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Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr (1595)



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THE TWO SOURCES OF MAURICE KYFFIN'S
DEFFYNNIAD FFYDD EGLWYS LOEGR (1595)

ABSTRACT

In this note it is argued that for his Welsh translation of Bishop John Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (first published 1562) Maurice Kyffin did not only use Jewel's Latin text, as is indicated on the title page and in his address to the reader, but also Lady Anne Cooke Bacon's English translation, *An Apologie or answere in defence of the Churche of Englande* (1564). This makes Kyffin's *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (1595) an example of a 'contaminated' translation, which is based on both the original source and a translation into another language, a specific form of indirect, or 'secondhand', translation which is not infrequent in the history of translating.

IN THIS NOTE I suggest that the issue of the source of Maurice Kyffin's *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (1595) is more complex than has hitherto been assumed.¹ My argument is based on the analysis of a small corpus of eleven passages from the text which I prepared for a discussion of its syntactic complexity.² These passages, ranging in length from about 140 to about 450 words, were extracted more or less mechanically at intervals of about every twentieth page. To these, I added the corresponding passages from Bishop John Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (first published 1562),³ which is generally assumed to have been the only source for Kyffin's translation, based on the statement on the title page, 'Wedi ei gyfieuthu o Ladin' (*DFf* 1908: [i] 'translated from Latin') and on his remark at the end of his introductory address to the reader: '... i 'r llyfr duwiol ymma, a droes i o Ladin er mwyn y rhai anyscedig, yn yr hon iaith y scrifennodd Escob *Iuel* ef' (*DFf* 1908: [xvi] '... to this godly book which I translated from Latin for the benefit of the unlearned, in which language Bishop Jewel wrote it'). For further comparative purposes and as my own support translation,⁴ I complemented this set of passages with the corresponding passages from Lady Anne Cooke Bacon's English translation, *An Apologie or answere in defence of the Churche of Englande* (1564).⁵

¹On Maurice Kyffin (c. 1555–98) and his *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* see, for example, Williams (1997: 382–3) and Morgan (2018: 11–15), and further below.

²See Poppe (2022).

³On Bishop John Jewel (1522–71), see, for example, Booty (1963). For a brief characterization of his main achievements, see Booty (1963: 5–8), and for the *Apologia*, Booty (1963: 45–57). Booty (1963: 53) suggests that 'the *Apologia* was indeed a group project and therefore is more truly representative of the Church of England than has hitherto been thought'.

⁴For this term, see further below.

⁵On Lady Anne Cooke Bacon (c. 1528–1610), her *Apologie or answere in defence of the Churche of Englande*, and its opaque publication history, see, for example, Allen (2010), Demers

Rather unexpectedly, I then found a number of instances in which Kyffin's text seemed strikingly closer to the English of Bacon's *Apologie* than to the Latin of Jewel's *Apologia*. A first English translation of the *Apologia* was published in 1562, but the examples under (1) and (2) below show that it does not contain characteristic innovations shared by Bacon and Kyffin.⁶ It can therefore be ignored for the purpose of further comparisons.

In the following, I present instances of such intriguing correspondences between Bacon's and Kyffin's versions which, especially when taken together, I think cannot be easily explained as two translators independently finding the same answer to a translational challenge.

I begin with what even in isolation are my perhaps most compelling examples. (1.1) shows in the repetition of names listed in the preceding context an innovation shared by Bacon's and Kyffin's texts against the Latin, which employs simply anaphoric *illi* 'these', and also against the English translation of 1562. In (1.2), Bacon and Kyffin both use the same phrase *quantum in Eucharistia* and supply it with an explanation, while it is left unexplained in the Latin source and in the English translation of 1562.

- (1.1) Canys pam na achwynant hwy hyn hefyd, fyned *Lot* allan o *Sodom*, fyned *Abraham* ymmaeth o wlad *Caldea*, fyned yr *Hebraeaid* allan o'r *Aipht*, fyned *Crist* oddi wrth yr *Iddewon*, a myned *Pawl* oddi wrth y *Pharisaeaid*? Herwydd oni ddichyn bod achos cyfiawn i neb ymadel (na chynt na chweddi) ni welwn-ni resswm pam na ellir cyhuddo ***Lot, Abraham, yr Hebraeaid, Crist, a Phawl Abostol, o gynnwrf a gwyr-bleidiaeth yn gystal ag eraill.*** (*DFf* 1908: [142] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 71v)⁷

'For why do they not complain about that as well, Lot's leaving Sodom, Abraham's leaving the land of Chaldea, the Israelites' departing from Egypt, Christ's going away from the Jews, and Paul's going away from the Pharisees? Because if there cannot be a just reason for anyone to depart, before or afterwards, we see no reason why Lot, Abraham, the Israelites, Christ, and the Apostle Paul cannot be charged with discord and sedition as well as others.'

Nam cur hoc etiam non queruntur, Lothum è Sodoma: Abrahamum, è Chaldaea: Hebraeos ex Ægypto: Christum à Iudæis: Paulū à Phariseis discessisse? Nisi enim iusta aliqua possit esse caussa discessionis, nihil videmus, cur non ***illi*** quoque possint eodem modò, factionis & seditionis

(2011, 2016), Goodrich (2018), and Ferron (2019), all with references to earlier work. *AAD* 2016 is an edition with modernized spelling.

⁶On this translation, see Booty (1963: 55–6), Allen (2010), Demers (2011: 214–16; 2016: 21–3).

⁷Translations are mine, as is the bold type in the quotations which draws attention to parallels and differences between the versions respectively. The numbers in square brackets with *DFf* 1908 are the consecutive page-numbers supplied by the editor of the reprint, William Prichard Williams, which are given in square brackets by him in order to distinguish them from the folio-numbers of the original.

accusari. (AEA 1591: 138 = AEA 1584: 112–13 = AEA 1581: 138 = AEA 1562: [43])⁸

For whye complayne they not also of this, that Lot went quitte his way out of Sodome, Abraham out of Calde, the Israelites out of Egypte, Christ frō the Iewes, and Paule from the Pharisees? For except it be possible there maye be a lawful cause of departing, we see no reasone whye **Lot, Abraham, the Israelites, Christ and Paule** may not be accused of sectes and seditiō, **as wel as others** (AAD 1564: [92–3])⁹

For why doe they not likewise finde fawte at this: that Loth departed from Sodome, Abraham out of Calde, the Hebrewes out of Egypte, Christ from the Iewes, Paule from the Pharisees? For onlesse there maye be some iuste cause of suche departynges, we see not, why they also maye not in like sorte be accused as factious and seditious men. (AAD 1562: fol. 49r)

- (1.2) Mae rhai onynt yn scrifenny fod corph *Crist Quantum in Eucharista*, **sef, fod ei gwbl faintioli ef yn y Sacrament**; a rhai eraill o honynt yn doedyd nad yw. (DFf 1908: [60] = DFf 1595: fol. 30v)

‘Some of them write that Christ’s body is *quantum in Eucharista*, that is, that his full extent is in the sacrament, and others of them say that it is not.’

esse alios qui scribant corpus Christi in Eucharistia esse quantum, esse alios contrā qui negent. (AEA 1591: 59–60 = AEA 1584: 50 = AEA 1581: 59–60 = AEA 1562: [20])

Some also of them there be, whiche write that y^e body of Christ is *quantum in Eucharistia*, **That is to say, hath his perfite quantitie in the Sacrament**: Some other againe saye naye. (AAD 1564: [42])

that there be some that write that the body of Christ in the sacramēt hath quantite and bygnesse, on the other syde there be some that denye it: (AAD 1562: fol. 21r)

The explicit reference to David’s restoration of the perfection of the faith in (2) is a small-scale innovation, shared by Bacon and Kyffin, which is lacking in the Latin text and the English translation of 1562:

- (2) ... am iddynt ddechwelyd at y drefn gyntaf a ‘r prif ddechreuad; gan ddwyn drach-gefn a dattroi crefydd i ‘r perffeiddrwydd **lle y gadowse y Brenin Dafydd ef**. (DFf 1908: [181] = DFf 1595: fol. 61r)

⁸I quote Jewel’s Latin text from the London edition of 1591, which is closest in time to Kyffin’s version, but I have also consulted the earlier editions of 1562, 1581, and 1584, in order not to overlook differences between the Latin texts. For some small-scale textual evidence that Kyffin used one of the identical editions of 1591 or 1581, see below on (13). The numbers in square brackets with AEA 1562 refer to the images of the digital facsimile available through Early English Books Online on the ProQuest platform. All editions of Jewel’s *Apologia* have been consulted via this platform.

⁹The numbers in square brackets refer to the images of the digital facsimile available through Early English Books Online on the ProQuest platform.

'... that is, because they returned to the first order and the original beginning, bringing back and reverting religion to the perfection in which king David had left it.'

... videlicet quòd ad primordia & ad fontes redijssent, & religionem in integrum restituissent. (AEA 1591: 173 = AEA 1584: 141 = AEA 1581: 173 = AEA 1562: [53])

... That is bycause they had retorned to the first and originall foundation, and had restored Religion euen to the perfection **wherin Daudid left it.** (AAD 1564: [116])

... that is to saye, bicause they had resorted back to the first principles, & to the wel heades, and restored religion to his first estate. (AAD 1562: fol. 61v)

In the following four examples we find small phraseological additions to the Latin text in both Bacon's and Kyffin's versions; these are probably not very telling individually, but acquire relevance as part of the cumulative evidence collected here:

- (3.1) Ir wledd hon **yn eyn barn ni** y dylid gwahadd pobl Dduw ... (DFf 1908: [38] = DFf 1595: fol. 12[=19]r)

'To this feast in our view should be invited God's people ...'

Ad hoc epulum inuitandum esse populum ... (AEA 1591: 39 = AEA 1584: 33 = AEA 1581: 39 = AEA 1562: [13])

To this bākett **wee thinke** the people of God ought to be earnestly bidden ... (AAD 1564: [29])

- (3.2) ... ag eraill yn well gentyhnt goelio fod *Crist* yn meddwl, yn hynny, ryw *indiuuiduum vagum*; (**fal y galwant hwy'r peth**;) ... (DFf 1908: [60] = DFf 1595: fol. 30v)

'and others prefer to believe that Christ meant thereby some *indiuuiduum vagum* (as they call it) ...'

... alios qui malint vagum quoddam indiuuiduum indicari ... (AEA 1591: 60 = AEA 1584: 51 = AEA 1581: 60 = AEA 1562: [20])

... Som had rather haue that a certaine *vagum indiuuiduum*, **as they terme yt**, was ment ther by. (AAD 1564: [43])

- (3.3) A *Daniel* y prophwyd **wrth fynegy** am amseroedd diwaethaf Anghrist, y Gwir (hebr ef) ... (DFf 1908: [100] = DFf 1595: fol. 50v)

'And Daniel the prophet speaking about the last times of the Antichrist, truth, he says, ...'

Et Daniel Propheta, de vltimis temporibus Antichristi, Veritas, inquit ... (AEA 1591: 99 = AEA 1584: 81 = AEA 1581: 99 = AEA 1562: [31])

Daniell the Prophete **speaking** of the later times of Antichrist, Truthhe sayth he ... (AAD 1564: [67])

- (3.4) O ddibenny, ni a ‘madowsom a ‘r hwn, nid oeddem-mi rwymedig iddo, a ‘r hwn nid oedd ddim gantho i ddoedyd drosto ‘i hunan, **onid ni wn i** pa ryw yspydoliaeth (a fyn ef fod) yn y lle y mae fo ‘n trigo, a chyhyd barhaad y Gyf-eisteddle. (*DFf* 1908: [197] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 102r)

‘In concluding, we separated from him to whom we were not bound, and him who had nothing to say for himself, except I do not know what spirit (which he claims to be) in the place where he lives and the length of the continuation of his throne.’

Postremò, ab illo discessimus, cui obstricti non eramus, quique præter genium quendam loci, & successionem, quod pro se diceret, nihil habuit. (*AEA* 1591: 187–8 = *AEA* 1584: 153 = *AEA* 1581: 187–8 = *AEA* 1562: [57])

In conclusion, wee haue departed from hym to whom we wer not bound, and who had nothyng to saye for hym selfe, **but only I know not** what vertue or power of the place where he dweleth, and a continuaunce of succession. (*AAD* 1564: [125])

The next two passages show small syntactic agreements between Bacon’s and Kyffin’s translations against the Latin text, with regard to the position of phrases and to the meaning of prepositions used:

- (4.1) ... namyn troi awnaent at chwedleu, **a hynny yn yr Eglwys hefyd**. (*DFf* 1908: [99–100] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 50r–v)

‘... but they may turn to fables, and this even in the Church.’

... sed **in ipsa Ecclesia** ad fabulas cōuerterentur. (*AEA* 1591: 99 = *AEA* 1584: 81 = *AEA* 1581: 99 = *AEA* 1562: [31])

... but he turned back vnto fables & lies, **and that wythin the very Church**. (*AAD* 1564: [67])

- (4.2) Hefyd ni ddoe Escobion y Dwyrain ddim i ‘r Cyngor yn *Syrmium*, **wedi** clywed onynt vnwaith ddarfod i *Athanasius* fynd ymmaeth oddi yno. (*DFf* 1908: [161] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 81r)

‘The Bishops of the East would not come to the Council in Syrmium, once they had heard that Athanasius had gone away from there.’

Ad concilium Syrmianum, **à quo** se subduxit Athanasius, occidentis episcopi venire noluerunt. (*AEA* 1591: 155 = *AEA* 1584: 127 = *AEA* 1581: 155 = *AEA* 1562: [48])

The Bysshopes of the Easte woulde not comme to the Syrmian Councell, **after** they knewe Athanasius had gotten hymselfe thence againe. (*AAD* 1564: [104])

In the following two sentences, Bacon and Kyffin both employ two semantically related lexemes where the Latin one uses only one — in the second example,

the phrase is expanded in the Welsh text by a further third lexeme and an extra attributive adjective:¹⁰

- (5.1) ... ag o ran cadw, achynnal [*sic*], eu Tradoddiadeu eu hunain, a ddarfu iddynt er ys talm o oesoedd, **ddifwyno a di-ysturu** deddfodau *Crist* a'r Apostolion? (*DFf* 1908: [22] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 11v)

'... and who, for the sake of keeping and upholding their own traditions, have since ages past defiled and disregarded the customs of Christ and the Apostles?'

... qui ... traditionum suarum caussa, Christi atque Apostolorum instituta aliquot iam saecula violarunt? (*AEA* 1591: 22 = *AEA* 1584: 20 = *AEA* 1581: 22 = *AEA* 1562: [8])

... which ... to maintaine their owne traditions, haue **defaced and corrupted** now these many hundred yeares the ordinances of Christe and of the Apostles? (*AAD* 1564: [19])

- (5.2) ... ag nad oedd ddim wedi adel yn heml Dduw, **onid ôl, a thrist-olwg dinistr ag anrhaith** ... (*DFf* 1908: [181] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 61r)

'and that nothing was left in God's temple except the traces and pitiful appearance [left by] destruction and despoiling '

... in templo Dei, præter **miseras ruinas** nihil esse reliqui ... (*AEA* 1591: 173 = *AEA* 1584: 141 = *AEA* 1581: 173 = *AEA* 1562: [53])

... and that nothing remained in the Temple of God **but pitiful spoyles and decayes** ... (*AAD* 1564: [116])

In passage (6), the argument and the syntax develop in parallel in both Bacon's and Kyffin's versions. Note specifically that the explanation of the reason why John Clement burnt these pages is added as a separate second sentence, whereas it is integrated into the Latin sentence as a subordinate clause. Furthermore, *Anglus* is translated as *a cuntrye manne of owres* and as *gwr o'n gwlad ni* and the translation of *in focum* 'into the stove' is less specific, *into the fyer* and *ir tan* respectively:

- (6) Ag os ydynt o ddifri yn bwrw cymaint hyder ar lyfreu henafiaeth, pa ham ofewn y chydig o flynddoedd a aeth heibio, y darfu i *Ioan Clement* **gwr o'n gwlad ni**, yngwydd gwyr da, a ddylent gael ei coelio, rwygo

¹⁰For a further example, see (9) below. Another doublet in (5.1), *cadw*, *achynnal*, has no parallel in the English and the Latin texts. Kyffin's use of such additional doublets as stylistic embellishments may repay further study. The Welsh version already begins with such a doublet, *Hir a hen* (*DFf* 1908: [1] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 1r); the Latin text uses one lexeme here, *Vetus* (*AEA* 1591: 1), and the English version paraphrases with *AN olde complaint* (*AAD* 1564: [5]). The anonymous reader points out that the doublets chosen in (5.2) are not especially similar in the Welsh and English; their use in the Welsh text may be motivated by the doublets in the English version, reinforced by Kyffin's predilection for this device. Such doublets are a feature of medieval translations into Welsh, see, e.g., Lewis (1925: 288), Poppe (1999: 308–11), Russell (2016: 58–9), but also of 'native' narrative, see S. Davies (1995: 182–5). As the instances from Kyffin's text show, they were still a favoured device in the Early Modern Period.

a bwrw **ir tan** syrn o ddolennau allan o lyfr *Theodoretus* vn o'r Tadeu o henafiaeth ag Escob yng-*Greçia*, yn yr hyn ddolenneu yr oedd yr Escob yn dangos yn eglur, ag yn dyscu i ddynion yn hyffordd, nad ydyw naturiaeth y bara yn y Cummun yn mynd ymaeth, nag yn diflannu? **A hynny a wnaeth Ioan Clement gan dybied nad oedd vn copi arall o lyfr Theodoretus onid hwnnw'n vnig.** (*DFf* 1908: [120–121] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 60v–61r)

'If they seriously put so much trust on books of antiquity, why within a few years past, did John Clement, our countryman, in the presence of good men who should be believed, tear off and cast into the fire a number of pages from the book of Theodoret, one of the Fathers of antiquity and Bishop in Greece, in which pages the bishop showed clearly, and taught the people aptly that the nature of the bread in the communion does not disappear nor vanish. And this John Clement did thinking that there was no other copy of Theodoret's book but this alone.'

Quòd si illi ita prorsus fidunt vetustati, & nihil simulant, cur ante non ita multos annos, Ioannes Clemens **Anglus**, aliquot folia vetustissimi patris & Græci Episcopi Theodreti, in quibus ille perspicuè ac luculenter docebat, naturam panis in Eucharistia non aboleri, **cùm putaret nullum aliud exemplar posse vsquam inueniri**, inspectantibus aliquot bonis viris, & fide dignis, lacerauit & abiecit **in focum**? (*AEA* 1591: 118 = *AEA* 1584: 96–7 = *AEA* 1581: 118 = *AEA* 1562: [37])

And yf they truste so fully to antiquitie, and vse no dissimulation, why didde Iohn Clement **a cuntrye manne of owres**, but fewe yeares past, in the presence of certaine honest menne and of good credite, teare and cast **into the fyre** certaine leaues of Theodorete the moste aunciente Father and a greeke Bysshoppe, wherein he plainelye and euidentlye taughte, that the nature of breade in the Communion was not chāged, abolished or brought to nothing **And this didde he of purpose, bicause he thought ther was no other copy thereof to be fōūd.** (*AAD* 1564: [80])

In (7), the syntax of the Latin text is transformed in strikingly parallel steps in Bacon's and Kyffin's translations: the sentence-final phrase *mansisse domi* is moved forward and expanded with a verbal doublet, *did tarry at home*, and *would not come* and *aros gartref, a pheidio a dyfod* respectively. The reference to the councils is in both versions expanded by a locative clause introduced by *lle y* and *wherein*. The logical relations of the verbal events described within the complex Latin *cum*-clause are furthermore made explicit by phrases introduced by *bicause* and *oblegid* and a further dependent phrase, *seeinge ... and gan weled* Note here the additional doublet *gan weled a gwybod* in the Welsh version.

- (7) Ag am hynny, ni a wyddom ddarfod i lawer o wyr da, ag Escobion catholic, **aros gartref, a pheidio a dyfod** i'r cyfryw Gymanfaeu, **lle y** bydde 'r fath amlwg ddilyn pleidieu, a gwasnaethu turnau:

oblegid di-ammeu oedd gentynt, na bydde iddynt onid colli eu poen heb wneuthyr lles yn y byd, **gan weled a gwybod** fod wynebau a meddylieu ei dygassogion mor ollawl iw herbyn. (*DFf* 1908: [160] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 80v)

‘And therefore we know that many good men and Catholic bishops stayed at home and did not come to such councils where there would be such obvious following of parties and serving of sides, because they had no doubt that it would be for them only a waste of their effort without doing any good, seeing and knowing that the faces and the minds of their adversaries were completely turned against them.’

Itaque scimus multos sæpe bonos viros, & catholicos episcopos, cùm huiusmodi concilia indicerentur, & apertè factionibus & partibus inseruiretur, & scirent se tantùm lusuros esse operam, aduersariorum animos prorsus esse obfirmatos, nihil posse promoueri, mansisse domi. (*AEA* 1591: 154–5 = *AEA* 1584: 126 = *AEA* 1581: 154–5 = *AEA* 1562: [48])

And therefore we knowe that diuers times many good men and Catholique Bysshops did **tarry at home, and would not come** when such Councils were called, **wherein** men so apparauntly laboured to serue factions and to take partes, **bicause** they knewe they should but lose their trauaile and dooe no good, **seeinge** where vnto their enemies mindes were so wholye bent. (*AAD* 1564: [103])

The parallels observed in the passages above between the English and Welsh translations of Jewel's *Apologia* provide some cumulative support for my contention that Maurice Kyffin referred to Anne Cooke Bacon's English version in the process of translating John Jewel's *Apologia*. However, in order to avoid the impression that he did not use the Latin text, I give in the following a few examples for his dependence on the Latin text as source, beyond the title-page's explicit claim, 'translated from Latin'. Such examples are more difficult to come by, since both translations are overall quite literal and close to the Latin text, whose wording and syntactic structures they generally attempt to replicate faithfully — as the passages given above show.

In (8), the Latin and the Welsh versions both refer to the suppression of men's conscience, *conscientia* and *cydwybodaau* respectively,¹¹ whereas Bacon's text speaks of men's souls instead (Welsh *enaid* or *ysbryd*), so that a direct translation of the English sentence would not have resulted in the Welsh one:

- (8) ... e fydde hynny, bob vn o 'r ddau, beth goganllyd gwradyddus, a hefyd dirfawr enbydrwydd o gynneu llid Duw i 'n herbyn, drwy orthymmy a gorthrechy 'n **cydwybodaau**. (*DFf* 1908: [195–96] = *DFf* 1595: fol. 101r–v)

¹¹The plural in the Welsh text has no parallel in the Latin one. Note the additional Welsh doublet *goganllyd gwradyddus*.

‘... this would be both a thing defamatory and shameful and also a very great danger of kindling God’s wrath against us, through oppressing and vanquishing our conscience.’

... esset id nobis non tantum ad famam ignominiosum, sed etiam ad inflammandam aduersus nos iram Dei, & ad opprimendam extinguendamque **conscientiam** nostram perniciosum. (AEA 1591: 186 = AEA 1584: 152 = AEA 1581: 186 = AEA 1562: [57])

... Besides that this should be a great blot to our good name, it shoulde also be a very daungerous matter both to kindle Goddes wrath against vs and to clogge and condemne our owne **soules** foreuer. (AAD 1564: [124])

Note, however, the parallel between the English and Welsh versions with regard to a shared doublet in the immediately preceding context:

- (9) ... nid a chwreuddion disieu, eithr a rhai **gwaeth a diffeithiach** o lawer na chwreuddion (DFf 1908: [195] = DFf 1595: fol. 101r)
- ‘not with players of dice, but with some much worse and more wicked than players’
- ... non tantum cum aleatoribus sed etiam cum hominibus **longè nequioribus** (AEA 1591: 186 = AEA 1584: 152 = AEA 1581: 186 = AEA 1562: [57])
- ... not only with dicers, but also with men **farre more vngracious and wicked** then any dycers be (AAD 1564: [124])

An additional doublet in Bacon’s translation is not always reproduced in the Welsh version, complicating the relationship between the texts:

- (10) A Phawl a ddoedodd y gossode Anghrist ei **babell** yn heml Dduw (DFf 1908: [99] = DFf 1595: fol. 50r)
- ‘And Paul said that the Antichrist would raise his tabernacle in God’s temple’
- Paulus Antichristum ait, aliquando positurum esse **tabernaculum** suum in templo Dei (AEA 1591: 98 = AEA 1584: 81 = AEA 1581: 98 = AEA 1562: [31])
- And Paul saith, that Antichrist should once set vp his owne **tabernacle and stately seath** in the temple of God (AAD 1564: [67])

Unsurprisingly perhaps, Bacon’s addition of an idiomatic phrase in the English version, *al Mum* ‘not the slightest word’, finds no parallel in the Welsh text:

- (11) yr oedd tan, a dur a hayarn, gentynt garllaw’n oestadol, eithr am yr hen Gymanfa-Gynghorau, a’r Tadeu, **mawr yw’r gosteg**. (DFf 1908: [120] = DFf 1595: fol. 60v)¹²

¹²Note again the additional doublet in the Welsh version, *dur a hayarn*.

'They had fire, and iron and steel constantly close by, but about the old councils and the Fathers, great is the silence.'

Ferrum quidem, & flammam semper habuerunt ad manum: de concilijs verò antiquis, & patribus, **magnum silentium**. (AEA 1591: 118 = AEA 1584: 96 = AEA 1581: 118 = AEA 1562: [37].

Fyer and sworde they haue had alwayes ready at hande, but as for the olde Councils & the fathers, **al Mum, not a word**. (AAD 1564: [80])

In (12), the syntactic structure of *si qui sunt qui ...* of the Latin text is faithfully replicated in the Welsh one with *od oes rai* plus relative clause, but rendered quite differently in Bacon's version:

- (12) Yr hyn beth er na choelia rhyw rai ysgatfydd, **od oes rai ni** ddaliassant graff sylw arnaw ... (DFf 1908: [1] = DFf 1595: fol. 1r)

'This, although some perhaps do not believe it, if there are some who did not pay close attention to it ...'

Id etsi alijs incredibile fortasse videri possit, **si qui sunt, qui** ista minus attentè obseruauerint ... (AEA 1591: 1 = AEA 1584: 3 = AEA 1581: 1 = AEA 1562: [2])

Albeit perchaunce this may seeme vnto some a thinge harde to bee beleueed, I meane to suche as haue scante well and narrowly taken heed thereunto ... (AAD 1564: [5])

Further evidence that Kyffin used Jewel's Latin text, either in the edition of 1581 or of 1591, is provided by a passage in which Jewel misrepresented the position of Stanislaus Hosius, bishop of Warmia (northern Poland),¹³ in a citation from the latter's *De Expresso Dei Verbo*. Jewel (AEA 1591: 108) quoted this passage as if it represented Hosius's position, whereas it actually summarizes the position of his opponents. As pointed out by Booty (1963: 117), Jewel must have realized his mistake shortly after the publication of the *Apologia*, and a sentence was added in both English translations which in Bacon's version reads:¹⁴

- (13) He dissembleth I graunt you in deede, and hydeth what hee is, and setteth fourth the matter so, as though it were not hee and his syde, butte the Zwenkfeldian heretiques that so didd speake. (AAD 1564: [72])

This sentence is not found in Kyffin's Welsh version; he translated Jewel's long marginal explanative paratext which was added to the identical Latin texts of the editions of 1581 and 1591 (AEA 1581: 108 = AEA 1591: 108; DFf 1908: [109] = DFf 1595: fol. 55r).¹⁵ Bacon (AAD 1564: [72]) has Jewel's original short paratext with only the brief bibliographical reference to Hosius's *De Expresso Dei*

¹³Not Worms, as in Booty (1963: 117).

¹⁴For the slightly different wording of the English translation of 1562, see Booty (1963: 117); see also Booty (1963: 117–25) for the context of the controversy about Jewel's misrepresentation of Hosius.

¹⁵See Booty (1963: 120); the edition of 1584 has the bibliographical reference only, see AEA 1584: 88, as has the original edition of 1562, see AEA 1562: [34i].

Verbo. Further on in the text, after the summary of Hosius and a few more sentences, Kyffin omitted a passage of the Latin version (*AEA* 1581/1591: 108–10) which is found in an expanded form with reference to Hosius in the original edition of 1562 (*AEA*: [34–5]) and in Bacon’s translation (*AAD* 1564: [73–5]).¹⁶ Booty (1963: 120) therefore overstated his case when he suggested that Jewel’s text was not altered in reaction to the controversy about his presentation of Hosius’s position. With regard to Kyffin’s reasons for the omission of text here, it must remain in the realm of speculation whether he may have been motivated by the differences between Jewel’s Latin text of 1581/1591 and Bacon’s translation and/or by the arguably controversial status of Jewel’s references to Hosius.

In conclusion, I suggest that Maurice Kyffin used Anne Bacon’s English *Apologie or answer* in conjunction with John Jewel’s Latin *Apologia* when engaged in producing his Welsh version. The relationship between the texts is complex, and Kyffin’s motivation is far from obvious.¹⁷ He had the necessary competence in Latin and had published a translation of Terence’s comedy *Andria* into English prose in 1588, after having ‘attempted the translation of *Andria* into English verse’ (Rhodes, Kendal and Wilson 2013: 432).¹⁸ Bacon’s *Apologie* may have served him as a kind of convenient ‘support translation’, Dollerup’s term for ‘the strategy in which, translating a given source text, translators check translations into languages other than their own target language in order to see whether colleagues have found satisfactory solutions to certain problems’ (Dollerup 2000: 24). The history of translations shows that such utilization of ‘support translations’ was not unusual or necessarily reprehensible. Burke Severs has made a strong argument for Chaucer’s use of two sources for his ‘Clerkes Tale’, namely Petrarch’s Latin elaboration of Boccaccio’s tale in the *Decameron* (1353) and an anonymous French prose translation of the former, *Le Livre Griseldis*.¹⁹ Chaucer, however, only acknowledges dependence on Petrarch, ‘Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriat poete’ (Severs 1942: 33) — just as Kyffin only refers to Jewel. For the early modern period, Rhodes, Kendal, and Wilson point to ‘process[es] of collation in much actual and entirely conscientious translation practice’ seen in translations into English in the Renaissance and to the specific case of translations of Biblical texts, ‘where hybridity of [source] material is held to be a guarantee of the

¹⁶I have no information on who authorized the textual changes in the editions of 1581/1591.

¹⁷For some general thoughts on the use of support translations in the process of translation, see, for example, Plack (2015: 31).

¹⁸See also Rhodes, Kendal and Wilson (2013: 432–45) for excerpts from Kyffin’s introductory paratexts to *Andria*. Here he explains his strategies for translation in terms of accessibility for the recipient which parallel the ones he will use later in *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr*, compare *DFf* 1908: [vi]. For a brief discussion of Kyffin’s translation of *Andria*, see C. Davies (1995: 68–70). Kyffin wrote poetry in Welsh and English, for example a patriotic poem, *The Blessedness of Britain*, published in 1587.

¹⁹See especially Severs (1942: 215–28). Severs (1942: 228) concludes: ‘We have been able to watch him [i.e. Chaucer] as he progressively scanned corresponding bits of his double originals, before composing his own stanzas; we have observed how he leaned heavily upon one favoured source [i.e., the French version], but constantly consulted the other, too’.

purity of the end product' (Rhodes, Kendal and Wilson 2013: 47, 46).²⁰ Use of a French translation as well as of the English original has been found to be not infrequent in the case of translations of English literature into German in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²¹

An instructive taxonomy of types of mediated (or intermediate), second-hand translations ('Übersetzungen aus zweiter Hand'), which depend on or use a translation of the source into a another language, has been advanced by Iris Plack. She distinguishes between appropriation ('Aneignung'), a secondhand translation without consultation of the original, and contamination ('Kontamination'), a secondhand translation with consultation of the original. Transparent forms acknowledge the use of another translation, opaque ones do not.²² Kyffin's *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* qualifies as contaminated and opaque. The reference to the Latin source on its title page and to Jewel again in the address to the reader may simply have served as a marker of authority and textual fidelity.

Huw Lewys's *Perl mewn Adfyd*, published in the same year as Kyffin's *Deffynniad*, is a Welsh example of transparent appropriation: it is a translation of Miles Coverdale's *A Spyrytuall and moost Precious Pearle [...]* (3rd edition, 1593), itself a translation of Otto Wermüller's German *Ein Kleinot von Trost und Hilff in allerley Trübsalen* (1st edition, 1548). The title page describes it as

Perl mewn Adfyd [...] a escriffenwyd yn gyntaf mewn Dwitach gann bregethwr dyscedig Otho Wermulerus, ac a droed i'r Saesonaeg gann D. Miles Coverdal, ac yrawrhon yn hwyr ir Gembraeg gann H.L.²³

'*Perl mewn Adfyd* [...] which was first written in German by the learned preacher Otho Wermulerus and translated into English by D. Miles Coverdale and recently now into Welsh by H.L.'

In his address to the Christian reader, Lewys only refers to the English version when he writes about his translation procedure: 'cansy weithieu (yr wyf yn cyfaddef) mi a rois lai, weithiau eraill, mi a rois fwy nac sydd yn y llyfr Saesonaeg' (Lewys 1929: [xxiii]) 'since sometimes (I admit) I gave less, at other times I gave more than there is in the English book'.²⁴

²⁰See Rhodes, Kendal and Wilson (2013: 45–7) for further background, and also Boutcher (2000: 50). William Morgan, for example, used a range of source materials for his translation of the Bible into Welsh, see Thomas (1997: 168–9).

²¹See Graeber and Roche (1988: 9): 'Diese *Mischformen der Übersetzung*, deren Anzahl im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert nicht gering war, nennen wir *eklektisch*' ('Such mixed forms of translation, which were not infrequent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we call 'eclectic'); for some examples, compare Graeber and Roche (1988: 31–2 [William Bligh], 42–3 [Alexander Dalrymple], 49 [Humphrey Ditton], 51–2 [John Elis], 59 [Benjamin Franklin], 67–8 [Joseph Hall], 130–1 [Robert Walpole]).

²²For a detailed presentation of her typology, see Plack (2015: 119–32).

²³The German author is described as 'a learned preacher Otho VVermulierus' on the title page of the edition of Coverdale's translation of 1593, see Coverdale (1593).

²⁴In his introduction, Gruffydd (1929: xxxiv) characterized *Perl mewn Adfyd* as 'Cyfieithiad o gyfieithiad', a translation of a translation. Other Welsh examples of translations of translations

Maurice Kyffin enjoyed high status in Welsh literary history as a translator and stylist. Emrys ap Iwan (1894: 10) characterized him as one of the two most outstanding Welsh translators, ‘un o’r ddau bennaf o’n cyfieithwyr’²⁵ — the other being Edward James, whose translation of the *Two Books of Homilies* of the Church in England appeared in 1606 under the title *Pregethau a osodwyd allan trwy awdurdod i’w darllein ymhob Eglwys blwyf a phob chapel* [...] (James 1606). In 1908, Edward Edwards included Kyffin’s introductory paratexts and a passage from the translation in his *Clasuron Rhyddiaith Cymru*, an anthology of ‘classic’ Welsh prose works, and commented that *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* ‘will be acknowledged by everybody who can judge its Welsh, with regard to style and syntax, as among the best Welsh that was ever written’ (Edwards 1908: 61; the original reads, ‘[...] a chydabyddir gan bawb sydd yn abl i farnu fod ei Gymraeg, o ran dullwedd a chystrawen, gyda’r Cymraeg goreu a ysgrifennwyd erioed’).²⁶ In the same year, William Prichard Williams published a reprint of the *Deffynniad* with a long introduction. He too praised Kyffin’s language and style, but voiced some qualms about his syntax:

Saif rhagoriaeth Cymraeg Maurice Kyffin ar wychter ac urddas ei ymadrodd, ac ar brydferthwch cytbwys mydr ei frawddegau, yn hytrach nag ar gywirdeb ei ramadeg. Y mae ei gystrawen yn fynych yn wallus ac yn anghymreigaidd, ac ni ddeil i’w chymharu â chystrawen y ‘Bardd Cwsc’—y llyfr arall a enwir yn gyffredin gyda ‘Deffynniad y Ffydd’ fel safon rhyddiaith y Gymraeg. (Williams 1908: lxxvi–lxxvii)

‘The excellence of Maurice Kyffin’s Welsh rests on the elegance and dignity of his expression and on the measured splendour of the rhythm of his sentences, rather than on the correctness of his grammar. His syntax is often at fault and un-Welsh, and bears no comparison to the syntax of the *Bardd Cwsc*, the other book which is commonly named together with *Deffynniad y Fydd* as the standard of Welsh prose.’

Here he refers to noun-initial sentences, patterns of non-canonical agreement between subject and verb, and overt markers in relative constructions.²⁷ The

are Morgan Llwyd’s versions of works of Jacob Boehme, *Y Disgybl a’i Athro*, written in 1655 and published in 1657, and *Yr Ymroddiad*, written in 1654 and published in 1657. Both are based on English translations of Boehme’s works, *A Dialogue between a Scholar and his Master concerning the Supersensual Life and True Resignation* respectively, compare, for example, Evans (1931: 99–100), Bevan (1954: 36, 118), Thomas (1984: 18, 24) and, with textual evidence, Evans (1970: 207–8). The title page of *Yr Ymroddiad* refers to it having been translated twice, *Yr ymroddiad, neu, Bapuryn a gyfieuthiwyd ddwywaith i helpu y cymru unwaith allan o hunan ar drygioni*, but no information on source languages, first translator, or original author is provided, see [Llwyd] (1657: title page). The question of whether such background information was available to readers requires further consideration. In Plack’s typology, Llwyd’s translations would be appropriated and (not fully) transparent.

²⁵For some earlier evidence, see Williams (1908: lxxiv–lxxvi).

²⁶See Edwards (1908: 61–80) for his selection of texts.

²⁷Williams (1908: lxxvii–lxxviii, lxxxvii). He also comments on various forms and constructions used by Kyffin which are unusual.

latter two were frequently criticized also in relation to medieval translations into Welsh, but their status has recently undergone re-evaluation.²⁸ In conclusion, Williams (1908: xcv–xcvi) recommends the book to the common reader because in it the metaphorical trunk can be seen on which the Welsh literary language was grafted, as well as its growth and budding. W. J. Gruffydd (1926: 89–90) highlighted that Kyffin's language reflects the demotic speech used at home by Welsh nobles in Powys and contrasted it favourably with the learned register of William Salesbury's 1567 New Testament and William Morgan's 1588 Bible.

Will my suggestion of two sources for Kyffin's *Deffynniad* impinge on the assessment of its literary and stylistic quality? I do not think so, because the quality of a translation does not depend on the number of its sources or source languages, but on the ability of translators to avail themselves of the resources of their target language.²⁹

ABBREVIATIONS

- AAD 1562 *An apologie, or aunswer in defence of the Church of England: concerninge the state of religion vsed in the same.* Newly set forth in Latin, and nowe translated into Englishe (London, 1562).
- AAD 1564 [Bacon, Lady Anne Cooke, transl.], *An apologie or answere in defence of the Churche of Englande: with a briefe and plaine declaration of the true religion professed and vsed in the same* (London, 1564).
- AAD 2016 [Bacon, Anne], *An Apology or Answer in Defence of the Church of England: Lady Anne Bacon's Translation of Bishop John Jewel's Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. by Patricia Demers (Cambridge, 2016).
- AEA 1562 Jewel, John, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1562).
- AEA 1581 Jewel, John, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1581).
- AEA 1584 Jewel, John, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1584).
- AEA 1591 Jewel, John, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1591).

²⁸For a helpful discussion of such 'traces of translation', see Luft (2016). For an in-depth discussion of Middle-Welsh agreement patterns, see Plein (2018); for relative clauses with overt markers in Middle Welsh and Early Modern Welsh, see Parina (2022).

²⁹Research for this paper was conducted within the Marburg research project 'The Welsh Contribution to the Early Modern Cultures of Translation: Sixteenth-Century Strategies of Translating into Welsh', led by Elena Parina and myself, a part of the German Research Council's (DFG) Priority Programme 2130 'Cultures of Translation in the Early Modern Period'. Translations of the Welsh quotations are my own, and I wish to thank Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Barry Lewis for their help with these; I also wish to thank the anonymous reader for *Celtica*, Barry Lewis, and Oliver Currie for their productive advice and Hilary Brown for bibliographical references to work on Lady Anne Cooke Brown. The responsibility for all remaining infelicities is inevitably mine.

- DFf* 1595 Kyffin, Maurice, transl., *DEFFYNNIAD FFYDD EGLVVYS LOEGR: LLE Y CEIR GWEled, a gwybod, dosparth gwir Grefydd Crist, ag anghywirdeb Crefydd Eglwys Rufain* [...] (Llunden, 1595).
- DFf* 1908 Kyffin, Maurice, transl., *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr a gyfieithwyd i'r Gymraeg, o Ladin yr Esgob Jewel yn y flwyddyn 1595, gan Maurice Kyffin*, argraffiad newydd gyda rhagymadrodd a nodiadau wedi ei olygu gan Wm. Prichard Williams (Bangor, 1908).

[Digital copies of the editions of *AEA*, of *AAD* 1562 and 1564, and of *DFf* 1595 are available through Early English Books Online on the ProQuest platform]

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