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PERITEXTS IN POLISH TRANSLATIONS FROM ITALIAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: EDUCATION OR MANIPULATION?*

Abstract

The paper focuses on peritexts (Gérard Genette) in Polish Enlightenment translations of three Italian texts: Francesco Algarotti's novel *Il congresso di Citera* (1745, 1763; the Polish version ca. 1788), Cesare Beccaria's treatise *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764; the Polish version 1772) and Giovanni Barberi's ideological text *Compendio della vita, e delle gesta di Giuseppe Balsamo denominato il conte Cagliostro* (1791; the Polish version 1793). Their translators: Marianna Maliszewska, Teodor Waga, and Grzegorz Kniażewicz, added a significant amount of their own introductions and notes to the hypertext, which reflected a widespread tendency in Polish literature, both original and translated, in that period. The information given in the translators' peritext is analysed here in order to trace manipulation within cultural mediation. The translators take different approaches. Maliszewska's comments lack the exegetic function, while the observed elements of manipulation may be down to her deficiency in cultural competence and to her low status as a translator. Waga, who uses all kinds of translator's notes, seems reliable and non-confrontational. His comments are mostly intended to make sure that the text is read according to the author's intentions and to the Enlightenment outlook. Kniażewicz is the most polemical, partly towards the author of the peritext in the French version of the translated text, which he abuses rather than uses. His peritext definitely indoctrinates the reader and the extent of manipulation in his notes is the largest.

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Introduction

G rard Genette defined paratexts (*paratextes*) as verbal and non-verbal elements that surround and present the text. These elements “enable a text to become a book” (Genette 1997: 1). Described as a metaphorical threshold (*seuil*), paratexts constitute “an undefined zone” of transition “between the inside and the outside of a text” (Genette 1997: 2). Paratexts facilitate a reception of the text that is pertinent to the reading of its author. Paratextual components may differ from one edition to the other, as they help to adjust the unchanging text to its changing readers. Readers may subconsciously experience the influence – in some cases, even the manipulation – of paratext, which is not always in their interest (Genette 1997: 409).

Genette defines paratext inserted in a published work as peritext (*p ritextes*), which includes titles, prefaces, and notes (Genette 1997: 5). Genette’s focus is on authors’ notes: he only briefly mentions translators’ notes. According to Pascale Sardin, the latter give readers an understanding of the negotiative, polemical, and dialogical nature of translation, which involves the confrontation of authorities (Sardin 2007: 1). Sardin identifies two major functions of notes: exegetic (*ex g tique*) and meta-practical, meta-linguistic, and meta-textual (*m tapraxique, m talinguistique, m tatextuelle*) (Sardin 2007: 6–8). The former is essentially concerned with explanations that are necessary for the understanding of a text. That said, the boundary between exegesis and interpretation is more of a transition space where necessary explanations morph into subjective commentaries. The latter involves signals concerning translation challenges or meta-linguistic and meta-textual comments.

Elzbieta Skibińska analysed peritext of this kind based on thirty-three translations of French novels published in Poland from 1756 to 1796; she identified annotations containing different types of information: meta-textual (which allows one to identify the author of a note), meta-linguistic, encyclopaedic (concerning foreign countries and both authentic and mythological figures and events), and additional (loosely connected with the main body of the text; it contains value judgements or polemical remarks, and has an effect on the reception of content). According to Skibińska, the presence,

number, and volume of notes are down to the arbitrary choices of a translator, and have nothing to do with the genre (Skibińska 2009: 26–40).

The focus of this article is on peritext in selected translations of Italian prose that were published during the Polish Enlightenment. I have studied peritext in the Polish renderings of literary or semi-literary works: *Il congresso di Citera* (1745, 1763), a Rococo *divertissement* (Mangione 2003: XII) by Francesco Algarotti, *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764), a celebrated treatise by Cesare Beccaria, and *Compendio della vita, e delle gesta di Giuseppe Balsamo denominato il conte Cagliostro (...)* (1791) by Giovanni Barberi. Arguably, they may serve as a sufficient sample for a moderate-sized corpus of twenty-one works of Italian prose translated into Polish during King Stanisław II Augustus' reign (see Miszalska 2015: 188–205). *Seym walny cyterski* [General Assembly on Cythera] (ca. 1788) by Algarotti is one of the two Italian novels published in Polish during King Stanisław Augustus' reign (the second novel, *Pamiętniki filozofa samotnika* [Diaries of the Hermit Philosopher] by Pietro Chiari [1784], has no footnotes). The translation of Beccaria's treatise (*O przestępstwach i karach* [On Crimes and Punishments], 1772) is a Polish version of one of three Italian works on legal matters (it is worth adding that the translator of *Dei delitti e delle pene* translated one more work from this field).¹ The remaining works of prose, most of them translations whose originals could not be established (9) or works by anonymous authors (2), contain the lives of Catholic blessed and saints or other content designed to fortify their readers' faith. *Życie Józefa Balsamo* [Life of Józef Basamo] (1793) could have performed a similar function as a counterexample.

Numerous and often extended items of peritext of the three translators – Teodor Waga, Marianna Maliszewska, and Grzegorz Książewicz – are representative of a trend that was prevalent in Polish literary production of that time, both original and translated, where comments of this kind were commonly used (Mazurkowska 1993: 101–102). In the age of the extremely utilitarian Enlightenment, which believed literature had a social role to play, translators “treated notes as a particular form with which to educate their

¹ The two other texts are: Giacinto Dragonetti, *Delle virtù e dei premi* (1766), translated by T. Waga, *Wykład o cnotach i nadgradach* (1773); and Gaetano Filangeri, *La scienza della legislazione* (1780–1785), translated by W. R. Karczewski, *Nauka prawodawstwa*, vol. 1–8 (1791–1793).

readers” (Skibińska 2009: 24, 45).² I will investigate the traces of cultural mediation in peritext to elucidate the type of information that was inscribed in a space of dialogue that involves the translator, the author of the original, and a new reader. I will also try to elaborate the ways in which translators sought to influence their readers, and those instances where influence turned into manipulation, where to “manipulate” means “to manage by dexterous contrivance or influence, esp. to treat unfairly or insidiously for one’s own advantage” (www.oed.com).

Seym walny cyterski

The Polish version of *Il congresso di Citera* (first Italian edition 1745; final authorised edition 1763) by Algarotti, a cosmopolite, promoter of science, and author of *Newtonianismo per le dame* (1737), offers the least peritext out of the three translations. The peritext of the work, which was published in ca. 1788 as *Seym walny cyterski*, includes a preface by the translator Marianna Maliszewska and twelve footnotes, one of them standing out in terms of content and length. All of the footnotes address literary references present in the original. That said, only one provides immediately relevant information, where the reader learns that the phrase “włosy porwane Belindzie” [“the rape of Belinda’s lock”] is an allusion to a mock heroic poem by Alexander Pope. Others supply the original versions of the quotations featured in the text, most frequently those by Petrarca, but also by Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso. However, since they fail to provide the names of the authors, they perform their function only to a limited extent. Moreover, some of the allusions have been omitted in the translation, while others have not been annotated (Łukaszewicz 2010: 39–40).

The footnotes offer no encyclopaedic information on the names of real (e.g. General Marlborough) and fictional figures (e.g. Alcina from Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*), place names, or cultural realities, which proliferate in the text. And yet, the original by Algarotti, which is jocular in form and effortless in its use of national stereotypes, abounds in cultural references. The poem describes women representing three different countries as they visit the island of Cythera: France is represented by Madama di Jasy, England

² Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are provided by the translator (B.S.). Quotations from Maliszewska, Waga, and Książewicz are also provided in the original.

by Milady Gravely, and Italy by Madonna Beatrice. The story perpetuates a number of stereotypical and often ironic references to three countries and their inhabitants. The translator seeks to particularly influence the reader with two peritextual items: the foreword and the longest footnote. The foreword provides a tendentious interpretation of the work (“wysoką chwałę płci naszej zawiera” [“it speaks the glory of our sex”]; Algarotti 1788: 4) while calling for female solidarity; it also offers a negative portrayal of men: as those who spare honest praise to women. In so doing, she seeks to curry favour with her readers; she does it both for the author of the original by an appeal to authority (Voltaire and Frederick the Great of Prussia, who both praised Algarotti) and for herself as a translator, as she showcases her work as a fruit of her labour for the women’s cause and exhorts her “beloved companions” to forgive any potential “inaccuracies” in the translation (Algarotti 1788: 5).

Whereas the foreword sounds like a manifesto on the war of the sexes, the footnote is more personal in tone. It provides meta-textual and additional information on Maliszewska’s sojourn in Rome and her engagements with the culture of the original. This time round the intermediary shows off her skills rather than her good intentions, as was the case in the foreword. She supports Algarotti’s critical opinion on contemporary Italian poetry with her eye-witness account (or so she claims) of a speech she heard at a gathering at the Academy of Arcadia in Rome.

Nie potrzeba przestrzegać czytelnika, a tym bardziej znającego wierszopisów Włoskich, iakim duchem daie im tę pochwałę autor. Cała ich sztuka do tego dąży, aby napchać wiersz dosadnemi słowami, wyrazami przenośnemi; nazbierać iak naywięcey podobieństw, porównań, a to wszystko w iak naybardziej napuszonym stylu. Baiecznych także dzieiów naciągając do wszystkiego bez wszelkiej stosowności. Gdym się znajdowała lat temu kilka, w Rzymie na posiedzeniu Arkadów, ieden z nich winszuiac nowo-kreowanemu Kardynałowi, miał tę pamiętam myśl: Jowisz lituiąc się nad prześladowanym bardzo w tym wieku Kościołem, radził się Minerwy, kogoby rozumiała na wsparcie mu obmyśleć? Minerwa wymieniła tego Prałata, a Jowisz natchnął Oyca S. aby go Kardynałem uczynił (Algarotti 1788: 65).

[There is no need to add a word of caution to the readers, let alone those who are familiar with Italian poetasters, on the nature of this praise from the author. They put all their craft into stuffing their poems with crude vocabulary and metaphorical words; they hoard as many similes and comparisons as they can, in a style as pompous as possible. They also spin fantastic fables with no sense of decorum whatsoever. Several years ago, during my sojourn in Rome,

at a gathering of Arcadians, I heard one of the sitters congratulate a newly appointed Cardinal: Jove, in a display of mercy to the Church, so persecuted in our time, asked Minerva for advice on the possible defenders of the faith. Minerva put in a good word for this Prelate, and Jove inspired the Holy Father to give him a Cardinal's hat.]

In the foreword, Maliszewska presents herself as an insecure female translator and women's advocate. In the footnote, she comes across as a connoisseur of Italian culture: she takes her readers' cultural competence for granted, but she also tries to explain the author's intended meaning. Overall, however, given the peritext in its entirety, the reader was offered little help in the understanding of the work. Footnotes in the Polish version, unlike those in the French translation, which was published roughly at the same time, failed to expand on the knowledge the Polish reader may have been presumed to have (Łukaszewicz 2010: 38–40). That said, Maliszewska harnessed peritext to show her presence and develop a rapport with her readers.

O przestępstwach i karach wykład

Teodor Waga (1739–1801), S.P., baptised Szymon, was a lawyer, historian, geographer with a talent for scientific investigations, author of handbooks, and teacher at Piarist colleges. In 1772, when the translation of the treatise *O przestępstwach i karach* was published, he taught Rhetoric, Politics, and Civil Law at Warsaw's Collegium Nobilium (Babicz 1974: 17–38). Waga provided a translation of probably the most prominent Italian contribution to the European Enlightenment (published in 1764). His translation was based on the fourth edition of the first French translation by André Morellet (*Traité des délits et des peines*, 1766), which was first published in 1765. Morellet significantly altered Beccaria's text, which he mentions in his foreword. In contrast to the French edition, the Polish edition provides no introduction, but it was annotated with twenty-five footnotes, five of which are Polish renderings of all the five footnotes from the French edition. One of the notes testifies to the evolution of the author's mindset and was created by the author himself, which is duly pointed out by the Polish translator:

W ten sam błąd y ia, mowi Autor o sobie, wpadłem w pierwszych tey Książki edycyiach; mówiąc: bankrut niewinny powinien być strzeżony niby w zastaw

długu, y użyty do pracowania na zysk swoich Kredytorow. Ledwo nie spłoneż ze wstydu, zem tak okrutne popierał zdanie” (Beccaria 1772: 202).

[I committed the same error, says the Author about himself, in first editions of this book, when I said that an innocent bankrupt should be taken in pledge for his liabilities, and put to work for the benefit of his creditors. It fills me with burning shame that I could endorse something as ruthless at this.]

In the peritext, Waga comes across as a level-headed intermediary: the thorough translator of the French version seeking to facilitate a reading of the work that is in keeping with Beccaria’s intentions. For example, he returns to the Italian original in order to restore a metaphor omitted by the French translator, which he mentions in a meta-textual and meta-linguistic footnote containing a precise bibliographic reference (Beccaria 1772: 12–13; Łukaszewicz 2015: 313). Two other footnotes with meta-information offer philological insights (Beccaria 1772: 13; Łukaszewicz 2015: 311–313) and remarks on translation and terminology (Beccaria 1772: 49), which may seem a little superfluous and yet serve as a testimony to Waga’s meticulous and discerning cast of mind.

A several-page dissertation on differences between sin and crime is the longest of Waga’s footnotes (Beccaria 1772: 168–173). This particular peritext straddles exegesis and interpretation: it contains value judgements which nonetheless fit in with the main body of the text and its import. Emphatically, Waga becomes an intermediary between the author of the original and the reader. He acts as an advocate of the original and takes particular care to furnish a reading that is reflective of the author’s intentions:

Wielkość grzechu zawisła od ukrytey w sercu ludzkim złości, ktorey ludzie chyba za Boskim objawieniem, poznać nie mogą. Iakże więc mogłaby nam służyć za miarę kary? Częstoć kroć przepuszczaliby ludzie, gdy karze Bog, y znowu, gdy Bog przepuszcza, ludzie karaliby; a tak zawsze byłiby w kontradykcyi z Naywyższą Istnością (*)

(*) Autor mówi o mierze ciężkości w przestępstwach przeciwko wolnym ugodom Społeczności; (...) nie odwoływając się do wyższej zapłaty, y słusznie za wymiar ciężkości przestępstwom takowym naznacza szkodę, która się przez nie Społeczności dzieje. (...) Przeszćstwo więc y grzech podług *systema* Autora są dwie całe różne rzeczy, y na tym on fundamencie całą dzieła swego fabrykę zakłada (Beccaria 1772: 167–168).

[The gravity of the sin rests on the malice buried deep in the human heart. Man cannot fathom it unless by Divine revelation. How then can it be a measure of

punishment? People often forgive where God would punish, and again, where God forgives, people would punish. Thus, they always stand in contradiction with the Highest Entity (*)

(*) The author describes the measure of gravity for crimes against free social contracts; (...) without calling for higher retribution, and he rightly chooses damage inflicted on society as a measure of gravity for such crimes. (...) Therefore, in his system, the Author differentiates between sin and crime; this [distinction] serves as a foundation for the structure of his work.]

Waga illustrates Beccaria's points with evidence from the past, mainly ancient history. His erudite notes also provide references to the leading figures of the French Enlightenment. When Beccaria mentions Montesquieu as a model for his considerations, the translator provides the exact reference: „W Księdze swojej o Umyśle Praw; *do [sic!] l'Esprit des Loix*” [“In his Book on The Spirit of the Laws; *do [sic!] l'Esprit des Loix*”] (Beccaria 1772: 7). In his other footnote, Waga references the chief work of Claude Adrien Helvétius, a sensualist philosopher and one of the authors of the *Encyclopédie*. The name of Helvetius, who influenced Beccaria's world view, is nowhere to be found in his treatise (Beccaria 1772: 159). Two footnotes reference Rousseau, who is mentioned with periphrastic expressions in the main body of the text (Beccaria 1772: 250–251, 255). The Polish reader is also referred to the highest achievement of the French Enlightenment. A footnote providing information on the *Encyclopédie* discusses a passage in which ruthless “dociekania prawdy przez tortury” [“investigations of the truth through torture”] were compared to the cruelty of the cannibals: “Kannibalowie czyli Karaibowie mieszkańcy Wysp Antylskich w Ameryce, dzicy y okrutni, którzy więźniow swoich pożerają. Więcej o ich srogości doczytasz w Encyklopedyi pod artykułem: ‘Caraïbes’” [“Cannibals, or Caribbeans, the inhabitants of the Antilles in America, ruthless and savage, who devour their prisoners. Read more on their cruel ways in the *Encyclopédie* under the entry: *Caraïbes*”] (Beccaria 1772: 70). The *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (English: Encyclopedia, or a Systematic Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts, and Crafts) by Diderot and D'Alembert in fact contains the entry “Caraïbes, ou Cannibales”, which provides information on devouring prisoners. Waga's peritext is expressive of his great regard for the views of Beccaria and contemporary French philosophers. At the same time, it shows the didactic attitude of the translator–educator.

Waga also translated Giacinto Dragonetti's treatise *Trattato delle virtù e dei premi* (1766), which was published in Poland soon after Beccaria's treatise (*Wykład o cnotach i nadgradach* [A Treatise on Virtues and Rewards], in 1773; without the name of the author of the original, but with the name of the translator). A preliminary study suggests that, with regard to the peritext, Waga adopted a similar strategy to that used in the case of Beccaria's work; however, when annotating Dragonetti, he provided more encyclopaedic information.

Życie Józefa Balsamo znanego pod imieniem hrabi Cagliostro

Compendio della vita, e delle gesta di Giuseppe Balsamo denominato il conte Cagliostro che si è estratto dal processo contro di lui formato in Roma l'anno 1790 e che può servire di scorta per conoscere l'indole della setta de' Liberi Muratori (Roma, Palermo, Berno 1791) is a study by a papal jurist, Giovanni Barberi (1748–1821), who recounts the life of Cagliostro, condemns Freemasonry, and highlights a contradiction between the age of Enlightenment and widespread ignorance and credulity. Commissioned by the Holy Office, the text had been published before Cagliostro was officially sentenced to life imprisonment in the fortress of San Leo; it was almost immediately circulated in French, Spanish, English, and German (Quatriglio 1995: 11–12). Published in 1793, the Polish version was penned by Grzegorz Książewicz (1737–1804), a priest, mathematician, historian, teacher at Jesuit colleges, member of the Society for Elementary Books, and translator of the following works: *Kalendarz rolniczy gospodarski, przez księdza Bradlei napisany, przez księdza Grzegorza Książewicza, matematyka j.w. biskupa wileńskiego, na polski przełożony* [Farmer's Almanac, Written by Father Bradlei, Translated into Polish by Father Grzegorz Książewicz, a Mathematician of the Bishop of Vilnius] (1770), *Folwark, w którym grunta nie zostawują się nigdy ugorem* [A Manor Where No Land Ever Lies Fallow] (1770), and *Rozwagi o konduktorach czyli O ściąggu materji piorunowej albo o ustrzeżeniu się piorunow* [Remarks on Conductors: On Catching Thunderous Matter or How to Ward off Thunder Bolts] (1801).

Peritexts in his translation are abundant and often voluminous: a four-page *Przedmowa autora włoskiego* [Preface by the Italian Author] is preceded by a *Wstęp tłumacza* [Translator's Foreword], which is nearly two times longer. The main body of the text (four chapters) was provided with 48

footnotes; a twenty-page *Zakończenie* [Epilogue] was in turn accompanied by seven footnotes.

In his introduction, which he begins with the phrase *wiek teraźniejszy oświecony* [in our enlightened age], the Polish translator elaborates on the issue of *kontradycja* [contradiction] between the age of light, philosophy, and reason, on one hand, and *ślepe zaufanie* [blind faith] and madness, which made so many people trust the impostor Cagliostro and accept Freemason rituals, on the other. As he highlights the contradiction, Książewicz follows other authors, who began to circulate similar ideas in Poland from 1786. Published in *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczny*, the article “Graf Cagliostro” is a case in point (Świtkowski 1786: 66–74). So is *Oszust, czyli Oszukaniec (Obmanszczik)*, a comedy by Catherine the Great. A poster promoting the performance of the play on 23rd April 1786 in Warsaw read thus: “W naszym, niniejszym, tak oświeconym wieku zdaje się to być do wiary niepodobna, ażeby podobni pędziwiatry, tymi postępując krokami, mogli fortunę zrobić” [In our enlightened age, it seems inconceivable that such drifters, acting as they do, could amass a fortune] (qtd. in: Bernacki 1925: 288). Książewicz found it suitable to add his own passionate essay on the subject, even though the idea was elucidated in the first chapter of Barberi’s study and in *Przedmowa autora włoskiego* [Preface by the Italian Author] (*Prefazione*):

Intendiamo parlar della vita di Giuseppe Balsamo conosciuto al mondo sotto la denominazione di Conte Cagliostro. A dir tutto in due parole: costui è stato un impostore famoso. Deridono alcuni e disprezzano quelle passate età nel decorso delle quali pur si contano degli uomini simili a lui, accreditati, applauditi e creduti quasi semidei. Giustamente: ma il secolo decimottavo, quello che si arroga il titolo d’illuminato, di spregiudicato, di filosofico, supera in questa macchia tutti gli altri; ed è appunto ciò che dovrebbe coprire di una salutar confusione i suoi fanatici encomiatori (Barberi 1995: 35).

To życie jest Józefa Balsamo tak znajomego w Europie pod imieniem Hrabi Alexandra Kaliostro, słowem, które całe określa sławnego Oszusta. Gardziemy i wyśmiewamy wieki przeszłe, w których podobni ludzie wsławiali się, wzbijali się na kredyt, pochwały i na powagę prawie Pułbogow. Y słusznie; lecz ósmnasty wiek, ten wiek, który przywłaszcza sobie tytuł oświeconego, Filozoficznego, wyższego nad uprzedzenia, przechodzi wszystkie w tej mierze. Y to to jest, co powinno zarumienić zbawiennym wstydem jego fanatycznych Chwalców (Barberi 1793: unnumbered).

Joseph Balsamo, so celebrated under the pretended title of Count Alexander Cagliostro, has undoubtedly been a very famous impostor. We are naturally

inclined to despise and to ridicule those past ages, in which such men have been credited, applauded, and treated as something superior to humanity. We are in the right undoubtedly so to do. But when it is recollected that this adventurer flourished in the eighteenth century – during a period which arrogates to itself the title of an enlightened and philosophic age, infinitely superior to prejudices – the fanatical admirers of the present times ought to be covered with a salutary confusion! (Barberi 1791b: IV)

In his prefatory treatise, the Polish translator severely criticises France, England, Germany, and Spain. He also lambastes “i oszusty żydzi, i rozpustni Libertini, i bez obyczajow Kamerdynery, i bez reguł życia włocęgi” [swindling Jews, lecherous Libertines, salacious Butlers, and indecent vagabonds] (Barberi 1793: page number unavailable). The aim of this peritext is to create an extremely negative portrayal of Freemasons’. In order to do so, the author provides detailed depictions of the Freemasons’ rituals, which are intended to terrify novices, vilify the faith, destroy family ties, and make people discard their duties towards the homeland. Apparently, the Polish translator finds it necessary to provide something more than a translation of Barberi’s study, which was devoted to Cagliostro’s life and both Freemasonry in general and Egyptian Freemasonry in particular. In his extended peritext, Książewicz also seeks to educate and caution his readers.

A detailed discussion of various topics, usually critical, was also provided in footnotes on magic, the Kabbalah, and even medicine. The footnotes comprise a number of references to Polish culture (featured not only in the footnote to a brief passage on Cagliostro’s sojourn in Warsaw): toponyms, anthroponyms, anonymous Poles (*Pan jeden Polski w Paryżu* [one Polish gentleman in Paris]) in a footnote presenting alchemy as madness (Barberi 1793: 19–20), a positive opinion on Loteria Polska in a passage that reviles gambling (Barberi 1793: 34), a negative outlook on the Knights Templar and their historical links to Poland (Barberi 1793: 63), and mentions of plots and treasons in the history of Poland (Barberi 1793: 67). Peritextual additions from the translator are one-sided, critical, and ideologically charged. In the final remarks to her analysis of Książewicz’s translation, Jadwiga Miszańska describes his intentions in the following manner:

In his comments, Książewicz strengthens the persuasive function of the Italian original, and adds to its didactic import. While Barberi mainly sought to convince his readers, many of whom were Cagliostro’s devotees, that the impostor was guilty and thus justly sentenced, Książewicz’s seems to be chiefly preoc-

cupied with fighting superstition and obscurantism, which he believes finds perfect expression in Freemasons, who erode the position of both the State and Church (Miszańska 2015: 187).

The main point of Barberi's account is strengthened in the peritext provided by the translator, who shares additional information that discredits the protagonist and amplifies his negative image included in the main body of the text:

(h) Kaliostro przywykły do kłamstw i oszukania lekkowierności, do udawania się człowiekiem extraordinarynym, zachował tenże charakter przed sędziami (Barberi 1793: 36).

[(h) Kaliostro, who was used to lies and abuse of credulity, who customarily pretended to be an extraordinary man, presented himself as such before the judges.

(i) Autor życia Kaliostra powróci na podróż Petersburską, oszukany jego kłamstwami rozumie, iż tam grał rolę osoby znacznej: bynajmniej: mało tam oszukał i był tym, czym jest; od przybycia był mianowany za Oszusta (Barberi 1793: 36).

(i) The author of Cagliostro's life resumes his journey to Petersburg; deceived by his lies, he believes he [Cagliostro] was regarded as a glamorous figure; far from it, he deceived few and he was taken for who he was; he was instantly recognised as Impostor, right on his arrival.]

However, some footnotes are polemical to the main body of the text:

(p) Bez wątpienia uwolnienie Kaliostra napełniło radością jego Sektarzów, i to prawda, że niektórzy z nich facyaty Swych Domów oświecili, i nalieli ludzi, aby go w tryumfie z Bastylli prowadzili; ale wierzyć, że dzwoniło we dzwony, i całe Miasto było iluminowane, byłoby nie znać Paryża (Barberi 1793: 51).

[(p) Indisputably, the release of Cagliostro filled his Sectarians with joy; it is true that some of them illuminated the facades of their houses and hired people to join a triumphal march from the Bastille. However, those who believe the bells rang and the whole City was illuminated know very little about Paris.]

(f) Włoski Dziejopis Babskie tu powieści przywiódł. Nie tylko Moyżesz nie mógł się okazać na Dziecinne głosy, ale ani żaden z Aniołów. Mogli być Młodzieńcy namówieni, którzy Gołębicy się ukazywali, ale było trudno Sta-

ruszka, któryby wyobrażał Moyżesza, na takie płocności namówić (Barberi 1793: 87).

[(f) The Italian Chronicler repeats old wives' tales. Moses can't have appeared to Children's voices, nor any of the Angels. They could have swayed Young Men into making an appearance as Angels; however, they would not have swayed an Old Man, who would have appeared as Moses, into such tomfoolery.]

They also carry a personal undertone: the author of the annotation presents himself as an important, albeit indirect, source of information:

(a) (...) Znałem w Peterzburku Włochow ze wszystkich Włoskich Krain, którzy mieli ciekawość z nim przestawać, i chcieli dóżyć przez jego akcent i wyrazy, jego Oyczyzny, wszyscy znaleźli, że jego mowa nie była podobna do żadnego Dialektu Włoskiego, lecz barzo się podawała na akcenta Żydow Włoskich, i utrzymywali, że był żydem (Barberi 1793: 76).

[(a) (...) In Petersburg, I knew Italians from all Italian Countries, who were interested in his company, and they were keen to fathom his accent and vocabulary and his Homeland; they all reckoned that his parlance was nowhere near like any of the Italian Dialects, and seemed very much like the accent of Italian Jews; and they maintained he was Jewish.]

Surprisingly, these polemical, disparaging, and personal remarks do not come from the Polish translator. The comparison of the Polish peritext with the French edition (Barberi 1791a) shows that Książewicz followed in Waga's footsteps: he offered a mediated translation. This is an important finding. It is open for debate whether Książewicz, just like Waga, used also the Italian original while translating from French.

The French translation was provided with twenty-eight footnotes either by the translator or publisher. Six annotations were edited out in the Polish version. Out of the remaining twenty-two: ten were rendered quite faithfully, while others were either amplified or considerably modified, several of which were radically changed in meaning. Some of these footnotes could be read as polemical to the points presented in the French peritext. A glaring example of this kind can be found in a footnote to a passage in Chapter 2 on *Abridgment of the History of the Free Masons, with a particular Account of Egyptian Masonry* (those who read the text in Polish are not able to notice it), which debunks the morality of Freemasons and accuses them of revolutionary tendencies:

Pewna jest, że między temi Towarzystwami ułożonemi pod pozorem pilnowania obowiązków społeczności, albo nauk wysokich, jedne wydaią się na bezreligią beczelną, albo na obrzydliwą rozpustę, drugie usiłąią zrzucić jarzmo podległości i wywracać Monarchie. Y podobno najpewniejszym będzie wnioskiem, że celem jest wszystkich ten zamiar (x) (Barberi 1793: 67).

[It is certain that under pretence of enforcing social obligations or cultivating sciences some of these Societies succumb to either insolent non-religion or disgusting debauchery, while others strive to cast off the yoke of subordination and overthrow the Monarchy. The most likely conclusion is that they all have the same goal and the same design (x).]

(x) Rozumiałby kto, że tu się obudza prześladowanie na Masonow. Nie jest wiele z nich złego charakteru, i ci uwagą poprawić się mogą. Więcej jest ułudzonych, i ci postrzedz się powinni. Rzecz prawdziwa, że w najswiętszych zgromadzeniach znajduią się złe członki; ale w Schadzkiach tajemnych możesz być co świętego? Wymówka, że jeśli sprzysięgali się Masonowie, nie czynili to z zasad Masoństwa, ale ze złego zamysłu, nie może skrytych schadzek usprawiedliwiać. Bo związek i skrytość barziej jest na złe zamysły. Gdyż dobre potrzebując związku, potrzebuie otwartości. Jeśli w jakim rządzie sekret się zacenia, ten pewnie nie jest, ani na zniesienie ucisku podatkow, ani na odwrócenie rozlewu krwi woyną, ani na uszczęśliwienie społeczności, lecz tylko na utajenie czyichś sposobow czynienia. Polacy nie dawali tajnych skryptow do Archiwu, aż przy spisku Dysydyntow na Zygmunta, przy buncie Kozakow przez Radzieiowskiego Podkancl: na Jana Kazimierza i na Rzeczpospolitą, przy zamiarach osłabienia Narodu zwinięciem woyska. i. t. d. (Barberi 1793: 67, footnote).

[(x) One could read it as a call for the persecutions against the Masons. Few of them are of evil character, and they can rectify their ways when brought to book. There are many more who are deluded, and these should be able to realise their errors. It is true that evil members can be found in the holiest of congregations. How then can there be something holy in clandestine gatherings? These clandestine gatherings cannot be easily excused by the fact that if they formed a conspiracy, they did so because of their evil designs rather than the rules of Freemasonry. For unity and secrecy spell evil designs. When the good seeks unity, it needs openness. If a government keeps something in hiding, this is not to lift the burden of taxes, prevent the bloodshed of war, or bring happiness to society, but to conceal their ways. The Poles kept their secret manuscripts away from Archives, until it came to the Dissidents plotting against King Sigismund, the Cossacks rebelling against King Jan Kazimierz and the Commonwealth at the instigation of Vice-Chancellor Radziejowski, or those who wanted to undermine the Nation by disbanding the troops, etc.]

Clearly, the last footnote was created in response to the following peritext from the French edition:

Par ces paroles qui n'ont pas été mises ici sans dessein, l'historien **inquisiteur** suscite, dans un grand nombre d'états de l'Europe, une persécution violente, et même une proscription sanguinaire contre les maçons. Comme les assemblées de maçonnerie sont fondées sur le secret, il est arrivé quelquefois que des conjurés se sont réunis sous prétexte de tenir loge: j'en sais un exemple. Mais ce n'étoit point en qualité de maçon qu'ils étoient conjurés; et ce n'étoient point des assemblées de maçonnerie qu'ils tenoient, mais des conciliabules relatifs à leur objet. Ceux qui connoissent la maçonnerie peuvent en trouver les cérémonies ridicules; mais il faut être **inquisiteur** pour y trouver rien de criminel. Si la loi qui oblige les maçons à se secourir les uns les autres, étoit toujours religieusement observée, rien ne seroit plus auguste que leur association (Barberi 1791a: 82–83).

In the footnote, the French intermediary expresses his indignation at the words of the Italian author. He twice calls him an inquisitor (*inquisiteur*) and accuses him of instigating the bloody persecution of Freemasons in many countries across Europe. He quotes anecdotal evidence (*j'en sais un exemple*) to claim that conspirators sometimes used their meetings as a lodge as a pretext for clandestine gatherings with a hidden agenda. He admits that Freemason rituals may be perceived as ridiculous; nevertheless, he defends the principles of Freemasonry, which oblige the members of a lodge to aid each other.

In the Polish version, the opening sentence in the footnote refutes the accusation from the first sentence in the French peritext (“Rozumiąłby kto...” [“One could read it...”]). Książewicz rebuts the argument of the French intermediary on clandestine gatherings; he calls it an excuse. As in many other peritextual items, he uses a rhetorical question to express condemnation, in this particular case, of their secretive ways. The end of the footnote features an amplification with examples from Polish history.

Książewicz provides a faithful rendition of the main body of the text. That said, he becomes a co-author of the book in its peritext. With his peritextual contribution, the publication expresses attitudes more militant than those of the original, and its ideological scope also becomes broader.

Conclusions

The analysis of peritext in three Polish translations from Italian prose published from 1772 to 1793 reveals three different models of mediation. The translator of Algarotti seeks to shape possible readings of the text by defining what she thinks is its main import; however, she provides very little aid to her readers in the understanding of abundant cultural references. The translator of Beccaria leads his readers by the hand, as it were, and makes sure they read it in keeping with the author's intentions. The translator of Barberi provides Polish readers with a rendering that is much more extended than the original both in volume and ideological charge. For him of Barberi, translation serves as a pretext for presenting his opinions and instilling them in his readers.

Marianna Maliszewska develops peritext to promote the original author and her work as a translator. That said, one striking feature of her work is that it figures very few encyclopaedic footnotes that would perform an exegetic function and facilitate her readers. This is probably down not so much to her insufficient skill and workmanship as a translator but poor knowledge of Italian realities, most notably literary life. In her attempts at influencing the reader, she tries to impose her interpretation and justify potential shortcomings of her mediation, which may be down to her lower status as a female in the literary world of the eighteenth century.

In the translation of a treatise on legal and philosophical matters, Waga's peritext represents all types and functions of footnotes described in the introduction. The translator speaks from a powerful position as an educated man and member of the clergy, the author of other published works, and an experienced teacher. The way he crafts his peritext is indicative of Waga's social roles. Waga tends to speak in a non-confrontational manner, and he supports the text he translates with his own authority. He seeks to come across as a reliable translator, but he also clearly implies he shares opinions with the author. His footnotes fit in with the Enlightenment qualities of the original. His peritext serves as an extension of Beccaria's treatise, its goal being to educate the reader and facilitate the reception of the text.

Grzegorz Książewicz, who had similar competences and status to those of Waga, created the most numerous and voluminous annotations of all, but he also expressed views in a manner that is far from balanced. In his mediation, he seeks to shape the reception of the text. His peritext fails to signal

translation challenges or meta-linguistic comments. Instead, it persistently amplifies the general meaning of the original. His biased and highly militant attitude is undoubtedly fuelled by the ideologically charged nature of the text he translates.

In Książewicz's peritext, the degree of manipulation is at its highest. In contrast to Waga, Książewicz fails to reveal his actual source text. That said, he makes use of what the French translator has done: he translates some of this peritext while substantially changing its content (he adds markedly different ideas or contests ideas he finds difficult to accept). This can be misleading to the reader, who has no reason to believe that the translation was provided from anything but the Italian original. Added in the peritext, references to Polish culture are made not so much to eliminate cultural differences, as to shape the ideological import of the Polish version. The content and tone of Książewicz's peritext turn his readers against Cagliostro, Freemasons, Knights Templar, and Jews. As he translates Barberi's account, Książewicz not only adheres to some of the trends of the Enlightenment but also criticises the movement. Thus, the reader of his translation is exposed to heavy indoctrination, without realising that the peritext serves as a space of confrontation between conflicting authorities involves men of letters, that is, the author of the original and his two translators, and the institutions and cultural formations they represent.

Translated by Bartosz Sowiński

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