

The Translation of Cultural References in Historical Fiction:  
A Case Study of Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall*

Suzanne de Jong

s1047205

s.c.dejong@gmail.com

First reader: A.G. Dorst

Second reader: K. Zeven

MA Linguistics: Translation in Theory and Practice

2014-2015

**Index**

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Chapter 1. The Representation of Reality in Historical Fiction</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Chapter 2. Types/Functions of Cultural and Historical References in Wolf Hall</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>2.1 Names, Titles, Forms of Address</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2.1.1 Proper Names</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2.1.2 Nicknames</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>2.1.3 Titles &amp; Forms of Address</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>2.2 Administrative Bodies/Offices</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>2.3 Material &amp; Social Culture</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>2.4 Historical Events &amp; Origin Stories</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>2.5 Religious Culture</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>2.6 Foreign Language Elements</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2.7 Quotations</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Chapter 3. Scholarly Views on the Translation of Cultural Reference</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Chapter 4. Models for Analyzing Translation Procedures</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Chapter 5. Analysis of Cultural and Historical References in Wolf Hall</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>5.1 Names, Titles, Forms of Address</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>5.1.1 Proper Names</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>5.1.2 Nicknames</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>5.1.3 Titles &amp; Forms of Address</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>5.2 Administrative/Legislative Bodies, Offices and Measures</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>5.3 Material &amp; Social Culture</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>5.4 Historical Events &amp; Origin Stories</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>5.5 Religious Culture</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>5.6 Foreign Language Elements</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>5.6.1 Latin</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>5.6.2 French</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>5.6.3 Other Languages</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>5.6.4 Compensating Foreign Language Elements</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>5.7 Quotations</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>6. Discussion &amp; Conclusion</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>70</b>

## Introduction

The novel *Wolf Hall*, perhaps against the odds, has met with great critical literary acclaim. This is seen as a rare feat for a novel belonging to the genre of historical fiction. While *Wolf Hall* won the Man Booker Prize in 2009 (and its sequel, *Bring Up The Bodies*, took home that same award in 2012), which can be taken as a relatively reliable sign of its merits, dissenting voices still arise. As critic Merrit Moseley says in his commentary on the 2012 Booker Prize win, “there is a small but insistent critical voice that [argues] that historical fiction is escapist and demonstrates a refusal to confront and represent the world in which we are all now living” (2012, n.p.). He also comments that the historical novel is “[infected] with dubious reputation” by its close relative the historical romance, and even goes so far as to voice the general observation that “[h]istorical events, no matter what they are, do not make a great novel” (2012). And yet Moseley asserts that *Wolf Hall* is a notable exception to this general rule and does in fact qualify as a great novel “because of the firm authority with which Mantel handles [her] complicated materials [...] and because of her style, vigorous and (without a lot of prithees and gadzookery) absolutely appropriate to the times and people she depicts” (2012). *Wolf Hall* is a masterful feat of storytelling, and in many ways transcends the criticisms commonly levelled at the entire genre of historical fiction.

One of the key features of a novel of historical fiction is the way it uses cultural and historical references to come across as ‘real’, as depicting real events and the lives of real people, as providing a window into the past. However, a narrative filled to the brim with historical detail does not necessarily make for a pleasant read, nor a qualitatively good novel, let alone a ‘great’ one, and moreover, the primary purpose of historical fiction is not to portray history. According to historian Herbert Butterfield, historiography attempts to “make a generalisation, to find a formula”, whereas the historical novel tries to “reconstruct a world, to particularise, to catch a glimpse of human nature” (qtd. in Shaw 25), and as such, the “task of the historical novelist is to render the unique atmosphere of an age in the past” (Shaw 1984: 25). In the case of historical fiction, references have their place in the narrative only insofar as they fulfil a narrative purpose (such as illustrating a setting or aiding in characterisation). Mantel herself has admitted that she puts a lot of effort into making sure her historical novels have “a literary quality as well as, I hope, a historical quality”; she aims to “write as I would in any other novel” (Higgins 2012). The novel makes abundant use of historical and cultural references to create a rich imaginary world for the reader to inhabit, as it should, but does not bog down the narrative with unnecessary detail for the sake of full disclosure. References are strewn about the narrative with such frequency and such apparent ease that there is no sense of the narrative being overwrought with historical detail to the extent that it suffers due to

the pressure of historical verisimilitude. According to Margaret Atwood in her review of *Wolf Hall* and *Bring Up The Bodies*, Mantel supplies enough detail to “allow the reader to picture the scene”, without “clogging up the page and slowing down the story” (2012).

Moreover, the novel’s prose is very naturalistic, by which I mean that it gives the audience only so much information as the characters in the novel would need; in the dialogue and even in narrative passages, those references that could reasonably be assumed to be easily comprehended by those characters engaged in the dialogue or the character from whose perspective the story is being narrated, do not merit further explanation. It makes for a very immersive reading experience; the audience becomes one with Cromwell, Mantel’s protagonist, and is continually challenged, made to think, made to mentally refer back to previous conversations in order to catch the meaning of the current one, and so on. Mantel makes no concessions to her audience, and the novel is an all the more rewarding read for it. The way she incorporates references into the narrative is a stylistic feature of her prose, and therefore ought to be preserved in translation. A translation which contained many more explanations of references than the original text would have a completely different effect on the reader; the audience would not be as stimulated to engage in the narrative, to read with a careful eye and pick up on the subtleties of the text, because their subtlety would be diminished. The result would be a dumbed-down narrative with so much overt explanations of references that it would not even come close to replicating the effect of Mantel’s original prose. On the other hand, the target audience would be much less familiar with most of the reference than the original source text audience, so the translator is obligated to help their readers comprehend them. There is thus a struggle between too little and too much explanation in the translation.

The referential aspect of the novel is worth studying, because those cultural and historical references are precisely the elements most likely to cause comprehension issues for target text audiences who have no knowledge of either the specific historical period the novel is set in, or British cultural heritage in general. Moreover, in *Wolf Hall*, cultural references are not only markers of time and place, but also fulfill important narrative functions within the story; they support characterisation, foreshadow future events, contrast different sets of characters, introduce conflict, etc. Astonishingly, very little scholarly work has been done on the translation of cultural references in historical fiction. Case studies of individual works are not uncommon, but they tend to lack an awareness of the larger problematics of the translation of cultural references in the genre of historical fiction as a whole. The field of translation studies seems to be under the impression that all literary translation can tackle the translation of historical fiction in the exact same way. Generally speaking, translators make use of a variety of procedures to translate cultural references in order to

best communicate the source text item in their target language. Such procedures vary in the degree to which they either bring the source text closer to the target audience, a phenomenon known as domestication, or bring the target audience closer to the source text, which is known as foreignisation. Procedures range from borrowing directly from the source text language and using calques to generalising or adding information through explicitation (or even outright cultural substitution or omission). In literary translation, the overall aim of all translators to make a source text accessible to a new audience (often resulting in more domesticating translation choices) tends to conflict with the literary translator's added aim of preserving the style of the original (which tends to require a more foreignising translation approach). With the translation of historical fiction specifically, an extra dimension of difficulty and potential problems is involved, consisting of the balancing act of preserving enough cultural referential detail to allow the reader to picture the scene and experience the characters as they have been intended by the author (i.e. to create an equivalent response in the target audience), without resorting to too many explanatory translation procedures which might affect both the impact of the references by removing their subtlety, and the representation of the author's style altogether (and with that, the audience's experience).

The translator of the official Dutch translation of *Wolf Hall* is Ine Willems, who has since gone on to translate another one of Mantel's historical novels of epic proportions, *A Place of Greater Safety* (this one focuses on the much-despised figure of Robespierre). She also translated the sequel to *Wolf Hall*, *Bring Up The Bodies*, and is contracted to translate the third and final installment of the trilogy, *The Mirror And The Light*. In short, Willems is very familiar with Mantel's work, and she has commented extensively on the extensive intertextuality of Mantel's prose and her penchant for obscure references, and on the research required to properly translate such a work of historical and literary fiction, without being tempted to overstep one's boundaries as literary translator. In the following quote, she addresses the balancing act between under-informing and over-informing the audience and between style and comprehensibility that I outlined in the paragraph above:

She gives me ample opportunity to do what makes me as a translator gloriously happy: doing research, reading up on the material and the history behind it, and further exploring clues in the text which might well lead to you finding a piece of information the author must have been aware of while writing. It's like digging for hidden treasure. Although you cannot always share the treasures you find in your translation: if the author references something in a highly subtle way, the translator shouldn't take the liberty of adding emphasis.

(Willems 2013, n.p., my translation)

In this thesis, I will investigate the translation of cultural and historical references in the official Dutch translation of *Wolf Hall* by Ine Willems, and focus on discovering to what extent Willems has retained the way in which cultural aspects and historical events or persons are referenced in the source text, resulting in a foreignising translation, and to what extent she has resorted to more elaborate translation procedures for the sake of her target audience's comprehension, resulting in a more domesticating translation, using the resulting data to argue in favour of the use of relatively foreignising translation procedures in the translation of cultural references in the genre of historical fiction. I will analyse the references in the novel by dividing them into seven categories and elaborating on the examples that I find most striking and/or characteristic of Ine's general approach, specifically those which are important to the reader's experience with and understanding of the novel, the events and the characters therein. Those categories are: names, titles and forms of address; administrative/legislative bodies, offices and measures; material and social culture; historical events and origin stories; religious culture; foreign language elements; and quotations. Each category of references serves different purposes in the source text and therefore each presents different challenges to the translator. In my first chapter, I will discuss the role cultural references play in establishing a fictional reality in the genre of historical fiction. The second chapter will cover the types and functions of cultural references in *Wolf Hall*. In the third chapter, I provide an overview of the existing views within the field of translation studies on the translation of cultural references. The fourth chapter outlines several models for the analysis of translation procedures and describes my reasons for using Molina & Albir's 2002 model in this thesis. The fifth chapter consists of my textual analysis of *Wolf Hall* and its Dutch translation, and finally, in my conclusion, I will discuss my findings and connect them back to my original thesis statement.

## Chapter 1. The Representation of Reality in Historical Fiction

Cultural references are of crucial importance in historical fiction because they link the fictional work to reality to a greater or lesser extent (depending on the degree of invention involved in a particular work and the degree to which it claims to give a historically accurate depiction of events). In this chapter I will comment on the status of historical fiction as “an elusive child of mixed parentage, [which] claims the right of invention reserved for fiction, but claims, also, to be based on historical reality” (Porter 315). I also comment on Mantel’s opinions on historical fiction and the concerns of an author working with characters based on real people.

Historical fiction is of interest to academia because of its relationship to reality. It is easy to draw no distinction between the way historical fiction portrays reality and the way that non-fictional historiography does and forget the degree of invention that plays a part in the writing of historical fiction. Historical fiction draws on real-world events and people as its sources more than any other fictional genre, but is not bound to a historian’s obligation of delivering a work that is as objective and factual as it could possibly be, and thus occupies a hard-to-define space in between fiction and non-fiction. Rachel Cohn summarises this position well in saying that “the historical novel is, in the first place, a novel; in the second place, it isn’t history” (162). Cohn claims that there is a “great divide” between fiction’s territory and history’s (162). Caserio uses this claim to argue that as the two have a different purpose, “we cannot continue to mingle historical and aesthetic concerns as unqualifiedly as we have in the last generation of scholarship” (106-7).

Cohn “identifies fiction with freedom” (Caserio 107), saying that “the process that transforms archival sources into narrative history is qualitatively different from the process that transforms a novelist’s sources into his fictional creation” (Cohn 114). After all, in historical fiction, the imaginary characters which serve as representations of actual people from the past can be ascribed with thoughts, feelings and motivations of all sorts, whereas very few assumptions can be made about the thoughts, feelings and motivations of historical figures in historiography. Moreover, such assumptions in historiography carry hardly any validity; non-fiction is not the place for them. In the case of historical fiction, taking liberties in this respect is if not encouraged, then at least not condemned as unprofessional. As Cohn puts it, “the minds of imaginary figures can be known in ways that those of real persons cannot” (118).

This particular dimension of historical fiction (taking liberties with historical figures) is of particular interest in the case of *Wolf Hall*, as it is one on which Mantel herself has commented on on many occasions. While she has taken a subject matter explored again and again by historians and

fiction authors alike, the reign of Henry VIII, she has attempted, as much as possible, to reserve judgment on the actions of her characters (and especially her main character, Thomas Cromwell, a man with as black a reputation as any), saying the following:

The essence of the thing is not to judge with hindsight, not to pass judgment from the lofty perch of the 21st century when we know what happened. It's to be there with them in that hunting party at Wolf Hall, moving forward with imperfect information and perhaps wrong expectations, but in any case moving forward into a future that is not predetermined, but where chance and hazard will play a terrific role.

(Higgins 2012)

This aspect of the novel, the lack of judgement and the attempt to realistically portray a main character whom has often been painted with a very two-dimensional brush of haughty hindsight-inspired condemnation for his actions, is of crucial importance. It has been recognized as one of the praise-worthy features of the book time and time again. Atwood mentions it in her review. She says that “[t]he ambiguous Cromwell is a character who fits Mantel’s particular strengths[;] she’s never gone for the sweet people, and is no stranger to dark purposes” (2012), and Mantel indeed does not refrain from exposing the dark sides of her protagonist’s personality, and his darker deeds. However, she manages to portray him in such a way that “he also has corners of tenderness, and sees these in others: he’s deep, not merely dark” (Atwood 2012).

It has often been argued that characterisation tends to suffer in historical fiction, and Mantel herself agrees with this criticism. According to Higgins, she has “fuelled the debate about the literary claims of historical fiction by arguing that characterisation in historical novels, ‘even very good historical novels’, is ‘often two-dimensional’” (2012). But while a successful multi-dimensional portrayal of her characters is important to Mantel, she is also wary of taking too many liberties with her characters, and her protagonist Cromwell in particular. One feature of the novel which is evidence of this is the fact that it is written in present tense second person, instead of first-person, while viewing the world entirely from Cromwell’s perspective. Ine Willems, the Dutch translator, corresponded with Mantel extensively while working on her translation of *Wolf Hall*, and cites the author as providing two reasons for the interesting point of view. First of all, in terms of the technical aspect of the writing process, she states that Mantel wanted to write from a personal perspective while not limiting herself to the viewpoint of a first-person narrative, but Willems also mentioned that Mantel would not have thought it proper to assume the narrative identity (through



the use of first-person pronouns) of a character that is not purely fictional but based on a real person, no matter the fact that it so happened to be a dead person.

A colleague of mine directed me to your blog because of the ‘he’-issue, which I recently addressed in a conversation with the author: when asked why Thomas Cromwell is always referred to as ‘he’ and not, for instance, ‘I’, she explained that she wanted the benefits of a personal perspective, but also the freedom of working outside the limited viewpoint of a first-person narrator. Moreover, she said, she would have thought it improper to appropriate a first-person perspective, considering the fact that the man in question was an actual person from the past, whom just so happens to be deceased.

(Willems 2012, n.p.)

As I have just established, Mantel is hugely concerned with a multidimensional character portrayal on the one hand and not taking too many untoward liberties with her characters as they are based on real people on the other hand. Moreover, one of the ways she ensures multidimensional character portrayals is through the use of cultural and historical references. Generally speaking, the most important feature of a historical or cultural reference that the translation of a work of historical fiction ought to capture, is the author’s intent, rather than historical accuracy being the primary focus. In fact, many critics argue that the assumption that historical fiction tells the truth is a faulty one to begin with, and therefore truth-telling should not be on the forefront of the translator’s mind (or at least not ahead of preserving the original intended effect of the reference). For example, the historian H.E. Shaw argues that “the idea that historical fiction is a mode of telling the truth about history [...] does not account for the very different formal status that visions of history have in fact assumed in historical fiction” (29). Furthermore, he says the truth-telling assumption “tends to exclude or preclude problems of artistic form and effect, operating as if historical novels conveyed unmediated historical doctrine” (29).

According to Rosario Arias, rather than writing historiography, “Mantel acts as a resurrectionist, or a medium, because she channels communication between the Tudor world and today” (2014: 22). Moreover, “[n]ot only is Mantel a resurrectionist, but also a translator, since she renders her proposal of Cromwell’s life and political achievements available for the reader, transposing the sixteenth-century character into a fascinating hero” (Arias 2014: 22). The novel focuses on Cromwell’s private thoughts; as Arias puts it, “in Mantel’s neo-Tudor novels, the private dominates over the public to counterpoise the dearth of publications on Cromwell’s life” (2014: 23). Mantel uses several strategies to “bring the exotic Other to our reality and to make the Tudor age

intelligible to us” (Arias 2014: 22). For example, she uses “vivid language that does not incorporate archaisms, but sounds very credible, narrated as it is in the present tense” (Arias 2014: 28). Such a presentation of the events, through the eyes of an eye-witness and narrated in the present tense, is only possible in fiction, not history:

Only fiction, not history, can present past events -even real historical ones- through the eyes of a figure on the scene of the past in the very present of the scene, as if there were no gap or lag between a subject’s immediate inward experience and a record of experience. But while fictional narratives cultivate an impossible immediacy, they also rely on a distinct mediacy, inasmuch as they separate narrators from real authors. In fictions, narrators and their real authors are not the same; in histories they decidedly are one. Again we see, in contrast to fictional storytellers, the constraints under which Cohn’s historians labor. Historians must maintain a stable character of “objective subjectivity” (118); fictional narrators need subscribe to no stable single-mindedness. Unlike an historian’s narrative procedure, which is highly restricted by its sources, a novelist’s relation to his sources is free indeed.

(Caserio 2005: 107-8)

In short, *Wolf Hall* is a work of historical fiction that “vividly translates the Tudor past for the present reader” (Arias 2014:28). According to Arias, the Tudors are “foreign, alien voices for us, contemporary readers”, but by “filtering the events through the main character’s sensibility”, Mantel manages to bring her audience “closer to the figure of the exotic” while still managing to retain sufficient information about Tudor England (2014: 29). Or, to use the relevant terminology from translation studies, Mantel manages to “[find] a middle ground between ‘domestication’ (making the text conform to the target culture) and ‘foreignization’ (retaining characteristics of the source culture, making the text foreign to the target culture)” (2014: 29). Obviously, this delicate balance could easily be upset during the translation process. It is part of what makes the novel such a success, and a competent translator “should be able to provide the same satisfaction to the target language readers as the source culture readers get from the text” (Kuleli 2014: 212).

To summarize, it should be clear by now that the genre of historical fiction has similarities to both historiography and regular fiction, but should in fact be treated as neither; it involves a different representation of reality entirely, which depends greatly on cultural and historical references for its intended effect of verisimilitude. Proper translation of these references is absolutely crucial, perhaps even more so in the case of *Wolf Hall* than in the average work of

historical fiction, as *Wolf Hall* has been written in such a way as to use both domesticating and foreignising techniques to help bring the audience closer to the exotic Tudor age, and this aspect should be reproduced in any translation of the novel in order for the translation to have an equivalent effect.

## Chapter 2. Types/Functions of Cultural and Historical References in *Wolf Hall*

There is a wide variety of cultural and historical references in the novel *Wolf Hall*, all of which add something important to the narrative (and often to the characterisation of certain characters). In the following section, I will outline each of them, categorising the references in a manner which makes sense for this novel, and elaborating some on their function in the narrative and the ways in which they are difficult to translate, as well as how different ways of translating them would affect the audience's perception of, engagement in, and ultimately, opinion on the narrative. However, I will first comment on the ways that cultural references have been categorised by translation scholars in the past, to provide a theoretical framework for the discussion to follow.

Many scholars have attempted to make a taxonomy of the types of cultural references that exist, but I have found all of them to be lacking in some way. Moreover, as always, different scholars use different terminology, so their models tend to differ substantially even when the categories involved therein are essentially the same. One of the most commonly used models for the categorisation of these references is Newmark's, based on Nida (1964). He distinguishes between the following cultural categories (1988: 95):

- Ecology
- Material culture (in which he distinguishes food, clothes, houses and towns, and transport)
- Social culture
- 'Organisations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts', in which he distinguishes between political and administrative, religious, and artistic
- Gestures and habits

There are aspects in which Newmark's system is obviously lacking, and particularly for analysing *Wolf Hall*. For one, his categories are not always clearly defined, particularly the fourth, which is an amalgamation of a variety of cultural references which have been grouped together for no distinguishable reason other than that the model would become cluttered and overwrought if distinctions were drawn between all of them. Moreover, Newmark does not include proper names; Newmark says there is a distinction between proper names and cultural terms, in that "while both refer to persons, objects or processes peculiar to a single ethnic community, the former have singular references, while the latter refer to classes of entities" (1981: 70). He also comments that "names of single persons or objects are 'outside' languages, [...] have, as Mill stated, no meaning or connotations, [and] are, therefore, both untranslatable and not to be translated" (1981: 70).

However, even in this, Newmark contradicts himself not two pages later, an issue which I will discuss below in the section on names.

Many taxonomies of cultural references are inaccessible to me, as a great deal of the writing on the subject is in Russian. Fortunately, I have found discussions in English of the work of some of these Russian scholars. Djachy & Pareshishvili discuss the concept of “nonequivalent vocabulary” used by many Russian scholars to refer to cultural references. The term is defined as follows: “these words and word-combinations are used to denote the notions of a nation which are unfamiliar to another one; [t]hey are associated with specific cultural elements existing within a particular culture but those that cannot be found in another” (Djachy & Pareshishvili 2014: 9). Djachy & Pareshishvili also comment on the work of Barkhudarov (1975), who distinguishes between the following groups of words within that overarching category of nonequivalent vocabulary:

1. Words that denote the objects, concepts and situations nonexistent in the practical situations nonexistent in the practical experience of the groups of people speaking other languages.
2. Words that denote the objects characteristic of the material and spiritual culture of a particular nation. For example, national dishes, clothes, shoes, etc.
3. Words and set expressions, denoting the political institutions and social events characteristic of a particular nation (Barkhudarov, 1975, p. 93).

(Djachy & Pareshishvili 2014: 9)

Two other Russian scholars that have written extensively on the subject are Vlahov & Florin. They use the term “realia”, defined by Osimo as “words (and composed expressions) [...] representing denominations of objects, concepts, typical phenomena of a given geographic place, of material life or of social-historical peculiarities of some people, nation, country, tribe [sic], that for this reason carry a national, local or historical color”, who also emphasizes that “these words do not have exact matches in other languages” (Marzocchi 201). Vlahov and Florin’s categorisation of realia is discussed in Terestyényi (2011) as follows:

- 1) geographical (geographic formations, man-made geographical objects, flora and fauna that is special to a certain place;
- 2) ethnographic (food and drink, clothing, places of living, furniture, pots, vehicles, names of occupations and tools);
- 3) art and culture (music and dance, musical instruments, feasts, games, rituals and

- their characters);
- 4) ethnic (names of people, nicknames);
  - 5) socio-political (administrative-territorial units, offices and representatives, ranks, military realia).

(Terestyényi 2011: 13)

There are some obvious similarities to Newmark's model, but crucially, they include proper names within the model itself, instead of considering them a separate category, and also acknowledge that nicknames are culturally-bound as well by naming them as part of the 'ethnic' category.

Many taxonomies of cultural terms have been compiled with the field of subtitling and other forms of audiovisual translation in mind, as the presence of such terms is perhaps most problematic when the references are visually present as well, adding more of an obligation to explain them properly (instead of resorting to generalisation or omission, that is). I will mention a few here briefly. Cintas & Remael propose a taxonomy based on Gritt (2007) as discussed in Vandeweghe (2005), distinguishing between the following categories: geographical references; ethnographic references; and socio-political references. Once again, the similarities to Newmark's model are striking; 'ethnographic references' summarises both Newmark's 'material culture' and 'social culture', and 'socio-political references' is a much more comprehensive way of referring to what Newmark called 'organisations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts' (Cintas & Remael 2007: 201). However, Cintas & Remael dispense with Newmark's distinction between names and cultural terms and accept the notion that proper names could belong to any one of the above categories.

I have discussed these models primarily to illustrate the lack of consensus among scholars as to what types of cultural references exist and where the boundaries between them should be drawn. In my discussion of cultural and historical references in *Wolf Hall*, I will not be using any of the above models, as I have found none of them draw categorical distinctions that would benefit a discussion of this particular novel. Several facets make it so that none of the models discussed above are suitable in this particular case. First of all, a great many cultural references in *Wolf Hall* are in fact titles and forms of address of members of the peerage, which don't properly fit into the categories of any of the models (except, perhaps, Vlahov & Florin's 'ethnic' category), and most of the models do not pay enough attention to (or in several cases, simply do not include) proper names, which are of huge importance in the case of *Wolf Hall*, as many of the names featured therein are of historical figures such as popes and royalty, which are commonly *not* treated as "untranslatable", contrary to what Newmark says. Nicknames also play a hugely important part and are used specifically for characterisation purposes. I consider these three (proper names, titles and forms of

address, and nicknames) as a category in and of themselves, which I will discuss further in 3.1 below. My second category focuses on administrative bodies and offices (roughly comparable to Vlahov & Florin's fifth category of 'socio-political realia' and Newmark's vague fourth category of 'organisations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts'). My third category corresponds to Newmark's 'material culture', Barkuhdarov's second category and Vlahov & Florin's 'ethnographic' category. My remaining do not correspond, not even vaguely, to any of the ones in the above models, but they are absolutely crucial in a discussion of *Wolf Hall*, as I will explain below in their respective sections. They are (4) historical events and origin stories, (5) foreign language elements, and (6) quotations.

## 2.1 Names, Titles, Forms of Address

### 2.1.1 Proper Names

As mentioned above in my discussion of Newmark's taxonomy of cultural terms, Newmark contradicts himself on the topic in the space of only a few pages. He first observes that "names of single persons or objects are 'outside' languages, [and therefore] not to be translated" (1981: 70). He then goes on to say the following about the names of historical figures, which according to his logic must then be differentiated from regular proper names as they can in fact be translated:

The established practices for translating the names of historical figures are as follows. Where sovereigns had 'translatable' Christian names and they were well known, their names, together with titles [...] were and are still usually mutually translated in the main European countries. [...] Surnames have usually been preserved, but the surnames, first names and appellative names of some Italian artists have been 'naturalized' in some European languages [...]. The only living person whose name is always translated is the Pope.

(Newmark 1981: 70)

Another scholar who has written specifically on the translation of proper names is Rittva Leppihalme. Leppihalme outlines a decision process for such translation, commenting that each strategy is considered in turn if necessary. This means that the translator starts out on the minimum change front, and only proceeds down the spectrum if an earlier strategy is not thought to provide a satisfactory solution. Leppihalme describes the rungs on this strategy ladder as follows; minimum change > guidance > replacement by (better-known SL or TL) name > replacement by common noun (or similar way of making (some of) the associations overt) > omission or overt explanation

(Leppihalme 1992: 188). Similar to Newmark (1981), Leppihalme thus preaches as little change as possible when it comes to the translation of proper names.

The translation of names of historical figures is tricky in the case of *Wolf Hall*, because of its being written from the viewpoint of Thomas Cromwell, advisor to the king (Henry VIII, to be precise, known in the Netherlands as ‘Hendrik de Achtste’), an English native himself who would never refer to Henry by anything other than his true name, not a culturally appropriated version of it. Translating Henry with ‘Hendrik’, in the case of this novel, would completely override the narrative’s attempt to present an up-close and personal, immersive account of Cromwell’s time as Henry’s right-hand man and would utterly destroy the appearance of verisimilitude that has been so carefully cultivated throughout the narrative. It is so clearly set in England and written from an English perspective that using any other name for the king but his proper English name would have a great detrimental effect. In most cases, even with European royals, the English names for them have been retained. For example, the French king of the time, known to the Dutch as ‘Francois de Tweede’, is referred to as ‘Francis’ instead, and this domesticated, appropriated naming practice has been retained in the Dutch translation, once again for the same reasons of the narrative being told by an Englishman, who would obviously use the English term, and to change this in the translation would be a lot more disruptive to the target audience than this retention of names domesticating into English which allows the audience to immerse themselves into the world of *Wolf Hall* fully. There are only a few cases in the translation in which names originally domesticated into English are instead domesticated into Dutch, and I will comment on them in my analysis in chapter 5.1. This is only the first example of a case in which the historical setting of the historical fiction novel prevents the translator from sticking to conventions.

### 2.1.2 Nicknames

Nicknames are of particular import in the case of *Wolf Hall*, as they serve as characterisation devices. The novel is written from the perspective of a single character, Thomas Cromwell, who is already intimately acquainted with the rest of the cast of characters. Because of his existing bonds with the other characters and the way that the narrative almost transcribes his encounters with them, rather than describing them in great narrative detail, there is often no description given of the characters he encounters. After all, the narrative is highly naturalistic and essentially exists only of Cromwell’s thoughts and observations, and those do not include character introductions of people he already knows. To provide the reader with some hints as to what kind of characters Cromwell is dealing with in a particular scene, she often has him using nicknames when he sees them. For



example, the character Wriothesley is always referred to in Cromwell's inner monologue (and even in dialogue sometimes) as 'Call-Me-Risley', which is the phrase Wriothesley uses to introduce himself to new people who are unsure as to how his name should be pronounced. To the audience, the use of the nickname comes across as ironic and paints a rather comical picture of the man, and it also subtly helps the reader understand how to pronounce this particular name, without ruining the narrative's naturalistic effect.

It is nigh-on impossible for the translator of a novel like *Wolf Hall* to use one translation strategy for all nicknames, as many of them come out on different sides of a certain boundary; on the one hand, there are nicknames which function just like regular proper names in Newmark's 'untranslatable' sense, which exist outside language, and on the other hand, there are many which need to be explained to the audience in order to allow them to serve the same function (often of characterisation) as they do in the source text. The matter is not as clear-cut as translation theory often makes it out to be; my analysis of the nicknames in the novel will support my theory that the best approach in the case of nicknames is to operate on a case-by-case basis, instead of trying to use a single procedure in all instances of nicknaming.

### 2.1.3 Titles & Forms of Address

On the subject of titles and forms of address, Newmark once again provides insight. He states the following:

As for forms of address [...], the present practice is either to address all and sundry as *Mr* or *Mrs* [...] or to transcribe *M.*, *Herr*, *Signore*, *Senor*, etc., for all western and central European ('civilized') languages, allowing all other *prominenti* a *Mr.* [...] Aristocratic and professional titles are translated if there is a recognized equivalent [...]; otherwise they are either transcribed [...] or deleted [...], with the professional information added, if considered appropriate.

(Newmark 1980: 73)

I do not agree in the slightest with Newmark's views, but then they are intended as general observations of guidelines with little to no thought to distinctions between different genres. In the case of historical fiction, especially of the extremely immersive and naturalistic kind, like *Wolf Hall*, it is important for the translator to be careful with the domestication of forms of address and titles. The strategy can be applied on occasion, for example in the case of a bishop being addressed as 'Your Grace', which can easily be rendered as the recognized Dutch equivalent 'Uwe Excellentie'.

However, in some cases, the ‘recognized equivalent’ is in fact much too conspicuous to be used in the target text narrative with the same frequency as it is in the source text. For example, if ‘sir’, as in ‘Sir Thomas’, a knighted nobleman, were translated as ‘ridder Thomas’, that would be very jarring for the target audience to read, not only because it sounds so obviously Dutch as to interfere with the naturalistic effect Mantel tries to achieve by telling her story from Cromwell’s perspective, but also because the source text term is not so foreign as to cause much comprehension issues in the first place. In the case of this particular novel, in some cases, retention is in fact a viable option, sometimes more so than a domesticating translation. Moreover, I would strongly argue against Newmark’s notions about deleting an aristocratic title if there is no recognized equivalent. Such titles are particularly important in this story to help the audience distinguish between characters, since names are often very similar, and moreover, deleting them in dialogue would imply an impolite way of speaking which is not the case in the source text.

## 2.2 Administrative/Legislative Bodies, Offices and Measures

Djachy & Pareshishvili have written on the translation of what they call ‘socio-political realia’, i.e. “concepts related to administrative-territorial arrangement of a country” (2014: 8). They assert that “[t]his kind of realia are translated by means of transcription/transliteration, as well as by means of descriptive translation and using the method of selecting appropriate analogues” (2014: 8).

Newmark also comments on the topic, with greater specificity, because he focuses on *historical* institutional terms:

In the case of historical institutional terms, [...] the first principle is not to translate them, whether the translation makes sense (is ‘transparent’) or not (is ‘opaque’), unless they have generally accepted translations. In academic texts and educated writing, they are usually [...] transferred, with, where appropriate, a functional or descriptive term with as much descriptive detail as is required. In popular texts, the transferred word can be replaced by the functional or descriptive term.

(Newmark 1988: 101)

Many of the administrative bodies or offices mentioned in *Wolf Hall* do not have generally accepted Dutch translations, but that is not necessarily reason enough to decide to retain them in their original English form. After all, these types of cultural references can be fairly opaque, and retention of them could very well cause comprehension issues for the target audience. In fact, my analysis of the administrative references in *Wolf Hall* that the best way to treat them, in this case, is by translating them with a functional equivalent, as Newmark suggests.

### 2.3 Material & Social Culture

There are not quite as many material culture references in *Wolf Hall* as one might expect of a historical fiction novel. There are several reasons for this. First of all, Mantel tends to focus less on the details of food, clothing, housing etc, and instead uses broader terms to describe the characters' surroundings, before dedicating most of her time to character interactions rather than material descriptions. Second of all, the novel is written from the perspective of Thomas Cromwell, who is not often preoccupied by material matters such as displays of wealth through clothing, unless observations thereof contribute somehow to his estimation of another character. Instead, Cromwell tends to be occupied with his work and the people he works with, and as such, there are many more references belonging to the former category of administrative bodies/offices than there are references belonging to this category of material culture.

That being said, there are a few material culture references throughout the novel, and they are generally easily translated, causing little difficulty in comparison to most of the previous categories I have outlined (or the following, for that matter). Terestyényi comments on the ideas of Tellingner (2003), saying the latter concludes that there are “two opposing methods [for translating culture-specific items]. The first is transcription and transliteration to keep the feeling of strangeness in the target text. The second is when translators try to substitute the realia with target language analogues” (2011:16). Often, material culture references in *Wolf Hall* are relatively safe to translate because Dutch has plenty of terms which can be used as equivalents without imparting an obvious Dutch character to the translation; this is simply because there is a smaller measure of divergence between English culture in the Tudor period and Dutch culture at the same time than, for example, between administrative bodies in the respective countries at that time. However, there are some instances in which a reference is not just dated in character so that a Dutch, slightly antiquated term could easily be used as an equivalent, but where the reference is in fact highly culturally specific, and those are the most interesting to look at; I will comment on the translation thereof in my actual analysis of *Wolf Hall* in section 5.

### 2.4 Historical Events & Origin Stories

Adrian Pablé writes on the loss of local colour in historical fiction and observes that “[w]orlds within fiction are four-dimensional, i.e. they can be described on a historical, a linguistic, a geographical and a cultural level” (2003: 99). The historical dimension, however, tends to be forgotten in most scholarly work, or at least historical references are not seen as distinct from cultural ones. They are of course similar, and Pablé adds that “historical distance generally entails

cultural distance” (2003: 99), saying that the two can have the same alienating effect on the target audience; a story set in one’s own country but five centuries before one’s own lifetime can be experienced as just as foreign as a story set on an entirely different continent in the present-day. That being said, while the effects of historical and cultural references on a target audience are similar, their implications for the translator of historical fiction often are not.

Historical fiction relies on historical references to communicate its setting just as much as it relies on cultural ones, but they are often tricky to translate because most historical events are not entirely unknown to a target culture; often, the target culture has its own terminology for the events of a foreign country’s history, whether it be the name of a war or that of a historical period or development. The translator must then decide whether to domesticate the historical reference, and in the case of *Wolf Hall*, doing so is not necessarily the best approach. After all, that would result in a character using Dutch native terms, while that character is in fact English through and through; it would affect the naturalistic effect of the narrative, which I have commented on before.

*Wolf Hall* adds another dimension of difficulty, however, because not all of the ‘historical’ events referenced in it are, strictly speaking, true. In Mantel’s exploration of the past of England, she not only incorporates actual historical events, but also myths and origin stories - in fact, she often mixes the historical and mythical elements together in the very same paragraph. The myths and origin stories are so essentially English that to domesticate them too much into Dutch would be highly problematic, and that has its effect on the translation of the historical elements as well; it would be odd if some parts of a paragraph were retained in their foreign form, and yet others were domesticated. Once again, the historical translator has to take into account the specific demands of their genre before settling on a translation strategy.

## **2.5 Religious Culture**

Newmark sees religious culture as part of his nebulous fourth cultural category of “[o]rganisations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts” (1988: 95) within which he distinguishes between administrative and political elements, religious elements, and artistic elements. However, in the case of *Wolf Hall*, I think it is necessary to view items of religious culture as its own category of cultural reference, considering the fact that they play such a crucial role in the daily life of the people.

Religion plays a very different part in the life of a person living in the 16th century in England than it does for most people alive today; a great portion of the readers of this novel, whether of the original English novel or of the Dutch translation, will be entirely unfamiliar with

the extent to which religion governs their life. The passage of time is marked by religious events; often, characters in the novel will use the feast days of saints, instead of dates, to set a meeting or a goal or refer to the passage of time. For example, Cromwell remarks in consternation, upon visiting a house in the country and observing the state of the household affairs that “[i]t is nearly Martinmas, and they have not even thought of salting their beef” (Mantel 2009: 61). The passage of time in people’s personal lives is punctuated by events that are religious in nature: going to church on Sundays, getting married, baptising a child, saying a last confession before death, and so on.

Moreover, religion is an important matter in the novel not just because of the way it is intertwined with people’s everyday lives, but also because of the momentous changes that occur in religious England in the 16th century, most notably the Reformation, for which our protagonist Cromwell is at least in part personally responsible (not for the Reformation, that is, but for its spread in England and the degree to which the protestant faith became accepted in England under Henry VIII’s rule). Considering the part Cromwell played in the religious developments of the age and the general pervasiveness of religion in every aspect of everyday life in 16th century England, it is not unreasonable to consider religious elements a category of cultural reference of their own.

## 2.6 Foreign Language Elements

One crucial feature of *Wolf Hall* that does not seem to fit into any category in any of the models I have researched is the use of foreign language elements. Of course if the phrases in foreign tongues include cultural references themselves, those could be grouped into any of the traditional categories of cultural references in Newmark’s or Vlahov & Florin’s models, but the use of foreign language as a whole does not fit in anywhere. In *Wolf Hall*, the use of foreign language elements is in itself a type of cultural reference. The world that Mantel describes in her novel is a diverse world with characters of many different nationalities with many different mother tongues, so the fact that more than one language is used even in regular, everyday conversation is a feature of that cultural environment. The Tudor court is filled with ambassadors from all major European powerhouses (Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, Italy, etc), and the queen herself (Katherine of Aragon) is Spanish. Spanish in particular is often used as a characterisation effect, to contrast Katherine and her servants from the English and paint them as foreign and other.

Moreover, regardless of whether foreign characters are involved, several languages are often used within a single conversation because many conversations are held by scholars, whom rely on Latin amongst one another to communicate their ideas, and many Englishmen (and women) intersperse their speech with French expressions, to hopefully be seen as fashionable and exotic, as

worldly and well-travelled. Perhaps the most multilingual of all the characters in the novel is Thomas Cromwell himself. He speaks French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and Flemish fluently, has a good grasp of Greek as well, and a gift for languages in general. Rosario Arias (2014: 27) observes that Cromwell is very well aware of his propensity for languages and the frequency with which he ends up acting as a mediator between different language speakers, and even sees himself as a translator both in *Wolf Hall* and its sequel *Bring Up The Bodies*:

I am always translating, he thinks: if not language to language, then person to person.

(Mantel 2009: 421)

He is the overlord of the spaces and the silences, the gaps and the erasures, what is missed or misconstrued or simply mistranslated, as the news slips from English to French and perhaps via Latin to Castilian and the Italian tongues, and through Flanders to the Emperor's Eastern Territories, over the borders of the German principalities and out to bohemia and Hungary [...], where they have never heard of Anne Boleyn, let alone her lovers and her brother.

(Mantel 2012a: 366)

Obviously, removal of any of the foreign language elements in translation would be highly problematic, because it would undoubtedly have a detrimental effect on the target audience's perception of this cosmopolitan courtly milieu and the characters therein, perhaps Cromwell most of all. However, some restructuring of the surrounding material might be necessary in order to communicate the meaning of the foreign language elements to the target audience without actually translating the elements themselves and naturalising their effect, thus utterly undermining their purpose in the narrative.

## 2.7 Quotations & References to Real-World Publications

Every now and then, Mantel incorporates direct quotations of writing from the Tudor period, most notably from several poems and songs written by Henry VIII. He was an avid poet and songwriter; the Luminarium online anthology of English Literature lists four songs and 11 poems by his hand, along with several letters and political or religious tracts ("The Works of Henry VIII"). Several are quoted at least in part in *Wolf Hall*, usually at a point in the narrative which roughly corresponds to their time of writing. For example, the court sings one of Henry's songs at Christmas time:

At Christmas the court sings:

As the holly groweth green  
 And never changes hue  
 So I am, and ever hath been,  
 Unto my lady true [...].

(Mantel 2009: 120)

There are many more instances like this one. These are not simply historical references, but actual direct quotations from contemporary texts, which have no known official Dutch translations. If a translator were to simply translate them into Dutch themselves, that would be problematic, since they would essentially be producing a free-form translation of an extant text with no known translation, which might still be compiled at some later point in time. If an official translation of these poems and songs ever were to be compiled, the Dutch target text of *Wolf Hall* ought to be adapted to match said official translation. Moreover, translating poems and songs like this one is a difficult matter to begin with, since it exposes the work of the translator; as it is a direct quotation, translation thereof produces the odd effect of characters that are known to be English singing a song rendered in Dutch. On the other hand, retention of the foreign element could result in comprehension issues. In the case of *Wolf Hall*, which always strives for an immersive reader experience, the balance between too much domestication and too much foreignisation is very delicate, as evidenced by issues such as this one. In this section I will also discuss references to real-world publications; Mantel often mentions titles of famous books that have been read by her characters and have influenced them greatly, and these instances are similar to the above-mentioned quotations because they refer to actually existing texts in the real world, and as such the translator has to take into account the familiarity of the target audience with the text in question. The dichotomy between the audience's awareness of foreignness of the characters and the setting (and the alienating effect a lack of likewise foreign elements in the translation would cause) on the one hand and the audience's comprehension on the other hand is present in the translation of these references to the titles of real-world publications as well, not just to quotations from them.

### Chapter 3. Scholarly Views on the Translation of Cultural References

Scholars' opinion on how cultural references should be tackled, and the part that the translator has to play in the process, in terms of the degree of domestication and/or explanation that should be employed vary greatly and are spread over a wide spectrum. I will now address some of the commonly expressed concerns here to provide a background of scholarly thought to the analysis of *Wolf Hall* that will follow later on.

Obviously the translator plays an important part in the translation of cultural (and historical) references. Merakchi & Rogers assert that “it has long been acknowledged in translation studies that translation is as much a cultural as a linguistic text. Hilary Mantel touches upon the same sentiment when she discusses the way in which she was closely involved with and contributed to Ine Willem's translation process:

Clearly the translator's task is far greater than that of word-by-word, line-by-line equivalents. It is about finding a tone that allows the writer's personality to shine through the lines. But it is even more than that. We are not just translating a book, we are translating one culture to another. Given that there is generally a high level of technical competence among translators, this is where the challenges lie. The translator must stand back and consider the whole picture. A writer's native audience has certain underlying assumptions about the world, and these assumptions shape a text, almost invisibly; but they are not necessarily shared by foreign readers. The author may not be aware of her own shaping assumptions, until a translator draws her attention to them.

(Mantel 2012b: n.p.)

Mantel hits the nail on the head in saying that translation is essentially the translation of one culture to another. Merakchi & Rogers make a similar observation, saying that while translators ought to be bicultural as well as bilingual, in order to fulfill their role as cultural mediators, whereas “the reader of a translated text [cannot be assumed to be bicultural]” (Merakchi & Rogers 2013: 342). The translator, therefore, should aim to “support the target reader's understanding through a shaping of the target text” (Merakchi & Rogers 2013: 342). This involves making judgements about the reader's pre-existing knowledge and expertise, in order to determine how much aid is required.

Scholars are extremely divided on the extent to which translators ought to aid the reader's comprehension by adding information. For example, Kuleli argues that the original intended effect of a cultural element ought to be retained as much as possible. He says that “[w]hen there is an



implicit message like an allusion in an original text, a translator could allow room for a similar gap in the target language, compelling the readers to try to find the allusion, thereby allowing them to get as much pleasure as possible from the text” (Kuleli 2014: 212). Kuleli argues in favour of the views that “[a] competent translator should be able to provide the same satisfaction to the target language readers as the source culture readers get from the [source] text” (2014: 212). Newmark adopts a similar philosophy when it comes to the translation of foreign cultural concepts, presenting the following argument in favour of retentive strategies:

[G]enerally the most favoured procedure for a recently noted term peculiar to a foreign culture (given national pride, greater interests in other countries, increased communications, etc.) is likely to be transcription, coupled with discreet explanation within the text. If the term becomes widespread it may be adopted in the TL. This method is the appropriate sign of respect to foreign cultures.

(Newmark 1981: 83)

However, there are also those who argue that the be-all and end-all purpose of translation should be full comprehension on the target audience’s part, and that allowing allusions to remain obscure is never acceptable. Newmark, interestingly, says that “[a] cultural term on the periphery of the text should normally be given an approximate translation or cultural equivalent [...] rather than be transcribed” (1981:158). He argues that too many cultural terms would prove to be too much of a distraction for the target audience, especially if they are not of crucial importance to the audience’s understanding of the text, saying that “one does not want to bother the reader of any type of text with opaque transcriptions of little importance” (1981: 158). In short, Newmark’s stance depends on the relevance of the cultural element.

Rittva Leppihalme echoes Newmark’s ideas, saying that “[t]he responsible translator does not allow the TT to become obscured or impoverished unnecessarily, nor does s/he leave the reader puzzled at “culture bumps” (Archer 1986), anomalies resulting from unexplained source-cultural names or phrases in a TT” (1992: 185). Leppihalme takes issue with what she calls the ‘strategy of minimum change’, which she says “often leads to unclear phrases or passages in the TT which readers must either skip or stumble over” (1992: 186). The unfortunate result of such a situation is that the target text readers are deprived of “the chance to participate in the literary process and to derive pleasure from it” (1992: 186). For these same reasons Leppihalme condemns omission as a viable procedure to use in the translation of cultural references, saying that “[a]s a short-cut, because the translator is unwilling to go to the trouble of looking things up, omission is, in my view,

generally unacceptable” (1992: 190). On the other hand, Leppihalme acknowledges that the translator must be “careful not to insult his/her reader’s intelligence: an allusion is meant to convey its meaning by connotation [and] it is easy to imagine overt explanations ruining the effect completely” (1992: 189). Djachy and Pareshishvili state that preservation of the connotations and overtones of a given element is just as important as capturing the semantic meaning, and therefore, “preference should always be given to the target readers and their pragmatic and aesthetic nature should be taken into consideration” (2014: 13).

Though there is much debate on the topic, the general consensus among scholars seems to be that the translator is obligated to aid the target reader and bring the source text closer towards them, but without going too far and removing all sense of source text culture; if anything, cultural items ought to be retained when possible, and efforts should be made not to underestimate the audience’s comprehension abilities and be careful treating cultural elements that were intended by the source text author to be somewhat obscure; explaining these fully would ruin the author’s intended effect, and authorial intent is an important factor to consider.

There are many opposing views on the translation of cultural references, but interestingly, very few scholars really take into account the crucial dimension of genre. Of course the relevance of text type and how differences in text type affect the way a cultural element ought to be translated has not escaped everyone’s notice. Katharina Reiss was the first to write on the subject of text type extensively, distinguishing between three main text types, informative, expressive, and operative (Reiss 1981: 124). Reiss states that the “transmission of the predominant function of the ST is the determining factor by which the TT is composed and judged” (Munday 2012: 74). Schleiermacher comments on the extent to which the type of text affects the way the translator must operate:

The translator of newspaper articles and ordinary travel literature tends to make common cause with the interpreter, and it will soon become ridiculous if he claims for his work too high a status and wishes to be respected as an artist. The more, however, the author’s own particular way of seeing and drawing connections has determined the character of the work, and the more it is organized according to principles that he himself has either freely chosen or that are designed to call forth a particular impression, the more his work will partake of the higher realm of art, and so too the translator must bring different powers and skills to his work and be familiar with his author and the author’s tongue in a different sense than the interpreter.

(Schleiermacher 2004: 44)

Newmark uses the same distinction between three main text types, and comments on how cultural components are handled in each, saying “[c]ultural components tend to be transferred intact in expressive texts, transferred and explained with culturally neutral terms in informative texts; replaced by cultural equivalents in vocative texts” (1988: 47), but he does not expound beyond these rather basic and generalising observations.

Not all fields within translation display such a dearth of publications on the topic of how cultural references are translated in those particular fields. For example, much has been written on the translation of CRs in subtitling and other forms of audiovisual translation (for further information, see Cintas & Remael (2007), Pederson (2005), Ramière (2006) and Nedergaard-Larsen (1993)). However, hardly any research has been done into the translation of cultural references in individual genres within the larger domain of expressive texts (which includes the genre of historical fiction); there seems to be a prevailing notion that all literary translation would deal with the issue of such references in exactly the same fashion. My aim in analysing the novel *Wolf Hall* is to prove that the matter is not as straightforward as the lack of publications on the topic would suggest.

## Chapter 4. Models for Analyzing Translation Procedures

Cultural and historical references are a feature of huge importance in *Wolf Hall*. There are many aspects of the novel that are deliberately rather modern and contrast quite starkly with traditional historical fiction narratives. For one, Mantel uses relatively modern language; as Atwood observes in her review, “[s]ixteenth-century diction would be intolerable, but so would modern slang; Mantel opts for standard English, with the occasional dirty joke” (2012). Moreover, the use of present-tense narration makes the audience’s reading experience feel even more immediate; the audience gets to know Cromwell as well as it possibly could get to know an admittedly enigmatic and complicated character in the space of 600 pages, and cannot help but see him less as a historical figure than as a fellow human being with faults and ambitions, hopes and dreams. The deliberate cultural and historical references are what reminds the audience of the time and place of the narrative, when the characters are so engaging and relatable, so knowledgeable and worldly, that they hardly seem like fictional characters from a time long past. But the references serve multiple functions; they are not only anchors to the narrative setting, but are also frequently used as devices of characterisation. Properly capturing the references and allowing them to fulfill their various functions even in translation is absolutely crucial. There are a great many different opinions on the topic of how to properly translate cultural references, and I will first discuss a variety of models before explaining my final choice of Molina & Albir’s model.

Many different theorists have attempted to categorise the many procedures available to a translator to render cultural references or realia in their target language. The first example of an attempt to categorise translation procedures was made by the French scholars Vinay & Dalbarnet back in 1958, before the field of translation studies even existed in its own right. They distinguish between seven ‘methods of translation’: direct translation; borrowing; calque; literal translation; transposition; modulation; equivalence; and adaptation (Vinay & Dalbarnet 1995: 30-39). But that is not all:

These seven basic procedures are complemented by other procedures. [...] Compensation, Concentration vs. Dissolution, Amplification vs. Economy, Reinforcement vs. Condensation, Explicitation vs. Implication, Generalization vs. Particularization & Inversion (to move a phrase or a word to another place in a sentence or a paragraph so that it reads naturally in the target language).

(Molina & Hurtado 2002: 500)

They did not yet claim to focus on the translation of realia in particular, but their review of all procedures available to the translator is still invaluable precisely because it has not been contaminated by a limited viewpoint from a specific genre, and it thus covers all the bases. However, in covering all of the bases, it is cumbersome; the number of categories is so great, and the boundaries between them so thin, that the model is ill-suited towards practical use.

Since then, many scholars have adapted the basic model to suit their own needs. Djachy & Pareshishvili comment on Barkhudarov (1975), who distinguish 8 procedures for the translation of realia: transliteration/transcription; coining a new word; approximate translation; hyponymic translation; calqueing; creating a semantic neologism; replacement of the given realia; and periphrastic translation (Djachy & Pareshishvili 2014: 10-13). There are many similarities to Vinay & Dalbernet's model (for example, 'direct translation' corresponds to 'transliteration/transcription', 'borrowing' corresponds to 'coining a new word', 'calque' corresponds to 'calque', obviously, 'adaptation' corresponds to 'replacement of the given realia', etc). However, there are also differences. For example, a distinction is drawn between transcription and transliteration; the former uses the source language graphic form and spelling, without any alteration, whereas in the case of the latter, a word is adapted to target language spelling conventions.

In 1988, Newmark developed a translation procedure taxonomy of his own. He lists the following procedures: literal translation; transference; naturalisation; cultural equivalent; functional equivalent; descriptive equivalent; synonymy; through-translation; shifts or transpositions; modulation; recognised translation; translation label; compensation; reduction and expansion; and paraphrase (Newmark 1988: 81-90). Newmark provides a few points of insight on earlier models as well; he comments that there are two categories within Vinay & Dalbernet's original model that he has not in some way or another incorporated (namely the last two, 'equivalence' and 'adaptation'), and for the following reason: "[both of these] illuminate what sometimes happens in the process of translating, *but they are not usable procedures*" (Newmark 1988:91). However, Newmark's own model has plenty of drawbacks as well. For example, he includes various vague categories, such as 'translation label'; he describes this procedure as "a provisional translation, usually of a new institutional term, which should be made in inverted commas, which can later be discreetly withdrawn" (1988: 90). Technically, this is simply the process through which a loan is often introduced into a language, and not a procedure in its own right at all - it is ironic that Newmark commits the same fault for which he criticises Vinay & Dalbernet. Moreover, Newmark introduces the notion of couplets, triplets, quadruplets (ad infinitum): "couplets, triplets, quadruplets combine two, three or four of the above-mentioned procedure respectively for dealing with a single problem"

(1988: 91). To me, the addition of yet more terminology to address the possibility of several procedures being used in combination is extremely cumbersome and does not further clarity in the field of translation studies. This is not the only instance of Newmark introducing unnecessary vocabulary. For example, he introduces the category of ‘through-translation’ in the following manner: “the literal translation of common collocations, names of organisations, the components of compounds [...] and perhaps phrases [...] is known as *calque* or loan translation. I prefer the more transparent term ‘through-translation’” (1988:84). Instead of employing the accepted term known by all in the field of translation to label an already universally acknowledged translation procedure, Newmark uses a term of his own.

It should be clear by now that there is a wealth of translation procedure models and none of them agree with any of the others fully. New models tend to be based in part on pre-existing models, in part on new observations made by the scholar in question, and as a result thereof terminology is continually adapted and altered for different scholars’ own purposes, completely undermining the vocabulary’s purpose to introduce clarity into the study of the extremely intuitive mental process of translation. The trend has not escaped scholars’ notice; Molina & Albir attempt to right the above-mentioned wrongs by proposing a “dynamic and functionalist approach”, a new taxonomy drawing from the work of Vinay & Dalbènet, Nida, Taber and Newmark. They observe that “[t]here is no general agreement about [translation techniques as an instrument of analysis]” in the field of translation studies, and address the issues of terminological confusion and over-lapping terms, and the confusion between translation process and translation result (2002: 506). They attempt to remedy the problem by introducing yet another taxonomy, designed to be a master version of sorts of the ones they have consulted (which unfortunately does result in a mishmash of terminology from several different models).

Their way of attempting to clear the confusion in the field supports the observation made by Ramière that “most researchers seem to propose their own classifications of procedures after highlighting inconsistencies, overlaps in labels, or the lack of clarity in previous typologies” (2006: 158). According to Olk, “[t]his suggests that there can be no one-size-fits-all classification in [cultural reference] analysis, but that every study will need to carefully adjust existing taxonomies to ensure an adequate fit for the particular translation investigated” (2013: 347-8). I do not agree; scholars will never be able to come to an understanding about translation procedures and the effect thereof on a particular translation if we do not at least utilise the same vocabulary. Of course usage of the individual procedures is more or less relevant, more or less controversial and more or less justified depending on the type of text being translated, but that does not change the fact that the

procedures themselves are one and the same, and all those various options are available to all translators, no matter what field they work in. Therefore I will not be proposing a new taxonomy of my own for the translation of cultural references/historical references and realia in the genre of historical fiction specifically. I do not believe adding yet another procedural taxonomy to the existing wealth of taxonomies would do the field any good. Instead, I will investigate how the known translation procedures as outlined by Molina & Albir (2002) are used in this particular historical fiction translation, and attempt to distill some general truths about how I think historical fiction should be translated, which procedures do or do not have their place in the translation of a work of historical fiction, and how the procedures used interact with the existing norms for historical and literal translation.

I will be using Molina & Albir's model for my analysis of *Wolf Hall*, because it is the most comprehensive one that I have found. They also express dissatisfaction with the way scholars constantly propose new models and new terminology, instead of finding some sort of consensus, a dissatisfaction I share. They cite the following criteria on which their classification is based (note that they use the term 'techniques' to mean what I have so-far called and will henceforth continue to call 'procedures'):

- 1) To isolate the concept of technique from other related notions (translation strategy, method and error).
- 2) To include only procedures that are characteristic of the translation of texts and not those related to the comparison of languages.
- 3) To maintain the notion that translation techniques are functional. Our definitions do not evaluate whether a technique is appropriate or correct, as this always depends on its situation in text and context and the translation method that has been chosen.
- 4) In relation to the terminology, to maintain the most commonly used terms.
- 5) To formulate new techniques to explain mechanisms that have not yet been described.

(Molina & Albir 2002: 509)

In my following discussion of the procedures Molina & Albir distinguish, I have made a few adjustments, mostly in their order; for example, in their article, 'generalization' and 'particularization' are numbers 9 and 14 (2002: 510), whereas I find it would make more sense to put contrastive procedures like these two in subsequent positions. I have also re-organised the procedures into an order that moves (roughly) from more foreignising techniques to more domesticating techniques.

To arrange the procedures on such a scale makes sense, because it will make it easier to establish whether or not a translation is predominantly foreignising, predominantly domesticating, or contains features of both approaches or procedures that fall into a more neutral category inbetween the two poles. Another change I made is omitting one of Molina & Albir's categories; their 'substitution', described as "[changing] linguistic elements for paralinguistic elements such as intonation or gestures" (2002: 511) only has a place in audiovisual translation. As I am focusing on text translation and would thus never have occasion to use this substitution procedure in my analysis of *Wolf Hall*, I have decided not to include it in my listing of procedures below. Lastly, I wish to point out that Molina & Albir do not seem to recognise omission as a procedure (most likely because it is not so much a procedure in and of itself, but rather the lack of any). They do list a procedure they call 'reduction', or "to suppress a ST information item in the TT" (2002: 510), but the example that they give (translating 'Ramadan' with 'month of fasting') strikes me as a simple case of generalisation. I have decided to rename their category of 'reduction', instead calling it 'omission' (by which I mean complete removal of the ST item, not just generalisation), as I feel that the concept of full omission is a useful one to include in any taxonomy of procedures, simply because the phenomenon is easier to address in a practical analysis if it has been previously recognized as an option. These alterations result in the following list of procedures (2002: 510-11):

- Borrowing: To take a word or expression straight from another language (either in unaltered form or naturalized to fit target language spelling conventions).
- Calque: Literal translation of a foreign word or phrase.
- Literal translation: To translate a word or expression word for word.
- Established equivalent: To use a term or expression recognized as an equivalent in the TL.
- Discursive creation: To establish a temporary equivalence that is totally predictable out of context.
- Description: To replace a term or expression with a description of its form and/or function.
- Adaptation: To replace a ST cultural element with one from the target culture, a 'cultural equivalent'.
- Generalization: To use a more general or neutral item.
- Particularization: To use a more precise or concrete term.
- Linguistic amplification: To add linguistic elements.
- Linguistic compression: To synthesize linguistic elements in the TT.
- Modulation: To change point of view, focus or cognitive category in relation to the ST, lexical or structural.
- Transposition: To change a grammatical category.



- **Compensation:** To introduce a ST element of information or stylistic effect in another place in the TT because it cannot be reflected in the same place as in the ST.
- **Variation:** To change linguistic or paralinguistic elements that affect aspects of linguistic variation: changes of textual tone, style, social dialect, geographical dialect, etc., e.g., to introduce or change dialectal indicators for characters when translating for the theater, changes in tone when adapting novels for children, etc.
- **Amplification:** To introduce details that are not formulated in the ST: information, explicative paraphrasing, etc.”; also known as addition, explicitation, periphrasis, etc. Footnotes are also considered to be part of this category.
- **Omission:** To suppress a ST information item in the TT.

## Chapter 5. Analysis of Cultural and Historical References in *Wolf Hall*

In the following analysis, I will be quoting from both Mantel's *Wolf Hall* text and the Dutch translation made by Ine Willems. In-text citations to both of those works will take the form of '(ST page number)' and '(TT page number)' respectively. The editions from which I am quoting are specified in the Works Cited list. Conventional citations would require me to label both types of citations with Mantel's name and then the respective years of publication of both the original text and the translation, and I believe a great deal of confusion is prevented by instead labelling the citations with 'ST' and 'TT' and thus making them more easily distinguishable.

### 5.1 Names, Titles, Forms of Address

#### 5.1.1 Proper Names

Names in *Wolf Hall* are translated in various ways depending on the degree to which they are anchored in British culture, and the degree to which they could be seen as intercultural - in short, the extent to which they could reasonably be assumed to be familiar, at least to some degree, to the target audience. The two main types of proper names that occur in the narratives are those of people and those of physical locations.

Proper names of people, whether they are historically known to have really existed at the time (such as Cromwell himself, many of his relatives and virtually everyone he meets at court) or not (as is the case with street urchins and other characters who are part of the common people - although they do not feature in the novel much, or at the very least are rarely referred to by name) are generally borrowed in full, without any naturalisation to adapt the name to Dutch spelling conventions. There is one noticeable exception to this rule; the names of popes, where the English differs from the Dutch, are adapted to Dutch conventions. For example, in "You could offer Pope Clement a loan" (ST 27), translated as "Je zou Clemens een lening kunnen aanbieden" (TT 37), 'Clement', naturalised in English, becomes 'Clemens', the original Latin, as per Dutch conventions. This agrees with Newmark has said about the translation of the names of historical figures:

The established practices for translating the names of historical figures are as follows. Where sovereigns had 'translatable' Christian names and they were well known, their names, together with titles [...] were and are still usually mutually translated in the main European countries. [...] The only living person whose name is always translated is the Pope.

(Newmark 1981: 70)

However, Newmark's policy is not adopted when it comes to the translation of sovereigns - or at least, not fully. British rulers, like Henry VIII and all the other Henrys before him, are called 'Henry' in the Dutch translation, not 'Hendrik', the common naturalised Dutch version of this particular royal's name. This has to do with the effect of verisimilitude; the audience could not possibly be properly engaged in the story and indentifying with the character of English Cromwell if he (or any of the other characters in the novel that are known to be English by the audience) were to call his sovereign lord 'Hendrik', especially in a text so firmly set in England and so steeped in references to English culture and English historical figures and events. However, in the case of the Spanish Emperor Charles, a nod is given towards this practice of naturalising the names of royalty; the first time he is mentioned in the narrative, he is referred to as "the young Emperor Charles, Katherine's nephew" (ST 28), which is translated as "de jonge keizer Charles, ook wel Karel, Karl of Carlos genoemd" (TT 38). This constitutes a very blatant case of the translation procedure of amplification. It is understandable, however; the Dutch target audience likely knows this particular ruler by any number of names, and by mentioning each of the most likely candidates, the translator makes sure that all of her audience is on the same page as to which historical figure is being referred to, and can from then on simply use 'Charles' without raising any eyebrows, thus ensuring a certain uniformity in the procedure generally used for the translation of sovereign names (borrowing, apart from this one introductory amplification on the Emperor).

In short, with the exception of popes, proper names of people in the Dutch translation of *Wolf Hall* are generally speaking borrowed directly from the English, even when this causes potential difficulty in the translation. For example, Cromwell's youngest daughter is called Grace. When she dies of sweating sickness, Cromwell explains the story behind her name, saying that while he and his wife had intended the name Katherine for a girl, "when he had seen her, [...] he said quite another thing, and Liz had agreed. We cannot earn grace. We do not merit it" (ST 152). These observations on grace are translated as "Gratie of genade is niet iets wat je verdient; we hebben er geen recht op" (TT 164), and thus the repetition of the word 'grace', in two different intended meanings, once as simply the name and once as the quality of grace, is lost. However, this loss is preferable to the loss of verisimilitude that would be caused by an attempt to retain this repetition and therefore translate the daughter's name as 'Gratie' - it would be odd for her to have a Dutch name, even with a father who has been to the Netherlands in the past. Moreover, 'Grace' is a perfectly normal name in English, whereas 'Gratie' is not used as a name in Dutch at all.

Similarly, names of places in England are always borrowed, even if that means that the Dutch translation, as a result, contains overtly English elements, such as the 'castle' in 'Baynard's

Castle'. In the case of specific establishments being mentioned, pubs and such, the names thereof are borrowed but italicised in the translation; for example, Cromwell advises his people not to “drink in the Crown; the ale is worse than my father’s” (ST 213), which is translated as “Ga niet drinken in de *Crown*; hun bier is nog slechter dan dat van mijn vader) (TT 225). In some rare cases, when including the full name of an establishment would resort in awkward, too foreignising and blatant retention of English in a Dutch narrative, names are shortened; for example, Cromwell’s sister runs an inn, which all throughout the narrative it is referred to simply as ‘the Pegasus’, with the exception of the very first time it is mentioned; that first time, Cromwell is said to be “propped in the doorway of Pegasus the Flying Horse” (ST 4), which is translated as “[hij houdt zich] staande tegen de deurpost van de *Pegasus*” (TT 14), a case of partial borrowing and partial omission. On the other hand, names of places that are localised outside of the British Isles, places that could reasonably be assumed to be within the audience’s range of knowledge prior to reading the novel, are translated through the use of an established equivalent; “the Indies” (ST 648) is translated as “Oost-Indië” (TT 662), “Saxony” (ST 482) as “Saksen” (TT 494) and “the Burgundian courts at Mechelen and Brussels” (ST 67) as “het Bourgondische hof in Mechelen en Brussel” (TT 77). This includes bodies of water; “A wind has blown up from the Narrow Sea” (ST 413) is translated as “Er is een wind opgestoken vanaf het Nauw” (TT 425), and the “Bay of Biscay” (ST 248) becomes “Golf van Biskaje” (TT 260).

There are several exceptions to these general trends I have observed, in some cases due to the extent to which Dutch culture approaches British culture and sometimes even overlaps with it. For example, Cromwell likes to mingle with the merchant class and keep an eye on import and export, new inventions and writings coming off the Continent, et cetera - going into the parts of the City where most courtiers would not even dream of venturing (such as seedy inns or the docks) and speaking to foreigners there is his way of staying one step ahead of everyone at Henry VIII’s court and serving his king to the best of his abilities, by knowing what to expect. Before he enters Henry’s service, he is a jack-of-all-trades (although formally a lawyer) in Cardinal Wolsey’s household, and one of the ways in which he serves the cardinal is by getting his hands on protestant writings before they can gain any real traction on English soil, and help the Cardinal anticipate any developing trends in the Reformation movement on the Continent before they begin to infiltrate the British Isles. On this note, Mantel writes that the Cardinal “is always glad to have the latest bad books filleted, and any gossip from the Steelyard, where the German merchants live” (ST 134). The latter part of this sentence is translated as “evenals de roddels uit de Stalhof, waar de Hanzekooplui wonen” (TT 145). The term ‘Steelyard’ is actually descended from Middle Low German ‘Stalhof’ or Dutch ‘Staalhof/Stalhof’, so this translation choice could be seen as adaptation to the target

culture or as use of an established equivalent. In any case, it uses a more domesticating procedure to bring the ST item closer to the TT audience, because this happens to be a location that, while in England, is closely linked to Dutch history; the Steelyard was the main trading base of the Hanseatic League in London (“Steelyard”), and the League included several Dutch cities as well, namely Kampen, Groningen en Deventer (although the latter reportedly left the League in 1500, before Cromwell presumably ever visited the Steelyard) (“Hanseatic League”). ‘German merchants’ at this time could definitely be rightly interpreted as the merchants of the Hanseatic League, especially when the base of operation of the League is overtly mentioned as well. This is a rare case in which British and Dutch history and culture overlap. A Dutch target audience would not necessarily link the London area of the Steelyard, nor the concept of ‘German merchants’ to the Hanze that they are familiar with, so in this case, the more domesticating translation helps the target audience grasp the way their culture and its history and that of England at the time are connected.

Several more such efforts towards the target audience’s comprehension are made in the translation of place names, all of them constituting exceptions to the general policy of borrowing that I outlined above. For example, the London borough of Cheapside is commonly referred to as “Cheap” (ST 370, 464), but is consistently translated as “Cheapside” (TT 380, 476) instead, technically a case of particularisation. Moreover, the area of Northumberland is referred to by several different names, most notably “Northumberland” (ST 79) and “Northumbria” (ST 648), but the area is consistently named “Northumberland” (TT 79, 662) in the translation, so as to not cause confusion and lead the audience (presumably relatively unfamiliar with British topography) into thinking that two different areas of the country are being referred to. And then there is one city which, unlike all of the loaned place names, consistently has its spelling adapted to Dutch spelling conventions: London itself is always translated as ‘Londen’. In Dutch, the way the city’s name is spelled is always adapted, and to do anything other than that would be very striking to the audience: too much so, especially considering how often the city is mentioned. Lastly, in the case of a particular type of proper name, namely last names containing the particle ‘de’, the ‘D’ is capitalised in the Dutch translation in the event that the first name is not mentioned, in order to prevent any confusion caused by ‘de’ also being a Dutch particle; as such, “‘*Fiat lux,*’ de Selve murmurs” (ST 471) is translated as “‘*Fiat lux,*’ mompelt De Selve” (TT 483).

### 5.1.2 Nicknames

Nicknames play an important part in the narrative of *Wolf Hall*, mostly for characterisation purposes. For example, one of Cromwell’s fellow lawyers at court, Master Wriothesley, is a bit of a

silly fellow, and Mantel illustrates this by telling an anecdote about Cromwell and Wriothesley's first meeting:

At Austin Friars, there is little chance to be alone, or alone with just one person. Every letter of the alphabet watches you. [...] Towards the end of the alphabet comes Thomas Wriothesley pronounced Risley. [...] Trinity Hall he was a great actor in the students' plays, and he has certain affectations, a consciousness of himself, of how he appears; they mimic him behind his back, Richard and Rafe, and say, 'My name is Wri-oth-es-ley, but as I wish to spare you effort, you can call me Risley.'

(ST 225)

The nickname 'Call-Me-Risley', often shortened to 'Call-me', is used throughout the narrative to serve as a subtle reminder to the audience of the type of character that Cromwell is dealing with. In order for the joke to work in the target text, translation is necessary; after all, the nickname is based on the phrase Master Wriothesley uses whenever he meets someone new, and when Master Wriothesley first introduces himself in the translation, he says the following: "Mijn naam luidt Wri-oth-es-ley, maar daar ik u moeite wil besparen, mag u me Risley noemen" (TT 237). In order for the nickname used to sensibly be derived from that phrase, the nickname has to be rendered in Dutch, just like the phrase itself. The procedure that has been used in this case is a calque: 'Call-Me-Risley' and 'Call-Me' are translated as 'Noem-me-Risley' and 'Noem-me', respectively.

There are several other instances in which nicknames are translated literally, because it would be awkward for them to be borrowed from the English, being more than just one or two words but existing of a full phrase. For example, upon their arrival in France, Anne Boleyn (as of yet a royal concubine, not yet wed to the King) is shocked to have insults thrown at her; people are said to "line up at the harbourside to shout '*Putain!*' and 'Great Whore of England'" (ST 395). The French is borrowed (I will discuss such foreign language borrowings later), but 'Great Whore of England' is translated as "'Groothoer van Engeland!'" (TT 407). Similarly, when Cromwell observes "it is a great thing to be able to divert the wrath of the Lion of England" (ST 340), Henry VIII's animalistic nickname is translated as "de Leeuw van Engeland" (TT 351). Early on in the novel, Henry is complimented on his efforts to fight the spread of Protestantism by writing a book against Luther, "for which the Pope has granted him the title of Defender of the Faith" (ST 39). This title is translated literally as "'Verdediger van het geloof'" (TT 50).

Nicknames are also translated literally when they are the nicknames of historical figures that are used often in non-fiction writing about those historical figures, which has resulted in a type of

established equivalent, and borrowing the names would not provide the audience with enough information to properly understand the reference. For example, when Cromwell and Cardinal Wolsey discuss the history of past English monarchs, they discuss “the coins the Pretender struck, stamped with their message to the Tudor king: ‘Your days are numbered. You are weighed in the balance: and found wanting’” (ST 97). ‘The Pretender’ is the name commonly given to Perkin Warbeck, a Flemish young man who pretended to be Richard, Duke of York, the youngest son of King Edward IV, who was said to have died during his imprisonment in the Tower. Perkin attempted to invade England twice, backed by Yorkist supporters in the ranks of English nobility (“Perkin Warbeck”). In order to clarify that the narrative is referring to someone who threatened the Tudors’ throne, the translation combines literal translation and particularisation; the phrase I quoted above is translated as “Hij heeft het over de munten die de troonpretendent had geslagen [...]” (TT 108). Similarly, the narrative refers to Edward, Earl of Warwick; this young man presented a threat to the Tudor throne in the time of Henry VIII’s father, because he was the main Yorkist claimant to the throne (being the son of the previously mentioned King Edward IV’s brother, George) (“Henry VII of England”). The boy is referred to as ‘the White Rose’ in the narrative: a white rose was the symbol of the Yorkist claimants to the English throne, and their opponents, the House of Lancaster, had a red rose as their symbol. When Henry VII married, he took a Yorkist wife and thus joined the two houses together, and as such, the Tudor family symbol is a rose with both white and red petals. This use of the family symbol to refer to the young Yorkist heir is translated through the use of literal translation; “the White Rose, aged twenty-four, was taken out into God’s light and air, in order to have his head cut off” (ST 97) is rendered as “op vierentwintigjarige leeftijd werd de Witte Roos Gods licht en lucht in gevoerd om hem zijn hoofd af te slaan” (TT 109).

Lastly, relatively domesticating translation procedures are also used in the translation of pet names used for animals. For example, when a prisoner in the Tower greets a stray cat with “‘Now, Pusskins,’” (ST 324), this phrase is translated as “‘Dag beste muizenbijter’” (TT 353), a translation using discursive creation (the establishing of a temporary equivalence that is unpredictable outside of the current context), and Cromwell’s pet cat ‘Marlinspike’ is called ‘Marlspijker’ (part borrowing, part calque). However, such more domesticating translation procedures are far from the only way in which nicknames are translated in *Wolf Hall*.

Those nicknames which refer to real historical figures and are known to be accurate from historical record, and which are not so obscure as to require an explanatory strategy, are generally borrowed from the English. For example, at one point Cromwell becomes involved with a priest named Thomas Bilney, about whom it is said that “[he’s called] ‘Little Bilney’, on account of his

short stature and worm-like attributes” (ST 100). That phrase is translated as “‘Little Bilney’ noemen ze hem, vanwege zijn kleine postuur en zijn kruiperigheid” (TT 111-12). The historical figure in question was in fact known as Little Bilney throughout his life (“Bilney, Thomas”). In this case, the explanation for the nickname is provided by the text itself, and the retention of the English nickname does not defy the audience’s comprehension, so it can be borrowed with no ill effect. Nicknames are also always borrowed if the nickname is not strictly speaking in English, because in a lot of those cases the intricacy of the reference would be lost if it were rendered in either English or Dutch, and they do not tend to be so obscure as to cause comprehension issues for the target audience. For example, Henry signs his letters with “*Henricus Rex*” (ST 480), which is translated as “HENRICUS REX” (TT 492). At one point in the novel, Cromwell is visited by a foreign friend who has fled off the Continent, who says: “I am no Pope-lover but I get tired of it. Erasmus has run off to Freiburg to the papists and I have run off to you and Junker Heinrich. That’s what Luther calls your king” (ST 371). ‘Junker Heinrich’ is retained in the translation (TT 382), as it should be, because if it were normalised, the point of the sentence (mentioning Luther’s name for the king) would be lost. Anne Boleyn is also referred to by various foreign-language nicknames, such as “La Ana” (ST 519), dutifully translated as “La Ana” (TT 531), and once she is crowned queen, “Anna Regina” (ST 467), translated, naturally, as “Anna Regina” (TT 531). In several other cases, nicknames are not necessarily rooted in English culture, but instead contain references to religious elements that are familiar in and historical figures from Continental Europe; in those instances, the nicknames are borrowed but naturalized to fit target language spelling. For example, when a lady in waiting to Anne describes a quarrel Anne had with the King, it is said that “Henry called her a Magdalene and some other names I forget, I think they were Roman ladies. Not Lucrece” (ST 413). This line is translated as “Henry noemde haar een Magdalena en nog wat namen die ik vergeten ben, van Romeinse dames, denk ik. Niet Lucretia” (TT 423), with both nicknames naturalised.

Lastly, I wish to discuss the one nickname-omission that I came across while analysing the novel. It occurs only once, so I am tempted to think that this omission happened by mistake, but it has such deep-seeded consequences that it ought to be discussed, simply to illustrate the impact a nickname can have on the characterisation of a historical figure and the audience’s perception of them. At one point, before he has joined the King’s service (i.e., while he is still with Cardinal Wolsey), Cromwell is told to put Spanish-speaking spies in Queen Katherine’s household. This conversation takes place in the beginning stages of the King’s efforts to put aside his wife and wed another woman. Cromwell describes the situation as follows:



Spies, he means. To see how she will take the news. To see what Queen Catalina will say, in private and unleashed, when she has slipped the noose of the diplomatic Latin in which it will be broken to her that the king - after they have spent some twenty years together - would like to marry another lady.

(ST 23)

Spionnen, bedoelt hij. Om te zien hoe ze op het nieuws reageert. Om te horen wat koningin Katherine te zeggen heeft, in besloten kring en zonder muilkorf, wanneer ze de strik lostrekt rond het diplomatieke Latijn waarin haar te kennen wordt gegeven dat de koning - na zo'n twintig jaar samen - graag met een andere dame zou trouwen.

(TT 33)

It is a shame that 'Queen Catalina', Katherine's Spanish nickname, has not been preserved, particularly because the post of this paragraph is that she will be given bad news in Latin, which inables her from replying properly, so the cardinal is curious to see what she will say when she has returned to her private chambers, and is free to rage in Spanish. The whole point of this paragraph is to properly communicate Katherine's current situation, in which she is under threat from all sides and commonly reverts to her mother tongue in order to express her feelings about the matter, to communicate the feeling of a foreign princess trapped in a country that is not truly her own, despite her having lived there for nearly thirty years, forced to communicate in languages not her own. The nickname underlines her foreignness and the difficulty of her (linguistic) situation. Moreover, it is not simply a Spanish nickname; 'Catalina' is actually Castillian, and therefore, the name is a reference to Catherine's Castillian mother. Later on, Cromwell discusses the possibility of Katherine's only daughter Mary ruling after Henry's death with a few noblemen. The conversation is as follows:

'A woman on the English throne, it flies in the face of nature.'

'Her grandmother was Queen of Castile.'

'She cannot lead an army.'

'Isabella did.'

(ST 256)

The Castillian heritage of Queen Katherine and her daughter Mary is mentioned time and time again, even in a passage about the history of the English royal line, where Cromwell and Wolsey draw a parallel between Katherine and Elizabeth Woodville, the wife of King Edward IV, who "brought, did she not, a claim to the throne of Castile?" (ST 96); it is then said that in marrying Katherine, Henry VIII moved "closer to his ancient rights" (ST 96). So not only is the Castillian aspect important

because it paints Katherine and Mary in a positive light, as influenced by their warrior ruling mother/grandmother, Queen Isabella of Castille, it is also an important part of the whole reason why Henry VIII and Katherine married in the first place, which makes it all the more outlandish that Henry tries to set her aside in favour of a simple diplomat's daughter (Anne Boleyn). The nickname references all this and more, albeit covertly, and the loss of this connection, especially in this paragraph which is so concerned with language differences and foreignness, is a real shame.

### 5.1.3 Titles & Forms of Address

Noble titles in *Wolf Hall* are consistently translated with an established equivalent. Below, I cite a paragraph that contains several such titles and perfectly illustrates the way they have been translated throughout the book:

October, and we are going to Calais - a train two thousand strong [...]: to a duke an entourage of forty, to a marquess thirty-five, to an earl twenty-four, while a viscount must scrape by with twenty [...].

(ST 390)

Oktober, en we reizen naar Calais: een tweeduizend man sterk gevolg [...]: een entourage van veertig voor een hertog, van vijfendertig voor een markies, van vierentwintig voor een graaf, terwijl een burggraaf het moet stellen met een armzalige twintig [...].”

(TT 402)

Other examples include knightly orders like the “Garter Knights” (ST 386) and the “Knights of the Bath” (ST 463 - a particular order of knights named for the ritual bath they take before they are knighted), translated respectively as “de ridders in de orde van de Kousenband” (ST 398) and “de ridders van het bad” (TT 475).

The types of forms of address in *Wolf Hall* can be roughly divided into short, easily accessible phrases that are either borrowed or translated literally, and more complex elements that would be more foreign in appearance if they featured in a Dutch text, they would stand out too much in normal conversation. The first category includes forms like ‘Sir’, ‘lord’ and ‘my lady’ on the one hand, which are presumably well-known to the Dutch audience from even limited exposure to period drama or historical fiction, and are therefore borrowed. On the other hand, there are terms like ‘Mistress’ (as in ‘Mistress Shelton’, ST 317) and ‘Dame’ (as in “Dame Alice”, ST 606) which are less easily understood, or rather, more easily misunderstood; ‘mistress’ could very well be taken to mean one who performs sexual favours, rather than it simply being an archaic form of address,

especially in this case as the Mistress Shelton in question has in fact has sexual relations with the king by this point in the novel. Forms of address like these are translated with some discursive creation; in the case of the above examples, the translations are “lady Shelton” (TT 327) and “mevrouw Alice” (617). The more complex elements mentioned above, the ones that would be too foreign in appearance to be borrowed directly into the Dutch target text, are typically translated by means of established equivalent; for example, when Cardinal Wolsey is addressed with “Your Grace” (ST 20), the translation uses “Uwe Eminentie” (TT 30), and when Queen Katherine is given her new status as “Dowager-Princess of Wales” (ST 451), upon Henry’s final denial of their marriage ever having been valid (the new title names her the wife of Henry’s deceased older brother, the Prince of Wales, to whom she was wed before her marriage to Henry, and at this point in the novel, this new title formally replaces her old title of ‘Queen of England’), the translation used is “douairière-prinses van Wales” (ST 463).

## **5.2 Administrative/Legislative Bodies, Offices and Measures**

The translation procedure used in this particular category of cultural reference are the most domesticating, on average, out of all the cultural categories. The category contains a variety of cultural elements: political bodies, procedures and bills; positions in the government; and positions at court or in the royal household.

Items belonging in the first subcategory I outlined above are typically translated with established equivalents. For example, “Parliament” (ST 320, 339) is translated as “het parlement” (TT 331, 350), the phrase “[s]eats in the Common” (ST 161) as “[z]etels in het Lagerhuis” (TT 173), and “the Lords” (ST 342) as “het Hogerhuis” (TT 353). Strictly speaking, the last two translations qualify as not only established equivalent, but also as amplification, because they provide more information than the source text (they use the full phrases ‘Hogerhuis’ and ‘Lagerhuis’, which directly correspond to the ‘House of Commons’ and ‘House of Lords’, not to the ‘Commons’ and ‘Lords’ of the source text. Such mixing of several different translation procedures occurs often within this particular category of cultural reference, because while the terms in question are never omitted, only translated directly, the target audience often needs to be given the courtesy of receiving a little extra information, a descriptive phrase or even a single adjective. For example, at the start of Cromwell’s political career, the first position he obtains is a seat in the Commons, for the district of Taunton. The following passage describes the process by which he obtains Taunton, and while the town’s name is technically borrowed, as names typically are, the procedure of amplification is also used; ‘kiesdistrict’ adds information to enable the target audience to correctly interpret what ‘Taunton’ stands for.

Seats in the Common are, largely, in the gift of lords; of lords, bishops, the king himself. A scanty handful of electors, if pressured from above, usually do as they're told. Rafe has got him Taunton. It's Wolsey terrain; they wouldn't have let him in if the king had not said yes, if Thomas Howard had not said yes.

(ST 161)

Zetels in het Lagerhuis zijn grotendeels te vergeven door lords; door lords, bisschoppen, de koning zelf. Een karig handjevol kiezers doet gewoonlijk, met wat druk van bovenaf, wat hun wordt gezegd. Rafe heeft hem het kiesdistrict Taunton bezorgd, Wolsey's territorium; ze hadden hem niet toegelaten als de koning geen ja had gezegd, als Thomas Howard geen ja had gezegd.

(TT 173)

A number of important legislative bills and acts are also mentioned in the novel, usually ones that played a crucial part in the course of Henry VIII's reign. For example, the Treaty of Perpetual Peace cemented a long period of peaceful relations with England's age-old enemy, France. The Act of Succession was used to put Anne Boleyn's daughter Elizabeth before the king's daughter from his first marriage, Princess Mary, and thus directed the course of history after Henry's death, and the Act of Supremacy declared that Henry was Supreme Head of the Church in England, a decision which largely enabled the Protestant Reformation to gain a substantial foothold in England. Such treaties and bills have been translated more or less literally, as "de Eeuwige Vrede" (TT 109), "de akte van troonopvolging" (TT 574) and "de Suprematiewet" (TT 599).

Positions in the government are never borrowed, only ever translated with established equivalents or some discursive creation. For example, the list below lists the positions which Cromwell holds in the government in consecutive order (at least, the ones mentioned in *Wolf Hall*, which are most of Cromwell's major positions - minor ones go mostly unmentioned), as well as their translations.

king's councillor	raadsman van de koning	(ST 321, TT 332)
Keeper of the Jewel House	juweelwaar	(ST 359, TT 371)
Clerk of the Hanaper	landsadvocaat	(ST 386, TT 398)
Lord Chancellor	kanselier	(ST 167, TT 179)
Master of the Rolls	archieffmeester	(ST 580, TT 591)
Lord Privy Seal	signetmeester	(ST 281, TT 292)

The corresponding governmental bodies, such as “the Jewel House” (ST 627) and “the Mint” (ST 433) are also translated instead of borrowed, as “de Schatkamer” (TT 639) and “de Munt” (TT 445).

Positions at court or in the royal household are treated similarly, but with more discursive creation. For example, “the gentlemen of [the king’s] privy chamber” (ST 409) is translated as “zijn kamerheren” (TT 421), but the ‘chamberlain’ in “Lord Mountjoy, Katherine’s Chamberlain” (ST 482) is also translated as “kamerheer” (TT 495), and “comptroller of the household” (ST 388) is translated as “kamerheer van de hofhuishouding” (TT 399); the same Dutch term is used on three occasions which all use different terms in English. On other occasions, a more descriptive translation is used (these are cases of the procedure known as amplification), as when Cromwell describes a connection he has in amongst the people in Anne’s private chambers; the phrase “Stephen Vaughan’s wife, who is in the Bedchamber” (ST 513), is translated as “Stephen Vaughan’s vrouw, die een aanstelling heeft in het koninklijke slaapvertrek” (TT 524). Lastly, in some cases, French terms are used instead of Dutch translations. For example, Harry Norris, one of Henry VIII’s closest friends, is “the Groom of the Stool, the man who hands the diaper cloth” (ST 57). In the translation, Norris is said to be Henry’s “*porte-coton*, de man die het katoentje aanrijkt” (TT 67).

### 5.3 Material & Social Culture

Several types of material and social culture feature in *Wolf Hall*. First of all, specific 16th century English systems of height and weight measurement as well as 16th century English currency feature a lot. Second of all, there are several references to types of garments, headdresses, garment decorations (embroidery and so on). Third, there the subcategory of leisure pursuits, including types of dances, verses and card games), and lastly, there is the subcategory of food and drink.

The currency system of 16th century England differs greatly from the system used in England nowadays (which a Dutch audience could reasonably be assumed to be at least sufficiently familiar with in order for them to grasp the value of certain amounts of money). The basic denominations of 16th century English currency are pounds, shillings, and pence, with 12 pence making a shilling and 12 shillings making a pound (“Money and Coinage”). However, the coins in circulation are not just pennies, shillings and pounds. For example, the most common coin is the crown, which is worth 5 shillings (“Money and Coinage”). In short, the system is rather complicated. Generally speaking, the translation of *Wolf Hall* borrows all currency types directly from the original text and does not alter them, depending on the target audience to be aware of the fact that due to inflation, the amounts of money being referred to would be worth much more in the current day, and be able to make a reasonable guess as to the value being referred to in such foreign terminology. So when

Cromwell writes his will and leaves his son Gregory “six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence” (ST 148), this is translated simply as “zeshonderdzesenzestig pond, dertien shilling en vier pence” (TT 159). There are, however, a few instances in which the audience is given some small measure of assistance by the translator, such as when a more obscure type of coin is mentioned; when young Cromwell finds a coin on the street and his father throws it away, saying it is “but a tinny farthing”, the coin type is translated as a “kwartpenny” (TT 586). A farthing is indeed worth a quarter of a penny, and so this translation is a case of established equivalent. At another point, abbreviations are used instead of full coin denominations, and in the translation, instead of the abbreviations, the full coin names have been used so as to aid the audience; the inventory of a household lists “[o]ne small basin, weight 12lbs @ 4d the pound” (ST 576), and this line is translated as “EEN KLEINE SCHAAL, GEWICHT 12 POND TEGEN 4 PENCE HET POND” (TT 587).

This brings me to the next topic, that of height and weight measurements. While the currency system is reasonably transparent, height and weight measurements are a lot more obscure to a Dutch audience, because the Dutch are accustomed to using the metric system; terms like ‘inch’ and ‘foot’ mean little to the average Dutch reader. Therefore, the procedures used for these types of measurements differ from the ones used for the currency system. They are generally translated with an established equivalent, a term commonly used to refer to roughly the same height or weight. For example, when a neighbour comes to young Cromwell’s father’s smithy to commission a hunting knife with a “twelve-inch blade” (ST 333) to prepare for a rumored Cornish invasion, this is translated as “een lemmet van twaalf duim lang” (TT 344), and when the Duke of Norfolk relates a jousting accident in which the king was struck with a lance “an inch, *one inch* from his eye” (ST 255), this phrase is translated as “een duim, één duim maar, van zijn oog vandaan” (TT 267). Similarly, when it is important for the audience to grasp the size of something, as with the tables the King’s men use to display and examine Cardinal Wolsey’s wealth before his possessions are all taken from him (he has fallen from grace at this point in the story). These tables are described to be “twenty feet long” (ST 49), which is translated correctly as “ruim drie meter lang” (TT 59). Measurements for which there is no clear established equivalent can be found, a generalisation is used. For example, when Cromwell receives a gift of “bushels of Kentish apples” (ST 507), a bushel being a volume measurement of roughly 36 litres (“Bushel”), this is translated as “hopen Kentse appels” (TT 519).

Types of garments are usually translated literally; in the above-mentioned scene where the cardinal’s wealth is examined, his “vestments” are taken out of storage as well, his “copes”, “albs” and “cottas” (ST 262). These terms are translated as “misgewaden”, “koormantels”, “alben” en

“superplies”, respectively (TT 293). Similarly, headdresses translated with an established equivalent; when it is said that Princess Mary “still wears an old-style gable hood” (TT 556), a sign of conservative values, the translation states the following: “ze draagt nog altijd een ouderwetse tudorkap” (TT 567). As for garment decoration, mentions of specific types of embroidery are generally borrowed, as they are not crucial to the audience’s understanding of the text; what matters is that the audience understands the garment is richly decorated, not precisely what kind of embroidery pattern is used. For instance, “a black-work design” (ST 92) is translated as ‘een *blackwork*-motief’ (TT 103) and “a crewel-work panel” (ST 501) as “een paneel *crewel*-werk” (TT 513).

Popular pastimes at court are mentioned a lot, specifically types of dances and games. For example, in a description of the peace meeting between two kings, it is said that “it is the processions that matter, the exchange of gifts, the royal games of *bowls, the tilts, jousts, and masques*: these are not preliminaries to the process, they are the process itself” (ST 391, my emphasis). In short, leisure pursuits like these are crucial ways for people to interact and become friendly with one another in a rather stiff courtly milieu, and even play a part in the making of an international peace treaty. The list of leisure activities quoted above is translated as “de koninklijke spelen die worden gespeeld, *bowls, trou madame, tafelronde, masque*” (TT 403); generally speaking, the procedure of borrowing is used, ‘*trou madame*’ is a case of established equivalent, and ‘*tafelronde*’ is an adaptation. Types of dances are also frequently mentioned. These are generally borrowed with slight spelling naturalisations; for example, when it is said that “the dancers are resting, fanning themselves, from the galliards, pavaues and almanes” (ST 390), those dances are translated as “de gailardes, pavaues en almanes” (TT 401). Other mentions of dances include “gigue, saltarello” (ST 409) and “spanoletta” (ST 476), which are translated as “gigue, saltarello” (TT 420) and “de spagnolette” (TT 488). Similarly, when the capitalisation in the name of the card game “Pope Julius” (ST 346) could cause confusion among the target readers, potentially leading them to believe the actual pope is being mentioned, the translation uses “*paus julius*” instead, which, with its lower case initial letters, prevents the misconception.

Types of food and drink also feature frequently in the novel. They are borrowed if there is no equivalent in Dutch, as with “*syllabub*” (ST 351), a creamy, typically English desert. If an equivalent exists in Dutch culture, then the items of food and drink are usually translated in a more domesticating manner; for example, “*Rhenish*” (ST 34, 72), a type of wine, is translated as “*Rijnwijn*” (TT 44, 83), which is in part a literal translation and in part an amplification (in that the source text never overtly mentions that the beverage is a type of wine). Another example is the “*pottage*” (ST 404) served in a lowly French tavern and described as looking like “what’s left when a whore’s washed her shift” (ST 404), which is translated with “*soep*” (TT 416), a case of a relatively literal translation.

## 5.4 Historical Events & Origin Stories

There are two main types of ‘historical’ elements that feature in *Wolf Hall*. On the one hand, there are factual references to actual events of the past, and on the other hand, there are mythological elements and origin stories, which are presumably largely fictional, even if they are taken as fact by the characters in the novel.

For the first, a variety of different procedures is used. In some cases, names of historical events are simply borrowed; this is particularly the case with famous historical sieges and battles, such as ‘Agincourt’, the major English victory by King Henry V in the Hundred Years War against France in 1415 (“Battle of Agincourt”) and a battle remembered by Henry VIII and his court in the novel with great pride as a sign of English superiority over the ancient enemy of France. Whenever the battle is named, the translation simply borrows the name ‘Agincourt’ without giving no extra information. However, when battles are referred to not simply by their location but by their full name ‘battle of ...’, as in “the Battle of Mortimer’s Cross” (ST 95), the location is borrowed but the rest of the phrase is translated literally, resulting in “de slag van Mortimer’s Cross” (TT 106). Names of historical events which speak for themselves are also borrowed, such as in the phrase “[t]he year of the riots [;] Evil May Day they called it” (ST 173). Evil May Day was a particularly calamitous day in a set of riots in 1517, which is translated simply as “*Evil May Day*” (TT 185). If a historical event is known in the target culture by a different name, that name is generally used. For example, reference is repeatedly made to the 1520 peace treaty-signing meeting between Henry VIII and King Francis I of France known as the ‘Field of the Cloth of Gold’. The two monarchs tried to outshine one another upon their meeting, and so “[t]he tents and the costumes displayed so much cloth of gold, an expensive fabric woven with silk and gold thread, that the site of the meeting was named after it” (“Field of the Cloth of Gold”). In Dutch, it is known as het ‘Goudlakenkamp’, but the translation instead uses the French phrase “Le Camp du Drap d’Or” (TT 105).

Cultural references to the legendary or mythological past of England are commonly also known in the Netherlands, especially when they refer to Roman or Greek descent, so those elements are commonly translated with the established Dutch equivalents. The following passage illustrates the use of legendary elements in *Wolf Hall* and the translation thereof really well:

They landed on an island shrouded in mist. As it had no name, the eldest of the killers gave it hers: Albina. [...] After eight centuries of rule, they were overthrown by Trojan Brutus. The great-grandson of Aeneas, Brutus was born in Italy [...] When they landed they were forced to do battle with the giants, led by Gogmagog. [...] Trojan



Brutus and his descendants ruled till the coming of the Romans. Before London was called Lud's Town, it was called New Troy. And we were Trojans. Some say the Tudors transcend this history, bloody and demonic as it is: that they descended from Brutus through the line of Constantine, son of St Helena, who was a Briton. Arthur, High King of Britain, was Constantine's grandson.

(ST 65)

Ze strandden op een in mist gehuld eiland, en daar het geen naam had, gaf de oudste van de moordenaressen het de hare: Albina. [...] Na achthonderd jaar heerschappij werden ze overwonnen door Brutus van Troje. Brutus, achterkleinzoon van Aeneas, werd geboren in Italië [...] Toen ze aan land gingen, werden ze gedwongen om strijd te leveren met de reuzen, die werden aangevoerd door Gogmagog. [...] Voordat Londen Lud's Town heette, heette het Nieuw Troje. En waren wij Trojanen. Er zijn er die zeggen dat de Tudors deze historie overstijgen, bloedig en demonischals ze is: dat ze van Brutus afstammen via Constantijn, zoon van Sint Helena, die een Briton was. Arthur, Hoge Koning van Brittanië, was Constantijn's kleinzoon."

(ST 76-7)

## 5.5 Religious Culture

Religion is a cultural category in its own right, especially in the time of Cromwell, because it plays a major role in every part of people's lives, from the day to day prayers and Sunday church services to major life events such as births, marriages or deaths. There are three types of references to religious culture in *Wolf Hall*: the holy days and feast days of the Christian liturgical year, as well as saints' feast days; the names of saints themselves and the names of characters from the Bible; elements of prayer or church services, including Latin quotations; ranks within the Church's hierarchy; and religious oaths.

Generally speaking, all holy days and feast days are translated with their Dutch established equivalent. These types of religious cultural references are not specifically part of English culture alone; they are also a part of Dutch culture and as such, Dutch has the necessary native terminology to refer to them. For example, "Martinmas" (ST 61) is translated as "Sint-Maarten" (TT 71), "All Hallows Day" (ST 154) as "Allerzielen" (TT 166), "the Twelfth Night revels" (ST 174) as "het Twaalfavondsfeest" (TT 186), and "the week of Christ's Passion" (ST 200) as "Goede Week" (TT 212). Both "Whitsun" (ST 318) and the shortened form "Whit" (ST 448), the British name for the feast of Pentecost, are translated as "Pinksteren" (TT 329, 460). The same goes for saints' feast days; for example, the sentence "[t]hey say on St' Catherine's Day last, while we were at Calais, she

saw a vision” (ST 440), is translated as “[z]e zeggen dat ze onlangs, met Sint-Catharina, toen wij in Calais waren, een visioen heeft gekregen” (ST 453).

Several translations used for holy days could also be seen as cases of the procedure of adaptation (replacing an ST cultural element with one from the target culture) as opposed to an established equivalent; the line between these two procedures becomes a little blurry when the cultural elements being translated exist in both the source culture and the target culture. For example, Anne’s first arrival at court in 1521 is described as follows: “At Shrovetide, she dances in a court masque. The ladies are costumed as Virtues, and she takes the part of Perseverance” (ST 67). ‘Shrovetide’ is translated as “carnaval” (TT 78). Shrovetide or Shrove Tuesday is the Tuesday preceding Ash Wednesday, the start of the forty-day period of fasting known as Lent. As such, it is typically a day of indulgence, especially indulgence in food to compensate for the sacrifices to be made in the upcoming Lenten period (“Shrove Tuesday”). In Dutch it is known as Vastenavond or ‘Vette Dinsdag’ (due to the food indulgence), but it is indeed also the end of ‘carnaval’, which traditionally lasts until the stroke of midnight on Tuesday night. The translator has chosen for a translation that refers to the same day as the more literal translation, but has a greater cultural resonance to the target audience; the period of Lent (‘vastentijd’) is not observed by a large portion of the Dutch audience (only Catholics will be familiar with it and the feast day of Shrove Tuesday right before it), but carnaval is widely celebrated and known amongst a Dutch audience and will make the notion of a court masque on this particular night make sense; the link between carnaval and festivities is presumably more prominent in the average Dutch reader’s mind than the link between ‘Vastenavond’ or ‘Vette Dinsdag’ and such festivities.

The names of saints, also intercultural in nature (as the saints are not exclusively British, but known throughout Catholic nations throughout the world, including the Netherlands), are translated in the same way as most of the holy days and feast days, namely through established equivalents, and there are two ways in which the saints’ names are written in Dutch; with the title ‘Sint’, and with a modifying adjective ‘heilige’. For example, “St Veronica” (ST 331) and “St Sebastian” (ST 142) are translated as “de heilige Veronica” (TT 342) and “de heilige Sebastiaan” (TT 154), whereas “St Peter” (ST 382) and “St Godelva” (ST 643) are translated as “Sint Petrus” (TT 394) and “Sint Godelief” (TT 656). The two forms are used interchangeably. There is one exception to this pattern, when Anne’s coronation is described:

Cranmer, in a dense cloud of incense, is pressing into her hand the sceptre, the rod of ivory, and resting the crown of St Edward briefly on her head, before changing for a lighter and more bearable crown [...]. (ST 467)

St Edward's Crown is one of the oldest British Crown Jewels and is the coronation crown typically used in the crowning of English and British monarchs ("St Edward's Crown"). It is named after St Edward the Confessor, who is known in the Netherlands as Eduard de Belijder, and as such the above sentence is translated using this saint's name instead of simply 'Sint Eduard':

Cranmer, in een dichte wierookwalm, drukt haar de scepter en de ivoren staf in de hand, en laat de kroon van Eduard de Belijder even op haar hoofd rusten voordat hij die verwisselt voor een draagbaarder exemplaar [...].

(TT 479)

Names and events from the Bible are also translated with established Dutch equivalents. As such, in the following passage which references the biblical story of Ahab, all of the names are translated with their Dutch equivalents:

At Greenwich, a friar called William Peto, the head in England of his branch of the Franciscan order, preaches a sermon before the king, in which he takes as his text and example the unfortunate Ahab, seventh king of Israel, who lived in a palace of ivory. Under the influence of the wicked Jezebel he built a temple and gave the priests of Baal places in his retinue. The prophet Elijah told Ahab that the dogs would lick his blood [...].

(ST 362)

Op Greenwich draagt een minderbroeder, William Peto, Engelse gardiaan van de franciscaner orde, voor de koning een mis op over de onfortuinlijke Achab, de zevende koning van Israel, die in een paleis van ivoor woonde. Onder de invloed van de slechte Izebel bouwde hij een heidense tempel en nam hij de priesters van Baäl op in zijn gevolg. De profet Elia verkondigde aan Achab dat de honden zijn bloed op zouden likken [...].

(TT 373)

Ranks and positions within the Church's hierarchy are likewise translated with established equivalents. For example, Luther is commonly referred to as "Brother Martin" (ST 124), which is then translated as "broeder Maarten" (TT 135), and "the Holy See" (ST 142) is translated as "[d]e Heilige Stoel" (TT 154). The same goes for elements of church services or prayer; "the Communion host" (ST 348) is translated as "de hostie" (TT 359), and in the following passage in which Cromwell flips through his deceased wife's prayer book, all the offices are replaced with their Dutch equivalents:

These are Our Lady's prayers for the canonical hours, the pages illuminated by a dove, a vase of lilies. The office is Matins, and Mary kneels on a floor of checkered tiles. [...] He turns the page. The office is Lauds. Here is a picture of the Visitation. Mary, with her neat little belly, is greeted by her pregnant cousin, St Elizabeth. [...] The office is Prime. The picture is the Nativity; a tiny white Jesus lies in the folds of his mother's cloak. The office is Sext: the Magi proffer jewelled cups [...]. The office is None: Joseph carries a basket of doves to the temple. The office is Vespers: a dagger sent by Herod makes a neat hole in a shocked infant.

(ST 155)

Dit zijn de Mariagetijden voor de canonieke uren, de bladzijden geïllumineerd met een duif, een vaas madonnales. Het officie is metten, en Maria knielt op een vloer van tegels in een ruitpatroon. [...] Hij slaat de bladzijde om. Het officie is lauden. Hier een plaatje van Maria-Middelares. Maria, met haar keurige kleine buik, wordt begroet door haar eveneens zwangere nicht, de heilige Elizabeth. [...] Het officie is priem. Het plaatje is de geboorte van Christus: een kleine blanke Jezus ligt in de plooien van zijn moeder's mantel. Het officie is sext; de Wijzen houden met juwelen bezette kelken op [...]. Het officie is noen: Jozef brengt een kooi met een koppel duiven naar de tempel. Het officie is vesper: een dolk, gestuurd door Herodes, maakt een keurig gat in een geschokte baby.

(TT 167)

The novel also features many Latin prayers and formulaic phrases said during Church services, but I will discuss those in section 6.6.1 on Latin foreign language elements.

Lastly, there is the matter of religious oaths. Most of these can be attributed to the character of the Duke of Norfolk. His language is characterised by his frequent use of religious oaths; in fact, it is apparently such a defining characteristic of his that it is emphasized time and time again in the first description we ever get of him, when Cromwell first meets him one on one:

'Marry!' he says, for an oath, and 'By the Mass!' and sometimes takes out one of his medals and charms from wherever it is hung about his person, and kisses it in a fervour, calling on some saint or martyr to stop his current rage getting the better of him. 'St Jude give me patience!' he will shout; probably he has him mixed up with Job, whom he heard about in a story when he was a little boy at the knee of his first priest.

(ST 162)

‘Marante!’ roept hij bij wijze van vloek, en: ‘Bij gods zeven sacramenten!’, en soms haalt hij een van zijn medailles of amuletten tevoorschijn vanwaar die dan ook aan zijn persoon ungt. en drukt er heftig een kus op, waarbij hij een of andere heilige of martelaar aanroept om de razernij van het moment in te tomen voor die hem de baas wordt. ‘Sint Judas geve me geduld!’ schreeuwt hij dan; waarschijnlijk verwart hij hem met Job, over wie hij heeft horen vertellen toen hij als kleine jongen aan de knie van zijn eerste huispriester stond.

(TT 174)

The oaths are translated rather liberally; ‘By the Mass!’ features several times throughout the novel and is never translated in the same way; apart from ‘bij gods zeven sacramenten’, which is used here, I came across “Gans bloed” (TT 222) and “Sente Marie” (ST 176). None of the translations are literal translations, most likely because ‘Bij de mis’ would not express enough vehemence; rather liberal use of the procedure of discursive creation has been used to translate these oaths.

## 5.6 Foreign Language Elements

The main two languages which are incorporated in the narrative of *Wolf Hall* are Latin and French, followed by Italian to a lesser degree. These three are discussed in the first three separate sub-sections below. The fourth deals with other languages which play a minor part, such as German, Welsh and Dutch or Flemish. The fifth sub-section discusses the few rare occasions on which English elements are translated with a foreign language element, resulting in a foreign item in the target text that was not there in the original, and one or two instances of a foreign language element being translated into a different foreign language, so that an element that is originally, say, Latin, becomes French in the target text.

### 5.6.1 Latin

A great deal of the Latin used in the novel is legal terminology. At the time, higher education, such as law or theology, was conducted primarily in Latin, and as such, the accompanying terminology is Latin as well - in fact, to this day, many legal concepts are still expressed by Latin phrases all over the world. For example, when King Henry asks Cromwell if he has enough authority to deal with financial as well as legal matters, he says “‘I’m not sure you have *locus standi* in the matter” (ST 222), or when Cromwell tells a friend not to despair about the end of the hunting season that is drawing nigh, he says “‘[...] *nil desperandum*, monsieur, we shall have some sport” (ST 436). In both of the above instances, the Latin is borrowed, italics and all. In other cases, the Latin or the context surrounding it does not necessarily speak for itself, and other translation procedures are employed to aid the audience’s comprehension. For example, when Cromwell complains about hot

having a boat of his own, he says “[i]t would be convenient [...] if I had Master Secretary’s barge, instead of making *ad hoc* arrangements when we have to cross the river” (ST 499). This sentence is translated with a literal translation of the Latin: “[h]et zou makkelijk zijn [...] als ik de sloep van de hofsecretaris had en niet steeds *ter plekke* iets hoefde te regelen wanneer we de rivier op moeten” (TT 511-12, my emphasis). Similarly, when Cromwell advises for a friend of his to be employed for an important position, and doubts about the friend’s suitability are expressed, Cromwell says “Let the king try him in the role *pro tem*” (ST 378), which is translated as “Laat hem de spreker *in overweging* nemen” (ST 378 - my emphasis).

Another type of Latin reference that occurs in *Wolf Hall* is religious in nature. For example, there is a passage which details a disturbance of a Catholic Mass in an English parish, at a point in time when the Reformation in England is gathering force:

In one city parish last Sunday, at the sacred moment of the elevation of the host, and just as the priest pronounced, ‘*hoc est enim corpus meum*’, there was an outbreak of chanting, ‘*hoc est corpus, hocus pocus.*’ And in an adjacent parish, at the commemoration of the saints, where the priest requires us to remember our fellowship with the holy martyrs, ‘*cum Joanne, Stephano, Mathia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro ...*’ some person had shouted out, ‘and don’t forget me and my cousin Kate, and Dick with his cockle-barrel on Leadenhall, and his sister Susan and her little dog Posset.’”

(ST 385)

All Latin religious formulaic phrases and elements of prayers are borrowed into Dutch.

So far, I have discussed mostly individual Latin expressions transplanted in English sentences. However, *Wolf Hall* also contains a great deal of full-length Latin quotations. These are generally translated in the same way as most shorter Latin expressions; they are borrowed and italicised just as they are in the original narrative. In the case of full phrase quotations, there are never any deviations from this translation procedure, as there were with shorter legal terms which are sometimes translated literally into Dutch, causing a loss of the foreign language elements. Such invasive procedures are never necessary in the case of sentence-length quotations, because they are all explained in the context. Here follows a short list of examples of such sentence-length Latin quotations, the explanatory context they occur in, and their translations.

‘*Rex quondam rexque futurus.* The former king is the future king.’ (ST 276)

‘*Rex quondam rexque futurus.* Koning voor eens en altijd.’ (TT 287)

‘*Nulla salus extra ecclesiam*. Outside the church there is no salvation. (ST 452)

‘*Nulla salus extra ecclesia*. Er is geen verlossing buiten de Kerk. (TT 464)

The saying comes to him, *homo homini lupus*, man is wolf to man. (ST 572)

Er schiet hem een gezegde binnen: *homo homini lupus*, de mens is een wolf voor zijn medemens. (TT 583)

In a few rare instances, there is no explanatory element in the source text. For example, when Henry says that he has had all the windows in Westminster Abbey reglazed for Anne’s coronation, “‘The better to see her’” (ST 471), one of the noblemen present murmurs “‘*Fiat lux*’” (ST 471), and no further explanation of the Latin is given. It is in fact a Biblical quote, from Genesis 1:3: ‘Let there be light’. The lack of explanation is upheld in the translation; precisely because there is obscurity in the original, there must also be obscurity in the target text, in order to produce an equivalent effect in the target audience.

### 5.6.2 French

There are two types of characters who use French in *Wolf Hall*. Firstly, there are characters who are English natives, but have spent time abroad, and have a tendency to use French expressions when the English equivalent refuses to come to mind, or when they are deliberately trying to appear exotic and fashionable. The French used ranges from single words and interjections to full sentences.

Cromwell himself uses French frequently. For example, when he is gossiping with one of Anne’s ladies in waiting, hoping for information on her private affairs, he says that he is disappointed, as “I had hopes of particulars; this is just the *on dit*” (ST 169). The French element is borrowed in the translation, italics and all. Generally speaking, all foreign language elements are italicised in the original novel, whereas in the translation, only the first instance of a particular element is italicised; follow-up occurrences of foreign language elements are always unmarked by italics or any other sort of means of emphasising. In Cromwell’s case, a lot of the instances in which he uses French are when he discusses topics on which much of the terminology is traditionally in French. For example, when reviewing the state of the kitchen of a house in the country where he plans to travel, he observes that “[t]he *batterie de cuisine* is an insult, and the stockpot is mildewed” (ST 61). With other characters, the use of French is an affectation, an attempt to seem interesting. Anne Boleyn is a good example of this. She has a tendency to use French interjections when English could easily serve the same purpose. For example, Anne says the following phrases:

‘[...] And is anyone is to be thrown out of a palace window ... *alors*,

Thomas, I know who I would like to throw.’ (ST 362)

‘[...] two monarchs meeting, once they are in sight, should take the same number of steps towards each other. And this works, unless one monarch - *hélas* - were to take very small steps, forcing the other to cover the ground.’

(ST 391)

Anne also pretends that her time spent in France (she was raised from childhood until her early twenties at the court of the French Queen Claude) has affected her pronunciation to such an extent that she is no longer capable of pronouncing perfectly normal English names such as ‘Cromwell’. The quote below describes Anne and Cromwell’s first meeting of any significant import. In all cases mentioned, the French foreign language expressions are borrowed into Dutch without any alteration.

‘*Alors*,’ Anne says softly, ‘suddenly, everything is about you. The king does not cease to quote Master Cromwell.’ She pronounces it as if she can’t manage the English: *Cremuel*. ‘He is so right, he is at all points correct ... Also, let us not forget, *Maître Cremuel* makes us laugh.’

(ST 201)

More rarely, the French foreign elements in *Wolf Hall* are spoken by French natives, most notably Cromwell’s ruffian French servant Christophe, last name unknown. Cromwell first meets Christophe when he is in Calais and has a clandestine meeting at a lowly tavern, where Christophe works; Cromwell pays Christophe to spy on the men he meets with after they leave the tavern. The following passage, which details the next time they meet, when Christophe has the information Cromwell asked for, excellently illustrates the way Christophe speaks, switching between French and English whenever he needs to in order to make himself understood to the best of his abilities.

‘*On dit* those magi have retoured to Paris.’ [...] ‘I go to the place where *le roi Henry* and the *Grande Putain* are lodged, “*je cherche milord Cremuel*,” and the persons there laughed at me and beat me.’ [...] ‘Your name is?’ ‘Christophe.’ ‘You have a family name?’ ‘*Ça ne fait rien*.’ ‘You have parents?’ A shrug. ‘Your age?’ ‘What age would you say?’ ‘I know you can read. Can you fight?’ ‘There is much fighting *chez vous*?’”

(TT 424-5)

In this particular instance, all of the foreign elements are copied exactly into the translation, but later on, the translator takes a more liberal approach, using compensation occasionally where the original text does not have a foreign language element, in order to make sure that Christophe sounds sufficiently French to the Dutch ear, as illustrated by the following passage:



Now at Austin Friars, Christophe pursues him with questions. Those magi, what is it they have? Is it a carte of buried treasure? Is it - he flap his arms - the instructions for one to make a flying machine? Is it a machine to *faire* great explosions, or a military dragon, breathes out fire?

(ST 425)

Op Austin Friars bestookt Christophe hem met vragen. Die wijzen, wat hadden die? Een *carte* van een begraven schat? Of - hij wiekt met zijn armen - *instructions* om een vliegende machine te maken? Een machine *pour faire des enorme explosions*, een militaire draak die vuur spuwt?

(TT 437)

### 5.6.3 Other Languages

Four other languages feature in *Wolf Hall*: Italian, German, Welsh and Arabic. For the Italian, most of the foreign language elements are names. For example, one of Cromwell's friends, the Italian merchant Antonio Bonvisi, comes to visit a lot, and he uses Italian names on occasion and moreover, his Italian pronunciation tints even English names, as illustrated by this passage:

He laughs at his friend because, like all the Italians, he can't say 'Wyatt': it comes out 'Guiett', or something like that. [...] He smiles. Bonvisi says, 'Tommasso, I may give you some advice? The cardinal is finished.' [...] 'That is where I must warn you. Oh, not because of Guiett ... not because of any gossip, any light thing said ... [...]'

(ST 194-5)

Hij lacht om zijn vriend, omdat die, zoals alle Italianen, 'Wyatt' niet kan uitspreken. Het komt eruit als 'Guiett' of iets dergelijks. [...] Hij glimlacht. Bonvisi zegt: 'Tommasso, ik mag je toch wel goede raad geven? Het is afgelopen met de kardinaal.' [...] 'En daar moet ik je waarschuwen. O, niet vanwege Guiett ... niet vanwege een roddel, een te licht gesproken woord ... [...]'

(TT 206-7)

Moreover, Cromwell himself spent a big chunk of the time he was abroad on the Continent in Italy, and so he tends to use Italian terms when describing one of those experiences or when describing a scene that reminds him of his past in Italy. For example, he describes the young boys working in the kitchen of his household as "*garzoni*" (ST 321), Italian for 'boys', because he was once one of a band of young *garzoni* when working in a household of similar size in Italy, after he quit the soldier's life, and he continues to describe a certain type of food as "*torta di funghi*" (ST 509)

because he remembers it from his days in Italy, even though he could just as easily refer to it in English. Moreover, when telling an anecdote about a famous Italian nobleman, he uses Italian terms to describe him: “[...] in Urbino, which is a little town up in the mountains, where Count Federigo the great *condottiere* had his library of over a thousand books” (ST 363-4). Italian is also used when Cromwell and some of Henry’s courtiers discuss concepts they have read about in Italian books: for example, of Baldassare Castiglione (author of *The Book of the Courtier*, a sixteenth-century behavioural manual for noblemen), they say that “he extols *sprezzatura*[:] the art of doing everything gracefully and well, without the appearance of effort” (ST 401). These types of Italian foreign language elements are all borrowed directly into the translation.

There is less German in the novel than there is Italian, and it has a select few, very restricted usages. There are a few German natives in the story from the onset, but they are generally well-adjusted to the English language and society, and don’t commonly use German. Nor do any of the Englishmen and -women at court use German, for it is not seen as fashionable, like French is. The few sentence-length instances of German in the novel are instead all by Germans who are in England or have been in England for a relatively short time. For example, Cromwell hires the famous German painter Hans Holbein to paint a family portrait for him, and Holbein asks him the following: “*Gefällt es Ihnen, Herr Cromwell, sind Sie stolz darauf?*” (ST 421). Cromwell also meets the secret wife of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (whom, as a clergyman, is not supposed to marry at all) once Cranmer brings her over to England from their shared native Germany, and she speaks only German. There are only two other instances of German in the novel. First of all, when Cromwell criticises the king’s choice of new companion (namely Anne Boleyn), the courtier Henry Norris (whom is secretly in love with Anne) says, harshly, “So what would be your idea? Some fat frau from your travels?” (ST 330), thereby ridiculing Cromwell’s past, some of which was spent in Germany (at the time a part of the Holy Roman Empire), and contrasting his own stereotypical idea of a fat German housewife against the ideal woman that he imagines Anne to be. Lastly, Cromwell related the tale of when he once picked up a snake for a bet in Italy, and had to hold it until the count of ten; the boys who dared him “counted, rather slowly, in the slower languages: *eins, zwei, drei ...*” (ST 99). In this case, the use of German is crucial because it has an effect on the duration of the bet. In all of the above-mentioned cases, the German is borrowed directly into the Dutch translation, without any added explanations or translations - as the source text never gives such translations and the foreign elements therefore remain obscure in the original, the translator is under no obligation to make them more transparent in the translation.

The Welsh in the novel is a different matter. The Welsh language is the first of many foreign languages the reader hears Cromwell speak, and as such hints at his future linguistic prowess, even at a time when he is nothing more than a blacksmith's abused son running away from home. Young Cromwell comes to his sister's house for help, whose husband is Welsh, and when he leaves, his parting words to the husband are in perfect Welsh.

He picks up the money. He says, '*Hwyl, Morgan Williams. Diolch am yr arian.*' Thank you for the money. '*Gofalwch am Katheryn. Gofalwch am eich busnes. Wela i chi eto rhywbryd. Pob lwc.*'

(ST 12)

Hij pakt de munten op. '*Hwyl, Morgan Williams. Diolch am yr arian.*' Bedankt voor het geld. '*Gofalwch am Katheryn. Gofalwch am eich business. Wela i chi eto rhywbryd. Pobl Iwc.*'"

(TT 22)

Throughout the novel, Welsh continues to carry connotations of family and home: for example, later in life, Cromwell teaches the young men in his household, his wards and cousins, a few Welsh phrases. At one point, when his nephew Richard Cromwell goes to bed, he says good night to his uncle in Welsh: "'Good night. *Cysga'n dawel*'" (ST 178). Cromwell explains: "Sleep well: it is the familiar form for those who are close to home. It is the usage for fathers, for brothers" (ST 178). Welsh also functions as a link back to Cromwell's lowly past; for example, when he runs into an old acquaintance from his childhood, who happens to be the boatman on a boat he travels on, the two characters easily fall back into companionable banter, and the following conversation ensues:

'Is that not Sion Madoc?'

'Never forget a face, eh?'

Not when it's ugly.'

'Have you seen yourself, *bach?*'

(ST 294)

As illustrated by the examples above, the Welsh is typically translated at least partly in the surrounding sentences, and the translation has adopted this same practice; the Welsh elements are borrowed and the English translations are translated literally into Dutch. The exception is phrases like '*bach*' in the last example, which, in the context of Cromwell and Sion Madoc's playful yet mutually insulting banter, speaks for itself. True to form, the translation adds no explanation to it.

The one instance of Arabic in the entire novel occurs when Cromwell reminisces to his time on the Continent, and particularly the night in Cyprus on which he decided whether to return home to England or travel on to the Holy Land with the help of an Islamic fortune teller: “[i]n the room behind him as he looked out over the harbour lights, he heard a woman’s throaty laughter, her soft ‘*alhamdu lillah*’ as she shook the ivory dice in her hand” (ST 414). The Arabic phrase has been translated as “‘*Al hamdoe lillah*’” (TT 426), adapted to the Dutch ear, but borrowed nonetheless.

#### 5.6.4 Compensating Foreign Language Elements

On a very few rare occasions, the translation actually introduces foreign language elements where there were none in the original text. The phenomenon occurs with several languages. For French, I have already mentioned a few. For example, the ‘Field of the Cloth of Gold’ was translated with ‘Le Camp du Drap d’Or’, instead of the Dutch alternative, het ‘Goudlakenkamp’, most likely because the French sounds more elaborate and lavish. Moreover, I cited a passage earlier of the speech of Christophe, Cromwell’s young French servant, which in the translation contained more French than in the source text. There are a few other instances of French being introduced as a foreign language element in the translation where there was none in the source text. For one, the Spanish ambassador at court, Eustace Chaphuys, often complains about his work and having to send constant dispatches to the Spanish Emperor to keep him updated on the state of affairs in England (he is Queen Katherine’s nephew, and thus the matter of Henry and Katherine’s pending divorce lies close to heart). The first time he does so, he does it in French, saying “‘*Les dépeches, toujours les dépêches*’” (ST 192), but throughout the rest of the novel, he uses the English term ‘dispatches’. The translation, however, consistently uses the French ‘dépêches’ instead. Another instance of French occurring where there is none in the original is when reference is made to eight “anterooms” (ST 199), and an “antichamber” (594). In the source text, only the first portion of the words have a French root, the ‘anti-’ part, and they are considered to be English. However, they are translated as “antichambre(s)” (TT 211, 606), with the second half of the word made French as well. On another occasion, French is used not instead of English, but instead of a different foreign language; it is said that “[n]ews comes from France of the cardinal’s triumphs, parades, public masses and extempore Latin orations” (ST 106), which is translated as “[v]anuit Frankrijk komt bericht over de triomfen van de kardinaal, optochten, openbare missen en redevoeringen à l’improviste in het Latijn” (TT 117, my emphasis).

Finally, there are a few English items which are borrowed into the Dutch translation and given foreign element status there; the interjection “aye” (ST 345, 354) is rendered as “Aye” (TT 356, 365) both times it occurs. This interjection adds character to the interaction between the characters in

question and adds a hint of foreignness to the narrative without negatively affecting the audience's comprehension of the scene, and therefore contributes to the audience's overall reading experience.

### 5.7 Quotations & References to Real-World Publications

*Wolf Hall* is filled with references to real-world novels, poems, songs and political or religious tracts. There are several types of these references. First of all, in some cases, the novel quotes lines from political tracts of legislative texts, such as legal acts Cromwell is drawing up. These lines are generally integrated into the narrative at points where they are highly relevant and it is important for the audience to understand them. Therefore, they are generally handled in the translation by use of the procedure of literal translation. For example, in the following passage, Cromwell is working on the law that will establish Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church of England, a crucial turning point in the narrative, because it is what ultimately gives him the power to divorce his wife Queen Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn instead, and has far-reaching consequences for Christianity in England.

He writes, 'This realm of England is an Empire.' *This realm of England is an Empire, and so has been accepted in the world, governed by one Supreme Head and King ...*

(ST 426)

Dan schrijft hij: HET KONINKRIJK ENGELAND IS EEN IMPERIUM. *Het koninkrijk Engeland is een imperium, en als zodanig erkend door de wereld, geregeerd door één soeverein vorst en koning ...*

(TT 438-9)

On the other hand, there are instances in which quotations from real-world publications do not play a major part in the narrative; they are many direct quotations of songs, both in English and in other languages, which are typically borrowed in the translation and remain unaltered, and serve as markers of foreignness in the Dutch narrative. A great deal of these are quotations from songs written by Henry VIII himself, like the example down below.

As the holly groweth green  
And never changes hue  
So am I and ever hath been,  
Unto my lady true.

Green groweth the holly, so doth the ivy.  
Though winter blasts blow ever so high.

(ST 120/TT 131-2)

Similarly, a Spanish song about a boy named Scaramella who goes to war is also borrowed in full:

*Scaramella va alla guerra  
Colla lancia et la rotella  
La zombero boro borombetta  
La borro borombo ...*

(ST 206/TT 218)

No translation is provided in the source text at this point; later on in the novel, this soldier's song is referred to again, and at that point it is partly translated: "Scaramella to the war has gone, with his shield, his lance" (ST 390). In accordance with the way things have been done in the source text, the translation leaves the Spanish lines untranslated the first time, and provides a Dutch translation on that later occurrence: "Scaramella trekt ten strijde, met zijn schild, met zijn lans" (TT 401).

The final type of reference to a real-world publication that occurs in *Wolf Hall* does not involve direct quotations; instead, these are references to the title of a novel or the setting thereof. Generally speaking, title references are translated to what the works in question are most widely known as in Dutch, which can involve a language change. For example, "*The Golden Legend*" (ST 221), a work of saints' lives, is translated as "*Legenda Aurea*" (TT 233), whereas for "*Le Morte d'Arthur*" (ST 221), mentioned in the same sentence, the French title is borrowed. Tyndale's "*The Obedience of a Christian Man*" (ST 242) is translated as "*The Obedience of a Christian Man*" (TT 254), whereas Luther's "*Liberty of a Christian Man*" (ST 335) is translated as "*De vrijheid van een christen*" (ST 346). The English work by Tyndale is lesser known in the Netherlands, whereas Luther's works were translated into Dutch early on in the Reformation period and are thus more widely known by their translated Dutch titles. Similarly, Niccolo Machiavelli's book "*Principalities*" (ST 105) is known as "*Il Principe*" (TT 116) in Dutch, but Luca Pacioli's mathematical book "*Summa de Arithmetica*" (ST 363) is more widely known by its original Latin title, and thus the title is borrowed in the translation (TT 375).

References to the setting of a real-world publication also occur. For example, Cromwell's biggest adversary at court is the lawyer and devout Catholic Sir Thomas More, one of the king's primary advisors. More's best-known work is called *Utopia*: it is a "work of fiction and political philosophy", a "frame narrative primarily depicting a fictional island society" ("*Utopia* (book)"). Cromwell uses this notion of an ideal land, a Utopia, to mock More on several occasions, as do others; at some point, a fellow lawyer observes that perhaps, Thomas More's time has passed, saying that "Utopia, after all, is not a place one can live" (ST 340). Such references are borrowed in

the translation, without any background information being given. After all, no added information is given to the source text audience either, so the reference is obviously intended to remain obscure. Another reason for the borrowing is most likely that the land of Utopia has no Dutch name to call it by; the Latin ‘Utopia’ is used in the Dutch translation of More’s novel as well as the English one. In some cases, however, novel settings are referenced which do have a Dutch established equivalent. In those cases, those equivalents are used. For example, when Cromwell’s father, a smith, observes that “if horseshoes were lucky, boy, I would be the King of Cockaigne” (ST 571), this phrase is translated as “Als hoefijzers geluk brachten, jong, dan was ik nu koning van Kokanje” (TT 582). The source text refers to the medieval poetry tradition about a land of plentiful food and drink. The modern Dutch term, ‘Kokanje’, is descended from Middle Dutch or Belgian ‘Cockaengen’, which ultimately derives from Old French and means ‘land of plenty’ (“Cockaigne”).

## 6. Discussion & Conclusion

In this thesis, I set out to discover to what extent Ine Willems' Dutch translation of *Wolf Hall* used either foreignising or domesticating translation procedures for the translation of cultural references, in order to prove that the genre of historical fiction requires a different approach pertaining to these types of references from regular literary translation, because it attempts to portray a realistic image of the past, which is by definition foreign to the target audience, and that foreignness is part of historical fiction's particular charm and should not be overly neutralised in translation. All in all, my analysis shows that the Willems translation of *Wolf Hall* is relatively foreignising. I will quickly summarise my findings pertaining to all the categories of cultural references that I analysed.

In the category of names, I distinguished between proper names, nicknames and forms of address. Proper names were almost always borrowed; contrary to Newmark's views on the translation of the names of sovereigns (1981:70), the names of English royals were not naturalised in this translation. The names of foreign royals were also borrowed, although homage was paid to other names by which the target audience may know them; for example, "the Emperor Charles" (ST 28) is translated as "de jonge keizer Charles, ook wel Karel, Karl of Carlos genoemd" (TT 38). One exception was made, for the translation of the names of popes, which were adapted to Dutch spelling conventions. As for place names, English place names were generally borrowed, whereas place names outside of the UK were translated with established Dutch equivalents. In some rare cases, borrowed translations were amended slightly for the sake of the audience's comprehension; for example, the initial 'd' on the last name 'de Selve' was capitalised, to prevent confusion with the Dutch article 'de', and 'Northumberland' was consistently translated as 'Northumberland', even when the source text uses the alternate name 'Northumbria'. As for nicknames, the degree of domestication found in the translation depends on whether the name was deemed transparent enough to be understood by the target text audience, and to what extent borrowing could cause strange leaps in the text; for example, 'Little Bilney' was borrowed, but 'Call-Me-Risley' was instead translated literally as 'Noem-me-Risley', as it is based on a piece of dialogue and it would be strange for an English nickname to be used when that particular piece of dialogue is in Dutch. Whenever the foreignness of the nickname is of import, for example when it is mentioned that Luther refers to Henry VIII as 'Junker Heinrich', borrowing was also the preferred procedure. Forms of address were generally borrowed if they were relatively transparent and Dutch translations would be very conspicuous (for these reasons, 'Sir' and 'my lady' are borrowed, instead of being translated with Dutch equivalents like 'ridder' and 'mijn vrouwe'). More obscure forms of address like 'Dowager-Princess' and the like were translated literally. In short: proper names were almost always borrowed, with a few very rare exceptions; place names were borrowed if they referred to



English locations, and translated with established equivalents if they referred to locations outside the UK; nicknames were borrowed if such borrowing caused no comprehension issues, but translated literally otherwise; and titles and forms of address were borrowed if they were relatively transparent, and translated literally if they were very obscure. Overall, the translation procedures used for the translation of names were on the foreignising side of the spectrum, unless use of foreignising translation procedures could potentially cause serious comprehension issues.

When it comes to administrative or legislative bodies, offices and measures, established equivalents were used, and sometimes the procedure of amplification also came into play, as when “the Commons” (ST 161) was translated as “het Lagerhuis” (TT 173). All government positions and bills or acts were translated literally, with established equivalents if those existed (or when needed, with some discursive creation), and on a very rare occasion, some clarifying amplification was used; for example, when a woman is said to be ‘in the Bedchamber’ (ST 513), the translation read “een aanstelling [...] in het koninklijke slaapvertrek” (TT 524). This category of cultural reference was translated using more domesticating procedures than any other, since it mostly includes official concepts for which established equivalents exist. Terms like ‘Lagerhuis’ are so commonly known in Dutch that borrowing the foreign items instead of using established equivalents would be odd.

In the category of material and social culture, types of garments were translated literally, but specific types of embroidery that are native to England were borrowed: a “*blackwork*-motief” (TT 103), a panel of “*crewel*-werk” (TT 513), and so on. Names of games and pastimes were borrowed, as were types of dances, although these sometimes had their spelling adapted to Dutch conventions. Food and drink were translated literally if a Dutch equivalent existed; otherwise, they were borrowed. References to the 16th century English currency system were generally borrowed, but sometimes the target audience was given some assistance; for example, obscure coins like the ‘farthing’ were translated with a descriptive term (‘kwartpenny’, in this case), and abbreviations signalling a certain currency denomination were spelled out in full (so ‘1d the pound’ is translated as ‘4 pence het pond’). Height and weight measurements, however, were not borrowed but translated with established equivalents or generalisations if no established equivalents existed; such measurements were deemed too obscure to be borrowed directly into the target text. In short, the choice for more foreignising or domesticating translation procedures in this category is dictated by the extent to which concepts are familiar to the target audience and whether retention might cause comprehension issues; so types of garments, pastimes and items of food and drink were typically borrowed, types of currency were borrowed with a few rare exceptions made for the sake of the target audience’s comprehension, while height and weight measurements were never borrowed.

Next is the category of historical events and origin stories. Battles were borrowed directly if only the name of a battle was mentioned, but if they were referred to by the full phrase ‘Battle of ...’. the surrounding phrase was translated literally. Other historical events which are probably unfamiliar to the target audience but which are explained sufficiently by the surrounding narrative were borrowed (such as “*Evil May Day*”, TT 185). Events referred to in legendary origin stories like the legend of King Arthur and the like are usually also known in Dutch, and as such, established equivalents were used (‘Nieuw Troje’ for ‘New Troy’), except when the locations referred to were set in England (the ancient name of London, ‘Lud’s Town’, is borrowed). In short, the approach taken in translating this category of cultural references is relatively domesticating; most events were translated literally or with established equivalents, with a few rare exceptions.

When it comes to religious culture, all references were translated with established equivalents, as these elements are presumably known to the Dutch target audience, what with Christianity being a major religion in the Netherlands as well as 16th century England. The only exception is religious oaths and curses, which were translated through discursive creation instead, to ensure that they have the same perlocutionary force as the oaths and curses in the source text. This category featured the most domesticating translation procedures out of all of the categories, because the Christian religion is one facet of English culture that is a deeply integrated part of Dutch culture as well, and as such, foreignising translation would strike the target audience as very odd indeed.

Foreign language elements were almost always borrowed, no matter the foreign language being borrowed from (Latin, French, German, etc.); sayings and expressions were borrowed in full and only given Dutch translations if the source text also includes an English translation. There is one exception; Latin legal terminology, which is inserted into the narrative frequently without any explanation, was borrowed if the meaning of the Latin was transparent or made obvious by the context, but were translated literally in the case of very obscure references; for example, the phrase “making *ad hoc* arrangements” (ST 499) was translated as “ter plekke iets [...] regelen” (TT 511). It makes sense for the translator to use more foreignising procedures for the translation of foreign language elements, as they provide a sense of the main character’s multicultural social environment in the source text and should conjure this same feeling in the target text.

Lastly, there is the category of quotations from and references to real-world publications. Quotations from legal acts tend to be long and obscure and crucial to the audience’s understanding of crucial events in the narrative, so they were translated literally. Quotations from songs and poems, most of them written by Henry VIII himself, were borrowed. Finally, the titles of publications were translated in a variety of ways, based on if and how the work is known most

commonly in Dutch. For example, the collection of saints' lives known in English as *The Golden Legend* was translated as *Legenda Aurea*, while *Le Morte d'Arthur* was borrowed; likewise, Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian man* has never been translated into Dutch and was thus borrowed, but Luther's famous work *The liberty of a christian man* has a well-known Dutch translation titled *De vrijheid van een christen*, and as such, the Dutch translation of *Wolf Hall* used that Dutch title instead of the English. In short, for this category the decision to use more foreignising or domesticating translation procedures was based on the extent to which the target audience might be familiar with the works in question; borrowing was employed when there would be no audience recognition of the works anyway, and when the works could reasonably be assumed to be familiar to the target audience, the titles by which they would most likely be known were used.

Overall, the Dutch translation of *Wolf Hall* is rife with borrowed source culture elements, and very, very rarely have cultural elements been left out entirely because they are judged to defy the audience's comprehension. I organised the initial list of procedures provided in Chapter 5 from most foreignising to most domesticating because it would allow a clear overview later on of which procedures were used (most) in the translation, and thus, which side of the spectrum the translation inhabits. As the summary I have provided above shows, the overwhelming majority of cultural references in *Wolf Hall* were either borrowed (particularly in the case of proper names, transparent references pertaining to material or social culture, and foreign language quotations), translated literally (particularly in the case of government and household positions), or translated with an established equivalent (particularly elements of religious culture and measurements. There are very occasional instances of discursive creation (mainly because no established equivalent exists and a translation must be found which has the same 16th century feel to it) and amplification (usually occurring in combination with one of the three most-used procedures described above). Most of the domesticating procedures such as description, generalization, variation or omission are almost never used (all of these features once or twice at most, if they feature at all).

I wish to reflect briefly on the models for analysing translation procedures I discussed in chapter 3. I remain of the opinion that the model I used, Molina & Albir's, is the least problematic of all. For example, Newmark's 1988 model included various vague categories which I do not think are necessary and which I indeed never saw a use for in my analysis of the translation of *Wolf Hall*. Moreover, I remain critical of his notion of couplets, triplets, quadruplets (ad infinitum), which combine two or more translation procedures to deal with a single problem (1988: 91). I never saw a need for such a distinction during my practical analysis of Ine Willems' translation, as I find it much more logical to simply acknowledge a translator's combination of different translation procedures

without introducing new terminology to refer to this phenomenon. The adjustments I made to the original 2002 Molina & Albir model served me well; it was extremely helpful, especially for the compilation of the final discussion of each category of cultural reference in this section, to have the given procedures ordered on a scale from most foreignising to most domesticating. I also chose to omit one of Molina & Albir's categories, their 'substitution', described as "[changing] linguistic elements for paralinguistic elements such as intonation or gestures" (2002: 511), on the grounds that it only has a place in audiovisual translation. I stand by this alteration, as this particular category was indeed not applicable to my particular branch of research. I do feel that the procedure of omission, which was missing and added by me to the overview of procedures provided in chapter 3 should in fact be included in any taxonomy of translation procedures. It was never really used in the case of *Wolf Hall*, but having the option there as a potential classification to use did make sense to me, considering that it could well have played a part in this translation and I feel like something would have been lacking had I not included it.

In short, the Dutch translation of *Wolf Hall* is highly foreignising, and such foreignisation should be more commonly seen as a crucial aspect of the translation of historical fiction, particularly historical fiction like *Wolf Hall*. The novel is written in a highly immersive style, with a very specific source culture narrator based on a real person (whose foreign qualities thus should not be downplayed), and deliberately gives very little information when it comes to introducing new characters (particularly ones already familiar to the narrator) and illustrating character conversations and interactions. Moreover, the novel generally provides no additional information about any cultural element beyond the bare necessities for comprehending the general gist of the narrative. It thus specifically aims to transport the reader (even of the source text) into a foreign world, and deliberately makes hardly any effort to dumb down history. The novel has recently been adapted into a TV miniseries for the BBC, resulting in claims that a show that does the book justice might be too demanding for the average viewer. Mantel has responded to these criticisms in her typical strongly opinionated manner, saying "there is no point in making concessions in the story in a bid to please everyone" (Furness, n.p.). She has been constantly "hearing - and rejecting" (Furness, n.p.) complaints that the books are so hard ever since *Wolf Hall* was first published, and the constant criticism has not altered her opinion; she stands by the notion that "the high-brow material [of *Wolf Hall*] [makes] it even more enjoyable for those intelligent enough to understand it" (Furness, n.p.).

As Arias observes, "Mantel [...] becomes an author/translator who translates a foreign past into a familiar present, without falling into the trap of 'domestication'" (Arias 2014:19). Moreover, Arias asserts that "the author, acting as translator [of the past] has interpreted and transposed the Tudor

period for us to comprehend. and she has opted for clearly crowding *Wolf Hall* [...] in the sixteenth century” (Arias 2014: 28). The author in her source text skillfully “establishes a dialogue with the exotic [Tudor past]” (Arias 2014: 33), and it is crucial for the translation of such a novel to likewise establish a dialogue with what to the target audience seems an even more exotic past, and in doing so, to retain the balance the author has struck between providing a familiarising outlook on the past by writing from Cromwell’s perspective and communicating a foreign, distant reality truthfully and accurately. The cultural gap between the target text audience and the material is obviously larger than the one between the source text audience and the material, but that does not excuse the use of decidedly domesticating translation procedures rather than foreignising ones. Instead, I would argue that the best approach to the translation of this kind of novel is to retain as much of the foreign culture as possible, and provide the target audience with extra information or gentle pushes in the right direction only where such intervention is unequivocally necessary for their understanding. Moreover, I think it is important not to adopt a single strategy for the overall work, or even for each individual category of cultural reference. As my analysis has shown, widely differing procedures were used in almost all of the categories, based on the perceived needs of the audience. I would argue that while it is important to have an overall idea in mind as to the extent to which one wishes to foreignise or domesticate a translation, and to try and preserve as much of the foreign culture as possible with a novel like this, ultimately, cultural references have to be treated on a case-by-case basis depending on the ever-shifting needs of the audience, while keeping in mind the overall aim of the translation. Thus, the translator ensures a reading experience that is most similar to the one had by the source text audience, which should be the first and foremost aim of any translator of literary fiction.

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