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Between fictionality and reality: The "novels" in the *Gentleman's Journal**

María José Coperías-Aguilar
Universitat de València, Spain

ABSTRACT

The *Gentleman's Journal* (1692–1694), generally acknowledged as the first literary English magazine, included in each issue short narratives presented as "novels." Published by using a fictive letter written from London to a gentleman in the country to keep him both informed and entertained, the use of this letter format brings together a number of elements that will result in the confrontation of fictionality and reality. This paper will discuss the way in which format and content constantly subvert each other throughout the thirty-two issues of the journal, especially in relation to the nature, titles, and content of the "novels."

KEYWORDS: Restoration prose fiction; early English periodicals; *Gentleman's Journal*; fictionality and reality; letter writing.

Entre ficcionalidad y realidad: las "novelas" en *Gentleman's Journal*

RESUMEN: El *Gentleman's Journal* (1692–1694), que ha sido reconocida de manera abrumadora como la primera revista literaria inglesa, incluía en cada número narrativas cortas que se presentaban como "novelas." Publicada en forma de una carta ficticia escrita desde Londres a un caballero de provincias para mantenerlo informado y entretenido, la utilización de la carta como formato aúna una serie de elementos que resultarán en la confrontación de ficcionalidad y realidad. Este artículo debate la manera en que formato y contenido continuamente se subvierten el uno al otro a lo largo de los treinta y dos números de la revista,

Entre ficcionalidade e realidade: os "romances" em *Gentleman's Journal***

RESUMO: *Gentleman's Journal* (1692–1694), geralmente reconhecido como a primeira revista literária inglesa, incluía em cada número narrativas curtas apresentadas como "romances" (*novels*). Estas narrativas adotavam a forma de uma carta ficcional escrita a partir de Londres e endereçada a um cavalheiro da província com o propósito de o informar e entreter; o uso deste formato epistolar reúne uma série de elementos que irão resultar no confronto entre ficcionalidade e realidade. Este ensaio discute o modo como formato e conteúdo se subvertem mutuamente e de forma constante ao longo dos trinta e dois números da re-

especialmente en relación con la naturaleza, títulos y contenido de las "novelas."

vista, com especial atenção para a natureza, títulos e conteúdo dos "romances."

In Jenny DiPlacidi's opinion (2018, 264), the contribution of fiction published in magazines to the development of prose fiction has been greatly neglected or disparaged as unoriginal, amateur, and ephemeral, whereas, she argues, this fiction was innovative and original and played a crucial role in the development of the novel in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Although her contention refers to eighteenth-century publications such as the *Lady's Magazine* (1770–1832), this can easily be applied to previous periodicals which had started to publish pieces of prose fiction in the late seventeenth century. One of these was the *Gentleman's Journal* which, in its thirty-two issues, published between 1692 and 1694 some thirty-six short prose fictions, including a couple of fables. Indistinctly referred to with some of the various names used at the time as a novel, story, history, adventure or merely account, these narratives are framed by a made-up letter whose main function was to hold together the diverse pieces of which the journal was comprised, while giving special significance to the prose fiction genre. My argument is that this format enhanced the fictionality of the "novels" and also reinforced their condition of true stories. I will start by briefly assessing the social role periodicals had in the seventeenth century, and then give some examples of how periodicals might have helped in the propagation and development of prose fiction. After presenting the *Gentleman's Journal* and the "novels" it contains, I will discuss the ways in which fictionality and reality are subverted.

Periodicals as social instruments

The first English periodical news publication is assumed to have been Nathaniel Butter's *The Courant, or Weekly News from Foreign Parts* (1621), actually a translation from the Dutch as a result of James I's prohibition of the importation of foreign newsbooks in 1621 (Davis

1996, 72). The publication of periodicals, mostly defending partisan political interests, had greatly increased during the Civil War, but figures were much reduced in the Commonwealth period to rise again immediately after Oliver Cromwell's death in 1658. However, the 1662 Licensing Act brought a new period of repression for the press under the reigns of Charles II and James II, and it was not until 1688 that periodicals started to proliferate again (Sutherland 1969, 233–239; Sutherland 1986, 1–43; Raven 2007, 91). Richmond P. Bond (1957, 3) has estimated that between 1620 and 1700 seven hundred titles, including both newspapers and periodicals, were published although most of them were very short-lived. Despite the specific political circumstances just described, the emergence of periodical publications in the seventeenth century was not something specific to Britain and a similar phenomenon was taking place in many other European countries including France, Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Italy and Spain (Bond 1957, 13).[1]

It has been argued that this emergence was a middle class and an urban phenomenon. Many of the political events taking place throughout the seventeenth century in England were brought about by and resulted in the increasing strength that the varied members of the middle classes had long been gathering at the economic and social levels, and they did not hesitate to use journalism in general and some specific publications in particular to both channel and reflect their interests (Sutherland 1969, 242). Taking John Dunton's *Athenian Mercury* (1691–1697) as an example,[2] Gerd Bayer (2016, 67) explains that by offering supposedly expert advice of scientific, literary, philosophical or miscellaneous interest to the questions submitted by its readers the journal offered a tool for social advancement and responded to the readers' desire to improve their social standing.

Helen Berry has aptly remarked that periodicals were part of "a new form of urban sociability that emerged in late-seventeenth century England" (2003, 6), especially through clubs and coffeehouses, where the latest news could be heard and any topic might be discussed, and papers of all kinds were easily available for general reading, either individually or aloud for a group. Even if periodical culture was genuinely urban by nature and the centers

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[1] For an analysis of periodicals in Spain, see Ettinghausen (1995, 1996, 2005).
[2] The first issue was published as *The Athenian Gazette*.

of production of these publications were in cities, most especially London, periodicals circulated widely in other parts of the country thanks to an improved and reliable mail service (Batchelor and Powell 2018, 2). Another aspect to be considered is that despite the long-held stereotype of a mostly male periodical reader in the public sphere, periodicals were also present in the private life of the home as part of the family entertainment and were widely read by women (Shevelow 1989, 26; Batchelor and Powell 2018, 2). In the words of Shawn Lisa Maurer, "[f]rom the literary periodical's inception in the last decade of the seventeenth century, women readers –and attention to female behaviour, experiences, and concerns– formed an integral part of the development and considerable popular success of this new and increasingly influential genre" (2010, 156). At that time, the number of female authors was remarkably low compared to male ones, even if they were increasingly courted by periodical editors as contributors. Nonetheless, women had been closely involved in the printing business for many years in selling and composing and printing.[3] Women were very much acknowledged as a significant consumer group by editors and publishers, hence their frequent promises that they were providing material that could be of interest to women (Shevelow 1989, 36).[4]

Some of the best-known periodicals of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century stressed their intention of targeting the female audience. John Dunton's *Athenian Mercury* (1691–1697) soon specified on its title page that questions were expected to come from clever people "of Either Sex," and in 1691 and 1692 he dedicated with increasing frequency (first monthly, then fortnightly, and eventually weekly) special "Ladies Issues" answering questions about love, sex, and conjugal relations (Stearns 1933; Maurer 2010, 156). The *Gentleman's Journal* (1692–1694) also stated in its inaugural issue that

> The fair Sex need never fear to be exposed to the Blush, when they honour this with a Reading; 'tis partly writ for them, and I am too

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[3] Maureen Bell (2002, 440) reports that over three hundred women have been identified as related to the printing trades between 1557 and 1700.
[4] Shawn Lisa Maurer (2010, 158) emphasizes the association of the periodical genre with women as an apolitical space in which to discuss social issues unlike newspapers, which were associated with men and the partisan world of politics.

much their Votary to be guilty of such a Crime [...] this is no less the *Ladies Journal* than the *Gentlemens*. (Jan. 1692, 1)[5]

In relation to this journal, Alison Adburgham (1977, 31) has argued that its content, peppered with anecdotes and gossipy paragraphs, as well as some useful information about the fashionable world of town, was clearly aimed at pleasing ladies. Isaac Bickerstaff, the editorial persona of Richard Steele's essay-periodical the *Tatler* (1709–1711), also announced his intention "to have something which may be of Entertainment to the Fair Sex, in Honour of whom I have invented the Title of this Paper" (11). In turn, in the *Spectator*, edited by Richard Steele and Joseph Addison in 1711–1712 and 1714, Mr. Spectator, its editorial persona, claimed that he would "dedicate a considerable Share of these my Speculations to [women's] Service, and […] lead the young through all the becoming Duties of Virginity, Marriage, and Widowhood" (21). Some of these periodicals also had their version for women, although not necessarily launched by the original editors. In 1693, Dunton brought out the *Ladies' Mercury*, the first publication specifically addressed to women, but the experiment only lasted four weeks. Motteux also devoted the October 1693 issue of the *Gentleman's Journal* entirely to his female readership and, just before the introductory letter, retitled it "The Lady's Journal, or the Monthly Miscellany" (Oct. 1693, 323). First a Mrs Crackenthorpe and then a "Society of Ladies" edited the *Female Tatler* (1709–1710) for a few months. Decades later, Eliza Haywood started editing—although anonymously—her popular *Female Spectator* (1744–1746), a collection of essays allegedly inspired by the letters of her readers.

Periodicals and the propagation of prose fiction

One of the ways in which periodicals contributed to the spread of prose fiction was by advertising or reviewing these works. For a long time, printers and publishers had at times included lists of other publications they had produced on the occasional spare page of individual literary works. However, according to Christine Ferdinand (1998, 165), advertising in periodicals of all kinds became

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[5] All subsequent references to the *Gentleman's Journal* will be given indicating the month and year of publication and the page number according to the copy in the British Library (P.P. 5255).

an important marketing tool starting in the end of the seventeenth century and through most of the eighteenth. She also claims that advertising books in periodicals contributed to developing the craving for reading and publishers could not afford to ignore them (1998, 172; 166). The *Monthly Review* (1749–1845) and the *Critical Review* (1756–1817), considered the first review journals in Britain, would not come into existence until the mid-eighteenth century, however, prior to their appearance, a number of periodicals had become important bibliographical instruments revealing the tastes of the time when they were published (Bond 1957, 36). Starting with the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* (1665), which is still published, many other periodical publications followed: the *Mercurius Librarius* (1668–1709), also known as the *Term Catalogue* and considered by Walter Graham as "the first literary periodical published in England" (1926, 6); Jean de la Crose's *Universal Historical Bibliotheque* (1686–1690), credited with establishing the English reviewing or abstracting journal (Bond 1957, 32), and *Works of the Learned* (1691–1692); and John Dunton's *Compleat Library* (1692–1694), among others.[6]

As observed by Bond (1957, 7), periodicals and newspapers had become a convenient media for the publication of creative as well as critical works provided they were not too long. For this reason, poetry was the genre most likely to be included and a large number of either original or reprinted poems were published in these outlets. However, short pieces of fiction were also excellent candidates and very much sought after by their readers. Even if the heyday of nineteenth-century magazines publishing full-length novels serially was still to come, the publication of fiction in periodicals started in the last decades of the seventeenth century. James Sutherland (1969, 240) claims that different kinds of fiction were published in a number of periodicals in the Restoration period escaping the eye of the licenser even during the most difficult times of government repression. Most of them were satirical, like *News from the Land of Chivalry* (1681), or collections of bawdy anecdotes and picaresque narratives.[7] Robert D. Mayo (1962, 6) names Dunton's *Athenian Mercury* (1691–1697)

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[6] See Graham (1926, 1–35) and Bond (1957, 3–48) for a more detailed account.
[7] As mentioned by Sutherland (1969, 240), one example would be the "Poor Robin" series started in 1676–1677 with *Poor Robin's Intelligence* and coming to an end with *Poor Robin's Intelligence, Or News from City and Country*, published in 1691.

as the first periodical to include narrative accounts on its pages, although he admits that what was presented there was not "formal fiction" but "representative cases" used to illustrate the answers given to their readers and mostly invented, that is, fictional (1962, 17). Almost contemporary of the *Gentleman's Journal* (1692–1694) was Edward Ward's *London Spy* (1698–1700), with a country scholar as the protagonist and narrator who rambles about London shedding light on its darker corners. In the following decades and well into the eighteenth century, many other periodicals would turn the publication of fiction into a core part of their content, as was the case of the long-running *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731–1907), the *Universal Magazine* (1747–1815), the *European Magazine* (1782–1826) or the more women-oriented *Lady's Magazine* (1770–1832) and *Lady's Monthly Museum* (1798–1828) (Hughes 2015, 461–462).

Mayo explains that even though "the English novel was unquestionably the creature of the middle-classes […] for more than a century it was considered an unwelcome intruder by powerful spokesmen in the same circles" (1962, 14) and had been viewed with suspicion by readers among the bourgeoise. However, the role played by some of the new periodicals and more specifically by the *Athenian Mercury* and the *Gentleman's Journal* helped to break down the prejudice against poetry (Cunningham 1933, 13) and fiction (Graham 1926, 46) by changing the reading habits of the contemporary audience.

The *Gentleman's Journal* (1692–1694)

The Gentleman's Journal: Or, The Monthly Miscellany (1692–1694) has been considered by general consensus the first English literary magazine (Foster 1917, 22; Graham 1926, 46; Bond 1957, 21; Sutherland 1969, 243; Cannan 2006, 145). This prodigy was the creation of Peter Anthony Motteux (1660–1718),[8] a French Huguenot born in Normandy who fled to England at the age of twenty-two after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He soon became an active member of English literary society and proved to be a skilled man of letters: he translated Rabelais and Cervantes into English, wrote prologues and epilogues for the plays of several well-known contemporary playwrights, and

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[8] For a full account of his biography see Cunningham (1933).

authored plays himself.[9] He was also considerably knowledgeable about music and besides working as an opera librettist and writing song lyrics, he promoted the use of music to accompany spoken drama (Tadié 2013, 149). Walter Graham (1926, 44) remarks how important it was that, for the first time, a periodical of this kind was in the hands of a professional writer rather than a scholar or a politician.

As stated in the dedication to William, Earl of Devonshire in the first issue (Jan. 1692), the journal aimed to entertain:[10] "My Journals aspire no higher, than to attend your Lordship when you enter into your Closet, to disengage your Thoughts from the daily pressure of Business; or when you retire to that New Wonder of the Peak, your beautiful Seat." Dorothy Foster (1917, 58) imagines this journal as a pleasant pastime residing in the drawing rooms ready for an idle hour, in which readers could find a speck of gallantry, light literature and science, a bit of fashion, enigmas to be solved, songs to be performed in company, and a varied list of contributors. For Kathryn Shevelow (1989, 35), women were thus provided with a kind of entertainment that was respectable at the same time as it was educational and filled empty female leisure time.

Thirty-two issues were published monthly between January 1692 and November 1694,[11] containing thirty-six quarto pages,[12] including the title page and a table of contents. The full title of the publication was *The Gentleman's Journal: Or, The Monthly Miscellany. By Way of a Letter*[13] *to a Gentleman in the Country. Consisting of News, History, Philosophy, Poetry, Musick, Translations, &c.* This kind of journal with a wide variety of content—the miscellany journal—was relevant for its role in the making of the "magazine" in the following century (Bond 1957, 21). The *Gentleman's Journal* has also been praised for its

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[9] Proof of his ability as a versatile man of letters is that he single-handedly authored two complete issues of the *Gentleman's Journal* (September 1692 and July 1693) covering all kinds of genres (Cannan 2006, 152).

[10] Walter Graham in his study of early literary periodicals (1926) classifies them into the "Learned Periodical" and the "Periodical of Amusement," placing the *Gentleman's Journal* in the second group (1926, 44–46).

[11] In 1694 three of the issues covered two months: January–February, August–September, and October–November. This last issue, as was usual in all the others in 1694, promised on its title page "To be continued monthly."

[12] Although in the first issue page numbers run up to 64, it actually had forty-four pages.

[13] Starting in January 1693, it read "In a Letter."

modernness and its resemblance in content to a twentieth-century literary magazine (Foster 1917, 22; Graham 1926, 83; Ezell 1992, 323). The idea of using the format of a letter, among other reasons that will be discussed later, came from the French periodical *Le Mercure Galant* (1672–1714): "The *French* have had a Letter of this nature, called, *Mercure Gallant*, every Month for many Years" (Jan. 1692, 1). Founded by the writer Jean Donneau de Vizé, each number was written in the form of a letter to a lady who had left Paris for the provinces but wished to be informed of the latest news in town. The *Mercure Galant* included light literature of a gallant kind, songs and illustrations and it was addressed to the fashionable people in Paris, with its success most probably due to the prominence it gave to court news and gossip (Foster 1917, 23). The *Gentleman's Journal* always started with a brief introduction addressing the author's correspondent, which might be followed by news, original poetry or translations (mostly of classic authors), a popular scientific article, an essay or discussion of a topic, enigmas for readers to solve, information about books or plays being staged, and one or two "novels," maybe a fable. And, after the closing of the letter proper, two or three songs with their scores and lyrics were also included. No wonder, then, that the journal has been considered a compendium of the Restoration's literary taste (Foster 1917, 58).

The "novels" in the *Gentleman's Journal*

Probably one of the most striking features of the *Gentleman's Journal* for its time is the inclusion of a series of short narratives—two to seven pages long—that its editor often explicitly called "a novel." Of the thirty-six narratives included in all the issues, twenty-seven are referred to as "novels," mostly in the table of contents, sometimes also in the heading of the story itself. One has the word "adventure" in its title and another is identified as "a late Adventure," there is a "story" and "a True History," and there are two "fables."[14] Two of the narratives have no specific category attributed to them. At the same time, either as part of the brief editorial commentaries to introduce the narratives or to move on to another piece or as a way to start or

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[14] Rose A. Zimbardo (1986, 8–9) underscores the fact that Motteux makes a clear difference between novels and fables and romances, as the former are accounts of actual events.

finish the fictional narratives, some are referred to as "an adventure" (five times), "a history" (twice), "a true story" (once), and "a poetical fiction" (once). And on one occasion the following combination can also be found: "Now, for a Novel. I am sometimes much put to it, to discover Adventures worth relating: Take that which follows for a Fable if you please; however, I am credibly inform'd, that most of the Particulars are true" (June 1693, 181). This variety but also indecision in the choice of word would be the "interchangeability" regarding the use of the terms "romance," "history," and "novel" that Michael McKeon (2002, 25) refers to, or the "heterogeneity" Bayer talks about when dealing with the Restoration novel and explaining that both catalogs and booksellers indistinctly "refer to histories, romances or intrigues, mostly avoiding the term novel" (2016, 145).

Regardless of the names these short narratives may be given, they had a few of the characteristics that would qualify them as novels—or, at least, as miniature novels—starting with Congreve's contention in the preface to *Incognita* (1692) that

> Novels are of a more familiar nature; Come near us, and represent to us Intrigues in practice, delight us with Accidents and odd Events, but not such as are wholly unusual or unpresidented, such which not being so distant from our Belief bring also the pleasure nearer us.

Dorothy Foster claims that the "novels" in the *Gentleman's Journal* "portray contemporary types, contemporary manners" (1917, 45), and Charles C. Mish concurs with her when he says that they "involve some depiction of manners and realistic viewpoint" (1969, 314). In turn, Rose A. Zimbardo also insists on the idea that the novel of the 1690s aims to imitate reality and give "an accurate account of real events and people" (1986, 8), and so do these narratives. The setting is definitely contemporary and even if some of the locations where the action takes place are left unnamed or are imprecise (somewhere in Albion, the Wells, Town, the City, the Country), they are associated with people and activities recognizable as contemporary at that time. And, on many other occasions, specific places in or around London are also referred to (the Strand, Hay market, Westminster). With few exceptions, the characters are mostly members of the gentry and the upper middle class, whose category is measured by the gentlemen's estates and the ladies' beauty, virtue, and wit. And, as Bayer (2016, 174) contends in relation to Restoration fiction characters, they are

usually stock types with a prevailing humor reflected in their names, when given (e.g., Sir Frolick Wanton, Sir Wilding Freelove, and Tom Goodstead in "The Friendly Cheat," Feb. 1692, 10–16; Viperly, Kindman, Constantia, Heartly and Richmore in "The Treacherous Guardian," April 1693, 115–120); otherwise, they are identified by their professional activity, their position in society or their role in the story (e.g., a stone-cutter in "The Noble Statuary," Jan. 1692, 23–29; a Gentleman, a young Lady, a She-Friend, a young Sister, a Spouse, and a Gallant in "The Adventure of the Night-Cap," April 1692, 9–12; an Officer, a Lawyer, a Husband, a Wife, a Lady in "The Picture: Or, Jealousy without a Cause," Dec. 1692, 7–12). Elizabeth Fowler (2003, 2) argues that literary characters represent social types who resemble "familiar concepts of social beings" so that readers and writers can jointly construct characters as they share common knowledge of social realities and the way they work. This would be in line with the idea that playwrights such as Congreve, Southerne, and Vanbrugh wrote their plays for the same kind of audience that read the *Gentleman's Journal* (Zimbardo 1986, 142).

Not only the characters but also many of the situations in the tales of the *Gentleman's Journal* were drawn from contemporary comedy (Foster 1917, 46; Zimbardo 1986, 9; Bayer and Jasenowski 2019, 24). A relevant number of the plots[15] in the *Journal* could easily be identified with familiar situations on the stage with witty women and debauched men, jealous husbands being taught a lesson, and where some victories are obtained by means of trickery or duping someone.[16] As argued by Bayer (2016, 18), the Restoration stage became increasingly interested in a more direct and faithful representation of life on the stage, and once this realistic tide started there, it easily moved into other genres, especially prose fiction.

These narratives present some other elements that create the kind of familiarity that Congreve mentioned in his preface to *Incognita* in relation to the novel as a genre. Precisely because the journal is

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[15] Dorothy Foster (1917, 47–56) divides the narratives in the *Gentleman's Journal* into two groups: those frequently coarse and immoral and those of a romantic character. In turn, Robert D. Mayo (1962, 22) organizes them in three groups: "satirical adventure stories, amorous histories, and tales of intrigue and gallantry in keeping with fashionable taste in the last years of the seventeenth century."

[16] Some of these plots would be the result of either French and Italian adaptations or translations (Mayo 1962, 20; Hughes 2015, 262; Bayer 2016, 68).

written in the format of a letter, the tone used by the narrator is often that of someone telling his intended reader(s) anecdotes that he has overheard and wants to share with a friend, and leaves the end open to future gossip. This is the case of "Hypocrisy Out-done: Or, The Imperfect Widow," when we are told "How it fares with Pretty Madam *Læda* I can't imagin" (June 1693, 185), or with "The Female Husband," when he says, "as I understand, they were married, and left the other to get a better Property when she can" (June 1694, 152).

In some of the narratives, the realism is also enhanced by giving detailed information about a specific activity or event. In "The Vain-Glorious Citt: or, The Stock-Jobber," the protagonist's trade is fully described, and we learn about risky investments and money easily won and lost (Jan. 1692, 8–9). In "The Widow by Chance," we are informed about how the law works specifically in the case of how a husband could force his wife to live with him in the same house despite their disagreements (Jan. 1693, 8). And in "Patience Rewarded," it is plainly explained to readers that the reason of the female protagonist's "infertility" is her husband's "incapacity," "having in a Duel receiv'd a severe wound in one of the most obliging parts, so that he was only outwardly accomplished for a Husband" (Dec. 1693, 200).[17]

Subverting fictionality and reality

As described above, Motteux chose the format of a letter written to a gentleman living in the country in which information about diverse aspects of contemporary life as well as some entertainment was provided to give shape to his miscellany journal. My argument is that this format enhanced the fictionality of these "novels" while reinforcing their condition of true stories, an essential element for the concept of the novel at the time.[18] However, as will be discussed, this is not a straightforward relationship and both concepts—fictionality and reality—will constantly be subverted throughout the issues of the *Gentleman's Journal*.

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[17] This page is wrongly numbered in the original and should read 400.

[18] A case in point, as highlighted by Sonia Villegas López (2020, 120), is Aphra Behn's Preface to *Oroonoko, or the History of the Royal Slave* (1688), in which Behn claims the story is true by suggesting she was an eyewitness to the events narrated.

In the seventeenth century, the letter was quite popular both as a private form of communication and in its public, as well as commercial, version in the print media (Bayer and Jasenowski 2019, 16). One example of the latter was John Dunton's popular *Athenian Mercury* (1691–1697). Dunton started a model later widely imitated by other periodicals, which was based on the questions asked by readers through letters they sent and the answers given by the editor and members of the staff. Letters to the editor also appeared in many other periodicals and newspapers, and occasionally they could be invented (be fictional) and on other occasions they might include a narrative of sorts. That is the reason why Robert Adams Day (1966, 267) draws attention to what he considers a kind of fiction, sometimes also miniature letter novels, which contributed to the development of epistolary fiction and a taste for it.

Throughout the seventeenth century, manuscript news letters had circulated quite freely in the country. Such was the popularity of these letters and the confidence in what they conveyed that from 1696 and well into the following century *Dawks's News-Letter*—founded by Ichabod Dawks—used a special script type that resembled handwriting[19] and began by addressing an imagined gentleman, "Sʳ," with the intention of suggesting a personal approach (Sutherland 1986, 29–30). As explained by Bond (1957, 43), letters with current news had long been an important source for many papers and some of them showed this in their masthead (e.g., *Packet of Letters*, 1646, or *Miscellaneous Letters*, 1694–1696). Dorothy Foster also concurs that the epistolary model "was a favorite form of the day" (1917, 25) and despite the increasing popularity of newspapers, news letters, either printed or in manuscript, could be found for sale in London for country correspondence. As she explains, some space was left both at the beginning and the end for a personal address or information and an empty fourth page to be used as the envelope. In the seventeenth century, letters were also popular for a quite different kind of transaction: the exchange of—mostly—poetry among the members of

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[19] Although this does not seem to be the case here, as periodicals were aimed at an educated audience, it is worth noting Margaret J. M. Ezell's argument that in the seventeenth century there were different levels of literacy and some readers could understand the black letter type used in the cheaper publications, but not the italic, and whereas some could read print, they could not read handwriting (2018, 360).

the literary coteries of the period (Ezell 1992, 325–326). By means of letters, Restoration courtiers and also ladies, such as Anne Killigrew, circulated manuscript copies of their work among their literary acquaintances, sometimes eventually gathered together in manuscript collections. Finally, a third reason why letters were popular in the seventeenth century is that letter writing was used as a means to teach literacy skills to the rising middle classes. They needed to write letters for both business and personal reasons, and letter writing instruction also seems to have been a practical means of teaching grammar and composition skills, more effective than mere composition (Mitchell 2012, 229–230), and, according to some accounts, it was a usual practice specially among women (Hughes 2015, 466).

Joad Raymond has asserted that the "early modern British public had a nearly pathological interest in reading and hearing news" (1998, 109), something confirmed by contemporary literary critics and historians. Lennard J. Davis, in his study about the origin of the English novel, remarks on the use of the word "novel" for an array of different kinds of narratives. In the sixteenth century, this term was used to refer to printed news ballads and tales (1996, 45), but the early prose narratives of this century like criminal tales, jokes and love intrigues were also called "novels" (1996, 46). The most popular ballads would be printed frequently and over a period of years, no longer being new/news and actually turning into folk tales (1996, 49). Newsbooks were variably called "corantos," "nouvelles," "novels," and "newes," but the three latter words were also used for fictional tales (1996, 51). Consequently, Davis argues, there is a "news/novels discourse […] characterized by a disinclination to distinguish between fact and fiction as a signifier of genre" (1996, 51), while the novel genre still claims to give true accounts.

In the case of the *Gentleman's Journal*—according to the title page, a space for the dissemination of news along with other content—, each issue keeps up the fiction of a letter being written to a correspondent. It is true that, as has been generally agreed (Bond 1957, 21; Bayer 2016, 149), the letter fulfils the purpose of a framework to hold together a collection of unrelated material thereby offering some kind of unity. Bayer (2016, 189–90) argues that during the English Restoration the relationship between literature and reality acquired a new dimension due to the increasing number of ballads, news sheets, pamphlets,

and private letters, in which for many readers reality was equated with printed material. In other words, textuality was trusted. This is the reason why when novelists wished to prove that what they had written was true, they claimed to merely be editing a found document, framing their narrative within it (Davis 1996, 35). However, if we interpret this made-up letter format as a paratext—the introduction starting with the greeting to the unnamed gentleman could be equivalent to a preface—and accept Bayer's belief that "paratexts played a significant role in creating […] readerly expectations" (2016, 18), the letter, instead of making the content truer, would be making it more fictional.

Starting with the first issue, it was always Motteux's intention to count on the generous collaboration of other people to obtain material for the journal (Jan. 1692, 1):

> I grant that from *London*, the Heart of the Nation, all things circulating to the other parts, such News or new Things as are sent me, may be conveyed every where, being inserted in my Letter. Indeed it were to be wish'd, that the Friends of those brave Men who venture their Lives for safety of their King and Country, would acquaint us with their Actions; and that the Authors of the Learned, witty and diverting things, which are made every day, would oblige the World with them. And you tell me, that 'tis to be hop'd that I shall have enough sent me to make the Undertaking easier to me.

Although he often resorted to acquaintances and friends in the literary world, and succeeded in getting them to write for him, he still depended on spontaneous collaborations. That is the reason why, in subsequent issues, there are frequent calls for contributions, as well as laments about not getting enough pieces for the journal. Almost in each issue, starting in May 1692, but especially from January 1693 onwards, he inserted an "Advertisement" at the end of the contents page encouraging the "Ingenious," as he referred to his readers and would-be contributors, to send "Pieces in verse or Prose." Prior to this, in the March 1692 issue, he had already written "An Epistle to the Ingenious," in which he made a long—over four page—direct appeal to his unknown readers to submit writing. And in several of his "introductions" (July 1692, 1; August 1692, 1; August 1693, 251) renewed requests for contributions can be found. Margaret J.M. Ezell relates these amateur contributions to the seventeenth-century tradition of literary coteries (1992, 328–340) and emphasizes how by

addressing a whole group with the label "the Ingenious" Motteux creates and reinforces a literary community (1992, 335).

The reading audience of the *Gentleman's Journal* has generally been considered to have come from the middle classes (Ezell 1992, 323, 334, 340), as was the case for most literary periodicals of the time, although some discrepancies can be found in this regard. Due to the treatment given to the protagonists of "The Vain glorius Citt: Or, the Stock-Jobber" (Jan. 1692, 7–11), in which a presumptuous citizen is humiliated, and "The Quakers Gambols" (Nov. 1693, 370–374), where a couple of non-conformists are referred to sarcastically, Robert D. Mayo (1962, 22) contends that Motteux could not possibly be addressing the dissenting and commercial classes. In turn, Roger Phillip McCutcheon, guided by the selection of books recommended by Motteux and some comments on style, argues that the author wrote for "gentlemen of leisure" (1923, 260). Likewise, Bayer asserts that Motteux's target readers had already "reached a position of distinction" (2016, 67). Motteux, as mentioned above, once again in his opening letter for the January 1692 issue, specifically states that, despite its name "this is no less the *Ladies Journal* than the *Gentlemens*." And he is clearly thinking of a female readership when he explains his decision to make short narratives an integral part of his journal by saying, "[as] for Novels, I need not Apologize for them otherwise than by saying that the Ladies desire them" (Feb. 1693, 38). Nonetheless, Charles C. Mish contends that since the narratives included are "sex-stories rather than love-stories," they "seem intended more for a masculine than a feminine audience" (1969, 314). And, even if produced from London and allegedly written by people there, the journal is explicitly "a Letter to a Gentleman in the Country," someone who lived far away from the metropolis and was "in need of a constant flow of information so as not to lose touch with the ongoing political, social, scientific, and aesthetic developments at the capital" (Bayer 2016, 67).

Despite these contradictions regarding the reading audience of the journal, the existence of a literary community, with a strong, even intimate, bond between reader and author has been frequently highlighted (Ezell 1992, 335; Maurer 2010, 156; Bayer 2016, 205). Shevelow has offered one of the most inspiring analyses of the idea that the periodicals' practice of encouraging audience engagement with the text was "an attempt to establish a continuity between

readers' lives and the medium of print" (1989, 43), between reality and fiction. This sense of engagement was nurtured by periodicals by including their contributors' pieces, and seemingly establishing a dialogue between the editor and his readers, and even among the readers themselves (1989, 44). Thus, we move a step further from the literary community to the "textually-based community of readers" (1989, 49). She also draws on Davis's "news/novels discourse" in which, she remarks, one of the main attributes is the blurring of fact and fiction, and one of the chief characteristics the high degree of audience involvement, decreasing the distance between reader and text (1989, 43).

Finally, despite the frequent claims across the "novels" that these stories themselves are true—"the Relation of an uncommon, tho very true Adventure" ("The Platonic Lovers," April 1692, 4); "I need not tell you that this is a very true Story" ("A Love Story," June 1692, 8); "most of the Particulars are true" ("Hypocrisy Out-done, or the Imperfect Widow," June 1693, 181); "Patience Rewarded, a True History" (Dec. 1693, 394, 397)—, their subject matter is full of deception, falseness, cheating, disguise, and cross-dressing in the titles themselves, as well as in the plots: "The Friendly Cheat" (Feb. 1692, 10–16), "The False Friend, or The Fatherless Couple" (May 1692, 3–7), "The Treacherous Guardian" (April 1693, 115–120), "The Adventure of the Night-Cap" (April 1692, 9–12), "The Female Husband" (June, 1694, 149–152), "The Female Beaux" (August-Sep. 1694, 223–226), "The Winter Quarters, or like Master like Man" (Oct.-Nov. 1694, 259–262). Once more, the truth the "novels" declare to adhere to seems to have been undermined.

Conclusions

Needless to say, at the end of the seventeenth century the novel was very much a genre in the making whose name, "novel," was under scrutiny and permanent debate, not to mention the controversies and blurred lines regarding other narrative genres. By few to no standards the narratives published in the *Gentleman's Journal* could be considered novels, especially regarding their length. If we look at the stories told most of them should be deemed mere anecdotes, and just a few achieve the complexity of presenting a developed plot. However, if we accept Davis's list of distinctive traits of the novel when compared

to romance (that is, that a novel is defined by having a contemporary and national setting, is modeled on history and journalism, is middle class in scope, is not episodic but compact, focuses on illegal doings and forbidden passions, denies they are fictional, and records life as it is) (1996, 40), we would see that the *Gentleman's Journal's* "novels" do indeed comply with all of them. Paul Salzman, in his catalog of English prose fiction between 1558 and 1700, places them under the heading of "Restoration Novel" (1985, 376), in the very same group as Aphra Behn's works.

I have argued, though, that by using a fictive letter as the framework for the journal's "novels," several contradictory issues come into play. On the one hand, we are led to think these are first-hand stories, told in the intimacy of a letter to a friend, and there are also countless references to the truth of the narratives presented; on the other, there is the illusion of telling something invented, something fictional. These contradictions should be considered as yet another facet of the seventeenth century process of shaping the novel into a genre in its own right. The "novels" in the *Gentleman's Journal* have characteristics coming from narratives written in other European countries—mainly France and Italy—as well as from the Restoration stage, and they are also the source for many a plot, character and situation present in longer narratives of the period as well as in those found in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, thus playing a crucial role in the development of the incipient genre of the novel.

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Author's contact: maria.j.coperias@uv.es

Postal address: Departament de Filologia Anglesa i Alemanya, Facultat de Filologia, Traducció i Comunicació, Universitat de València. Avinguda Blasco Ibáñez, 32, 4610, Valencia, Spain.

The three manuscript copies of Robert Ashley's *Of Honour* and Sebastián Fox Morcillo's *De honore*. Study of a translation plagiarism

Antonio Espigares Pinilla
Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain

Renae Satterley
*Middle Temple Library, London, UK**

Abstract

Robert Ashley's *Of Honour*, edited in 1947 by Virgil B. Heltzel, has become a reference work in studies on honor in English literature, but we have known since 2016 that it is a translation plagiarism of Sebastián Fox Morcillo's *De honore* (1556). In this paper the authors analyze and compare the three existing manuscripts of *Of Honour* (two of them recently identified), discuss Ashley's possible intentions in producing it, and make a complete comparative study of *De honore* with Robert Ashley's translation.

Keywords: honor; Robert Ashley; Sebastián Fox Morcillo; Shakespeare studies; translations.

Las tres copias manuscritas de *Of Honour*, de Robert Ashley, y *De honore*, de Sebastián Fox Morcillo. Estudio de un plagio de traducción

Resumen: *Of Honour* de Robert Ashley, editado en 1947 por Virgil B. Heltzel, se ha convertido en una obra de referencia para los estudios sobre el honor en la literatura inglesa, pero desde 2016 sabemos que es una traducción plagiada de *De honore* de Sebastián Fox Morcillo (1556). En este trabajo los autores analizan y comparan los tres manuscritos existentes de *Of Honour* (dos de ellos descubiertos recientemente), valoran las posibles intenciones del autor y realizan un completo estudio comparativo de *De honore* con la traducción de Robert Ashley.

As três cópias manuscritas de *Of Honour*, de Robert Ashley, e *De honore*, de Sebastián Fox Morcillo. Estudo de um plágio em tradução**

Resumo: *Of Honour*, de Robert Ashley, editado em 1947 por Virgil B. Heltzel, tornou-se numa obra de referência em estudos sobre honra na literatura inglesa, mas sabemos desde 2016 que se trata de um plágio em tradução de *De honore* de Sebastián Fox Morcillo (1556). Neste artigo, os autores analisam e comparam os três manuscritos existentes de *Of Honour* (dois dos quais recentemente identificados), discutem as possíveis intenções de Ashley, e levam a cabo um estudo comparativo completo de *De honore* com a tradução de Robert Ashley.

Robert Ashley: Biography, work, and library[1]

The library at Middle Temple, one of the four Inns of Court, was formally established in 1641 with a bequest of books made by Robert Ashley (1565–1641), a member of the Inn. Ashley was variously educated at home, different grammar schools, and Oxford Halls, before graduating BA from Magdalen Hall in 1583 when he was eighteen. He was confirmed as a fellow at Magdalen College when he was twenty, obtained his MA, and was briefly assigned to give public lectures in geometry before being admitted to Middle Temple in 1588. He did not take his law studies too seriously, and was not Called to the Bar until 1595, having spent some time away from the Temple studying music, languages, and politics, and travelling to France with the help of Sir Henry Unton, directed by Sir Francis Walsingham. Prior to his Call, in 1589 he published two translations, both published by John Wolfe: *L'Uranie ou muse celeste*, dedicated to Sir Henry Unton, and *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation*, dedicated to Sir William Hatton. He also spent almost two years in the employ of Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, as one of his secretaries. While secretary to Puckering in 1594 he dedicated to him another of his translations, *Of the Interchangeable Course*.[2]

Ashley's early thirties were most likely spent practicing as a lawyer, and in 1607, in a further bid for patronage, he wrote to the Earl of Salisbury asking to be considered successor to his brother, Sir Anthony, as Clerk of the Privy Council, but was refused (Hertfordshire, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 123/149). In 1611 his elder sister Jane was arrested and imprisoned for an unknown reason, and she died in prison.[3]

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[1] For a full biography of Robert Ashley see: Kelser, Nelson, and Satterley (2021).
[2] Ashley wrote marginal comments and made corrections to his original language copy, Louis Leroy's *De la vicissitude ou variete des choses en l'univers* (1579).
[3] Jane's first husband was Francis Langley (1548–1602), builder of the Swan Theatre and litigant against William Shakespeare (Greg 1932, 218).

Ashley travelled to the Netherlands in 1617, as evidenced by a letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Ralph Winwood (Dorchester 1775, 172–174), and Ashley's book marginalia (the trip was omitted from his autobiography, *Vita* [London, British Library, Sloane MS 2131]), where he recounts a visit to St. Peter's church, Leiden.[4] In the following year Ashley visited France and Spain, where at the Escorial library he saw "a glorious golden librarie of Arabian bookes" (Ashley 1627, sig. A1r). Travels closer to London included a visit in 1622/1623 to the Bodleian Library, and a medical-astrological consultation with Richard Napier in 1628 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, e.532, fol. 12v; Kassell et al., eds. [n.d.], CASE66846).

In 1626 he contributed a poem to a memorial volume honoring Sir Francis Bacon (Rawley 1626, 15) and was granted a full chamber to himself, for life, *gratis* (Trice 1904–1905, vol. 2, 707). In 1627 he published *Almansor,* a partial translation of Miguel de Luna's *Verdadera historia del rey Don Rodrigo*, dedicating his translation to Charles I, and in 1633 a partial translation of Cristoforo Borri's *Cochin-China*,[5] dedicated to Sir Maurice Abbot, governor of the East India Company. In 1634 he took on a second chamber (alone and for life) to house his growing collection of books (Trice 1904–1905, vol.2, 829). Finally in 1637 he published *David persecuted,* a translation of Virgilio Malvezzi's *Davide perseguitato*.[6]

At an unknown date in the seventeenth century, Ashley compiled the only known manuscript in his own hand (apart from his *Vita*), a miscellany entitled *The Book of Magical Charms* (Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 5017), containing excerpts from manuscripts and printed books on the themes of charms, magic, medical recipes, and other miscellaneous topics (Satterley 2021, 268). It is not signed but most of the text is clearly in his distinctive hand.

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[4] Ashley's marginal notes regarding this are found in two of his library books: Thomas Brugmann's *Quadratura circuli nova* (1608), and Justus Lipsius's *Mellificium duplex ex media philosophia petitum* (1591).

[5] Ashley translated the French version of the original Italian. Ashley's copy has his marginalia, underlining, and a quote from Seneca on the title page that is replicated in the English version: "Cum hac persuasione vivendum est: non sum uni angulo natus, patria mea totus hic mundus est" (one should live by this motto: I was not born to one little corner- this whole world is my country).

[6] Ashley's copy of *Davide perseguitato* (1634) contains marginalia in his hand.

Robert Ashley died in 1641 and bequeathed his library of approximately 5,000 titles,[7] bedding, furniture, and £300 to the Inn to employ a Keeper of the Library; he was buried in Temple Church. His library, which remains relatively intact at Middle Temple, contains a broad range of subjects. Most of the books are continental Latin imprints, with strong holdings of French, Italian, and Spanish titles, fewer in English, and a minor number of Dutch and German titles. He did not leave instructions for his personal papers, and none are in the current library collection or the Inn's archive. As such, we have no documentary evidence reflecting his interest in the topic of honor (it is not discussed in his *Vita*), nor how he came to be interested in Sebastián Fox Morcillo's works, but his collection had the following works by him: *De demonstratione, eiusque necessitate ac vi, liber I.* […] *De honore, Lib. I* (1556b); *De historiæ institutione, dialogus* (1557); *In Platonis Dialogum qui Phaedo seu de animorum immortalitate inscribitur Sebastiani F. Morzilli Hispalensis Commentarii* (1556); *De regni regisque institutione libri III* (1556); and *In Platonis Timaeum Commentarii* (1554b). Ashley's interest in Iberian works is evidenced not only by his translation, *Almansor,* but also by the approximately 125 sixteenth-century books printed in Spain and Portugal, and/or in Spanish/Portuguese in his collection, of which thirty-one survive in fewer than five known copies. Five titles appear to be unique: Iñigo López de Mendoza, *Los proverbios* (1532)*; Flor de virtudes, nuevamente corregido* (1539); Jean de Mont, *Suplicacion y informacion que fue presentada a la reyna de Francia por los fieles Christianos de aquel reyno* (1567); Licenciado Lara, *Libro intitulado reprehension de estados* (1584)*;* Victoriano Zaragozano y Sabater, *Lunario y repertorio de los tiempos* (1590) (Wilkinson 2010, x).[8] Full analysis of Ashley's marginalia is on-going, but has so far revealed annotations in fourteen of his Spanish books, with the most heavily annotated work (Spanish or otherwise) being Mateo Luján de Sayavedra's *Segunda parte de la vida del picaro Guzman de Alfarache* (1603).[9]

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[7] This estimate is based on preliminary analysis of the sixteen manuscript catalogues compiled after his death (Middle Temple, MT.9/LCA/1-16): https://www. middletemple.org.uk/archive-history/archive-information-access/sources-resources/ digitised-records/library-manuscript. For current transcription updates see: https:// hcommons.org/docs/transcription-of-middle-temple-library-ms-catalogues/. The modern library catalogue is at: www.middletemplelibrary.org.uk.

[8] This list was updated by using the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*: https://www.ustc. ac.uk.

[9] It is not clear why Ashley annotated this picaresque novel so extensively.

Although Ashley did not overtly express any interest in the topic of honor in his *Vita,* he did discuss avenging himself against "a certain assassin" and entered a duel with him when he first entered the Middle Temple (Kelser, Nelson, and Satterley 2021, 22). Honor was an important concept in early modern England, albeit one with shifting definitions, and the modern characterization differing from that of sixteenth-century England (Schwerhoff 2013, 31). Ashley himself stated in his dedication to Egerton: "that a moderate desire of Honor ys not only very conuenient, but also aboue all other good things (vertue only excepted which yt vsually accompanieth) to be preferred" (Los Angeles, CA, Huntington Library, MS Ellesmere 1117, fol. 3r).[10] Other works on honor published prior to 1600 in his collection include the French translation of Giovanni Battista Possevino's *Dialogo dell'honore*, *Les dialogues d'honneur* (1557) and Guillaume de Chevalier's *Discours des querelles et de l'honneur* (1598).

Of Honour: The three copies

The treatise manuscript *Of Honour* has long been considered an original work. But it has only recently been determined (Espigares Pinilla 2016, 57–62) that it is a translation of the Spanish humanist Sebastián Fox Morcillo's *De honore* above mentioned, as we will thoroughly study below. Based on analysis of his marginalia we have determined that Ashley used his own copy for the translation.[11]

There are three known manuscript copies of *Of Honour*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 1148;[12] Cambridge, Trinity College Cambridge, MS R.14.20; and Huntington Library, MS Ellesmere

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[10] As discussed below, this was translated from Sebastián Fox Morcillo's Latin dedication to Ruy Gómez de Silva in *De honore* (1556). Susanna de Schepper's analysis of the paratexts in some English translations (2013, 189–191) has shown that many included English versions of the original dedications.

[11] London, Middle Temple Library: shelfmark BAY L530. There is an inscription on the last blank leaf of the final part: "Anthony Crompton Animus cælestia cogitat." The volume has marginalia in a second, unidentified hand that could be Crompton's.

[12] No ascription to Ashley is given in the catalogue of Ashmole's manuscripts: "this neat MS. is subscribed with these initials [R.A.] at the word Finis," (Black and Macray 1845, columns 1006–1007) but a hand-written attribution has been added in the Weston Library's reference copy at the Bodleian Library. Erin Courtney Thomas attributed the manuscript to Ashley, but without explanation for the ascription (2017, 7).

1117 (hereafter referred to as Ashmole, Trinity, and Ellesmere).[13] Until recently only Ellesmere had an explicitly correct authorship attribution.[14] All three manuscripts are undated and written by different scribes. Trinity was dedicated to Sir John Puckering (1543 or 1544–1596), dating it prior to 1596,[15] and Ellesmere was dedicated to Sir Thomas Egerton, who succeeded Puckering as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1596. Both Trinity and Ellesmere are bound in limp vellum with traces of ties, and gilt tooling on the Trinity covers. Ashmole has no dedication or preliminary material and was acquired at an unknown date by Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), also a member of Middle Temple. It is not in Ashley's hand, and although the copy is fine, it is not as polished as Trinity or Ellesmere.

Ashmole[16] contains many corrections, scored-through segments of text, and some added text. There are too many corrections and additions to list here, but to give only one, at p. 141 between "to be desired" and "since that […]," a mark (X) indicates that the copyist mistakenly omitted a phrase ("which since it cannot be […] not to be desired") which was then added in the right-hand margin.

Our analysis of the textual differences, corrections, additions, and slight variations to the chapter headings in the three manuscripts, suggests that Ashmole was a draft used by Ashley to produce Trinity. Ellesmere has its own characteristics that differ from the previous two:

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[13] A full line-by-line comparison between Trinity and Ellesmere would be beyond the scope of this article, but sample comparisons between the two did not reveal any significant differences between them, apart from the dedications.

[14] The catalogue of manuscripts at Trinity College Cambridge listed the author as "Robert Asheley" (James 1900, 303), dating the manuscript to the seventeenth-century, as it had been donated to the library by Sir Henry Puckering (1618–1701). Ashley used variant spellings of his surname, and 'Asheley' was the form he used in the dedication. The manuscript is digitized: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.14.20.

[15] In the dedication Ashley mentions his "late absence from [his] attendance" on Puckering which, if he left his employ by 1595, suggests that the manuscript could have been written around this time.

[16] It is bound as item V in Ashmole MS 1148 and paginated, not foliated, as 131–170. Due to the pandemic the authors were not able to verify any watermarks, which may date the manuscript. Heltzel described the watermark in Ellesmere as similar to one used in London in 1584: "two columns, intertwined, surmounted by a crown, with 'I.RICHAR' below, similar to Briquet 4444 and 4445, the former used in London in 1584" (Ashley 1947, 17).
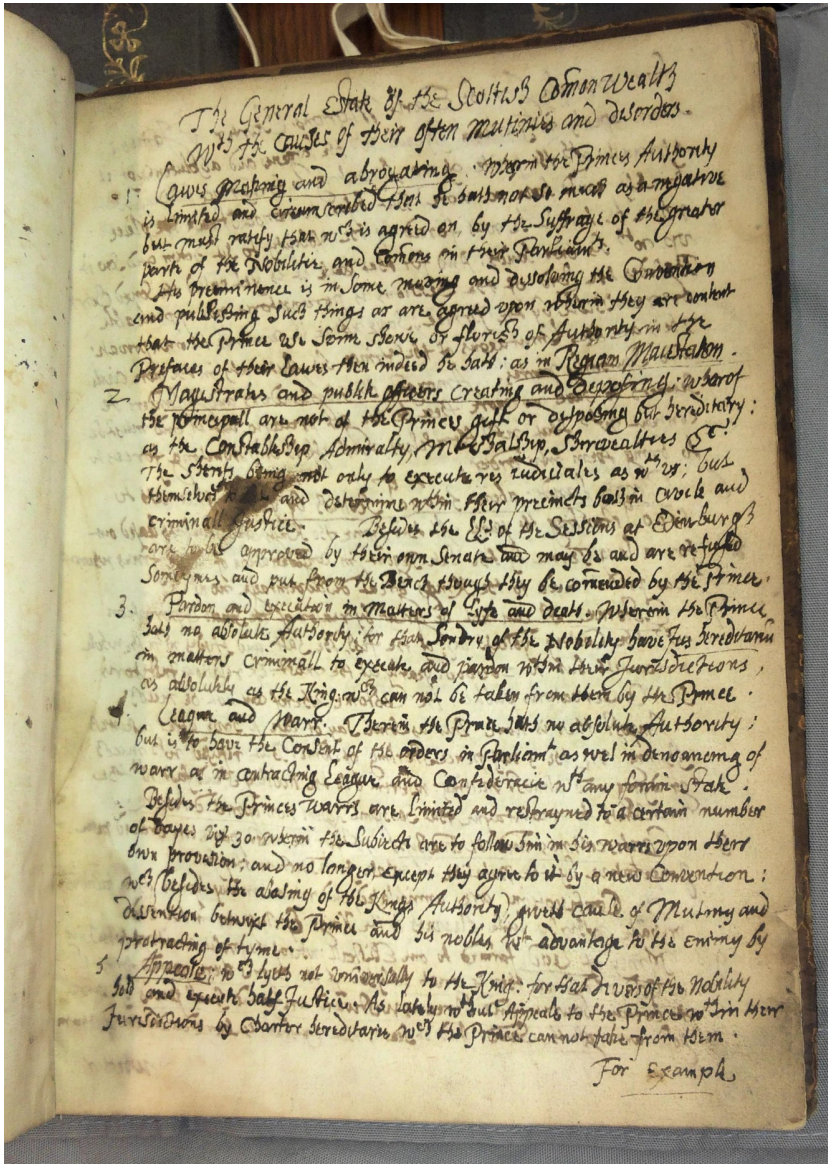
Figure 1: An example of Robert Ashley's handwriting as found in his copy of Hector Boece, *Descrittione del regno di Scotia, et delle isole sue adjacenti* (1588). London, Middle Temple Library: shelfmark BAY L (FOLIOS).
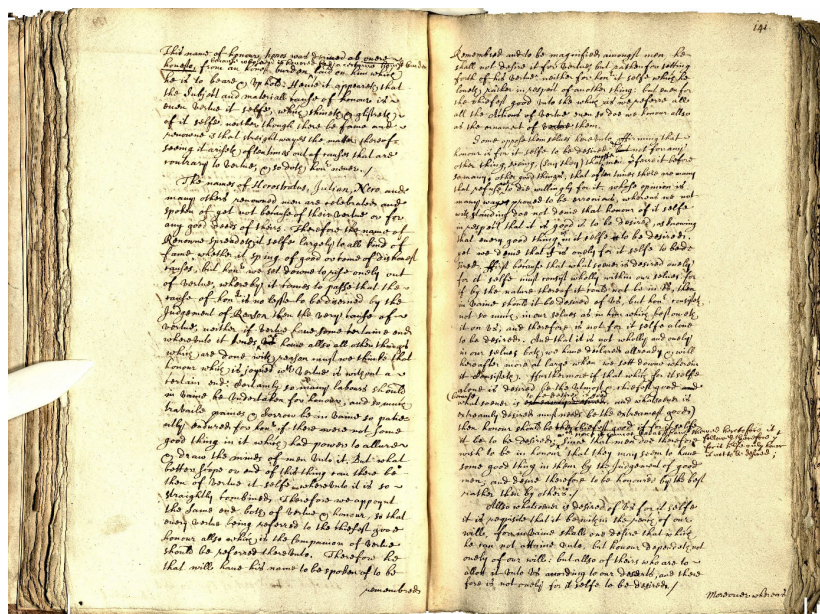
Figure 2: Text inserted at p. 141 of Ashmole MS 1148. Oxford, Bodleian Libraries.

1. Some fragments from *De honore* translated in Ashmole and Trinity, but deleted in Ellesmere:

   a) *De honore* 23: *Atqui hac de re satis hoc loco.* Ashmole (p. 143) and Trinity (fol. 11r): "and of this thing […]"

   b) *De honore* 62: *Haec sunt clarissime Roderice, quae* […] *arbitrere.* Ashmole (p. 170) and Trinity (fol. 31v) translate it, removing only the reference to Rodrigo: "This is it […]"

2. Some mistakes that appear only in copy Ellesmere:

   a) *De honore* 12: "*honoris conservatio.*" Ashmole (p. 135) and Trinity (fol. 6r): "the conservation of honour." E (fol. 7r): "the consideration of honour."

   b) *De honore* 17: "*Honor contra simplici approbatione bonorum* […]." Ashmole (p. 139) and Trinity (fol. 8v): "Honour on the contrary being content with the simple approbacion of the better sort […]." Ellesmere (fol. 9r): "Honour on the contrary being content with the ample approbacion of the better sort […]."

c) *De honore* 39: "*Solonem*." Ashmole (p. 153) and Trinity (fol. 19v): "Solon." E (fol. 17v): "Solen" (corrected in Heltzel's transcription: Solon [Ashley 1947, 54]).

d) *De honore* 60: "*ad societatem humani generis conservandam*." A (p. 169) and T (fol. 30v): "to the conservacion of humane sotiety." E (fol. 24v): "to the conversacion of humane societie."

3. Some terms have different translations: *De honore* 48: "*Iudaeorum rege Herode*." Ashmole (p. 160): "Herod the K: of the Iewes." Trinity (fol. 24r): "Herode the king of the Iewes." Ellesmere (fol. 20v): "Herode Tetrarck of the Iewes."

4. Correct corrections in Trinity, retained in Ellesmere:

a) *De honore* 39: "*Carolum Caesarem*." Ashmole (p. 154): "Cai. Caesar."[17] Trinity (fol. 19v): "Car. Caesar." Ellesmere (fol. 17v): "Carolus Caesar."

b) *De honore* 43: "*Anaxagoras, Pittacus, Demetrius Phalereus, Epimenides, Valerius Publicola*." Ashmole (p. 158): "Anaxagoras, Pitiacus, Demetrius, Valerius, Epimenides, Valerius, Publicola." Trinity (fol. 22r): "Anaxagoras: Pittacus: Dimetrius Phalereus: Epimenides: Valerius Publicola." Ellesmere (fol. 19r): "Anaxagoras, Pittacus, Demetrius Phalereus,[18] Epimenides, Valerius Publicola."[19]

5. Incorrect corrections in Trinity, retained in Ellesmere: *De honore* (p. 39): *Antoninum*. Ashmole (p. 153): "Antoninus." Trinity (fol. 19v): "Antonius." Ellesmere (fol. 17v): "Antonius."

We have not established whether Ashley presented the manuscript to his patrons as an original work or a translation, nor if he had intentions to publish it. As discussed in more detail below, Ashley's version omitted any reference to Fox Morcillo and *De honore*, and even used parts of its dedication in the translated dedication to Sir Thomas Egerton. Conversely, in 1594 he had admitted to Puckering in

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[17] This was possibly a mistake made by the scribe in confusing emperor Charles I with Caius Julius Caesar.

[18] Corrected from Phalerius.

[19] Surprisingly, the mistake was replicated in Heltzel's transcription (Ashley 1947, 57): Anaxagoras, Pittacus, Demetrius, Phalerius, Epimenides, Valerius, Publicola.

his dedication to *Of the Interchangeable Course* that he was incapable of producing original works:

> But mine owne wit and inuention, being vnable to write or inuent any thing worth the reading, yet my wil being a welwisher to all good inuentions; I thought it more commendable, to commend and communicate to others, that which other men haue excellently inuented (being not able myselfe to attaine to so much excellency). (Ashley 1594, Sig.A2r-A2v)

Warren Boutcher (2006) has noted that "anybody with an education might translate in a multiplicity of personal and career circumstances, for it was considered a suitable sign of one's intellectual preparedness for services of all kinds." Ashley would not have earned his patron's approval to publish *Of Honour*, as Puckering died in 1596.

We can only speculate regarding Ashley's intentions to publish after presenting a new copy to Egerton. Heltzel (Ashley 1947, 19) had noted that Ashley's punctuation was "light" and "inconsistent, as if he regarded such a mechanical matter as something the printer was expected to take care of." Puckering's successor presumably decided not to give Ashley patronage, thus impeding any further attempts to publish it. However, analysis of this version seems to suggest that Ashley did present the treatise as an original work, not a translation:

1. p. 23: "haue geuen me also encouragement to indeuour in this Argument of Honor […] For what cold there be fitter for me to treat of then some such peice of Philosophie (wherein I haue bene trained) […]"

2. p. 24: "Theis are the respects and reasons which haue directed and dedicated this discourse […] my whole scope and dryfte ys, to proue […] Which befor I go about to proue with Philosophicall reasons (for theis grounds are borrowed from the Peripatetick and Academick Philosophers) I do a little digresse after the manner of Orators into the large and pleasant feild of the praise of Honor, and so do passe therhence into the streightes of Disputacion."[20]

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[20] 1 and 2 were direct translations from *De honore*.

3. p. 24: "Yf your Lordship deigne but to accept theis travailes of my poor penn."

We have no evidence of Puckering or Egerton's reaction to the work—whether it was received as an original work, a pseudo-original or unmarked translation, or as a straightforward translation.[21] Had Ashley presented the treatise to Puckering and/or Egerton as an original work, we think it is unlikely that he intended to publish it as such, since his "plagiarism" would have been evident, in particular the semi-plagiarized dedication. He also omitted portions from the original text (admittedly a common practice at the time), which may have required reinstatement.[22] There were heated debates about plagiarism at the Inns of Court during this period and the subject matter of this work meant that presenting one's self honestly would have been crucial to its publication.[23] In the 1589 dedication to Sir William Hatton in his *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation* Ashley wrote that the "love of truth is to be preferd aboue al other respects" (Ashley 1589, sig. A2r).

Conversely, would Ashley have risked his chance at patronage by presenting the translation of a Spanish work on honor in such a febrile anti-Spanish climate, particularly after publishing his translation of the anti-Spanish work, *A Comparison*? According to Griffin (2009, 357) during the 1590s "English public culture had been inundated with Hispanophobic stereotypes mobilized again and again in propagandistic efforts to affirm the twin pillars of national sovereignty and the Protestant faith." The dedication to *A Comparison* exemplifies this English "Hispanophobia" through its encouragement to its readers to "learne to despise those magnificent Dom Diegos and Spanish Caualieros, whose doughtiest deedes are bragges and boastinges, and themselues (for the most part) shadowes without substaunce" (Ashley 1589, sigs. A2v–A3r). But there were many translations from the Spanish published in the 1590s, perhaps to encourage English readers to familiarize themselves with these "Dom Diegos." Translations included those by Adrian Poyntz (1590), Richard Carew (1594), Robert Codrington (1594), John Frampton

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[21] For discussions on indirect translations, see Pym (2014) and Marin-Lacarta (2017).

[22] This is true despite that "plagiarism of foreign authors" (Lee 1910, 249) by English lyricists/poets was common during this period.

[23] For a discussion of plagiarism at the Inns of Court, see Cook (2011).

(1595), and Richard Eden (1596). Luis de Granada's *Guía de Peccadores* (Salamanca, 1568) was translated by Francis Meres as *The Sinners Guyde* (London: James Roberts, 1598) and dedicated to Egerton.[24]

Without further documentary evidence, we simply cannot draw any definitive conclusions regarding his intentions. Ashley omitted any mention of *Of Honour* in his *Vita*, and we can only surmise this was due to his failure in having it recognized and published, or because he did not want to bring attention to this pseudo-original work.

Comparative study of Sebastián Fox Morcillo's *De honore* and Ashley's *Of Honour*

Sebastián Fox Morcillo is one of the most important Spanish humanists of the sixteenth century. His life is a clear example of the most difficult moments of religious persecution at the end of the reign of Charles I and the beginning of Philip II. Fox Morcillo was born in Seville between 1526 and 1528. His paternal family, the Morcillos, were artisans and merchants and Jewish converts to Christianity. Ruth Pike (1968, 877) has noted that he tried to hide his Jewish origin by changing the order of his surnames, reversing "the order of his paternal and maternal names, placing the maternal before the paternal name, a standard *converso* practice in the sixteenth century." After finishing his first studies in Seville, and probably at the University of Alcalá, he traveled to the Low Countries in 1548 to continue his studies at the University of Louvain. He published all his works in the years that followed, between 1550 and 1558, and dedicated them to important Court figures such as Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla, Gonzalo Pérez, Luis de la Cerda, and Ruy Gómez de Silva, first Prince of Éboli (1516–1573), to whom *De honore* was dedicated.[25] Due to his

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[24] Ashley owned a copy of the original Spanish version and there are contemporary manuscript inscriptions on the title page: "Edward James" and "Este libro pertence, am= Edward James: [?] en vilo." It is worth noting that Ashley's copy of Francisco López de Gómara's *La Historia General de las Indias* (1554) has the inscription "Ricardus Eden xprin. Xi6" on the title page.

[25] This Portuguese nobleman, who had arrived in Spain in the entourage of Isabel of Portugal in 1526, grew up alongside the young Prince Felipe, and became one of the most influential figures at Court during his reign. By dedicating his work to him, Fox Morcillo was undoubtedly seeking to win his favor or, through him, that of Felipe himself.

great prestige among these dedicatees, he was appointed master of the King's pages, but his life changed radically after 1557, like that of other Spanish students in Louvain suspected of Protestantism. Fox Morcillo was investigated for his heretical opinions on celibacy or against the Inquisition and returned to Seville. There he was accused alongside his brother Francisco, who was burned in the auto-da-fé of September 1559. As such, although we do not have any documents about his final days, it is very likely that after pawning part of his library, Fox Morcillo decided to flee Seville and during that flight died in a shipwreck. If we believe Hubert Languet's letter to Philipp Melanchthon in April 1560, "Foxius Morzillus Hispanus insigniter doctus fugiens incendium periit naufragio" [26] (Cantarero de Salazar, 2015a; Espigares Pinilla 2016, 25–30).

Despite his short life, Fox Morcillo published an extensive body of work (Cantarero de Salazar, 2015b) covering various areas of philosophy (comments on three dialogues by Plato—*Timaeus*, *Republic* and *Phaedo*—and on Cicero's *Topica*, logic, dialectics, ethics, and natural philosophy), literary theory, and political philosophy. His works are praised in all manuals on the history of philosophy of the Spanish Renaissance for his synthesis of Platonic and Aristotelian ideas. *De honore*, a monograph on one of the most debated subjects from Antiquity to the Renaissance, was issued with other three works in 1556.[27] In this treatise Fox Morcillo (1556a) presented honor from a double perspective, moral and socio-political, and analyzed different questions: honor as reward for virtue, the morality of the desire for honor, the difference between honor and glory, the ways of acquiring honor and its various degrees, honor as justification for nobility and aristocracy, etc. He perfectly combined the ideas of Aristotle and Plato and elaborated a definition of honor in which the external value of social distinction and the internal value of moral sentiment that prompts us to act righteously converge. In Espigares Pinilla's 2016 edition and translation of *De honore*, it was shown that Robert Ashley's *Of Honour* is almost entirely an English translation

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[26] "The Spanish Fox Morcillo, famous scholar, died in a shipwreck fleeing from the flames." Translation by Antonio Espigares Pinilla.

[27] *De demonstratione eiusque necessitate ac vi, liber I. De usu et exercitatione dialecticae, liber I. De iuuentute, lib. I. De honore, lib. I.*

of Fox Morcillo's *De honore*. The following is an exhaustive study and analysis of Ashley's version.

The dedications in *Of Honour*

The Trinity and Ellesmere manuscripts both start with lavish dedications (Sir John Puckering and Sir Thomas Egerton, respectively), but that in Ellesmere is much longer.[28] In the latter Ashley also replicated some of the elements from Sebastián Fox Morcillo's dedication to Ruy Gómez de Silva in *De honore*. Ashley's dedication borrowed some of the virtues attributed to *De honore*'s dedicatee, taken from the beginning of the *Praefatio*, *ad Clarissimum uirum Rodericum Gomezium Syluam*:[29]

> p. 23, line 56: "But specially your singuler humanitie, and well affected inclination towards the better sort of men."

> *De honore* 3, lines 1–3: "*Singularis tua virtus, & humanitas, tum in bonos omnes stadium*."

Ashley removed some of the expressions from the final paragraph of *De honore*, and transplanted them into his dedication to present himself as learned in philosophy and respectful of civil and religious rules:

> p. 23, line 20: "For what cold here be fitter for me to treat of then some such peice of Philosophie (wherein I haue bene trained) as might be most agreeable with the Rules of Religion, and most applyable to vse, and practise in our ciuile lyfe and conuersacion?"

> *De honore* 62, lines 10–18: "*Haec sunt, clarissime Roderice, quae hoc loco de Honore dicenda mihi, philosophorum acumen, & usum ciuilis uitae, atque nostrae religionis decreta spectanti, uisa sunt*."

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[28] The dedication in Trinity is one page, compared to four pages of dedication in Ellesmere. As mentioned earlier there is no dedication in Ashmole.

[29] These comparisons are based on Heltzel's transcription and publication of Ellesmere (Ashley, 1947). The numbers refer to the page and line numbers in the respective publications.

Ashley used the same words as Fox Morcillo to explain why he wrote *Of Honour*, that is, to defend the moral right of the desire for honor:

> p. 24, lines 7–15: "Theis are the respects and reasons which haue directed and dedicated this discourse as due vnto your Lordship, wherein (that I may deliuer in a word that which ys after more largely discoursed) my whole scope and dryfte ys, to proue against the dull and heavy spirited, and against the abiect and base minded, that a moderate desire of Honor ys not only very conuenient, but also aboue all other good things (vertue only excepted which yt vsually accompanieth) to be preferred."

> *De honore* 5, lines 10–17: "*In ipso autem hoc libro, quem non iam ultro oblatum, sed honori tuo debitum offerimus, ut disputationem uniuersam paucis complectar, docere contra socordes, abiectosque homines est institutum, moderatam honoris cupiditatem non modo honestam esse: sed etiam omnibus bonis seu corporis, seu fortunae, uirtute una excepta, cuius est comes, praeferendam.*"

Before praising honor in the first chapter of the work, Ashley revealed his philosophical sources by replicating Fox literally:

> p. 24, lines 15–20: "Which befor i go about to proue with Philosophicall reasons (for theis grounds are borrowed from the Peripatetick and Academick Philosophers) I do a little digresse after the manner of Orators into the large and pleasant feild of the praise of Honor, and so do passe therhence into the streightes of Disputacion."

> *De honore* 5, lines 18–25: "*Quod ipsum priusquam rationibus philosophicis, atque Socratica subtilitate dissero (sunt enim haec omnia ex philosophorum, Peripateticorum praesertim, & Academicorum schola deprompta) aliquantum oratorum exemplo a proposito euagatus, per eiusdem honoris laudum amoenum ac latum campum ad ipsas disputationis angustias te ducam.*"

The body of the treatise

Of Honour is for the most part an exact translation of *De honore*, including the chapter headings. The syntax is also almost the same as that of the original Latin, and Ashley often kept the same order of elements in the sentences. We could cite many examples, but his definition of honor is especially interesting. In Ashley's copy of *De honore*, he underlined a sentence where the phrase "*ut hinc nostra ducatur oratio*" appears, putting it into parentheses; indicating in this way that it should be excluded from the translation, surely to avoid a possible reference to the original work (using Ellesmere as an example):

> p. 34, line 13: "Honor therefore ys a certeine testimonie of vertue shining of yt self, geven of some man by the iudgement of good men: For when any one ys of such and so apparent vertue that he turneth others into admiracion and love of him, yf as the shadow followeth the body so prayse and reverence followeth him, then he ys called honorable, and the same which is geven unto him as an approbacion of his vertue ys termed Honor."

> *De honore* 15, line 12: "*Est igitur honor, ut hinc nostra ducatur oratio, testimonium quoddam uirtutis per seipsam splendentis, iudicio, studioque bonorum de aliquo latum. Nam cum quis est tanta uirtute, ac tam illustri, ut in sui admirationem & studium alios conuertat, si hunc ueluti umbra corpus, sic laus & reuerentia habita ab alijs sequatur, honoratus idem dicitur: atque id ipsum, quod ei quasi approbatio uirtutis defertur, honos appellatur.*"

The most important and significant difference between *Of Honour* and *De honore* is that Ashley took great care to avoid combining its philosophical and theological matters and removed all of Fox's biblical references.[30] There are six occurrences of this. The first one of them occurs at the end of chapter 1:

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[30] For the most part these are not literal quotations, but references to different texts from *Proverbs, Isaiah, Acts of the Apostles, Matthew, 1* and *2 Peter, 1 Timothy*, etc.
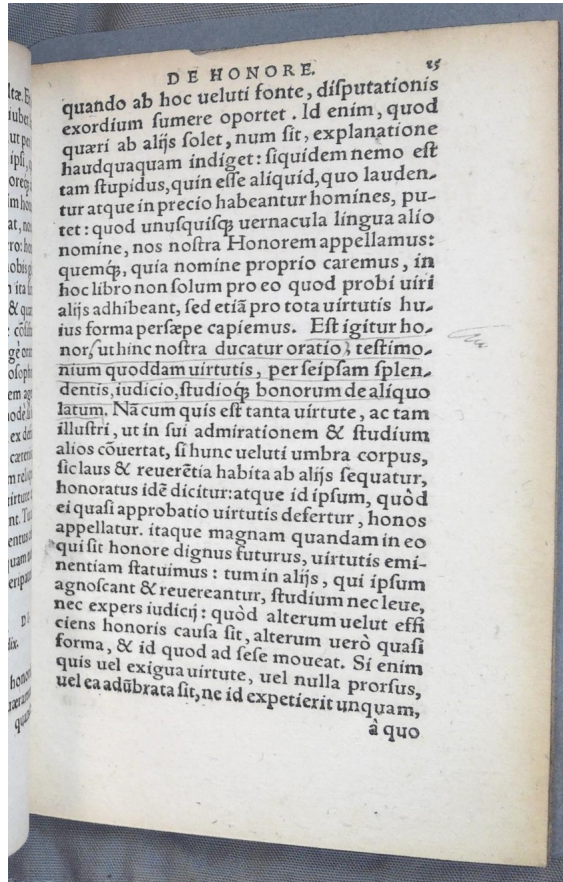
Figure 3: Sebastián Fox Morcillo, *De honore*, showing Ashley's underlining and enclosing "*ut hinc nostra ducatur oratio*" in parentheses. London, Middle Temple Library: shelfmark BAY L530.

p. 33, lines 8–16: "Whereby ys that proved which we said before, that honour hath great force amongst men even of nature yt self, and that yt was not invented by any pride of mind, nor yet by opinion, which since yt ys so, yt remained so sett downe what honour is and how farr forthto be desired, or wherein yt consisteth, least while my speech runneth too much in the praise thereof I may seeme rather to play the Orator then to follow the Philosophers, which ys my purpose here."
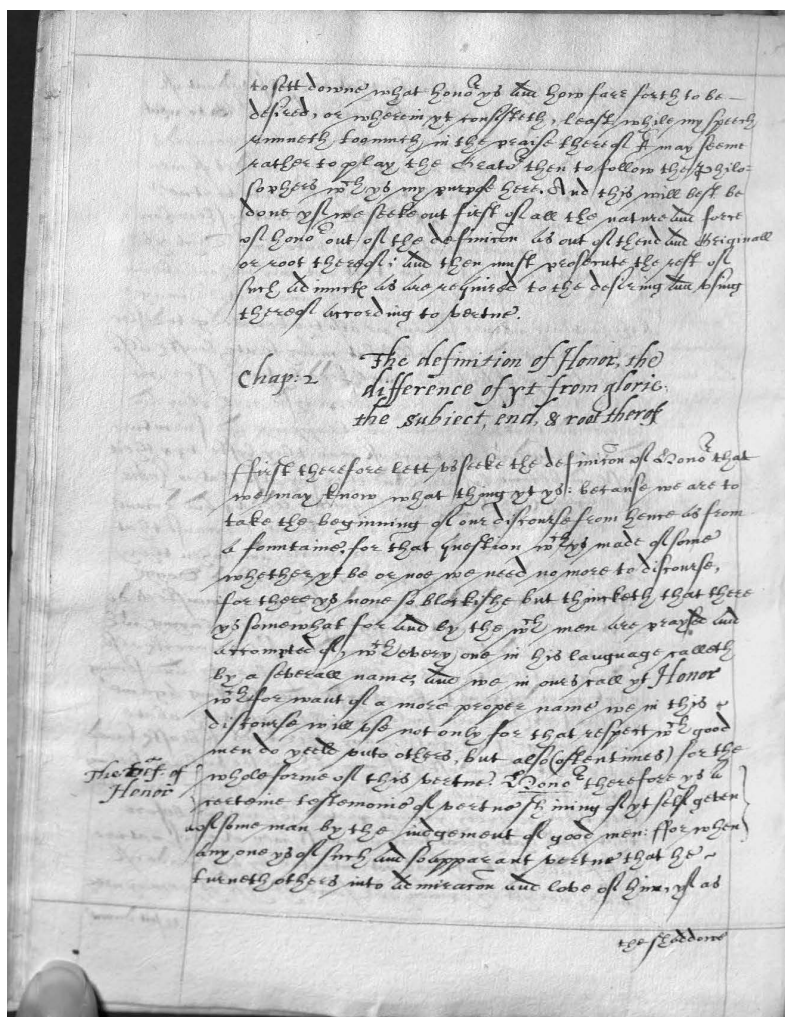
Figure 4: MS Ellesmere 1117, fol. 7r. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Between "opinion" and "which" Ashley removed almost thirty lines of the *De honore* text, from "*Ac ne omnia* […]" to "[…] *merito possumus*" (pp. 13–14). In the margins of his copy of *De honore,* Ashley used a strong dash in the margins at the beginning and end of these lines. The other five are as follows:[31]

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[31] These are the deleted lines of *De honore* and their location (*) in *Of Honour*.

p. 19, line 24 – p. 20, line 16: "*Dicam hoc apertius* […] *est finis extremus.*" (p. 38, line 10: "ornament of them.* Some oppose").

p. 30, line 29 – p. 31, line 11: "*Esse uero* […] *ludibrio, praecepit.*" (p. 46, line 22: "person and dignitie.* They report").

p. 42, lines 22–26: "*Sic uidemus* […] *accusari.*" (p. 57, line 4: "yt. *Whiles").

p. 45, line18 – p. 46, line 7: "*Ideo prudenter* […] *inquirentibus.*" (p. 59, line 10: "others. *That Honour").

p. 46, line 16 – p. 47, line 3: "*sic idem quoque* […] *abiectionis*" (p. 59, line18: "of others. *Therefore").
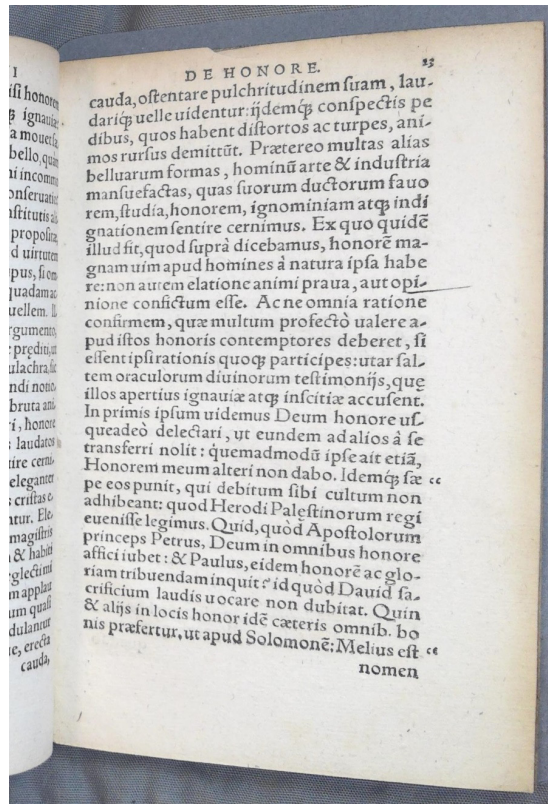
Figure 5: Sebastián Fox Morcillo, *De honore*, showing the beginning dash used by Ashley to indicate the lines omitted in the English translation.
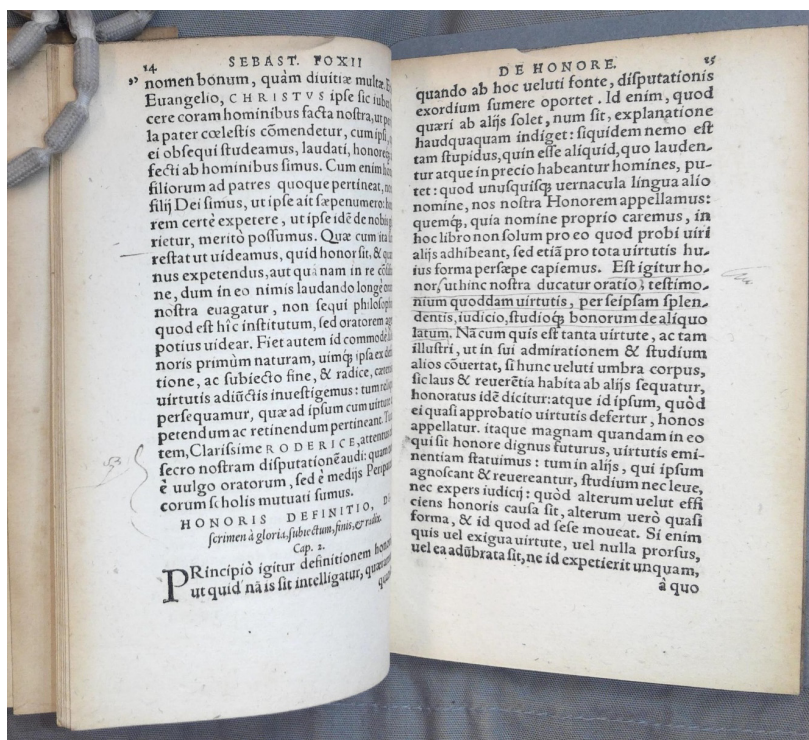
Figure 6: Sebastián Fox Morcillo, *De honore*, showing the end dash and marginal symbol used by Ashley to indicate lines omitted in the English translation.

The omission of any direct or indirect reference to *De honore* and its author, Sebastián Fox Morcillo, is also notable. Ashley removed the entreaty to Ruy Gómez de Silva (*De honore* 14: "*Tu autem, Clarissime RODERICE, attentus obsecro nostram disputationem audi, quam non e vulgo oratorum, sed e mediis Peripateticorum scholis mutuati sumus.*") As shown here, Ashley used a parenthesis and unidentifiable mark (possibly a trefoil) to indicate this passage, which appears in the final sentence in the first chapter. The final paragraph of *De honore* ("*Haec sunt, clarissime RODERICE,* […] *religionis decreta spectanti, uisa sunt*") was entirely omitted from Ellesmere. However, these were retained in the other two copies, Trinity and Ashmole, omitting only "*clarissime RODERICE.*"
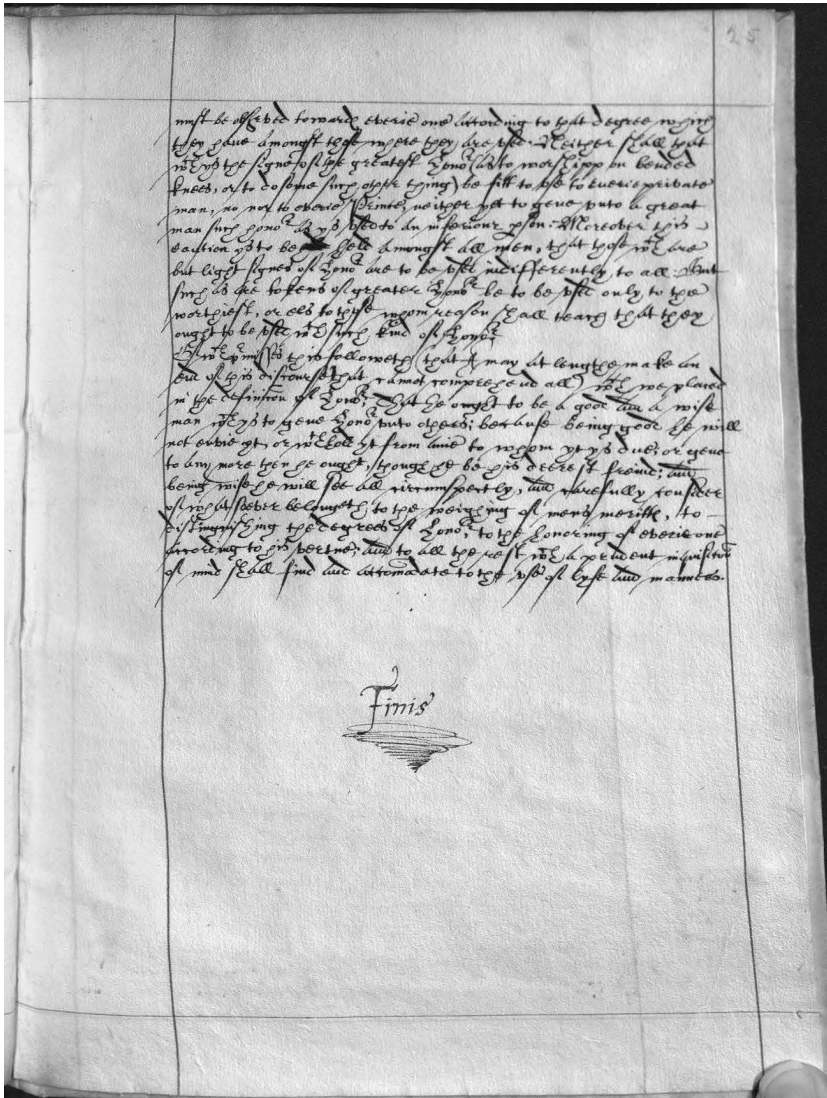
Figure 7: MS Ellesmere 1117, fol. 25r. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
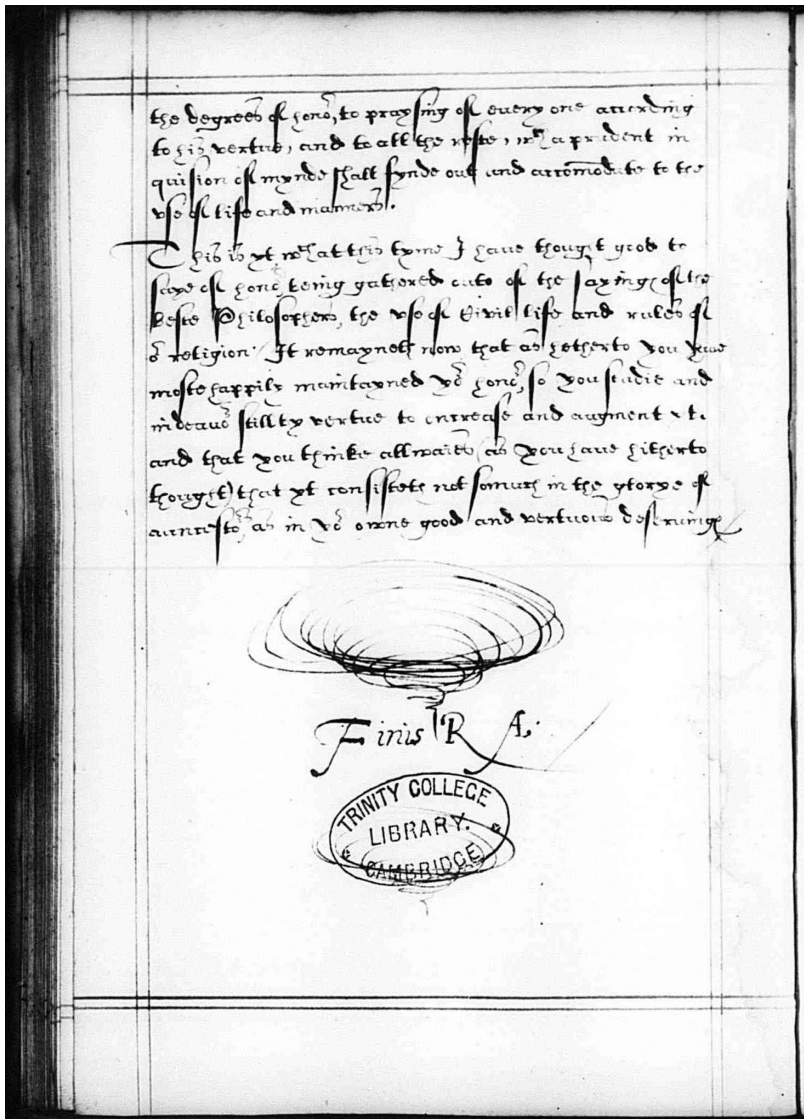
Figure 8: Trinity College Cambridge MS R.14.20, fol. 31v. Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.
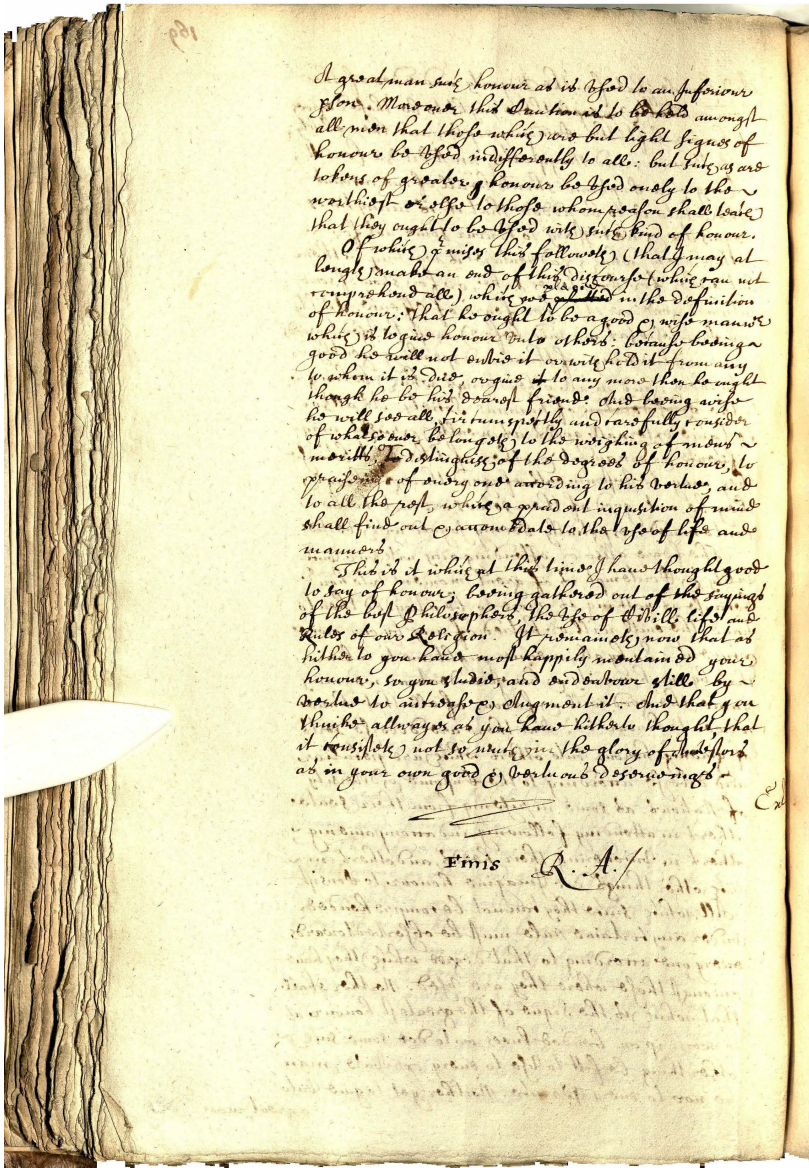
Figure 9: Ashmole MS 1148, p. 170. Oxford, Bodleian Libraries.

This explains why Ashley removed the sentence "*quemadmodum alio loco fusius docuimus*" (p. 22, line 21; "kind of thing:* wherefore" p. 39, line 40), in which Fox Morcillo clearly referred to one of his previous works.[32] Ashley also modified the original sentence (p. 30, line 19: "*abiectionis quam minus Latino, sed usitato tamen uocabulo, pusillanimitatem uocare possumus*"), changing the first person plural (p. 46, line 15: "of abieccion or basenes of mind which the Latinistes with an vsual yet scarce good latine word call *Pusillanimitie*"), in order to avoid presenting himself as an expert Latinist, and to remove all traces of the original Latin work.

Regarding the translation from Latin words to English, Ashley often used two words to translate one: p. 7, line 6: "*Quid etiam divinius*" (p. 28, line 13: "more divine or heavenly thing"); p. 8, line 8: "*languescat*" (p. 29, line 8: "languishe and be weakened"); p. 9, line 18: "*uirtutes excitantur*" (p. 30, line 10: "are vertues kindled and incourraged"); p. 60, line 2: "*principes uiros*" (p. 70, line 9: "Princes, Noble men"), etc. As for the more specific philosophical concepts, Ashley almost always retained the original Latin term. Take, for example, the case of *abiectus*:

> p. 5, line 13: "*contra socordes abiectosque homines*" (p. 24, line 11: "against the abiect and base minded").

> p. 23, line 16: "*abiectos uero atque molles*" (p. 40, line 21: "the abiect and baser sort").

> p. 24, line 15: "*Abiectus contra*" (p. 41, line 15: "Contrariwise the abiect or base minded").

> p. 25, line 17: "*Contra idem abiectus, & inambitiosus, ut sic dicam, censeri possit*" (p. 42, line 20: "Contrariwise the same might be thought very abiect").

> p. 26, line 14: "*aut abiectus contra modestus uideatur*" (p. 43, line 9: "or an abiect man to be modest").

> p. 43, line 11: "*cur adeo abiectus esset*" (p. 57, line 18: "why he was so abiect").

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[32] *Ethices Philosophiae Compendium, ex Platone, Aristotele aliisque optimis quibusque auctoribus collectum* (1554a).

p. 59, line 12: "licet abiectum" (p. 69, line 25: "be he never so base").

Or *mediocritas*:

p. 24, line 22: "*mediocritas aliqua*" (p. 41, line 22: "some mediocritie").

p. 25, line 1: "*cerni possit mediocritas*" (p. 42, line 6: "mediocritie may be vsed").

p. 25, line 26: "*mediocritatem ipsam honoris cupiendi*" (p. 42, line 29: "the mediocritie yt self in desiring of honour").

p. 26, line 3: "*mediocritatem esse quandam*" (p. 43, line 1: "a mediocritie be").

p. 26, line 8: "*in hac rationis mediocritate*" (p. 43, line 4: "in this mediocritie of reason").

p. 26, line 15: "*uera mediocritatis ratione*" (p. 43, line 10: "the true rule of mediocritie").

p. 29, line 7: "*mediocritatis terminos*" (p. 45, line 11: "the limittes of mediocritie").

p. 42, line 6: "*mediocritas est quaedam*" (p. 56, line 24: "a certeine mediocritie").

p. 42, line 14: "*ueram honoris mediocritatem*" (p. 56, line 31: "the true mediocritie of Honour").

p. 44, line 16: "*ad ueram honoris mediocritatem tenendam*" (p. 58, line 16: "towardes the true mediocritie of Honour").

There are some instances, such as the expression *animus elatus* or *elatione animi*, where he chose different terms, however:

p. 32, line 24: "*elatoque animo*" (p. 48, line 18: "high minded").

p. 33, line 15: "*elato essent animo*" (p. 49, line 12: "were of great spirite and Courage").

p. 41, line 4: "*homines animo elato*" (p. 55, line 32: "men of great mindes").

p. 43, line 2: "*animus natura sua nimium elatus*" (p. 57, line 9: "the mind of man being by nature puffed vp").

p. 13, line 10: "*elatione animi praua*" (p. 33, line 11: "any pride of minde").

p. 23, line 6: "*animi elatio & magnitudo*" (p. 40, line 10: "the swelling of yt <mind> and the heat of Courage").

p. 23, line 9: "*honesta quaedam animi elatio*" (p. 40, line 14: "certayne comely elacion of mind").

p. 30, line 6: "*animi elatione*" (p. 46, line 2: "swelling of mind").

Ashley also avoided using the Neoplatonic concept *mens divina*, sometimes translating it as "heavenly nature":

p. 32, line 22: "we (who being indewed with reason, as we haue in vs many other images of the heavenly nature, so haue we also the knowledge to desire that which ys fair and honorable)."

De honore 12, line 14: "*nos (qui ratione praediti, ut alia non pauca diuinae mentis simulacra, sic pulchritudinis & honoris cupiendi notionem habemus).*"

And others by "the Celestiall beinges":

p. 43, line 17: "we say here that honour ys to be desired also because yt ys a good thing, andwhatsoeuer ys good ys in his owne nature to be desired as all evill thinges are to be eschewed, for yt perfecteth the subiect wherein yt ys found in that yt taketh away all spottes and blemishes of ignominie, and embelisheth the mind with a certeine beawty, like to the beawty (as Plato saieth) of the Celestiall beinges."

De honore 26, line 23: "*Honorem autem ipsum hinc expetendum dicimus, quia & bonum sit, & bonum omne natura sua expetatur, ut mala e diuerso fugiuntur: siquidem id perficit, cui est insitum, eo quod turpitudinis notam ac labem deleat, mentique pulchritudinem quandam diuinae mentis, ut Plato inquit, pulchritudini similem addat.*"

We can also observe small additions or modifications: p. 7, line 16: "*Extra Collinam portam*" (p. 28, line 23: "in the Suburbes extra portam Collinam"); p. 8, line 29: "*propinquos, filios*" (p. 29, line 28: "kinsfolke, alliaunce, children, sonnes"); p. 10, line 2: "*magistratus uilescet*" (p.

30, line 25: "offyces of honour despised, magistrates contemned"); p. 10, line 27: "*scripta omnia*" (p. 31, line 11: "all good writings and libraries"); p. 12, line 23: "*Elephantes quoque aiunt in India*" (p. 32, line 30: "And they say also that in India the Oliphantes (that they may be quiettly ledd vp and downe"); p. 26, line 20: "*medium rationis*" (p. 43, line 15: "the golden meane of reason"); p. 29, line 26: "*Demetrius*" (p. 45, line 26: "Demetrius, a Philosopher"); p. 39, line 6: "*Gerebat in Italia magnus Gonsalus bellum*" (p. 54, line 16: "The great Gonsales[33] warred in Italy"); p. 47, line 26: "*Ad Theodecten de Rhetorica*" (p. 60, line 18: "Retorick"); p. 48, line 13: "*Iudaeorum rege Herode*" (p. 60, line 21: "Herode Tetrarck of Iewes");[34] p. 52, line 9: "*In Italia, aut Hispania, aut locis aliis*" (p. 63, line 28: "in Italy, Spayne, Fraunce, Germanie, or other places").

And there are, as to be expected, complete omissions of some terms and phrases. His translation of the famous anecdote of Caesar crying before the statue of Alexander (p. 29, line 19: "*C. Caesar, conspecta Gadibus statua Alexandri Macedonis, fertur plorasse*") omitted the name of the Spanish city of Cádiz, quoted by its literary source (p. 45, line 20: "even as Caesar, seeing the image of Alexander the Macedonian, ys said to have wept"),[35] perhaps to avoid any allusion to Spanish history or geography. In the sentence "*honores diuini, quos iure quodam naturae, ac pietatis, tum Deo, tum diuis adhibemus*" (p. 6, line 15), he omitted the ambiguous term *diuis* and simply translated the sentence as: "divine honors which by a certeyne law of nature and religion we offer vnto God" (p. 27, line 18). Omitted phrases include:

> p. 10, lines 11–14: "*Quid Pompeium, Scipiones, Marcellum, Paulum, Annibalem, Alexandrum? Quid nostros etiam ad coelum sustulit, quam honor?*" (p. 30, line 32: "by honour?* You shall see").[36]

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[33] Ashley mistook the name of the famous Spanish soldier Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453–1515) by the surname "Gonsales."

[34] As mentioned above, this modification only appears in MS Ellesmere 1117.

[35] "Hispania obuenit; vbi cùm mandato populi Romani iure dicundo conuentus circumiret, Gadeísq; venisset, animaduersa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine, ingemuit […]" (Suetonius, 9).

[36] This was probably to avoid mixing pagan and Christian examples, or to avoid the expression "*ad caelum sustulit.*"

p. 23, line 23: "*Atqui hac de re satis hoc loco*" (p. 40, line 27: "vnto vertue*").[37]

p. 41, line 6: "*aut se magnifice & splendide gerere*" (p. 56, line 1: "other men,*because").

p. 54, line 19: "*ut est demonstratum*" (p. 65, line 20: "man;*yet").

p. 57, line 28 – p. 58, line 1: "*si bonum non ex eo cui inest, sed ex eo quod est, illum iudicet*" (p. 68, line 23: "yt self; * and yf").

p. 58, line 7: "*facile enim id adhuc apparet*" (p. 68, line 30: "his desertes.*You consider").

Conclusions

Although Robert Ashley bequeathed a spectacular and important collection of books to the Middle Temple, his personal papers, including any commonplace books, or other miscellaneous writings were dispersed, with only a few items now known to us: his *Vita*; a miscellany; a letter; and *Of Honour*. Two versions of the latter were presented to their dedicatees, and if our research is correct, Elias Ashmole obtained the original draft, presumably after Ashley's death. As is made clear in the dedications, one of Ashley's intentions in presenting the work was to seek patronage: Puckering's "favour" (MS R.14.20, fol. 2r.) and the "proteccion of so honorable a Patrone" as Egerton (Ashley 1947, 23). It is likely that Ashley's dedication to Egerton was three times longer and more elaborate than that to Puckering because he was already known to the latter, whereas he did not have an established relationship with Egerton. Sir Thomas was known to be a demanding employer, one who "did not suffer fools," (Colclough 2003, 44) and it is likely that Ashley needed to write him a more fulsome dedication. As we have shown, it is also longer because it includes so many elements of *De honore*. We have been unable to answer, however, an interesting question with this analysis: whether Ashley intended to present the work as a translation or an original work, and whether he intended to publish it. The lack of personal papers, and the insufficient evidence in the translations themselves makes this an impossible query to answer satisfactorily.

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[37] This is only omitted from MS Ellesmere 1117.

Numerous and important studies on honor in Shakespearean drama and many other early modern works have been published since the 1950s.[38] Heltzel's edition of Robert Ashley's *Of Honour* had a great impact on them. He highlighted its novelty and originality in English literature, and its link to Shakespeare's historical plays of this period, in which honor was a fundamental subject:

> Ashley is the first writer in England to bring together the best things that had been said on the subject and to integrate them by the discipline of reason […] It acquires additional interest when one realizes that it was composed at a time when William Shakespeare was weaving the same theme, like a golden thread, through his great historical tetralogy. (Ashley 1947, 16–17)

Due to Heltzel's edition, *Of Honour* has been considered the most important source of early modern English writing on this topic.[39] It is surprising that it has been interpreted as being so influential in early modern English literary circles, however, given that researchers have believed that it survived in only one manuscript copy in a private collection, and with no printed edition available until the mid-twentieth century. While the continued reliance on manuscript culture in the late sixteenth/early seventeenth-century, and the wide circulation of manuscripts during this time meant that Ashley's work may have had a wider audience than his two dedicatees, we have uncovered no evidence of this.

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[38] Some examples are Wilson (1952), Alvis (1990), and Fernie (2002).

[39] "The idea that honour is a reward granted to men who perform virtuous and generally beneficial deeds was, however, the most widely approved, and it was an idea formed by a characteristically eclectic blending of definitions provided by Aristotle and Plato, illustrated by reference to historical example, and accommodated to orthodox Christianity. The most systematic presentation of this commonplace attitude towards honour is Robert Ashley's *Of Honour*." (Council 2014, 13–14). "After Heltzel's pioneering edition, scholars unanimously considered Ashley's *Of Honour*, which was a sophisticated combination of Aristotelian and Platonic ideas about honor, the major source of early modern writings on honor and related ideas." (López-Peláez Casellas 2019, 206). "Robert Ashley's *Of Honour*, which was produced sometime between 1596 and 1603, the period in which Shakespeare was writing many of his greatest plays, is the most compact work on the subject to appear during the English Renaissance. In this work is to be found one of the fullest definitions of honor" (Watson 2016, 94). See also Shalvi (1972), Pacheco (1990), Yoshitomi (1990), Welsh (2008), López-Peláez Casellas (2009; 2019).

The value of Robert Ashley's work has been universally recognized, but its originality must be denied, since it is a translation plagiarism of Fox Morcillo's *De honore.* Our analysis has shown that authors can no longer continue to read Ashley's *Of Honour* as an original work, and the assessment of its exemplification as an influential early modern work on the English concept of honor will now need to be reinterpreted. *Of Honour* needs to be re-framed to recognize and understand it as a translation plagiarism of a mid-sixteenth century work by a Spanish humanist. This reinterpretation will have implications on studies of honor in early modern English literature, particularly in Shakespearean studies.

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Author's contact: espigaresantonio@filol.ucm.es / r.satterley@middletemple.org.uk

Postal address: Antonio Espigares. Departamento de Filología Clásica, Facultad de Filología. Universidad Complutense. Plaza Menéndez Pelayo s/n. 28040 Madrid, Spain. Renae Satterley. Middle Temple Library, Ashley Building, EC4Y 9BT, London, UK.

Guzmán de Silva and Elizabeth I:
A diplomacy of emotion

Víctor Fernández Fernández
Universidad de Oviedo, Spain

ABSTRACT

The Spanish resident ambassadors at the Court of Elizabeth I are pivotal within the scope of Renaissance diplomacy to understanding the Anglo-Spanish relationships during the second half of the sixteenth century. Out of all of Philip II's ambassadors, Don Diego Guzmán de Silva stands out for his particular connection to the queen. This association is arguably a consequence of a mixture of emotions and diplomatic skill, known as diplomatic emotionology. This innovative approach to the study of diplomacy opens up an array of opportunities for Renaissance studies by focusing on the subject and their agency.

KEYWORDS: Anglo-Spanish relations; diplomatic emotionology; history of emotions; Renaissance diplomatic relations; early modern.

Guzmán de Silva e Isabel I: una diplomacia de emociones

RESUMEN: Los embajadores residentes españoles en la corte de Isabel I de Inglaterra son clave, dentro del marco de la diplomacia renacentista, para entender las relaciones anglo-españolas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI. De todos los embajadores de Felipe II, Don Diego Guzmán de Silva destaca por su particular relación con la reina. Esta relación es, sin lugar a dudas, una consecuencia de la mezcla entre emociones y habilidades diplomáticas conocida como emocionología diplomática. Esta innovadora aproximación al estudio de la diplomacia abre una nueva rama de oportunidades para los estudios renacentistas al poner el foco en el sujeto y su agencia.

PALABRAS CLAVE: relaciones anglo-españolas; emocionología diplomática; historia de las emociones; relaciones diplomáticas renacentistas; edad moderna.

Guzmán de Silva e Isabel I: Uma diplomacia da emoção*

RESUMO: Os embaixadores espanhóis residentes na corte de Isabel I de Inglaterra são figuras-chave no âmbito da diplomacia renascentista para compreender as relações anglo-espanholas na segunda metade do século XVI. Entre todos os embaixadores de Filipe II, Don Diego Guzmán de Silva destaca-se pela sua relação particular com a rainha. Esta associação é possivelmente uma consequência de uma mistura de emoções com perícia diplomática, conhecida como emocionologia diplomática. Esta abordagem inovadora ao estudo da diplomacia abre um leque de oportunidades para os estudos do Renascimento, ao centrar-se no sujeito e na sua agência.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: relações anglo-espanholas; emocionologia diplomática; história das emoções; relações diplomáticas renascentistas; Idade Moderna.

Anglo-Spanish relations in the second half of the sixteenth century revolved to a large extent around the image of the Spanish diplomats at the court of Elizabeth I and their use of diplomacy. Philip II's interests in England were piqued during his time married to Mary Tudor and, from that point onwards, those same interests were placed on the hands of his trusted ambassadors—beginning with Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, Count of Feria at the time and who would later be the first Duke of Feria—who looked to further their king's commands and take advantage of the young and seemingly unknowledgeable queen. Renaissance diplomacy was used by rulers all over Europe looking to craft relations with other monarchs. It was the means to avoid or start war, thus an extremely necessary skill to possess. After her accession to the English throne in 1558, Elizabeth I was watched by five resident ambassadors from the Spanish crown, until the last one was expelled in 1584.[1] These ambassadors had a precious task on their hands: they were to deal with the queen in all matters concerning their king and his dominions, further his interests, and sway her to their king's side. As Mattingly puts it in simple terms, the ambassador's office was one of good; to serve their government as best they could, seeking its preservation and aggrandizement, but above all to aim for peace (1955, 49; 109).

Such was the task placed upon Guzmán de Silva's shoulders in 1564 when he was chosen to become the Spanish resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I. Despite the intrinsic difficulty of the task, it was worsened by the dealings of his predecessor, Álvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Aquila. Quadra was found dead at his house of Durham Place in 1563 from the plague. His residency from 1559 to 1563 was an eventful one, filled with marriage dealings and, above all, religious concerns. As a zealous Catholic, Quadra had a hatred for Protestants and their representatives on the queen's side, creating the perfect set of conditions for him to try and further Catholic plots and schemes to bring England back to the old faith. The state

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[1] Philip II counted on five people to be his resident ambassadors: the aforementioned Count of Feria, Álvaro de la Quadra, Guzmán de Silva, Guerau de Spes, and Bernardino de Mendoza. An Italian merchant, Antonio de Guaras, also served as Philip's unofficial ambassador. The first five figures were invested with official ambassadorial status by their monarch, however, Antonio de Guaras fulfilled the same mission *de facto* but he was never recognized *de jure*. This resulted in his imprisonment in 1577, after his correspondence with Don Juan was deciphered (Ochoa Brun 2003, 173).

of affairs after Quadra's death was gloomy before the arrival of his substitute, since, among other things, Quadra's home was raided, and many Catholics were captured for hearing Mass in the embassy, not to mention that an Italian captain was helped to escape through Durham Place by the ambassador and his household after having shot an English authority.[2] For most of Philip's ambassadors the need to support Catholic interests was of course second nature. Clearly, their religious bigotry, together with Philip's incessant requests to help Catholicism in England, made of their religion a kind of cloak with which to brand themselves servants of the true faith.[3] Quadra may have been influenced by his religious background as a bishop or he might have just been blinded by his obsession with what he thought were heretics breaking with the Holy Church of Rome, but what matters is that he was not able to further a diplomacy in which, as mentioned before by Mattingly, peace was the biggest concern. William MacCaffrey summarizes this in the following lines:

> De Quadra, unable to restrain his feelings, had come to confuse his role as the King of Spain's representative with another one, that of champion and defender of the true faith oppressed. The consequent loss of perspective and judgment on diplomatic matters had made him a worse than useless, indeed, a dangerous servant to his master's interests. (1968, 275–276)

Notwithstanding all these pre-existing obstacles in Silva's way, he went on to have the most efficient and prosperous English embassy during the reign of Philip II. Ambassadors were supposed to successfully accomplish their diplomatic mission relying on their intuition and common sense, as these were the only diplomatic tools at their disposal: "for the most part he had to rely on his own wits and industry to collect intelligence, and his own judgment to evaluate it" (Mattingly 1955, 114). Silva was, like the rest of his fellow ambassadors, a knowledgeable Renaissance man with enough

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[2] These events are narrated by the ambassador in his correspondence with Philip II (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 407–410; 440; 448–466).

[3] Ochoa Brun, in his study of Philip's diplomacy, rightly says that the king's ambassadors took Catholicism as the most important matter of their embassies and took helping suffering Catholics on the island as their most pressing concern in their diplomatic dealings, making them in most cases biased, weighing religion over diplomacy (Ochoa Brun 2003, 32). On the other hand, in his study about John Man, Bell explains that the general image of English Protestants in Spain was one of hatred for religion (1976, 77).

resources to undertake his mission, yet it seems the accomplishment of the mission was harder for his peers. He is worth studying for notions of agency and subjectivity, since his own decision-making and reason were the keys to his success.[4] He knew, despite being a bishop like his predecessor, what his mission was and that he was accountable to his lord on Earth and not the Lord in Heaven.[5]

Silva arrived in London on June 18, 1564 with a clear set of instructions from his king. Philip's years as an English ruler had left him with a strong impression that "his personal experience" made him "the world's foremost expert on English affairs" (Parker 2002, 182; 185). Silva had a dual mission. First, he would have to deal with Queen Elizabeth in matters of Flemish commerce for, in Philip's own words: "habeis visto los grandes daños, agravios y robos que los ingleses han hecho y hacen cada día por la mar á vasallos nuestros, así españoles como flamencos" [you will have seen […] the great injury, damage and depredations which the English continue daily to commit on the seas against our subjects both Spanish and Flemish] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 5).[6] He was also to further Catholic interests on the island and try to win the support of Robert Dudley, the favorite of the queen and Master of the Horse. The Elizabethan court revolved around the figure of the queen surrounded by extremely influential courtiers and ministers. In an essay from 1948, John Neale flawlessly explains the importance of these courtiers in order to gain access to Elizabeth I, as well as obtain her approval.[7] Therefore, it only makes

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[4] This would be in line with recent studies in the field of New Diplomatic History, where the focus on agents and their impact on bigger diplomatic events have become the norm. Following, for example, Sowerby and Hennings' (2019) recent study, ambassadors have to be studied as individuals with particular needs, interests, and agendas, and not merely as their master's tools (83).

[5] Garrett Mattingly, in his study of Renaissance diplomacy, states that, by the time Silva got his post at the English Court, the number of ecclesiastics as ambassadors were being reduced due to their religious conflicts and their duality of master, king, and God (1955, 216).

[6] Hume also states the same information: "Philip had his hands too full of his own troubles to attempt to rule other countries than his own and his instructions to Don Diego Guzmán are mainly concerned in obtaining for Flemish commerce immunity from attack and for the Catholics resident in England toleration for their religion" (*Calendar* Vol.1i-lxiii). Unless stated otherwise, every translation from the *Documentos inéditos* will come from the official English translation from the archive of British History Online: *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 1, 1558–1567*.

[7] In the studying of Elizabeth's reign and for political dealings, I would also like to call

sense that Silva's missions should start by gaining access to the queen through her favorite. Elizabeth's inner circle is quite complex and varied; its influence is relevant not only for the study of court politics but also for the understanding of individual, face-to-face dealings between members from that circle and foreign representatives. These members—courtiers and ministers alike—were "the wheels that hold the chariot of England upright" and created, together with their Queen, a "theatre of display" necessary and pivotal to understanding "the high politics and culture of her reign" (Doran 2018, 1; 7).

Two days after his arrival in London, Silva was visited by Robert Dudley, who delivered to him the queen's official greeting. He was charged by the ambassador to ask Elizabeth for an audience and was taken to Richmond four days later for their first official audience.[8] Silva was taken by different Lords—among them Robert Dudley's brother—to the Council Chamber and afterwards led by the Chamberlain to the Presence Chamber where he first saw Elizabeth enjoying a musical piece. When the queen saw the ambassador, she turned to him, took three or four steps towards him and embraced him while speaking in Italian (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 14). After exchanging some bureaucratic information, they turned away from the others, and the queen asked Silva about Philip's family and their health. Elizabeth then offered Silva his first taste of the royal sense of humor: "diciendo cuanto deseaba verse con ella [Joana of Austria], porque una viuda tan moza y una doncella harian buena y agradable vida, siendo ella el marido por ser mayor y Su Alteza la mujer" [saying how much she should like to see her, and how well so young a widow and a maiden would get on together, and what a pleasant life they could lead. She (the queen) being the elder would be the husband, and her Highness the wife] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 15; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 360–366). Taking her leave, the queen

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the reader's attention to newer and revised studies of Elizabethan polity: Alford (2002) and Mears (2005).

[8] Dudley might have been the one choosing to greet Silva in the name of the queen, for it was in his best interest to maintain a good relationship with the Spanish ambassador. In previous years, Dudley had tried to garner Spanish support from Quadra with promises of returning England to the Catholic faith were Philip to give him aid in marrying Elizabeth. Records of Dudley defending Catholic interests can be found not only in Quadra's but also in Papal correspondence (Bartlett 1992; Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 312–313).

embraced the ambassador once more and indicated he should speak with her Lords. This congregation of Lords included Robert Dudley and William Cecil, who, according to Silva: "cada uno de por sí me abraza, dándome la enhorabuena de mi venida, mostrando alegrarse della" [came separately and embraced me, congratulating me on my arrival and expressing their pleasure] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 16; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 360–366).

This event must be evaluated closely to understand Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations and even more so if the information already mentioned about the previous embassy is taken into consideration. Silva's predecessor, the Bishop of Aquila, had his house raided by the authorities for religious matters, which led to the ambassador's house arrest. After being struck by the plague, the ambassador died having fallen out of the queen's good graces for his dealings in religion and the furthering of Catholic plots. Months after his death, Silva arrived in London in what should have been a precarious state of diplomatic relations, however, his first audience with the queen proves otherwise. It is essential to understanding why the situation was so peaceful and friendly and what exactly the markers that represent that same atmosphere are.

When dealing with diplomatic affairs, politics, international relations, and particularly early modern diplomatic history, we should take into consideration a series of notions. The study of these diplomatic dealings is done through the lens of specific ambassadors and their written correspondence. This means we must rely on literature and fiction to analyze those sources. Following Timothy Hampton's contemporary study, diplomacy should be understood as symbolic because it is political but semiotic at the same time and the diplomats' role should be "to write, as well as to act" (2012, 5; 16). The space of diplomacy is seen as one in which "the Foucaultian notion of 'power' takes the plural form of shifting diplomatic 'powers,' where authority is mere representation, and where representation must claim whatever authority it can garner through negotiation instead of violence" (2012, 4). The ambassadors' characters are key to analyze the information the ambassadors provide. An ambassador's role is not only to serve their master but also themselves, which imbues a strong feeling of subjectivity and agency into their dealings, which, as such, is key for the shaping of the information they deliver (Allinson

2012, 54). This strongly suggests that studies of diplomacy could be reinforced with the introduction of concepts such as performance. Mark Hutchings deals with diplomatic texts and tackles them through the analysis of their performative values:

> like drama, diplomacy depended on actors and audiences and like drama it was scripted, choreographed, and (sometimes) presented in print to serve as a putative record of the event—which in turn invited an imaginative re-enactment on the part of the reader. (Hutchings 2020, 208)

He believes that once we have understood the importance of the "theatre-making" that takes place between the diplomat and the ruler we can start forging a better link between diplomacy and performance, since both diplomacy and theatre drew on visual and choreographic mechanisms to meet their needs (Hutchings 2020, 211).[9] By understanding the relationship that drama and performance have with diplomacy, we can also draw connections between ambassadors, comedians, and actors, where "the ambassador embodies a political as well as a theatrical coincidence of opposites. […] He is not only seen as substitutive but also as transformative. He is both a historical and a dramatic player" (Rivére 2016, 4, 57; quotation 114).

The first analysis of this encounter between Queen Elizabeth and Guzmán de Silva requires, first and foremost, a diplomatic standpoint where the ceremonial register is seen—as stated by Wicquefort and cited by Roosen—as an essential role of embassies (1980, 457). Everything that Silva narrates in his dispatch is a crucial part of the creation of this diplomatic choreography that, in this case, might have been staged following Elizabeth and her circle's need to begin Anglo-Spanish relations anew. The possible marriage between Elizabeth I and Archduke Charles, a marriage which was in the best interest of Spain and the Empire, but which served the queen as a mechanism to prolong the goodwill of Spain and keep the peace between the two countries, was on the table. The marriage suits will not be studied here since other works deal with them extensively (Doran 1996), however, in the game of diplomacy the never-ending marriage suits until the late stages of Elizabeth's reign were key to diplomatic relations with

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[9] There are several relevant studies about the links between diplomatic relations and literary culture: Craigwood and Sowerby (2019) and Sowerby (2016).

neighboring countries. The queen sought to create a device that would materialize this new beginning of Anglo-Spanish relations under the embassy of Guzmán de Silva, a move that must be tackled with the use of diplomatic emotionology. Peter and Carol Stearns (1985, 813) describe emotionology as: "the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression." With this definition, we will trace what could have been the emotion the queen wanted to depict, what the mechanism is through which the emotion is transmitted and what the established meaning of said emotion might be. With this particular analysis, I do not seek to deny or erase the existence of diplomatic ceremonial or performance. I aim to argue that the authenticity of the emotions is not key to this analysis. Whether Elizabeth and Silva were experiencing genuine emotions or displaying false ones does not change the fact that they were both using them in their diplomatic dealings, proving that diplomacy is primarily an interaction between human beings. These interactions, despite their register and format, become tainted by the emotions that the subjects may be feeling. To further examine the impact of emotion in the understanding of diplomatic dealings, we should also consider Rosenwein's theory of emotional communities and its impact on current research. She states that emotional communities are the same as social communities and, like them, they share feelings, affective bonds, and emotional expressions. This would allow us to see the diplomatic community of ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth from 1558 to 1584 as a social and emotional community that, affected by their context and background, have a particular take on emotions that lead them to a unique diplomatic emotionology (Rosenwein and Cristiani 2019, 39).[10]

In his letter to the king, Silva says that the queen showed him how happy she was that he had arrived with kind words: "mostrando alegrarse mucho de mi venida, diciendo cuán deseada la tenía" [appearing to be very glad of my coming and saying how much she had desired it] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 14; *Calendar* Vol.1, 360–366). Despite the value of the words and how they convey emotion, the meeting had a much more precise and powerful way of showing

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[10] Rosenwein has influenced much of the work on emotion in recent years. Lynch and Broomhall's 2019 study of emotion, in which emotional communities are the most widely used theoretical take on emotion studies, should be examined.

that feeling of happiness and friendliness the queen is so eager to display. Emotions can be conveyed in many different ways and with various levels of intensity; words can be a great way to show them but there are other methods of conveying a deeper sense of emotion, in this case through physical embrace. Forsell and Åström's (2012) study of hugging and its meaning in greetings is a good starting point to establish some necessary notions. Hugging is not the most common way of greeting—it is not now and was not in the Renaissance—but it is arguably the best way to convey an overwhelming feeling of safety and protection. A hug deals with personal space and touch; it is an action that is closely related to infancy and family ties. It is also a typical emotional expression used in close relationships. By greeting Silva with an embrace in their first meeting, Elizabeth was breaking the established meaning of hugging in society, conveying its strong emotional charge. It is not only the fact that hugs are usually reserved for close friends and family members but is also important to state that the queen was not a person who usually accepted any close contact at all. According to the rest of Philip's ambassadors, the most usual form of contact they receive is kissing the queen's hand, which could be considered the standard way of greeting Elizabeth.[11] The aforementioned study suggests that hugs usually have the power to influence the dialogue following the greeting, which further reinforces the thesis that Elizabeth intended to subtly force Silva into engaging in a friendlier and warmer relationship.[12]

During their first meeting, the queen and the ambassador took part in a diplomatic ceremonial choreography in which, as stated before, performance was central. With their "ritual exchange of signifying gesture and signified sentiment each party was encouraged to

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[11] Some of the ambassadors do not even acknowledge the way they greeted the queen in the first meeting; others, however, only go as far as kissing her hand (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 189; Vol. 90, 131; Vol. 91, 201). According to Roosen (1980), ceremony can also work "as a barometer for relationships in the short run" (465), which could mean that Elizabeth's breach of ceremonial pattern by hugging Silva reflects the renewal of diplomatic relations between the queen and the Spaniards.

[12] This idea is supported by studies of International Relations (IR) in which several scholars determine that emotions are key for diplomatic interactions because "emotion is contagious" and "other people's emotion influences one's emotion" (Mercer 2014, 524). This would mean, then, that Elizabeth was trying to start Anglo-Spanish politics anew and sway Silva into her favor by the clever use of emotions. See also: Kertzer and Tingley (2018).

entertain a particular conception of the other." McCraken emphasizes that "[t]hese conceptions were essentially political ones" (2008, 54). The choreography surrounding the queen and all the ministers hugging Silva can also be studied from an International Relations perspective that deals with emotions to enhance its meaning. By hugging the ambassador—in addition to all the connotations that a hug might have—the queen and her representatives were utilizing a psychological tool known as "stroking." They were creating or performing an act embedded with emotion to send a message to their counterpart with the aim of reassuring them of their sincerity (Roosen 1980, 469). The ability to feel emotion is necessary since "without the ability to reference [it], people remain incapable of making so-called 'rational' decisions." By using the stroking method, the queen was actively trying to influence Silva's emotional capacity. With the hug, the ambassador could have been made to feel cared for, protected, and supported, effectively changing his mood. As McDermott argues, emotions can manipulate not only the one that is feeling the emotion but also the person they are with and "people selectively take in information consonant with their current mood state" (2004, 695).

That was the first encounter of the Spanish ambassador with the Queen of England; an encounter containing—like every other meeting that will be studied—a plethora of meanings, tropes, and emotions which would last for the remainder of Silva's time as a Spanish ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I. That these encounters are filled with emotions is something that might have not been considered at the time but is not out of the ordinary: "for when emotion is taken away, what difference is there—I don't say between an animal and a man—but between a man and a tree or a stone?" (Rosenwein 2016, 22). The meetings between Elizabeth and the Spanish diplomats are being studied through the words of the former in their dispatches to Philip II. Words are the very core of emotions since we do not just speak emotion-filled words but create sentences with them, embedding their meaning into them (Rosenwein 2016, 9). What the ambassadors did in their reports was convey the very emotions that they or the queen were feeling during their audiences and express them through words since "[b]y choosing to identify and name one's feelings in one way rather than another, individuals define their emotions in the process of expressing them" (Matt and Stearns 2014, 43).

Silva's embassy lasted four years, from 1564 to 1568 and in that time the diplomatic emotionology was not scarce, since it was the basis for the interactions between the queen and the ambassador. Their initial embrace conveyed a powerful emotion of trust[13] — which could be in turn communicating feelings of safety and protection — that both the queen and Silva deposited on each other. This meant that there is a plethora of scenarios in which this emotional trust can be analyzed but the emotion is not always conveyed over the same medium. For the sake of categorization, the scenarios will be divided into those that convey trust directly through plain words and actions and those that convey the same emotion through jokes.

On March 12, 1565, Silva reported to his King that a few days earlier, the queen had sent for him to take part in some festivities, and that he had gladly agreed. There, Silva attended a play in the queen's chambers that dealt with the subject of marriage. Juno was opposed to Diana, the former defending marriage, whereas the latter defended chastity. The play, which was commissioned by Robert Dudley with the intention of furthering his chances of marrying the queen, was part of the revels of the Inner Temple of that same year (Doran 1995; Axton 1970). The play ends with Juno tipping the scales in favor of marriage and with the queen reporting to Silva "todo esto es contra mí" [This is all against me] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 77–78; *Calendar* Vol.1, 404–414). This confirms the idea that, when Elizabeth first placed her trust in Silva by hugging him and showing him interest, genuine or performed, for his coming, the ambassador knew how to respond accordingly and foster the queen's goodwill. The trust shown by Elizabeth complaining to Silva that everyone was trying to persuade her to marry represents an emotion that is a response to Silva's own dealings with the queen. This would not have happened had Silva been an incompetent diplomat. He had the skills that Mattingly regarded as necessary for Renaissance diplomacy, such as the ability to persuade and deliver a moving speech and to write an effective state paper, but they would have been worthless had he not had the most important skill for a courtier according to Castiglione: "a

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[13] Jonathan Mercer (2005) believes that trust is necessary for the resolution of group problems. Trust and emotion go hand in hand and might be key for the understanding of IR (95).

gentle and loving behavior in his daily conversation" (Mattingly 1955, 63; Castiglione 1966, 105).

At the end of the same month of March, Silva and Elizabeth had another meeting that revolved around the negotiations of marriage between the queen and, in this case, the French King. Elizabeth had some reluctance when it came to the physical characteristics of her possible husbands and the talk was about how short he was.[14] Once these rumors had been dealt with, the queen decided to put her trust in Silva again: "yo me quiero confesar con vos, pues es Cuaresma y sois mi amigo" [I wish to confess to you as it is Lent and you are my friend]. That sentence started with an enumeration of all the different marriage negotiations that Elizabeth was dealing or had dealt with since the beginning of her reign and concluded — as Silva understands it — with the disclosure that she did not want to marry (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 86; *Calendar* Vol.1, 404–414). This time it was not only the fact that Elizabeth was placing her trust in the ambassador, but that she also decided to call him a friend. None of these scenarios or the mention of being friends would ever be repeated between the queen and any of the Spanish diplomats under Philip II's reign. It will not be until July of 1565 that another of these events takes place. This time Elizabeth was mourning the death of what for her was the closest thing to a mother that she had ever had, Kat Ashley. In this state, she decided to take the ambassador aside and confide in him about her feelings: "Se apartó conmigo, habiéndome dicho que habia estado muy triste por la muerte de la que he dicho que la habia criado" [The queen took me aside and said she had been much grieved by the death of the lady I have mentioned who brought her up] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 155; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 442–458).

The next two examples are connected to the marriage negotiations between the queen and her suitors. This is nothing out of the ordinary, for the vast majority of the work of the Spanish ambassadors was to deal with the queen in matters of royal marriage. In this case, the

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[14] The queen said from the very beginning of the marriage negotiations that she would not marry without first meeting her new husband. It was reported first by Quadra that "que si se casase que no sería con hombre á quien no conosciere" [and if she married at all it would only be to a man whom she knew] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 237; *Calendar* Vol.1, 97–109). For that reason, Archduke Charles was asked to go to England and meet the queen. The same happened with the Duke of Alençon, who secretly traveled to the island to meet with Elizabeth.

scenarios are going to be based on the ambassador joking with the queen, proving the trust both have placed in each other, since making these kinds of jokes could be risky for an ambassador. In a letter from August 1565, Silva tells his king that he has been discussing with Elizabeth about her possible marriage to Archduke Charles. Elizabeth had stated her refusal to marry anyone without seeing them beforehand and she was asking the Archduke to come to England to further the negotiations. At this stage, Silva decided to joke with the queen: "Díjele que si entre los que habian entrado con el Embajador y conmigo, habia mirado en alguno que le pareciese que no habia visto, porque podria ser que tuviese en casa más de lo que pensaba" [I asked her whether she had noticed amongst those who accompanied the Ambassador and me any gentleman she had not seen before, as perhaps she was entertaining more than she thought] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 170; *Calendar* Vol.1, 458–470). By gently teasing the queen in this manner, the diplomat might have been trying to see whether or not the queen was actually interested in the suit, but it may have been nothing more than a joke that felt completely natural to the ambassador due to the relationship he had with her Majesty. How Silva words her reaction is quite interesting because he describes her uneasiness: "quedó sin color turbada" [she turned white and was so agitated]. After recovering from the shock, Elizabeth "told the ambassador that 'that is not a bad way, for the Archduke to come'" (Vol. 89, 170; *Calendar* Vol.1, 458–470). Whether or not the queen's reaction was a clue to understanding her intentions or the dealings with the Archduke were just a diplomatic bargain to gain time and keep the peace with Spain and the Empire is something this study will not address. However, the joke is a clever mechanism that confirms the profound trust the queen and the diplomat had in each other.

At the beginning of 1566, Silva reports another meeting with the queen to his King concerning the marriage negotiations between England and the Empire for the possible union between Elizabeth and Archduke Charles. The discussion was turning to matters of religion that would be the ultimate barrier between both parties. The queen complained to the ambassador about this uncertainty concerning religion while saying that she did not know the Archduke's true religion. The queen's ambivalence in religious matters was part of the general talk of the period among the Catholic countries, who

believed that not even the queen knew her true position concerning the Christian faith.[15] Silva turns to humor again as his diplomatic tool in his relationship with Elizabeth. He jokingly told her: "Díjele riendo si sabía ella cuál era la suya a propia, que me la dijese" [I then asked her jokingly whether she knew what her own religion was and would tell me]. This time the queen laughed with the Spanish diplomat and turned the conversation to a different topic (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 263; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 517–527).

The times were getting tumultuous for England and her queen concerning matters such as religion, foreign policy, and, above all, the question of marriage and succession. The queen had managed to escape the marriage question for a decade and Parliament was starting to pressure her, if not to marry, to at least settle the succession and avoid a civil war were she to die prematurely. It was in this setting that Silva reported back to his king about the dissolution of the Parliament of 1566, which had been particularly difficult for the queen. Elizabeth was not pleased with a large majority of the Parliament who, against her express wishes, tried to push her into marrying and determining the heir to the throne. Elizabeth was adamant about not naming a successor while she was alive, in fear of possible plots against her.[16] She decided to dissolve Parliament with the hope of getting a better group of members when the next one was summoned. With this anger and helplessness, she turned to Silva:

> según me ha dicho, muy mal contenta de los Procuradores del pueblo que se hallaron en él […] habiendo salido con su intento […] aunque mal satisfecha de algunos, y así se me quejó antier de nuevo de que la hobiesen dejado todos sola, doliéndose dello y encareciéndome el

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[15] At the beginning of his assignment, the ambassador reports to King Philip the idea that the queen might have potentially been close to what was known as a *politique* in terms of religion since she said "que habia tenido necesidad de disimular su ánimo para se valer con sus súbditos en lo que toca á la Religión" [told me that she had had to conceal her real feelings to prevail with her subjects in matters of religion] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 47; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 382–390).

[16] The words of the queen were: "There were occasion in me at that time: I stood in danger of my life, my sister was so incensed against me. I did differ from her in religion and I was sought for divers ways, and so shall never be my successor" (Elizabeth I 2000, 96). For a better understanding of what took place during the parliamentary sessions see Neale (1953).

peligro en que habia estado, y el mal miramiento y pertinacia que habian tenido muchos. (Rayón and Zaballburu 1887, Vol. 89, 422)

as I am told that she is dissatisfied with the representatives of the people who form it […] she got her way at last […] although annoyed at some of the members. She again complained to me yesterday that she was left alone and grieved thereat, magnifying to me the peril in which she had been, and the pertinacity and disrespect of many towards her. (*Calendar* Vol. 1, 607–615)

Elizabeth faced a hostile situation that left her in a weak position. Feeling lonely and in danger—her own words were "annoyed," "alone," and "in peril"—she turned to Silva probably looking for that feeling of care and protection that had been built up through the four years they had known each other. This was not a mere complaint that Elizabeth was sharing with the ambassador; she was displeased with her own subjects and felt personally attacked and in possible danger, clearly not a situation in which a queen would confide with a foreign ambassador had they not had a strong emotional relationship. This was the last encounter between the queen and the Spanish ambassador before their final meeting and Silva leaving the country.

In the summer of 1568, the time had come for Silva to leave England and embark on a new diplomatic mission in Italy. Like the rest of the Spanish ambassadors, he had been complaining for a long time about the difficulties of keeping his office running. Shortage of money, the hostile religious environment and, most importantly of all, the English weather as too harsh for the Spaniards, were the reasons behind his asking Philip for a relocation. Sometime between August 3 and 4 in Hatfield, Silva had an audience with Elizabeth to tell her officially that he was leaving the island and about the arrival of his substitute, Guerau de Spes. Elizabeth "mostró más pena que pensé, y mudando de color, me dijo que le pesaba en el alma de que V. M. hobiese hecho mudanza, teniendo tan gran satisfaccion de mí y de la manera de proceder en los negocios" [she showed more sorrow than I expected, and, changing colour, told me that she was grieved from the bottom of her heart that your Majesty should make any change, as she was so greatly pleased with my mode of procedure in affairs] (Rayón and Zaballburu 1887, Vol. 90, 119; *Calendar* Vol. 2, 63–70). Silva was taken aback by this reaction and seeing Elizabeth so distressed decided to reassure her that he was only taking his leave "por mi salud, teniendo por cierto que los aires desta tierra me eran

muy contrarios" [my sole reason being my poor health, which I was sure this climate did not suit] (Vol. 90, 119; Vol.2, 63–70). Once the queen regained her composure, Silva also talked to William Cecil about his departure, and Burghley reacted accordingly: "que mostró sentimiento, certificándome que la Reina estaría dello penadísima" [he expressed sorrow and assured me that the queen would be greatly pained] (Vol. 90, 120; *Calendar* Vol.2, 63–70).

Elizabeth's response clearly shows that she is emotionally distressed. Silva's departure prompted a series of reactions. It meant the departure of a trustworthy minister and possibly a friend, the disappearance of a long-lasting, well-established relationship in matters both personal and political, and the inevitable feeling of uncertainty about what the future might bring. Silva was not the only one leaving the island; trust was leaving it with him, a trust that was key to the well-being of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations. Trust was the emotion that drove the diplomatic dealings between the Spanish ambassador and the English queen and, with its departure, the protection, safety, care, and comfort attached to it were bound to disappear with it. Silva's description of Elizabeth's reaction, her paleness, and the fact that he found it necessary to reassure her of the lack of any wrongdoing in his decision to leave are the cues to understanding those feelings.[17] The study of emotions—and particularly, in this case, the notion of emotionology—has proven that there is a certain range of situations in which people unconsciously know how to act and what emotions to portray following social standards,[18] however, knowing whether Elizabeth's emotions in this scenario are a social requirement or a genuine reaction might be difficult. This paper has sought to analyze the significance of emotion in human interaction—particularly in the realm of diplomatic relations—by affirming its intrinsic connection

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[17] To a certain degree, Elizabeth was right in worrying about what might come after Silva's departure, for the future replacements as ambassadors would be nothing like Silva and would deploy a completely different diplomatic emotionology, much more aggressive and hostile.

[18] Emotionology has studied religious cases like the Holy Week procession, where provoked weeping is part of the public drama, and is actually the norm of that public drama that surrounds these religious events (Matt and Stearns 2014, 146). Mercer's study (2014) also states the importance of culture and societal standards in the understanding of emotions and their interpretations. Another study of IR (Hutchinson and Bleiker 2014) also deals with the key value of emotions in world politics. They also highlight the role of communities and their members with regards to emotions.

to diplomatic ceremony and its performative character. I do not intend to deny any of these notions and my aim is to justify that even if the interactions are performances, true or false, emotion is still embedded in them, giving it a deeper layer of meaning. Accepting that these scenarios were affected by emotion emphasizes their worth, for "emotions play a significant role in world politics, shaping how individuals and collectives are socialized and interact with each other" (Hutchinson and Bleiker 2014, 507). The role of these emotions should be analyzed since they are factors in the formation of "intersubjective relationships and the agency of everyday actors" (Russell et al. 2019, 138). The hugs, turning pale and being on the brink of tears are not emotions per se but they are the keys to or mechanisms for showing emotions such as mutual trust.

The analysis of Silva's embassy at the Court of Elizabeth I has a clear outcome: to put the microlens on the study of diplomatic interactions to discover the true relations that lay underneath the larger diplomatic-political canvas; to value the importance of agency and subjectivity in the formation of these interactions because, after all, they are human interactions; and, above all, to apply the study of emotions to a field that can truly benefit from it. If Silva is taken as a positive example of diplomatic emotionology and his successors are categorized as the opposite, the difference in outcomes could be narrowed down to their idiosyncratic skills, morals, and personalities. Gary M. Bell (1976, 93), in his study of John Man, emphasizes the necessity of knowing the character and skills of diplomats before sending them on a mission, because "the roles and personalities of these men were crucial, and we must know them to fully understand the course of international relations." Emotionology might not be the run-of-the-mill subject of study in the Renaissance, and it is "a fuzzy term," but it does prove its value in an analysis of this sort (Rosenwein and Cristiani 2019, 7). Don Diego Guzmán de Silva is a clear example of the impact of agency and subjectivity in the performance of any task and in the understanding of the motivations and emotions that influence diplomatic relations in Renaissance studies.

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Author's contact: ffernandezvictor@outlook.com

Postal address: Departamento de Filología Anglogermánica y Francesa, Universidad de Oviedo, Spain.

"Remembrance of things past":
Classical and Renaissance echoes in Philip Massinger's
*The Roman Actor**

Cristina Paravano
Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy

ABSTRACT

This essay discusses Philip Massinger's *The Roman Actor* (1626) as an example of the profoundly composite nature of early modern dramatic texts. Massinger placed borrowings and echoes from several classical and early modern texts in a new context, arguably counting on audiences' pleasure of recognition. Focusing on sources which have not received enough critical attention, this essay investigates the influence of classical authors like Tacitus and Statius, and the impact of other Massingerian plays to shed light on the way the playwright appropriated and refashioned some sources to suit his tragedy's political agenda.

KEYWORDS: *The Roman Actor*; Massinger; audience; sources; refashioning.

"Remembrance of things past": ecos clásicos y renacentistas en *The Roman Actor*, de Philip Massinger**

RESUMEN: Este artículo analiza *The Roman Actor*, de Philip Massinger (1626), como un ejemplo del carácter profundamente intertextual de los textos dramáticos de la modernidad temprana. Massinger colocó préstamos y ecos de varios textos clásicos y modernos en un nuevo contexto, posiblemente contando con el placer de reconocimiento por parte del público. Centrándose en fuentes que no han recibido suficiente atención crítica, este artículo investiga la influencia de autores clásicos como Tácito y Estacio y el impacto de otras obras teatrales de Massinger para arrojar luz sobre la manera en

"Remembrance of things past": Ecos clássicos e renascentistas em *The Roman Actor*, de Philip Massinger***

RESUMO: Este ensaio discute *The Roman Actor* (1626), de Philip Massinger, como um exemplo da natureza profundamente compósita dos textos dramáticos da proto-modernidade. Massinger colocou num novo contexto elementos emprestados e ecos de vários textos clássicos e proto-modernos, contando possivelmente com o prazer do reconhecimento por parte dos seus públicos. Dando atenção a fontes que não receberam ainda suficiente atenção crítica, este ensaio investiga a influência de autores clássicos como Tacitus e Statius e o impacto de outras peças de Massinger para lançar luz sobre o

la que el dramaturgo se apropió y remo-
deló algunas fuentes para adaptarlas a la
agenda política de su tragedia.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *The Roman Actor*; Mas-
singer; público; fuentes; remodelación.

modo como o autor se apropriou de e re-
modelou algumas fontes de acordo com
as preocupações políticas da sua tragédia.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *The Roman Actor*; Mas-
singer; público; fontes; remodelação.

In Philip Massinger's *The Roman Actor* (1626), the actor Paris exalts
the way in which theater produces powerful emotions and may even
move spectators to fear:

> [...] I have once observed
> In a tragedy of ours, in which a murder
> Was acted to life, a guilty hearer
> Forced by terror of a wounded conscience
> To make discovery of that which torture
> Could not wring from him. Nor can it appear
> Like an impossibility but that
> Your father, looking on a covetous man
> Presented on the stage as in a mirror,
> May see his own deformity and loathe it.

(*RA* 2.1.90−99)[1]

The player suggests that staging *The Cure of Avarice*, a play that
stigmatizes avidity as a harmful vice, may convince the greedy
Philargus to abandon his miserly ways. The spectators sitting at the
Blackfriars playhouse in late 1626 when *The Roman Actor* was staged
for the first time may have realized that the attempt to prick the
conscience of a guilty man was indebted to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.[2]
As Martin Butler remarks, "[w]e know from theatre records and
from [John] Greene's and [Sir Humphrey] Mildmay's diaries that
Hamlet, *Henry IV*, *Othello*, *Richard III*, *Midsummer Night's Dream* and
other Shakespearean plays were still current in the private theatre
repertoire" (1984, 131).[3] This passage from *The Roman Actor* mirrors
the scene when the prince puts on *The Murder of Gonzago*, designed
to compel Claudius to admit his crime in public. Even though the
play-within-the-play fails since Philargus does not repent, the parallel

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[1] All quotations are from White (2007).
[2] See T. A. Dunn (1957, 243−245).
[3] For a discussion of the shifting nature of the term "private" in the early modern
period, see Price (2015) and Dustagheer (2017).

helps to emphasize the powerful effect of theater on audiences, its capacity to move them and to generate emotions. This is one of the numerous references, direct and allusive, to early modern texts which pervade Massinger's tragedy. As Jonathan Goldberg observes, *The Roman Actor* "reads at times as if it were an anthology of best-loved moments of Jacobean drama" (1983, 203). At the same time this Roman tragedy draws on a rich body of classical texts that Massinger modified—ignoring their historical accuracy—, deftly blending them to suit his dramaturgic needs.

Massinger's works have often borne the stigma of unoriginality and have been undervalued or even neglected since "they seem derivative, decadent, or simply belated," as Jeremy Lopez maintains (2014, 185). In the past two decades, new research[4] has led to a rethinking of source studies and a reconsideration of the concepts of *imitatio* and intertextuality, thus moving beyond the idea that, as Catherine Belsey clearly stated, "the sources identified" remain "inert in the process of interpretation" (2015, 62): plays should be read in terms of intertheatricality, as an interconnected "system of playing" (West 2013, 157), borrowing William N. West's words, rather than a canon of individual texts. As Colin Burrow argues, it may be difficult to identify practices of *imitatio*:

> since writers can either consciously or unconsciously signal the fact that they are imitating another author or text, *imitatio* can often be marked by allusions or verbal echoes, which might shade off into faint intertextual minglings, or generate texts which are tesserae of other texts. (2019, 3)

Far from being derivative or imitative, *The Roman Actor* exemplifies the profoundly composite nature of early modern dramatic texts, what Douglas Bruster calls "mosaic-like textuality," that is, the texts' overlap with other "texts, events and individuals." The sources, quotations, and intertextual borrowings can be seen "as the beginning of a thick description of the text's place in a complex cultural milieu" (Bruster 2000, 4).

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[4] See, for example, Marrapodi and Hoenselaars (1998), Marrapodi (2004), Maguire (2008), Guy-Bray (2013), West (2013), and Britton and Walter (2018). See also Marvin Carlson's concept of "ghosting" (2011), namely the way theatrical performances are haunted by memories of past productions, and how these memories may have an impact on audience reception.

Considering this tragedy as a mosaic of other texts, as Burrow puts it, this essay aims to shed light on Massinger's ability to create a new play by drawing on a multiplicity of different works, ranging from classical texts to contemporary plays, and bend them to his dramaturgic needs. Critical readings of the play have mainly focused on the tragedy's metatheatrical devices, its reception, and its depiction of the state of the art of the English theatre in the late 1620s. Understandably, much discussion has been also devoted to Massinger's use of classical sources to shape his political analysis and to the implications of portraying a tyrant such as Domitian by setting Caroline London against the backdrop of imperial Rome.[5]

Yet not enough critical attention has been devoted to the way in which Massinger appropriated and refashioned some sources to suit his tragedy's political agenda. I will discuss the influence of classical authors like Tacitus and Statius, and the impact of other Massingerian plays, especially his collaborative tragedy *The Double Marriage* (1622). The prominent role of Tacitus's works in Massinger's play needs further exploration. A conspicuous number of references and echoes have been identified in several critical studies, as well as the influence of works such as his *Historiae*, *Annales*, and *Agricola*.[6] What has not been fully investigated is how Tacitus affected Massinger's depiction of his characters and provided him with a recognizable language with which to articulate his political and moral ideas. Massinger seems to take advantage of the fact that, as Alexandra Gajda points out, "in England in particular Tacitus seems to have been interpreted in a way that was actively critical of contemporary monarchs" (2010, 266).

Massinger's play was staged in a sensitive moment at the outset of the reign of Charles I. In the previous year, James I had died in late March and there was a violent outbreak of the plague, which claimed numerous victims. Among them was John Fletcher, chief dramatist of the King's Men and a close friend and collaborator of Massinger's, who succeeded him as principal playwright of the company. In 1626 the first political and social tensions began to emerge in the form of opposition to the Forced Loan imposed by the new king, and to his

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[5] See, e.g., Patterson (1984), Hartley (2001), Curran (2009), Rochester (2010), Greenberg (2011), Dunnum (2012), and Robertson (2021).
[6] See Briggs (1912), Gibson (1961), Edwards and Gibson (1976a), Butler (1985), White (2007), and Paravano (2019).

increasingly absolutistic tendencies.[7] In this context Massinger wrote a tragedy which revolves around one of the most authoritarian and bloodthirsty emperors in Roman history. As Martin White also notes, the habit of the period was to draw analogies between past and present, and "the play's presentation of a tyrannical and absolutist ruler who considers himself above the law […] provided any spectator who wished to see it with an image of his own or her own times" (2007, 18).

The presence of Statius's *Silvae* in the background of Massinger's tragedy is also worth discussing. This work of poetry offers a completely different perspective on Domitian if compared to the disparaging opinions of Roman writers like Suetonius and Tacitus. Butler argues that "plays such as *The Roman Actor* found an appreciative audience among circles where cultivation of the classics accompanied a practical involvement in politics" (1985, 144) so that the echoes and quotations from classical authors contributed to fueling the political debate. The classical legacy seems to energize Massinger's political discourse, especially if we consider Tacitus and Statius as representatives of two opposing political stances: the champion of classical civil liberty and the supporter of royal prerogatives.

The Roman Actor is not an open accusation and should not be read as a *pièce a clef*, in which emperor Domitian and his wife stand in for the royal couple, but nonetheless it exposes parallels and differences between imperial Rome and late 1620s England and shows that the stage could become an arena for the discussion of political issues. Both the historian Kevin Sharpe (1992) and Butler (1984) are convinced that an accommodation between the king and Parliament was still possible in the late 1620s and 1630s. Therefore, according to Julie Sanders, this play can be seen as an attempt at "counselling the new monarch in ways not to govern, just as Ben Jonson had done his royal father before him" in *Sejanus* (1999, 20). Nevertheless, as Andrew Gurr suggests, the King's Men must have been aware of the bold political message embedded in the play: There are no records of court performances of *The Roman Actor* and even the 1629 quarto of the tragedy does not confirm that it was performed at a royal venue: "[p]resumably the company, while painfully sympathetic to the image it presents of the victim role that a playing company could

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[7] See Cust (1987) and Sharpe (1992, 9–22).

suffer under a tyrant, thought it less than tactful to show its own patron such a story" (2004, 194).

On the other hand, intertextual references may have appealed not only to those who were well versed in classical culture but also to a wider group of regular theatre-goers who were familiar with several dramatic texts. Massinger introduced references, verbal parallels, and echoes from plays by Jonson (*Sejanus* and *Catiline's Conspiracy*), Shakespeare (*Richard III* and *As You Like It*), Thomas Dekker, and Thomas Middleton (*The Patient Man and The Honest Whore*), to cite just a few examples, into a new context, presumably counting on the audience's pleasure of recognition.[8] I will concentrate on *The Double Marriage* (1622), a tragedy co-written with Fletcher, and will evaluate its possible impact on and intertextual links with *The Roman Actor*. Even though Martin Wiggins lists the text among the sources of Massinger's Roman tragedy, its influence has been investigated only marginally and thus deserves more attention.[9]

The complexity and intricacy of the net of classical and contemporary references in *The Roman Actor* may give us a glimpse of the inclinations of Caroline audiences in indoor theatres. Even though there was no uniformity of taste and experiences, Massinger had the opportunity to play "with a theatrically literate audience that can be depended on to catch the references," as Rochester argues (2010, 4). Playwrights exploited familiarity to appeal to their clientele, "assuming an audience already conversant with the stage repertoire," as Butler asserts (1984, 107). Dramatists were aware of the expertise of many of the frequent play-goers that flocked to see their works, as proved by the prologue and epilogue in which they address them. In the prologue to *The Lady's Privilege* (1637–1640), Henry Glapthorne praises his audience as "wits most accomplish'd Senate."

The comparison of early modern spectators and the Senate is appropriate to introduce a discussion of *The Roman Actor*. This Roman play puts on stage a senate divested of its function in which Senators are mere spectators of Domitian's actions; at the same time, it offers a profound reflection on the function and the process of spectatorship

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[8] See White (2007), who identifies the influence of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Middleton's *Women, Beware Women*, Wiggins (*Catalogue* #2190), and Robertson (2021), who discusses the influence of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*.
[9] See Hoy (1985), White (2007), and Wiggins (*Catalogue* #2007).

and reception due to the presence of numerous metatheatrical devices, and the network of citations from other texts, which makes of Massinger's tragedy "more than just an intertheatrical anthology," as Lauren Robertson puts it (2021, 75).

As several studies have demonstrated, Massinger relied on an ample and varied body of classical writings, predominantly by anti-Domitianic authors. *The Roman Actor* can be ascribed to a group of plays from the Stuart period which are all set in imperial Rome, and which draw on the Roman historians Suetonius and Tacitus (Butler 1985, 139). The playwright is largely indebted to Suetonius, whose *De Vita Caesarum* relates the lives of the Caesars, but he also read Tacitus's *Agricola* and *Historiae*, Juvenal's *Satires*, Cassius Dio's *Historia Romana*, the anonymous *Epitome de Caesaribus*, Plutarch's *Lives*, Statius's *Silvae*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Horace's *Satires*.[10] The humanist interest in classical learning and Tacitian thought made classical texts more current to Massinger and his audience than we might expect. The English Renaissance saw a renewed interest in Tacitus as a stylistic model and as "chronicler of imperial tyranny and courtly corruption," in Paulina Kewes' words (2011, 516). The Roman historian was often used to amplify the distinction in Roman law between subjugation and freedom. In his *Annals* he describes how the Roman people were often forced into servitude in the early phases of the Principate. Those who interpreted the emergence of the royal prerogatives of Charles I in light of Tacitus's thought could easily see the crown's absolutistic tendencies, as Quentin Skinner claims, "as nothing less than an aspiration to reduce a free people to servitude" (2002, 319).

Massinger looks at the political context through the lens of Tacitus's arguments. In the play Senator Rusticus stigmatizes the problems of his age by claiming that "to deserve well | Held capital treason" (*RA* 1.3.74-75). The character is rephrasing the following sentence from Tacitus's *Agricola*, a work that radically attacks Domitian's image and profoundly affected Massinger's conception of

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[10] For an earlier analysis of the sources, see Gibson (1961), who provides an insightful investigation of the classical sources of the play, White (2007), and Wiggins (*Catalogue* #2007), who expand the critical horizon to include echoes references and quotes from contemporary plays. Building on their works, and as stated in the introductory paragraphs of this essay, I offer a more in-depth discussion of Tacitus's impact and Statius's influence, so far neglected, and examine a Massingerian play identified as a source but never fully investigated.

Caesar: "*tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora*" [so harsh was the spirit of the age, so cynical towards virtue] (*Agricola* 1.1).[11] The example of the Roman historian led Massinger to depict a "political problem as a problem of morality" (Butler 1985, 146). In delineating Caesar's character, Massinger follows rigorous principles; he emphasizes Caesar's brutality and cruelty, crafting the image of an "emperor who preached morality but practiced incest and murdered his opponents" (1992, 19), as Brian Jones notices. In the play, Domitian is not condemned for his inadequacy as a ruler but for his lack of integrity and ethical concerns regarding his political opponents and everyone else around him.

The dramatist's depiction of female characters and the ample space he assigned to them also recalls Tacitus. The Roman writer was deeply concerned with the role of women and gave them "more space in his work than most ancient historians," as Jenifer Swindle notes, even though their portrayal was often unfavorable (2003, 106). Massinger's interest in female characters may also be due to the predominance of women in Blackfriars audiences compared to the Globe, the King's Men outdoor theatrical venue.[12] *The Roman Actor* represents Massinger's version of Emperor Domitian's fall in which all the female characters are actively involved in revenge plots and in Caesar's murder. Like Tacitus, Massinger "shows how elite women's domestic roles could, and did, become a political force to be reckoned with" (Milnor 2012, 473). Even though they properly belong to the *Gens Flavia*, if we look at them in terms of attitudes, behavior, and number, Massinger's women seem to be more similar to the shrewd women eager to rule, or *avidae dominandi* (see *Annals*, 6.25), from the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[13] The female characters in the play embody the idea of the constant female rivalry described by Tacitus as *aemulatione muliebri* (*Annals* 2.43). Their portrayal reveals how Massinger assimilated Tacitus's approach and saw the court politics in Tacitean terms: driven by "a factious pursuit of personal advantage" and "shaped by jealousy, malice and fear," as Malcolm Smuts points out (1994, 36).

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[11] All English translations from Latin are from the Digital Loeb Classical Library.

[12] For more on Caroline audiences, see Neill (1978) and Gurr and Karim-Cooper (2014).

[13] In *Annal* 6.25 Tacitus defines Agrippina as *dominandi avida*, yet the phrase can be applied to other women belonging to the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

In the following extract from the play, the main female characters—Caenis, Domitilla, Julia, and Domitia—are waiting for Caesar's arrival after his triumph. Each of them wants to mark her own prominent position within the social and political hierarchy and, at the same time, attempts to appeal to the emperor's benevolence:

Enter JULIA, CAENIS, DOMITILLA, [*and*] DOMITIA.

Caenis. Stand back. The place is mine.

Julia.   Yours? Am I not

Great Titus' daughter, and Domitian's niece?

Dares any claim precedence?

Caenis.   I was more:

The mistress of your father, and in his right

Claim duty from you.

Julia.   I confess you were useful

To please his appetite.

Domitia.   To end the controversy –

For I'll have no contending – I'll be bold

To lead the way myself.

Domitilla.   You, minion!

Domitia.   Yes.

And all ere long shall kneel to catch my favours.

Julia.   Whence springs this flood of greatness?

Domitilla.   You shall know

Too soon, for your vexation, and perhaps

Repent too late, and pine with envy when

You see whom Caesar favours.

(*RA* 1.4.1–13)

The most erudite early modern spectators might have recognized this scene as dramatizing Tacitus's description of the meeting between Agrippina and Livia after Augustus's death. As Christina Shuttleworth Kraus observes, "When Germanicus enters the narrative proper, it is

also with women at his side, women who are themselves locked in a heated rivalry" (2009, 109), like those depicted on stage by Massinger as waiting for Domitian's arrival: "*accedebant muliebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior*" [Feminine animosities increased the tension as Livia had a stepmother's irritable dislike of Agrippina, whose own temper was not without a hint of fire] (*Annals*, 1.33).

The unfavorable and critical portrayal of all these women seems to be informed by Tacitus, but the one who seems the most affected by a Tacitian reading is Domitia Longina. When she first comes on stage, she appears as a sort of Poppaea. For Ronald Syme, an authority on Tacitus, her first appearance in the *Annals* "happens to be light and graceful, putting the emphasis on her beauty, talent, and elegance of demeanour" (1981, 40). Both of them preach modesty but practice wantonness. Poppaea cunningly reminds the emperor that she is not available since she is married: "*mox acri iam principis amore ad superbiam vertens, si ultra unam alteramque noctem attineretur, nuptam esse se dictitans, nec posse matrimonium amittere*" [then—as the emperor's love grew fervent—changing to haughtiness, and, if she was detained for more than a second night, insisting that she was a wife and could not renounce her married status] (*Annals* 13.46).

In the play, Domitian, blinded by his passion for Domitia, compels her husband, Senator Lamia, to divorce her. When she finds out about the emperor's intentions, she pretends to be respectful of her marital bond, even though she feels tempted:

> And were it in my power I would to be thankful.
> If that when I was mistress of myself,
> And in my way of youth, pure, and untainted,
> The Emperor had vouchsafed to seek my favours,
> I had with joy given up my virgin fort
> At the first summons to his soft embraces:
> But I am now another's, not mine own.
> You know I have a husband, for my honour
> I would not be his strumpet, and how law
> Can be dispensed with to become his wife,
> To me's a riddle.
>
> (*RA* 1.2.33−43)

Domitia's initial refusal of the emperor and her faithfulness might have been interpreted as real rather than pretense, yet when she adds, "Suppose I should consent—how can I do it? | My husband is a senator of temper | Not to be jested with" (*RA* 1.2.48−51), she reveals a preexisting disregard for chastity. Her abrupt "metamorphosis from dutiful wife to imperial whore" like Poppaea, borrowing Vinson's words (1989, 440), suggests that Domitian is not attracted to a virtuous woman who resists his advances but to one who embodies the Tacitian notion of the manipulative woman. Like Agrippina the Elder and Livia, Augustus's scheming wife, Domitia is characterized by a female lack of moderation or "*muliebris inpotentia*," as Tacitus defines it (*Annals* 1.4 and 12.57), or the inability to control and restrain her passionate desires. Later in the play, when she forces the player Paris to obey her will, Domitia assumes an imperial tone worthy of the emperor, as if their close, almost symbiotic, relationship had turned her into his veritable alter ego: "Thou must! Thou shalt! | The violence of my passion knows no mean, | And in my punishments and my rewards | I'll use no moderation" (*RA* 4.2.79−82). The relationship between Domitia and Agrippina is twofold: according to Syme, "It would be no surprise if some features of this powerful woman [i.e., Domitia Longina] recurred in Tacitus's vivid portrayal of Agrippina's comportment and language" (1981, 50). This suggestion reinforces the connection between these two controversial and influential women.

Massinger's treatment of Domitia Longina is particularly elaborate. In addition to providing her with a marked Tacitean allure that makes her similar to Poppaea and Agrippina, the playwright seems to superimpose on Domitian's wife other characters as well in a bid to bring out multiple aspects of her personality and suggest hidden facets of it. The dramatist adds further layers of meaning, moving from a comparison to the Virgin Mary, in a scene which Hogan interprets as "a graceful and depraved version of the Annunciation" (1971, 275), to a portrayal of Domitia's uncontrolled appetite for power and sexual pleasures, which seems to combine Tamora's unrestrained libido in *Titus Andronicus* and Cleopatra's intense magnetism in *Antony and Cleopatra*. Massinger brings out different traits of this complex character's personality so that history, literature, religion, and mythology coexist in harmony. In 1.4, Caesar sees his wife as Juno:

> But when I look on
> Divine Domitia, methinks we should meet

> (The lesser gods applauding the encounter)
> As Jupiter, the Giants lying dead
> On the Phlegraean plain, embraced his Juno.

<div align="right">(RA 1.4.63−67)</div>

The image may have been derived from Statius's *Silvae*, a collection of thirty-two occasional poems of praise that pay tribute to a number of influential people, especially Emperor Domitian.[14] In the *Silvae*, Statius also compares Domitia to Juno, albeit more explicitly: "*Iuppiter Ausonius pariter, Romanaque Iuno | Aspiciunt, et uterque probant*" [Ausonian Jove and Roman Juno alike regard with kindly brow, and both approve] (*Silvae* 3.4.18−19).[15] The stress on Caesar's Jovian divinity is common in Statius's poems. The poet addresses Domitian as "*nostri Iovis*" [our Jupiter] (*Silvae* 1.6.27), assigning him the attribute of a thunderbolt. The poet bases his imperial praise on the association of Caesar with the sun and stars and on the concept of light flowing from Caesar.

Unlike most of the other authors Massinger relied on, Statius was a contemporary of the emperor but was not among his open opponents like Tacitus or Suetonius. As Carole Newlands remarks, "along with the epigrams of Martial, Statius's *Silvae* are our only contemporary poetic witnesses to the age of Domitian" (2002, 2). Massinger may have found in Statius's *Silvae* a celebrative and complimentary portrayal absent in the reproachful accounts by the other Roman authors he used, who painted a critical picture of Domitian. Another example can be found in Act 4, when Domitian, upset by the accusations of his wife's infidelity with the player Paris, claims that she "borrows all her light from me" (*RA* 4.1.136). An analogous image recurs in an encomium to the emperor delivered by the god Janus: "*lucemque a consule ducit / omnis honos*" [every office draws luster from our Consul] (*Silvae* 4.1.26−27).

It is interesting to consider, as Newlands does (2011, 29), that the most famous exponent of the *Silvae* in early modern England was Ben Jonson, whose *Sejanus* is one of the main sources of Massinger's play.[16] In his Roman tragedy Jonson draws on Statius's *Silvae* to give voice to

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[14] For a more thorough exploration, see Paravano (2019).
[15] All quotations from Statius's *Silvae* are from Shackleton Bailey (2015).
[16] For the influence of Statius's *Silvae* on Jonson, see Newlands (1988).

his protagonist's hubris like Massinger does with Caesar. In 5.1 Sejanus overconfidently expounds on his power:

> Swell, swell, my joys and faint not to declare
> Yourselves as ample as your causes are.
> I did not live till now, this is my first hour,
> Wherein I see my thoughts reached by my power.
> But this, and gripe my wishes. Great, and high,
> The world knows only two, that's Rome, and I,
> My roof receives me not: 'tis air I tread –
> And, at each step, I feel my advancèd head
> Knock out a star in heav'n! Reared to his height,
> All my desires seem modest, poor, and slight.

(*Sej* 5.1.1−10)

As has been remarked, the passage is reminiscent of Statius's poem to Domitian (4.2, "Thanksgiving To Emperor Augustus Germanicus Domitianus"), in which the Latin poet celebrates the emperor while describing a dinner with him as an experience akin to dining with Jupiter. In particular in line 3, Jonson recalls the following line from Statius's poem "*haec aevi mihi prima dies, hic limina vitae*" [This is the first day of my span, here is the threshold of my life] (*Silvae* 4.2.13)., while later in lines 7−9 might be indebted to "*Tectum augustum, ingens, non centum insigne columnis, | sed quantae superos caelumque Atlante remisso | sustentare queant*" [An august edifice, vast, magnificent not with a hundred columns but as many as might support heaven and the High Ones were Atlas let go] (*Silvae* 4.2.18−20).

In Massinger's play there are two images which may have been inspired by the same poem by Statius, or rather by the playwright's reading of Jonson's tragedy. In 5.1 Domitian is aware of his fall and exclaims: "that's the latest hour | You e'er must see me living" (*RA*, 5.1.268−269).[17] While in 5.1 Sejanus sees the moment he is living as a new beginning, for Domitian this is the end of his reign. In the following extract, Massinger combines the same images found both in *Sejanus* and in Statius's poem when Caesar asserts his power: "Rome perish first, and Atlas' shoulders shrink | Heav'n's fabric fall, the moon, the stars | Losing their light and comfortable heat | Ere I confess that

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[17] White remarks that "this section is very reminiscent of the farewell of *Doctor Faustus* to the scholars in Act 5 of Marlowe's play, including the despair at 287, the counting of the clock, the bargaining with time" (2007, 195).

any fault of mine | May be disputed" (*RA* 2.1.155−159). Even though Atlas was an enormously popular and oft-cited mythological character, it is noteworthy that in Statius's *Silvae* he is mentioned only three times and always in poems dedicated to and dealing with Domitian (1.1, 4.2 and 4.3), as if there were an association between the powerful emperor and the titan who holds up the sky.

Besides Jonson's *Sejanus*, the tragedy *The Double Marriage*, which Massinger co-wrote with Fletcher, also had an impact on *The Roman Actor* offering verbal parallels and inspiration for the development of scenes and characters. The tragedy, set in fifteenth-century Naples, was performed by the King's Men at the Blackfriars playhouse around 1622. It revolves around the lustful and tyrannical king Ferrand, who may have inspired the character of Domitian. The first borrowing from the play, also identified by White, is from 5.2, when the noble Virolet, a tenacious opponent of the king, says: "The castle's tower, | The only Aventine that now it left to him" (*DM* 5.2.28−29).[18] At the end of the play Virolet mentions Aventine, one of Rome's seven hills and a symbol of power and safety, as the last defence left against his enemy, the usurping Aragonese King Ferrand. There is an allusion to the same hill in *The Roman Actor*,[19] when Paris exclaims: "My strong Aventine is | That great Domitian, whom we oft have cheered | In his most sullen moods, will once return" (*RA* 1.1.39−41). Massinger points to it at the beginning of the play when Domitian's power is at his zenith. This may cast a negative light on Caesar, doomed to suffer the same fate as the Neapolitan tyrant Ferrand. Moreover, it may suggest an analogy between Virolet, who pronounces these words before being mistakenly murdered by his wife Juliana, and the player Paris, who is killed, though deliberately, by the emperor himself.

The Double Marriage inspired two scenes in particular. In Fletcher and Massinger's tragedy, the virtuous Juliana endures the rack but refuses to reveal where her husband Virolet, who was involved in a conspiracy to murder the king, is hiding. The scene, which according to Cyrus Hoy was written by Massinger himself (1957, 147), bears remarkable similarities to the episode of Senator Sura and Rusticus's

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[18] Quotations from *The Double Marriage* are from Hoy (1994). The text has been modernized in spelling and punctuation.
[19] Aventine is mentioned only in *The Roman Actor* in the canon of Massinger's solo plays.

torture in *The Roman Actor*. The two plays associate power and public spectacle. At the beginning of the scene, Juliana is ready to die on that "glorious stage of murder," as she tells Virolet's father:

Juliana.	Now by my Virolet's life,
	Father, this is a glorious stage of murder.
	Here are fine properties too, and such spectators
	As will expect good action, to the life;
	Let us perform our parts, and we shall live,
	When these are rotten. Would we might begin once;
	Are you the Master of the company?
	Troth you, are tedious now.
Ferrand.	She does deride me.

(*DM* 1.2.102−109)

Like Ferrand, Domitian plays a central role in this performance of violence, and they are both identified as tyrants. As Sandra Clark observes, "perhaps through the influence of Massinger, the meaning of tyranny is amplified through references to theatricality which relate the self-displaying behaviour of Ferrand" (1994, 126). The two tyrants also have a large histrionic presence and a libidinous attitude (the Neapolitan ruler takes the daughter of his enemy Sesse as mistress and openly tells her father how much he enjoyed when he "crack'd her Virgin zone," *DM* 5.3.126).

In both plays the victims of torture accept their fate and show the same determination. While Juliana defies Ferrand by proclaiming: "My life is thine, | But in the death, the Victory shall be mine" (*DM* 1.2.119−120), Senator Rusticus tells Caesar: "For beyond our bodies, | Thou hast no power" (*RA* 3.2.53−54). "Like Dorothea in [Massinger's] *The Virgin Martyr*," as Hoy argues, "she tires the executioners, and the patience with which she bears her sufferings reduces her tormentors to a state of impotent frustration, as the stoic endurance of the tortured senators does Caesar in *The Roman Actor*" (1985, 65). The two Senators undergo their torture impassively taking as a model the philosopher Clodius Paetus Thrasea, who committed suicide under emperor Nero.[20] Yet while Juliana's

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[20] His death is described at length by Tacitus in his *Annals* (16.21−35).

courage astonishes the king who sets her free, in *The Roman Actor* Caesar never considers sparing his victims. What Domitian stages is purely gratuitous torture. It is clear from the very first that there is no way out for them. Interestingly, in both scenes Massinger employs the verb "deride" to identify the victims' attitude towards their oppressor. Ferrand realizes that Juliana is making fun of him and exclaims: "she does deride me" (*DM* 1.2.109). Sura and Rusticus openly admit their contempt:

> *Sura.* No, we live.
>
> *Rusticus.* Live to deride thee, our calm patience treading
> Upon the neck of tyranny.
>
> (RA 3.2.94−96)

The Double Marriage has a strong metatheatrical dimension: all the characters are aware that there are spectators and that each of them has a part to play. At the end of the tragedy, for instance, when Sesse, a courtier turned pirate, is going to confront his daughter and Ferrand, he asks to be left alone:

> Leave me; there is a Scene
> Which I would act alone; yet you may stay,
> For wanting just spectators, it will be nothing.
>
> (*DM* 5.4.10−12)

In *The Roman Actor* Massinger capitalizes on metatheatrical devices by staging three plays-within-the-play and reinforcing the bond between power and performance, especially through the character of Domitia. In a scene reminiscent of *Hamlet* 3.2, Domitian's wife instructs the players, re-writes a tragedy about the shepherd Iphis and the disdainful Anaxarete, and seems to act as a director. The scene also has strong early modern political and social resonances. Massinger highlights Caesar's wife's interest in the theater, and puts on stage the performance of a noble female character like Domitilla in a private theatrical event at court (even though the character was actually played by an apprentice actor). This may be seen as an attempt to discuss a recent episode that stirred up a hornet's nest of opposition. In 1626, the year when the play was staged for the first time, Queen Henrietta Maria stunned the court by acting in Honorat

de Bueil, seigneur de Racan's *Arténice*. As reported by the Florentine ambassador who witnessed her performance, the Queen

> acted in a beautiful pastoral of her own composition, assisted by twelve of her ladies whom she had trained since Christmas. The pastoral succeeded admirably; not only in the decorations and changes of scenery, but also in the acting and recitation of the ladies—Her Majesty surpassing all the others. (Qtd. in Bentley 1946, vol.4, 548−549)

While Karen Britland sees *Arténice* as Queen Henrietta Maria's "cultural manifesto" (2006, 52), *Iphis and Anaxarete* can be seen as Domitia's. Although the influence that the Queen exerted over English social, political and cultural life became more and more noticeable in the 1630s after the Duke of Buckingham's death, we may presume that it started earlier.[21] In a play so full of contemporary resonances, Massinger's handling of metadrama seems a vehicle with which to comment on Stuart politics. "In the mirroring theater of conscience" of the play, as Jonathan Goldberg argues, "the king and the king's conscience were caught—whether offstage or on" (1983, 209). Therefore, if the play might have been a way to "offer advice and guidance" to Charles I, as Julie Sanders suggests, it was also possibly meant to give recommendations to his Queen (1999, 19).

Finally, *The Double Marriage* offers a seduction scene when Martia promises to release Virolet as long as he weds her. Virolet succumbs to the erotic temptation and when he exclaims "Alas, I have a wife" (*DM* 2.4.159), the way Domitia reminds Parthenius that she too is married easily comes to mind. This situation may have also inspired other seduction scenes, like the one between Paris and Domitia in *The Roman Actor* but also in other Massingerian plays which seem to relate to one another as though links in a chain. Lucy Munro correctly sees the similarity between Virolet and Vitelli in *The Renegado* (1624): Vitelli "is unable to resist the assertive Donusa" like "Virolet […] is unable to offer any form of resistance to Martia" (2007, 128). These two seduction scenes may have influenced the one in *The Maid of Honour* (1622−1625),[22] a tragicomedy in which the Knight of Malta, Bertoldo,

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[21] See Tomlinson (1992), Britland (2006), and Bailey (2009).

[22] For critical opinions on the dating of the play, see Edwards and Gibson (1976b), Beal (1980), Wiggins (*Catalogue*, # 2291), and Paravano (2021).

who is betrothed to the virtuous Camiola, is seduced by the Duchess of Siena, Aurelia. The character bears some resemblances to Domitian's wife. When the Duchess sees Bertoldo, she is irresistibly drawn to him:

> Let not, sir,
> The violence of my passion nourish in you
> An ill opinion; or, grant my carriage
> Out of the road and garb of private women,
> 'Tis still done with decorum. As I am
> A princess, what I do is above censure,
> And to be imitated.
>
> (*MH* 4.4.123−128)

Aurelia is conscious that her position will protect her from any form of criticism, despite the violence and abruptness of her passion for a man she barely knows. The episode is reminiscent of the scene in which Domitia expresses her wanton passion for the actor Paris using analogous words:

> But for Augusta so to lose herself,
> That holds command o'er Caesar and the world,
> were poverty of spirit. Thou must! Thou shalt!
> The violence of my passion knows no mean.
>
> (*RA* 4.2.77−80)

These four seduction scenes, all dealing with moral dilemmas, feature influential and lustful women who exert their own power over men who are socially or temporarily in a situation of inferiority. These male characters cannot resist the captivating appeal of their temptresses, who convince them to betray their moral values. In *The Roman Actor*, unlike the other men seduced, Paris has no way out. Every possible choice, accepting or refusing Domitia's immodest advances, will lead him to death.

The Roman Actor ends on a Shakespearian note. After questioning the legitimacy of Domitian's murder by claiming that "he was our prince, | However wicked" (*RA* 5.2.77−78), the First Tribune orders the others to "take up his body" (*RA* 5.2.88). The situation evokes *Hamlet*, when Fortinbras commands: "Take up the bodies. Such a sight as this | Becomes the field but here shows much amiss" (*Ham* 5.2.385−386). Like the Norwegian prince, the First Tribune restores order and the moral law, heralding a new dawn for Rome. In Massinger's play,

however, Caesar's body is not accorded any respect. His corpse stands for all the victims of Domitian's fury and abuses, murdered in his personal theater and buried without honors.

Massinger did not hide his indebtedness to classical or early modern sources, and he made his borrowings more explicit, creating a play that is "particularly haunted by its predecessors," in Marvin Carlson's words (2011, 8). For Goldberg, Massinger's play is an exaltation of theatricality, since "the power of plays is affirmed throughout *The Roman Actor*" (1983, 207): not only the power of the numerous forms of play-within-the-play but also echoes from early modern works reverberate in Massinger's tragedy, from Jonson's *Sejanus* to Shakespeare's works. The tragedy is an anthology of sorts of best-loved moments of English drama, not only of the Jacobean period as Goldberg argues, but of the English Renaissance, thanks to its polyphonic representation of the early modern stage repertoire, and of the classical cultural legacy, all of which resound harmoniously. *The Roman Actor* revolves around the concept of performance and its reception and relies on the response of early modern audiences, able to construct and appreciate the meaning of the play thanks to what Carlson defines as "collective and individual memories of previous experience" (2011, 165). Indoor theaters like the Blackfriars drew a wealthier, more socially homogeneous, and culturally elevated audience than the Globe;[23] their spectators were probably more in tune with political affairs and may have realized that Massinger was using the stage as a space for political and moral debate. Massinger's strength lies in his ability to enrich the texture of his play with "remembrance of things past" (*RA* 1.3.139), as the player Paris puts it, while creating a new view on the present and the future.

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[23] See Zucker and Farmer (2006), and Huebert and McNeill (2019).

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Reviews

Jorge Blanco-Vacas, ed. 2020. *Mr. Turbulent. A Critical Edition.* Bern: Peter Lang

Jorge Figueroa Dorrego
Universidade de Vigo, Spain

This critical edition of the anonymous comedy originally entitled *Mr. Turbulent: Or, The Melancholics*, very scholarly prepared by Jorge Blanco-Vacas, is the first volume of the series "Restoration Drama: Texts and Contexts," coordinated by Manuel Gómez-Lara and María José Mora and published by Peter Lang in 2020. The aim of the collection is to illustrate the richness and diversity of late Stuart drama by bringing to light plays of interest that so far have attracted little critical attention, in fully annotated, modernized editions, which are prefaced by an extensive analysis of each text and the context in which it was produced. I welcome the series and this first volume in particular because *Mr. Turbulent* is a highly original play indeed that proves that Restoration comedy may provide more than apparently frivolous romantic—or at times rather sexual—intrigues and witty repartee, daring to delve into harsh social and political satire. The play does include the typical love story in which the main young couple (Mr. Fairlove and Lucia Wellbred) manage to outwit the blocking agent (Mr. Turbulent) and this leads to a happy ending symbolized by their marriage and the convivial celebration thereof. However, the most interesting part of the play is its characterization of the title character and his bigoted Puritan relatives and friends, and how that makes this comedy a biting satire of fanaticism. As these zealots are presented as "melancholics" who end up interned in Bedlam Hospital, the piece addresses the motif of madness—the only one to do so in the Restoration period, according to the editor (47)—, obviously from a comic perspective.

In his lengthy, scholarly introduction (11–56), Blanco-Vacas deals with five engaging aspects of the text: 1) its anonymous authorship, 2) its stage history, 3) the context of comedy in the late Carolean period, 4) London topography and madness as political tropes, and 5) the text used for the edition and other basic editorial decisions. Then comes a thoroughly annotated edition of the play, in a remarkably neat and

readable format (57–250); two appendices, one with a bibliographical description of all the copies examined (251–257), and another explaining the monetary units alluded to in the play (259). Finally there is an extensive list of works cited (261–281) that demonstrates the well-documented, erudite nature of this first-ever critical edition of *Mr. Turbulent*.

This play was probably premiered at the Duke's Theatre (Dorset Garden) in late November of 1681 and published anonymously by Simon Neal the following year. It was reissued in 1685 as *The Factious Citizen; Or, The Melancholy Visioner*. Both titles clearly point at the play's political intentions, which is part of the Tory offensive between 1680 and 1683 in the tense climate of the Exclusion Crisis. *Mr. Turbulent* is a satire of the Whigs, caricatured here as fanatical religious and political dissenters that live in the City, and whose radical Puritanism, inflamed condemnation of the government, and extreme aversion to reason, intellectualism, and entertainment are presented as symptomatic of a degree of insanity that requires reclusion and correction. Blanco-Vacas, like the few scholars who have commented on this play, dwells on this political aspect of the comedy at length. Allardyce Nicoll describes it as a "vivid, if somewhat coarse, satire of the Whigs" (1921, 235). For Derek Hughes, the play is "fiercely hierarchical, condemning the fanatics as social upstarts, enemies of universities (one character wishes to abolish reason and logic […]), and subverters of male supremacy (they include a learned lady). Appropriately, these foes of rational social order are consigned to Bedlam" (1996, 231–232). And, according to Douglas Canfield, *Mr. Turbulent* has the greatest collection of fanatical Puritans in a single play: it closes "in Tory wish-fulfilment," with the Town gallant and his witty lady triumphant, the Quaker daughter of the eponymous character married to a foppish poet and joining the final hedonistic celebration, and the mad fanatics sealed off in the asylum (1997, 116; 119).

Blanco-Vacas speculates that fear of a negative reception of such a severe attack on the Whigs might be one of the reasons for its anonymity, although the author was swimming with the political tide of the moment, because Tory-oriented productions dominated the stage between 1681 and 1682 (15–16). Another possible fear would be of commercial failure, especially if the author was a gentleman and a novice writer. The editor points out that anonymity was common at the

time, particularly in drama, either the author or the publisher's choice, so it should not be seen as remarkable. He does not suggest any names but assumes that it must be someone from Yorkshire but familiar with London and the stage, or else several writers in collaboration.

As regard stage history, no one knows for sure when the play was first performed. Scholars have proposed different dates, mostly ranging from October 1681 to January 1682. Blanco-Vacas gathers that late November 1681 would be the most likely. It seems though that the Duke's Company believed in the production and backed it up with a strong cast, with some of the most popular performers of the time in the premiere, e.g., Cave Underhill as the title role, James Nokes as Finical Cringe (a pretentious, plagiarizing poet), Anthony Leigh as Abednego Suckthumb (a gloomy visionary), Thomas Jevon as Furnish (a witty trickster), and Elizabeth Currer as Lady Medler (a matchmaker and patents intermediary). The play does not seem to have been very popular, possibly for thematic reasons, but the performance must have been masterly and full of comic moments.

In the third section of his introduction, Blanco-Vacas frames the play in the context of the production of comedy in the last years of Charles II's reign. After the Popish Plot in 1678 and during the period of the Exclusion Crisis, theatre attendance fell, and some dramatists tried to revive it by providing topical, political plays. The anti-Catholic hysteria caused by Titus Oates's fictitious conspiracy is reflected in three comedies premiered in 1680 or 1681: John Dryden's *The Spanish Fryar*, the anonymous *Rome's Follies*, and Thomas Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*. This offensive led to a reaction from Tory writers, who produced several comedies that satirize the Interregnum, Puritans, and Whigs in 1681 and 1682, such as Edward Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckolds*, Thomas Durfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg* and *The Royalist*, Aphra Behn's *The Roundheads* and *The City Heiress*, and this anonymous *Mr. Turbulent* (*cf.* Nicoll 1921; Whiting 1930; and Owen 2000). Susan Owen even suggests that the play "may be intended as a satire of Shadwell, who is much given to moral indictment of the times" (1996, 184), using the very weapon of Jonsonian humors he used to brandish.

Another appealing point that Blanco-Vacas deals with is the setting of the action, Moorfields, a green space north of the city walls, associated with the Whiggish middle classes and therefore seen in

contempt by the Toryish inhabitants of the town. This prejudice is evident in the conversation between Mr. Fairlove and his acquaintance Friendly at the beginning of the play. Moorfields was also the site of the Bedlam Hospital for the insane, where Mr. Turbulent and his fanatical friends end up confined, which amplifies the otherness of the area — seen from a Tory perspective — and the setting's symbolism. As the editor points out, "the play puts forward a derisive notion of insanity which accommodates the Tory conception of their political rivals as potentially, if not essentially, harmful" (41). The Tories identified the Whigs as nonconformist subversives, whose fanaticism was a mental deviation that might and should be corrected.

Blanco-Vacas closes by explaining his editorial practice: he used the quartos of 1682 and 1685 as copy texts, modernized the spelling, punctuation, and other typographical features, and added footnotes about quarto variants, archaisms, colloquialisms, and historical and cultural issues. All in all, this is an excellent critical edition of *Mr. Turbulent*, an unduly disregarded comedy that offers a pungent taste of the Tory political satire produced during the Exclusion Crisis, and a harshly derisive critique of fanaticism that may appeal to present-day readers, as we are also living in times of extreme ideological polarization, dogmatic intolerance, and irrational negationism.

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Evelyn Gajowski, ed. 2021.
The Arden Research Handbook of Contemporary
Shakespeare Criticism.
London: Bloomsbury Publishing

Víctor Huertas Martín
Universitat de València, Spain

A handbook is a compilation of established knowledge on a given topic. *De iure*, none of the essays contained in a handbook need to provide new research output; *de facto*, we have expectations for a handbook on Shakespearean criticism (setting aside our professional need to be served with an impeccable state of the art).

Regarding state of the art, this volume passes the test with flying colors. But a challenge to be faced by a handbook's editor is to decide on the vantage point from which the abovementioned established knowledge should be organized. In "Introduction: Twenty-First Century Shakespeares" (1–18), Evelyn Gajowski alludes to a well-known nostalgia for the Shakespeare that, she suggests, resembles that teddy bear from our childhood—a memento from a fixed, stable and comfortable past. A number of studies have, of course, challenged the interest of this fixed, comfy, and foundational Shakespeare. Rather than reformulating this challenge to traditional perspectives (whether in private rooms or classrooms), the volume reminds us that, at least in academia, traditional approaches to Shakespeare were never meant to *be traditional*. Disciplines such as New Criticism, Formalism, and Character Analysis once constituted vigorous and fresh perspectives. Crucially, I find that the volume shows that, after all, these are still vigorous and fresh perspectives and that new ones would not have come to the academic arena if not preceded by them. The essays show that "Foundational studies," "Challenges to traditional liberal humanism," "Matters of difference," "Millennial directions," and "Twenty-First Century directions"—the sections into which the book is divided—are applicable, fertile, productive, and, importantly, mutually enriching.

One of the book's strengths is its structure: a stage-by-stage explanation of the succession of approaches to Shakespeare which

developed across the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Over consecutive chapters, the contributors cover theoretical tenets on Close Reading (Ken Cartwright), Genre (Michelle M. Dowd), Character Analysis (Michael Bristol), Marxism (Christian Smith), New Historicism (Hugh Grady), Cultural Materialism (Christopher Marlow), Feminism (Jessica McCall), Psychoanalysis (Carolyn E. Brown), Critical Race Studies (Arthur L. Little, Jr.), Postcolonialism (Ruben Espinosa), Queer Studies (Anthony Guy Patricia), Ecocriticism (Randall Martin), Computational Studies (Brett Greatley-Hirsch), Spiritual Studies (Peter Atkinson), Presentism (Miguel Ramalhete Gomes), Global Studies (Alexa Alice Joubin), Disability (Katherine Schaap Williams), Ecofeminism (Jennifer Munroe and Rebecca Laroche), Posthumanism (Karen Raber), and Cognitive Ethology (Craig Dionne).

As a rule, each contributor focuses on at least one Shakespearean work to test a theoretical point. As a large part of the Shakespearean canon is covered, specific critical approaches are offered as tools for each of the works selected—and, potentially, for other works too. For instance, Ramalhete Gomes' chapter, "Presentism," focuses on *Sir Thomas More* as received in the context of the refugee crisis and the Brexit referendum; the results of this work permit us to perceive this play as a failed attempt to raise empathy with masses of foreigners which likewise failed to gain the sympathy of the English population in 1517, a situation powerfully mirrored during Brexit. Atkinson's analysis of *Henry V* exposes the war-driven appropriations of spirituality in this problematic history play, thus offering insights on the religious and spiritual subtexts in Shakespeare; Bristol illustrates the manner in which Character Analysis invites self-reflexive response. Such a response may, as Bristol's essay shows, be emotionally intense, even risky, for readers moved by the tragic truths depicted in dramatic works such as *King Lear* or other arresting tragedies.

Despite the range of subfields covered, the volume is sufficiently coherent to insinuate, to my mind, an underpinning, intended or unintended, editorial policy: So-called traditional forms of criticism had already called a previous establishment into question; these forms were later challenged by anti-hierarchical approaches (Marxism, New Historicism, Cultural Materialism, Feminism, Psychoanalysis, etc.); these were sharpened thanks to the development of even more

politically daring views (Queer Theory, Postcolonialism, Critical Race Studies). More complex systems of enquiry into the unknown contained in Shakespearean texts waited outside the familiar—the global, the ecocritical, the posthuman—or inside the human brain and spirit—Cognitive Ethology, spiritual approaches, etc. Interdisciplinary angles which combine the psychological, the physiological, and the social—disability, ecofeminism, etc.—came to refine this complex but firm forward-looking agenda that characterizes the discipline. If this is so, the agenda of Shakespeare Studies could never tell ethics apart from aesthetics; politics were never divorced from literary appreciation, even though the means for that appreciation were (and are) diverse.

The volume is as such valuable as it brings to the fore the potentialities of traditional methods in contemporary criticism. For instance, the influence of Marxism in Shakespeare, reexamined by Smith, is used as a link to several other political approaches to the plays, including Feminism, Psychoanalysis, or Postcolonialism. Grady strengthens continuities between New Historicism and Cultural Materialism, two angles which used to be regarded as relatively opposed. Brown's psychoanalytical approach throws light on sadism and masochism, two features which explain the success of a feminine character like Rosalind in the hostile and male-chauvinist culture of *As You Like It*. Traditional and new approaches are, likewise, seen as complementary. Reliant on variables such as language, genre, and character analyses, Greatley-Hirsch proves that Computational Studies demystify prejudices about Shakespeare's language supremacy; meanwhile, he demonstrates that computational analyses contribute, through the use of software, to provide solid linguistic grounds to intuitions on the convergences between genres in the plays.

As it happens, the volume reminds us that critical approaches do not work in isolation. To the known forms of close reading—disruptive, ethical, immersive, etc.—, Cartwright adds "dramaturgical reading"—a search for subtexts in the plays' dialogue—as an intellectually compelling approach to read plays in the present, a time in which Shakespeare Studies, as contemporary critical editions show, are inseparable from a performance perspective. Dowd embeds Genre Analysis within the framework of Feminist Formalism to read *The Winter's Tale*; in this way, she teaches readers to comprehend the

structures and frames of genre while taking into account historical contingency—e.g. that of the Elizabethan period or of the current feminist wave. Similarly, McCall's feminist approach to Isabella in *Measure for Measure* is buttressed by a presentist lens which is informed by current social alarm about the treatment given to victims of sexual assault. Martin reads *Coriolanus* by combining Presentist and Ecocritical lenses that invite us to read in the play's water imagery the interconnections between Rome—as depicted by Shakespeare—and London's locality in Shakespeare's time. Poignantly, Dionne's chapter on Cognitive Ethology—with *Hamlet* as case study—creates interrelations between post-humanism and rhetoric by showing the power of certain literary devices—e.g. Hendiadys—to reach an effect that is facilitated by memory mechanisms such as repetition and imitation. These patterns of repetition and imitation may lead, thanks to the plasticity of the brain, to artistic or intellectual brilliance. In this way, Dionne strengthens continuities between skills which are traditionally associated with animals (imitation, repetition) and qualities associated with humans (intellectual capacity); *Hamlet* does not so much prefigure the human as the posthuman.

While reading the book, I felt that it pointed at several issues which affect current critical practice on Shakespeare. As Cartwright observes, reading literature closely has become a "counter-cultural activity" (21). How could a statement like that leave any literary scholar indifferent? The instrumentalization of the humanities, boldly pointed out by Cartwright, throws light on the precarious position of close reading; a precariousness produced by the slippery position of the departments which are expected to stand their ground in favor of that close reading. The book offers, I think, some strategic routes around this real-life intimidation which affects students and researchers. If, as proved by adaptation scholars, Shakespeare's texts were never pure, the essays show that Shakespearean subfields and subsubfields are not pure either. The volume reminds us that Shakespeare criticism is not just a matter of grabbing academic credentials and skills for monoculture, but also a matter of mutual care within a large international Shakespearean community. I would argue that the book shows that ethics, a feature inseparable from analyses, resurfaces in essays. Taking the example of *Richard III* as vantage point, Schaap Williams' chapter on disability explores concepts of fairness as constructed in Western culture in the light of a visual economy

of beauty which sets normative standards; standards against which non-normative characters are, of course, forced to resist. A mirror of democratically advanced and inclusive societies, ethical approaches to study Shakespeare emerge as a middle ground between orthodox critical practices and the narrowness of subsubfields in academia's era of Safety First. To my mind, this symbiosis between ethics and methodology may have directly or indirectly facilitated Joubin's chapter on "Global Studies," which offers a set of tools (censorship and redaction, genre, gender, race, and politics of reception) to systematically address Global Shakespeares. This set would not have been produced, in my view, without an ethical lens. If progressive politics have learned anything in the last two decades, it is that dismissing traditional schools of thought and failing to integrate new ones is impoverishing and counter-productive; if Shakespeare Studies have learned anything from this—and this, I think, is what one learns from this volume—, it is that our understanding of the plays and the poems is richer, more profound—and yes, also academically fitter—if methodologies, old and new, are combined.

Author's contact: victor.huertas@uv.es

Postal address: Departament de Filologia Anglesa i Alemanya, Facultat de Filologia, Traducció i Comunicació, Universitat de València. Avinguda Blasco Ibáñez, 32, 46010, Valencia, Spain.

Gábor Gelléri and Rachel Willie, eds. 2020.
Travel and Conflict in the Early Modern World.
London: Routledge

Liam Benison
Universidade do Porto, Portugal

Travel writing has a long history that can be traced at least to ancient Egypt. Perhaps the earliest surviving travel account (eleventh century BCE) tells the misfortunes of a pilgrim who fails at trade and diplomacy in Phoenicia, suffers robbery and imprisonment, and is almost murdered. "The Report of Wenamun" illustrates Gábor Gelléri and Rachel Willie's straightforward contention that "conflict lies at the heart of the idea and practice of travel" (1). The joint editors and co-authors of this absorbing new volume of essays explore this claim in the introduction and twelve critical essays by examining a rich and diverse range of early modern sources, including travel accounts, journals, advice for travel, drama, utopias, and visual art. The contributions' geographical scope embraces China, Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and the Americas, as well as Europe (Africa appears courtesy of the brief opening reference to Wenamun). This volume offers a compelling discussion of the many ways in which conflict impinges on travel in early modern European literature, language, art, culture, faith, diplomacy, and cross-cultural encounters.

The volume addresses the textual record of travel, as well as its physical experience, for example, by conquerors such as Christopher Columbus; by the naïve English gentleman Thomas Sackville, despatched to the continent for a fatal education in French; by foreign diplomats and Jesuit missionaries; and by those seeking saintly intercession to safely cross the Alps on the *Viamala* ("bad way"). The reception of travel writing is also a strong theme in a number of essays, including the conflicts and contradictions aroused by the suspicion that travel accounts are inherently unreliable, if not deliberately deceitful. The stage performance of travel is explored in several plays including Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Thomas Drue's intriguing *The Duchess of Suffolk*, and Aphra Behn's little studied *The Emperor of the Moon*. The conception and imagination of travel is examined through the genre

of travelers' instructions known as the *ars apodemica,* and in utopian literature from Thomas More to Daniel Defoe. The twelve studies are well organized thematically with three essays on each of four topics: "language, translation, and assimilation"; "travel, religion, and the violence of the road"; "war, diplomacy, and dissimulation"; and "the art of travel and imaginary journeys." Women writers are well represented, including the more familiar Margaret Cavendish and Madame de Genlis, and lesser known figures such as Judit Vér from Transylvania, who composed travel advice for her son. A discussion thread considers how women challenged restrictions on their free movement and faced the risks of travel abroad.

The editors set out to meditate as much on the notion of conflict as on the concept of travel. Taking their cue from Morton Deutsch, who highlighted the necessity of conflict in human society and its role in defining identities and resolving social problems, they challenge the perception of conflict as necessarily negative. The authors consider conflict as a motivator for travel, as a consequence of travel, and as imbricated in textual, artistic, and performative responses to travel. Besides the many travails of travel, the essays show convincingly how conflict on the road and in cross-cultural encounters can improve understandings of cultural differences, as in Matteo Ricci's arduous but revealing linguistic and diplomatic efforts in China; and how reports of travel frequently model an ethics of self in relation to the world through the voyager's conduct, however (un)reliably.

In Part 1, Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud shows how Columbus's and Jacques Cartier's misguided ideas about the similarity of languages led to conflicts with Indigenous peoples in the Americas. Céline Bonotte-Hoover explores the many cultural conflicts and differences that impeded the learning of Chinese during Ricci's Jesuit mission to China, and Natalya Din-Kariuki explains how Sir Thomas Smythe uses the rhetorical figure of *peripeteia* to promote his prudence in dealing with accidents and misfortune during his embassy to Russia in 1604. In Part 2, Eva Johanna Holmberg also finds Henry Blount "self-fashioning" in his stereotypical representations of Ottoman religious customs in *A Voyage into the Levant*. Joanne Anderson brings the *Viamala* to life through her investigation of how wayside religious art in churches, town gates, and fortified places offered protection from the dangers of travel. Robert Clines explores the ambivalent

attitudes to Lebanese Maronite Catholics in the travelogues of Jesuits who sought to restore the universal Church. In Part 3, David Nicol reads Thomas Drue's *The Duchess of Suffolk* (1624) as a journeying play, which valorizes restraint, intercultural communication, and avoidance of violent conflict by provoking sympathy for the devout Protestant duchess, persecuted by Catholics. Paul Dover examines how improvements in travel on the Italian Peninsula during the fifteenth century enabled ambassadors to become resident and establish correspondence networks. William Rossiter shows how Pietro Aretino's "armies of inkpots" advanced his reputation across Europe as he inserted himself in accounts of war and travel. The final section opens with Gelléri's fascinating study of women's contributions to the genre of *ars apodemica*. He finds that women writers succeeded in gendering the conception of mobility and in bringing to light the conflicts inherent in travel for women. Arguing that utopia is conflictual because the ideal is necessarily "discordant with 'reality'," Daniel Carey explores how travel narrative enables the reimagining of utopianism through the rhetoric of irony, and ends on the pessimistic note that "ironized" utopias show the "incapacity of human beings to realize alternative [worlds]." Finally, in a revealing discussion of Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687), Rachel Willie demonstrates how the planets, once a model of a harmonious universe, became a space of travel and conflict over knowledge, as the science of a geocentric universe gradually spread.

These thoroughly researched and engaging essays not only highlight the editors' contention that conflict lies at the heart of travel, they demonstrate myriad ways in which conflict and travel intersect. Until now, this topic has largely evaded sustained scrutiny. Although the role of conflict in early modern travel is often recognized or implied, as in discussions of the semantic and morphological split between "travail" and "travel" (Vitkus 2016, 229), the present volume is unique in its focused analysis. Its value is in setting the concepts of travel and conflict, and their intersection, in a theoretical framework and opening a rich variety of themes for analysis, encompassing gender, the intellectual discourse on travel, writing and reception, visual art, as well as travel experience in diplomacy, war, and other aspects. New interpretations likely to make a significant contribution to the field include Gelléri's findings on women writers' contribution to the *ars apodemica* and Willie's discussion of the connections and

disjunctions between private reading and public performance in Behn's play. Given the vast corpus of travel writing and the vaster quantity of scholarship about it, the authors' selection of material is commendable for bringing new light to well-known and lesser known sources in an original and highly engaging way. The book's twelve illustrations add delight; those in Anderson's essay are particularly helpful to the discussion, as well as evocative of the early modern experience of traversing the *Viamala*.

An unfortunate slip is the Eurocentric observation in the introduction that "[n]umerous new cultures were encountered for the first time by Europeans" (2) — non-European cultures were "new" only to European knowledge. The primary sources are predominantly European and focused on Eurasia and America, so that those with a specialist interest in early modern travel in Africa, India, Southeast Asia, Australia, or the Pacific might be disappointed by the absence of these regions. A more precise title might have been "travel and conflict in early modern European perspective." This highlights the challenge of achieving comprehensiveness when claiming to address "world" travel. However, the restricted origin of the sources reflects the contributors' expertise, and the need to be highly selective while ensuring focus for the book as a whole; and the volume more than makes up for a lack of world breadth with a depth of critical analysis of the varied sources concerning travel elsewhere. My beady eye noticed one typo on page 233 (a missing "of"), which speaks to good editing.

This volume will interest and delight scholars of early modern European culture and literature, as well as specialists in travel, whether advanced or early career scholars. It offers original and engaging discussions of many of the core themes and questions pertinent to early modern travel literature, and highlights the role of conflict in travel in unique and revealing ways.

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Andrew James Hartley and Peter Holland, eds. 2021.
Shakespeare and Geek Culture.
London: Bloomsbury Publishing

Larisa Kocic-Zámbó
University of Szeged, Hungary

With notable exceptions, Arden's *Shakespeare and Geek Culture* edited by Andrew Hartley and Peter Holland reads as yet another volume on Shakespeare appropriations in popular culture, albeit, in Holland words, "concerned with aspects of popular culture with which much Shakespeare criticism, the main stream, has not yet concerned itself" (303). Perhaps for this reason, Hartley and Holland's introduction grapples with the definition of the geek noting their emergence from the fringes into the mainstream of entertainment culture as a figure who is no longer seen as (merely) the socially awkward, introverted nerd type, preoccupied and even obsessed with unpopular topics. This emergence of the geek and their culture as "cool" is painted in decidedly neoliberal terms, as the better part of the introduction canvases the relevance of the topic while focusing on the rising economic, and consequently social and cultural, capital of all things geeky (primarily in terms of blockbuster adaptations of Tolkien's and Rowling's fantasies, and the massive conquest of the Marvel cinematic universe and their franchises). What is missing from the introduction and the volume itself (again with notable exceptions) is the awareness of established scholarship devoted to the study of fan practices, including that of geeks. Instead, there is an aca-fan[1] attempt to posit Shakespeare scholars as geeks themselves based on "that geek/nerd quality of obsessive devotion to an unfashionable pursuit, shared fully only with like-minded obsessives" (3)—a claim highly inconsistent with the repeated assertions of Shakespeare's cultural capital, especially in academia,[2] and the argument about geek culture

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[1] Simply put, an aca-fan is someone who proclaims themselves both a fan and an academic. For the origin of the term, dubiously credited to Henry Jenkins, and its significance, see Jenkins (2011).

[2] A conviction perhaps in need of revision, seeing how the critically acclaimed Netflix short series *The Chair* (2021) with its spot-on depiction of academia (humanities in general and English department in particular) does not have a single reference to a Shakespeare scholar (Melville, Gender and Postcolonial Studies, as well as Chaucer, take precedence).

no longer belonging to the fringes but actually being fashionable and popular. As such, most contributions are not so much concerned with the workings of geek culture itself but with what the authors see as being of interest to geeks and, at the same time, somehow related to Shakespeare (primarily as Foucauldian authorial function).

Another feature of the collection's tentative exploration of an unknown frontier is the abundance of chapters, eighteen in total, in a book 317 pages long (including the index).[3] The book is structured into four parts "mapping the interplay between Shakespeare and geek culture in its disparate forms" (9), thematically divided into: (1) Geek Culture and Fiction, (2) Geek Culture and the Shakespeare Sandbox, (3) Pastimes, Gaming and Shakespeare, and (4) Film, Theatre and Geek Culture. In most of the cases, the forementioned interplay is fairly limited, as the chapters concentrate on how Shakespeare as a character or his evoked characters/words/influence appear and/or are appropriated in texts and media with established geek credentials, such as fantasy, sci-fi, comics, and games.

To be fair, there is some merit in showcasing aspects of popular culture hitherto neglected by Shakespeare scholars (e.g., boy scouts' culture, board and/or video games), although doing so neglecting the particular medium (e.g., comics in the case of Neil Gaiman's *Sandman*) is perhaps more incredulous than writing about a particular stage play of Shakespeare's and not paying attention to the play's performance (the casting for example). Holland's last chapter recounting his own geek practice is especially revealing of the limits of what these explorations can accomplish in drawing a general audience into a more nuanced appreciation of Shakespeare. Namely, Holland readily admits his own geekish involvement in creating a T. S. Eliot concordance being without "real interest in researching Eliot's poems and plays"; the project itself is the geekish enterprise and "an end in itself" (296). The play's the thing or to be more exact, the playing and not the play/text itself.

This playful aspect of geekdom is oft evoked in chapters dealing with published popular cultural text to postulate their author is

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[3] In comparison with Arden's *Shakespeare and Gender: Sex and Sexuality in Shakespeare's Drama* (2020) edited by Kate Aughterson and Ailsa Grant Ferguson, with its fairly similar scope of 288 pages comprising nine chapters.

a geek and therefore their work is the production of geek culture (e.g., Terry Pratchett, Neil Gaiman, Conor McCreery, and Anthony Del Col). However, the authors of these chapters, with the exception of Johnathan H. Pope, fail to acknowledge that the status of the discussed works "as paid work" effectively "removes them from the realm of fan fiction" and fan production as amateur activity, done out of love, as opposed to professional activity, done for filthy lucre. This alignment of playful/transformative engagement with geek culture has another problematic aspect as recent scholarship on fandom studies has drawn attention to the gendered bias shaping the corporate perception of fandom: male fans, styled as geeks, are predominantly seen as affirmative of convergence culture and, therefore, aligning with the official readings of (popular) cultural texts and not engaged in transformative practices attributed predominantly to female fans who are seen as resisting incorporation with their irreverent appropriations of source texts in meaning-making fan practices like fan fiction writing. Male fans themselves perceive female fans' activities as encroachment on their geek territory and practice, the later exemplified with acquisition and accumulation of data/artifacts and not play per se.[4] It is mostly the girls who just wanna have fun.[5]

Notwithstanding the aforementioned shortcomings, the volume is a great contribution to Shakespeare scholarship, especially those chapters which present informative, inspiring, and transformative ways fandom culture could be of use to Shakespeare studies. Of these I would like to draw attention to three in particular.

It is perhaps not surprising that one of the best chapters in the volume is penned by Valerie M. Fazel and Louise Geddes, both having an established history of Shakespeare and fandom related publications. In "'There Lies the Substance': *Richard II* and the Adorkable Paratext" (chapter 9), the authors build on Gerárd Genette's suggestion to "look past a definition of paratext as primarily producer-generated ancillary material" (157) and propose the reading of fan practices of meaning-making as paratextual engagement explaining the recent popularity

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[4] Holland himself offers a good example of this gendered stereotype of male fan collecting without using/playing (297).

[5] For more on this see Suzan Scott's excellent monograph *Fake Geek Girls: Fandom, Gender, and the Convergence Culture Industry* (2019), especially chapter 1.

of *Richard II* and the interpretative shift its titular character undergoes (while also highlighting its problematic aspects).

James D. Mardock's very succinct "Worst. Lear. Ever. Early Modern Drama and Geek Hermeneutics" (chapter 17) suggests the investigation of a contemporary "geek-curation dynamic with regard to early modern English drama" (288) in light of which he offers thoughtful and witty reinterpretations of Shakespeare's reception history (*King Lear* and *Troilus and Cressida*).

Jennifer Flaherty's "Whedonesque Shakespeare and Hyperdiegetic Casting" (chapter 16) is somewhat similar to Geddes and Fazel's chapter, as she too showcases fans' "geeky knowledge of the casting history of the Whedonverse" (271) informing their interpretation of Shakespeare characters in Whedon's adaptations, although I would argue that this is not necessarily something Joss Whedon consciously utilizes by way of hyperdiegetic casting (i.e., the intertextuality of casting).

In all three chapters highlighted, the most prominent feature of fandom is its participation in meaning-making, not merely on an individual level (as a solitary reader of a book) but on a communal, collective level of fan/audience engagement.

Finally, let me add two honorable mentions, for the following chapters stick out in a different, yet decidedly geeky way.

Andrew Tumminia's "Not Now: The Present in Shakespeare's Past and Ooo's Future" (chapter 5) explores "the opposite ways in which Shakespeare and science fiction tend to displace the problems of the present" (82), the science fiction in this case study being the animated series *Adventure Time*. The unlikely juxtaposition is surprisingly inspiring, though done primarily out of playfulness and not necessary argument and as such a sure sign of geekiness.

Last but not least, Matt Kozusko's "On Eating Paper and Drinking Ink" (chapter 10) strictly speaking is not concerned with the interplay of Shakespeare and geek culture as it is a poignant exposition of the perception of humanities within our contemporary society as odious for engaging in things requiring *otium*. However, as the "leisure and idleness of *otium* are requisite conditions for geeks" (171) Kozusko draws a parallel between humanities scholars and geeks not in their

obsessive pursuits but in how they are perceived by society at large. In his words:

> The humanities and the obsessive, particular pursuit of geeks and nerds become, in this context, examples of each other. This is nowhere more evident than in the enduring perception that academics, and especially humanities professors, are idle, and that their pursuits and obsessions are frivolous and effete, wasteful and impractical. (171)

Resisting this perception, Kazusko's sets up a reading of Holofernes and his exit line in *Love's Labor's Lost* as a subtle validation and preservation of "the value of academic whimsy" (181).

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Author's contact: larisa@ieas-szeged.hu

Postal address: Institute of English and American Studies, English Department. Egyetem u. 2, Szeged, 6722, Hungary.

Victoria M. Muñoz. 2021. *Spanish Romance in the Battle for Global Supremacy: Tudor and Stuart Black Legends*. London: Anthem Press

Leticia Álvarez Recio
Universidad de Sevilla, Spain

Despite the extraordinary circulation of Iberian chivalric books in Europe over the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, both in their original language and in translation, they had traditionally been considered second-rank literature by a Quixote-centered English scholarship that had naturally assumed as theirs many of the attacks by Renaissance humanists on the genre. The Spanish origin of many of these texts, as Muñoz pointedly remarks, likely contributed to increase those same prejudices. For those reasons, her work is pertinent and useful. As the title suggests, this book's primary concern is the influence of Spanish chivalric literature on the discourse of the time that supported English colonial expansion at the expense of Spanish supremacy. Following in the footsteps of Barbara Fuchs (2013), Muñoz argues that many of the English writers she studies resorted to strategies such as occlusion, appropriation, or simply erasure to legitimize an imperial project that might rival Spain's (4). Muñoz reveals the Spanish traits in those English texts that aspired to build up an imperial national identity using literary works produced in enemy territory for completely different reasons. In doing so, she also explores the links between those procedures and the rising Black Legend against Spain generated in early modern England.

The book consists of six chapters, preceded by an introduction and followed by an epilogue, which are not arranged in chronological order. The author however examines major topics in the texts under study, paying attention to their possible contribution to the framing of the imperial myth. Though many of those texts are romances, she also studies plays, travel accounts, and chronicles to identify the writers' response to and use of the original Spanish colonial accounts—and imperial fantasies.

The first chapter opens with a reflection on Ramon Lull's *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, translated and published by William Caxton

in 1484 and 1485. Muñoz examines the reasons behind Caxton's appropriation of the ethos of the Spanish Crusades just when England brought civil war to an end and a new dynasty rose. She does not however explain why there were no further publications of any Iberian chivalric works until 1572, when Paynell's translation of the *Treasure of Amadis* was first printed.[1] Muñoz comments on the didactic influence of that work on contemporary men of "arms and letters" such as Philip Sidney. She also dwells on the use that courtiers such as the Earl of Essex or George Clifford made of the Amadis pattern to project a self-image of military and courteous worth in their confrontation with Spain. Nonetheless, that process of cultural appropriation was not always easy, as Muñoz makes clear in her study of Margaret Tyler's *The Mirror of Knighthood*. The Sun and Apollo myths were employed in the original to reinforce the image of the Spanish monarch's imperial rule. A few years later Elizabeth I would herself make use of the figure of Claridiana (in love with the Knight of the Sun) for her own royal iconography. The association of both characters with Apollo (the Sun god) and Diana (the Moon goddess) in the original romance makes it even more disturbing in the case of the English translation. Muñoz examines Tyler's strategies to deal with those contradictions, which were no doubt later reconciled, since the *Mirror* series became extraordinarily popular in England, even more so than in Spain.

The author devotes chapter two to the impact of Iberian romances and chronicles on seventeenth-century English drama. The mythical description of Insula Firme in *Amadís* helped Spanish historians explain the amazing nature of Tenochtitlán, so they could compare the sacred mission of the Crusades and the European conquest of America. English playwrights such as Shakespeare (in *The Tempest*), Davenant (in *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*), and Dryden (in *The Indian Emperor*) espouse similar naïve, idyllic views of pre-Columbian Mesoamerica while they insist on the need for the English to attack the allegedly cruel and corrupt Spanish empire.

Chapters three and four largely discuss the mythical topic of an alleged virtuous English imperial rule by focusing on Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, here studied in relation to Spanish romances like Jorge

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[1] See Sánchez-Martí (2021).

de Montemayor's *Diana* and the aforementioned *Amadis* and *The Mirror of Knighthood*. Spenser transforms Spanish romance heroines like Oriana and Claridiana into Gloriana, Belphoebe, and Britomart, who allegorically stand for Elizabeth I. In doing so, he is emulating a traditional practice in English poets such as Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had urged England to depart from Spain's execrable type of conquest and undertake a proper, ethical enterprise, such as a conquest led by the English. However, as Muñoz remarks, such an idealized ethos did not apply to the English campaigns in Ireland, justified by Spenser as fair actions "against Catholic aggressors" (82). By associating the character Redcrosse with English Saint George, Spenser seems to remark on the divine nature of the English empire as laid out in *The Fairie Queene*.

In this, he may have been influenced by John Harington's 1591 translation of *Orlando Furioso*, in which Charles V was represented by the sign of the holy cross, stressing his divinely ordained mission to conquer America. Ariosto's character probably did prompt the features of his main hero in book one, a character presented as an adventurer—Drake, Raleigh, Cavendish—ready to found a new England overseas. Muñoz argues that Spenser's very English Saint George was commonly accepted by early modern English historians and poets who traced the discovery of America back to the twelfth-century Welsh prince Madoc, thus appropriating the search for the classic "Ultimate Thule" that Columbus had previously interpreted as symbolizing Spain's global aspirations (129).

Chapter five explores the relationship between the actual and the fabulous in contemporary geography works and travel accounts that draw on Spanish chivalric discourse. Muñoz focuses on the Amazonians, characters that feature first in Montalvo's *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (1510; English, 1598). Rumors about the existence of Amazons permeated Spanish and English chronicles, mostly representing the "fantasy of martial and marital conquest of pagan women" (136). Nevertheless, Elizabeth I's representation as the peaceful empress who would never submit the Amazons (America) by force was also common in contemporary royal portraits, poems, and travel narratives, as Muñoz amply demonstrates here. The duality of Titania (the Faerie Queen) and Oberon (Phoebus) in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* is considered too. The practice of relating

fantasy to the real world continued over the years. So much so that cosmographers like Peter Heylyn kept on naming fabulous lands from romances that could be found in remote parts of the world like Australia. Though Heylyn openly disregarded Spanish chivalric books as false, he did not hesitate to offer erroneous information on the actual location of Baja California—whose true peninsular nature had largely been proved by European explorers during the 1500s—, presenting it as an island, following the Spanish romance's tradition. Muñoz underlines Heylyn's association of this alleged island with Nova Albion, discovered by Drake in his circumnavigation in 1577–1580, whereby he asserted English claims to North America and the Pacific.

In the last chapter the author shows that the combination of misogyny and hispanophobia resulted in a progressive feminization of Spanish romance all through the seventeenth century. Romance reading was then gendered as feminine, and new romance English writers such as Mary Wroth or Margaret Cavendish, by focusing primarily on love, only confirmed what moralists had long feared, that is to say, the emasculation of the genre, interpreted "as a kind of Spanish invasion of England" (188). The author dates anti-Spanish and anti-chivalric feelings back to the early humanists, who regarded the Spanish books of chivalry as a clear threat to the Italo-centric basis of early modern European culture. She studies closely the arguments against the genre by Erasmus, Vives, De la Noue, Meres, and Jonson, among others, whom she partly blames for the increasing dismissal of Spanish romance as foreign and feminine. The impact of Cervantes's *Quixote* on Restoration England did ultimately turn the Spanish books of chivalry into a matter of satire and ridicule, necessary for English romance (or English prose fiction, in general) to establish its own generic identity.

Muñoz's essay offers a revealing multidisciplinary view of England's self-definition in and through romance literature. Her work contributes to render visible the intricate procedures through which the traits of Spanish chivalric culture were reinterpreted or simply erased in early modern England so as to symbolically replace Spain in the battle for global supremacy. However, if, as she comments, the rejection of *Amadis* (or Spain) was an essential step in that process of self-definition, it is the role of scholars to bring that Spanish heritage back to the surface for examination. Muñoz has done so remarkably well.

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Author's contact: leticiaar@us.es

Postal address: Departamento de Literatura Inglesa y Norteamericana, Facultad de Filología, Universidad de Sevilla. Palos de la Frontera, s/n, 41004, Seville, Spain.

Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson, David Scott Kastan, and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds. 2020. *The Arden Shakespeare Third Series Complete Works.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing

Jesús Tronch
Universitat de València, Spain

The book under review is not the first Arden Shakespeare "complete works" (similar volumes had been issued since 2001 with texts from the Second Series, which were being replaced as new Third Series editions came out), but it is certainly the first to bring together all the texts prepared by the Third Series editors, under the magisterial guidance of Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson, David Scott Kastan, and H. R. Woudhuysen. Since it is a compilation of previously published texts, the present review will focus on the book as a single-volume "complete works" publication (specifically in its paperback format), comparing it to editions available on the market such as *The Oxford Shakespeare* (Wells et al. 1986; 2005, 2nd edition), *Riverside Shakespeare* (Evans 1997, 2nd edition), *Norton Shakespeare* (Greenblatt 1997), *Complete Pelican Shakespeare* (Orgel and Braunmuller 2002), The RSC Shakespeare *Complete Works* (Bate and Rasmussen 2007), Bevington's *Complete Works of Shakespeare* (2014, 7th edition), and the recent *Norton Shakespeare Third Edition* (Greenblatt 2016), and *New Oxford Shakespeare: Modern Critical Edition* (Taylor et al. 2016).

This Arden *Complete Works* does not simply reproduce the text in the individual editions of the series: it incorporates corrections and revisions "since their first publication […] in their most recent form" (vi). This reviewer has checked that this claim is true in a few plays in which meticulous reviews (such as those by Eric Rasmussen for *Shakespeare Survey*) had noticed errors. In addition, this reviewer has compared two pages (chosen at random) from each play and group of poems and has seen two minor differences in punctuation in two plays (apart from the understandable renumbering of lines in prose scenes),[1] but systematic and more serious discrepancies in the use of

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[1] In one of them, in *Henry IV Part Two*, "general," with a comma (4.1.27) is printed

square brackets and parentheses in stage directions and act and scene headings: square brackets within and surrounding stage directions in the individual editions are frequently omitted; a few are added (e.g. "*They stab Caesar*" in Daniell's individual *Julius Caesar,* 3.1.76, is printed "[*They stab Caesar*]", thus wrongly suggesting an editorial addition when the stage direction is present in the 1623 folio [TLN 1287]); sometimes stage directions enclosed by parentheses are printed within square brackets instead; and square brackets framing act and scene headings in the right margin of the text are omitted throughout, except in *Sir Thomas More*.[2] The typographical devices (superscript letters, braces, curly brackets, sans serif font, marginal lines, and underlining) to signal textual variance are generally replicated, except in two plays. In *Titus Andronicus*, the *Complete Works* deploys superscripts Fs instead of sans serif font to mark up the added line 1.1.404 and the interpolated second scene of act 3. *Henry IV Part Two* does not print superscript Fs to frame "all alternative readings of single words or phrases adopted from F" in Bulman's quarto-based edition (2016, 147), and of the eight extended Folio-only passages Bulman discusses in Appendix I of his individual edition (2016, 448) only six are enclosed by superscript Fs,[3] while the Introduction to the play announces that "seven" passages are marked with superscript Fs (511).

As a print artefact, its design is functional and attractive; its height, width, and thickness are in line with *Oxford* and *Pelican*; it weighs just under two kilos (also like RSC); its paper is thick enough to eschew the risks of "bible" paper (used in the two *Norton* editions and *New Oxford*); and, at 1,504 pages, it ranks second after *Oxford* as the most paper-saving editions, a distant cry from the Falstaffian volumes of *Norton* (3,456 pages), *New Oxford* (3,381 pages), and the *Norton Third Edition* (3,536 pages). These slim dimensions have been achieved by printing the text in two columns per page throughout (except in the final glossary), and by having the smallest typeface of

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"general:" with a colon in the *Complete Works* (531), a change that James Bulman, editor of the individual edition, does not acknowledge as his correction (private communication).

[2] Square brackets are preserved in the parallel act/scene divisions printed in the left margin in *Edward III*, *Hamlet* (the First Quarto and First Folio versions), *King Lear*, and *Titus Andronicus*.

[3] The two passages without superscript Fs are 1.3.21–24 and 4.1.103–179.

the mentioned "rival" editions—compromising readability. All in all, it is a manageable and approachable book, among the most portable of the collected Shakespeares.

An unusual feature is the fact that the plays are printed in alphabetical order, in contrast to the chronological sequence in the *Oxford, New Oxford,* and the two *Norton* editions, and the arrangement by genre in *Riverside*, Bevington, and RSC. This system is an advantage for those consulting references in several works. The non-dramatic poetry precedes the plays, grouped like in the two corresponding individual editions, but from *Shakespeare's Poems*, only *Venus and Adonis, Rape of Lucrece, The Passionate Pilgrim*, and "The Phoenix and the Turtle" are included, leaving out seventeen short poems attributed to Shakespeare.

The plays included correspond to the individual editions, so that the volume offers the three *Hamlet*s and full texts (and not only the Shakespearean fragments) of *Edward III, Sir Thomas More*, and Theobald's *Double Falsehood* as outstanding additions to the family, while it leaves the 1602 additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* (added in the recent *Norton Third Edition* and *New Oxford*), and the partly Shakespearean *Arden of Faversham* (incorporated in full into *New Oxford*) out of the "canon."[4] Thus, at least in number, the book can boast offering more attributable plays than its rivals.

While the Arden Third Series contributed to expand the Shakespeare canon, their covers did not promote the idea of Shakespeare as a collaborative dramatist, and this apathy about co-authorship is reflected in this volume of *Complete Works*: no other playwright is named in the table of contents or in the titles to the introductions to each play; in the general Introduction readers only learn of three plays "written in collaboration" (*Henry VIII, Two Noble Kinsmen,* and the lost *Cardenio*), and that Shakespeare "seems also to have revised *Sir Thomas More*" (6); and only if readers peruse each play's introduction will they realize that *Timon of Athens, Pericles, Edward III, Titus Andronicus,* and *Henry VI Part One* are collaborative.

As for the critical scholarship that this edition provides (leaving aside the criticism implied in the edited texts), readers may feel

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[4] This play, *Arden of Faversham*, has been published in 2022 in the Arden Early Modern Drama series, edited by Catherine Richardson.

disappointed if they associate Arden Shakespeare with extensive and richly informative introductions and learned and illuminating commentary notes at the foot of the page: in total it amounts to a sixteen-page general Introduction, a brief single-page introduction for each play, a bibliography, and a final glossary (there is no index). The Introduction is organized into six sections. "Why Shakespeare?" explains the cultural meanings of "Shakespeare" and implicitly reveals the continuing need to justify a new edition of Shakespeare. The conventional biographical chapter follows, and then sections on the theatrical and print industry contexts. "Shakespeare's Reading and Reading Shakespeare" focuses on sources and the problems readers may encounter with Shakespeare's language. Finally, "Afterlife" deals with how his works have been received in publication, performance, criticism, and as adapted and recreated. Overall it is instructive enough for the marketing concept behind the book: a lengthier introduction, like the one in *Riverside*, the two *Norton* editions or the *New Oxford* would have entailed a heavier book.

The single-page introductions preceding each play, the sonnets, and the other poems, brief readers on publication facts, probable date of composition, and sources; provide a concise critical appraisal and an account of the play's afterlife; and succinctly state the early text on which the edition is based. They are more informative than those in the 1986 and 2005 *Oxford*s, but less extensive than the essay-like introductions in *Riverside* and the *Norton* editions and less "personal" than Jonathan Bate's introductions for RSC, and Bevington's.

The glossary, with approximately 2,300 entries, is more profuse than the popular *Alexander Text* or the "select glossary" in *Oxford* (1986; 2005), but many phrases and lines that are best clarified through paraphrase will still be difficult if readers have to rely on the final glossary alone. The glosses contain very few phrases (e.g. "to dine with Duke Humphrey" = to go without dinner), and also cover mythological, biblical, and literary figures, placenames, cultural references (Lent, "Edward shovel-board" = a shilling from the reign of Edward VI), and words and phrases in languages other than English. Without engaging in the debate over the advantages and drawbacks of notes/commentaries as footnotes instead of in a glossary at the end (in Arden well placed at the very end of the book where it is easily found), the fact is that a "complete works" edition of Shakespeare

aiming at the student readership and not printing same-page notes is unusual: this is only the case in *Oxford*. One wonders if Arden/Bloomsbury sought to fill up the market niche left by the early *Oxford* editions, and bet the commercial success of their *Complete Works* on the prestige of the textual scholarship inherited from the Third Series, for which the back cover of the volume here reviewed proclaims to mark its completion with an apt quotation from *Troilus and Cressida*: "The end crowns all."

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David Ruiter, ed. 2022. *The Arden Research Handbook of Shakespeare and Social Justice.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing

Remedios Perni
Universidad de Alicante, Spain

The Arden Research Handbook of Shakespeare and Social Justice, edited by David Ruiter, is a valuable and necessary introduction to a variety of ongoing convergences between Shakespeare studies and the discussion and practices of social justice. It is a fascinating and groundbreaking collection of interviews and essays by noted scholars, writers and practitioners of the arts that explores the significance of Shakespeare's *oeuvre* in the contexts of specific social issues. Two basic questions are posed in the Introduction to the book. The first one is "what can Shakespeare (considered in its multiplicity: in pedagogy, performance, scholarship, etc.) say or do that could truly impact social justice in its contextual specificity, either in his time, ours, the time in between or the time to come?" The second one is: "How could the plays and poetry be used—by teachers, actors, directors, scholars, etc.—to support social justice?" (Ruiter 2022, 2).

The handbook offers many answers and is neatly structured into four parts: "The Shakespeare and Social Justice Interviews," "The Practice of Shakespeare and Social Justice," "The Performance of Shakespeare and Social Justice," and "The Economies of Shakespeare and Social Justice." Perhaps one of the book's greatest virtues is the polyhedral perspective of the contributors, as most of them have supported—and support—social justice through double involvement in political projects: In academia and beyond the academic wall. In the first part, Erin Coulehan provides a brief introduction to the conversations between David Ruiter and Chris Anthony—Director of the Will Power to Youth program in L.A—, Erica Whyman—Deputy Artistic Director of the Royal Shakespeare Company known for her radically inclusive (and controversial) castings—, Arthur L. Little Jr—leading critical race scholar—, Ewan Fernie—who here discusses the role of cities in relation to Shakespearean humanism—, and the anti-racist feminist scholar Farah Karim-Cooper, from Shakespeare's

Globe. As highlighted by Coulehan, the interviewees share the idea that social hierarchies are being (and should be) deconstructed at present and that Shakespeare provides the ideal field of play to accomplish such a task.

The second section of the book entitled "The Practice of Shakespeare and Social Justice" encompasses six chapters, four of which are focused on antiracism, one of them on the question of disability, and the last one on women in academia. Interestingly, in their essay "Active Shakespeare: A social justice framework" Ayanna Thompson and Laura Turchi state that, in the classroom context, "placing Shakespeare within a social justice framework is necessary in the twenty-first century to keep Shakespeare alive" (47). In consequence, they advocate in particular for an "active approach to Shakespeare" that promotes the value of diversity among students in terms of race. The following chapter, "Bending toward justice: From Shakespeare's Black Mediterranean to August Wilson's Black Atlantic" by Peter Erickson, is in line with the reflections of Thompson and Turchi. Erickson discusses Shakespeare's *Othello* in relation to August Wilson's *Herald Loomis* to promote a multicultural, transcultural, and expanded conceptual framework for students and scholars who want to engage in anti-racist reflection and activism. Accordingly, in "Black Hamlet, social justice and the minds of apartheid," Arthur L. Little Jr discusses the work of Wulf Sachs and issues of race. In the following chapter, "Shakespeare and civil rights: Rhetorical universalism," Jason Demeter expands the discussion on race and identity to larger social movements, specifically to the civil rights movement. According to Demeter, Shakespeare's

> ultimate value lies not in his perpetuation of a universalist fantasy in which all humans are essentially the same, but rather in the diversity of interpretations and meanings to which his work, in all of its glorious ambiguity, provides us access. (105)

In the same vein, but turning to disability activism and discussing the historical differences in the meaning of that concept, Adelle Hulsmeier, in "Shakespeare's Disabled, Disabled Shakespeare," explores the figures of Richard (*Richard III*) and Gloucester (*Henry VI Parts II and III*). The final chapter of this section is also extremely interesting. In "Social justice in the academy: Reflecting on Shakespeare's royal women," Christie Carson talks about her own teaching experience at

Royal Holloway, where she was "able to create a space for an open discussion of the fundamental principles of social justice" (123). The analysis of Shakespeare's female characters helped her create that space where a better future for women is envisaged.

The chapters gathered within the third section, "The performance of Shakespeare and social justice," are also very illuminating. Of particular interest is the first chapter of this section, "William Shakespeare's Enrique IV, primera parte: Common [battle]grounds between medieval England and Mexico's present" by Alfredo Modenessi and Paulina Morales. In their discussion of *1 Henry IV*, produced by the National Theatre of Mexico, Modenessi and Morales examine the critical, political, and inspirational implications of this production when performed both locally and globally. The following chapter, "King Lear and gender justice in India," by the novelist Preti Taneja, shows the complexity of reading Shakespeare from a critical perspective when his works have been imposed on Indians through the educational programs of the colonizers. Remarkably, as pointed out by Taneja, there are postmodern appropriations of Shakespeare's works (for instance, *King Lear*) that deconstruct political identities and assist in the subaltern's speech. The third chapter of this section, "Re-enacting *Hamlet* in South Africa," was written by Malcom Cocks, and demonstrates that Shakespeare may serve as a bridge between the subjective imagination of local practitioners and a wider global community. A different perspective on the cultural role of Shakespeare in South Africa is provided by Kevin Quarmby, who explores (and challenges) the validity of introducing "Shakespeare in prison" initiatives in his chapter "'Shakespeare in prison': a South African social justice alternative." Equally stimulating, Julie Sanders and Li Jun's essay "Romeo and Juliet with Chinese characteristics" deals with two different productions of *Romeo and Juliet* in China. The conclusion is thought-provoking indeed, as they consider "small-time" productions of Shakespeare a more appropriate vehicle for discussion about social justice than big-time productions today (at least in China). The closing chapter of this section, "Social justice, social order and political power in NTCC's adaptation of *Richard III*" by Keng Lee, is less optimistic than the contributions previously mentioned, as Lee comes to the conclusion that "the general populace appears to accept a certain amount of the suspension of social justice

in political power struggles, as long as a certain level of social order is maintained" (231).

The fourth and final section of the handbook, "The economies of Shakespeare and social justice," is perhaps the most committed to specific theoretical notions regarding power and social justice. In "The empathetic imagination and the dream of equality: Shakespeare's poetical justice," Kiernan Ryan describes Shakespeare's notion of justice as "poetical," a term that he specifically differentiates from "poetic." For Ryan, Shakespeare "poetical justice" has to do with subjectivity, fiction, imagination, and potentiality. This is a truly useful and inspiring idea. The next two chapters, "The idea of communism in Shakespeare" by Peter Holbrook, and "'Leftward, ho!': Shakespeare and Lenin in the tempest of class politics" by Jeffrey Butcher, launch a critic against capitalism and remind us of the fact that Marxism cannot be reduced to either some specific historical events or a simplified theory. Butcher maintains that the Marxist perspective is paramount in literary analysis because it provides a fundamental perspective: that of the working class. The last chapter of this section, "Social justice and the reign of Regan in Shakespeare's King Lear" by Geraldo de Sousa, provides a beautiful conclusion to the volume by revealing the ways in which *King Lear* presents social justice as an opportunity to make "visible the invisible" (292), an opportunity for opening the doors and seeing.

Curiously enough, this book starts with David Ruiter referring to Hamlet and the question of time: How the actors directed by Hamlet hold the mirror up to the time, and how their play within the play is a way of both reflecting the present and addressing the future; in other words, a venue at which to think, change, and do justice. The book finishes with a chapter on *King Lear* and the question of sight, because visibilization is also a way of doing justice. The volume's strength resides precisely in the variety of questions, approaches, philosophical articulations, and acts of visibilization it contains. Yet, as Ruiter himself points out in the first pages of this handbook: This is "a partial framework, an intentional but always unfinished collection" (2). Indeed, perhaps its only weakness is that it is only 330 pages long, and, consequently, there are many other angles and experiences related to Shakespeare, social justice, and activism that had no room here (environmental activism, transfeminism, or slow movement, to

mention but a few). Hopefully, more books and handbooks like this one will be published in the imminent future. We will need them to cope with "the weight of this sad time."

Kiernan Ryan. 2021. *Shakespearean Tragedy*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing

Jonathan P. A. Sell
Universidad de Alcalá

Kiernan Ryan's *Shakespearean Tragedy* "deliberately echoes the title of arguably the greatest and most influential modern study of its subject, A. C. Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy*" (xii); and as did Bradley's, Ryan's work places center-stage Shakespeare's four "crowning achievements as a tragedian" (xiii), namely, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*. "[T]he extraordinary consistency of Shakespeare's tragic vision" (xiii-xiv) is further demonstrated through shorter readings of *2* and *3 Henry VI*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Julius Caesar*—the appetizers preceding the main fare—and *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*, the liqueurs to help the rich feast down.

Let it be said at the outset that Ryan's chapters on *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear,* incomparable in their coverage, depth and reasonableness, should become obligatory reading for anyone interested in those plays. Let it also be said that the main lines of Ryan's thesis were already defined in his *Shakespeare's Universality* (2015), where he set out his stall as a "reactionary" (my term) critic, unimpressed by half a century of historicist efforts to divest Shakespeare of transcendence and reveal his connivance in "perpetuating social, sexual and racial injustice" (2015, x). Slightly overstated, perhaps, but one takes Ryan's point: the time is surely ripe for the academy to abandon Theory-driven politicking and address the questions which should properly concern the literary critic, namely, in what literary greatness consists and how it is achieved. Future historians of literary criticism will be surprised at the extent to which Theory displaced close reading and common sense as the favored methodology in literary studies. To be fair, even reactionary criticism like Ryan's is indebted to those theorists who rediscovered the circumstantial weight of history: his *Shakespearean Tragedy* is in so many positive ways Bradley's, except that the impinging factors on the human condition which lead to individual subjective tragedy are no longer Bradley's "huge universal powers working in the world of individual fate and passion" (Bradley 1912, 185), but the very

inhumanity of patriarchal, hierarchical, capitalist, dog-eat-dog society. The chief outcome of Ryan's relentless argument is the objectification of all that was "nebulous, metaphysical" (223) in his predecessor.

Thus, Ryan is a methodological and theoretical "reactionary" of the same ilk as William Hazlitt, George Bernard Shaw, Middleton Murry (in his Marxist and pacifist aspects), and (a despiritualized) Wilson Knight, who together form Ryan's critical pantheon, alongside Coleridge, whose political wavering is mitigated by his fathering of close reading. The principal tenets of Ryan's credo are that Shakespeare is a universal author; that his universality hinges, not now on any WASPish imperialist conspiracy, but on the "transfigured" perspective of the human condition his plays offer; that those plays are "committed to the emancipation of humanity" (2015, xiv); and that Bradleyan "analytic interpretation" — that "close familiarity with the plays, that native strength and justice of perception and the habit of reading with an eager mind" (Bradley 1912, 3; 2; qtd. xi) — is the best means to elucidate the Shakespearean text.

Ryan's term "transfiguration" denotes that capacity of Shakespeare's tragedies to inscribe proleptically the utopian potential inherent to humanity but as yet unfulfilled. His tragedies are, therefore, prosthetic in the Sidneyan sense. Though the child of his age, Shakespeare's is "the prophetic soul" of sonnet 107, "dreaming on things to come"; his mind, certainly, reflected ages past, but also addresses our present and holds out the hope of a better future, "the better way" divinable in Cordelia's "smiles and tears" (*King Lear* 4.3.18–19; qtd. 179). Because the tragedies' utopian prescriptions have still to be effected, they are strictly timeless, as pregnant with meaning to us today as they were for audiences in the original globe and as they will be for succeeding generations, until the social and political agenda they pursue has been implemented in some future of social, sexual and racial equality which "men and women are still striving to create" (46). Because that new covenant lies beyond history's ever-receding horizon, the tragedies' message remains vital and fresh. But—and this is a corollary Ryan neglects to mention—that utopia's very inaccessibility may be the greatest Shakespearean tragedy, for readers and auditors are ultimately marooned in a rebarbative present to which the only antidote is nostalgia for an egalitarian Eden now lost or an all but ineffectual yearning for a future "community of equals" (269). Viewed thus, Shakespeare tragedies look like the sop

of comfort power concedes to the oppressed: they alert us to man's potential but have no effective force to change the world. At best, they may inspire the more enlightened not to wallow in the Hobbesian nightmare but to come up occasionally for invigorating utopian air, and that at least (and we should be grateful for small mercies) might arrest regression towards the brutish existence of the woodwoses and salvage men Thomas Wilson would have recognized as they milled around the Capitol in January 2021.

On Ryan's account, Shakespeare's tragedies feature two brands of hero. The tragic protagonists are victims of the historical circumstances which beset them. Romeo and Juliet patent a "boundless" love between equals but are historically deprived of any discourse of mutual affection which might authorize it. Brutus is "possessed by the same pathologically competitive, hierarchical mentality" (61) as the rest of Rome's patricians, including Caesar, a pattern that Ryan also detects in *Macbeth*. Hamlet's "tormented resistance" to avenging his father's murder is not his fatal flaw but "the heroic virtue which sets him at odds with his world for reasons he can't understand" (73). Before Iago's venom does its work, Othello and Desdemona (like Romeo and Juliet before them and Antony and Cleopatra after) "act […] as if they were already free citizens of a truly civilized future, instead of prisoners of a time when racial prejudice and sexual inequality are so pervasive that even their heroic hearts are tainted by them" (113). Cordelia (and here Ryan quotes Wilson Knight) "is of the future humanity, suffering in the present dispensation for her very virtue" (178), while Lear's "violent awakening from the sleep of reason, in which 'Humanity must perforce prey on itself | Like monsters of the deep' (4.2.50–51)" removes the scales of custom from his eyes, opens them to the "radical utopianism" (173) of a world which might be our friend—a world where, as Gloucester puts it, "distribution should undo excess / And each man have enough" (4.1.73–74)—and puts Lear on the wrong side of what the hegemony regards as sanity.

The second brand conforms to the type of what another utopian called "working-class hero", Ryan "generic humanity" (199). Rarely has that type or its vindications received such sympathetic attention as here. Thus Jack Cade (for all his megalomania), Aaron (the proud and loving father), *Romeo and Juliet*'s apothecary, *Julius Caesar*'s nameless tradesmen, the Gravedigger, the Clowns in *Lear*, *Othello* and *Antony*

and Cleopatra, the Porter, the citizens in *Coriolanus* join chorus in an egalitarian manifesto the tragic heroes can intuit but, hidebound by their hierarchical privilege, never accomplish. In this respect, Ryan applies to Shakespeare Alain Badiou's claim that "emancipatory politics is essentially the politics of the anonymous masses" (qtd. 199). It is a politics born of "Shakespeare's complete alienation from the travesty of human life that confronted him in Jacobean Britain" (205) and fueled by a Juvenalian wild indignation which, Ryan suggests, more than any pandering to groundlings hesitating between blood sports or theatre and more than compliance with the gory requirements of Senecan drama, explains the sheer violence of the plays, a violence bardolatry often overlooks.

Ryan's argument cruises along implacably like a Coriolanan juggernaut, so cogently that the conclusions to later chapters and the crowning clincher, "There is a world elsewhere" (*Coriolanus* 3.3.134; qtd. 285), come as no surprise. The readings are occasionally overdetermined, most grievously perhaps when all irony is discounted in the inflationary rhetoric of *Antony and Cleopatra*. For a work, too, which champions the plays' engagement with historical circumstance, except for passing references to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 (108) or the Midlands Revolt of 1607 (273), there is a lack of contextual evidence to support sweeping assertions about social, racial, and sexual injustice in the period, or about a culture of Renaissance courtiers hung up on revenge, or about Elizabethan England's desire to emulate the grandeur that was Rome. This might be due to Ryan's aversion to historicizing criticism, but the risk is of dispersion into Bradleyan vapour, which Ryan is equally anxious to avoid. His reading of *Macbeth* illustrates the point: as if aware that the tragedy must be about more than individual human potential handcuffed by dark-age Scottish tribalism, Ryan makes it an allegory of "th'milk of human kindness" (*Macbeth* 1.5.17; qtd. 232) running sour on contact with toxic history, which is fair enough but has less specific political gravity than one might wish for.

But these are minor cavils when measured against the extraordinary virtues of Ryan's book. Not only for its overall argument but also for its judicious dismissal of old critical canards (Hamlet's Oedipal fixations, Iago's "motiveless malignity") and its realist firming-up of the gossamer Bloomean human, Ryan's *Shakespearean Tragedy*

is of incalculable value. It is Hazlitt writing after Marx, an equal to Bradley's monument, and a timely defense of Shakespeare's political relevance as the twenty-first century struggles to find its "better way."

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Alexander Samson. 2020.
Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain.
Manchester: Manchester University Press

Berta Cano Echevarría
Universidad de Valladolid, Spain

As the subtitle indicates, this book by Alexander Samson brings together not just two monarchs, Philip and Mary sharing the throne of England, but the intersection of their countries and cultures during the brief reign of Mary I (1553–1558). A reader looking for the personal aspects of the marriage is going to find little of that here. Samson has other interests, and these are expressed from the start. First and foremost, this study brings forward the positive aspects of Mary's queenship. True it is that the re-evaluation of her figure started with Catholic historians in the nineteenth century and all recent studies reject the legendary "Bloody Mary" grotesque depiction, which has however pervaded in popular fiction until the present.[1] But there has been a certain caution about praising the achievements during a period in the history of England that is often considered a "barren interlude," an awkward parenthesis that failed to produce any lasting advances and brought the country to a dangerous loss of identity by coming too close to the Habsburg empire. Nevertheless, reenvisioning Mary Tudor has been a general trend in the last fifteen years, and biographers such as Linda Porter, Anna Whitelock, and Judith Richards have explored a new, more benign perspective on Mary's life and personality, while William Wizeman has reconsidered the theological and spiritual accomplishments of the Marian church. In *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman claim in the introduction to the collection of essays that these are "unashamedly revisionist" (2011, 15) while, in Spain, Maria

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[1] An exhibition in the London Dungeon "Bloody Mary: the Killer Queen" (Merlin Entertainments, 2010) portrayed her as a zombie and in the video game "Identity V" (Asylum Entertainment, 2019) she is a playable hunter that attacks with a knife covered in blood.

Jesús Pérez Martín has been a powerful advocate of Mary's life and personality (2009).

Against this background Alexander Samson proposes a new understanding of the queen by shedding light on the advantageous aspects, not only of Mary's reign but also of her decision to marry Philip, which opened up a path for international policy that brought her realm closer to a convergence with European trends. His aim is

> to open up a space for alternative interpretations of the Spanish marriage, not by making a claim for its unqualified success, but rather by showing the fundamental lack of evidence for judging it, as all too often has been judged, in personal terms. (9)

To do so, he brings to the study a wealth of cultural aspects that show how England gained from the presence of Philip in the English court, making it more magnificent and sophisticated, promoting science and navigation, a new system of taxation, a new artistic temperament and military training, and making of it the most prestigious court in Europe for the short period of the Marian reign.

Bringing Philip to the foreground in his role as king of England has proven rather elusive up to the present. The reason may lie in the ambiguities construed into his position as *jure uxoris* and king of England but in fact deprived of a range of powers attached to actual kingship. Traditionally presented as someone who exploited Mary Tudor for his own ends, it is difficult to reverse this negative vision without entering into considerations about their private relationship. Samson looks at the tensions provoked by the anomalous situation of a woman having more power than her husband and at the same time trying to conform to the role of obedient wife. The marriage treaty and the "Act for the Queen's Regal Power" were the two legal documents that determined the duties and limits, the checks and balances that would govern this arrangement. Samson puts the emphasis on the continuities rather than the breaks that both brought with them. Spanish history had a recent precedent for such an arrangement when Isabella of Castilla married Ferdinand of Aragon, and this provided an example for what otherwise was a new power structure in England. Likewise, the "Act for the Queen's Regal Power" that was passed in April, a few months previous to the marriage ceremony in July of 1554, would also establish a framework for female rule that would have continuity in the reign of Mary's sister, Elizabeth (1558–1603).

Pertinently, Samson starts by examining the economic and trade relations that existed between Spain and England just before Mary's accession. These had been deteriorating in the years after the Reformation and it was an obvious area that would see the benefits of an Anglo-Spanish union, even though the improvement was not as radical as one might expect. Economic relations can be easily and rapidly destroyed but take longer to rebuild. With so much at stake, economically, strategically, and religiously, Europe had a hiccup when news of the death of young king Edward reached continental courts. The European dynastic powers positioned themselves to prepare for what might come and Spain had a clear goal in mind. As Samson points out "Philip became king of England to secure and retain the wealthiest and most troublesome part of his dynastic inheritance, the Low Countries" (27). But the course of history was to be played out inland with Mary as an active player of her destiny. According to Samson she had carefully planned ahead for this outcome, being able to gather strong popular support in a very short time. From a Spanish perspective Mary's accession was "embedded in a providential narrative about the Hispanic monarchy" (34).

Philip's attitude to the marriage is perhaps the most controversial aspect and the most difficult to reconsider in a positive light. Samson argues that there is not enough evidence to prove that he was disinclined towards it. With Charles V in a state of melancholy it was Philip's own decision to abandon his already arranged Portuguese match to opt for Mary. His important financial contribution to the English treasury, demonstrated by Glyn Redworth based on an analysis of the accounts of Domingo de Orbea and Thomas Egerton, proves that not only did he not plunder it but, quite the opposite, he generously covered the costs of his household and expenses (173). Whether he was satisfied with the degree of power that he was allowed to exercise is a challenging matter. Samson goes into lengthy detail about the iconography of the balance of power, from the ceremony of marriage and the royal entry into London, to their image on coins and their choice of dress. All these instances show how carefully the image of the royal couple had to be crafted to deliver the message that Mary was not subjected to her husband but rather the opposite. However, it is also evident that Philip was seriously involved in questions of government, and that he remained so even after his departure from England. On the other hand, the couple's private life is left unexplored

and most significantly there is no mention of their childlessness or Mary's long periods of fruitless pregnancy.

The book is rich in detail that contributes to contextualize the co-monarchy in the cultural and social atmosphere of the time. Pamphlets in favour and against female rule are analysed, as well as anti-Spanish tracts feeding into the Black Legend imported from Italy. Spanish phrase books and vocabularies were published, although Samson finds that this did not produce an uptick in translations from Spanish into English. Material culture is considered at length to show how "power was exercised symbolically, ceremonially and ritualistically, through intimacy, clientage, courtly exchange, festival, tournaments, religious observance and music" (209). The very Spanish *juego de cañas*, of Moorish origin, was performed in London, to great amusement, although it would not be consolidated after Philip's departure. All in all, *Mary and Philip* is a work that offers a wide ranging vision of a period in the middle of the sixteenth century often seen as an inconvenient parenthesis that brought Spain and England together. Samson stresses its continuities and, indeed, its successes. England had a talented and prepared female monarch who chose the partner she wanted for herself and exercised power supported by most of her subjects in an independent fashion, also sharing the burden of government with her husband. Philip and Mary made of London the centre of a magnificent European court, multicultural and open to external influence and exchanges. In times of Brexit and the rise of self-centred nationalisms, this is a period to revisit.

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Author's contact: berta.cano@uva.es

Postal address: Departamento de Filología Inglesa, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Valladolid, 47011, Valladolid, Spain.

Jordi Sánchez-Martí. 2020.
Los libros de caballerías en Inglaterra, 1578−1700.
Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca

Stefano Neri
Università di Verona, Italy

Thanks to a growing number of studies and editions published in recent years, the international impact of sixteenth-century Iberian chivalric romances is gradually emerging from a confusing grey area to be properly valued and acknowledged. Its role in the forging of national and transnational cultural and literary canons is on the right path to be justly recognized, but the process that in the coming years will allow us to have a sufficiently clear overview to advance critical overall evaluations is still long and insidious. Scholars and research teams dealing with this enormous bibliographic corpus must not only bring to bear their comparative, philological, historical, and linguistic expertise, but often—and this is where the main difficulties arise—also their skills in mediating between scientific communities that frequently try hard to talk to each other. When this happens, when disciplinary boundaries are crossed by the desire to learn and to create shared knowledge, mutual enrichment increases exponentially. Jordi Sánchez-Martí deserves high praise for having been a promoter of this kind of dialogue in recent years, at least starting with the international meeting he organized in Alicante, entitled "The printed distribution of the Iberian books of chivalry in early modern Europe" (2019), if not before. On this occasion, specialists from different disciplinary fields and different countries discussed the literary object that unites their lines of research, presenting their findings, their ongoing projects and ultimately laying the foundations for joint collaborations with a wide international scope.

Research results have been particularly vast and interesting in the field of English studies. From a situation of substantial stalemate crystallized around the contributions of the praiseworthy monographs by Thomas (1920)—the only one translated into Spanish (1952)—, Patchell (1947), and O'Connor (1970), over the last 15–20 years there has been a shift to a more clearly defined framework of knowledge

in terms of bibliography, critical editions, and the study of authors, sources, transmission, and influences of the Iberian *libros de caballerías* in England. Thanks to these studies, the overall view of the Amadis and Palmerines phenomenon in Europe has undergone a profound change. The volume edited by Jordi Sánchez-Martí, which I'm reviewing here, is meant to provide a state of the art in the reception and dissemination of Iberian chivalric novels in England. It has been conceived as a starting point from which the Spanish-speaking reader (a specialist or not) can obtain up-to-date and rigorous coordinates on each of the Spanish chivalric novels translated into English from 1578 to 1700. The book consists of nine chapters, each presenting a study of the English titles taken into consideration, entrusted to specialists who, in most cases, have edited or are preparing a critical edition of the work they are dealing with. One thing I find particularly interesting is that each chapter refers (albeit briefly) to the textual transmission, not only in English, but also in the various language transitions from the source texts to the target English texts. In this way, the book (its footnotes in particular) also becomes a valuable mine of bibliographical updates on studies regarding the spread of the Spanish chivalric novel in the major European languages.

The sequence of chapters is organized chronologically according to the date of publication of the books in England. Therefore, the first chapter (11–32) written by Joyce Boro concerns the cycle of the *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, whose first four parts in Spanish were translated directly into English in the nine volumes of the *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* cycle (printed in various editions between 1578 and 1601) and was very successful, which is also reflected in adaptations for the theater. Donna B. Hamilton is the author of the second chapter (33–52) dedicated to the three books of the English cycle of *Palmerin of England* (1581–1685), the first to be translated by Anthony Munday, the main author and promoter of English versions of the Iberian chivalric genre. The following chapter (53–62), authored by Jordi Sánchez-Martí, concerns the translation of *Palmerin d'Oliva* (1588–1637). As in most English translations of chivalry books of Iberian origin—with the exception of the *Mirror of Princely Deeds*—the source text of the translation is not the Spanish original, but its intermediate French version (in this case probably also compared with an Italian version). *Palladine of England* (1588) is the focus of Chapter 4 by Agustín López Avilés (73–86), a largely free translation by Anthony Munday of the

first forty-six chapters of *Florando de Inglaterra* (1545) drawing from the French version of Claude Colet (*L'Histoire Palladienne*, 1555).

The English translations of the extensive Spanish *Primaleón* (1512), sequel to *Palmerín de Olivia*, are dealt with in two different chapters: Leticia Álvarez-Recio in the fifth chapter (87–104) takes stock of the *Palmendos* (1589), a partial translation of the *Primaleón* by Anthony Munday on the first thirty-two chapters of François de Vernassal's French version, corresponding to the first forty-five of the Spanish original, which deal with the vicissitudes of the knight Polendos (called Palmendos in the French and English versions). Álvarez-Recio also focuses on the relationship between *Palmendos* and a parallel and alternative translation of the same chapters of *Primaleón* published in 1596 by William Barley under the misleading title of *The delightful history of Celestina the faire*, a ploy to attract potential readers and also to avoid accusations of plagiarism and of infringement of *Palmendos'* printing privileges. The remaining parts of the *Primaleón*, all translated by Munday and published in three volumes between 1595 and 1619, are analyzed by María Beatriz Hernández Pérez in Chapter 7 (123–140), which delves into Munday's role, in particular in his relationship with the printed book industry, the guild of printers and booksellers and other translators of the Iberian chivalric genre.

The progenitor of the genre, *Amadís de Gaula* (1508) began to be translated in Europe in the 1540s. Nearly fifty years elapsed before an English translation appeared (1590), a significant amount of time, enough for existing translations to multiply and sediment and for a predominant model to establish itself and overshadow both the Spanish originals and other competing translations. The English and German translators decided, in fact, to choose the French version of Herberay des Essarts as the source text for the first Amadisian book. As to the motivations for this choice there is above all an exquisitely literary reason: the stylistic refinement and "courtly" style that des Essarts gave to his *Amadis*, creating a model of beautiful style, of elegant and refined prose that soon became fashionable, rose to literary canon, and expanded beyond French linguistic borders. Helen Moore discusses these aspects in Chapter 6 (105–122) of the volume, also arguing about the translation and reception of the successful *Trésor des Amadis* and the appearance, a few years later, of the first English translation of *Don Quixote* (1612). Alejandra Ortiz-Salamovich

deals with the remaining English versions of the Amadisian series. In the ninth chapter (163–178) she discusses the dubious attribution to Anthony Munday of the translation of the fifth book printed in 1598, as well as the wide interval between that publication and that of the next book in the series in 1652, the sixth English one version corresponding to the seventh Spanish one, translated by Francis Kirkman (*Lisuarte de Grecia* by Feliciano de Silva). Juan Díaz's original Book 8 appears as an independent supplement to the series under the title of *Don Flores of Greece* (translated from French in 1664), while the Spanish Book 9 is published nearly thirty years later, in 1693. As Ortiz-Salamovich points out, it is evident that the English Amadisian series is not characterized by the compactness and continuity that it possessed in Spanish and in the other languages into which it was translated and expanded. Furthermore, in later editions, the materiality of the book shows a deep change in both editorial standards and in the target audience.

These changes are even more evident in the creative and editorial trajectory of the books that compose the English cycle of the *Belianís de Grecia* (1598–1700), which Rocío G. Sumillera discusses in Chapter 8 (141–162). This cycle is worthy of interest not only because it contains the only original English continuations of a chivalry book of Spanish origin—parts two (1664) and three (1672) by Francis Kirkman—but also because the changes in form, content, language, and paratexts in the later editions manifest a generic evolution towards a sort of *feuilleton* literature for young readers or even children.

In addition to the brief profiles of the scholars involved in the project and the editor's *Introduction* at the beginning of the book (1–7), two useful appendices appear at the end of the volume: Appendix A (179–208) collects the bios of the translators, with the relevant critical bibliography, while Appendix B (211–212) consists of a concise and effective table of all English editions of books derived from Iberian *libros de caballerías* listed in chronological order up to 1700.

The book edited by Jordi Sánchez-Martí is a valuable and up-to-date guide to the reception of *libros de caballerías* in England, aimed especially at Spanish-speaking readers. Thanks to the type of research that led to this publication, the network of Amadis and Palmerin's passages between European languages and cultures (and beyond) at the time of the birth of the modern novel is becoming

more and more intriguing and multifaceted, and promises to be a harbinger of new discoveries and renewed critical perspectives in the near future.

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Zenón Luis-Martínez
Universidad de Huelva, Spain

The refrain of an eighties' British pop classic rhapsodized the bliss of being run into by a double-decker bus. If the image supplies a motif for the present review of Jonathan P. A. Sell's sweeping new monograph, it is not mainly for its two-volume nature, nor for the reviewer's pleasure and privilege, but rather for the opportunity it offers to introduce prospective readers into the weighty intellectual arsenal that Professor Sell has deployed in his mapping of the multi-levelled territories where Shakespearean dramaturgy achieves an inexplicable though familiar, transitory though enduring sublimity. Perhaps a reader's greatest challenge when embarking upon Sell's study is to find the right balance between the arresting blaze of its subject matter and the solid density of its arguments. Fortunately, striking that balance has been the author's chief methodological aim: Sell's judicious, insightful company in our transit along the complex machinery that resolves—and dissolves—into the Shakespearean sublime guarantees the success of his enterprise. The work's elegant two-part structure is handsomely matched by a flawless layout: two almost identical twin volumes whose tightly parisoned titles announce the orderly discipline with which the author will impart a subject that has traditionally flirted with misrule. The inner title pages of each volume disclose a parenthetical explanation, "(The First/ Second Part of *An Essay on the Shakespearean Sublime*)," a sort of *ur*-title that justly aligns Sell's ambitious scope with the endeavors of an eminent cohort of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century essayists, critics and philosophers—Pope, Johnson, Hume, Kant, Burke, Schlegel, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Keats, Lamb, Hazlitt. And yet, despite

Sell's own claims to the "speculative" nature of his "essay" (*Ethos*, 4), the study's measured symmetry opportunely punts toward the more methodical forms of the *ars* and the treatise, neatly dividing the subject into parts and shrewdly identifying each part's constituents—here called "coefficients"—for systematic parsing.

Sell's aims are defined in the General Introduction opening the first volume; these are determined by the limitations that any definition of the sublime confronts. First, the sublime is a "not always achieved" potential for wonder inherent in works of art but also beyond them; second, if fully realized, that potential often crystallizes in flashes of "momentary experience" (*Ethos*, 11). If, in the case of Shakespeare's drama, this experience risks confinement to the realm of the inexplicable, it is possible, however, to explain its conditions of existence in the plays themselves, in their performative dimensions, in their engagements with audiences, and in the continuum of critical and aesthetic thought produced before, during, after, and around Shakespeare. As these conditions of existence exceed the immanent sublime-in-the-work, they can open to plural experience and, more importantly, they endure translation into analytical categories such as those informing Sell's essay. Sell wisely chooses Porter's *The Sublime in Antiquity* as the main guide to a history of the literary sublime which needs Longinus but which must also trawl before and beyond his influential *On Sublimity* (see Porter 1991, 18–25). Moreover, Sell's constructive critique of former approaches in light of representational and authorial factors (Cheney, 2018), or his more overt attack on the Bloom-inspired sublime critics' campaigning for Shakespeare's innate excellence (*Ethos*, 7–9), enable him to create a strategic distance, of particular usefulness in his freeing the sublime from an excessive dependence on poetic theories of divine inspiration. In his reading of the Longinian tradition, Sell insists on ecstasy, or transportation, as "the end goal […] of sublimity," which "ushers in the unknowable and inexpressible," and "takes us above […] the limits […] of cognition and language" (*Ethos*, 29). Yet the ultimate referent of sublimity anchors "what is unknowable and inexpressible *inside* the knowable or expressible world" (*Ethos*, 31, my emphasis). A human sublime, Sell insists, has the advantage of being ingrained in genuine ideas of art (see also Mann 2021). The ensuing portrait of Shakespeare is that of a gifted mind trained in the Renaissance arts of the rhetorician and the dramatist.

In line with this emphasis on art, Sell's study organizes its subject along terms whose nature ultimately refers to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (*ethos*, *pathos*), and within them, along "coefficients" (matter, stage, form, person, audience, language) whose oblique parentage is found in Aristotle's six dramatic constituents in the *Poetics*. The first volume, *Shakespeare's Sublime Ethos: Matter, Stage, Form*, explores what we might call a Shakespearean propaedeutics of sublimity, or in the author's terms, the creative strategies in Shakespearean writing and dramaturgy that prepare or predispose audiences intellectually and emotionally toward experiences of the sublime. *Ethos* is thus understood as Aristotelian "mood" yet with an emphasis on how this psychological quality crystallizes along the invention, scenography, and formal experiments of Shakespeare's drama. Sell plays on the (re)presentational nature of these three coefficients, on their capacity to put audiences on paths that draw near but do not wholly reach the sublime. He argues that "for the sublime to work, Shakespeare's readers and audiences have to be primed if they are to respond appropriately to the presentation of sublime simulacra" (*Ethos*, 50). That priming work characterizes Shakespeare's endeavors of art, exemplified in his handling of a full catalogue of traditional sublime *matters*, or topics (*Ethos*, 50–89). In revising that catalogue, Sell's glosses of Shakespearean size—from minimal, as in the "minimus of hind'ring knot-grass" into which Hermia is shaped in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 3.2.330, or Innogen's "diminution | Of space" in *Cymbeline*, 1.4–18.19 (*Ethos*, 64), to massive, as in Antony's memorable bestriding the ocean in *Antony and Cleopatra*, 5.2.81 (*Ethos*, 74–75)— count among the most enjoyable moments of this first volume. As for *stage*, the "sublime scenography" analyzed in chapter 4 propounds a phenomenology of the Shakespearean thrust stage that should be read as a priceless complement to early modern theatre studies. The discussion of *form* in chapters 5 and 6, in light of the Shakespearean breaches of temporal structures and orthodox notions of beauty, reveals unforeseen perspectives on plays that would not qualify as first candidates for parading sublimity—*Troilus and Cressida* (*Ethos*, 155–156), *Henry IV, Part II* (*Ethos*, 202), or *King John* (*Ethos*, 204).

Over half of the second instalment, *Shakespeare's Sublime Pathos: Person, Audience, Language*, is devoted to the materialization of the sublime in Shakespearean character, which surfaces in the intersections of *person* and *audience*. Intent on dismantling standard theories of

Shakespearean ambiguity, and convinced that "current models of identity are inadequate to Shakespearean character" (*Pathos*, 5), Sell builds on metaphors such as the Eliotian "hollow men" (*Pathos*, 59–66) to propose a model of "mutualistic character" that is made possible by the appeal to a "sympathetic imagination" whose origin lies in the early modern rhetoric of affect. For Sell, the impossibility of attaining consensus on the interpretation of Shakespeare's characters is largely the result of our "transferring to them elements of our own, unique and individual identities," whereby we become their "psychic adjuncts" (*Pathos*, 77). Detaching himself both from liberal humanist and postmodern accounts of subjectivity, Sell resorts to Renaissance poetics and rhetoric as well as to Romantic criticism to substantiate a plausible model of character analysis that finds its full realization in Shakespeare's language of the passions, exemplified by *Richard II*, *Macbeth*, or *Twelfth Night* (chapter 5)—a model whose advantages and discontents are subjected to severe scrutiny (chapter 6).

It is in this second part that Sell's unwillingness to "offer any complete reading of particular plays" (*Ethos*, 11) may deprive us from higher rewards. The decision is well grounded on the momentary quality of the sublime experience. However, in the same way as our fleeting enjoyment of Sell's brief analyses should not distract us from the more edifying journey granted by the full reading of his study, we could legitimately argue that Sell's exhaustive tour along all the stations of the sublime should render his method valid for full explorations of plays like *The Comedy of Errors*, *Richard II*, *Twelfth Night*, *Measure for Measure*, *King Lear*, *Pericles*, or *The Winter's Tale*—while wishing on the way for a stronger dose of the *Sonnets* than the extremely delightful appetizers offered here. The powerful categorizing of the sublime's coefficients is proof of Sell's immense merit, and designates this monograph as superior research destined to become seminal in Shakespeare studies. Its lucid prose, sprinkled with moments of witty exuberance, supplies a trusty guide to a number of precious encounters with the Shakespearean rich and strange—encounters that should multiply in future work by Sell and by others. In proving with exemplary rationality what many readers and theatregoers have for long intuited and experienced, Sell reassures us in the happy conviction that, in and with Shakespeare, there is a light that never goes out.

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