

William Godolphin and Francisco de la Torre's *Agudezas de Juan Owen* (1674): Patronage, diplomacy, and confessionalism*

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ABSTRACT

Aragonese poet Francisco de la Torre y Sevil (1625–1681) dedicated his *Agudezas de Juan Owen* (1674) to William Godolphin (1635–1696), English ambassador to Madrid (1671–1678). Examination of the rich paratextual matter suggests that the bond of patronage between Spanish poet and English diplomat was forged at the convergence of two factors: the problematic nature of Owen's text, a collection of epigrams expurgated by the Holy Office whose publication in Spanish, although permitted, required avoiding inquisitorial censorship; and Godolphin's profile as a foreign ambassador converted to Catholicism and owner of an extensive library.

KEYWORDS: Francisco de la Torre, *Agudezas de Juan Owen*, Sir William Godolphin, confessionalism, patronage.

William Godolphin y las *Agudezas de Juan Owen* (1674) de Francisco de la Torre: mecenazgo, diplomacia y confesionalismo

RESUMEN: El poeta aragonés Francisco de la Torre y Sevil (1625-1681) dedicó a Sir William Godolphin (1635-96), embajador de Inglaterra en Madrid (1671-1678), sus *Agudezas de Juan Owen* (1674). Se argumentará que el vínculo de mecenazgo entre el diplomático inglés y el poeta español emanó de dos factores: por un lado, los condicionantes ofrecidos por el texto de Owen, una colección de epigramas expurgados por el Santo Oficio cuya publicación en castellano pasaba por esquivar la censura inquisitorial; por el

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RESUMO: O poeta aragonés Francisco de la Torre y Sevil (1625-1681) dedicou a sua *Agudezas de Juan Owen* (1674) a Sir William Godolphin (1635-1696), embaixador inglês em Madrid (1671-78). Argumentar-se-á que o elo de mecenato entre o diplomata inglês e o poeta espanhol emanou de dois factores: por um lado, as condições oferecidas pelo texto de Owen, uma coleção de epigramas expurgados pelo Santo Ofício cuja publicação em espanhol implicava evitar a censura inquisitorial; por outro, o perfil de Godolphin

* This article is an outcome of the project "A Polycentric Monarchy of Urban Republics before the European Rivalry in the Iberian Atlantic (1640-1713)" (ATLANREX) (PID2022-14501NB-I00) funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation and The European Social Fund Plus (ESF+). It was written while benefitting from a predoctoral FPI-UAM contract.

otro, el perfil de Godolphin como embajador extranjero converso al catolicismo y propietario de una extensa biblioteca.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Francisco de la Torre, *Agudezas de Juan Owen*, Sir William Godolphin, confesionalismo, mecenazgo.

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Introduction

Aragonese poet Francisco de la Torre y Sevil (1625–1681) had his translation *Agudezas de Juan Owen* published in Madrid in 1674.¹ At first glance, it would seem to be one more instance of the boom in epigrammatic literature in seventeenth-century Spain that intellectuals in Aragon were eager to contribute to as proud fellow-countrymen and literary heirs of “el agudo Marcial bilbilitano” [witty Bilbilitan Martial] (“Alcudia, Soneto”).² Latin poet Martial had been translated into Spanish by Aragonese intellectuals close to the translator of the *Agudezas*, such as Baltasar Gracián, José de Pellicer, Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, and Jerónimo de San José. De la Torre’s interest in *Epigrammata* exemplifies the remarkable reception John Owen’s work had enjoyed since its publication within the Europe-wide vogue for epigrams on the model of Martial. It ran to eleven editions in London, four in France, eleven in Amsterdam, and nine in Bratislava throughout the seventeenth century, as well as translations into English (1617), Dutch (1638), and German (1651); there were no editions in Spain. The epigrammatic subgenre as a whole was flourishing: de la Torre himself also planned to translate the works of other authors such as Ausonius, Jacob Bidermann, Jacobus Falcon, and pope Urban VIII (Alvar 1987, 10; “Al lector”; Ravasini 1996, 457–58; Rothberg 1981, 82–83). However, this composition is worth studying for two very specific reasons. One, it is considered the only work printed in seventeenth-century Spain to be dedicated to an Englishman (Hillgarth 2000, 273). And two, it is the translation

¹ All quotations are from the copy of de la Torre’s *Agudezas* held by the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), call number U/4086. As the preliminary pages are unnumbered, the paratextual materials will be referred to by the corresponding headings as they appear in the text: “Dedicatoria,” “Agropoli, Censura,” “El autor a Solís,” “Solís, Censura,” “Al lector,” “Alcudia, Soneto,” “Calderón, Décima,” “Salazar, Décima,” “Polo de Medina, Décima.” All translations from Spanish texts are mine.

² Bilbilitan: from Bilbilis (Calatayud, Aragon, Spain).

of a Protestant author whose literary output had been vetoed by the Holy Office. In what follows I will argue that the *Agudezas* underwent a twofold shielding, intellectual and confessional, to ensure its publication by avoiding inquisitorial censorship. The patron-client bond forged between translator and dedicatee will be analyzed within the courtly intellectual context and from the perspective of confessionalism. In the process, de la Torre's translation of Owen's work will emerge as a metaphor and a plea for an idealized reunion of England with the Roman Church. Direct evidence is scarce of how de la Torre and Godolphin built their relationship, but the copious paratextual material affords some impression of its origins and causes from the vantage not only of de la Torre himself but also of the other contributors of prefatory matter to this Spanish version of what was at first sight a politically – more accurately, confessionally – incorrect work.

Agudezas de Juan Owen is de la Torre's Spanish translation of the first three books of *Epigrammata* (1606), a collection of Latin epigrams composed by Welsh poet John Owen (c. 1564–c. 1622). Owen belonged to an affluent landed family from Caernarfonshire and, after obtaining a degree in Law at Oxford's New College (1590), he became headmaster of the King's New School of Warwick (1595). He was noted from a young age both for his outstanding wit and mastery of poetry and for his leading role as a promoter of religious reformation in his home country (Martyn 1979, 250–51). His staunch advocacy of Protestantism as Wales' national religion and his criticism of Roman orthodoxy permeated his work, resulting in his entire output ending up being listed in the various pontifical and Castilian editions of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. The position of the Spanish Inquisition regarding the *Epigrammata* was somewhat more permissive than Rome's and allowed its publication subject to some purging; however, on April 23, 1654, the Sacred Congregation of the Index included it in a decree with a list of works that were to be banned altogether (Rothberg 1981, 83; Zapata 1632, 612; Alexander VII 1667, 261). As a result, de la Torre was compelled to indulge in some rhetorical special pleading in his epistle to the reader: “desde mis verdes años [...] me entregué enteramente a todos los libros de este autor” and “casi pisaban ya la orilla de la prensa [...] cuando suspendí el intento: parecióme que sacaba a plaza la esterilidad de mi ingenio” [since my green years [...] I devoted myself entirely to all the books of this author and they were

almost on the verge of publication [...] when I suspended the attempt: it seemed to me that I was bringing the barrenness of my wit out into the open] (“Al lector”). His initial interest in Owen’s epigrams was the fault of youthful immaturity, and just before going to press with a first translation, he had second thoughts and pulled back for fear of publicizing his own lack of ingenuity. If the latter claim smacks of the false modesty topos, the former aligns him with other translators who feared being attributed the faults of those they translated (Peña 2015, 230–37), a case in point being Paul Rycaut, whose almost exactly contemporary translation (1681) of Gracian’s *El Criticón* into English also played on the greenness of youth to distance the now mature author from potentially dubious content (Sell 2021, 64–67) at a time of rampant anti-Catholicism in England. De la Torre adds that “esta consideración me motivó el escribir adiciones a todos los asuntos para tener también mi propia parte en ellos” [this led me to write additions to all the issues in order to have my own part in them as well] (“Al lector”). In other words, he implies that he translated the *Epigrammata* in two stages with a kind of intellectual awakening separating an earlier more passive and “sterile” version bereft of wit from a second version in which he took a more active or creative role by making his own additions.

De la Torre links this defense of his originality with his conception of the art of translation, which found authority in Sebastián de Covarrubia’s *Tesoro* and which prevailed at the time: “yo entiendo que las traducciones, para comprobarse, han de leerse dos veces; una, ajustándolas al texto, y otra, como independiente de él” [I understand that translations, in order to be tested, have to be read twice; once, adjusting them to the text, and once, as independent of the text] (“Al lector”).³ In his first version he limited himself to translating the original literally whereas, in his second, he aimed to “conseguir casi un imposible, que es copiar el aire” [achieve the nearly impossible, which is to copy air] by moving away from the “estrechez” [narrowness] of the text, since “el que no atiende a esta gala, construye gramático,

³ Lexicographer Sebastián de Covarrubias had already established this hierarchy between translations *ad verbum* and translations *ad sensum* in his *Tesoro*: if a translation was not made “conforme a la letra, pero según el sentido, sería lo que dijo un hombre sabio y crítico [Horacio] que aquello era verter, tomándolo en significación de derramar y echar a perder” [according to the word, but according to the sense, it would be what a wise and judicious man [Horace] said: that that was to pour in the sense of to spill and to spoil] (1611, fol. 652v).

no traductor elocuente” [he who does not follow this rule, becomes a grammarian, not an eloquent translator] (“Al lector”). The standard mode of de la Torre’s translation, then, is *ad verbum* with looser *ad sensum* renderings reserved for certain controversial passages. By this means and by the frequent insertion of additions, whether in the form of explanatory notes, reworkings of poems or his own compositions, he gave his version the personal hallmark he desired while at the same time distancing it from the content of Owen’s original (Ravasini 1996, 459–65).

Some of the additions inserted by de la Torre are intended to clarify certain passages of the text to reconcile them with Catholic views or to provide them with a meaning more in line with Roman orthodoxy. They are frequently introduced by way of an explanatory title, so that the reader knows where the translator intervened. In the following extract, for example, de la Torre invests Owen’s secular wisdom regarding life, death and health with an overtly Christian significance, identifying health with God.

MALUM INFINITUM

Mille modis morimur mortales, nascimur uno;
sunt hominum morbi mille, sed una Salus.

EL MAL ES INFINITO

Morimos de muchos modos
y a uno el nacer se ajusta;
hay para el hombre mil males,
y la salud sola es una.

ADD. MORAL Y CHRISTIANA QUE TRADUCE LO MISMO A
MEJOR INTENTO

Morimos de mil maneras,
de una nacemos, y son
nuestros males infinitos,
y una la salud, que es Dios. (Torre 1674, 334–35)⁴

Otherwise, when the aim of de la Torre was to explain more thoroughly and directly certain controversial terms, concepts, or people mentioned by Owen, he brought in his additions by means of prose comments

⁴ EVIL IS INFINITE | We die in many ways | and each one has a fit birth; | there are a thousand evils for man, | whereas health is only one. | ADD. MORAL AND CHRISTIAN WHICH TRANSLATES THE SAME INTO BETTER INTENT | We die in a thousand ways, | and we are born in one, | and our evils are infinite, | and health one, which is God.

independent from the main text, in the way of modern-day footnotes. For instance, in the following passage, the translator felt the need to illustrate with further detail the Welsh poet's derision of physician William Gilbert's Copernican views.

AD GILBERTUM

Stare negas terram; nobis miracula narras:

Haec cum scribebas in rate fersan eras.

A GILBERTO

Dices la tierra se mueve,

Gilberto, prodigio raro

sin duda al escribir esto,

estabas en algún barco.

¶ Búrlase Owen de Guillermo Gilberto, autor inglés, que en su tratado *De Magnete*, lib. 6, cap. 3, sigue la condenada opinión de Copérnico, que quiso asegurar una inconstancia, dando movimiento a la estabilidad de la Tierra; y para ejemplar de no conocerse este movimiento cuando advertimos el del Sol, hace argumento de que va en un barco, que no percibe el moverse; y le parece que caminan los montes, según el Poeta: *Terraeque urbesque; recedunt*. Por esto haciendo chanza Owen, dice que estaría moviéndose en algún barco Gilberto al proponer tal maravilla. (Torre 1674, 15–16)⁵

In addition to these more literary and traductological considerations,⁶ themselves bound up with de la Torre's attested perfectionism and self-effacing character, his two-stage production of *Agudezas* may also have been due to more practical reasons.⁷ As mentioned, Owen's

⁵ TO GILBERT | You say the earth moves, | Gilbert, rare prodigy | no doubt when you wrote this, | you were in some vessel | ¶ Owen mocks William Gilbert, English author, who in his treatise *De Magnete*, lib. 6, cap. 3, adheres to the condemned opinion of Copernicus, who wished to assert an inconstancy by giving motion to the stability of the Earth; and to exemplify that that motion is not noticed when we notice the Sun's, he argues that when he is aboard a vessel, he does not notice it moving and it seems to him that the mountains walk, according to the poet: *Terraeque urbesque; recedunt* [Lands and cities return; Virgil, *Aeneid*]. For that reason, Owen joking says that Gilbert must have been travelling aboard a vessel when he proposed such a marvel.

⁶ For further specific examples of de la Torre's interventions in Owen's text, see Rothberg (1981, 85–101).

⁷ Aragonese author Jorge Laborda stated in the address he gave at a literary academy held at the home of the Count of Lemos in Zaragoza around 1650 that Francisco de la Torre "tenía muy buen pico, pero su boca era tal que no sabía disimular aun sus faltas" [he was an able speaker, but his tongue was such that he could not even conceal his own faults] (Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano, MS M 2-6-11, fol. 17v).

original text was recorded in the pontifical decree of 1654. De la Torre, still a young man, might have begun working on the *Epigrammata* before then, only to put aside all thought of publication not on account of his alleged lack of ingenuity but, more pressingly, because his translation was of a text forbidden by Rome. On publication twenty years later, “el temor con que empecé a imprimir estos tres libros” [the fear with which I began to translate these three books] (“Al lector”) in his own words, is not, therefore, surprising and may allude to more urgent fears despite having included additions and modified certain passages, perhaps not so much with the aim of conferring originality on the work as to prevent inquisitorial intervention. This would explain the author’s continued resort to the cliché of false modesty: according to him, it was an imperfect work because his impatience had forced him to conclude it hastily “negados al beneficio y elegancia que infunde en los escritos la senectud del tiempo, con la sutil premeditada lima que escribe más con lo que borra que la pluma con lo que escribe” [denied the benefit and elegance that the senescence of time bestows on writings, with the subtle premeditated file that writes more with what it erases than the pen writes with what it writes] (“Al lector”). Thus, as well as by presenting the *Agudezas* as a product of his youth, he would be exempting himself from any negative interpretation that could be extracted from the text once published.

The courtly literary context

Francisco de la Torre interfered with the content of John Owen’s *Epigrammata* to ensure its publication. However, those textual adaptations to a different market had to be coupled with a further strategy to overcome any barriers placed in its way by the authorities responsible for approving and censoring the work. Here, the ability of the author to take advantage of his network of contacts played a key role. De la Torre’s social context was unusual. Knight of the Order of Calatrava and deputy of the Generalidad de Valencia, where he resided for some fifteen years, he was settled in Madrid by the early 1670s (Querol 2013, 157–58; 2004, 442–61). At the time of publication, therefore, he was very much a newcomer at court and finding his way around its entrenched clientelist structures. That said, he had been well integrated among Aragon’s elite, and his connections there appear to have favored his assimilation into the Madrid scene. He had

enjoyed the protection of viceregal power both in Aragon and Valencia where he had been a client of two viceroys, the Count of Lemos and the Marquis of Astorga. His relationship with them had been limited to literary patronage, attending the *academias*, or salons for local wits, that the former hosted in his house in Zaragoza in the early 1650s and dedicating several works to the latter during his term as Viceroy of Valencia (1664–1666).⁸ Furthermore, the Marquis of Aytona, another prominent aristocrat, had, in his capacity as commander of the Order of Calatrava, promoted the candidacy of Francisco de la Torre for the post of deputy in the Generalidad in 1661 (Querol 2004, 453). Lack of evidence makes it difficult to ascertain the particular benefits the poet derived from his contact with these noblemen once he had settled in Madrid. Nonetheless, the proximity of Astorga and Aytona to Queen-Regent Mariana of Austria's party (Crespí de Valldaura 2013, 33–34, 51–54, 197–99, 212–16, 246–54; *Hispania Illustrata*. 1703, 243; London, The National Archives [TNA], SP 94/55, fols. 173v-74), as well as his own impeccable history of services to the Crown, surely made his integration at court easier.

More decisive than his contacts with the political elite were those established by the author with the intellectual circles of Aragon. De la Torre arrived in Madrid at the height of his maturity with a rich network of literary friendships accumulated from his youth in Zaragoza and Huesca thanks to his affable character, his frequent participation in literary *academias* and the fame of his compositions. Both his uncle Jerónimo de la Torre, governor of the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Gracia in the Aragonese capital, and the chronicler Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz, were aware of his literary potential and introduced him to local literary gatherings (BNE, MS 8391, fol. 368; Querol 2004, 440–47). As a result, he began to earn a reputation, so that by the mid-1650s, he had become friends with several veteran and prestigious writers and scholars such as Baltasar Gracián, Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa or Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea. In fact, one of his biographers has

⁸ At the request of the Marquis of Astorga, in 1665 Francisco de la Torre wrote a narrative on the festivities and poetical contests held that year in Valencia in honor of the Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary. They were published under the title of *Luces de la aurora, días de sol. En fiestas de la que es sol de los días y aurora de las luces, María Santísima* (Querol 2004, 516–17). Shortly after, he dedicated a laudatory romance to him, then viceroy of Valencia, on being appointed Spanish ambassador to Rome (c. 1669) (BNE, MS VE/174/20). On the Count of Lemos's *academias*, see note 6.

described him at that period as a “fashionable character” (Querol 2004, 447) due to the abundance of literary engagements he undertook by commission. He was, for instance, commissioned to write a eulogy for Abarca de Bolea’s *Catorce vidas de santas de la orden del Cister* and a laudatory *décima* for Gracián’s *El Comulgatorio* (both printed in Zaragoza in 1655). But his rise to prominence owed most to the recent publication of his first work, *El Entretenimiento de las Musas* (1654), whose license was signed by Gracián himself (Alvar 1987, 11; Querol 2004, 447–48). His success would continue during his time in Valencia owing to his leading role as informal narrator of the city’s poetical contests (Querol 2004, 452–61). In short, despite his novelty in the courtly networks, when he arrived in Madrid in the early 1670s, Francisco de la Torre already enjoyed wide recognition in his facets as a playwright, poet, and translator.

His literary renown would have brought him to the attention of the leading lights of Madrid’s cultural elite, some of whom made significant contributions to the front matter of the *Agudezas*, which in turn implies that they may have played some role or other in the publication process. The licenses were signed by: José Zaragozá and Manuel de Nájera, professors, the first, of Mathematics and, the second, of Politics at the Imperial College of the Society of Jesus; the censures, by the Marquis of Agropoli and Antonio de Solís, chronicler of the Indies; and the laudatory poems, by the Count of Alcudia, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Agustín de Salazar and Jacinto Polo de Medina, well-known literati. Most of them lived at court, so it is unlikely that the translator had had personal contact with them before his arrival there. Only Alcudia and Polo de Medina were alien to this context. It may be that the former, active in Valencia in the 1660s, had met Francisco de la Torre there, while the latter, based in Alcantarilla, Murcia, had kept up written correspondence with him. However, it is difficult to trace the course of these contacts before their materialization in the preliminaries of the translation; after all, oral communication was the chief means of cementing links between actors in a relatively small local sphere such as Madrid. Nevertheless, the preliminary material itself together with other more indirect sources allow two complementary hypotheses to be formulated in this connection: firstly, that the Aragonese poet was already well enough known in courtly literary circles; secondly, that English ambassador Sir William Godolphin, recipient and patron of

the *Agudezas*, acted as an intermediary between de la Torre and the circle of court literati.

Two factors, one courtly literary, the other confessional, explain why de la Torre addressed his translation to this diplomat, although the former was more instrumental in gathering that cast of intellectuals around his *Agudezas*. Godolphin (1635–1696), resident in Madrid since 1669, had earned himself a scholarly reputation, to the extent that in the dedication (transcribed in the Appendix) the poet praised

el digno empleo que en los ocios dedica V.E. al continuado estudio de las facultades y de las lenguas le mereciera el mayor aplauso entre los doctos, tratando V.E. siempre con los que lo son; digo, con los libros, pues estudioso y favorecedor de los más selectos, cuando su elección y su desvelo les acredita lector, ya les ilustra mecenas. (“Dedicatoria”)⁹

The author gives a reason for his patronage relationship with the English ambassador: he was a well-known bibliophile. He had begun collecting books while studying at Oxford and during his stay in Madrid he pursued his interest further, acquiring in 1668 the library of the recently deceased Duke of Medina de las Torres (Miola 1918–1919, 81–93) and, between c.1671 and 1691, regularly supplying himself with batches of books on various subjects through his friend, John Luke, in England (TNA, Chancery Records, 5/618/88, n/fol.). As a result, he accumulated hundreds of titles and built up one of the largest nobiliary libraries in seventeenth-century Madrid.¹⁰ De la Torre’s friend Lastanosa, also a bibliophile, admitted that Godolphin “ha hecho numerosa librería” [has gathered an extensive library] after visiting him in 1676 and defined him much as de la Torre had done as “un caballero que su mucha nobleza la realza la universalidad de las buenas letras” [a gentleman whose great nobility is enhanced by the universality of good literature] (Arco 1934, 301). Not surprisingly, it is

⁹ The worthy employment that you devote in your free time to the continued study of the faculties and languages deserves you the greatest applause among the learned, always dealing as you do with those who are; I mean, with books, because as a scholar and patron of the most select books, when your choice and your devotion makes you their reader, you enlighten them as their patron.

¹⁰ Even though a complete inventory of Godolphin’s library does not seem to exist, some thousand books or so (most of them his) were recorded to have been bequeathed by his nephew to Oxford’s Wadham College upon the latter’s death in 1726 (Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, MS DD.SF.2.118.2, n/fol.).

significant that Lastanosa first met Godolphin in the library of Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia, Marquis of Agropoli, where he found him reading works by Jesuit polemicist Juan Cortés Osorio and mathematician Juan Martínez Silíceo (Arco 1934, 301). Besides revealing the ambassador's erudition, this account confirms his connection with one of the censors of the *Agudezas*, aristocrat, bibliophile and genealogist Ibáñez de Segovia, whom Godolphin met for the first time while the Marquis was making preparations for his intended journey to London as Spanish ambassador to England in early 1670. Agropoli gave Godolphin a copy of Jerónimo de Salcedo's *Commentarii et dissertationes philo-theo-historico-politicae* (1655), as the diplomat noted on the title page.¹¹

The diplomat's connections with the rest of the authors of prefatory material are more difficult to trace. One could only link him indirectly with José Zaragoza, who wrote one of the licenses, as Godolphin owned six of his works in nine volumes, which made Zaragoza the most frequent author in his collection. However, as these items are not listed as personal gifts, it is not possible to confirm the connection between the two. It is not even safe to say that de la Torre's contact with the aristocrat and the Jesuit mathematician was not prior to his first acquaintance with Godolphin given that Agropoli already corresponded with the Aragonese cultural elite and that Zaragoza had also lived in Valencia during the 1660s.¹² As for Calderón and playwrights of his circle such as Solís and Salazar, it is not unlikely that Godolphin's immense library would have been a magnet for them as for other courtly wits who would, in turn, have been familiar with the work of de la Torre and his growing prestige. In short, the relationship of patronage between de la Torre and Godolphin was almost certainly the outcome of the combination of both the translator's literary renown and the pull of his patron's library.

Regardless of the means, what is certain is that de la Torre secured the publication of his *Agudezas* by ensuring that the authorities in charge of licensing it were trustworthy individuals of acknowledged intellectual prestige who were willing to defend the merits of his

¹¹ Godolphin's copy held by Wadham College Library (WCL), G 10.24.

¹² Agropoli corresponded with Aragonese intellectuals that were close acquaintances of Francisco de la Torre, such as chroniclers Diego Vicencio de Vidania and Diego José Dormer (BNE, MS 9881, fols. 166r-67v; BNE, MS 8383). Zaragoza had been Professor of Theology in Valencia in the 1660s, but his relationship with literary circles is unknown.

translation by praising his scholarly efforts. The power of the author to choose the censors of his work was limited because this had been a matter entrusted to the Council of Castile ever since Philip II's pragmatic decree on the printing and circulation of books issued on September 7, 1558, in response to an increase in the flow of Protestant literature (Peña 2015, 39–43). However, de la Torre may well have benefited from the influence of his contacts in two ways. The Count of Villaumbrosa, president of the Council of Castile and, like Astorga and Aytona (see above), another leading supporter of the Austrian party at court, was married to the Countess of Villaumbrosa, to whom Father Zaragoza would dedicate his *Esfera en Común Terrestre y Terráquea* (1675), a copy of which Godolphin also possessed.¹³ Therefore, the appointment of the Jesuit academic as censor of the *Agudezas* would not be surprising on the assumption he had had previous contact with de la Torre. De la Torre himself was actively involved in the choice of another of his censors, the chronicler Antonio de Solís, to whom he presented himself as “servidor suyo” [your servant] on January 4, 1673, before submitting his *Agudezas* “al dictamen de su elevado parecer y prudente lima” [to the judgement of your high opinion and prudent file] (“El autor a Solís”); he obtained a favorable reply from Solís on November 30 (“Solís, Censura”). The reasons for de la Torre's choice of Solís are unknown, but he was part of the Calderonian circle of authors and corresponded with Aragonese intellectuals (Serralta 1986, 111–13).

In line with the justifications provided in the epistle to the reader, the authorities in charge of licensing and censoring the *Agudezas* supported its publication by stressing its originality, the difficulty of translating a work so complex in its style as Owen's *Epigrammata*, and the combination of translations *ad verbum* and *ad sensum*. Both Solís and Agropoli praised de la Torre's ability to free himself from the narrowness of translations, which “aprisionan al ingenio en una cárcel muy pequeña” [imprison the wit in a very small jail] (“Solís, Censura”) or “como vestido prestado que, hecho para otro cuerpo, no conviene tan ajustadamente al que se aplica” [like a borrowed dress that, made for another body, does not fit so tightly to the one to which it is applied] (“Agropoli, Censura”). Translators, according to Solís, “obliganse a prohijar el discurso ajeno, buscando palabras adecuadas

¹³ Godolphin's copy held by WCL, G 20.2.

para tratarle como propio y producir (en cierta manera), lo que no concibieron” [they are obliged to adopt the speech of others, looking for suitable words to treat it as their own and produce (in a certain way), what they did not conceive] and this risk “se hace mayor en los poetas: porque son nuevas ataduras el metro y la consonancia: y de los poetas crece la dificultad en los epigramas por ser otra prisión la brevedad” [becomes greater in poets: because meter and consonance are new constraints: and among poets difficulties increase with epigrams because brevity is another prison] (“Solís, Censura”). Despite the difficulties entailed by epigrammatic meter, consonance and brevity, de la Torre has, according to Agropoli, given Owen

nueva vida, puliendo la incultura del estilo, evitando la impropiedad de algunas voces y elevando lo lánguido de los versos [...] conservando siempre que lo permiten las palabras su puntualísima traducción y mejorándola muchas veces con el periphras o paraphrasis, que deja más hermosos y perceptibles los conceptos que, de ordinario, se realzan con mayor primor y agudezas en las adiciones. (“Agropoli, Censura”)¹⁴

In other words, the poet had succeeded in breathing new life into Owen’s work by polishing its style and clarifying its concepts through periphrasis, paraphrase, and additions. Both the censors and the authors of the laudatory poems gave prominence to the additions because they considered them to be the utmost expression of de la Torre’s creativity and, therefore, the main device for hiving off the new content of the *Agudezas* from that of the *Epigrammata*. As Agustín de Salazar remarked to de la Torre in his *décima*: “consigues traducir | con tanta adición felice | no solo lo que Owen dice | sino lo que dejó de decir” [you manage to translate | with so many happy additions | not only what Owen says | but what he failed to say] (“Salazar, Décima”). This definition of the additions as the felicitous interpolation of what the original author had failed to say is echoed by Calderón— “no solo en ti considero | todo lo que él [Owen] dijo | sino lo que dejó de

¹⁴ [Francisco de la Torre has given Owen] new life, polishing the uncultured style, avoiding the impropriety of some terms and elevating the languidness of the verses [...] preserving, as long as the words allow, their very precise translation and often improving it with the periphras or paraphrasis, which makes more beautiful and perceptible the concepts that, as a matter of course, are enhanced with greater beauty and acuties in the additions.

decir" [not only do I consider in you | all that he [Owen] said | but what he left unsaid] ("Décima")—and Polo de Medina— "se pondera | tu agudeza la primera, | pues le añade tu primor | lo que él dijera mejor | si como tú lo dijera" [your acuity is the first to be pondered | for your wit adds to it | what he would say better | if he said it like you do] ("Décima"). These testimonies by Salazar, Calderón, and Polo de Medina confirm that act of self-censorship or "prevenido cuidado" [cautious care] which de la Torre admitted to in the epistle to the reader ("Al lector"). That said, de la Torre's additions not only respond to the stylistic, thematic, and metrical criteria alluded to in the paratextual materials, but also to the need to lend the *Agudezas* a confessional shielding which would complement its courtly literary protection and enhance its chances of passing the censor.

Confessionalism

The *Agudezas* deserved to be published because of their confessional significance. This factor, together with the courtly literary one, explains why de la Torre chose William Godolphin as its dedicatee. A priori, the diplomat represented an ideal patron for a work of this kind because he solved the potential problem of finding a benefactor who would accept the task of financing its printing and ensuring its protection. Godolphin, who only undertook the patronage of this single work, was naturally an outsider to the clientelist networks of Madrid and, as the official representative of a foreign sovereign, he was exempt from any reprisals that the Holy Office might take against him. As far as the author's interests were concerned the ambassador would have been wealthy enough to fund the work and his Roman Catholicism was beyond all doubt in view of his conversion, when seriously ill with erysipelas in 1671, with the Inquisitor General's consent (London, British Library, Egerton MS 1509, fols. 281–82). In other words, Godolphin's ambivalent status as English outsider and confessional insider made him perfect to be patron of an alien and confessionally controversial text like de la Torre's *Agudezas*. Moreover, as an individual devoted to the conciliation of the two opposing political and confessional spheres of Spain and England, Godolphin's activity in some way paralleled that of Francisco de la Torre, whose aim was none other than to find, by means of translation, common ground between a

confessionally incompatible text and the target culture for which he had translated it.

De la Torre's dedication to Godolphin illustrates the parallels that the poet seeks to establish between himself and his patron and between the latter and the translation in order to give almost providential justification to the bond of patronage. De la Torre developed two rhetorical arguments to show the correlation between the translation and its recipient. First, as was usual in dedications, particularly to strangers or foreigners whose origins and family ties were alien to local clientele structures (Martínez 2010, 48–50), he praised Godolphin's distinguished pedigree, which he had read about in Camden's *Britannia* (1586), to emphasize the ambassador's own translated identity. That praise was of the two heads of the Godolphin family heraldic device and of his personal condition. As to the former, the image on the coat of arms was a two-headed eagle symbolizing the ambassador's innate capacity to mediate. Just as, as ambassador to Madrid, he was "medio entre la voz y el oído de un Segundo Carlos y de otro Carlos Segundo," [intermediary between the speech and the hearing of a Second Charles and of another Charles the Second] in his role as patron of the *Agudezas*, Francisco de la Torre asked him now as "el águila de dos cabezas" [the two-headed eagle] to "favorecer dos plumas [his and Owen's]" [favor two pens] ("Dedicatoria"). In the same way, the author equates the personal condition of the dedicatee with that of his work, since both share a translated identity, Owen's epigrams having now passed into Spanish and Godolphin having passed from the Spanish identity which, according to Tacitus in his *Agricola*, the original settlers of Godolphin's Cornish homeland had held. They were therefore in a loose sense his remotest ancestors: "por español implora lo traducido a V.E., cuyo antiquísimo solar es en la provincia de Cornwalia, donde fueron hispanos sus primeros pobladores" [the translation implorates you as a Spaniard, whose very ancient seat is in the province of Cornwall, the first settlers of which were Hispanic] and, consequently, "¿a quién hallaré yo más proporcionado para dedicar un inglés traducido a español [Owen] que a un español traducido a inglés [Godolphin]?" [who will I find more suitable to dedicate an Englishman translated into Spanish than a Spaniard translated into English?] ("Dedicatoria"). De la Torre's second rhetorical argument is to assert very distant blood relations between Godolphin and the original dedicatee of Owen's *Epigrammata*,

Mary Neville. His choice of patron is almost forced upon him by fate; the English ambassador is the natural, providential dedicatee.

Si Owen dedica estos tres mismos libros a la Ilustrísima Madama María Nevile, con quien tan enlazado se ofrece V.E. en repetidos vínculos de sangre; fuera apartarme del acierto a que me guía el autor que traduzco si no siguiera la luz de la protección que en V.E. invoco. ("Dedicatoria")¹⁵

Mary Neville (d. 1642) was related to Godolphin through the Killigrew lineage, to which one of the diplomat's great-grandmothers belonged. Although the ambassador may have been aware of this connection, it is more likely that it was Agropoli, a renowned genealogist, who transmitted this information to de la Torre. Godolphin himself recalled in 1670 how the Spanish nobleman "began his first visit to me with a relation of my pedigree (which he had learnt two days before from an English Jesuit in town)" (TNA, SP 94/56, fol. 77r).

As well as those sometime dubious rhetorical arguments based on heraldry and lineage, de la Torre draws a parallel between translation and Godolphin's status as both diplomat, professional translator, and convert, a personal self-translator. As for diplomacy, de la Torre asks, "quién más propio para amparar traducciones que el héroe que traduce en tranquila correspondencia con fidelísima legalidad los dictámenes de dos soberanos príncipes" [who more suitable to protect translations than the hero who translates the dictates of two sovereign princes into calm correspondence with most faithful legality] ("Dedicatoria"). Godolphin is a diplomatic "héroe" [hero] on the strength of his highly faithful renderings of the decrees of two sovereign princes, the respective monarchs of Spain and England. But, if the two sovereign princes refer to the king of England and Christ the king, Godolphin is also a religious hero due to his faithful obedience to the call of his Lord. This second reading acquires particular force within the broader confessional endeavor of reuniting England with the Church of Rome in the context of growing English anti-Catholic sentiment due to the concurrence of several factors such as the Duke

¹⁵ If Owen dedicates these same three books to the Illustrious Lady Mary Neville, with whom you are so closely linked by repeated blood ties, it would be to stray wide of the mark to which the author I translate guides me if I did not follow the light of the protection that I invoke in you.

of York's conversion and fears about increasing French influence in court politics (Hutton 1989, 297–319; Miller 1973, 124–34). During the Restoration period, the Spanish Crown gave its seal of approval to efforts to reunite the British Isles, above all, Ireland, with Roman orthodoxy (Bravo 2019, 100–152). The publication of the *Agudezas* would be responding to this background if the text is interpreted as a metaphor for religious change. On translation, the *Epigrammata* followed a dynamic of “conversion” that could easily be applied to Godolphin's personal experience and, at the same time, to the efforts of the Pope's Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to evangelize in the British Isles. It is not for nothing that Francisco de la Torre converted an English work considered heretical into the *Agudezas*, a collection of epigrams equivalent to Owen's but suitable for a Spanish Catholic public. Just as the convert changes his soul and identity while keeping his body invariable, so does the translator with his work. In Alcudia's words, de la Torre “le infunde nueva luz, vivo ser; donde | es del autor el cuerpo y tuya el alma” [provides it with new light, living being; where | the body is the author's and the soul is yours] (“Alcudia, Soneto”). De la Torre restores Owen's work to a new life by injecting the original textual body with a luminous, living soul.

Following this logic, the parallel between the *Agudezas* and Godolphin as subjects of conversion is clear, but also de la Torre's self-identification with the ambassador as promoter of that conversion in the evangelization context. The latter, as an Englishman, Catholic convert, and diplomat, embodied the ideal model of a “translator” in the author's etymological sense, i.e., that of an individual capable of “carrying” or “leading” Catholic faith to his native land. What is interesting is that de la Torre was not alone in invoking this association between Godolphin and the evangelizing venture. This link had already appeared in a contemporary panegyric dedicated to Godolphin by a certain Antonio Flórez “en ocasión de dar su embajada” [on the occasion of his public entry as ambassador] (Flórez n/d., 1) in February 1673, just as anti-Catholic sentiment was reviving in England.¹⁶ With the aid of nuptial allegories, Flórez makes Godolphin a participant in the efforts to reunite England with the Church of Rome.

¹⁶ Printed copy held by the Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid), 9/3499(4).

De espacios imaginarios
se ha de hacer juicio, hasta que
al tiempo, la realidad
la dé Himeneo a entender.
[...]
Y en volviendo a vuestra casa
quiera el cielo que imitéis
al Único de la Arabia
en el antes y el después
para que a vuestra influencia
[...] vuelva María
por su dote, pues lo fue
el Anglia; que el Vicecristo
se la dio a su candidez. (Flórez n/d., 4)¹⁷

Flórez desires that when Godolphin returns to England, the Virgin Mary should do so too to reclaim her English “dote” [dowry]. Although it is difficult to confirm Godolphin’s true role during these years in the propagation of Catholicism in his native land on the strength of de la Torre’s rhetorical analogies, it is possible to conclude that the *Agudezas* were published with half an eye to the materialization of an idealized reunion of England with Rome. In fact, the translation of the *Epigrammata*’s final three books, published after de la Torre’s death, was dedicated to Savo Mellini, nuncio in Madrid who was directly engaged in the evangelizing endeavors monitored by the Holy Seal.¹⁸ The scarcity of evidence prevents us from affirming that the publication of both volumes of the *Agudezas* were a response to a previous agreement between Godolphin and the papal representative to raise awareness of the diffusion of Catholicism in a context of growing confessional strife in England, although all the signs point

¹⁷ Of imaginary spaces | judgment is to be made, until | in time, reality | shall be made known by Hymenaeus | [...] And when you return to your home | God grant that you imitate | the Only One of Arabia | in the before and after | so that under your influence | [...] Mary returns | for her dowry, for it was | Anglia; that the Vice-Christ | gave to her candor.

¹⁸ The last three books of *Epigrammata* were published under the title *Agudezas de Juan Owen traducidas en verso castellano, ilustradas con adiciones y notas* (BNE, U/4087). The late author had entrusted his close friend Pedro Domingo Sánchez, chaplain to the nuncio, to dedicate this last work of his to his master (“Dedicatoria a Savo Mellini”). It is difficult to tell whether Godolphin was in any way connected with the evangelization of England before his final years; even if he were, he would have tried to conceal the fact lest his conversion to Catholicism be revealed abroad.

in this direction. What is certain is that by placing his translation under the patronage of both diplomats and giving it that rhetorical significance, de la Torre managed to ensure its publication by giving it a double courtly literary and confessional shielding.

Conclusions

The publication of *Agudezas de Juan Owen* (1674) was conditioned by the heretical nature of the original work, *Epigrammata* (1606), composed by a condemned author. To avoid inquisitorial reprisals, its translator, Francisco de la Torre, implemented a series of cautionary measures. At a textual level and as a means of self-censorship, he introduced stylistic, thematic, and metrical changes to his version, using additions to confer originality on it and to distance himself from the content of Owen's text. He also gave the *Agudezas* a double shielding, courtly literary and confessional, taking advantage of his extensive network of contacts. Through their licenses, censures, and laudatory poems, the contributors of prefatory material advocated for the work's publication on the basis of its erudite and innovative quality. The patronage link established with William Godolphin, English ambassador to Madrid, was useful in two ways. Firstly, his literary interests made him a suitable patron of the translation, while his library possibly served as a link between Francisco de la Torre and the list of censors who intervened in the paratextual material of the *Agudezas*. Secondly, Godolphin's status as an Englishman, Catholic convert and diplomat, made him an individual with a translated identity and, consequently, an ideal dedicatee of a work presented in analogous terms by its author. By associating the work of the translator with that of the diplomat, Francisco de la Torre portrayed Godolphin as a participant in an idealized reunion of England with Rome in a context of particular English anti-Catholic hostility, thereby freighting the *Agudezas* with confessional significance. In short, this study hopes to have shed light on strategies to circumvent inquisitorial censorship, with particular attention to the influence of friendship and patronage networks in the process of the publication of controversial works, and to have thrown into relief the ulterior motives that sometimes underlay translations as points of convergence between opposing political, cultural, and confessional spheres.

APPENDIX

Al Excelentísimo Señor Don Guillermo Godolphin, Embajador del Serenísimo Rey de la Gran Bretaña a Su Majestad Católica.

Dedicó el antiguo culto a la luz de Apolo las flechas para que fuesen rayos y para que así se afilase el aire de la sutileza en las aras de la sabiduría. Con igual intento y proporción ofrece mi obsequio al lucimiento de V.E. en las agudezas de Oven otras flechas; bien que entorpecidas con la rudeza de mi pluma cuando se guarnecen con las puntas de mis yerros. Dirígense desde la tirante cuerda de la traducción al blanco de una sombra en las blancas felices plumas y extendidas alas de la real ave que es elevado timbre a la ilustre familia de V.E. Y si fue dichoso anuncio en la vana credulidad de los gentiles la sombra de un águila hacia la mano derecha, vuela ahora la propia en esa generosa insignia hacia la derecha mano del que escribe para que, con tan feliz auspicio, el que escribe vuela. Si es alevosa indignidad una lengua de dos corazones, sea contrapuestamente en mi obra española y latina, sino ofrecimiento un corazón de dos lenguas. Admítalas V.E., fecundo en muchas y de la fama aplaudido en todas por erudito Embajador Mercurio, que ingenioso y prudente, sabrá a dos luces medir la igualdad de los dos idiomas con la vara de las dos sierpes. ¿Quién más propio para amparar traducciones que el héroe que traduce en tranquila correspondencia con fidelísima legalidad los dictámenes de dos soberanos príncipes, siendo medio entre la voz y el oído de un Segundo Carlos y de otro Carlos Segundo? Por español implora lo traducido a V.E., cuyo antiquísimo solar es en la provincia de Cornwallia, donde fueron hispanos sus primeros pobladores, como entre otros refiere Tácito, *De vita Agricolae, capit. 9*. Y siendo V.E. por naturaleza inglés, como antiguamente hispano en su primitivo origen, ¿a quién hallaré yo más proporcionado para dedicar un inglés traducido a español que a un español traducido a inglés? Dé nombre con su protección a mi libro el que le da a su patria con su merecida celebridad: favorezca a dos plumas el águila de dos cabezas. Defienda las flores de Oven en sus tres libros el escudo de las tres flores de Lis, pues todo se encuentra en la nobilísima Casa de V.E. según testifica Guillermo Candeno en las palabras siguientes: *A la parte del Oriente se levanta Godolcan, fértil en collados y en minerales de estaño. Godolphin llaman ahora a esta tierra, célebre por sus señores del mismo nombre; y mucho más célebre porque ellos igualaron siempre lo antiguo de su sangre con lo insignie de sus virtudes. El nombre Godolphin en la lengua cornwalica quiere decir águila blanca; y por eso desde inmemorial tiempo tiene por armas esta*

familia en escudo colorado entre tres lirios cándidos, un águila blanca de dos cuellos con las alas extendidas. La parte de las letras influye no menos ajustadas proporciones en V.E., pues cuando la experiencia de tan importantes manejos como ha perfeccionado la primorosa sagacidad de V.E. no le acreditara de prudente político, el digno empleo que en los ocios dedica V.E. al continuado estudio de las facultades y de las lenguas le mereciera el mayor aplauso entre los doctos, tratando V.E. siempre con los que lo son; digo, con los libros; pues estudioso y favorecedor de los más selectos, cuando su elección y su desvelo les acredita lector, ya les ilustra mecenas. Finalmente, si Oven dedica estos mismos tres libros a la Ilustrísima Madama María Nevile, con quien tan enlazado se ofrece V.E. en repetidos vínculos de sangre, fuera apartarme del acierto a que me guía el autor que traduzco si no siguiera la luz de la protección que en V.E. invoco. Y ya que no sea en lo sutil semejante la traducción, sea en lo ilustre parecido, y propio el mecenas; y cuando dice Oven en su primer dístico que dedica sus libros al lector y su persona a Madama, espero mejorarle; y para que se aventaje mi obsequio, ofrezco igualmente a la sombra de V.E. no solo mi persona, sino cuanto alcanza la cortedad de mi ingenio en este libro, repitiendo con su primer autor,

Libros dedico, meque tibi.

Ex.^{mo} Señor.

B. L. M. D. V. E.

Su más obligado servidor,

D. Francisco de la Torre.

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How to cite this article:

Sell Maestro, Alejandro. "William Godolphin and Francisco de la Torre's *Agudezas de Juan Oven* (1674): Patronage, diplomacy, and confessionalism." *SEDERI* 33 (2023): 33–56.

<https://doi.org/10.34136/sederi.2023.2>

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Submission: 13/04/2023

Acceptance: 28/06/2023