

Recommended reading for good governors: *Utopia de Thomas Moro (1637)**

Inmaculada Ureña Asensio
Universidad de Jaén, Spain

ABSTRACT

Gerónimo de Medinilla translated Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) into Spanish in 1637, more than a century after the text was printed in Leuven. The paratexts of the translation imply that Medinilla might have published his translation with a practical and political intention, which is reminiscent of the first interpretations of the humanist's work by sixteenth-century Spanish readers. This article analyzes two textual references from the translation to discuss the hypothesis that it was offered as a manual for governors. It also proposes an original biography of Gerónimo de Medinilla. This will serve to contextualize the translator and the potential final purpose of the edition.

KEYWORDS: translation, Medinilla, *Utopia*, manual for governors, Thomas More.

Una lectura recomendada para el buen gobierno: *Utopia de Thomas Moro* (1637)

RESUMEN: Gerónimo de Medinilla publicó su traducción de la obra *Utopia* de Thomas More en 1637, más de un siglo después de que el humanista inglés viese su trabajo impreso en Lovaina (1516). En los paratextos de la obra, Medinilla deja entrever que la traducción tenía un fin práctico y político. Esta lectura recuerda a las primeras interpretaciones hechas por españoles en el siglo XVI. A través del análisis de dos citas del texto, este artículo debate la hipótesis de que el traductor ofrecía su *Utopia* como un manual de buen go-

Uma leitura recomendada para bons governadores: *Utopia de Thomas Moro* (1637)**

RESUMO: Gerónimo de Medinilla publicou a sua tradução de *Utopia* (1516), de Thomas More, em 1637, mais de um século após o texto ter sido impresso em Lovaina. Os paratextos da tradução sugerem que Medinilla pode ter publicado a sua tradução com uma finalidade prática e política, remanescente das primeiras interpretações do trabalho deste humanista por leitores espanhóis quinhentistas. Este artigo analisa duas referências textuais da tradução, para discutir a hipótese de que esta foi oferecida como um manual para bons governadores.

* This research paper was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (MICINN) with the program Formación del Profesorado Universitario (FPU19/01014) and the project "Thomas More y España: construcción ideológica y textual" ("Thomas More and Spain. Ideological and Textual Construction") (FFI2017-83639-P) at the Universidad de Jaén. I would like to thank Dr. Eugenio Olivares Merino for his time, invaluable guidance and support throughout the process of writing this article.

** Translation into Portuguese by Miguel Ramalhete.

bierno. Como contextualización al traductor y su posible objetivo final, este trabajo también presenta una biografía original sobre Gerónimo de Medinilla.

PALABRAS CLAVE: traducción, Medinilla, *Utopía*, manual de gobierno, Thomas More.

Propõe-se também uma biografia original de Gerónimo de Medinilla, de forma a contextualizar o tradutor e o seu possível objetivo final.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: tradução, Medinilla, *Utopía*, manual de governo, Thomas More.

Scholars and various readers have offered different interpretations for the genesis and intention of Thomas More's *Utopia* since its publication in 1516. Some believed that *Utopia* was a response to the religious doctrines emerging in Europe. With his text, Thomas More would have been launching a manifesto of reform defending the ideals of Christian Humanism (Prévost 1972, 116–17). However, other views propose that More wanted to play with the literary creation of a commonwealth, a sort of response to the first testimonies of America and native societies (More 1965, xxxi). This discussion has shaped different readings of the humanist's work.¹

In Spain, the interpretations shifted according to historical and cultural circumstances. In the first half of the sixteenth century, More's text was read as a political treatise for governors in the Spanish territories overseas. Spaniards like Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico, Vasco de Quiroga, bishop of Michoacán, and Juan de Torquemada, a Franciscan missionary in Mexico, seriously considered *Utopia* for the construction and organization of their cities (Maravall 1982, 23). The second half of the sixteenth century relegated More's masterpiece to the background. Writers now paid attention to the Chancellor, focusing on exalting his figure and sanctity. Fernando de Herrera wrote *Tomás Moro* (1592)—which, according to López Estrada, was for a long time the only Spanish book fully dedicated to Thomas More (1980, 30)—; Pedro de Ribadeneyra devoted some pages to the humanist in his *Historia Eclesiástica del Cisma de Inglaterra* (1588); and Alonso de Villegas's included his biography in his 1588 *Flos Sanctorum* (1980, 27–43).²

In the seventeenth century, according to Jones, *Utopia* was no longer read as in the previous century. More's text turned into a work

¹ For an updated bibliography, see Logan (1983; 2011) and Dealy (2020).

² For further information on the depiction of Thomas More in Spain, see Lillo Castañ (2021) and García García (2021).

of fiction, since it appeared more a work of imagination rather than a work for practical application (1950, 480).³ Furthermore, no Spanish translation was published during the sixteenth century, unlike in other European nations. The first translation of More's work published in Spain was *Utopia de Thomas Moro* (1637), by Gerónimo de Medinilla.⁴ The work was published in 1637 in the workshop of Salvador de Cea Tea, a printer in the city of Córdoba. It is a partial translation: Medinilla only translated Book II,⁵ removing the paratexts and the first book.⁶ Medinilla's edition features a rich paratextual apparatus, even if he did not preserve any of the original Latin introductory materials. The edition contains a wide range of preliminaries: a title page, a dedication to Juan de Chaves, two notes by the translator, the testimonies of Francisco de Quevedo and Jiménez Patón, a recommendatory letter, nine poems, the inquisitorial approval of Jiménez Patón, four other institutional approvals, and the index of chapters—Davenport and Cabanillas count twenty-five different elements (2008, 112). This abundance was frequent in most seventeenth-century editions around Europe (Bohigas 1962, 210). These elements contextualize the work and offer the reader a brief presentation of Thomas More, *Utopia*, the translator, and the translation. The perspectives provided by the

³ López Estrada also discusses this idea. As the Renaissance text shared features with fictional literature, the utopian nature prevailed over the practical component of *Utopia* (1980, 62–63).

⁴ However, in the sixteenth century a Spanish translation of *Utopia* already circulated in Spain: the manuscript Madrid, Real Biblioteca MS II/1087. Víctor Lillo Castañ attributes the authorship to Vasco de Quiroga, who could have rendered it circa 1535 (2020, 1). This manuscript was made known by Serrano y Sanz (1903) and commented by López Estrada in 1992, as is documented in Davenport and Cabanillas (2008, note 1, 110). This remarkable discovery has changed the understanding of reception of *Utopia* in Spain as well as in the European paradigm, as this sixteenth-century rendering is now considered the first vernacular translation of More's text. Nevertheless, Medinilla's translation can be regarded the first printed version, because Quiroga's manuscript was addressed to a group of counselors from the Consejo de Indias (Lillo 2020, 3). For further information on the description of the manuscript see Lillo Castañ (2018) and More (2021).

⁵ The reason why this might have happened remains surprisingly unclear, considering that Book I discusses the political involvement of wise men. There are several possible explanations: Medinilla could have believed that *Utopia* focused too much on sixteenth-century English society or could have feared that the Inquisition expurgate some controversial fragments of the text. Alternatively, a shortened version of *Utopia* with just one book might have been more appealing to readers.

⁶ For a detailed account of paratexts, see Cave (2008, 278–80).

paratexts enable a complete study of *Utopia de Thomas Moro* in terms of expected audience and interpretations.

The hypothesis that Medinilla planned his translation as a manual for governors was already put forth by Davenport and Cabanillas (2008).⁷ To prove the idea, the authors focus on the translator's environment. Medinilla was at that moment governor in Córdoba and his interest in authors like Thomas More, Nicolas Machiavelli, Jean Bodin, and Cornelius Tacitus reflected his concern with political issues (2008, 114–15). López Estrada had previously explored that possibility too. He suggested that Medinilla proposed More's text with a political purpose that was timidly reminiscent of the *arbitristas*, who advised the king on politics and economy through their writings in Spain during the sixteen and seventeen centuries (1965, 305; 1980, 83).⁸ Likewise, Medinilla could be offering his translation as a handbook for all types of governors.

As argued, *Utopia* was dedicated to a political figure (Juan de Chaves), a feature which is also present in other vernacular translations. In 1524—More was still alive—, Claude Chansonnette rendered it into German. Printed in Basel, the translation was partial: only Book II was included. The translator, one of the most popular jurists of the time, decided to gift the text to the Town Council of Basel to acknowledge the good work of the local government (Salberg 2008, 34–35).⁹ Then in 1551 Ralph Robinson published the first English translation of *Utopia*. This was dedicated to his patron, the English statesman William Cecil. However, there was no explicit political declaration, since Robinson aimed only to please Elizabeth I's future advisor with a work that

⁷ Davenport and Cabanillas declare that “we consider that Medinilla's primary purpose in communicating Utopia to his fellow countrymen is to make the praise of the ideal governance of Utopia reflect his own governance of Córdoba and its districts. Thus, in seventeenth-century Spain the function of *Utopia* as a political treatise is emphasized, marginalizing the narrative element” (2008, 125–26).

⁸ According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, *arbitristas* are “writers who combined an economic analysis of the social ills of Spain with projects for economic recovery and social and moral regeneration” (s.v. “Spain in 1600”).

⁹ “Harumb gnedigen und günstigen herrn wellen üwere St.E.W. diß vertütscht büchly als ein gewiß pfand mins underdien-stlichen gegen inen und einer loblichen Statt Basel” (Cave 2008, 160) [“Therefore, graceful and benevolent lords, I hope your Lordship will willingly receive and accept this little book that I have translated into German as a certain pledge of a mind that is all set humbly to serve you and the good city of Basel” (Cave 2008, 161)].

might be of his interest (Spaans and Cave 2008, 92). In 1585, a French edition was produced in Henri III's honor. Its translator was Gabriel Chappuys and he included Book II within a compilation of real and fictional forms of government titled *L'Etat, description et gouvernement des royaumes et republicques du monde, tant anciennes que modernes*.¹⁰ The translator believed this set of states could broaden the king's knowledge of other governments (Boutcher 2008, 78). Finally, there is one rendering printed in the seventeenth century that preserved this same characteristic. Samuel Sorbière's French translation was presented to Count Frederik Magnus, governor of Sluis (Boutcher 2008, 84). In addition to these translations, the 1620 Latin edition of *Utopia* printed in Milan was dedicated to the president of the senate in Milan (Boutcher 2008, 137).

The premise proposed by Davenport and Cabanillas has not yet been explored in depth in other bibliographical references relevant for Thomas More studies. In fact, earlier articles like those by Lydia Hunt (1991) and R. O. Jones (1950) sidestep the issue completely and pay much more attention to the influence of Quevedo in the translation. Considering Davenport and Cabanillas's proposal as a starting point, this paper examines the context of the work and analyzes its paratexts to discuss the hypothesis that the text could have been translated to be read as a political treatise or manual for governors. The paratexts of the book reveal that there was a political intention behind it, which reminds us of previous interpretations in sixteenth-century Spain. They contain a series of elements that support the idea that Medinilla might have been an exception to those who read More's text as fictional literature in seventeenth-century Spain. For that reason, two textual references from the section "Al Lector" ["To the Reader"]¹¹—written by the translator—are key to developing the idea that the governor aimed at presenting his *Utopia* with a political intention. The first one revisits Medinilla's way of serving the country by sharing the political content of *Utopia*. The second quote exposes how he himself could benefit from rendering its message. Before studying these intertwined references, a biography of the translator is presented, despite the lack of available data. The next lines review all official documents, biographical encyclopedias and academic publications dealing with

¹⁰ Chappuys text used Sansovino's *Il Governo* as a primary source (Boutcher 2008, 79).

¹¹ My translation.

Medinilla's biography. The number of sources available is limited. Despite that, these showcase the translator's intense political career and how his public presence provides a relevant political background for the publication of *Utopia de Thomas Moro*.

About Gerónimo de Medinilla

The dates and events in the life of the translator, Gerónimo Antonio de Medinilla y Porres, are instrumental in defining the reasons why *Utopia de Thomas Moro* fulfills a political function and how the work itself helps to build his role in public life. The first scholar to write about him was López Estrada (1965). He checked the original files of Medinilla's appointment as a knight of the *Orden de Santiago* and provided important dates from the translator's early years.¹² The documents confirm he was born ca. 1590 in Bocos (Burgos, Spain) and was made a knight in 1614 (López Estrada 1965, 293).¹³ In 1621, he began his military career in Philip IV's *Caballeriza Real* – he became equerry to the King at the Crown Equerry.¹⁴ Contrary to other equeries, Medinilla did not belong to the nobility. However, this did not hinder his military career under the rule of the King and the Count-Duke of Olivares, which lasted until 1644. During that time, he held several military positions: he was *proveedor del ejército*

¹² See López Estrada (1965, 293, notes 7 and 8) for more information about the scholar's visit to the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN). All documents about Medinilla are contained in OM Expedientillos, n. 395 and OM Caballeros Santiago, Exp. 5061. In relation to his father, also named Gerónimo de Medinilla, there is a file proving his entrance into the *Orden de Santiago* in 1604. The signature is OM Caballeros Santiago, Exp. 5060. López Estrada also wrote a brief biography for the Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History), although it does not fully detail the life of the translator (Real Academia de la Historia, s.v. "Gerónimo Antonio de Medinilla y Porres").

¹³ Unless otherwise specified, the English translations of political and military positions are from Cave (2008).

¹⁴ Medinilla seemed to be interested in horses and riding, probably after becoming equerry. He writes a recommendation included in the work *El arte de Enfrenar* (1629) by Francisco Pérez de Navarrete, *corregidor* – chief magistrate, a local representative of royal power in a designated town or area – in Santiago de Guayanil and Puerto Viejo, Peru. Medinilla approved of the text, presenting it as "muy vtil, y bueno, y prouechoso, para el generoso arte de la gineta" (Pérez de Navarrete 1629, fol. IIIv) [very useful, good and helpful for the generous art of horseback riding (my translation)].

of Catalonia – main army supplier – and *veedor general de las galeras y armadas* – general inspector of the navy¹⁵ (López Álvarez 2015, 951).

Medinilla's first known experience in politics dates back to 1631.¹⁶ He was appointed *gobernador* – governor – of Campo de Montiel, with its headquarters in the Castilian town Villanueva de los Infantes (Ruiz Rodríguez 2005, 41).¹⁷ There is every likelihood that he met two authors of the translation's paratexts in this Castilian location. Bartolomé Jiménez Patón became his master of grammar and rhetoric. Medinilla acquired his translation skills through the practical lessons of the Spanish humanist, who might have supervised the definitive version of the text as well.¹⁸ The *gobernador* also probably met Francisco de Quevedo there. La Torre de Juan Abad, where Quevedo was living, was under the rule of the government of Campo de Montiel. Therefore, the governor's political decisions and rules affected Quevedo's town and ultimately the poet himself.¹⁹

After Villanueva de los Infantes, in 1636, Medinilla was named *corregidor* of the city of Córdoba.²⁰ *Utopia de Thomas Moro* was published in this period of his life, just a year after starting this new position. The

¹⁵ Both my translations.

¹⁶ This information is found in the AHN, in OM Santiago 129C, fol. 131v. He had likely begun his political career before arriving in Villanueva de los Infantes. The biographical work *Hijos de Madrid*, compiled by José Antonio Álvarez y Baena, mentions Medinilla governed Baylia de Caravaca and Valderricote before Campo de Montiel (1790, 327). No other historical sources have confirmed this fact, although father Cypriano Gutierrez, in one of the paratexts of the translation, refers to Medinilla's time as governor in Murcia (Medinilla 1637, fol. XIVr).

¹⁷ When he was designated *gobernador*, he was also named *juez mero oidor* – judge. Governors used to receive judicial powers in the area they ruled over too (Ruiz Rodríguez 2005, 84).

¹⁸ Jiménez Patón declares that "I no quiero negar el contento que recibo de ver en ella el lucimiento de mi doctrina, que v. md. con tanta aficion se ha dignado de honrar [...]" (More 1637, fol. IXv) ["And I would not deny the contentment I receive from seeing in your translation the illustration of my own teaching, which you have deigned to honour with such devotion [...]" (Cave 2008, 243)].

¹⁹ There are several letters written between 1635 and 1637 in which Medinilla is mentioned. Sánchez Sánchez does not identify Medinilla as the *gobernador*. However, due to the chronological events of Medinilla's life, the references coincide with those of the letters written in 1635 on January 19, February 12, March 13, November 13, the last Friday of November, December 11; in 1636 January 22, March 6, November 5; and in 1637, March 17 (the latter is addressed to Florencio de Vera instead of to Sancho de Sandoval). Therefore, the person Quevedo refers to is Medinilla himself.

²⁰ In the AHN, Libro de Corregimientos CONSEJOS, libro 709 fol. 89v.

dates of official approvals and permissions show that the translation was ready before he arrived, as the former are all signed in 1635. Nevertheless, the other paratexts by political, religious, and literary figures date back between September 27 and October 21 of 1637, which means that the book was not released until the end of that year. In 1640 and 1641, due to his involvement in the *caballeriza*, Medinilla participated in the Franco-Spanish War, fighting for the crown in Catalonia as main army supplier.²¹ During that time, he kept up correspondence with the Count of Santa Coloma, *virrey* – viceroy – in Catalonia, for official purposes. Medinilla was temporarily substituted in his absence in Córdoba.²²

In 1641 Medinilla officially became chief magistrate of Murcia, Cartagena, and Lorca, where he had to deal with the ongoing military conflicts as navy supervisor.²³ Three years later, in 1644, he left Murcia and the Crown Equerry. After that, he was named *contador de cuentas* in the Contaduría Mayor de Hacienda – royal auditor in the Spanish National Treasury –²⁴ until 1646 and then became *alcaide y guardamayor perpetuo* – governor and main guard –²⁵ to the Reales Alcázares in Seville (López Álvarez 2015, 951).²⁶ According to a Real Cédula, an official legal document, the position was temporary, and in any case he died in 1647.²⁷ Nicolás Antonio has argued, however, that Medinilla had died sometime around 1651 (1996, 567).

²¹ The Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES, <https://pares.culturaydeporte.gob.es/inicio.html>) displays relevant letters and documents reporting the activity of Gerónimo de Medinilla in 1640 and 1641 that are preserved in different Spanish archives. The records are the following: in Barcelona, in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), GENERALITAT, Correspondencia del virrey Conde de Santa Coloma, CARTA nos. 9506, 9507, 9726, 9727, 9728, 9785, 9786, 9787, 9788, 9816, 9834, 9874, 10219, 10269, 10270, 10386, 10475, 10539; CONSEJO DE ARAGÓN, Legajos 0285 no. 067, 0288 nos. 073 and 148, 0290 no. 054.; in Madrid, in the AHN, CONSEJOS, 27756, Exp.1; and in Seville, in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI), INDIFERENTE, 436, L. 13, fols. 215–17.

²² In the AHN, CONSEJOS, 27756, Exp.1.

²³ In the AHN, Libro de Corregimientos CONSEJOS, libro 709 fols. 165v, 200v, 201r. Other files that document his ruling in Murcia as *corregidor* in the Archivo Municipal de Murcia (AMMU) are those with shelfmarks AMMU CAM 784 n. 46, 784 n. 70, 783 fols. 116–19 Doc. 76.

²⁴ My translation.

²⁵ My translation.

²⁶ The date of his appointment is unknown.

²⁷ In Madrid, Real Biblioteca, Cédulas reales II/2595, fol. 563r Cédula Real, 1647-VII-9 “Cédula de su magd. [Felipe IV] para que Alonso Alemán, [contador de los Reales

Unfortunately, there are no further records about Medinilla's private life in the archives. He was not the only Medinilla devoted to public service, however: his father was Gerónimo de Medinilla (1551–1628), magistrate and judge in the Real Chancillería de Valladolid, counsellor of the Consejo de Castilla for a decade and member of the Consejo de Órdenes.²⁸ Following in his father's footsteps, his younger brother Pedro de Velasco y Medinilla (ca. 1595–1653) became a judge in Valladolid and counsellor of Castile.²⁹ Last but not least, his grandfather was Pedro de Velasco (died 1598), who occupied a military position close to the King (López Estrada 1965, 239).³⁰

Serving the Country

“Esta admiracion produjo humor curioso, i desseos de servir a la Patria, haziendo comun este tesoro.” (More 1637, IIIv) [“My admiration for his work generated a strong motivation and desire to serve my country by making this treasure common property.” (Cave 2008, 239)]

This quote reveals one of the intentions of the translator. As will be presented below, Medinilla worked for his country and found in translation another way to offer his services. In the last few lines of the section “To the Reader” Medinilla mentions several translations he was already working on, although he does not specify the titles of these future renderings (More 1637, fol. Vr).³¹ This fact suggests

alcázares] ejerza la jurisdicción de alcaide de los reales alcázares de Sevilla por muerte de don Gerónimo de Medinilla en el interim y mientras se nombre al otro alcaide” [Royal decree of appointment as governor of the Real Alcázares of Sevilla to Alonso Alemán so that he exercises the jurisdiction after the death of Gerónimo de Medinilla in the interim and while another governor is appointed (my translation)].

²⁸ The Real Chancillería de Valladolid was a court of the Crown of Castile and the Consejo de Castilla was the main ruling body responsible for that Crown. The Consejo de Órdenes, at that time, included representatives from the Orders of Calatrava, Santiago, and Alcántara, and was in charge of the political and legal administration of territories defended by these military orders.

²⁹ Pedro de Velasco y Medinilla published a Latin text titled *Casij, et Proculi, alioumque veterum iuris authorum apertae rixae, & implacabiles concertationes* (1625) when he was a student in Salamanca.

³⁰ For more information about Medinilla's lineage, see López de Haro (1622).

³¹ “Este tendrè por logrado, si fuere recibida con agrado mi intencion, ofreciendo en recompensa desta aceptacion algunas obras no menos utiles, que han servido de onesta

he wanted to release a set of works that might be of interest to the same audience *Utopia de Thomas Moro* was addressed to if it found approval. It is not known if he was able to finish and print them as he did with More's text, but the biographer Nicolás Antonio points out that Medinilla translated Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem* (1566) with the title *El Metodo de la Historia de Juan Bodino* (1996, 567). From the title of this potential book, one might deduce that Medinilla is possibly following the same pattern as in *Utopia de Thomas Moro*: he shortens the complete title of the original and inserts the name of the author.³² This fact is linked to what he expresses in the paratexts: Medinilla wishes to share knowledge with those people who could not read texts in Latin (More 1637, Vr).³³ He was likely aware that these Latin texts—*Utopia* and probably others like *Methodus*—did not enjoy a wide circulation around the country. This deliberate attempt to translate and publish a collection of practical books implies he found them, at least, useful and recommendable. The brevity of *Utopia* also suggests Medinilla opted to put out reader-friendly translations to widen the scope of the audience.³⁴ However, the difference between the topics of both texts makes the translator's final intentions unclear.

The roles and models proposed in Utopian society are presented as exemplary and, in all likelihood, Medinilla wanted to imitate them. Yet *Utopia* itself is not a manual providing guidelines, recommendations, or rules as was the case of other Spanish books published then for that explicit reason (Maravall 1997, 32). The descriptive nature of *Utopia* makes the text self-explanatory. Book II is Raphael Hythloday's detailed account of the island with the narrator's comments on different topics—all preserved in Medinilla's rendering. As a result,

diversion a diferentes ocupaciones. No propongo estos exemplares como quien los sabe, sino como quien los desea aprender" (1637, fol. Vr) ["I present these works not as one who already possesses the knowledge they contain, but as one who wishes to learn from them" (Cave 2008, 239)].

³² Later editions of *Utopia de Thomas Moro* introduce the Spanish article "La" in its title, thus becoming *La Utopia de Thomas Moro*. Nicolás Antonio also uses this version for his accounting of Medinilla's translations (1996, 567).

³³ "Desseè hazer comun a todo suerte de gentes, lo que en mayor volumen pudiera ser de pocos" (fol. Vr) ["I wish to make available to all varieties of people a text which in a larger volume would have been available to only a few" (Cave 2008, 239)].

³⁴ For more information about the reasons for why the translation was partial, see Jones (1950) and Hunt (1991).

the readers might reach conclusions by comparing the reality of the *Republica* with that of their own country. Nevertheless, although the translator aimed at sharing the good models of the Utopian nation, he was not naïve or unconcerned about the obvious difficulties derived from imitating Utopian society. This idea is already presented in the quote found on the front page of the translation. Extracted from book 4 chapter 33 of Cornelio Tacitus's *Annales*, it says: "dilecta ex his, et constituta Reipublicę forma, laudari facilius, quàm evenire, vel si evenit, haut diurna esse potest" [sic] (More 1637, fol. Ir) ["After the form of the state has been selected from these and constituted, it [already existing forms of government] can more easily be praised than it can come into existence, or if it does come into existence, it [any Utopian model] can hardly be long-lasting" (Cave 2008, 235)].³⁵ The translator recommends reading the text with caution. *Utopia de Thomas Moro* can function as a manual of good practices, but its limited practicality in seventeenth-century Spain might have jeopardized Medinilla's original goal. In the end, the work could indeed inspire governors, but all of the envisioned characteristics of the island could not be implemented. Medinilla acknowledges the fictional nature of the text and this initial quote is echoed in More's final lines in *Utopia's* Book II: "quae in nostris ciuitatibus optarim uerius, quam sperarim" (More 1965, 246).³⁶ This impracticality could have prompted the lack of further editions of Medinilla's *Utopia* in the seventeenth century – the second and third editions were published in 1790 and 1805, more than a century after the first. Many Spaniards had already read *Utopia* in Latin before Medinilla rendered the text into Spanish. As Davenport and Cabanillas argue, the publication of this translation did not directly contribute to a wider knowledge of Thomas More and his work in the country (2008, 126).

The presence of the Inquisition in seventeenth-century Spain could have been behind publishing only part of the text. Jones agrees and believes this is why a Spanish translation of the text

³⁵ The explanatory text in the square brackets is mine.

³⁶ The last lines in Medinilla's translation are "assi confiesso llanamente, que ai muchas [cosas] en la Republica de los Vtopianos, que diziendo la verdad, mas desseo, que confio verlas en nuestras Ciudades" (1637, fol. 51v) ["But I readily admit that there are many features in the Utopia commonwealth which it is easier for me to wish for in our countries than to have any hope of seeing realized" (More 1965, 245-47)]. The explanatory text in the first square brackets is mine.

was published so late (1950, 479). *Utopia* was originally published in 1516 and the first printed translation appeared over a hundred and twenty years after. In the first inquisitional *Index* published in the Iberian Peninsula, compiled by Gaspar de Quiroga in 1583 and 1584, there was minimal censorship of Thomas More's work: two sentences were removed from Book I and a gloss in the margin added to Book II.³⁷ Nevertheless, the prologue to the 1583 edition of the *Index* clarifies why More, despite his fervent Catholicism, had to be expurgated: those who were against the Catholic faith and the Church could misuse the words of authors like More or John Fisher or Fray Luis de Granada, who were also included (Quiroga 1583,

³⁷ In the first volume of the *Index et Catalogus Librorum Prohibitorum* (1583), a brief sentence stating "nisi repurgetur" [unless expurgated (my translation)] appears next to the title of *Utopia*. The second volume, *Index Librorum Expurgatorum* published the following year, reads the following censorship on More (Quiroga 1584, fol. 193r):

- "In epistola Guilielmi Budaei ad Lupsetum, de Thomae Mori Utopia, fol. 3, epistolae, lin. vlt. dele. ab illis verb. Quo certè instituto Christus, usq; ad, ac fata nostra regere" [in the letter from Guillaume Budé to Lupset, about Thomas More's *Utopia*, fol. 3, epistles, delete the last line from "Certainly, by this arrangement, Christ" up to "and controlling our destinies" (More 1965, 9–11)].
- "Lib. 1. Utopiae, pag. 31, lin. 7. delet. Nō Hercule magis, quàm si essem sacerdos" [Book I of *Utopia*, page 31, delete line 7: "No more, by heaven, than if I were a secular priest" (More 1965, 83)].
- "Lin. 20. eiusdem folij, deletatur ab illis verb. Nam Cardinalis, usque ad, hoc quoque dictum" [Line 20 of the same folio, delete from these words "His Eminence" up to "when the Company" (More 1965, 83)].
- "Lib. 2. Utopiae, ubi agit de religionibus Utopiensium, pag. 146. deletatur in marg. O sacerdotes nostris longè sanctiores" [Book II of *Utopia*, where it discusses the religions of the Utopians, page 146, delete in the margin "O Priests Far More Holy than Ours!" (More 1965, 231)].
- "Pag. 261. ex epigrāmate de nouo testamento verso ab Erasmo, deletatur ab illis verbis, Lex noua nam veteri, usq; ad, Christi lex noua luce nitet" [Page 261, from the epigram about the New Testament translated by Erasmus, delete from "The new law for the old", up to "The law of Christ shines with new brightness" (my translation)].
- "Pag. 524. linea 22. epistola de morte Thomae Mori, deletatur, Multò magis licuisset hic esse tacitum. Lin. 27. eiusd. paginae, deletatur, Simplici, synceraq; cōscientia errasse. Et pag. 530. lin 6. deletatur, Fortè fefellit eum persuasio" [Page 524, line 22, from the letter about the death of Thomas More, delete: "Being silent would have been much more valued here"; line 27 of the same page, delete: "But had erred with a simple and sincere conscience"; and page 530, line 6, delete: "Perhaps his conviction deceived him" (my translation)].
- "Deletatur etiam tota Apologia pro Moria Erasmi ad Martinum Dorpium" [Delete the entire letter to Martin Dorp in Defense of Erasmus (my translation)].

fol. IVr).³⁸ Medinilla does the same in his “Note on Chapter Nine.” He acknowledges that some anti-Catholic readers have intentionally misinterpreted the text and spread the wrong message (More 1637, fol. VIr).³⁹ Therefore, this was to prevent misuse of, and not to reject, *Utopia*. The 1612 and 1632 indexes did not include the text and Medinilla did not face any direct prohibition or limitation on his translating it.⁴⁰ However, the Spanish translator might have been taking advantage of this too: a briefer edition of *Utopia* would help him in his attempt to publish a collection of useful works.

The paratextual elements of *Utopia de Thomas Moro* function as a presentation of the translator and his background. These letters, dedications, and laudatory poems give the reader valuable information about the edition, such as, for example, how the authors

³⁸ “quando se hallaren en este Catalogo prohibido algunos libros de personas de grande Christiandad, y muy conocida en el mundo (quales son Juan Roffense, Thomas Moro, Geronymo Osorio, Don Francisco de Borja Duque de Gandia, fray Luys de Granada, el Maestro Iuan de Auila, y otros semejantes) no es porque los tales autores se ayau desuiado de la sancta yglesia Romana [...]: sino por que, o son libros que falsamente se los han atribuido no siendo suyos, o por hallarse (en los que lo son) algunas palabras y sentencias ajenas: [...], o por contener cosas que aun que los tales autores pios y doctos las dixeron senzillamente, y en el sano y catholico sentido que reciben, la malicia destes tiempos las haze ocasionadas para que los enemigos de la Fè, las puedan torcer al proposito de su dañada intencion” (Quiroga 1583, fols. IVr-IVv) [when certain books of individuals of great Christianity and well-known in the world are found in this index of prohibited books (such as of John Thorpe, Thomas More, Jerónimo Osório, Francisco de Borja Duke of Gandia, Friar Louis of Granada, Master John of Avila, and others), it is not because these authors have deviated from the Holy Roman Church [...], but rather because either these books have falsely been attributed to them, or because there are certain words and sentences written by somebody else [...], or because they contain things that, even though these pious and learned authors have stated them in a sound and Catholic sense, the malice of these times makes them susceptible to being twisted by the enemies of the Faith with harmful intentions (my translation)].

³⁹ “Como los Santos Doctores i felices Martyres tenian assentadas en su coraçõ las verdades communes de nuestra Religion Catolica, seguros de su Fè, i de la de aquellos a quien escribian; hablaron a las vezes tan concisa, i brevemente, que de sus palabras, i precision, se valen los mal intencionados i contrarios a nuestra Religion, para ampliar, i estender sus proposiciones, i doctrinas torcidas” (1637, VIr) [“Since the Holy Doctors of the Church and blessed Martyrs confidently held the fundamental truths of our Catholic religion in their hearts, and were sure of their faith and of the faith of those for whom they wrote, they sometimes spoke so concisely and briefly that the precision of their words was used to advantage by the ill-intentioned and contrary to our religion in order to expand and extend their own twisted propositions and doctrines” (Cave 2008, 239)].

⁴⁰ There was, however, still an entry about Thomas More (Zapata 1632, 909-10).

of the poems esteemed the translator. The idea that the rendering's target is a political audience is reinforced by the type of position held by the different collaborators of the paratexts. Apart from Quevedo and Jiménez Patón, two renowned men of letters, other less known figures were involved in the arrangement of the work's preliminaries. These were mainly local people and could perfectly illustrate the type of reader Medinilla had in mind: father Cypriano Gutierrez was *maestro* – master – at the Jesuit school of the city; Andrés de Morales y Padilla, Francisco Roco, and Melchor Guajardo Fajardo were *caballeros veinticuatro* – aldermen –;⁴¹ the *contador de resultas* – auditor of internal revenue to his Majesty – Agustín de Galarza; a religious representative in Córdoba called Joseph Rivas y Tafur; and Hierónimo de Pancorvo, headmaster of a Carmelite school in Córdoba. Medinilla dedicates his work to Juan de Chaves, who was *presidente* of the Consejo de Órdenes – president of the Royal Council of the Orders –. The translator thanks him for supporting him after the death of his father, Gerónimo de Medinilla. He also praises him and acknowledges his skill in governing, highlighting that the president puts into practice what Hythloday proposes in his narration (More 1637, IIv).⁴² As noted in the introduction, dedicating the edition to a political representative was a common practice in other translations of *Utopia*. The presence of these politically influential characters in the body of the paratexts further reinforces the political reading of all these translations as well as providing examples of who their potential audiences were.

Medinilla's reading of *Utopia*

“No propongo estos exemplares. [sic] como quien los sabe, sino como quien los dessea aprender.” (More 1637, Vr) [“I present these works not as one who already possesses the knowledge they contain, but as one who wishes to learn from them” (Cave 2008, 239)].

⁴¹ *Caballeros veinticuatro* or *regidores* are, according to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, twenty-four counsellors that worked advising the *corregidor* (*Veinticuatro*). These two positions made up the town hall of some Andalusian cities. The *Contador de Resultas* was someone in charge of the crown's fortune (*Contador*).

⁴² “V.S. obra lo que este escribe, hallandose en su gran sujeto, erudicion, esperiencia, i prendas naturales aventajadas, en cuya ponderaciõ no tiene parte el afecto, ni la lisonja” (More 1637, fols. IIv–IIIr) [“Your Lordship puts into effect what he writes, since your noble character encompasses erudition, experience, and exceptional natural talents, which may be discerned without recourse to personal feeling or flattery” (Cave 2008, 237)].

Gerónimo de Medinilla acknowledges he does not publish the text to showcase his governing capabilities but to learn from the models proposed. With his translation, therefore, there was also an intrinsic personal concern. At the time he rendered *Utopia*, he was about to become a *corregidor* in Córdoba. He was appointed at the beginning of 1637 and, as mentioned, the translation could have been finished as early as 1635 and published by the end of 1637. Medinilla chose the octavo for the format of the book, which denotes his desire to make it portable and readable anywhere (Boutcher 2008, 131).

Davenport and Cabanillas have argued that Medinilla's interest in the translation at some point lies in self-fashioning. Even though these scholars do not integrate this term "in the more sophisticated sense elaborated by Greenblatt in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*" (2008, note 63, 125), the concept deserves close attention.

[Self-fashioning] describes the practice of parents and teachers; it is linked to manners or demeanor, particularly that of the elite; [...] it suggests representation of one's nature or intention in speech or actions. And with representation we return to literature, or rather we may grasp that self-fashioning derives its interest precisely from the fact that it functions without regard for a sharp distinction between literature and social life. It invariably crosses the boundaries between the creation of the literary characters, the shaping of one's own identity, the experience of being molded by forces outside one's control, the attempt to fashion other selves. (1980, 3)

Utopia de Thomas Moro becomes a kind of presentation card after Medinilla's political promotion. This fact is directly in line with Greenblatt's principle of self-fashioning. Apart from the translation of Book II, the edition uses the paratexts to present the figure of the *corregidor*, who was new to both local authorities and inhabitants of Córdoba. The recommendations and laudatory poems written by different figures in the city craft the translator's *persona*, blurring the boundaries between fiction and reality. As was expected, they create a positive and rather idealized image of the governor and his future government: he is presented as the Spanish Thomas More, using metaphors to compare Córdoba and England or the rivers Thames and Betis – the Guadalquivir River today (fols. XVr–XIXr). The authors of these texts read the translation of *Utopia* as if the narrator were the governor himself instead of Hythloday. *Utopia* is regarded as the governor's perception of a utopian republic, consequently creating

expectations about how he might run his government—bearing in mind that he is also aware of its impracticability.

There is another basic principle of self-fashioning that Medinilla arguably satisfies: “self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile” (Greenblatt 1980, 9). The translator could have edited the work to oppose that alien something or defeat an authority he had in mind. Although there is no explicit explanation in *Utopia de Thomas Moro*, the potential enemy to defeat could be political incompetence. As previously mentioned, Medinilla aimed at bringing *Utopia* to a wider audience, considering political figures part of that target. The seventeenth century brought a period of crisis as a result of the decline of the Empire and the failed policies of the king and his *validos*—the king’s favorites—. At that moment, the education of the individual was essential. Therefore, part of the vernacular production of literature was in the hands of men holding an extensive list of titles and positions like Medinilla. Examples of people who published works to influence the political life of the country were Ribadeneyra with *Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deue tener el principe christiano, para gouernar y conseruar sus estados* (1595), Covarrubias Orozco’s *Emblemas morales* (1610), Diego Saavedra Fajardo and his *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano* (1640), and Francisco de Quevedo with *Politica de Dios, gobierno de Christo* (1626). The reason for portraying their experience was motivated by pedagogical inclinations, at times focusing on maxims and recommendations not only for princes but also for local governors (Maravall 1997, 29–30). Likewise, the content of *Utopia* could be considered useful and recommendable for the education of governors. Although Medinilla accepts its inapplicability, the premises of a model society, with justice, harmony, and peace, among other values, were still relevant for its target readers. The translator could aim to improve the quality of the governors and thus ameliorate the political situation in Spain.

Quevedo’s “Noticia, Juicio y Recomendación” acts as a kind of prologue to Medinilla’s *Utopia*. The Spanish poet introduces his reading of More’s text: “yo me persuado que fabricò aquella politica contra la tyrania de Inglaterra y por esso hizo Isla su Idea, i juntamente reprehendio los desordenes de los mas Principes de su edad [...]” (fol. XIr) [“I am persuaded that he constructed his system of government in opposition to the tyranny of England, and for this reason he presented

his idea as an island, and simultaneously rebuked the misrule of so many Princes of his age” (Cave 2008, 247)]. Jones claims that “Quevedo seems to have been one of the few Spanish men of letters in the seventeenth century who had read any of More’s work” (1950, 482). Actually, he is among the increasing number of seventeenth-century Spanish authors that showed an interest in the English humanist and his works—writers like Lope de Vega, Baltasar Gracián, and Juan de Mariana mentioned Thomas More in their texts.⁴³ What Jones does argue is that Quevedo was the only one who seriously read *Utopia* and was attentive to its political implications. The Spanish poet, apart from his participation in *Utopia de Thomas Moro*, owned a 1548 Latin edition of *Utopia* and translated a fragment from Book I in his *Carta al serenísimo, muy alto y muy poderoso Luis XIII* (1635).⁴⁴ Medinilla was just as serious a reader though. How *Utopia* is understood by the *corregidor* reminds us of its early readings by Spaniards in America, always with a practical purpose in mind. When the translator explains the relevance of More’s text, he remarks:

Fundò la felicidad de un estado perfectamente dichoso, estableciendo la virtud, destruyendo el vicio, cortò la raíz de competencias entre los hombres, reduciendolas a vivir en comun, sin poseer alguna cosa en particular; de tal suerte, que qualquiera accion publica, o privada, no se encamine a la codicia de muchos, ni al antojo, i mal desseo de pocos. (fol. IIIr) [“He founded the happiness of a perfectly prosperous state, establishing virtue, destroying vice; he cut the root of competitiveness among men, requiring them to live in common, without owning anything individually, in such a way that no public

⁴³ These authors make a superficial mention of the Englishman. Lope de Vega refers to More in *La hermosura de Angelica, con otras diversas Rimas* (1602), in *Rimas de Lope de Vega Carpio* (1604) and in *Triunfo de la Fee, en los reynos del Japón, por los años de 1614 y 1615* (1618); Baltasar Gracián introduces him in *El Criticón* (1653); and Juan de Mariana alludes to the humanist in *Historiae de Rebus Hispaniae. Volume 2* (1592). Other authors already familiarized with More are Pedro de Salazar y Mendoza, Antonio Maria Graziani, Pedro de la Vega, Francisco Suárez, Fray Juan Márquez, Thomas Tamayo de Vargas, Andrés Mendo, and John Robert.

⁴⁴ This fact is relevant because Francisco de Quevedo admired More and his works. His copy of the Leuven 1548 edition of *Utopia* shows evidence that he might have studied it carefully, as Book I is full of marginal notes and comments—although their authorship is not confirmed (López Estrada 1967, 405; Peraita Huerta 2004, 323). This personal copy of *Utopia* is catalogued in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid with the shelfmark R/20494.

or private action fosters the avarice of the many, nor the whims and base desires of the few.” (Cave 2008, 237)]

The Spanish governor praises the qualities of the island by bringing up the corruption running rampant through seventeenth-century European societies. Medinilla might have been concerned about the problems of contemporary governments and found in *Utopia* solutions for those weaknesses. Quevedo and Medinilla’s utopian thinking divert at some point. Although they both agree on its impracticality,⁴⁵ the translator understands the text could serve as a recommendable book for governors due to the ideas depicted, whereas Quevedo believes it is an instrument of criticism.⁴⁶ In the same way that More wrote against the abuse of power in England, Quevedo criticized the political policy in seventeenth-century Spain.

Conclusion

There is tangible evidence to suggest that Medinilla published *Utopia de Thomas Moro* with the idea that it could function as a manual for governors: the political background of the translator, the potential audience, the participants in prefatory letters and recommendations, explicit praise for the governor, and the content of *Utopia*’s Book II itself. However, the impracticality of the Utopian model prevents the transformation of the work into a handbook. The *corregidor* could not share the same political aims with those first Spanish readers of *Utopia* in the sixteenth century. As has been discussed, the difference between these two centuries lies in the applicability of Utopian policies and structures in real governments. Whereas Vasco de Quiroga and Juan de Zumárraga brought the organizational system of the island to the American cities in *Nueva España*, Medinilla was neither able to implement them in his areas of influence nor stated that that was his definite intention. The seventeenth-century interpretation of *Utopia* had shifted from the early political readings of the text, resulting in the growth of Spanish

⁴⁵ Quevedo warns: “quien dize que se ha de hazer lo que nadie haze, a todos los reprehende” (More 1637, fol. Ir) [“who tells what no one does has to be done, reprimands them all” (Cave 2008, 247)].

⁴⁶ For further information about Quevedo’s utopian thinking, see Peraita Huerta (2004) and López Estrada (1967).

fictional literature (López Estrada 1980, 98).⁴⁷ The interest in reading Thomas More's work as a political piece waned and *Utopia* was left to inhabit a literary context.

The translator was aware of the difficulty of the challenge; he even warned his readers about it in a quote on the cover page. His original purpose, his desire to share the text, was not only to fill a literary gap, one created by the absence of Spanish translations of *Utopia* until that time. His potential audience could help him improve the Spanish political scenario and defeat an invisible force like ruling incompetence. However, as More claims at the end of Book II, the translation foresees the difficulty of modifying the political situation, but does hope to change it for the better. That is why Medinilla could not envisage a manual for governors with strict guidelines on how to deal with governments, like, for instance, those literary works belonging to the "mirrors for princes" genre. He presented his *Utopia* as a way to pose virtuous examples of governing, but with no expectations of seeing them fully put into practice. In fact, Medinilla says that "es diverso el poner las Republicas como ellas son, o como debrian ser" (fol. IIIv) ["It is one thing to portray republics as they are, and quite another to depict them as they should be" (Cave 2008, 237)]. He knew his translation would probably be considered more as entertainment for governors than a real set of guidelines. Even when his greatest commitment was to improve the politics of the country, Medinilla was not able to satisfy the political needs of the seventeenth century and his work could not become a manual for governors. But neither did More's *Utopia*.

References

Primary Sources

Manuscript sources

Barcelona:

Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, GENERALITAT, Correspondencia del virrey Conde de Santa Coloma, CARTA nos. 9507, 9506, 9728, 9726, 9727,

⁴⁷ In what way More's text contributed to the growth of Spanish fiction is an interesting topic that deserves more attention but cannot be further developed in this paper. For additional information about the influence of *Utopia* on Spanish fictional literature, see López Estrada (1980, 97-107).

Ureña Asensio

9787, 9785, 9786, 9788, 9816, 9834, 9874, 10219, 10270, 10269, 10386, 10475, 10539.

Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, CONSEJO DE ARAGÓN, Legajos 0285 no. 067, 0288 nos. 073 and 148, 0290 no. 054.

Madrid:

Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 27756, Exp.1.

Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, Libro de Corregimientos, libro 709 fols. 165v, 200v, 201r.

Archivo Histórico Nacional, OM Caballeros Santiago, Exp. 5060.

Archivo Histórico Nacional, OM Caballeros Santiago, Exp. 5061.

Archivo Histórico Nacional, OM Expedientillos, no. 395.

Real Biblioteca, Cédulas reales, II/2595 fol. 563r *Cédula Real*, 1647-VII-9.

Murcia: Archivo Municipal de Murcia, CAM 783 fols. 116–119 Doc. 76; 784 nos. 46 and 70.

Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, INDIFERENTE, 436, L. 13, fols. 215–217.

Printed sources

Álvarez de Baena, José Antonio. 1790. *Hijos de Madrid: ilustres en santidad, dignidades, armas, ciencias y artes. Diccionario histórico por el orden alfabético de sus nombres, que consagra el Illmo. y Nobilísimo Ayuntamiento de la Imperial y Coronada Villa de Madrid. Tomo Segundo*. Madrid: Oficina de Benito Cano.

Antonio, Nicolás. (1672) 1996. *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova, sive hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV floruerunt notitia*. Madrid: Visor Libros.

Bodin, Jean. 1566. *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem*. Paris: Apud M. Iuvenem.

Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. 1610. *Emblemas Morales*. Madrid: por Luis Sánchez.

Gracián, Baltasar. 1653. *El criticon: segunda parte: luyziosa cortesana filosofia, en el otoño de la varonil edad*. Huesca: por Juan Nogues.

López de Haro, Alonso. 1622. *Nobiliario Genealogico de los Reyes y Titulos de España*. Madrid: por Luis Sánchez.

Mariana, Juan de. 1592. *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae. Libri XX*. Toledo: Typis Petri Roderice.

More, Thomas. 1524. *Von der wunderbarlichen Innseel Utopia genant / das ander Buch*. Translated by Claudius Cantiuncula (Claude Chansonnette). Basel: Johann Bebel.

- More, Thomas. 1551. *A fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia*. Translated by Ralph Robinson. London: Abraham Vele.
- More, Thomas. (1516) 1620. *Illustris viri Thomae Mori Regni Britanniarum Cancellari, De optimo reipublicae statu, deque NOVA INSULA UTOPIA, libri duo: hac postrema editione Superiorum iussu emendati. Ad illustrissimum Senatus Mediol[anensis] Praesidem D. D. Iulium Aresium*. Milan: Juan Bidellium.
- More, Thomas. 1637. *Vtopia de Thomas Moro, tradvcida de latin en Castellano por Don Geronimo Antonio de Medinilla i Porres, Cauallero de la Orden de Santiago, Cavallerizo de su Magestad, Señor de las Villas de Bocos, Rozas, i Remolino, Corregidor, iy Iusticia mayor de la Ciudad de Cordova, i su tierra*. Translated by Gerónimo de Medinilla. Córdoba: por Salvador de Cea.
- More, Thomas. 1643. *L'Utopie de Thomas Morus Chancelier d' Anglaterrre*. Translated by Samuel Sorbière. Amsterdam: Jean Blaeu.
- More, Thomas. 1965. *Utopia. The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More. Volume 4*. Edited by Edward Surtz and Jack H. Hexter. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- More, Thomas. 2021. *El Buen Estado de la República de Utopía*. Translated by Vasco de Quiroga and edited by Víctor Lillo Castañ. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.
- Pérez de Navarrete, Francisco. 1626. *Arte de Enfrenar*. Madrid: por Iuan Gonçalez.
- Quevedo, Francisco de. 1626. *Politica de Dios, gobierno de Christo*. Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín.
- Quevedo, Francisco de. 1635. *Carta al Serenissimo, muy alto, y muy poderoso Luis XIII, Rey Christianissimo de Francia*. Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín.
- Quiroga, Gaspar de. 1583. *Index et Catalogus Librorum Prohibitorum, mandato illustriss. ac Reverendiss. D. D. Gasparis a Quiroga, Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Toletani, ac in regnis Hispaniarum Generalis Inquisitoris, denuo editus. Cum Consilio Supremi Senatus Sancta Generalis Inquisitionis*. Madrid: Alphonsum Gomezium Regium Typographum.
- Quiroga, Gaspar de. 1584. *Index Librorum Expurgatorum. Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi D. D. Gasparis Quiroga, Cardinalis & Archiep. Toletani Hispan Generalis Inquisitoris, iussu editus. De Consilio Supremi Senatus S. Generalis Inquisit.* Madrid: Alphonsum Gomezium Regium Typographum.
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. 1588. *Historia Ecclesiastica del Scisma del Reyno de Inglaterra*. Embres: casa de Christoual Plantino, Imprimidor del Rey.
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. 1595. *Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deue tener el principe christiano, para gouernar y conseruar sus estados: contra lo que Nicolas Machiauelo y los politicos de este tiempo enseñan*. Madrid: Madrigal.

Ureña Asensio

- Saavedra Fajardo, Diego. 1640. *Idea de un principe politico christiano representada en cien empresas*. Munich: Nicolao Enrico.
- Sánchez Sánchez, Mercedes. 2009. *Cartas de Francisco de Quevedo a Sancho de Sandoval (1635–1645)*. Madrid: Calambur.
- Sansovino, Francesco. 1585. *L'Estat, description et gouvernement des royaumes et republicques du monde, tant anciennes que modernes*. Translated by Gabriel Chappuys. Paris: Pierre Cavellat.
- Vega Carpio, Lope de. 1602. *La Hermosura de Angelica, Con otras diuersas Rimas*. Madrid: Empronta de Pedro Madrigal.
- Vega Carpio, Lope de. 1604. *Rimas de Lope de Vega Carpio*. Sevilla: Por Clemente Hidalgo.
- Vega Carpio, Lope de. 1618. *Triunfo de la fee en los reynos del Japón: por los años de 1614 y 1615*. Madrid: por la viuda de Alonso Martín.
- Velasco y Medinilla, Pedro. 1625. *Casij, et Proculi, alioumque veterum iuris authorum apertae rixae, & implacabiles concertationes*. Salamanca: Didacus à Cussio.
- Villegas, Alonso de. 1588. *Flos sanctorum: tercera parte y historia general en que se describen las vidas de los sanctos extrauagantes y de varones illustres en virtud*. Toledo: por Pedro Rodríguez.
- Zapata, Antonio. 1632. *Nouus index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum editus autoritate & eminent[issi]mi ac reueren[dissi]mi D. D. Antonii Zapata S. R. E. presbyt. card.* Hispali: Francisco de Lyra.

Secondary Sources

- Bohigas, Pedro. 1962. *El Libro Español. (Ensayo Histórico)*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.
- Boutcher, Warren. 2008. "Transferring Utopia." In *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe. Paratexts and Contexts*, edited by Terence Cave, 110–27. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cave, Terence, ed. 2008. *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe. Paratexts and Contexts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Davenport, Randi L., and Carlos F. Cabanillas Cárdenas. 2008. "The Spanish Translations: Humanism and Politics." In *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe. Paratexts and Contexts*, edited by Terence Cave, 128–41. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Dealy, Ross. 2020. *Before Utopia: The making of Thomas More's mind*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Diccionario Biográfico Electrónico*, s. v. "Gerónimo Antonio de Medinilla y Porres." Accessed January 21, 2022. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/47995/geronimo-antonio-medinilla-y-porres>.
- Diccionario de Autoridades*, 1726-1739, 1st ed., s.v. "contador." Accessed June 9, 2022. <https://apps2.rae.es/DA.html>.
- Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, 2014, 23th ed., s.v. "veinticuatro." Accessed June 9, 2022. <https://dle.rae.es/veinticuatro?m=form>.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, 8th ed., s.v. "Spain in 1600." Accessed June 9, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Spain/Spain-in-1600#ref587560>.
- García García, Luciano. 2021. "From Lives to Discurso in the biographies of Thomas More: Roper, Harpsfield and Herrera." *SEDERI* 31: 7-30.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. 1980. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hunt, Lydia. 1991. "The First Spanish Translation of *Utopia* (1637)." *Moreana* 28 (105): 21-41.
- Jones, Royston O. 1950. "Some Notes on More's *Utopia* in Spain." *The Modern Language Review* 45: 478-82.
- Lillo Castañ, Víctor. 2018. "Una traducción castellana inédita del siglo XVI de la *Utopía* de Tomás Moro: estudio del manuscrito II/1087 de la Real Biblioteca de Palacio." *Moreana* 55, no. 210 (2): 184-210.
- Lillo Castañ, Víctor. 2020. "De la Utopía al Manual del Buen Gobierno: Vasco de Quiroga y el manuscrito II/1087 de la Real Biblioteca." *AVISOS. Noticias de la Real Biblioteca* 26 (91): 1-4.
- Lillo Castañ, Víctor. 2021. "Tres Thomae: Tomás Moro según Alonso de Villegas, Pedro de Ribadeneyra y Fernando de Herrera." *Hispania Sacra* LXXIII (147): 163-73.
- Logan, George. 1983. *The Meaning of More's "Utopia"*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Logan, George. 2011. *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More (Cambridge Companions to Religion)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- López Álvarez, Alejandro. 2015. "Procesos de integración y ascenso social en la caballeriza." In *La Corte de Felipe IV (1621-1665). Reconfiguración de la Monarquía católica. Tomo I (CD ROM)*, edited by José Martínez Millán and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, 938-1,040. Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo.
- López Estrada, Francisco. 1965. "La primera versión española de la *Utopía* de Moro, por Jerónimo Antonio de Medinilla (Córdoba, 1637)." In *Collected Studies in honour of Américo Castro's Eightieth Year*, edited by Marcel P. Hornik, 291-309. Oxford: Lodge Research Library.
- López Estrada, Francisco. 1967. "Quevedo y la 'Utopía' de Tomás Moro." In *Actas del II Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas: celebrado*

en Nijmegen del 20 al 25 de agosto de 1965, edited by Norbert Polussen and Jaime Sánchez Romeralo, 403–9. Nijmegen: Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas.

López Estrada, Francisco. 1980. *Tomás Moro y España: sus relaciones hasta el siglo XVII*. Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense.

López Estrada, Francisco. 1992. "Une traduction précoce de L'Utopie de Thomas More." *Moreana* XXIX, nos. 111–112 (3–4): 15–18.

Maravall, José Antonio. 1982. *Utopia y reformismo en la España de los Austrias*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.

Maravall, José Antonio. 1997. *Teoría del Estado en España en el siglo XVII*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales.

Peraita Huerta, Carmen. 2004. "Mapas de lectura, diálogo con los textos: la 'Carta al rey Luis XIII' y las anotaciones en el ejemplar de la 'Utopía' de Quevedo." *La Perinola* 8: 321–41.

Prévost, André. 1972. *Tomás Moro y la crisis del pensamiento europeo*. Madrid: Ediciones Palabra.

Ruiz Rodríguez, José Ignacio. 2005. *Disputa y consenso en la administración fiscal castellana: Villanueva de los Infantes y el partido del Campo de Montiel c.1600–c.1660*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares.

Salberg, Trond Kruke. 2008. "The German translations: Humanist politics and literary journalism." In *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe. Paratexts and Contexts*, edited by Terence Cave, 32–46. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Serrano y Sanz, Manuel. 1903. "Libros manuscritos o de mano." *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 8 (3): 225–28.

Spaans, Ronny and Terence Cave. 2008. "The English translation: thinking about the commonwealth." In *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe. Paratexts and Contexts*, edited by Terence Cave, 87–109. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

How to cite this article:

Ureña Asensio, Inmaculada. "Recommended reading for good governors: *Utopia de Thomas Moro* (1637)." *SEDERI* 33 (2023): 81–104.

<https://doi.org/10.34136/sederi.2023.4>

Author's contact: miurena@ujaen.es

Submission: 28/06/2022

Acceptance: 28/02/2023