

**ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS
FROM SPANISH THROUGH FRENCH
IN THE 17TH CENTURY:
A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH**

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Anglo-Spanish relations have a very long tradition that dates back to medieval times. From the Middle Ages onwards we can find a lot of Spanish Princesses who married English Princes and Kings, nearly always in the hope of securing an alliance between the Royal Houses. Henry II initiated this series of alliances when he gave his daughter Eleanor in marriage to Alfonso VIII of Castile. The extensive possessions in France made it imperative for England to have an ally who could pose a threat in the south. The clearest example of English help we have is when the Black Prince came to the peninsula in support of Pedro the Cruel of Castile (two of his daughters married English nobles) in his struggle against the bastard Henry of Trastamara, supported by Aragon and France. His victory at the battle of Nájera left a mark on literature in the romances of chivalry. The same state of affairs reappears on the 16th century when Spain attempted to secure the neutrality and support of England. Katherine of Aragon married Arthur and subsequently Henry VIII, and some years later Philip II married Henry's elder daughter Mary Tudor. In the 17th century there is another attempt, when Prince Charles, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, made the dangerous journey across France to Madrid to meet the Infanta, a romantic episode so well described by James Howell in his *Epistolæ Ho-Ellicianæ*. Unfortunately the Spanish Match, as it was known, was unsuccessful, and Prince Charles married Princess Henrietta-Maria of France.

Apart from the relations between the Royal Houses, there are others at a different level. Commercial interchange was very important especially after the discovery of America. Visits to Spain for religious reasons changed during the 16th century. Santiago de Compostela had attracted English pilgrims in the 15th century, but after the Henrician Reformation religion became a source of discord when Spain became a refuge for English Catholics and England for Spanish Protestants and dissenters.

All this movement of people fomented a special interest in Spanish books on a variety of subjects from the beginning of the 16th century onwards. The discovery and conquest of America, the voyage round the world, the different wars in Europe, caused chronicles of discovery, books on the art of navigation and war to be translated into English. The Armada was another subject which, for obvious reasons, provided printers with material and afforded some hispanists like Minsheu "corregidores", as some of the hidalgos taken prisoner settled in England.

Religious literature was also common. Spanish mystics like Fray Luis de Granada and the small group of Spanish reformers such as Antonio de Corro and Cipriano de Valera, had their books printed and sold in London, some in Latin, others in Spanish and the rest translated into English.

Spanish drama is only represented by *La Celestina* (1499), in part translated by John Rustell as *A New Comedy in English in Manner of an Interlude* (1515). The maturity of Spanish drama coincides with that of English Tudor and Stewart drama. The same is applicable to Spanish poetry, the main influence being Italian. On the other hand, other books belonging to supposedly less important genres were also translated. As an example, I would mention the rhymed proverbs of the Marquis of Santillana in the 16th century and the collection gathered and translated by James Howell in the 17th. Moral and courtesan treatises were also very well-known in England. In Tudor times eight of Antonio de Guevara's works appeared in London: *The Golden Boke*, *The Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier*, *Diall of Princes*, *The Art of Navigation*, *Familiar Letters*, for example, all of which ran for at least one edition.

But Spanish prose fiction was the most widespread genre in England. Spanish pastoral and chivalry romances were translated during the 16th and especially during the 17th century. As far as the picaresque is concern,

before the end of the Tudor era David Rowland's translation of *Lazarillo de Tormes* had run for four editions, and Mateo Alemán's *Guzman de Alfarache* appeared in English in 1599. It was in the 17th century that most Spanish prose was translated into English. Cervantes, Quevedo, Lope de Vega, Castillo Solórzano, Salas Barbadillo, etc. became very well known in England. Most of this prose was translated directly from Spanish but the following, for example, came through French versions.

Amadis de Gaula.

The Spanish original of this romance of chivalry (a revision of a lost original) consisted of four books (*Los Quatro Libros de Amadis de Gaula*). The additional 5 books were written by different authors. The English translations were made, according to A.F. Allison¹⁴¹, from the French versions of Nicholas de Herberay, and the volume numeration follows that of the French (English books 1-5=Spanish books 1-5; English book 6=Spanish book 7; English book 7=part of Spanish book 9; Spanish books 6 and 8 are omitted). The first five books were translated by or attributed to Anthony Munday (1, 1590?; 2, 1595; 1-4, 1619; 5, 1598). Book 6 was published in 1652. The translator was Francis Kirkman, a well-known bookseller, publisher and author, who translated several romances from the French into English. As far as I know, he never translated directly from Spanish. Book 7 was published in 1693 and the translator is unknown. The extracts from books 1-12 of the Amadis cycle had already been published in 1567 under the title *The most excellent and pleasant booke, entitled: the treasure of Amadis of Fraunce... Translated out of French into English*. The author was Thomas Paynel, a prolific translator of French and Latin books.

Miguel de Cervantes also had some of his prose works translated from French. There are three different versions in English of his *Novelas Ejemplares*. The first one was translated directly from the Spanish by "Don Diego Puede-Ser" (a pseudonym, a literal translation of James Mabbe into Spanish), and published in 1640 (there was a reissue in 1654). The second

¹⁴¹ Allison, A.F., *English Translations from the Spanish and Portuguese to the year 1700. An Annotated Catalogue of the Extant Printed Versions (excluding Dramatic Adaptations)* (Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1974). Vide entry to *Amadis*.

was by Roger L'Estrange and published in 1687, a second edition coming out in 1700, as *The Spanish Decameron, or ten novels...* The first five titles quoted on the title page are translations from Cervantes. The other five are from *La Garduña de Sevilla* of A. de Castillo Solórzano. The translator says in the Preface that he had translated from the French version, but it is, in fact, a plagiarised version of Mabbe's translation, with one or two stories inserted and the proper names altered. The third version was translated by the doctor, astronomer and writer Walter Pope directly from the Spanish in 1694. In his preface to the reader he says:

I have not endeavour'd to render my author word, for word, but my concern was, to make him speak English. In the first novel, I have taken more liberty, for its scene lying for the greatest part in England, the laws and customs whereof, Cervantes was not very well skill'd in, I have chang'd the names of some persons, and places, which are such in the original, as were never heard of in England. I have also left out some paragraphs, which I judg'd either impertinent to the story, or repeated. I have added nothing, but here and there a word, to make the sence more perspicuous. In fine. I have made all of them shorter, if not better, and brevity is always good.

This feeling seems common to a lot of translators.

His *Trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda* were also translated into English from the French version of Vital d'Audigier by an unknown translator and published in 1619.

Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas was another Spanish writer who attracted the attention of English readers. Three of his prose works were also translated from French versions. His *Sueños* had two different translations: *Visions or hels kingdome...* by Richard Croshaw in 1640, and *The Visions of dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas...* by Roger L'Estrange in 1667 (there are eight different editions between 1667 and 1696. Both versions are free adaptations based on the French version of La Geneste. There is a seventh "Vision", *Discurso de Todos los Diablos o Infierno Enmendado*, originally published separately from the *Sueños*, and translated by an Edward Messervy through the French of La Geneste in 1641, as *Hell reformed or a Glass for favorits*.

His *Historia de la Vida del Buscon* (*The life and adventures of Buscon the witty Spaniard*), a Spanish Picaresque masterpiece, was translated into English by John Davies of Kidwelly through the French adaptation of La Geneste, and will be analyzed later, together with the works of Castillo Solórzano and Salas Barbadillo, also translated by the Welsh scholar.

Carlos García's *La desordenada codicia de los Bienes Ajenos* appeared in English under three different titles: *The sonne of the rogue or the politick theefe* in 1638, *Lavernae, or the Spanish Gipsy* in 1650, and *Guzman, Hinde and Hannam* published in 1657. It was translated by a certain William Melvin, and it seems that the changes in title for the second and third issues were intended to encourage sales by making the book appear new.

The case I want to analyse is that of Francisco de Quintana (some of his works were published under the name of Francisco de las Cuevas) a priest and man of letters from Madrid. A good theologian and an excellent preacher, he was a member of the Congregacion de San Pedro and in 1644 was appointed Governor of the Hospital de la Latina in the capital. He died in abject poverty in Madrid on 25th January 1658.

The two novels he wrote, *Experiencias de Amor y de Fortuna* (1626) and *Historia de Hipólito y Aminta* (1627), both of which were very popular during his lifetime, were translated into other languages and ran for more than one edition or reissue. In this lecture I am going to analyse the process of translation of the former into English¹⁴².

The Spanish edition I have used is that of 1626 and has the following manuscript inscription:

Este libro lo escribió el Doctor Franc. de Quintana como lo asegura el Dr. Juan Pérez de Montalván en el Prólogo, del libro tiempo de Regocijo y Carnestolendas de Madrid, de D. Alonso de Castillo Solorzano impreso en M. año de 1627.

¹⁴² He also wrote *Epítome de todas las Historias de España, República Imaginada, Del juicio eterno de los justos, Oración fúnebre*, and other works.

And on the title-page, written in the same hand, the year "1698" and the signature of "Isidro Granados":

EXPERIENCIAS / DE AMOR / Y FORTUNA. / A LOPE DE VEGA / Carpio, Procurador Fiscal de la Cámara Apos / tolica, y su Notario descrito en el Archivo / Romano, Familiar del Santo Oficio de / la Inquisición. /POR EL LICENCIADO FRANCISCO / DE LAS CUEVAS, NATURAL / DE MADRID. / AÑO 1626./ CON PRIVILEGIO./ EN MADRID./ Por la VIUDA DE ALONSO MARTIN.

The eleven editions it ran to are indicative of the success it had. They are in chronological order:

- 1.- Madrid, Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1626.
- 2.- Madrid, Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1632.¹⁴³
- 3.- Madrid, Francisco Martínez, 1632.¹⁴⁴
- 4.- Montilla, Francisco Martínez, 1632.
- 5.- Barcelona, Pedro Lacavallería, 1633.¹⁴⁵
- 6.- Madrid, Imprenta del reino, 1641.
- 7.- Jaén, Pedro de Cuesta, 1646.
- 8.- Zaragoza, Lanaja, 1647.¹⁴⁶
- 9.- Barcelona, Antonio Lacavallería, 1649.
- 10.- Madrid, Mateo de Espinosa, 1666.¹⁴⁷
- 11.- Madrid, Angel Pascual, 1723.

¹⁴³ According to López Estrada. In F. López Estrada et al., *Bibliografía de los libros de pastores en la literatura española* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1984) 170.

¹⁴⁴ In the entry to Francisco de Quintana, Palau claims that this is the second edition. In Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano... Bibliografía general española e hispanoamericana desde la invención de la imprenta hasta nuestros tiempos...* (Barcelona: Librería Palau, 1953).

¹⁴⁵ Rennert claimed to be in possession of a copy. In Hugo A. Rennert, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances* (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1968 (1912)) 188.

¹⁴⁶ According to Palau y Dulcet, there was a copy in the Biblioteca Laserna in Santander (Spain).

¹⁴⁷ Palau y Dulcet says that this was the most widespread.

There also exists a version of this novel in French - I will discuss it later on - which was the one used by the translator of the English edition, and another in Italian, by Bartolomei della Bella (Venice, 1654). There is also an interesting adaptation by Manuel Andrés Iguar, published under the title

Aventuras de D. Félix de Salazar en Argel. Novela original por Don Francisco de Cuevas. Estractada de su obra titulada: *Experiencias de Amor*, y refundida por un aficionado a las obras originales española. (Manuel Andrés Iguar). B., en la Imp. de Ign. Estivill. Calle de la Borla, julio 1832.

Experiencias de Amor y de Fortuna is neither better nor worse than Quintana's second novel, *Historia de Hipólito y Aminta*, published in Madrid in 1627. The latter also attracted the interest of the English public, and the translation into English by the eminent English hispanist Captain John Stevens came out in two editions, one in 1718 and the other in 1729.

Quintana dedicates his *Experiencias...* to Lope de Vega, as Juan Pérez de Montalván and Doña María de Zayas did, some of whose works were also translated into English by John Davies of Kidwelly, who is generally thought to have been the translator of the *Experiencias...* He justifies himself in the dedicatory epistle:

A cuya causa (ô dignísimo FENIZ DE EUROPA) el mio mal seguro, entre apuestas dudas rezeloso, y entre varios rezelos indiferente, dudaua la elecció de Protector para este humilde trabajo, por no adquirir en algun yerro creditos de ignorante, hasta que despertaron à mi memoria del imprudente olvido en que asistia, las prendas con que à v.m. hizo tan singular el cielo, y el afecto que en mi por tantas razones es deuda, y que deue serlo en todos, menos los que aborreciendo la virtud no hazen estimacion de los merecimientos.

In order to justify his choice Quintana praises the poems, fables and the 1.300 comedies written by Lope de Vega. There follows a letter by Lope, the licences and a sonnet by Juan Pérez de Montalván, a ten-line stanza by Frutos de León y Tapia and a lay by Doña María de Zayas. And finally a letter to the reader in which, among other things, he justifies the structure of his *Experiencias...* :

Diuidole en Poëmas, porque Poëma es nombre generico, que no solo a los versos comprehende, sino a la prosa, como insinua Cic. lib. de Orat. y afirma Vicet. lib. I. Spc. doct. y porq este lleua algunos, demas de que si se consulta a la lengua Griega, cuyo es su origen, Poëma es lo mismo que invencion, que ni desdize destes sucessos, ni del modo de referirlos.

The book is divided into four "Poemas"¹⁴⁸, each of which is composed of different pastoral and chivalry stories, perfectly interrelated (although difficult for the reader to locate, as there is no index), with Feniso always as a witness, rather than a narrator. It is written in prose with some poems intercalated. I consider the book has all the components of an adventure in a pastoral setting. J. B. Avalle-Arce rejects the idea of it being a pastoral and regards it as a "novela de corte bizantino"¹⁴⁹. Whatever it is, the book is very difficult to classify, as I said before¹⁵⁰.

The French version is an extraordinarily rare book¹⁵¹. The title page says

LE / FENISE. / Histoire Espagnole. / *Où se voyent les diuers efets de l'Amour & de la Fortune.* / A PARIS, / Chez ANTOINE DE SOMMAVILLE, / au Palais, en la petite Salle, à l'Escu de France. / M.DC.XXXVI. AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

¹⁴⁸ Not five, as Rennert says, 189.

¹⁴⁹ *Vide* the Prologue of J. B. Avalle-Arce, *La novela pastoril española*, (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1959).

¹⁵⁰ *Vide* Chapter V, "Labyrinths of Love: the Byzantine romances", in B. J. Randall Dole, *The Golden Tapestry: A Critical Survey of Non-Chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation (1543-1657)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963).

Paul Salzman, in his good bibliography, classifies it among the "*adventure and pastoral romances*". P. Salzman, *English Prose fiction 1558-1700. A Critical History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) 357.

¹⁵¹ As far as I know, the only extant copy is in the Oesterreichische National-Bibliothek in Vienna, Signature BE. 5. X. 40. (2). It was localized thanks to Franklin P. Rolphe, "On the Bibliography of Seventeenth Century Prose Fiction", *PMLA*, 49, 4, (1934) 1078.

Nothing is known about the translator. The only clues we have are those given by the editor in the dedicatory Epistle to Mademoiselle de Rohan

Mademoiselle,

Cet Etranger, qui n'est taché d'aucun des defauts dont sa nation est legitiment accuŕee, ayant l'humeur Françoise comme l'origine Espagnole, n'a pas si tost apris la diuision de ces deux Couronnes, que se declarant du party plus iuste, il a voulu quitter sa patrie pour se ranger avec nous. Il a moins consideré sa naissance en ce rencontre, que ses inclinations, & a bien fait plus d'estat des peuples avec lesquels il sympatisoit d'humeur, que de ceux dont il tire son origine. Neantmoins, quoy qu'il soit tout courageux, il n'a pas laissé, sur les termes d'executer ce dessein, d'en redouter l'euenement: la seule crainte de ne pas trouuer un support qui secondât son merite & son affection, a causé cette defiance; Toutesfois ie luy en ay leué le scrupule, l'assurant que vous le protegeriez. le voyla donc, MADEMOISELLE, qui vous vient rechercher pour son Azile; le voyla qui vous vient raconter ses aduantes: Mais i'adioûteray, qu'il vient encore plus volontiers pour vous admirer, que pour ces autres considerations. Ie ne seray pas si temeraire toutesfois que d'en exagerer le sujet; Ce meslange precieux de beauté, de naissance & de vertu qui l'y oblige, est une chose si releuée, que ie serois punissable si i' entreprendois d'en dire un seul mot. Je ne passeray dons point les bornes que macondition me prescrit; mais laissant cette riche matiere aux beaux esprits dont i'imprime les ourages, il me suffira d'estre le conducteur de Fenise, & de me dire eternellement,

MADMOISELLE,

Vostre tres-humble & tres-obeissant seruiteur,
SOMMAVILLE.

This version is an adaptation of the Spanish, the only changes being the proper names. The poems are different and nothing of the poetical prose of the original is retained. Although there is no index, it is relatively easy for the reader to find his way about as each story is given a title:

LE FENISE DE FRANCISCO DE LAS COVERAS. Traduction Espagnole.

LIVRE PREMIER,

HISTOIRE DE FENISE

Gustav Ungerer

HISOTIRE DE DON LOVIS
 SVITTE DE L'HISTOIRE DE LAVRE
 SVITTE DE L'HISTOIRE DE DON LOVIS
 HISTOIRE DE LEONARD, D'EVFEMIE, ET DE TEODORE

LIVRE SECOND,

HISTOIRE DE RVFINE, ET DE DON IOVAN
 HISTOIRE DES TRAGIQUES AMOUVRS DE MARCEL
 HISTOIRE DV SOLITAIRE SIMEON

LIVRE TROISIESME,

HISTOIRE DE FEDERIC
 SVITTE DE L'HISTOIRE D'EVFEMIE
 HISTOIRE DE DON IAME

LIVRE QUATRIESME,

HISTOIRE DE DON ANTONIO
 HISTOIRE DE D. CARLES ET DE VIOLANTE
 HISTOIRE PRODIGIEVSE D'VN FILS ET D'VNE MERE

The English version is a word for word translation of the French one.
 At the beginning, there is an index with the French titles translated into
 English:

The several Histories contained in this Booke

The History of *Fenise* and *Laure*
 The History of *Don Lovis*
 The continuation of the History of *Laure*
 The continuation of the History of *Don Lovis*
 The history of *Eufemie* and *Theodore*

The Second Booke

The History of *Rufine* and *Don Jovan*
 The History of the Tragick Loves of *Marcel*
 The History of solitary *Simeon*

The Third Book

The History of *Frederick*
 The continuation of the History of *Eufemie*
 The History of *Don Jame*

The Fourth Booke

The History of *Don Antonio*
 The History of *Don Charles* and *Violante*
 The History of *Don Gracia* and *Constance*

In order to see how the proper names differ from those in the Spanish version I have selected some examples from the first story:

- Silvio, el pastor - Poleron - Poleron
- Jacinta, la pastora - Jacinte - Jacinte
- Cardenio, el hermano de Jacinta - Lizeron, son frère - Lizeron, her brother
- Tireo, el zagal - Clitor, le Berger - Clitor, the Shepherd
- Feniso - Fenise - Fenise
- Laura - Laure - Laure
- hermano mayor de Laura - Don Oliban - Don Oliban
- Don Juã Velazquez - Don Ioüan de Velazquez - Don Jouan de Velazquez (Don Joän , p. 19)
- - Cigrales, qui sont les mestairies des citoyens de Toleda - Cigarades "the chiefest Farmes belonging to the citizens of Toledo".

The English version has this title page:

THE / HISTORY / OF / Don Fenise. / A NEW / ROMANCE,
 / Written in Spanish / BY / Francisco De las-Coveras. / And now
 Englished by / A PERSON OF HONOUR. / LONDON, / Printed for
Humphrey Moseley, and are to / be sold at his shop at the *Prince's*
Armes in / St Paul's Churchyard, 1651.

We do not exactly know who the translator was, which is all too often the case. The only thing we can do is to make suggestions. A. F. Allison¹⁵²

¹⁵² A. F. Allison, 154.

suggests John Davies of Kidwelly, because the translator describes himself in the same terms as Davies in his translation of the *Buscon*, "a person of honour". This is not really a valid argument because a considerable number of anonymous translations were made by "persons of honour". If we want to ascribe this translation to Davies there are other arguments. Pastoral and chivalry romances were the sort of novel he was interested in; the Spanish writers he translated, like Doña María de Zayas and Castillo Solórzano, were acquainted with Quintana; and all his translations of Spanish works were from the French.

There are other reasons for thinking that Davies may well have been the translator. He came from Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire, the same as his friend James Howell. From the very beginning he translated from the French. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*¹⁵³ his first translation was *A Treatise against the Principles of Descartes* (1654). If this is true, *The History of Don Fenise* would have been his first translation, as it was published in 1651, when he was still in France. He returned to England in 1652.

John Davies of Kidwelly was a prolific translator of Spanish works. In 1657 appears *The Provident Knight, or, Sir Parsimonious Thift*, a translation of *Lettres du Chevalier de l'Epargne*, by La Geneste, that is an adaptation of Quevedo's *Las Cartas del Caballero Tenaza*. In this edition we also have the translation of *Buscón*, from the French version of La Geneste's *L'Aventurier Buscon*, 1633. The editor of the English version was Humphrey Moseley, who also edited *The History of Don Fenise*.

In 1663 appears *The History of Algiers and Slavery there*, translation of a French version of *Historia del Cautiverio de Manuel Aranda en Argelia*, Brussels, 1656, of the Aragonese Manuel Aranda. This story was translated into French, Latin, English and Flemish.

¹⁵³ Pilar Navarro has already studied the chronological publication of Davies' translations. In P. Navarro, "J. D. Primer traductor inglés del *Buscón*, reconstrucción de su biografía a través de los prefacios de sus traducciones", in *MISCELANEA*, 8 (Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain, 1987) 33-60.

Alonso de Castillo Solórzano (c. 1560-c. 1650) was another Spanish writer whose works were translated into various languages, English among them, and had more than one reissue. The ones best known by the English reader were *Los Alivios de Casandra*, a collection of stories, and *La Garduña de Sevilla*. Of the former John Davies translated and adapted two of the novels through Paul Scarron's *Les Nouvelles Tragi-comiques*¹⁵⁴: "La confusión de una noche", novel n° 1, in French "Les deux Frères Rivaux", in English "The Rival Brothers"; and novel n° 3, "Los efectos que hace Amor", "Histoire de l'Amant Invisible" in French, "The Invisible Mistress" in English. Both are interpolated narratives in *Le Roman Comique* (Pt. 2, ch. 19)¹⁵⁵. The latter, *La Garduña de Sevilla y Ançuelo de Bolsas*, appeared in English in the same year, under the title

La picara, or the triumphs of female subtilty, display'd in the artifices and impostures of a beautiful woman... enriched with three pleasant novels. Render'd into English, with some alterations and additions, by John Davies of Kidwelly. London, W.W. for J. Starkey, 1665.

This is a translation and adaptation of the French version, attributed by many to F. Le Metel de Boisrobert and to A. Le Metel d'Ouville, entitled *La Fouyne de Seville, ou l'Hameçon des bourses*, and published in 1661¹⁵⁶. The "three pleasant novels" are three narratives intercalated in the original Spanish and also included in the French version. In Spanish they are "Quien todo lo quiere, todo lo pierde", "El conde de las legumbres" y "A lo que obliga el honor", which Davies called *All covet all lose*, *The Knight of the Marigold* and *The Trepanner trepann'd*. In the dedicatory epistle to Sir John Birkenhead, Davies says that

¹⁵⁴ His novels appeared in English, three were published separately in 1657, four in 1662 and they were published in one volume in 1665 (1667, 1694, and 1700), under the title *Scarron's Novels... Rendred into English, by John Davies of Kidwelly*.

¹⁵⁵ Novelas 1, 2 and 3 were also translated from Scarron by John Bulteel and by Thomas Brown, Mr. Savage and others.

¹⁵⁶ There are other versions by Roger L'Estrange and by one Mr. E. W. According to Allison, the former made a plagiarised version of Davies's translation, with the proper names altered, and the latter no more than an abridgment and adaptation of the same.

It is a Spanish relation written by D. Alonso de Castillo Savorsano [sic], a famous author of that nation. One of the most refin'd wits of France thought it worth his pains, to render it into the language of his country, with all the graces and advantages it might derive from either. I have done it out of the latter, with a freedom of alteration and addition, as my fancy led me ¹⁵⁷.

As we will later see, the translator of the *Experiencias...* uses the same argument, "*One of the most refin'd wits of France...*", to justify his translation into English.

John Davies also translated some of the *Novelas Amorasas y Exemplares* (Zaragoza, 1637) by Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor (Madrid, 1590-c. 1650), who dedicated a lay to the *Experiencias...* as we have seen. They consist of ten short but very popular novels which had several reissues. Davies' source is the same he used for the translation of Castillo Solórzano's works, Scarron's *Nouvelles Tragi-comiques*. He translated four of the *Novelas...*: *El castigo de la miseria* (in English, *The chastisement of avarice*), *El Prevenido Engañado* (*The Fruitless Precaution*), *Al fin se paga todo* (*The Innocent Adultery*) and *El juez de su causa* (*The Judge in his own cause*, translation from *Le juge de sa Propre Cause*, one of the intercalated narratives in Scarron's *Le Roman Comique*).

From the same French source, John Davies translated *La Hija de la Celestina*, a picaresque novel also known under the title of *La ingeniosa Elena*, of Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo. In English it is entitled *The Hypocrites*, included in his P. Scarron's *Novels*.

Going back to *The History of Don Fenise*, the introductory epistle to the reader calls for some comments:

Wee shall not need to throw away words in commendation of this History. Those that have read it, will save us that labour; and those that never saw it, now they censure it, will speake too late: For, the Book hath already had honourable Test from the best Judgements in the Court and Academies of Spaine. If you thinke them partiall; beleave an Enemy (one of

¹⁵⁷ Vide entry to Castillo Solórzano, *Alonso de*, in A. F. Allison, 42-46.

the greatest Wits of France)¹⁵⁸ who in a Letter, since printed, writes thus to his friend: Though I have little reason to doate on ought that but ast's of Spaine, which fights against us¹⁵⁹, and in one Summer robb'd me of a Brother and a Nephew: Yet I confesse I am much enamour'd on the Booke you sent me, The History of Don Fenise: The Plots are so well mannaged; the Passions cleane and naturall; the Language chosen and proper; and the whole Discourse so perfectly well wrought¹⁶⁰, that I am sorry it was written by an Enemy to our Country. I wish hee that speakes so excellently of Lovers, did not hate France. We allow'd them more Cunning, not more Wit. But this Author hath the happinesse of his own Nation & of ours.

By this time perhaps you like the Book, but doubt the Translation. 'Tis now in your power, and must speak for it selfe. All I aske (and 'tis no huge Request) that you would not pronounce upon it without comparing the original: Otherwise you may do more wrong to the Translator that he hath done to the Author. ¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ I would like to know the name of this enemy of Spain, who so seriously judges and appreciates Francisco de Quintana's work. We cannot forget that it might be a device on the part of the translator to justify his translation. Remember that John Davies says the same in his translation of Castillo Solórzano's *La Garduña de Sevilla*.

¹⁵⁹ Perhaps he is referring to the Thirty Years War, which officially ended in 1648, although the hostilities continued until the Peace of the Pyrenees was signed in 1659. Louis XIV was to marry Princess María Teresa, who renounced to her right to the Spanish throne. Under the terms of the Treaty, Spain lost almost all her possessions on French soil, Roussillon and Sardinia included. Queen Henrietta-Maria was in exile in France, enjoying the hospitality of the French Court and preparing the return of the Monarchy to Britain.

¹⁶⁰ Lope de Vega had said the same of the Spanish original. Rennert, who does not agree, had this to say about it: "The book, to the credit of its author, contains very little verse. It is written in the bad taste of much of the prose of the time, with a piling-up of epithets and constant resort to antithetical clauses. The *Experiencias of Love and Fortune*, should, however be expunged from the list of pastoral romance in which it has so long figured, for it is a romance of adventure simply, made up of most improbable incidents, the second "poem" containing an episode based upon the old story of *Ami et Amile*". H. Rennert, 191.

¹⁶¹ The translator seems to be very sure of the literary value of his work. Francisco de Quintana was equally praised by Lope de Vega in the prologue to the Spanish

As I have said, John Davies translated from French because he had no knowledge of Spanish. Why was this so frequently the case with English translators? There are various reasons. In the first place, French influence on England was more long-standing than Spanish influence. Other reasons include geographical proximity and historical interrelations. Knowledge of the language is also important. France was always ahead of England as far as knowledge of Spanish people and literature were concerned, and in the 17th century it became a sort of reservoir for the redistribution of peninsular culture. With the marriage of Charles I to Princess Henrietta-Maria after the failure of the Spanish Match, there was a revival of French influence and of some literary genres popular in Spain. Pastoral, music, platonic love, adventure, arcadism were elements the new Queen wished to see in literature in general and drama in particular (it is well known that there was a revival of pastoral drama thanks to the support given by the Queen, who herself took part in performances on occasions). This tradition lasted till the end of the century. Let me give an example of a not very well known play by James Howell:

The Nuptialis of / Peleus / and / Thetes / consisting of a /
Mask and a Comedy / or / The Great Royall Ball / Acted
lately in Paris six times / By / The King in Person / The Duke
of Yorke / with divers other Noble men / Also by / The
Princess Royall Henriette Marie / The Princess of Conty / with
many other Ladies of Honour / London / Printed for Henry
Honyman, and are to be sold at his / shop at the Ancor in the
lower walk of the New / Exchange, 1654 (Dedicated to
Katherine, Marchioness of Dorchester, etc.).

In this bibliographical approach we cannot forget Humphrey Moseley and his work. He was an influential editor and bookseller, and a member of the Stationers' Company. His first publication registered there was on 29th May 1630. He became the most important editor of the finer literature of his time. He was responsible for the first edition of Milton's Poems in 1645, in which, addressing the reader, he says: *"It is the love I have to our own language that hath made me diligent to collect and set forth such pieces, both in prose and verse, as may renew the wonted honour and esteem of our English tongue."* He published the works of writers such as Howell, Waller,

version: " Sobre el fundamento de sus estudios de v.m.vino bien la elocuencia con que escribe, y el juicio con que dispone el argumento de que trata."

Crashaw, Denham, D'Avenant, Cartwright, Donne, Fanshawe, Henry Vaughan, Beaumont and Fletcher, Suckling, Shirley, Cowley and Joseph Rutter (some of them members of the so-called "Tribe of Ben"), and translations of Italian and Spanish novels and French romances.

In his edition of Joseph Rutter's *The Cid* in 1650 (1637), Moseley included an interesting bibliography of all his publications up until then, 59 titles in all. In *The History of Don Fenise*, published a year later, there is another one of 76 titles. They are divided into three groups, and some of them deal with Spain:

Various Histories, with curious Discourses
in Humane Learning, & c.

- 4, 5 and 6.- The three first volumes of James Howell's
Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae, Familiar Letters, Domestic and Forren.¹⁶²

- 10.- Mr. Howels *Instructions for Forren Travels*, with
diverse Additions, 1650.

- 13.- *Policy Unveiled, or Maximes of State*, done into
English by the Translator of *Gusman* the Spanish Rogue.

- 14.- *The History of the Inquisition*, composed by the R. F.
Paul Servita the compiler of the History of the Councell of Trent.

- 18.- Marques *Virgilio Malvezzi*, Of the success and chief
events of the Monarchy of *Spaine*, in the year 1639 of the Revolt of
the Catalonians, Englished by *Rob. Gentilis*.

- 20.- *Gracious Privilidges granted by the King of Spain unto
our English Merchants*.

- 22.- *The Antipathy between the French and the Spaniard*,
translated out of Spanish.

*Choice Poems, with excellent Translations, and
Incomparable
Comedies and Tragedies, written by Severall Ingenious
Authors* .

¹⁶² They were published in 1645, 1647 and 1650 respectively. The fourth and last volume was published in 1655. As far as I know, this is the first account we have in prose fiction of the negotiations of the Spanish Match. This Letters were written while he was in prison and addressed to different people, some real, some fictitious. They anticipate the epistolary novels of the 18th century.

- 38.- *Aurora Ismenia* and the Prince, with Oronsa the Cyprian Virgin, translated by Tho: Stanley Esq, the second edition corrected and amended, in 8° 1650.

This is a translation of the Spanish *La Hermosa Aurora*. It is novel nº 1 of Juan Pérez de Montalván's *Sucesos y Prodigios de Amor*. Novels 3, 5, 6 and 10 were also translated into English. This is the Montalván who dedicated a sonnet to *Experiencias de Amor y de Fortuna*. Thomas Stanley was John Davies's protector and personal friend, to whom he dedicated his translation of Paul Scarron's novels.

In the last section of the bibliography, *Severall Sermons...* (numbers 61 to 76) there are no works dealing with Spain.

I would like to finish by emphasising that we are dealing with three very rare books in each language. All of them deserve the attention of the bibliophile and, of course, those who are interested in the study of Spanish literary influence upon England in the 17th century and the development of English literature. The reading of these three versions will help us to improve and enrich our knowledge of the kind of literature that was read in 17th century England.