while "Sweet Mephistopheles, so charm me here […]" (*Goll.*8.213) turns into "Rendimi tal ch'io possa […], o dolce amico" (*ITT* 8.223-5). An interesting lexical parallelism is achieved in the translation. Mephistopheles is more effectively aligned with the Old Man. Faustus in both ST and TT responds to the Old Man's kind exhortation by calling him "my sweet friend" (*Goll.* 17.65) / "dolce amico" (*ITT* 18.72). The Old Man in the TT replies in a similar manner. His farewell "I go, sweet Faustus" (*Goll.* 17.68) is lexically modified into "Io m'allontano e mesto si saluto, / O dolce amico" (*ITT* 18.71-2). This overlapping of two seemingly opposing forces is attained on another level. Just as the TT Old Man incited Faustus to rebel against the devil (see above), so did Mephistopheles in both ST and TT urge Faustus to defy God. Both *civitas dei* and the kingdom of hell are represented in the translation as extremely malevolent and oppressive. By constantly referring to Lucifer as Mephistopheles' master, Faustus in the TT becomes more aware that Mephistopheles unwillingly executes the commands of his superior. Hence, a word of reproach aimed at Mephistopheles, whom he blames for his downfall, is delivered in a milder tone in the translation. In both the ST and the TT Faustus accuses Mephistopheles of depriving him of "these [heavenly] joys" (*Goll.* 4.3). Yet in the TT he does not call him wicked at this point as he does in the ST[180].

The constant battle between individual emancipation and exterior authority ends in the defeat of the individual. However all the changes in the translation discussed so far that systematically attenuate Faustus's guilt and recurrently emphasise forces of oppression invite the reader to call into question the justness of a system whose defenders are united in plotting Faustus's downfall. With this regard, the Italian translator exploits the Marlovian rebellious subtext more thoroughly.

As a matter of fact, Turiello's version more persuasively undermines the conventional paradigms of the time as well as the traditional social and religious systems. Christian orthodoxy is subverted on two levels. First, Christian faith is attacked by the wave of free thought that voices the attainment of truth about oneself without revelation or Christian

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[180] It should be noted, however, that later on in the play, in one of Faustus's first outbreaks of despair and regret, Turiello faithfully reproduces Faustus's harsh words he addressed to Mephistopheles. "Villain" (*Goll.* 6.72) and "accursed spirit" (6.76) are retained as "furfante" (*ITT* 6.79) and "spirito immondo" (6.86).

dogma. As evidenced above, in order to produce this effect, Turiello had to engage in subtle, yet effective changes in his translation. Secondly, the Catholic Church as an outdated institution is a secular society also receives fierce criticism. In order to convey this side swipe at the Catholic Church, Turiello did not have to do much, for it was already abundantly present in the original. Nevertheless, he further modified the lexical material to raise satirical undertones, particularly evident in fashioning the Pope character. In this regard, Turiello once again stands in stark contrast with Bazy's version, which generally attenuated antipapal sentiment.

The use of the force of the authority against the oppressed as a tool to defend the traditional distribution of power is supported by the Pope, the earthly representative of God's commonwealth. The Pope's claim that "we'll pull down his [Bruno's] haughty insolence" (*Goll.* 8.136) becomes "[…] tanta insolenza / Noi puniremo" (*ITT* 8.141-2). In addition, "We will quell that haughty schismatic" (*Goll.* 8.144) is rendered as "Così questo schismatico protervo / Opprimeremo" (*ITT* 8.151-2). Thus, the action of reducing his rival's enthusiasm and high opinion of himself becomes the action of punishment[181] and oppression – methods that the Pope perceives as legitimate in defending his apostolic status.

Finally, Faustus attacks the whole Italian political system at the turn of the century. Two forces traditionally hostile to each other, yet united in inflicting Faustus's last defeat in the translation (Dollimore) – the devil and God – may stand for the governing bodies of the parliamentary monarchy. Whereas God is often referred to as a monarch in the translation, Lucifer's realm shifts from being labelled as a monarchy to state government. Faustus insists that Mephistopheles has contractual obligations to answer all of his questions, to which Mephistopheles replies: "Ay, that is not against our kingdom" (*Goll.* 6.72). The TT has: "Sempre, salvo in quelle cose contrarie al nostro stato[182]" (*ITT* 6.82). The *stato* can be understood as a condition, standing, position or status, but it can also be interpreted in political terms as a state or a state government. Equating the king with God, a traditionally benevolent force, and the parliament or the government with Lucifer, a traditionally malevolent entity, may mirror the political debate of the time on the restoration of executive and unlimited powers to the monarch in order to prevent the corruption and incompetence of members of parliament during the crisis of the liberal state. However, given that in the translation both God and Lucifer maltreat Faustus, who speaks and acts on behalf of the

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[181] The Pope in the original already boasts of his right to punish the sinner. Turiello further amplifies the Pope's self-regarding character in this sense.

[182] Other Italian translations repeatedly print "contrario al nostro regno" (D'Agostino 1948: 75).

common citizen, there emerges a dissident reading – a trenchant critique not only of the "devilish" Parliament and ministers, but also of the allegedly righteous monarch. Therefore, the entire system of parliamentary monarchy is thrown into doubt. The two independent bodies that were supposed to care for the general welfare of every citizen in reality failed to meet their needs. Even for the worse, they were mainly preoccupied with overpowering each other or maintaining the existing power structures and their privileged position at the expense of the individual.

On the lexical level, Faustus is actualised in the translation as a rebel against such a regime, but also as its victim and a martyr. When he implores God in the ST to "impose some end to my incessant pain" (*Goll.* 19.157), his final anguish in the translation is literally referred to as martyrdom: "Un fine almeno al mio martirio imploro" (*ITT* 20.172). *Martirio* matches Faustus's intense mental suffering that he endures in the original, but the lexical choice also points to the suffering of a person who receives unjust treatment or persecution because of his religious and political beliefs (*Garzanti* n. m. 2). Faustus is thus described as a person who endures agonising pain and is punished for promoting and defending his ideals – the Mazzinian republican principles of a more secular society.

Turiello's text thus creates subversive undertones on its own. Faustus in the end acknowledges his doom saying "but mine [soul] must live to be plagued in hell" (*Goll.* 19.168). Turiello is more specific in naming the location where Faustus will endure his punishment: "Ma il mio spirito vivrà nell'ignea bolgia" (*ITT* 20.183). Is it a coincidence that he places his Faustus in a *bolgia*, one of the ten boiling ditches that make up Dante's eight circle of hell? The eighth circle is a place where sinful souls previously immersed in fraud reside. Faustus would probably occupy the fourth *bolgia* destined for sorcerers, astrologers and false prophets, who, having aspired towards knowledge and power that traditionally belonged to God only, were punished for usurping God's privileged status. This means that Faustus is positioned next to the *barattieri* that occupy the neighbouring fifth *bolgia*. The so-called *barattieri* are corrupt and selfish politicians and public officials who misuse their position to make illicit profit (*Garzanti*, n. m. 2). Can they refer to corrupt and incompetent members of Parliament who, instead of talking and acting in the name of people, were merely concerned with their personal interests? Or even the Prime Minister and the King themselves? Both Francesco Crispi and Umberto I were accused of trying to whitewash the Banca Romana scandal of 1893.

If Faustus is destined to end tragically, the whole political system of Turiello's time may crumble with him. Hence, Turiello's version is not only a self-image of a culture, but it

also inspires social change and cultural reorganisation. The translator seems to articulate the voice of the marginalised and the oppressed and support them in their fight for more political freedom and participation. Having confidence in human potential and inherent ability, he advocates a system that will grant individuals the right to more actively take part in the political system and processes, thus ensuring more control over their own lives. Given that this can only be achieved in a more democratic system, the Italian translator emerges as a spokesman for electoral reform and the political reorganisation of the Italian society at large that would be more favourable to common people. Hence, he replies to the on-going debate by suggesting that Italy should leave behind the outdated remnants of the traditional forms of government such as the monarchy and turn to a more progressive republic, following the example set by other European countries, France in particular, where the Third Republic had already proved to be a more sustaining system, even though it was also hit by the institutional crisis at the time. The changes in the translation discussed above also suggest that Bazy supports a definitive separation of church and state, thus foreshadowing the 1905 French law on state secularism.

Unfortunately, social and political changes in the decades to follow were unfavourable to the individual. The rise of the fascist regime grew increasingly oppressive. Turiello and his personal conception of the Faustus character would have to wait half a century for Italy to proclaim a republic.

Conclusion

All the evidence adduced in this research points to Bazy's and Turiello's versions as exemplifying two ideological and interpretative extremes in the reading of Marlowe's treatment of the Faust myth. Each translation offers a more consistent vision in relation to any of the ST versions, which generally display a certain degree of incoherence on different stylistic and pragmatic levels. Whereas Bazy systematically exploits textual evidence in support of moralistic reading, Turiello's modifications lead to a text in which the heroic and Romantic critical response is more plausible and convincing.

The figures below give an illustrative comparison of the findings from a close textual analysis of the two translations in question, conducted in chapters Four and Five, set against the main thematic and doctrinal differences between the original A- and the B-text, discussed in Chapter Two. The figures show that many of the ST features central to our investigation are treated by Bazy and Turiello in diametrically opposing ways. This ultimately leads to the opposing manner in which TT readers would perceive the respective translated texts and reconstruct their meaning.

Nature of Faustus's transgression

Responsibility for Faustus's fall
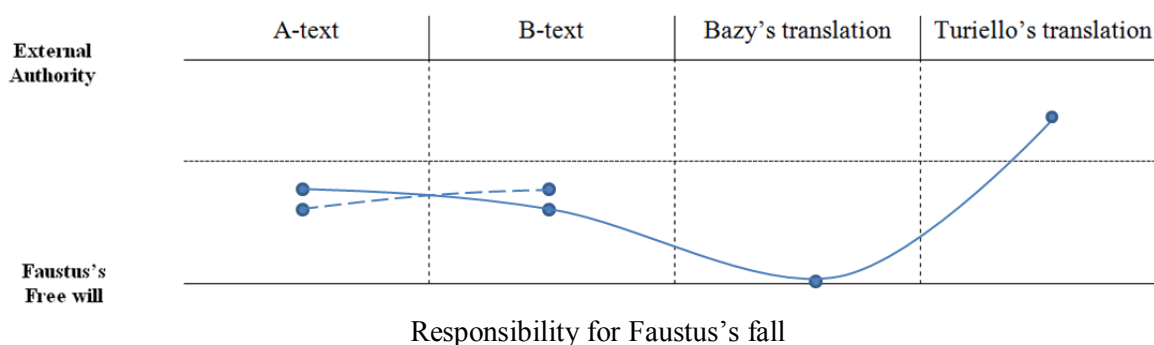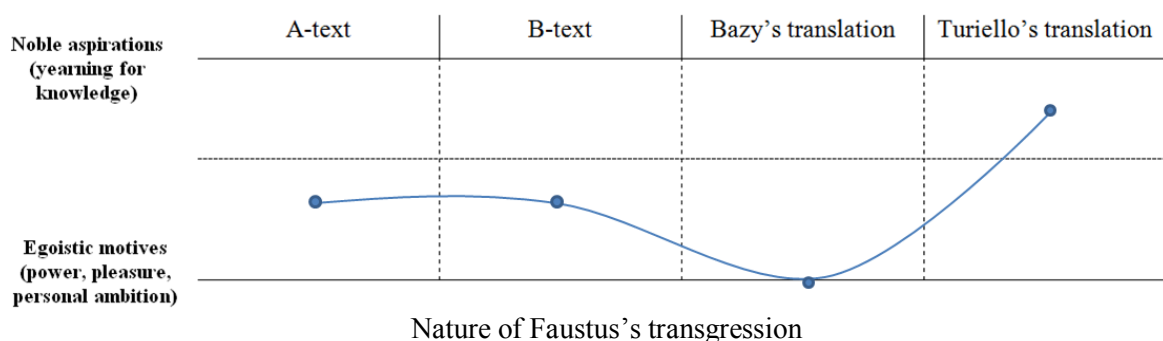
The first notable difference between the two translations lies in the way the nature of Faustus's transgression is portrayed. In Bazy's text, we isolated a consistent pattern of shifts that shatter any noble and altruistic instances of Faustian impulses. Bazy resorts to textual interpolation, insertion of non-compulsory elements, lexical modification, and specification and explicitation of the message on a recurrent basis in order to emphasise the main motivation underlying Faustus's action – personal ambition, yearning for power and sensual pleasure. Through radical changes of meaning noted in the translation, these unfavourable aspects of the Faustus character are somewhat forcefully interpreted for the reader by the translator. Faustus's overindulgent character is exposed in order for his transgression to be perceived as blasphemous.

Turiello, too, moves away from his source, though in the opposite direction. His version considerably tones down the ignoble character of Faustus's transgression. While Bazy retains or amplifies the verbal imagery of feeding and gluttony that point to Faustus's excessive nature and obsession with power, Turiello neutralises these images, thus decreasing the protagonist's fault. We have shown how his lexical choice and lexical modification lay emphasis on Faustus's ardent curiosity and intellectual acuity as central to his behaviour, moving him closer to a promoter of practical science and 19th-century freethinker. This view of Faustus mirrors the contemporaneous positive vision of the Faust character at large.

Secondly, the translators' intervention in the process of linguistic rendering alters the perception of responsibility for Faustus's tragic fall. The recurrent distortion of modality in Bazy's text increases the subject's intrinsic ability, willfulness and control over the verbal action, at the same time reducing the effect of external permissive and prohibitive conditions on the verbal process. This leads to the general intensification of Faustus's free will both in the original sin and in his denial of the prospect of salvation.

On the other hand, Turiello shifts responsibility for Faustus's decline onto forces beyond his control. Turiello thus repeatedly obviates Faustus's guilt and free will, portraying him as a victim of oppressive authority. In this sense, the two translations under study stand in marked contrast. While Bazy intensifies benevolent divine providence, Turiello draws the reader's attention to its malevolent nature. In Bazy, there is a clear distinction between the realm of a generous God and hostile devilish forces. In Turiello, both God and the Devil are depicted as responsible for Faustus's demise. We have seen how Turiello further re-moulds the translation in order to increase the violent manner in which they treat the protagonist.

This leads on to the different responses from the projected readership. Bazy's voice surfaces in the translation in order to give a trenchant critique and condemnation of the

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protagonist, who incurred his own death, thus coercing the reader to read the text in a particular way and share his contempt and disdain for the protagonist's action. In contrast, Turiello assumes a less patronising tone in fashioning Faustus's character and reconstructing the narrative. Based on all the variations in Turiello's text, it is easier to sympathise with the hero and perceive his end as cruel and unjust.

The reader's response evoked
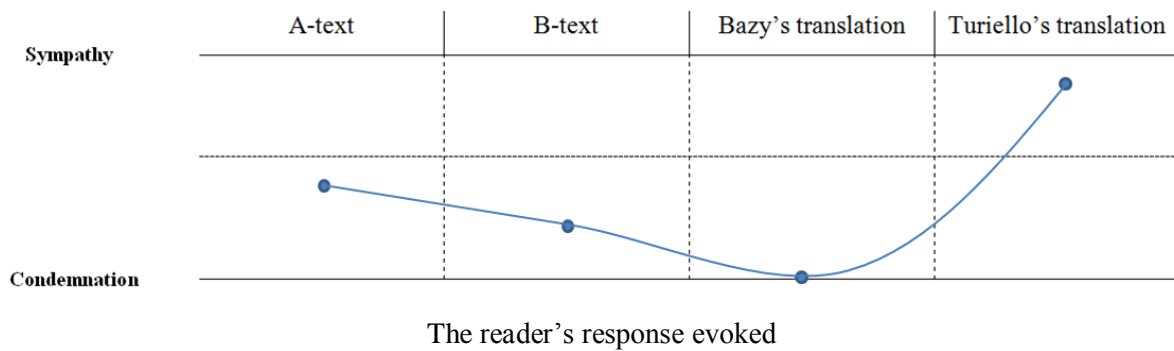
Furthermore, Bazy shows great concern for alleviating the anti-Catholic and antipapal sentiment that is already present in the A-text and further elaborated in the B-text. Even though Bazy's translation is generally marked by amplification and expansion of the existing lexical material, it displays cases of occasional deletion of lines perceived as offensive to the Pope. Hence, Jeremy Munday's observation that "the silencing of the ST author can speak volumes" (2008: 15) is exceptionally tenable in Bazy's case. Moreover, we have shown how Bazy deconstructs and recreates the lexical cohesion, thus altering the intratextual links operating in the original in order to set the infallible nature of the Pope against the moral corruption of his Protestant opponents, whose personal ambition and obsession with power is amplified in the translation akin to a similar strategy adopted in describing Faustus.

Antipapal sentiment
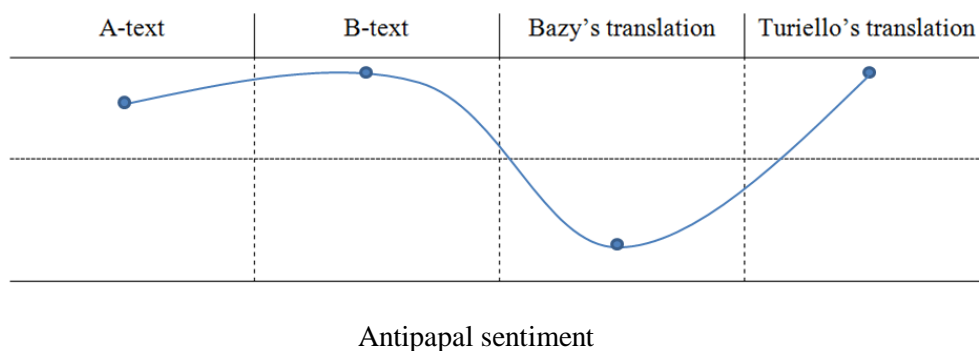
While Bazy's Pope is depicted in a much better light in comparison with the original, Turiello fashions his character in line with the negative portrayal from his source. The Italian translator even goes further in exposing the fallacy, arrogance and gluttony of the head of the Catholic Church. The Pope is particularly presented as a character who justifies the legitimate use of violence aimed against the disturbers of the traditional order.

Finally, the complex theological universe of the original is revised. Turiello generally reproduces the ambiguity and the heterodox principle of his source. At the same time, he proposes the definition of the individual devoid of religious dogmatism, which is in keeping with the spirit of his time – the advent of the secular age. On the other hand, Bazy shows greater concern for exploring the theological outlooks of the text. His version significantly resolves the ambivalent character of the original. Systematic variation of modal auxiliary gives Faustus the ability and freedom to act, whereas the introduction of new imagery (the continuous flow of mercy between the open heaven and the believer's open soul) makes the availability of grace run more vividly in the translation. Faustus is hence portrayed as a sinner who consciously refuses to take initiative and work out his own salvation in collaboration with generous divinity. In other words, his universe in the translation is imbued with the doctrine of choice and free will rather than the doctrine of predestination. Bazy's translation thus evidences the blunting of the Calvinist undertones of the original B-text and offers a more consistent Semi-Pelagian or Catholic framework within which Faustus's action is contained. In Turiello's version, even when Faustus's conscious choice in attaining his own salvation is occasionally emphasised, God remains eerily silent or appears only to inflict punishment on the believer. This view is again in line with heroic commentators who insist on the missing or malevolent Deity as responsible for Faustus's fall.

Theological outlooks
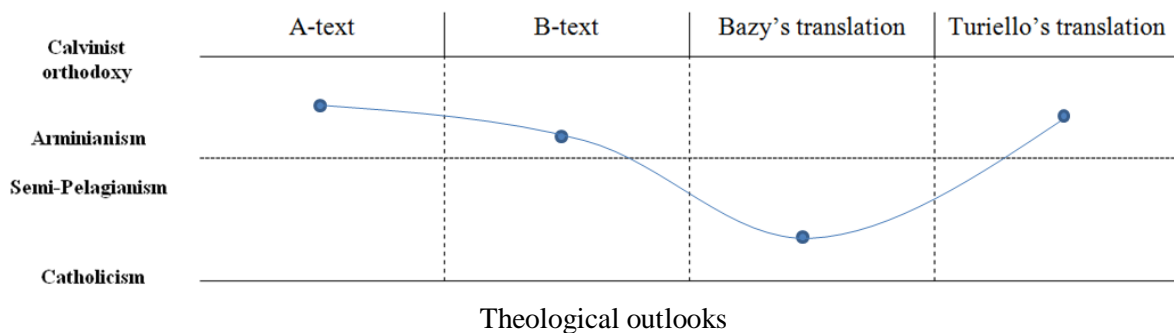
A number of these changes are attributable to the translators' relationship with the complex socio-cultural, political and ideological landscape of the two target cultures at the

time of translation production. Namely, Bazy's and Turiello's translations reached print at different points in the political and social evolution of Europe.

Bazy's translation emerged in the midst of a turbulent time marked by political and religious change and charged with unresolved tensions of conservative and progressive ideologies. It was placed within the pro- and counter-revolutionary debate, which was inseparable from the reexamination of the role of the Catholic Church and the Pope in society. It mirrored the fear of liberal and secular ideals and the disillusionment with the republican system. The latter was still an experimental project in France and was exposed by conservative forces as unstable and at times oppressive instead of liberating. The mid-19th century also saw the dawn of the *libre pensée,* while secularisaton of society was in a state of constant flux, primarily challenged by the traditionalists.

We showed that the French translator and Faustus belonged to two opposing political standpoints. Bazy was a passionate counter-revolutionary and anti-republican. He held traditionalist and moderate right-wing political views and argued in support of the monarchy. As a follower of the conservative ideology of Party of Order, he insisted that social order and stability could not be achieved without recourse to the Catholic Church as the official institution, while social morality was unattainable without the Catholic religion. Hence, he emerged as an ardent spokesman for papal authority, a position that inevitably entailed his strong anti-Protestant sentiment, repeatedly expressed in a fierce and hostile manner.

Perceiving Faustus as his doctrinal and political adversary, the French translator projects onto his character the following traits. Faustus is equated with the spirit of radical republicanism and revolutionary anarchism that creates social disorder and instability. He is interpreted as an atheist. He embodies intellectual self-sufficiency and the rising power of the *laïque,* and is a freethinker who seeks to reorganise society without referring to the Catholic Church and its order.

Therefore, Bazy takes great liberties in portraying the Faustus character, thus modifying the ST for his own political ends. If he shows in his translation that Faustus decrees in error, then the whole republican project will be exposed as a pipedream and fallacy. By intensifying Faustus's egoistic aspirations for personal power and ambition, he suggests that the revolutionaries and republicans of his age are motivated by the same destructive and disapproving passions. Just like Faustus, their main concern is not the general welfare of every citizen but a mere redistribution of power relations that will eventually place them on top of the social hierarchy. This view of Faustus is unarguably present in the original. Yet, Bazy systematically reduces textual support that favours a more public-spirited plan behind

Faustus's actions. Antipapal attitude in the translation is toned down, indicative of Bazy's persuasion that the Pope should remain a supporting pillar of social stability. Theology is revised with the aim of showing that only the Catholic doctrine and values can provide comfort and a meaningful and harmonious relationship between the individual and the world.

As for Turiello's translation, it was printed when the *libre pensée* reached its peak and when the diffusion of secular ideals, anticlerical and antipapal sentiments was officially promoted by the state. Whereas intransigent Catholicism, whose supporters insisted on the supreme temporal and spiritual sovereignty of the Pope, was a still powerful current in Bazy's age, this political conception was perceived as a threat to the authority at the time Turiello wrote. While Turiello's version mirrored the official state policy on the restricted role of the Catholic Church and the creation of secular society, it also related to the crisis of the liberal state and the political oppression of the authority.

Unlike Bazy, Turiello embraces the completeness of human nature and totality of human experience and remains convinced of the individual's potential and inherent ability for creative action and social progress. Perceiving Faustus as an advocate of individualism, he gives his protagonist's rebellious spirit a much nobler and a less destructive and anarchist air. Promethean and idealistic aspects of the Faustian quest are intensified by Turiello with the aim of dramatising the story of an individual who strives for more freedom in face of the restrictive regime and seeks to break away from any limited conceptions of himself imposed by the authority. As such, many lexical modifications in the translation celebrate Faustus as a freethinker and a challenger of traditional thought. Consequently, Christian and orthodox critics of the play would lose any strong textual support for the portrayal of Faustus's depraved nature in Turiello's version.

Turiello more convincingly depicts Faustus as a victim and a martyr of the oppressive regime and, consequently, asks the reader to call into question a system that allegedly promised the exercise of civil rights and freedom. However, as opposed to Bazy, who looked back into the past in search of a sustainable system, Turiello suggests leaving behind any remnants of the absolutist and centralised authority. While Bazy's text exemplifies the triumph of the traditional forms of government and is a warning against a social change, Turiello, by dramatising more vividly that Faustus's end is unjust and by encouraging his Faustus to fashion himself in secular terms, represents the triumph of the secular state and the defeat of the traditional paradigms of the time. Accordingly, Bazy's translation ends in reaffirming, while Turiello's text subverts the status quo and calls for social reorganisation.

Alan Sinfield observes two "traps" underlying the structure of Marlowe's *Faustus*: "one is set by God for Dr Faustus, the other is set by Marlowe, for God" (1993: 236). If God stands for the conventional and traditional social structure and authority, Bazy completely removes the subversive trap set for God, while Turiello even adds new elements to it.

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Appendix A: Nineteenth-Century Editing History of *Doctor Faustus*

Year of publication	Editor	Edition	Text
1814 (2nd ed. 1816)	C. W. Dilke	*The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* In *Old English Plays; being a selection from the early dramatic writers*, v.1 London: Whittingham and Roland	B
1818	W. Oxberry	*Doctor Faustus, a Tragedy; by Christopher Marlowe with prefatory remarks, notes critical and explanatory* London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall	B
1818	J. Chappell	*The Tragicall Historie of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus, with new additions; written by Ch. M.* London	B
1826	G. Robinson	*Doctor Faustus* In *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, v.2 London: William Pickering	B
1850 (rpt 1858, 1860)	Alexander Dyce	*The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* In *The Works of Christopher Marlowe with Notes and Some Account of His Life and Writings*, v. 2 London: William Pickering	A and B
1870 (rpt 1887)	Francis Cunningham	*The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* In *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*. London: Chatto & Windus	A and B
1877	W. Wagner	*Christopher Marlowe's Tragedy of Dr. Faustus* London: Hotten	A
1878 (rpt 1887, 1892, 1901)	A. W. Ward	*Marlowe's Tragical History of Doctor Faustus and Greene's Honourable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* Oxford: The Carendon Press	A
1885	A. H. Bullen	*The Tragical History of Dr Faustus* In *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, v.1 London: John C. Nimmo	A
1887	Havelock Ellis	*The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* In *Christopher Marlowe* London: Vizetelly	A
1889	Hermann Breymann Albrecht Wagner	*Doctor Faustus* In *Marlowes Werke: Historisch-kritische Ausgube*, v. 2 Heibronn: Gebr. Henninger	A and B
1897 (rpt 1907, 1912)	Israel Gollancz	*The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus, a play written by Christopher Marlowe, edited with a Preface, Notes, and Glossary.* London: J. M. Dent and Co	conflation

Appendix B: French Translations of *Doctor Faustus*

Year	Translator	Title	Place	Version	Form	English edition
1850	Jean-Pierre Antoine Bazy	L'Histoire allégorique de la vie et de la mort du docteur Jean Faust	Paris	B	prose	W. Oxberry (1818)
1858	François-Victor Hugo	Le Faust	Paris	B	prose	J. Chappell (1818)
1889	Félix Rabbe	La Tragique histoire du docteur Faust	Paris	A (scenes from B in the appendix)	prose	Refers most often to the critical edition of Dyce (1850) and occasionally to Ward (1878)
1894	Alfred Ernst and Henri Gautier	La Tragique histoire du docteur Faust	Paris	A	prose	No information
1920	Constantin Castéra	La Tragique Histoire du Docteur Faust	Paris	A	prose	No information
1934	Madeleine Mélèse	La tragique histoire du docteur Faust	Paris	A	prose	A. W. Ward (1901)
1935	Fernard C. Danchin	La Tragique histoire du Docteur Faust	Paris	A (rare borrowings from B explicitly mentioned)	verse	Tucker Brooke (1920)
1948	Pierre Messiaen	La tragique histoire du dr. Faust	Paris	B	prose	F. S. Boas (1932)
1969	Isabelle Drouin	Faust, tragédie en quatre actes	Paris	conflation (two scenes from B added)	prose	No information
1975	Philippe de Rothschild	Tragique histoire de la vie et de la mort du Dr Faust	Paris	B	verse	Roma Gill (1965)
1992	Bernard Fichera	Doctor Faustus	Paris	B (some lines from A)	verse	E. D. Pendry (1998)
1997	François Laroque and Jean-Pierre Villquin	Le Docteur Faust	Paris	B (some lines from A)	verse	No information
2001	Jean-Louis Backès	La Tragique Histoire du docteur Faustus	Paris	A	verse	No information
2009	Robert Ellrodt	La tragique histoire du Docteur Faust	Paris	A (scenes from B in the appendix)	verse	Eric Rasmussen and David Bevington (1995)

Appendix C: Italian Translations of *Doctor Faustus*

Year	Translator	Title	Place of publication	Version	Form	English edition
1898	Eugenio Turiello	La tragica storia del dottor Fausto	Naples	Conflation	Verse	Israel Gollancz (1897)
1903	Virgilio Panella	Faust	Milan	Conflation (closer to B)	Prose	No information
1907	B. V. Giustiniani	Faust	Livorno	Conflation	Prose	No information
1907	Pietro Bardi	La tragica storia del dottor Fausto	Bari	A	Prose	A. H. Bullen (1885)
1946	Piero Rebora	La tragica storia del dottor Faust	Milan	B (some A)	Verse	F. S. Boas (1932)
1948	Nemi D'Agostino	Il Dottor Faust	Florence	B	Verse	F. S. Boas (1932)
1951	Eugenio Montale	La tragica istoria del dottor Faust	Milan	Conflation (closer to A)	Prose	Israel Gollancz (1907)
1954	Maria Antonietta Andreoni	La tragica storia del dottor Fausto	Turin	B (with certain alterations)	Prose	F. S. Boas (1932)
1961	Ermanno Barisone	La tragica istoria del Dottor Faust	Milan	A	Prose	John S. Farmer (1920)
1964	Corrado Pavolini	La tragica storia del dottor Faust	Milan	A	Prose	John S. Farmer (1929) M. R. Ridley (1955)
1966	Juan Rodlofo Wilcock	La tragica storia del dottor Fausto	Milan	Conflation (A)	Verse	No information
1969 (1986)	Roberto Sanesi	La tragica storia del dottor Faustus	Milan	A	Verse	R. S. Knox (1924)
1983	Nemi D'Agostino	Il dottor Faust	Milan	B (some A)	Verse	Fredson Bowers (1973)