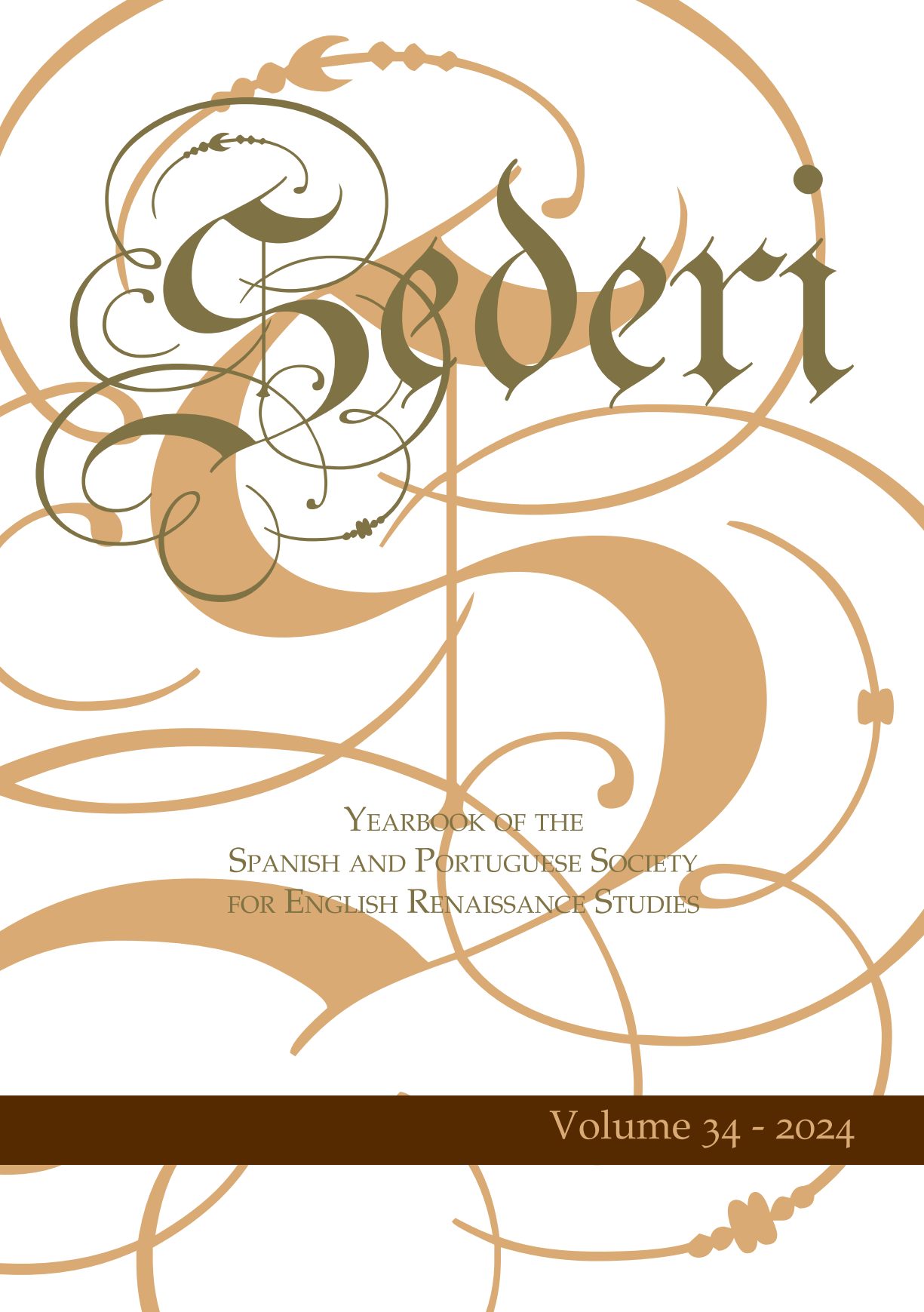

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Getting your letters wrong: Early modern epistolary writing*

Gerd Bayer
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Abstract: Letters have played a central role in the development of various forms of literary culture. This article argues that it is through the tropes of miscarriage, deceit, and betrayal that early modern writers and audiences frequently encountered epistolary forms of communication. By looking at various examples from Renaissance and Restoration fiction and literary culture, the article demonstrates that this period was marked by inconsistencies, experimentation, and negotiations. Letters at the time provided writers with an opportunity to showcase the flexibility and malleability of language. The letter, indeed, represented the semantic in-betweenness that links factuality and fiction.

Keywords: Epistolarity, genre, history of the novel, Renaissance fiction, Restoration fiction.

Malos escritos: escritura epistolar en la edad moderna temprana†

Resumen: Las cartas han jugado un papel central en el desarrollo de varias formas de cultura literaria. Este artículo argumenta que los escritores y el público de la edad moderna temprana eran introducidos a las formas de comunicación epistolares a través de los tropos del error, el engaño y la traición. Analizando varios ejemplos de ficción y cultura literaria del Renacimiento y la Restauración, este artículo demuestra que este periodo estuvo marcado por inconsistencias, experimentación y negociaciones. En aquel momento las cartas les daban a los escritores una oportunidad de exhibir la flexibilidad y la maleabilidad del lenguaje. Ciertamente, la carta representaba el punto intermedio que une lo fáctico y la ficción.

Erros letrados: a escrita epistolar na proto-modernidade‡

Resumo: As cartas têm desempenhado um papel central no desenvolvimento de várias formas de cultura literária. Este artigo argumenta que escritores e públicos da proto-modernidade deparavam frequentemente com formas epistolares de comunicação através dos tropos de erro, engano e traição. Ao considerar vários exemplos da ficção e da cultura literárias do Renascimento e da Restauração, este artigo demonstra que este período foi marcado por inconsistências, experimentação e negociações. As cartas proporcionavam aos escritores da época uma oportunidade de exporem a flexibilidade e maleabilidade da linguagem. A carta, de facto, representava a intermediação semântica que liga a factualidade à ficção.

* I would like to thank the organizers and conference attendees at the 2023 Sederi meeting in Valencia: an earlier version of this article was presented at this meeting, and I have benefitted exceedingly from the feedback received there, as well as from the anonymous reader-reports of this journal. I would like to single out the detailed written comments by Mark Thornton Burnett.
† Translation into Spanish by Tamara Pérez-Fernández.
‡ Translation into Portuguese by Miguel Ramalhete.

Palabras clave: Epistolaridad, género, historia de la novela, ficción renacentista, ficción en la Restauración.

Palabras-chave: Epistolaridade, género literário, história do romance, ficção renascentista, ficção da Restauração.

In *Le Nozze di Figaro*, one of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's late operas, first performed in 1786, the plot circles around amorous intrigues and complex stratagems, all set in a Spanish castle near Sevilla. Late in the second act, Figaro tries to take revenge on the Duke, his master, by sending him on a wild goose chase in the belief that he might catch his wife in an act of infidelity. The instrument that Figaro employs to manipulate the lecherous Duke is a letter; and it is not the only letter in Mozart's opera, whose libretto is based on Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais's comedy by the same name, first performed a few years earlier, in 1784. The opera's gender-bending plot uses letters to remind its audience that meaning and understanding are easily corrupted: letters are written with the intent to trick the reader, by assuming feigned authorship or by miscarriage. In one instance in *Figaro*, a letter that is intended to send a servant into battle, as a punishment for his flirtatious behavior, is rendered inefficient for the simple reason that the revengeful Duke had forgotten to legitimize the letter by imprinting his seal on it. The letter clearly states his intent, but due to a formal flaw it fails to effect that meaning. The absent seal evokes the absent speaker; the letter no longer manages to transport what the author had wanted to achieve. Mozart's late eighteenth-century letters, I will suggest, hark back to an earlier tradition; they remind us that readers used to connect epistolarity with subversive and manipulative forms of communication.

When Mozart wrote his opera in the late eighteenth century, he did so at a point in time when the use of epistolary forms had already been formalized into the kind of writing usually associated with works like Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), Goethe's *Werther* (1774), or Laclos' *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782). And it is these canonical examples of the epistolary novel that tend to define how we think also about the early modern novel of letters, namely as a work ripe with intimacy, sentimentality, and psychological realism. Letters, according to this tradition, aided proto-Enlightened readers in their pursuit of individuality, supporting them in their struggles against conventional and conservative social models and identities. While this narrative provides much insight into how epistolary writing has engaged its eighteenth-century readers and audiences ever since — recent decades have seen a return

of e-pistolary fiction that makes use of email or social network communication[1] — it does not, maybe, tell us all that much about how the early modern age thought of letters. What I would like to suggest, therefore, is that we may have gotten our letters wrong: and quite fittingly, it is precisely through the tropes of miscarriage, deceit, and betrayal that early modern writers and audiences encountered epistolary forms of communication.[2] In other words: during the early modern age, getting your letters wrong was the right way. And when we look at Restoration fiction — or even Restoration literary forms in general — we notice that this period was marked by inconsistencies, experimentation, and negotiations. In fact, studying a particular formal feature such as the novel offers some clues about how Restoration and early modern literary culture worked; or, to cite Stephen Greenblatt: "the study of genre is an exploration of the poetics of culture" (1982, 6). For my particular generic and historical context and its unique willingness to renegotiate such cultural poetics, we can also turn to Sonia Villegas-López, who has put it succinctly in her recent introduction to a special issue of the journal *Restoration*, arguably the top academic platform for this topic: "Restoration fiction evaded uniformity, purity and stability, which are actually features genres adopt to consolidate and compete among themselves" (2022/23, 4). It is in this generic, formal, and historical context that I situate my own research interests. It is, at heart, an attempt to think about genre, form, and mimesis, mutually interdependent aspects that, during most historical moments, rely substantially on stability, yet looking at them through a diachronic prism brings out their discontinuities.

This article will accordingly cover three main aspects: it first offers some brief comments about how epistolarity as a phenomenon of English literary history has been framed, with a dual focus on the early modern age and on some recent scholarship that picks up on this topic. It will then discuss some examples of Renaissance prose fictions that make use of epistolary moments. In its third part, this article will look at how Restoration writers in the late seventeenth century turned to epistolarity, to finally offer some concluding comments on how early modern literary culture treated and drew on epistolarity.

[1] See, for instance, Löschnigg and Schuh (2018).
[2] This argument builds on but — in terms of historical range and generic specificity — also expands on Loveman (2016).

1. Epistolarity

Epistolarity plays a significant if not yet fully researched role in the history of narrative prose fiction. Like my colleague Leah Orr, whose monograph *Novel Ventures* (2017) offers an original approach to the study of Restoration fiction, I tend to think of the history of a genre in a non-linear and genealogical way that takes cultural materialist ideas into account: books exist at the intersection of writers, readers, and people in the book industries, which in turn are connected and dependent on larger cultural and economic narratives.[3] Leah Orr has demonstrated convincingly that we should think of the early history of the novel through a multi-disciplinary and cross-generic prism. My current research interests try to contribute to these larger questions by looking at one particular medium, the letter, and to see how this medium surfaces in quite different generic contexts. The epistolary novel of the mid eighteenth century unfortunately tends to overshadow our impression of what epistolarity did and how it worked in earlier historical and cultural contexts. While Richardson, Goethe, Laclos and others employed epistolarity through a mix of sentimental, romanticist, and Enlightened attitudes that nurtured a readerly experience through which individuality, moral dilemmas, and psychological interiority were channeled, earlier writers — it seems to me — did not think about the letter in the same terms. What I am suggesting, then, is that we consider a diachronic study of epistolarity. My fundamental claim would be that epistolary forms of writing, like so many other aspects of literary history, frequently undergo rather radical reassessments, leading to a situation where in the early modern age epistolarity largely takes on a contextual significance that sits quite at the opposite end of its subsequent eighteenth-century meaning. Unlike the Enlightened and individualized meaning of the letter at the latter point, the use of epistolarity in the early modern age was instead shaped and even defined quite frequently by its use of deception and betrayal and by a general sense of skepticism vis-à-vis the non-personal form of communication that early-modern modernity in the shape of the printing press, postal services, and the availability of paper permitted.

The history of epistolary forms across Europe has already been masterfully sketched by Thomas Beebee in *Epistolary Fiction in Europe*. He, too, approaches this tradition from a poststructuralist point of view,

[3] I discuss some of these aspects in my monograph on Restoration paratextual poetics (Bayer 2016).

arguing early in his monograph that "Epistolary fiction is a function rather than a thing" (1999, 8). He points out that because of "the relative unfixedness of its form and essence, the letter made itself available to numerous genres" (Beebee 1999, 14); and he subsequently discusses a wide range of uses that European writers made of epistolary forms. Beebee's work was complemented by Gary Schneider's *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700*, which traces the early modern transition from an oral to a written culture precisely through the use of letters. Schneider views letters and epistolarity as important players in the social sphere, and he also points out that letters are always prone to miscarriage or separation, leading to a breakdown of the non-personal forms of communication that work as a supplement of individual face-to-face interaction. Schneider also carefully traces epistolarity's changing historical functions, ranging from official government letters to familial letters and on to forms of news, as newsletters and other periodical ways of serialized publication. While his is clearly a rich sociological study of epistolary forms and the cultural practices built on it, it does not invest equal time into the history of narrative prose fictions and the role that letters played for their development in the early modern age. It is here that I would say that my own research hopes to suggest a contribution.

While there is a growing body of research on Restoration epistolarity,[4] earlier literary uses of epistolary forms are still in need of further research. This article attempts an early survey that will hopefully inspire further suggestions and ideas for additional Renaissance texts that make substantial or significant use of epistolary moments. And I should add that I do not restrict my corpus to epistolary novels per se, that is to say, to novels where letters make up all or even the majority of the written material. I am indeed even more interested in how epistolarity appears in narrative prose fiction, be it ever so briefly. It is the letter in the novel rather than the epistolary novel that forms the basis of my own academic curiosity.

This curiosity is shared by various colleagues in the field, even though each project follows its own trajectory. Rachel Scarborough King's monograph *Writing to the World: Letters and the Origins of Modern Print Genres* (2018) looks at the long eighteenth century and argues that the letter forms what she calls a bridge genre, by which she means a cultural

[4] Some of my own contributions are listed in the bibliography (Bayer 2009, Bayer 2022, Bayer 2024), with the most recent entry coming from a special issue on Restoration epistolarity that I coedited with Jaroslaw Jasenowski.

practice that both accompanied aesthetic and formal changes and at the same time contributed to them. For King, the letter is such a medium, in particular during the early modern moment: "For the educated elite, the letter was culturally available: it was an obvious form of personal and professional interaction, and epistolary circles formed the foundation of many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literary and scientific communities" (2018, 5). During what she calls the "postal era" (6), letters appeared at almost all levels of print culture.[5] While I would agree with her assessment of the omnipresence of epistolarity in early modern literary culture, I also notice that her interest in letters is largely outside of literary and novelistic forms of writing. While her book forcefully demonstrates that the writing of letters accompanied changes in literary genres, her book mostly concentrates on mid- to late eighteenth-century literary examples. The crucial gestation period of the novel in the late seventeenth century is only briefly mentioned, and even crucial texts like Aphra Behn's *Love-Letters* (1684) or Eliza Haywood's *Love in Excess* (1719) are absent from her analyses.

A maybe too exclusive preference for the more canonical works of the eighteenth century marks Eve Tavor Bannet's recent *The Letters in the Story* (2021), which begins with the, to me, significant observation that "in addition to the epistolary novel and the first- or third-person narrative 'history,' there was from the first a vibrant tradition of narrative-epistolary fiction that mixed the two forms" (2021, vii). Her monograph starts off with Aphra Behn and Eliza Haywood, arguing that both writers "warn readers against taking letters at face value as honest brokers of their authors' thoughts and feelings" (Bannet 2021, 37). Yet like so much eighteenth-century scholarship,[6] her monograph sees in the late seventeenth century merely an overture and, as a consequence, Renaissance and Restoration fiction receives less attention outside the canonical works by Behn and Haywood that form her starting point.

2. Renaissance letters

Let us therefore turn to a few textual examples of Renaissance letters, or maybe one should say narrative-epistolary fiction. The social reality of letter writing during the Renaissance is still rather modest: the

[5] On the non-literary private letter at this time, see, for instance, O'Neill (2015), whose title, *The Opened Letter*, also evokes the form's permanent potential for purloining.

[6] A similarly non-genealogical view marks the otherwise fascinating monograph by Patricia Meyer Spacks (2006).

overwhelming majority of people even of fairly well-to-do backgrounds will not resort to letter writing as a frequent means of communication. There is no substantial public infrastructure for the reliable delivery of mail. Indeed, the postal services were only in their very early stages. It was under Henry VIII that a government official was appointed in 1517 to the role of Governor of the King's Post. There was, however, a clear sense that it was a royal prerogative to transport mail; and one assumes that apart from concerns about the safe delivery of habitually confidential official matters, an element of spying and controlling played a significant role then.[7] Wealthy people could, of course, resort to private messengers who would carry letters directly to their social partners. And we know from coterie culture in general that a lively exchange of materials existed amongst the noble and privileged classes; one could point here, for instance, to the circulation of Sidney's *Old Arcadia* in the late 1500s.

The writing of letters clearly picks up in the second half of the century: as early as 1568, William Fulwood published a letter writing manual called *The Enemy of Idleness* which provided help for the writing of letters to superiors, equals, and what he calls "inferiors, as to seruant, laborers, &c" (1568, 2). The snobbish or at least classist tone of that social description already makes clear that the target audience of Fulwood's book was well-to-do people. In his dedication to "the Maister, Wardens, and Company of the *Marchant Tayllors* of London" (Fulwood 1568, A2^{r}), the author explains why the writing of letters often becomes necessary, namely:

> Where urgent matters of our owne,
> or frends to write vs moue.
> As for example when our frende
> in any forren land
> Farre distant is, and we desire
> to let him vnderstand
> Of this or that, of warres, of peace,
> of strangie newes or else
> Of other things that nede requires (A2v)

His clearly is a how-to guidebook, where he explains "How to begin, how to procede, / and how the finall ende / Must ordered be in each affaire" (A2v). Letters, he claims, are much more reliable than sending

[7] On the political aspect of epistolary spying, see Beebee (2024).

somebody to deliver information since "When messenger by word of mouth / might hap forget his note, / And either tell somewhat to much, / or else leaue some vntold" (A3v). The book starts, in true Renaissance fashion, by deferring to classical sources, and Fulwood points to Lucanus, the first-century Roman poet and historian, who in turn dates the invention of letter writing to the Egyption city of Memphis. This Renaissance handbook takes great pains in observing proper social etiquette in how authors address other people: formalities need to be observed, and it seems that in epistolary communication the performative nature of social distinction was closely observed. However, Fulwood also notes that there is already a tradition of private letters that allows for a more intimate and less conventionalized form of language: "But if we write to our frend, we may make our Epistle or letter, long or short, as we shall thinck best, and as it shall be most delectable" (Fulwood 1568, 6). The stylistic and rhetorical guidance in Fulwood's book soon gives way to example letters on all sorts of occasions, public and private. Most delectable, if you would allow me to pick one, is the advice on "How to visit our Frend with Letters, not hauing any great matter to write" (73), where potential wafflers are provided with this sample letter:

> ALthough I haue no mater to write vnto you (my deare friend) for that I knowe not of any newes hereabouts chaunced, yet neuerthelesse the greate loue equall betwixt vs, will not suffer me to lette passe any messanger that I know goeth towards you, without sending you Letters by him, for I beleue verily that you haue as great ioy to rede my Letters, as I haue to reade yours. (Fulwood 1568, 73)

The letter, then, already has a phatic function at this early modern moment: it provides writers with an occasion to stay in touch, to cultivate a relationship, or — and here I am intentionally alluding to twenty-first century practices — to pamper their social networks. Such letters must have been read *cum grano salis*, with the recipient knowing full well that such a no-content missive should not be read as a meaningful engagement with factual reality. The mimetic force of such letters indeed frequently tends towards zero. The Renaissance letter, then, also had the potential to be a mere gesture, and a gesture, one could add, that has irony and subterfuge attached to it. Or maybe I need to tone this down a little bit: Fulwood's letter writing manual mostly takes a very pragmatic approach to epistolary communication, one that is based on

the assumption that this form of long-distance writing does have the potential to share information and to effect change. Yet it also admits, if rather implicitly, that letters also serve an emotional function and in this do not rely necessarily on a purely factual engagement with reality.

Turning to an example of Elizabethan prose fictions, epistolarity mostly plays a similarly marginal role, one that mirrors the exclusive status of letter writing at this historical moment. When we read George Gascoigne's *The Adventures of Master F.J.* (1573), we find a full immersion in epistolary forms. The book's plot draws frequently and intensively on letters, and these letters are mostly intimate and personal: they relate to close friendships and to amorous intrigues. They offer insight into the inner lives of various characters; they indeed are at the core of the book's main love plot. Given that the writing of letters is such a highly formalized and frequently taught tool of communication, it maybe comes as no surprise that the lovers in the tale are at times in doubt about the precise status of the love letters they receive. Indeed, their first wooing oscillates between face-to-face communication, the performative theatrics of ritualized courtly dances, and the exchanges of short notes. Elinor tells Ferdinando that "I understand not [...] t'intent of your letters" (207); and then submits to him a letter in a riddle for him to decode. Upon completion he is left in further doubt, in his case not about the missive's content but about its authorship: and "imediatly uppon receit hereof, he grew in ielosy, that the same was not her owne devise" (208). He assumes that her letter does not speak her mind since he suspects an allographic authorship: "For as by the stile this letter of hirs bewrayeth that it was not penned by a womans capacitie, so the sequell of hir doings may discipher, that she had mo redy clearkes then trustie servants in store" (Gascoigne 1573, 208). Both Ferdinando and the reader thus view her act of epistolary communication through the tradition of letter writing manuals, of secretaries and of other forms of distraction and manipulation. Their budding affair, the text suggests, is built on a medium that, in its own right, hardly warrants trust. The very notion of the secretary, through its etymology, ties to secrecy, evokes clandestine communications that were indeed often of a morally transgressive nature: secretaries were frequently involved in the planning and cover-up of their masters' (or mistresses') extramarital affairs.[8]

A few exchanges of letters later, this situation is partly remedied. Here is the comment provided in Gascoigne's narrative: "This letter I haue

[8] On the perilous legal situation of female servants in households of sexually abusive masters, see Burnett (1997), in particular chapter 4.

seene, of hir own hand writing: and as therin the Reader may finde great difference of Style, from hir former letter, so may you nowe understand the cause. Shee had in the same house a friend, a seruaunt, a Secretary: what should I name him?" (Gascoigne 1573, 215). It is in the absence of "This manling, this minion, this slaue, this secretary" (216) that Elinor finally writes her own letters, revealing — maybe unintentionally — her true feelings and indeed desires.

The narrative at this point quickly shifts from the courtly and amorous to the physical and even erotic: during the "absence of hir chiefe Chauncellor" Ferdinando "thought good now to smyte while the yron was hotte, and to lend his Mistresse such a penne in hir Secretaries absence, as he should never be able at his returne to amend the well writing thereof" (Gascoigne 1573, 216). The phallic force of their epistolary encounters — anticipating a central element of Laclos' *Liaisons* — should not trick readers into forgetting that what the scene indeed reveals is that, at other points in the epistolary encounters between the book's two protagonists, it was two men who were crossing their swordish pens. The nature and quality of epistolary writing thus remains essentially at play. Gascoigne's narrative fiction already employs a Baroque pleasure in playfully undermining generic and readerly conventions, also with respect to the formal status of epistolarity.

Turning to one of the most successful publications in the genre of Renaissance prose fiction, readers will quickly note that John Lyly's *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) falls into two parts: while the majority of the action avoids any epistolary moments, the book's final sections rely substantially on the exchange of letters. Here, too, the letters anticipate the kind of intimacy later readers also find in Goethe's *Werther* in that readers are permitted to listen in to the private exchanges between two close male friends who discuss private and amatory affairs in their letters. Yet the letters here also largely serve to present the now older Euphues as a general source of wisdom, having reformed from his youthful days. As Paul Salzman has pointed out in *English Prose Fiction*, Lyly's book picks up its core stylistic device when it turns antithesis into the defining plot element for the development of the book's protagonist (1985, 36). Just like the euphuistic style provides antithetical rhetorical elements, so the book contrasts the two Euphueses to flaunt its underlying didactic purpose.

It is here that letters start to appear, having earlier in the book only played a minor role. Towards the end of the *Anatomy*, however, Lyly turns into a writer of self-help fiction, with frequently unconnected

letters that pick up on general themes of education and social formation, reminiscent of Renaissance letter writing manuals. The wittiness and stylistic exaggeration of these letters invites readers to encounter them with some level of skepticism. And how could one not inwardly smile at a letter with such a title: "Euphues to a young gentleman in Athens named Alcius, who leauing his studie followed all lyghtnes and lyued both shamefully and sinfully to the griefe of his friends and discredite of the Vniuersitie" (1578, 83). The very principle of wit here signals towards a self-effacing reading, implicating epistolary in this subversive gesture: "Ah Alcius I cannot tell whether I should most lament in thee thy want of learning, or they wanton lyuinge, in the one thou arte inferiour to all men, in the other superiour to all beasts" (83). The letter becomes the main platform through which to comment on the artificiality of such elegant conversation, and it makes perfect sense that, although the second volume, *Euphues and His England*, still has plenty of love plot elements, it does resort much more frequently to epistolary moments. Lyly increasingly turns to the form of the letter to situate the artificiality of both his euphuistic style and his courtly etiquette in a context that readers would have associated with such performative qualities. The letter, for Lyly, thus stands as a formal reminder of how epistolary communication falls short of direct, honest, and individual forms of exchange.

In Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), the body of the text does very nicely without resorting to moments of letter writing. The same can be said about Robert Greene's *Pandosto: The Triumph of Time* (1588). For both works I should add that they include examples of the epistle dedicatory: clearly in tune with the Renaissance practice of seeking patronage, the books use the form of the letter to create a network of reception that includes author and dedicatee but somehow also draws in each book's actual readers, who share in the not-so-private dedicatory letter to some "Right Honourable" Earl this or Duke that. These paratextual letters frame the actual text and, when contrasted with the absence of epistolary exchanges within the actual narratives, underline the fact that epistolarity only slowly begins to play a role outside lofty social circles.

In Thomas Deloney's *Jack of Newberie* ([1597] 1966), epistolarity plays a somewhat different role: while this book also features an epistle dedicatory, its dedicatee differs in terms of social rank. Almost anticipating the shift that will take place roughly one hundred years later, Deloney dedicates his work "To All Famous Cloth Workers in England," bringing

in not only non-noble individuals but potentially even mere working people. The narrative itself avoids epistolary moments with one exception: in chapter vi, Jack starts what the twenty-first century would call a crowd-funding initiative to support cloth workers who fell on bad times as a result of trade embargoes at times of war. Trying to raise money and ultimately to petition the king for support, Jack "sent Letters to all the chiefe cloathing townes in *England*" ([1597] 1966, 50). The book provides its readers with a reproduction of the full text, headed "The Letter." The text falls back on the somewhat stilted rhetoric of official letters, for instance in its starting phrase: "having a taste of the general griefe, and feeling (in some measure) the extremitie of these times, I fell into consideration by what meanes we might best expell these sorrowes, and recover out former commodity" (50). The commentary differs markedly in terms of its chosen register: "Copies of this Letter being sealed, they were sent to all the cloathing Townes in *England*, and the Weavers both of linnen and woollen gladly received them" (51). While much of Deloney's short novel might be read as an attempt to negotiate a more participatory role for non-noble (albeit wealthy) citizens, the discrepancies in language that mark the work's shift into an epistolary moment at the same time underline the essential distance between these two social groups. The letter here merely serves to mark this distance.

What these examples of Renaissance epistolary prose fictions show is that epistolarity moved simultaneously in different registers: the official letter evoked administrative traditions of government; letter writing manuals brought in more private interests; and novelistic uses of epistolarity demonstrated how diverse the range of letter writing practices indeed were. In almost all these contexts, letters were not reduced to essentially reliable and trustworthy forms of mimetic representation. Instead, they frequently signaled towards the unreliability of epistolary discourse. The potential for manipulation and deception was an omnipresent flavor of all forms of communication by letters. As a consequence, Renaissance readers must have been clearly aware of the deceptive nature of letter writing, and it is therefore hardly surprising to note that writers would allude to this non-factual and non-reliable feature of epistolarity quite openly.

3. Restoration letters

Following the tumultuous middle decades of the seventeenth century, when regicide, interregnum, and the Puritan reign put political, religious, stately, and social concerns high up on the public agenda, the Restoration finally provided for a cultural environment where experimentation flourished. It was not just the newly opened theaters in London and the growing importance of periodical publications and coffee house discussions that provided a nurturing ground for up-and-coming writers:[9] prose fiction itself started to look for a formal expression of what must have felt like a radically new experience of post-war living. The situation bears some resemblance to what Roland Barthes, in *Writing Degree Zero*, points out about the early twentieth century and artists' ambition to find relevancy in their output. When he states that "Modernism begins with the search for a Literature which is no longer possible" (1967, 38), Barthes might as well have been commenting on literary culture during Restoration England. Public and private letters played a crucial role in this bubbly environment: the Royal Society relied largely on contributions sent in by letters; John Dunton's *Athenian Mercury* invented the format of the agony aunt; and even a periodical such as Peter Motteux's *The Gentleman's Journal* resorted to the framework of being a letter sent to readers living in the country. In the latter periodical, Motteux regularly included short pieces of narrative prose fiction, elegantly discussed by Maria José Coperías-Aguilar in a recent issue of the journal *SEDERI* 32 (2022).

Yet it is precisely at this moment that letters in prose fictions increasingly take on a quality of deception and betrayal. Epistolarity, it seems, accompanies the radical growth in print publications with a counter story, one that reminds readers and consumers about the actual distance between life and letters. Epistolary Restoration literature famously begins with the publication of a translated text with a direct link to the Spanish-Portuguese yearbook *SEDERI*, the aptly named Portuguese Letters, which appeared in 1669, translated from a French source that came out in the same year and is frequently referred to as the first French epistolary fiction. These letters by a nun to her absent lover were located precisely at the threshold between fact and fiction, allowing their readers to decide for themselves whether they want to buy into the truth-claims of these texts or simply enjoy the passionate and intimate

[9] On how coffeehouse culture, periodical publication, and the agony-aunt format employed epistolarity as a means to question (scientific) factuality, see Jasenowski (2024).

love letters. The publication nevertheless marks a turning point in the history of English literature as well, suggesting, as it does, that plot and passion can rely on letters alone.

It does not take long for Aphra Behn to pick up on this suggestion and publish her *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister* in three installments between 1684 and 1687. Behn started her first volume entirely in the form of an epistolary novel, emulating the *Portuguese Letters by a Nun*. Both titles already allude to moral and sexual scandal in their titles, and Restoration epistolary writing frequently teeters on the borderline between the respectable and the immoral. In the first volume to the *Love-Letters*, it is primarily letters by the illicit lovers that take up the majority of space; and Behn does not provide her book with a commenting narrator. There is a brief paratextual frame entitled "The Argument," where Behn introduces her two lovers in the language and tone of Renaissance romances, emphasizing their beauty and social status. The narrative point of view is third-person with the exception of a few asides where the voice draws in the readers through the use of a first-person plural precisely at the moment where the text explains that the names used are not real names: the text introduces "a Lady, whom we will call *Mertilla*" and "young *Philander* (so we call our amorous Hero)" ([1684–87] 1996, 9).[10] The anonymous narratorial voice and the text's readers are united in their make-belief: they realize that what they read is not precisely what transpired in reality, starting with use of names and, possibly, also extending to further aspects. It is in the light of such potential readerly skepticism that I would suggest we read the closing statements of Behn's authorial paratext, where she states about the letters that "they are as exactly as possible plac'd in the order they were sent" and then claims — or maybe admits — that the letters are "those supposed to be written towards the latter end of their Amours" ([1684–87] 1996, 10). Both statements invite skepticism; both signal towards the roman à clef quality of her book but both also signal towards the somewhat questionable status of epistolary writing in its own right.

The first volume nevertheless sticks to the epistolary format, including intrigue, confusion, cross-dressing, and betrayal mostly on the level of plot. And yet one wonders whether it is not precisely the nexus between the book's central themes and the chosen generic format that speaks most forcefully: letters, or so Behn seems to suggest, lend themselves

[10] Here (and generally) italics and recte fonts have been reversed for readability: the passage appears all in italics in Behn's paratext, with only the names of the protagonists in a non-italic font.

precisely to the kind of plot that relies on subterfuge and subversion. As readers move into the second and third volume of Behn's *Love-Letters*, they find themselves increasingly in the narratorial good hands of an actual narrative voice, receiving more direct information and guidance through this narrator, as Ros Ballaster (2004, 144) has suggested. We can only speculate why Behn might have decided to abandon her original form: Was it because she no longer had the "real" letters (or rather, the relevant court documents where such letters were included) or was she unhappy with the restrictions that this format placed on her own plans for further plot developments? My hunch would be that Behn wanted to move outside the epistolary format precisely because she — and by her assumptions probably also her readers — were perfectly aware of the shortcomings of epistolary forms of communication. Since letters are so easily feigned and so readily abused, the *Love-Letters* needed to move outside of the epistolary space and into actual real-life action.

This shift in perspective then brought with it a change in narratorial point of view: in the third volume, we have the kind of omniscient and authorial third-person voice that also marks so much of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fiction. In other words, Behn needed to move outside of the confines of epistolary writing to approach the kind of social realism that critics like Ian Watt have identified as the foundation for the birth and rise of the novel. In the third part, readers will find plenty of dialogue that creates a three-dimensional impression of the main characters, but Behn also made use of interior monologue and other forms of the representation of interiority that anticipates, in some moments, the kind of post-Freudian stream-of-consciousness to which writers like James Joyce and Virginia Woolf would turn early in the twentieth century. The three volumes of Behn's *Love-Letters* thus not only stand as a milestone in the history of the novel: the work also comments quite powerfully on the advantages and otherwise of epistolary writing at the late seventeenth-century moment when Behn composed her volumes.

That epistolary forms were viewed with skepticism or even with a sense of ironic detachment also becomes quite obvious in a powerful moment towards the end of George Farquhar's *Adventures of Covent Garden* (1699), in a scene that I would probably consider to be one of the prime examples of Restoration deceptive epistolary writing. Mostly known as a playwright, Farquhar probably wrote this short narrative prose fiction during his college days, one could assume as an exercise or showpiece for future commissions for the much more lucrative ca-

reer as a stage writer. That Farquhar takes a somewhat twisted look at the conventions of epistolary writing already becomes obvious in his dedication: avoiding the earlier tradition of using the epistle dedicatory to enlist the support of a noble patron, the *Adventures* are prefaced by a very short and somewhat cryptic text that, in its entirety, reads:

> The dedication.
> To all my Ingenious Acquaintance at Will's Coffee-House.
> Gentlemen,
> //
> I am.
> Your most Devoted, most Obedient, and most Faithful humble Servant. ($A3^r$–$A3^v$)

I have inserted a double slash to indicate what in the original is a page break: in other words, this epistle dedicatory not just undermines the social conventions of the dedication by replacing a courtly patron with coffee-house buddies, it furthermore makes visible, by the use of a largely blank page, the hollow emptiness often found at the core of this epistolary tradition. Letters, this suggests, are frequently not what they appear to be.

In the body of the book, readers follow the amorous career of a male protagonist who has fallen on financially difficult times and therefore hopes to court a woman he assumes was recently and wealthily widowed. He is not exactly playing fairly since he also continues to woo another love interest, but his inconsistency or dishonesty is easily matched by the various fires stroked by the supposed widow, who seems particularly interested in the advances by one Lord C–. Throughout this entertaining book, readers are restricted to the point of view of the protagonist, only learning slowly about the deception and manipulation that his love interest fabricates. Yet at the end of the tale, a plot twist has Emilia enlist Peregrine as her amatory ghost epistolarist:

> *I am sensible you have an Excellent Talent in Epistolary Stile, (which I must still remember since first your Charming Letters conquered me;) you must therefore write an Ingenious Letter for me, which I will Transcribe, and send to his Lordship, which will Infallibly reclaim him. But suppose Madam (said* Peregrine*) that my Lord discovers the difference of Stile if you Write to him again? No, no (said she) you shall Answer all my Lords Letters for me. Peregrine* immediately conceiving, that by this means he should see my Lord C–'s Letters, and thereby discover if the Intreague went any

> further then he would have it, undertook the Task, and wrote a Letter which wrought the desired effect. (51)

The way Farquhar construes this epistolary encounter is quite ingenious, in particular when read against the novel's actual plot: readers by now realize that Emilia does not honestly love Peregrine, so the supposed effect his letters had on her never took place. They also learn that Lord C– will be manipulated through letters that are not written by Emilia, yet they believe, with Peregrine, that the Lord's letters will at least provide Peregrine with some truthful insights about the state of the other love affair. This, however, is also soon undermined, since Emilia has of course anticipated this risk:

> But *Emilia* had forewarned my Lord of making the least mention of any her Favours, lest the Letter might Miscarry, and fall into Hands that might Publish her shame. By which Artifice secur'd, she continued her ingenious Correspondence with my Lord, which more and more engaged his Affections, without giving *Peregrine* any resonable grounds of Jealosy. (55–56)

The word that stands out here is "Artifice": etymologically, the word simply means "the making of art," yet it here implies lying, deception, and betrayal.[11] The letters Peregrine assumes allow him to understand the true state of Emilia's romance with the Lord are telling him only half of reality and thus not even part of the truth. It is indeed an "ingenious Correspondence," in the sense that it is highly artificial, fabricated, and manipulative. The text here clearly plays with the assumption that epistolary communication by default provides readers with truthful, intimate, and reliable information.

It is by coincidence that Peregrine finally learns the truth about Emilia's affair with the Lord, and tellingly it is in the context of a court trial: the discourse shifts from one of romance — in the sense both of the amorous emotions and of the genre tradition — to one of legal speech. At court, language is brought back into close proximity to reality, and testimony verifies the correspondence between words and actions. Emilia's betrayal of Peregrine's affections is made all too obvious. His reaction plays out also in the field of romance, and again in both semantic contexts: he hopes to free himself of his romantic ties to Emilia

[11] On lying in early modern culture, see Hadfield (2014).

and at the same time educate readers about the falsehood of letters and how they are conventionally employed in romance fiction:

> Now fully Convicted of the Treachery of his Mistress by her own Oath, [Peregrine] has once more put on firm Resolutions of ever forsaking her; and that he may draw my Lord C– out of the same Errour, he has given a Copy of all my Lords Letter's and their Answers to a Friend of his, who immediately designs to publish a Collection of Letters, where his Lordship may read his own Wit, and the Falshood of *Emilia*. (57–58)

The novel thus ends with Peregrine disillusioned about his former lover but also with a rather witty gesture aimed at the readers: while the Lord may learn from the published letters that he in fact corresponded not with his lover but her other suitor, making of this correspondence a rather homoerotic love triangle, his trust in epistolary romance is probably diminished. But the majority of readers of these letters in published form would not read them from such an enlightened position: they would only encounter love letters between a noble man and his beloved, assuming them to be genuine and truthful. What Farquhar's gesture at the publication of such correspondence in fact suggests is that readers normally do not know what the actual circumstances are, for instance in this case that her letters were not even written by herself and that his letters were significantly self-censored. In other words, the supposed volume with love letters would always be mis-read and its content mis-construed. And it is precisely in this gesture aimed at the actual quality of epistolary communication that I see Farquhar's most powerful comment on the state of epistolary writing during the Restoration moment.

As the examples pulled from Gascoigne, Lyly, Behn, and Farquhar and others have shown, early modern epistolarity frequently approached letters from an angle that presents them in a light that clearly differs from the supposedly timely meaning of epistolarity. For these writers (and, one assumes, their readers), letters were habitually associated with a breakdown of communication and with the potential to undermine reliability and factfulness. Whether epistolarity served as a metonymical critique of the growing importance of writing and printing at the historical moment when oral culture gave way to print may be difficult to argue. The textual evidence suggests that writers and readers almost delighted in getting their letters wrong.

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Aphra Behn's use of *translatio*: Mediation, adaptation, and emulation in a cross-channel perspective*

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Abstract: Recent historians of fiction have shown that the "British" novel was essentially a transnational phenomenon in the Restoration. French was the dominant source language for literary translation as a whole in the Restoration period, and translations played a prominent role in the development of a national literature. Aphra Behn, whose role as a translator and adaptor of French texts is now recognized, offers a perfect vantage point from which to measure the multifaceted impact of French literature on seventeenth-century English literature. The sheer range of her strategies as a translator is extraordinary as she explores all the shades between literal paraphrase and free imitation. This article argues that far from being merely commercial her translations form a coherent body of works which manifests a form of emulation with their originals that is fully creative.

Keywords: Translation, Aphra Behn, fiction, Restoration, imitations.

El uso de la *translatio* de Aphra Behn: mediación, adaptación y emulación desde una perspectiva anglocontinental†

Resumen: Recientemente, historiadores de la ficción han demostrado que la novela «británica» era esencialmente un fenómeno transnacional en la Restauración. El francés era el idioma de partida dominante para la traducción literaria en general en el periodo de la Restauración, y las traducciones tuvieron un papel importante en el desarrollo de una literatura nacional. Aphra Behn, cuyo papel como traductora y adaptadora de textos franceses es ahora reconocido, ofrece un punto de vista perfecto desde el cual se puede medir el impacto multifacético de la literatura francesa en la literatura inglesa del siglo xvii. El rango de sus estrategias como traductora es extraordinario, explorando los matices entre la paráfrasis literal y la imitación libre. Este artículo defiende que, lejos de ser meramente comerciales, sus traducciones forman un corpus coherente que manifiesta una forma

O uso de *translatio* por Aphra Behn: mediação, adaptação e emulação a partir de uma perspetiva anglocontinental‡

Resumo: Historiadores recentes da ficção têm mostrado que o romance «britânico» foi essencialmente um fenómeno transnacional na Restauração. O francês foi a língua de partida dominante para a tradução literária no período da Restauração, e as traduções desempenharam um papel proeminente no desenvolvimento de uma literatura nacional. Aphra Behn, cujo papel como tradutora e adaptadora de textos franceses é agora reconhecido, oferece um ponto de vista perfeito para avaliar o impacto multifacetado da literatura francesa na literatura inglesa do século xvii. O leque das suas estratégias como tradutora é extraordinário, uma vez que explora todo o espetro entre a paráfrase literal e a imitação livre. Este artigo argumenta que, longe de serem meramente comerciais, as suas traduções formam um corpo coerente de obras que re-

* Many thanks to the anonymous readers of this article; all remaining errors are mine.
† Translation into Spanish by Tamara Pérez-Fernández.
‡ Translation into Portuguese by Miguel Ramalhete.

completamente creativa de emulación de sus textos originales.

Palabras clave: Traducción, Aphra Behn, ficción, Restauración, imitaciones.

vela uma forma de emulação inteiramente criativa perante os textos originais.

Palabras-chave: Tradução, Aphra Behn, ficção, Restauração, imitações.

1. Introduction

Aphra Behn's importance as a translator, although routinely acknowledged, is still often seen as anecdotal by critics.[1] There are several reasons for this: translation is still sometimes considered by critics as secondary; and it is assumed that Behn turned to translation from the French mainly for economic reasons in difficult times — and therefore that it was for her a commercial activity, which somehow makes it disreputable. To this we can also add that few English-speaking scholars read French, and that even for those who do comparing a translation with the original text might seem like a thankless task. But translation was not seen as a uniformly menial activity in the period — translation from the classics certainly was not —, and it was a vital field.[2] The fact that an important literary figure like Behn should have dedicated five years of her life to a career as a translator of contemporary French texts and published no fewer than six works from the French should encourage us to take them seriously.[3] Behn's oeuvre offers in fact a perfect vantage point from which to measure the multifaceted impact of French literature in Restoration England. The sheer variety of texts she chose to translate allowed her to experiment with new forms. As a translator, she also sampled a range of creative strategies, probing all the shades between literal word-for-word paraphrase and free imitation, and displaying an authorial creativity which forces us to take her translations seriously. Yet her engagement with recent French works reveals both emulation of and resistance to her models, even though her own poetry and fiction

[1] The specific nature of the translations has been a nagging question, and the danger is attributing to Behn ideas and literary tropes that belong to the original authors rather than her. A case in point is the scholarly work done on *Agnes de Castro*, see below. There are some notable exceptions, like Laura L. Runge whose recent study treats the translations exactly like the original works (2023).

[2] About women and translation, see in particular Clarke (2010) and Belle (2012). For the status of translation in the Restoration more particularly, see Davis (2008) and Overton (2015).

[3] In the ongoing *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Aphra Behn* (Behn 2021–), Behn's French translations are published according to genres: her poetic translations in volume V with the poetry, *Agnes de Castro* and *La Montre* in volume VII (with the fiction), and her Fontenelle translation in volume VIII (with the non-fictional prose works). This strong editorial intervention shows that the creative nature of the translations is taken seriously. The Todd edition gathered all the translations into a separate volume (Behn 1993, vol. 4), except the poetic translations and *Agnes de Castro*.

were marked by this intimate frequentation of French precedents. It could be argued that this complicated creative rivalry shaped much of Restoration literature.This article, which integrates some recent work done for the Cambridge edition,[4] suggests that a reconsideration of Behn's practice as a translator is in order, and that Behn fashioned herself as an author also through this encounter with French literature. After briefly discussing the status of French literature in the Restoration, which could explain her turn to translation in the first place, I focus on her choice of texts and then on the question of how "commercial" her translations actually were. As will be apparent, Behn asserts the dignity of the translator not only by defending her status at every turn, but also by becoming something of a co-author in her translations.

2. Behn's selection of texts

In an often-quoted letter to bookseller Jacob Tonson written in late 1683 or early 1684, Behn pleaded for him to increase her fee (from £20 to £25) for the collection to be published later in 1684 as *Poems Upon Several Occasions*. The volume was to include an enlarged translation of Paul Tallemant's *Voyage de l'Isle d'amour* (1663), an allegorical narrative in prosimetric form which she translated entirely in verse as "A Voyage to the Isle of Love." Defending her endeavour, Behn argues:

> As for you can not think wt a preety thing ye Island will be, and wt a deale of labor I shall have yet with it: and if that pleases, I will do the 2d voyage, wch will compose a little book as big as a novel by it self. (Bernard 2015, 85–6)

The warmth with which she defends the inclusion of this "preety thing" suggests that she considers it an asset for sales and a significant achievement (which will require a great "deal of labour"). It does not seem to be just a way of cramming more lines into the volume, although a longer work would of course have paid more. Behn obviously failed to convince Tonson to publish the sequel ("the 2d voyage"), and *Lycidus* was only published four years later by Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders, together with another verse miscellany. The 1688 volume's full title — *Lycidus, or, The lover in fashion being an account from Lycidus to Lysander,*

[4] I am currently editing Behn's translations of Bonnecorse's *La Montre, or the Lover's Watch* (1686), Brilhac's *Agnes de Castro* (1688), and Fontenelle's *Discovery of New Worlds* (1688) for the Cambridge edition (Vol. VII and VIII, forthcoming).

of his voyage from the Island of Love, from the French by the same author of The voyage to the Isle of Love — makes explicit the connection of the "2d voyage" with the first, as well as its status as a translation (Behn 1688c). The letter to Tonson suggests that Behn might have chosen herself the pieces she wanted to translate or adapt, rather than being prompted by her booksellers. Although she is sometimes seen as a commercial translator, it is worth remembering that she might very well have considered herself as an artisan, crafting her translations "with a great deal of labour."

By the early 1680s, French fiction was being translated in droves. It has been estimated that about a third of the works of fiction published between 1660 and 1700 were translations from the French.[5] The new English court, which had to reinvent itself after the Interregnum, embraced French cultural models. Louis XIV's court was recognized as the "fashionable hub of European culture" (Claydon and Levillain 2016, 10). In music, dance, fashion, gardens, architecture, the visual arts, and literature, France set the trends, and Charles II's court followed.[6] In multilingual Canterbury where she grew up, Behn would have encountered many French Protestant exiles and might have been exposed to French from a very early age. It can be assumed that if she was sent abroad as a spy in the 1660s it is because she was able to speak French (and possibly Dutch).[7] But the French cultural dominance also caused some anxiety in the period: opponents to the Stuart rule feared the imperialistic agenda of France and objected to the favorable policies towards Catholics. The backlash that followed the revelation of the Popish Plot, and the Exclusion Crisis, fuelled a suspicion which also manifested itself in a resistance to French cultural models (Harris 2016). This was compounded by issues of national identity, as the cultural emulation of and rivalry with France became central in the emergence and assertion of a national culture in England.

For part of the English elite, however, France was still the nation of sociability, whose literature provided models of civility especially in

[5] It was 40% according to Mary Helen McMurran (2002, 53). According to the new ENEID database of Restoration English fiction at Universidad de Huelva (forthcoming), 197 works published between 1660 and 1700 are out of the French (including parts of the same works and collections), out of 616 (i.e. 32%). I am grateful to Sonia Villegas López for these figures.

[6] For an overview of French cultural influence, see Charlanne (1906) and more recently Stedman (2013, 62–107).

[7] The men with whom Behn collaborated on her spying mission in Flanders, Jerome Nipho and Antoine de Marcès, were both French speakers who wrote to each other in French. I am grateful to Karen Britland (forthcoming) for insights into Behn's activities as a spy (in private correspondence).

matters of *galanterie*, understood as an aristocratic ethos which defined the relationships between men and women.[8] The concept caused some incomprehension in England, where it was often viewed with suspicion as hypocritical or foppish.[9] The appropriation of French models often shows a combination of admiration and wariness in the period. While some "translations" were hastily produced to respond to a growing demand,[10] others consisted in more creative, but often competitive, adaptations; some even present fascinating instances of creative "imitation" (see Dryden 1680, A8r–v). For these, McMurran speaks of a new "translatio," which implies a whole "cultural and literary dynamic" (2002, 51). Since French literature came into high demand, it was only natural for a professional author who spoke the language like Behn to turn to translation. In the preface to *A Discovery of New Worlds*, she concedes that "*It is Modish to Ape the* French *in every thing*" (1688a, A6r), but her practice offers illuminating examples of ambivalent and competitive translation strategies, reflecting in particular what happens when rather exclusive texts are adapted for a wider readership. All the works Behn translated had been fashionable among polite circles in Paris in the second half of the seventeenth century. All but one are about love and had been published in the previous twenty years — three of them in the last two years. Four of these works (the two Tallemant "Voyages," Bonnecorse's *La Montre* and to a certain extent La Rochefoucauld's "Reflections on Morality") discuss love in the context of *galanterie*. For three of her translations — *La Montre* and the two Voyages —, Behn might have at least in part used the 1684 (augmented) edition of a fashionable French miscellany, *Recueil de pieces galantes en prose et en vers de Madame la Comtesse de la Suze*.[11] Incidentally, the fourth volume of this set includes a poem that Behn imitated in "The Golden Age. A Paraphrase

[8] *Galanterie* was much more than an attitude towards courtship in seventeenth century France. It conveyed an ideal of sociability based on courtesy, politeness, the mastery of the art of conversation and of a particular form of wit (see Viala 2008). For its often satirical reception in England, see Scholar (2020, 32–41).

[9] In *The Man of Mode*, Bellair comments about the eponymous hero: "He thinks himself the Pattern of modern Gallantry," to which Dorimant answers: "He is indeed the pattern of modern Foppery" (Etherege 1676, 12).

[10] In sales catalogues of the period, it is not uncommon to see novels sold by the dozen. See, for instance, Wellington's advertisement beneath the imprint on the title page of *The Rehearsal*: "Gentlemen and Ladies may pick Novels stitch'd, at 6s. a Dozen" (quoted in Orr 2018, 416).

[11] This collection, known as the Suze-Pellisson miscellany after the names of its two dedicatees, went through a number of editions. Langbaine had indicated this as a possible source, remarking on Behn's skill as a translator: "Her several Versions from the *French* are commended by those who think themselves Judges of Wit; amongst which the chiefest are, *A Voyage to the Island of Love*; *Lycidas, or The Lover in Fashion*; and *The Lover's Watch*. These Pieces in the Original may be found in the second and third Tomes of *Le Receueil des Pieces Gallantes, en Prose & en Vers*, 8° Paris 1684. Those who will take the pains to compare them, will find the English rather Paraphrases, than

on a Translation out of French," published in her 1684 *Poems on Several Occasions*, and for which no source has hitherto been identified, to the best of my knowledge.[12]

It seems clear, however, that Behn was ambivalent about French *galanterie* and she adopts consistent strategies of mediation for her English readership. The first of Tallemant's prosimetric narratives, *Voyage de l'Isle d'amour* (originally 1663), was inspired by Madeleine de Scudéry's chaste allegorical map of tenderness discussed in her romance, *Clélie* (volume 1, 1654; translated in 1655). Behn adapts it as a long tongue-in-cheek narrative poem which always seems on the verge of turning into a satire.[13] In her subsequent version of Tallemant's *Second Voyage* (initially 1667), "Lycidus," she fully plays along its more playful, libertine approach to love, which chimed in with English contemporary tastes. The added subtitle of the latter work in English, "the Lover in fashion," perhaps an allusion to Etherege's *The Man of Mode*, signals to her knowing readers. Between the two "voyages," Behn also published an adaptation of La Rochefoucauld's *Réflexions morales*, initially written for the salon of Madame de Sablé and first published in 1665 ("Reflections on Morality, or Seneca Unmasqued," in *Miscellany*, Behn 1685), but she shows little sympathy for the French moralist's introspective, Augustinian outlook. While his maxims must be read as reaction against such précieux works as Bonnecorse's or Tallemant's and an encouragement to self-examination, Behn turns them into cynical rules about how to be successful in society, and especially in matters of love (Cottegnies 2004). Then came her playful version of Balthazar de Bonnecorse's *précieux* prosimetric fiction *La Montre* (1666), published as *La Montre, or the Lover's Watch* (1686), written as a love almanach sent by Iris to her lover with recommendations on how to behave in her absence. Behn makes her Iris more assertive and gives her more complex feelings and more sensuality than her French counterpart: the English Iris often comes through as more passionate. She adds, for instance, Damon's erotic fetishization of Iris's hands (1686, 222). The focus on Iris's body introduces a playful titillation in the text that is only suggested in the original, but to which Behn fully responds.

just Translations: but which sufficiently shew the Fancy and excellent Abilities of our Authress" (Langbaine 1691, 23).

[12] "L'Age d'Or," in anon. 1684 (4: 318–20). Behn might have consulted this anthology for inspiration for other amorous poems like "To the Fair Clarinda, who made Love to me, imagin'd more than Woman," which seems to contain echoes of "À une dame qu'elle galantisoit comme sa maîtresse" (1684, 2: 190). These poems were often reprinted in collective miscellanies.

[13] See Overton (2015).

In light of Behn's letter to Tonson quoted above and the relative thematic unity of this first group of works, it seems extremely likely that Behn was involved in the choice of works she translated; but, while all are representative of an aristocratic culture for which she had some sympathy, they also revisit the notion of *galanterie* with a wryness that she might have found more appropriate for her English readership. As far as her last two translations (both published by William Canning in 1688) are concerned, they experiment with different genres: *Agnes de Castro, or the Force of Generous Love* is a short historical and sentimental novel, presented as being "by a lady" (later attributed to Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac; 1688b); and *A Discovery of New Worlds* is a translation of Fontenelle's best-selling work of scientific popularization, *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (Fontenelle 1686; Behn 1688a).[14] *Agnes de Castro*, as a "Portuguese history" (the subtitle of the anonymous French original), is set in medieval Portugal; "Portuguese histories" had become a popular subgenre in France since the success of Guilleragues's *Lettres portugaises* (1669), translated in 1678 as *Five Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier*. The latter novel, which went through at least nine editions between 1678 and 1716, was also successful in English, and probably inspired Behn's *Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and his Sister* (1684–1685).[15] For Behn, the choice of *Agnes de Castro*, which had just been published in French, constitutes a foray into sentimental fiction at a time when she was herself experimenting with fiction: *Agnes de Castro* was published the same year as *Oroonoko* and *The Fair Jilt*, and the three novels were reissued with a new title-page as *Three Histories*, also in 1688. Her last translated work, *A Discovery of New Worlds*, shows a new intellectual ambition, although Fontenelle had also written his work of scientific and philosophical popularization for elite salons: Fontenelle's *Discours*, which became a European bestseller, presents itself as a dialogue between a "philosopher" and a lady who is being taught about cosmology and astronomy. Given the variety of genres to which her translations belong but their relative unity as polite works initially written for an elite readership, they must have obeyed a personal literary and intellectual agenda rather than being merely commercially-motivated.

[14] As for *The History of Oracles* (also 1688), it was only attributed to her by Samuel Briscoe in 1699 (and included in her collected works from 1700). Since Behn acknowledged all her translations, it is unlikely that this text be by her; it is also devoid of the stylistic traits attributed to her.

[15] "Portuguese" histories did not become a subgenre in England as they did in France.

3. Marketing and commercial strategies

Yet the economic argument cannot simply be brushed aside: at least three of the works Behn translated led to an intense competition among translators and booksellers and show signs of having been hastily finished. Two obviously followed marketing strategies that could be called misleading or disingenuous. Behn's translations do not exist in a void: her translation of La Rochefoucauld was the second one to appear (Behn 1685), after John Davies of Kidwelly published his in 1670; two versions of *Agnes de Castro* came out in 1688 within days of each other (Brilhac 1688; Behn 1688b), and three English versions of Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (1686) were published within two years — one in Dublin in 1687, which seems to have gone unnoticed in London, and another one in London in 1688 alongside Behn's (Fontenelle 1687 and 1688). The translations of *Agnes de Castro* and Fontenelle's *Entretiens* led to a fierce competition between the *same* booksellers, William Canning (for Behn's texts), and Richard Bentley and S[usanna] Magnes. This cut-throat rivalry between booksellers suggests that translations of French bestsellers had become profitable by the 1680s.[16] Belon's "The Fatal Beauty of Agnes de Castro" was licensed only five days before Behn's own *Agnes* and appeared in a volume entitled *Two New Novels* printed for Bentley and Magnes (Brilhac 1688). This could explain the haste with which Canning obviously published *A Discovery of New Worlds*, perhaps in the hope that he would beat the latter to the press this time.[17] It seems that as Behn was working on the Fontenelle, they heard about a rival version (John Glanvill's), and hers was hurried through the press. Both Behn's *Agnes* and *Discovery* show signs of haste, with errors or typos which would probably have been caught at the proofreading stage otherwise. In the case of *Agnes de Castro*, the relationship between Behn's and Belon's versions is not clear, and it might have involved some triangulation (Cottegnies 2022).[18] Both translations keep close to the French, which makes some overlap inevitable, but the verbal echoes suggest a more intimate relationship than just the relay of the French, as potentially confirmed by stylometric softwares.[19] Perhaps Behn had Be-

[16] Orr argues, at any rate, that translating successful works from French were "less of a gamble" than publishing new English works for booksellers (Orr 2018, 416).
[17] *A Discovery of New Worlds* is listed in the Term Catalogue for Trinity 1688 in July 1688 (Arber 1905, 233).
[18] See Headnote to text, Cambridge forthcoming edition.
[19] Sorbonne Université-developed Phoebus and Medite softwares used. This was confirmed by an unpublished stylometric study by Mel Evans (whom I would like to thank).

lon's translation close at hand as she was working on hers, although, if that was what happened, then the text was reformulated and corrected stylistically. The similarities are mainly concentrated in the last third of the text. A note inserted with a list of errata in most extant copies of *Discovery of New Worlds* — either at the end of the author's dedication, or at the end of the book — testifies to this fierce competition: "Hearing a Translation of the *Plurality of Worlds*, was doing by another Hand, the Translator had not the opportunity to supervise and correct the Sheets before they were wrought off; so that several *Errata* have escaped." It reveals that Behn cared enough about this allegedly mercenary job to have normally expected to proofread her translation before publication, and that she was sufficiently irritated about her inability to do so to force the printer to include this note, obviously added in haste. The title-page was also tinkered with to increase the appeal of the book: the surviving title-page in all extant copies except one, which presents the words New Worlds in large, bold types in elegant blackletter, is in fact a cancellans (Wing F1412). The Library of Congress holds a unique copy (to the best of my knowledge) of a variant title-page, which could be its uncorrected, first state (F1412A; see fig. 1 on the following page).[20]

Someone — either the bookseller or Behn — must have found the latter inelegant, perhaps too bland, and it was replaced by the definitive title-page. The second title-page certainly does a better job of advertising the contents of the book, and in particular its preface, "ESSAY on Translated PROSE." The latter is presented in a descriptive blurb as a major addition to the work and a serious piece of scholarship engaging with Father Tacquet — largely a misleading claim since the translator admits to not having read Tacquet —, and "[w]holly new," another deceiving claim, since this was the third translation of the Fontenelle text to appear in English. What seems to have gone unnoticed, however, is that this second title-page was re-designed to plagiarize the title-page of the fourth edition of *A Discovery of a New World* by the late John Wilkins, which had only recently been published (1684). Not only does the title of Behn's translation explicitly echo this treatise (which she used extensively in her preface), perhaps as a way of differentiating this version from the other translations whose titles were closer to the French title, but the very layout of the title-page, down to the characteristic blackletter used to highlight the words New Worlds, also clearly aligns it with Wilkins's treatise: investing Behn's translation with a philosophical

[20] F1412A has recently become available in EEBO. A puzzling fact about this title-page is that it was also tipped in, although this could have happened at the conservation stage.

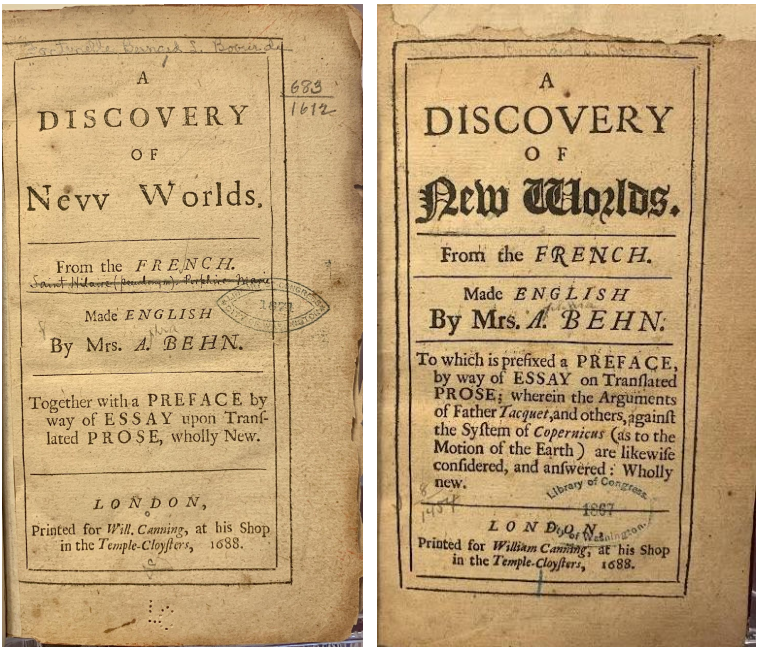

Figure 1: Aphra Behn, *A Discovery of New Worlds*, Shelfmarks QB54.F67 (uncorrected) QB54.F68 (corrected), Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC

varnish, it seems to promise more of the same. This marketing strategy, packaging the translation as a serious piece of scholarship, might also reflect the bookseller's anxiety in the face of competition, which seems to be confirmed by the hesitation between the two title-pages.

These commercial aspects — the haste, the competition, the hype — might explain why some of Behn's translations from the French have acquired a paradoxical status within her canon and have caused some confusion among readers, perhaps also for lack of access to the original French texts, not to mention their editorial history. *Agnes de Castro* has thus often been read as an original work, although its initial title-page makes no mystery about its nature as a translation: this might be due to the fact that the novel is systematically published alongside Behn's original fiction in contemporary editions, although it is one of her most literal translations (see Starr 1990, 368). The confusion might derive from the

fact that *Agnes de Castro* was published the same year as Behn's original short fiction, *Oroonoko* and *The Fair Jilt*, by the same bookseller, Canning, and was included in *Three Histories*, perhaps itself as a response to Bentley and Magnes's *Two New Novels*, the collection which included Belon's rival translation. Behn's *Agnes de Castro* definitively entered the canon of her original works when it was included in Briscoe's *Histories and Novels of the Late Mrs Behn* in 1696 and all the subsequent reprints, and its status as a translation was obscured. It thus acquired the status of an original work by contiguity, to the point that it was even re-translated into French in the eighteenth century (Behn 1761). Similarly, the nature of "Voyage to the Isle of Love" and "Lycidus" as translations or adaptations is often overlooked, although they were originally presented as being "from the French." Because they were originally published as companion pieces to Behn's own poetry, their relationship to their originals was erased, which is all the easier as the French originals are little-known, and considerably transformed.[21]

The status of *La Montre, Or, The Lover's Watch* in critical discourse has been more ambiguous, although its immediate publishing history was similar to that of *Agnes de Castro* as it was reprinted in the 1696 *Histories and Novels* as an original work.[22] *La Montre* was popular in the seventeenth century. Behn's version, almost three times the length of the French, consists of an extremely creative imitation. In the subsequent editions of the 1696 collection it was split into two works: the first and second parts were entitled *The Lover's Watch; or, The Art of Making Love*, and the third section, "The Looking-Glass, Sent from Damon to Iris," became *The Lady's Looking-Glass, to Dress Herself by; or, The Whole Art of Charming All Mankind*, which turned the more frankly erotic section of the original into a completely independent work. It seems that the chaster first part of *La Montre* was a favorite among ladies, which, given its subject-matter, its tonality, and the focus on the female speaker in the story, is hardly surprising; but this section was also perceived by some as too cerebral. A gendered reception is suggested by Susanna Centlivre in *The Perjur'd Husband; or, The Adventures of Venice* (1700), in which Ludvico, a fop, is found by Lucy vituperating "The Lover's Watch": "I found him in his study reading the Lover's Watch, which he swears does not at all agree with his Constitution. He hates injunctions of Love, like those of Pennance." For Lady Pizalta this is revealing of

[21] In 1697, the two texts were reissued as a continuous narrative in two parts in *Poems upon Several Occasions; with a Voyage to the Island of Love.*

[22] For a notable exception, see Newman (2020).

Ludvico's coarseness (Centlivre 1700, 11). *La Montre* continued to be published into the eighteenth century; as was the case with *Agnes de Castro*, its status as a translation was forgotten when it was retranslated into French as an original English work (Behn 1789). Yet in spite of this, and in spite of the creativity Behn invested in the adaptation, it is little studied today.

4. Behn's elusive, versatile strategies as a translator

Another reason that might explain the ambivalent status of some of Behn's translations might simply be her versatile attitude to her craft, an agility that makes it difficult for readers to identify her position as a translator. She covers all the shades of translation from almost perfectly literal paraphrase to free imitation, and sometimes within the same work. In *Translation and the Poet's Life*, a study of appropriation and emulation of the Classics by five Restoration and Augustan authors, Paul Davis concedes that "[p]robably no watertight theoretical distinction between 'translation' and 'imitation' is possible," but he argues that this distinction was valid for seventeenth century translators, who were themselves "readers brought up to discriminate between the several gradations of writerly indebtedness," for whom this distinction remained "a practicable dividing line" (Davis 2008, 5; 6). This caveat reminds us that the concept of faithfulness needs to be historicized, although it is probably one of the most difficult tasks for literary historians. Because they were habitually trained to translate the Classics, early-modern translators had a sophisticated and fluid conception of translation, which included many shades between the two extremes of servile paraphrase and creative imitation. It is important, therefore, to shift the argument away from issues of accuracy or faithfulness to look rather at the politics and poetics of literary transfer in the translator's distinctive practice (Melehy 2010). What's more, in the seventeenth century, "imitation" was itself a particularly hazy concept. In his preface to the *Pindarique Odes*, Cowley refashioned the conventional paradigm, pitting servile imitation against a more creative one, defined as a "libertine way of rendring foreign Authors" (Cowley 1656, Aaa2v). In his preface to *Ovid's Epistles* — a collection to which Behn contributed —, Dryden famously defined three modes of translation, which, although they do not render the subtlety of all the shades in between, are still useful to frame the debate on translation: "metaphrase" or word-for-word trans-

lation, "paraphrase" or "translation with a latitude," and "imitation," in which the translator "assumes the liberty not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion" (1680, A8r). Dryden was taking a stance, here, in the controversy raised by the recent modernized versions of the Classics. Between the two extremes of literalism and imitation that thrived at the expense of the original, Dryden advocated a *via media*, or "translation with latitude," which was by no means entirely free. But this was for the Classics; for the translation of vernacular contemporary literature there were no standards to respect and no canonical status to emulate, and therefore no prestige to be gained for the translator. As Spearing remarks, "consideration of late seventeenth-century theories of translation in relation to the works of Aphra Behn is of limited usefulness" (1996, 156). This is true insofar as Behn, who displays a remarkable dexterity, did not adopt a consistent strategy, but it does not mean that Behn herself was not highly conscious of her practice as a translator.

La Montre alone illustrates her subtlety as a translator as she uses the three modalities of translation defined by Dryden, and all the shades in between. *La Montre* consists of a fictional, epistolary conduct book in prose interspersed with verse, sent by Iris to her courtier lover Damon to map out what his occupations of the day should be in her absence, hour by hour. In the wake of Scudéry's Map of Tender, *La Montre* reads like a secular (and mundane) book of hours. It comes with its own equivalent of a map, an allegorical clock describing Damon's ideal day according to Iris. Behn's version adapts the French original using a range of strategies from close paraphrase to imitation, not to mention digressions. All of Bonnecorse's text is translated, mostly in the modes of "metaphrase" or "paraphrase" (to quote Dryden), but Behn often takes liberties with the text which alter its tonality: the English version is more playful, and occasionally more risqué, than the original, which shows more concern for decorum. The female speaker Iris is given more autonomy. Many of Behn's changes are cultural adaptations for an English Restoration reader — locations are changed to London ones, for instance, and she introduces a familiar world of fops and coquettes. But there are also more creative interventions, such as free additions. She thus includes (among other additions) a long, enthusiastic 650-word-long digression praising the beauties of Windsor, "the most glorious Palace in the Christian World," as a homage to Charles II (Behn 1686, 154). Windsor Castle and gardens had been remodeled between 1675 and 1684, and Behn's praise of the renovations was still

topical. There are other instances of creative intervention: in particular Behn inserts poetic odes with additional titles into the text in lieu of the couplets or quatrains of the original — which turns the volume into a poetic miscellany in its own right. One of the odes is even reproduced in the *Lycidus* volume (Behn 1686, 112; 1688c, 132–33). Yet the poems of *La Montre* have been largely overlooked by Behn's scholars, although they present some fascinating overlaps with the "official" canon of her verse.

As this example shows, Aphra Behn fully availed herself of the freedom granted to the translator of vernacular texts. To map out her practice as a translator, it is necessary to offer a tentative typology of her translated works. A first group includes her more literal translations, in which the translator's voice remains unobtrusive. Although it might come as a source of disappointment to some, *Agnes de Castro* is exactly what it says it is on the title-page, i.e. a literal translation, and it belongs in this group. This status might explain why it is a hapax in Behn's career as an author of fiction, as her only sentimental piece, focussing as it does on sacrifice and sublime feelings. It is entirely devoid of the characteristic wryness one tends to associate with her voice. It is also the only one of her stories that fits the category of the "nouvelle historique et galante," which had become all the rage in France, and her only "Portuguese" story. At the other extreme, in a second group, some of her translations must be defined as free imitations, like her Tallemant, Bonnecorse, and La Rochefoucauld texts — although each of them includes all the shades of the continuum between literal and free translation. Behn thus adapts La Rochefoucauld's maxims for her English readership, feminizing the speaker, and applying a female perspective to many reflections; more fundamentally, she rewrites the volume as part of an ongoing conversation between two lovers, Aminta and Lysander, the two personae of "The Voyage of Love," who also feature in some of her poems (Cottegnies 2005). This creates rich echoes between many of her works and has intriguing consequences. When she adapts La Rochefoucauld's anti-feminist maxims, for instance, her persona sounds at times very much like a female rake. Thus La Rochefoucauld writes: "When we are tired of loving someone, we are quite content to find out they have been unfaithful to us" (my paraphrase; 1675, 31). But while for the French moralist this should lead us to question our own indignities, Behn turns the impersonal maxim into an assertive rule for women to act cynically as a consequence: "When we are weary of a lover, we are very well pleased to find him unfaithful, that we may

be disengaged from our Fidelity" (Behn 1685, 336). La Rochefoucauld, deeply influenced by the Port Royal movement, had written his maxims to help gentlemen and ladies negotiate life in society and pierce through the often shameful nature of their motivations. If he had described life in society as a comedy of appearances, he meant his text to be a call for introspection. Behn deliberately turns the maxims into cynical snippets of wisdom applicable to a society of rakes, fops, jilts and coxcombs, governed by competition and selfishness. Her version of the maxims thus constitutes a truly original work.

Behn's version of Fontenelle's *Discovery of New Worlds* falls into a category of its own, for although it is mostly a fairly literal translation it reveals Behn's fascinating editorial work, and it is preceded by its remarkable preface. "The Translator's Preface" is an ambitious piece of scholarship and a marketing coup (Ferguson 2008; Gill 2020). It foregrounds the role of the translator as a mediator, but also, more remarkably, as a critic, far from the strategies of self-effacement often adopted by commercial translators in the period. It is presented on the title-page and in the running titles as an "ESSAY on Translated PROSE," a direct reference to the Earl of Roscommon's celebrated *Essay on Translated Verse*. The latter, published to some acclaim in 1684 with Dryden's sanction, started with a homage to the English language, praised for its vigor and brevity compared to the flourishes and copia of French (4). Roscommon's simple advice to aspiring translators of the Classics was to choose for themselves an author with whom they felt an affinity. Behn's own "essay" appears to be following suit, focusing on the translation of prose and from the vernacular. For this, however, she adopts the persona of a confident professional female translator who offers no excuses for writing and assumes a great deal of authority in intellectual matters — linguistic, critical, and, even more remarkably, philosophical and scientific. She first comments on her strategy as a translator. Rather unsurprisingly at a time when England was vying culturally with France, the latter is described as a flimsy nation, and its language florid, with a predilection for ornament and amplification. Radicalizing Roscommon's argument, Behn satirically draws a parallel between the changeable nature of French and their fashion, and develops the topos of the rivalry between England and France to present a nationalistic view of the genealogy of European languages (with English on top), borrowed in part from Wilkins's *Essay Towards a Real Character* (1668). Making English closer to Latin than French, she concludes with great assurance that French is the hardest European

language from which to translate, and to prove it she offers some examples of what she sees as the main difficulties for a translator, such as the musicality of French (which can override grammar rules) and its predilection for copia (1688a, sig. [A5v–A7r]).

Then the translator turns philosopher and critic: the merit of Fontenelle's work, she argues, is to offer a playful introduction to complex questions of astronomy, and, in particular, a defense of Copernicus, couched in a language and form that can be understood by everyone. But she adds a disclaimer: Fontenelle has turned everything into a jest, which makes him liable to accusations of libertinism, especially because ordinary readers cannot distinguish between scientifically sound arguments and fanciful quips: "*He ascribes all to Nature, and says not a Word of God Almighty, from the Beginning to the End; so that one would almost take him to be a* Pagan," Behn comments (Behn 1688a, sig. [A8v]). That Fontenelle's book was deemed contentious is obvious from its reception: the 1686 edition (used by Behn) was put on the Catholic Index of prohibited books in 1687, which led Fontenelle to make changes in following editions. But the book's playful dialogical form chimed in with the contemporary taste for conversation and gallantry, and it was a major success, as attested by its number of editions — thirty-three in Fontenelle's own lifetime. The text translated into all the major European languages. By making a show of criticizing Fontenelle's alleged radicality, Behn shows her awareness of his contentious method: his philosopher repeatedly makes fanciful, even blasphemous, hypotheses which question the centrality of the Christian dogma on issues such as the status of man, the Earth, or, more fundamentally, the authority of the divine Word, only to dismiss them as mere thought experiments (Gill 2020). Behn thus skillfully dissociates herself from the audacious implications of Fontenelle's speculations about the moon's inhabitants (Cottegnies 2003); her critique of Fontenelle appears to be very much tongue-in-cheek, however. In the context of the contemporary competition between science and religion for cultural authority, Fontenelle's work sounds at times suspiciously close to heterodox theses. Yet, under the pretense of reconciling the Scriptures and the new science, Behn's own approach is potentially as tricky as Fontenelle's eloquent silence on the subject, even in Protestant England, notably more tolerant of new ideas than Catholic France. The authority of the Bible was clearly challenged by the new science, particularly astronomy (Markley 2007, 204). To save Copernicanism from contradicting the Bible, Behn adeptly confronts the Scriptures, showing that they cannot, and should not, be

used as either denying or endorsing the new ideas about the cosmos: "*with all due Reverence and Respect to the Word of God, I hope I may be allowed to say, that the design of the Bible was not to instruct Mankind in Astronomy, Geometry, or Chronology, but in the Law of God, to lead us to Eternal Life*" (Behn 1688a, a1v). By arguing that it was possible to remain faithful to the spirit of the Word of God while supporting the new scientific ideas, she was contributing to the emerging debate about fideism, a doctrine which posited the separation of matters of faith and reason.

Behn's preface thus foregrounds the empowering image of a woman intellectual who proves a critical and judicious reader and editor, as well as an engaged translator. In her translation, she lightly edits Fontenelle's text, introducing corrections for some points she thinks erroneous, and often clarifying the expression out of consideration for her reader. In one instance in particular, she edits Fontenelle's figure for the height of the atmosphere, changing it from twenty leagues (about eighty kilometers) to two or three miles. Although Fontenelle was in fact following the latest science here, this correction shows that Behn was actively engaging with the text — probably checking it against Wilkins's *Discovery of a New World*. Other kinds of interventions, more personal, concern matters of interpretation. Behn thus introduces references to the New World where Fontenelle had mentioned "some new discovered lands," probably "Terra australis," in reference to recent explorations (1686, 135); instead, Behn mentions "the new discovered world of *America*," perhaps more familiar to her, especially in light of her alleged transatlantic passage (Behn 1688a, 61). In the preface, she admits feeling drawn to the Fontenelle text and empowered by the sex of the *Marquiese*: "*I thought an* English *Woman might adventure to translate any thing a* French *Woman may be supposed to have spoken*" (sig. A4r). She praises the Frenchman for making philosophy available to women but objects to his treatment of the Lady, who is presented alternatively as ignorant or as capable of the most sophisticated arguments. Behn shows an acute sensitivity to questions of gender: she thus consistently substitutes "men and women" for "men." In so doing, she can be considered a radical forerunner of the Enlightenment, by officially introducing women into a philosophical and scientific discourse from which they had hitherto been excluded.

5. Conclusion

Behn thus perfectly illustrates the remarkable versatility of what "translation" could mean in the period, and how it could be put to use: far from being a menial or commercial job, and although the economic question was never far from her concerns, it was for her in the best of cases a fecund intellectual re-creation or co-creation. In the preface to *The Luckey Chance*, she famously voiced her literary ambition, claiming for herself the "Priviledge for [her] Masculine Part the Poet in [her]" to "tread in those successful Paths [her] Predecessors so long thriv'd in":

> [...] to take those Measures that both the Ancient and Modern Writers have set me [...] If I must not, because of my Sex, have this Freedom, but that you will usurp all to your selves; I lay down my Quill [...] I value Fame as much as if I had been born a *Hero*; and if you rob me of that, I can retire from the ungrateful World, and scorn its fickle Favours. (1687, sig. ar)

Behn clearly extended this literary ambition to her work as a translator. But not content to *follow* in her predecessors' paths, she triumphantly asserted "her Masculine Part, the Translator" in her: first by quietly, but authoritatively, asserting the translator's dignity in "The Translator's Preface" (as reflected in the non gender-specific title). Then she did so by proving that a woman could be as great a "Translator" as her male counterparts and that translating contemporary vernacular literature could be as worthy as translating the Classics — a modern writing for the moderns.

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Spanish Jesuits and their British and Irish books: St. Ignatius College, Valladolid*

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Abstract: This article studies a group of books by early modern British and Irish authors in the library of the Jesuit school of St. Ignatius (Colegio de San Ignacio) in Valladolid, Spain. Despite the initial suspicions of heterodoxy these books raised, most titles studied — even those banned by Catholic authorities — fit within the model suggested by the *Ratio studiorum* and would have been considered beneficial for the humanities-based educational program of a Jesuit college or the Society of Jesus's missionary work. The content of some of these books also hints at a possible interest in the British Isles at St. Ignatius.

Keywords: Early modern books, Jesuit libraries, early modern libraries, Anglo-Spanish relations, Society of Jesus.

Los Jesuitas españoles y sus libros británicos e irlandeses: El Colegio de San Ignacio, Valladolid

Resumen: Este artículo estudia un grupo de libros escritos por autores británicos e irlandeses renacentistas en la biblioteca del Colegio Jesuita de San Ignacio en Valladolid (España). A pesar de las sospechas iniciales de heterodoxia con las que estos libros podían encontrarse, la mayoría de obras (incluso aquellas prohibidas por las autoridades católicas) se acomodan a las sugerencias que establece la *Ratio studiorum* y se habrían considerado beneficiosas para el programa educativo basado en las humanidades de un colegio Jesuita o la misión de la Sociedad. El contenido de algunos de estos libros también insinúa un posible interés hacia las Islas Británicas en San Ignacio.

Os jesuítas espanhóis e os seus livros britânicos e irlandeses: Colegio de San Ignacio, Valladolid†

Resumo: Este artigo estuda um conjunto de livros de autores britânicos e irlandeses da proto-modernidade na biblioteca do colégio jesuíta de Santo Inácio (Colegio de San Ignacio) em Valladolid, Espanha. Apesar das suspeitas de heterodoxia inicialmente levantadas por estes livros, a maioria dos títulos estudados —mesmo os que foram proibidos pelas autoridades católicas— enquadra-se no modelo sugerido pelo *Ratio studiorum* e estes teriam sido considerados benéficos para o programa educativo baseado nas humanidades típico de um colégio jesuíta ou para o trabalho missionário da Companhia de Jesus. O conteúdo de alguns destes livros também indicia um possível interesse pelas Ilhas Britânicas no Colégio de Santo Inácio.

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† Translation into Portuguese by Miguel Ramalhete.

Palabras clave: Libros renacentistas, bibliotecas Jesuitas, bibliotecas renacentistas, relaciones anglo-hispanas, Sociedad de Jesús.

Palabras-chave: Livros da proto-modernidade, bibliotecas jesuítas, bibliotecas da proto-modernidade, relações anglo-espanholas, Companhia de Jesus.

1. Introduction

Libraries are considered places where knowledge is accumulated, whether for individual use or to make it available to society. This is not a new concept: from the collection of the Assyrian ruler Ashurbanipal and the well-known library of Alexandria, all the way to the Middle Ages when abbeys and convents linked them to educational purposes as well, books have been gathered as repositories of learning (van Miert 2016, 218). During the early modern period, the growth of universities and cities led to the foundation of university and public libraries. The content of these libraries could differ largely depending on the institution's purpose, the book donations they received, their economic situation, or their possible benefactors. The same conditions also applied to religious institutions. In the case of Jesuit colleges' libraries, where funds for the library were to come from was established in the foundational documents of each one (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 317). Most of this budget was used in the acquisition of books, although a library's collection could also be expanded through the direct donation of books and in some cases through the creation of in-house printing presses (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 317; 331). Many books in a Jesuit library were acquired for teaching and adhered therefore to the *Ratio studiorum*, the curriculum established by the Company of Jesus, although non-*Ratio-studiorum*-related books were hardly scarce in Jesuit libraries. This article will study a singular group of books in the library of St. Ignatius Jesuit College (Colegio de San Ignacio) in Valladolid, Spain: books by early modern authors from the British Isles. During this period, foreign authors, and especially those from non-Catholic countries, were seen with distrust — if not suspicion — in Spain, and even more so if they wrote about religious controversy and heterodoxy (Sáez-Hidalgo 2018; 2021, 156). Therefore, the presence of their works on the shelves of a religious institution deserves attention and a detailed analysis that will show how national identities did not always hinder the dissemination of books and their usage in Spanish Jesuit colleges.[1]

[1] Many studies have been done on the presence of books by authors from the British Isles in colleges

Although the books analyzed in this article used to belong to the collection of the library of St. Ignatius, they are currently part of the collection of the Library of Santa Cruz, the University of Valladolid's Historical Library.[2] This collection comprises volumes from different sources. Initially, most books were donated and bought by Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (1428–1495), the founder of the College of Santa Cruz — the origin of the current institution.[3] However, nowadays many of the volumes come from the 1767 dissolution of Jesuit colleges (Galindo Azkunaga 2017, 22). The books confiscated from these colleges were first sent to the College of Santa Cruz and, after the suppression of all colleges in 1807, the whole collection went to the University of Valladolid. In the first years of the twentieth century, the Monument Committee of the Province of Valladolid's Council responsible for the library at the time decided to entrust the University of Valladolid with the conservation of the books by merging the university library holdings with Santa Cruz's (Alcocer Martínez and Velázquez de Figueroa 1918, 270; Galindo Azkunaga 2017, 24–25). As a result of all these fluctuations, the current collection of the Historical Library of Santa Cruz includes on its shelves a notable number of books coming from St. Ignatius.

2. St. Ignatius College and jesuit education

St. Ignatius was one of the three Jesuit colleges in Valladolid — the other two were St. Ambrose's and the English College of St. Alban's. Initially founded in 1545 as the Professed House of Anthony of Padua, St. Ignatius faced numerous legal and economic issues that forced its formal transformation into a college in 1626 (Arranz Roa 2003, 135–38).[4]

for English, Scottish, and Irish exiles (see Courtney 1963; Revilla Rivas 2020; or Schrickx 1975). However, St. Ignatius was a local college that was not part of the English Mission. This meant that books authored by this type of writers would have been more strictly controlled.

[2] During most of the time this article was being written the Historical Library of Santa Cruz remained closed for renovations. This made complete access to the books in this corpus arduous at first. I would like to express my eternal gratitude to the Historical Library's staff who digitized part of many of these books for my analysis.

[3] Until 1807, the College of Santa Cruz was an institution of its own, independent from the university. They were closely related, but the former was not entirely part of the latter. Once colleges were dismantled in Spain at the end of the eighteenth century, the former college building and its library's collection went to the University of Valladolid (Alcocer Martínez and Velázquez de Figueroa 1918, 270). Today, the college as an educational institution does not exist, but its building and the library it contains belong to the university.

[4] Although professed houses and colleges performed the same ministries, the latter were mostly focused on education, while the former focused more on charity work (Arranz Roa 2003, 163). They mostly differ in terms of their financial management: a professed house was to be exclusively

The importance that education held for Jesuit colleges — and professed houses to some extent — made it necessary for Jesuits to be educated in rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and theology. Additionally, in Valladolid, Jesuits from St. Ignatius were allowed to preach sermons at the city's cathedral as part of their apostolic mission. Further, alumni could be sent on international missions, although that does not mean that St. Ignatius was part of the English mission — that would be St. Alban's. Hence such training was not part of its main activities — those being local charity and preaching. These sermons were delivered with a persuasive intent and integrated within a deliberate program of content that all orders needed to adhere to if they wanted to be allowed to preach in the cathedral (Burrieza Sánchez 2004, 800). To effectively deliver the intended message, Jesuit preachers at St. Ignatius needed to possess a comprehensive knowledge of the theme, as well as to dominate different rhetoric devices and to be able to improvise (800). All were skills and expertise that were extremely important on the Jesuit curriculum, as reflected by the *Ratio studiorum* (Grendler 2019, 21).

Nevertheless, St. Ignatius in particular did not prioritize education (Arranz Roa 2003, 163). Due to its prior nature as a professed house, there was a tendency to continue their mission as such, putting more emphasis on activities such as confession, preaching, eucharistic celebrations, and visits to hospitals and prisons. It had a school for orphaned children and an upper school for theological studies, but it was open to the public (Arranz Roa 2003, 161; 163), not reserved for "priesthood students and ordained clergymen," as was the custom (Grendler 2019, 23). Therefore, St. Ignatius was a college mostly in form, adhering to a broad definition of the Jesuit *Collegium* (Arranz Roa 2003, 163). Still, the schools in it needed to adhere to the *Ratio studiorum*.

Since the aim of Jesuit schools was to "educate [lay boys and youths] to become able, eloquent, and virtuous leaders of civil society who would act for the common good" (Grendler 2019, 19), a thorough education based on the humanities was of great importance. The reasons behind this relevance were the "many advantages for practical living" that humanities offered and their contribution "to the right government of public affairs and the proper making of laws," the "splendor of public affairs and the proper making of laws," and their support of religion and guidance "to our proper end with God" (Grendler 2019, 20). Such a centrality of the humanities was not intrinsic to the Society of Jesus

funded through charity (2003, 130), whereas colleges received regular endowments from civil governments or private benefactors (Grendler 2019, 13).

though. In 1584, the Society was not as keen on teaching humanities and was more interested in theology. This trend led Fulvio Cardulo (1529–1591) to address "a fervent plea on the importance of a humanistic education for students who would be future leaders of society to a committee charged with preparing the *Ratio studiorum*" (Grendler 2019, 21). In his appeal, Cardulo highlighted the benefits that teaching humanities could have for the state and society and made suggestions on how to tackle the task of this educational model, which led to the eventual elaboration of the *Ratio studiorum*, in which humanities were at the forefront. In fact, some Jesuits held fast to the conviction that a Jesuit humanities-based education benefited the students and supported the social order as they were concerned secular rulers were "destroying the Society" (Grendler 2019, 22). Eventually, at the end of the seventeenth century, a process of "baroquization" of the *Ratio studiorum* started in Spanish Jesuit colleges according to Miquel Batllori, by which learning materials became "hispanized," with an increase in Spanish handbooks (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 325).

As a teaching manual, the *Ratio studiorum* recommended how the day should be spent at Jesuit schools or which works and authors should be used for learning. For instance, commentaries of Aristotle by Francisco de Toledo (1532–96) and Pedro da Fonseca (1528–99) were listed as logic handbooks (Grendler 2019, 23). However, the explicit prescription or imposition of certain works rarely occurred. The *Ratio studiorum* mostly made suggestions to educators as to how to approach a certain subject without actively imposing anything (i.e., non-Christian commentors of Aristotle could be used, but carefully). Despite the suggestions made by the *Constitutions*, the 1580 thirty-book list of "'basic' books for Jesuits," and the more thorough list of books that could *not* be in a Jesuit library because of their heterodox content, the holdings were often discussed by the *Rules* of that particular college (Comerford 2015, 184; 2023, 128–31). In addition, each school and college had its own intricacies and inner workings, mostly covering up spaces left by the *Ratio studiorum* itself, but also depending on the schools' own material circumstances. This gave librarians relative freedom as to what to include and accept in their libraries' collection. So although the *Ratio studiorum* suggested the study of mathematics in upper schools, only those with a math teacher among their ranks were able to (Grendler 2019, 24). All these particularities had an impact on each school's library, therefore shaping them as unique repositories of knowledge with traces of their own intellectual, financial, cultural, political, and religious circumstances.

3. British and Irish books at St. Ignatius[5]

The book collection at St. Ignatius had some idiosyncrasies as well, its collection of British and Irish authors being one of them and is of particular interest for the study of Anglo-Spanish cultural relations. For the purpose of this article, the books have been selected on the basis of: (1) having belonged to St. Ignatius; (2) being written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and (3) being authored by British or Irish writers.[6] As such, out of the few thousand books that matched the first two criteria, only twenty-three[7] met all of them (see appendix for the full list). Meager though it may appear, this group of books reveals these Jesuits' interest in certain topics in which British and Irish authors were particularly well-versed, some of them within the *Ratio studiorum*, but not all of them. For my analysis, the British and Irish books at St. Ignatius have been grouped together thematically. Unsurprisingly for a religious house, little over half of the corpus (thirteen books) consists of religious titles, while only four are history books, three more about controversy, and three literary works. All these categories, the books' authors, and other details will be discussed in relation to the *Ratio studiorum* and the Jesuit order. This article will start answering how these British and Irish books could be part of an early modern Spanish Jesuit library at a time when almost everything related to the British Isles — especially England — was regarded with distrust.

[5] This article analyzes books by English, Scottish, and Irish authors. Although they can be considered separately (for instance Seget's oeuvre can be analyzed from a Scottish nationalist point of view), for the purposes of this article they are all lumped together because due to England's ongoing colonization endeavors authors from these countries were perceived as one and the same — part of the English empire — even when the books themselves specified the origin of the author, as is the case with Paul Sherlock.

[6] Interest in these materials started with a research on sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English books of controversy at the Library of Santa Cruz, done for a scholarship funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education in 2018–19. See Martín-Mozo.

[7] Although not a selection criterion, all twenty-three books were written in Latin. As the language of knowledge, this, along with the "Latinization" of the authors' names, might have made it easier for them to arrive in Spain. The books' language differentiates Spanish Jesuit libraries from those in colleges for exiles from the British Isles, where it was common for students to bring books from their homeland with them. These colleges would also have in their libraries heterodox books to study the heresy they would fight when they were sent back home (Comerford 2022, 16–17; 23). Ana Sáez-Hidalgo (2024) has also studied the books at the English College of St. Alban's in Valladolid and found a significant number of them were in English and by authors from the British Isles. For the rest of libraries in Spain, however, any book written in English was automatically banned without consideration of whether it was orthodox or not.

4. Religious books

Since theology was central to the studies that St. Ignatius' upper school offered, it is no surprise that more than half of the British and Irish books fit in this category, from Bible commentaries to the history of the Church, some of them even discussing the Protestant-Catholic controversy. Two of these titles are the most famous works of Jesuit theologian Anthony Bonville (*alias* Terill) (1623–76), *Fundamentum totius theologiae morales, seu, Tractatus de conscientia probabili* (1669) and the posthumous *Regula morum, sive, Tractatus bipartitus de sufficienti ad conscientiam rite formandam regula* (1677), both of which established his

> reputation as one of the most systematical expounders of the seventeenth-century moral-theological doctrine of probabilism, whose central tenet was that when faced with a choice between two courses of action, neither of which has been explicitly condemned by the church, it is permissible to choose one course of action even though it is probable that the other course of action is morally safer. (Blom and Blom 2004)

The third theological work is *Responsio ad expostulationes recentium theologorum* (1644) by St. Ignatius' alumnus Paul Sherlock (1595–1646). In it, Sherlock defends the *scientia media* doctrine by Luis de Molina (1535–1600), an attempt "to reconcile divine foreknowledge with human free will" (Murphy 2004) which was proscribed at Rome by Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) and heavily criticized by the Dominicans. Perhaps suspecting the risks of discussing Molinist theories, Sherlock published it under the pseudonym Paul Leonardi (after Sherlock's mother). Still, nothing in the book indicates that it was received with suspicion of heterodoxy, as it bears no traces of criticism or censorship. In any case, the edition of the work clearly distanced itself by avoiding any reference to his membership to the Society of Jesus, unlike the other three titles by Sherlock in St. Ignatius' library, which have Jesuit anagrams on their title pages.

In addition to theological treatises, Bible commentaries by British and Irish authors are also present among the works at St. Ignatius College. Two of them are titles by the aforementioned Paul Sherlock (now stating he was a Jesuit): the already mentioned *Anteloquia cogitationum in Salomonis Canticorum Canticum* (1640) in two volumes and *Cogitationes in Salomonis Canticorum Canticum* (1640). Both titles com-

ment on the biblical Song of Songs, allegedly written by Solomon. The topic is also reflected on their elaborate title pages' allegorical motifs related to the Song, such as the personifications of the Christ-groom and Church-bride, along with representations of Solomon (groom) and the Shulamite (wife) at the top of the page (Gregory 2021). The other biblical commentary is also a Solomonic book: *In Proverbia Salomonis* (1555), by Ralph Baynes (1504–59), and comments on the Book of Proverbs.

All three books by Sherlock appear to have been in Valladolid not long after their publication. Their provenance marks suggest that the college library was quite up to date with the latest publications, at least those by their students and fellow Jesuits. For instance, Baynes's *In Proverbia Salomonis*, as per its title page annotations, was already in "Cabezón [de Pisuerga]" in 1578 (twenty-three years after its publication), apparently having belonged to "p. Fuensalida," and it was already part of the St. Ignatius' library when it was still a professed house, that is prior to 1626, as the ex-libris attests. Sherlock's works also bear a manuscript note, "p. Escobar," (f.[ather] Escobar) on the back of their cover or on the flyleaf, probably as a mark of ownership. This father Escobar was probably Antonio de Escobar y Mendoza (1589–1669), author of the popular *Examen de Confesores* (1628) and innumerable plays, who had been part of St. Ignatius at the end of his life and that was where he died in 1669 (Arranz Roa 2003, 152). Considering Escobar's affiliation with the college, it is highly possible that he left his book collection to its library in his will. Sherlock's books — published in 1640 — would have been within St. Ignatius' library walls a few decades after its publication. This would be a relatively early date, considering that it was printed outside of the Iberian Peninsula and importing it would have been expensive and arduous, especially after the 1555 restrictions on foreign books (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 354; Peña Díaz 2015, 42). In addition, Jesuit libraries required the rector or Provincial to manage imports. These Bible commentaries appear to have arrived at St. Ignatius' library only a few decades after their publication.

Three other religious works formerly at St. Ignatius deal with religious life, two of which are specifically about the Franciscan order. The first title is *De proprietate et vestiario monachorum* (1582) by Richard Hall (c. 1537–1604). Hall details the proper behavior expected from those leading a religious life and lays out a defense of monastic custom (LaRocca 2004). The works about the Franciscan order are *Nitela franciscanae religionis* (1627) by Anthony Hickey (d. 1641) and *Annales Minorum* (1628) by Luke Wadding (1588–1657). Both authors were

Irish Franciscans. Wadding had an extensive career as a writer and as a member of the Curia, holding a number of offices throughout his life (Millett 2012). His *Annales Minorum* is an eight-volume history of the Franciscan order, intended to be the official historical account, and was published between 1625 and 1654. The copy at St. Ignatius is therefore incomplete, consisting only of the second volume. Hickey's work is an explicit defense of "the principles of the order of St. Francis" (McCormack 2009).

This volume does not have any provenance mark other than the St. Ignatius ex-libris annotation on its title page and a University of Valladolid library sticker, with no other traces that might help identify its original owner. The volume has few signs of wear, and the only hints of deterioration are the humidity and oxide stains on its paper. Its parchment cover is in fairly good condition and although the lettering on the spine is faded there are no signs of cracks due to frequent use. By contrast, Wadding's *Annales* does show evident signs of use, especially its table of contents at the end of the volume, where there are several stains and a broken page, which imply heavy use and possibly a lack of binding for some significant time. Unfortunately, there are no records for the moment when these volumes became part of St. Ignatius' library or about their possible use for educational or religious purposes. Still, as Federico Palomo has pointed out, "the Franciscans had a range of intellectual references and texts which, beyond the spiritual and theological texts linked to their own traditions and identity, was not very different from those of the Augustinians, Jesuits, Dominicans and Carmelites," (2016, 2) which suggests that the contents of these volumes might have been useful for a Jesuit readership.

Finally, the last three religious works are about various topics: a history of the church presented from a polemical perspective (*De visibili monarchia* [1592], by Nicholas Sander[s][8] [1530–81]), a biblical concordance (*Oeconomia concordantiarum scripturae sacrae* [1572] by George Bullock [1520/21–72]), and a book of sermons on religion, ethics, morals, and philosophy (*Semones fideles* [1641] by Francis Bacon [1587–1657]). Bullock's *Oeconomia concordantiarum* is a two-volume book that represented the work of Bullock's lifetime where, as expressed in its dedication to Pope Gregory XIII (1470–1546), "he speaks of it as a project of many years' standing, and twice interrupted by exile" (Rex 2004). Sander's and Bacon's works will be examined in detail below, the former

[8] Although both spellings can be found for this name, the most widely accepted today is Sander, which will be used throughout this article.

in the section on religious controversy and the latter in the section on censorship.

5. History books

History is one of the subjects on the curriculum at Jesuit schools according to Fulvio Cardulo's report (Grendler 2019, 21), and it was taught as part of the humanities class, especially ancient history (17). These history books by British and Irish authors and their presence in a Jesuit library are not surprising. One of them is a universal chronology of historical events by James Gordon (1541–1620), *Opus chronologicum: annorum seriem, regnorum mutationes, et rerum toto orbe gestarum* (1614), and the other is Paul Sherlock's *Antiquitatum hebraicarum dioptra*, a 1651 posthumous edition detailing the history of Ancient Israel. However, the most interesting volume is *De principatibus Italiae* (1631) by the Scotsman Thomas Seget (1569/70–1627). It is part of the 24mo *Republics* series printed by Abraham (1592–1652) and Bonaventura Elzevir (1610–62) that could be considered predecessors to modern travel guides inasmuch as the history, economy, geography, and population of a given country was presented to the reader (Lyons 2011, 80; Velema and Westseijn 2018, 12). One of its most striking features is its expurgation and its *caute lege* notes. These will be discussed below in the section on censorship.

Another volume whose presence at St. Ignatius was probably out of the ordinary is Thomas Dempster's (1579?–1625) edition of Rosinus's (c. 1550–1626) *Antiquitatum Romanorum corpus absolutissimum* (1645), considering both its prohibition by Rome in 1621 (Du Toit 2004) and Dempster's status as an *auctore damnatus* in Spain (Sotomayor 1667, 647; Martínez de Bujanda 2016, 480). This posthumous edition does not include the dedication to James VI and I of Scotland and England (1566–1625) that the first 1613 Paris edition did, which had granted the author access to the English court (Stenhouse 2004, 397). Actually, the author loses importance in the preliminaries, and a "Iacobus Dempsterus" (Dempster 1645, 4v) addresses the reader. This could be Thomas Dempster's eldest brother, James. This title was banned by Rome after accusations of possession of heretic books were thrown against Dempster, and he was also a condemned author in Spain. Despite this prohibition, his edition of Rosinus was commended by writers on Ancient Rome. The work's success may have been the reason behind

its re-edition by Jost Kalckhoven (d. 1669) for the Company of Jesus, as attested by the mention on the title page of the Society, both through the printed text "Studio And. Schotti. Soc. I." and its vignette of an anagram of the Society. The fact that this re-print was specifically intended for the Society, the work's popularity and praise, and the absence of the dedication to King James I, which is explicitly mentioned in Antonio Sotomayor's 1640 Inquisition index of forbidden books, could have made it easier for this work to enter into Spanish libraries — Jesuit libraries included. Thus, a banned book that was useful for a humanistic — and hence Jesuitic — education could be added to the collection of a Jesuit College. This copy does not have any visible signs of frequent use on its binding — since it was recently rebound — but the text block is quite worn, full of humidity and some ink stains.

6. Literature books

The *Ratio studiorum* encouraged the study of humanities, but when it came to literature, there was a heavier focus on classical texts than contemporary literature. The recommendations by the 1599 *Ratio studiorum* when studying poetry were

> Virgil, with the exceptions of some eclogues and the fourth book of the *Aeneid* [...], along with Horace's selected odes. To these may be added elegies, epigrams, and other poems of recognized poets, provided they are purged of all immoral expressions (qtd. in Farrell 1970, 80).

However, the books at St. Ignatius include a number of non-classical works by British authors. One of them is *Poematum libri duo* (1615) by John Barclay (1582–1621), printed in London by Edward Griffin (d. 1621). The reason why the presence of this work is noteworthy is threefold: firstly, the work was contemporary British poetry — albeit in Latin —, not classical. Secondly, its printing location. Books printed in the British Isles were systematically regarded with suspicion of "heresy" (i.e., heterodoxy) in Spain, and the fact that Griffin's printing press was moderately successful, especially under his son's management (Plomer 2006, 86), and that his printing press is not listed among the clandestine Catholic presses by specialists (Allison and Rogers 1989; Southern 1950),[9] leads one to hypothesize that he printed Protestant

[9] Catholic presses were forbidden in England under Elizabeth I.

works. Thirdly, John Barclay, son of William Barclay (1546–1608), was a famous anti-Jesuit Catholic. In his successful *Euphormionis lusini Satyricon* (1605), for example, he satirizes the "Jesuit modes of education and recruitment" (Royan 2004). The *Satyricon* helped John Barclay progress in the Jacobite court, to the point of receiving a pension from King James and having him "ask the French king to suppress an attack made by Bellarmine on [William Barclay's] *De potestate papae*" (Royan 2004). Consequently, although Barclay remained a Catholic — he left for the Vatican court so that his children could be Catholic in a non-hostile environment —, his relationship with the Society of Jesus was certainly antagonistic and notorious due to the popularity of the *Satyricon*. His *Sylvae* (1606), from among his verse writings, seemed to be better known than the *Poematum*, in which he wrote about matters concerned with the court of James I and VI, including some poems requesting gifts that he felt he was owed due to late payment of his pension (Fleming 1966, 231). These are all reasons why the presence of Barclay's *Poematum* in St. Ignatius is remarkable. The dedication to Prince Charles of England — uncensored — does not help to understand how this book fits the profile of St. Ignatius' collection, especially without any cautionary entries as to its content. The only clue to ownership is a mark on the back of its binding reading "P. Andres," but research has proved fruitless so as to who he was or his connection to Barclay or England.

The other two British literary volumes on St. Ignatius' shelves are plays by William Drury (bap. 1584–d. in or after 1643) and Emmanuel Lobb, known as Joseph Simons (1594–1671). Drury's *Dramatica Poemata* (1641) and Simons's *Zeno: Tragoedia* (1648) are Catholic plays which might be more expected in a Jesuit library than Barclay's *Poematum*. More so in the case of Simons's Jesuit tragedy *Zeno*. Theater was held in high esteem in Jesuit colleges as a means to further students' education in Latin, their diction, and their grace, and to promote Catholic orthodoxy (Stevenson 2020, 181). Simons's plays, as part of that didactic program, would be considered in line with the educational methods for St. Ignatius' students. Drury's case is somewhat different: the title page of the *Dramatica poemata* at St. Ignatius says that he was British without mentioning the Society or any other information that could have deactivated suspicions of heterodoxy in Spain. But Drury *was* a Catholic: he had received a Jesuit education at Saint Omers English College and the Venerable English College of Rome (Shell 2021, 120). At both colleges students could write allegorical plays to be performed in front of the rest of the college, parents, and patrons (McCabe 1937; Levy and Kay 1996;

Wetmore 2016). However, the three plays contained in the *Dramatica Poemata* (*Aluredus, sive Alfredus*, *Mors*, and *Reparatus sive Depositum*) were performed between 1618 and 1621 at the non-Jesuit English College in Douai (Shell 2021, 120): they were English Catholic college drama with English themes and not specifically written for Jesuits. In fact, Drury's views of the Jesuits were that they were "dim" (121), which is reflected both in his English and Latin plays (117). Still, Drury was one of the best-known Catholic college playwrights in the seventeenth century to the point that his work penetrated even Protestant and anti-Catholic circles and was reprinted several times (121). Because of their popularity throughout Europe without much consideration of faith, Drury's plays could have easily fit into the theater program at St. Ignatius. In fact, the book seems to have been read frequently, as shown by the cracks on its spine and some loosening pages. Therefore, the importance of theater for Jesuits was a factor in bringing these plays within St. Ignatius' walls. Though not classical literary texts, their didactic character made them a valuable tool for students.

7. Books of religious and political controversy

Four British and Irish works of controversy were already mentioned above: Sherlock's *Responsium ad expostulaciones recentium*, Terill's *Fundamentum totius theologiae* and *Regula morum sive tractatus*, and Sander's *De visibili monarchia*. The first three deal with debates within Catholicism: Sherlock defending the Molinist doctrine and Terill condemning probabilism (Blom and Blom 2004; Murphy 2004). However, *De visibili monarchia* and two more works comment on controversies between Protestantism and foreign powers, especially England. *De visibili monarchia* defends the legitimacy and superiority of a papal monarchy over civil powers in opposition to the Protestant tenets against the papacy (Tutino 2007, 23), to which Sanders adds an English martyrology (Mayer 2004). Sander's defense of papal authority was based on the divine establishment of the pope's power, in his eyes comparable to monarchical power. His notions became so foundational for early modern Catholics that they were used by the English government as the basis for the infamous "bloody questions."[10] With this work and his world famous *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani* (1585), Sander

[10] The "bloody questions" had become a standard part of the interrogation of Catholics arrested in England since 1581. See McGrath (1991).

became an important Catholic polemicist. The latter surpassed the impact of *De visibili monarchia* and was translated to several languages, including Spanish: Pedro de Ribadeneira's popular *Historia eclesiástica del cisma del reino de Inglaterra* (1588, 1593), though presented as history, is a version of Sander's work that was widely used for anti-Protestant purposes. Both pieces by Sander were frequently found in early modern Spanish libraries.[11]

The library also included the polemicist Robert Persons (1546–1610), with a copy of his *Elizabethae Angliae Regina* also known as *Philopater*, the pseudonym used by Persons for it (1593). First printed in 1592, in this treatise, Persons responds "satirically to the royal proclamation of October 1591 accusing Jesuits and seminarians of a treasonable alliance with Spain" (Houliston 2004). Persons crafted it as part of his efforts to promote the English Mission, especially in Spain, where the detailed descriptions of the persecution that Catholics suffered under Elizabeth's reign cemented the already present anti-Protestant views. The presence of Persons' work — especially the *Philopater* and other controversy books — in a Jesuit library is not at all surprising, especially considering the apostolic rather than educational focus that St. Ignatius had and the importance it gave to preaching locally. St. Ignatius College, even in its upper school, was not overly concerned with producing priests, favoring apostolic and charity work due to its previous incarnation as a professed house.

The final controversy is William Barclay's *De regno et regali* (1600). Father to the abovementioned John Barclay, William also entered a dispute with the Society of Jesus of France when he prevented his son from joining the order. This led to him leaving France in 1603 for a year, during which he was part of James I's court, although he later decided not to join permanently because he refused to convert to Anglicanism and in the end returned to France (Nicholls 2018, 409). Like his son's work, the presence of *De regno* poses some questions as to why a Jesuit college would be interested in it, and an examination of its content might offer an answer. In *De regno*, Barclay defends the monarch's power and its sacredness, a point that he underlined in *De Potestate Papae* (1609) as well, published posthumously by his son John to keep the favor of James I. William Barclay also establishes in *De regno* the term

[11] The Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español (Catalog of Spanish Bibliographical Heritage, url: ‹http://catalogos.mecd.es/CCPB/cgi-ccpb/abnetopac›), although not yet an exhaustive catalog, records quite a high number of sixteenth-century copies of Sander's works in Spanish libraries.

"monarchomachs," defining them as individuals who "aimed at the destruction of monarchies" (Nicholls 2018, 408), and heartily criticizes them. In his dedication to Henri IV of France, he praises the monarch for his "prudence in his management of the kingdom and especially for bringing civil wars to an end," opposing the Catholic League — led by Spain — and its view of the French king (408). Barclay admired Henri despite French policies discouraging Catholicism in England — until the hesitant endorsement of the Appellants starting in 1601 — so as to not potentially benefit Spain (Bossy 1965, 80). However, this inaction also kept Jesuit institutions at bay, as Robert Persons's exhortation to the king to not heed the Appellants in favor of a Jesuit-beneficial strategy testifies (91). Barclay would have perceived Henri IV's approach as beneficial because of his hostility towards the Society. As a religious order that in Spain was closely aligned with Philip II and the crown, it makes sense that Spanish Jesuits would relate to Barclay's royalist view. However, his polemics against the French Jesuits and closeness to James I makes Barclay's inclusion in St. Ignatius' library curious to say the least. Still, the copy bears clear signs of frequent use, such as the worn parchment binding and the many stains that the text block has, some of which resemble grease and others dark enough to look like burn marks from holding a flame too close to the paper. Questions about the status and use that this book had in the Jesuit college abound but a clear answer is elusive, since the copy shows no signs of expurgation nor is it on any inquisitorial index of banned books, unlike the later *De Potestate Papae*.

The analysis of the physical state of these British and Irish works on religious controversy demonstrates heavy use, showing that at St. Ignatius there was a clear interest in this topic as opposed to the books on theology and Catholic polemics, which are in a much better shape. As discussed before, interest in works like *De regno et regali* and *De visibili monarchia* might have stemmed from priests' needing to be well informed on such matters, either for future missionary work or educational purposes, even though the latter was not as relevant for St. Ignatius as charity work.

8. The inquisition and censorship

Censorship in Spain was an addition to the Vatican indexes of forbidden books: books banned by the Roman authorities would normally also be

prohibited in Spain. However, the Spanish Inquisition also developed its own indexes with more titles — usually for slander of Spanish authorities or the kingdom (Peña Díaz 2015, 141–42). There were times in which the Roman and Spanish criteria aligned, but others when the Spanish Inquisition favored the Spanish monarchy over the "blatant Papism" of certain works, preferring to only censor "las posiciones antipontificias [...] cuando cayeron en lo irreverente y podían ocasionar problemas a la diplomacia [...] o mostraban un maquiavelismo demasiado evidente" [anti-pontifical positions [...] when they lapsed into disrespect and could cause diplomatic issues [...] or if their Machiavellianism became too evident][12] (141). The authorities had several *modi operandi* for this purpose. Expunging as suppression was not standard in Spain until the sixteenth century, outright prohibition having been the preferred method (47–8). In the case of Jesuit libraries, there was an additional layer of censorship added to the Roman and Spanish indexes. Authors were also classified as "heinous," "banned," or "conflictive"; and the prohibition of works was qualified with "*ad casum*," "*ad personam*," or "*ad tempus*" (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 359). In the case of St. Ignatius and its censored British and Irish books, they do not have any of these labels on them, although that does not necessarily mean that they were not under some sort of control.

As mentioned above, three of the books examined from St. Ignatius include expurgation marks. One is *Sermones Fideles* by Francis Bacon, the Latin translation of Bacon's essays. Although there are no official notes on the book categorizing Bacon as an *auctor damnatus* (*opera omnia*) although the 1707 inquisitorial *Index* did (Martínez de Bujanda 2016, 313), the book does present signs of expunging. The censorship does not appear to be as thorough as with the *Republics* due in great part to the fact that the expunged material was still legible through the censorial ink. However, this could be caused by the oxidation and subsequent fading of the ink, not a lack of rigor during the expurgation process. Although a more in-depth analysis of the expunction of these books goes beyond the scope of this article, the presence of Bacon's work in this library raises unanswered questions: he was an *auctore damnatus* and had been charged with writing a negative response to Person's *Philopater* in 1592 defending English Catholics from Elizabeth's persecution (Peltonen 2004), so he would not have been a very welcome author amongst Spanish Jesuits. His identity, however, was not concealed in

[12] Translation my own.

any way, since he is referred to as "Verulamio" on the book's title page and as "Berulamio" on the spine. Bacon was known all over Europe as Francis, Lord Verulam, after he was appointed Baron Verulam of Verulam by the king in 1618 (Peltonen 2004), so there is no intention to conceal the author's identity.

The two other expunged books are by condemned author Thomas Smith (1513–77) and Thomas Seget, who, unlike Smith, does not appear on any inquisitorial index. Still, the St. Ignatius copy of his *De Principatibus Italiae* (1631) includes a handwritten note warning the reader to read with caution (*caute lege*), a 1707 expurgation note — both notes on the reverso of the title page — , and whole paragraphs and sections are marked in the margins with the cautionary notes "*caute lege*." Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (1641) also includes these notes. The first handwritten note references alleged fragments of the books that slander Catholic princes, also mentioning Pope Clement VIII as the one who commanded these titles be expurgated, despite his papacy ending in 1605, before the publication of the series that these two titles belong to;[13] that is, Elzevir's *Republics*. What stands out about these books is not only their small format — 24mo — but the *caute lege* note and the 1707 expurgation note that they all have. Since the handwriting in the former is not the same as in the latter, and the fact that paragraphs marked as *caute lege* are now thoroughly crossed out, the most plausible hypothesis would be that the *caute lege* notes were added to all the books at the same time: all of their content is the same, including the mention of Pope Clement VIII. This addition would have taken place some time between 1660 — the last printing date on the books — and 1707 — the expunging date.[14]

Research on these Elzevirian Republics and the possible reason for their ban had been fruitless:[15] the books, the authors, and the printing

[13] The full content of the note, which for the sake of brevity will be referred to as "*caute lege* note," is: "Sunt in his tomis phrases nonnulæ animum hæreticum redolentes caute legendæ. Sunt non pauca verba acerba contra Principes, et personas Ecclesiasticas, et Provincias Catholicas, caute legenda, et iuxta instructionem Pontificiam Clementis VIII expungenda. Sunt non nullæ historiæ, aut narrationes falsæ in odium Catholicorum Principum, et Ecclesiasticorum, quæ propter integritatem historiæ cum prædicta cautione, et admonitione tolerantur." [There are some phrases in these volumes redolent of a heretical spirit, to be read with caution. There are not a few bitter words against Princes, and Ecclesiastical persons, and Catholic Provinces, which must be carefully read, and deleted according to the instruction of Pope Clement VIII. There are false histories or narratives in hatred of the Catholic Princes and Churchmen, which for the sake of the integrity of history are tolerated with the aforesaid warning and admonition.] My translation.

[14] These dates are approximate, because there are very few chances of the books arriving at St. Ignatius the very same year of 1660 and of being expunged the same year that the 1707 Inquisition Index was proclaimed and published.

[15] During the revision of this article, I was able to present tentative results on the possible reason

press are not on Clement VIII's index — nor on any following Roman indexes or bulls from 1601 to 1667 — and, although some of the titles do appear individually in the Spanish Index after 1640 — Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (Martínez de Bujanda 2016, 1022) — , there are no references to Clement VIII mentioned.[16] On the other hand, a survey of digital copies of the *Republics* series extant in other Spanish libraries revealed that volumes that are not from Jesuit colleges tend to not have the *caute lege* note or any signs of expunging. In contrast, those copies with ex-libris from other Spanish Jesuit colleges do. What can be attested within the scope of this article is that the copies of Seget's *De Principatibus Italiae* and Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* at St. Ignatius were not targeted by censors solely for being written by British authors. Instead, they are part of a larger collection of expunged books that once were on the shelves of the Jesuit library of St. Ignatius.

9. Conclusion

The twenty-three early modern titles by British and Irish authors that the library of St. Ignatius in Valladolid harbored show that despite possible suspicions of heterodoxy these sorts of books and their presence have proven to be not as unexpected as one might initially think in Spanish libraries. Most of these works' contents adhered to the suggestions stated in the 1599 *Ratio studiorum*, which favored a humanities-based education over exclusively theological studies, important as they might be. Hence, commentaries on the biblical Song of Songs (*In Proverbia Salomonis* by Ralph Baynes and *Cogitationes in Salomonis Canticorum Canticum* and *Anteloquia Cogitationum in Salomonis Canticorum Canticum* by Paul Sherlock), a Bible concordance (*Oeconomia concordantiarum scripturae* by George Bullock), descriptions of monastic life (*De proprietate et ves-*

behind the *Republics*' handwritten notes during the seventieth Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in Chicago. In 1640, the *Elenchus librorum omnium tum in Tridentino, Clementinoque indice tum in aliis apmnibus sacrae indicis congregationis particularibus, ordine uno alphabetico* by Francis Magdalen was published in Rome. This index establishes in its tenth general rule that booksellers and printers must be approved by local ecclesiastical officers in representation of Roman authorities and that all books imported into a Catholic state must be examined. Abraham and Bonaventura Elzevier were orthodox Calvinists, the series' main editor — Johannes de Laet — was a condemned author in Spain, as per the 1640 (Sotomayor 629) and 1707 (Sarmiento y Valladares 649) Spanish indexes, and the series contains a significant number of condemned authors (sixteen). Therefore, in applying the general rules of this Clementine index, the series would have been flagged as suspicious in its first examination following 1640. Once the 1707 Spanish *Index* was published, the books were reexamined and consequently expunged.

[16] All this information was available in the 1640 Sotomayor *Index*, which includes the 1640 Spanish index of forbidden books, along with several Roman indexes.

tiario monachorum by Richard Hall, *Nitela franciscanae religions* by Antony Hick[e]y, and *Annales Minorum* by Luke Wadding), and histories (*Opus chronologicum annorum seriem* by James Gordon and *Antiquitatum hebraicarum dioptra* by Paul Sherlock) comprise the majority of the British and Irish titles at St. Ignatius. In addition, the presence and worn condition of the Jesuit play *Zeno* by Joseph Simons and the Catholic drama collection *Dramatica Poemata* by William Drury reflect the prominence that St. Ignatius as a Jesuit college gave to drama as part of its educational program. Drury's plays in particular and the Englishness of their themes hints at a possible interest in English topics.

The presence of the Catholic-Protestant controversial works — focused especially on England — would be in line with that potential interest in subjects related to the British Isles. Still, we must take into consideration that St. Ignatius was not an international college aiming to educate priests for the English mission. It could also imply a general interest in Jesuits in theological issues and doctrines — like the presence of other titles pertaining to Molinism or relativism show. The *Philopater* by Robert Persons, *De visibili monarchia* by Nicholas Sander, and *De regno et regali* by William Barclay all discuss religious authority and the legitimacy of civil governments against one's faith and are to be expected in a Spanish Jesuit library: they both denounced English persecution of Catholics and helped disseminate negative views of Protestantism that were already present in Spain and that prevailed for centuries. Those same arguments could not be so neatly applied to William Barclay's *De Regno* due to the author's turbulent relationship with French Jesuits and his legitimization of monarchs' authority over the Pope's.

William Barclay's hostility towards the Society of Jesus is also present in his son John's work, especially his *Satyricon*. His *Poematum*, as a contemporary poetry collection, is a turn from the classical literary works that the *Ratio studiorum* suggested and favored. The contents about the Jacobite English court could speak of that interest in topics related to the British Isles that the presence of Drury's plays and the controversial works first hinted at. However, the *Poematum* does not present as many signs of wear as the other books with English-related content, so it is not clear if its presence is the result of a deliberate purchase due to an active interest in the British Isles or if the book was donated by a previous owner — "p. Andres" — as discussed above, with no other reasons. Still, even if the *Poematum*'s presence was not due to an interest in topics related to the British Isles at St. Ignatius, there seems to be a

lingering interest reflected by the presence of other works examining these topics from a religious, political, or literary point of view.

St. Ignatius also had books by British and Irish authors on its shelves that had been condemned by the Vatican or the Spanish Inquisition. Spanish libraries usually had a small cabinet for banned books called "infierno" ("hell"), so their presence at St. Ignatius, albeit unexpected, is not entirely surprising, especially when considered in relation to the *Ratio studiorum* or Jesuit interests. That is the case of *Antiquitatum Romanorum corpus absolutssimum* by Thomas Dempster, which had been forbidden by the Vatican but was so popular and celebrated by experts on Ancient Rome that it fit well in what the *Ratio studiorum* suggested in relation to history. Other works that could be relatively easy to link to Jesuit concerns of missionary work — especially abroad — are the Elzevirian *Republics*, expunged as they might have been. This series provided basic information on different countries that could be useful for missionaries intending to evangelize foreign lands. The warning to read them with caution (*caute lege*) and the expunction of the entire series reveal that its works written by British authors (*De republica Anglorum* by Thomas Smith and *De Principatibus Italiae* by Thomas Seget) were not specifically targeted or expunged on the basis of where their authors were from but for reasons that involve the entirety of the series, and which exceed the scope of this article.

The British or Irish origin of an author would not necessarily impede their works from being part of the collection of early modern Spanish Jesuit libraries if their content aligned with the Jesuit educational program established by the *Ratio studiorum* or with Jesuit philosophy and morality. Further comparison of the presence of authors from the British Isles in English, Scottish, and Irish colleges to their presence in local colleges unaffiliated with the English Mission could shed more light on the interest that the latter had in matters related to the Isles. The majority of the books examined in this article fit within the Jesuit standards for book acquisition, some more than others. However, the Baconian *Sermones Fideles* poses several questions as to how it fits into St. Ignatius' library as a work by an English Protestant philosopher that was popular throughout Europe and whose views on religion and morality would vastly differ from Jesuit tenets. This copy, though expunged, does not mention Bacon's status as a condemned author whose works were all banned by the 1707 Spanish index of forbidden books nor does it present any visible signs of attempts to conceal the author's identity. So even though the majority of the British and Irish books at St. Ignatius,

once examined, fit in the college's library for one reason or another, others leave more questions that cannot be as easily explained without more evidence concerning the book's provenance, acquisition, or even how easy it was for students or members of the Society to read. Therefore, the examination of this part of the St. Ignatius' book collection helps reverse initial expectations on the treatment that British and Irish works would have in a Spanish Jesuit library, while also raising more questions to attract academics worldwide and pave the way for further research on Jesuits, their libraries, and their relationship to books.

Appendix of British and Irish works at St. Ignatius

Bacon, Francis. 1641. *Sermones fideles, ethici, politici, œconomici: sive interiora rerum.* Leiden: Franciscus Hackius. USTC No. 1028736. Allison & Rogers Catalogue [ARCR] —. Biblioteca Histórica Santa Cruz [BHSC] U/Bc BU 09029.

Barclay, John. 1615. *Ioannis Barclaii Poematum libri duo*. London: Edward Griffin. USTC No. 3006457. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 09321.

Barclay, William. 1600. *De regno et regali potestate adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium, et reliquos Monarchomachos, libri sex*. Paris: Guillaume Chaudière. USTC No. 158529. ARCR 58. BHSC U/Bc BU 09538.

Baynes, Ralph. 1555. *In Proverbia Salomonis tres libri commentatoriorum ex ipsis Hebraeorum fontibus manatium*. Paris: Michel de Vascosan. USTC No. 151832. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 02125. Bullock, George. 1572. *Oeconomia concordantiarum scripturae sacrae*. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin. USTC No. 401545. ARCR 124. BHSC U/Bc BU 02608 (Vol. I), U/Bc BU 02609 (Vol. II).

Dempster, Thomas. 1645. *Antiquitatum Romanarum corpus absolutissimum: In Quo Praeter Ea, Quae Joannes Rosinus delineverat, Infinita supplentur, mutantur, adduntur. Ex Criticis, Et Omnibus Utriusq*[*ue*] *Linguae auctoribus collectum …, Thoma Dempstero; J.C. Scoto Auctore Huic Po*. Köln: Jost Kalckhoven. USTC No. 2136803. ARCR —.[17] BHSC U/Bc BU 09660.

Drury, William. 1641. *Dramatica poemata*. Antwerp: Petrus Bellerus III. USTC No. 1003203. ARCR—.[18] BHSC U/Bc BU 09069.

Gordon, James. 1614. *Opus chronologicum annorum seriem, Regnorum Mutationes, Et Rerum Toto Orbe Gestarum Memorabilium sedem annumque: a Mundi exordio ad nostra usque tempora complectens*. Köln: Johann Crith. USTC No. 2533934. ARCR 616. BHSC U/Bc BU 05917.

Hall, Richard. 1585. *De proprietate et vestiario monachorum, aliisque ad hoc vitium extirpandum, liber unus. Epitaphium reverendissimi in Christo patris ac d.d. Arnoldi*

[17] As an edition that is out of scope of the Allison & Rogers catalog, there is no entry for it. Such titles were looked up on the Clancy Catalogue of English Catholic books from 1641 to 1700 (1996), but none of them were included.

[18] This edition falls out of the scope of the Allison & Rogers catalog by one year, but they do mention it in entry 330 on a 1628 Douai edition.

de le Cambe alias Gantois, abbatis Marcianensis defuncti. Douai: ex officina Jean Bogard. USTC No. 110975. ARCR 625. BHSC U/Bc BU 08207.

Hick[e]y, Anthony. 1627. *Nitela franciscanae religionis et abstersio sordium quibus eam conspurcare frustra tentavit Abrahamus Bzovius.* Lyon: Claude Landry. USTC No. 6903889. ARCR 669. BHSC U/Bc BU 09658.

Lynch, Richard. 1654. *Universa philosophia scholastica.* Lyon: Philippe Borde & Claude Rigaud II. USTC No. —. ARCR —. UHSC U/Bc BU 04211 (Vol. i); U/Bc BU 04212 (Vol. II); U/Bc BU 04213 (Vol. III).

Persons, Robert. 1593. *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae haeresim Calvinianam propugnantis saeuissimum in catholicos sui regni edictum, quod in alios quoque reipvblicae Christianae principes contumelias continet indignissimas. Promulgatum Londini XXIX Novembris MDXCI. Cum responsione ad singula capita, qua non tantum saevitia et impietas tam iniqui edicti, sed mendacia deteguntur et confutantur.* Rome: Luigi Zanetti. USTC No. 846898. ARCR 888. UHSC U/Bc BU 03951.

Sander[s], Nicholas. 1592. *De visibili monarchia, libri VIII. In quibus diligens instituitur disputatio de ecclesiae Dei tum successione, tum gubernatione monarchica*. Wüzburg: widow of Heinrich von Aich. USTC No. 629770. ARCR 1016. BHSC U/Bc BU 01674.

Seget, Thomas. 1631. *De Principatibus Italiae: tractatus vary*. Leyden: Abraham Elzevier & Bonaventura Elzevier. USTC No. 1011872.[19] ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 10894.

Sherlock, Paul. 1640. *Anteloquia cogitationum in Salomonis Canticorum Canticum*. Lyon: Jaques Prost & Pierre Prost. USTC No. —. ARCR 1080. BHSC U/Bc BU 01911 (Vol. I); U/Bc BU 01912 (Vol. II).

Sherlock, Paul. 1651. *Antiquitatum hebraicarum dioptra in duos libros tributa*. Lyon: Laurent Arnaud, Philippe Borde & Claude Rigaud II. USTC No. 6118672. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 09332.

Sherlock, Paul. 1640. *Cogitationes in Salomonis Canticorum Canticum, volume tertium*. Lyon: Jacques Prost & Pierre Prost. USTC No. —. ARCR 1085. BHSC U/Bc BU 01913.

Sherlock, Paul. 1644. *Responsionum ad expostulationes recentium quorumdam theologarum contra scientiam mediam, liber singularis.* Lyon: Laurent Arnaud, Philippe Borde & heirs of Pierre Prost. USTC No. —. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 04152.

Simons, Joseph [Emmanuel Lobb]. 1648. *Zeno: Tragoedia*. Rome: heirs of Francesco Corbelletti. USTC No. 4021081. ARCR —.[20] BHSC U/Bc BU 08634.

Smith, Thomas. 1641. *De Republica Anglorum libri tres.* Leiden: Bonaventura Elzevier. USTC No. 1527900. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 10896.

[19] In the USTC entry for *De Principatibus Italiae*, Johannes de Laet (1581–1649), as compiler and editor of Elzevier's *Republics*, appears as the author of the work, but the dedicatory acknowledges Seget as the actual author.

[20] Allison & Rogers do not have a proper entry for this edition since it is out of the scope of their catalog. However, they do mention it in entry 947, although they specify that it was published under the alias Joseph Simeon, not Simons.

Terill, Anthony [Anthony Boville]. 1669. *Fundamentum totius theologiae*. Liège: Joannes Mathias Hovius. USTC No. 1553727. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 04150.

Terill, Anthony [Anthony Boville]. 1677. *Regula morum sive tractatus bipartitus de sufficienti ad conscientiam rite formandam regula in quo usus cujusvis opinionis practice probabilism convincitur esse licitus*. Lyon: Joannes Mathias Hovius. USTC No. —. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 03401.

Wadding, Luke. 1628. *Annales Minorum: in quibus res omnes tri[n]u ordi[n]u a S. Francisco institutoru[m] ponderosi[us] et ex fide asseruntur … tom. secundus*. Lyon: Claude Landry. USTC No. 6903921. ARCR 1307. BHSC U/Bc BU 03839.

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An unconventional adaptation: Ángel María Dacarrete's *Julieta y Romeo* (1858)*

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Abstract: This article examines *Julieta y Romeo* (1858), an unconventional adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet* written by Ángel María Dacarrete. The play has received no scholarly attention since Alfonso Par's pioneering works on Shakespeare in Spain (published in 1936 and 1940), and it deserves to be re-evaluated. It focuses on the innovations introduced by Dacarrete, the performance history, and the ensuing rejection by most contemporary critics owing to a supposed lack of originality and equally supposed appalling immorality. It argues that, at a time in which Shakespeare was largely unknown, adaptation was beneficial rather than detrimental to the reception of Shakespeare in Spain.

Keywords: Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Spain, adaptation, appropriation.

Una adaptación poco convencional: el *Julieta y Romeo* (1858) de Ángel María Dacarrete

Resumen: El artículo examina *Julieta y Romeo* (1858), una adaptación poco convencional de *Romeo y Julieta* escrita por Ángel María Dacarrete. La obra no ha recibido atención de la crítica desde los estudios pioneros de Alfonso Par sobre Shakespeare en España (publicados en 1936 y 1940). El artículo se centra en las innovaciones introducidas por Dacarrete, la puesta en escena y la consecuente reacción adversa de la crítica por la supuesta falta de originalidad y deplorable inmoralidad de la pieza. Este trabajo defiende que, en una época en la que Shakespeare era prácticamente un autor desconocido, la adaptación de su obra contribuyó positivamente a su recepción en España.

Palabras clave: Shakespeare, *Romeo y Julieta*, España, adaptación, apropiación.

Uma adaptação pouco convencional: *Julieta y Romeo* (1858) de Ángel María Dacarrete†

Resumo: Este artigo analisa *Julieta y Romeo* (1858), uma adaptação pouco convencional de *Romeo and Juliet*, escrita por Ángel María Dacarrete. A peça não recebeu nenhuma atenção académica desde os trabalhos pioneiros de Alfonso Par sobre Shakespeare em Espanha (publicados em 1936 e 1940), e merece ser reavaliada. Este estudo centra-se nas inovações de Dacarrete, na história da representação e consequente rejeição da peça pela maioria dos críticos seus contemporâneos, devido a uma suposta falta de originalidade e a uma igualmente suposta grande imoralidade. Argumenta-se que, numa época em que Shakespeare era no geral desconhecido, as adaptações foram mais benéficas do que prejudiciais para a receção de Shakespeare em Espanha.

Palabras-chave: Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Espanha, adaptação, apropriação.

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† Translation into Portuguese by Miguel Ramalhete

1. Introduction

The reception of Shakespeare in Spain begins in the late eighteenth century, with the first performance of a Shakespearean play on the Spanish stage, *Hamleto*, in 1772. The starting date is not the result of pure chance. In Britain the eighteenth century coincides with the age of bardolatry, as Dobson amply documents in *The Making of the National Poet* (1992). It is during this period that Shakespeare, newly baptised as the Swan of Avon, was elevated in his native country to the prestigious status of national icon. Similarly, on the continent, and particularly in Germany, the advent of Romanticism with its emphasis on individual genius contributed to the gradual introduction of Shakespeare into new literary milieux. However, during this early phase of Shakespeare in Europe, the plays produced often had little in common with the Elizabethan and Jacobean texts that are familiar to twenty-first century readers and theatergoers worldwide. One of the figures responsible for this lack of faithfulness to the Shakespearean text is undoubtedly the French dramatist Jean-François Ducis. He played a major role in the dissemination of Shakespeare on the continent. Ducis did not speak English and relied heavily on plot summaries, most of which written by Pierre-Antoine de La Place, that had little — or barely anything — in common with the Shakespearean text. Still, his rewritings became hugely popular, not only in France but also beyond. His adaptations became a particular favourite amongst European playwrights who often used them as source texts. It should come as no surprise, then, that the earliest version of a Shakespearean play staged in Spain, the 1772 *Hamleto*, was a translation of Ducis's *Hamlet*. The text is generally attributed to Ramón de la Cruz (Gregor 2010, 7). Adaptation of Shakespearean plays was not a phenomenon exclusive to non-Anglophone countries. One ought not to forget that during the Restoration Shakespearean texts were altered and rewritten to suit contemporary tastes. One example is Nahum Tate's 1681 *King Lear* with its unexpected happy ending.

The history of the reception of *Romeo and Juliet* in Spain is also dominated by the preference for adaptation over faithfulness to Shakespeare. The turn of the nineteenth century gave birth to the earliest adaptations: *Julia y Romeo* (1803) by Dionisio Solís and *Romeo y Julieta* (1817) by Manuel Bernardino García Suelto.[1] Both neoclassical adaptations owe

[1] For more information on the play's neoclassical adaptations see *Romeo y Julieta en España: las versiones neoclásicas* (Pujante and Gregor 2017a) and "The Early Reception of *Romeo and Juliet* in Spain" (Ruiz-Morgan 2022).

more to continental influences than to Shakespeare. Solís's source text was not Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, but *Romeo und Julie* (1768) by Christian Felix Weisse. This German adaptation contained numerous elements directly borrowed from eighteenth-century sentimental melodrama that were incorporated into Solís's *Julia y Romeo*. García Suelto resorted instead to Ducis's *Roméo et Juliette* (1772). This French adaptation moves the focus from the young lovers to Montegón (Roméo's father) and his avid quest to avenge his family from the pain inflicted by the rival faction.

Italy constitutes the other major influence in the reception of *Romeo and Juliet* in Spain during the nineteenth century. The first staging of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in Italy took place late, in 1869, with a successful adaptation by Ernesto Rossi. Adaptations of the Veronese plot, however, date back to 1818 (Calvi 2017).[2] In Spain the tragic story of the lovers of Verona was popularised in the 1830s, particularly in Madrid, as a result of the successful operas by Rossini and Bellini (Calvo 2008). Echoes of another Italian opera, *Giulietta e Romeo* (1828) by Felice Romani, can be traced in Víctor Balaguer's *Julieta y Romeo* (1849). This is the third adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet* produced on the nineteenth-century Spanish stage. Balaguer's play constitutes a free version that draws heavily on the furore over Romantic drama that had taken the Spanish theater by storm a decade earlier. It was performed only once, on May 21, 1849, demonstrating that it failed to please audiences (Par 1936, 223).

The next adaptation in line is the focus of this article: Ángel María Dacarrete's *Julieta y Romeo* (1858). Dacarrete was the first Spanish adaptor who had read Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in English. This author too favoured adaptation over translation, signalling that the former was the preferred and most convenient option at the time. Ten years earlier, in 1838, Manuel García de Villalta had translated *Macbeth*, the first Shakespearean translation for the Spanish stage.[3] The translation was praised unanimously. Nonetheless, the production, although lavish and highly anticipated in the press, failed to meet expectations. This unfortunate experiment kept translations of Shakespeare away from the stage for the remaining decades of the nineteenth century, further evi-

[2] For more information on the circulation of *Romeo and Juliet* in Europe see Cerdá, Delabastita, and Gregor (2017) and Rayner (2021).

[3] The earliest translation into Spanish of a Shakespearean play was Leandro Fernández de Moratín's *Hamlet* (1798), a translation to be read rather than staged.

dencing that it was preferable to adapt rather than to faithfully imitate Shakespeare if one was aiming for success.[4]

The reception of *Romeo and Juliet* in Spain up to the mid-nineteenth century is a clear example of Lanier's highly influential application of the rhizome (an organic form with no origin) to the study of Shakespearean adaptation (2014). The rhizome allows us to displace the Shakespearean text from the restrictive conception of "original" and exclusive source text from which all subsequent adaptations derive. Instead, one can look at the process of Shakespearean adaptation as a complex — and endless — web of connections influencing one another, in which there is not a sole unique source. Once that adaptation is acknowledged, different dilemmas may arise. Is adaptation necessary? Is it ethical? The answer to the first question regarding nineteenth-century Spanish theater is clear: absolutely. The 1838 experiment had proved that translating Shakespeare was inefficient and ineffectual. In this context, as Fischlin and Fortier argue, adaptation becomes "a way of making Shakespeare fit a particular historical moment or social requirement" (2000, 17). Deciding whether adaptation is an ethical practice is more problematic. In nineteenth-century Spain, a time in which Shakespeare was largely unknown to the public, writers were relatively free to appropriate Shakespeare. In 1858, the lack of familiarity with the Shakespearean text precluded any possible outcry from ordinary theatergoers who could not establish the connection with Shakespeare. In a context that favours re-writing, adaptation could be viewed as an opportunity to engage in a creative process, which is one of the ways in which adaptation should be regarded according to Sanders (2016).

This favourable understanding of adaptation can be applied to Dacarrete and his own conception of his *Julieta y Romeo* as an example of what Hutcheon considers "repetition without replication" (2006, 7). In the preface to *Julieta y Romeo* Dacarrete reflects on the creative process behind the composition of his play. Nonetheless, in the eyes of contemporary literary critics, *Julieta y Romeo* constituted a questionable example of appropriation, which in this particular case, was not understood as "re-vision" (Kidnie 2009, 9) or as a bi-directional positive "exchange" between Shakespeare and the adaptor (Desmet and Sawyer 1999, 4). Instead, in the eyes of critics, *Julieta y Romeo* constituted an example of the fiercest connotations associated with the practice: "the metaphor of appropriation as theft" (Iyengar 2023, 46), appropriation

[4] For a detailed explanation of this episode in the reception of Shakespeare in Spain see chapter 18 "*Macbeth*, 1838: la frustración de un Shakespeare 'auténtico'" (Pujante 2019, 235–56).

as "aggressive seizure" or appropriation as "forced possession" (Huang and Rivlin 2014, 2).

This article focuses on Dacarrere's *Julieta y Romeo* (1858) to contribute to the ever-growing field of the reception of Shakespeare in Spain. This adaptation is unique in its distortion of the image of pure love traditionally associated with the characters of Romeo and Juliet, often regarded as the personifications of that universal feeling. Even though the production fared well with general audiences, it was harshly received by critics. Dacarrete was accused of not being original, and of taking an immoral approach in his rendering of *Romeo and Juliet*. Accusations of lack of originality might seem irrelevant after the rise of post-structuralism, especially since Roland Barthes questioned the authority of an "original" source text in his well-known essay "The Death of the Author" (1977). The methodology adopted takes the form of a case study of the reception of Shakespeare in Spain in the mid-nineteenth century. The article offers an examination of the text of *Julieta y Romeo*, an exploration of its performance history, as well as an analysis of the negative criticism recorded in the contemporary press. My main argument is that during this initial stage in the reception of Shakespeare in Spain adaptation was the best way to introduce Shakespeare to new audiences. Nonetheless, by analysing Dacarrete's ensuing rejection received by critics, I also wish to showcase how adaptation can be a highly problematic practice, in which the conception and boundaries of what constitutes (creative) adaptation or (wrongful) appropriation are not always clear. Ultimately, I argue that by attacking or accusing an adaptor of appropriating Shakespeare one is also taking part in an equally questionable act of selfish and possessive seizure of Shakespeare.

2. Dacarrete's *Julieta y Romeo*

Ángel María Dacarrete Hernández (1827–1904) was a politician and a writer. Today, he is a largely unknown figure. In fact, there is very little information available about his life and work. We know that in 1852 he moved from Seville to Madrid to continue his law studies and it was in the capital that Dacarrete began to devote time to poetry and drama (Hernández Cano, n.d.). His first play, *Una historia del día*, was published in 1853 and his last, *Las dulzuras del poder*, in 1859. In the 1860s, he stopped writing to focus on politics instead (Real Academia Española, n.d.). The few extant biographical sources highlight Dacarrete's prowess

as a poet and his political career. Nothing, however, is mentioned about his work as a dramatist. This significant lack of information implies that he might not have achieved much success as a writer. It would also explain why he completely abandoned his literary pursuits after 1860.

Julieta y Romeo was Dacarrete's penultimate play. The only extant edition was published in 1858, which opens with an interesting preface titled "Dos palabras al que leyere" ("Two Words Addressed to the Reader").[5] In this brief note, the author explains his writing process. A thirty-one-year-old Dacarrete confesses that he had devised the play more than six years before its publication and acknowledges that he "imaginó un argumento, muy diferente del de la obra del inmortal autor de Macbeth" [he [had] imagined a plot very different from the work of the immortal author of *Macbeth*] (Dacarrete 1858, n.p.). The reference to *Macbeth* suggests that Dacarrete was possibly familiar with García de Villalta's *Macbeth* (1838), the first staging of a Shakespearean play directly translated from the English. This might have been one of the reasons why Dacarrete decided to adapt rather than imitate Shakespeare, which had been his original intention.

Dacarrete did not translate Shakespeare, but he did not discard translation altogether. The edition includes at the end a brief section titled "Notas" ("Notes") that offers a translation from English of the first twenty-six lines from act 3, scene 5 that correspond to the iconic parting scene before the break of dawn. The inclusion of this short translation demonstrates that Dacarrete is the first Spanish adaptor who had read *Romeo and Juliet* in English. The first full translation into Spanish did not appear until 1868.[6] The author himself admits that when he resolved to unearth his manuscript: "había leído ya y estudiado, lo que no hiciera antes, la magnífica tragedia *Romeo and Juliet* del inmortal Shakspeare [sic]" [he had read and studied, something not done earlier, the magnificent tragedy *Romeo and Juliet* by the immortal Shakspeare [sic]] (Dacarrete 1858, n.p). The fact that Dacarrete was familiar with Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* but claimed to have imagined "una obra dramática que lleva por título el de otra de aquel inimitable poeta" [a dramatic work that bears the title of another from that inimitable poet (1858, n.p.)] would lead critics to embark on a heated discussion in

[5] All translations from Spanish texts are the author's.

[6] This translation is Hiráldez de Acosta's *Romeo y Julieta* (1868), possibly from the French. The first text directly translated from the English was Matías de Velasco y Rojas's *Julieta y Romeo* (1872).

the press regarding the questionable originality of this "new" literary creation.

Several critics accused Dacarrete of wrongdoing because they believed he had appropriated Shakespeare. Those who held this view seemed to ignore the fact that Shakespeare need not necessarily be regarded as the only source text. Three adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet* had already been staged before 1858, two neoclassical and a third strongly influenced by Romanticism (Víctor Balaguer's 1849 *Julieta y Romeo*). The neoclassical adaptations, *Julia y Romeo* (1803) by Dionisio Solís and *Romeo y Julieta* (1817) by Manuel Bernardino García Suelto, should be regarded as antecedents and not source texts. Firstly, the manuscript of *Julia y Romeo* was not published during Dacarrete's lifetime.[7] Secondly, it was last performed in Madrid in 1836. It is unlikely that a nine-year-old Dacarrete, born (and possibly raised) in Seville, would have attended this performance in the capital. Although both Solís's and Dacarrete's plays share a predominantly melodramatic tone — at times, excessively so — this should be regarded as purely coincidental and also as the result of the popularity that the genre had in Spanish literature, particularly in the early decades of the nineteenth century. There are no traces of influences whatsoever of García Suelto's *Romeo y Julieta*, an adaptation of Ducis's *Roméo et Juliette* (1772).

On the contrary, there are several parallels between Balaguer's *Julieta y Romeo* (1849) and Dacarrete's *Julieta y Romeo* (1858) starting with the obvious inversion of the names of the lovers in the title. This is a peculiarity of the Spanish reception of *Romeo and Juliet*, introduced by Solís in 1803 and retained in most of the subsequent adaptations that emerged throughout the century. It visually highlights another unique feature of the reception of *Romeo and Juliet* in Spain: the greater importance given to Juliet over Romeo. Most adaptors focus on Juliet and her feelings, depicting the story from her perspective. Regarding the *dramatis personae*, in both Balaguer's and Dacarrete's adaptations, Romeo is the only living member of the Montagues. Moreover, there are no motherly figures. Both adaptors retain the irrational feud between the rival factions, and both fail to offer the expected and desired reconciliation. Both Balaguer and Dacarrete include a final verbal exchange between Romeo and Juliet in the crypt and both adaptations are strongly influenced by Romanticism. This alternative cemetery scene (a popular Romantic setting) provided the perfect gothic-inspired sce-

[7] The text of *Julia y Romeo* was first published in 2017 in a critical edition, together with García Suelto's *Romeo y Julieta* (Pujante and Gregor 2017a).

nario. It allowed theater companies to show the frightening body of a woman, supposedly waking up from the dead, before bidding her beloved farewell, onstage. All of the aforementioned similarities hint that Balaguer's *Julieta y Romeo* ought to be considered another major source of inspiration for Dacarrete in addition to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

The only edition of Dacarrete's *Julieta y Romeo* that exists was published in 1858 but an extant copy of the original manuscript (dated 1856) is held at the Spanish National Library (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 14544/2). A detailed reading of this surviving copy reveals that no alterations to the plot were made in the 1858 edition. Even the mistake in the ordering of scenes in act 1, where scene v is accidentally omitted, is retained in the published version. The variations between both texts are minor: single words are changed and a few stage directions added.

Dacarrete's *Julieta y Romeo* is a four-act tragedy written in verse. Even though the title refers to that of Shakespeare's play, there are considerable differences. The *dramatis personae* includes new creations. Six characters intervene the most: Julieta, Laura (a married lady in love with Romeo), Leonora (Julieta's maid), Romeo, Capuleto, and Rodrigo Loredano (a Veronese gentleman, later Julieta's husband). Most importantly, Dacarrete introduced an unconventional novelty with the creation of a dangerous love triangle between Julieta, Romeo, and Laura that largely distorts the image of romantic love traditionally personified by Romeo and Juliet. This is the point where Dacarrete can be said to have been most original. The departure from the purity associated with *Romeo and Juliet* may have been inspired by the theater brought by French companies performing in Madrid in the 1850s. Vaudeville became the preferred genre of the theatrical pieces they produced (Ojeda and Vallejo 2003). These plays portrayed comic situations that included saucy scenes, leading the most moralistic critics to call the texts obscene. Possibly inspired by the popularity of these indecorous French plays, Dacarrete dared to challenge the image of devotional and pure love associated with *Romeo and Juliet* that would earn him the disdain and disapproval of contemporary critics.

The play opens with a conversation between Julieta and her servant Leonora in which they mention Laura (Romeo's former sweetheart), now a married countess. Julieta later confesses to her father that she is in love with Romeo. Iconic moments such as the balcony scene are mentioned in passing. Because of the existing feud between the Ca-

puletos and the Montescos, their love is doomed to fail. An enraged Capuleto forces his daughter to choose between killing Romeo or forgetting him forever. Act 2 begins at a masquerade ball held in the palace of the Prince of Verona. Approximately ten months have gone by, and spectators discover that Romeo has been banished to Mantua. The Prince of Verona decided to send Romeo away to protect him from being killed by the Capulet faction. In Mantua, Romeo goes back to the arms of the married Laura, whom he abandons as soon as he hears news of Julieta's betrothal to Rodrigo Loredano. Romeo arrives at the ball and convinces Julieta to elope. Capuleto tries to stop Julieta who, taking pity on her old father, eventually decides not to abandon him. Act 3 begins immediately after the offstage wedding. Romeo visits the newly-wed Julieta at her family home. On discovering them alone, Rodrigo Loredano wrongly assumes that they have slept together. During a fight between Romeo and Rodrigo, Julieta is brutally thrown to the floor by the latter, losing consciousness. Shortly thereafter, Rodrigo's death cry is heard, and Capuleto orders Romeo to leave the house immediately.

The fourth act is the one that is most infused with the type of gothic imagery that had become popular during the height of Romanticism. It takes place exclusively at the Capuletos's family vault. The opening stage direction makes clear that the characters in the scene are dressed in mourning, the light is dim, and Julieta's sepulchre is open to create an eerie atmosphere. Romeo enters the cemetery and drinks poison minutes prior to Julieta's awakening. In the presence of her late husband Rodrigo, Julieta wakes up and agrees to be Romeo's wife. Nevertheless, poison soon takes Romeo's life. The final scene portrays the most horrifying death given to Juliet on the nineteenth-century Spanish stage: an utterly desperate Julieta stabs herself with a dagger in the presence of several witnesses, including her beloved father.

It is not surprising that writers influenced by Romanticism would choose *Romeo and Juliet* as the subject matter for a play. The plot is perfectly suited to Romantic ideals, aesthetics and values. Romeo embodies the Romantic hero, described by Ruiz Ramón as the "portador de un destino aciago que atrae la desgracia sobre aquellos que le aman y a los que ama" [carrier of an ill-fated destiny, who brings misfortune to those who love him and to those whom he loves] (1967, 368). Similarly, Julieta personifies the image of the Romantic heroine, a female who is "predestinada, desde el momento que ama, al dolor y a la muerte" [predestined, from the moment she loves, to pain and death] (368).

In addition, Julieta, through her challenge to paternal authority in an attempt to follow her true feelings and free will, further embodies the quintessential Romantic hero, a character faced with the opposition of society during their search for individual freedom. Traces of the popular genre of melodrama can also be found in the emphasis on female lament, the pitiful image of the suffering old man (Capuleto), and the general feeling of despair that permeates the tragedy.

As already stated, following previous Spanish adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet*, Dacarrete's Julieta is also more important and visible than Romeo. The inversion of the lovers' names in the title is not coincidental. One feature that characterizes this new version of Julieta is her extreme inconstancy. She is initially presented as being consumed by an ardent desire for Romeo, however, she displays signs of selfishness in the way she rapidly changes her opinion on decisions related to her heart's desires. But it is her questionable moral behavior that would concern contemporary critics, particularly in act 3, scene 4, when Julieta declares her passionate love for Romeo after her marriage to Rodrigo Loredano. Romeo is not free from blame either, as he had an affair with a married woman (Laura) during his banishment to Mantua. Nevertheless, in the end, condemnation mostly shifts towards Julieta when she compromises her position as an honorable married lady the minute she allows her former lover to come into her home uninvited. Even though neither Romeo nor Julieta are exemplary lovers, in the end it is Julieta who is a fallen woman. It is her honour that must be defended. The play ends on a sombre note with a message of religious condemnation. The final lines are given to Capuleto, a considerably more benevolent and pitiful figure than Shakespeare's Capulet. His desperate plea for God's forgiveness reveals that, in the eyes of society, Romeo and Julieta have utterly ruined themselves with their dishonest actions:

> [CAPULETO *cae de rodillas al pie del sepulcro, y alzando los ojos al cielo, dice cruzando las manos*.]
>
> CAPULETO
>
> ¡Perdonadlos, Dios mío!
>
> [CAPULETO *falls on his knees at the feet of the sepulchre and, raising his eyes to the sky, utters crossing his hands*. CAPULETO Forgive them, dear God!]
>
> (Act 4, scene 8, p. 79)

3. Performance history

The first performance of *Julieta y Romeo* took place on May 29, 1858 at the Teatro Novedades in Madrid (Dacarrete 1858). The play initially ran for four consecutive nights (May 29–June 1, 1858), and it was re-staged on June 16 and 17, 1858 (Par 1940, 15). The Teatro Novedades was a relatively new theater at the time: it had opened less than a year earlier. José Valero was its leading actor and stage director. He received praise from contemporary theater critics such as Juan de la Rosa González, who highlighted his unusual technical apparatus and the great care in the direction and rehearsal of the productions (1858b). Valero played Romeo opposite María Rodríguez's Julieta in all the Madrid productions of *Julieta y Romeo*.

A week prior to the premiere, the newspaper *La España* was advertising a promising spectacle, highlighting that the performance would use new "magníficas decoraciones, transparentes verdaderos de gran tamaño y trajes con perfecta consonancia con la época" [magnificent decorations, authentic curtains of great size, and costumes perfectly in line with the period] (*La España*, May 22, 1858, n.p.). The production was enormously successful. A detailed review published in the newspaper *La Época* on May 31 commented on "el buen éxito de la obra" [the major success of the play] and stressed the two main factors that contributed to the audience's enthusiasm: Valero's inspired interpretation of Romeo and the new decorations created by Bravo (Juanco 1858). During intermissions, there was a musical show by the dancers Espart and Garcerán (Juanco 1858). Although there was consensus in the press about Valero's outstanding interpretation of Romeo, the same could not be said about his stage partner, María Rodríguez. Pedro Fernández, in a review published in *La Época* (June 2), was particularly severe. He ruthlessly assessed the poor acting skills that he thought Rodríguez had, not only during her performance of Julieta, but also every time she set foot on a stage:

> El carácter de Julieta, toda ternura, todo amor, toda abnegación excluye además los ademanes olímpicos, el tono iracundo, la actitud terrible que la Sra. Rodríguez adopta. [...] La experiencia nos hace comprender que este es un defecto de escuela porque vemos a la artista perseverar, incurrir siempre en él. Confundiendo la energía con la violencia, cree ser vigorosa cuando es monótona. Sin gradaciones, sin contrastes, sin claro oscuro, su dicción acaba por fatigar al

> público, y por causarle una sensación desagradable. Corríjase, pues, la Sra. Rodríguez de semejante defecto, que mucho la importa y así evitará otro escollo: el de prestar una fisonomía uniforme y amanerada a todas sus creaciones [The character of Julieta, all tenderness, love, abnegation, also excludes arrogant movements, an irascible tone, the terrible attitude that Mrs. Rodríguez has. [...] Experience has led us to understand that this is a personal defect, as we see the actress persevere, always committing it. Mistaking violence for energy, she believes to be dynamic when she is monotonous. With no gradations, no contrasts, no chiaroscuro, her diction ends up tiring the audience, causing an unpleasant sensation. Correct this defect, Mrs. Rodríguez, one that deeply matters to you and you will avoid another: applying a uniform and effeminate physiognomy to all your creations.] (Fernández 1858, n.p.)

The critic does not seem to have been alone in sharing a disregard for María Rodríguez. There is not a single word of praise for the actress in any of the reviews written around the time the production was staged in Madrid. The mediocrity that characterized the Spanish stage at the turn of the century had not entirely disappeared by the mid-1850s. All the compliments and deep admiration were reserved for Valero, of whom Par writes that he was considered the "prototipo del buen actor romántico, declamaba muy a gusto los sonoros versos de los nuevos vates, y nadie le rogó que renunciara a ellos para acomodarse a forma más humana y menos lúcida" [prototype of the good Romantic actor, he recited quite comfortably the sonorous lines of the new bards, and no one ever begged him to renounce this so as to adapt to a more humane and less magnificent shape] (1936, 149). Valero used, it seems, a declamatory style on stage.

Par records two more performances of *Julieta y Romeo* on November 14 and 21, 1858 at the Teatro Odeón in Barcelona (1940, 71). The production had a different director, Andrés Cazurro, which would have involved a change of company; Par provides no information about it and no reviews have been found. In this revival the title was expanded to *Julieta y Romeo, o las víctimas del amor*. Each act was given an impactful name following, as Par points out, "la moda romántica de doblar los títulos y de dar nombres truculentos a los actos" [the Romantic trend of doubling titles and assigning gruesome names to acts] (1940, 71). The acts were retitled as follows: "i. Los amores; ii. La maldición; iii. Un duelo a muerte; iv. La tumba de Julieta" [i. "Love," ii. "The Curse," iii. "A Death Duel," iv. "Julieta's Tomb"] (1940, 71). This peculiar labelling

further exemplifies the influence that Romantic aesthetics had in this rewriting of *Romeo and Juliet*.

4. Criticism

Whereas Dacarrete's *Julieta y Romeo* fared well on the stage, the adaptation also had its detractors. By the mid-nineteenth century, literary critics were acquiring more knowledge of Shakespeare's work, although this was not true for the general public, for whom Shakespeare remained a largely unknown author. Those connoisseurs were starting to judge Shakespearean adaptations by comparing them to the work of "the immortal Shakespeare," as the playwright was often referred to in the press. As Sanders asserts, "an adaptation often signals a relationship with an informing source text either through its title or through more embedded references" (2016, 35). Thus, in naming his play *Julieta y Romeo*, Dacarrete was inevitably forcing critics to draw parallels between his adaptation and Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Nine reviews of *Julieta y Romeo* were published in 1858 between May 31 and July 26. Even though not all reviews contained negative comments, Dacarrete's rewriting was generally harshly criticised due to: 1) its supposed lack of originality, 2) the immorality inherent in the text, and, to a lesser extent, 3) its Romantic nature.

An eminent critic of the period, Francisco Lozano y Grau, negatively assessed the play in the journal *La España artística* owing to its clearly identifiable Romantic aesthetic. In his review, he assigned the play to the "género romántico puro" [pure Romantic genre], asserting that "poco bueno tendría que esperar de la sana crítica, que mucho tiempo hace le rechazó de la escena, sino para siempre, al menos para mucho tiempo" [little good could it expect from informed critics which, long ago, rejected it from the stage, if not forever, at least for a very long time] (1858, 245). Informed criticism (an undeniably snobbish expression) may have long ago rejected Romantic drama, but the public's opinion and taste need not always go hand in hand with the critics'. Even though the "official" end date for Romanticism in Spanish theater is 1849 with the premiere of Zorrilla's *Traidor, inconfeso y mártir*, it is generally agreed that this is merely a bookmark to signal the end of the absolute furor about the movement. The year does not imply its definitive death. As Martín, Martínez Shaw, and Tusell highlight, "el romanticismo constituyó en España un fenómeno

cultural que no se extinguió con la primera generación que lo vio triunfar, sino que duró a lo largo de todo el siglo" [Romanticism in Spain constituted a cultural phenomenon that did not extinguish itself with the first generation that saw it triumph, but lasted throughout the entire century] (2000, 491). Indeed, in the second half of the nineteenth century, and Dacarrete is a clear example of this, there were still authors reluctant to abandon Romanticism because of its potential to create haunting works of art that continued to appeal to contemporary tastes.

The questionable moral behavior of Dacarrete's own personal versions of the star-crossed lovers was another matter of concern. The critic Juan de la Rosa González referred to the "vulgar resources" used by Dacarrete (1858a). This is an allusion to the supposedly indecorous actions described in act 3, scene 4, where a newly-wed Julieta confesses her true love for Romeo. The Romantic poet Carolina Coronado was the critic most disgusted by Dacarrete's rewriting. In a detailed commentary published in the journal *La discusión* on June 1, she was very direct and explicit in her accusations of immorality, but blamed the public rather than the author, arguing that immorality had become fashionable at home and at the theater (Coronado [1858] 2007). This reference seems to be an allusion to French theater, and the aforementioned vaudeville. These plays had been recently introduced to Madrid theatergoers by French companies, who performed in their native language. Vaudeville enjoyed a considerable degree of popularity. Nonetheless, as Ojeda and Vallejo remark, "la inmoralidad de algunas de las producciones, [...] alarmaba, al menos en apariencia, a un sector del público burgués" [the immorality of some of the productions, [...] alarmed, at least apparently, a sector of the bourgeois public] (2003, 429). In fact, the popularity of vaudeville is the most feasible explanation behind the changes made to the text. Coronado's repulsion and antipathy are representative of that elitist sector of the middle classes that preferred more sophisticated and decorous cultural products, so as to distance themselves from the tastes of the common people.

Despite Alexander Pope's claim that "if ever any Author deserved the name of Original, it was Shakespeare" (1725, ii), Shakespeare can definitely not be regarded as an original writer. Adaptation studies have demonstrated, as Sanders points out, "that Shakespeare was himself an adapter, an imitator, an appropriator" (2016, 59). Consequently, the accusations of unoriginality levelled at Dacarrete today sound ironic. Coronado, Dacarrete's harshest critic, was opposed to the practice of

rewriting existing works of art. In her review, she openly expressed her profound dissatisfaction with a play that she thought evidently lacked originality.

> Lo primero que se me ocurre es preguntar al autor: ¿por qué has escrito este drama? ¿Por qué le llamas *Julieta y Romeo*? Si querías hacer un drama original, tú que tienes tanto talento para ello, ¿por qué has tomado los pensamientos de Shakspeare [sic]? Si querías traducir a Shakspeare [sic] tú que tan bien le conoces, ¿por qué has hecho la obra tuya? Para original has traducido mucho; para traducción te has dejado lo mejor en el tintero. Perfeccionarla era imposible; has querido copiarla y la has contrahecho. [The first thing I think to do is to ask the author: Why have you written this drama? Why did you call it *Julieta y Romeo*? If you wanted to write an original drama, you who have the talent for it, why have you borrowed Shakspeare's [sic] thoughts? If you wanted to translate Shakspeare [sic], you who know him so well, why have you made the play yours? As an original work, too much has been translated; as a translation, the best has been omitted. To perfect it was impossible; you wanted to copy it, and you have counterfeited it.] ([1858] 2007, 194)

Coronado was not alone in rejecting the play for its supposed lack of originality. Lozano y Grau also criticized *Julieta y Romeo* on the basis of "la escasa novedad que ofrece su argumento" [the limited novelty that its plot offers] (1858, 245). It is true that Romanticism introduced a new conception of the author as "original, autonomous, and fundamentally expressive of a unique individuality" (Bennett 2005, 54). But this was not so much the case with regard to Spanish Romanticism, which arrived considerably late, in the mid-1830s. When one analyses Spanish romantic drama, as Rubio Jiménez observes, "no menos complejo resulta delimitar el grado de originalidad de los autores deslindando entre las piezas dramáticas traducidas, arregladas y refundidas, y las producciones más genuinas y personales de los dramaturgos" [it is not easy to delimit the degree of originality of authors, distinguishing between translations, versions, and rewritings, and the more genuine and personal productions of dramatists] (1990, 19–20). Furthermore, as Ruiz Ramón points out, in relation to Spanish Romantic drama, "[es] mucho más relevante la belleza y riqueza de forma que la profundidad, originalidad y autenticidad del contenido" [Beauty and richness of form are much more relevant than the profoundness, originality, and authenticity of the content] (1967, 366).

Dacarrete's apparently unoriginal work is merely, it turns out, a sign of the times.

The strong accusations of a supposed lack of originality are also the result of a predominant bardolatry, where admirers of Shakespeare believed him to be an inimitable genius, out of reach of the ordinary man. In truth what Coronado reveals when she accuses Dacarrete of appropriating Shakespeare is a deep repugnance for this practice. *Julieta y Romeo* constitutes an example of what Sanders describes as "authentication," whereby "some authors are accused of seeking to authenticate their own activities by attaching Shakespeare's name to their own writing" (2016, 59). Indeed, possibly motivated by his reverence for Shakespeare, Dacarrete aimed to gain the audience's attention by making the connection between his play and Shakespeare's explicit and to win the favor of the press, particularly in the weeks prior to the premiere to increase advertising of it.

But those critics that accused Dacarrete of not being original and of appropriating Shakespeare, were they not also appropriating Shakespeare themselves? As Roland Barthes said, "to give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text" (1977, 147). Critics such as Coronado, who saw appropriation as theft, reflect a selfish and narrow-minded attitude towards Shakespeare. As Iyengar explains, appropriation as a metaphor is "based on accountancy, resources, ownership, or theft" (2023, 178). Bardolatry also has its dangers. Those critics who were so eager to censor Dacarrete for appropriating Shakespeare's thoughts were also incurring in another form of appropriation: an elitist ownership of Shakespeare. This possessive view restricts freedom of creation and imposes a limit on what writers can do with Shakespeare's work to introduce him to different audiences. After all, with his adaptation, Dacarrete, a self-confessed admirer of Shakespeare, was also indirectly paying homage to the Bard.

The failed experiment of the 1838 *Macbeth* (a faithful translation) had also proved that translating Shakespeare was a dangerous venture. It was safer for playwrights to adapt Shakespeare to contemporary tastes, drawing on tested and successful formulae. In fact, as Rubio Jiménez comments, "El público atajaba los intentos renovadores, banalizaba hasta lo indecible las nuevas propuestas" [the public thwarted attempts at renovation, trivialized new proposals beyond words] (1990, 115). If *Romeo and Juliet* had up to that point in time always been adapted, why would Dacarrete take the risk of being the first to provide a literal translation? Instead, by capitalizing on the current vogue for indecorous

plots introduced by French companies, Dacarrete departed from Shakespeare to adapt his drama to what audiences demanded from fictional romantic affairs: less decorum and more spice.

5. Conclusions

Dacarrete's *Julieta y Romeo* constitutes a valuable and interesting case study in the reception of Shakespeare in Spain owing to the opposite reactions that it garnered from the general public and critics. Contemporary theatergoers, in their general ignorance of Shakespeare's tragedy, definitely were more favorable arbiters. They lacked the knowledge to compare Shakespeare's star-crossed lovers and their Spanish counterparts. Theatergoers probably did not want — or could even be bothered — to incur in such scrutiny. It can be argued that pleasurable enjoyment rather than censorious criticism often prevails when one attends a performance of a (new) play. Men and women of letters viewed *Julieta y Romeo* through a completely different lens. Their general adverse reaction to the play reveals that adaptation was not welcomed amongst those familiar with Shakespeare, who considered the practice utterly unacceptable. Blinded by their own reverence for the playwright, these critics accused Dacarrete of wrongly appropriating Shakespeare's work. What these critics ignored with their elitist opinion is the potential that adaptation has to introduce and make Shakespeare available to new audiences. In nineteenth-century Spain, a theatrical milieu where theatergoers were generally adverse to innovation, adaptation proved to be the only effective recipe for success. It is significant that, as Pujante and Gregor point out, "*Romeo and Juliet* is, with *Macbeth*, Shakespeare's most translated play in Spain. It is one of the most staged" (2017b, 102). Regardless of Dacarrete's supposed lack of originality, one ought to focus instead on the major role he played contributing to turning *Romeo and Juliet* into one of the most popular works in the Spanish canon of Shakespearean plays.

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REVIEWS

David Amelang. 2023. *Playgrounds: Urban Theatrical Culture in Shakespeare's England and Golden Age Spain*. London and New York: Routledge

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In *Playgrounds: Urban Theatrical Culture in Shakespeare's England and Golden Age Spain*, David Amelang offers a spirited, comparative overview of theatrical reality and practice in early modern England and Spain. For all sorts of reasons it is an enticing project: Shakespearean England and Golden Age Spain were the period's quantitative and qualitative leaders in dramatic output, an output that occupies a privileged place in any universal literary canon. Yet at the same time, England and Spain were at perpetual religious and political odds, which makes the simultaneous rise to prominence of the theater in both cultures, as well as the material and practical similarities, even more intriguing. It is the surprising lack of any sustained comparative analysis of those theatrical cultures which Amelang aims to redress in this study. Self-styled as an exercise in cultural poetics, the book's broader claim is that "the social fabric was seamlessly woven into the texts of two of Europe's most iconic dramatic traditions" (2). A corollary of that is that similarity or difference in urban theatrical cultures should bespeak corresponding similarity or difference in social fabrics: to that extent, the scope of *Playgrounds* extends beyond the literary to the historical and makes it an indispensable addition to the growing body of literature on early modern Anglo-Iberian relations.

Chapter 1, "Cities," compares the urban contexts of the two dramatic traditions. London was of far longer standing, much larger, more metropolitan and more commercial than Madrid, Spain's more recently established and essentially court-dependent capital. On the other hand, while England's purpose-built theaters were with few exceptions to be found only in London, *corrales de comedias* dotted the Iberian peninsula from Seville to Zaragoza, and from Lisbon to Valencia — and beyond: drama was produced and performed in the colonies too. As Amelang argues in chapter 4, this meant that there was a greater demand for new plays, which might account for the awe-inspiring fecundity of Spanish playwrights when compared with their English counterparts, as well as

for the more pronounced perception in Spain that plays and their texts were throw-away commodities. Chapter 1 then considers the districts within which purpose-built performance venues tended to appear. In London, civic disapproval meant the entrepreneurs had to find locations in the extramural "liberties," which led to the concentration of large-scale open-air venues in very particular areas (first Shoreditch, then Southwark). For their part, the indoor theaters of St Paul's and the Blackfriars owed their intramural existence to the fact that the land they occupied belonged to the Church and was thus beyond the City's jurisdiction. Any such clustering is less easy to discern in Spain, where the authorities, both political and religious, were generally more tolerant. As the chapter makes clear, this was because Spain's *corrales* tended to be run by those authorities, who used the profits to finance hospitals, hospices, and so on. Thus, any morally-fueled anti-theatrical prejudice in Spain was usually fast quenched once the cash started flowing in. Nowhere, as Amelang points out, is this basic distinction between the two theatrical cultures clearer than in their responses to plague: whereas the London theaters were closed down during outbreaks to reduce the risk of infection, in Madrid they remained open to guarantee badly-needed funds for overstretched hospitals.

Chapter 2, "Playhouses," compares the built structures of the two countries' respective theaters, which, on Amelang's account, becomes a tale of large-scale similarities and microstructural differences. Here there is a slight conceptual fuzziness, which Amelang himself admits: to what extent can a converted *corral de vecinos* be considered a purpose-built venue? There is also, perhaps, an over-eagerness to find similarity where there is in fact difference: the size and shape of the London amphitheaters hardly makes them and the Spanish *corrales* look "so much alike" (44), while Amelang's search for explanations turns up more red herrings (*commedia dell'arte*, classical heritage) than hard facts. Bringing converted inns the Boar's Head and the Red Bull into the equation only confuses things further: unlike the purpose-built amphitheaters, these were considerably more similar to the *corrales*. Quite simply, the slightly conical circular or polyhedral animal-baiting arena offered a structurally sounder model for large roofless buildings than any corral or innyard. More convincing is Amelang's explanation of how the respective theater-worlds catered differently to increasingly aristocratic spectators (roofing and seating in Spain, indoor spaces in London) or for female playgoers (more segregation in Spain). The chapter is followed by a first interlude, "Why did Madrid not have a

Blackfriars?," the answer to which seems to have been the need to cater to London's more numerous aristocratic audience.

Chapter 3 deals with the "Players." After noting how each theatrical culture was prey to similarly grounded anti-theatrical prejudices, it compares the hierarchical corporate structures of the English companies and the Spanish *compañías de autor*, with their shared origin in guilds; the respective practices of touring, now known, as Amelang notes, to have been far more common in England than was once supposed; and the place of women in the respective companies, which Amelang claims reasonably to be the signal difference between the English and Spanish playgrounds. In the latter, several decrees prohibiting female actresses in the 1580s and 90s were ignored since, on the one hand, Iberian blood seems to have run higher about cross-dressing boys than cavorting women and, on the other, women made better box-office sense. Spanish actresses were, however, obliged to be married, a moral stipulation which was no let to promiscuity. In some cases, marriage led to influence within the corporate structures, some actresses becoming *autoras de comedias* as the 17th century progressed. The figure of the professional actress also shaped the conception of Spanish plays, which gave greater protagonism in terms of the number of lines to female than to male characters, as Amelang's second interlude, "Professional Actresses," demonstrates statistically; the contrast here with England only aggrandizes the miracles of Lady Macbeth, Cleopatra, or Volumnia.

Chapter 4 turns to "Dramatists" and asserts the common rhetorical-dramatic education most writers in both countries would have received. It then deals with the use of verse and the conceptions of genre in both "dramatic cultures," two issues which can barely be done justice in the limited space available to Amelang, who is a little doctrinaire regarding genre and suggests that play composition was genre- rather than story- or character-driven despite the alleged preference in both cultures for catch-all tragicomedy. Otherwise, the amazing fecundity of Spanish playwrights is put down to the need to write for large audiences across a more numerous variety of venues; one corollary was the cheapening of the dramatist's art in Spain at the very time that it was enjoying royal patronage in England. Finally, chapter 5, "Playbooks," explores the place of the play in the different book markets, the various formats — Amelang argues for equivalence between English quarto and Spanish *suelta*, and family resemblance between folio edition and *parte* — and mechanisms of censorship. It also has time to discuss playbills and synopses.

In general, Amelang is more concerned to find similarities than differences. This is understandable since it counters the expectations generated by the historical record of political and religious antagonism and is therefore a more attractive and ambitious thesis to defend. However, its daring requires more historical substantiation; in particular, *Playgrounds* might have enquired with more insistence into the intellectual, diplomatic, and cultural networks of exchanges which could have facilitated the transmission of theater-related information between the two nations, but then it would have been a different book. Rather than begging questions, *Playgrounds* should be viewed as raising them. It provides a convenient, timely, and stimulating roadmap of some of the avenues future scholars should research more exhaustively. As such, it is an impressive achievement which, in addition to providing a lively overview of its subject for general readers and graduate students as well as an exhaustive, up-to-date bibliography, will be the natural first port of call for future navigators of the comparative histories of Shakespearean and Golden Age theater.

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Francisco J. Borge, ed. 2023. *Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher.* El necio (The Coxcomb). Oviedo: Luna de Abajo

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This slim but endlessly interesting book tells us the story of a story. It tells the story of how, in its first iteration, the essential plot of *The Coxcomb,* by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher (1609, presented here in full Spanish translation) generated an enormous pleasure and fascination among its original audience. This tale provoked from the beginning a morbid interest: it told how an exemplary friendship between two men was destroyed by one friend's insistence on testing the loyalty of the other, while tempting him repeatedly with nothing less than his own wife. That initial audience, one who responded so enthusiastically to such a potentially troubling plot, had one very striking peculiarity: it was itself fictional, made up of imaginary listeners; they were the group assembled in the Castilian *venta* or inn in the memorable night in which Don Quixote (Chapter 35, first part of *Don Quixote*) fought loudly against his imaginary enemies, that were actually nothing other than simple wineskins, while wearing on his head a small bonnet that evoked a fool's cap. The kernel of that story-within-the-story, called *El curioso impertinente* (narrated between chapter 33 and 35 of *Don Quixote*, and only briefly interrupted by the chaotic episode of the wineskins) was preserved, adapted and successfully staged by the Englishmen Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher in their 1609 play, *The Coxcomb*. The story of how that tale of induced adultery was adapted, how it managed to preserve in a different genre its main motifs of jealousy, paranoia and betrayal, how it crossed over from an interpolated narrative in a novel into a full-fledged play (albeit with a significantly altered plot) on the English stage, is delightfully explained by Francisco J. Borge in this book, containing the translated text of the play into Spanish, as well as a richly suggestive introduction to it.

One of the great strengths of this edition is its firm grounding on a solid Cervantine soil: it has been published in the context of the Grupo de Estudios Cervantinos (Universidad de Oviedo), and is offered in the academic series "El Quijote y sus interpretaciones". Francisco J. Borge is a scholar steeped in the international reception of *Don Quijote*;

a researcher who is abundantly trained in the English reception of Cervantes's work and especially in Thomas Shelton's translation. This is not a version of *The Coxcomb* that considers the Cervantine influence as a possibility or as a passing influence; on the contrary, it considers the play a major step in the process of reception of *Don Quijote* in England. Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher appear here as readers of Cervantes (the first of the two being also the author of the Cervantine play *The Knight if the Burning Pestle*, from 1607) and as dramatists in correspondence to their audience, sensitive to its demands and its wishes and to the social world within which they work. And hence *The Coxcomb* is presented as a text that is as fully conscious of its role as an English urban comedy as it is of its indebtedness to Cervantes.

A large part of this process was determined by cultural change across countries and mentalities. It is here that Francisco Borge's introduction is especially brilliant and informative: he traces convincingly the transition between the Spanish origin and the English adaptation of the central plot, from what once was *El curioso impertinente* to what became *The Coxcomb*. Is it correct to assert that *The Coxcomb* should be read as a solid and effective adaptation of the plot offered in *El curioso*? The answer must be a clear yes, if we understand the ideological conditioning of both societies, Spanish and English, at that specific point of their historical evolution. As Borge puts it: "El escenario indeterminado de *El curioso*, al pasar por la pluma de Beaumont y de Fletcher, se transforma en una muy realista ciudad inglesa de la era jacobina temprana, con lujosas mansiones en que una afluente burguesía puede agasajar a sus invitados…Pero esta es también la Inglaterra de espacios alternativos como la aún bucólica zona rural, donde las dos tramas de la obra llegan a una solución de compromiso" (p. 37) [The indeterminate setting of *El curioso*, in Beaumont's and Fletcher's writing, is transformed into a very realist English city from the early Jacobean period, with opulent mansions in which an affluent bourgeoise can regale its guests… But this is also the England of alternative spaces like the still bucolic countryside, where the two plots of the work reach a solution of compromise].[1] In other words: the transformation of the plot, of the characters and of their environment is a matter of cultural climate. The original story by Cervantes, told in a wonderfully balanced prose, with its graceful style and its inherited Italian accents, with its carefully poised tone between comedy and tragedy, close to being one of the "exemplary novels" itself,

[1] Translation by Ellison Moorehead.

is turned into a fully bourgeois comedy in the English play. A complete *translatio* has been achieved, in the original sense of the Latin term: the essence of the story has been removed from its original place and been re-located, finding new meanings and new connotations in the process. What emerges from this relocation is an urban comedy, *The Coxcomb*, perfectly brilliant and vital in its own terms, but one that has no time for the representation of tragedy or for the psychological depths that were suggested in the original.

One of the great strengths of this edition lies in the translation of Beaumont and Fletcher's text. Those of us who know *The Coxcomb* in the original will perhaps be tempted to pass it by, but that would be a mistake. It does not amount to an exact verse translation, nor does it give a perfect equivalent of the iambic pentameter that dominates the original text, but that option would be mere academicism, and would run in fact against the spirit of the play. The translation takes an alternative but more pleasant route: it offers an absolute proximity to the original, respecting the differentiation between verse and prose, the fluctuation between one and the other being determined by the dramatic rhythm of the action. Above all, it favors legibility: it is transparent, flexible, clear; it displays the truly Cervantine gift of naturality. The vocabulary is rich and precise, the verse is well-balanced and at specific moments (most notably, in its "Epílogo") it even evokes rhyme, making it present without forcing it. It makes for a fluid and pleasant reading experience, not unlike the one of the story of *El curioso impertinente* when it was first presented within the pages of *Don Quixote* in 1605. Beaumont and Fletcher, early readers and adapters of Cervantes's story — and, after this edition, there can be little remaining doubt about that, could not have wished for a more fitting Spanish text.

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John Guillory. 2022. *Professing Criticism: Essays on the Organization of Literary Study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

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The next time we are asked to explain why literary scholarship is necessary John Guillory's advice against apologetic discourse may bring some assurance: "[t]he legitimacy of what we do needs in the first instance a better description," to which "[a] better defense will follow" (123). A reputed early modernist, Guillory is no newcomer to the debates on this topic. His erudite grasp of literary theory, the history of knowledge, and the sociology of professions helps him navigate perilous waters across the past, present, and future of literary studies. His new book has much to offer in the form of thematic variety: the professional and disciplinary recognition of literary studies; the discontents of specialization; the demarcation of English studies with respect to philology or linguistics; the troubled relations between literary research and interpretation; the (dis)continuities between scholarly and lay forms of reading; the curriculum in the era of information and media and global English; the demands of graduate education against the job market crisis; and the evaluation of scholarship in the humanities. A unifying thesis presides over his analysis: "Literary study," he argues, "became a profession before it became a discipline" (VII). Guillory argues that the efforts to confer epistemological foundations, methodologies, and disciplinary protocols on a practice whose authority derives from its originary amateur identity are relatively recent. Accordingly, our present-day anxieties about our object of study betray contradictions between its undisciplined past and its present commitment to professionalism. The oxymoron-founded formula *professing criticism* is mostly the overstated response with which literary scholars have confronted suspicions about their legitimacy. Yet, as an alternative to self-justification, Guillory advocates a reorientation of the rationales of literary scholarship toward "a credible estimation of its aims" (XVI).

A preference for the collection of essays over the monograph structures a book which, excepting one or two pieces, presents a coherent whole through its three parts and substantial conclusion. Part I, "The

Formation and Deformation of Literary Studies," builds along its three chapters the historical coordinates that established the study of literature as a university discipline in the late nineteenth century. A sociological perspective informs Guillory's account of the institution of literary scholarship as organized intellectual labor, a process that entailed specialization, a system of bureaucratic procedures, and an ideology of public service that could legitimize its social function. The immediate effect was a questioning of criticism's originary purpose since the late seventeenth century: the aesthetic evaluation of literary works. Guillory's most compelling pages in this part concern the contemporary challenges to the early-twentieth-century attempts to anchor literary knowledge within the disciplinary bounds of the *university*. Thus, the emergence of theory in the 1960s aimed to revolutionize scholarship's social function by identifying *criticism* with political *critique*: in this new context, "criticism claims to wield an Archimedean lever: it wants to move the *world*" (74; my emphasis). A second challenge, motivated by theory's "overestimation of aim" (81), comes from the present "postcritical" condition, which tries to reconcile the academia with the world by replacing close, interpretative, detached forms of professional reading with distant, descriptive, affective alternatives that intend to reconnect critical practice with a world of media consumers for whom literature has lost prominence. While Guillory diagnoses exhaustion in politically committed criticism, he characterizes the postcritical movement as one that "has failed to move beyond the phase of manifesto" (101). These polemical arguments enable a self-humbling conclusion: literary scholars must responsibly identify their place in "a larger world of reading practices," but also acknowledge literature's limited space in education and society if they want to avoid the "tendency to construct literary study as something more than it can be and less than it should be" (102).

The effects of professionalization upon literature as an object of study occupy Part II, "Organizing Literature: Foundations, Antecedents, Consequences." Its five chapters aim to legitimize the place of literature in the wider field of the humanities. In Guillory's argument (chapter 4), this place explains the concurrence in the literary object of an appeal to human memory — *monumentality* — and a material embodiment — *documentality*. Turning specifically to English literary studies, Guillory locates its antecedents in the seventeenth-century decline of rhetoric and the rise of philology and the teaching of *belles lettres* (chapters 5 and 6). Chapter 7, "The Location of Literature," addresses the

twentieth-century redefinition of the literary object around notions of *literariness* and its relegation of popular forms to a sub-literary level, the shaping of the imaginative genres, the preferment of the novel, and the stigmatization of poetry as "*different* from literature" (223). These antecedents pave the way for chapter 8, "The Contradictions of Global English," which addresses the curriculum. Guillory discusses the challenges launched by feminist or postcolonial studies, but is also attentive to issues such as the elimination of the boundaries between canonical and non-canonical genres and the attention paid to non-literary forms with the rise of media studies. Guillory's decided call to "democratize the curriculum" (235) comes with a caveat: if the postcritical elevation of affective reading recommends that students "see themselves" in what they read, then our responsibility to otherness is foreclosed, as "teaching students how to read literature that is *not* immediately relatable to their self-identification is one of the most important things we do" (230). The argument applies to works produced in non-European or non-American contexts, and in contemporary media as much as it does to medieval or early modern literature, as inclusiveness should never ignore commitment to the study of "real conditions of production and circulation" (234).

The four chapters of Part III, "Professionalization and Its Discontents," make up the least homogeneous group. While Chapter 11's focus on academic writing seems extraneous to the main subject, Chapter 12, "The Question of Lay Reading," resumes arguments from Part I, leaving Chapters 10 and 11 as the most relevant to the announced topic. Chapter 10, "Evaluating Scholarship in the Humanities," begins with a defense of *accountability*: "evaluative discourse gives an enriched description of scholarly work by answering to it and for it" (281). Guillory's verdict on the role of publication in external processes of assessment is categorical: "[i]f scholarship aims rightly to be made public, it is unhappily the case that the pressure to publish as a requisite of professorial advancement often makes publication the reason for scholarship and not the other way round" (187). The negative effects of this pressure upon long-term, ambitious projects, or upon considering teaching valuable scholarship, are subjected to scrutiny. Solutions point to qualitative assessment on account of scholarship's potential to reorient research beyond the archive, and to disentangle interpretation from the tyranny of demonstrable validity. Guillory's call for a new "poetics of scholarship" may sound impracticable for anxious times — see in this respect his compelling defense of the footnote (298) —

but is symptomatic of our need to rethink career standards outside of bureaucratized protocols.

Chapter 9, "On the Permanent Crisis of Graduate Education," interrogates, mainly in the American context, the crisis of the job market in English departments in the context of the professional exigencies imposed on graduate studies. Guillory focuses on the demand for publications, conference presentations, and teaching excellence as symptoms of a professional orientation of graduate studies that clashes with decreasing job opportunities. To overcome this contradiction, Guillory envisages a model that tries to make a virtue of necessity: as pre-professional demands have created a "semiautonomous professional sphere" (272) of graduate associations, journals, and conferences that transcends the organization of university graduate programs, then that sphere could be reconnected with agents beyond academia in an effort to "model a literary and intellectual culture that no longer needs the career of college professor as its only home" (273). The author advocates the role of alumni with careers outside the university as a crucial agent in this scattering of literary study "among the professions" (273) — one might object that the proposal has limited efficacy as a survival strategy for the profession itself.

The book's conclusion, "Ratio Studiorum," resuscitates the Latin phrase meaning curriculum in the optimistic conviction that its literal sense should encourage scholars and teachers of literature to "affirm the reason of literary study" (347). Guillory defines five rationales for that purpose: 1) Linguistic/Cognitive, 2) Moral/Judicial, 3) National/Cultural, 4) Aesthetic/Critical, and 5) Epistemic/Disciplinary. While he concedes that the first four stem from the classical and early modern periods, the fifth is recent, and it straightforwardly addresses certain existential anxieties about our profession: as most literary texts do not call for scholarly interpretation, and given the relative youth of our discipline, "it is not impossible to imagine that it might someday cease to exist" (379). In their relatively short life, literary studies have successfully contributed to a Baconian *advancement of learning*; they have also proved literature's "interconnected[ness] with its social environment" and enhanced the ability to understand literature and take pleasure in it. Yet we profess and study literature "because we want to [and] because we have the resources to do so" (386). This admonition might turn into our best justification of "what we already do, and often do well" (XVI).

As one approaches Guillory's wide-ranging, sometimes gargantuan

Professing Criticism from an Iberian/European setting and from the field of Early Modern studies, some topics are more appealing than others. Taking Guillory's warning against self-overestimation as some sort of Spenserian advice to "make a milde construction" of ourselves is a salutary move,[1] particularly as its nonchalance may help buttress resistance to curricular and assessment policies that have proved hostile to the humanities. More pertinent to Early Modern English studies in Portugal and Spain, Guillory's arguments both about the curriculum and the training and future of graduate students speak to the challenges that have guided SEDERI's twenty-first-century responses to the professionalizing demands of our discipline. About the former, one may see the expansion of SEDERI's initial Renaissance interests toward transnational and transmedial perspectives on Early Modern studies as witnessing an ongoing process of rethinking the tensions inherent in historical and geographical forms of otherness. About the latter, SEDERI's design of autonomous spaces for graduate research that may foster interaction with professional practice counts among those things we do, often do well, and still want to do better, despite the precariousness of our national systems for graduate studies. For these and other reasons, Guillory's volume offers us a sweeping prolegomenon to further descriptions, defenses, and redefinitions of every aspect of our profession.

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[1] "I commend to the world this smal Poëme, the which beseeching your La: to take in worth, and of all things therein according to your wontedness *to make a milde construction*" (Edmund Spenser, Dedicatory Epistle to *Muiopotmos*; in Spenser 1989, 412, my emphasis).

Zenón Luis-Martínez, ed. 2023. *Poetic Theory and Practice in Early Modern Verse: Unwritten Arts*. Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press

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"Poesy is a part of learning," wrote Francis Bacon in his *The Advancement of Learning* (1605, IV. I). With his habitual factual style, the English philosopher and encyclopedist established "poesy" as "one of the principal portions of learning," no matter how — in his view — it might be merely imaginative, or "feigned." Zenón Luis-Martínez's innovative volume, *Poetic Theory and Practice in Early Modern Verse: Unwritten Arts*, brings together eleven learned essays that illuminate an intrinsic relationship between knowledge and "poesy" extant in the early modern period. The collection does so by bringing the art of poetry into conversation with contemporary disciplines and discourses, on the assumption that — as Luis-Martínez puts it in his introduction — "active thinking about the making, matter, forms, and functions of poetry… is generated in practical writing rather than in normative discourse form of norms and precepts" (2). Thus, the volume reverses traditional perspectives on poetics. Rather than envisioning how poets applied the descriptive and prescriptive *artes poetriae* of the time, Luis-Martínez finds that the works of the poets themselves are at the center of the art of writing. As he explains, this approach is the result of an attentive reading of authors like George Puttenham, who believed that the poets do "not [work] by example or medi[t]ation or exercise as all other artificers do" (5).[1]

The volume revolves around the notion of "unwritten arts," which furnishes a cohesive backbone to the essays. Belying its sub-titular positioning, the concept of "unwritten arts" operates rather as a de facto title here, variously guiding each essay. This notion — originally conceived by Rosalie Colie — takes inspiration from the early modern phrase "unwritten verities" used by Protestant religious polemicists to disparage the commentary tradition based on oral rather than literal citation of the scriptures (27). In this interpretation, Luis-Martínez departs from a widely disseminated usage, divesting the term "unwritten" of its pejo-

[1] George Puttenham, *Art of English Poesy*, III, XXV.

rative connotation to turn it into the compelling object of this collective inquiry into the theoretics of poetic writing. The contributors explore these "unwritten arts" implicit in the poets' works, in "unformulated critical assumptions outside official theory," and in "the blank surface that is left unmarked by writing" (10). A challenging enterprise, this exploration is carried out combining interdisciplinarity and rhetorical, poetical and philological analysis. The volume attends to such aspects as figurative language, metaphors and tropes, while also engaging with cultural studies, stretching the analysis of words like "grace," "cause," "blood," "love," "imitation," "art," or "habit" almost to the level of keywords, in Raymond Williams's sense of the term.

The collection is divided into three parts. The first "Origin: Poetic Aetiologies" is concerned with the cause of poetry, i.e., its generating potential. In the essay opening this section, "Justified by Whose Grace? Poetic Worth and Transcendent Doubt in Late Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Poetry," Joan Curbet Soler explores the "poetics of grace," tracing the cultural and religious semantics of the term "grace," with divergent Continental and English connotations in times of religious reformations. Curbet concludes that in Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Fulke Greville and Aemilia Lanyer, "the origin and the work of grace can never be fully apprehended or systematized" (44), due to the absence of consensus about the giving and receiving of grace. The subsequent essay, Emma Annette Wilson's "The Logical Cause of an Early Modern Poetics of Action," puts logic at the causal center of poetic practice, identifying its deep roots in the early modern mindset. Arguing that logic "gave substance, form and… causation and agency to the world and all of its beings and entities" (47), Wilson attributes newly developed concepts in poetic texts to it, in particular those depicting poetry as an agent of change. In the third essay, "Atomies of Love: Material (Mis)interpretations of Cupid's Origin in Elizabethan Poetry," Cassandra Gorman takes her cue from Bacon's identification of Cupid with "the natural motion of the atom" (74–75), to examine Elizabethan erotic poetics prior to the influence of Lucretius. Poetic allusions to Cupid in the period, she finds, evince a new understanding of the nature of things: "Like the atom or elemental 'impulse of desire' associated with the ancient myth, these Cupids recreate the visceral impact of love and produce new forms of expression in poetic spaces" (93).

The second part of the volume, entitled "Style: Outgrowing the Arts," includes three essays that investigate representations and performances of the body in early modern *artes poeticae*. Rocío G. Sumillera focuses

on the intersection between medicine and poetry in "Bloody Poetics: Towards a Physiology of the Epic Poem." Eschewing more widely discussed metaphors of poems as organic entities, Sumillera interrogates analogic representations of poems and bodies animated by the flow of blood. This "semantics of blood," she finds, was "a fundamental style indicator" (106) prominent in early modern English epic texts and translations. The two remaining essays in this section look at the interaction of bodily actions — or lack thereof — and rhetoric in performance. David J. Amelang's "Figuring Ineloquence in Late Sixteenth-century Poetry" casts an innovative look at figures of "ineloquence" as expressions of emotional wordlessness, in dramatic works and in poems. Amelang argues that these rhetorical devices disrupt and distort conventions of language in their attempt to represent emotional devastation, while sustaining (albeit somewhat paradoxically) regular poetic rhythm. In the last essay of this section, "Eloquent Bodies: Rhetoricising the Symptoms of Love in the English Epyllion," Sonia Hernández-Santano addresses the relationship between rhetoric, the body and the emotions. Viewing the erotic epyllion from the perspective of humanist rhetorical and poetic education, she identifies the *actio* — or body-based act of delivery — and the practice of word creation as means to portray emotions. She stresses that, read in this light, "bodily reactions of the characters in the epyllia are referred to as fulfilling the aesthetic function of style" (158).

"Poesis: Art's Prisoners," the third part of the volume, borrows Thomas Lodge's description of the "snares" that poets encounter in their practice to unify the last five essays of the volume, dedicated to studying the "individual poetic programs" of Elizabethan poets. Jonathan P. A. Sell's essay "Philip Sidney's Sublime Self-authorship: Authenticity, Ecstasy and Energy in *The Defence of Poesy* and *Astrophil and Stella*," proposes to unpack the critical puzzles of the authenticity and exemplarity of *Astrophil and Stella*, believed by many to be at odds with Sidney's own theoretical views in *The Defence of Poesy*. Sell's discussion of Sidney's "unwritten poetics" of the sublime bridges the distance between the two works in a perceptive analysis of authenticity, the ecstatic self, and *energeia*. María Jesús Pérez-Jáuregui returns to the concept of grace in "From Favour to Eternal Life: Trajectories of Grace and the Poetic Career in the Sonnets of Henry Constable and Barnabe Barnes." Her analysis parallels two poetic careers — Barnabe Barnes's and Henry Constable's — through their use of a word so religiously and poetically loaded. The cultural dynamics of "grace" in one and the other reflect their re-

ligious beliefs: while Barnes — a Protestant — considers grace to be one of the five *solae*, an "unmerited favor," Constable — a Catholic convert — "undertakes a journey to merit salvation" (192), taking on a grace of a different kind in consequence. Cinta Zunino-Garrido's essay "Thomas Lodge's 'Supple Muse': Imitation, Inspiration and Imagination in *Phillis*" offers a new assessment of *Phillis*, a work often seen as lacking in originality, and of *The Complaint of Elstred*, believed to be unrelated to the former, despite their publication together. In her analysis of Lodge's reflections on imitation, inspiration, and imagination in these poems, Zunino-Garrido reclaims them as "a productive space for the exploration of the poetics of this kind of sonnet compilation" (217).

The last two essays of the collection revolve around the "poetics of difficulty" in, respectively, Fulke Greville and George Chapman. In her essay "The Worthy Knots of Fulke Greville," Sarah Knight considers Greville's sense of his own difficult style and the later reception of such "knotty" writing, especially in the tragedies *Alaham* and *Mustapha*. By contrasting the writing and the readings of Greville's works, Knight traces the challenges set to readers to deepen learning and heighten understanding. "George Chapman's 'Habit of Poesie'," by Zenón Luis-Martínez, closes the third section with an insightful study of the poetic habit of Chapman — self-professedly obscure, and considered by many to be the difficult early modern poet *par excellence*. Luis-Martínez's reading of Chapman's texts, paratexts, and translations concludes that Chapman accepted "difficulty not as an end in itself but as a means to intelligibility'," a vehicle to "invite considerations of the poem as a relatively autonomous vehicle towards the elucidation of its sense" (270).

The volume closes with an elegant Afterword by Clark Hulse, who, following Rosalie Colie, recognizes the "paradox" of early modern literary theory and criticism, describable as a mismatch between theoretical positioning and actual poetry. After a terminological disquisition on the various terms and concepts used to describe early modern poetics, Hulse concludes that early modern aesthetic theory, critical judgment, and the arts of making in the period were esteemed no less than literary writing, being as they were all literary genres (288).

Poetic Theory and Practice in Early Modern Verse. Unwritten Arts implicitly evokes a dual understanding of the cultural semantics converging in the term "poesy" in the early modern period: poetical composition on the one hand and "the art of [making] poetry" on the other. In these eleven essays and their Afterword, Bacon's claim of poesy for the realm

of learning is justified anew, finely articulated and elaborated using contemporary concepts and methodologies. Crucially for a collected volume, the essays speak to each other and cohesively develop their arguments around the notions of "unwritten arts." The novelty of the book and its essays lies not only in posing unexplored perspectives on early modern poetics but also in bold cross-cutting readings of both canonical and non-canonical authors and works. Luis-Martínez and his authors have made a major contribution to the growing field of early modern poetics generally. This collection will be often read, and profitably, for years to come.

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María Jesús Pérez-Jáuregui, ed. 2023. *Henry Constable. The Complete Poems*. Toronto: Pontificial Institute of Mediaeval Studies

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Pérez-Jáuregui's remarkable edition of *Henry Constable. The Complete Poems* is a monument to an unjustly neglected poet and a tribute to the editor's unstinting, selfless devotion to her subject. It quite clearly surpasses in its scholarship and editorial procedures Joan Grundy's carping, octogenarian *The Poems of Henry Constable* (1960), and the proper response is one of grateful admiration. No praise will ever seem adequate; that the volume boasts the endorsements of Arthur F. Marotti and Steven W. May is perhaps the best index of its worth. In the Preface, Pérez-Jáuregui defines the work's fundamental aim as one of "restitution," of giving Constable his "due" as a writer of amatory, dedicatory, and religious sonnets (XIX). The singularly practical but highly exacting method she has chosen to pursue that aim is on the one hand to amass all available historical, biographical, textual, and literary-critical evidence and on the other to collate and make sense of a heterogeneous and piecemeal corpus of manuscript and printed sources. The result is that, far more than the complete poems, what Pérez-Jáuregui presents to the reader is Constable himself: every fiber of his historical and literary being has been painstakingly collected in what amounts to the next best thing to a physical resurrection.

And in all of this, Pérez-Jáuregui remains laudably dispassionate, commendably detached, deferring all protagonism to the poet who has for so long been cheated of it. The first chapter, "Henry Constable: A Biographical Account," eschews the "may/might/must-have" school of historiography in favor of scrupulous attention to the documentary facts. What emerges is the portrait of a well-connected young man who was on speaking terms with the major movers and shakers in around the English and Scottish courts but, never quite being in the right place at the right time and lacking, perhaps, the perquisite polish, never obtained the worldly grace he was equally anxious to achieve spiritually. However covert, his religion, naturally, didn't help

things: the time was not ripe for a Catholic loyalist, despite hopes pinned on James VI of Scotland, James I of England, with whom he was for a time on close terms. Unlike Henry IV of France, another personal acquaintance, who sagely jettisoned Protestantism for Catholicism, Constable's spiritual journey was in the politically wrong direction. The impression is that Constable was one of fortune's fools. In sonnet 42 he augurs monarchy over "a world of hearts" for the new-born daughter of Penelope Rich. The baby's premature death shortly afterwards enforced some awkward back-pedaling in sonnet 55. Pérez-Jáuregui notes: "Considering that Penelope had a total of nine children who survived infancy [...] Constable made an infelicitous choice of dedicatee" (314).

Chapters Two and Three offer an exhaustive overview of the contents and socioliterary histories of the amatory and dedicatory sonnets, and of the *Spiritual Sonnets*, respectively. As to the former, Pérez-Jáuregui's painstaking trawl in libraries and private collections on both sides of the Atlantic has turned up all manuscript and printed versions on the basis of which, after careful collation and Holmesian stemmatics, she not only expands the Constable canon to the tune of six new items (sonnets 15b, 32b, 60b, 64, 65, 66) but also establishes a plausible, intricate history of transmission which, in its turn, constitutes a fascinating metahistory of coterie and courtly culture in the late 1580s and early 1590s. The textual history of the *Spiritual Sonnets* is more straightforward. Unsurprisingly, they circulated less in manuscript form and were not printed until Thomas Park's *Heliconia* (1815), which included the seventeen sonnets in Harley MS 7553. It is to Pérez-Jáuregui's great credit that she has discovered a new manuscript version in Berkeley Castle containing a further four sonnets. As a result, the full canon of Constable's sonnets now amounts to eighty-seven poems.

Chapters Four and Five turn to literary-critical issues, the former addressing Constable's poetic praxis, the latter his critical reception. Constable's contribution to sonnet history is twofold, composing on the one hand one of the earliest amatory sequences in English and, on the other, one of the late sixteenth-century's "finest examples of devotional poetry," namely, the *Spiritual Sonnets*. Pérez-Jáuregui notes the obvious influence of Sidney, as well as Constable's pivotal position between him and Drayton, Barnabe Barnes, and Bartholomew Griffin; she also rightly brings to the fore Constable's particular indebtedness to French sonneteer Philippe Desportes. After a brief treatment of Constable's imagery, Pérez-Jáuregui deals at greater length

with the precedents and thematics of the *Spiritual Sonnets*, with the poet's treatment of monarchs earthly (Elizabeth I, James I and Mary Queen of Scots) and heavenly (the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene), and, more briefly again, with Catholic dogma in the sonnets. As for Constable's reception, early praise from Drayton, Jonson, and Edmund Bolton, who claimed no "Gentleman of our Nation [had] a more pure, quick, or higher Delivery of Conceit" (133), was followed by near oblivion until bibliographers made various attempts at establishing some sort of stable text in the nineteenth century. Critical appraisal had to wait until Sidney Lee's *Elizabethan Sonnets* (1904), but it was not until the current century and the so-called "Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies" (Jackson and Marotti 2004, qtd. 144) that Constable began to attract more sustained and in-depth critical attention.

Chapter 6, "The Present Edition," defines the canon of Constable's poems that is to follow and explains the selection of copy texts, editorial conventions, and the textual apparatus accompanying each poem. And then, after the magnificent prolegomena, Constable's poems finally make their appearance on page 157. Each sonnet, generously allocated a page to itself, is accompanied by a list of sources and textual variants, as well as a glossary of difficult or obscure words. The sixty-six amatory and dedicatory sonnets, ordered according to what Pérez-Jáuregui judges Constable's "final intentions" (149) to have been, precede the twenty-four *Spiritual Sonnets*. The poems are followed by ample "Explanatory Notes," providing historical and biographical information, references to poetic analogues, and ample quotations from vernacular and continental sources.

As if this were not enough, Pérez-Jáuregui provides a meticulous extended note giving a "Bibliographical Description of Main Textual Sources." Three appendixes contain two anonymous sonnets dedicated to Constable, a table comparing the arrangement of the secular sonnets in all sources, and another comparing the headings and arrangement of the *Spiritual Sonnets* in their two manuscript sources. The book is rounded off with an extensive bibliography, an index of manuscript sources, an index of first lines, and a thorough General Index. Pérez-Jáuregui's edition even makes room for eight full-page plates and, with its color jacket image (Palma il Giovane, *Venus and Mars*) and sewn binding, amounts to a very handsome publication.

In sonnet 50 a forlorn Constable writes, "If ever any justlye might complayne // of unrequited service, it is I." The question raised by

Pérez-Jáuregui's devoted service to Constable is not quite whether or not it is requited, but whether the poet deserves it. Self-denying in her editorial role, Pérez-Jáuregui is reticent about Constable's literary merits, but if anyone is qualified to offer an appraisal, it is surely her. The literary-historical interest of Constable's sonnets is beyond doubt and sufficiently justifies this edition; many of them also provide fascinating insight into late sixteenth-century courtly ritual and political events. But do they stand up as works of literature? The inclination of Pérez-Jáuregui's edition seems to be slightly towards the *Spiritual Sonnets*, but to this reader's mind the eminently religious undertow of many of the secular sonnets lends them a depth or an edge missing in the former and suggesting an alternative narrative to that of his "life-changing conversion to Catholicism" (105). The religion the younger Constable lived may have differed from the religion he officially declared, and his conversion may have been a "coming-out" rather than a road to Damascus. Those looking for a second Sidney will be disappointed, but there are scattered delights for readers who prefer to read the pangs of poetic labor rather than see them refined away to a more decorous, antiseptic quintessence. The antithesis of Sidneian poise and polish, Constable's sometimes morbid introspection and synapse-snapping conceits bespeak an unkempt personal gaucheness which may help account for their author's frustrations in a court requiring aristocratic élan and self-accomplished grace. Be that as it may, Pérez-Jáuregui's edition provides all the information future scholars and students of Constable could ever ask for and will be the starting-point for all subsequent analysis and assessment. That will be Pérez-Jáuregui's just requitement.

Pérez-Jáuregui speaks of the "joy of rediscovering and collating primary sources" (XX) dispersed across two continents. "Joy" and cognates is one of the commonest words in the New Testament; Constable may have known little enough of it in his lifetime, but this impeccable, informative, and genuinely scholarly edition should have him rejoicing at last among the seraphim he yearned to join.

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