Rabelais in the Whig World: Religious Persecution, Forced Migration and the Politics of Literary Translation in Post-Revolutionary England

By Nicholas McDowell

In *Rabelais and His World* (first published in Russian in 1965), Mikhail Bakhtin presented François Rabelais's great masterpiece of comic and satirical prose, *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (five books, 1532-64), as exemplifying the spirit of festive comedy that Bakhtin believed was characteristic of folk culture in medieval and Renaissance Europe. Sympathy with the forms of "carnival humor" that animate Rabelais's loosely related tales of gluttonous, bibulous giants and their fantastic adventures began to be lost, according to Bakhtin, during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The process of loss is illustrated by the rise of what he calls the "historic-allegorical interpretation" of Rabelais. This interpretative approach reveals how "a specific character or event can be found behind each of Rabelais's images. The entire novel is [shown to be] a system of historical allusions." There was interest in *le sens historique* of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* among the French *érudits* and *libertins* of the earlier seventeenth century, and a historical "key" to Rabelais first appeared in a Brussels edition of his *Œuvres* in 1659; but the "true initiator of the historic-allegorical method," Bakhtin declared, was Pierre Antoine Le Motteux (1663-1718) in his English editions of the 1690s. The critical apparatus and commentary that Motteux added to the English translations of Rabelais that he issued in 1694 became, Bakhtin states, "the main source" of the method of reading *Gargantua and Pantagruel* as a work that allegorically represents real historical protagonists, an interpretative method that supposedly held sway until Bakhtin himself restored to

readers the true, carnivalesque nature of the work. Since the "historic-allegorical method illustrates the disintegration of laughter that took place in the seventeenth century," the charge against Motteux is a weighty one.[1]

Bakhtin's accusation that Motteux was responsible for centuries of misreading of one of the greatest works of European literature elevated Motteux to a level of significance that he had not previously enjoyed; but he has never found much posthumous favor, despite the fact that his own English rendering of the fourth and fifth books of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* is still in print today.[2] As with so many minor writers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, later critical judgments of Motteux were influenced by Alexander Pope (1688-1744). Motteux appears in every edition of *The Dunciad* from 1728-43 as one of those Whig authors who are enveloped in the excremental writing that Dulness drops among her sons:

> As what a Dutchman plumps into the lakes,
> Once circle first, and then a second makes;
> What Dulness dropt among her sons imprest
> Like Motion from one circle to the rest;
> So from the mid-most the Nutation spreads
> Round and round, o'er all the sea of heads.
> At last Centlivre felt her voice to fail,
> Motteux himself unfinish'd left his tale,
> Boyer the State, and Law the Stage gave o'er,
> Morgan and Mandevil could prate no more.[3]

The allusion to the patronage of the "Dutchman" William III is clear as well as

hilariously offensive. Motteux appears in this section of the poem among a host of characters known for their staunch Whig principles and Hanoverian allegiance, from the deists John Toland (1670-1722) and Matthew Tindal (1657-1733) to Susanna Centlivre (*ba*p. 1669, *d*. 1723), Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733), and Abel Boyer (1667-1729). Motteux is one of those many Whig writers whom Pope successfully sentenced to obscurity for their politics on the pretext of their writing, representing their dull literature as the natural consequence of their Whig politics and vice versa.[4] Pope is more expansive in his 1728 prose satire *Peri Bathous, or the Art of Sinking*, where Motteux is memorably described (alongside Lewis Theobald, "Tibbald" himself, the first "hero" of *The Dunciad*) as one of those "*Eels*," "obscene authors that wrap themselves up in *their own mud*, but are *nimble and pert*." "Pert" was, for Pope, a term descriptive of literary style as well as moral character: the "pert style" is specifically associated in the *Peri Bathous* with Grub Street translations, with "*modernizing* and *adapting* to the *taste of the times* the work of the ancients. This we rightly phrase *doing* them *into English*, and *making* them *English*; two expressions of great propriety, the one denoting our *neglect* of the *manner how*, the other the *force* and *compulsion* with which it is brought about. It is by virtue of this style that Tacitus talks like a coffee-house politician, Josephus like the *British gazeteer*."[5]

In identifying Motteux with both "pertness" and obscenity, with (only semi-metaphorical) immersion in his own dirt, Pope likely has in mind the Rabelais translation. Despite the conventional pairing of Rabelais and Cervantes in eighteenth-century literary criticism as the great comic writers of the European Renaissance, their earlier reception in England had been distinguished by the repeated charge of indecency and profanity against Rabelais.[6] Thomas Shelton's *Don Quixote* appeared within seven years of its original, but the first English translation of any part of

Gargantua and Pantagruel appeared in 1653, a full century after Rabelais's death. In 1622 Leonard Digges explained why an English Rabelais had not yet been attempted in his prefatory poem for a translation of the Spanish picaresque narrative, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (2 pts., 1599; 1604). The reasons were both practical and moral: "As few, French *Rablais* understand; and none / Dare in our Vulgar Tongue once make him knowne."[7] Pope himself was not a fan of Rabelaisian comedy, apparently confessing that he could "never read [Rabelais] over with any patience," even though "Dr Swift was a great reader and admirer of Rabelais; and used sometimes to scold me for not liking him enough." Indeed, Pope's address to Swift as a latter-day Rabelais in the first book of *The Dunciad*—"Whether thou chuse Cervantes' serious air, / Or laugh and shake in Rab'lais' easy chair" (1. 21-2)—conveys something of this ambivalence, with "laugh and shake" invoking a certain demented quality to Rabelaisian (and Swiftian?) comedy, and providing a contrast with the moral gravity ascribed to Cervantic satire.[8] If Pope read Rabelais in the English editions published by Motteux in the 1690s—and it appears that he did, as we shall see—he would have had more material reasons than impatience for his dislike of both the French author and the Frenchman who translated him into English. What Pope, a Roman Catholic and what one scholar has nicely called "an emotional Jacobite," would have found when he opened the pages of Motteux's English versions of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* was a concerted attempt to turn Rabelais into a militantly anti-Catholic satirist.[9]

In what follows, I argue that the "historic-allegorical method" of interpretation developed by Motteux in his English versions of Rabelais, excoriated as narrowly reductive by Bakhtin, needs to be understood in the context of Motteux's own personal history as one of the thousands of Huguenot refugees—Abel Boyer was another—who arrived in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

Motteux's explicit preoccupation in his 1694 editions of Rabelais is with the application of contemporary religious politics in both France and England to the interpretation of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.[10] Motteux presented the comic episodes of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* as encoding bitter attacks upon the history of intolerance and persecution in early modern France. He sought to offer this anti-Catholic Rabelais to leading English Whigs as the ideal author for an English nation that, by means of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, had avoided the Catholic intolerance that had forced Motteux out of his own country. In the format of its original publication, which included extensive prefaces and commentaries, Motteux's Rabelais articulates the sentiment that was common among Whigs and Dissenters when they evaluated the events of 1688-9 in a European context: that the Glorious Revolution "was in many respects England's answer to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes."[11]

Modern readers are probably sympathetic to Bakhtin's disdain for the notion that Rabelaisian comedy can be treated as a *roman à clef*, with the vigorous linguistic excess that has attracted readers from Laurence Sterne to James Joyce constrained to one-to-one political allegory. But it is historically naïve to assume that such a method of reading was not attractive to earlier readers, and scholarship has recovered aspects of the ways in which early moderns read between the lines of fictive texts, in particular romances, to find contemporary political meaning.[12] Moreover, the contemporary popularity of such modes of reading is evident in the publication of numerous "keys" to literary works, including *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), *The Dunciad* and *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), purporting to reveal their exact allegorical meaning and relation to actual events and individuals. Such "keys" became the specialty of the publisher Edmund Curll (1675-1747) and got him into prolonged and bitter conflict

with Pope and Swift. Pope produced his own *Key to the Lock. Or, a Treatise proving . . . the dangerous Tendency of a late Poem, entitled The Rape of the Lock, to Government and Religion* (1715) to mock the form and its claims to find political allegory in poetry and fiction. At the end of the *Key*'s absurdly strained interpretation of *The Rape of the Lock* (1714) as rabidly pro-Catholic propaganda, Pope (writing as "Esdras Barnivelt") shows his awareness of Motteux's translation when he mockingly cites the key to "*Rabelais's Gargantua*" as a model for such revelation of "Secret Satyrs upon the State," insisting Barnivelt's interpretation has been "deduced as naturally, and with as little force."[13]

Curll had Whig sympathies but his main motivation in publishing was commercial; Motteux was also primarily a commercially motivated writer, but the sincerity of his political and religious reading of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* is not to be doubted, and it is a reading shaped by his own experience as a Huguenot refugee. By recovering the concerted efforts of Motteux to represent Rabelais as in effect a proto-Whig polemicist, this article offers an insight into how surprisingly quickly a young Huguenot, forced into migration by religious persecution, was able to establish himself on the English literary scene.[14] The reception of Motteux's "historic-allegorical" method can even teach us something about the origins of the English novel: I will conclude by suggesting that Motteux's treatment of Rabelaisian satire as a Whiggish key to actual historical and political events is a neglected transnational constituent in the development of the formal self-consciousness so vital to the great comic fictions of Swift and Sterne.

I. Peter Motteux: a Huguenot Refugee in Grub Street

Pierre-Antoine Le Motteux, born in Rouen in 1663, was evidently one of the many members of the beleaguered Huguenot community in Rouen who left for England soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685, for he became an English citizen on 5 March 1686. Thus he arrived in England before James II's Declaration of Indulgence of April 1687, which granted toleration to both non-conformists and Roman Catholics and prompted the largest influx of Huguenots to Britain and Ireland during the 1680s, even though they were fleeing from one Catholic monarch to another.[15] Henceforth Pierre-Antoine was known as Peter Anthony Motteux and he settled in London: in 1686 he was among the petitioners for a new French Protestant church in the city.[16] Peter Motteux made his debut on the literary scene in London in January 1692 with one of the first literary periodicals in English, *The Gentleman's Journal*. The *Journal* ran for over two years and is most usually noted as a forebear of *The Spectator*; it was in fact closer to a literary miscellany than a magazine, combining translation, poetry and songs—Purcell was a contributor—with theatre criticism and essays.[17] As Margaret Ezell has shown, *The Gentleman's Journal* transferred the practices of exchange that characterized private literary coteries in Restoration England into the public sphere of commercial print.[18] We know that Huguenots were an important presence among London booksellers after 1685, particularly in the Strand near the French church at Savoy, and that Huguenot printers, compositors and engravers brought new skills and fashions to the English book trade.[19]

In the case of Motteux, a Huguenot refugee seems to have been accepted rapidly into the company not only of London publishers and booksellers but also English literary society, given his knowledge of how these coteries functioned and the wide array of well-known literary figures who wrote for the magazine, including John

Dryden and William Congreve. Motteux also seems to have been part of the circle of Huguenot writers and intellectuals who met at the Rainbow coffeehouse in the early years of the eighteenth century, under the leadership of the journalist Pierre Des Maizeaux (1672/3-1745), who had arrived in England in 1689 in the company of Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1719), and become the key English correspondent for the European network of intellectual correspondence established by Des Maizeaux's friend and fellow French Protestant, the philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), also exiled in the Dutch Republic. It was through Des Maizeaux's network that Shaftesbury and radical figures with whom he associated, such as Toland and Anthony Collins (1676-1729), organized the translation into French of English republican writings.[20] There are other examples of Huguenot émigrés who rapidly made a career out of professional writing in post-revolutionary England, such as John Castaing, who became an English citizen in 1688 and established in 1697 a business newspaper, *Course of the Exchange*.[21] Motteux, however, probably offers the most striking example of the assimilation of a Huguenot into the London literary world in the immediate aftermath of 1685.

If *The Gentleman's Journal* was something of a literary miscellany, then it reflected Motteux's own career as a professional writer: as Ezell observes, "Motteux was familiar with and achieved a measure of success in the production of nearly every variety of Restoration commercial literary enterprise."[22] He is best known for his translations, particularly of Rabelais but also of *Don Quixote*, issued in two volumes in 1700 and 1703, with a long list of subscribers; he wrote prologues and epilogues for the theatre and had several of his own plays, both comedies and tragedies, staged in London, and he also wrote a good deal of occasional verse for public occasions, including, for example, the traditional London Ode for St Cecilia's Day in 1695 and,

in the same year, *Maria. A Poem Occasion'd by the Death of her Majesty*.[23] Much of this occasional verse is characterized by more or less explicit Williamite panegyric, notably a parody of an ode by Boileau to Louis XIV on the taking of Namur in 1692 that Motteux rewrote, in French, as a satire on Louis after William III took Namur back off the French only three years later. Motteux claims in his dedication that he was encouraged to compose the parody after showing Boileau's poem to Dryden and William Wycherley; if true, this is again an indication of the sort of notable literary company that Motteux was keeping, although it is company that does not fit particularly well with the Whig principles that Motteux displays in his edition of Rabelais, issued the year before the parody of Boileau.[24] Moreover, translations of Boileau by the Whig John Ozell (*d*. 1743) would some thirteen years later become the aggravating factor in the politically charged literary attacks on Ozell by Swift and Pope. These attacks were nominally undertaken in defence of Wycherley, one of the English Tories with whom Ozell replaced the French moderns in his 1708 rendering of Boileau's mock-heroic poem *Le Lutrin* (1674-83), which narrates the blasting of those modern authors by the ancients. Ozell would go on to publish in 1737 a revised edition of Motteux's complete English Rabelais.[25] Motteux's position in the *querelle* over the relative virtues of the ancients and the moderns is indicated by his 1695 translation of Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle's 1688 essay in defence of the moderns (and against Boileau), "Discourse on the Nature of Pastoral," the arguments of which appear to have shaped Motteux's (moderate) apology for the superior rationality of the moderns in *The Gentleman's Journal*.[26]

It has become increasingly clear that Pope borrowed liberally from those very "hack" Whig authors whom he so derided, and he has been found leaning on Motteux's translation of Sarpedon's speech to Glacus in *The Iliad* for his own

rendering of the speech, 'The Episode of Sarpedon', published in *Poetical Miscellanies* (1709).[27] Motteux's version of the speech, the archetypal assertion of warrior heroism in Homer, appeared in the literary periodical *The Muses Mercury* in 1707 and expands the nineteen lines in Homer to fifty-four. Motteux held to a theory of translation as creative adaptation rather than literal transference. As he put it rather well in the first issue of *The Gentleman's Journal*: "Poetry barely translated, like Wine poured out of one Vessel into another, seldom fails to lose most of its Spirit."[28] That spirit of creative adaptation extended to contemporary political contexts, for Motteux not only expanded Sarpedon's speech but turned it into "what might be construed as Williamite panegyric"—Sarpedon urges Glaucus that they must act as "Men fit to lead, and worthy to be Kings. / No idle Monarchs, no luxourious Drones"; and as "Princes, who boldly, for the common Good, / Wade o'er to conquest through the Purple Flood"— and this may be, as Julian Ferraro has argued, one reason why Pope felt the need to issue his own version (later reworked for the expanded version of *The Rape of the Lock*).[29]

Motteux does something similar with *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, but less through the translation itself than by means of his own commentary. Motteux's involvement with the English Rabelais began in 1694, the year in which *The Gentleman's Journal* came to an end, when he edited the first three books of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* in the translation of the Scottish laird Sir Thomas Urquhart (1611-60), whose brilliant rendering of books one and two had incongruously appeared in 1653, on the cusp of the Cromwellian Protectorate and while Urquhart himself was prisoner of war after being captured at the Battle of Worcester.[30] Motteux claimed that the manuscript of Urquhart's translation of the third book had been found after his death "among his papers somewhat incorrect" and that a "Gentleman" who "is a very great linguist"—

in other words, Motteux himself—had been asked to revise the text of all three of Urquhart's books.[31] The questions of how Urquhart's manuscript came to light, and to what extent the previously unpublished version of the *Tiers Livre* is the work of Motteux, remain a matter of conjecture, but Motteux's behavior over matters of authorship and appropriation was soon to come into question with a rancorous public argument over whether his comedy *Love's Jest* (1696) incorporated material from a dramatic manuscript given to him by an actor.[32] In July 1694, presumably spurred on by the commercial success of the earlier volume, Motteux issued his own translations of the fourth and fifth books—the fifth book is now considered probably not to be (entirely) the work of Rabelais, but its authenticity was not questioned in the early modern period—and then in 1708 Motteux combined his translation with Urquhart's version to create the first complete English rendering of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. This translation, as updated with further notes and commentary by Ozell, who incorporated aspects of the commentary by Jacob Le Duchat (1658-1735), another Huguenot, in his great French edition of 1711, was the one used by eighteenth-century novelists such as Laurence Sterne (1713-68).[33]

Motteux's 1694 edition of Urquhart's version of the first three books of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* was published by Richard Baldwin (*c*. 1653-98), who had emerged during the Exclusion Crisis as a publisher "instrumental in the Whig propaganda machine," and who was frequently in trouble with the authorities in 1681-3. Baldwin kept quiet during the reign of James II, but after 1688 he returned to publishing "Whig tracts on a large scale."[34] His core business was in political and satirical pamphlets and newspapers, but he also published periodicals of other kinds, including *The Gentleman's Journal*. Baldwin's interest in Huguenot affairs is evident in the fact that he continued to get into trouble after the accession of William III for his views on

France and on England's failure to act against a French state represented in his publications as bent on establishing a papist tyranny in Europe. In 1691 Baldwin was summoned before the House of Commons for remarks about Louis XIV that appeared in one of the periodicals in his stock, while his newspaper *The Postman*, which appeared from 1695, is characterized by its anti-Catholic and specifically anti-French content.[35] Indeed, by 1697 Baldwin's publications, such as *The Secret History of Whitehall*, increasingly represented even the Glorious Revolution itself as part of a wider French plot for Roman Catholic domination of Europe.[36] In this respect, Baldwin's activities are representative of the concerns of the more radical or "Real" Whigs in the later 1690s, who had come to regard the formation of a Protestant alliance in Europe that would curb the ambitions of Louis XIV to be the keystone which would maintain civil and religious liberty in Britain.[37] Among other books that Baldwin published in 1694, and which was advertised at the back of his edition of Motteux's translation of Rabelais, was Milton's *Letters of State* (1694), selected correspondence from Milton's period as Secretary for Foreign Tongues under the Commonwealth and Protectorate as translated by his nephew Edward Phillips. Attached to Baldwin's edition of Urquhart's Rabelais, as edited by Motteux, is a dedicatory poem to Baldwin himself by Nahum Tate (*c*. 1652-1715), the firmly Williamite Irish writer made Poet Laureate in 1692 (and thus another to attract Pope's scorn in the notes of *The Dunciad* as "a cold writer, of no invention" (1. 104-5)). Tate presents Baldwin as "Still playing th' honest wight in thy Vocation, / And printing dang'rous Truths to serve the Nation."[38] It seems Tate regarded an English Rabelais published with Motteux's "key" as a book which could convey such "dangerous truths."

Motteux's edition of Urquhart's translations is dedicated to Edward Russell (1652-1727). Brother of William Russell, executed in 1683 for his part in the Rye House Plot, Edward was one of the "Immortal Seven" who issued the invitation to William of Orange to depose James II, and subsequently a member of the so-called "Whig Junto" that sought to control parliamentary politics during the 1690s and beyond. In 1692 he had become Commander-in-Chief of the Anglo-Dutch naval force that destroyed the French fleet at Barfleur, a decisive victory in the War of the Grand Alliance; Russell went on in 1694 to become First Lord of the Admiralty and Earl of Orford.[39] Motteux offers his Rabelais to Russell as though it were further French bounty, captured to enrich English culture: Motteux, as "a lover of Britain," "envying to *France* such a Treasure, has made it a Prize; and now setts it out with English colours, fearless of its Enemies, under your Powerful Patronage."[40] Immediately, in the opening pages of Motteux's edition, the English Rabelais is represented as a "Prize" in the European conflict between Protestant and Catholic nations, paving the way for Motteux's interpretation of the whole work as a satire on the violent Catholic intolerance that justifies the actions of Russell and the other Whigs in deposing James II and preventing the same sort of religious tyranny in England.

The dedication to Russell is followed by a brief life of Rabelais and then a "Preface. Wherein is given an Account of the Design and Nature of this Work, and a Key to some of its most difficult Passages". Motteux seeks to illustrate how in both his life and his work, Rabelais, "in a jesting manner, exposed the *Roman* clergy's persecuting manner." Motteux begins by declaring that he will explain "the Truths which are hid under the dark veil of Allegories in that incomparable work": "most of the Adventures which are mystically represented by Rabelais," we are told, "relate to affairs of Religion." Motteux's explanation of how his "key" to *Gargantua and*

Pantagruel goes beyond philological matters to develop for the first time a full-scale account of *le sens historique* of the work is worth quoting in full:

> In the late Editions, some learned Men have given us a Vocabulary, wherein they explain the Names and Terms in it which are originally, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, or of other Tongues, that the Text might thus be made more intelligible, and their work may be useful to those who do not understand those Tongues. But they have not had the same success in their pretended Explications of the Names which *Rabelais* has given to the real Actors in this Farce; and thus they have indeed fram'd a Key, but, if I may use the Allegory, 'twas without having known the Wards and Springs of the Lock. What I advance, will doubtless be owned to be true by those who may have observed that by that Key, none can discover in those *Pythagorical* Symbols (as they are call'd in the Author's Prologue to the first Book) any Event that has a Relation to the History of those to whom the Names mention'd by *Rabelais*, have been applyed by those that made that pretended Key.[41]

Motteux's reference to earlier, inferior keys to Rabelais is likely to the 1663 Elzevier edition published in Amsterdam, to which was appended an alphabetized key glossing difficult words and phrases and providing a rudimentary, one-to-one identification of the historical identity of characters and places in the text.[42]

The interest among Huguenot exiles in this allegorical reading is evident in a copy of the two-volume 1666 Leiden edition of Rabelais which belonged to Élie Bouhéreau (1643-1719), who fled France for England after the 1685 Revocation before eventually ending up in Ireland as the first Keeper of Marsh's Library in Dublin,

where all his papers and books remain today. Bouhéreau and his fellow Huguenot exiles were keen readers of Rabelais: in his diary, for example, Bouhéreau records on 6 June 1711 being "dans une compagnie" where the discussion turned to the meaning of some old French words "dont il est parlé dans Rabelais". Notes at the back of his edition, probably by Bouhéreau himself, reproduce the key to the Elzevier edition, to which Bouhéreau presumably compared his Leiden edition at the date recorded in the headnote ("À la fin du Rabelais de Paris. 1669"): Gargantua is identified as Francis I and Pantagruel as his son Henry II, both kings of France during Rabelais's life and both notable persecutors of the Huguenots.[43] Bouhéreau's inscribed copy indicates the culture among Huguenot refugees of reading Rabelais historically and allegorically, a culture from which Motteux's vastly more detailed and complex commentary emerges.

II. Motteux and the Religious Politics of Pantagruelism

Motteux's methodological justification for this reading of the text as an allegory of religious controversy in mid-sixteenth-century France relies on a completely literal reading of the "Author's Prologue" to the first book of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, in which Rabelais insists that his book is one of those "that seem easie and superficial, but are not so readily fathom'd": readers must be prepared to "break the bone and suck out the substantial marrow, that is my allegorical Sense." If they do so, the book will disclose to them "dreadful Mysteries, as well as in what concerneth your Religion, as Matters of the Publick State."[44] Motteux quickly skates over the fact that Rabelais flatly contradicts this claim in the next paragraph, ridiculing those commentators who have tried to interpret Homer allegorically, and insisting that he

thought nothing of the reader when writing *Gargantua and Pantagruel* because he only wrote while drunk. "I know that he immediately after this passes off with a banter what he had assur'd very seriously," Motteux admits, "but this was an admirable piece of prudence." Motteux prefers to look away from Rabelais's characteristic tricksiness about his intentions and instead compare the work to seventeenth-century romances that he regards as having encoded political meaning and replayed contemporary events in early modern France under the cover of fiction, including Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* (5 vols., 1607-28) and John Barclay's much-translated Latin work *Argenis* (1621).[45] A key to *Argenis* identifying the various historical figures supposedly signified by Barclay's fictional personae was included in the Latin version of 1627 and then in the second, 1636 edition of Kingsmill Long's English translation (first published, 1625), in which the narrative is revealed to be an allegorical representation of later sixteenth-century France under the rule of Henry III and Henry IV. Modern scholars such as Annabel Patterson and Blair Worden have resurrected this tradition of providing a *clavis* or key to works of prose fiction, emphasising the historical grounds for reading early modern romance, whether *Argenis* or Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590) as political allegory.[46] Motteux places *Gargantua and Pantagruel* in the *clavis* tradition by insisting that Rabelais developed a fictive mode of discussing contemporary religious and political events in his comic romance to evade censorship and persecution, and it is a mode of writing that requires reading between the lines to understand its true sense.[47] Motteux continually reminds us of "those Enemies of Truth, who would not have failed to have burned him alive, in that Persecuting Age, had he less Wit and Prudence than they shewed Ignorance and Malice." Rabelais' continual purpose was to "insinuate a Contempt of the Church of Rome's Fopperies' through his comic allegories and fictions, an alternative mode of

attack from within while 'the Protestants publicly were indeavouring a thorough Reformation."[48]

Motteux provides a list of characters in *Gargantua and Pantagruel* and explains exactly which historical persons they represent, in the manner of the Elzevier "alphabet", but whereas the alphabet had identified the Rabelaisian giants with kings who were persecutors of the Huguenots, Motteux rather identifies Gargantua with Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre (1503-55), renowned for his sympathy towards the Huguenots, and Panurge is identified as Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valence (1502-79): while Jean de Monluc was the eldest brother, as Motteux puts it, "of the Marschal de Montluc, the most violent Enemy which the Huguenots had in those Days," Jean himself is represented as a closet Calvinist, with a secret wife and son. So when Gargantua's brain is purged by his new schoolmaster Ponocrates of the useless scholastic information that he has been taught by his previous tutors the Sophisters, the episode is decoded by Motteux as Henry of Navarre, who had shown "little improvement" in his studies "under Popish governors," undergoing the cleansing education of "a Protestant prince" by means of "Arguments drawn from Reason, and the Scripture, oppos'd to the Authority of the Popish Church." Motteux writes of Rabelais, Henry of Navarre, and "others in these Times, who were against the Errors of the Church of Rome in their Hearts [and] favored the Reformation perhaps even more than those who openly professed it."[49] Rabelais's own closet confessional allegiance becomes apparent in the revelation of the true signification of his comic stories, and each of his major characters is revealed to represent a prominent figure of his time who was either sympathetic to the Huguenots, or who was actually and secretly Protestant themselves.

When Motteux published his own translation of books four and five of Rabelais

later in 1694, he prefaced the text with an even more detailed account of the historical events shadowed in various chapters. This time his dedication was to Hugh Hare (*bap*. 1668, *d*. 1707), son of Henry Hare, second Baron Coleraine. Hugh Hare, who would become the Whig MP for Bletchingley, Surrey, in 1698, must have been thought a suitable dedicatee by Motteux because of his recent record as a Whiggish translator of continental texts.[50] In 1692 Hare had published a speech furiously attacking Jacobitism and the threat it posed to religious tolerance and political liberty in England: he urged the suppression of Jacobite conspirators, whom he accused of offering "incense of flattery to that proud Tyrant," Louis XIV, to further their aim of reducing the nation to a "to an *Italian,* a *Spanish,* or which is worst of all, a *French* Slavery." In 1693, Hare had translated from the Italian a history of the thwarted 1547 conspiracy against the republic of Genoa and, in dedicating the translation to Queen Mary, he explicitly made comparison with the alleged plot to return England to Roman Catholicism under James II.[51]

The threat of religious persecution in France, in Rabelais's time as in Motteux's own, is once more a constant theme of Motteux's allegorical interpretation of the fourth and fifth books of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. Hence a moment in the forty-fifth chapter of the fourth book is explained as an allegory of how Protestants are forced to dissimulate their faith, in both the mid-sixteenth century and the later seventeenth century:

> By the Country Fellow who runs into the Holy Water-Stock, and is immersed in that blessed Pickle all but the tip of the Snout, for fear of being claw'd off by the Devil, we must understand the Constraint in which the Protestants liv'd, while, to deliver themselves from the Persecutions of the Popish

> Hobgoblins, they were forc'd to be plunged over head and ears in the superstitious Worship of the Church of *Rome*; took Holy-water by handfuls, and hid themselves under Stoles, which are the badge of Priesthood: That is to say, they profess'd Popery, as they are now forc'd to do in *France*.[52]

This chapter in Rabelais is entitled "How *Pantagruel* went ashoar in the Island of *Pope Figg-land*" and in this case Motteux's allegorical interpretation of the episode, if somewhat ingenious, has some basis in the text: the people of the island, the Gaillardets, had formerly lived "rich and free" until some of them went to the neighboring island of "Papimany," saw the Papimans worshipping a picture of the Pope, "and cry'd, a Fig for't, as a sign of manifest Contempt and Derision." In retribution, the Papimans "surpriz'd, destroy'd, and ruin'd the whole Island of the *Gaillardets*, putting the Men to the Sword, and sparing none but the Women and Children." Motteux's reading of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* as a series of "satirical allegories," as he calls them, of the persecutory history of the French Church is evidently not entirely without foundation in the books that Motteux himself translated.[53]

Yet Motteux extends this one interpretative approach to every detail of a vast and cornucopian text. A striking reading of Rabelais through the lens of Motteux's own experience of fleeing religious persecution in France is found in his commentary on the celebrated episode of the frozen words that Pantagruel and Panurge encounter in chapters 55 and 56 of the fourth book—sounds of a naval battle that have been frozen as material substance and then, as they melt, fill the air with noise. This is an episode that was popular with eighteenth-century readers, most prominently Swift, who adapted the theme of words as material objects for the depiction of the Academy of

Lagado in *Gulliver's Travels*; as with the fourth and fifth books of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, the third book of *Gulliver's Travels* takes the form of a voyage to several islands and becomes more explicit in its contemporary allusion.[54] Motteux, now simply referring to persecuted French Protestants as "Pantagruelists," explains that this episode is an allegory for how in Rabelais's time Huguenots "did not dare discover their minds, so that their words were in a manner frozen within their mouths, which Fear and Interest kept shut." The melting of the words, he continues, signifies when they had escaped France for lands that welcomed them as Protestant refugees: "But when they were out of danger, they could no longer thus contain their words, and then everyone distinctly heard them, murmuring words against those Bigots, very sharp words, bloody words, terrible words, angry words, occasion'd by Reflections made on the Idolatrous Persecutors."[55] "Pantagruelist" has been redefined, not as a term for a comic, drunken protagonist—in Edward Phillips's *The New World of English Words* (1658), a "Pantagruelist" is listed as a word of French derivation for "a merry drunkard, or good fellow"—but one persecuted for their religion and who must either dissemble to conceal their true allegiance, or leave behind their home country. The redefinition is of course reductive, even absurdly so, but it also derives some emotional power from its source in Motteux's own personal experience as a religious refugee.[56]

Motteux also offers an alternative signification for the unfrozen words which emphasises the Huguenot experience, and his own personal experience, of persecution: "Those frozen words that were thaw'd, and then were heard, may also mean the Books publish'd at that time at Geneva and elsewhere against Popery and the Persecution. Those who fled from it to Places of Safety, with a great deal of freedom, fill'd their Writings with such Truths as were not to be spoken amongst the

biggotted *Romanists*." And he makes it clear that the situation is as bad now as it was in Rabelais's time: "This has been and still is observable in France," he declares.[57] One of those persecuted French Protestants who fled to a "place of safety" was Motteux himself, and the prefaces and commentary that he attached to his editions of the English Rabelais were conceived as one of these Huguenot books published "against Popery and the Persecution" in France. Post-revolutionary England, on the other hand, is represented by Motteux as a nation which has evaded the terrible fate of popish domination that has befallen France, and which offers persecuted Protestants a haven of liberty and tolerance. Of course, Motteux's own exercise in polemical literary translation could be said to add to the potential for Roman Catholics to suffer discrimination and persecution in England. Historians have observed the historical irony that Huguenot refugees came to post-1688 England as "victims of intolerance," but their tales of the atrocities that they had suffered in France "also contributed to intolerance of Catholics" in England.[58]

Alexander Pope's anxiety about the influence of Motteux's ideological interpretation of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* may be apparent in his denial of any consistent allegory in the work, and insistence that Rabelais really only wrote nonsense:

> Rabelais had written some sensible pieces, which the world did not regard at all. 'I will write something, (says he), that they shall take notice of': and so sat down to writing nonsense. Everybody allows that there are several things without any manner of meaning in his Pantagruel . . . His concealed characters are touched only in part, and by fits: as for example, though the King's Mistress be meant in such a particular, related of Gargantua's mare;

> the very next thing that is said of the mare, will not, perhaps, at all apply to the Mistress.[59]

As Pope well knew, the English version of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* was couched in a commentary that asserted precisely the continual and concerted allegorical meaning of the work. Might Motteux even have been an inspiration for Pope's "Esdras Barnivelt", the supposed author of the *Key to the Lock* who reveals himself to be a "*naturalized*" citizen of Great Britain, seeking to expose the Catholic sedition encoded everywhere in *The Rape of the Lock* in the public interest of his adopted country?[60]

In the earlier 1680s Tories had denounced the use of tales of the atrocities suffered by the Huguenots in Whiggish literature as sensationalist anti-Catholic scare stories; in response, Whigs had attacked the lack of Tory sympathy for their fellow persecuted Protestants as evidence of their true attitude towards dissenters. In 1681, Henry Care (1646/7-88), the inveterate Whig polemicist, attacked Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704), who had assiduously sought to suppress dissenting literature in his role as Licenser of the Press from 1663 to 1679, for claiming in his newsbook *The Observator* that the Whigs were exaggerating the Huguenots' suffering for political reasons. As Care sarcastically put it: "Pitty them! What sure you won't turn Fool in your Old Age? Those *Hugenots* are *Presbyterians*, man! And *errant dissenters*." Care's real target here was obviously the persecution of English dissenters, and it was a central theme of his anti-Catholic polemic to identify the sufferings of the French Protestants under Louis XIV with those of English dissenters under Charles II.[61] The sufferings of the persecuted Huguenots became a polemical topic in the war of words between Whig and Tory, providing "rhetorical opportunities" for non-conformist, conformist and

Catholic, regardless of whether or not the Huguenots who came to England really sought to align themselves with dissent.[62] Motteux's Rabelais illustrates how those sufferings continued to be a part of confessional and political polemic after the Glorious Revolution, and more specifically how anti-French and anti-Catholic rhetoric was continued in England by Huguenot émigrés, encompassing even works of commercial literary translation that might at first look like unlikely vehicles of confessional propaganda.

III. Swift, Sterne and the Key to Comic Fiction

Noel Malcolm has written of how "riddles or allegories [are] the very opposite of nonsense," and unquestionably something of the cornucopian and carnivalesque nature of Rabelaisian comedy—its value purely as a kind of nonsense that invites but frustrates signification—is lost with Motteux's insistence on the precise historical signification of the characters and episodes in *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. Malcolm comments on how "the free play of imagination becomes quickly curtailed" in *Gargantua and Pantagruel* when it is harnessed to "satirical purpose" in the description in the *Quart Livre* of the land of the "Papimans."[63] Yet early modern readers valued works of romance and comedy for how they might incorporate elements of historical and political allegory, and authors could consequently exploit the expectation of hidden meaning to develop news forms of fiction. As Howard Erskine-Hill observed in what remains one of the best introductions to *Gulliver's Travels*: "Writing a book obviously indebted to Rabelais, Swift probably remembered Peter Motteux's interpretations of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Books Four and Five. Almost certainly Swift played on his readership's expectations of finding originals in

his text." While *Gulliver's Travels* does not offer the sort of one-to-one political allegory that Swift encountered in the prefaces and commentary of Baldwin and Motteux's Whig Rabelais, it would be a mistake to assume that it thus contains no specific political references at all. Rather Swift was able to play on the recent tradition of allegorical commentary on Rabelais to "keep up our sense of the possibility of identification, offering, sometimes, almost enough to establish it," and thereby add another dimension to the experience of reading *Gulliver's Travels*, which spawned an array of publications claiming to offer a "key" to the historical and political meaning of its episodes, as *A Tale of a Tub* had before it.[64] As with Pope in the *Key to the Lock*, Swift took the opportunity of turning such stiffly imposed allegories into "a riddling device, furthering and protecting rather than breaching the mysterious specificity of the original."[65] For example, the Kingdom of Tribnia in the third book of *Gulliver's Travels*, a transparent allegory of Britain, is characterized by its "Set of Artists very dextrous in finding out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables, Letters. For instance, they can decypher a Close-Stool to signify a Privy-Council; a Flock of Geese, a Senate; a lame Dog, an Invader; the Plague, a standing Army"; and so the list goes on for a dozen more examples. Yet this mockery of the nonsense of finding continual political allegory in a text is itself, according to modern editors, part of an allegorical account of the trial of Bishop Atterbury in 1722 on the charge of a Jacobite plot, dismissed in Jacobite publications as a Whig fabrication.[66]

The modern novel began to develop in the last decades of the seventeenth century "through intersections and interactions among texts, readers, writers, and publishing and critical institutions that linked together Britain and France," and the reception and translation of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, the greatest of French comic romances, is one (comparatively neglected) aspect of that development.[67] A greater appreciation of

the Whig principles that informed Motteux's translation as it was up-dated by Ozell and used by Sterne—proclaimed on the publication of *Tristram Shandy* (1759-67) as the "English Rabelais"—may further our sense of how that novel can be related to Sterne's Whig commitments and associations.[68] It may also allow us to reconcile the claims of Sterne and his friends for the Rabelaisian inheritance of his novel—Yorick carries a copy of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* in his pocket—with what we now know of Sterne's extensive reliance on the example of various "moderns." It has been suggested that "the noise Sterne makes about Rabelais and Cervantes could pre-empt allegations of indebtedness to his immediate contemporaries and so assist, paradoxically, his standing as an original himself."[69] Motteux and Ozell were not exactly immediate contemporaries, but they can be counted among the "moderns" from whom Sterne disassociates himself in favor of those Renaissance authors, pre-eminently Rabelais, who had by the later eighteenth century attained a status akin to the classics. Yet Sterne came to Rabelais through Motteux's edition and its Whig commentary.

Motteux's commentary on *Gargantua and Pantagruel* is an obvious source for the "Key" appended to Sterne's *A Political Romance* (1659), in which the members of a "political club" in York dispute the precise allegory encoded in the manuscript "Romance" that they discover on the ground in the Minster: "It was instantly agreed to, by a great Majority, That it was a Political Romance; but concerning what State or Potentate, could not so easily be settled amongst them." Sterne even compares the multiple subjective interpretations imposed on the romance with the fate of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*: "Thus every Man turn'd the Story to what was swimming uppermost in his own Brain;—so that, before all was over, there were full as many Satyres spun out of it,—and as great a Variety of Personages, Opinions, Transactions,

and Truths, found to lay hid under the dark Veil of its Allegory, as ever were discovered in the thrice-renowned History of the Acts of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*."[70] Motteux's notion of a political key to Rabelais—blamed by Bakhtin for the "disintegration of laughter" in eighteenth-century Europe—became the stuff of comic fiction in Sterne. But that is not to say Sterne had no sympathy with the Whig principles and experience of religious persecution that informed Motteux's endeavor: they may have been part of the attraction.[71]

Motteux was among the most significant of the many Huguenots who found sanctuary in England in the aftermath of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and who shaped the development of the English novel by translating French literary tradition and generic practice into English: to that extent, absolutism, religious persecution and forced migration helped to create a transnational culture.[72] But the reception of Motteux's allegorical commentary also illustrates how this cultural traffic was never simply one-way. For it was news of Motteux's achievement in producing a political commentary on Rabelais in English that led Pierre Bayle, in exile in Rotterdam, to encourage Le Duchat, in exile in Berlin, to produce his landmark six-volume French edition of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* in 1711: Bayle was writing in his correspondence about the commentary "almost as soon as it left the press," having presumably heard about it from his friend in London, Des Maizeaux. Motteux's key to Rabelais was itself translated into French as part of the 1741 Amsterdam edition of the *Œuvres de M. François Rabelais*, and hence became a part of French literary criticism.[73] Motteux's Whig version of Rabelais, which tells the tale of his personal experience of religious persecution in France, helped to shape literary culture of the eighteenth century both in his new home of England and in the homeland from which he had fled.

University of Exeter

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[1] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1984), 112-16; for early French attempts to devise a key to Rabelais, see Marcel de Grève, "Les érudits du XVII siècle en quête de la clef de Rabelais," *Études Rabelaisiennes*, 5 (1964): 41-63.

[2] See François Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. Sir Thomas Urquhart and Pierre Le Motteux, with an introduction by Terence Cave (London: Everyman's Library, 1994).

[3] Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad in Four Books*, ed. Valerie Rumbold (Longman: Harlow, 2009), 2. 405-14. All references to *The Dunciad* are to this edition and are included in the text parenthetically.

[4] On Pope and the dominance of the Tory version of literary history, see more generally Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1681-1714* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), esp. 22-55.

[5] Alexander Pope, *Major Works*, ed. Pat Rogers (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006), 206, 227.

[6] See e.g., the account of Rabelais's pre-1650 reputation as a libertine in Ann Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1998), 75-85.

[7] Digges, "To *Don Diego Puede-Ser*, and his Translation of Guzman," in *The Rogue, or, The Life of Guzman de Alfarache written in Spanish by Matheo Aleman*, trans. James Mabbe (London, 1622), sig. A4^{r}.

[8] Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters, of Books and Men. Collected from the Conversation of Mr. Pope*, ed. James M. Osborn, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966), 1: 55.

[9] Douglas Brooks-Davies, *Pope's "Dunciad" and the Queen of Night: A Study in Emotional Jacobitism* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1985). On Pope and Jacobitism, see most recently Joseph Hone, *Alexander Pope in the Making* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2021).

[10] It has been previously argued that the distinguishing feature of Motteux's edition of the English Rabelais is his attempt, in both his translation and commentary, to accommodate the notorious profanity of Rabelaisian comedy to the developing conventions of politeness that were beginning to emerge in English society by the beginning of the eighteenth century; although Motteux himself was at pains to protest that he did not "affect" in his translation "the politeness of the most nice and refin'd of our Modern *English* Writers." See Shaun Regan, "Translating Rabelais: Sterne, Motteux and the Culture of Politeness," *Translation and Literature*, 10, 2 (2001): 174-99; Motteux, "Preface, Wherein is given an Account of the Design and Nature of this Work, and a Key to some of its most difficult Passages," in *The Works of Mr Francis Rabelais . . . done out of French by Sir Tho. Urchard, Kt., and others*, 3 vols. (1694), I, p. xliv.

[11] G. C. Gibbs, "Reception of the Huguenots in England and the Dutch Republic, 1680-1690," in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991), 275-306 (294).

[12] The classic work in this area, although it is concerned largely with pre-Civil War England, remains Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions*

of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England (Madison, Wisc.: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

[13] "Esdras Barnivelt" [Alexander Pope], *A Key to the Lock. Or, a Treatise proving . . . the dangerous Tendency of a late Poem, entitled The Rape of the Lock, to Government and Religion* (1714), 32-3. On Curll, see Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, *Edmund Curll, Bookseller* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007); on Pope's "key" to his own poem, see Freya Johnston, "Alexander Pope: Unlocking the Key," *The Review of English Studies*, 67 (2016): 897-913. Osborn suggests that the "key" that Pope had seen was "probably the one in Jean Bernier's *Jugement et observations sur . . . Rabelais* (1697)"; but it seems much more likely that Pope had seen Motteux's earlier, well-known English commentary (Osborn (ed.), Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters*, 1: 217).

[14] In this context, see the brief but suggestive comments on Motteux in G. C. Gibbs, 'Huguenot Contributions to England's Intellectual Commerce with Europe, *c*. 1680-1720', in *Huguenots in Britain and Their French Background, 1550-1800*, ed. Irene Scoudouli (London: Macmillan, 1987), 20-41 (23-7).

[15] Gibbs, "Reception of the Huguenots", 282.

[16] See David Hopkins, entry for "Peter Anthony Motteux," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (cited hereafter as *ODNB*).

[17] James Tierney, "Periodicals and the Trade, 1695-1780," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1695-1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), 479-97 (480, 487); Mark A. Radice, "Henry Purcell's Contributions to *The Gentlemen's Journal*," *Bach*, 9, 4 (1978): 25-30.

[18] See Margaret J. M. Ezell, "*The Gentleman's Journal* and the Commercialization of Restoration Literary Practices," *Modern Philology*, 89 (1992), 323-40.

[19] See Catherine Swift, "'The French Booksellers in the Strand': Huguenots in the London Book Trade," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 25 (1990): 123-39; Nicholas Barker, "The Morphology of the Page," and P. G. Hoftijzer and O. S. Lankhorst, "Continental Imports to Britain, 1695-1740," in Suarez and Turner, 248-67 (248, 251-2); 513-523 (517-19).

[20] Simon Harvey and Elizabeth Gilchrist, "The Rainbow Coffee House and the Exchange of Ideas in Early Eighteenth-Century England," in *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660-1750*, ed. Anne Dunan-Page (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 163-72 (164). For an account of the associations between exiled Huguenots and "Real Whigs" in London in the later 1690s and early eighteenth century (which does not mention Motteux), see Rachael Hammersley, "The 'Real Whig'—Huguenot Network and the English Republican Tradition," in *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Ann Thomson and others. (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010), 19-42.

[21] John McCusker, "British Commercial and Financial Journalism Before 1800," in Suarez and Turner, 448-65 (463).

[22] Ezell, 324.

[23] See David Hopkins, "The London Odes on St Cecilia's Day for 1686, 1695 and 1696," *The Review of English Studies*, 45 (1994): 486–95. See more generally on Motteux's literary versatility the only book devoted to him, which remains useful and reliable despite its age: Robert Newton Cunningham, *Peter Anthony Motteux, 1663-1718: A Biographical and Critical Study* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1933).

[24] See *Ode sur la Prise de Namur. Avec une Parodie de la mesme Ode par le Sieur P. Motteux* (London, 1695).

[25] See *The works of Francis Rabelais, M.D. ... Now carefully revised, and compared throughout with the late new edition of M. Le du Chat, By Mr. Ozell*, 5 vols. (London, 1737). See also Abigail Williams, entry for "John Ozell (*d*. 1708)," in *ODNB*.

[26] Motteux's rendering of Fontenelle is included in *Monsieur Bossu's treatise of the epick poem . . . done into English from the French, with a new original preface upon the same subject, by W. J.; to which are added, An essay upon satyr, by Monsieur D'Acier; and A treatise upon pastorals, by Monsieur Fontanelle* (London, 1695). On Motteux, the battle of the books, and literary quarrels in the 1690s, see Alexis Tadié, "The Networks of Quarrels: The Strange Case of Peter Anthony Motteux," *Études Anglaises*, 66, 2 (2013): 147-60. On Motteux's comments on the ancients and moderns, see also Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 29.

[27] See Julian Ferraro, "Political Discourse in Alexander Pope's *Episode of Sarpedon*: Variations on the Theme of Kingship," *Modern Language Review*, 88 (1993): 15-25.

[28] *The Gentleman's Journal* (London, January 1692), 13, quoted in Ferraro, 17, who points out that the dictum seems to be derived from John Denham's preface to *The Destruction of Troy* (1656).

[29] "The Speech of *Sarpedon* to *Glaucus*. Translated, or rather Imitated from Book XII of *Homer's Iliads*. By Mr *Motteux*," in *The Muses Mercury: Or, Monthly Miscellany* 3 (London, March 1707), 69-70; Ferraro, 17.

[30] On the (surprising) circumstances surrounding the publication of the imprisoned Urquhart's Rabelais, see Nicholas McDowell, "Urquhart's Rabelais: Translation, Patronage and Cultural Politics," *English Literary Renaissance*, 32 (2005): 273-303;

Nicholas McDowell, "A Rabelaisian Scotsman in King Cromwell's Court: Sir Thomas Urquhart, the Hartlib Circle and the Nonsense of a Rational Language," *Renaissance Studies*, 30 (2016): 152-68.

[31] Motteux, 'Preface. Wherein is given an Account of the Design and Nature of this Work, and a Key to some of its most difficult Passages', in *The Works of Mr Francis Rabelais . . . done out of French by Sir Tho. Urchard, Kt., and others*, I, p. xliii. The third book of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* was first published separately, with a titlepage dated 1693, without any prefatory apparatus or reference to Motteux's role in revision of Urquhart's manuscript. It is advertised as the work of "Thomas Urwhat" and Motteux's name is absent, although the publisher (Richard Baldwin) is the same as for Motteux's 1694 publications.

[32] See Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England, 1660-1710* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), 73-5.

[33] See Regan, "Translating Rabelais"; Antony Coleman, "Sterne's Use of the Motteux-Ozell 'Rabelais'", *Notes and Queries*, 223 (1978): 55-58. Le Duchat's commentary exhibits his knowledge of Motteux's "key" to *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, about which Le Duchat had corresponded with Pierre Bayle before undertaking his own edition of the text; see Theodore P. Fraser, *Le Duchat, First Editor of Rabelais* (Geneva: Droz, 1971), 22-3, 72-5.

[34] See Beth Lynch, "Baldwin, Richard (*c.*1653–1698)," in *ODNB*. Mark Knights refers to Baldwin as a "steadfastly Whiggish bookseller" (*The Devil in Disguise: Deception, Delusion, and Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011), 244.

[35] See Leona Rostenberg, "Richard and Anne Baldwin, Whig Patriot Publishers," in Rostenberg, *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious, and Legal Publishing, Printing,*

and Bookselling in England, 1551–1700: twelve studies, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), 2. 369–415.

[36] See Rebecca Bullard, "Signs of the Times? Reading Signatures in Two Late Seventeenth-Century Secret Histories," in *The Perils of Print Culture: Book, Print and Publishing History in Theory and Practice*, ed. Eve Patten and Jason McElligot (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014), 118-33 (125-6, 128-9).

[37] See Rachael Hammersley, *The English Republican Tradition and Eighteenth-Century France: Between the Ancients and the Moderns* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2010), chap. 2.

[38] *The Fifth Book of the Works of Francis Rabelais, M.D., containing the heroic deeds and sayings of the great Pantagruel to which is added the Pantagruelian prognostication, Rabelais's letters, and several other pieces by that author / done out of French by P.M.*, final leaf; Tate, "A Familiar Epistle to Mr Baldwin on his Publishing of the Translation of Rabelais," in *The Works of Mr Francis Rabelais . . . done out of French by Sir Tho. Urchard, Kt., and others*, sig. *1^{r}.

[39] See Grant Tapsell, "Immortal Seven (*act.* 1688)," in *ODNB*; Stuart Handley, "Whig Junto (*act. c.*1694–*c.*1716)," in *ODNB*; D. D. Alfridge, entry for 'Edward Russell (1652-1727)', in *ODNB*.

[40] Motteux, "To the Right Honourable *Edward Russel*, Esq.," in *The Works of Mr Francis Rabelais . . . done out of French by Sir Tho. Urchard, Kt., and others*, sig. A2^{v}. See also Robert Newton Cunningham, "A Bibliography of the Writings of Peter Anthony Motteux," *Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, 3 (1933): 317-37.

[41] Motteux, "The Life of Dr *Francis Rabelais*," and "Preface," in *Works of Mr Francis Rabelais*, pp. ix, xlv-xlvi.

[42] For some discussion of the 1663 Elzevier "alphabet", see Samuel Kinser, *Rabelais's Carnival: Text, Context, Metatext* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1990), 155-9.

[43] For Bouhéreau's diary, which covers the years 1689-1719, see Marsh's Library, Dublin, MS. 302. 2. 2. 2, 120-1; *Les Œuvres de François Rabelais*, 2 vols. ([Leiden], 1666), Marsh's Library, Dublin, Class R. 2. Tab. 8, nos. 26, 27. My thanks to the current Keeper of Marsh's Library, Jason McElligot, for his help in accessing these documents.

[44] *Works of Mr Francis Rabelais*, sig. B3v ("The Author's Prologue.")

[45] Motteux, "Preface," in *Works of Mr Francis Rabelais*, pp. xli, lxv.

[46] See Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*, 184: "[*Argenis*] was quickly recognized as an encoded and fictionalized account of European history"; Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's* Arcadia *and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1996), 8: "the contemporary resonance of Sidney's language is a key to his art, not a debasement of it."

[47] For the continuation of this interpretation in modern criticism, see e.g. Kenneth Borris, *Allegory and Epic in English Renaissance Literature: Heroic Form in Sidney, Spenser and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), 19, who cites the example of the prologue in the first book of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* to justify the reading of early modern works as political allegories: "The comment of Rabelais, who himself used secondary or hidden meanings to gain some latitude of political and religious expression, may itself be partly an alibi to shield his own practice from possible sanctions."

[48] Motteux, "Preface," in *Works of Mr Francis Rabelais*, pp. xcii, cxliv.

[49] Motteux, "Preface," in *Works of Mr Francis Rabelais*, pp. lxv, lxx.

[50] See Gordon Goodwin, "Hare, Hugh (*bap.* 1668, *d.* 1707)," rev. Philip Carter, entry in *ODNB*; http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/bletchingley.

[51] Hare, *A charge given at the general quarter sessions of the peace for the county of Surrey holden at Dorking on Tuesday the 5th day of April 1692, and in the fourth year of Their Majesties reign* (London, 1692), 24, 27; "To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty," in *An Historical Relation of the Conspiracy of John Lewis, Count de Fieschi, against the City and Republic of Genoa, in the year 1547 written in Italian by Augustin Mascardi, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Pope Urban the Eighth; done into English by the Honourable Hugh Hare, Esq.* (London, 1693), sigs. A3^{v}-A5^{r}.

[52] Motteux, "Explanatory Remarks," in *Pantagruel's Voyage to the Oracle of the Bottle being the Fourth and Fifth Books of the Works of Francis Rabelais . . . never before printed in English / done out of French by Mr. Motteux; with explanatory remarks on every chapter by the same hand* (London, 1694), p. xlix.

[53] *Pantagruel's Voyage to the Oracle of the Bottle*, p. cxii, 172-5.

[54] For an interesting discussion of how the episode of the frozen words explores the relation of words to things, see Judith Anderson, *Words That Matter: Linguistic Perception in the Renaissance English* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1996), 7-42 (13).

[55] Motteux, "Explanatory Remarks," in *Pantagruel's Voyage to the Oracle of the Bottle*, pp. lvii-lviii.

[56] Phillips, *The New World of English Words, or, A General Dictionary Containing the Interpretations of Such Hard Words as are Derived from Other Languages* (London, 1658), *s.v.* "Pantagruelist"; a similar definition is given in Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary* (London, 1677), *s.v.* "Pantagruelist."

[57] Motteux, "Explanatory Remarks," in *Pantagruel's Voyage to the Oracle of the Bottle*, pp. lviii, lxii.

[58] Gibbs, "Reception of the Huguenots," 295. On the Huguenot diaspora after 1685, see most recently Owen Stanwood, *The Global Empire: Huguenots in an Age of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2020); for a recent account of the movement of religious refugees in the development of post-Reformation Europe, see Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2015).

[59] Osborn (ed.), Spence, *Anecdotes . . . Collected from the Conversation of Mr Pope*, 1: 217-8.

[60] 'Epistle Dedicatory to Mr. Pope', in [Pope], *Key*, p. iii.

[61] Anne Dunan-Page, "Roger L'Estrange and the Huguenots: Continental Protestantism and the Church of England," in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, ed. Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 109-30 (129), quoting Henry Care, *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, 3. 60 (29 July, 1681); Gregory Dodds, "'Sham Liberty of Conscience': Huguenots and the Problem of Religious Toleration in Restoration England," in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context*, ed. D. J. B. Trim (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 69-102 (90-2).

[62] Dodd, "'Sham Liberty of Conscience'", 93. See also Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement, c. 1550-1700*, trans. Peregrine Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 267: 'Even when [the refugee communities] refused to conform to the established Church, they never entirely shared the characteristics of dissent.'

[63] Noel Malcolm, *The Origins of English Nonsense* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), 83-4,111.

[64] Howard Erskine-Hill, *Jonathan Swift: Gulliver's Travels* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), 36.

[65] Johnston, 'Alexander Pope', 902.

[66] Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Claude Rawson and Ian Higgins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 178-9, 332. See e.g. [Anon.], *A Key, being Observations and Explanatory Notes, upon the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver* (London, 1726).

[67] Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever, "Introduction," in *The Literary Channel: The Inter-National Invention of the Novel*, ed. Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001), 1-34 (2).

[68] On Sterne's reception as the "English Rabelais", see further Nicholas McDowell, "Rabelaisian Comedy and Satire," in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English. Volume I: Prose Fiction in English from the Origins of Print to 1750*, ed. Thomas Keymer (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2017), 294-309.

[69] See Thomas Keymer, *Sterne, the Moderns, and the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), 19; for Sterne's Whig associations, see 184-214.

[70] Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey and Other Writings*, ed. Tim Parnell (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003), 169, 172. See the brief but suggestive note by Michael Fardon, "A Rabelaisian Source for the 'Key' to Sterne's A Political Romance," *The Review of English Studies*, 26 (1975): 47-50. For wider reflections on the influence of Rabelais on Sterne's early writings, although Motteux is not cited, see Marcus Walsh, "Scriblerian Satire, *A Political Romance*, the 'Rabelaisian Fragment'

and the Origins of *Tristram Shandy*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*, ed. Thomas Keymer (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), 21-33.

[71] For a reading of Sterne's attitude towards "Whig history," see John Owen Harvard, "Arbitrary Government: *Tristram Shandy* and the Crisis of Whig History," *English Literary History*, 81 (2104): 585-613.

[72] Joan DeJean, "Transnationalism and the Origins of the (French?) Novel," in Cohen and Dever (eds.), *Literary Channel*, 37-49.

[73] Fraser, *Le Duchat*, 22-3; César de Missy, "Remarques sur les Œuvres de M. F. Rabelais publiées en Anglois par M. Le Motteux et traduites en François par C. D. M.," in *Les Œuvres de M. François Rabelais*, ed. Jean Bernard (Amsterdam, 1741).