

<大学院コロキウム>

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演題 「Translatio と Translation :

中世から近代におけるコンセプトの進化」

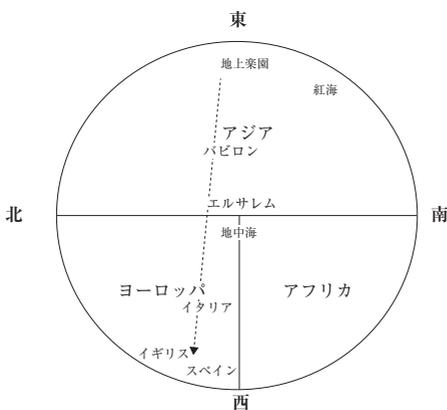
司会 大沼由布 (同志社大学)

2016 年 12 月 22 日 午後 2:55 ~ 4:25

良心館 RY406 教室

Synopsis

題名の「Translatio」は最近の西洋中世研究では特に多言語文化研究のコンテキストでよく提起されるコンセプトである。このラテン



語の言葉は完了受動分詞の translatum からきており、さらに translatum は、「移動させる」を意味する “transfero” の受動分詞である。今回の講演の焦点はこの Translatio という語の意味の範囲だった。翻訳の他、人、物、アイデアの動きを表すこの言葉は

図 1 : 中世ヨーロッパの世界地図と Translatio の方向

中世ヨーロッパの各国語に同意語として存在していた。

講演の冒頭では *Translatio* の「翻訳」としての意味が紹介された。中世と現在の「翻訳」の見方の違いの例としては 13 世紀のフランス語の *Image du monde* という百科全書がとり上げられた。この文書は 12 世紀の *Honorius Augustodunensis* 著のラテン語の *Imago mundi* 『世界像』に基づいた改作であり実際は翻訳ではなかったが、著者の *Gautier de Metz* が自分の作品のことを “*Translatez de latin en rommanz*” 「ラテン語からロマンス (= フランス語) に訳された」と述べ、他には類義語に当たる表現 “*metre en romanz*” なども使った。

しかし、“*Translator*” 又は “*Translatio*” という語に目を向ければ、中世では「翻訳」という意味での使用例が珍しいとされている。それに対して、「移動」の意味の方が優性のものであったとされる。この「移動」という意味で最もよく現れるのは帝権と学問の移動、“*Translatio Studii et Imperii*” である。これは中世において大変重要な理論で、終末論と深くかかわる “*Sex aetates mundi*” 「世界の六時代」の歴史のコンセプトとも関係して、主に東から西への歴史上の学問と帝権の動きを描く。

“*Translatio*” 理論の元といえば聖書の「ダニエル書」2 章に描かれるバビロンからローマまでの長い歴史の歩みなどがある。中世ヨーロッパにおいては “*Translatio*” の動きはおおきく東から西への歴史の歩みと見られていた。(図 1 にはこの動きの方向が中世の世界地図に重なり描かれている。) この “*Translatio Imperii*” の概念が完璧な形をとるのは 12 世紀あたりで、帝権の動きに学問の動きのコンセプトも加わるのは *Otto Frisingensis* (1111-58 年頃) の *Chronica de duabus civitatibus* 『二つの国の年代紀あるいは歴史』(1143 年頃) においてである。

中世に見られるこのような 2 つの “*Translatio*” の意味はそのまゝ

ネサンスにも生き残る。例えばルネサンスを代表する作家、Dante Alighieri (1265–1321 年) はイタリア語の同じ言葉を両方の意味で使う。*Divina Commedia* 『神曲』“Paradiso”「天国篇」14.83-4 と 20.39 にある例は両方とも「動き」の意味である。しかし、“translatio”という用語を「移動」の意味で用いたにもかかわらず、Dante は話を翻訳にも戻すことになった。1304–7 年に書かれた *Convivio* ではダンテが翻訳の難しさについて語っている。彼は翻訳者を表す“*translatori*”などの言葉を使っている。とはいえ、Dante が語る翻訳者は中世にも少なくはなかった。彼らがおこなったのは主に学問的な文書の翻訳であり、中世ウェールズの *Delw y Byd* (*Imago mundi* のウェールズ語訳) などがある。この専門的な翻訳は Dante の時代にも続き、彼の語る古典文学から各地言語への翻訳と同様に扱われていた。よって、Dante 以前中世にも実際の翻訳の難しさは知られていたが、Dante の *Convivio* には我々が今考える翻訳の等価性の問題もあげられている。

この翻訳についての考え方は 20 世紀の Jorge Louis Borges も表現する：“Las palabras se hacen incantaciones y la poesía quiere ser magia. Tiene sus redondeles mágicos y sus conjuros, no siempre de curso legal fuera del país.”¹ (「言葉は呪文であり、韻文は魔法になろうとする。(韻文) 独自の魔法の回転と呪文があり、それは海外で通貨ではないこともある」。) この翻訳の制限のコンセプトは Umberto Eco により“Cultural Translation”のコンセプトに結び付けられる。“Cultural Translation”は言葉の入れ替えではなくアイデアの移動を中心とする。これにより現在の“translation”は翻訳以上のものになり「移動」を表す“translatio”と繋がることになる。

“Cultural Translation”は中世の“Translatio Studii”のみと同等のコンセプトであると考えられるが、“Translatio Imperii”も近代まで伝わってきたということが講演の最後に述べられた。その例とし

て、1736年にGeorge Berkeleyの“Verses on the Prospect of Planting Art and Learning in America”という詩の中の“Westward the course of empire takes its way”という一節があげられる。その一節は1861年にEmanuel Gottlieb Leutzeにより壁画として描かれ、いまでも米国議会議事堂で見ることができる。

これらの例を通して講演は、中世から現代にかけて“translatio”と“translation”の複数の意味が伝わってきて、翻訳に限らず、学問の移動、帝権の移動などのコンセプトを表すということを指摘した。

註

- 1 ‘Las Dos Maneras de Traducir’, *La Prensa* (1926).

Translatio and *Translation*: The Duality of the Concept from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period

Natalia Petrovskaia

I. Introduction

Translatio is a medieval concept that was most famously applied to ideas of the transmission of knowledge, intellectual life and of imperial power from the East towards the West.¹ The Latin term *translatio* derives from *translatum*, the past participle of the verb *transfere* “transport, transfer.”² Its original signification is the transmission or transferral of objects, but also of ideas, from one point to another. The term was, for instance, and still is in English as “translation,” used for the transfer of saints’ relics, motion of spiritual as well as physical significance.³ Throughout the Middle Ages, the term *translatio* and its vernacular equivalents are used to carry two meanings, of which the second is to signify the process of translation or adaptation of a text (Warren 58; Bratu 137, 139). In the various vernaculars, such as French, other terminology signifying this process of cross-language transfer of a text was available. For French this includes: *trover*, *traire* and *metre en romanz* (Spiegel 101; Stoll). Nevertheless, many medieval translations from Latin use equivalents of *transfere* to designate the process of translation. Medieval French translators, for instance, often use the term *translater* (etymologically related to *translatio*) in their prologues, often describing the circumstances of methods of translation.⁴ For example, for the translation of the work of Marcus Tullius Cicero, his medieval

translator writes that the book *est translatee dou latin en françois selonc l'ordenance et selonc le procès dou traiter que le meisme auctour tient et poursiut* “is translated from Latin into French according to the order and according to the process of dealing [with the matter] which the same author holds and pursues” (Delisle 261). The reference is to Cicero’s own much quoted approach to translation, explicitly expressed in in *De optimo genere oratorum* 5.14-15:

nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator, sentiis isdem et earum formis tanquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis. In quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi. Non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tanquam appendere. (ed. H. M. Hubbell)

And I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and the forms, or as one might say, the “figures” of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. And in so doing, I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language. For I did not think I ought to count them out to the reader like coins, but to pay them by weight, as it were. (tr. H. M. Hubbell)

Cicero’s approach is of enormous significance for our understanding of the processes and theory of medieval interlingual translation practice. As Rita Copeland points out, “the Middle Ages inherited from Latin antiquity not only some commonplaces of translation theory, but also the academic framework of that theory” (Copeland 9). Through the mediation of St Jerome (s. IV^{med.}-V^{inc.}), who adopted Cicero’s approach and also articulated

it: *Non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu*,⁵ it became the dominant explicitly expressed translation technique throughout the medieval period, though not always expressly associated with the Roman orator.⁶ As a parallel development, the sense of transmission of classical learning to the medieval West, seen even in this trend of adapting classical notions of translation, fed into the other meaning of *translatio*, that of transmission and inheritance, articulated in the idea of *translatio studii et imperii*. This theory, which describes the historical progress and transmission of imperial power from East to West, was immensely influential in formulating a view of history in the Middle Ages.⁷ The present article will examine the interplay between the two meanings of *translatio*, the physical and the linguistic,⁸ from the medieval period to the early modern.

II. *Interlingual Translation, Intralingual Translation and Translatio Studii et Imperii*

Whilst it is the accepted view that medieval translation practice had very little in common with the present-day view of the subject, one aspect of translation activity that has remained a relative constant is self-reflection on the part of translators (Bratu 136; Warren 53). Examples can be found throughout the medieval European literary tradition, including French, English, and Italian. The following extract comes from a thirteenth-century Welsh translation of the Athanasian Creed by Gruffudd Bola (fl. 1265-82):

Vn peth hagen a dylyy ti wybod ar y dechreu, pan trosser ieith yn y llall, megys Lladin yg Kymraec, na ellir yn wastat symut y geir yn y gilyd, a chyt a hynny kynnal priodolder yr ieith a synnvyr yr ymadravd yn tec. Vrth hynny y troes i weitheu y geir yn y gilyd,

a gveith ereill y dodeis synnvyr yn lle y synnvyr heruyd mod a phriodolder yn ieith ni. (Lewis 196)

However, there is one thing you should know to start with, when translating from one language to the other, as from Latin into Welsh, it is not always possible to replace one word with another whilst at the same time preserving fairly the proper nature of the language and the sense of the diction. For this reason I have sometimes translated word for word and elsewhere followed the sense and meaning, according to what was a natural and proper mode in our language' (tr. Lloyd-Morgan 56)

The phrase underlined in the quotation above, *synnvyr yn lle y synnvyr* (lit. "sense in the place of sense") represents a deliberate echo of Jerome's *sensum exprimere de sensu*.⁹ In the following century, Jerome's attitudes towards translation, in favour of sense versus word-for-word rendering, are also reiterated in the prologue of the Wycliffite Bible (c. 1395).¹⁰

An example of the difference in the understanding of what linguistic "translation" entails between the medieval period and the present day can be seen in the case of the thirteenth-century *Image du monde*. This text, composed by Gossouin or Gautier de Metz, was a rendering of the twelfth-century Latin encyclopaedia *Imago mundi* (Flint; Prior). At the beginning of the text, Gossouin describes it as *translatez de latin en romanz* (ed. Prior 57) "translated from Latin into French" (my translation). The term *translater* in French had the same double meaning of linguistic transference as well as physical movement as the Latin term did (Stoll 194-95). Other ways of expressing the idea of linguistic translation in medieval French, used by

some of Gossouin's contemporaries included *metre en romanz*, *trover*, and *traire* (Stoll; Spiegel 101). In choosing the term *translater*, it appears that Gossouin is conscious of the double significance of the word, linking his own activity of linguistic translation with a concept of the transmission of learning across space and time, the *translatio studii*.¹¹

Whilst Gossouin's translation activity and use of the term *translater* is suggestive of a link between the two senses of *translatio*, such a link is also suggested by some of the medieval articulations of the translator's role. Hugutio of Pisa, for instance, characterises *translatio* as *expositio sententiae per aliam linguam* in his *Magnae derivations* (1197×1201), and this incorporation of the idea of exegesis and interpretation within the purview of the translator serves as a bridge between the two meanings of *translatio*, linguistic and physical, by adding the idea of the transmission (physical movement) of ideas (often as linguistic units) from one place and one writer, to another place, another writer, and another generation.¹² This re-definition brings us to the medieval European theory of *translatio studii et imperii*.

The theoretical framework of historiographical thought commonly referred to as *translatio studii et imperii* has its origins usually traced to the Carolingian era, as both the *translatio imperii* and the *translatio studii* concepts first found their articulation in relation to the so-called "Carolingian Renaissance" (Gregory 8). The ideas formulated then appear to have been based on the progression depicted in the Book of Daniel 2, where the sequence of transmission of power from Babylon to Media, Persia, Greece, Macedon and Rome is traced, a sequence subsequently picked up and elaborated by St Jerome in his commentary on the Book of Daniel but also by Orosius in his *Historiarum advesrum paganos*.¹³ This was linked to the idea of *sex aetates mundi* "six ages of the world," the progression

of world history in six ages, articulated by St Augustine.¹⁴ In medieval Europe the *translatio* movement was broadly understood as a historical progression from East to West.¹⁵ The theory received its fullest articulation as *translatio imperii* in the twelfth century in Otto of Freising's (1111 – ca.1158) *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* “Chronicle or History of the Two Cities” (1146) (Briggs 396-98). Otto's influential schema was echoed not only in subsequent historical works, but also in literature, as, for instance, by Chrétien de Troyes in his prologue to *Cligés* (ca. 1176).¹⁶

III. *Thinking Translation in the Renaissance and the Early Modern Period*

The two meanings of *translatio* observed for the Middle Ages survive well into the Renaissance. For an example one need go no further than Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), who uses the Italian equivalent of the word in both senses. In *Paradiso*, Book III of the *Divina Commedia*, Dante refers to physical movement in 14.83-84 (*che l'arca traslatò di villa in villa*) and 20.39: (*vidimi translato / Sol con mia donna in più alta salute*). On the other hand, in the *Convivio* (1304-1307), he discusses the difficulties and occasional impossibilities of translation, using terms such as *translatori* “translators.”¹⁷ Some of Dante's concerns in the *Convivio* about the impossibility of translating poetry, for instance, are echoed in more modern discussions in both fiction and scholarly literature, as by Borges in the quotation discussed further below. But Dante himself draws ultimately, as Alison Cornish points out, on Jerome (pp. 129-30).

In the Renaissance, the notion that the translator was responsible for conveying the rhetorical force of the original as well as the meaning of the

words, as expressed, for instance, in Leonardo Bruni's *De interpretatione recta* (ca. 1426), brought forth new debates on the role of the translator, particularly in a religious context (Worth-Stylianou 128). For an examination of the articulations of linguistic translation in the period, however, it is worth keeping in mind that one of the synonyms for translation commonly used was *volgarizzamento*, a term which, as Alison Cornish points out, is "not entirely translatable into English because it indicates a very clear hierarchical position between the target and the source language", carrying with it the implications of a handing down of information (Cornish 2). The growth of discussion concerning the practice of translation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has often been attributed to the surge of translations from classical authors, consequent on their re-introduction in Western Europe (Krämer 14).

In parallel to, and as a theoretical description of, this surge of new translation from (primarily Greek) classics, the *translatio studii* topos continued to be used, explicitly or implicitly, throughout this period. It is implicit in Dante's use of Virgil as a guide in the *Commedia*, but it is also present later, for, to give but one example, in the fifteenth century Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) referred to the *translatio studii* image in his *De hominis dignitate*.¹⁸

Indeed, a continuation of the view of *translatio studii et imperii* can be traced well into the early modern period,¹⁹ with, for instance, George Berkeley's 1736 "Verses on the Prospect of Planting Art and Learning in America", and its famous line "Westward the course of empire takes its way," illustrated in 1861 by Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze in a wall painting currently on display in the US Capitol Building.²⁰ We also find a distinct echo of the notion of *translatio imperii* in Hegel's *Philosophy of History*,

based on his lectures of the 1820s and 1830s: “The History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of History, Asia the beginning” (p. 103). Hegel even negotiates with the sphericity of the inhabited world, to which the idea of *translatio* is not in its origin adapted:²¹

Die Weltgeschichte geht von Osten nach Westen, denn Europa ist schlechthin das Ende der Weltgeschichte, Asien der Anfang. Für die Weltgeschichte ist ein Osten κατ' ἐξοχήν vorhanden, da der Osten für sich etwas ganz Relatives ist; denn obgleich die Erde eine Kugel bildet, so macht die Geschichte doch keinen Kreis um sie herum, sondern sie hat vielmehr einen bestimmten Osten, und das ist Asien. Hier geht die äußerliche physische Sonne auf, und im Westen geht sie unter: dafür steigt aber hier die innere Sonne des Selbstbewußtseins auf... (Hegel, *Vorlesungen* 134)

The History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of History, Asia the beginning. The History of the World has an East κατ' ἐξοχήν; (the term East in itself is entirely relative), for although the Earth forms a sphere, History performs no circle around it, but has on the contrary a determinate East, viz., Asia. Here rises the outward physical Sun, and in the West it sinks down: here consentaneously rises the Sun of self-consciousness. (*The Philosophy of History* 103)

Whilst the notion of *translatio* in Hegel could be the subject of a separate study, constraints of space dictate that only one further consideration be added here. Namely, that his writings also echo the concept of *translatio*

studii in his outline of Pythagoras' inheritance of eastern philosophical thought.²² The lines at the end of the passage quoted above form an uncanny echo of Otto of Freising's famous *translatio* statement in the prologue to Book I of his *Historia de duabus civitatibus: Et notandum, quod omnis humana potentia seu scientia ab oriente cepit et in occidente terminatur* (Hofmeister 8) "And so it is to be observed that all human power or learning had its origin in the East, but is coming to an end in the West." (translated in *The Two Cities*, tr. Mierow 94-95). In academic discussions of this passage in *The Philosophy of History*, Hegel's affinity with the medieval thought of *translatio* does not appear to be noted, nor, indeed, is the medieval origin in *translatio imperii* of the westward movement of empire which, as Cochrane points out, "was to be almost a commonplace in itself in the nineteenth century."²³ In recent years, however, studies have emerged suggesting a greater continuity of thought and theory between the medieval and modern worlds than had hitherto been accepted.²⁴ It may be that this passage in Hegel may provide yet another argument in favour of this view.

One of the primary reasons for the common and well established perception of difference and discontinuity lies in the historical terminology, such as the use of the terms "renaissance" and "early modern" for the intervening periods, which, as Stephen Bowd points out, "contain implicit or explicit teleological assumptions about the transition from the 'medieval' to 'modern' worlds" (Bowd 1). Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the link between the medieval *translatio* concept and the "westward course of empire" of Berkeley and his contemporaries has been observed. Otto of Friesing's *translatio studii et imperii*, as the British historian R. W. Southern pointed out in his presidential address to the Royal Historical Society in November 1970, "like many of the great ideas which took root in the twelfth

century [...] had its most confident expression in the eighteenth century” (Southern 178). The medieval concept of *translatio studii et imperii* appears to be one such concept, manifested variously in representations of historical progress.

IV. Conclusion: Thinking about Translation in the Present. Cultural Translation and Problems of Intranslatability

Whilst the physical aspect of *translatio* appears to have survived the medieval/modern divide not only in the secondary meaning of the English word *translation* in relation to the movement of the relics of saints, but also, as has been argued above, in relation to the theory of transfer of political and cultural centres, medieval debates and theories of interlingual translation also find echoes in contemporary discourse.²⁵ For instance, and to keep to the selection of works already referred to in the present article, Dante’s thoughts on the difficulty of translating poetry specifically are reiterated by in the early twentieth century by Jorge Louis Borges:²⁶

Las dificultades de traducir son múltiples. Ya el universalmente atareado Novalis (Werke, página 207, parte tercera de la edición de Friedemann) señaló que cada palabra tiene una significación peculiar, otras connotativas y otras enteramente arbitrarias. En prosa, la significación corriente es la valedera y el encuentro de su equivalencia suele ser fácil. En verso, mayormente durante las épocas llamadas de decadencia o sea de haraganería literaria y de mera recordación, el caso es distinto. Allí el sentido de una palabra no es lo que vale, sino su ambiente, su connotación, su ademán. Las palabras se hacen incantaciones y la poesía quiere ser magia. Tiene

sus redondeles mágicos y sus conjuros, no siempre de curso legal fuera del país' ("Las Dos Maneras de Traducir")

The difficulties of translating are many. Already the universally occupied Novalis (Works, page 207, third part of Friedman's edition) pointed out that each word has its own peculiar meaning, some connotative meanings and others still utterly arbitrary. In prose, the meaning commonly used is the most valid, and finding its equivalent [in translation] tends to be easy. In verse, primarily during the so-called eras of decadence, that is, eras of literary indolence and mere remembrance, the case is different. There, it is not the meaning of a word that matters, but its context, its connotations, its expression. Words become incantations and poetry wishes to be magic. It has its magic circles and spells, which are not always legal tender abroad. (my translation).

This concept of the limitations of translation is connected to Umberto Eco's notion of translation as negotiation, established in his own experience as translator and translated author, which refers to the transference of ideas or feelings associated with particular textual works without necessarily translating the works themselves faithfully, but instead through use of equivalents in the host culture (Eco, *Mouse or Rat?*). This links back to Novalis, referred to by Borges, who also stated that *Am Ende ist alle Poësie Übersetzung* "In the end all poetry is Translation."²⁷ Indeed, this *translatio* of ideas about translation links back, I would argue, to the other sense of *translatio*, that of physical movement.

On the other side of the spectrum, the notions of Augustine about word-

for-word translation, in their opposition to the meaning-for-meaning approach of Cicero inherited by Jerome, have also been raised as a problem in both contemporary fiction and contemporary scholarship. The ambition of Pierre Menard, Borges's fictional translator of *Quijote*, is to produce *unas páginas que coincidieran – palabra por palabra y línea por línea* “some pages that correspond – word for word and line for line” (my translation) with those of Cervantes.²⁸

Thus it is possible to observe a certain degree of continuity in the development of particular concepts between the medieval era and the modern, of which, this article has aimed to demonstrate, the duality of the concept of *translatio*/translation in the linguistic and physical world, is one. It may be useful to examine also, as a continuation of the physical meaning of *translatio* (without the ideological directionality of *translatio imperii*), and following in the footsteps of Umberto Eco, the newly emerging discipline of “cultural translation studies,” where “translation is used to describe cultural exchange that is not necessarily linguistic” (Cornish 3). The inspiration behind this new academic movement may not be directly medieval, but perhaps, in the light of trends observed above, it does represent a *translatio* in both senses of the word, of medieval ideas of translation.

Notes

1 See discussion below.

2 Stoll 201; see also Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *translatio*; s.v. *transfero*.

3 For the use of the term in the context of relics, see Malo, p. 8 and *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. *translate*. As Malo points out, *translatio* can also designate metaphor in the medieval *ars poetriae*.

- 4 For more on medieval translators' prologues, see and Copeland 9, and Luff. An interesting example of discussion of methods of translation can be found in the prologue to the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte Maure; for discussion and further references, see Sullivan.
- 5 Jerome, Ep. LVII, *Ad Pammachium*, col. 571; for an overview of the transmission of Roman ideas on translations to medieval Europe, see Copeland 37-62. Copeland argues that although "[i]t is conventional to identify Jerome as a Ciceronian", "his theoretical statement belie the rhetorical motives inscribed in the sources whose authority he invokes" (45); see her discussion on pp. 45-51.
- 6 This attitude towards translation is echoed by Gregory the Great, see his Ep. 10, ed. Hartmann 258. Note, however, the existence of an opposite attitude, expressed by Augustine, who highlights the importance of word-for-word translation in making the original meaning of the text accessible; e.g. in *De doctrina Christiana* II.43, 53; ed. and tr., by Green 76-77; 80-81.
- 7 The amount of literature on *translatio studii et imperii* is considerable; but see, for instance, Goez, Stierle, Krämer, Jongkees, Kelly, Fenzi.
- 8 Since medieval thought on translation often diverged from medieval practice, the focus here will primarily be on articulated attitudes towards *translatio* and translation, rather than on the analysis of translation activity itself. For the divergence of medieval theory and practice of interlingual translation, see Copeland, esp. p. 42. In the section below, I use Copeland's distinction between interlingual and intralingual translation; see, for instance Copeland 26-30.
- 9 For further discussions of medieval Welsh translation practice, see Lloyd-Morgan, Luft.
- 10 Cited by Copeland 51.
- 11 Brown 138, 142-5. For an overview of *translatio studii*, see Kelly. For more on the topos of *translatio studii et imperii* in the European Middle Ages, see Curtius 28-29.
- 12 For analysis of medieval translation as exposition and exegesis, see Hanna et al., esp. 363, 397.
- 13 See Bratu 137, Stoll 202-203, Harris 87-88, Chazan 17.
- 14 For an introduction to this concept, see Southern 160-61; see also Campopiano 7-8.
- 15 See also the discussion in the context of medieval maps in Edson 508.
- 16 Cline xvi; Bratu 138; for discussions of Chrétien's prologue, see Freeman, and more recently Reis.
- 17 *Convivio* II.xiv.7-8 (p.111), for instance. For discussion see, for example, Cornish 128-30.
- 18 Quoted and discussed by Cochrane, p. 235. For more on Pico della Mirandola and further bibliography, see Copenhagen.
- 19 For the discussion of a gradual supplanting of the idea of *translatio imperii* by the idea of "Decline and Fall," as part of his study of the historical contexts and sources

- of Edward Gibbon's work, see Pocock III 127-50 (Chapter 7) and 153-78 (Chapter 8).
- 20 For a discussion of the *translatio* theme in Berkeley and his contemporaries, see Cochrane. For more on the painting, see Stehle.
- 21 Note that whilst the Middle Ages knew of the spherical world, not the entire sphere was deemed inhabitable; see, for instance, Tattersall.
- 22 "Moreover there is a universally propagated tale that Pythagoras drew his philosophy from Indians and Egyptians. These peoples have an ancient fame for wisdom, wisdom being understood to include philosophy. Further, the Eastern ideas and worships which infiltrated into the West at the time of the Roman Empire"; Hegel, *Introduction to the Lectures on the History of Philosophy* 31.
- 23 A major trend is to discuss this passage within the frame of a discussion of "Eurocentrism" and "Euro-hegemonism"; see, for instance, Shohat and Stam 62, O'Brien 11 (note that O'Brien discusses medieval historiography, and mentions Otto of Freising, but does not explicitly refer to *translatio* 8-9). Cochrane 232.
- 24 See, for instance, Nederman.
- 25 A complete discussion of contemporary theories relating to the practice of professional translation is beyond the limitations of the present study. I will therefore continue following the discussion of translation within literary rather than professional contexts, set in the beginning of the article with its references to such writers as Chrétien and Dante, by proposing, for the contemporary world, the examples of Borges and Eco.
- 26 For an overview of the importance of translation in the work of Borges, see Kristal.
- 27 Novalis 182; For a discussion of translation theories of Novalis and Goethe, see Kitzbichler, Lubitz and Mindt, 43-45; for more on Borges and Novalis, see Kristal 16, 31-32.
- 28 Borges, "Pierre Menard, autor del Quijote" 47; the text is discussed by Arrojo 18-23.

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