Aphra Behn: Cultural Translator and Editorial Intermediary

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Abstract: The complex production of translation and editorial intermediation is a timeless, often contentious issue. In the seventeenth century, Abraham Cowley and John Dryden dominated a debate that centred on fidelity to authorial copy. The self-supporting Aphra Behn, who translated from French in the late seventeenth century to earn an income, acknowledged this debate and indicated her preference for Dryden’s translation practice of latitude in her epistolary dedication in the preliminary matter of Agnes de Castro: or, The Force of Generous Love (1688), which was originally written by Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac and entitled Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portugaise (1688). Behn’s latitude respected authorial intention but adapted the text when literal translation proved difficult. This article dips below the discursive surface to provide a new way of analysing Behn’s work. Comparing de Brilhac’s original with Behn’s translation reveals the latter’s negotiation of the necessarily complex and at times conflicting role of cultural translator and editorial intermediary. Behn used stagecraft techniques to create the narrative scene, paratextual asides to establish her authorial voice and editorial intermediation, and editorial techniques such as italicisation and capitalisation to further this intermediation and transmit meaning. Behn’s practice not only acknowledged the commercial imperatives of the publishing industry but also typified her human nature.

Whether decried as the Eve-like traitress who helped deliver the great Aztec empire into the hands of the Spaniards, or reclaimed as a part of the Mexican heritage, [La] Malinche has the signal honor of being one of the few women who is remembered for her work as a cultural intermediary, a translator.
Sherry Simon’s recounting of the story of La Malinche (1505–29), the ‘Mayan slave who became the interpreter of Cortes, and who participated in the negotiations leading to the European conquest of Latin America’, exemplifies not only the marginalised experiences of women in the early modern literary landscape but also the inherent responsibility of translators as cultural intermediaries. As a consequence of their work, translators inhabit an ‘in-betweenness’, mediating between the originating literature and its distinct socio-political context and its transnational reception. Editors are similarly untethered: they liaise between authors and the publisher to bring copy to print, all the while nurturing content to ensure the clarity of authorial voice and meaning. For Aphra Behn, negotiating this necessarily complex and at times conflicting role — that is, cultural translator and editorial intermediary — from a position of marginalisation would have been especially difficult. Nevertheless, as England’s first female professional writer, her published output of more than twenty plays and novels, poetry collections, and translations from French suggests otherwise.

This paper’s objective is to gauge the nature of Behn’s mediation as cultural translator and editorial intermediary. To appreciate the first, a comparative textual analysis of Behn’s _Agnes de Castro, or, The force of generous love_ (1688) is undertaken

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2 Ibid., p. 38.
with both Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac’s original *Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portugaise* (1688) and Peter Bellon’s rival translation, *The Fatal Beauty of Agnes de Castro*, which was released the same year. For the second, specific editorial ‘devices’ are analysed, such as capitalisation and italicisation, with reference to Joseph Moxon’s *Mechanick Exercises, or The doctrine of handy–works applied to the art of printing* (1683), the first printer’s manual to be published in England, which initiated the print trade’s journey towards editorial standardisation. Through such evaluation, it becomes clear that Behn’s translation of *Agnes de Castro* exhibits a latitude — middle ground or in-betweenness — through which she conducts her editorial intermediation.

**APHRA BEHN’S ‘UNENDING COMBINATION OF MASKS’**

Janet Todd has in recent years insightfully described the indomitable Aphra Behn (1640–89): ‘She is not so much a woman to be unmasked as an unending combination of masks’⁴ — that is, ‘playwright, poet, fictionist, propagandist and spy’ and, of course, translator.⁵ Behn’s eclectic, atypical life as England’s first female professional writer has understandably been well documented; for example, Heidi Hutner provides a succinct summary, albeit one yet to be substantiated in regard to her marriage and alleged imprisonment:

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By now, anyone familiar with Behn knows that she probably travelled to Surinam (the setting for *Oroonoko*), was married briefly to an unknown ‘Mr. Behn’, spied for Charles II in Holland, was briefly imprisoned at least twice, socialized with the male writers of her day, loved the bisexual John Hoyle, became one of the leading propagandists for the Tories during the Exclusion Crisis, and, against all odds, earned her living by her pen.6

Behn’s published output was prolific by contemporary standards. Her novel *Love–Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister* is considered ‘the earliest, or one of the earliest, novels’.7

Behn’s romance novella *Agnes de Castro* was published in London by William Canning in 1688 and was licensed on 24 May that year. According to Todd, ‘With Canning she would be closely identified during her final years — indeed she became his major author’.8 In regard to the French original, Behn’s title page proffers only that *Agnes de Castro* had been ‘Written in French by a Lady of Quality’; however, the author is acknowledged to be Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac.9 Brilhac’s *Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portugaise* was published in 1688 in Amsterdam. Peter Bellon’s rival translation The

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Fatal Beauty of Agnes Castro appeared in his two-novel anthology entitled Two New Novels, which was published by Richard Bentley in 1688 but licensed before Behn’s version on 19 May. Given how closely the translations of Bentley and Behn were published, Todd’s contention that Behn’s Agnes de Castro amounts to ‘hurried work’ is understandable — a critical examination to be conducted shortly confirms this. Additionally, Todd asserts that Agnes de Castro was Behn’s ‘most literal translation’, whereas Mary Helen McMurrnan observes that ‘Behn’s translations expanded and amplified the originals to such a degree as they might not be considered translations as such’, identifying Agnes de Castro as a specific example. However, comparative analyses of the narratives of Brilhac, Bellon and Behn reveal that Behn’s method approximates that practised in her translation in 1688 of A Discovery of New Worlds, originally written in French by Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle and entitled Les Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes: that is, a latitude, an in-betweenness, that becomes the vehicle for her editorial intermediation. To appreciate this critique, it is necessary to consider briefly translation theories that were dominant from the mid-seventeenth century.

MID-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TRANSLATION THEORIES

It is well documented that female authors since the sixteenth century gained purchase in the male-dominated public domain through translation. As Simon states,

10 Todd, The Secret Life of Aphra Behn, p. 394. See also Goreau, p. 291.
11 McMurrnan, p. 8.
Translation offered women an involvement in literary culture [...] that did not directly challenge male control of that culture. European languages such as French, German and Italian were considered appropriate for women to study; classical languages, such as Latin and Greek, as Goodfellow observes, ‘remained a fortress at the heart of masculine “formal education” well into the nineteenth century’. Angeline Goreau extends this by concluding that Latin was ‘the great dividing line between the sexes’. Furthermore, women were encouraged to focus their endeavours on religious texts owing to, as noted by Tina Krontiris, Protestantism’s democratic, albeit paradoxical, recognition of ‘women’s right to read and interpret the scriptures, and even to disagree with men in their interpretations’. Hence, translations by women were predominantly religious in nature. Additionally, their publication coincided with the increase in literary translations in the vernacular, as society became more literate; according to McMurrren, ‘this period saw the beginnings of vernacular translation, in the sense that living, spoken languages were now increasingly translated’. Such deliberate placement of women creates further avenues of enquiry regarding marginalisation according to gender and genre, which


14 Goreau, p. 31.


17 McMurrren, pp. 4, 7. See also Krontiris, p. 13.
was first articulated by Simon: ‘We are led to wonder whether translation condemned women to the margins of discourse or, on the contrary, rescued them from imposed silence’. From this, it is evident that women’s legitimacy within the traditionally male-dominated literary sphere was a project in the making, as articulated by Betty Schellenberg: ‘the writer as respectable professional, rather than as either cultivated amateur or disreputable hack, was a model in the making over the course of the long eighteenth century’.

Translators’ responsibility as cultural intermediaries derive from the definition of the term itself. Simon expresses this general point well: ‘[It] is important to stress that the meaning given to the role of the translator is itself historically and socially constructed, the significance of the work of cultural mediation tied to the dynamics of the connections which it enacts’. That is, the term translation forms part of a wider etymological history that enabled its socio-political construction. McMurran acknowledges the symbiotic distinction between ‘translatio imperii (the transfer of power) and translatio studii (the transfer of learning)’, both of which trace back to the ninth century and, under the translatio umbrella, involve ‘the transfer of political and religious order […] as well as the transfer of civilization through language and literature’. Simon offers diverse terminology from classical antiquity to the Renaissance and beyond, with more emphasis on translation’s practice:

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18 Simon, p. 46. See also Agorni, p. 181.
20 Simon, p. 40.
21 McMurran, p. 1.
[The] idea of translation as an essentially *translinguistic* activity seems to have been suggested first by early Italian Humanists when they introduced the term *traducere* to replace a variety of already existing terms. Before this moment, translation was considered a *transtextual* operation, separate terms in Greek and Roman antiquity [...] The Greek *hermeneuein* means both to ‘explain’ and to ‘translate’; the Latin *interpres* refers both to the translator and the exegete.  

Such etymological history elicits numerous dichotomies — imperial conquest versus otherness, the claim of legitimising superiority of one language over another, and the authorising propriety of author or translator — all of which become socio-politically problematic when coupled with women gaining a literary voice in the public sphere through religious translation.

A consideration of translation’s definition necessitates equal reference to its practice. The commentaries of Abraham Cowley and John Dryden express not only translation theories in the early modern period but also an inherent tension when practised — faithfulness to the original text versus deviation from it. In his preface to *Pindarique Odes*, which was published in 1656, Abraham Cowley (1618–67) identifies two methods of translation: ‘servile’ imitation (a word-for-word translation that is ‘a vile and unworthy kinde of Servitude’) and libertine (a freer translation that ‘[shoots] beyond the Mark’). Cowley favours libertine translation: his ‘aim’ as the translator of the ‘Odes of Pindar’ is ‘to let the Reader know precisely what he [Cowley] spoke, as what his way and manner of speaking’; he perceives imitative translation to be

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22 Simon, p. 42.
inadequate as he ‘never saw a Copy better then [sic] the Original’. As Muneharu Kitagaki has observed, ‘Cowley’s Pindaric experiment was based […] on a strict anti-literalism’.  

In his own preface to Ovid’s Epistles, which first appeared in 1680, John Dryden (1631–1700) extends such treatment into a ‘ternary model’, as labelled by Line Cottegnies. Dryden’s model comprises metaphrase (‘turning an Authour word by word, and Line by Line, from one Language into another’), paraphrase (‘Translation with Latitude’), and imitation (where ‘words and sense’ might not only differ but also be abandoned as the translator ‘sees occasion’, ‘taking only some general hints from the Original’). According to Kitagaki, ‘Dryden’s use of the word [metaphrase] in the sense of literal translation […] is the first case which the [Oxford English Dictionary] records. Before Dryden, the word metaphrase meant either a metrical translation, or merely translation’. He writes, furthermore, that ‘[we] see here, therefore, Dryden’s efforts to establish critical terminology’.  

Dryden’s own translation practice inhabits the middle ground: neither literal nor liberal translation, but one requiring certain autonomy to best accommodate the transference of meaning from one language to another. His observation that few word-by-word translations exist ‘because there are so few who have all the Talents which

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27 Kitagaki, p. 182.
28 Ibid., p. 184.
are requisite for Translation’\textsuperscript{29} approximates Cowley’s belief that a translated copy is inferior to the original. Dryden’s critique of imitation becomes clear towards the preface’s conclusion: ‘To state it fairly, Imitation of an Author is the most advantageous way for a Translator to shew himself, but the greatest wrong which can be done to the Memory and Reputation of the dead’.\textsuperscript{30} Hence, for his own translation of Ovid’s Epistles, Dryden admits ‘the Reader will here find most of the Translations, with some little Latitude or variation from the Authours Sense’.\textsuperscript{31} That is, his latitude entails keeping the author ‘in view […] so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense’.\textsuperscript{32}

Simon’s portrayal of the ‘in–between status’ of translators and the inherent tension as cultural intermediaries reflects Dryden’s residence in the middle ground: ‘The dilemma of being caught between two worlds becomes the basis of the struggle to make art’.\textsuperscript{33} Such untethered experience mirrors that already observed for correctors, as editors were commonly known. Moxon states in Mechanick Exercises that ‘For the Laws of Printing, a Compositor is strictly to follow his Copy’. Nevertheless, he tempers his strict protocol of remaining faithful with a caveat — the printer’s house style overshadows all: ‘the carelessness of some good Authors, and the ignorance of other Authors, has forc’d Printers to introduce a Custom, which among them is look’d upon as task and duty incumbent on the Compositor, viz. to discern and amend the bad Spelling and Pointing of his Copy’.\textsuperscript{34} While Moxon isolates compositors in this instance, he expects

\textsuperscript{29} Ovid and Dryden, p. xix.
\textsuperscript{30} Ovid and Dryden, p. xvi.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid, p. xix.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. xii. See also Kitagaki, p. 189.
\textsuperscript{33} Simon, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{34} Joseph Moxon, Mechanick exercises, or, The doctrine of handy–works began Jan. 1, 1677, and intended to be monthly continued (London: Printed for Joseph Moxon at the sign of Atlas, Ludgate–Hill, 1677), pp. 197–8.
no less from correctors: ‘He ought to be very knowing in Derivatives and Etymologies of Words, very sagacious in Pointing, skilful in the Compositors whole task and Obligation, and endowed with a quick Eye to espy the smallest Fault’. Despite the correctors’ vital responsibilities, they remain physically disconnected from the process: ‘The Compositor either carries him a Proof, or sends the Boy with it to his Appartment, which is commonly some little Closet adjoyning to the Composing-room’.\(^\text{35}\) Therefore, correctors share professional space within the interdependent worlds of authors and the printing house but inhabit neither. How this pertains to early modern translators, such as Aphra Behn, is that, through the art of translation, deciding where to remain faithful and/or deviate, the practitioners become editorially responsible for the accuracy of the original content and the clarity of its meaning — that is, they function as both cultural translators and editorial intermediaries.

A study of Behn’s ‘Essay on Translated Prose’, which appears in her preface to her translation of A Discovery of New Worlds, reveals her position on the translation trajectory. She writes: ‘I have endeavoured to give you the true meaning of the Author, and have kept as near his Words as was possible; I was necessitated to add a little in some places, otherwise the Book could not have been understood’.\(^\text{36}\) Behn’s method emulates the latitude, or middle ground, of Dryden as communicated by her reference to the author’s ‘meaning’ rather than the author’s words. As Kitagaki relates, ‘[Behn] claims that hers was not a mechanical rendering into English but was a translation with discerning eye to the French text, which may contain printer’s

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\(^\text{35}\) Moxon, p. 261.

errors’.

Cottegnies verifies this observation: ‘Many of Behn’s remarks as a practitioner of translation make good sense, as when she positions herself in the debate between literalism and imitation by opting for a mediation between the two’.

In contrast, Turner states that Behn’s translation ‘is, on the whole, a reasonably faithful version’, whereas Agorni is more definitive: ‘Behn’s translation of Fontenelle is extremely literal, as Behn herself makes clear in her preface.’

But how is Behn’s translation perceived more generally? McMurran typifies Behn’s general translation style as imitation or, more specifically, amplification:

Translators like Behn who practiced imitation and worked between living, spoken languages could be neither tied down to the original text nor disentangled from it. Rather than being criticized for this practice, Behn seems to have had her greatest success as a translator in revivifying the original texts by amplifying its voice and fusing this voice with hers.

McMurran’s observation of Behn’s imitation is supported by Goodfellow: ‘the liberty with her translations was another way in which she mediated between the original text and the text which, in her words, she made “her own” through translation.’ Later on in her article, Goodfellow’s assessment of Behn’s translation becomes more candid: ‘Like many of her contemporaries, Behn found loose interpretation and paraphrase...”

37 Kitagaki, p. 288.
38 Cottegnies, p. 224.
40 Agorni, p. 187.
41 McMurran, p. 9.
42 Goodfellow, p. 230.
acceptable as translation, and she often used the opportunity translation afforded her for editorial commentary. While acknowledging the intriguing concepts integral to Goodfellow’s first citation above — that is, Foucauldian definitions of authorship and the conflicting interplay between masculine and feminine discursive voices in the public sphere — an examination of Agnes de Castro yields not ‘loose interpretation and paraphrase’ to enable her editorial intermediation, but rather a latitude — a middle ground or in-betweenness, as mentioned earlier. Thus, through a brief comparative analysis of Behn’s Agnes de Castro with both the original and Peter Bellon’s rival translation that appeared the same year, this paper seeks to contribute to scholarship regarding Behn’s translation, but from an editorial perspective.

**AGNES DE CASTRO, OR THE FORCE OF GENEROUS LOVE**

In her epistolary dedication to Sir Roger Puleston, Behn identifies her translation method for Agnes de Castro. She proposes a subtle translation that enables readers to experience the content as it was originally conceived, both visually and emotionally: ‘[You] will see here Love, Fortitude, and Vertue, very naturally Painted; and a Truth which needs nothing Romantick to make it absolutely Moving’. That is, her translation respects the original author’s intention by ensuring the accuracy of its meaning, though not at times its literal expression. However, she acknowledges risk to meaning when altering expression if required: ‘‘Twas a Lady that writ the Original, and, I hope, I have not

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43 Goodfellow, p. 237. Goreau supports this: ‘Aphra had a literary precedent for her procedure in Cowley’s theory that “imitation” was more original than [literal] translation’, see p. 254.
taken off from the Lustre of her admirable Piece by putting it into our Language’. To support this translation method, Behn is strategic: she utilises stagecraft techniques to create the narrative scene and depict concurrent events; paratextual asides to establish her authorial voice and editorial intermediation; and editorial techniques such as italicisation and capitalisation to further this intermediation and transmit meaning. Each will be considered in this case study.

From the outset, Behn’s language is quintessentially early modern: long sentences peppered with semicolons and frequent nominalisation. The resulting long-windedness undermines the intent of her translation method; it also contradicts her observations on the French language provided in ‘Essay on Translated Prose’. To demonstrate this in practice, reproduced below is the first paragraph of Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac’s Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portuguêse:

Quoi que l’Amor ne promette que des plaisirs, les effets en sont quelquesfois tristes. Il ne

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45 Brilhac and Behn, p. vi.
46 She argues that, while Italian, Spanish and French all originate from Latin, Italian is the easier to translate as it is closest to English: ‘For its mixture being composed of Latin, and the Language of the Goths, Vandals, and other Northern Nations, who over-ran the Roman Empire, and conquer’d its Language with its Provinces, most of these Northern Nations spoke the Teutonick or Dialects of it, of which the English is one also; and that’s the Reason, that the English and Italian learn the Language of one another sooner than any other; because not only the Phrase, but the Accent of both do very much agree’ (see de Fontenelle and Aphra Behn, p. ii). Behn offers three reasons why French is the most difficult to translate into English. First, the more two nations’ genius and humour agree, the more similar their idioms; therefore, for Behn, the languages that share closest affinity is unquestionable: ‘and every Body knows there is more Affinity between the English and Italian People, than the English and the French, as to their humours’ (p. iii). Second, Behn contends that Italian and Spanish have remained unchanged for hundreds of years — ‘not only as to the Phrase, but even as to the Words and Orthography’ — whereas French ‘has suffered more Changes’ over an identical period; furthermore, she foresees countless more changes that people in one hundred further years will be incapable of understanding seventeenth-century French: ‘I am confident a French Man a hundred Years hence will no more understand an old Edition of Froisard’s History, than he will understand Arabick’. And third, French authors ‘take a liberty to borrow whatever Word they want from the Latin, without farther Ceremony, especially when they treat the Sciences’ (p. iv). According to Behn, the English do not practise such wilful linguistic irresponsibility: ‘we not only naturalize their words, but words they steal from other Languages’ (p. v).
suffit pas d’être tendre, pour devenir parfaitement heureux ; & la fortune capricieuse qui traverse tout, respecte peu les cœurs passionnez, quand elle veut produire d’étranges avantures.\textsuperscript{47}

Brilhac’s first sentence functions as a topic sentence for both the paragraph and the novel in its entirety: ‘Though Love promises only pleasures, the effects of it are sometimes sad’ — such is the paradoxical nature of Love, where it sometimes effects the opposite of that originally, innocently intended. The longer second sentence elucidates this further: ‘It is not sufficient to be tender-hearted in order to be perfectly happy; and capricious fortune, which crosses all, little respects passionate hearts when she wants to produce strange adventures’. Note Brilhac’s active sentence construction: ‘ne promette que’, ‘respecte peu’, and ‘elle veut’. While Bellon’s translation, \textit{The Fatal Beauty of Agnes de Casto}, virtually adheres to Brilhac’s original:

Though Love promises nothing but Pleasures, the Effects of it are sometimes sad. A Tender heartedness is not sufficient to attain a Perfect Happiness; and that \textit{Capricious} Fortune which crosses all things, has but very little regard to Passionate Hearts, when She is in the Humour of producing strange Adventures.\textsuperscript{48}

Behn retains Brilhac’s expression albeit with more freedom:

Though LOVE, all soft and flattering, promises nothing but Pleasures; yet its consequences are often Sad and Fatal; it is not enough to be in love, to be happy; since Fortune who is

\textsuperscript{47} Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac, \textit{Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portugaise} (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1688), p. 5.

\textsuperscript{48} Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac and Peter Bellon, \textit{Two New Novels} (London: Printed for R. Bently, 1688), p. 5.
capricious, and takes delight to trouble the Repose of the most Elevated and Virtuous, has little respect for passionate and tender Hearts, when she designs to produce strange Adventures.\footnote{Brilhac and Behn, p. 1.}

This comparison reveals the nature of Behn’s latitude: she combines ‘literal’ translation to respect authorial intention with supplementary text to contextualise narrative. Regarding her literal translation, Behn’s paragraph comprises one substantial sentence rather than two — the rhetorical application of three semicolons affords longer pauses where necessary — and a higher frequency of substantives. For example, instead of maintaining the verb respecte, and its contextual deficiency, to describe Fortune’s capricious designs against passionate hearts, Behn nominalises it. Thus, moral agency becomes passive, not active. To provide context, Behn appears dissatisfied with only the ‘Sad’ consequences resulting from love: they are also ‘Fatal’; both words function as a signpost to the ensuing action. Readers of Agnes de Castro soon learn that the peaceful existences of the unsuspecting and virtuous female protagonists — Princess Constantia, the wife of Prince Don Pedro, son of the king of Portugal, and her companion Agnes de Castro — are disrupted by the jealous intrigues of Elvira Gonzales, once a favourite of Don Pedro, and her brother Don Alvaro, the king’s favoured courtier who covets Agnes. Don Pedro’s own quiet yearnings for Agnes, which he forswears because of his duty to Constantia and country, become the means by which Elvira and Don Alvaro manipulate others. However, the siblings’ manipulations ultimately prove unsuccessful: broken–hearted
Constantia swoons and dies, and Don Alvaro assassinates Agnes one year after her reluctant, secret marriage to Don Pedro. Hence, this dramatic signposting technique to create the narrative scene forms an integral part of Behn’s editorial intermediation.

Behn’s deviation from Brilhac’s original with the use of ‘Fatal’ derives, in part, from her previous work as a playwright, from which she transfers dramatic techniques into her narrative. The first-paragraph example demonstrates how Behn, as observed by Joanna Fowler, translates ‘the “dramatic scene” into the “narrative scene” by adopting a new style of narrative temporality, one that acknowledges both the cause and effect, and “allows for concatenation by means of interlinking units of narrative report”’. That is, the insertion of ‘Fatal’ functions similarly to a Shakespearian chorus by communicating the effects, or ‘consequences’, of Fortune’s intervention – hence, the general plotline – before the narrative begins. Furthermore, the addition of ‘since’ attributes a causative role to Fortune and signposts the resulting concatenation of events, or ‘strange Adventures’.

Behn employs these ‘temporal’ markers not only for dramatic effect but also to emphasise concurrent action. For example, Brilhac describes Constantia’s sadness immediately after her depiction of Don Pedro’s moral conflict: ‘L’affligée Constance languissoit dans une tristesse deplorable’. Behn deviates from Brilhac by beginning her sentence with an adverbial phrase: ‘In the mean time the afflicted Princess

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50 Villegas López describes the representation of Constantia and Agnes as ‘heroic passivity’, see p. 243.
52 Brilhac, p. 28.
languisht in a most deplorable Sadness’.\textsuperscript{53} Another instance occurs slightly earlier in the narrative, when Elvira pilfers the slumbering Don Pedro’s verse, which announces his conflicted love for Agnes, and strategically places this in Constantia’s chamber for her to discover. Brilhac writes: ‘Elle fut chez la Princesse qui étoit à la promenade, & passant jusques dans son Cabinet, sans être veûe, elle mit le papier dans un livre que la Princesse lisoit ordairement’.\textsuperscript{54} Brilhac utilises the subordinate clause ‘qui étoit à la promenade’ adjectivally to announce Constantia’s absence from her chamber, whereas Behn supplements the sentence to situate Constantia physically in the background: ‘[Elvira] therefore went immediately to the lodgings of the Princess, who was then walking in the Garden of the Palace; and passing without resistance even to her Cabinet, she put the Paper into a Book in which the Princess us’d to Read’.\textsuperscript{55} Behn reinforces the simultaneous events by inserting the adverbs ‘immediately’ and ‘then’.

Comparing Behn’s translation with that of Bellon reveals the extent of her adaptation: ‘She went to the Princess Apartment, who was gone forth to walk, and passing to her very Closet without being perceived, she conveyed the Paper in a Book which the Princess did usually read’.\textsuperscript{56}

While Behn exhibits latitude in her depiction of events, her translation of dialogue appears generally faithful to Brilhac’s original. For example, when Constantia learns of Don Pedro’s affection for Agnes, she states: ‘Vous ne me verrez point attaché à vous faire des reproches; & ne pouvant posséder vôtre cœur, je me

\textsuperscript{53} Brilhac and Behn, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{54} Brilhac, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{55} Brilhac and Behn, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{56} Brilhac and Bellon, p. 15.
contenterai de chercher à m’en rendre digne’. Behn translates this as: ‘you shall never hear me make you any reproaches. And since I cannot possess your Heart, I will content myself with endeavouring to render my self worthy of it’. The most apparent deviations here are her punctuation and replacement of the participle ‘pouvant’ (or ‘being able to’) with the auxiliary verb ‘cannot’. Albeit more literal than Behn, Bellon’s translation confirms her fidelity to authorial intention: ‘You shall not find me inclin’d to make you reproaches; and not being capable of possessing your heart, Il’e rest satisfied in endeavouring to render my self worthy of it’.60

Another example of Behn’s literal translation occurs later, when Agnes attempts diplomatically to decline Don Alvaro’s amorous advances. Brilhac writes: ‘Je n’ai fait aucune réflexion sur vos actions, répondit Agnez, avec toute l’indifference dont elle étoit capable, & si vous m’offensez, vous avez tort de vouloir que je m’en apperçoive’. Behn translates this as: ‘I never reflected on your Actions, answered Agnes, with all the indifference of which she was capable, and if you think you offend me, you are in the wrong, to make me perceive it’. Note Behn’s recasting of Brilhac’s sentence. Her translation becomes editorial intervention to provide additional contextual meaning: Don Alvaro’s character is imbued with further malice.

An interesting aspect of Behn’s production of Agnes de Castro is how she combines stagecraft and editorial techniques to drive the narrative: specifically, how she presents indirect narratorial reflection and dialogue among her protagonists.

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57 Brilhac, p. 20.
58 Brilhac and Behn, p. 11.
59 Brilhac and Bellon, pp. 18–19.
60 Brilhac, p. 35.
61 Brilhac and Behn, p. 21.
Monika Fludernik observes this in *Towards a ‘Natural’ Narratology*: ‘Behn’s texts do not employ interior monologues or extensive free indirect discourse but tend to render the internal drama of her protagonists’ minds chiefly by means of descriptive psycho-narration, with very few clauses of free indirect discourse interspersed with this narratorial version of internal events’.62 Simply put, as Fowler ably translates, ‘Behn’s use of “descriptive psycho-narration” […] “integrate[s] the mental subject matter with the narrative discourse”’.63 Fowler perceptively concludes that ‘[metatheatrical] techniques, such as […] asides, often disrupt and blur the boundaries between the actors and the audience’.64 In Behn’s translations, the disruption and blurring do not occur between actors and audience, but rather between Behn’s roles as ‘translator’ and ‘editor’.

Behn’s first application involves a narratorial aside, rather than a dialogic one. She writes: ‘And to advance this his Design, he agreed on a Marriage between his Son Don Pedro, (then about Eight Years of Age) and Bianca Daughter of Don Pedro, King of Castille and whom the Young Prince married when he arrived to his Sixteenth Year’.65 Behn’s adherence to dramatic tradition by placing this aside within parentheses is problematic, given the nature of her translation and contemporary editorial standards. Brilhac wrote this sentence as: ‘Pour cela, il arrêta le mariage de son fils D. Pedre, qui n’avoit que huit ans, avec Blanche fille de D. Pedre Roi de Castille, que le jeune Prince épousa à seize’.66 Thus, Brilhac’s text featured commas to separate the

63 Fowler, p. 106.
64 Ibid., p. 109.
65 Brilhac and Behn, p. 2.
66 Brilhac, p. 6.
subordinate clause from the principal rather than parentheses; Bellon followed suit. Why then did Behn make this alteration, particularly since de Brilhac’s text is punctuated correctly and can be translated literally without harming authorial meaning? According to Jessica Munns, the paratextual ‘foreword, in the form of epistles, dedications, and prefaces, is an appropriate place for Aphra Behn’s very particular voice to be heard and for her very particular dilemma to be inscribed, because if her voice is itself marginal and contradictory, so too is the form in which it is heard’.  

Similarly, such parenthetical asides, or commentary, by the narrator becomes the paratextual means by which Behn can travel, promoting her authorial voice within the conventionally male-dominated body text. In other words, Behn’s paratextuality enables her editorial intermediation. 

Behn’s paratextual empowerment is undermined, however, by error: she positions a comma after ‘his son Don Pedro’ rather than after the closing parenthesis that follows ‘Age’. If applied accurately, the comma’s grammatical purpose would be to separate the lengthy coordinating clauses; rhetorically, it would provide readers with a pause to absorb meaning — the prince’s young age when his future marriage is arranged to his first wife Bianca. An identical error occurs when Constantia discovers Don Pedro’s verse placed in her book by Elvira. Brilhac’s original text reads:

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68 Fowler offers a comparable interpretation: ‘Behn’s narrators do not […] limit their parenthetical observations to those that gesture towards movement and physicality, as might be characteristic of a stage direction. Instead, there is a fluidity in Behn’s use of these moments of textual and narrative disclosure which frequently connects to the narrator’s unrestricted position within the text and, by extension, the characters’ unuttered musings’, see p. 98.

69 Behn’s substituting de Brilhac’s ‘que’ (‘only’) with ‘then’ removes the narrator’s judgement and becomes factual.
elle aprit que c’étoit Agnes de Castro, dont la seule amitié la pouvoit consoler dans son malheur, qui en étoit la cause’;\textsuperscript{70} Behn translates this as: ‘she understood it was Agnes de Castro, (whose friendship alone was able to comfort her, in her Misfortunes) who was the fatal cause of it’.\textsuperscript{71} The rhetorical and grammatical use of commas was well articulated in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by such grammarians as Robert Monteith\textsuperscript{72}, James Greenwood\textsuperscript{73} and John Brightland.\textsuperscript{74} For example, Greenwood wrote in 1717 that the ‘Comma is the shortest Pause or resting in Speech, and is used chiefly in distinguishing Nouns, Verbs and Adverbs […]. It distinguishes also the Parts of a shorter Sentence’.\textsuperscript{75} While it is impossible to determine why or how such error persisted during the production of Behn’s Agnes de Castro, it is feasible to assume, given contemporary literature on grammar and punctuation and Behn’s experience as professional author and translator, that she would have been familiar with the standard rules to apply commas. Indeed, Todd points to a precision in spelling and handwriting that conceivably extended to such matters as punctuation: ‘Behn’s spelling, like her handwriting, was more ordered, suggesting some training in script’.\textsuperscript{76}

Behn’s first dialogic aside features an error similar to one present in the

\textsuperscript{70} Brilhac, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{71} Brilhac and Behn, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{72} Robert Monteith, The True and Genuine Art, of Exact Pointing; as also What Concerns the Distinction of Syllables; the marking of Capitals; and Italick, or different Character: To be used, in Prints and Manuscripts, As well Latine, as English (Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid Junior, 1704).
\textsuperscript{73} James Greenwood, An Essay towards a Practical English Grammar (London: Printed by R. Tookey, 1711).
\textsuperscript{74} John Brightland, A Grammar of the English Tongue: with the Arts of Logick, Rhetorick, Poetry &c. illustrated with Usefull Notes; Giving the Grounds and Reasons of Grammar in General, 7th edn (London: Printed for Henry Lintot, 1746).
\textsuperscript{75} Greenwood, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{76} Todd, The Secret Life of Aphra Behn, p. 22.
narratorial asides. When Don Pedro questions Constantia regarding her discovery of his verse, Brilhac writes: ‘Madame, lui dit-il tout alarmé, de qui tenés-vous ce papier?’ As mentioned earlier, Behn translates Brilhac’s dialogue more or less verbatim; nevertheless, her conjectured objective to assert her authorial voice disrupts Brilhac’s accurate punctuation and textual simplicity: ‘Madam said he, (infinitely Alarm’d) from whom had you that Paper?’ To be fair, though, not all of Behn’s dialogic asides are constructed entirely inaccurately, particularly when they function as physical stage directions. For example, when Agnes de Castro suggests leaving Constantia’s service to resolve their problems and Constantia rejects this immediately, Brilhac casts Agnes’s response as: ‘Vous êtes l’arbitre de mes actions, continua-t-elle, en baisant une des mains de Constance, je ne ferai que ce que vous voudrez’. Behn faithfully translates this as: ‘You are the Disposer of my Actions, continued she (in kissing the Hand of Constantia) I’ll do nothing but what you’ll have me’; albeit the sentence does require a comma after ‘Constantia’) to separate the subordinate commentary from the dialogue. The repetition of such error speaks more to Behn’s hurried work than to a compositor’s erroneous intervention or to Behn’s poor punctuation, as observed by Todd: ‘[Behn] heard that, yet again, a rival translation was “going by another hand”. To get her book out first, she had no time to “supervise and correct the Sheets before they were wrought off; so that several Errata have escaped”.

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77 Brilhac, p. 18.
78 Brilhac and Behn, p. 10.
79 Brilhac, p. 44.
80 Brilhac and Behn, p. 27.
81 Todd, The Secret Life of Aphra Behn, p. 396.
For the presentation of dialogue, Behn switches between italics and roman, the latter with or without quotation marks. The first instance of italics involves Don Pedro, whose slumbering discourse is overheard by Elvira: ‘Yes, divine Agnes, I will sooner die than let you know it: Constantia shall have nothing to reproach me with.’

Behn’s use of italics broadly reflects late seventeenth-century standard practice for quoted material. While Moxon overlooks this subject in _Mechanick Exercises_, printer John Smith recounts it approximately seventy years later in _The Printer’s Grammar_: ‘The chief, and almost only use for which Italic was originally designed, was to distinguish such parts of a book as may be said not to belong to the Body thereof, as Prefaces, Introductions, Annotations, congratulatory Poems, Summaries, and Contents’.

Behn similarly applied italics in the above example to distinguish dialogue from body text, which was set in roman. Three-quarters of _Agnes de Castro_ exhibit this roman–italic alternation; an example of dialogue typeset in roman without quotation marks and run on within body text transpires during Agnes and Constantia’s first discussion about Don Pedro:

Madam, said she, by all your Goodness, conceal not from me the Cause of your Trouble:

Alas Agnes, replyed the Princess, What would you know? And what should I tell you? The Prince, the Prince my dearest Maid is in Love …

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82 Brilhac and Behn, p. 6.
84 Brilhac and Behn, p. 12.
More specifically, Behn’s roman–italic interchange appears to emulate the typography of early modern French fiction and printed plays. According to Vivienne Mylne, ‘[the] typographical devices used to help clarify the presentation of dialogue were: italics, dashes, points de suspension, guillemets, a new line for each change of speaker, and name–headings of the kind found in printed plays’. Italics, in particular, were an ‘alternative to guillemets as an indication that the passage in question came from someone other than the author/narrator’,\textsuperscript{85} namely the protagonists in the narrative. Distinguishing between each protagonist was ‘achieved by printing one character’s remarks in italics and the other’s in roman’.\textsuperscript{86} A resulting disadvantage of dialogue typeset in roman and run on in body text is the potential to create ambiguity, namely either between the dialogue of each protagonist or between the dialogue overall and the narrative. For example, ‘What, interrupted Agnes, (more surprised than ever) Is it then from Himself you have learnt his Weakness? The Princess then shew’d her the Verses, and there was never any Dispair like to hers’.\textsuperscript{87}

Where Behn utilises quotation marks to separate dialogue from the body text, she employs mostly single quotation marks; however, double quotation marks figure as well. For instance, during Constantia’s conversation with the King of Portugal after Don Alvaro’s failed abduction of Agnes, Behn uses single quotation marks. Note that this first instance takes place on the thirty-eighth page:

\textsuperscript{85} Vivienne Mylne, ‘The Punctuation of Dialogue in Eighteenth–Century French and English Fiction’, 
\textit{The Library}, s6–I (1979), 43–61 (p. 45).
\textsuperscript{86} Mylne, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{87} Brilhac and Behn, p. 15.
Madam, said he to her, let this fatal Plague
remove it self, who takes from you the heart
of your Husband, and without afflicting your
self for her Absence, bless Heaven and me for
it.88

Behn’s first application of double quotation marks occurs further down the same page, when Don Pedro confronts Don Alvaro after the latter’s failed abduction of Agnes. The first half of Don Pedro’s dialogue is reproduced:

“Don Alvaro, said the Prince to him, is it
thus you make use of the Authority which
the King my Father has given you? have you
receiv’d Employments and Power from him
for no other end but to do base Actions, and
to commit Rapes on Ladies?

For both examples, Behn’s positioning of opening quotation marks conforms to contemporary practice: initial left–hand inverted commas to commence a quotation and left-hand inverted commas at the start of each required line; although closing quotation marks after ‘it’ and ‘Ladies?’, respectively, are not present.89 It is true that

88 Brilhac and Behn, p. 38.
Moxon’s only mention of quotations, albeit in a purely typographic sense, occurs in his definition of quotation quadrats in his dictionary, which also serves as his index and appears as end matter in *Mechanick Exercises*. He wrote: ‘Quotation Quadrats, Are Cast the height of the Quotation. They are Cast of different Bodies, that the Compositor may have choice of them to Justifie [sic] his Notes or Quotations exactly against the designed Line of the Page’. Approximately seventy years later, Smith subcategorised quotation marks according to their editorial use: single inverted commas are employed for extracts ‘or the substance of a passage’ that supports the author’s argument, and double inverted commas are used for verbal quotations. However, Smith’s text cannot be used as supportive evidence for Behn’s single-double interchange, as both examples relate to direct speech. Mylne offers a convincing explanation as a result of examining twelve English novels printed before 1700 and seventy-nine novels from the eighteenth century: ‘single and double quotes are used alternately as a further indication of the changes of speaker’. In regard to the examples on the previous page, Behn’s practice of switching from single to double avoids any dialogic confusion by distinguishing between two conversations on the same page, each involving different protagonists: first, Constantia’s conversation with the king of Portugal, and second, when Don Pedro confronts Don Alvaro.

As mentioned above, the examples of single and double quotation marks do not feature closing quotation marks after ‘it’ and ‘Ladies?’, respectively. For modern readers, this neglect could amount to error, potential incompetence, or ignorance; for

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90 Moxon, p. 388.
92 Mylne, p. 59. See also Mitchell, p. 375.
Behn’s seventeenth-century readership, however, this was not the case — closing quotation marks were not always applied. C. J. Mitchell observes this in ‘Quotation Marks, National Compositorial Habits and False Imprints: ‘Often, the end of a quotation was perfectly obvious, coinciding perhaps with the end of a paragraph, or made clear by the context’.93

Behn further establishes her editorial intermediation through an editorial practice that unfailingly reflects Moxon’s instruction. The components of Behn’s editorial practice to be considered here are her application of italics and capitalisation to create textual emphasis. In Mechanick Exercises, Moxon explains that body text typeset in roman requires proper nouns to be set in italic; in contrast, body text in italics necessitates proper nouns in roman. Nonetheless, all proper nouns begin with a capital: ‘For Capitals express Dignity where-ever they are Set, and Space and Distance also implies stateliness’. Similarly, words of ‘great Emphasis’ are typeset in italic and, depending on the distinction to be conveyed, sometimes start with a capital. Nouns (identified as ‘Things’) of emphasis also begin with a capital; however, those of smaller emphasis can be set in roman.94

For proper nouns in roman body text, Behn italicises every instance in Brilhac’s original, frequently spelling them out when abbreviated. For example, when introducing Elvira into the narrative, de Brilhac writes: ‘Constance n’étoit pas la seule qui se plaignoit de D. Pedre. Avant le divorce de Blance it avoit rendu quelques soins à Elvire Gonçales, sœur de D. Alvar Gonçales, favori du Roi de Portugal’.95 Behn’s

93 Mitchell, p. 367.
94 Moxon, pp. 225–6.
95 Brilhac, p. 10.
translation is: ‘Nor was Constantia the only Person who complain’d on Don Pedro; before his Divorce from Bianca, he had expressed some Care and Tenderness for Elvira Gonzales, Sister to Don Alvaro Gonzales, Favourite to the King of Portugal’.\textsuperscript{96} Behn elects only once to italicise a noun to convey additional textual emphasis. That is, after Constantia’s death, however much Don Pedro resolves to forget Agnes and to not succumb to melancholy, he fails to erase her visage from his mind: ‘her Idea followed him always, and his memory faithful to represent her to him, with all her Charms, render’d her always dangerous’.\textsuperscript{97}

Behn uses capitalisation to impart textual emphasis also. A significant number of nouns begin with an initial capital, as evidenced by the excerpts so far reproduced; Behn also capitalises certain adjectives to assist with character development. Don Pedro’s first wife Bianca is described as ‘the Melancholy Princess’ after their divorce.\textsuperscript{98} The ‘Charming Agnes’ descends from an ‘Illustrious’\textsuperscript{99} family and is labelled ‘Amiable Agnes’ when she agrees to marry Don Pedro after Constantia’s death.\textsuperscript{100} Despite his shenanigans, Don Pedro is also considered to be ‘Amiable’.\textsuperscript{101} ‘Elvira’s jealous intrigues are ‘Bold and Hazardous Enterprizes’.\textsuperscript{102} Constantia becomes the ‘Generous Princess’ when she expresses her sympathy for her husband’s turmoil and forgives his betrayal.\textsuperscript{103} And ‘Jealous Don Alvaro’\textsuperscript{104} is described as ‘Barbarous’ when he

\textsuperscript{96} Brilhac and Behn, pp. 4–5.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., p. 57.
\textsuperscript{98} Brilhac and Behn, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., pp. 4, 19.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., p. 58.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., p. 24.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., p. 5.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., p. 10.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., p. 23.
performs his ‘terrible Execution’. Behn reserves maximal capitalisation for one word only: ‘LOVE’. Behn applies this at two crucial moments in the narrative to embody LOVE’s personification and signpost its ‘Sad and Fatal’ consequences. The first appears in the prologue-like first paragraph: ‘Though LOVE, all soft and flattering, promises nothing but Pleasures’. The second occurs when Don Pedro embraces his love for Agnes, regardless of his earlier guilt and despair: ‘But LOVE soon put a stop to all the little Advances of Hymen, the fatal Star that presided over the Destiny of Don Pedro, had not yet vented its Malignity; and one moments Sight of Agnes gave new Forces to his Passion’. Therefore, the first instance signposts the tragedy; the second substantiates it.

From this examination, the nature of Behn’s cultural translation and editorial intermediation is apparent: the industrious Aphra Behn capitalised on the choices available to women in the late seventeenth century. As Todd observes, ‘All her life Behn felt, simultaneously, that she had missed something of importance in not knowing Latin and Greek well and that what she was missing was unnecessary, since its primary result seemed an unwonted sense of superiority in its owners’. As mentioned earlier, women studied European languages such as French, Italian, and Spanish, whereas men’s education also comprised Latin and Greek. Women were encouraged to pursue vernacular translation and engage with religious texts because such work did not challenge the male-dominated literary sphere. Therefore, among

\[\text{105 Ibid., p. 60.}\]
\[\text{106 Ibid., p. 1.}\]
\[\text{107 Brilhac and Behn, pp. 11–12.}\]
\[\text{108 Todd, The Secret Life of Aphra Behn, p. 24.}\]
her myriad other literary successes, the self-supporting Behn translated texts from French to earn an income. Behn conveyed her understanding of contemporary translation methods, particularly those of Abraham Cowley and John Dryden, in her ‘Essay on Translated Prose’. Current scholarship appears divided on the issue of her translation practice: for example, Cottegnies and Agorni promote her fidelity to the author’s copy, whereas McMurran and Goodfellow describe her imitation and loose interpretation, respectively. However, it is argued here that her translation method exhibited latitude, an in-betweenness that ensured the accuracy of the author’s meaning, though not, at times, the expression. Behn expressed her preference for latitude in both ‘Essay on translated Prose’ and her epistolary dedication to Sir Roger Puleston in Agnes de Castro, and she implemented her latitude strategically. She utilised stagecraft techniques to create the narrative scene and depict concurrent events; paratextual asides to establish her authorial voice and editorial intermediation; and editorial techniques, such as italicisation and capitalisation, to further this intermediation and transmit meaning. While it appears that her editorial practice did at times result in error, such as her application of commas, her hurried production not only acknowledged the commercial imperatives of the publishing industry but also typified her human nature.