

Anglo-Hispana

Five centuries of authors, publishers and readers between
Spain and the United Kingdom

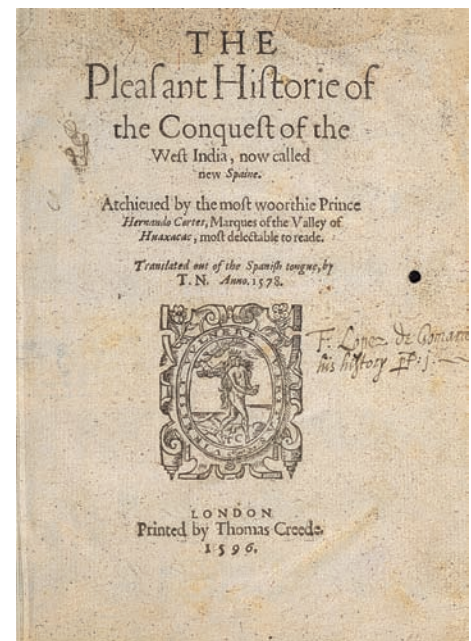
FERNANDO BOUZA

It can be said of books and reading, as the Welsh writer James Howell said of words, that, as the soul's ambassadors, they are constantly coming and going, *to and fro*, back and forth, hither and thither.¹ King James VI of Scotland (James Stuart), who later became James I of England, published a poem in Edinburgh in 1591 called *The Lepanto* about the victory of a 'Spaniol Prince', John of Austria.² Lope de Vega's epic poem *La dragontea* [cat. 2], published in Valencia before the end of the century, in 1598, was devoted to Sir Francis Drake's final expedition. Although the seaman was considered the Spanish monarchy's main enemy, the Phoenix of Spain nonetheless depicted him with overtones of a chivalrous gentleman.³ Two years earlier, as if to mirror the foregoing, London witnessed the publication of a new edition of Francisco López de Gómará's *The pleasant history of the conquest of West India* translated by Thomas Nichols [cat. 1], in which Hernán Cortés was described as 'the most worthy prince'.⁴

Half a century later, during his imprisonment in Carisbrooke Castle, the Stuart king Charles I began to read Juan Bautista Villalpando's treatise on Solomon's temple, a hypothetical reconstruction which, as is well known, is full of allusions to the Escorial monastery.⁵ Around the same time, in the Torre Alta library of the Alcázar palace in Madrid, Philip IV would have been able to leaf through his own copy of *Mundus alter et idem*, Bishop Joseph Hall's cruel satire describing an imagined Terra Australis.⁶ The presence of utopian literature in the king's collection was not unusual. He also possessed a Spanish translation of Thomas More's *Utopia* [cat. 16] and it seems no coincidence that this work rounded off the collection as it was located in the end position in his library.⁷

Lepanto and a 'Spaniol Prince' echoed through the Scottish court of the Stuarts. Francis Drake and Hernán Cortés were raised to mythical status in the countries that should have hated them the most. We find two examples of English utopian literature in the library of Philip IV, the Planet King, and one Spanish architectural utopia among the royal belongings on the Isle of Wight. There are good historical reasons to explain all these facts, but our concern now is to highlight how eloquently the history of books and reading can shed light on the common history shared by Spain and the United Kingdom.

The main aim of the exhibition *Anglo-Hispana. Five centuries of authors, publishers and readers, between Spain and the United Kingdom* is none other than to provide an overview of the incessant movement of literary motifs, images, authors, language teaching/practice tools, reading material and books that took place between the two countries throughout the five centuries separating the reigns of Elizabeth I and Philip II from the first third of the last century. For reasons of appropriateness, it was considered necessary to limit the exhibits to authors born in the current territories of the two former mother countries.



Cat. 1

The richness of the common Anglo-Spanish cultural heritage progressively shaped around book culture during those five hundred years is undoubtedly immense. Indeed, its sheer size and significance are well beyond the possibilities of a single exhibition, as there is such a long list of authors and works linked in one way or another to the forging of this shared history.

Characters such as Byron's Don Juan, Sheridan's Duenna and Mary Pix's Spanish wives share space with Lope de Vega's Drake, Cervantes' *española inglesa* and a whole host of curiously impertinent authors headed by George Borrow, known to posterity as 'Don Jorgito el Inglés'. Flaxman's prints inspired Goya; Owen Jones can be credited with bringing the grandeur of the Alhambra to northern Europe; and Hogarth depicted Sancho in engravings, just as Rowlandson sketched Lazarillo [cat. 10]. Moratín translated Shakespeare, Unamuno the work of Carlyle and Spencer, Manuel Azaña that of Borrow, León Felipe that of Russell, and Altolaguirre that of Shelley. Wiffen produced an English version of Garcilaso, Lord Holland of Lope, Tobie Matthew of Saint Teresa and Mabbe both of the picaresque Guzmán and of the old Celestina. Thomas Shelton, in short, paved the way for the new insular adventures of the *valorous and witty knight errant* and his companions, including *Cardenio*.

A detailed and exhaustive bibliography has raked through translations and borrowed works, contrasting and shared images, trends and discrepancies, the earliest traces of respective language teaching and the origins of Hispanism as a scientific discipline.⁸ While the exhibition by no means neglects these aspects, it also gives priority to specific aspects of the history of reading, particularly those related to the consumption and production of books, as well as bibliophily.

For this purpose we have selected what we consider a representative set of pieces from the Archivo Histórico Nacional and Royal, National, Escorial and Lázaro Galdiano libraries to illustrate the wealth of English and United Kingdom-related holdings in Spain. It is a great pleasure to express our appreciation to all these institutions for their enormous help, especially the Biblioteca Nacional de España, which inherited the major collections of Luis de Usoz, Pascual de Gayangos and, in part, of the ambassadors Gondomar and Godolphin, in addition to the holdings of the Habsburg Torre Alta library and Bourbon Biblioteca Real, which had an official in charge of 'examining and organising English literature' as early as 1795. The person appointed to this post was José Miguel Alea.⁹

The exhibition is structured into sections dealing respectively with translated authors and works; each country's efforts to publish works in the language of the other, with particular emphasis on the publication of language-teaching tools; and, lastly, the traces of English book collecting in Spain. These are the themes that we will be exploring in this essay, which draws mainly on the holdings of the aforementioned lending institutions.

The existence of a constant flow of books and reading between Spain and the United Kingdom is attested to, above all, by the early and productive endeavours of publishers to make authors and works available to the respective countries' reading public and also to speakers, since a not inconsiderable number of these efforts sprang from interest in learning the language. Naturally, most of this output was centred on translation and adaptation, though not entirely, as it also led to the setting up of a Spanish printing

house in the United Kingdom and an English press in Spain. It is worth mentioning that the scope of the latter was much more limited than that of the former, though its earliest fruits date back to the Golden Age.¹⁰

The works published by some of the establishments of what we might describe as a two-way printing enterprise often featured translated imprints. We thus find books which claim to have been published 'in the King's press' and 'at the Royal Printing House', in Madrid; 'for John Francis Piferrer, one of his Majesty's printers', in Barcelona; or simply 'printed by Antony Murguía', in Cadiz.¹¹ These Spanish examples have their counterparts in the works of Ricardo del Campo, Henrique Woodfall, Eduardo Easton and Henrique Bryer, among others.¹² Moreover, in some cases the imprint even clearly expressed the dual nature of the printing house, as with Vicente Torras' 19th-century *Imprenta Española e Inglesa*¹³ and the more important *Imprenta Anglo-hispana* run by Charles Wood in London, first in Poppin's Court and later in Gracechurch Street [cat. 45].¹⁴ The 'Anglo-Hispana' in the exhibition title is an allusion to this imprint.

Charles (Carlos) Wood earned himself a prominent place among the printers linked to the Spanish émigrés in the generous England of liberals and romantics whom Vicente Llorens depicted so masterfully.¹⁵ It was thanks to Wood's hard work that the library of the Ateneo Español in London became stocked with the first books needed to begin its teaching activities in 1829,¹⁶ and it was the printing presses run by Wood that produced such characteristic exile literature as *El español* by José María Blanco White and some of the practical *catecismos* of the editor Rudolph Ackermann.¹⁷

Spanish-language printing in the United Kingdom enjoyed one of its greatest moments during the first half of the 19th century. There were undoubtedly commercial motives involved, as the works printed in Spanish were not only destined for the market of the former mother country but also for those of the emerging independent republics in the Americas. That same period also witnessed an extraordinary surge of interest and, even, sympathy towards things Spanish, which Andrés Borrego summed up aptly in an article written after the initial enthusiasm had regrettably waned.

Writing under the pseudonym *Spanish traveller* and commissioned by the embassy in London, in 1866 Borrego published 'The affairs of Spain. Early causes of its unpopularity', a lucid assessment of the recent history of Anglo-Spanish relations. In it he highlighted how the resistance against Napoleon during the War of Independence and, later on, the adoption of certain measures such as the abolition of the Spanish Inquisition during the three-year Liberal interlude known as the Trienio Liberal (1800-1823) had led to the flourishing of widespread, collective Hispanophilia.¹⁸ A good example of this was the reception given to Liberal émigrés fleeing from Spain, who were, of course, the main driving force being much of the printing in Spanish that went on in the United Kingdom at the time.

We must not forget that it was primarily for religious reasons and only secondarily for political reasons that England had been a haven for Spanish expatriates since the day of Antonio Pérez, par excellence, just as there were also 'English Espanolized', as James Wadsworth called them, who headed for Spain.¹⁹ Indeed, the five centuries of mutual relations examined in this exhibition were not without their conflicts, in which the most active role was also reserved for books and printing houses as privileged agents of propaganda and stereotype creation.

To cite just one example, Philip II's advisors handled a few extracts from certain English works which they considered to be directed 'against Spaniards and against the

King'. They centred particular attention on John Bale's *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles concerning the cleargy of London* and found unacceptable this author's comments on the customs of a prototypical 'Jacke Spaniard' – or 'Juanico el español', according to the translation done for the monarch.²⁰ However, on that same occasion they also reported the comment made by William Cecil on certain paragraphs of Gonzalo de Illescas' *Historia Pontifical*, which were equally offensive towards Elizabeth I.²¹

In short, *to and fro*, Anne Boleyn's daughter received no fewer insults than those that her own subjects had the knowledge and means to deal Philip II, 'the Demon of the South'.²² An anonymous hand altered the inscription on the superb portrait of the English sovereign in the *Sucesos de Europa* collection by Franz and Johannes Hogenberg, changing 'Elizabet Dei Gratia Angliae Franciae et Hiberniae Regina' to 'Elizabet Dei Ira et Indignatione Angliae Franciae et Hiberniae Regina'.²³ And, insult for insult, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, is depicted equally unflatteringly at the beginning of Thomas Scott's brief treatise *The second part of vox populi* published in 1624.²⁴

From a cultural point of view, Anglo-Spanish relations have always been extensive, if not deep, since the end of the Middle Ages, even though they have naturally been subjected to the pressure of the changing international context.²⁵ Indeed, it might be said that an essential chapter in Spanish humanism, that which is embodied by Juan Luis Vives, unfolded at the English court and universities, as his British sojourn is commonly linked to the writing of the influential *Institución de la mujer Cristiana*, among other works, which the Valencian dedicated to Queen Catherine of Aragon.²⁶ Similarly, the Iberian Peninsula was the privileged backdrop for the continental fortunes of Chancellor Thomas More, whose life was written about by the poet Fernando de Herrera²⁷ and whose main work, *Utopia*, was translated into Spanish²⁸ and also read in Latin, among others by Quevedo, whose annotated copy of the Louvain edition of 1548 still survives.²⁹

The religious turn of events in Europe in the second half of the 16th century left an indelible mark on Anglo-Spanish relations, as both England and Spain became targets of military armadas and mission lands.

Apart from the Invincible, which found its way into literature,³⁰ the lesser armadas which set out throughout the 1590s also fuelled printing presses in England and the Iberian Peninsula. A *Declaración de las causas que han movido... a embiar un armada real... contra las fuerças del rey de España*, which may be attributed to Robert Devereux and Charles Howard, was published in London in 1596.³¹ It is common knowledge that the expedition of 1596 ended in the Sack of Cadiz and Faro, from which a great number of books were brought to England, some finding their way to Oxford and Hereford.³²

In retaliation for these landings, a new Armada against England was organized for 1597 under the command of the Count of Santa Gadea, Governor in Chief and Captain General of the galleys and the Ocean fleet. As researched by Henry Thomas, Governor Martín de Padilla y Manrique gave instructions for a proclamation to be printed, possibly in Lisbon, to justify the Catholic King's reasons to the people of England. This can be considered the very first document that was printed entirely in English in the Iberian Peninsula, which was then united under the sovereignty of

Philip II.³³ England and Spain were thus two monarchies in print, pitted against each other on all fronts, including printing.

One of the most illustrative cases of this rivalry of the printing presses was triggered by a short treatise entitled *Corona Regia*, which was published under the name of Isaac Casaubon with a false London imprint (John Bill) in 1615.³⁴ Despite its appearance, the work was actually a diatribe against King James Stuart, printed in the Spanish Netherlands, and the Anglo-Scottish monarch's protests led to the holding of a trial in Brussels to ascertain the identity of its true author and the place where it had been published. Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, then ambassador in London, was personally responsible for gathering all possible information about the forgery, and among the manuscripts he brought with him to Spain was an *Información* describing the Brussels lawsuit in great detail. This report reveals that the author of *Corona Regia* was the scholar Erycius Puteanus and that it was printed by Flavius in Louvain; interestingly, an English officer called Henry Taylor was involved in the printing process.³⁵

While this printing battle that extended to diplomacy was being waged, the Iberian Peninsula witnessed a genuine obsession with matter printed in Romance languages which, so it was claimed, people were attempting to smuggle in from Great Britain. A detailed *Memoria de los libros que se ha entendido que han impreso los herejes para enviar a estos reinos de España* which frequently cites the names of Cipriano de Valera and the printer Ricardo del Campo (Richard Field) even circulated.³⁶ The entries in this *Memoria* in themselves attest to the scope and significance of the printed matter presumably aimed at Spanish or Spanish American readers.³⁷

The aim of promoting the reformed religion through the widespread dissemination of texts using printing presses, which underpinned this Elizabethan Spanish-language printing house, was by no means exclusive to the Protestants. On the Roman Catholic side, certain figures such as the Jesuits Robert Persons and Joseph Creswell openly engaged in printing works that were intended for the British Isles. The former promoted a secret printing house for the English Mission³⁸ and the latter, a tireless publicist, managed to secure the support of Philip II in establishing a press in the English college of Saint-Omer, in what was then Spanish Artois, which produced many of the titles that were to cross the English Channel.³⁹ From Saint-Omer came books such as Juan de Ávila's *The audi filia, or a rich cabinet full of spiritual evils* translated by Sir Tobie Matthew,⁴⁰ and *The triple cord or a treatise proving the truth of the Roman religion* attributed to Lawrence Anderton, a copy of which found its way into a Spanish Jesuit school, indicating expressly that it was from 'la Misión de Inglaterra'.⁴¹

Furthermore, it appears that all the book production aspects of one of the most eloquent Counter-Reformation printing initiatives were controlled at Saint-Omer, even the way in which the books were disseminated among the English recusants. Ahead of subsequent distribution techniques, these books could be neither bought nor sold – their circulation was entrusted to readers themselves, who were responsible for handing them over in secret to others once they had read them.⁴²

Even so, the images the English and the Spanish conveyed of each other tended to shift away from negative stereotypes whenever they were based on direct observation, and the peace treaty of 1604-1605 opened up a new path in this direction. When Juan de Tassis, Count of Villamediana, was in England, precisely in order to conclude the peace treaty, he wrote to Sarmiento de Acuña, who was still far from being an

ambassador, stating that London was 'grande lugar y de mucho trato' ('a great, friendly place') and although 'no muy pulido ni limpio' ('neither very polished nor clean'), it had a 'gentil ribera y bien poblado de nabíos' ('pretty river bank with many ships'). The poet's father went on to make an observation that summarises perfectly the admiration the English navy's commercial greatness inspired in him, stating that those ships were 'los castillos y murallas deste Reyno, sin tener otros' ('the castles and city walls of this kingdom, which has no others').⁴³ In his guidebook for travellers published in 1642, *Instructions for forreine travell*, the aforementioned James Howell made a sort of selection of sights that an Englishman should see when visiting the continent, including in this rudimentary Grand Tour 'to see the *Escuriell* in *Spaine*, or the *Plate Fleet* at her first arrivall'.⁴⁴

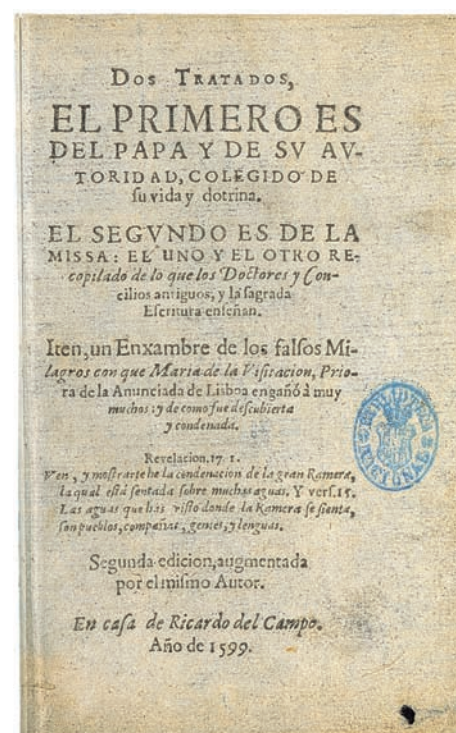
A prolific author who also edited an English grammar book for Spanish speakers and a Spanish grammar book for English speakers [cat. 54], as well as a number of lexicographical works related to the Spanish language, Howell was also responsible for the curious initiative of translating and publishing a collection of proverbs in Spanish, Catalan and Galician in 1659 [cat. 40].⁴⁵ A tireless traveller, Don Diego – as he came to sign himself⁴⁶ – visited Spain at the end of Philip III's reign and at the beginning of that of Philip IV, and undoubtedly strove to earn recognition as the Englishman who spoke the best Spanish in the whole of the 17th century.⁴⁷

Travelling around Europe to learn languages was a precept of the *ars apodemica*, the discipline concerned with the art of the perfect traveller, who was prudent and discerning. For example *A direction for a traoueller*, a manuscript dating back to the beginning of the 17th century [cat. 64], called for 'getting soe many language as you see are necessary for the state your have to live in', recommending that the traveller learn French, Italian, Spanish or Dutch as well as Latin, which is always necessary 'to serve all publike service'.⁴⁸

If we are to believe the anonymous author of a *Relación de los puertos de Inglaterra y Escocia*, on whom Sir Francis Drake lavished attention at Buckland Abbey, 'donde me regaló mucho y mostró sus joyas y riqueças' ('where he gave me many gifts and showed me his jewels and riches'), the famous corsair spoke Spanish.⁴⁹ The English printing house run by the Jesuits at the aforementioned Saint-Omer college in Artois, then part of Spanish Flanders, published material in Spanish, such as *Como un hombre rico se puede salvar*, which, apart from its missionary purpose, was justified by the interest shown by 'muchas personas principales en la casa y corte del rey de Inglaterra y en todo el Reyno' ('many prominent people at the household and court of the King of England and throughout the whole Kingdom') in 'al studio de la lengua Castellana' ('studying Castilian Spanish').⁵⁰

The possibility of reading Spanish books printed in Great Britain had undoubtedly been very real since the reign of Elizabeth I, as examined by Gustav Ungerer in his memorable scholarly research studies.⁵¹ According to this author, the first book to be printed entirely in Spanish on English soil was the *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua española e francesa* published in Oxford by the 'reformed' Antonio del Corro in 1586.⁵²

This work was followed by many more printed partly or entirely in Spanish. Some fall fully within the context of the propaganda dispute between England and the Spanish monarchy, such as Bernaldino de Avellaneda's *Carta* on the death of Drake, dated 1596, which was published as testimonial evidence in Henry Savile's *A libell of Spanish lies*.⁵³ Others sprang from the missionary or pastoral needs of the 'reformed' Spaniards



Cat. 39

A DIRECTION FOR a traveler

186.

First that God may please, y^e travayle, you must appoint some tyme of the day for prayer and reading of the scriptures.

That y^e may profite in the tongue, you must suffice not day to passe withoute translating somewhat, and for y^e most profite in that exercise y^e shall doe well to translate an Epistle of Tullie into french and out of french into latine whereby y^e may profite in both tongues.

For y^e knowledge of stories is a very profitable study to a gentleman, reading the lives of Gloucers, and joine therewith the philosophy, w^{ch} shall increase your greatly both wth iudgment of the most part of things incident to the civill life of man, and also great knowledge. Read also Livie, and the Romane histories, as also booke of state both old and new as Plato de Repub. Aristot. Pol. Econom. Xenophon. Procratis orat.

And in this y^e reading of histories, as y^e have principally to mark some matters passed in those dayes, soe have you to apply them to y^e honor and estate, and soe how they may serve us or bee rejected, and why, the cause thereof (being well considered) cause you in better sort to frame better counsels both of actions and counsels, as well in the private life as in publique government, if you shall be called thereto.

Among the things be diligent in the stories, and the booke of the Bible w^{ch} shall be a very good direction for y^e you in y^e whole life, but especially in this part w^{ch} is study in travayle.

The way to make y^e truly to profite in this study, as well private as public, to bee a good Christian comm^{on}wealthsman is, to bring all y^e examples of things and counsels, of administration, that you shall find in reading,

who gradually settled in England, such as Cipriano de Valera and his *Dos tratados*, dated 1599 [cat. 39], and his revised version of Casiodoro de Reina's translation of the New Testament, dated 1596.⁵⁴ Lexicographical texts were also available by the end of the 16th century. Notable among these is Richard Percyvall's polished *Bibliotheca hispanica* [cat. 51],⁵⁵ a fundamental work in the rich tradition that extended to the 17th and 18th centuries, encompassing the *Pleasant and delightful dialogues in Spanish and English* [cat. 53] and other works by John Minsheu.⁵⁶

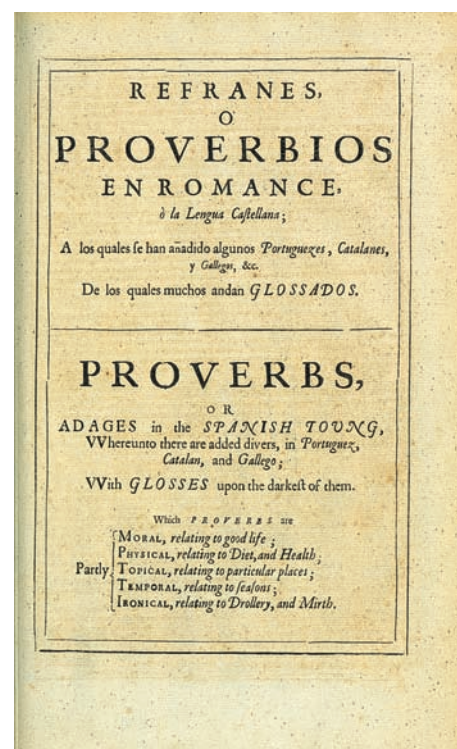
We have already mentioned the protean James Howell, who travelled in Spain, wrote a Spanish grammar book and an English-Spanish dictionary in his four-language *Lexicon* [cat. 40], as well as different thematic 'nomenclatures', of which special mention deserves to be given to the extraordinary section devoted to vocabulary pertaining to 'A library', the earliest known lexicon of library, writing and printing terms,⁵⁷ and the editing and translation of the aforementioned Spanish, Catalan and Galician proverbs. While this was a significant initiative with respect to the history of the first two languages, Howell's 'Galliego proverbs', albeit scarce in number, are a major milestone in the history of Galician as a printed and translated language.

During the 17th century, the historian and translator John Stevens produced an excellent English-Spanish dictionary published in 1706. The copy housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, which is inserted with many sheets for annotating new terms and their translation, attests to what must have been common practice for broadening vocabulary at the time [cat. 55].⁵⁸ Other prominent figures in this field are Giuseppe Baretti⁵⁹ and Peter (Pedro) Pineda. The latter was the author of a *Corta y compendiosa arte para aprender a hablar, leer y escribir la lengua española*, published in 1726, and a *Nuevo diccionario español e inglés e inglés y español*, published in 1740,⁶⁰ but, as a chronicler, he was responsible for a bilingual genealogical work aimed at proving the Galician origins of the Douglas family.⁶¹

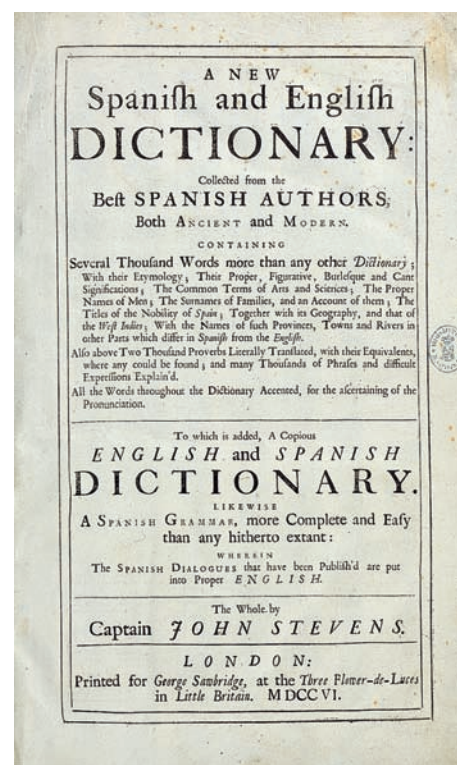
English teaching did not begin to be standardized in Spain until the 18th century.⁶² By then it was possible to find testimonies such as the announcement of a public English-language competition in which the gentleman pupils of the Nobles Seminary in Madrid took part on 4 January 1780. The exam consisted of reading a text in English and translating certain passages from *The Grecian history from the earliest state to the death of Alexander the Great* by Oliver Goldsmith, *The works political, commercial and philosophical* by Walter Raleigh and *A journey from London to Genoa through England, Portugal, Spain and France* by Giuseppe Baretti [cat. 56].⁶³

In order to meet translation needs, Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins's important lexicographical work was published by the Madrid royal press (Imprenta Real), which is referred to in the English volumes of this dictionary as 'The King's Press' [cat. 57].⁶⁴ This press also produced Andres Ramsey's *A new Cyropaedia* in a bilingual English-Spanish edition expressly designed for language learning [cat. 43].⁶⁵ This was also the purpose of the volume published in Barcelona by Piferrer in 1828, which includes Nepos' *Lives* translated into English by William Cassey, an English teacher in the service of the board of trade, the Junta de Comercio [cat. 58].⁶⁶

Much less is known about the Golden Age, and it is therefore necessary to focus on this period in greater detail. In the 17th century it seems that private English tutors were recruited mainly among the 'English Espanolized'. These were generally clergy but



Cat. 40



Cat. 55

LAS FIESTAS Y SIN-
 GVLARES FAVORES QVE A
 Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoça, señor de La-
 corçana, Embaxador extraordinario de su Ma-
 gestad del Rey Catolico nuestro señor, al sere-
 nissimo Rey de la gran Bretaña, se le hizieron en
 la jornada que de España hizo, acompa-
 ñando al serenissimo señor Princi-
 pe de Gales, a Inglaterra.



CON LICENCIA:

En Madrid, Por Luis Sanchez, Año 1624.
 A onze dias del mes de Abril.

could also be laymen, such as the father of the aforementioned James Wadsworth, who was employed as one of Maria of Austria's two English teachers when the future empress was being groomed to become Princess of Wales during the negotiation of the famous *Spanish match* [cat. 4].

In one of the Spanish accounts of the negotiations of 1623, we read that 'se señaló un inglés muy plático en la lengua inglesa y en la española para que fuese instruyendo en ella a la Señora Infanta [María] que iba tomando liciones para esto con algunas de las Damas que auían de ir con Su Alteza' ('an Englishman very eloquent both in English and in Spanish was chosen to instruct the Infanta Maria, who took lessons with a few of the Ladies who were to accompany Her Highness').⁶⁷ In one of the letters he wrote in Madrid that same year, James Howell points out that 'since our Prince's [Charles Stuart] departure hence the Lady Infanta studieth English apace, and one Mr. Wadsworth and Father Boniface, two Englishmen, are appointed her teachers and have access to her every day'.⁶⁸ The first was James Wadsworth senior; the second should be identified as the English Benedictine monk who Hispanicized his name as Fray Bonifacio de Sahagún or de San Facundo.⁶⁹

It became increasingly common for émigrés from recusant families of the British Isles to act as translators or interpreters. For example, Wadsworth senior took on this role during the sessions of the doctrinal dispute to which the Count-Duke of Olivares invited the Prince of Wales during his stay in Madrid.⁷⁰ Half a century later, the Scot Andrew Young (Andreas Junius Caledonius) was called in as an 'English-language expert' to assist the members of a board which had the task of assessing the propositions contained in the copy of Jeremiah Lewis's *The right use of promises* found in the Count of Rebolledo's library.⁷¹

Without overlooking the fact that Jeremiah Lewis's work had been found among the books of Bernardino de Rebolledo, the diplomat and poet who composed an epigram on one of John Milton's books,⁷² it is worth stressing that among those to whom we will continue to refer as 'English Espanolized', there were many clergymen who, like *Father* Boniface or Young, were trained or taught at different religious establishments in Spain. The various English, Scottish and Irish schools set up to cater to the needs of the aforementioned English Mission are naturally of particular importance.

Perhaps the most interesting of these organisations was the English Real Colegio or Saint Alban's College in Valladolid, which still exists and possesses a library that holds a substantial part of the Spanish adventure of the expatriate recusants.⁷³ The Valladolid school, then run by Jesuits, was visited by Philip II, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia and the future King Philip III in 1592. The royal entourage was treated to a demonstration of different prayers in English but also in Welsh and Scottish, recited by various students in a hall decorated with hieroglyphics and emblems, some in those languages.⁷⁴

The *Relación* goes on to state that 'después destas tres lenguas vulgares y estrañas, se siguieron otras tres más apacibles y políticas' ('these three common and strange languages were followed by another three which were more gentle and political'), referring to the prayers that the students of Saint Alban's recited in French, Italian and Spanish.⁷⁵ It is worth pointing out the contrast between *strange* and *political* languages that is made here, as interestingly, six decades later, James Howell envisaged the ideal encounter between these three languages and English in a print that illustrates more clearly than most testimonies of that period the definitive change in the status of English as the international language of culture in the 17th century.

The two-year period from 1659 to 1660 saw the emergence in London of the different parts of Howell's *Lexicon tetraglotton*, from which the 'words are the Souls Ambassadors' quote is taken. This ambitious project for an English-Spanish-Italian-French vocabulary is the crowning achievement of his lexicographical work and two prints were placed on the front cover: one of the author himself with a gentlemanly and melancholic air, leaning on a oak tree trunk (*Robur Britannicum*); the other was engraved by William Faithorne and shows a meeting of four ladies sumptuously attired in court dress greeting one another (see the cover illustration).⁷⁶

As Howell himself explains, they personified the languages dealt with in the work, each identified by an initial (S[panish], F[rench], I[talian], E[nglish]). The theme of the print was their coming together to form a new, desired *associatio linguarum*, as stated by the inscription that presides over the scene. The Spanish, Italian and French languages, 'ye sisters three', linked by their Latin origins, are surprised welcoming the newly arrived English language into their society, while the author makes a suggestion to them: 'To perfect your *odd* Number, be not shy / To take a *Fourth* to your society.'⁷⁷

This ideal encounter depicted in the print is not an unfitting image for the spirit of this exhibition. According to a commonplace of the time, compared to the 'smoothness' of Italian and the 'nimbleness' of French, the Spanish lady/language is the gravest of the four; indeed, 'Her Counsels are so long, and pace so slow'.⁷⁸

In Spain, however, although Eugenio de Salazar claimed that greetings such as 'gutmara, gad boe' [*i.e.* good morrow, good bye]⁷⁹ could be heard at Philip II's court, and despite the frequent allusions to knights errants who spoke English, the language continued to be associated with missionaries, heretics and pirates, although it was soon to become that of travellers.

Both John H. Elliott and Michele Olivare – the latter when discussing the context in which *La española inglesa* was written – have drawn attention to the clear signs of a shift in attitude towards England when the throne passed from Philip II to his son.⁸⁰ Mention has also been made of the English elite's growing interest in Spanish court models from the beginning of the 17th century onwards, which coincided, first, with a visit to Valladolid paid by Admiral Howard and the Earl of Nottingham to sign the peace treaty between James VI/I and Philip III and, later on, with the Prince of Wales's aforementioned sojourn in 1623.

Perhaps one of the first travellers who arrived in Spain and enjoyed 'la buena paz, amistad y hermandad que se ha renovado entre las dos coronas y los súbditos dellas' ('the peace, friendship and kinship which has been renewed between both crowns and their subjects') was Sir Thomas Palmer, gentleman-in-waiting to King James. The quotation is taken from the credential issued to him in February of 1605 by Baltasar of Zúñiga, ambassador in Paris, stating how he went 'por su curiosidad a ver las ciudades principales y cosas notables de España y a aguardar en ella al señor Almirante de la Gran Bretaña' ('out of curiosity to see the main cities and notable things of Spain and to await the Admiral of Great Britain there').⁸¹ Five years later, in 1610, Lord Roos recorded his travel impressions, highlighting the extraordinary grandeur that surrounded the Spanish monarch and the quality of the paintings in Valladolid. But above all he praised 'the Scurial', describing it as 'so great, so rich, so imperial a building that in all Italy itself there is nothing that deserves to be compared with it'.⁸²

The English were enormously attracted to 'The kyng of Spaynes howse', as it is referred to in a handwritten annotation on the back of the so-called Hatfield Drawing

showing the bulky Escorial building under construction.⁸³ Despite the devastating nature of James Wadsworth's *The Spanish pilgrime*, the second part, written in 1630, states of the house that there is 'not the like in the Christian world',⁸⁴ and, as mentioned earlier, James Howell's travellers' guidebook of 1642 asserted that 'to see the *Escorial*' and the arrival of the Indies fleet in Seville were two of the things worth doing in Europe.

Therefore, it is no surprise that Francisco de los Santos' description of the monastery was translated into English extremely promptly, in 1671.⁸⁵ The abridged version of the Hieronymite monk's work, which was also published in the 18th century, was produced by a 'servant' of the Earl of Sandwich, Edward Montagu. There is a delightful diary of the earl's stay in Spain from 1666 to 1668, which is illustrated with interesting drawings.⁸⁶

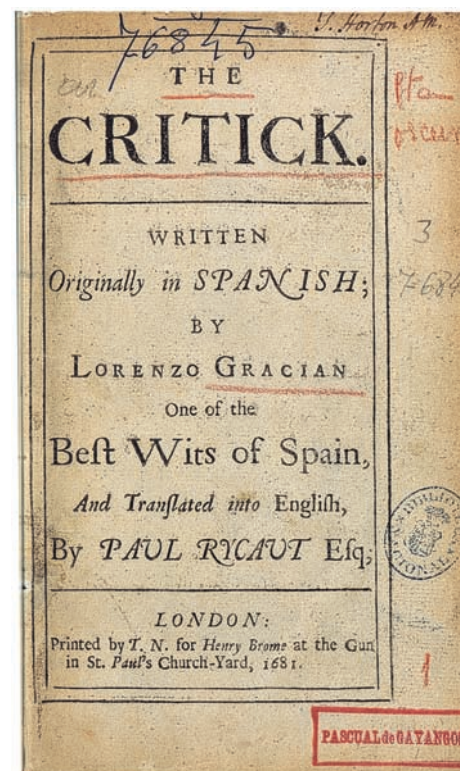
Thirty years earlier, in 1638, the Horatian ode *Escuriale* written in Latin was published in Madrid. In it James Alban Gibbes described the monastery that he had visited in the company of the young Charles Porter,⁸⁷ second son of Endymion Porter, the member of one of the most eminent Anglo-Spanish dynasties.⁸⁸ Incidentally, the colossal building gave Porter a dreadful headache, whilst the scholarly Gibbes, Gabriel Bocángel wrote, caused 'las piedras desatadas en las voces' ('the stones unleashed in the words') to be seen.⁸⁹ Like so many other Northern travellers, the doctor poet wrote at length on the extraordinary collection of paintings contained in the monastery, mentioning the wonders of Fernández de Navarrete, 'the Mute', who 'confronts you with an art that is by no means mute'⁹⁰, and Titian, whose *Virgin and Child*, then in the Sacristy and now in Munich, he praises in another composition. This was furthermore one of the paintings that Charles I of Spain had instructed Michael Cross to copy when he was sent to Spain in 1632, as Gibbes states: 'pictor angulus, auctoritate regia (anno 1632) in Hispaniam missus'.⁹¹

Apart from poets and paintings, the Scottish humanist David Colville had also found his way to the Escorial, and was in charge of Greek and Arabic manuscripts at the Laurentine Library.⁹² Actually Colville was not the only British librarian who worked in Golden Age Spain, as the librarian Enrique Teller or Henry Taylor,⁹³ another Briton, was entrusted with the care of the *librería* of the Casa del Sol in Valladolid, to which we will return later on.

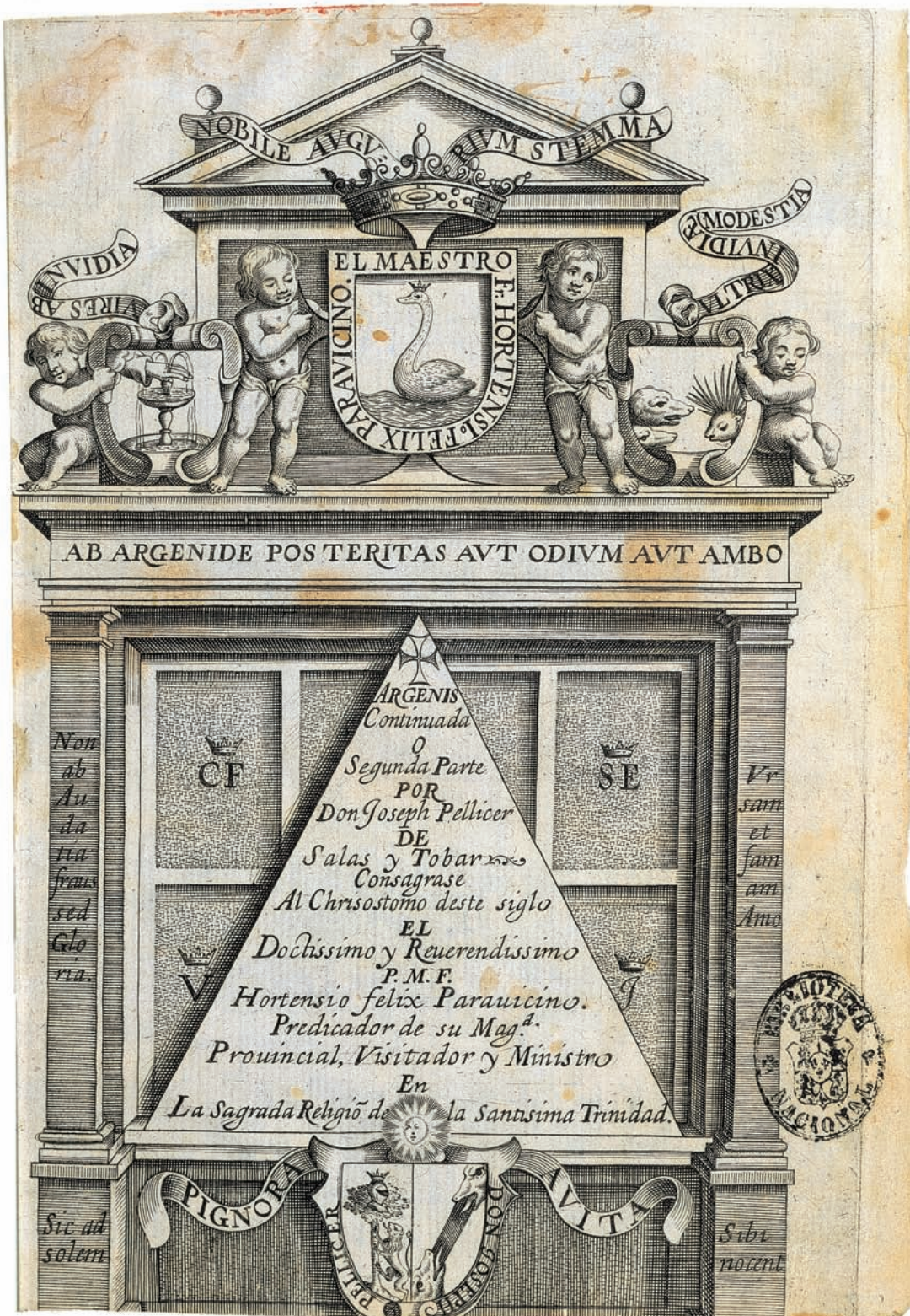
At San Lorenzo, it was David Colville who showed the royal library to Cassiano del Pozzo when the Italian visited the monastery with Francesco Barberini in 1626.⁹⁴ Accompanying the almighty cardinal was George Conn, another Scot emigré who had written a *Vita Mariae Stuartae* on which Lope de Vega's *Corona trágica* was based, as the poet himself points out in the preface, acknowledging his debt to 'Don Jorge Coneo'.⁹⁵

As can be seen, the scholarly world accounted for a not inconsiderable portion of the English and Scots who visited or lived in Spain during the 17th century. Many of them expressed themselves in Latin and not in English, in consonance with the evident Anglo-Latin attributes associated with the reception of British authors in the Baroque era. Accordingly, two of the most celebrated authors of that period, John Barclay and John Owen, and the aforementioned Gibbes and Conn, were translated into Spanish from Latin rather than from English.

The success in Spain of *Argenis*, written by the Scottish author Barclay [cat. 15], whom Gracián so greatly admired,⁹⁶ is evident from the mere fact that it was published in translations by José de Pellicer and José del Corral,⁹⁷ while the epigrammatic poetry of



Cat. 19



Welshman John Owen came out in a version by Francisco de la Torre y Sevil [cat. 18],⁹⁸ despite its problems with censorship. Spanish works that exude that same blend of moral, political and sapiential nuances were translated into English, such as Baltasar Gracián's *The critick* and *The art of prudence*, which were published in 1681 and 1705 [cat. 19], respectively,⁹⁹ and Francisco de Quevedo's *Fortune in her wits*, the English edition of which came out in 1697 [cat. 20].¹⁰⁰ And Antonio de Guevara, who had aroused great interest in the Isles in the 16th century, reappeared on the scene with his *Spanish letters*, which were translated by John Savage in 1697.¹⁰¹

In short, a good many of the Anglo-Spanish translations published during these two centuries of the Early Modern Age are clearly marked by a militantly denominational air which, incidentally, also surrounds Thomas More's fortunes in Spain. Nevertheless, behind this appearance of mission books, other interests emerged: on the one hand, in historical works such as Pedro Mexía's *Césares*,¹⁰² and those concerning overseas expansion, such as López de Gómara's account of Cortés's deeds and Pedro Mártir de Anglería's *Décadas*, which were translated by Richard Eden,¹⁰³ and, on the other, in scientific works, such as Martín Cortés's art of navigation, also translated by Eden,¹⁰⁴ and Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de ingenios*, the 1594 London edition of which was based on Camillo Camilli's Italian version.¹⁰⁵ There was even a niche for spiritual literature, of the like of Luis de Granada's *The sinners guyde* [cat. 14].¹⁰⁶

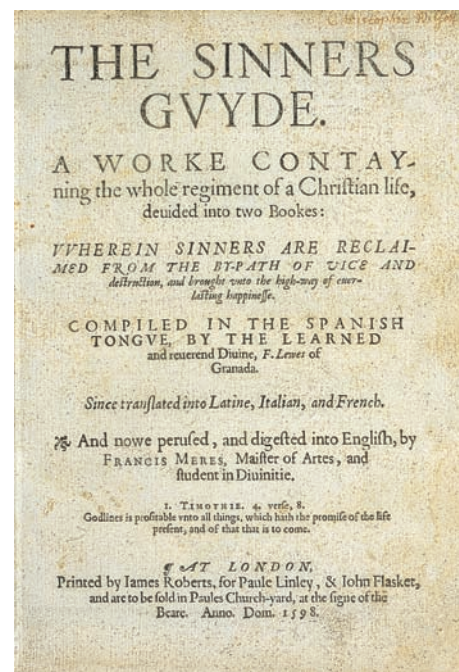
The influence that Spanish ascetics and mystics may have exerted on English metaphysical literature has been emphasized on numerous occasions, proving the connections between Herbert, Donne and Crashaw and Valdés, Ignacio de Loyola and Saint Teresa.¹⁰⁷ The latter's works appear to have aroused particular interest, as there are several 17th-century translations.

After Michael Walpole's first version,¹⁰⁸ Sir Tobie Matthew produced a new translation of the *Libro de la vida*,¹⁰⁹ which he attractively titled *The flaming hart* and dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria [cat. 17]. An autograph manuscript of Teresa's work was housed in the Escorial, where the aforementioned James Alban Gibbes had viewed it as a relic.¹¹⁰ In an impressive *Preface*, Matthew not only recalls the difficulties posed by 'the high, and abstracted Nature of the verie Contents of the Booke', but also makes a suggestive statement on the spirituality of the nun from Ávila, displaying a profound knowledge of Hispanic mysticism that was made available to English readers.¹¹¹

The interest in things Spanish also evoked stereotyped overtones of clichés that later enjoyed extraordinary success. We are referring, for example, to the taste for Spain's Muslim past, as in the translation of Miguel de Luna's *Almansor*,¹¹² or for bull fighting, news of which reached the English – not only in written form but also in pictures – as early as 1683. James Salgado's *An impartial and brief description of the Plaza or sumptuous Market-place of Madrid and the bull-baiting there* was printed in London that year.¹¹³

The Plaza Mayor was described in great detail, with statements such as 'Lincoln-Inn-Fields are neither so large nor spacious as this place of publick resort at Madrid'.¹¹⁴ Its size and adornment could furthermore be appreciated in a print – 'a large scheme' – showing 'the famous and much admired Placidus' overcoming a bull in a crowded ring in the presence of the king and queen.

The pamphlets produced by this curious heterodox convert to Protestantism spare no opportunity to recall papist conspiracies and defeated armadas, and show how a significant part of Spain's 'black legend' was in fact home-grown.¹¹⁵ Salgado went on to



Cat. 14

sum up the hypothetical Spanish character in *The manners and customs of the principal nations of Europe*, a brief treatise in English and Latin published in 1684.¹¹⁶

However, most Spanish to English translations were, naturally, of literature, novels and plays.¹¹⁷ Among other translators, this field saw the publication of the work of Thomas Shelton, who produced a *Don Quixote* in 1612 [cat. 3];¹¹⁸ of James Mabbe ('Don Diego Puede Ser'), who brought out a Guzmán entitled *The rogue* in 1622 [cat. 5] and in several later editions¹¹⁹ and *Spanish bawd*, a new English-language version of the *Celestina*, in 1631 [cat. 6];¹²⁰ but also of the diplomat Richard Fanshawe, who produced Antonio Hurtado Mendoza's *Querer por sólo querer / To love only for love*.¹²¹

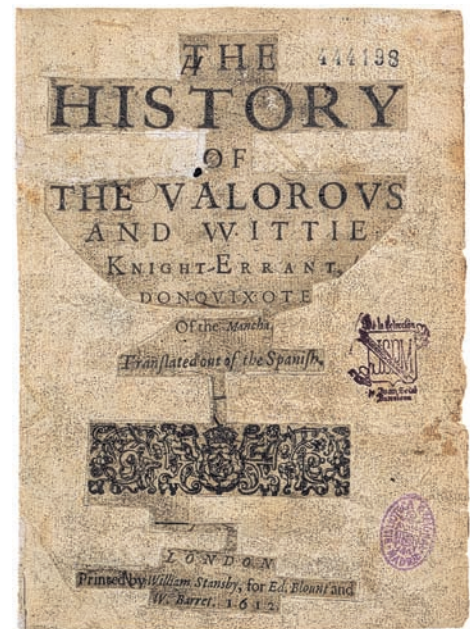
In contrast to all this activity, the offerings were much scarcer on the Spanish side which, as stated earlier, was interested primarily in neo-Latin authors such as Barclay, Owen, Conn and Gibbes. It is therefore surprising to learn that the Biblioteca Nacional de España houses *Defensa de la poesía*, a manuscript translation of Philip Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*, including the chapter on 'la excelencia de la lengua inglesa'.¹²² Even so, the Spanish Golden Age witnessed the first attempt to set up an English-language press at the very Habsburg court.

The initiative was entrusted to the Irishman Alberto O'Farail or O'Ferall, who had translated into English various devotional works written in Spanish: a life of the Virgin Mary, the Christian doctrine, the mystery of the Mass, compendiums of the works of Luis de Granada and of Pedro de Alcántara, a life of the sibyls and, in addition, a treatise on the glory and eternity of the soul [cat. 41]. If we are to believe what he states in a *Memorial*, O'Farail himself had been responsible for the mechanical work of compositing three sections in English of *The life of the Virgin Marie* at Antonio Francisco de Zafra's print shop in Madrid on 6 April 1679, for which 'con gran trabajo aprendió [...] el Arte de Impresor' ('with much effort he learnt [...] the Printer's Art').¹²³

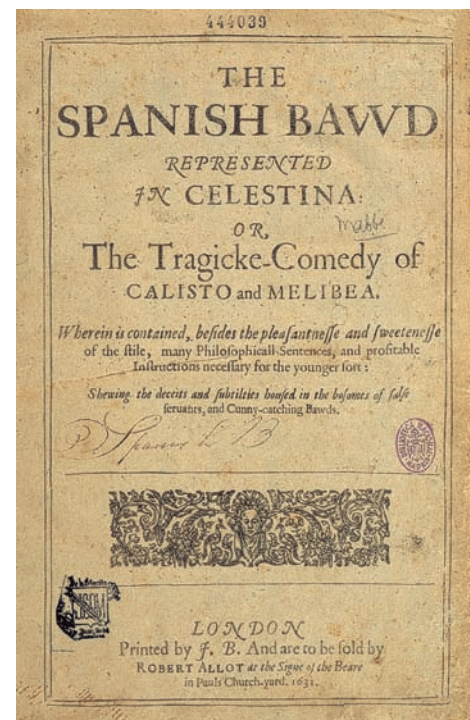
As well as placing the printing under the aegis of Don Juan José of Austria, to whom the work is dedicated, O'Farail asked the Castilian court that 'se le dee papel, prensa y letras que el suplicante escogiere de los impresores para fenezer tan santa obra' ('he be given paper, press and letters which the requestor may choose from the printers to conclude such a holy work') – that is, to complete the publication of the other sections that he had been unable to print and that the resulting book be sent 'a su Patria, donde hace gran falta a los fieles que hauitan en tan remotos parajes, sin poder o r sermones ni veer buen exemplo' ('to his Home Country, where it is greatly needed by the faithful who live in such remote parts, unable to hear sermons or see good examples').

Fortunately, the sections he sent to support his memorial still survive, providing us with proofs from the first English-language print shop in Spain:

THE LIFE OF / THE MOST SACRED / VIRGIN MARIE, OVR / BLESSED LADIE, QVEENE OF HEAVEN, / AND LADIE OF THE VVORLD. / TRANSLATED OVT OF / SPANISH, INTO ENGLISH, VVHERE VNTO / is added, the sum in briefe, of the Christian Doctrine, the / Misterrie of the Masse, the lives and prophesies of the / Sibillas, vvith a short treatise of Eternitie, and a / pious exhortation for everie day / in the month. DEDICATED / TO THE MOSTH HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, / DON IVAN DE AVSTRIA / [vignette with the Immaculate Conception] En 6 de Abril, / Año 1679. / TRADVCIDO DE CASTELLANO EN IDIOMA INGLES, / Por Don Alberto o Farail, de nación Irlandés. / CON LICENCIA: En Madrid. Por Antonio Francisco de Zafra.



Cat. 3



Cat. 6

Albert O'Farail's printing enterprise was cut short, and it is not until the following century that more examples of English-language printing in Spain are found. We have already dealt with the lexicographers, though it is worth mentioning the publication in Cadiz of *A short abridgement of Christian doctrine* in 1787, as it appears to be linked to the religious education of English-speaking Catholic citizens living in a few Spanish coastal towns and cities.¹²⁴

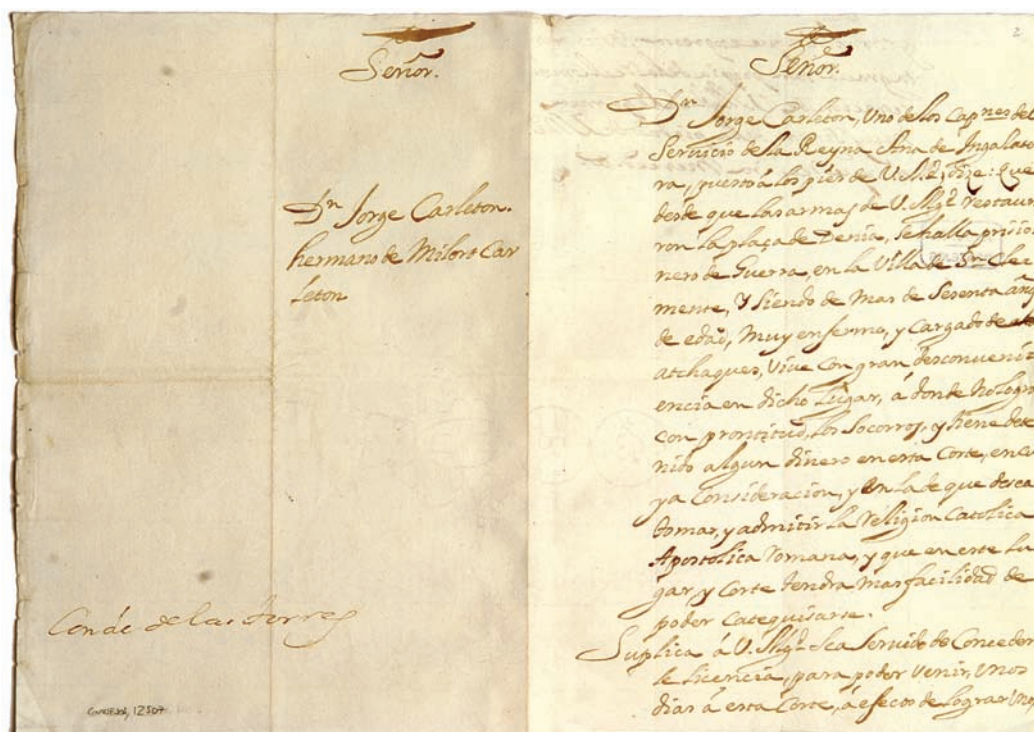
Throughout this new century, contacts grew much more active, with the United Kingdom even becoming involved in the War of the Spanish Succession.¹²⁵ Although the missionary spirit had not entirely waned and the threat of catechesis continued to hover over the English population residing in Spain – as happened to the real-life George Carleton during his imprisonment in San Clemente in 1710 [cat. 7]¹²⁶ – the new century saw the emergence in Spain of a sort of English path towards the Enlightenment, in which a particularly prominent role was played by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, a reader of English literature, who promoted the introduction of standardized English learning in Spain.¹²⁷ For its part, the United Kingdom also established Hispanic studies permanently as a discipline following the publication in 1701 of *A brief history of Spain*, which can be considered the first Spanish history written and printed by an Englishman.¹²⁸

Despite the restrictions that censorship continued to impose on the circulation of texts, the 18th century witnessed greater efforts by Spain to acquire firsthand knowledge of the products of English thought and the fruits of English scholarship and literature. Indeed, a certain Anglomania gripped the continent during this century, Voltaire being the best exponent of the craze,¹²⁹ and Newton the embodiment of reason; a project for the 'popularización de [...] [sus] teorías filosóficas' ('popularisation of his philosophical theories') was even outlined.¹³⁰

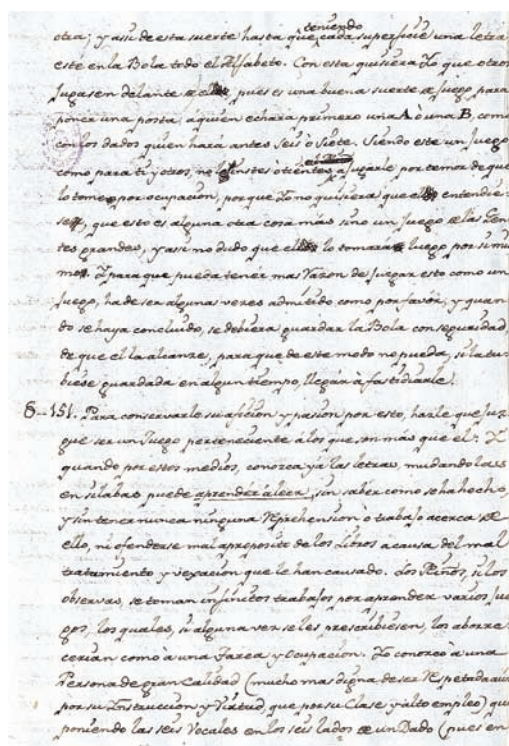
Some of the works produced in the United Kingdom reached Spain via France, and it was common to find works that had been translated from the French version rather than from the original English. Such is, for example, the case of a novel as significant as Fielding's *Tom Jones*, which was published in Madrid in 1796,¹³¹ and the volumes of John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, published as *Educación de los niños* in 1797.¹³² Nevertheless, it appears that Locke's work may also have been disseminated through manuscript translations such as the codex *Pensamientos sobre la educación* belonging to the Osuna family, which begins with an interesting biographical note [cat. 21].¹³³

Although the publication of a Spanish version of William Robertson's *History of America* was stopped,¹³⁴ translations of British authors nonetheless became more numerous, especially during the last quarter of the century, above all during the reign of Charles IV. Spanish versions were published of works such as Young's *Poem on the Last Day*,¹³⁵ Blair's *Lectures on rhetoric and belles-lettres*,¹³⁶ Joseph Addison's *Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals*,¹³⁷ Middleton's *Cicero*,¹³⁸ Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*,¹³⁹ significantly dedicated to the all-powerful Godoy, and, at the very beginning of the 19th century, the first book of Francis Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning*.¹⁴⁰

The collective imaginary was enriched with the adventures of new heroes, both real-life figures such as Captain James Cook,¹⁴¹ and fictional characters such as the protagonist of Richardson's *Pamela*, the actions and plot of which were appropriately



Cat. 7



Cat. 21

adapted to suit local customs.¹⁴² Midway between the two we find Ossian, the false Celtic bard, whose poems caused outrage as they did elsewhere in Europe, with versions by José Alonso Ortiz¹⁴³ and Pedro de Montengón [cat. 9].¹⁴⁴

And at last came the turn of William Shakespeare to have his works disseminated in Spanish. *Hamlet* was published in Madrid in 1798¹⁴⁵ in a translation by Leandro Fernández de Moratín [cat. 8], who also made some suggestive annotations on English drama, including *The Tempest*.¹⁴⁶

This paved the way for Shakespearean criticism in Spain. Cristóbal Cladera soon came forward to correct him with *Examen de la tragedia intitulada Hamlet*.¹⁴⁷ A few very curious contributions were produced in the following century, such as two doctoral theses aimed at comparing Shakespeare with Calderón de la Barca. One was defended in 1849 and came to be published as a short work;¹⁴⁸ the other remains a manuscript and is perhaps the more interesting of the two as it draws a parallel between the literary portrayals of the English playwright, who was considered a 'painter of figures', and the portraits of the artists Velázquez and Murillo.¹⁴⁹

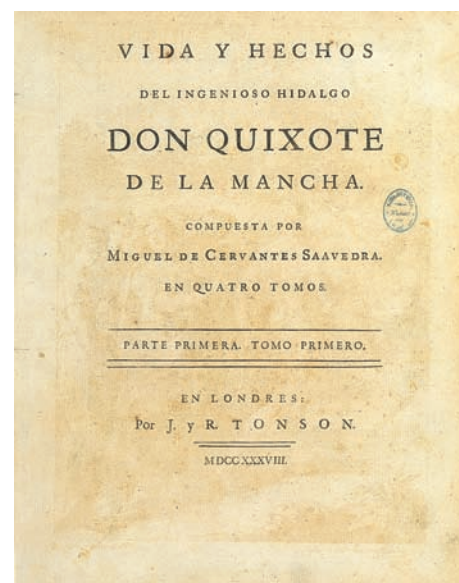
The growing 18th-century interest in English matters, largely influenced by the international context, is evident in such titles as the *Estafeta de Londres* by Francisco Mariano Nifo¹⁵⁰ and *Noticia de la Gran Bretaña*, a translation of John Chamberlain's *Magnae Britanniae Notitia* [cat. 72],¹⁵¹ and even in the production of great English 18th-century printers such as John Baskerville.

The possibility was toyed with of purchasing matrices and punches from this printer for the Real Biblioteca Pública press in 1766. Baskerville himself referred to this as 'my printing affair at the Court of Madrid' in a letter of his, a copy of which is held in the Archivo de Secretaría at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, together with 'a specimen of the word Souveinement in 11 sizes' [cat. 71].¹⁵²

The increasing trips paid by Spaniards to the United Kingdom enabled much more first-hand information to be gleaned. Some of the most important travel accounts are, without a doubt, Antonio Ponz's *Viage fuera de España*, published in two different volumes in 1785 [cat. 75], which is notable for the interesting artistic observations made by the author during his stay in the British Isles,¹⁵³ and the *Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra* by Leandro Fernández de Moratín, a delightful diary that analyses practically everything, down to tea etiquette and street and tavern sounds [cat. 76].¹⁵⁴ Despite the wealth of information it provides on the London art collections, José M. de Aranalde's *Descripción de Londres y sus cercanías*, dated 1801, is much less well known [cat. 77].¹⁵⁵

The accounts written by the British travellers who toured Spain in the course of the century, such as Joseph Townsend, among many others, are packed with detail.¹⁵⁶ A work that was particularly widely disseminated was Giuseppe Baretti's English travels,¹⁵⁷ which, as mentioned earlier, was even used to set exams for the pupils of the Nobles Seminary in Madrid in 1780 at the dawn of the age of standardized English teaching in Spain.

Of the Spanish authors whose works were translated into English, together with new versions of older works such as that of Francisco de los Santos¹⁵⁸ and Antonio de Solís's *The history of the conquest of Mexico*,¹⁵⁹ special mention should be made of Father Feijoo, whose writings soon reached the United Kingdom. In 1778, three of his 'essays or discourses' were published in London on women, religious music and a comparison of modern and classical music. These were even read in the Philosophical Society in London, from which a copy now in the Biblioteca Nacional hails [cat. 22].¹⁶⁰



Cat. 42



Cat. 77

In the 18th century Spanish-language printing enjoyed a particular heyday which is closely linked to the vogue for Cervantes. The Tonsons' 1738 edition of *Don Quixote* [cat. 42], which includes a biography of Cervantes written by Gregorio Mayans and a priceless engraving of Don Alonso Quijano against a background of Gothic ribbed vaulting,¹⁶¹ was followed by initiatives such as that of John Bowle, printed in Salisbury in 1781.¹⁶² But artistic works, possibly aimed at satisfying travellers' curiosity, such as the treatises of Antonio Palomino and, once again, Father De los Santos of the Escorial, were also printed in Spanish.¹⁶³

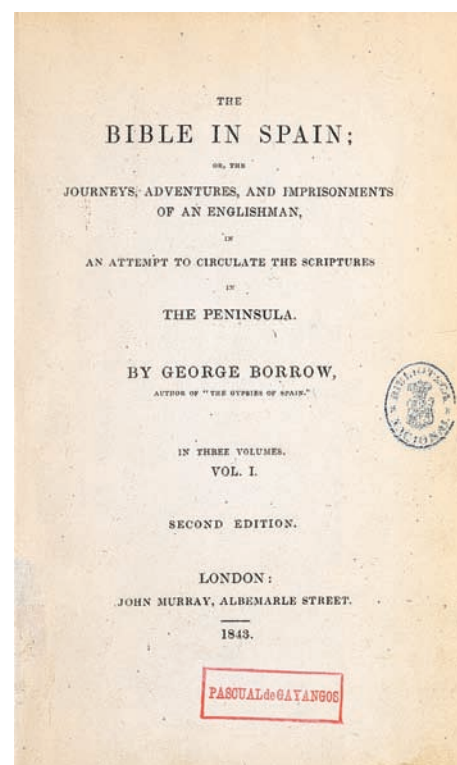
In order to complete the picture, we must also mention the existence of a Spanish printing house promoted by members of the Sephardic community living mainly in London. A few titles were published for their purposes and needs, including a beautifully illustrated edition of David Nieto's *Matteh Dan* in 5474, that is, 1714.¹⁶⁴

Following the Seven Years' War and Spain's assistance to the British colonies in America in gaining their independence, the initial Franco-Spanish alliance against England turned into collaboration against Napoleon in the War of Independence. We have already mentioned the attraction for things Spanish witnessed in the United Kingdom during these years. There are many testimonies that support this, ranging from the recollections of Lope de Vega-specialist Lord Holland, a privileged source of information on Spanish history of the time as he was a correspondent and friend of Jovellanos,¹⁶⁵ to the scholarly exercises produced by a young student of Winchester named Henry Allen on the sieges of Zaragoza.¹⁶⁶

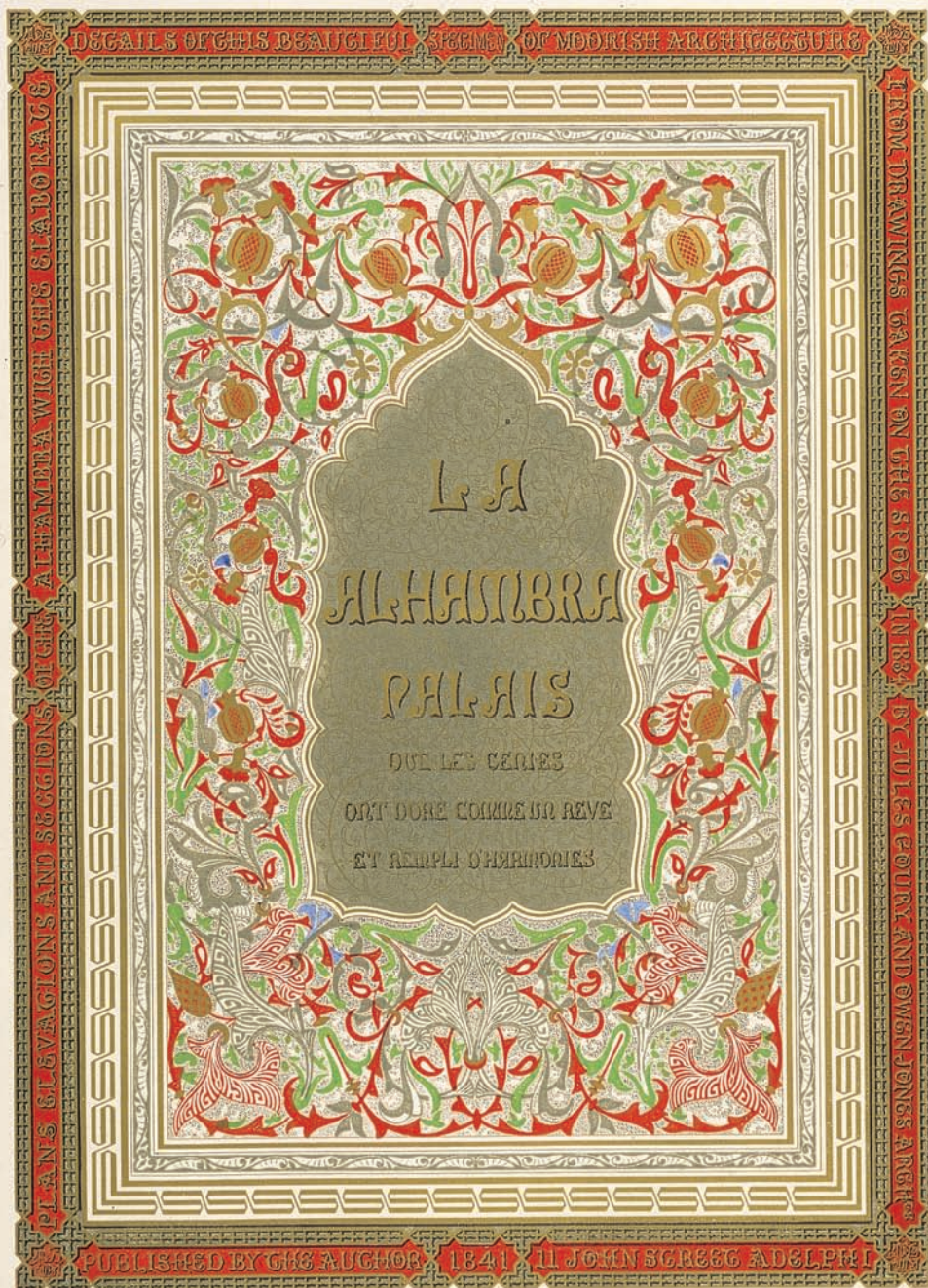
Spaniards living in England during the war years used the British presses for their own war effort, both in creating a public opinion and in the crucial debates on the constitution. There are many examples of the foregoing. In addition to José María Blanco White's well-known endeavour through the newspaper *El español*, published by Charles Wood's printing house [cat. 44], Álvaro Flórez Estrada's *Constitución para la nación española* came out in Birmingham in 1810,¹⁶⁷ and in London Juan Bautista Arriaza compiled his *Poesías patrióticas* in a small volume that also included such music scores as the 'Himno a la Victoria' by Fernando Sor.¹⁶⁸

The chants of the Spanish side were also heard, though they perhaps had less fortune in print. A curious version of the British national anthem was performed at a Cadiz theatre in 1809: the lyrics had been appropriately adapted to praise the Anglo-Spanish alliance against Napoleon and began as follows: 'Viva Fernando, / Jorge Tercero, / vivan los dos. / Su unión dichosa / confunda al monstruo / Napoleón'. ('Long live Ferdinand, / George the Third, / long live both of them. / May their fortunate union / confound the monster / Napoleon'). Shortly afterwards it was compiled in a *Colección de canciones patrióticas* published in the same city, the cover of which expressly stated that it included 'God Sev de King'.¹⁶⁹

In keeping with the frenzied unrest that characterized the century, during the 1800s Anglo-Spanish cultural relations became dynamic, and their influence extended extremely rapidly to books and reading. This was unquestionably an age when stereotypes about the *other*, whether Spanish or English, were conveyed in clear and well known clichés: the *traveller*, such as Richard Ford and his *Handbook for travellers in Spain*, which enjoyed huge success; the bible-bearing *missionary*, such as George Borrow, who so surprised the locals [cat. 12]; and the *antiquarian* in the manner of Owen Jones and his romantic, fairytale images of the Alhambra [cat. 11].¹⁷⁰



Cat. 12



Cat. 11

The number of translations increased both ways and novelties soon hit a market that was thirsty for novels, poems and also works on philosophy, science and politics. Robertson and Gibbon were published in Spanish,¹⁷¹ but so were Malthus, Stuart Mill, Herschel and Darwin [cat. 28],¹⁷² while Jeremy Bentham enjoyed a particularly active reception [cat. 24].¹⁷³

As for artists, the work of John Flaxman, who became well known much earlier through Goya,¹⁷⁴ was printed in Madrid thanks to the efforts of Joaquín Pi y Margall,¹⁷⁵ while the specialist press began to publish frequent news of British art.¹⁷⁶ In the literary world, apart from Walter Scott and Charles Dickens [cat. 27],¹⁷⁷ Lord Byron of course enjoyed huge success with *Don Juan* [cat. 13] and also with the vampire story attributed to him, translated as *Vampiro*, and a few fake copies of his letter to Galignani circulated among collectors.¹⁷⁸

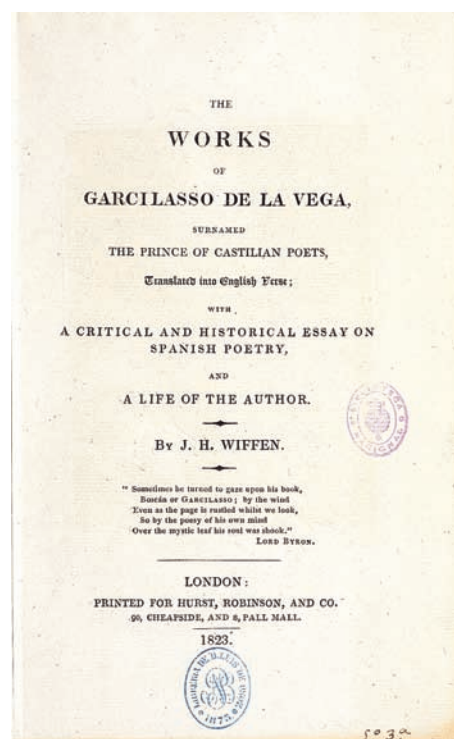
As for the fortunes of Spanish literature in the United Kingdom, we should first stress the active presence of a few writers among the circles of émigrés, such as Espronceda, Martínez de la Rosa and the Duke of Rivas, and, second, the development of a long tradition of Hispanists who translated Spanish Golden-Age classics and more modern authors into English.

To cite a few examples, in 1818 Ángel Anaya published *An essay on Spanish literature* quoting fragments of Spanish literary canons from the Middle Ages, including the *Cantar del Mío Cid* [cat. 23];¹⁷⁹ Wiffen dealt with Garcilaso in 1823 [cat. 25];¹⁸⁰ and, a year later, John Bowring translated Góngora, Don Juan Manuel and Fray Luis de León in *Ancient poetry and romances of Spain*, which he dedicated to Lord Holland.¹⁸¹ After a number of partial 17th-century attempts, Pedro Calderón de la Barca was finally translated 'in the metre of the original';¹⁸² and the non-dramatic poems of Lope de Vega, an author who had already attracted Lord Holland's attention at the beginning of the century, were translated into English by Frederick W. Cosens in 1866.¹⁸³

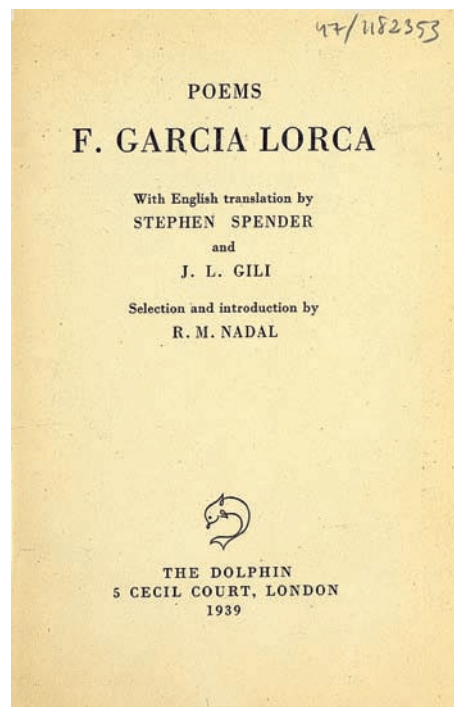
Closer to contemporary writers is James Kennedy with his *Modern poets and poetry of Spain*, published in 1852 [cat. 26], containing translations of works by the Duke of Rivas, Zorrilla, Martínez de la Rosa, Heredia and Espronceda's 'The song of the pirate' and 'To Spain. An elegy', which was written in London in 1829.¹⁸⁴ Even Benito Pérez Galdós became known in Britain through the publication of a *Lady Perfecta* in 1894 [cat. 29].¹⁸⁵

These brief sketches are intended simply to convey the vitality of 19th-century publishing activity as a vehicle for cultural exchange between Spain and the United Kingdom. This vitality became fully consolidated during the first third of the 20th century when a few publishing companies, such as José Lázaro Galdiano's La España Moderna, espoused a truly impressive policy of English translations, initiated in the last decade of 19th century. Indeed, the list of translators is almost anthological, ranging from Miguel de Unamuno (Carlyle, Spencer [cat. 30]) and Ciges Aparicio (Ruskin) to Juan Uña (Keynes [cat. 31]), Luis de Terán (Carlyle), José Jordán de Urríes¹⁸⁶ (Austen), Luis de Araquistáin (Jonson), Pablo de Azcárate (Stuart Mill), León Felipe (Russell [cat. 36]) and Altolaguirre (Shelley [cat. 37]) to Azaña (Borrow).¹⁸⁷

Obviously these names represent only a small slice of the authors whose works were translated. There were others, whose writings were aimed at the general public (De Quincey, Conan Doyle, Chesterton, Stevenson, George Eliot, Lewis Carroll, Emily Brontë and Virginia Woolf, who was translated into Catalan in 1938 by Edicions de la



Cat. 25



Cat. 38

Rosa del Vent),¹⁸⁸ and others still whose works, on scientific themes, had a more limited readership. A prominent example of the latter is A.S. Eddington, whose work played a significant part in disseminating the new physics in Spain.¹⁸⁹

We have listed some of the authors who were translated into Spanish. The Spanish writers whose works were published in English include equally significant figures, such as Azorín [cat. 32], Unamuno [cat. 33], Ortega [cat. 34], Marañón [cat. 35], Asín, Pérez de Ayala, Sender, Maeztu, Madariaga and Lorca [cat. 38].¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, Gregorio Prieto spent part of his early artistic career in the United Kingdom. Delightful books of engravings such as *An English garden*, produced in conjunction with Ramón Pérez de Ayala, and *The crafty farmer. A Spanish folk-tale*, published in 1938, bear witness to this sojourn.¹⁹¹

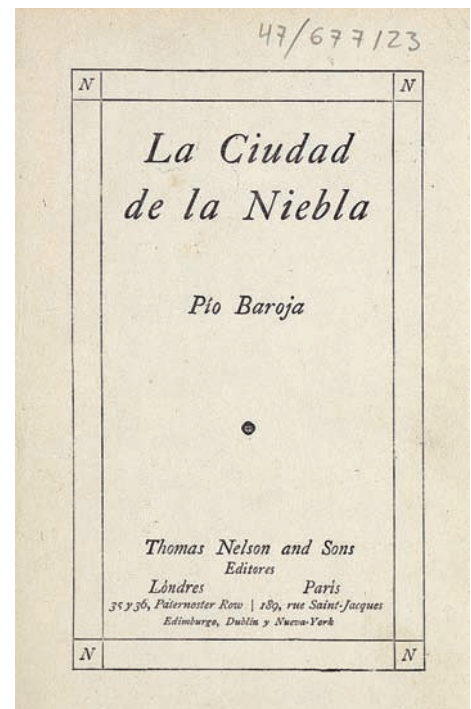
As for what we have been referring to as two-way printing endeavours, the Spanish-language activity of the British printing houses continued to be fairly vigorous. The long tradition of religious texts remained alive in the 19th century, and was joined by scriptural texts in Galician and Basque [cat. 46-47], some of which stemmed from the philological interests of Prince Bonaparte,¹⁹² and even an *Evangelio según San Juan* for the blind.¹⁹³ The evangelical anti-slavery associations, whose attention and printing presses were focused on the Spanish-speaking world, were also extremely active.¹⁹⁴

In the 20th century, *La ciudad de la niebla* was printed in London in 1912 [cat. 48],¹⁹⁵ though the propaganda effort in Spanish during the First World War was much greater, as a good many pamphlets were published, but also photograph albums and posters, such as the splendid ones found in Sancha's *Libro de horas amargas* published in Birmingham in 1917 [cat. 49], which appear to foreshadow the most modern advertising methods.¹⁹⁶ This two-way movement likewise continued during the Spanish Civil War, particularly with the activity of the Spanish legation in London, which promoted the publication of an impressive collection of photographs entitled *Work and War in Spain* [cat. 50],¹⁹⁷ among other works.

We have now reached the end of this overview of the flow of authors, titles and publishers back and forth between Spain and the United Kingdom from the 16th century to 1939. The traces of this incessant movement are fortunately preserved in libraries, which have progressively built up their holdings in pace with readers' interests, as well as with changing international circumstances. In their own way, bibliophily and book collecting are a magnificent vantage point from which to monitor the course of history in general, not only that of reading. And this also applies to the particular field of Anglo-Spanish history that concerns us.

In the 16th century, in summer 1522, Admiral Columbus's son Hernando Colón bought some books in London – now in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville, among them works by John Colet¹⁹⁸ and William Herman – noting down the exact price he had paid for them, as was his custom.¹⁹⁹ The San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial library houses those of Philip II, *Angliae Rex*, with important manuscripts and works regally bound with the English coat of arms [cat. 60].²⁰⁰

Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar [cat. 61], returned to Valladolid from England bearing a valuable treasury of English printed matter and manuscripts, which are recorded in the old *Inventario* of his library [cat. 65].²⁰¹ Many of them are now in the Real Biblioteca, which holds, among many other valuable items, his



Cat. 48



Cat. 50

Libros en Yngles.
 Historias de Ynglaterray de
 otros Reynos.

John Stow the Annales or general Chronicle of En-
 gland. augmented by Edmund Howes. f. Lon-
 don. 1615.

Samuel Daniel the Collection of the historie
 of England. f. London.

William Martin the historie and lives of y^e Kings
 of England. f. London. 1615.

Francis Bacon Viscount St Alban the life of
 Henry the 7. King of England. f. London. 1622

Richard Hakluyt the principall nauigations, voya-
 ges, traffiques and discoueries of y^e English
 nation. f. London. 1599. 2^{bus} volum.

The Romaine historie written by T. Linius of
 Padua. translated by Phillip Holland. f.
 2 volum. London. 1600.

The woorkes of Iosephus. f. translated by Thom.
 Lodge. London. 1602.

R. 824 574



IMPRESO EN BIRMINGHAM

En el año de MDCCCXVII

3
105183
SE VENDE EN LA IMPRENTA D PERCIVAL JONES
265, Strand, LONDON. Al precio de CINCO PESETAS

Cat. 49

copy of Sidney's *Arcadia*²⁰² and a manuscript copy of the first edition of Francis Bacon's *Essays* [cat. 63].²⁰³ The Biblioteca Nacional houses a few of Gondomar's manuscripts: prominent among them is *The Councell book* of 1582-1583 [cat. 62], which should be identified with the entry stating 'Libro del concejo o summa de lo que passó en el concejo de Ynglaterra desde el postrero de junio del año 1582 hasta los 20 del mismo, año 1583. Fo.' ('Council book or summary of what happened in the council of England from June of the year 1582 until the 20th of that month, year 1583. Signed.') in the *Inventario* of the Casa del Sol.²⁰⁴ Indeed, all the decisions made by Elizabeth I's council from 29 June 1582, at Greenwich, to 20th June 1583, 'At the Starrechamber', are entered in *The Councell book*, which is a document of paramount significance to English history – and incidentally contains information of extreme relevance to the history of printing.

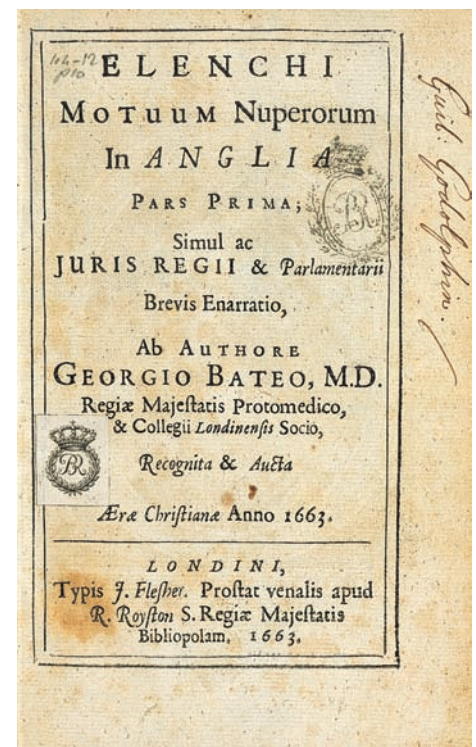
We mentioned earlier on that Philip IV would have been able to read Joseph Hall's utopian satire in his Madrid palace, where a translation of More's *Utopia* was located in the end position in the Torre Alta library. The *Índice* of the king's books, compiled by Francisco de Rioja in 1637, includes a specific section on 'Historias de Inglaterra y Escocia' [cat. 67]. Although it does not feature any titles in English and the works refer mainly to the so-called Schism of England (*Cisma de Inglaterra*) and the situation of the recusants, together with a *Chrónica* of William the Conqueror, the fact that British history is placed in a separate category (*materia*) is nevertheless noteworthy.²⁰⁵

Thanks to William Godolphin, English ambassador at the court of Charles II of Spain, a few works by English authors eventually found their way into the Biblioteca Nacional [cat. 69],²⁰⁶ along with rare, valuable editions previously owned by the Duke of Medina de las Torres. The ambassador acquired from the aristocrat's library titles that were as rare in Spain as William Alabaster's *Roxana* [cat. 66] and Peter Hausted's *Senile odium*,²⁰⁷ in addition to an assortment of Italian poetic compositions related to Girolamo Lando's departure for England from Venice.²⁰⁸

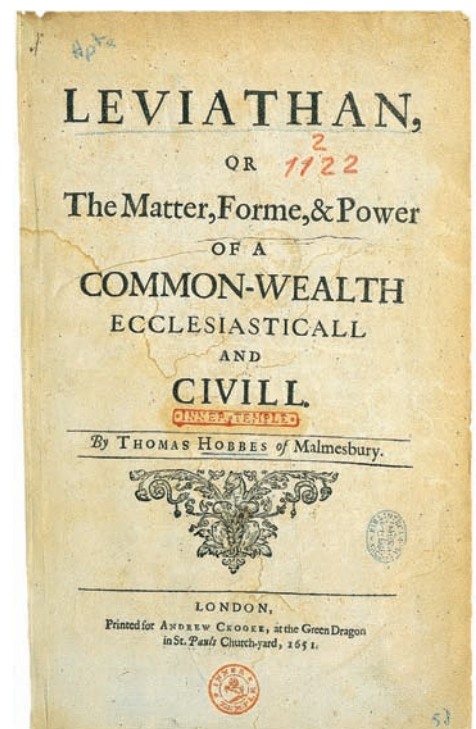
In the 18th century, Jovellanos' Anglophilia is clearly attested to by the number of English authors included in the inventory of his books drawn up in Seville in 1778, who range from Bacon to Dryden, and from Milton to Pope, among others [cat. 73].²⁰⁹ For her part, Queen Isabella Farnese would have been able to read various works by English authors, either in French or bilingual French-English editions (such as her Pope), and owned magnificent antiquarian editions published in England with luxurious rococo binding [cat. 70].²¹⁰ And the Biblioteca Real Pública, as shown by the huge volumes of its *Index Universalis*, was gradually enriched with English publications, such as the elegant edition of Shakespeare's *Works* printed in Oxford in 1771.²¹¹

During the course of the 19th century, the Biblioteca Nacional acquired further English books, both ancient and modern, thereby completing some of the gaps that it had not been possible to fill earlier. To cite an example, a copy of the 1651 English-language edition of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* was acquired in 1856. A curious fact is that the book was bought in London and had belonged to an interesting owner: the Inner Temple Library [cat. 68].²¹²

The collections amassed by Luis de Usoz and Pascual de Gayangos in England over the course of the century ended up among the Library's holdings. In addition to being particularly interested in the works of 16th-century Spanish Protestants forced to emigrate to England, Luis de Usoz, who was known as *the Spanish Quaker*, also collected evangelical publications and all sorts of works on the freeing of slaves. For example, he owned an English-language edition of the poems and autobiography of the Afro-Cuban



Cat. 69



Cat. 68

6...	<i>Sianus (Nicol.) Observationes ad Jo. Bapt. Straibani Tractatum de interitu Contractuum, et ultimatum voluntatum. V. Straibanus.</i>	161-1
1...	<i>Sibelius (Saxgax) Conciones. fol. Amstelodami 1665.</i>	22-1*
1...	<i>Sianda á Monte. Regali (Joannes) Ord. Cisterci. Spectabilium Historiæ Miraculorum Compendium. 8º. Roma. 1735.</i>	34-7
1...	<i>Shquanin (Fr. Casarius Maria) Ord. S. V. M. Tractatus Beneficiarius. 1º. Roma 1752.</i>	215-7
1...	<i>Sharp (M. Samuel) Crítica synopsis de la Cirugía, y Compendio práctico manual de sus operaciones. traducida del Ingles al Castellano por D.º Andree García Vazquez. 1º. Madrid 1753.</i>	1303-0
8...	<i>Shakespeare. The Works sus Obras Poéticas. 8º. Londres 1740.</i>	226-86
2...	<i>Shaw (Joseph) The Practical Justice of Peace. 1da. La Práctica del Tribunal de la Paz. 8º. Savoy 1736.</i>	192-5
1...	<i>Shaw (M. Pierre) Leçons de Chymie propres á perfectionner la Physique, le Commerce & les Arts. traduites de l'Anglois. 4º. Paris, chez Jean Thomas Heuriant. 1750.</i>	250-4
6...	<i>Shakespeare (Will) The Works. in six volumes, adorned with sculptures. the second edition, recast Opera Poetica. 1º. mean. Oxford printed at the Clarendon Press 1774.</i>	230-9
10...	<i>Idem. 8º. Edinburgh printed by Martin & Witherpoon 1767.</i>	253-6
	<i>Sibarius (Ls). 8º. Madrid. 1806.</i>	75-7
	<i>Siborius (Urbanus Gottfriedus): De Illustratione Germaniae. Lipsia 1740.</i>	149-3
	<i>S. Sixti II Enchiridion. 4º. 1da. 1725.</i>	209-7
1- Aug- 2-	<i>Shebbeare (John) The practice of Physic. 8º. London 1755.</i>	125-0

Cat. 74

poet Manzano.²¹³ Gayangos, for his part, acquired a vast number of books, both Spanish and English, printed and manuscript, during his stay in England. Of these, mention should be made of a volume containing different texts which date back to the early 17th century, from which the aforementioned *A direction for a traveller* [cat. 64] and *The estate of a prince*, a singular political treatise, are taken.²¹⁴

José Lázaro Galdiano, whose firm support for the translation of English authors in *La España Moderna* was mentioned previously, completes this series of pen portraits of bibliophiles and collectors, with the purchase of an Aldine incunabulum from England. It was one of the most beautiful books ever published, Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* [cat. 59], and had belonged to Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who had presented it as a gift to the London Royal Society.²¹⁵

As we have seen, a coming and going of books from the United Kingdom to Spain and from the contemporary age to the Renaissance. That is the thing about books and reading material, Anglo-Spanish or otherwise –as the soul's ambassadors, they come and go incessantly, to and fro, back and forth, hither and thither.

¹ 'Words are the Souls Ambassadors, who go / Abroad upon her errands too and fro'. James Howell, 'Of vvords and languages, Poema gnomicum', in *Lexicon tetraglotton. An English-French-Italian-Spanish dictionary, whereunto is adjoined a large nomenclature of the proper terms (in all the four) belonging to several arts, and sciences, to recreations, to professions both liberal and mechanick, &c....* London: printed by J.G. for Cornelius Bee at the King Armes in Little Brittain, 1660, unnumbered introductory pages.

² 'The Lepanto of Iames the sixth King of Scotland' appeared in *His Maiesties poeticall exercises at vacant houres*. At Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Walde-graue printer to the Kings Maiestie. Cum priuilegio regali, [1591]. 'The SPANIOL Prince exhorting thus / With glad and smiling cheare', vv. 496-497. On his ideology, see Robert Appelbaum, 'War and peace in "The Lepanto" of James VI and I', in *Modern Philology* (Chicago), 97-3 (2000), pp. 333-363.

³ Félix Lope de Vega Carpio, *La dragontea*. Valencia: por Pedro Patricio Mey, 1598. On the chivalrous treatment of the character see Elizabeth R. Wright, 'El enemigo en un espejo de príncipes: Lope de Vega y la creación del Francis Drake español', in *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* (Madrid), 26 (2001), pp. 115-130.

⁴ Francisco López de Gómara, *The pleasant historie of the conquest of the West India, now called New Spaine achieved by the most woorthie prince Hernando Cortes translated out of the Spanish tongue*, by T.N. anno. 1578. London: Printed by Thomas Creede, 1596. The *princeps* was from 1578.

⁵ John H. Elliott, 'El Escorial, símbolo de un rey y de una época', in *El Escorial. Biografía de una época. La historia* [exhibition]. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986, pp. 14-25.

⁶ Joseph Hall, *Mundus alter et idem sive Terra Australis...* Frankfurt: s.i., n.a. The copy that belonged to the king is now in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid [BNE], under call number 2/48463.

⁷ The call number of More's work was ZZZZ 26, the end position in the topographical reconstruction that has been carried out of the main hall of the king's library in Madrid. See Fernando Bouza, *El libro y el centro. La biblioteca de Felipe IV en la Torre Alta del Alcázar de Madrid*. Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2005, p. 52.

⁸ The bibliography is indeed boundless. Merely as an indication we will cite Martin Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Literature*. London: E. Nash, 1905; James Fitzmaurice-

Kelly, *The Relations between Spanish and English Literature*. Liverpool: University Press, 1910; Remigio U. Pane, *English Translations from the Spanish, 1484-1943: a Bibliography*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1944; Antonio Pastor, *Breve historia del hispanismo inglés*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948, offprint from *Arbor* (Madrid), 28-29 (1948), pp. 7-45; Vicente Llorens, *Liberales y románticos. Una emigración española en Inglaterra, 1823-1834* [1954]. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1968; Gustav Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature*. Berne: Francke, 1956; Sofía Martín Gamero, *La enseñanza del inglés en España. (Desde la Edad Media hasta el siglo XIX)*. Madrid: Gredos, 1961; Gustav Ungerer, *The Printing of Spanish books in Elizabethan England*. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1965, offprint from *The Library* (London), 20 (1965); Hilda U. Stubbings, *Renaissance Spain in its Literary Relations with England and France. A Critical Bibliography*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969; William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England. The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1971; John Loftis, *The Spanish plays of Neoclassical England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973; Anthony F. Allison, *English Translations from the Spanish and Portuguese to the year 1700. An Annotated catalogue of the Extant Printed Versions (excluding dramatics adaptations)*. Folkestone: Dawson of Pall Mall, 1974; Robert S. Rudder, *The Literature of Spain in English Translation: a Bibliography*. New York: F. Ungar, 1975; Colin Steele, *English Interpretations of the Iberian New World from Purchas to Stevens. A Bibliographical Study, 1603-1726*. Oxford: Dolphin Book Co., 1975; Patricia Shaw Fairman, *España vista por los ingleses del siglo XVII*. Madrid: SGEL, 1981; Rafael Martínez Nadal, *Espanoles en la Gran Bretaña. Luis Cernuda: el hombre y sus temas*. Madrid: Hiperión, 1983; G.M. Murphy, *Blanco-White: self-banished Spaniard*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989; Ana Clara Guerrero, *Viajeros británicos en la España del siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1990; Julián Jiménez Heffernan, *La palabra emplazada: meditación y contemplación de Herbert a Valente*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1998; J.N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700. The Formation of a Myth*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000; José Alberich, *El cateto y el milor y otros ensayos angloespañoles*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2001; Simon Grayson, *The Spanish*

Attraction. The British Presence in Spain from 1830 to 1965. Málaga: Santana Books, 2001; Carmelo Medina Casado and José Ruiz Mas (eds.), *El bisturí inglés. Libros de viajes e hispanismo en lengua inglesa*. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén-UNED, 2004; Trevor J. Dadson, 'La imagen de España en Inglaterra en los siglos XVI y XVII' in José M. López de Abiada and Augusta López Bernasocchi (eds.), *Imágenes de España en culturas y literaturas europeas (siglos XVI-XVII)*. Madrid: Verbum, 2004, pp. 127-175, and I.A.A. Thompson, 'Aspectos del hispanismo inglés y la coyuntura internacional en los tiempos modernos (siglos XVI-XVIII)' in *Obradoiro de historia moderna* (Santiago de Compostela) 15 (2006) pp. 9-28, which we have followed at various points in this essay.

⁹ BNE, Archivo de Secretaría, 38/18.

¹⁰ Aside from Martín de Padilla y Manrique's loose document in the form of a proclamation, which was printed in Portugal circa 1597 and is studied by Henry Thomas (*Anti-English propaganda in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Being the story of the first English printing in the Peninsula. With two facsimiles*. [Hispanic Society of America]. Oxford: University Press, 1946), the first attempt to print a book in English in Spain can be considered *The life of the most sacred Virgin Marie, our blessed ladie, queene of heaven, and ladie of the vvorlde*. En Madrid: Por Antonio Francisco de Zafra, 1679 [6 April]. On this work, see *infra* in the text.

¹¹ A short abridgement of Christian doctrine. Cádiz: printed by Antony Murguia, Fleshstreet, 1787; Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins, *A new dictionary of the Spanish and English languages in four volumes*. Madrid: Printed in the King's press by Pedro Julián Pereyra, printer to his Catholic Majesty, 1797-1798; Andrew Ramsay, *A new Cyropaedia or the travel of Cyrus young with a discourse on the mythology of the ancient*. Madrid: at the Royal Printing House, 1799, and William Casey, *A new English version of the lives of Cornelius Nepos from the original Latin embellished with cuts and numerical references to English syntax*. Barcelona: for John Francis Piferrer, one of his Majesty's printers, 1828.

¹² There are numerous cases. We may cite as an example: *Testamento nuevo de nuestro señor Jesu Christo*. [London]: En casa de Ricardo del Campo [i.e. Richard Field], 1596; Antonio Palomino y Velasco, *Vidas de los pintores y estatuarios eminentes españoles*. London: Impresso por Henrique Woodfall, 1744; Miguel de

Cervantes, *Historia del famoso cavallero don Quixote de la Mancha*. Salisbury: en la imprenta de Eduardo Easton, 1781. 3 vols., and Samuel Johnson, *Raselas, príncipe de Abisinia. Romance*. Translated by Felipe Fernández. London: Henrique Bryer, 1813.

¹³ Such as in Antonio Gil de Tejada, *Guía del extranjero en Londres*. [Londres: en la Imprenta española e inglesa de V. Torras], 1841.

¹⁴ Such is the case of Antonio Gil de Tejada, *Guía de Londres*. Londres: [Imprenta anglo-hispana de Carlos Wood]. Se hallará en venta en la Casa de Huéspedes del autor, s.a.

¹⁵ Llorens, *op. cit.* (note 8).

¹⁶ *Idem*, *id.*, p. 77.

¹⁷ On these publications and on the literary production of the circles of exiles in the United Kingdom in general, see Llorens, *op. cit.* (note 8).

¹⁸ 'The affairs of Spain. Early causes of its unpopularity' was one of the eight articles that Andrés Borrego was commissioned to write by the Spanish legation in London in order to influence British public opinion during the Spanish-Chilean crisis. It was published in the *Daily News* in 1866 under the pseudonym *Spanish traveller*. The articles and documentation on their payment can be found in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid [AHN], Estado, legajo 8557.

¹⁹ For those of the 16th century, see Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard Elizabethan in England: the correspondence of Antonio Pérez's exile*. 2 vols. London: Tamesis Books, 1975-1976, and Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans. The English exiles at the court of Philip II*. London: Burns & Oates, [1963]. For the term 'English Espanolized', see James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish pilgrim. Or, A nevv discoverie of Spanish popery, and Iesuiticall stratagems*. Printed in London: By T[homas] C[otes] for Michael Sparke, dwelling at the blue Bible in Greene-Arbor, 1629, p. 1.

²⁰ *Copia de lo sacado de siertos libros ingleses contra los españoles y contra el rey nuestro señor [Felipe II]*, c. 1575. AHN, Órdenes Militares, legajo 3511-6. The work by John Bale was *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles concerning the cleargye of Lo[n]don dyocese whereby that exorable [sic] Antychriste, is in his righte colours reueled in the year of our Lord a. 1554*. [Imprynted at London: By Ihon Tysdall, for Frauncys Coldocke, dwellinge in Lombard strete, ouer agaynste the Cardinales hatte, and are there to be sold at this shoppe, 1561]. Folio 35r reads: 'And as for

Jacke Spaniard, being as good a Christian, as is eyther Turke, Jewe, or pagane, sine lux, sine crux, sine deus, after the chast rules of Rome & Florence, he must be a dweller here, ye know causes whye'.

²¹ *Copia de tres parágraphos que escrivía el doctor Gonçalo de Illescas [contra Isabel I Tudor]*. AHN, Órdenes Militares, legajo 3511-14. Lord Burghley could speak Spanish, as could Queen Elizabeth: see the magnificent 'A troubled relationship: Spain and Great Britain, 1604-1655' [exhibition] by John H. Elliott, in J. Brown and J.H. Elliot (eds.), *The Sale of the Century. Artistic Relations between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-1655*. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2002, pp. 17-38, p. 20 for the reference. On the presence of Hispanic literature in Cecil's library, see Gustav Ungerer, 'Sir William Cecil: collector of Spanish books', in *The printing of Spanish books...*, *op. cit.* (note 8), appendix II.

²² See William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England. The Development of anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1971.

²³ The print with the modified inscription *ex alia manu* is in BNE, ER 2901 (297).

²⁴ Thomas Scott, *The second part of vox populi or Gondomar appearing in the likenes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament*. Printed at Goricom [Gorinchem, i.e. London]: By Ashuerus Ianss [i.e. William Jones], 1624. Stilo nouo.

²⁵ We refer to Thompson, *op. cit.* (note 8).

²⁶ See Foster Watson, *Les relations de Joan Lluís Vives amb els anglesos i amb l'Anglaterra*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1918, and, recently, Valentín Moreno Gallego, *La recepción hispana de Juan Luis Vives*. Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport, 2006, especially the chapter on 'Las consecuencias de la estancia británica: el círculo inglés', pp. 90-106.

²⁷ Fernando de Herrera, *Tomás Moro*. Madrid: por Luis Sánchez, 1617.

²⁸ Thomas More, *Utopía*. Translated by Jerónimo Antonio de Medinilla. Córdoba: por Salvador de Cea, 1637. With a foreword by Francisco de Quevedo (ff. xr-xir).

²⁹ Thomas More, *De optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula utopia*. Lovanii: Servatius Sassenus, 1548. The copy owned by Quevedo is in BNE R 20494. See Luisa López Grigera, 'Anotaciones de Quevedo lector', in Pedro M. Cátedra and María Luisa López-Vidriero (dirs.) and Pablo Andrés Escapa (ed.), *El libro antiguo*

español. VI. De libros, librerías, imprentas, lectores. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca-SEMYR, 2002, pp. 163-192.

³⁰ See, among many other examples, Robert Adams, *Expeditionis hispanorum in Angliam vera descriptio*. Anno D^o MDLXXXVIII. [London: Augustinus Ryther, 1590], with beautiful engravings by Augustine Ryther. A magnificent example in colour can be found in the Real Biblioteca, Madrid, and may have belonged to Gondomar, Real Biblioteca [RB], IX/7223 (2).

³¹ See Ungerer, *op. cit.* (note 8, 1965). According to this author, the complete entry would be *Declaración de las causas que han movido la Magestad de la Reyna d'Ynglaterra a embiar un armada real para defensa de sus Reynos y señoríos contra las fuerças del Rey d'Epaña*. Impresso en Londres: por los Deputados de Christóval Barker, Impressor de la Reyna, 1596.

³² See K.M. Pogson, 'A "Grand Inquisitor" and his library', *Bodleian. Quarterly Record* (Oxford), 3 (1911), pp. 139-141, on the books of Fernando Mascarenhas, bishop of Faro, and P.S. Allen, 'Books brought from Spain in 1596', *The English Historical Review* (Oxford), 31 (1916), pp. 606-610, on those brought from Cadiz by Edward Doughty, now in Hereford Cathedral library.

³³ Thomas, *op. cit.* (note 10). The proclamation began: *Considering the obligation, vubich his catholike magestye my lord and master hathe receaued of gode almighty... S.I. [Lisbon?]: n.i., n.a. [1597?]*.

³⁴ Is. Casauboni *corona regia. Id est panegyrici cuiusdam vere aurei, quem Iacobo I. Magni Britannii, &c. Regi, fidei defensori delinearat, fragmenta, ab Euphormione... collecta, & in lucem edita*. Londini [i.e. Louvain]: Pro officina regia Io. Bill [i.e. J. C. Flavius], M. DC. XV [1615].

³⁵ *Información del autor de un libro escrito contra el rey de Inglaterra intitulado Isaaci Casauboni Corona regia*. Brussels, 1616-1617. BNE MS. 1047. The copy of the *Corona Regia* in RB IX/4588 also belonged to Gondomar.

³⁶ Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, MS. 9/3662/158. This *Memoria* can be dated to around 1610. The text of the *Memoria* can be found in Fernando Bouza, *Del escribano a la biblioteca. La civilización escrita europea de la alta Edad Moderna (siglos XV-XVII)*. Madrid: Síntesis, 1992, pp. 140-141.

³⁷ Cf. Ungerer, *op. cit.* (note 8, 1965).

³⁸ See Federico Eguiluz, *Robert Persons, el 'architraidor'*. Su vida y su obra (1546-1610).

Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1990.

³⁹ In 1617 Creswell presented Philip III with a detailed *Memorial sobre la provisión de libros católicos* including even the minor expenses of a printing office. RB, MS. II/2225 (26).

⁴⁰ Juan de Ávila, *The audi filia, or a rich cabinet full of spirituall ievells*. Composed by the Reuerend Father, Doctour Auila, translated out of Spanish into English. S.I. [Saint-Omer]: n.i. [English College], 1620.

⁴¹ Lawrence Anderton, *The triple cord or a treatise prouing the truth of the roman religion by sacred scriptures taken in the literall senses*. S.I.: [Saint-Omer]: n.i. [English College Press], 1634. A manuscript annotation in the copy in the History Library of the Universidad Complutense, FIL 3687, indicates that the author was 'Laurentius Andertonus' and adds that 'Este libro es de autor cathólico de la Compañía de Jhs y es de la Misión de Inglaterra' ('This book is by a Catholic author of the Society of Jesus and he belongs to the English Mission').

⁴² Fernando Bouza, 'Contrarreforma y tipografía. ¿Nada más que rosarios en sus manos?', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* (Madrid), 16 (1995), pp. 73-87.

⁴³ 'Carta de Juan de Tassis, Conde de Villamediana a Diego Sarmiento de Acuña describiendo Londres e Inglaterra', Richmond, 10 February 1604. In *Correspondencia del Conde de Gondomar*, BNE, MS. 13141, ff. 149r-150r.

⁴⁴ James Howell, *Instructions for forreine travell shewing by what cours, and in what compasse of time, one may take an exact survey of the kingdomes and states of christendome, and arrive to the practicall knowledge of the languages, to good purpose*. London: Printed by T.B. for Humprey Mosley at the Princes Armes in Paules Church-yard, 1642, p. 200.

⁴⁵ His grammar books were published as: *A new English grammar prescribing as certain rules as the language will bear, for forreners to learn English*. *Ther is also another Grammar of the Spanish or Castilian Tounge, with som special remarks upon the Portugue Dialect, &c. Whereunto is annexed a discours or dialog containing the perambulation of Spain and Portugall which may serve for a direction how to travell through both Countreys, &c.* / *Gramática de la lengua inglesa prescribiendo reglas para alcançarla, Otra gramática de la lengua española o castellana, con ciertas observaciones tocante al Dialecto Portugues, y un Discurso contenido La perambulación de España y de Portugal. Que podrá servir por Direction a los que*

quieren caminar por Aquellas Tierras, &c. Londres: printed for T. Williams, H. Brome, and H. Marth, 1662. His *Lexicon*, *op. cit.* (note 1), contains a Spanish-English-Italian-French four-language vocabulary and various 'nomenclaturas' or special glossaries of words by subjects. Similarly, the *Lexicon* includes, with their own title page, 'Proverbios en romance o la lengua castellana; a los quales se han añadido algunos Portuguezes, Catalanes y Gallegos, &c. De los quales muchos andan glossados' [London: Thomas Leach, 1659]. See Francisco Javier Sánchez Escribano, *Proverbios, refranes y traducción. James Howell y su colección bilingüe de refranes españoles (1659)*. Zaragoza: SEDERI, 1996.

⁴⁶ As in the introductory pages of *A new English grammar*, *op. cit.* (note 45).

⁴⁷ Antonio Pastor, *Breve historia del hispanismo inglés*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948. Offprint from *Arbor* (Madrid), 28-29 (1948), pp. 7-45. The reference to his mastery of Spanish is found on p. 14. His afflicted life is dealt with in Sánchez Escribano, *op. cit.* (note 45), which, in contrast to Pastor's flattering judgement, doubts his ability to write in Spanish (*ibid.*, p. 64).

⁴⁸ BNE MS. 17477, ff. 186r-187v. For the quotes in the text, ff. 186v-187r.

⁴⁹ *Relación de los puertos de Inglaterra y Escocia hecha por persona embiada a verlos de propósito, aunque no dice el nombre*. AHN, Órdenes Militares, legajo 3512-30.

⁵⁰ Salviano de Marsella, *Quis dives saluus. Como un hombre rico se puede salvar*. Imprimido en Flandes: en el Colegio de los Yngleses de Sant Omer, por Ricardo Britanno..., 1619 (1620). Translated by Joseph Creswell.

⁵¹ Ungerer, *op. cit.* (note 8, 1965).

⁵² *Idem*, *id.*, p. 177. Antonio del Corro, *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua española y francesa confiriendo la vna con la otra, segun el orden de las partes de la oration latinas*. Impressas en Oxford: Por Ioseph Barnes, en el año de salud. M.D.LXXXVI [1586].

⁵³ Bernaldino [Delgadillo] de Avellaneda, 'Copia de una carta que embió Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, General de la Armada de su Magestad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez, Presidente de la Casa de Contratación de las Yndias, en que trata del sucesso de la Armada de Ynglaterra, después que pattio [sic] de Panama, de que fue por general Francisco Draque, y de su muerte. [Havana, 30 March 1596]', in Henry Savile, A

Libell of Spanish Lies: found at the Sacke of Cales, discoursing the fight in the West Indies, twixt the English Nauie being fourteene Ships and Pinasses, and a flete of twentie saile of the King of Spaines, and of the death of Sir Francis Drake. London: Printed by Iohn Windet, dwelling by Paules Wharfe at the signe of the Crosse Keyes, and are there to be solde, 1596.

⁵⁴ *Testamento nuevo de nuestro señor Jesu Christo*. Translation by Casiodoro de Reina revised by Cipriano de Valera. [London]: En casa de Ricardo del Campo [i.e. Richard Field], M.D.XCVI. [1596], and Cipriano de Valera, *Dos tratados. El primero es del Papa y de su autoridad colegido de su vida y dotrina, y de lo que los doctores y concilios antiguos y la misma sagrada Escritura ensen~an. El segundo es de la Missa recopilado de los doctores y concilios y de la sagrada Escritura*. [London:] Ricardo del Campo [i.e. Richard Field], 1599.

⁵⁵ Richard Percyvall, *Bibliotheca hispanica*. London: by John Jackson, 1591.

⁵⁶ On Minsheu, see the recent *A dictionary in Spanish and English: (London 1599)*. Preliminary study by Gloria Guerrero Ramos and Fernando Pérez Lagos. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2000, and *Pleasant and delightful dialogues in Spanish and English, profitable to the learner, 'and not unpleasant to any' other reader: Diálogos familiares muy útiles y provechosos para los que quieren aprender la lengua castellana*. Edited by Jesús Antonio Cid. Alcalá de Henares: Instituto Cervantes, 2002.

⁵⁷ James Howell, 'The thirteenth section. A library or Bibliotheque. La biblioteca o libreria. La bibliothèque, La librería', among the terms included in the *Lexicon...*, *op. cit.* (note 1), unnumbered. Facsimile reprinting by the Biblioteca Nacional de España for the London Book Fair 2007.

⁵⁸ John Stevens, *A new Spanish and English dictionary collected from best Spanish authors, both ancient and modern*. London: printed for George Sawbridge, 1706. The copy mentioned is BNE R 6000.

⁵⁹ The traveller, as well as being a polemicist on Cervantine subjects, was the author of a hugely successful Giuseppe Baretti, *A dictionary Spanish and English*. London: T. Nourse, 1778.

⁶⁰ Pedro Pineda, *Corta y compendiosa arte para aprender a hablar, leer y escribir la lengua española*. (Londres: por F. Woodward), 1726, and Pedro Pineda, *Nuevo Diccionario Español e Inglés e Inglés y Español*. [S.I]: [s.n.], 1740 (Londres: F. Gyles... y P. Vaillant).

⁶¹ Pedro Pineda, *Synopsis de la genealogía de la antiqúissima y nobilíissima familia Brigantina o Douglas*. Londres: [s.n.], 1754.

⁶² See, par excellence, Martín Gamero's classic monograph, *op. cit.* (note 8).

⁶³ *Certamen público de las lenguas griega e inglesa, de la esfera y uso del globo, y de geografía y historia antigua que en este real seminario de nobles tendrán algunos caballeros seminaristas el día [4] de [enero] de 178[4] a las [3 1/2] de la [tarde] baxo la dirección de su maestro D. Antonio Carbonel y Borja*. Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1780. In *Exercicios literarios...* Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1780.

⁶⁴ Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins, *A new dictionary of the Spanish and English languages in four volumes*. Madrid: Printed in the King's press by Pedro Julián Pereyra, printer to his Cath. Maj., 1797-1798.

⁶⁵ Andrew Ramsay, *A new Cyropaedia or the travel of Cyrus young with a discourse on the mythology of the ancient*. Madrid: at the Royal Printing House, 1799.

⁶⁶ William Casey, *A new English version of the lives of Cornelius Nepos from the original latin embellished with cuts and numerical references to English syntax*. Barcelona: for John Francis Piferrer, one of his Majesty's printers, 1828.

⁶⁷ José Simón Díaz, *Relaciones breves de actos públicos celebrados en Madrid de 1541 a 1650*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1982, p. 217.

⁶⁸ We quote from Martín Gamero, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp. 104-105.

⁶⁹ There is a letter of his to the Count of Gondomar, dated in Madrid on 25 December 1619, in RB, MS. II/2180-12.

⁷⁰ See Glyn Redworth, *El príncipe y la infanta. Una boda real frustrada*. Madrid: Taurus, 2004, p. 144.

⁷¹ This was Jeremiah Lewis, *The right use of promises or a treatise of sanctification. Whereunto is added Gods free-schoole*. London: Printed by I.B. for H. Ouerton. And are to be sold at his shop at the entring in of Paperhead Alley out of Lombardstreet, 1631. This book was banned. AHN, Inquisición, legajo 4440-3. Andrew Young, Caledonius Abredonensis, that is, a Scot from Aberdeen, taught at the Colegio Imperial in Madrid and published *De providentia et praedestinatione meditationes scholasticae*. Lugduni: sumpt. Ioannis Antonij Huguetan & soc., 1678.

⁷² 'A los libros de Salmacio y Milton sobre las cosas de Inglaterra. Epigrama XLIV'. 'Lo que se puede juzgar / de Salmacio y de Milton

/ es que hacen suposición / lo que debieran probar / y apuran sus locuciones / con desesperadas furias, / tan fértil éste de injurias / como aquél d'exclamaciones. / Su verdad me persuadió, / aunque su impiedad temí / pues dicen ellos de sí / lo mismo que digo yo'. Quoted Rafael González Cañal, *Edición crítica de los Ocios del Conde de Rebolledo*. Cuenca: University of Castilla-La Mancha Editions, 1997, p. 458.

⁷³ See Javier Burrieza Sánchez, *Una isla de Inglaterra en Castilla* [exhibition]. Palencia: V. Merino, 2000, and Michael E. Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid. Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain*. London: Hurst, 1986.

⁷⁴ *Relación de vn sacerdote Inglés escrita a Flandes a vn cauallero de su tierra desterrado por ser Católico: en la qual le da cuenta dela venida de su Magestad a Valladolid, y al Colegio de los Ingleses, y lo que allí se hizo en su recebimiento*. Traduzida de Inglés en Castellano por Tomas Ecclesal cauallero Inglés. En Madrid: por Pedro Madrigal, 1592. Unfortunately the English, Scottish and 'vvala', i.e. Welsh, texts were not included as for some of the Latin, Italian and Spanish emblems.

⁷⁵ *Idem*, *id.*, f. 49v.

⁷⁶ Howell, *Lexicon*, *op. cit.* (note 1), before the title pages.

⁷⁷ Howell, 'Poems by the Author, Touching the Association of the English Toung with the French, Italian and Spanish, &c.', *Lexicon*, *op. cit.* (note 1), unnumbered introductory pages.

⁷⁸ Howell, 'Of vvords and languages, Poema gnomicum' in *Lexicon*, *op. cit.* (note 1), unnumbered introductory pages.

⁷⁹ Eugenio de Salazar, 'Carta a un hidalgo amigo del autor, llamado Juan de Castejón, en que se trata de la corte', in Eugenio de Ochoa, *Epistolario español. Colección de cartas de españoles ilustres antiguos y modernos. II*. Madrid: Imprenta y estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1870 [Biblioteca de Autores Españoles], p. 283.

⁸⁰ Elliott, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp. 20-21, with important cultural as well as political observations, and Michele Olivari, 'La Española Inglesa di Cervantes e i luoghi comuni della belligeranza ideologica castigliana cinquecentesca. Antefatti e premesse di una revisione radicale', in Maria Chiabò and Federico Doglio (eds.), *XXIX convegno internazionale Guerre di religione sulle scene del Cinque-Seicento*. Roma, 6-9 ottobre 2005. Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 2006, pp. 219-255.

⁸¹ BNE, MS. F. 150r. Paris, 13 February

1605. The following year Palmer published *An essay of the meanes hoov to make our trauailes, into forraine countries, the more profitable and bonourable*. At London: Imprinted, by H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Mathew Lownes, 1606.

⁸² Quoted by Robert Malcolm Smuts, 'Art and the material culture of majesty in early Stuart England' in R.M. Smuts (ed.), *The Stuart Court and Europe. Essays in politics and political culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 99.

⁸³ See Agustín Bustamante, *La octava maravilla del mundo. Estudio histórico sobre el Escorial de Felipe II*. Madrid: Alpuerto, 1994, p. 480, and Pedro Navascués, 'La obra como espectáculo: el dibujo Hatfield', in *IV centenario del monasterio de El Escorial. Las casas reales. El palacio* [exhibition]. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1986, pp. 55-67.

⁸⁴ James Wadsworth, *Further obseruations of the English Spanish pilgrime, concerning Spaine being a second part of his former booke, and containing these particulars: the description of a famous monastery, or house of the King of Spaines, called the Escuriall, not the like in the Christian world*. London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at his shop at S. Austens gate at the signe of the Beare, 1630.

⁸⁵ Francisco de los Santos, *The Escorial or a description of that wonder of the world for architecture built by K. Philip the Ild of Spain, and lately consumed by fire written in Spanish by Francisco de los Santos, a frier of the Order of S. Hierome, and an inhabitant there, translated into English by a servant of the Earl of Sandwich in his extraordinary embassie thither*. London: T. Collins and J. Ford at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet-street, 1671. It could be conjectured that William Ferrer was responsible for this abridged version.

⁸⁶ Sir John H. Elliott kindly supplied me with this information. Part of the drawings in Sandwich's diary have been studied by Javier Portús, 'El Conde de Sandwich en Aranjuez (las fuentes del Jardín de la Isla en 1668)', *Reales Sitios* (Madrid), 159 (2004), pp. 46-59. On Sandwich's stay in Spain and his son Sidney Montagu, see Alistair Malcolm, 'Arte, diplomacia y política de la corte durante las embajadas del conde de Sandwich a Madrid y Lisboa (1666-1668)', in José Luis Colomer (ed.), *Arte y diplomacia de la Monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVII*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2003, pp. 161-175.

⁸⁷ James Alban Gibbes, *Escuriale per Iacobum Gibbes anglum Horat. Lib. 2 Od. XV. Oda*.

Translated by Manuel de Faria e Sousa. Madrid: ex officina Ioannis Sanchez, 1638. The ode, dedicated to the Count Duke of Olivares, was reprinted in the edition of Gibbes' *Carminum* (Romae: ex oll. F. de Falco, 1668), pp. 137-143.

⁸⁸ On the Porter Figueroa family and the figure of Endymion, see Elliott, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp. 19-20.

⁸⁹ A rare sonnet by Bocángel dedicated to Gibbes is included in the introductory pages of the 1638 Madrid edition of the *Escuriale...*, *op. cit.* (note 87), p. 4.

⁹⁰ *Escuriale...*, *op. cit.* (note 87), p. 15.

⁹¹ 'Imago B.V. cum puero Iesu in ulnis depicta a Ticiano atque in Sacristia Escorialis appensa: quam Michael de Cruce, pictor Anglus, auctoritate regia (año 1632) in Hispaniam missus toties inter caetera tam foeliciter expressit', in *Escuriale...*, *op. cit.* (note 87), p. 34. On Cross's mission in Spain, see Jonathan Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs. Collecting Art in Seventeenth-century Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press-Princeton University Press, 1995, p. 111.

⁹² On Colville, see John Durkan, *David Colville: an appendix*. Glasgow: Scottish Catholic Historical Association, 1973 (reprint of *The Innes Review* [Edinburgh], XX, 2); Gregorio de Andrés, 'Cartas inéditas del humanista escocés David Colville a los monjes jerónimos del Escorial', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid), 170 (1973), pp. 83-155, and David Worthington, *Scots in the Habsburg service, 1618-1648*. Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 32, 56 and *passim*.

⁹³ On Teller, see Ian Michael and José Antonio Ahijado Martínez, 'La Casa del Sol: la biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar en 1619-23 y su dispersión en 1806', in María Luisa López-Vidriero and Pedro M. Cátedra (eds.), *El Libro en Palacio y otros estudios bibliográficos, Libro Antiguo Español*, III. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, Patrimonio Nacional, Sociedad Española de Historia del Libro, 1996, pp. 185-200, and Santiago Martínez Hernández, 'Nuevos datos sobre Enrique Teller: de bibliotecario del Conde de Gondomar a agente librario del Marqués de Velada', *Reales Sitios* (Madrid), 147 (2001), pp. 72-74.

⁹⁴ Cassiano del Pozzo, *El diario del viaje a España del Cardenal Francesco Barberini*. Edited by Alessandra Anselmi. Madrid: Fundación Carolina-Doce Calles, 2004, pp. 224-225.

⁹⁵ Félix Lope de Vega Carpio, *Corona*

trágica. Vida y muerte de la serenísima reyna de Escocia María Estuarda. Madrid: por la viuda de Luis Sanchez..., a costa de Alonso Perez..., 1627. George Conn, *Vita Mariae Stuartae Scotiae reginae, dotariae Galliae, Angliae & Hibernie haeredis*. Romae: apud Ioannem Paulum Gellium, 1624 (Romae: ex typographia Andraee Phaei, 1624).

⁹⁶ Aurora Egido, *Las caras de la prudencia y Baltasar Gracián*. Madrid: Castalia, 2000.

⁹⁷ John Barclay, *Argenis. Primera y segunda partes*. Translated by José Pellicer. Madrid: por Luis Sánchez, 1626. The first part is from Philip IV's library in the Torre Alta of the Alcázar palace [BNE R 15182]. The second part is dedicated to Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino; John Barclay, *La prodigiosa historia de los dos amantes Argénis y Poliarco: en prosa y verso*. Translated by José del Corral. Madrid: por luan González: a costa de Alonso Pérez..., 1626.

⁹⁸ John Owen, *Agudezas*. Madrid: por Francisco Sanz en la imprenta del Reino, 1674. See Inés Ravasini, 'John Owen y Francisco de la Torre y Sevil: de la traducción a la imitación', in Ignacio Arellano (ed.), *Studia aurea. Actas del III Congreso de la AISO*. Vol. 1. Toulouse-Pamplona: GRISO-LEMSO, 1996, pp. 457-465.

⁹⁹ Baltasar Gracián, *The critick*. London: Printed by T.N., 1681, and *The art of prudence*. London: Jonah Douyer, 1705.

¹⁰⁰ Francisco de Quevedo, *Fortune in her wits or the hour of all men*. London: R. Sare- F. Saunders and Tho. Bennet, 1697. Translated by John Stevens,

¹⁰¹ Antonio de Guevara, *Spanish letters historical, satyirical, and moral*. London: printed for F. Saunders in the New-Exchange in the Strand, and A. Roper at the Black-Boy over-against St. Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, 1697. Translated by John Savage.

¹⁰² Pero Mexía, *The historie of all the Romane emperors: beginning with Caius Iulius Caesar and successiuey ending with Rodulph the second now reigning*. London: printed for Matthew Lovvnes, 1604.

¹⁰³ Pedro Mártir de Anglería, *The decades of the newe worlde or west India conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde in the west ocean perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne...* Londini: In aedibus Guilhelmi Powell [for William Seres], Anno. 1555.

¹⁰⁴ *The arte of nauigation conteynyng a compendious description of the sphere, with the making*

of certen instrumentes and rules for nauigations: and exemplified by manye demonstrations. [Imprinted at London: In Powles Church yarde, by Richard Jugge, printer to the Quenes maiestie], [1561].

¹⁰⁵ Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de ingenios. The examination of mens wits: in which by discovering the varietie of natures is shewed for what profession each one is apt*. London: Printed by Adam Islip for C. Hunt of Excester, 1594.

¹⁰⁶ Luis de Granada, *A sinners guyde. A vvorke contayning the whole regiment of a Christian life, deuided into two bookes*. At London: Printed by Iames Roberts, for Paule Linley, & Iohn Flasket, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Beare, Anno. Dom. 1598. Translated by Francis Meres.

¹⁰⁷ See the interesting review of the matter proposed by Jiménez Heffernan, *op. cit.* (note 8), with an abundant bibliography.

¹⁰⁸ Teresa de Jesús, *The lyf of the mother Teresa of Iesus, foundresse of the monasteries of the descalced or bare-footed Carmelite nunnes and fryers, of the first rule*. Imprinted in Antwerp: For Henry laye, Anno M.DC.XI. [1611].

¹⁰⁹ Teresa de Jesús, *The flaming hart, or, The life of the gloriovs S. Teresa. Foundresse of the reformation, of the order of the all-immaculate Virgin-Mother, our B. Lady, of Mount Carmel*. Antwerpe: Printed by Johannes Meursius, M.DC.XLII. [1642]. Translated by Sir Tobie Matthew.

¹¹⁰ *Escuriale...*, *op. cit.* (note 87), 'Quánta reliquia, cuánto movimiento / de Agustín, de Teresa aquí veneras'. The reference to Augustine seems to refer to a manuscript copy of *De baptismo parvulorum* housed in the Escorial, which was held to be autograph.

¹¹¹ The quotation is taken from 'The preface of the Translatour to the christian and civil reader', unnumbered.

¹¹² Miguel de Luna, *Almanson. The learned and victorious king that conquered Spain*. London: printed for John Parker, 1627. Translated by Robert Ashley.

¹¹³ James Salgado, *An impartial and brief description of the plaza, or sumptuous market-place of Madrid, and the bull-baiting there. Together with the history of the famous and much admired Placidus: as also a large scheme: being the lively representation of the Order of Ornament of this solemnity*. London: Printed by Francis Clark for the author, 1683.

¹¹⁴ *Idem*, *id.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ It is timely to recall John de Nicholas (see Eroulla Demetriou, 'John de Nicholas & Sacharles and the black legend of Spain', in Medina Casado and Ruiz Mas (eds), *El bisturi*

inglés..., *op. cit.* [note 8], pp. 75-103) and the dissemination in English of Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevísima* from 1583 (Thompson, *op. cit.* [note 8], pp. 21-22).

¹¹⁶ James Salgado, *The manners and customs of the principal nations of Europe gathered together by the particular observation of James Salgado... in his travels through those countries*. London: Printed by T. Snowden for the author, 1684.

¹¹⁷ We refer to Thompson's fine summary, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp. 17-26.

¹¹⁸ Miguel de Cervantes, *The history of the valorous and wittie knight errant Don Quixote of the Mancha translated out of Spanish*. Translated by Thomas Shelton. London: printed by William Stansby, 1612.

¹¹⁹ Mateo Alemán, *The Rogue*. London: Printed for Edward Blount, 1622-1623.

¹²⁰ Fernando de Rojas, *The Spanish bawd, represented in Celestina: or, The tragicke-comedy of Calisto and Melibea*. [S.l]: [s.n.], 1631 (London: J.B.).

¹²¹ Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, *Querer por solo querer. To love only for love sake: a dramattick romance: represented at Aranjuez before the King and Queen of Spain to celebrate the birthday of that king by the meninas: which are a sett of ladies, in the nature of ladies of honour in that court, children in years by higher in degree, being many of them daughters and heyres to Grandees of Spain, than the ordinary ladies of honour attending likewise that Queen... together with the festivals of Aranjuez*. London: Printed by William Godbid, 1670. Translated by Sir Richard Fanshawe.

¹²² BNE MS. 3908. See Benito Brancaforte, *Defensa de la poesía. A 17th century anonymous Spanish translation of Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesie*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1977.

¹²³ AHN, Consejos suprimidos, legajo 7189, containing the *Memorial* and the three printed sections. We deal with this undertaking in Fernando Bouza, 'Una imprenta inglesa en el Madrid barroco y otras devociones tipográficas', *Revista de Occidente* (Madrid), 257 (2002), pp. 89-109.

¹²⁴ *A short abridgement of Christian doctrine*. Cádiz: printed by Antony Murguia, Fleshstreet, 1787. AHN, Inquisición, Mapas, Planos y Dibujos 322. Breakdown of the inquisitional report in AHN, Inquisición 4474-7.

¹²⁵ British printing houses produced a huge number of pamphlets on the situation in Spain, once again providing a point of

dissemination of political matters in the Iberian Peninsula. See, for example, Juan Tomás Enríquez de Cabrera, *The Almirante of Castile's manifesto containing, I. the reasons of his withdrawing himself out of Spain, II. the intrigues and management of the Cardinal Portocarrero....* London: Printed and sold by John Nutt, 1704.

¹²⁶ George Carleton, *Memorial elevado al Conde de las Torres*, San Clemente, 1710. AHN, Consejos suprimidos, legajo 12507. As is known, he was the basis for the character in Daniel Defoe's famous story, which was recently studied by Virginia León in *Memorias de guerra del capitán George Carleton. Los españoles vistos por un oficial inglés durante la Guerra de Sucesión*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2002.

¹²⁷ See Martín Camero, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp. 176-177 and *passim*.

¹²⁸ John Stevens, *A brief history of Spain: containing the race of its Kings, from the first peopling of that country, but more particularly from Flavius Chindasuinthus*. [S.l]: [s.n.], 1701 (London: J. Nutt). According to Thompson, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 25.

¹²⁹ See Ian Buruma, *Anglomanía. Una fascinación europea*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2001.

¹³⁰ Luis Godin, *Prólogo e introducción para la popularización de las teorías filosóficas de Isaac Newton*. C. 1750. BNE MS. 11259 (32).

¹³¹ Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones o el expósito*. Madrid: Benito Cano, 1796. Translated from the French by Ignacio de Ordejón..

¹³² John Locke, *Educación de los niños*. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Álvarez, 1797. 2 vols.

¹³³ John Locke, *Pensamientos sobre la educación*. S. XVIII. BNE MS. 11194.

¹³⁴ *Examen de la traducción de la Historia de América de William Robertson hecha por Ramón de Guevara, y prohibición real de imprimir esta obra en España y sus dominios*, Madrid, 23rd December 1778. RB II/2845, ff. 47r-101v.

¹³⁵ Edward Young, *El juicio final*. Translated by Cristóbal Cladera. Madrid: Imp. de Don Joseph Doblado, 1785.

¹³⁶ Hugh Blair, *Lecciones sobre la retórica y las bellas letras*. Translated by José Luis Munárriz. Madrid: en la oficina de D. Antonio Cruzado. BNE 2/2133.

¹³⁷ Joseph Addison, *Diálogos sobre la utilidad de las medallas antiguas, principalmente por la conexión que tienen con los poetas griegos y latinos*. Madrid: en la oficina de D. Plácido Barco López, 1795.

¹³⁸ Conyers Middleton, *Historia de la vida de*

Marco Tulio Cicerón. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1790. 4 vols.

¹³⁹ Adam Smith, *Investigación de la naturaleza y causas de la riqueza de las naciones*. Translated by José Alonso Ortiz. Valladolid: Viuda e Hijos de Santander, 1794.

¹⁴⁰ Francis Bacon, *De la preeminencia de las letras*. Madrid: Aznar, 1802.

¹⁴¹ Andrew Kippis, *Historia de la vida y viajes del capitán Jaime Cook*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1795. Translated by Cesáreo de Nava Palacio. 2 vols.

¹⁴² Samuel Richardson, *Pamela Andrews, o la virtud premiada*. Madrid: Antonio Espinosa, 1794-1795. 6 vols.

¹⁴³ *Obras de Ossian poeta del siglo tercero en las montañas de Escocia traducidas del idioma y verso galico-celtico al inglés por... Jaime Macpherson*. En Valladolid: en la imprenta de la viuda e hijos de Santander, 1788.

¹⁴⁴ James Macpherson, *Fingal y Temora, poemas épicos de Ossian antiguo poeta céltico traducido en verso castellano*. Translated by Pedro Montegón. Madrid: en la oficina de Benito García y Compañía, 1800.

¹⁴⁵ William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, tragedia de Guillermo Shakespeare, Traducida e ilustrada con la vida del autor y notas críticas por Inarco Celenio [Leandro Fernández de Moratín]*. Madrid: en la oficina de Villalpando, 1798.

¹⁴⁶ Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *Noticias sobre obras dramáticas y escritores ingleses*. Autograph. BNE MS. 18666 (7).

¹⁴⁷ Cristóbal Cladera, *Examen de la tragedia intitulada Hamlet. escrita en Inglés, y traducida al Castellano por Inarco Celenio poeta Arcade [Leandro Fernández de Moratín]*. Madrid: Imp. De la Viuda de Ibarra, 1800.

¹⁴⁸ Juan Federico Muntadas Fornet, *Discurso sobre Shakspeare [sic] y Calderón pronunciado en la Universidad de Madrid en el acto solemne de recibir la investidura de doctor en la Facultad de Filosofía, sección de Literatura [13 de mayo de 1849]*. Madrid: Imprenta de la publicidad, 1849. Doctoral thesis. AHN, Universidades 4490-1.

¹⁴⁹ Benito Isbert Cuyás, *Carácter del teatro de Shakespeare comparado con el de Calderón*, Madrid, 3rd September 1880. Thesis submitted for a doctorate in Philosophy and Letters. AHN, Universidades 6608-18.

¹⁵⁰ Francisco Mariano Nifo, *Estafeta de Londres. Obra periódica repartida en diferentes cartas en las que se declara el proceder de Inglaterra*. Madrid: en la imprenta de Gabriel Ramírez, 1762.

¹⁵¹ John Chamberlain, *Noticia de la Gran Bretaña con relación a su estado antiguo y moderno*. Translated by Nicolás Ribera. Madrid: Ibarra, 1767.

¹⁵² BNE, Archivo de Secretaría, 77/05. Fernando de Mierre sent Juan de Santander the copy of Baskerville's letter and the type sample from Granada, on 11 March 1766. The quotations in the text are taken from the aforementioned copy.

¹⁵³ Antonio Ponz, *Viage fuera de España*. Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1785. 2 vols.

¹⁵⁴ Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *Apuntaciones sueltas de Inglaterra*. Autograph. BNE MS. 5891.

¹⁵⁵ José M. de Aranalde, *Descripción de Londres y sus cercanías*. Obra histórica y artística. 1801. Provenance Antonio Cánovas del Castillo. Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, Inv. 14780.

¹⁵⁶ Joseph Townsend, *A journey through Spain in the years 1786 and 1787*. [S.l.]: [s.n.], 1791 (London: C. Dilly). Provenance Pascual de Gayangos. 3 vols.

¹⁵⁷ Giuseppe Baretti, *A journey from London to Genoa through England, Portugal, Spain, and France*. London: T. Davies, 1770.

¹⁵⁸ Francisco de los Santos, *A description of the royal palace and monastery of Saint Laurence called the Escorial*. London: Dryden Leach, 1760.

¹⁵⁹ Antonio Solís, *The history of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards*. London: printed for T. Woodward, 1724.

¹⁶⁰ Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, *Three essays or discourses on the following subjects: a defense or vindication of the women, church music, a comparison between antient and modern music*. London: Printed for T. Becker, 1778. Provenance Philosophical Society of London. BNE 2/1225.

¹⁶¹ Miguel de Cervantes, *Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*. Londres: por J. y R. Tonson, 1738.

¹⁶² Miguel de Cervantes, *Historia del famoso cavallero don Quixote de la Mancha*. Salisbury: en la imprenta de Eduardo Easton, 1781. 3 vols.

¹⁶³ Antonio Palomino y Velasco, *Vidas de los pintores y estatuarios eminentes españoles*. Londres: Impreso por Henrique Woodfall, 1744, and Antonio Palomino Velasco and Francisco de los Santos, *Las ciudades, iglesias y conventos en España donde ay obras de los pintores y estatuarios eminentes españoles puestos en orden alfabético con sus obras puestas en sus propios lugares*. Londres: Impreso por Henrique Woodfall, 1746.

¹⁶⁴ David Nieto, *Matteh Dan y segunda parte*

del Cuzarí. Londres: Thomas Illive, 5474 [1714]. See Moses Bensabat Amzalak, *David Nieto. Noticia biobibliográfica*. Lisboa: [Composto e impresso nas oficinas gráficas do Museu Comercial], 1923, and Israel Solomons, *David Nieto Wabam of the Spanish & Portuguese Jews' congregation Kabal Kados Sabar Asamain London (1701-1728)*. London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1931.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, Julio Somoza's edition of *Cartas de Jovellanos y Lord Vassall Holland sobre la guerra de la independencia (1808-1811)*. Madrid: Hijos de Gómez Fuentenebro, 1911. 2 vols.

¹⁶⁶ Henry E. Allen, *Caesaraugusta obsessa et capta heroicum carmen Henrici Allen, angli, Hyde-Abbey scholar in Winchester alumni*. Matriti: ex typographia nationali, 1813. Edition supervised by Manuel Abella, London, 1810.

¹⁶⁷ Álvaro Flórez Estrada, *Constitución para la nación española... presentada en primero de noviembre de 1809*. Birmingham: Swinney and Ferrall, 1810.

¹⁶⁸ Juan Bautista Arriaza, *Poesías patrióticas... reimpresas a solicitud de algunos patriotas españoles residentes en Londres*. Londres: en la imprenta de Bensley, Bolt-Court, Fleet Street, 1810.

¹⁶⁹ 'Canción inglesa cantada en el teatro de Cádiz el día 28 de abril de 1809 [Viva Fernando / Jorge Tercero..]', in *Colección de canciones patrióticas hechas en demostración de la lealtad española en que se incluye también la de la nación inglesa titulada el God Sev de King*. Cádiz: por D. Nicolás Gómez de Requena, s.a. [1809?].

¹⁷⁰ Richard Ford, *A hand-book for travellers in Spain and readers at home: describing the country and cities, the natives and their manners, the antiquities, religion, legends, fine arts, literature, sports, and gastronomy: with notices on Spanish history*. London: J. Murray, 1845. 2 vols.; George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*. London: John Murray, 1843, 3 vols., and Jules Goury-Owen Jones, *Plans, elevations, sections and details of the Alhambra from drawings taken on the spot in 1834... and 1837*. 2 vols. London: Vizete Brothers, 1842.

¹⁷¹ William Robertson, *Historia del reinado del emperador Carlos Quinto, precedida de una descripción de los progresos de la sociedad en Europa desde la ruina del Imperio Romano*. Translated by Félix R. Álvaro y Velaustegui. Madrid: [s.n.], 1821 (Imprenta de I. Sancha). 4 vols., and Edward Gibbon, *Historia de la decadencia y ruina del imperio romano*. Translated by José Mor de Fuentes. Barcelona: A. Bergne y Comp^a, 1842-1847. 8 vols.

¹⁷² Thomas Robert Malthus, *Ensayo sobre el principio de la población*. Translated by José María

Noguera and D. Joaquín Miguel under the supervision of Eusebio María del Valle. Madrid: Lucas González y C^a, 1846; John Stuart Mill, *Sistema de lógica demostrativa é inductiva: ó sea Exposición comparada de principios de evidencia y los métodos de investigación científica*. Translated by P. Codina. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1853; John F.W. Herschel, *Grandes descubrimientos astronómicos hechos recientemente en el Cabo de Buena Esperanza*. Translated by Francisco de Paula Carrión. Madrid: [s.n.], 1836 (Imp. de Cruz González); Charles Darwin, *Origen de las especies por selección natural o resumen de las leyes de transformación de los seres organizados*. Madrid: s.n., 1872; and *El origen del hombre. La selección natural y la sexual*. Barcelona: Imp. de la Renaixensa, 1876.

¹⁷³ Bentham even came to write for Spanish readers: Jeremy Bentham, *Consejos que dirige a las cortes y al pueblo español*. Madrid: Repullés, 1820. A very expressive example of his influence in Spain is the book by Jacobo Villanova y Jordán, *Cárceles y presidios. Aplicación de la panóptica de Jeremías Bentham a las cárceles y casas de corrección de España*. Madrid: [Tomás Jordán], 1834.

¹⁷⁴ Francisco de Goya after John Flaxman, *Tres parejas de encapuchados*. Between 1795 and 1805. Brush and India ink wash. BNE DIB/15/8/22.

¹⁷⁵ John Flaxman, *Obras completas de Flaxman grabadas al contorno por D. Joaquín Pi y Margall*. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1860-1861. 2 vols.

¹⁷⁶ See, for example, 'Vida de pintores ingleses [Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Artists (1829-33)] por Allan Cunningham', *El artista*. Madrid: 1835, vol. 2, pp. 109-112.

¹⁷⁷ The following two editions may be regarded as examples: Walter Scott, *El talismán o Ricardo en Palestina*. Barcelona: por J.F. Piferrer, 1826, and Charles Dickens, *París y Londres en 1793*. Habana: Imprenta del Diario de la Marina, 1864.

¹⁷⁸ *Falsificación de la carta de Lord Byron a Monsieur Galignani sobre los vampiros*. Venecia, 27 de abril de 1819. AHN, Diversos, Colecciones, Autógrafos 12 (961); *El vampiro*. Novela atribuida a Lord Byron. Barcelona: Imprenta de Narciso Oliva, 1824; *Don Juan o el hijo de doña Inés*. Poema. Madrid: Imprenta y casa de la Unión Comercial, 1843, and Lord Byron/Telesforo de Trueba, 'Fragmento traducido del sitio de Corinto. Poesía del célebre Lord Byron', *El artista*. Madrid: 1835, vol. 1, p. 64.

¹⁷⁹ Ángel Anaya, *An essay on Spanish literature*. London: George Smallfield, 1818 [with *Specimens of language and style in prose and verse*, among them 'Poema del Cid'].

¹⁸⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Works*. Translated into English verse, with a critical and historical essay on Spanish poetry, and a life of the author, by J.H. Wiffen. London: Hurts, Robinson and co., 1823.

¹⁸¹ John Bowring, *Ancient poetry and romances of Spain*. Selected and translated by John Bowring. London: Taylor and Hessey, 1824 (Garcilaso, Góngora, Jorge Manrique, Luis de León).

¹⁸² Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Dramas of Calderon, tragic, comic, and legendary*. Translated from the Spanish, principally in the metre of the original. Translated by Denis F. MacCarthy. 2 vols. London: Charles Dolman, 1853.

¹⁸³ *Poems not dramatic by frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*, 1866. Translated by Frederick William Cosens. BNE MS. 17781.

¹⁸⁴ *Modern poets and poetry of Spain*. London: Longman, Brown Green and Longmans, 1852. Kennedy offered and dedicated a copy to the National Library –BNE 1/2420–which was bound specially for the occasion with the Spanish royal coat of arms. BNE, Archivo de Secretaría, Caja 52.

¹⁸⁵ Benito Pérez Galdós, *Lady Perfecta*. Translated by Mary Wharton. [Edinburgh]; London: [Colston and Co.], 1894.

¹⁸⁶ It is worth mentioning the existence of an autograph manuscript translation of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* by José Jordán de Urrés y Azara in the History Library of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, MS. 1093.

¹⁸⁷ Herbert Spencer, *La beneficencia*. Translated by Miguel de Unamuno. Madrid: La España Moderna, 1893; Thomas Carlyle, *La revolución francesa*. Translated by Miguel de Unamuno. Madrid: La España Moderna, s.a.; John Ruskin, *Unto this last (Hasta este último)*. Cuatro estudios sociales sobre los primeros principios de economía política. Translated by M. Ciges Aparicio. Madrid: [José Blass y Cia., 1906]; Thomas Carlyle/Ralph W. Emerson, *Epistolario de Carlyle y Emerson*. Translated by Luis de Terán. Madrid: La España Moderna, 1914; John Maynard Keynes, *Las consecuencias económicas de la paz*. Translated from the English by Juan Uña. Madrid: [Ángel Alcoy], 1920; Jane Austen, *Orgullo y prejuicio*. *Novela*. Translated by José Jordán de Urrés y Azara. Madrid: Calpe,

1924; Ben Jonson, *Volpone o El Zorro*. Prologue and adaptation by Luis Araquistáin. Madrid: España, 1929 ([Galo Sáez]); John Stuart Mill, *La libertad*. Translated by Pablo de Azcárate. Madrid: La Nave, 1931; George Borrow, *Los Zincales (Los gitanos de España)*. Translated by Manuel Azaña. Madrid: [s.n., 1932 (Segovia: Tip. El Adelantado de Segovia)]; Bertrand Russell, *Libertad y organización: 1814-1914*. Translated by León Felipe. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1936, and Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Adonais, elegía a la muerte de John Keats*. Translated by Manuel Altolaguirre. Madrid: Héroe, 1936.

¹⁸⁸ Artur Conan Doyle, *Aventuras de Sherlock Holmes. Un crimen extraño*. Translated by Julio and Ceferino Palencia. Madrid: [s.n.], 1909 ([Imp. 'Gaceta Administrativa']]). We refer to this edition because the BNE 4/20154 copy was that of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez; Thomas de Quincey, *Los últimos días de Kant*. Translated by Edmundo González Blanco. Madrid: Mundo Latino, 1915; George Eliot, *Silas Marner: Novela*. Translated by Isabel Oyarzábal. Madrid: [s.n.], 1919 ([Imp. Clásica Española]); Emily Brontë, *Cumbres borrascosas*. Translated by Cipriano Montolín. [S.l.: s.n., 1921 (Madrid: Talleres Poligráficos)]; Herbert G. Wells, *Breve historia del mundo*. Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1923? Translated by R. Atard; Gilbert Keith Chesterton, *El hombre eterno*. Translated by Fernando de la Milla. Madrid-Buenos Aires: Poblet, 1930; Robert L. Stevenson, *La isla del tesoro*. Translated by José Torroba. Illustrated by César Solans. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1934; Lewis Carroll, *Alicia en el país de las maravillas*. Translated by Juan Gili. Illustrated by Lola Anglada. Barcelona: Juventud, 1935, and Virginia Woolf, *Flush*. Translated by Roser Cardús. Barcelona: Edicions de la Rosa dels Vents, 1938.

¹⁸⁹ A.S. Eddington, *Espacio, tiempo y gravitación*. Madrid-Barcelona: Calpe, 1922. Translated by José María Plans y Freire.

¹⁹⁰ Ramiro de Maeztu, *Authority, Liberty and function in the light of the war*. London: George Allen & Unwin, [1916] (Unwin Brothers); José Martínez Ruiz, Azorín, *Don Juan*. Translated by Catherine Alison Phillips. London: Chapman & Dodd, 1923; Miguel Asín Palacios, *Islam and the Divine Comedy*. Translated by Harold Sunderland. London: [Hazell Watson & Viney], 1926; Miguel de Unamuno, *The life of Don Quixot and Sancho according to Miguel de Cervantes*. London-New York: Knopf, 1927; José Ortega y Gasset, *The modern theme*. Translated by James Cleugh. London:

[Stanhope Press, 1931]; Gregorio Marañón, *The evolution of sex and intersexual conditions*. Translated by Warre B. Wells. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., [1932] (Woking: Unwin Brothers Ltd.); José Martínez Ruiz, Azorín, *An hour of Spain between 1560 and 1590*. Translated by Alice Raleigh with introduction by Salvador de Madariaga. London: Letchworth The Garden City Press, 1933; Ramón Pérez de Ayala, *Tiger Juan*. Translated by Walter Starkie. London: Jonathan Cape, 1933; Ramón J. Sender, *Earmarked for hell*. [Imán]. Translated by James Cleugh. [London]: Wishart & Co., 1934; Salvador de Madariaga, *Don Quixote: an introductory essay in psychology*. Oxford: [University Press. John Johnson]: Clarendon Press, 1935. Translated by Salvador and Constance Helen Margaret de Madariaga, and Federico García Lorca, *Poems*. Translated by Stephen Spender and J.L. Gili. Selection by R.M. Nadal. London: The Dolphin, 1939.

¹⁹¹ Gregorio Prieto/Ramón Pérez de Ayala, *An English garden... seven drawings and a poem*. London: Thomas Harris, 1936, and Gregorio Prieto/Henry Thomas, *The crafty farmer. A Spanish folk-tale entitled How a crafty farmer with the advice of his wife deceived some merchants*. Translated with an introduction by Henry Thomas, Illustrated by Gregorio Prieto. London: The Dolphin Bookshop Edit., 1938.

¹⁹² For example, *El apocalipsis del apóstol san Juan*. Traducido al vascuence por el P. Fr. José Antonio de Uriarte. Londres: s.i., 1857. Impreso por W. Billing en la casa del príncipe Louis-Lucien Bonaparte en una tirada de 51 ejemplares, and *El evangelio según san Mateo traducido al dialecto gallego de la versión castellana de Félix Torres Amat... precedido de algunas observaciones comparativas sobre la pronunciación gallega, asturiana, castellana y portuguesa por el Príncipe Luis Luciano Bonaparte*. Translated by José Sánchez de Santa María. London: s.n. (Strangeways and Walden), 1861.

¹⁹³ *El Santo Evangelio de Nuestro Señor Jesu-Cristo según S. Juan: [muestra de tipo para los Ciegos, sistema del Señor Moon]*. London: Sociedad Bíblica Bretannica y Estrangera, 1869.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas Clarkson, *Clamores de los africanos contra los europeos sus opresores o examen del detestable comercio llamado de negros*. Londres: Harvey and Darnton, 1823; or *Consideraciones dirigidas a los habitantes de Europa sobre la iniquidad del comercio de los negros, por los miembros de la Sociedad de Amigos (llamados cuáqueros) en la Gran Bretaña e Irlanda*. Londres: Impreso por Harvey y Daron, 1825.

¹⁹⁵ Pío Baroja, *La ciudad de la niebla*. London-Paris: Thomas Nelson and Sons, [1912].

¹⁹⁶ *Por qué estamos en guerra. La justificación de la Gran Bretaña por individuos de la Facultad de Historia Moderna de Oxford*. Oxford: [Horace Hart], 1914; Gilbert Keith Chesterton, *Cartas a un viejo garibaldino*. Londres: Harrison & sons, 1915; *El imperio británico en la guerra. Souvenir ilustrado de la guerra por el aire y por mar y tierra*. Londres: [s.n., s.a.] (Imp. Associated Newspapers, Ltd.); Ramiro de Maeztu, *Inglaterra en armas: Una visita al frente*. Londres: Darling & Sar Limited, 1916, and F. Sancha (ilustrador), *Libro de horas amargas compuesto de refranes españoles*. Birmingham: Percival Jones, 1917.

¹⁹⁷ *Guerra y trabajo de España*. By Keystone Press Agency. London: The Press Department of the Spanish Embassy, 1938. Further examples: Fernando de los Ríos, *What's happening in Spain?* London: Press Department of the Spanish Embassy in London, 1937, and Frederic Kenyon and James G. Mann, *Art treasures of Spain: results of a visit*. London: Press Department of the Spanish Embassy, 1937.

¹⁹⁸ *Oratio habita a D. Ioanne Colet decano Sancti Pauli ad clerum in conuocatione. Anno. M.D.xj.* [London: Richard Pynson, 1512?]. He paid 'medio penin por junio de 1522'

¹⁹⁹ *Vulgaria uiri doctissimi Guil. Hormani Csariburgensis. Apud inclytam Londini urbem: [Printed by Richard Pynson], M.D.XIX. [1519] Cum priuilegio serenissimi regis Henrici eius nominis octauus. Don Hernando noted that 'Este libro costó en Londres 16 penins por junio de 1522 y el ducado de oro vale 54 penins'.*

²⁰⁰ For an overview of his collection, see José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez Molero, 'Philippus, rex Hispaniae & Angliae: the English library of Philip II', *Reales Sitios* (Madrid), 160 (2004), pp. 14-33.

²⁰¹ *Inventario de la biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar en la Casa del Sol de Valladolid*. BNE MS. 13594. See the inventory, with identification and location of

copies, in 'Libros ingleses', *Ex bibliotheca gondomarensi*, <http://www.patrimonionacional.es/RealBiblioteca/gondo.htm>. Professor Ian Michael on the English section of the Casa del Sol and the librarian H. Taylor is essential reading. See, among other contributions, the article cited in note 93.

²⁰² Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*. London: imprinted by H.L. for Mathew Lownes, 1613. RB VI/66.

²⁰³ Francis Bacon, *Essayes*, Manuscript copy of the London edition: 1597. RB II/2426, ff. 124r-128r.

²⁰⁴ *The Councell book [1582-1583]*. BNE MS. 3821

²⁰⁵ See F. Bouza, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 95 and 280-282.

²⁰⁶ Such as James Usher, *Annales veteris testamenti a prima mundi origine deducti*. Londini: ex officina J. Flesher, 1650. 2 vols. BNE 2/33913-14, and George Bate, *Elenchi motuum nuperorum in Angliae*. Londini: typis J. Flesher, prostant venalis apud R. Royston, 1663. BNE 2/66552.

²⁰⁷ William Alabaster, *Roxana tragoedia a plagiarij unguibus vindicata, aucta, & agnita ab authore Gulielmo Alabastro*. Londini: Excudebat Gulielmus Iones, 1632. BNE T 8522 (1), and Peter Hausted, *Senile odium. Comoedia Cantabrigiae publicè Academicis recitata in Collegio Reginali ab ejusdem Collegii iuventute...* Cantabrigiae: Ex Academia celeberrimæ typographeo, 1633. BNE T 8522 (2).

²⁰⁸ Sigismondo Boldoni, *De augustissima urbe venetiarum*. S.l. [Padua]: n.i, n.a. in a factitious volume of Latin poems. BNE R 4594.

²⁰⁹ *Índice de los libros y manuscritos que posee don Gaspar de Jovellanos*. Sevilla, 1778. A fine collection of texts by English authors (Bacon, Milton, Pope, Dryden, Thomson, etc.). BNE MS. 21879(2). Published by Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *La biblioteca de Jovellanos (1778)*. Madrid: CSIC, 1984.

²¹⁰ Alexander Pope, *Essai sur l'homme...*

Nouvelle edition avec l'original anglois. Lausanne et a Geneve: chez Marc-Michel Bousquet et Compagnie, 1745. BNE 3/17815; Bonaventura van Overbeek, *Degli avanzi dell'antica Roma*. Londra: presso Tommaso Edlin, 1739. 2 vols. Bound with the royal coat of arms of Isabella Farnese. BNE ER 2026-27. On the queen's reading matter, with a relevant comparison between Bourbon Spain and the Hanoverian United Kingdom, see María Luisa López-Vidriero, *The polished cornerstone of the temple. Queenly libraries of the Enlightenment*. London: The British Library, 2006.

²¹¹ William Skakespeare, *Shakespear's works*. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1771. Bound in red morocco leather with the Oxford University bookstamp. BNE T 4/9. The entry is found in *Index Universalis [de la Real Biblioteca Pública]*. Letra S. BNE MS. 18837

²¹² Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan or the matter, forme and power of a Common-Wealth ecclesiasticall and civil*. London: printed for Andrew Crooke at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Churchyard, 1651. BNE 2/1122. Provenance Inner Temple Library. Stamp 'Inner Temple Library sold by order 1856'.

²¹³ J.F. Manzano, *Poems by a slave in the island of Cuba recently liberated... with the history of the early life of he negro poet written by himself*. London: Thomas Ward and co, 1840. BNE U 4514.

²¹⁴ BNE MS. 17477.

²¹⁵ Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Ubi humana omnia non nisi somnium esse docet, atque obiter plurima scitu sane quam digna commemorat*. Venetiis: Aldus Manutius (December, 1499). Provenance Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Royal Society, London ['Soc. Reg. Lond. ex dono Henr. Howard Norfolciensis']. Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, INV. 11571. I thank J.A. Yeves for his enormous kindness in locating this work, which he has documented in a most scholarly manner.