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**Translation, Anglo-Hispanic Relations and Devotional Prose
in the Renaissance: Francis Meres' Rendering of Luis de
Granada's *Guía de Pecadores***

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Introduction

This study contributes to the understanding of Francis Meres as a controversial, mysterious but also important figure in the history of Early Modern England. Little is known about his family or personal relations. His scant literary production was all published during one single year, 1598, save for *Gods Arithmetike*, which appeared a year earlier. *The Sinners Gvyde* was his rendering of Luis de Granada's *Guía de pecadores*, whereas *Granados Devotion*, and finally *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises*, consisted of selections from the second part of Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación*, all of them based on a Latin source. Meres' current reputation, however, rests on a single book, *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury*, a collection of quotations on morals, religion and literature where we can also perceive Granada's influence: more than a hundred entries were taken from his works.

As early as 1817, Nathan Drake mentioned him in *Shakespeare and His Times*. Then, in 1833 Meres's work is referred to in the 34th volume of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Similarly, J. Payne Collier includes Meres in a footnote within the first volume of *The Works of Edmund Spenser* (1862). In the twentieth century Gregory Smith included Meres' anthology within his *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (1904). The same did George Saintsbury in his *History of English Criticism* (1911) and Herbert E. Cory in *The Critics of Edmund Spenser* (1911). In 1933 Don Cameron Allen devoted his doctoral research to a comprehensive analysis of the sources and influence of a section within this work, the "Comparatiue Discourse." This scholar published an article, "The Classical Scholarship of Francis Meres" (1933), with an analysis of his method of composition, and he also edited and prologued the 1938 edition of *Palladis*

Tamia. Francis Meres is also mentioned in the works of Gerald E. Bentley (1943) and Peter Blayney (1997). More recently, the works of MacDonald P. Jackson (2005), Robert Detobel and K. C. Ligon (2009), and Katherine Duncan Jones (2009) also focus on the figure of the English writer and translator. Most, if not all, scholarly attention has been centred on two aspects of the work. These are, on the one hand, Meres' references to contemporary English writers in the "Comparatiue Discourse", mainly his praise of William Shakespeare and his production, including those works still unpublished when Meres' text was issued. The other was his *modus operandi*. Scholars such as Allen or Detobel and Ligon insisted that Meres' entries were not based on first-hand knowledge but rather that they were culled from secondary sources such as Erasmus' *Parabolae sive similiae*, Plutarch's *Moralia*, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Seneca's *De vita beata* or *De Beneficiis*, Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*, John Chrysostom's Homilies, Saint Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, Saint Gregory's *Morals*, Jerome's epistles, William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586) or Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie* (1589). This reliance on other sources led contemporary scholars to criticize his method and accuse Meres of plagiarism. The fact that scholarship has focused exclusively on this relatively small portion of *Palladis Tamia*, or rather on Shakespeare's references, has occluded other important influences (in particular, non English sources) in the English canon.

This thesis focuses on Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde*, the first translation of *Guía de peccadores* into English, both in England and abroad. Meres ranked *Guía* as the best among Granada's works, and it was the only one Meres translated completely. His English version did not derive from the Spanish original, though. The text he employed was Michael ab Isselt's Latin edition published in Cologne under the title *Dvx Peccatorvm* (1587), which was in turn rendered from an Italian version, not yet

identified. In his version Meres introduced a number of modifications that hint at his concern about the country's religious settlement and his aspiration to become a writer. *The Sinners Gvyde* is, therefore, an excellent case study for the process of adaptive translation which works of literature undergo when they have to fit within a context whose prevailing ideology differs from the original. In this process, certain potentially controversial writings, such as those of Luis de Granada, are expurgated in translation while maintaining the text's spiritual content and its devotional tenor. It guaranteed the favour of both institutional authorities and the English audience. This will allow a revision of some fundamental notions and concepts on translation studies such as the dichotomy between literalness and adaptation, foreignization and domestication.

The choice of a source text for translation, according to Venuti, is always revealing and ideologically biased. In this case, it is apparent that the selection of the friar's writings was motivated by the popularity religious literature had achieved in England and, above all, by Granada's singular style, some of whose features showed certain similarities to those admired in Elizabethan culture. Ideological, cultural and social constraints influence the strategies and mechanisms used in the translation process, itself a process of domestic inscription whereby the translator reinvents and reconstructs the target text replacing certain original features with a particular set of values of that language and culture.¹ In general terms, this research analyses what these modifications can tell us about the ideas and mentalities of their readers and writers, about the worlds they inhabited and the ways in which the culture of the printed word interacted with their lives and environment. If Meres modified Granada's contents, the range of domestic meanings which he included in his version may have saved these

¹ Venuti 2004, 482.

texts from confiscation. Meres' dedications to influential figures contributed to their official acceptance too.

The English translator belongs to a difficult period. A variety of beliefs coexisted in the doctrinal continuum between radical Protestants and supporters of Elizabeth's more moderate Anglican religious settlement, which managed to tread a middle path that successfully averted the wars of religion that broke out in other European countries.² It seems improbable to think of Meres as a crypto-Catholic trying to disseminate Catholicism in England, or seeking to bring about some sort of doctrinal reconciliation. The lack of accurate and comprehensive information on Meres' life does not help when trying to establish his religious allegiance. On the grounds of the modifications that he added to his version of *Guía de pecadores*, it seems safe to argue that Meres was a supporter of Anglicanism. These are all working hypotheses.

Elizabeth's reign saw the growth of a spirit of linguistic patriotism, which went hand in hand with a significant increase in literary creativity and all types of translations, a practice that afforded employment for a number of professional writers. In the sixteenth century the English language, both at home and abroad, did not still enjoy the prestige and status that it would eventually attain. As Neil Rhodes confirms, its vocabulary was relatively poor and many doubted its capacity to produce great literature.³ Translations allowed them to counter their cultural deficiency with respect to the continent. Three translations of internationally famous works of devotional prose in elegant plain style into English was Meres' contribution to the enrichment of the stylistic and literary potential of English, in what was a significant case of cultural transmission and exchange. Another working hypothesis in this doctoral research is

² Hadfield 2001, 13.

³ Rhodes 2013, 12-3.

that, with his renderings, Meres aspired to become an important player in the literary sphere of his own time, on the one hand, by inscribing internationally famous works of devotional prose such as Granada's texts within his own intellectual and religious milieu, and on the other, by canonizing the works of his contemporaries, mainly William Shakespeare, as he did in *Palladis Tamia*.

This study provides an introduction and a description of the general features and characteristics of Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde*. It looks into the motivations for the changes introduced with respect to the source text under the light of the doctrinal differences between Granada and Isselt's Catholicism, on the one hand and, on the other, the religious divide of Meres' context— within which Puritans, Catholics and Crypto-Catholics struggled to establish their religious ideas against those of the Church of England. Such analysis will also allow the investigation of traces of the doctrinal tenets of the Thirty-Nine Articles in Meres' version. As is well known, this is the founding document that established the official doctrine of the Anglican Church, which naturally Meres himself had to subscribe to when he was ordained priest (see *Book of Canons*, 1604). Hence, it would not be unreasonable to claim that he translated *Guía de Pecadores*, and probably the rest of his translations, under the influence of such principles. The mechanisms that the English translator used in his attempt at adapting the original text to a foreign language and culture will be analysed too. Such procedures are always determined by the historical-cultural context of the new author, this is, the political and ideological context of Elizabeth I as well as the general cultural context of the European Renaissance and the development of humanist ideas and practices. For this reason it is fundamental to contextualize Meres' text under the light of the way in which the book market developed in Europe, with a focus upon the translations produced in Elizabethan England, in particular during the last decades of her reign.

A member of the Order of Preachers since 1524, Luis de Granada was a truly central figure in the religious panorama of the sixteenth century. He was a tireless preacher not only through his inspiring oral sermons, but also through his written works. His concern about the spiritual beliefs of the laity lies behind the compilation of some of his vernacular writings, *Libro de la oración y meditación*, *Guía de pecadores*, *Memorial de la vida Cristiana* or *Introducción al simbolo de la fe*. To the clergy, in contrast, he addressed *Collectanea moralis philosophiae*, the series *Conciones de tempore et sanctis*, *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* or *Silva Locorum*. In Spain, some of his works were included in the *Index* of prohibited books (1559) together with those of his contemporaries, Juan de Ávila and Bartolomé Carranza. Translated passages from Scripture in his texts, emphasis on mental prayer and isolation, his friendship with Carranza, his defence of the Society of Jesus and, above all, his use of plain, accessible Castilian, are some of the aspects that brought Granada's writings to the attention of the Inquisition. The proliferation of works in the vernacular had to do with the instructive nature of these texts, which seeking the spiritual enrichment of their readers, had to be written in a vernacular style that common readers could understand. These writings gained in popularity over those written in Latin by the religious elites. This did become a source of great concern as it entailed individual access to a matter that in their view should be available only to an ecclesiastical minority. Luis de Granada issued a new edition of these banned works, *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Guía de pecadores*, in 1566 and 1567 respectively. Of these, the latter was completely modified. This thesis will also provide an account of the doctrinal issues that the Dominican friar had to modify in the different editions he produced, before and after the intervention of the Inquisition. The *Guía* of 1567 was the source employed for Michael ab Isselt's Latin text, and therefore Meres' too, and the one that enjoyed the greatest repercussion.

The transnational success of Dominican friar's prose accounts for Meres' involvement with an author whose Catholicism was not acceptable for the Anglican religious establishment of the period. The style and content of his works made him enormously popular among a large readership, and Meres was part of the European network of translators, printers, publishers and book merchants who facilitated the spread of his prose. Empirical evidence suggests that Luis de Granada was among the Spanish authors whose influence spread all over the European canon of devotional prose. Numerous translated editions of his works were published in the principal vernacular languages, alongside many Latin renderings. The *Universal Short Title Catalogue* records 279 entries of his works in Italian, 219 entries in Spanish, 177 in Latin, 98 in French, 19 in German and 12 in English, all of them in the period 1560-1600.⁴ These figures include original editions and translations. Meres' version provides some information about these editions; the Italians Camillo Camilli, Giorgio Angelieri, Giovanni Battista Porta or Timoteo da Bagno, the German Philip Dobereiner or the Dutch scholar Michael ab Isselt are among the translators and publishers he mentions. The Society of Jesus played a fundamental role in the dissemination of Granada's works outside Europe, carrying his works to Asia and probably America too, thus giving them a transatlantic and global dimension.

The plain but polished style that Granada absorbed from the authors and the texts included in the curriculum of rhetorical humanism constitutes one of the most distinctive features of his devotional prose. His admiration for Seneca is apparent all through his production, but this is just one example of the numerous intertextual references found in his works, including *Guía de pecadores*. José Joaquín de Mora

⁴ *Universal Short Title Catalogue* <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/> [accessed 07 February 2016]. The *USTC* does not take into consideration English works published abroad by English Catholic exiles. See *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [accessed 07 February 2016].

considered the Dominican Granada “the founder of the elevated Castilian prose” (“el verdadero fundador de la culta y limada prosa castellana”) and Azorín talked about him as “one of the best prose writers” (“prosista castellano de primer orden”).⁵ This also accounts for his successful reception among his European readers and translators.⁶ Richard Hopkins’ opinion reflects this transnational impact, when he declares, to justify his decision to produce the first English translations of *Libro de la oración y meditación* (Paris 1582) and *Memorial de la vida Cristiana* (Rouen 1586) that “having read a great number of spirituall books in diuers languages, [...] yet could I neuer find any, whose spirit and wise order of writing hath so well liked my taste, and iudgement, as this godly Authors books” and insisted that he had “a singular rare grace to pearce the harde harte of a dissolute sinner.”⁷ Meres too, compared the Dominican friar to the great orators of ancient times (Titus Livius, Cicero) and defined him as a “rare Iewel” and “a matchlesse divine.”⁸

Francis Meres published his translations in a moment when the influence of Spanish had rapidly augmented in his own country. During the early decades of the sixteenth century there was very little knowledge of Castilian literature in England. This situation changed with the marriage of Henry VIII to Catherine of Aragon first, and afterwards, that of Philip II to Mary Tudor. The books that both, Catherine and Mary might have brought with them raised English interest in, and knowledge of, Spanish culture and literature, at least among courtly circles. At the end of Elizabeth’s reign

⁵ De Mora 1856, vii; Azorin 1921, 23.

⁶ His biographer Luis Muñoz noted: “El muy Reverendo y venerable Maestro Fr. Luis de Granada, [...] tiene ganados con sus diuinos escritos de tal manera los animos de todos, es tan grande el amor con que posee las voluntades, no solo en estos Reinos de España, mas en todas las Naciones estrangeras” (Muñoz 1771, 4).

⁷ *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* 1599, A2v. For the analysis I have used a digital copy of an edition published in Rouen in 1599 by George Loyselet; *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, A6v.

⁸ *Granados Spiritual and Heauenlie Exercises* 1598, A5r; *Granados Devotion* 1598, A4r.

about one hundred and seventy English publications were translations from a wide range of Spanish works. Robert Dudley's promotion of a group of Hispanists in Oxford University (Cipriano de Valera or Antonio del Corro chief among them) was also crucial to increase English access to Spanish Golden Age texts. The bilingual dictionaries created under Leicester's patronage made Spanish literature accessible to English readers without significant mediation. But the relevance of these "Oxonian scholars" originates in the fact that they facilitated publication of Spanish books in Elizabethan England.⁹ In subject matter, religious prose enjoyed great popularity in the country. In the reign of Henry VIII the English gave much study to Vives, to Osorio during Mary's time, and in the latter years of the century to Spanish spiritual writers. But no Spaniard assumed a commanding role in the eyes of the Elizabethans in the field of scholarship. Corro, Arias Montano, and Ximenez de Cisneros all received a hearing, but none of them left a deep impression. The Dominican Granada impressed the English mind and won acknowledged popularity. The *Early English Books Online* database records some thirty English editions of his prose in the period 1582-1699. The Catholic exile Richard Hopkins pioneered the translation into English of Granada's works with his rendering of the first part of *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Memorial de la vida Cristiana*. His versions, therefore, constitute a fundamental background for Meres and other fellow translators who followed in his wake. His English edition of *Libro* could have served as the basis for several anonymous editions that were published in London since 1592, and more importantly, they could have also provided Meres with valuable information about Granada's widespread fame: "I [Hopkins] understand that his books haue wroughte wonderfull much good, not onelie in Spaine, and Portugall, but also in Italie, Fraunce, and Germanie. And I thinke there bee fewe countries in

⁹ Crummé 2011, 25.

Christendome but haue his spanishe woorkes translated into their tongues.”¹⁰ The pro-Catholic activism of Hopkins’ translations was unacceptable for the Anglican establishment and they were persecuted in the country. While it is uncertain whether Meres knew Hopkins’ versions, it is interesting that he eliminated from *The Sinners Gvyde* any cross-references to those works the Catholic exile had previously translated—above which more below.

The rest of this study is organized as follows. Chapter 1 offers a general overview of Early Modern phenomena such as the Reformation, Humanism and the development of the book trade. The first part begins with an analysis of how political, cultural and religious developments in England, Spain, and Europe in general, responded to a large extent to the impact of the reformist movement and the spread of the new sort of spirituality. The principles of *sola scriptura* and *sola fide* as well as Erasmus’ concept of the *Philosophia Christi* determined the religiosity and reading practices of many Europeans and shook the traditional authority of the Church, which was displaced as the main path for salvation in favour of a more personal approach to Scripture.¹¹ Theological discussions on the authority of Biblical texts, the central importance of Christ, the omnipotence of God (rather than the merit of human beings as the means of salvation), and the doctrine of transubstantiation challenged the power of ecclesiastical authority and it turned individuals into agents of their own salvation. In this European context, both Luis de Granada and Meres developed their literary production. The next section analyzes the influential movement of the *Devotio Moderna*, which informed Luis de Granada’s style contributing to his international success. Michael ab Isselt certainly must have found common ground with Luis de

¹⁰ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, A6.

¹¹ Greenblatt 2012, 539.

Granada in doctrinal, as well as in stylistic terms, and the success of his prose in England can be attributed, to a large extent, to the demand for prose works whose ideas were expressed in terms of the internationally popular *Devotio Moderna*. This spiritual movement flourished in the fifteenth century and it had a great influence in most European countries, defining both the readings and literary productions of the time. Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ*, Johannes Tauler's sermons, Henry Suso and Jan van Ruysbroek's works or Herp's *Mirror of Perfection*, were crucial to the forging of early modern spirituality. This part ends with a section about Bible translation and interpretation. A growing insistence on individual critical judgement and the supreme authority given to the Word of God called for fresh translations of the Holy text, which also became a potential flashpoint for controversy, particularly after the Latin and German versions of Erasmus and Luther. Scholarship on translation in sixteenth-century Europe, Aysha Pollnitz insisted, has been dominated by studies of the transmission of the Renaissance or of religious reformation. There have been significant studies on the figure of Erasmus, whose scriptural commentaries had also contributed to the development of religious reform, as well as on Luther and his followers. But in the middle of the century, a group of religious men advocated for a Christian rule of life accessible to everyone, motivated by an earnest desire of fulfilling the spiritual demands of the laity. Luis de Granada stands out among those who also sought to promote reform. The wide international success that his works enjoyed, and their translations to Latin and the chief vernacular languages contributed to bring about important changes in orthodox Christianity. They undermined the power of the clerical hierarchy, which used to act as the mediator between Scripture and the laity—who in turn, could now begin to exercise their own critical judgement through direct access to the Word of God in their respective vernaculars.

The second part of this initial chapter describes the European book market throughout which all these new ideas, and the controversies they generated, went into circulation. James Raven is of the opinion that the revolution in book and print production fundamentally changed the means of constructing and circulating knowledge and intelligence.¹² The history of print is complex and contested but, as Michelle O’Callaghan mentions, it is widely acknowledged that “[it] played an important part in transforming social relations and systems of ideas and facilitated the religious, social, and economic changes that characterise the early modern period.” Francis Bacon in his magnum opus *Instauratio Magna* (1620) identified printing as one of those recent inventions that “had changed the appearance and state of the whole world” and Elizabeth Eisenstein in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, defined it as a “communications revolution” that radically altered the shape of early modern societies.¹³ This part, then, moves on to examine the material and economic conditions under which texts were marketed and sold. Through an analysis of the relationship between writer, printer and publisher, the strategic role of the dedication, the choice of format or the importance of book fairs for the distribution of printed matter, the reader can form new understandings of the nature of those texts, and their politics. Meres’ position in this market, his dedicatees, his paratexts, and publishers will be considered too. Some aspects of Luis de Granada and Michael ab Isselt’s works will also be mentioned. Chapter 1 finishes with an examination of the way in which the industry developed in Spain and England, as the milieus where Luis de Granada and Francis Meres carried out their respective literary activities. A study of their historical/intellectual contexts will help us to understand their different doctrinal

¹² Raven 2007, 1.

¹³ O’Callaghan 2010, 160; Armitage 2001, 100; Eisenstein 1979 (Volume I), 44.

outlooks and how these were reflected in their literary productions. Spain and England represent each a different case. In Spain, the Royal Council and the Inquisition watched over Catholic orthodoxy in print and they adopted the Index as their chief mechanism of control. In Elizabethan England, heretical Catholic works were banned by means of decrees and royal proclamations. The number of printers was limited, they had to be members of the Stationers' Company, which had the absolute monopoly over the production of printed works, and all English books had to be published in London or at the university presses of Cambridge and Oxford. An awareness of how book production was regulated and controlled in these countries is fundamental to understand how Luis de Granada and Meres tailored their literary production to the political and religious conflicts of their times. As already said, Luis de Granada had to modify his works after the intervention of the Inquisition, and in the case of *Guía de Pecadores*, the text was again expurgated in translation when Meres rendered it into English. The depths of the measures taken in these two countries must be approached within the entire historical context both of the early years of Philip II and Elizabeth's reign, and the political, religious and cultural tone of those decisive years. The works of Andrew Pettegree, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (2002) or *The Book in the Renaissance* (2010), as well as Andrew Hadfield's *The English Renaissance: 1500-1620* (2001) and *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640* (2013) will be fundamental sources in these initial sections about the history of the Reformation, the history of the book in the Renaissance and the history of the book in general.

Chapter 2 focuses Early Modern Translation. It played a fundamental role in defining the Early Modern European canon, its cultural, political and religious ideals and it became an instrument of mediation between the masterpieces of the past and

those to come.¹⁴ The principles and procedures governing the practice, however, was, and still is, a subject of considerable debate. This chapter begins revisiting Early Modern discussions on translation about the best way to translate a text from one language into another. It analyses how the literalist principle is constantly, and increasingly undermined by humanist concerns with style and eloquence. Since Jerome's statement, *non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu* ("I render, not word for word, but sense for sense"), the translation of 'sense' over 'word' has come to dominate the ethics and practice of translation. Opposition to literalness is visible in the work of early humanists such as Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni or Erasmus. Questions of translating individual words or the sense of a text, of 'foreignizing' or domesticating it, of proximity and distance, were challenged in the Renaissance and they continue to structure debates in translation studies today. Karen Newman and Jane Tylus' recently published volume, *Early Modern Cultures of Translation* (2015), readdresses some of these questions that arise from direct engagement with translated texts. They offer excellent and illustrative examples to prove that a heightened sense of translation's capacity to overturn these binaries was already at play in the early modern era. Through a number of essays that analyse translations into English and even Chinese, the contributors of this volume insist that translation always implies mobility from one realm to another at the same time that it destabilizes identities. These scholars reconsider the static model of translation as a branch of contrastive linguistics, and argue for the construction of a third space characterized by the discovery of more hospitable codes and meanings.

The next section within chapter 2 deals with the period's first substantial reflections on translation such as Leonardo Bruni's *De interpretatione recta*. For him,

¹⁴ Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee 2014, 1; Sumillera 2012, 106.

translation is not about moving from word to literal word, neither is it simply about preserving the sense (a view with which he also agreed). It is about the importance of having a *literary* sensibility when translating and being able to recognize and translate individual style.¹⁵ In *De interpretatione recta*, Bruni identifies translation as a ‘difficult thing’. This view comes under question in Belén Bistué work, *Collaborative Translation and Multi-version Texts in Early Modern Europe* (2013). Bistué maintains that Bruni’s affirmation defends the view that a translation was the product of a single person, expert in both languages involved, and that it included a single version. Belén Bistué, in contrast, advocates for the intrinsic multiplicity of translation and talked about the fact that translated texts are the product of collaborative and multilingual practices. A view that is also shared by Newman and Tylus when they described translation as a “a collaborative venture.”¹⁶ Giannozzo Manetti, Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus’ ideas about the practice of translation are also considered. Late medieval and Early Modern views of translation provide the contextual information within which the subject of this thesis will be contemplated. In contrast, the ideas of contemporary linguistic theorists on translation studies such as André Lefevere, Eugene Nida, Theo Hermans, Lawrence Venuti and more recently William T. Rossiter, Belén Bistué or Matthew Reynolds constitute the methodological framework and the set of doctrinal principles employed in the analysis of the subject of study in this research. It takes Meres’ *The Sinners Gvyde* as an example of how translation constitutes a richly social process involving material aspects but also social and cultural agents such as ideology or poetics that manipulate the process of translation, including the choice of theme and translation procedures. The concept of *translatability* and the strategies used to

¹⁵ Newman and Tylus 2015, 9.

¹⁶ Bistué 2013, 1-17. Newman and Tylus 2015, 1.

compensate for this will be fundamental in this analysis too. Other relevant publications on translation studies used in this analysis are Peter France's *Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* (2001), Sandra Berman and Michael Wood's *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation* (2005) or the *Oxford History of Literary Translation into English* (2008). Some of the entries contained in Barbara Cassin's *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon* (2014) will be useful for understanding these issues too.

Early Modern translation is closely related to the emergence of the vernaculars, the development of the printing press and the spread of the European book market. The early modern period saw the success of the vernacular as a literary language across Europe and prompted competition among the different vernaculars as to which would take the place vacated by Latin. Print vastly extended the reach of literacy and thus created the need for new books for new audiences. The vernaculars made their way across Europe by way of a vigorous publishing trade. Translations were being produced for a much wider audience than the ecclesiastically trained members of new and old varieties of European churches, and there was every incentive to put such translations into the vernacular. This process facilitated the exchange of linguistic, literary and also religious capital from classical Latin and Greek into each of the vernaculars, and then, among the vernaculars themselves creating a European network of linguistic, literary and economic exchanges. In this process, English produced a trade imbalance, with many texts translated into English, but few texts in English translated into the continental vernaculars. English was a language virtually unknown on the continent in the sixteenth century, and only gradually did it become known in the course of the seventeenth. Whereas Italian, Spanish and French were readable across each other's culture, English was not, and so the English had to do more translation to have access to

the cultural authority of classical antiquity and the humanistic study of the Renaissance. Following a general account of the role of the translator in early modernity, the last part within this second chapter ends with a general overview of translation in England during the Renaissance, as the immediate context for Meres' own production. Volumes I and II of *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* (2008, 2010) will be fundamental sources to compile this part.

Luis de Granada and Meres' production is the main subject of chapter 3. The effort of Álvaro Huerga in editing the complete works of the Dominican Granada has been of central importance in the compilation of this part. This is not the case, however, with Meres' role as a translator. While a considerable amount of references mentions his anthology, Meres' translations remain poorly documented, which is the thrust of this investigation. This chapter analyses Meres' well-known commonplace, the success and popularity of the genre in sixteenth century England and demonstrates the parallels and affinities between what Meres did with *Palladis Tamia* and what Granada did with his own compilation of commonplaces within a more general and very interesting European context. The last part within this chapter looks into Meres' references in the 'Comparative Discourse'.

Anglo-Hispanic literary relations are the main subject of Chapter 4, which provides the framework for the reception of Luis de Granada in England. A series of events in the second half of the century complicated diplomatic relations between England and Spain and created a deep-seated feeling of anti-Hispanism in the English-speaking world. The dark image of Spain was compounded of a number of elements: unhappy memories of the reign of Mary Tudor, reports of atrocities committed by the Duke of Alba and his army in the Netherlands, Spain's financial support of Anglo-Catholic exiles, their activities in the New World or sensational stories of Philip II and

his court—presumably written by Antonio Pérez, the king’s former secretary.¹⁷ In Spain too, English aid to the rebels fighting against Philip II in the Low Countries, Catholic persecution, the execution in 1587 of Mary, Queen of Scots; English sailors attacking Spanish ships and cities in the New World, as well as in the Spanish mainland (e.g. Cadiz), or reports by English Catholic exiles, many of whom had taken refuge in the country, nurtured a negative image of the English. Such hostility on political grounds was greatly increased by doctrinal divisions between these two countries. As a consequence of the new religious dynamics of the sixteenth century, both Castile and England sharpened their own distinctive identities, developing a strong sense of their singular position in God’s providential design that also contributed to shape images of the other eventually hardened into stereotypes. England identified itself with the Protestant cause; as such the country was to Spanish consciousness—the leading champion of Tridentine orthodoxy—a nation of heretics. The last section of the chapter focuses on the influence of Christian devotion over other English writers. The information included in these sections is very relevant, because it provides a very interesting background to the controversies that were part of the relations between Spain and England and it contextualizes Meres’ rendering of *The Sinners Gvyde* within the general context of Religious writing in Elizabethan England.

The core of the argument is contained in the last two chapters of the dissertation. Chapter 5 deals with the reception of Luis de Granada’s prose in England, and how it was used by translators of different religious persuasions, both Catholic and Protestant. This chapter further analyses Richard Hopkins’ early English translations of *Libro de la*

¹⁷ For more information on that see Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (1971); Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England* (1992); Hadfield, Andrew. “Late Elizabethan Protestantism, Colonialism and the Fear of the Apocalypse” (1998).

Oración y Meditación and *Memorial de la Vida Cristiana*, as the first English Catholic versions of his works and, then, in the next section, the influence of the Dominican on Thomas Lodge. Chapter 6, on the other hand, focuses on Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde*. It begins with a comparative analysis between the Castilian original, the Latin version and Meres' English rendering, taking into account the three major sources of the work, the Bible, the Church Fathers and classical authors. It then examines Francis Meres' strategies in the process of translation. Finally, this chapter further analyses the presence of articles VI, X, XXII, XXV, XXVIII in his text. Identifying unexplored areas and suggesting new avenues that could be relevant for future research are reserved for a final conclusion.

The copies of the primary sources that I have used to carry out the comparative analysis have been accessed through several online databases. These are, the digital Portuguese National Library as well as the *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* in the case of the works of Luis de Granada. Michael ab Isselt's texts too, have been accessed via the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*. Meres' production as well as that of Richard Hopkins, Thomas Lodge, other London editions and the works of some of his contemporaries, have been analysed through the digital copies available in *Early English Books Online*, *Gallica*, *Universitäts-Und Landesbiblioheek Sachsen-Anhalt*, and *Early European Books* have also been important databases in this study.¹⁸

¹⁸ *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* <http://www.bne.es/es> [accessed 07 February 2016]; *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/> [accessed 07 February 2016]; *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [accessed 07 February 2016]; *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/?&lang=EN> [accessed 20 April 2016]; *Universitäts-Und Landesbiblioheek Sachsen-Anhalt* <http://bibliothek.uni-halle.de/> [accessed 20 April 2016]; *Early European Books* <http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk/home.do> [accessed 20 April 2016].

1 Luis de Granada and Francis Meres, a Common European

Context

1.1 European Conflicts

The anthropocentrism of the humanist movement questioned the nature and extent of medieval education, leading to ‘an educational revolution’ where the commonplace emerged as a fundamental educational device. In literature, this emphasis on individual critical judgement and its reassessment of classical learning motivated the translation of key texts of Antiquity. Translations of the Bible and spiritual writings of the *Devotio moderna*, such as Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ*, also became common. In religion, too, this new approach inspired the questioning of medieval doctrines and ecclesiastical practices. Clerical privileges, abuses within the Church, mainly against the sale of indulgences, became a popular cause among humanists and churchmen, who called for a renovation of the quality of religious life. The principles of *sola scriptura* and *sola fide* were established as the doctrinal cornerstones of the Reformation and they informed the social, political and economic currents of the time. In northern and central Europe, reformers like Luther, Calvin and Zwingli defied papal authority and distrusted the Church’s capacity to establish Christian practice and argued, in contrast, for a religious and political redistribution of power into the hands of pastors and princes. Erasmus’ criticism of the late medieval Church and the abuses of its leaders was also made clear in most of his early works such as the *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (1503),

which included an early proposal for a reform of church tradition. In it he presented a conception of Christian life and faith that a decade later Erasmus called *Philosophia Christi* and which was deeply influenced by the northern tradition of the *Devotio moderna*—about which more below. In a letter to Colet the Dutch scholar affirmed that “the *Enchiridion* was not composed for any display of genius or eloquence, but only for the purpose of correcting the common error of those who make religion consist of ceremonies and an almost more than Jewish observance of corporeal matters, while they are singularly careless of things than belong to piety.”¹⁹ The *Paraclesis* (1516) is considered one of the best examples of Erasmus’ religious ideals. He argued for a model of liberal Christian education that advocated the importance of combining knowledge of the classics with Scripture because, he insisted, classical education aids individual spiritual growth and minimizes adherence to the central dogmas of the Church. He wrote a large number of educational books that were widely used in schools, though his new ideas influenced only a minority of these. He considered that education had the potential to shape the minds and the attitudes of both rulers and ruled to the benefit of the whole community. Erasmus’ rhetorical brilliance and witty criticism is even clearer in the satirical *Morias Enkomion* (1511). His satire on the institutions of his time, particularly the Church and the clergy, expresses his humanism in a way that could, he hoped, be conducive to change and reform. This work will have a strong impact on English consciousness and mind and it helped to shape the opinions of many people in England. It could have influenced, for instance, the elaboration of the Thirty-Nine Articles, about which more below. He, like many other humanists, considered that the Church could turn into a more caring and less corrupt institution without violence, but

¹⁹ See Nichols 1901, 376. The *Enchiridion* was a fundamental text for the European spread of the *Devotio Moderna* and *Philosophia Cristi*. It was translated into Czech in 1519, into German in 1520, into Castilian in 1527 and into English in 1533 (presumably by William Tyndale).

rather through the power of reason and education. This was also his advice to Charles V in the *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516).

Under these views, many hoped that Martin Luther and Erasmus could unite against the errors of the Church. But they hold different positions on several matters.²⁰ Luther sought to replace traditional orthodoxy and to reduce the power of the papacy, Erasmus in contrast stood up for moral reform under the authority of the Pope. He argued for open-mindedness, moderation and tolerance. To Luther, truth could exclusively be found in Scripture, since he was utterly convinced that Adam's fall had fatally compromised human creatures; whereas Erasmus, as a Renaissance rationalist, believed in the inherent goodness of human nature, which must be combined with the teachings of Jesus, particularly the fundamental value expressed in Christ's injunction, to love one's neighbour. More fundamental differences between Erasmus and Luther came to the foreground in their debate over free will.

In England, Luther's ideas were not significant at first because of the vigorous opposition that he found in official circles. Catholic theologians such as Bishop John Fisher or Thomas More imported his writings to refute his views. Henry VIII's actions since 1525 onwards, however, stimulated support for the heresy and invited continental Protestantism into the country. The determined attempt to introduce a full Protestant Church came with Edward VI's reign. The introduction of the Book of Common Prayer, as the formal doctrinal teaching of the Church of England, Cranmer's Forty-two Articles— the immediate foundation of the Thirty-Nine Articles— and the stripping of the remaining Catholic paraphernalia from churches, which had already taken place under Henry VIII through Thomas Cromwell, were some of the most significant

²⁰ For more information about the ideas of Erasmus and Luther see chapter 4 within Victor George's *Major Thinkers in Welfare* (2010), 61-84.

achievements against the Catholic faith during his five-year reign. However, his religious policy had not been consolidated yet when his half-sister, Mary Tudor, won back the country to Catholic obedience. And yet, the country would take a different direction with the accession of Elizabeth I to the throne of England.²¹ In France too, the flourishing University of Paris, the Sorbonne, encouraged the development of an agenda of reform and renewal motivated by the country's strongly rooted Humanist movement led by Jacques Lefevre d'Étaples. It suffered a setback with the polemical Affair of the Placards (1534), and many of its leading figures, Calvin among them, were forced to take refuge in flight. The reformist movement gained strength in the second half of the century with the coming of Calvinism.

In the Low Countries, Charles V laboured to thwart the progress of Luther's views. In 1523, two supporters of evangelical doctrines were executed and this initiated a campaign of repression in which some 1200 men and women were put to death and others forced into exile. In the second half of the century, Margaret of Parma, appointed regent while Philip II was in the Iberian Peninsula, would continue to repress any sort of religious dissidence. Her severe policy against heresy, however, contributed to the development of an unprecedented rush of organized dissent. Attacks on the objects of Catholic veneration began in the early years of 1560s, and Dutch Calvinism continued its progress. Margaret of Parma suspended temporarily the heresy laws and many of the exiles returned to take advantage of the new freedoms. This religious iconoclasm in which religious images and sacred objects were cast down and humiliated was meant to demonstrate the powerlessness of Catholic doctrine. Churches too, were attacked in their search for spiritual purification. Emden was the most important haven for exiled

²¹ For further details on the English Renaissance see Andrew Hadfield's *The English Renaissance: 1500-1620* (2001) and the more recent volume *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640* (2013). See also Pettegree's *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (2005).

Dutch Protestants. England too, would become a vital base of operations during the revolt: there the refugees continued organizing armed raids across the North Sea, recruiting men and collecting money for the rebel forces. English people were familiar with the crisis in the Netherlands via burgeoning British merchants and university students that narrated the dramatic events occurring around them. English readers were also offered a number of pamphlets where the rebels justified their actions in taking up arms against their Spanish Habsburg overlords—the Duke of Alba, Margaret of Parma and Philip II— and win support for the Dutch cause from neighbouring countries. *A briefe request or declaration presented unto Madame the duchesse of Parme* (London 1566), *A declaration and publication of the most worthy prince of Orange* (London 1568) or *A true rehersall of the honourable & triumphant victory which the defenders of the trueth had againste the tyrannical and bloodthirsty league of the Albanists* (London 1573) are some examples. The easy welcome of these émigrés by the Elizabethan government and English aid to the developing struggle would complicate, even more if possible, Anglo-Hispanic relations.²² The brutality of the Wonderyear also forced Dutch Catholics into exile, and it is probable that Michael ab Isselt (1530/40-1597) emigrated during this period. He settled at Cologne, a free Imperial city that would stand out as “the citadel of Catholic resistance to the Reformation.”²³ Trade, security and the preservation of civic independence were the three major concerns of the city’s public policy and vulnerable as its position was, Cologne could not afford a confrontation over

²² See Dunthorne 2013, 133-175. See also Andrew Pettegree’s detailed account of this influx of foreign refugees into Britain in *Foreign Protestant communities in sixteenth-century London* (1986). For more information on Emden as a refuge see Pettegree *Emden and the Dutch Revolt* (1992).

²³ Scribner 1987, 217.

religion. It was here where Isselt will publish all his literary production, including his numerous translations of Luis de Granada.²⁴

In the Iberian Peninsula, Luther's writings were officially banned as early as 1525 and the persecution intensified when they noticed an analogy between the doctrines of the *alumbrados*, which Bataillon described as 'un cristianismo interiorizado, un sentimiento vivo de la gracia', and those of the Lutheran heresy.²⁵ The influence of northern spiritual tendencies upon Spanish authors, Luis de Granada chief among them, was a source of great concern. The trials against Juan Gil and his disciple, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente or Julian Hernández's smuggling of two barrels with heretical books— mainly Castilian editions of the New Testament—, alarmed Inquisitor General and Archbishop of Seville, Fernando de Valdés. 1558 came as a wake up call about the existence in Spain of a more large-scale Lutheran threat to the doctrinal monopoly of the Church. On 9th September of that year, Valdés sent a letter to Paul IV warning him about the religious situation in the Iberian Peninsula, paying special attention to the dissemination of the "herexias y errores de Lutero", and several papal briefs issued on January 1559 granted him permission to act accordingly. One of his most important achievements was the elaboration of the *Index of prohibited books*, i.e. Valdés' *Index* of 1559.

²⁴ For Michael ab Isselt biography see Franz Xaver von Wegele, "Isselt, Michael von" *Allgemine Deutsche Biographie* <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/search> [accessed 01 February 2016]; See also Wind 1835, 213-216.

²⁵ Bataillon 1983, 167. *Illuminism* was a phenomenon that dated back to the end of the fourteenth century and had now become part of a larger movement of religious renovation, which also included the *Devotio Moderna* or German mysticism. It is not easy to establish the movement's profile—within it there were different tendencies and groups— but it could be said that it concentrated upon the metaphor of 'faith as illumination' taken from the Gospel of John: A light that will shine upon all those willing to be illuminated under Christ. This called for a highly interiorized, subjective and personal spirituality, distinct from the more formal and ceremonial practices of the hierarchical church. See Pastore 2010, 165-198.

Since the 1520s Catholic defenders laboured to control the reformers' agenda of change. Johann Eck's *Obelisci* (1518), Henry VIII's *Assertio septem sacramentorum* (1521), Thomas More's *Eruditissimi vivi Gul. Rossi opus legans quo pulcherrime reteggit ac refellit insanas Lutheri calumnias* (1523)—written at Henry VIII's request—or John Fisher's *Sermon of Iohan the byssshop of Rochester made agayn ye peuerisyous doctryn of Martin Luther* (1521) are some of the tracts that appeared attacking Luther's views. Despite their efforts, however, the Reformation set in place structures and beliefs that splintered Western Christendom forever. In collaboration with Johannes Bugenhagen and Philip Melanchthon, among others, Martin Luther drew up the Confession of Augsburg or *Confessio Augustana* (1530) at the request of Elector John of Saxony. This document is considered the first formal exposition of the Lutheran faith, and, significantly enough, a fundamental source in the elaboration of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church.²⁶

1.1.1 Devotio Moderna

In the second half of the fourteenth century Geert Groote (1340-1384) and his disciple Florens Radewijs (1350-1400) contributed to establish what would come to be known as *moderna devotio*. It was rooted in the Brethren of the Common Life and the Canons Regular of Windesheim and it called for a renewed Church and theology. Its followers claimed wholesale communion with God through detachment from the world and its temporal pleasures and the development of a rich inner life of the spirit. Its Christocentrism taught to follow the example of Jesus Christ through methodical prayer,

²⁶ See Pettegree 2002, 88-113. For general treatments of the Reformation see also Carter Lindberg. *The European Reformations*. United Kingdom: Wiley-blackwell, 2010 (2nd edition); A. G. Dickens. *The German Nation and Martin Luther*. London: Edward Arnold, 1974; Ronnie Hsia. *The German People and the Reformation*. London: Cornell University Press, 1988.

self-analysis, meditation as well as cogitative reading of the Holy Scriptures emphasizing silence and seclusion in one's cell. The historian Anthony Levi explains the aims of the movement in the following terms:

The spirituality of the *devotio* was penitential, cultivating personal poverty, with humility generated through real humiliation, fraternal correction within the community, common examination of conscience, and obedience. Spiritual diaries were kept, with resolutions and intentions drawn up and notes on spiritual reading written down.²⁷

The movement's major and more influential figure was the Agustinian canon Thomas Kempis, whose *Imitation of Christ* was the most widely translated text after the Bible. The *Imitation* was only one among many influential texts that flowed from this movement. Ludolph of Saxony, Johannes Tauler, Heinrich Suso, Jan van Ruysbroeck, Harphius or Denis de Carthusian also wrote treatises on the same lines. In their writings, they addressed the deficit in moral authority of a clerical hierarchy that was perceived as corrupt and self-serving. This clerical elite was more concerned about preserving orthodoxy in outward ritual and ceremony, and it had little time for the spiritual needs of common believers. The texts of these authors were consequently responding thus to a social and, above all, to a spiritual demand of sorts.

The *Devotio Moderna* had a great influence upon other European countries giving birth to devotional currents that would dominate the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The work of the Cologne Carthusians played a central role in this outbreak of spiritual fervour and it is widely assumed that they influenced the development of these northern traditions through the publication of their texts, such as for instance, some works by Ruysbroeck, Tauler and Harphius. They were simultaneously engaged in doctrinal production as much as in the more material aspects of the production and distribution of texts. Traditionally, the Carthusians employed most of their time as

²⁷ Levi 2002, 144.

scribes, as a cloistered order bound by vows of silence they had to preach God's words "with their hands."²⁸ With the advent of print, these monks immediately became aware of its potential for their cause. They set up their own presses and employed printers around the city so that they could communicate with more people. In London, the Carthusian Charterhouse, founded in 1371, also practiced the *Devotio Moderna* and though it was dissolved in 1537, they continued to be active in the promotion of this kind of devotional literature in the country.

Erasmus of Rotterdam was educated in this tradition, first in the monastery of Saint Lebuinus in Deventer under the tutelage of the German humanist Alexander Hegius, and then in the University of Louvain whose faculty of theology was also imbued with the doctrines of this new spiritual movement later on developed by the Dutch scholar in his own *Philosophia Christi*.²⁹ Erasmus' spirituality affirmed that a true Christian must allow Christ's spirit (i.e. philosophy) to permeate every facet of his life, further insisting that Christianity must become a way of life beyond a mere set of formal doctrines and external ceremonies.³⁰ To him, a true Christian is not one who is baptized or anointed, or who attends church. It is rather the man who had embraced Christ in his innermost feelings of his heart, and who emulates Him by his pious deeds.³¹ This is the basis of Erasmus' personal spirituality and one which informs his writings, specially his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (1503), which shares, as Adrian Streete points out, many similarities with Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*.

Michael ab Isselt too, had studied in the University of Louvain prior to his exile in Cologne. We ignore whether he belonged to the Brethren of the Common Life or the

²⁸ Eisenstein 1979, 316.

²⁹ The monastery of Saint Lebuinus has been founded by Geert Groote. The Spaniard Juan Luis Vives was appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Louvain in 1519.

³⁰ Bataillon 1983, 75.

³¹ DeMolen 1987, 75.

Canons Regular, but their ideas had a great impact on him. The three editions of *Exercitia, in septem meditationes matutinas, ac totidem vespertinas, distribute* (Cologne: Arnold Mylius 1586, 1591, 1598) were dedicated to Marcellus Lentius, last prior of the monastery of Windesheim, which had been founded by the Brethren of the Common Life in 1378. The *Exercitia* was a Latin rendering of the first part of Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación* and one of several of the Dominican friar's works that had been informed by this northern tradition, most of which Michael ab Isselt himself translated. If Francis Meres is responsible for the largest number of English translations of Granada's prose, Michael ab Isselt's effort when rendering the friar's works into Latin is also remarkable, and the source of such interest could lie behind Isselt and the friar's connection with this spiritual movement.

In Spain a group of devotees soon echoed the spirituality that had originated in the north. Cardinal Cisneros (1436-1517) played a fundamental role in attempting to introduce new and personal forms of piety and worship with his reform of the Franciscan order by emphasizing austerity and strict observance of discipline. He assumed an ever larger role in revitalizing Spanish culture and literacy with the foundation of the University of Alcalá, which became an intellectual and doctrinal beacon for the *Devotio moderna* and Erasmus' *Philosophia Christi*. Cisneros also encouraged the translation of certain spiritual writings such as John Climacus, Catherine of Siena, Girolamo Savonarola or Ludolph the Carthusian as well as Aristotle's works. Hernando Colón's book collection helps to investigate the influence that this movement had in the country. Among Colón's purchases, we find one copy of Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, three copies of Ludolph of Saxony's *Meditationis Vita Christi*, one edition of Johannes Tauler's collection of popular sermons, *Predig fast fruchtbar zu eim recht*

chrisclichen leben;³² Ruysbroeck's *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum libri tres*;³³ Herp's sermons and his popular work, *Mirror of Perfection*;³⁴ Lanspergius's preface to Peter Blomevenna's *Candela Evangelica* as well as three scriptural comments by Denis the Carthusian.³⁵ Among the first in Spain to publish an influential treatise informed with this kind of devotion was García de Cisneros (1455-1510), a cousin of cardinal Francisco de Cisneros, with his *Ejercitatorio de Vida Espiritual* and *Directorio de las Horas Canónicas*.³⁶ The Franciscans Alonso de Madrid (1485-1570), Francisco de Osuna (1497-1540) and Bernardino de Laredo (1482-1540) with their works *Arte para servir a Dios* (1521), *Tercer Abecedario spiritual* (1527) and *Subida al Monte Sión* (1535) are other representative examples of the impact this tradition had upon Spanish spirituality. Luis de Granada too was a disciple of these clergymen who embraced the ideas of the northern religiosity, particularly that of inward meditation, to adapt them to their own national context. The Dominican Granada had studied in the Colegio de San Gregorio, in Spain, another crucial centre for the diffusion of this *pietas christiana*, which defended not adherence to the external practices of church tradition, but constant faith infused with silent contemplation of the religious mysteries. Granada was also inspired by Juan de Ávila, who stood out as one of the chief beacons of this movement with his defence of continuous ministry to indoctrinate the greatest number of believers with the inwardness of faith, a circumstance that even led him to prison. Granada's missionary vocation and the concern about the spiritual enrichment of the laity led him

³² *Predig fast fruchtbar zu eim recht chrisclichen leben*. Basel: Adam Petri, 1521.

³³ *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum libri tres*. Paris: Henri Estienne, 1512.

³⁴ *Tabula Sermonum*. Haguenau: Johann Rynmann, 1509. *Speculum perfectionis*. Venice: Lorenzo Lori, 1524.

³⁵ *Candela evangelica*. Cologne: Eucarius Cervicornus, 1527. *Septem psalmorum poenitentialium*. Cologne: Bruno Loer de Stratis, ca. 1530. *Elucidissima in diui Pauli epistolas*. Cologne: Petrus Quentell, 1530. *Epistolas cononicas*. Cologne: Petrus Quentell, 1530.

³⁶ Dom Cipriano Baraut gives notable evidence of the sources used by García de Cisneros in *Obras Completas* (1965).

to move constantly from one place to another. Granada would also preach with his works, as proved by his abundant production of devotional writings in the vernacular. Some of his works where we can most certainly perceive the influence of this movement are *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Guía de pecadores*, which on the other hand, were his most internationally famous writings.

There might be some connection between this spiritual movement and the reception of Granada's works by Anglican audiences. As mentioned above, the *Devotio moderna* left a deep impression on some of England's monastic orders of late medieval times, such as the Carthusians. John Colet and Thomas More, for instance, considered joining the Carthusian London Charterhouse. Lollards and Hussites were also followers of his movement and consumers of the devotional literature pouring off the presses of the great printing centres. As early as 1502 Richard Pynson published in London an English edition of the *Imitation of Christ* and William Tyndale produced the earliest English version of Erasmus' *Enchiridion* as *The Handbook of a Christian Knight* (1523), which would be very influential. Susan Wabuda in *Preaching during the English Reformation* (2002) has examined the crucial and continuous adherence in early modern England to various forms of this type of devotion and she claims, "in a time of religious change the inescapable Christocentrism of the cult of the Holy Name ultimately made it an uneasy nexus between the dynamism of the Catholic Church, and emerging Protestantism."³⁷ The influence of Christian devotion will also be seen in the next generation of writers such as Henry Constable, Alexander Hume, John Davies, Henry Walpole, Philip Howard, Robert Southwell or Edmund Spenser. English translations of Luis de Granada belong within this wave of spiritual fervour. At a time when diplomatic relations between England and Spain were not going through the best

³⁷ Wabuda 2002, 148.

of times, the popularity of these English translations of devotional prose by a Spanish Dominican is a phenomenon that deserves further investigation.

1.1.2 The Bible and its Interpretation

The reinterpretation of Scripture under the spirit of philological humanism and the new type of devotion, and its translation into vernacular languages was a fundamental part of the Reformation too. With the application of the philological method of textual analysis to the translation of Scripture and the primacy of the original languages, humanists expected to yield a clear interpretation of obscure or contradictory renderings of the Holy text. Erasmus would emerge as the leading biblical scholar of his day, contributing to the recovery of the original sources of the Christian faith with his 1516 edition of the New Testament, based on Valla's collated text. Here he sought to improve Jerome's Vulgate providing alternative readings of some key texts, casting doubt on the validity of medieval interpretations of these passages, some of which had long served as proof texts for important doctrines.³⁸ To that end, he also edited and published the writings of the early Church Fathers because, he thought, "[the Fathers] will lead [the reader] to an inner penetration of the word of God, to an understanding of the spiritual worth it contains."³⁹ Reformers would also appeal to the authority of patristic authors in theological arguments and discourse. Augustine, Jerome and Chrysostom's writings were read and annotated by Luther, Calvin and Melanchthon. Quotations from the Fathers were easily borrowed from author to author and especially from collections of *Patristic Testimonia*. An example of this is Bodius' handbook, *Unio Dissidentium*

³⁸ Eire 2007, 88.

³⁹ DeMolen 1987, 47.

(1527) that contained some 500 patristic passages and a much greater number from the Bible arranged in sections under theological headings. The Fathers of the Church were a primary source in Luis de Granada's spiritual writings.

The view that a new, authoritative version of the Holy Text was needed caused the production of multi-version Bibles during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Following Erasmus' Latin-Greek *Novum Instrumentum*, other early modern multilingual translations of the Scriptures arose from different presses. The *Polyglot Bible* (1514-17) was one of the most significant attempts at Bible analysis and interpretation produced by a group of scholars at the University of Alcalá. In this version, the Old Testament was reproduced in Hebrew, Greek and Latin; whereas the New Testament was reproduced in Greek and Latin. A Hebrew-Chaldean vocabulary and a brief Hebrew grammar were also added. The great polyglots of Antwerp (1569-1572), Paris (1645) and London (1657) are other examples of multilingual versions of the Holy text. The latter included Arabic, Ethiopic, and Persian versions of some books.⁴⁰

In the vernacular, Erasmus' arguments will be fundamental too. If the Dutch scholar had theorized on Bible translation in his Annotations, in the *Paraclesis* he had also expounded on the importance of making the Scriptures more accessible to everyone. "I wold desire that all women shuld reade the gospell and Paules epistles and I wold to god they were translated in to the tonges of all men."⁴¹ This thrust of the work

⁴⁰ For more details on that see Thomas H. Darlow and Horace F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1963). See also Basil Hall, *The Great Polyglot Bibles: Including a Leaf from the Complutensian of Alcalá, 1514-17* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1966). The more recent work of Belén Bistué has some interesting ideas about these polyglots versions (2013, 19-52).

⁴¹ This excerpt has been taken from William Roye's English version, *An Exhortation to the Diligent Studye of Scripture* (1529). This work as well as Roye's translation of Luther's Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians 7, are examined by Douglas H. Parker (2000).

must have drawn the early English reformers to it in order to support their own claim for an English edition of the Bible; using Erasmus' name and his arguments in the *Paraclesis*, the radical reformers would persuade conservative English forces by showing that one of their own (Erasmus was perceived to be on friendly terms with them) saw the wisdom of providing the English nation with an English Bible. Erasmus' line of thought was also followed by the French humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1450-1537), who saw the Bible as the ultimate authority in the Christian religion. In 1512 he published a French translation of Paul's *Letter to the Romans* and ten years later, a commentary on the Gospels. In 1523 appeared his French edition of the New Testament, then in 1525 the Psalms, and finally in 1530 the entire Bible. Protestant communities too, perceived Bible translation as a process of linguistic and religious liberation and realized the potential of having the Bible in the vernacular.⁴² The same year of the publication of Erasmus' second edition of the *Novum Instrumentum* (1522), Martin Luther published his German translation, and the rest of the Bible appeared in 1530. In England too, several English editions— Tyndale's *New Testament* (1526), Miles Coverdale's *Great Bible* (1537), or the *Geneva Bible* (1560)— precede *The Bishops' Bible* (1568), which enjoyed official status until the *King James Bible* (1611). The Great Bible was perceived as severely deficient in that much of the Old Testament and Apocrypha were translated from the Latin Vulgate rather than from the original Masoretic text. In Castilian, the *Biblia Alfonsina* (1280), made from the Vulgate, and the *Biblia de Alba* or *Biblia de Arragel* based on the original languages, are some of the earliest examples of the Bible in the vernacular.⁴³ The Spanish inquisition, however, mistrusted this open access to spiritual matter and they condemned the Bible in all

⁴² Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee 2014, 14.

⁴³ There is also evidence of a pre-*Alfonsina* Bible.

vernacular languages, including Castilian, in the *Censura Generalis* and Valdés' *Index* of 1559. Another outstanding Bible translation from this early period is the Spanish work of Casiodoro de Reina. His version of the Bible (Basel 1569) was later on revised by his friend Cipriano de Valera (Amsterdam 1602) and it became the principal Spanish Bible in circulation.⁴⁴ The Reina-de Valera version was the starting point for the most widespread and most published version of the Bible in that language because it served millions of Spanish-speaking Christians, including Protestant Spanish-speakers, around the world. The declining importance of Spain as an intellectual centre of European life, caused that this translation had much less effect upon translation theory and practice than various English and German translations had.

In this country, the work of Spanish theologians such as Luis de Granada or Luis de León was also a significant contribution towards vernacular translations of Scriptures. In the work *De los nombres de Cristo*, Luis de León insisted that all people should make use of the sacred text, which has been inspired to be their consolation and remedy. With that aim in mind, it should be written in a language the common people could understand, i.e. their vernacular languages. He also advocated for the use of the Hebrew text as he saw the Vulgate full of errors and faults; he produced Castilian translations of the *Song of Songs*, the *Book of Job* and some *Psalms*.⁴⁵ Luis de Granada's works also relied heavily on the Bible. Because of the international success of his works, it could be claimed that the Dominican Granada played certain role in the dissemination of the Holy text all through Europe, emphasizing the importance of having it in the vernacular. This reliance on the Scriptures was very appealing within a protestant context and it could have been one of the reasons of Meres' preference for

⁴⁴ For more information on Cipriano de Valera see section 4.1.

⁴⁵ *De los nombres de Cristo* 1770, 1-2.

this work. While biblical references, as they appear in Isselt's Latin version, are reproduced in Meres' edition, there are certain differences that seem to indicate that the English writer and translator could have relied on an English edition of the Bible to contribute his own vernacular translations of these passages— about which more below.

1.2 The European Book Market

All of this was made possible thanks to the development of the printing industry. One of the effects of technical advances was the transformation of distant clerical properties into daily encountered items. The enormous increase in the production of books and the significant reduction in the number of man-hours required to bring them out justifies why the advent of print is often thought of as a *revolution*. A book revolution, a media revolution, a shift from script to print, a typographical revolution, or communications are some of the labels used to explain this “crucial invention to come out of that period of ferment, the Renaissance.”⁴⁶ Beyond the Rhineland, print stretched to different cities in Italy (Venice, Rome, Milan, Ferrara, Bologna, Naples or Florence) France (Paris and Lyon) and Belgium (Antwerp and Ghent) since the 1460s, some of which became major centres of production with their own publishing profile.⁴⁷ The centres of trade rather than learning provided the best locations for production of printed books. Against expectations, print did not develop, at least initially, in many places with a distinguished medieval university. The clergy played a fundamental role in the evolution of the industry at its early stages as printers endeavoured to fulfil the needs of the Church. Missals, breviaries and all sort of sacred texts and works of theology ran off from the

⁴⁶ Eisenstein 1979, 44. Baron, Lindquist and Shevlin 2007, 2. See also Raven 2007, 1-45.

⁴⁷ On their distinctive publishing profile see Pettegree 2010, 36.

presses, most of which the clergy itself had financed. The texts of Classical Antiquity—Cicero, Horace, Pliny, Jerome, Augustine, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Aquinas, Duns Scotus or Petrarch— also furnished the new industry, thanks to the appearance and widespread influence of the humanist movement. However, these were often large and expensive volumes written in Latin, hence their production surpassed the number of possible buyers and only those presses backed with favourable commercial conditions survived. The early years of the sixteenth century brought major changes in the European book world such as a refashioning of scribal production, revision to the sites and processes of paper making, the multiplication of binding techniques, and the development of different engraving methods.⁴⁸ Crucial features to assist the reader such as title-pages, dedications, indexes and notes were also added. The book was also transformed in its subject matter. Alongside major canonical works, printers brought new works and new genres to the market so that the industry could respond to, and shape, the taste of a gradually expanding readership: “there is evidence that, by the late sixteenth century, most printers could not have survived without ephemeral print.”⁴⁹ As the industry consolidated, pressures for the regulation of print came from within the industry itself: printing was an expensive and competitive business and printers needed the guarantee from local authorities that no other printer would be allowed to publish a book that they wanted to print themselves. In England, the Stationers’ Company’s internal conflicts are a case in point— about which more below.

This revolution affected, and was affected by, other historical developments. Arthur Geoffrey Dickens, Louise Holborn, Paul Johnson, Elizabeth Eisenstein and Mark U. Edwards all agree that the Reformation was the first religious movement that

⁴⁸ Raven 2007, 1.

⁴⁹ Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee 2014, 6.

fully exploited the potential of the printing press as a mass medium.⁵⁰ Reformers were quick to realize its capacity to provide quick and effective access to printed matter for an audience far larger than the one they could have reached before the invention of print. The Reformation also provided sufficient and profitable stimulus for the industry. Printers, publishers and booksellers served as agents of that movement and conductors of later religious and political debate. In Germany important reformist publishing centres appeared in Leipzig— Martin Landsperg, Wolfgang Stöckel and Melchior Lotter— and Wittenberg, where Johann Rhau-Grunenberg published Luther's *Theses*. Christopher Froschauer's press in Zurich printed the key works of some of the most important authors involved in the Zurich Reformation, like Ulrich Zwingli. The same applies to the presses in Basel, the centre of book production in Switzerland, and the European northwest. In France, book production concentrated around Paris and Lyon, the latter of whose important book fair conferred the city an extraordinary capacity for exportation, establishing links with other European printers. In this country, however, the crucial moment came in 1534 when a great number of broadsheets denouncing the Mass and Catholic priesthood were posted up in Paris and other provincial cities (Tours, Blois, Orleans and Rouen). The support of Marguerite, the king's sister, in the Affair of the Placards did not prevent severe governmental prerogatives, and many reformist scholars were forced to take refuge in exile. John Calvin, for instance, fled to Geneva, where he created a successful publishing centre due to its privileged geographical position for the transport and distribution of goods. In the Low Countries printing was concentrated in Antwerp. Here, printers became heavily involved with evangelical publishing, though Charles V's measures to inhibit the publication or circulation of such

⁵⁰ Geoffrey Dickens 1968, 51; Holborn 1942, 123; Johnson 1976, 271; Eisenstein 1979, 303; Edwards 2005, 1.

books caused prominent figures in the industry to become reluctant to risk their position by producing a work that might lead them into difficulties. The number of books printed in the Scandinavian kingdoms and Eastern Europe was modest in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Prague stood out as the most significant centre of the printed book, the largest proportion of which was in Czech, including translations of the chief German reformers: Luther, Melanchthon and Martin Bucer—which is illustrative not just of the repercussion of reformist ideas, but of the emergence of a vernacular tradition of printed literature and its close relation to the Reformation movement.

Spain was from the beginning a hostile environment for the distribution of Protestant literature. The 48 propositions of the Edict of Toledo (1525) illustrate how the *alumbrados* had taken hold of Luther's ideas. Manuel Peña Díaz provides evidence of the pervasive presence in Spain of heretical titles most of which came from foreign imports (Lyon, Antwerp, Italy and England). In Valladolid, Villalón de Campos, Medina de Rioseco, and Medina del Campo with its important book fairs stand out as the great trading centres for books printed abroad, which were later dispatched to other cities, mainly Seville, Salamanca or Valladolid, but also Granada and Zaragoza. In 1524 Hernando Colón, for instance, bought in Medina del Campo some 73 books whose place of publication ranged from Paris, Hagenau, Lyon to Venice, Milan or Turin.⁵¹ Something similar happened in the Italian Peninsula. Though Italy did not resist the widespread interest in theological debate and in church reform, there were relatively few overtly evangelical printings despite the strength and diversity of the local printing industry. Luther's views were perceived as indigestible among Italian intellectuals and humanists, and this presented a significant barrier to the success of the movement. Some Italian translations of reformist writings were printed in Italy but they rarely

⁵¹ Sánchez del Barrio 2011, 29-42. See Peña Díaz 2003, 85-93.

appeared with the reformist's real names: the Italian translation of Luther's *Declaration on the Ten Commandments* (1525) was attributed to Erasmus whereas the writings of Philip Melancthon and Martin Bucer were printed with the pseudonyms 'Ippofilo da Terra Negra' and 'Aretius Felinus'. Vernacular translations of these texts were, at any rate, relatively modest and Italians maintained contact with the northern theological debate mostly by importing Protestant books in their Latin original. In Poland and Lithuania, King Sigismund I Jagellion persecuted those who introduced or distributed Luther's writings, probably because of Erasmus' far-reaching commitment: in the timespan 1518-1550, some forty editions of his works were published in Cracow.⁵²

Similarly, there is little evidence that Luther's criticism of the Church met a favourable reception in England. Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson shared the market in the first two decades of the sixteenth century but the industry did not develop much further and book production was quite modest, particularly as regarded Latin works: the buying public was strictly limited and on the Continent they could be produced more cheaply. English Catholic writers decided to publish their works abroad, not just because of the quality of continental presses, but also because in the continent their texts would find a larger audience. English Protestant publications too were for the greatest part published abroad fearing, among other things, the king's displeasure. But even when Henry's marital politics made him conveniently more sympathetic to a reformist agenda, the limited capacities of the London printers placed a significant restriction on the range of Protestant literature that could quickly be made available. The London book market, therefore, depended largely on importations from all over Europe. The local market in English vernacular publishing could provide only a limited

⁵² A very good summary of the impact of the Reformation outside Europe is found in Pettegree 2002, 88-113.

proportion of those needed by a serious reader. Moreover, it offered limited opportunities for profit, as books in English had no substantial European market, and the connections for imports were so well established that it made difficult to establish a permanent foothold in production. Apart from books brought back by individuals from their travels abroad, the larger proportion of these overseas books had been imported by the London trade. Legal imports were primarily in Latin, and were either cheap editions of the classics for educational needs, or more expensive books for the educated, professional and aristocratic classes; Catholic works, on the other hand, represented the core of those imported surreptitiously. Though profit was a more substantial motive than belief.

By the mid of the century, a number of new presses were established in places like Ipswich, Canterbury, Worcester and Dublin, and there was a rapid increase in the number of books published. The market had grown exponentially and, not surprisingly, most of the new trade concentrated on religious books. Edward VI's reign gave unambiguous support to a programme of evangelical publications that transformed the London printing industry. The first and second *Book of Common Prayer* (1549 and 1552) and Cranmer's *Forty-Two Articles* (1553) were the most important literary achievements in that respect. With these texts, reformist ideas consolidated in the country. During Mary's reign, reformist literature was produced in exile: the Geneva Bible was one of the most outstanding examples. It was again stimulated under Elizabeth, when a flood of controversial printed matter was both produced and poured into the country. The Church of England positioned itself in the controversy with a new edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the *Thirty-Nine Articles* and *The Bishops' Bible*. English Catholic exiles, in contrast, endeavoured to return the country back to Roman obedience. The importation and translation of Catholic works in the second half of the

century will be fundamental to incite England's religious divide and they will have a great influence upon the formation of a hybrid sense of English identity, as this study will discuss later on.

This brief tour through the early decades of the century, already anticipated a dogged battle between conservative forces and those who sought to promote reform. To both, reformist and orthodox writers, it was immensely important to get their doctrine before as wide an audience as possible, and they recognized the role that could be played by print in the defence of their views. The trouble that authorities in both sides had in controlling or suppressing much of this literature is indicative of its pervasive circulation. However, the diversity of the industry and the uncertain guidelines to identify heretical books, made it difficult to control the production of dissenting material on both sides.

1.2.1 Material analysis of books

An analysis of the relations between producers and consumers of books is fundamental to understand the rationale of the industry. The early modern book trade was a collaborative and reciprocal arena in which the author was just one of many "textual mediators" within the diverse group of participants in the "communications circuit" that a work went through. Authors, printers, publishers and also readers played a role in the creation and production of texts and they were all well aware of the benefits of such interaction.⁵³ Writers relied on book producers to prepare their texts for various

⁵³ Lynn Erickson 2007, 4. For more evidence on this relation see Finkelstein and McCleery, "Printers, Booksellers, Publishers, Agents" (2005). Robert Darnton in "What is the History of Books?" described the life cycle of a book as a "communications circuit that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. The reader

audiences, and producers correspondingly relied on writers to raise their own status in the publishing world. The success of both depended on their ability to attract and sustain as large a readership as possible. Once the author has written the text, he was generally not involved in its publication. Save for the potential income that he might receive from the generosity of the dedicatee, an author's reward ended with the sale of the manuscript to the printer or publisher, who became the owner of the text. In short, an author was not entitled to share any extraordinary profits. Only through the assistance of publishers or "never-writers" as Lesser put it, could authorial production be distributed among its readers.⁵⁴ A man who had a manuscript and wanted to have it published would, in Elizabethan days, go first of all to St. Paul's Churchyard. There he could find the best booksellers' shops and stalls and "if, as was usual, he had no very definite connection with any particular bookseller, he would hawk his manuscript from one to the other until he had made the best bargain within his power."⁵⁵ It was practically impossible to get a manuscript in print outside London where all publishing was by law confined since 1556, save for the presses of Oxford and Cambridge. For a writer to find an adequate market, it was requisite condition that he lived in this city. This circumstance reinforces the hypothesis that Meres' settlement here was motivated by his desire to belong within London literary circles. Despite the traditional laments about an author's lack of control once a text moved into the marketplace, many writers were quite pleased with the work of their producers. This was not the case, for instance, with the publication of Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, where the latter apologized for the book's limitations and blamed the publisher, Cuthbert Burby, for his meanness with

completes the circuit, because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition" (1982, 67).

⁵⁴ Lesser 2004, 1.

⁵⁵ Sheavyn 1909, 64.

paper. The manufacture of paper was an intricate craft. Sizes, quality and therefore prices of paper varied greatly. Pot, demy, foolscap, crown, or royal were some of the different sizes in which paper could be manufactured. Sheets of paper varied in quality too, creamy coloured was considered the best paper while brown or grey was of inferior value. All these features influenced its price, but in general terms it could be said that paper was an expensive commodity and yet, it was a fairly regular purchase. Publishers provided printers with the paper they may need, therefore, it was common not to buy costly high-quality and large paper without knowing if the work would sell. Burby had published Robert Grenne's cony-catching pamphlets (1592) and his *History of Orlando Furioso* (1594); Lyly's *Mother Bombie* (1594) or Thomas Nash's *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) in quarto.⁵⁶ However, Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia* and *Granados Devotion* were published in duodecimo. There is one surviving copy of the Latin address to the reader that Meres added to *Palladis Tamia*. This part was removed from most copies of the first edition of the work, presumably by Burby himself, and all the evidence that we have of Meres' criticism of Burby's work as a publisher is provided by Kathman's entry in the *DNB*, who may have consulted the remaining edition. We ignore whether Meres referred to the quality of the paper used or the size of his work, but this criticism is evidence of his interest in the work.⁵⁷

Any work printed, Lesser claims, will take on new meanings if we pay attention to the people who published them.⁵⁸ Early modern writers were also aware that their popularity depended to a great extent on their capacity to sell the manuscript to a publisher of some great renown. Edward Blount, William Ponsonby, Nicholas Lynege or

⁵⁶ Greene's pamphlets: 'A Notable Discovery of Coosenage', 'The Second and last part of Cony-catching', 'A Disputation', 'Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher, and a Shee Conny-catcher', 'The Defence of Conny catching' and 'The Blacke Bookes Messenger'.

⁵⁷ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18581> [accessed 15 January 2015]

⁵⁸ Lesser 2004, 10.

Cuthbert Burby were some of the most important early modern publishers in England. The latter had published Francis Meres' *Granados Devotion* and *Palladis Tamia*, whereas Blount was the publisher of the second edition of *The Sinners Gvyde*. Luis de Granada and Michael ab Isselt were also aware of this aspect. Influential and renowned figures are also found among Luis de Granada and Isselt's printers and publishers. In Salamanca, Granada's works were printed (and probably sold) in the Portonaris' press, one of the most representative in the country. Matías Gast and, after this death in 1577, his wife and son-in-law, were also prolific printers of his works in the Iberian Peninsula. In Lisbon, his texts were published by Johannes Blavio de Colonia, Francisco Correa and Antonio Ribeiro. Similarly, Michael ab Isselt's texts came, for the greatest part, from the popular Quentell's press at Cologne.

It was not easy for an author to have his manuscript published. In many cases the writer had no choice at all. The system of monopolies favoured by Elizabeth had also taken hold of the publishing trade, and many books were privileged or patented to particular booksellers as their sole right. Moreover, some stationers specialized, and therefore had a reputation for particular kinds of books, and the writer would consider this interest in selecting the text to write, or to translate, and in offering the manuscript for sale. Printers physically manufactured books: the compositors in a print shop set type that workers at the shop's printing press(es) then inked and impressed onto paper. Publishers, on the other hand, paid for books to be produced. They got involved in the publication process only if it promised gain, speculating on their future repercussion taking into account the text's position within all relevant discourses, institutions, and practices of a given place.⁵⁹ When Thomas Dekker and George Wilkins observed that

⁵⁹ Melnikoff 2013, 96. For further details on the publishers' specialization and the speculation of the trade see Lesser 2004, 26-51.

“books are a strange commoditie; the estimation of them riseth and falleth faster than the exchange of money in the Low Countries”, they were complaining about the difficulty of suiting both, his publishers and the tastes of his readers.⁶⁰ The decision of Meres’ publishers to finance his editions was probably the result of an early speculative reading of the texts too.

Once they had acquired the manuscript, publishers covered its pre-publication legal fees, provided printers with paper for the book, paid the printers to produce several hundred copies of it to be manufactured, and then sold the finished, unbound books to other stationers and directly to customers.⁶¹ If a book sold well, publishers reaped the profits, but if it sold poorly, they were left with a loss. In most industries, the amount of capital necessary to start production is far less than the overall amount that will be invested in a given project. In the book trade, in contrast, virtually all of the capital necessary to produce an edition must be laid out before the investment can begin to be recovered. That is, books must be mass-produced in a single process before any of them can be sold individually. This fact was of crucial importance to the book trade and to publishing in particular, leading to the creation of manifold techniques that would ultimately condition the development of the modern copyright and publisher. In England, for instance, these procedures would have a decisive influence on the history of the Stationers’ Company.

Early modern publishers were different from today’s publishers. The word *publisher*, in fact, was rarely used in its modern sense to distinguish the person who just invests capital to fund the production of a book and reaps the rewards or suffers its losses. Unlike modern publishers, the men and women who played this role did not

⁶⁰ *Jests to Make You Merry* 1607, A2r. James Raven talks about the book as an international commodity in the introduction to *The Business of Books* (2007, 2).

⁶¹ Blayney 1997, 383; 422; 391.

view it as a profession; indeed the modern publishing house, the business devoted to finding promising new manuscripts, contracting for the rights to publish them, paying for their production, and selling the finished books to wholesale distributors, was created at the end of the eighteenth century. The early modern English publisher did not only publish books. Instead, they were typically printers, craftsmen who owned printing presses and moveable types and who employed the various people involved in the physical production, booksellers, or even a combination of all of these roles. Printers and publishers also shaped the books' appearance and presentation. The former determined the quality of a printed text and the book's overall physical appearance, whereas the latter usually determined the content of the title-pages, frequently used as the dominant mode of book advertising in the period as it was the first element the reader encountered. The title, the name of the author, place and date of publication and name of the printer/publisher (sometimes also the price) were common features that title-pages included. The publisher may add other pieces of information such as, in case of translations, the different languages to which the text had been previously translated, or even illustrations to make the book more appealing. From the title-pages of Meres' renderings we learn that *The Sinners Gvyde* was printed by the popular stationer James Robert, and published and sold by Paul Linley and John Flasket. The second edition of this work was printed by Richard Field and published and sold by Edward Blount. *Granados Devotion*, in contrast, was printed by Edward Allde (who would also print other English translations of Luis de Granada's writings) and together with *Palladis Tamia* (whose printer was Peter Short) it was published and sold by Cuthbert Burby. Meres' last translation, *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises*, was printed by James Robert and published and sold by I. B. (presumably Isaac Bing), whereas the second edition of this work, published in 1600, was printed in Edinburgh by Robert

Waldegrave. The working hypothesis is that Meres' involvement with some of the most important publishers and booksellers of Elizabethan England was probably due to his connection to the publishing trade—about which more below.

The person to whom the work was dedicated was also significant. Frequently used during the sixteenth century, this element dates back to ancient Rome and its format ranged from a brief reference to the dedicatee to dedicatory epistles of varying length. In Elizabethan England the ties between patron and protégé were neither close nor permanent and the names of those writers who were so fortunate as to meet with lifelong patronage were few. A good indicator of the lack of effective patronage is when an author dedicates his works to a great variety of patrons. Meres, for instance, has five different patrons for five books. Few dedications were in themselves capable of evoking more than feelings of compassion, and though the new conditions might have lessened the need for a patron, it still remained beneficial to call up the favour of some person, influential in Church or State, before publishing.⁶² A number of reasons accounted for the writer's interest in this person. Some authors were moved by friendship or gratitude. Meres' *Gods Arithmeticke*, for instance, was dedicated to his relative John Meres, and the second dedication that he prefaced to 'An Exposition upon the one and fiftie Psalme' within the first edition of *Granados Spiritual and Heauenlie Exercises*, was addressed to "the religious and deuout Lady, the Lady *Iudith Kinaston*" whom he sincerely thanks for her courtesies when taking care of his wife, "my *Loue*, my deare

⁶² On the importance of patronage see Catherine Patterson, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England* (2000) and Lytle and Orgel, *Patronage in the Renaissance* (1981).

and espoused *Second selfe*”, and also “because [her] mindfulness of my preferment.”⁶³ Other examples are Thomas Lodge’s *A Fig for Momus* addressed to William Stanley, son of Lodge’s protector, and Michael ab Isselt’s dedicatory of *Dvx Peccatorum* to Francisco Fossio, dean of the *Collegium Beatae Mariae Virginis* of the University of Leipzig, whose dedication to defend the Church he did praise.⁶⁴ The plainest function of the dedication was illustrated with Luis de Granada’s *Guía de pecadores*. He addressed the two editions of the work (1556 and 1567), to Elvira de Mendoza. In this case, the epistle presented its author’s aims and objectives, further insisting on the benefit of the book’s contents. To that end, he used his dedicatee as an example of Christian life and vocation to sanctity: “For many reasons, I sent this book to Your Majesty. Particularly, I did it because I know how grateful Y. M. is for receiving these [spiritual] gifts: as a person who spends his time and life in them” (“por mvchas razones me moui a embiar a V. M. este Libro: y particularmente por tener entendido con quan alegre rostro suele V. M. recibir semejantes presentes: como quien la mayor parte del tiempo y de la vida gasta en ellos”).⁶⁵

Patronage was also sought as a source of livelihood. In spite of the fact that the late sixteenth century was a period of intense literary creativity, the life and career of the professional writer was very complicated: “literature was not really looked on as a profession and [...] the practice of giving the author rights to a percentage of the sales was almost entirely unknown.”⁶⁶ Through this practice, the writer could achieve permanent connection with a wealthy and powerful family, ensuring protection and affording prestige. The dedication might also induce a man of rank to use his influence

⁶³ 1598, 206.

⁶⁴ *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 9r.

⁶⁵ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, first page of the dedicatory.

⁶⁶ Genette 1997, 119.

in obtaining for the writer some unimportant post (secretary, tutor or household servant). Most writers, however, preferred a prompt money reward. A frequent form of patronage was the bestowal of an annuity, but these only served to supplement some other income. A place to live, gifts or even clothing were some other benefits that patrons might provide. Most writers, however, sought career enhancement. In those cases when the individual seeking patronage was not an author, but a translator, dedicatees “regulate the relationship between the literary system and the other systems, which, together, make up a society, a culture” and it was also frequent that they themselves assigned the task of translating a given work.⁶⁷ Because of their influence in the regulation of literary distribution, the selection of the patron was a strategy that clearly sought “the acceptability of the translation in the target culture” and it was usually motivated by an earnest desire to belong within this system.⁶⁸ With this practice a translator, and also his or her publisher, felt more secure and more hopeful that the work would receive a hearing. That is to say, patronage was another means whereby the translator was granted a growing reading public; authors hoped that ordinary people might be encouraged to read those books that outstanding persons had already accepted. An example of this is seen in William Baldwin’s *A Treatise of Morall Philosophie* (1547) dedicated to Edward Beauchamp. Here he told his dedicatee that:

Whan I had finished thys tretise (righte honorable lorde) I thought it mete, according to the good & accustomed usage of wryters, to dedicate it unto some woorthye person, whose thankful recyvyng and allowyng thereof, myghte cause it to be the better accepted of other.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Lefevere 1992, 15.

⁶⁸ Venuti 2004, 483-7.

⁶⁹ Baldwin 1547, Aiiir.

And yet, patronage was sought, not only that the general reader might be encouraged to read the book, but also that the author might be protected against possible detractors. Thomas Elyot, for instance, implored Henry VIII to “be patrone and defendour of this little warke agayne the assaultes of maligne interpretours: whiche fayle nat to rente & deface the renoume of wryters, they themselves beinge in nothings to the publike weale profitable.”⁷⁰

Meres’ dedicatories in the translations leave no trace of these concerns and there is not any piece of information that can make us suspect that his works had been assigned by any of his patrons. But his selection of dedicatees was not arbitrary either. An analysis of these elements offers the reader a good insight into the translator’s true interests and his opinion about Luis de Granada’s work. These dedicatories were of a different nature with respect to those already mentioned, i.e. the dedicatory prefaced to *Gods Arithmeticke* and the second dedication within the first edition of *Granados Spiritual and Heauenlie Exercises*. The two editions of *The Sinners Gvyde* (signed in London the tenth of May 1598) were addressed to Thomas Egerton, Master of the Rolls, a Privy Councillor—and a Roman Catholic. The choice of this addressee could respond to Meres’ ambition for a position at court, or some other kind of office. But it was a strategic way of securing publication for his work, and protection from censorship. Given his position, and religious predilections, Egerton could intercede for the book in case it got in trouble with the authorities. With that aim in mind, he begins the epistle by comparing Luis de Granada’s eloquence to that of Titus Livius (“that fetched men from so farre to see him”), and expressing his surprise that “England [...] had so sparingly and slenderly visited this famous and renowned Diuine.”⁷¹ Meres was conscious of the

⁷⁰ Elyot 1531, aiiiv.

⁷¹ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiir; Aiiiv.

translator's difficulties when rendering such works as those of Luis de Granada within an Anglican context after discovering "certaine corruptions." This, however, should not discourage translators to deal with the writings of "so rich a Mine."⁷² To that end he remembers the perils Jason had to overcome in his search of the Golden-fleece, Hercules in his conquests and those men that travelled to Scythia in search of jewels. The translator's task was similar to that of these mythological figures; he had to overcome the difficulties that arise when facing a work that has to fit within a context whose prevailing ideology might be different from that of the original work, tailoring his own production so that it can appear to be in good harmony within the political and religious establishments of its target readership:

As the Dragon amazed not Jason, nor the Monsters amazed Hercules, and as these Scythian dangers doe not hinder men from seeking and finding these earthly & terrestriall iewels: so should wee not be discouraged in this spirituall pursute, for a few corruptions and dangers, remembering that all wrytings [...] haue a relish of theyr earthly and corruptible Authors.⁷³

Meres recognizes that there might be potentially controversial excerpts within the work, but this should not entail the rejection of the work, but rather with "gaging & moderation" to remove them or provide Protestant readings of these passages, as he himself had done. To explain his position he resorted again to mythology and claimed: "wee must not doe as Lycurgus dyd, who, because the Grape was abused by pottle companions, cutte downe all the Spartan Vines [...] [but] as I haue performed in this interpretation; by removing corruptions, that as Rocks would haue endangered many." Meres advises other interpreters to do the same in "this learned Iberian" in order to taste

⁷² *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiiv.

⁷³ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiiv.

“the honnyed sweetnes of his celestiall ayre.”⁷⁴ With the same purpose, he presents Thomas Egerton as a fundamental figure to the welfare of the country, who “God [...] had vouchsafed in this decrepit and ruinous age of the world, to bestow upon our state for the maintenance and countenance of Religion and Learning” and he compares him to Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar or Augustus, “maintainers and bountifull Patrons of learning and virtue.”⁷⁵ Statements like these were part of the *captatio benevolentiae*. This rhetorical device was frequently used by authors to gain the *benevolentia*, goodwill and attention of their audience and/or patron, as in this case. Meres’ use of it also proves that he was aware of the communication strategies employed by Renaissance humanists.⁷⁶ Similarly, in *Granados Devotion*, he described William Sammes of the Middle Temple as “the kinde entertainer of virtue, the mirror of a good minde” and he recognizes in him “[abundant] Schollership in the liberall [sciences], courteous well [gouerned] behaiour in Gentlemanlike [voyage], and rype experienst [engagement] in the Lawes of our [Lord].”⁷⁷ The tenor of the encomium also used to include a comparison between the work’s dedicatee and a hero of ancient history, or some other person emblematic of a certain virtue.⁷⁸ We have seen how Thomas Egerton is compared to a long list of historical, biblical and mythological characters. In *Granados Devotion* too, William Sammes is likened to the Roman jurists Papinianus and Ulpian, and the statesmen Phocion and Aristides. As opposed to the previous dedication, where he had defined the translation as “the frutes of a poore schollers study” and his skill as

⁷⁴ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiir.

⁷⁵ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiir.

⁷⁶ Teresa Sanchez Roura has analysed the possible pragmatic properties and effects of this device in “The pragmatics of *captatio benevolentiae* in the Cely letters” (2002).

⁷⁷ *Granados Devotion* 1598, A6r.

⁷⁸ Genette 1997, 119.

weak, Meres comes through as somewhat less modest here.⁷⁹ He describes this work as “heauenly and exact [...] both for the matter, and the manner of handling it.”⁸⁰ This reference is, however, somewhat ambiguous: we do not know whether Meres is praising here his work as a translator, or the value of Granada’s prose and doctrine. As he also does in *The Sinners Gvyde*, he resorts here to the infamous state of the world to accentuate the necessity of the dedicatee’s singular presence to mend it: “in this dearth of *Deuotion*, and famine of Deuout men”, “In this declyning and tottering state of the world.”⁸¹ In the dedicatory of *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* to John Sammes, member of Lincoln’s Inn, Meres explicitly declares his concern: “honour, fame, renowne, and good report [...] make men liue for euer.”⁸² As in the previous cases, Meres pleads for the dedicatee’s aid and support arguing that “learning indeede would bee soone put to silence, without the ayde & support of noble, bountifull, and generous spirits. In hope of which [...] I present these diuine and celestially meditations vnto your Worship.”⁸³

In these epistles there is also evidence that Meres’ knowledge of Luis de Granada and his genre was not first-hand or extensive either. In *Granados Devotion* Granada is a “rare and matchlesse Divine.”⁸⁴ He calls him ‘rare’ because in the same way as Jacob “was the first that made a vowe vnto the Lord”, Granada is the first to write a Treatise of Devotion.⁸⁵ This praise ignores the fact that Luis de Granada followed in the wake of forerunners in the field of devotional prose, past and present,

⁷⁹ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiiiv.

⁸⁰ *Granados Devotion* 1598, A4v.

⁸¹ *Granados Devotion* 1598, A4r-v, A6v.

⁸² *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* 1598, A3r – A3v.

⁸³ *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* 1598, A4r.

⁸⁴ *Granados Devotion* 1598, A4r.

⁸⁵ *Granados Devotion* 1598, A4r. In *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* he also refers to Luis de Granada as a “rare Iewel” (A5r).

and might suggest that he did not master his subject matter as much as he boasted in the title page. Similarly, his praise of Granada's Ciceronian eloquence in *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* was mediated by Michael ab Isselt's Latin text, as also was his surprising acquaintance with other European translators of Luis de Granada.⁸⁶ In a marginal note within the dedicatory of *The Sinners Gvyde*, he referred to the translation of Luis de Granada's works into German by Philip Dobereiner (1535-1577). In particular, he mentioned *Memoriale Granatae* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1574), a rendering of *Memorial de la vida Cristiana*. But Dobereiner had previously translated Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación* as *Exercitia granatae* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1570). Both texts were based on a Latin source.⁸⁷ In *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* too, Meres extensively referred to the translation and reception of Granada's works into other European countries:

[These meditations] vnder the title of your protection, may doe as much good in England, as they haue done in Spayne, Portugall, Italy, Fraunce, and Germanie [...] [his] diuine spirit, & heuenlie writing, as it hath moued the Italians *Camillus Camilli*, *Georgius Angelierus*, *Timotheus Bagnus*, & *Iohannes Baptista Porcacchius* to translate his works into theyr language, and *Michael of Isselt*, to conuert them into Latin, & *Philippus Doberniner* into the Germaine tongue, so also hath it mooued me, to digest them into English.⁸⁸

With respect to the Italian translators mentioned in this excerpt we should specify that Timoteo da Bagno rendered into Italian *Guía de pecadores* (Venice: Giorgio Angelieri, 1581), whereas Camillo Camilli translated *Memorial de la vida Cristiana* (Venice: Giorgio Angelieri, 1584) and *Introducción al símbolo de la fe*

⁸⁶ *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* 1598, A4v.

⁸⁷ In the same note, Meres also alluded to some of the anonymous versions of *Libro* that had already been published in London, those of 1592 and 1596.

⁸⁸ *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* 1598, A4r–A4v.

(Venice: Damiano Zenaro, 1590).⁸⁹ Giorgio Angelieri was also the publisher of Giovanni Battista Della Porta's version of *Libro de la oración y meditación* (Venice, 1589), but he was *not* apparently involved in the translation of the friar's writings. Della Porta had also published an Italian version of *Guía de pecadores* (Venice, 1579), though it is not clear whether he was also the translator. This information that Meres provided might suffice to confirm the existence of a well-established European network of transnational and commercial transactions throughout which the work of Luis de Granada circulated, from Castile to France and the Low Countries, Italy, Germany and finally to England in less than thirty years, and indeed it does. Without denying the possibility that these editions were in England, this passage did not result from Meres' first-hand contact with them as it is an almost verbatim translation from Isselt's dedicatory in *R. P. Fr. Lodoici Granatensis Exercitia*: "Italian translators, in order not to deprive themselves of this sacrosanct treasure, rendered these works into their language, Camillo Camilli, Giorgio Angelieri, Timotheo da Bagno and John Battista Porchacius did it with great merit and diligence. German people too, read Philip Dobreiner's translations and French people read them into their language, but his works have been never, as far as I know, rendered into Latin."⁹⁰ The same as Meres found useful to recycle Isselt's comparison of Granada's stylistic qualities with Cicero's, he realized that an emphasis on Granada's international appeal would also do much good to his edition; it would be easy to gain the *benevolentia* of the dedicatee, and a strategy to assure his cooperation.

Apart from the title-page and the dedicatory prefaces, books included other paratextual elements, some of which were specific to the way book production was

⁸⁹ The hypothesis in this study is that Michael ab Isselt could have used da Bagno's version of *Guía de Pecadores* for his Latin rendering.

⁹⁰ *Exercitia, in septem Meditationes matutinas, ac totidem Vespertinas* 1598, 5r.

regulated in different countries. In the second edition of *Guía de pecadores*, for instance, Luis de Granada included three documents that were part of the legal requirements imposed by Spanish legislation (omitted, then, from the Latin and English versions). One of these was dated 14th August 1567 and it licenced Andrea de Portonariis to print the work. The other (4th May 1567) was concerned with the examination of the work by Rodrigo de Yepes, who had approved its doctrine and described his style as “plain, right and elegant instead of elaborated and curious, which often causes obscurity” (“nonada affeytado ni curioso, que suele ser causa de oscuridad, sino llano, cumplido y elegante”). The last of these documents was the *privilegio real* dated 12th January 1567 and granted to Luis de Granada for ten years. The next element was the dedication, already described, followed by Luis de Granada’s own prologue (there was another prologue at the beginning of the second book) and an argument of the first book—i.e. a summary of its content. Both the prologue and the argument were reproduced in Michael ab Isselt and Francis Meres’s versions. Isselt, for his part, appended at the beginning a general index to the whole work. Meres too, though he placed it at the end. *Dvx Peccatorum* also included the brief that Gregory XIII sent the Dominican Granada in 1582 expressing his gratitude for his pastoral and religious activities in his works and encouraging him to continue publishing (see sections 3.1 and 3.1.1).⁹¹ For obvious reasons, this element was omitted in the English version.

Any book printed must also be distributed. The distribution of the book was one of the most crucial moments. Printers and publishers had to ensure the efficient supply of

⁹¹ Granada included this brief in the *Silva Locorum* (See Peláez Berbell 2012, 73-76).

books at a reasonable price to as wide a readership as possible, which explains why presses became concentrated around urban centres with a new professional university-educated market. Between approximately 1460 and 1600, some 47,000 works were printed in Paris, 31,000 in Venice, 22,000 in Lyon, 13,000 in Antwerp and London, 9,000 in Leipzig and Cologne or 8,000 in Basel.⁹² Since it was not unusual for vast quantities of books to remain unsold, for printers and above all for publishers the question of efficient distribution was a matter of great commercial and economic relevance. The process varied according to the publisher's reputation and the text in question. As said above, once a copy had been sold to the publisher, the author did not receive any reward from him, save for a certain amount of copies to distribute among friends, urging them to recommend the book or use them as presentation copies to attract patronage. For notable texts, the publisher would sometimes prepare the ground with a printed advertisement, directing the potential purchaser to the shop where a book was to be sold. In England, for instance, texts were advertised by nailing or pasting the front page on the columns in St. Paul's and on the walls of the Inns of Court to attract the lawyers and their clients. It was one of the few social settings (together with the Royal Court and the Universities) where a reading public with purchasing power was concentrated. There is certain recurrence of Inns of Court members among Meres' dedicatees, probably in search of promotion, though some sort of personal connection between them has also been suggested. Andrew Gurr identifies Meres as a student at this institution. Brian J. Corrigan too emphasized his "close connection with the Middle Temple."⁹³ There is not, however, enough evidence to confirm it.

⁹² These figures have been taken from the *Universal Short-Title Catalogue* <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/> [accessed 25th April 2016].

⁹³ Gurr 2004, 81; Corrigan 2004, 37.

Publishers also cultivated connections with an influential network of scholars, editors, authors and booksellers located in every part of Europe that offered news, advice and gossip about other books on the market. When talking about large quantities of books, the largest publishers would even establish their own local agent. To achieve a greater diffusion the choice of format was crucial. The physical dignity of books was directly proportional to the cultural significance of its content. Large folio volumes were reserved for religious or philosophical works, for the use of wealthy readers and collectors, or for use in the collections of institutions like the Church or the university, as they required meditative, silent and personal reading. The quarto format was also frequent in poetry, some university books, and legal documents. Minor genres, or those books by an author of perceived lower cultural, social, or intellectual status, were usually printed in smaller sizes such as octavo, duodecimo or sextodecimo, though the price of the paper also influenced this decision as already mentioned. This view gradually changed. Aldo Manuzio is usually credited for launching a paperback revolution with his publication, in 1501, of Virgil's *Opera* in octavo. The possibility of having the book of one of the most important classical poets that fit in the pocket was groundbreaking. With this, Aldo "was freeing literature from the study and the lecture-room."⁹⁴ In the course of the sixteenth century this, and other smaller formats gradually became more common, and even sophisticated in design, for obvious economic and distributional reasons. The publishers' target was a socially varied and large readership, thus, with a smaller format the printer reduced the paper used and consequently, the price of each copy. Its major advantage was, at any rate, its portability. The manageable pocket book could belong to any person interested in reading. Paul Johnson tells us that

⁹⁴ Lowry 1979, 143.

Erasmus wanted his books to be small, handy and cheap.⁹⁵ The London editions of Luis de Granada were printed in duodecimo as well as Meres' *Granados Devotion* and *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises*. This was also the format chosen for *Palladis Tamia. Gods Artihmeticke*, in contrast, was printed in octavo whereas the two editions of *The Sinners Gvyde* were printed in the larger quarto format. Luis de Granada was also concerned with the format of his works. The contents of *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Guía de pecadores*, in their first editions, could not be published as originally planned because their texts exceeded the length required for a handy, inexpensive copy. Moreover, for his Castilian writings, he used the duodecimo, sometimes the octavo (*Memorial de la vida Cristiana*, for instance) and even the 24mo as in the treatise *Memorial de lo que debe hacer un Cristiano* (Lisbon: Johannes Blavio de Colonia, 1561). For his Latin writings, in contrast, there is a preference towards larger sizes as they targeted a very different audience, and were probably read in different places too. The *Collectanea*, the *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* and the *Silva*, were all printed in quarto. In the last decades of his life, Luis de Granada embarked on the production of a more elaborate edition in a larger folio format. The job fell to the heirs of Matías Gast and the aim was to preserve his works—a small book was more fragile and therefore ephemeral—and to control the abundant proliferation of editions, most of which, though legal, were inaccurate and full of errors. This decision evinces the canonical status, the authority and reputation that his production had achieved. The tendency toward condensed and short treatises are a good indicator of how authors, printers and publishers deliberately took advantage of the material conditions of print for the production and distribution of printed matter in their own favour. A small

⁹⁵ Johnson 1976, 271.

volume was easier to handle, thus, it was more appropriate to spread the text's aims to any reader.⁹⁶

The movement of books around Europe's markets revolved, largely, around book fairs. The weeks leading up to each of them were frantic for both printers and authors, who scheduled their respective activities with the rhythms of the fair. Calvin, for instance, dispatched a polemical piece without a planned final section, because otherwise it would have missed the fair. Erasmus too, feared that a work attacking him would appear without him having time to refute it before the fair. He wrote the first volume of his response to Luther's *Bondage of the Will*, *Hyperaspistes* (1526), in less than a fortnight to have it ready in time for the spring fair. The selling of books at fairs was an established custom from the earliest times, and persisted for centuries. The great fairs became a focus for early printers and booksellers and a forum for the discussion of common problems as well as for announcements of forthcoming publications. They also presented a great opportunity to check that other booksellers were not planning to publish the same books and, more importantly, they made it possible to establish regular business contacts. All these were vital reasons for attendance. The Frankfurt Fair was the first in the year and, by far, the most important one: it was considered the centre of the international book trade, particularly of Latin works, until 1625. It was followed by those at Leipzig, Lyon, Basel, Medina del Campo, Recanati, Foligno, Naples and Venice. The ancient Stourbridge fair in Cambridge was also considered one of the largest fairs in medieval Europe and its success continued during Elizabethan days. St. Paul's Cathedral was another important nucleus of the book trade in England. Its precincts and even the Cathedral itself were used to house suppliers of vellum, paper, writing materials and books long before the introduction of printing. By the close of the

⁹⁶ See Infantes 2006, 137-146.

fifteenth century flourishing stationers had established shops in the crowded Churchyard. The new bookshops occupied the former religious buildings, lining the churchyard, the adjoining streets and the Cathedral's wall. These and other permanent sites for book trading became important places where people learnt of books and discussed them. Quite frequently, bookshops hosted diverse literary events and amusements. It was fundamental, therefore, that title pages provided information about where the book could be found and where publishers had their bookshops. At the bottom of the title page of *The Sinners Gvyde*, for instance, we learn that it was sold "at the signe of the Beare", the same as the second edition of this work. In contrast, *Granados Devotion* and *Palladis Tamia* were sold by Cuthbert Burby in his bookshop in the Royal Exchange, the other main centre of commerce in London. Sometimes we also find this information in Luis de Granada's original works, though it was not that frequent. For instance, in *Manual de lo que debe hacer un Cristiano* he specified that it was sold "en casa de Ioannes Blauio."⁹⁷

1.2.2 State control, censorship and the legal conditions for book production

The Reformation had broken the confessional unity of the population, and books became isolated items in need of special legislative attention for they "proved to be one of the most powerful vehicles of the heretical plague."⁹⁸ Ecclesiastical laws, censorship, the incorporation of unacceptable books to the *Index* and inquisitorial pursuit were the

⁹⁷ For further details on the book trade see Peter Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (1990); Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *La aparición del libro* (2005); James Raven, *The Business of Books. Booksellers and the English Book Trade* (2007) or Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose *A Companion to the History of the Book* (2009).

⁹⁸ Fragnito 2001, 15.

main methods by which the Catholic Church tried to control the production, distribution and reading of books, above all Scripture, under the new conditions. The 1540s were years of harsh repression. In the Low Countries, the printers Adriaen van Berghen in 1542, and Jacob van Liesvelt in 1545 were condemned to death for printing Protestant books and their sympathies for Luther and evangelical teachings. The intense cultural vigilance of the Counter-Reformation steered European book markets towards safe goods that targeted stable and predictably profitable market niches. Cologne, Antwerp and Louvain were the great centres of Catholic printing. The Church's preachers and Doctors endeavoured to make heretics realize their errors. Jesuits multiplied the number of societies and founded a great number of presses in Europe, Japan and probably America too. Most of the English exiles that, under Elizabeth, had settled at Louvain and Douay were also Jesuits— Thomas Harding, Robert Parsons or John Rastell among others. They participated in the re-Catholization of England. Luis de Granada too, played a fundamental role in the defence of orthodox belief. In the dedicatory preface to *Dvx Peccatorum*, Michael ab Isselt emphasizes the divine testimonies found in his works. He further insists that while he was translating *Guía de Pecadores* into Latin, there were many who encouraged him not to desist from it (“Quod cum multorum doctissimorum libri, tum praecipuè Reuerendi Patris Granatensis diuina testantur monumenta. Illis in Latina lingua convertendis cum ante annum animum adiecissem, multine à caepto desisterem me exhortabatur”).⁹⁹ The successful reception of his translation was the motive for finishing the work. Evidence of Isselt's argument is the fact that about eight hundred editions of Luis de Granada's writings were published during the sixteenth century in Venice, Antwerp, Paris, Lyon, Douai, Lisbon, Salamanca, Barcelona, Madrid, Cologne and London.

⁹⁹ *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 8r.

Isselt's epistle also includes a commendation of the Castilian nation's efforts to eliminate heretical doctrines: "The Church has its own writers, who not only narrate its doctrines, but also defend their dogmas. Several nations do this very well, though any of these if as blessed as the Castilian nation is."¹⁰⁰ In this country, Fernando and Isabel's *Pragmática* of 1502 ruled that no book was to be printed, imported or distributed for sale without preliminary examination and licence. In Valladolid the task of supervising books was given to the head judges of the royal courts; in Toledo, Seville and Granada to the Archbishops; in Burgos, Salamanca and Zamora it became the responsibility of the Bishop of the former city. The chaos and lack of coordination caused by the plurality of licensing authorities and the view that "useless and unfitting books" had been approved for publication motivated the royal charter for licensing of 1554. The new decree conferred the Royal Council absolute licensing power, thus, providing a coherent institutional unity to the power to issue licenses.¹⁰¹

Over the next few years since the appearance of the charter, the presence of controversial texts in the country grew in importance. In 1556, Margarita de Parma warned that some thirty thousand copies of works by Calvin were about to be introduced in Spain. Julián Hernández's activities in 1557 best represent the effort reformers made to introduce their literature.¹⁰² The decree of 7th September 1558

¹⁰⁰ "Habet Ecclesia suos Scriptorum, qui no minus doctrinam morum tradunt, quàm fidei dogmata propugnant. In hac palestra cùm varia nationes non infeliciter certent, nulla tamen Hispanica felicius" (*Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 8r).

¹⁰¹ "Mandamos, que de aquí adelante las licencias, que se dieren para imprimir de nuevo algunos libros, de cualquier condición que sean, se den por el Presidente y los del nuestro Consejo, y no en otras partes: a los cuales encargamos, los vean y examinen con todo cuidado, antes que den las dichas licencias, porque somos informados, que de haberse dado con facilidad, se han impreso libros inútiles y sin provecho alguno, y donde se hallan cosas impertinentes" (*Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España* 1805, 230 (Vol. I, Book II, Title IV, Law II)). See also J. F. Norton, *Printing in Spain 1501-1520* (1966); José García Oro *Los reyes y los libros. La política libraria de la Corona en el Siglo de Oro (1475-1598)* (1995); and Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, "El control legislativo y los *Index inquisitoriales*" (2003).

¹⁰² Vernacular translations of the Bible were prohibited in 1554 with the *Censura Generalis*.

marked a shift from material and technical inspection to ideological control. Its aim was to prevent Spain from the spread of what they saw as pernicious contamination by Lutheran ideas. Printers had to seek licenses from the Royal Council *via* a long process. A signed copy of the text was brought to the printer, who had to produce another copy to be compared with the former signed document. If they coincided, the Royal Council rated each *pliego*. Only then, could the text be printed in large numbers for its distribution. The licence, the price, the *privilegio real* (if any), the author, printer and place of publication (the inclusion of the year of publication was not obligatory until 1627), all had to figure in the final version. An example of this is Luis de Granada's own version of *Guía de Pecadores*.¹⁰³ The new regulations established confiscation measures, and even the death penalty, for the person convicted of using or trading with banned books. They also mandated booksellers to keep a copy of the *Index*, and bishops to visit their shops watching over the presence of heretical books. It also restricted importations into the country. Ports and ships were meticulously inspected, as well as bookshops and public and private libraries. Despite these measures, in 1569 inquisitors in Barcelona complained about the massive entrance of books and the insufficiency of personnel to revise them. On 27 March of that year a new *pragmática* with further measures was introduced.¹⁰⁴

The Inquisition, on the other hand, policed presses and printers, every four months, since 1558. Its members could either suspend or prohibit a printout. Those books suspected of heterodox content were not given the official imprimatur and were included in a list of prohibited titles that each printer and/or bookseller needed to have.

¹⁰³ Jaime Moll Roqueta analysed some of the problems of book publishing in Spain in *De la imprenta al lector* (1994) and *Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro* (2011).

¹⁰⁴ *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España* 1831, 120-148, 150-162 (Book VIII, Titles XV, XVI and XVIII). See Kamen 2004, 104-135.

The Inquisition evolved into a uniquely Spanish institution, its theological and juridical legitimacy was conferred originally by the popes, but its institutional existence and personnel depended upon the rulers of Spain, and it functioned as much to protect a singular form of Spanish Christian culture as it did to safeguard Latin Christian orthodoxy in general. All these measures were, however, less repressive than might otherwise appear. The Iberian Peninsula was legally and politically fragmented. The decree of 1558 and the control of the importation of foreign books were valid solely in Castile but not in the rest of the country where the book trade was not interrupted, as the revenue of Spanish bookshops depended on it. Printing in Spain did not develop with the same vigour as in Europe's major markets and domestic production of books remained relatively meagre serving, mainly, local demands.

1.2.3 Spain and the Index

Lists of works were produced in the early decades of the century. Juan Luis Vives established the canon of 'bad literature' in the *De institutione foeminae christianae* (1523). In the fifth chapter of the first book he condemned the absurdities of Amadís, Esplandían, Florisando, Tirant, Tristan and Celestina, "the brothel-keeper, begetter of wickedness, the *Cárcel de amor*"; as well as those of Lancelot du Lac, Paris and Vienna, Ponthus and Sidonia, Pierre of Provence, Maguelonne, and Melusine, Flores and Blanchefleur, Leonella and Canamoro, Turias and Floret, and Pyramus and Thisbe. "All these books", he insisted, "were written by idle, unoccupied, ignorant men, the slaves of vice and filth. I wonder what it is that delights us in these books unless it be

that we are attracted by indecency.”¹⁰⁵ Vives also included lists of unwanted books in *De disciplinis* (1531) and *De ratione dicendi* (1532), which translators kept modifying as new editions appeared. Agrippa von Nettesheim’s *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et atrium declamation* (1532) or Gabriel du Puy-Herbault’s *Theotimus sive de tollendis et expugendis malis libris* (1539) are other significant lists. The latter figured as a complement to the first catalogue of banned books issued by the Sorbonne in 1544. In 1547 this institution was recognized as the chief authority to revise texts dealing with the Holy Scriptures.

Parisian theologians will influence the censors’ activities in most Catholic countries such as Louvain and Italy, whose universities also produced guides of prohibited books. In Spain the first formal *Index* of 1551 was a close reproduction of that of Louvain (1550) with special attention to literature in the vernacular. This catalogue was complemented by the *Censura Generalis* (1554), a thematic Index that identified 65 suspect editions of the Bible, most of which had been printed in Lyon, Antwerp or Paris. The revival of biblical studies, and above all, Erasmus’ publication of the New Testament caused the printing of numerous editions of the Holy Scriptures, some of which contained annotations and commentaries that according to the Inquisition did not coincide with orthodox belief. The discovery of two cells of Lutherans in 1558 accelerated the elaboration of the following Index, that of 1559, to fight against “the heretical corruption and apostasy in the dominions of Philip II” (“la heretica prauedad y apostasia en los Reynos y señorios de a magestad del Rey don Phelippe nuestro señor”).¹⁰⁶ The new catalogue was authorised by a brief of Paul IV

¹⁰⁵ The English translation has been taken from the modern edition by C. Fantazzi and C. Matheussen (1996, 44-46). *De institutione foeminae christianae* 1538, 24. See also Richard Hyrde’s English version. In the edition of 1529, the above quoted excerpt is found in E4r-E4v.

¹⁰⁶ *Cathalogus librorum qui prohibentur* 1559, 3.

whereby he mandated and prohibited that “anyone, even if they are cardinals, bishops or archbishops, could read or read, any of these prohibited books” (“ninguna persona de qualquier estado, dignidad, ni orden q sea, aunq sea Cardenales, Obispos, ni Arçobispos puedan leer, ni lean nunguno dlos dichos libros reprobados”) and also that “any printer, bookseller, merchant or otherwise could bring or sell these books” (“ningun impressor, librero, mercader, ni otra a persona pueda ni traer a ellos, ni vender en ellos ninguno delos dichos libros reprobados”) upon penalty of excommunication and a fine of 200 *ducados*.¹⁰⁷ In less than a year, Fernando de Valdés with the aid of his Dominican fellow, Melchor Cano, gathered up around 700 titles, both original editions and translations, that were divided into sections according to the language in which they were written, mainly Latin and Castilian though it also included works in German and French. Its 70 pages contrast with the extensive volumes of Quiroga’s prohibited and expurgatory Indexes (1583/1584) and it gives us an idea of the urgency with which it was compiled. Henry Kamen determined that seventy per cent of the entries were taken from the previous Spanish Index of 1551 and those of Louvain of 1550, Portugal 1551 and the Parisian and Venetian Indexes to a lesser extent, and yet this patched up *Index* marked Spanish intellectual life.¹⁰⁸

The catalogue paid special attention to vernacular translations of the Bible, commentaries on Scripture, all Books of Hours and unorthodox sermons or prayers.¹⁰⁹ In the category of Latin works figured some dozen editions of the Bible, Alfonso de Valdés’ *Dialogus Mercurii & Charonis*, Erasmus’ most famous works (*Morias*, *Colloquia*, *Enchiridion*), several editions of the Book of Hours since they “continent

¹⁰⁷ *Catalogus librorum qui prohibentur* 1559, 5.

Catalogus librorum qui prohibentur 1559, 5.

¹⁰⁸ Kamen 2004, 110.

¹⁰⁹ Pinto 1983, 173-4.

plura curiosa & superstitiosa”; all of Luther’s and Calvin’s works and two editions of Herp’s *Theologie Mysticae*. Most of these titles had been printed abroad and they were *not* present in the country, but its goal was to maintain them *outside* its frontiers.¹¹⁰ The catalogue’s interest and significance for Spaniards resided in the presence of a handful of titles in Castilian. Kamen underlines three categories of Castilian works: Erasmian works, literary works, and the most relevant for our purposes, devotional treatises. The Index of 1559 included fourteen Castilian translations of Erasmus (it would take several decades for the totality of Erasmus to be banned in the Spanish Index of 1612). *Lazarillo de Tormes* or *Cancionero General* stand out among the nineteen literary works in the catalogue. The *illuminist* movement in the early decades of the century, and its potential relation with the Lutheran heresy, motivated authorities to act severely against contemporary Spanish spiritual writers. Juan de Ávila’s *Audi, filia*; Constantino Ponce de la Fuente (a disciple of Doctor Egidio) had his writings confiscated in 1557. Carranza’s *Cathechism* (1558) and Luis de Granada’s *Libro de la oración y meditación* (1554) and *Guía de pecadores* in three parts (1556/7) were all censored too. The catalogue had important consequences for the Society of Jesus. The inclusion of *Obras del Christiano, compuestas por Don Francisco de Borja, Duque de Gandia* caused Borja’s flight to Rome. The general prohibition of any vernacular spiritual writing in any format also applied to Ignacio de Loyola’s *Ejercicios Espirituales*, which circulated in manuscript until it was eventually published in 1615.¹¹¹ Luis de Granada’s problems with the Inquisition too, were, in part, related with his defence of the Society.

Valdés catalogue, along with the Tridentine *Index* (1564) and Benito Arias Montano’s *Index* (1570), served as a basis for the next Spanish *Index*: that of inquisitor

¹¹⁰ *Catalogus librorum qui prohibentur* 1559, 29.

¹¹¹ Moreno 2013, 351- 375. As already mentioned, the Society of Jesus’ role in the distribution of Granada’s works outside Europe was very significant.

general Gaspar de Quiroga (1583).¹¹² The new volume registered 2,315 titles also divided in sections according to the language in which the texts were written. Latin and Castilian represented the core of the Index. Interestingly enough, some of the works that had been included in the Index of 1559 did not appear in this one. Luis de Granada had already modified his own works, which facilitated their legitimate circulation. Quiroga's most relevant innovation was the elaboration of an expurgatory *Index* (1584), which somewhat relaxed the system of censorship. It introduced the possibility of expurgating only certain suspect passages from otherwise orthodox texts. These measures together with the elaboration of new Indexes—1612, 1632 and 1640—continued in the seventeenth century. In spite of all these measures, books continued to be smuggled into the country. In the rest of the continent too, the increasing demands and the absence of uniform guidelines resulted in distribution networks through which books escaped the nets of the inquisitors. The use of counterfeit editions became a frequent resource to protect the circulation of volumes in the international book market from interference by censors. Booksellers too, intervened *a priori* by modifying the physical appearance of books and so did writers using self-censorship and a “codified” language to camouflage the real message. In England the Index was not adopted as a mechanism of control, but the practice of sanitizing the text prior to its publication was also common. In *The Sinners Gvyde*, for instance, we will see how Granada's original is expurgated in translation, eliminating those aspects that did not fit within the country's Anglicanism.

¹¹² Arias Montano had already prepared, at the request of Philip II, an expurgatory Index that was the base for Quiroga's *Index*: “servirá el ejemplo para se hazer aquí otro tanto, y assí se ha dado copia a los de la general Inquisición para este effecto”. Philip II to the Duke of Alba, quoted in Kamen 2004, 113. Both Mariana and Arias Montano would later on have their works prohibited.

Luis de Granada's personal correspondence helps us trace his conflicts with the Inquisition. On 15th November 1558 the Inquisitor General asked Domingo de Soto to examine the works of Bartolomé Carranza, Luis de Granada and Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. Five days later, Soto sent Carranza a letter with the disturbing news.¹¹³ Carranza and Valdés met twice in this period. The former tried to discover the state of things with respect to his work, but Valdés, did not reveal anything about Carranza's process, and he generally spoke about the potential danger of vernacular books, with a particular emphasis on Luis de Granada. Carranza warned him and Luis de Granada, who was at the time in Portugal, travelled to Spain to plead with Valdés. The meeting was unsuccessful:

I arrived here [Iberian Peninsula] with good intention, and then I met Archbishop [Valdés] influenced by the spirit of that father [Melchor Cano]. I had the impression that the decision was already made, the *Index* about to be printed and my works included within it. If I would not come here, *actum erat de negotio prorsus*.¹¹⁴

Valdés' reference to Luis de Granada already in 1558 proves that his works had already attracted his attention before Valdés and Carranza's meeting. His contribution to the second edition of Constantino Ponce de la Fuente's *Confesión de un pecador* (Évora 1554) with 'Dos meditaciones para antes y después de la sagrada comunión'

¹¹³ "Your Lordship [...] on the 15 [November 1558] the authorities asked me to examine your *Cathechism*, Luis de Granada and Contastino's works, prior to leaving Valladolid, on pain of excommunication. Though we tried to avoid it, we had to do that. God knows how sad I was."

"Ilustrísimo y Revdmo. Señor:

[...] a los 15 me llamaron a la audiencia de la cárcel y me mandaron, so pena de descomunión, antes que de Valladolid saliese, cualificase el *Catecismo* de Vuestra Señoría, y a fray Luis de Granada, y no sé qué de Constantino; y por más disimulación, nos lo mandaron juntos a los tres, que sabe nuestro Señor la pena que recibí [...]" (Huerga 1989, 221).

¹¹⁴ Granada's letter to Carranza (Huerga 1989, 35). Huerga dates this letter on 25th July 1559.

might have raised the red flag on Granada's writings. But the persecution probably began with his defence of the Society of Jesus in a letter addressed to an anonymous Jesuit and dated 31 March 1556. Some scholars, Álvaro Huerga among them, had identified Francisco de Borja, the Society's general, as its addressee. More importantly, it seems that in this letter Granada referred, indirectly, to Cano, who strongly opposed the Society, as the Antichrist and "a person who scandalizes our people" ("persona que escandaliza el pueblo").¹¹⁵ When, in the letter he sent to Carranza (excerpt above), Granada mentions the "spirit of that father" he was also referring to Melchor Cano's influence on Valdés. Cano's censorship of Carranza's *Catecismo* is the only surviving document that we have of the Inquisition's pronouncement on Luis de Granada's works. In the 129 proposition, he affirmed that the Church could reprimand him on three different accounts. The first of these was that he claimed to make all men contemplative and perfect, i.e. writing in Castilian, Granada allowed universal access to the content of the text. This use of the vernacular was a source of great concern in Spain. The proliferation of works in the vernacular had to do with the instructive nature of these texts, which seeking the spiritual enrichment of their audiences, had to be written in a vernacular style that common readers could understand. These writings naturally gained in popularity over those written in Latin by the religious elites that targeted a very specific and specialized readership. This, alongside the compelling oratorical power of his prose, account for the popular success of his works. Conservative authorities, however, criticized Granada's writings on the grounds that they had been written in the culturally inferior language of the *vulgar*, and that this would entail individual access to

¹¹⁵ See Huerga 1989, 33 note 2; 34. See also Caballero 1871, 501. Together with this letter, Granada sent a recently published book (probably *Libro de la oración y meditación*), and he also announces the publication of the third part that he could not include in this work, i.e. the first volume of *Guía de Pecadores* (1556).

a matter that in their view should be available only to a minority of well-educated theologians. Apart from that, they considered it useless because those who tried to follow Granada's rule of life will eventually adhere to the activities of their secular condition. The Church also criticized that he has promised a common and general pathway to perfection without a vote of chastity, poverty or obedience, i.e. Luis de Granada did not distinguish between clergy and laity. The last of these reprimands concerned just *Libro*, the work that Carranza had recommended. Here Cano warned against the presence of certain signs of the 'alumbrado heresy' and others which are in clear contradiction with the Catholic faith and doctrine.¹¹⁶ In this case, Granada's emphasis on mental prayer and isolation was influenced by the *Devotio moderna*. Though it was not explicitly mentioned, the numerous passages from the Bible that he referred to, translated and commented in his works were also highly controversial. His friendship with Carranza accounts for the inclusion of Granada's works in Valdés' *Index* too. It is uncertain whether Isselt or Francis Meres were aware of this circumstance; in any case, this does not seem to have been a serious handicap to the translation of his works.

1.2.4 England; Decrees and Royal Proclamations

James Raven affirms that the late Tudor and early Stuart English book trade distinguished itself by the vigorous industry of its stationers, printers, and booksellers. But, at the same time, it defined itself by the resolve of the Church and State to be rid of

¹¹⁶ Caravale 2010, 67 and note 39. The full text of the proposition could be consulted in Caballero 1871, 597-8. See also 'Proposición 123'.

other presses and pressmen involved in heterodox printing.¹¹⁷ The royal charter of 1557 provided the Worshipful Company of Stationers exclusive rights “of printing any book or any thing for sale or traffic within this our realm of England or the dominions of the same.”¹¹⁸ They also enjoyed certain printing privileges. The two appointed Keepers or Wardens of the Company— John Cawood and Henry Cooke— had the legal authority to “seize, take, hold, burn or turn to the proper use [...] those books and things which are or shall be printed contrary to the form of any statute, act, or proclamation, made or to be made” as well as to grant printing licenses.¹¹⁹ Anyone who printed an unauthorised work could be brought before the stationers’ Court of Assistants, which could also impose financial penalties. The Company’s licensing procedures became the standard by which members of the book trade secured the right to print and publish literary works giving rise to the early modern copyright, or the ‘Stationers’ copyright’. Queen Elizabeth reaffirmed these terms in the Royal Injunctions of 1559. The Privy Council and Elizabeth’s newly established High Commission were in charge of the censorship of the press. They proceeded by means of statutes and royal proclamations. In theory, political offences fell under the jurisdiction of the latter, whereas offences against religion and moral fell under that of the High Commission. In practice, both institutions, together with the Stationers, often worked in concert. The High Commission was composed of both clergy and lawyers. Its authority over the press

¹¹⁷ Raven 2007, 46.

¹¹⁸ *Royal Charter* 1557. This guild of stationers—text writers, illuminators, bookbinders or booksellers working at a fixed location beside the walls of St. Paul’s Cathedral— was created in 1403. See Straznicki 2013, 1-16.

¹¹⁹ “Keepers or Wardens aforesaid and their successors for the time being to make search whenever it shall please them in any place, shop, house, chamber, or building of any printer, binder or bookseller whatever within our kingdom of England or the dominions of the same or for any books or things printed, or to be printed, and to seize, take, hold, burn, or turn to the proper use of the foresaid community, all and several those books and things which are or shall be printed contrary to the form of any statute, act, or proclamation, made or to be made” (*Royal Charter* 1557).

arose out of the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London as supreme licensers for all printed publications:

Because there is a great abuse in the Printers of Books [...] the Queens Majesty straightly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of book or paper of what sort, nature, or in what Language soever it be, except the same be first licensed by her Majesty, by express words in writing, or by six of her Privy Council; or be perused and licensed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of both Universities, the Bishop being Ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place to be always one.¹²⁰

The influx of Catholic texts from continental Europe motivated the Star Chamber Decree of 1566. It addressed the works printed in the country, continental imports and all those involved in their commercialization. However, international trade was not regulated in fine detail until the Star Chamber Decree of 1637.¹²¹ The decree mandated to search “all workhouses, shops, warehouses and other places of printers, booksellers, or such as bring books into the realm to be sold, or where they have reasonable cause of suspicion”, and to open “all packs, drifats, maunds, and other things wherein books shall be contained.” In the case of disobedience to the regulations, forfeiture of the unlawful books, imposition of financial penalties, exclusion from the book trade, three months imprisonment, and sometimes even banishment and death, were inflicted. But vigilant control over the press began in 1583 when Aylmer called upon the Stationers’ Company to report to him the names of all the owners of printing presses and the number possessed by each. The Star Chamber decree of 1586 reinforced already existing regulations. It limited the number of printers, forbade all printing except within the liberties of London, Oxford and Cambridge; it also mandated that no printer might set up a new press without permission, all presses were accessible to

¹²⁰ *Royal Injunctions* 1559, item 51 (page 11).

¹²¹ To learn more about how imports were regulated see Roberts 2002, 147-149.

inspection and books needed the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The decades following the decree of 1566 were rather turbulent and religious controversies came in various guises. The late 1560s and 1570s witnessed the Vestiarian Controversy and the Puritan critique of the Elizabethan Settlement. A decade later, the writings of the exiles in the continent also challenged the Anglican Church. The publication, in 1582, of the Catholic Douai-Rheims New Testament, was widely considered a serious assault upon the Protestant position. It was not a coincidence that seven out of the ten royal proclamations that appeared during Queen Elizabeth's reign were issued between 1580 and 1583, and in the act of 1581 parliament mandated the death penalty for anyone guilty of devising, writing, printing, or setting forth any work containing "any false, seditious, and slanderous News, Rumours, Sayings or Tales against our said most natural Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty."¹²² This same year, "The Seditious Jesuit"—Edmund Campion— was executed for treason. The unrest among the Stationers that manifested itself in the 1570s and early 1580s also accelerated the passing of this decree. The discontent concerned the monopolistic control over the printing of particular types of lucrative books in the hands of relatively few of the senior members of the Company— ten out of 200 in the city of London. John Jugge specialized in official documentation, bibles and testaments; Richard Tottell in law books, John Day on the *ABC with the little Catechism* and *the whole book of Psalms*, James Roberts and Ritchard Watkins in almanacks and prognostications, Thomas Marshe and Thomas Vautrollier in Latin school books, William Byrde in music books, William Seres in psalters, primers and prayer books and Francis Flower in Lyly's *A*

¹²² *Act against Seditious Words and Rumours uttered against the Queens most excellent Magesty* (1581).

Shorte Introduction of Grammar (1574).¹²³ The new decree reaffirmed Queen Elizabeth's concession of privilege grants and the trade remained dominated by this small handful of favoured subjects.

England's local book market improved on the level of production, though it remained dependent on importations. The port books confirm the activity of the trade. Each entry provided the name of the ship, its port of origin, the master's name, the quantity and nature of the goods and the duty to be paid. The titles of the books were never specified. In that regard, the mass of surviving books, and the evidence of contemporary purchase, both personal and institutional (the University and its colleges, for instance) are good records of the precise activities within the 'Latin trade'.¹²⁴ Vast amounts of books were dispatched into England from the biannual Frankfurt fair via Antwerp. The major importers were the Birckmans of Cologne— natives of Cologne, they had shops in many cities of England— and Christopher Plantin's workshop. The latter was very prolific, with some 3,400 works printed in its presses in Antwerp in the period 1452-1585. The relevance these two printers have for this study lies in the fact that some of Michael ab Isselt's translations of Luis de Granada were printed in the Birckman's press in Cologne, whereas Christopher Plantin was Luis de Granada's major publisher in the Low Countries. The exile Richard Hopkins used one of these Castilian editions issued by Plantin's press for his English translation of *Libro de la oración y meditación* because it was "the best corrected edition."¹²⁵ It is easy to

¹²³ John Wolfe, Roger Ward, William Holmes and John Charlewood led the revolt against privileged printers. For an account of Wolfe's role in this battle, see Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 30-38.

¹²⁴ Julian Roberts defined it as "that branch of the English book trade which imported books from countries outside the King's (or Queen's) obedience" (2002, 141).

¹²⁵ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, biiir. Hopkins used a Castilian edition published in Antwerp in 1572. Those works whose author enjoyed the popularity Luis de Granada had, used to run through numerous editions some of which, if not all of them, departed in some way from the text' original content. In fact, it

imagine, then, Granada and Isselt's works within these shipment of books, which would also explain how English writers and translators became acquainted with his writings.

New statutes, decrees and internal trade regulations determined who might import books, in what state they might be brought in, the duty to be paid by the various categories of merchants, and what might be done with them once they had reached their intended destination. Works of theology, controversy and homiletics were borrowed freely from continental Protestant writers. The major cause for alarm was the increasing presence in the country of Catholic works. As opposed to the situation during the early years of the century, when profit was a more powerful incentive than doctrinal orthodoxy, now the presence of these books in the country was a source of great concern. The risk implicit in their commercialization, made these books rather expensive, and yet they sold considerably well. The demand reached such a level that it overcame both the price and the severity of the laws. During the last decade of Elizabeth's reign the press seems to have been particularly feared and hampered by government. Anglican censors did not issue an *Index* as a mechanism of control, nor were any other sort of official lists of condemned books ever published. Booksellers were obliged to provide an inventory of their shops' contents in order to authorise their sale, and the houses of recusants were often examined. And yet, such strict supervision of printed literature was occasionally ineffective. The use of Protestant versions of Catholic texts became a common practice and it complicated the identification of potentially heretical books. Neither parliament nor the royal prerogative used throughout the Tudor period proved to be the most forceful means for effecting censorship of unlicensed, pirated or subversive books or pamphlets. According to

was the abundant proliferation of editions of his works what led Luis de Granada to ask the heirs of Matías Gast to compile his most famous writings in a new larger format, as we have already seen.

Barnard and McKenzie the expression of political and religious belief in literature was relatively free.¹²⁶ Of the same opinion is Gordon Braden who claimed that aggressive governmental efforts to interfere in the dissemination of this literature never really succeeded in stopping its flow.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Barnard and McKenzie 2002, 3. See also Hadfield 2001, 246.

¹²⁷ Braden 2010, 7.

2 Early Modern Translation; Theory and Practice

2.1 Conflicting perspectives in translation theory

Then were the kinges scribes called at the same time, even in the thirde moneth (that is the moneth of Sivan) on the three and twentie day thereof, and it was written according to all as Mardocheus commaunded unto the Jewes, and to the princes, to the deputies and captaynes in the provinces which are from India unto Ethiopia, namely an hundred twentie and seven provinces, unto every province according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their speach, and to the Jewes according to their writing and language

Esther 8:9 (*The Bishops' Bible*)

The above epigraph leaves record of the relevance and value of the practice of translation to the development of languages and cultures throughout the centuries. This paragraph narrates Mordechai's victory against Haman. For the Jews of Ahasuerus' 127 provinces to know that they would not be exterminated the result of the battle has to be communicated in their different languages and writing, otherwise the king's message would not reach them. The Graeco-Roman world was *au fait* with the process of translation. During the third century BC, Greek practices, particularly theatre came to Rome. Livius Andronicus was the first to translate Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin verse as well as two Greek plays (a tragedy and a comedy) commissioned for the Roman Games of that year. Gnaeus Naevius, Quintus Ennius and his nephew, Pacuvius, also adapted a number of Greek plays to the Roman stage. So too did Plautus and Terence, the two most famous of early dramatists. Gnaeus Matius' Latin rendering of Homer's *Illiad* was

another landmark in Roman literary translation. Among the greatest names associated with its development we find the poets Catullus and Horace, the statesman, orator and philosopher Cicero, the senator Pliny, the teacher Quintilian or the Church Father Jerome. Even though most of their translations are now lost, they had a formative influence on translation practice for the next 2000 years.

In the sixteenth century translation became a universal, and transcultural phenomenon. “Would there have been a Renaissance without translation?” Karen Newman and Jane Tylus ask in their introduction to *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*. In demonstrating the translators’ choices of the text to translate, the processes of transmission and the strategies used, these scholars determined that translation is fundamental to our understanding of the period and its definition of itself. It contributed to the evolution of all great cultural movements of early modern Europe, particularly in the Renaissance when an unprecedented burst of translation activity furthered the cultural exchange of ideas among European nations. Renaissance translators insisted in the significant role of translations in spreading understanding and knowledge due to its power to grant access to formerly privileged and restricted information. The emergence and development of vernacular literatures brought about a new audience, which was not necessarily literate in Latin, who also wanted to have access to all types of texts. The translation of the Bible into the vernacular and translations of the newly rediscovered texts of Greek and Latin Antiquity was followed by translations of major works of vernacular literature (Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*), of various political treatises (Innocent Gentillet’s *Discours sur les moyens de bien gouverner* or Jean Bodin’s *Les six livres de la République*), of contemporary historical works (Machiavelli’s *Il Principe* or *Istorie fiorentine*), and of religious works (Luis de Granada’s *Libro de la oración y meditación* or *Guía de pecadores*) to mention some.

These new versions express the interest of European nations as France, Italy, Spain and England for the literature, culture and history of their neighbours. They show that there were works that appealed across cultural boundaries in spite of the clashes that these, often competing, nations had in the political, cultural and religious fields in the early modern period.

Naturally, the process of translation was accompanied by a growing interest in defining the fundamental principles, rules and features of this practice. Leonardo Bruni, in his *De Interpretatione recta*, defined translation as a *res difficilis*.¹²⁸ Similarly, Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal defined the difference between *literal translation* and *glossing* precisely by noting that the former is difficult while the latter is not: “Every translation from Latin into vulgar that is to be pure and perfectly done is difficult if made by way of interpretation, which is word for word, and not by way of gloss, which is unbound and free from many restrictions.”¹²⁹ Pedro Simón Abril too, noticed such difficulty. “How much work”, he insisted, “is involved in translating from one language into another can be understood by every just and prudent reader.”¹³⁰ These claims are representative of what became commonplace in Western translation theory. For in spite of the fact that translation had pervaded the culture and institutions of Europe, Renaissance theoreticians began to define this practice as a very complex, always inadequate and frequently, impossible activity that falsifies and adulterates the original to please the preferences of the receiving culture. The Italian maxim, *traduttore, traditore* was used by Du Bellay in his *Déffense et illustration de la langue françoise*

¹²⁸ “Magna res igitur ac difficilis est interpretatio recta” (“A correct translation is therefore a great and difficult thing”); Viti 2004, 78.

¹²⁹ This excerpt belongs to the dedicatory of his translation of Jerome’s Latin versión of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Chronicle*. The Castilian text is reproduced in Cartagena 2009, 97.

¹³⁰ Prologue to his translation of Aristotle’s *Ethics*. A Castilian copy is available at the *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/la-etica-de-aristoteles--0/html/fe9c88-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_2.html [accessed 10 May 2016].

(1549). In this work, he favoured poetic invention over translation and he distinguished between ‘traditeurs’ (‘traitors’, i.e. translators) and true poets that belonged to a superior class because of their inventive skills. In *L’art Poétique* (1555), Peletier du Mans also recognized that “the truest form of imitation is translation” which is “nothing else than wanting to do what another has done”, and he further emphasized that “the translator [...] submits, not only to another’s invention, but to his arrangement, and even to his style to the extent that the translator can and the character of the target language permits.”¹³¹ The assumption that translators do not invent but simply copy the invention of other writers was so widespread that John Florio begins his English rendering of Montaigne’s *Essays* wondering whether he should justify the process of translation, because “some holde (as for their free-hold) that such conversion is the subversion of universities.”¹³²

This view has to do with the emphasis that Early Modern translation theory places on the singularity of the original. Literalism, Theo Hermans claimed, was the “innermost core and unattainable ideal” of sixteenth-century translation and “the translator’s most fundamental but impossible task.” Of the same opinion is Douglas Robinson who claimed that translation was perceived as a syntactic and semantic linguistic activity performed on texts.¹³³ Using Matthew Reynolds’ metaphor, some translators conceived translation as a ‘carrying across’ process—i. e. they held the view that translation between languages was like moving an object through space, a physical displacement that leaves something unaltered. There were others, in contrast, who insisted that translation, like rhetoric, has to submit to a variety of constraints and perform all kinds of unnatural operations in order to do justice to their source text and

¹³¹ *La Deffence* 1972, biiiir. *L’art Poétique* 1555, 30 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 106).

¹³² *The Essayes* 1603, A5r. See also Sumillera 2010, 236-7.

¹³³ Hermans 1997, 14; Robinson 2003, 160.

bring it across effectively to the audience they pursue. Rhetoric and translation shared several features; both practices were forms of mediation, both lie before a message and/or a pre-existing text and a choice of codes to communicate it, and they have been subject to criticism on similar grounds. Rhetoricians were accused of speaking less to convince than to be acclaimed. Translators too, were sometimes seen as driven by vanity, glorying in borrowed arguments or using the original for a frivolous display of his or her own skill. Cicero was the first to articulate this parallelism. In the prologue to his *De optimo genere oratorum*, he defended that in his translations of Aeschines' *Oration against Ctesiphon* and Demosthenes' *Oration on the Crown*, he had rendered them not "as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and forms [...] And in so doing, I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language. For I did not think I ought to count them out to the reader like coins, but to pay them by weight, as it were."¹³⁴ To translate as an 'interpreter' means to render the text with utter fidelity without paying special attention to its rhetorical features (i.e. to be 'a translator of words'); to translate as an 'orator', in contrast, involves not merely conveying the meaning, but also persuading and convincing the reader 'as to what he believes the original means' (i.e. to be 'an interpreter of meaning').¹³⁵ He advised translators to seek in their own languages expressions that make the translation sound as forceful and convincing as the original text:

And this is the goal of my project: to give my countrymen an understanding of what they are to seek from those models who aim to be Attic in style, and of the formulas of speech they are to have recourse to.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ *Ciceronis* 1564, 270v (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 9).

¹³⁵ Lloyd-Jones 2001, 39.

¹³⁶ *Ciceronis* 1564, 270v (English translation taken from Weissbort and Eysteinnsson 2006, 21).

Cicero insisted on the pedagogical benefits of this procedure. In *De Oratore* too, he justified his decision “to translate freely Greek speeches of the most eminent orators” arguing that “in rendering into Latin what I had read in Greek, I not only found myself using the best words, and yet quite familiar ones, but also coining by analogy certain words such as would be new to our people, provided only they were appropriate.”¹³⁷ The Ciceronian distinction between translating *ut interpretes* and translating *ut orator* and his principles of translation became standard among the next generation of aestheticians and translators. Most of them assumed that the rhetorical purpose of translations was *assimilate* texts to the target culture. Horace in his *Ars Poetica* advocated for a representation of the persuasiveness of source texts rather than a mere literal transcription of words. The reference within this work, ‘Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus interpres’ (as a true translator you will take care not to translate word for word), became an authoritative, frequently quoted landmark of translation theory.¹³⁸ Pliny too, adds two ingredients to Cicero’s theory. The first of this is the heuristic value of translating in both directions. In this sense, he advised Fuscus Salinator “to translate Greek into Latin and Latin into Greek” during his retirement, because “this kind of exercise develops in one a precision and richness of vocabulary, a wide range of metaphor, and power of exposition.” The other was competition with the original author, thus, he further instructed the Roman senator to,

Compare your efforts with the original and consider carefully where your version is better or worse. [...] This I know you will think a tedious labour, but its very difficulty makes it profitable to rekindle your fire and recover your enthusiasm when once its force is spent; to graft new limbs, in fact, on to a finished trunk without disturbing the balance of the original.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ *Ciceronis* 1564, 29r (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 7).

¹³⁸ *Ars Poetica* 1583, 22.

¹³⁹ *C. Plinii Secundi Nouocomensis epistolarum libri decem* 1508, 194 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 18). See also Rhodes 2013, 420 (note 24).

Pliny's ideas derived from Quintilian, who sees translation as a means of enriching the target language. In the *Institutio Oratoria* he advocated the use of *paraphrasis* when translating from Greek into Latin. He insisted that paraphrase should not be restricted to the bare interpretation of the original, but rather its duty is to rival and vie with the original in the expression of the same thoughts. Quintilian further "disagreed with those who forbid the student to paraphrase speeches of our own orators, on the ground that, since all the best expressions have already been appropriated, whatever we express differently must necessarily be a change for the worse."¹⁴⁰ The Church Father Jerome also received the influence of these classical authors. His *Letter LVII, To Pammachius* (395) represents Jerome's theoretical basis for his translation principles. In this text, he defended himself from the criticism of his Latin version of Epiphanius' *Letter LI, To John Bishop of Jerusalem*. Most of these criticisms focused on Jerome's use of a sense-for-sense approach in his version, which he justified appealing to the authority of both Cicero and Horace:

I not only admit but freely announce that in translating from the Greek [...] I render, not word for word, but sense for sense. For this practice I have behind me the authority of Cicero himself; he employed it in his versions of Plato's *Pythagoras*, the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon, and those two noble and beautiful orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes delivered against each other. [...] Similar advice is given by Horace, an acute and learned man, in the *Art of Poetry* when he tells the intelligent translator: 'Try not to render words literally, like some faithful translator.'¹⁴¹

Jerome's statements in favour of a sense-for-sense policy of translation were reversed in the context of biblical translation, where he recognized that "even the order

¹⁴⁰ Both the Latin and the English version could be consulted in Butler 1920, 113ss.

¹⁴¹ *Divi Hieronymi Stridonensis Epistolae Aliquot Selectae* 1829, 230 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 25).

of the words is a mystery.”¹⁴² The literalist principle was defended by the earliest translators of the Bible. Aquila, Theodotian and Symmachus all focused on the ‘letter rather than the spirit’. Aquila, for instance, in his version of the Old Testament (c. 125 AD), invented Greek words in an attempt to be faithful to the Hebrew original. Similarly, Jerome considered that in Bible translation the actual words and even their order and significance are to be observed. Even in so doing, his Latin rendering of the New Testament yielded many awkward renderings, which simply reproduced Greek sentences in Latin words, as Jerome himself had anticipated:

Pious work, yet perilous presumption, to change the old and aging language of the world, to carry it back to infancy, for to judge others is to invite judging by all of them. Is there indeed any learned or unlearned man, who when he picks up the volume in his hand, and takes a single taste of it, and sees what he will have read to differ, might not instantly raise his voice, calling me a forger, proclaiming me now to be a sacrilegious man, that I might dare to add, to change, or to correct anything in the old books?¹⁴³

The literalism, which Jerome had reserved exclusively for Biblical translation, was extended to other texts where the content was deemed of more importance than rhetoric, often mistrusted, as said before, as a potential source of corruption and even vanity. Boethius for instance, in the prologue to his second commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge* insisted that:

This second work [...] will clarify the text of my translation, in which I fear that I have incurred the blame of the ‘faithful translator’, as I have rendered it word for word, plainly and equally. And here is the reason for this procedure: that in these writings in which knowledge of the matter is sought, it is necessary to provide, not the charm of a sparkling style, but the uncorrupted truth.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² *Divi Hieronymi Stridonensis Epistolae Aliquot Selectae* 1829, 230 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 24-5).

¹⁴³ This excerpt belongs to Jerome’s preface to the Gospels (*Sancti Hieronymi Stridonensis Opera Omnia*, 1684, vol. 9, A2v). The English rendering has been taken from White 2009, 10.

¹⁴⁴ Both the Latin and the English version could be consulted in Copeland 1995, 52.

Whereas Jerome contended that a literal translation clouded and hindered the meaning of the text, Boethius maintained the opposite, i.e. that the uncorrupted truth of the text could not be preserved unless the text was translated respecting the exact order of the words. The survival of the literalist notion of translation into the Renaissance was aided by a prevalent view of language, which saw the word as the basic unit of language. This led to the assumption that translation was fundamentally a matter of substituting words, or labels, in one language with words or labels in another. Renaissance grammars too, promoted this word-based idea of language as they were built on and around the individual word and paid little attention to questions of syntax. In *De causis linguae latinae* (Lyon 1540), for instance, Julius Caesar Scaliger held that words are arbitrary linguistic signs that correspond to things in the real world and which have been formed in the intellect. The standard legitimization of literalism is that it offers the best guarantee for unity and non-interference on the part of the translator. The perceived inferior status of vernaculars compared with Classical Latin and Greek also promoted literalism. Writers could solve this assumed deficiency translating, literally, from Latin into the vernaculars because if they could be moulded after the models of perfection that were the Classical languages, they too would eventually reach perfection. Opposition to literalness came with the humanist emphasis on the primacy of the original. To them, a translation can facilitate retrieval of the source text, but it can never replace it. See, for instance, Erasmus' version of the New Testament—about which more below. The humanist rediscovery of Classical rhetoric also militated against literalism. It led to a marked appreciation of style and the arrangement of language into harmonious and persuasive discourse. According to this view, the task of the translator was to find a new form of a pre-existing text, which can, on the one hand, do justice to that original

material, and, on the other, to bring it closer to a more or less defined public, deploying the codes that govern discourse in a given society.

In this context, translation becomes a demanding stylistic task requiring complete command of both languages involved. This is evident in the work of early humanists such as Coluccio Salutati and his disciple, Leonardo Bruni. The latter, in *De interpretatione recta* insisted that the best way to translate was “to preserve the style of the original as well as possible, so that polish and elegance be not lacking in the words, and the words be not lacking in meaning”, and he recognized that “correct translation [...] is difficult enough, but it is surpassingly difficult to translate correctly when the original author has written with a sense of prose rhythm and literary polish”, because this the translator should reproduce.¹⁴⁵ When translating, Bruni stressed the importance of having a *literary* sensibility to recognize the author’s style.¹⁴⁶ The dichotomy between literalness and rhetoric was also articulated by the Spanish humanist and translator Alfonso de Madrigal. In the seventh chapter within his commentaries on Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Ecclesiastical History*, he distinguished between *glosa* and *interpretación*. The former occurs when the translator declares something adding more words to those in the original text. When interpreting, in contrast, he gives another word in the target language without additions.¹⁴⁷ The pervasiveness of these binaries— i.e. translating individual words or the sense and style of a text— led Alexandro Braccesi to apologize for having relaxed the duties of a faithful translator in his Italian translation of a tale by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. In his version of Pius II’s *Historia de duobus amantibus*, Braccesi makes a salacious story about two lovers more hospitable and less gloomy to his own time. In this process he left out many parts of the

¹⁴⁵ Viti 2004, 86 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 59).

¹⁴⁶ Newman and Tylus 2015, 9.

¹⁴⁷ *Tostado sobre el eusebio* 1506, F. xii.

story that seemed to him little suited to proferring delight, and in their place he had inserted very different material designed to give continuity to the story with pleasant and mirthful things.¹⁴⁸ Juan Luis Vives offered an intermediate position between these two extremes. In *De Ratione Dicendi* (1533) he defined translation as “the changing of words from one language to another while preserving the meaning.”¹⁴⁹ Vives distinguished, however, between three types of translations, each of which required a different method. Those translations in which *only the meaning* matters are to be interpreted freely by the translator; those in which there is an emphasis on the *phrasing and style* translators must be at each moment faithful to the original. This is also the procedure in the final type of translations in which both the matter and the words are important. Here Vives recommends, in imitation of the first language, “to invent or form some apt word in the latter, or daughter language so that both are made rich.”¹⁵⁰ Discussion about these issues continued in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. John Christopherson affirmed in his introductory *Prooemium Interpretis* to his Latin rendering of Eusebius, that his translation should be unpleasant to others, because he express both the sense and the meaning of the author as well as his form of speech and harmony.¹⁵¹ Later on, John Dryden in his preface to Ovid’s *Epistles* (1680) distinguishes between the concepts of *metaphrase* (e.g. Horace’s *Art of Poetry*), *paraphrase* (e.g. Waller’s translation of Virgil’s Fourth *Aeneid*) and *imitation* (Cowley’s *Odes* of Pindar). In this text, he also quoted Horace’s warning, “Nec verbum

¹⁴⁸ Newman and Tylus 2015, 5.

¹⁴⁹ *De Ratione Dicendi* 1536, 225 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 92).

¹⁵⁰ *De Ratione Dicendi* 1536, 225 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 93).

¹⁵¹ *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Scriptores Graeci* 1571, a4r. Weissbort & Eysteinsson 2006, 102.

verbo curabis reddere, fidus Interpres.”¹⁵² That is, as a true translator you will take care not to translate word for word.

Meres too, must have been in contact with at least some of these ideas and conflicting perspectives during his university period (roughly between 1584-1593). In his *Palladis Tamia*, he quoted from Cicero’s *De Oratore* and Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana*, alongside Horace and Philo Judaeus, who had also dealt with translation issues (the latter for instance in *De vita Mosis*). It is also probable that he read, or rather, were instructed in the practice of translation with Laurence Humphrey’s *Interpretatio Linguarum* (1559), an intellectually central text that provided a fundamental context for English vernacular culture. These are, however, working hypotheses and Meres’ personal position on these matters is not certain. While most translators used prologues and dedicatories to add their own reflections on the practice, this does not happen in Meres’ texts.¹⁵³ Leaving hypotheses aside, his texts highlight translation practices in the period that were later on developed in the twentieth century by translation theorists who insisted on translation as a social activity, though from different perspectives. That is, these scholars realized that the factors governing translation was not simply accuracy and linguistic equivalence, but rather a whole social network of people, authors, publishers, printers, patrons and readers on whose influence the translator relies to get the job done. Such was the opinion of Susan Bassnett. In her work, *Translation Studies* (1980), she insisted that translation studies focus on the historical and cultural background of texts as well as on the analysis of the complexity of the manipulation of texts and the factors that influenced translating strategies. Similarly, André Lefevere in his *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992) examines

¹⁵² *Ovid's epistles translated by several hands* 1680, R8r and R8v.

¹⁵³ See Río Fernández 2006, 161-184.

how texts are processed for a certain audience and the factors that determine the acceptance and rejection of texts, moving away from universal norms to culturally dependent ones. Among these factors he included the professionals within the system (reviewers, critics, teachers or even other translators), institutions (including publishers) and the dominant poetics, which causes that some literature will be more readily accepted because it is operating within a system that recognizes it.¹⁵⁴ All of these factors influenced the *rewriting* process—about which more below. Like Bassnett and Lefevere, Theo Hermans views the process of translation as a complex cultural phenomenon, “a relatively coherent, structured, dynamic whole, closely correlated with other cultural and social structures, and invoking a changing matrix of attitudes, norms and practices.”¹⁵⁵

Eugene Nida, on the other hand, focuses on the relationship between texts and the receiving readership. His concepts of formal and dynamic equivalence postulate that the effect of the translation on the target reader should be roughly the same as the effect of the source text on the source reader. The differing needs, demands and expectations of real people and users should be one of the major thrusts of translations. Lawrence Venuti too, revisits the concepts of domestication and foreignization to insist that the translator should always try to reproduce the cultural norms of the source language into the target one. His view derived from the author-to-reader and reader-to-author methods explained by Friedrich Schleiermacher in his treatise *On the Different Methods of Translating* (1813). He highlighted two ways for translators to address the challenge posed by cultural distance. One approach is for the translator to bring the author’s linguistic and cultural word closer to the reader, a process that, in his view, distorts the

¹⁵⁴ For a review of Lefevere’s notion of translation as a system see Robinson 1997b, 25-42.

¹⁵⁵ Quoted in Kittel 1992, 93.

text. He recommended a second path; i.e. to bring the reader toward the text's distinctive linguistic and cultural world.¹⁵⁶ Other varieties of Schleiermacher's foreignizing translation are seen in the work of nineteenth century theorists such as Walter Benjamin, Vladimir Nabokov or Thomas F. Higham. In his introduction to the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation* Higham articulated the distinction with the following metaphor: "their essential difference lies in this—that the one sect aims at transporting us back to the poetry of Greece, and the other at bringing Greek poetry closer to our own." Out of these, he favoured the former because "we may learn from those who profess it more, perhaps, of Greek thought and character than the other sect can teach us."¹⁵⁷ The distinction remains salient today. Apart from Venuti, Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood readdress these notions in the introduction to the volume *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation* (2005). In this work, they questioned how much of the 'otherness' of the foreign should the translator highlight. How much of the foreign should be muted or erased in order to make texts easier for the 'home' audience? These scholars were referring to the problem of *translatability*; i.e. those features that make a text to fit within the context where the source text was produced, but which, on the other hand, may cause problems when these are transferred to a foreign context. They conclude that translation provides the necessary linguistic supplement that bridges the cultural chasms and allows for intellectual passages and exchanges, but it can never be a complete or transparent transferal of semantic content.¹⁵⁸ Schleiermacher's emphasis on foreignizing the text is also rejected by Karen Newman and Jane Tylus. They envision translation as a third space, similar to Paul Ricoeur's

¹⁵⁶ See Cassin 2014, 1139.

¹⁵⁷ Higham 1938, xxxvi.

¹⁵⁸ Bermann 2005, 5.

‘comparables’, which entails the discovery of more hospitable codes and meanings that account for what is translated or interpreted giving access to what the original meant.

André Lefevere’s rewriting, Nida’s formal and dynamic equivalence, Venuti’s concepts of domestication and foreignization, Karen Newman and Jane Tylus’ ‘third space’ and even Schleiermacher’s dichotomy are different theories of translation equivalence through which they propose alternative concepts to compensate for the methodological crises that entails the movement from the linguistic to the social. Taking this into account, Douglas Robinson reckoned, how do you bring the social realm in which translation takes place into the narrow confines of a single book? in other words, how do translators, bearing in mind their social context, account for *untranslatability* in translation?¹⁵⁹ Catford defined *translatability* to be “a *cline* rather than a clear-cut dichotomy.” Texts and items are not absolute translatable or untranslatable, their equivalence depends on the interchangeability of the SL and TL texts in the same situation. This is noticeable in Isselt and Meres’ versions of the same text.¹⁶⁰ The degree of interchangeability between Granada and Isselt’s context and background was greater than that between Granada and Meres’. That is why, while for Isselt there was no problem in translating into Latin certain words or expressions, for Meres there was. Similar to Catford’s view, Basil Hatim and Jeremy Munday consider *translatability* to be “a relative notion” which “has to do with the extent to which, despite obvious differences in linguistic structure (grammar, vocabulary...etc.), meaning can still be adequately expressed across languages.” They continue, “meaning has to be understood not only in terms of what the ST contains, but also and equally significantly, in terms of such factors as communicative purpose, target audience and purpose of

¹⁵⁹ Robinson 1997b, 25-6.

¹⁶⁰ Catford 1965, 93.

translation.”¹⁶¹ On the other hand, an untranslatable is not a word that cannot be translated. It is one that cannot be straightforwardly expressed in any but its original language; a reminder of “the conceptual differences carried by the differences between languages.”¹⁶² Catford distinguished between two different types. These are linguistic untranslatability when there is no lexical or syntactical substitute in the target language for a source language item. Jacques Lezra illustrates it with an example from James Mabbe’s Castilian-English version of *La Celestina* and there are other examples in *The Sinners Gvyde*. However, when the target culture lacks a relevant contextual feature for the source text, we talk of cultural untranslatability. Of this too, there are examples in Meres’ rendering (see section 6.2). The concept of *untranslatability* is also the focus of Barbara Cassin’s *Dictionary* (2014), which concentrates on a series of philosophical terms that prove difficult to translate, or as she puts it, “words situated within the measurable differences among languages.”¹⁶³ Interestingly enough, Cassin insists that to speak of *untranslatables* does not imply that the terms or expressions in question cannot be translated. The *untranslatable* is what one keeps on translating though this creates a problem. It is a sign of the way in which, from one language to another, neither the words nor the conceptual networks can simply be superimposed. A translator can resort to a number of translation strategies to compensate for this lack of equivalence; neologism, adaptation, borrowing (reproduced in *italics* as in the case of James Mabbe mentioned above), calque, paraphrase or inclusion of additional notes, are just some of these.

Underlying all the complications of translation is the fundamental fact that languages differ radically one from the other. Bruni, in his list of the requirements of a

¹⁶¹ Hatim & Munday 2004, 15.

¹⁶² Peter Osborne in Apter 2013, 32.

¹⁶³ Cassin 2014, xvii.

good translation, insisted that the translator should begin his work by ensuring that he masters the language he is going to translate from as much as he possibly can. Furthermore, he should also know the language he translates into in such a way that the translator is able to dominate it and to hold it entirely in his power. This was a fundamental rule, particularly when translating those texts in which the language of the original work was not the mother tongue of the translator, because medieval translators were frequently accused of knowing neither Greek nor proper Latin.¹⁶⁴ Vives too, in *De ratione dicendi* complained that “there has been too little understanding on the part of men [...] how great a difference there is in languages.”¹⁶⁵ In the same line of thought, Joachim Du Bellay justified that eloquence could not be learnt from translators arguing that “it is impossible to translate [an eloquent text] with the same grace that the author has put into it: because each language has something indefinably individual only to itself.”¹⁶⁶ Jacques Peletier Du Mans too, claimed that word-for-word translations were without elegance, “because two languages are never identical in phraseology. Ideas are common to the understanding of all men, but words and speech patterns are specific to nations.”¹⁶⁷ In the twentieth century, these ideas were summarized by Edward Sapir in ‘The Status of Linguistics as a Science’ (1929):

No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. The understanding of a simple poem, for instance, involves not merely an understanding of the single words in their average significance, but a full comprehension of the whole life of the community as it is mirrored in the words, or as it is suggested by their overtones [...] We see and hear and

¹⁶⁴ In vernacular treatises, in contrast, it is reasonable to assume the translator’s command of his mother tongue. Viti 2004, 82. (English translation taken from Lefevere 1992, 83).

¹⁶⁵ *De Ratione Dicendi* 1536, 225 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 92).

¹⁶⁶ *La Deffence* 1972, biiir (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 103).

¹⁶⁷ *L’art Poétique* 1555, 33 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 107).

otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.¹⁶⁸

There can be no absolute correspondence between languages and there can be no fully exact, or purely linguistic, translations. However, the identification of ‘untranslatable’ items and structures greatly depends on the intellectual background of the translator and his command of the source language. That is the reason why Catford talked about a *cline* of untranslatability. In any case, the role of translation is one of approximation and interpretation because we can not literally translate from one language to another, and therefore original and translation could not exactly coincide as these are different realities, embedded within a different context with its own religious, political and cultural persuasions. George Steiner called it “the genius of language”, and he further explains, “no translation will be total, [because] none can transfer to another tongue the entire sum of implication, tonality, connotation, mimetic inflection, and inferred context which internalize and declare the meanings in meaning. Something will get lost or have been elided; something else will have been added by the impulse to paraphrase.”¹⁶⁹ We still find the same arguments in contemporary translation theorists. Eugene Nida insisted that “one cannot communicate adequately in one language what has been said originally in another.”¹⁷⁰ Peter France too, maintains that each language constructs the world in a different way, thus, any translation is bound to force the text into the disfiguring disguise of an alien idiom; whereas Matthew Reynolds insists that “language do not have boundaries [...] families, and even individuals can have their own distinctive words, syntactic structures, and ways of using them.”¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Sapir 1929, 209-210.

¹⁶⁹ Steiner 1996, 202. See also Gutiérrez Sumillera 2010, 232 and note 80 of the same page.

¹⁷⁰ Nida 1964: 2.

¹⁷¹ France 2005, 259; Reynolds 2011, 12.

Still the fact remains that the reader of both languages should be able to understand the meanings of the text in a similar manner, and for this reason the process of translation cannot avoid certain degree of interpretation and personal involvement by the translator in his work. In his interpretation of the original message, his selection of corresponding words and grammatical forms, and his choice of stylistic equivalents, the translator will necessarily be influenced by his overall empathy with the text's original author and message. The text and its untranslatables are, therefore, *domesticated* for a foreign audience and a new context. Ideally, the translator should never add his own impressions or distort the message to fit his own intellectual and/or spiritual outlook. But, as a human process, the translation always records the translator's own personality and milieu. When a translator interferes in the transmission process, his behaviour may be accounted for in various ways. Sometimes these alterations are the result of unconscious personality traits that influence a person's work in subtle and seemingly innocent ways. This situation is particularly evident when a translator feels inclined to improve on the original, to correct apparent errors or to defend a personal preference by slanting his choice of words. A more common explanation is, however, that the translator wilfully distorts the message in order to make it conform to his own political, social, or religious predilections. Yet the translation should not be disdained because of such adjustments, but rather as a cultural and literary practice, it must be carefully studied and valued, not so much for what has been lost, as for what has been gained through it and what it offers to the new context. In *The Sinners Gvyde*, Meres minimizes some of the religious and political implications of the original text, as we shall see, but he also adds and maximizes those which he deems functional to his purpose, because far from annulling the text's connotative possibilities, they are multiplied and directed to an Anglican context through these changes. For his work to be culturally relevant and

functional within Elizabethan England, Meres had to ‘Anglicize’, or domesticate, using Venuti’s terminology, Granada’s text both from a formal and cultural point of view, as well as from an ideological-political-religious one.¹⁷²

This new approach to translation as a social activity draws attention to issues such as people, history, ideology, and religion and how these intervene in the resulting product. It helped scholars to expand their studies from the linguistic level to a wider social context in which they are encouraged to examine what was lost, gained, transformed, or created in an act of translation because, as Ferrel affirmed, “change is, after all, the fate of any text, however divinely inspired and reverently believed in, that has been translated and transmitted over centuries by human means.”¹⁷³ The discussion about literalism and adaptation, foreignization and domestication, has always accompanied translation studies. Different periods and different cultures have different preferences. Scholars should not continue debating about the correct method of translating, but to become aware of the way in which the translator, like the orator, negotiates between a series of ‘untranslatables’ and a new audience and context. This is precisely what this study does through the analysis of Meres’ English version of *Guía de Pecadores*, which reflects a confluence of social, religious and cultural factors as well as an acute awareness of the situation and context from which it emerges.

In the context of Bible translation, however, the *ad verbum-ad sensum* dichotomy was governed by the debate over the issues of inspiration vs. philology. Those who favoured

¹⁷² Venuti’s notions of domestication and foreignization are dealt with in his *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995).

¹⁷³ Ferrel 2008, 10.

an inspirational view affirmed that the testimonies found in the Holy text have been directly transmitted by God. The translator, therefore, is God's instrument to make the text widely accessible and the written text has an absolute guarantee of purity and authenticity.¹⁷⁴ Those who hold a philological position defended that the translator can never wholly presume to comprehend the essence of the word of God, but must try to reconstruct the best possible text of His utterance by philological methods.¹⁷⁵ According to the inspired view there should only be one text, whereas in the philological view there may be many, as the translator's work is that of approximation. The first to defend the inspired character of the Septuagint was the Jewish philosopher, Philo Judaeus in *De Vita Mosis*, where he claimed that seventy-two scholars worked independently of one another and yet they arrived at an identical text: "Sitting here in seclusion with none present save the elements of nature [...], they became as it were possessed, and, under inspiration, wrote, not each several scribe something different, but the same word for word, as though dictated to each by an invisible prompter."¹⁷⁶ Saint Augustine too, in the second book of *De Doctrina Christiana* recognized the authoritative character of the Septuagint among Greek versions of the Bible because "in all the more learned churches it is now said that this translation was so inspired by the Holy Spirit that many men spoke as if with the mouth of one."¹⁷⁷ Such view confers a status and authority on the Greek text equal to that of the Hebrew. Augustine advised Jerome to use the Septuagint as a source text but in contrast to the former's inspirational view, Jerome's approach is

¹⁷⁴ It was similar to the invocation of the Muses in poetry, who transmitted knowledge of past events to the poet.

¹⁷⁵ Schwarz in his study of Reformation controversies over Bible translation speaks of three main views: traditional, inspirational and philological. Holeczek (1975) too stressed the opposition between a reliance on a theology of revelation and on human erudition.

¹⁷⁶ A bilingual Greek-English edition can be downloaded from *Loeb Classical Library* <http://www.loebclassics.com/> (*Moses I and II*, 466-467).

¹⁷⁷ *De Doctrina Christiana Libri Quatuor* 1838, 47 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 34).

philological. He recognized the authority of the Hebrew text, and applied linguistic analysis in his search for the *Hebraica veritas*. He then proceeds to render those words as accurately as possible into Latin.

In the Renaissance, the inspirational-philological conflict is represented in the figures of Luther and Erasmus. To Luther, no amount of human diligence or grammatical insight is sufficient to arrive at a proper understanding of God's Word. He set forth two main principles on the right interpretation of Scripture, on which the future of the Christian Faith certainly depends. The first of these was that *only* Christ is the essential and true Word of God; the Scripture is the means by which His Word is communicated to us. The other was his insistence on its inspired nature. In contrast to Philo Judaeus or Augustine, Luther did not claim that Scripture had been divinely dictated, but rather that the Holy Spirit had illuminated the minds of their writers with the knowledge of salvation, so that divine truth has been expressed in human form and the knowledge of God had become a personal possession of man. To him, the actual writing was a human not a supernatural act, accomplished in full human consciousness and not in a state of divine ecstasy. Divine inspiration and faith are, however, necessary to read the Holy text as to attain the end of being wise unto salvation.¹⁷⁸ While most Bible translators had argued for literal word-for-word translation, Luther sensed the importance of full intelligibility, especially in the heat of theological controversy. He worked out the implications for translation of shifts in word order, introduction of connectives, use of phrases to translate single words, careful attention to exegetical accuracy or suppression of Greek or Hebrew terms because, he insisted, only in this way could people understand the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. Erasmus, on the other

¹⁷⁸ For an analysis of Luther's hermeneutical principles see Xiaochuan 2008, 74-79. See also Schwarz 1955, 15-16; Rhodes 2013, 10-11.

hand, following the philological examples of Giannozzo Manetti and Lorenzo Valla, applied to Scripture the critical and interpretative techniques developed in the study of secular writings. Through this philological insight, he would question the reliability of the Vulgate text on grammatical and rhetorical grounds. However, as Robert S. Jackson claimed, no real translation results from either absolute inspiration or absolute philology and Luther too believed in, and made use of, philology.¹⁷⁹ Erasmus and Luther's principles of translation influenced William Tyndale in his English version of the New Testament. His selection of certain words over traditional ones will be analysed in section 6.3. In 1551 too, Sebastianus Castellio published another Latin rendering of the Scriptures with the purpose of making them more attractive to cultured Latin-reading persons than were Jerome's awkward ecclesiastical renderings.¹⁸⁰ Whatever their method, their project was not to replace the Vulgate text, but to give readers the opportunity to verify the original texts to challenge or approve the reliability or the lack thereof of so many available translations, as well as to revise a text that had been around for over a thousand years and was now only understood by an educated minority.¹⁸¹ Both Erasmus and Castellio saw their editions as a device to halt the progressive decay of Scripture, to correct the corruption that had crept into the text down the centuries, and to provide a foundation upon which future scholarship could produce fresh editions. The original Hebrew *Masoretic* text and *Textus Receptor* of the New Testament (as edited by Erasmus) was the source used by all major English Reformation Bibles.

¹⁷⁹ Jackson 1961, 5.

¹⁸⁰ *Biblia Sacra: ex Sebastiani Castellionis* (Basel 1551). Castellio also published a French version in 1555, *La Bible nouvellement translate, avec annotations sur le passages difficiles* (Basel: Johann Herwagen).

¹⁸¹ See Rhodes 2013, 1-67. On Manetti's work see the recent study of Annet den Haan, *Giannozzo Manetti's New Testament* (2016).

2.2 Treatises on translation theory

Cicero, Horace, Quintilian, Pliny and Jerome's arguments laid the basis for later discussions about the theory and practice of translation, but they produced no systematic study of its principles and procedures. Such debates had a very limited audience: most readers did not need to make their own translations themselves, and were not equipped to judge those of others. Some of the first and most significant theoretical treatises on translation were penned by the humanists Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444), Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459), Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). All of them produced Latin translations of the central texts of their day, whether classical as in the case of Bruni, or the Scriptures as it happened with the rest; all encouraged criticism of their versions (for those who focused their treatises on Bible analysis and interpretation, these criticisms were based on their rejection of the assumed perfection of the Vulgate text) and wrote in defence of their methods of translation; Bruni and Manetti with their works *De interpretatione recta* and the *Apologeticus* respectively, Erasmus and Valla with their annotations on their Latin translation of the New Testament.

Bruni's work as a translator of Greek texts constitutes a substantial portion of his writing. He marks the start of a process of translation, which eventually transferred into Latin most of the literature that survived from the Greek world with the aim of reorienting Latin thought. His first translations were Saint Basil's *De studiis secularibus* (Bruni's only translation of a patristic work) and Xenophon's *Hieron*. But he also translated Plato's *Republic*, *Apology*, *Symposium*, *Epistles* and the dialogues, *Phaedo*, *Gorgias*, *Phaedrus* and *Crito*; Aristotle's *Politics*, *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Economics*; Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, Demosthenes' *De Corona*, *Pro Diopithe* and *Alynthiacae*; and

Aeschines' *Ctesiphontem*. Much of his production, however, remains in manuscript and poorly documented. For his Latin renderings, he used retranslations of texts available in medieval versions and advocated the use of rhetoric to assess Greek historical or biographical texts. His methods of translation confronted him with the Spaniard and translator Alonso de Cartagena who had also translated into Castilian the works of Cicero and Seneca.¹⁸² The latter adhered to medieval practices such as the use of technical vocabulary, something that Bruni criticized in his quest for the stylistic standards of the source language. *De interpretatione recta* was the essay he wrote in defence of his methods of translation, which is considered the first treatise on translation produced in Early Modern Europe and one of the foundational texts of humanism. To him, the essence of translation (*interpretatio*) "resides in the fact that what is written in one language should be well translated into another". When he listed the requirements of a good translation Bruni insisted that whatever informs the style of the source language should be recreated in the target text:

The translator should display the greatest zeal in trying to preserve the original's ornate diction and other features. If the translator fails to accomplish all this he will weaken his author's stature and diminish it.¹⁸³

In order to preserve the author's intention, it was essential to reproduce the rhythm and structure of the original text and to that end he recommended the use of Cicero's classical prose and rhetoric. This advocacy of stylistic imitation in the translated text constitutes one of the groundbreaking aspects of his method, which on the whole defended a translation *ad sententiam* as opposed to the medieval *verbatim*.

¹⁸² For more information on their dispute see Morrás 2002, 33-57.

¹⁸³ Viti 2004, 76, 86. (English translation taken from Lefevere 1992, 82, 85).

De interpretatione recta was carefully studied by Giannozzo Manetti, who later on defended his method in the *Apologeticus*, a document of central importance to the history of fifteenth-century ideas about translation. He is best known for his treatise *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, a response to Pope Innocent III's *De miseria humane conditionis*, but he also produced Latin versions of some of the most important texts of his day: Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Eudemian Ethics* and *Magna moralia*; the New Testament (which constitutes the first Latin version made from the Greek since Jerome's day) and most significant and controverted of all, the Psalter from the Hebrew text. Manetti was certainly well aware that translating the Scriptures was a controversial undertaking and it is probable that he, as later on Erasmus, were informed by Lorenzo Valla's annotations on the New Testament. When Manetti undertook a new translation of the Psalter, he knew that his version would supplement an already complex Western tradition; three Latin versions of the book, made by Jerome, predated his rendering: one of them from the Septuagint version (known as the Roman Psalter), another from the original Hebrew text and the last one the so-called Gallican Psalter. Manetti, for his part used his knowledge of Hebrew to make a fresh translation of the Psalms into Latin. Even though this new rendering implicitly challenged the canonical Vulgate, Manetti's aspiration was not to replace ancient versions, but to allow Latin audiences to compare variant readings. Many people objected to his version, and he developed a critical apparatus included within his *Apologeticus*. Here, additions, omissions, alternative readings and variations in the titles of the Psalms are catalogued in detail. In this theoretical treatise, Manetti was influenced by Bruni's previous work, his ideas on translation, as well as in his use of elegant Ciceronian Latin prose. But Manetti's discussion differs from Bruni's in that it focuses specifically upon Scriptural translations. With his defence of the return *ad fontes*, he claimed that the translator must

always take into careful consideration the context in which the original work was produced to reproduce the best authoritative translation. Bruni, in contrast, warned about the consequences of an over-zealous search for origins. He writes, “and so although the study of Hebrew may give you some intellectual pleasure it will be of no use to you. You would be like someone who prefers to take his wine from the press rather than from the bottle simply because it was in the press before it was in the bottle.”¹⁸⁴ Manetti was the first among fifteenth-century humanists to encourage the use of the philological method of textual analysis to the translation of texts, including the Bible. He considered fundamental to know the peculiarities of both sacred and profane texts because different kinds of texts require different translations and strategies. Against Valla’s general approach of translating as literally as possible, Manetti insists on giving a version that is meaningful if not always literal. To him, all versions are valuable because none is a perfect equivalent, thus navigating an intermediate position between translations *ad verbum* and *ad sensum*.¹⁸⁵ He applied this method in the three-column arrangement (his translation in the middle appeared alongside Jerome’s translations; one from Hebrew, the other from Greek) that Erasmus would also follow for his *Novum Instrumentum*. Like Manetti, Erasmus also defended the return to the original languages, for this reason when he decided to produce a new Latin edition of the New Testament, he realised that it first required an edition of the Greek text on which it was based. His edition included his own Latin rendering, the Greek text and the Vulgate translation (in the edition of 1527), both of which were printed with a different font and size. To this, he added his annotations discussing or defending both the Greek and Latin texts. The techniques employed by Erasmus and the principles of textual

¹⁸⁴ *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolarum* 1741, 163. (English translation taken from Botley 2004, 103).

¹⁸⁵ See Saebo, 2008.

criticism which he formulated in his annotations challenged traditional methods of translation on many points. But they also demonstrated how the recurrent application of these principles might revolutionise the reading of the New Testament. In his annotations he did more to diagnose the flaws of the Vulgate than either Manetti or Valla, probably because he found himself obliged to defend his new versions on different fronts. The quantity of subsequent apologetic literature produced by Erasmus also dwarfed Manetti and Valla's outputs. Hence, his solutions to many of the familiar problems of translation are very well documented. Both Manetti and Erasmus, and in fact all those involved in Scriptural translation, had to contend with a complex written and oral tradition, characterized by an assumed flawless composition of Jerome's Latin text. The Dutch scholar wanted to demolish the idea that equated the Latin of the Vulgate with ecclesiastical sanction and he believed that a new version could eliminate some of the barriers between the Latin reader and the true meaning of the original Greek text. To persuade readers of such barriers he insisted on its status as a translation. Erasmus observed that the obscurity of some passages enabled the construction of plausible hypotheses, i.e. that some passages of the Latin Vulgate text only communicate because the reader has already decided what they mean on the grounds of other contextual information, not because he had really grasped its meaning. Once again, the reader's confidence in Jerome's translation was naturally part of the problem. Such authority was augmented by his title of Doctor of the Church, and though Jerome himself opposed the idea of the divine inspiration of translators, this view led to the underlying assumption that if Jerome's translation has been *inspired*, it was consequently flawless.

Like Bruni, Erasmus also insisted that the understanding of every part of Scripture requires a command of the target language in which it is translated, i.e. it

should not be left to chance or contextual associations. The problem with the Latin translation of the New Testament in sixteenth-century Europe was that it required the intervention of scholarship, thus the reader had to rely on the interpretation of others in order to understand a passage that in the original was essentially and intentionally clear. A good knowledge of classical Latin and a good translation of the Greek text into the same language could free the reader from this dependence. Both Manetti and Erasmus wished to resolve the obscurities of the Vulgate by rendering the original Hebrew or Greek as accurately as possible. This would render a clear and faithful translation that would not require further gloss or annotations. Erasmus claimed that the Latin of the Vulgate represented the common speech of late antiquity, one that had been substantially altered under the influence of Greek. Hence, what had once been intended for the masses was now obsolete. In the sixteenth century Latin was the language of the educated class but this audience too, required a new version of the Holy text. Like Manetti, Erasmus also considered that every translation was made to serve a specific purpose. When he examined the purposes the Vulgate had been composed to serve, he concluded that there were better ways of attaining these ends. Much in line with Jerome's views, Erasmus favoured a sense-for-sense approach in the context of non-scriptural texts. When translating the mysteries of the Bible, in contrast, a more literal rendering could be safest. In this case, therefore, he defended the translation *ad verbum* (if this does not violate the sense). Because Erasmus wanted to present his texts without distractions, he reserves for his annotations words and phrases which might communicate those aspects of the original but which he had sacrificed to a close verbal rendering. Here, as well as in many other aspects, Erasmus was influenced by Valla's own ideas on translation, particularly on his notes on the *Novum Testamentum* (*Interpretationem ex collation Graecorum exemplarium adnotationes*), which Erasmus'

discovered in 1504, helped to publish in Paris one year later, and to which he added his own preface.¹⁸⁶ Here, Valla addressed the Vulgate text and compared it with the Greek text finding it wanting. Erasmus also came under the influence of Valla's *Elegantiae linguae Latinae*, which he had described as the rescue of literature from the barbarians. Valla also helped to shape Juan Luis Vives' ideas on translation, which he formulated in *De Tradendis Disciplinis* (1531) and, above all, *De Ratione Dicendi* (1533).¹⁸⁷

These ideas, however, remained in Latin and they had a very specific and limited audience. The French humanist Étienne Dolet (1509-1546) summarized them in *La manière de bien traduire d'une langue en autre* (1540), the first treatise on translation to be written in a European vernacular. According to this tract, the translator must:

1. Understand perfectly the subject matter and intention of the original text.
2. Have a perfect knowledge of both languages involved.
3. Avoid the tendency to translate word for word.
4. Employ the forms of common speech as much as possible.
5. Through his choice and order of words, he should produce a total overall effect with appropriate tone.

Dolet was criticizing some standard practices, such as literalism and word-for-word translation—core notions of early Renaissance translation. He put his emphasis instead on recognising and matching the stylistic and rhetorical qualities of the original. This humanist view of translation was transplanted to the vernacular, giving the document a political edge. Theo Hermans suggests that Dolet was advocating with these rules not only a set of practical guidelines for translators but also a cultural policy. By

¹⁸⁶ The text was in manuscript since ca. 1450.

¹⁸⁷ For further details see Rummel's *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (2008).

emphasizing the need for stylistic harmony and for the use of common language, Dolet was asserting the right of modern languages, particularly French, to the same status as that enjoyed by the ancient languages.

Sixteenth-century English translators did not reflect on translation as much as French theorists did. Here, the English Protestant Lawrence Humphrey (1527-89) produced the century's most comprehensive work on the theory and practice of translation, the already mentioned *Interpretatio Linguarum: seu de ratione convertendi et explicandi autores tam sacros quam profanos*.¹⁸⁸ The text was produced in exile and published in Froben's Basel press in 1559. This pedagogical manual on translation builds on Cicero's *De Optimo genere oratorum*. It explores the ideas that were central to the concept of humanist education in the sixteenth century and it was designed to help those who were teaching young scholars how to translate scriptural, secular or profane texts. Humphrey considered translation the means "by which the translator is nourished, produced educated and confirmed" in his role ("quomodo Interpres, alii, creari, educari, confirmari").¹⁸⁹ Moreover, Humphrey recommends the *Interpretatio Linguarum* as a useful tool in the teaching and learning of languages. He included two works in their original language alongside his Latin translation, "[not] solely for translating, but because I hope they will bring about some means for the teaching and learning of these important languages" ("quae ego non ad interpretandum solum, sed ad discendum docendumque linguas praecipuas aliquid opis spero allatura"). In the vernacular, Roger Ascham too would reflect on how translation facilitates the acquisition of other languages in his *Schoolemaster* (1570). In this work he affirmed that "duble translation out of one tong into an other" has to be practiced "speciallie of

¹⁸⁸ Sullivan and Stewart 2012, 524-6.

¹⁸⁹ *Interpretatio Linguarum* 1559, 393.

youth, for the ready and sure obtaining of any tong.”¹⁹⁰ These manuals prove that translation occupied a central position in the intellectual activity of sixteenth-century Europe. Proficiency in translation was a fundamental requirement for the practical engagement with the vast range of scriptural, patristic and classical texts available in print in their original forms. As the means of assessing the writings of the ancient world, translation, interpretation and textual exegesis were activities possessing moral as well as didactic purposes. The University of Cambridge Library records four copies of Humphrey’s text in the period 1559-1598; one of them within the University Library’s holdings, the rest in the libraries of different colleges (Gonville & Caius, St. John and Trinity College). Ascham’s *The Schoolemaster* too, figured within the University Library as well as in King’s and Trinity College. This, turn them into potential sources for Meres’ ideas on this widespread practice.

2.3 The role of the translator

The translator’s role is central to the basic principles and procedures of the practice. An analysis of the external, and also personal, circumstances into which the translator’s activity fits is fundamental because “no translator can escape being coloured by his own time”, and what is more important, “it is wrong to try hard to cut free from this influence.”¹⁹¹ Schleiermacher’s concept of foreignization had implicit the refusal of the rhetoric which seeks to make things easy for the reader. He insisted that the features of the source language had to influence the language of the target text. As Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood claimed, each language bears its own vast and endlessly

¹⁹⁰ *The Schoolemaster* 1570, 33r.

¹⁹¹ Richmond Lattimore 1959, 54.

transforming intertext of socially and historically grafted meanings, along with their graphic and acoustic imagery. Thus, it has been long recognized in the history of translation studies that the translator's task is to lead the reader across such intertext; in this process the foreign text must be re-thought in historical and temporal terms, i.e. the translator may need to adapt the work to fit within a context whose social, cultural and/or religious milieu might be different from that in which the original work was produced.¹⁹² This was essential since the reader must be able to respond to the message within the context of his own culture. "Translation is not a scientific procedure but a personal initiative", Peter France insisted, and there is not one and sole right way of expressing a given set of ideas or feelings. Taking this into account, Douglas Robinson states that a sensitive, versatile and reliable translator will recognize when a given task requires something besides strict accuracy, i.e. various forms of summary, commentary, adaptation and recreation. A choice of tactics, a choice of codes, and a choice of language are available and the translator is to negotiate between author and readers, between source culture and target culture.¹⁹³ Such negotiation is set by certain forces that would eventually determine the results. Lefevere insists that translations operate under four constraints: ideology, patronage, poetics, and 'universe of discourse'.¹⁹⁴ Taking this into account, Meres' texts are *rewritings* of the works of Luis de Granada, which have been *manipulated*, according to a certain *ideology, poetics* and *universe of discourse*, to function within a given society and a given time. His version of *Guía de pecadores* does not contribute any explicit information about the methodology he used when rendering the Dominican friar's works, but if his intention with that was to raise

¹⁹² Bermann 2005, 6.

¹⁹³ Robinson 2003, 11-12; France 2005, 261.

¹⁹⁴ For an analysis of the factor that influences the process of rewriting see Lefevere 1992b.

his status as an Elizabethan author and translator, the strategies he used were meant to achieve that end.

Ideology is “the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time, and through which readers and translators approach texts”, thus, the way translators understand themselves and their culture is one of the factors that may influence the way in which they translate.¹⁹⁵ Translations can be potentially threatening precisely because they confront the receiving culture with another, different way of looking at life and society. Ideology dictates the basic strategy that the translator is going to use and his solutions for problems involved in the process of translation. Meres, for instance, describes a successful attempt at ideological control when he identified in Granada’s text “certaine corruptions, which [...] threatened shipwracke” and which he had avowedly eliminated.¹⁹⁶ By presenting *The Sinners Gvyde* as an ‘interpretation’ of Granada’s text, Meres warns the reader that certain content of the friar’s original has been tailored to adapt it within a context where the Dominican’s Catholicism was unacceptable. With this strategy Meres predisposes the reader, positively, to accept and enjoy the work. The use of this word reminds us of Laurence Humprey’s *Interpretatio* who uses this and other similar terms over ‘translation’.¹⁹⁷ Meres too, avoids it as he also speak of ‘interpreters’ instead of ‘translators’: “as Germany had but onely one Interpreter lying with him”, “if other Interpreters, as good Pylots doe the same in this learned *Iberian*, neuer had *Dioscurias* moe Interpreters, nor *Titus Liuius* moe visiters, then *Granatensis* shall haue”.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Lefevere 1992b, 14. See also Hermans 2004, 126-7.

¹⁹⁶ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiiv.

¹⁹⁷ See Neil Rhodes’ ideas on that (37-8 and 263-94).

¹⁹⁸ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiiv, Aiiir.

Patrons too, circumscribe the translators' ideological space and set the parameters of their task. If translators do not stay within the boundaries of the acceptable their translation will either not reach their intended audience, or it will reach an audience in a circuitous and slow manner. Patrons can encourage the publication of translations they consider acceptable and they can also prevent the publication of translations they do not consider so, therefore, their influence on the shaping of translations should not be underestimated. This view is echoed in Meres' dedicatory within *The Sinners Gyde* when he does "entreate [Egerton's] Lordship to accept this small gift, the fruites of a poore schollers study, and weigh it, not according to my skill, which is but weake, but according to the soundnes of the doctrine therein contained, which is warranted by the authority of the holie Scriptures."¹⁹⁹ There are also constraints of a more poetical nature. Dominant poetics is taken into consideration by Lefevere to examine the concrete factors that systemically govern the reception, acceptance or rejection of literary texts. He analyzes it into two components: literary devices, which include the range of genres, symbols, leitmotifs and prototypical situations and characters; and the concept of the role of literature, i.e. the relation of literature to the social system in which it exists and how it affects the selection of a theme relevant within that system if the work is to be noticed.²⁰⁰ In the case of Meres, for instance, his selection of Luis de Granada's works was not arbitrary because religious prose was popular in sixteenth-century England. There were naturally certain aspects, we should speak of 'untranslatables', which creates a conflict, especially when translating a Catholic work. In *The Sinners Gyde*, for instance, the emphasis on Religious Orders, the authority of the Pope, or the sacramental character of matrimony

¹⁹⁹ *The Sinners Gyde* 1598, Aiiiiv.

²⁰⁰ Munday 2001, 129.

or penance (recurrent in the work) would condemn the translation to a marginal existence and Meres modified his text accordingly. Meres' procedures to compensate for this will be analysed later on.

Furthermore, the whole complex of concepts, ideologies, persons, objects, customs and beliefs that belong to a particular culture is what makes an author's universe of discourse. The translator's attitude towards the universe of discourse expressed in the original text, in relation to the universe of discourse of their own society, might vary according to a number of factors such as the status of the original, the self-image of the culture that text is translated into, the types of texts deemed acceptable in that culture, and the intended audience. A translation designed for children cannot be the same as one prepared for specialists or for a well-educated general reader. Most important of all, it depends on the purpose of the translator. The motives, or combination of motives, of translators for the texts chosen are as varied and numerous as translators themselves, but naturally they do have an impact upon the results. A translation could be simply designed to stimulate pleasure or curiosity and its features would be different from those of a translation of a more informative nature, and intended for a cognitive and/or emotional response from the reader. Ideally, a translator may be motivated by a sincere humanistic purpose. That is to say, he may want to convey an important message in an intelligible form, which, on the other hand, has been the dominant motivation in the history of the translation of the Bible and of the classics in different European languages. However, virtually in all cases this desire for intelligibility is mediated by the doctrinal and/or ideological agenda of the translator. There is no such thing as a fully 'transparent' translation, which would probably require certain adjustments of different degree so that the reader may understand the full implications of the message. One example of this is found in the context of Bible

translation. In this case, the act of devotion performed to show sorrow or regret for one's sinful actions may be rendered as 'repentance' instead of 'penance', if the people of the receptor language reject to emphasize the practice of confessing sins to a priest. This was precisely one of the modifications that Meres introduced in his translation. While with repentance just the sinner takes part in the action, penance required the intermediary role of a priest (i.e the confessor). Certain churches rejected this rite, the Anglican Church among them (see section 6.3). A still greater degree of adaptation may occur in a translation that has an imperative purpose. Here the translator feels constrained not merely to suggest a possible line of behaviour, but to make such an action explicit and compelling. To this end, the message must be fully clear and the adjustments ought to be even greater. But when the work was outstanding, as was the case with the works of Luis de Granada, other more important stimuli are present such as a desire to gain some distinction at least on the periphery of literary circles, which appears to have been one of Francis Meres' aims.

It is often assumed that the translator should have aims similar, or at least compatible, with those of the original author, but this is not necessarily so. In general, Luis de Granada's intention in *Guía de pecadores* was to teach Christians the benefits of virtue. He wanted to distribute this message among a large group of readers, including common readers, hence his use of the vernacular. It is possible that Meres shared this view, but his aims were of a different nature. Though this remains a hypothesis to be tested, a possibility is that Meres were persuaded by more profitable reasons. Because of the uniqueness of each nation's own universe of discourse, it has been made clear that literal word-for-word translation is impossible and, in most cases, a translation made through this procedure is liable to being criticized. Translators, therefore, have to strike a balance between the universe of discourse as acceptable to the

author of the original and the translator's own culture and audience—and naturally, this must have been the case with Meres too. Translators do not operate in a deterministic domain in which they have no choice. Rather, they can choose to stay within the perimeters marked by the constraints, or to challenge them. Meres, for his part, chose the latter option.

In this process, there are naturally certain requirements on the part of the translator. Most translation theorists agree that to produce an acceptable translation, as already seen, the translator must be completely bilingual in source and target languages. He or she must have an excellent background in the source language and at the same time must have control over the resources of the language into which he is translating. In this study, these aspects are taken for granted, as Meres was proficient both in Latin and English. Moreover, he must be able to understand not only the global content of the message, but also the subtleties of meaning, the emotional values of words and the stylistic features that determine the message. This was a fundamental requirement because a faulty translation of a given word could change the eventual sense. There is an example of this in Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde*. The English translator had been formed in the educational curriculum of humanism and he read and wrote fluent Latin and yet he translated the Latin conjunction *sed* ('but') into 'not...nor'. The implication of this was that while in the original text it signified contrast, in Meres' rendering it meant exclusion:

Por el qual claro esta que no entiende este vino material [...] *sino* por el entiende todos los delytes del mundo.

Per vinum illud non intelligit vinum materiale [...] *sed* delectationes and gaudia.

By that wine he understands *not* material wine [...] *nor* the delights and joys of the world.²⁰¹

A modification of this kind did not entail any political or religious connotation and it does not seem to be introduced voluntarily by Meres, it was simply the result of translating from a language different from the translator's mother tongue, or even of a hasty rendering. But this example reaffirms the importance of a good command of both languages.

It was also fundamental for the translator to have a complete control of the subject matter in the target language. It is one thing to know a language in general, and another to have a special knowledge of a particular subject in a particular language. One may be generally familiar with a language and still know nothing about nuclear physics or organic chemistry and the specific vocabulary associated with it, and such a general knowledge is inadequate as a background for translating technical materials. To Meres, it may not have been difficult to have a good knowledge of the subject matter of *The Sinners Gvyde*, because all his title pages boast that he was "student in Divinity." Moreover, his version of *Guía de pecadores*, like its Castilian original, addressed the general reader. Luis de Granada framed it to suit the needs of the common believer rather than those of the ecclesiastical elite, works that, on the other hand, were written in Latin. Thus, it did not contain technical vocabulary or complex doctrinal ideas. The popular appeal of this work was based on the clarity of its message and this too, was reproduced in Meres' text through the use of simple syntax and words.

Even if the translator is proficient at this technical knowledge, he is not really competent unless he has also a truly empathetic spirit, as if he were an actor able to feel his part. As the actor must impersonate the characters, the translator must have the gift

²⁰¹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 121r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 234; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 168.

of mimicry, the capacity to act the author's part, impersonating his demeanour, speech, and ways with the utmost verisimilitude.²⁰² Justin O'Brien claimed, "one should never translate anything one does not admire" and he further emphasized that "a natural affinity should exist between translator and translated."²⁰³ Luis de Granada's stylistic and doctrinal charisma was probably among the main reasons for Meres' choice of his prose above others devotional writers. O'Brien had also affirmed that the translator must have something of the cultural background of the author he is translating, and if this is not the case, he should be willing and readily able to make up for this deficiency, as is Meres' case. And yet, all this will not suffice to guarantee really effective translating unless the translator also has a capacity for literary expression. It would be audacious to claim that Meres was on par with Granada's literary ability, but he must have had some dexterity as he produced three translations and compiled an anthology.

The emphasis on the figure of the translator as the sole person responsible for the job is questioned in the work of Belen Bistué. In *Collaborative Translation and Multi-Version Texts in Early Modern England* (2013) this scholar stressed the relevance of collaborative translation strategies and polyglot texts within literary history. She rejects the long-held assumption in Renaissance translation theory that translation is the result of a single translator who produces a single, univocal version of a foreign text. The work of Leonardo Bruni appears in Bistué's volume to represent those tendencies that theorized a single point of view, and a single translator at the centre of the process. This idea opposed a well-established tradition of collaborative translation strategies which this scholar aims to map, demonstrating the social nature of translation mentioned above. Moreover, Bistué interrogates Bruni's affirmation that translation was

²⁰² Nabokov 1941.

²⁰³ O'Brien 1959, 59.

a *res difficilis*. Identifying translation as a ‘difficult thing’, Bruni defends the view held by many Renaissance theoreticians, which demanded that the text of the translation must appear to be the work of a single writing subject. To him, there are no *untranslatables* because everything that can be said in Greek can be said in Latin. Hence, he claimed that in the act of transporting nothing must be left behind. Bruni conceives translation as a kind of ‘master/slave dialectic’ between an original author and his translator. To him, the best translator is someone who will turn his whole mind, heart, and will to his author, and in a sense be transformed by him.²⁰⁴ Other examples of Bruni’s two-stage process are Roger Ascham’s *The Schoolemaster* or John Brinsley’s *Ludus Literarius* (1612). The latter insists that the pupils should be able to “make the very same latine of their Authors.”²⁰⁵ Even though Belén Bistué also talks about translation as a difficult thing, or rather, about the difficulties in translation, her intention is different; she emphasizes the difficulties posed by the diverse intercultural background behind texts and the complex relations between discursive and cultural variety. She defends the intrinsic multiplicity of the practice of translation and insists that translated texts are the product of collaborative (what she terms ‘translation teams’) and multilingual translation. This view is also shared by Newman and Tylus when they described the process as a “a collaborative venture.”²⁰⁶ Instead of a source and target text, they talked about a tissue of translations and, often, silent emendations that distort the original creating a new entity. Meres’ translations offer evidence of the collaborative and multilingual practices these scholars are attempting to rescue. The English translator was proficient in Latin but had not command of Castilian; had not Michael ab Isselt translated Luis de Granada’s works into that language, Francis Meres

²⁰⁴ Tylus 2014, 1153-4.

²⁰⁵ See *The Schoolemaster* 1570, 1v. *Ludus Literarius* 1612, 105.

²⁰⁶ Bistué 2013, 1-17. Newman and Tylus 2015, 1.

would probably have to team up with Spanish experts who could help him translate Granada's Castilian texts into English. But Isselt too, acknowledgedly rendered Granada's texts, at least *Guía de pecadores*, from an Italian version, and we do not know whether the Italian translator worked from the Castilian original or another vernacular, or even Latin, version instead. Both, the Italian text and the English version were mediated by other versions. In some way, the Italian translator, Isselt and Meres collaborated to produce the translation; one translator rendered the Castilian source-text into Italian, another translator rendered this version into Latin and, finally, Meres into English.

2.4 English Renaissance Translations

The remarkable literary florescence we associate with the English Renaissance was in part due to the large body of translations that were published during the last decades of Elizabeth's reign, among which Meres' versions of Luis de Granada are found too. English translation, therefore, constitutes a vital part of the works produced in prose in Early Modern England, but, all too often omitted from serious analyses of early modern writing. Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie's volume, *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* includes a comprehensive list of translations into English published in the period 1550-1660 which contains about 3,000 entries.²⁰⁷ Online databases such as *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* or the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* also allow us to understand Britain's part in the broader European processes of cultural transmission and exchange. Another important volume in that respect is Neil

²⁰⁷ Braden, Cummings, Gillespie 2010, 471-560.

Rhodes' *English Renaissance Translation Theory* (2013).²⁰⁸ Through a selection of passages, this work offers a large body of all the notable translations published during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (between Caxton and Chapman), divided into three sections: 'Translating the Word of God', 'Literary Translation' and 'Translation in the Academy'. Rhodes' introduction together with a bibliography, glossary, index, headnotes and annotations make this volume rather valuable.

The intention of most translators was to provide Englishmen with those works that other men abroad might have. The country was aware of its cultural deficiency with respect to the Continent, and translators were eager to compete with their opponents in letters—as well as in ships and gold—in a moment in which the English language had not established as the dominant language. Gordon Braden insists that early modern translation “moved in a polyglot environment”, crossing and transcending cultural, geographic and linguistic boundaries.²⁰⁹ The English language itself was polyglot, influenced by the foreign and the dialects that crisscrossed it. The vast amount of translations *into* English included in this section is evidence that English was for a long time drastically behind its fellow tongues on the continent and their access to classical antiquity and humanist texts was mediated by the Romance languages: “the translators of Elizabeth’s age [...] sailed the wide ocean of knowledge to plant their colonies of the intellect where they might, or to bring back to our English shores some eloquent stranger, whom their industry had taught to speak with our English tongue.”²¹⁰ In the 1930s Matthiesen voiced the assumption that views translation as an act of patriotism. It facilitated access for the entire nation to knowledge encoded in a different language as it

²⁰⁸ *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* <https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/> [accessed 20 January 2015], *USTC* <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/> [accessed 20 January 2015].

²⁰⁹ Braden 2010, 8.

²¹⁰ Whibley 1964, 1.

enlarged the prestige and authority of the national language.²¹¹ In the context of Renaissance England, translation became a source of patronage and income to writers. The educational system benefitted from its pedagogical uses; i.e. to inculcate language and rhetorical skills, to introduce literature and to teach the craft of translation itself. Roger Ascham's *The Schoolemaster* (1570), which Meres would also use in *Palladis Tamia*, contains detailed treatments of translation, insisting on its benefits for the purposes of teaching Latin and suggesting multiple exercises. For him, translation was the "most common, and most commendable of all other exercises for youth." He recommends the practice to teach foreign languages because it "is easie in the beginning for the scholer, and bringeth all moch learning and great iudgement to the Master".²¹² In addition, most translators began to express the belief that their works would be of use to the country's destiny since their contents would give readers a model on which to base their future thoughts and actions. They were convinced that reading moralizing works had a positive impact on readers, making them more virtuous. This emphasis on the moral, didactic, and exemplary value of certain works made translators show an interest in history or biography; in general, those works from which English readers could learn a model to follow.

In the preface to the translations of the time, translators always put forth the intellectual needs of their fellow citizens to justify the large body of foreign texts rendered into English. John Burchier affirmed in the preface to the first volume of Jean Froissart's *Chronicles* (1523) that he had diligently read "the four volumes or bokes of sir Johan Froyssart of the countrey of Heynaulte written in the French tonge", which he judged "comodyous, necessarie, and profitable to be hadde in Englysshe" because they

²¹¹ Matthiessen 1931, 3.

²¹² *The Schoolemaster* 1570, 33v.

would take great pleasure in seeing, beholding and reading “the highe enterprises, famous actes, and glorious dedes done and atchyued by their valyant auceytours.”²¹³ William Fulwood too, justified his English version of Guglielmo Gratarolo’s *De Memoria reparanda* (1553), arguing that he had been moved by his own “exercise and commoditie”, but above all, by “the common utilitie and profite of my native country.”²¹⁴ Similarly, Wilson also claimed that he had undertaken his translation of Demosthenes’ orations because it would not be profitable if “so noble an Orator and so necessarie a writer for all those that love their Countries libertie, and welfare, to lye hid and unknown: especially in such a daungerous worlde as this is.”²¹⁵ By the end of the century, John Harrington would confess in ‘A Briefe and Summary Allegorie’ within his version of *Orlando furioso* (1591) that he felt proud that in his “youn yeares” (i.e. those in which he was translating Ariosto’s work) he had employed his “idle houres to the good liking of many, and those of the better sort.”²¹⁶ These ideas were also voiced by Richard Hopkins (see section 5.2) and Francis Meres. The latter’s complain of England’s lack of familiarity with the prose of Luis de Granada had implicit the potential national benefits of the translation. But his own contribution to England’s spiritual welfare was explicitly conveyed through the dedicatory of *Granados Spiritual and Heavenlie Exercises* to John Sammes:

I present these diuine and celestiall meditations vnto your Worship, which vnder the title of your protection, may doe as much good in England, as they haue done in Spayne, Portugall, Italy, Fraunce, and Germaine.²¹⁷

²¹³ Bouchier 1523, A2v.

²¹⁴ Fulwood 1562, A6r.

²¹⁵ Wilson 1570, 1v.

²¹⁶ Harrington 1591, Mm2r. The idea of translating as an act of patriotism and development of a nation’s sense of identity also appeared in French writings of the time. See Gutiérrez Sumillera 2010, 234 (note 90).

²¹⁷ *Granados Spiritual and Heavenlie Exercises* 1598, A4r-A4v.

The demand for a translation did not usually come from a printer or publisher, but from individuals who thought that such a work would be in some way useful. To this end, publishers endeavoured to find out what their readers requested and how they could most successfully be attracted. While a few of them might specialize, most publishers endeavoured to attract the attention of the curious and common reader. The publisher would later on commission the translation; a translator, who was not among a publisher's regular payroll, would have to convince the publisher and bookseller that the work would sell. The success of the translated product would also benefit the translator. The French humanist Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517-82) in *L'art poétique française* (1555) noted that "if they translated worthy material well, their author's name will make their own live on. Indeed, it is certainly no small thing to have one's name appear in the right place." Similarly, Philemon Holland introducing his English version of Pliny's *Natural History* (1601) writes that through translation he attempts to become part of what would consolidate as the Elizabethan age. To him, translation was a 'third degree' in which one might achieve enduring fame through being part of that moment.²¹⁸ Meres' recognition that "honour, fame, renowne, and good report [...] make men liue for euer", reveal that he was well aware of this too. His longing for recognition went far beyond any desire for material reward. His translations, apart from being the result of his interest in assisting his country and fellow countrymen's development, were inspired by his intention to raise his status as a professional writer through the reputation the Dominican Granada had achieved in the country.

As already seen in Neil Rhodes's organization of his book in three parts, secular literature provided a large portion of the translations in the period, namely of Latin

²¹⁸ *L'art Poétique* 1555, 31 (English translation taken from Robinson 1997, 106-7). *The Historie of the World* 1601, first page of the preface to the reader.

originals in classical and humanistic texts. French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch and German sources were also translated into English. Thomas Elyot translated works by Isocrates, Plutarch and Lucian. Thomas Hoby produced one of the most significant translations of this period. His English version of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1561, 1577) influenced, among others, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. In 1588, John Wolfe published a trilingual edition of the work which included Castiglione's Italian text, Chappuys' French translation and Hoby's English rendering, though this expensive volume was not as successful as it appears. Peter Burke's groundbreaking work, *The Fortunes of the Courtier* (1995) analyses the reactions and responses to this extremely influential work by readers scattered over a considerable part of the globe.²¹⁹ It itemizes some 125 editions in six languages printed in the period 1528-1619. His evidence proved that English readers had been able to read several Italian versions of the text and had owned and commented different French, Latin and Spanish editions. Thomas Newton and Alexander Neville focused on Seneca. The former translated Seneca's ten tragedies (1581), whereas Neville was responsible for the first English rendering of *Oedipus* (1563). Jasper Heywood too, had previously translated three of Seneca's plays: *Troas* (1559), *Thyestes* (1560) and *Hercules Furens* (1561). John Studley, Thomas Nuce and Arthur Golding also produced works on Seneca. Golding's most important work was, however, his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (1565, 1567), which had a well-known impact upon some of Shakespeare's production. He also translated Leonardo Bruni's *History of Leonard Aretine* (1563) and *The Wars against the Goths* (1565), and he produced the first complete translation of Julius Caesar's *Commentaries* (1565). Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) was drawn from Aristotle, Cicero and

²¹⁹ Mary Partridge has also analysed Hoby's translation (2007, 769-786). See also Daniel Javitch's *The Book of the Courtier* (2002). On Wolfe's trilingual edition see Coldiron 2015, 160-198.

Quintilian and it influenced the art of writing in English. He is also responsible for the first English translation of Demosthenes' *Orationes* (1570). In the dedication of this work, he recognized the difficulty of rendering the classical author either in Latin or English, but he also insisted that English is as good an instrument as any. A similar idea appears in Meres' dedication to Thomas Egerton. Here he complains about England's lack of involvement with Granada's prose, "seeing that elsewhere she had such abundance of worthy Factors, & rich linguists."²²⁰ Other significant translators of the period were Thomas North, who translated Plutarch, *The Morall Philosophie of Doni* (1568), or the *Fables of Bidsai*, and Antonio de Guevara's *Relox de principes* as *The Diall of Princes* (1557); and John Florio, who rendered into English Michael de Montaigne's *Essays* (1603), moved by "his so pleasing passages, so judicious discourses, so delightsome varieties, so persuasive conclusions [...] and above all so elegant a French style." George Chapman too, is best known for his translations of Homer (the *Iliad*, 1611; the *Odyssey*, 1616; and the *Homeric Hymns*, 1616). He also published translations from Petrarch (1612), Musaeus (1616), Hesiod (1618) and Juvenal (1629). Livy's *Romane Historie* (1600), Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* (1600), Plutarch's *Moralia* (1603), Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum* (1606), Ammianus Marcellinus's *The Romane Historie* (1609) and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (1632) were also translated into English by Philemon Holland.²²¹

Religion too, placed heightened demands on the printing industry. It was the grand motivating force for authors, printers, publishers, readers, copyists and translators of an unusually wide range of opinions and ideologies.²²² As Louis Kelly recognizes, the conflicts among different kinds of Christianity energized and shaped important areas

²²⁰ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, a2v.

²²¹ There is more information about these translations in Weissbort & Eysteinnsson 2006, 81-99.

²²² Shell 2010, 418. See also Bennet 1990, 13.

of translation activity of which Bible translation is just one among others. The bitter debates between Protestants and Catholics were informed by their consideration of the relation between Scripture and tradition. While for Catholics these were of equal importance, Protestants viewed Scripture as the sole doctrinal authority. This is the reason why few of the Fathers were translated into English during this period. The exilic version, *A Treatise of Justification* (Louvain 1569), and some of Saint Augustine's works, were the exception. Medieval spiritual writers were also translated for the Catholic market and to persuade Protestant readers to return to the Church. William Atkinson, Richard Whitford and Thomas Carre produced English Catholic versions of Thomas Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*; whereas Thomas Hake in 1567 and Rogers in 1580 biased the text towards a Protestant readership. Catholic devotional books from Spain and France were also rendered into English; Antonio de Guevara, Gaspar de Loarte, and Luis de Granada were the most popular Spanish spiritual writers in Britain. Francisco de Sales' *Introduction to the Devout Life* was the most influential French Catholic book on spirituality. John Yakesley rendered it into English in 1613. Evangelical texts by Calvin and Bullinger as well as the works of other reformed theologians such as Melancton, Theodore Beza and John Gerhard were also rendered into English at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Arthur Golding translated Calvin's commentaries on the *Psalms* (1571), his sermons on *Galatians* and the *Book of Job* (both in 1574), *Ephesians* (1577) and *Deuteronomy* (1583); Bullinger's *A confutation of the Popes* (1572) and Beza's *Tragedie of Abraham's Sacrifice* (1577) also figure among his translations.

3 The Authors

3.1 Luis de Granada, a Dominican preacher

Born in Granada in 1504, Luis de Sarria was educated under the patronage of the counts of Tendilla, Iñigo and Francisca Mendoza. In 1524 he joined the Dominican Order, whose ethos of preaching, contemplation, study and piety would contribute to shape his character and spiritual profile. In 1529 he enrolled in the Colegio de San Gregorio (Valladolid) where he met Bartolomé Carranza and Melchor Cano—the latter of whom would side with the religious authorities against Carranza and Granada in defence of more traditional forms of worship several years later. In Valladolid Luis de Granada combined an advanced education in theology with the secular curriculum of rhetorical humanism. He put both at the service of his preaching abilities after his appointment to a new destination in the Escalaceli convent in Córdoba (ca. 1534-47). In 1551 Granada moved to Évora as adviser to Cardinal-Infante Don Enrique and then as confessor of Queen Catherine of Austria. In Portugal he became a popular preacher and launched his career as a writer with the publication of *Libro de la oración y meditación* (Salamanca: Andrea de Portonaris, 1554), the best exponent of the new wave of northern spirituality defended by Granada and his contemporaries. From this moment, he was indefatigable

in his literary activity.²²³ He wrote in the vernacular, mainly Castilian but also Portuguese, as well as in Latin. He also wrote numerous letters (both in Castilian and Latin) to his contemporaries which give us a more direct, and also personal, account of his ideas and thought.²²⁴ *Libro de la oración y meditación*, *Guía de pecadores*, *Memorial de la vida Cristiana*, *Introducción al símbolo de la fe* or *Doctrina spiritual* are among his most internationally famous and also widely translated Castilian writings. *De officio et moribus episcopum*, *Collectanea moralis philosophiae*, *Conciones de tempore et sanctis*, *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* and *Silva locorum* stand out among those in Latin. The former outnumbered the latter (63,2% as opposed to 36,8%), and though in volume and depth they were similar, his Latin works have not received much scholarly attention.²²⁵

His texts appeared in the religious context of the Counterreformation. At Trent, the chief preoccupations were to bring the divine word closer to the vulgar and to educate a new generation of preachers, most of which had, in fact, little knowledge of the Holy text. In view of this situation, Luis de Granada's works were put at the service of the Church. Richard Hopkins recognized the superior quality of the author's style "for direction both of the learned and vnlearned in spirituall life."²²⁶ The language in which Granada's works were written was determined by their intended readership, and so those written in Latin sought to assist the priesthood. Luis de Granada belonged to the Dominican Order, and as such his intention was to provide doctrinal training, oratorical strategies and contents for his fellow preachers. He composed a series of

²²³ For a complete account of his production see Maximino Llaneza *Bibliografía del VPM Fr. Luis de Granada de la Orden de Predicadores* (1926-1928).

²²⁴ Granada's last letter is dated 5th May 1588, shortly before his death on 31st January of the same year. See Huerga's *Epistolario* (1989).

²²⁵ These figures have been taken from Peláez Berbell 2012, 20.

²²⁶ *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* 1599, 1-2.

manuals to instruct them in the Divine Word, since in his view this was the only means to reform the Church. According to Álvaro Huerga, Granada is a lover and public servant of the word. But he is also a theorist of language as he always reflects on what he does.²²⁷ Granada put a lot of effort in these works. The preface to *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* begins: “Having spent the last ten years, good reader, writing sermons with a lot of effort and wakefulness, once it is almost done with the help of God, I began to carefully think which benefit could I get from so long and arduous labour.”²²⁸ These works targeted a more specialized readership and their content was purely doctrinal and more technical: theory of preaching, such as the *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae*; sources, such as the *Collectanea* and *Silva locorum*; and sermons, such as the *Conciones*. The aim of those written in Castilian was, in contrast, to promote meditation as a means to moral instruction. To this end, the reader had to meditate or reflect on the ideas he had read. These writings targeted a more general readership, and in them Luis de Granada was supported by the conviction that all individuals are destined to reach holiness. Through examples taken from the Bible, the Church Fathers and classical authors, he shows the laity the virtues of the Catholic faith and aspires to make them good and virtuous.

Most of Luis de Granada’s Castilian writings were published between 1554 and 1567. The fact that these precede the Latin series is also a good indicator of the friar’s chief preoccupations. After the success of *Libro de la oración y meditación* came *Guía de pecadores* in two volumes (Lisbon: Johannes Blavio de Colonia, 1556/7), a work that Granada began with part of the material that he could not include in his previous

²²⁷ Huerga 1988, 187.

²²⁸ “Cvm per hosce annos decem, candide Lector, multis laboribus ac vigiliis, concionibus scribendis operam dedissem, iamq; divini numinis beneficio opus esset ad calcem fere perductum, coepi mecum attetius cogitare, quemnam fructu ex hoc tam diuturno & pertinaci labore referre possem.”

work.²²⁹ Both *Libro* and *Guía* were modified after the intervention of the Inquisition and published again in 1566 and 1567, respectively. In the former case, the modifications consisted of minor changes such as the alteration of certain expressions that could be potentially controversial. In the case of *Guía de pecadores*, in contrast, the work underwent a complete transformation, which is the focus of the next section. This new edition achieved great success. It influenced, for instance, French writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—about which more below, too. After the success of these two works came *Manual de diversas oraciones y espirituales ejercicios* (Lisbon: Johannes Blavio de Colonia, 1557). This new book was devised as a concise book about devotion that could be easily handled: “this small gift [...] the smaller it is, the easier to bring and to buy, even if you are poor” (“este pequeño presente [...] cuanto más pequeño, tanto te será más ligero de traer y más fácil de comprar, por pobre que seas”). In order to compile it Granada also recycled some of the most significant prayers and meditations that he had previously included in *Guía de pecadores*. The quotation just mentioned is illustrative of the evangelical and didactic aims of Luis de Granada and of how he deliberately used the material conditions for the production and distribution of printed matter in his own favour. A second edition of *Manual* was issued two years later (Lisbon, Johannes Blavio de Colonia, 1559). The quickness of its publication already suggests his problems with the Inquisition and anticipates the process of self-censorship in which the Dominican author engaged here: the prologue is significantly longer, but more importantly, he eliminated certain inherently controversial references, notably to *Guía de pecadores* and some names, such as Luis Blosio and Serafino da Fermo, whose

²²⁹ “Before finishing, I want to warn the reader that this work is the third part that we promised in the first edition of *Libro de la oración y meditación*, with additional material” (“Resta (para salir de cargo) avisar al cristiano lector que aquí va la tercera parte que prometimos en la primera impresión del *Libro de la oración*, aunque acompañada con otras cosas”). This excerpt was the last paragraph of the prologue of *Guía de Pecadores* (1556).

Obras Espirituales also figured in Valdés' catalogue. In a letter to Carranza dated 25th July 1559 he wrote: "I hope that I could remedy it, at least that [Valdés] allowed me to modify *Libro de la oración y meditación* as he likes it" ("Agora hay esperanza de algun remedio, a lo menos de que me dejará reformar el *Libro de oratione* a su gusto").²³⁰ Still the fact remains that *Libro* and *Guía* were eventually included in the Spanish and Roman Indexes of Prohibited Books (1559). In Rome, his writings were approved by the Council of Trent in 1564. In Spain, the Inquisition could not prove Granada's heterodoxy and he continued publishing until his death. *Memorial de la vida Cristiana* (Lisbon: Francisco Correa, 1565), a new edition of *Libro de la oración y meditación* (Salamanca: Andrea de Portonaris, 1566) and *Guía de pecadores* (Salamanca: Andrea de Portonaris, 1567), *Introducción al simbolo de la fe* (Salamanca: Heirs of Matías Gast, 1583) or *Doctrina Espiritual* (Lisbon: Manuel de Lira, 1587) are among his most famous Castilian writings.

His Latin writings were published roughly during the period 1565-1585, interestingly enough, after the appearance of the Spanish and Roman *Indexes*, and the approval of the Council of Trent. An adequate training of the clergy was now his chief concern. The first in this series was *De officio et moribus episcoporum* (Lisbon: Francisco Correa, 1565), where he defines the ideal bishop.²³¹ 1571 saw the publication of the *Collectanea moralis philosophiae* (Lisbon: Francisco Correa), an anthology of moral philosophical quotations from Seneca (*Prima classis*), Plutarch (*Secunda classis*), Aristotle, Cicero, Pliny and Erasmus in its more heterogeneous section (*Tertia classis*). Its secular content caused a sensation among the friar's contemporaries. "Maybe you will wonder, innocent reader, how being a religious man dedicated myself to writing

²³⁰ Huerga 1989, 35.

²³¹ Full title: *Explicatio copiosior Concionis habitæ in consecratione Reuerendissimi D. Antonii Pinarii viri laudatissimi, de officio & moribus Episcoporum aliorumque prælatorum.*

pious works about praying and divine contemplation, I am, at the end of my life, interested in gentile works.”²³² In the *Collectanaea*, Granada used the commonplace method of organizing the material—see section 3.2.1. The *Collectanea* was followed by a collection of sermons in six volumes under the title *Conciones de tempore et sanctis*, which was fundamental for the renovation of sacred posttridentine oratory. It was one of Luis de Granada’s most internationally famous Latin works registering some seventy editions in the period 1571-1581.²³³ The *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae, siue de ratione concionandi* also went through numerous editions since 1576 when Antonio Ribeiro published in Lisbon the *editio princeps* of the work. It is considered a *magnum opus* of renaissance rhetoric. Azorín, who studied the influence of this work in his *De Granada a Castelar*, considered it was one of the most admirable treatises on aesthetics.²³⁴ The last in the series of Latin works was the *Silva Locorum* (Salamanca: Heirs of Matías Gast, 1585), another florilegium that Luis de Granada began for personal use during his years at Escalaceli (Córdoba) and continued developing it until the end of his life when he decided to offer it to the priesthood. Here Granada used again the commonplace method of organizing the material. The *Silva* was published after the appearance of the papal brief approving his works. In this document, Pope Gregory XIII praised Granada’s “daily and assiduous effort to move men away from vices as well as to attract them to the perfection of life” (“assiduus labor tuus in hominibus tum à vitiis deterrendis, tum ad vitae perfectionem vocandis, suit semper nobis gratissimus”) and he further asked him to finish those works that he had unfinished to the health of the sick,

²³² “Miraberis fortasse candide lector, quid mihi venerit in mentem, ut homo professioni monasticae addictus, quiq, hactenus scribendis piis libellis, ad orationis studium rerumq; divinarum contemplationem pertinentibus, vitam insumpserim: in extrema nunc aetate Gentilium literis implicarer” (preface to the reader within *Collectanea* 1571, 2r).

²³³ See Llana 1926 and Palau y Dulcet 1948-1987.

²³⁴ Azorín 1944, 19.

fortitude of the weak and happiness of the healthy and strong (“[...] quaeque habes inchoata (habere enim te nonnulla accepimus) perficere & proferre ad aegrorum salute, debiliu[m] confirmationem, valentiu[m] & robustoru[m] letitiam”). This text appeared in most of Isselt’s Latin versions of Luis de Granada, probably as a guarantee of Papal approval, and a stamp of quality too. For obvious reasons, Meres omitted it from his translations: not only was this praise coming from the Pope (which would have delegitimized the text in the eyes of the Anglican authorities and many of its English readers). Pope Gregory had also actively supported the foundation of the English college of Rome (see section 4.2).

Luis de Granada also wrote two treatises in Portuguese— *Compendio de doctrina christiaa* (Lisbon: Johannes Blavio de Colonia, 1559) and *Treze sermoes das tres paschoas do anno e das principaes festas* (Lisbon: Johannes Blavio de Colonia, 1559); he translated and annotated Juan Clímaco’s *Escala Espiritual* (Lisbon, Johannes Blavio de Colonia, 1562), edited Bartolomé de los Mártires’ *Stimulus pastorum* (Lisbon: Francisco Correa, 1565) and *Compendium spiritualis doctrinae* (Lisbon: Antonio Ribeiro, 1582), as well as cardinal Enrique’s *Meditações e homilias* (Lisbon: Antonio Ribeiro, 1574). Some attribute to him the Castilian version of Thomas Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ* (Seville, 1536).²³⁵ Álvaro Huerga too, identifies him as the translator of *Perla Preciosísima*.²³⁶

²³⁵ See Tarré 1942. A more recent study on the authorship of the 1536 Castilian edition of the *Imitation of Christ* is Alicia Oiffer-Bonsel’s “Fray Luis de Granada, traductor del *Contemptus Mundi* de Tomás de Kempis: de la noción de translatio a la reelaboración conceptual en la obra del humanista granadino” (2014, 889-903).

²³⁶ The original source of *Perla Preciosísima* has not been established yet. According to some scholars it is a translation of *Evangelische Peerle*, a German work anonymously translated into Latin (1545). There is yet another possible source: Two editions of a work titled *Perla Preciosísima* that had been published in Castile in 1525 and 1551. The latter had been included in the Spanish *Index* of 1559 (Huerga 1998, 651).

3.1.1 *Guía de pecadores 1556/7 and 1567*

Guía de pecadores is an exhortation to virtue, where its readers are prevented against sinful thoughts or actions. The intention of Luis de Granada with this text was to compensate for the evident lack of a book about virtue that could be recommended by preachers to their audiences. In contrast with other similar books about the same matter, Luis de Granada did not focus on the theory but rather on the practice, and as such he described *Guía de Pecadores* as a “familiar preacher at home” that believers had at their disposal at a time of need.²³⁷ He planned the book with three thematic sections. The first of these was a general persuasion to virtue with an emphasis on death, the Day of Judgement, hell and paradise, but also on the benefits of virtue. This is followed by a section on sins and their remedies; and finally, a section on the importance of prayer, sacramental confession and communion. Luis de Granada’s aim was to prepare a manageable pocket book, and he distributed all this material in two volumes. The first volume was published in Lisbon in 1556 and it consisted of the first two sections. To these Luis de Granada added a series of *breues avisos*, initially not envisioned, for a Christian rule of life. The second volume appeared one year later in the same city and it dealt with the last thematic block. Most of these contents were removed in the new edited version of the work that appeared in Salamanca in 1567. The intervention of the Inquisition biased the modifications, but Granada was already planning a new book since the publication of the first volume in 1556; “given that the material within the book cover the topic only superficially, my intention (with the help of God) is to deal with it in another book” (“Esto es lo que en summa contiene este breue compendio: y bien veo que todo ello va tratado con demasiada breuedad: mas mi intencion es (si el

²³⁷ *Guía de Pecadores* 1556, VIr.

Señor fuere seruido) tratar este mismo argumento mas copiosamente en otro libro”), probably because it had been compiled in some haste following the success of *Libro de la oración y meditación*.²³⁸

In contrast to what Luis de Granada did in the first edition of the work, *Guía* 1567 was published in one volume. The work consisted of two books. The first of them was of a theoretical nature and it was composed of three parts: an exhortation to the Ten Commandments, the twelve privileges of Virtue, and a series of answers to those who refuse to embrace it. The second, more practical, book explained the way in which man may come into Virtue, in the first part; and how to exercise it, in the second part. The content was considerably altered; the title and the overall doctrinal basis were some of the few coincidences between *Guía* 1556/7 and *Guía* 1567. Luis de Granada acknowledged that: “this book Christian Reader is newly published, completely modified, by the same author.”²³⁹ One of the most significant differences was the omission of the appendix of *breues auisos* that Granada added at the end of the first volume of 1556. The first *regla de vida Christiana* was taken from Tomás de Villanueva, Archbishop of Valencia. To this followed another *regla* from Juan de Ávila, who had already been in prison in the early decades of the century because of the connection of his preaching to the *illuminist* movement, and whose *Audi, filia* was also censored in 1559 (the text that Luis de Granada included within *Guía de pecadores*, was prefixed to the first edition of Ávila’s work). Finally, Luis de Granada added a summary of Castilian translations of the New Testament: Sermon on the Mount, probably influenced by Constantino Ponce de la Fuente’s translation in his *Suma de doctrina cristiana*, three chapters of the Gospel of John and a paraphrase of some of the Pauline

²³⁸ *Guía de Pecadores* 1556, prologue 6r.

²³⁹ Title page of *Guía de Pecadores*, second edition (1567).

Epistles. These Spanish translations from the Gospel brought him in trouble with the religious authorities as vernacular renderings of the Bible were prohibited since 1554 with the *Censura Generalis*, and Luis de Granada opted to remove this part. While it is true to say that in *Guía* 1567, and in fact in most of his works, the Bible was still a fundamental source to Luis de Granada, he will avoid the translation of entire chapters as he had previously done. The second volume of 1557 was eliminated too in the new edition. Here Luis de Granada made explicit references to the Italian Dominican Girolamo Savonarola (whose Castilian translation of the *Pater Noster* was also condemned by the Spanish Inquisition in 1559) in addition to the emphasis he placed on mental prayer and contemplation. In general terms, the new edition was an extension of *just* the first volume of 1556. The new material was taken from the Bible, the Church Fathers and classical authors, three sources that will constitute the basis of his writings.²⁴⁰ When revising the work, Luis de Granada was more systematic and the book was better structured. Each part was divided and subdivided in sections and subsections that assisted the reader, as did the marginal notes he introduced. The dedicatory epistle to Elvira de Mendoza was maintained in 1567, but the prologue to the reader was replaced with another one where he reduced personal commentaries and is thick with biblical and classical allusions. This is the edition that enjoyed the greatest repercussion and the source employed for Isselt and, therefore, Meres' versions.

The work influenced French authors and translators. Jean Bogard published *La grand guide des pecheurs à vertu* in Douai in 1574 and at least ten French editions of Granada's work appeared in the period 1577-1595. The work was also referenced by Mathurin Regnier in the XIII Satire, 'Macette, Ou l'Hipocrisie deconcertée'. *Guía de pecadores* was one of the books Macette reads to other preachers in her false devotion:

²⁴⁰ Jaime Peláez has studied the presence of these sources in the *Silva Locorum* (Berbell 2012, 77-154).

Élle a mis son amour à la devotion.
Sans art elle s’habille & simple en contenance,
Son teint mortifié presche la continence,
Clergesse elle fait jà la leçon aux prescheurs,
Elle lit saint Bernard, la guide des Pecheurs,
Les meditations de la mere Therese,
Sçait que c’est qu’hypostase, avecque synderese,
Iour & nuict elle va de convent en convent,
Visite les saints lieux se confesse souvent.²⁴¹

The same idea is found in Moliere’s comedy, *Sganarelle ou le cocu imaginaire* (1660), when Gorgibus recommends *Guía de pecadores* to his daughter. Here, the work is described as a “bon livre” that teaches the reader to “bien vivre”:

La Guide des pécheurs est encore un bon livre:
C’est là qu’en peu de temps on apprend à bien vivre;
Et si vous n’aviez lu que ces moralités,
Vous sauriez un peu mieux suivre mes volontés.²⁴²

This work also appeared in ‘Actes de la condamnation des quietistes’ within Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet’s *Instruction sur les Estats d’Oraison* (1697):

Et en la place de ces livres, & de ces manuscripts, vous leur conseillerez de se limiter à la lecture d’un petit Cathechisme approuvé, de l’Introduction à la Vie devote par S.

²⁴¹ *Les Satyres* 1626, 63v (verses 15-24).

“She [Macette] dedicates herself to devotion.
She wears plain clothes; and her countenance is simple.
Her mournful expression declares her chastity.
As a clergywoman she teaches preachers:
She reads Saint Bernard, *The Sinners’ Guide*,
Saint Terese of Avila’s *Meditations*;
She knows what hypostasis and synderesis are;
Day and night she goes from convent to convent;
She visits sacred places, and she confesses people,”

²⁴² Molière 1660, 4.

“*Sinners’ Guide* is a good book:
It is here that you will soon learn to live well;
And if you have read about these morals,
You would have better known to follow my wishes.”

François de Sales: de la Guide des pecheurs par le R. P. Grenade, du petit levre des Pensées chrestiennes, & de celuy de la Vie des Saints.²⁴³

This excerpt belongs to the letter dated 1688 that the bishop of the diocese of Geneva sent to the priests of Chablais warning them about the precautions that they must observe in order not to give access to Quietist tendencies. One of these measures was to control the books read in the parish and among those he recommends is Luis de Granada's *Guía de pecadores*. All these references confirm the impact that his works had on the history of European literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their role in the edification of Christians. Above all, these references are relevant as they demarcate Francis Meres' translation within a widespread attempt to make his works available to an increasingly larger and diverse reading public.

3.2 Francis Meres, an Anglican Priest

The career of Francis Meres (1565-1647) has contributed to form the common conception of the Elizabethan Age as one of the most productive artistic periods in English history. Son of Thomas Meres of Kirton in Holland (Lincolnshire), Meres was born in 1565 to a long-established and well-off family. Aside from this, little is known about his family connections or personal relations.²⁴⁴ In *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (1904), Charlotte Stopes identified him as John Florio's brother-in-law, but interesting as it

²⁴³ Bossuet 1697, diiv (appendix LI-LIX). See Soria Ortega 1992, 10-22 for further details on the influence of Granada in Bossuet.

“Instead of these books and manuscripts [those containing Quietist ideas], you will advise them to limit themselves to reading a small approved Catechism, the introduction to the life of Saint Farnesico de Sales, Luis de Granada's *Sinners' Guide*, small books of Christian thoughts and the life of the Saints.”

²⁴⁴ It is uncertain whether he was baptized on 19 August 1565 in Grantham (Lincolnshire), or on 10 March 1565 in Colsterworth (Lincolnshire). See *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> [accessed 10 January 2015].

could have been, there is no evidence to prove it.²⁴⁵ From the online *Venn database of Cambridge alumni*, we learn that Meres entered Pembroke College (Cambridge) as a sizar in 1584, receiving a B.A. in 1587/8 and two M.A. degrees in 1591 (Cambridge) and 1593 (Oxford). After that, Meres returned to Lincolnshire and lived in Aubourn at the house of his kinsman John Meres, high sheriff of the county in 1596, to whom he was indebted for assistance and advancement in the early part of his career as the English writer recognizes in the dedicatory of *Gods Arithmeticke*:

I referre your Worship to the present discourse [...] hauing a longing desire to make knowne your Worships curtesies extended to mee at your House at Auborne, your forwardness in preferring my successlesse suite to Maister Laurence Meres of Yorke, sometimes of her Maiesties Counsell established for the North, and your willingness and readiness for my longer abode and stay at Cambirdge.²⁴⁶

Lawrence was John Meres' son and he was member of the council in the north, a position that he probably owed to his brothers' connection to the Duchess of Suffolk, Catherine Willoughby.²⁴⁷ Even though Meres sought preferment with his relative, his efforts proved fruitless and eventually he settled in London where he published his works. The fact remained that he did not manage to procure a living with that either, and by 1600, Meres had forsaken literary endeavours for a spiritual life. He was ordained deacon at Colchester on 29 September 1599, and priest the following day. In 1602 he became curate of Teigh (Rutland) and then rector of Wing (Rutland) on 14 July the same year. In the Venn's database he appears as master of Wing Grammar School,

²⁴⁵ See Stopes 1904, xl; See also Greenwood 1916, 117-8.

²⁴⁶ *Gods Arithmeticke* 1597, 6.

²⁴⁷ One of his brothers, Roger, had been lawyer to her first husband, while another, Anthony, went abroad in Mary's reign with the Duchess and her second husband Richard Bertie, knight of the shire for Lincolnshire in 1563. By a settlement with the Duchess's relative Lord Willoughby in 1562, the Berties were confirmed in their possession of the manor of Orford, with Willoughby as their tenant. Consult *The History of Parliament* webpage for further information <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/> [accessed 03 January 2015].

an activity that proved to be more profitable than authorship. There he married Mary (1576/7-1631) and had a son, Edward. Meres died on 29 January 1647.²⁴⁸

His surviving annotated books are some of the few records available of his reading habits, activities, interests and preferences. Jason Scott-Warren has identified in the Library of Peterborough Cathedral about fifteen books that belonged to Francis Meres.²⁴⁹ Some of the earliest books that he acquired were several works by Gabriel Harvey, former Pembroke alumnus. The sammelband that Meres owned included Harvey's *Rhetor, vel duorum dierum oratio, de natura, arte, & exercitatione rhetorica* (1577), *Ciceronianus* (London, 1577) and *Smithus; vel musarum lachrymæ* (London, 1577). Meres also bought Philip Sidney's collection of Cambridge elegies, *Academiae Cantabrigiensis lachrymæ* (London, 1587). Within Meres' collection also figures Polydore Vergil's *Adagiorum* (Basle 1532) and two copies of Palingenius Stellite's *Zodiacus Vitae* (Venice 1536); a Latin copy (London 1574) and Barnaby Googe's English version (London 1588), which he bought for his son—the book was placed in the Roman *Index of Prohibited Books*. He also acquired the influential tract, *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (Basel 1579) and Charles FitzGeoffrey's collection of epigrams and elegies, *Affaniae* (Oxford 1601).

Apart from these, there are titles about preaching and religious controversy among those books formerly in Meres' ownership such as a theological anthology with quotations from Augustine and John Chrysostom, *Theologia* (Schwäbisch Hall, 1539); Lambert Daneau's *Ethices christianae libri tres* (Geneva 1577), a pioneering work of Christian ethics whose aim was to devise a physics based on Scripture; and Johann

²⁴⁸ *A Cambridge Alumni Database* <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/enter.html> [accessed 16 February 2015]. Charlotte Stopes identifies Meres as professor of Rhetoric at Oxford (Stopes 1904, xl). Information about his wife and son is also limited.

²⁴⁹ I am indebted to the help of professor Jason Scott-Warren in this part of the investigation for forwarding me his article "Commonplacings and Originality: Reading Francis Meres" (2017, 902-923).

Brandmuller's collection of funeral and marriage sermons, *Conciones funebres* (Basel, 1596), and *Conciones nuptiales* (Basel, 1595). He also bought Johann Carion's *Chronicorum libellus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1543) that became an important work in Lutheran and Protestant thought. Through these titles we learn that Meres shared reformist tendencies and ideas. Brandmuller's collection was devoted to passages of Scripture deemed appropriate for funeral and marital sermons. The first volume of this kind to be written by a Reformed pastor, Brandmuller applied the goals and priorities of printed sermons collections in the Reformed tradition to a genre that was distinctively Lutheran. In the former case, these were topical sermons or Latin commentaries on the text of scripture and were intended primarily for professional use by the clergy. In the Lutheran tradition, in contrast, sermons were based on the exegetical analysis of the text for the use of both the clergy and laity. The intention of these volumes was to provide pastors with additional theological assistance and guidance when preaching at these events, and which could assist Meres, during his time as rector of Wing, to proclaim the word of God.²⁵⁰ His interests were, however, varied as his acquisition of Robert Bellarmine's *Disputationes* proves. Published at Ingolstadt in several volumes (1581-93), the work is considered the earliest attempt to systematize the various controversies of the time (about Grace, Free Will, Justification or Good Works) and "the definitive defence of papal power."²⁵¹ He bought this copy from Simon Tunne and the fact that Meres had a copy is evidence of how Bellarmine's arguments were received in England.²⁵² William Whitaker's *Disputatitio on Holy Scripture against the Papists, especially Bellarmine and Stapleton* (1588), John Reynolds' course at Oxford, *Adversos*

²⁵⁰ See Burnett 2005, 37-54.

²⁵¹ Springborg 1995, 506 (note 12).

²⁵² According to the information extracted from the Venn's database, Simon Tunne matriculated as a sizar from Christ's College in 1576, receiving his BA in 1579/80. He was ordained deacon (Lincoln) on 15 July 1580 and vicar of Bitchfield on 1606. Consult <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/>

Pontificos Imprimis Bellarminium, or Thomas Hobbes' commentaries within his *Leviathan* are some of the rebuttals Bellarmine's ideas received in this country. Meres might have held the *Disputationes* in high esteem; it was one of the earliest books he bought (on the third of December 1599) and then, in 1636, he gifted this work to his son. On the title page he inscribed "a gift from his father, Francis Meres, rector of Wing" ("Ex dono patris Francis Meres Rectoris de Wing"). According to the information retrieved from the *Newton Library Catalogue*, William Covell's *A Modest and reasonable examination of some things in use in the Church of England* (London 1604), the anonymous *A true and perfect relation of the whole proceedings against the late most barbarous traitors, Garnet a Jesuite, and his confederats* (London 1606) and Thomas Morton's *A full satisfaction concerning a double Romish iniquitie* (London 1606) were other titles that might have belonged to Meres.²⁵³

Jason Scott-Warren has identified certain tendencies in the physical format of the books that Meres possessed. Those acquired second-hand, were volumes properly bound in blind-tooled calf, usually with a roll, a panel or a centrepiece. The binding of those he bought new was more modest. These were bound in vellum, hanging by a thread or not hanging at all. One obvious possibility of this circumstance is that Meres valued plainness and utility over ostentation. An alternative interpretation is, however, that he did not have much money to buy high-quality, and more expensive volumes. His son, like him, entered Trinity College (Cambridge) as a sizar. But as possible as this last inference may be, stab-stitching was the dominant form of binding in this period.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ *Newton Library Catalogue*, http://ul-newton.lib.cam.ac.uk/ywebv/searchBasic?sk=en_US [accessed 10 March 2016]. There is also in the library of Peterborough a copy of the first edition of *Palladis Tamia* as well as copies of Meres' translations. But there is not evidence to prove that they were of Meres' ownership.

²⁵⁴ See Aaron T. Pratt, 'Stab-Stitching and the Status of Early English Playbooks as Literature' (2015, 304-328).

Another interesting feature that Scott-Warren noticed was Meres' way of marking ownership, as some sort of self-announcement. In his books he was "teacher of the arts' academy" ("utriusque academiae in artibus magistri"), "rector of Wing" ("reitoris de Winge") and "Holy preacher" ("sacri verbi concionatoris"). These notes give the impression that he was broadcasting himself in the books he owned just as he broadcasted himself in print when he was "Francis Meres, Maister of Artes, and student in Diuinitie." Meres' annotations on the flyleaves of these books are also interesting. These were commentaries from other people on the work in question. In the case of the *Vindiciae* he includes references to the work in William Watson's *A Decacordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions* (London, 1602), in the pamphlet *Answere to the vicechancelour* (Oxford 1603) or John Donne's *Pseudomartyr* (1610). In the case of Bellarmine's text, he gathered the references to the work in John Reynolds's Conference with John Hart, *The summe of the conference betwene Iohn Rainoldes and Iohn Hart* (London, 1584); Francis Dillingham, *A disswasieue from poperie* (Cambridge, 1599); and William Barlow, *An ansvver to a Catholike English-man* (London, 1609). Meres also cites Philip Woodward, *A detection, of diuers notable vntruthes, contradictions, corruptions, and falsifications* (London, 1602), and William Whitaker, *Disputatio de sacra Scriptura* (Cambridge, 1588). These notes prove that he was keeping up to date with the latest controversies.

Handwritten notes included within them, allowed this scholar to determine that most of these copies had been acquired between 1599 and 1617, save for Gabriel Harvey's works and Vergil's *Adagiorum*, which Meres bought during his stay at Cambridge. There is no evidence, therefore, of any book acquired during his stay in London (ca. 1597-1598). The short but intense time that he spent in this city is the most interesting but also the most uncertain and it would have remained undocumented had it

not been for the appearance of his works.²⁵⁵ Like many other young men of his age, after an education at the University Meres embarked on the newly created, and still precarious, profession of letters. There is some uncertainty however about Meres' first piece of writing. It is widely acknowledged that *Gods Arithmeticke* (London, 1597) was his first publication. It was a brief treatise (36-page long) in which he talks about marriage in mathematical terms. He compares godly addition and multiplication with the devil's operations of subtraction and division. Meres uses the metaphor of 'Gods Arithmeticke' to express the virtues of marriage: "When God had marryed Adam and Eua together, God said to them both, increase, multiplie and replenish the earth". In contrast, "when the Deuill substracted Dalila from Sampson, [...] and diuided Micholl from Daud: this was the Deuils Arithmetick." The work opens with a verse from Ecclesiastes that advises that "two are better than one" and Meres further insisted that "there is no comfort like the comfort of a good wife", that "the presence of the wife, is like the Angell in the midst of the fiery Fornace" or that "the tongue of wife is like the Harpe of Daud".²⁵⁶ This work offers a good portrait of early modern society. *Gods Arithmeticke* appears in a context in which people mistrusted plural attachments and allegiances, a context in which egalitarian models of friendship, marriage and political affiliation were not only unacceptable but also chaotic and destructive: "Just as a body can have only one head [...] so order requires that collectives must have a single leader and that no man should be asked to serve two masters."²⁵⁷ This view also dominated the role of women in marriage. It was, for instance, at the root of the dilemmas female monarchs posed because their relations to their husbands could only be imagined in

²⁵⁵ Samuel Schoenbaum in *William Shakespeare. A Compact Documentary Life* situates him in Botolph Lane (1987, 189). There is no evidence to prove that.

²⁵⁶ Ecclesiastes 4: 9. *Gods Arithmeticke* 1597, C3r; C3v.

²⁵⁷ Dolan 2012, 91.

hierarchical terms. In *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (1558), John Knox argues that a woman cannot advise her husband “because it is against the nature of her kinde, being the inferiour membre to presume to geue any thing to her head.”²⁵⁸ For a queen, a husband threatened to become a rival or substitute head, this circumstance and Mary’s previous (and foreign) marriage help to understand why many people in England opposed a possible union of Elizabeth. Sir Philip Sydney, in a letter to the Queen trying to dissuade her from marrying the Duke of Anjou (1580), he challenges the celebration of addition and multiplication that underpinned early defences of marriage: “The good or evils that will come by it, must be considered either according to your estate or person. To your estate, what can be added to the being an absolute born, and accordingly respected, princess?” Despite Meres’ defence of holy matrimony in this work he too warns that two are only better if the wife is a helpmate for her husband: “But be sure then that she be a *Helper*, be sure *she be good*, for if she be naught, then can I not say that *two are better then one*, but that *one is better then two*, and that it were good for such a man to be alone.”²⁵⁹ Two are not better if they are both heads, i.e. there were many arguments in favor of male rather than dual or female headship in marriage. Though Meres’ discourse within the work apparently promotes marital equality, there are contradictions as the just mentioned excerpt shows. This work and the unusual notion of marriage that it presents certainly call for further research.

Francis Meres had also been identified with the F. M. who contributed two poems for the first edition of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (London 1576)—“Finding Wordly Joys But Vanities He Wished Death” and “Temperance, Spurlina and the Roman

²⁵⁸ Knox 1558, 12r.

²⁵⁹ *Gods Arithmeticke* 1597, C4v.

Ladies”— though these must have been compositions by some other author, since Meres was only eleven at the time this miscellany was published. In later editions of the work (nine editions were published in the period 1576-1606), for instance, the second poem is assigned to “M. Edwardes”, probably Richard Edwards (1525-1566), who was the compiler of the volume.²⁶⁰ There is in Meres’ *Palladis Tamia* another allusion to “Master Edwardes” as “one of Her Majesty’s Chapel”, however this reference was taken *verbatim* from Puttenham’s *Arte of English Poesie*, and it is even doubtful whether he knew whom he was referring to. Whether true or not, the attribution of the authorship of these poems to Meres would explain why Charles FitzGeoffrey described the English writer as “theolog. et poetam” in a poem within his *Affaniae* (1601) and why Edmund Howes too, included Meres in the list of Elizabethan poets that he added to his continuation of John Stow’s *Annales, or a General Chronicle of England* (1615).²⁶¹ FitzGeoffrey’s poem is reproduced below:

AD FRANCISCVM MERESIVM (Theolog. Et Poetam)

Tenè etiam nostras apinas legisse *Meresi*,
 Et nugas aliquid forte purasse meas?
 Meq; Poetarum postremu, si modo quenqua
 In non postrema classe locasse tamen?
 Iam deplorati palmam preciumq; laboris,
 Cùm tibi non videar displicuisse, fero.
 Ergo triumphales ausim deposcere currus,
 Itè meas circum laurea sarta comas:
 Quandoquidem qui *Pieresi Phoeboq;* probatur
 Me probat, et lauru haec timpora digna putat.
 Cur ergo quid mussent plebis suffragia curem,
 Dum me *Patricii Consul* et ipse probet?²⁶²

²⁶⁰ This work, its different editions and the problem of its authorship has been analysed by Hyder Edward Rollins in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576-1606)* (1927).

²⁶¹ Charles FitzGeoffrey had been described as “that high touring Falcon” in Meres’ *Palladis Tamia* (1598, 285v). *The Annales or General Chronicle of England* 1615, 811-812.

²⁶² Dana F. Sutton translated it as: “You to have read my trash, Meres, and perhaps to have purified my trifles somewhat? And yet not to have placed me, the least of poets, if anybody, in your lowest category?”

In Howes' list, on the other hand, Meres appears in the same ranks with other very important and famous poets:

Our moderne, and present excellent poets which worthily flourish in their owne workes, and all of them in my owne knowledge liued together in this Queenes raigne, according to their priorities as neere as I could, I haue orderly set downe (uiz) George Gascoigne Esquire, Thomas Church-yard Esquire, Sir Edward Dyer knight, Edmond Spencer Esquire, Sir Philip Sidney knight, Sir John Harrington knight, Sir Thomas Challoner knight, Sir Francis Bacon knight, and Sir Iohn Davie knight, Master Iohn Lillie Gentleman, Master George Chapman Gentleman, Ma. W. Warner Gentleman, Mast. Wil. Shakespeare Gentleman, Samuell Daniell Esquire, Michael Draiton Esquire, of the bath, Master Christopher Marlo Gen. M Benjamin Iohnson Gent. Iohn Marston Esquire, Master Abraham Francis Gent. Master Francis Meers Gentle. Master Iosua Silvester Gentle. Master Thomas Decker Gentleman, M. Iohn Flecher Gentle. Mast. Iohn Webster Gentleman, Ma. Thomas Heywood Gentleman, M. Thomas Middleton Gentleman, Master George Withers.

Meres' appearance on a par with the most prominent among Elizabethan English poets might suggest that he was probably one of those poets who either circulated his poems in manuscript, or even published them, but they have now been lost. This being the case, Meres was among those who sought patronage, in order to make a living in the world of letters. When he could not find it, he then decided to take up orders. At this stage, this is just a working hypothesis because there is no other evidence of Meres' work as a poet. The reader can confirm, however, that the information contained in the above quoted excerpts contextualizes him very clearly within the literary circles of London.

Now I win the palm and reward of my effort, given up as lost, as I seem not to have displeased you. I should dare demand a triumphal chariot; come, laurel garlands, surround my hair, since he who is approved by Phoebus and the Muses approves of me, and deems these temples worthy of the laurel. Why should I care about the rabble's muttered opinions, when the patricians and the consul himself give their approval?" (See *University of Birmingham* <<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/>> [accessed 20 July 2016]). To consult the Latin text, see also Grosart 1881, xi.

His most famous writing, or at least the most discussed, is *Palladis Tamia* (London: Cuthbert Burby, 1598), an anthology of similitudes on religion and morals that responds to the monotonous formula “As A so B” and which were, for the most part, drawn from Erasmus’ *Parabolae sive similiae*, grammar school books such as Ravisius Textor’s *Officina*, John Lily’s *Euphues* or Luis de Granada’s *Guía de pecadores* and *Libro de la oración y meditación*. The “Comparatiue Discourse” within the book was his section on English literature and it has been the part that has received more critical attention. A survey of contemporary literary output in England, Meres’ praise of William Shakespeare and his literary production has intensified the interest on the work in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Aside from these, Meres’ production is centred on Luis de Granada’s devotional texts. His efforts were remarkable. The same year of the publication of *Palladis Tamia*, he published three works rendered from Granada’s spiritual writings: *The Sinners Gvyde*, his translation of *Guía de pecadores*; *Granados Devotion*, an English rendering of a selection from the second part of *Libro de la oración y meditación*; and a third work, *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises*, a translation of another section of the second part of *Libro*.²⁶³ This book went through a second edition in 1600, and another edition of *The Sinners Gvyde* appeared in 1614. There are some interesting features in these new editions that throw light on Meres’ different aims in each of them. The second edition of *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* was very close in time to his other publications. Its most remarkable aspect was its printer and publisher, and its place of publication. The work was printed in Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave, who was at the time King’s Printer. Waldegrave had also been, a few years before, an

²⁶³ *The Sinners Gvyde* (London: Paul Linley and John Flasket, 1598); *Granados Devotion* (London: Cuthbert Burby, 1598); *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* (London: Isaac Bing, 1598).

active participant in the Marprelate controversy back in London. The Edinburgh edition presents some changes: the two dedications were eliminated, one to John Sammes, the other to a woman, *Judith Kinaston* (sic); the title page is more elevated and solemn in style and it is the only case in which Meres' name does not figure in the title page.²⁶⁴ The modifications found in the title page may result from the intervention of its publisher, since once he had bought the copy, he could determine its overall content. The second edition of *The Sinners Gvyde* was published sixteen years after its original publication when Meres had already become rector of Wing. It was published in London and there are just minor changes in terms of illustrations. While in this work Meres will position himself in favour of England's Anglican Church and against the Puritan movement it is surprising that a Protestant of strong puritan predilections was the printer and publisher of the second edition of another of his works. This invites speculation. Did Meres know about Waldegrave's past religious affiliation and problems? Was he inspired by his doctrinal position? Or was he simply interested in the publisher's prestige? It is difficult to answer these questions with certainty. We could hypothesize, however, that Waldegrave's authority influenced Meres' decision. In 1600 Meres had recently published his translations and it will take him a while to go into a profession. He might have been moved by his desire to gain a reputation as an author and a scholar, because as the King's Printer, Waldegrave had obviously a special place among his fellows. In contrast, by 1614, Meres was established as a rector, therefore, the second edition of *The Sinners Gvyde* suggests on the one hand, Meres' interest in this work, and on the other that there was certainly a demand for it among English audiences. Waldegrave as the printer not just of Meres' rendering but also of another translation of one of Luis de Granada's works, M. K.'s second edition of *The*

²⁶⁴ The identity of this woman has not been established yet.

Conversion of a sinner (1599) calls for further research. *Palladis Tamia* also went through two new editions (1634/1636) but it is not clear whether Meres intervened in them. When he finished his last translations, his literary interests were completely abandoned; he was ordained priest and dedicated his life to religious services. A lament that he wrote in 1631 upon his wife's death is the only piece of writing by Meres' pen until his death in 1647. There is also a "Fr. Meares" who prefixed a Latin epigram to Thomas Randolph's drama, *The Jealous Lovers* (presented in Trinity College before King Charles and the Queen in 1632), though there is no definite evidence to connect him with Francis Meres.²⁶⁵

There are some hypotheses about the works' date of composition. On the second of August 1597 *The Sinners Gvyde* entered the Stationers' Register, on 28 March 1598 *Granados Devotion*, and on 6 November 1598 *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises*. In just over a year, Meres translated three works by Luis de Granada and at least *The Sinners Gvyde* might have been finished when he settled in London. The hypothesis in this study is that he knew Granada's works before he moved to this city, that he read his works at university and that he decided to settle there with the intention of publishing his writings, including his commonplace book, which entered the register on 7 September 1598. When Paul Linley and John Flasket published *The Sinners Gvyde*, Meres' first published translation, the English translator had failed in his attempt at an important position with the help of his relatives, John and Lawrence Meres, and he had spent some three or four years (roughly between 1593 and 1597) in Auburn apparently out of work, a time which he could have dedicated to his translations. At this time too, he might have already written *Gods Arithmeticke*. It is possible, however, that he finished the *Palladis*, or rather the "Comparatiue Discourse", in London. This part

²⁶⁵ For an analysis of this work see Chainey 1985, 29-40.

might have been a last-minute inclusion within the work before it was sold to the publisher. The hypothesis in this case is that Meres began the compilation of his anthology during his years at Cambridge and Oxford, as part of the humanist curriculum of education, and that he finished it in London. In this city he met a buoyant book market, both in terms of national production and importations, and he came in contact with England's literary greatness. It would not be unreasonable to imagine him wandering about St Paul's Churchyard, going to the theatre or avidly reading Edmund Spenser, John Lyly, Sir Philip Sidney, Christopher Marlowe or William Shakespeare, in general those works of his contemporaries that he reproduced in the "Comparative Discourse".²⁶⁶ In this part, Meres continued to practice what he did in the rest of his book: he took a number of quotations from other sources that he ordered according to subjects (literature, painting and music). In this case the sources of the quotations he took were to a large extent in English (instead of Latin), save for Textor's *Officina*, but Meres did not list them. This act of unacknowledged attribution, as well as the flaws that he commits in its compilation (about which more below), seem to be motivated by his haste to complete this part. Meres might have wanted to have it ready to be added to the rest of the anthology before its publication, rather than to be interested in attributing himself the effort of compiling one of the few existing surveys of contemporary English literature.²⁶⁷

When we analyse Meres' production, it is apparent that his acquaintance with Spanish literature, other than Luis de Granada, was non-existent. If we compare, for instance, *Palladis Tamia* to Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetoric* (1588) we will

²⁶⁶ See Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (2004, 81, 180); and Katherine Duncan-Jones, "Francis Meres, Playgoer" (2009, 579).

²⁶⁷ Robert Detobel and K. C. Ligon have analysed some of the flaws Meres' committed in the compilation of this part (2009, 123-137).

notice in Meres' text his ignorance of Spanish letters. While Fraunce's manual is thick with allusions to Garcilaso and Boscán, in Meres' commonplace there are just two references to Spanish authors.²⁶⁸ The first of these was to Juan Luis Vives. He took from him two quotations from *Introductio ad Sapientiam*: "As a brazen wall is a good defence vnto a Citie: so is a good conscience vnto a man. *Lodouicus Viues introductione ad sapientiam capite vltimo*", and "As estimation many times springs from the foolish opinion of the people, and not from desert: so doth nobility. *Lodo. Viues in introductione ad Sapientiam. cap. 3.*"²⁶⁹ Vives was just seventeen when his father sent him to study at the Sorbonne, and he went on to Bruges and England. He always wrote in Latin and it is doubtful whether Meres knew that the person he was referring to was born in Spain. The other reference to a Spanish author was to Gonzalo Pérez within the "Comparative Discourse":

As Consalvo Perez, that excellent learned man, and secretary to King Philip of Spain, in translating the "Ulysses" of Homer out of Greek into Spanish, hath by good judgement, avoided the fault of rhyming, although not fully hit perfect and true versifying: so hath Henry Howard, that true noble Earl of Surrey, in translating the fourth book of Virgil's *Aeneas*.²⁷⁰

Gonzalo was the father of Antonio Pérez, secretary of king Philip II since 1543, but, once again, it is doubtful whether Meres knew whom he was referring to here because the above quoted excerpt had been taken almost literally from Roger Ascham's *The Schoolmaster*.²⁷¹ Such a proceeding was usual in the compilation of a commonplace,

²⁶⁸ Meres also referred to Abraham Fraunce in *Palladis Tamia* as one of the best pastoral poets together with Sidney, Thomas Chaloner, Spenser, Stephen Gosson and Richard Barnfield (1598, 284r).

²⁶⁹ *Palladis Tamia* 1598, 56v, 212v.

²⁷⁰ *Palladis* 1598, 279v.

²⁷¹ The passage in Ascham's text reads: "The noble Lord *Th.* Earle of Surrey, first of all English men, in translating the fourth booke of *Virgill*: and *Gonsalvo Periz* that excellent learned man, and Secretarie to

save for the fact that Meres did not acknowledge the source. Besides Meres' method of composition in the *Palladis*, this passage evinces that his acquaintance with Spanish works was neither extensive nor first-hand, if indeed it ever went beyond the Latin versions of Luis de Granada. His knowledge of the Dominican friar was not strange. Granada's texts were the first religious writings to be read in the country and at least four English editions of his works had already been published prior to Meres' renderings of 1598 (two of them in the continent by Richard Hopkins and two anonymous editions in London in 1592 and 1596). The English translator was aware of Granada's international success and he had some knowledge about the distinctive character of his style and rhetorical elocution: "he seems to me another Cicero", claimed the English author in the dedicatory of *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises*, whereas in *Granados Devotion* he is presented as a "rare and matchlesse Diuine."²⁷² There is a striking similarity between Meres' judgement about the Ciceronian style of Luis de Granada and the dedicatory that Michael ab Isselt added to his translation of *Libro de la oración y meditación*. Isselt wrote: "His discourses, elegantly written, stand out as if they were written by Cicero. The reader will trust his doctrine as if they came from Paul" ("extant illius conciones, quasipse latinè tam eleganter conscripsit; vt si stylum consideres, Ciceronem: si dogmata, Paulum ipsum te legere arbitraris"). In Meres' work we read: "for stile hee seemes to mee another Cicero, and for sounde and emphaticall perswasion, a second Paule."²⁷³ Meres's dedicatory was not a close translation from Isselt's text; however, he took from it those passages he

kyng *Philip of Spaine*, in translating the *Ulisses* of *Homer* out of *Greke* into *Spanish*, haue both, by good iudgement, auoyded the fault of Ryming, yet neither of them hath fullie hite perfite and trew versifyng" (*The Schoolemaster* 1570, 61r-v).

²⁷² *Granados Devotion* 1598, A4r.

²⁷³ *Lodoici Granatensis Exercitia* 1598, 5r; *Granadaos Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* 1598, A4v.

considered useful. The fact that he chose to exalt the Ciceronian qualities of Granada's prose is rather relevant and it must be approached within Meres' own context.

Sir Thomas Elyot's statement that only "a manner, a shadowe or figure of auncient rhetorike" was present in the legal training highlights a more pervasive dilemma for sixteenth-century vernacular writers about the absence of linguistic elegance in English works.²⁷⁴ How to make the English language eloquent was the challenge taken up by many poets, playwrights, prose writers and translators too.²⁷⁵ Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553, 1560) is considered the first English treatise on rhetoric. In this work, he condemns England to rhetorical mediocrity and treats English as an insular tongue. Far from being something negative, he claims that such insularity and remoteness have preserved it from moral degradation, political coercion and overseas language. Its peculiar geography is not the impediment to England's literary ambition but the condition necessary for its fulfilment. In consonance with Cicero's five canons of Rhetoric, Wilson required in an orator the arts of (1) invention, (2) disposition of matter, (3) elocution, (4) memorie and (5) utterance. Of these, he considers elocution the procedure to "beautifie the cause", "an applying of apte words and sentences to the matter, founde out to confirme [it]."²⁷⁶ This and other similar rhetorical guides such as George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), were used by early modern English writers to write eloquent texts. In his work, Puttenham advised writers to use the "vsuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. Myles, and not much about."²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ *The Governour* 1531, fol. 56r-56v.

²⁷⁵ Nicholson 2013, 10.

²⁷⁶ Wilson 1553, fol. 3v-4r.

²⁷⁷ *The Arte of English Poesie* 1589, 121.

The appearance of John Lyly's *Euphues* (1578) was also central to Elizabethan writers. His richly ornamented, densely patterned style produced a host of imitators, and a mixed set of critical responses. William Webbe presents Lyly as a "manifest example [...] which Eloquence hath attained in our speech" and he further insists that "there is none that will gainsay, but Master *John Lilly* hath deserued moste high commendations, as he which hath stept one steppe further therein then any either before or since he first began the wyttie discourse of his *Euphues*".²⁷⁸ Lodge's *Rosalynde, or Euphues Golden Legacy* (1590) was one of the best tributes to the style that Lyly had made so popular, and of which this work affords abundant illustration. There were others, in contrast, to whom this fashion was an object of ridicule. Warner, in his *Albion's England*, complained about an 'error' "hatching in our English, that to runne on the Letter, we often runne from the Matter: and being ouer prodigall in Similies, wee become lesse profitable in Sentences and more prolixious to Sense." Gabriel Harvey too recognized that "Euphues hatched the egges, that his elder freendes laide, (surely Euphues was someway a pretty fellow: would God, Lilly had alwaies bene Euphues, and neuer Pap-hatchet;)"²⁷⁹.

Katherine Wilson maintains that Lyly's intention appears to have been to imitate George Gascoigne in the prose romance *The Adventures passed by Master F. J.* (1573, with a new revised edition in 1575). In this complex work, Gascoigne interlaces different kinds of writing and literary puzzles apparently designed to enmesh the reader. This book earned him instant notoriety and Lyly might have aimed at writing a fiction, which would cause a stir in influential circles and gain a place in the establishment for

²⁷⁸ *Discourse of English Poetrie* 1586, C1v.

²⁷⁹ *Albion's England* 1586, 'To the Reader'. *Pierces supererogation* 1593, 69.

its author.²⁸⁰ He did find a patron and the *Anatomy* set the fashion for a generation of writers. The English study of rhetoric in the literary coteries of the time also provides an indication of *Euphuism*'s origin. One of the most prominent features of Lyly's style was his use of metaphors and similes to decorate the text. Some of these are drawn from nature as the examples below show:

If the Gods thoughte no scorne to become beastes, to obtayne their best beloued, shall *Euphues* be so nyce in chaunging his coppie to gayne his Lady?

If brute beastes giue vs ensamples that those are most to be lyked, of whome we are best beloued, or if the Princesse of beautye *Venus*, and hir heyres *Helen*, and *Cornelia*, shewe that our affection standeth on our free wyll: then am I rather to bee excused then accused.

To the entente therefore that all younge gentlemen might shunne my former losenesse I haue set it downe, and that all might follow my future lyfe, I meane héere to shewe what fathers shoulde doe, what children shoulde followe, desiring them both not reiecte it bicause it procéedeth from one which hath bene lewde, no more then if they woulde neglect the golde bycause it lyeth in the durtye earthe or the pure wyne for that it commeth out of an homely presse, or the precious stone *Aetites* which is ounde in the filthy neastes of the *Eagle*, or the precious gemme *Draconites* that is euer taken out of the heade of the poysoned Dragon.

I haue read of the milke of a Tygresse that the more salte there is throwne into it the fresher it is, and it may be that thou hast eyther eaten of that milke, or that thou arte the Whelpe of that Monster.

The tenor of these similitudes resembles to Wilson's words in *Arte of Rhetorique*. In this work readers were taught that "a Similitude is a likenesse when .ij. thynges, or mo then two, are so compared and resembled together, that thei bothe in some one propertie seme like." He also advised his readers where to find matter to build their comparisons, "oftentimes brute beastes, and thynges that haue no life, minister greate matter in this behalfe. Therefore those that delite to proue thynges by similitudes, must learne to

²⁸⁰ Wilson 2013, 174-5.

knowe the nature of diuerse beastes, of metalles, of stones and al suche.”²⁸¹ These sources also heled Meres to create similitudes. In the letter to the reader within *The Sinners Gvyde* he compares the beasts that cosmographers find when looking for precious stones with the conflicts English translators face when translating Luis de Granada’s Catholic texts:

Cosmographers write, that in the Mountaines of *Albania*, and *Hircania*, Countries of *Scythia*, there are found the best and freshest Emeralds, the purest Christall, much gold & precious stones, but these Mountaines are encircled with huge woods, wherein are abundance of fierce and cruell wilde beastes, as Gryphons; Leopards, Tygers, Panthers, and Dogs of that fiercenes and greatnes, that they pull downe Bulls, and slay Lyons.²⁸²

It is probable that Meres read Wilson’s book at university, but he was also familiar with Lyly’s production. Even though Webbe’s, and even Lodge, promotion of *Euphuism* might have influenced Meres when he named Lyly “eloquent and wittie” in the ‘Comparatiue Discourse’, the English translator might have read the *Anatomy of Wit* as he included several *verbatim* quotations from Lyly’s text in *Palladis Tamia*:

The tree *Siluacenda* beareth no fruit in *Pharo*: the Persian tree in *Rhodes* doth only wax greene, but neuer bring forth apple: *Amonius* and *Nardus* will onely grow in *India*: *Balsamum* only in *Syria*: in *Rhodes* no Egle will build her nest: no Owle liue in *Creete*: so no wit will spring in the will of women. *John Lily*.

Muske though it be sweet in the smell, is sowre in the smacke; the leafe of the Cedar Tree, though it bee faire to bee seene, yet the sirrur depriueth sight: so friendship though it be plighted by shaking the ha~d, yet many times it is shaken off by fraud of the heart. *John Lily*.²⁸³

Euphuies’s conventions were on the wane at the end of the sixteenth century (see *Romeo and Juliet*’s Act I, scene 2, lines 34-61), but there were many who still praised it

²⁸¹ *Euphuies* 1580, 31v, 33v-34r, 41r, 71r; Wilson 1553, fol. 100v.

²⁸² *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiiv.

²⁸³ *Euphuies* 1580, 42v, 30r. *Palladis Tamia* 1598, 45v, 118v. See also page 283v of the same work.

and Meres might have found some of its features attractive. Schoenbaum too noticed this influence when he referred to Meres as a “writer of pronounced euphuistic tendencies”²⁸⁴ The rhetoric that Meres employed was similar to that of Lyly, i.e. metaphors, hyperboles and above all similes. The latter is the central rhetorical device in its anthology, as he declared in the dedicatory to Thomas Eliot: “all the force of wit flows within three channels [...] A Sentence, a Similitude, and an Example”, but also in his translations.²⁸⁵ This too, establishes a connection with Meres’ choice of Luis de Granada’s texts.

In a context in which English writers were worried about rhetoric and eloquence and Lyly’s style produced a popular sensation, Luis de Granada’s works were rendered into English. Among the rhetorical devices that the Spanish writer used, similes stand out above the rest, just in *Guía de Pecadores* there were more than a hundred. In the *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* Granada defined *Similitudo* as a “sentence that is transferred from a similar to a dissimilar thing” (“oratio traducens ad rem quampiam aliquid ex re dispare simile”), which it is used “for the purposes of adornment, evidence, to speak plainly, or to show something clearly” (“Ea sumitur aut ornandi causa, aut probandi, aut apertius dicendi, aut ante oculos ponendi”).²⁸⁶ He valued in them their power of representation, rather than their capacity to confer beauty, and through comparisons this author persuades his readers and makes his arguments more accessible. It is for this reason that he warned, “similes should not be taken neither from sordid or modest things, nor obscure or too subtle ones difficult to grasp. The former type complicates

²⁸⁴ Schoenbaum 1970, 53.

²⁸⁵ We have not had access to the dedicatory of *Palladis Tamia*, this remark is taken from Robert Sawyer’s *Marlowe and Shakespeare* (2017, 50). In this work, Sawyer analyses Meres’s *Palladis Tamia* and John Stow’s *The Survey of London* (1598) as parallel works in terms of the rhetorical devices employed.

²⁸⁶ *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* 1576, 246.

prayer and the other makes it obscure. Both make difficult the aim to which this figure was devised” (“Meminerit tamen nequaquam ex rebus sordibus & humilibus, neque item ex obscuris, nimiumque subtilibus & ad intelligendum difficilibus similitudines sumendas esse: illud, quia orationem sordid me; hoc vero, quia obscurant: & in id praecipue nocent, ad quod similitudo reperta est”).²⁸⁷ In extension these similes varied greatly, but in general, they tended to be long. His sources were mainly the Bible, the Fathers of the Church and classical authors—the *Collectanea*, and later on the *Silva*, provided him with abundance of useful examples— but also his own experience and milieu. These are some examples taken from Meres’ version:

For they (as Plutarch sayth) that teach that vertue is to be embraced, but deliuer not the way and manner how to attaine vnto it, they doe as those that light a Lampe to burne, but poure in no oyle.

Euen as therefore there can nothing happen worsor, or more heauily to a woman, then to be forsaken and diuorced from her husband; nor to a Vineyard, then to be neglected of the Lord, and no more to be trimmed [...] so nothing can happen worse to a soule, then to be forsaken of God.

For euen as a ship is not safe without ballas or lastage; (for it is easily tossed with euerie winde, nowe no this side, and now on that to the great danger of the shyp) so is the soule endangered, which lacketh the ballas & burthen of the diuine feare.

Other comparisons also focused on animals much in line with Wilson’s statement above:

This is not the voyce of a Christian, but of an Ethnick, yea rather of a Beast.

For in this wee are like vnto Swine feeding vnder an Oake, who when their Keeper climeth into the tree, and beateth downe the Acorns with his whyp or staffe, they are onely busied in eating, and grunting, pushing at one another, and seeking to driue one another from their meate, neuer looking or respecting who gaue them this meate, neither

²⁸⁷ *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* 1576, 248.

know they how to looke vp, that they may see from whose hands this benefite discended.²⁸⁸

Luis de Granada's eloquence and classicism awarded him a place within the great classics of the Castilian language and his literary richness was on a par with the most excellent Renaissance classics.²⁸⁹ In Europe these qualities intensified the effect of his words and secured them a hearing among a public who did not find the tone of other Spanish religious writers as appealing. In England too, Granada's qualities granted him a unique welcome and he became the most popular peninsular author translated during the last years of Elizabeth's reign. His Catholicism was not acceptable to the Anglican establishment of the country, but such a religious situation should not hinder English translators' from dealing with the works of one the most, if not the most, eloquent devotional writer of sixteenth-century Europe. The changes that Meres introduced in *The Sinners Gvyde* result from the approximation of works to be inserted within a different context with a different confessional ideology. The English translator had to tailor his literary production to the political and religious conflicts of his own time, or to England's own 'universe of discourse', in order to win the favour of the ecclesiastical authorities and an English audience eager for evangelical literature and the distinctly style typical of, both Lyly and Luis de Granada. The way in which Meres managed a series of untranslatables became part of a wider range of practices that aimed at the promotion of certain reading strategies and, beyond that, served policies of cultural appropriation and national construction. An initial hypothesis considers Meres and his translations the epitome of the religious diversity that defines the sixteenth century. As such he might have been proposing a kind of *via media* with respect to religious values

²⁸⁸ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 2nd and 3rd page of the prologue, 103v, 231r and 19v. *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 5r, 202-3, 430-1, 37; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 2, 147, 300, 34, 309.

²⁸⁹ Alonso del Campo 1990, 34.

and doctrines. However, it seems that religious zeal was not Meres' prime interest when translating Luis de Granada. At least at the time of the translation, his religious beliefs appear to be uncertain (he seems to share Catholic, Puritan or Anglican ideas). But the fact that he became an Anglican priest would appear to put paid to any speculation about his religious allegiance. The modifications that we find in *The Sinners Gvyde* are solid proof that he tried to gain the favour of the Elizabethan establishment to belong within the literary circles of his own time, by inscribing internationally famous works of devotional prose such as Luis de Granada's texts within his own intellectual and religious milieu and by consecrating his contemporaries, mainly William Shakespeare as an author of the first order in his *Palladis Tamia*.

3.2.1 The Practice of Commonplacing

Commonplace books were a means of storing information. In the most general sense, these individually compiled books contain a collection of significant or well-known passages that have been copied and organized often under topical or thematic headings. The habit was inherited from the middle ages, from the idea of *loci communes* ('common places'). Prior to the appearance of mass-production, books had always been considered luxury items that very few people could afford. They were placed in libraries and churches to consult them and their readers became accustomed to copy information of importance, to form personal anthologies that came to be known as commonplaces.

The *loci* concept figured within the pedagogical programme and the set of rhetorical strategies advocated by Renaissance humanists such as Lorenzo Valla and Rudolph Agricola. Their reform consisted in the more comprehensive analysis of Latin grammar and language, attempts to introduce the study of Greek and Hebrew, and

initiatives to improve the traditional preeminence of Aristotelian logic in a humanist fashion. To that end, they found useful the notion of *loci* or topics. Valla's *Repastinatio Dialecticae et Philosophiae* (1439) and Agricola *De inventione dialectica* (1515), laid the foundations of the new school of humanist dialectic. Lodi Nauta has defined the former as a "highly interesting but difficult and poorly understood work on philosophy and dialectic".²⁹⁰ Valla's project was to supplant Aristotelian scholastic metaphysics by a humanist model based on a combination of grammar, rhetoric and logic. Among other things, Valla opposed to the formalism of Aristotle's approach to argument and proposition. He developed, in the second book of this work, the 'theory of topic' that became central to his curriculum. Though most of his ideas were taken from Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*. For him, arguments were discovered through the topics; they were then expressed in various forms. The strength of an argument derived not from the form in which it was expressed but from the strength of the connection established through the topics and from the writers' skill in choosing words. Valla attempted to solve difficulties in argument by evoking the context in which a sentence must have been uttered. Valla's 'reworking' of dialectic provided a system for classifying oratorical material, which was more useful for purposes of analysis and argument, and more flexible than analytic syllogistic reasoning. The material was organized according to its appropriateness for a range of strategies used in debating, of which the syllogism was only one.²⁹¹ The *Repastinatio*, however, did not achieve much influence.

²⁹⁰ Nauta 2009, 1. Roest 2003, 115-148.

²⁹¹ Jardine 2000, 799-800. On the relationship between dialectic and rhetoric see the recent work of Bruce McComiskey, *Dialectical Rhetoric* (2015). See also Gersh and Roest, *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reform* (2003) and Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380-1620* (2011).

Agricola's work was, in contrast, fundamental for a history of the commonplace method of composition. He re-established the logical basis for the practice, which he understood as a means of appropriating the cultural code and the foundation of authentic discourse. In *De inventione dialectica* Agricola replaced rigorous medieval logic with a method of rhetorical invention based on the 'places', a list of categories of relationship that could be used to analyse a topic and come up with ideas and arguments suitable to it.²⁹² Agricola's new and extensive treatment of the topics builds on Cicero's *Topica* or Boethius' *De Topicis Differentiis*. Like Valla, Agricola also agreed that the traditional account of dialectic placed too much emphasis on the formal analysis of terms and propositions leading up to the discussion of syllogism, to the detriment of *inventio*, i.e. the study of procedures for selecting and classifying material on any subject prior to the development of such material in formal or informal discussion.²⁹³ In *De Inventione dialectica* he develops a technique of finding arguments in which he synthesized the elements from the *trivium* into one system of topical invention. His intention was to show how arguments could be found by using a set of places or topics. These topics would act as a remembered group of signs, pointing the mind to speculations about particular things, which may turn out to fit in with what the speaker wants to say. While these speculations will be regulated by the speaker's intention, and will derive from the matter in hand, the topics will provide a fixed list of manoeuvres for the mind to attempt. Familiarity with the topics, he insists, is acquired by analysing the arguments found while reading the best authors, by reconstructing the argumentative structures implied and by labelling the topical relationships underlying them. With this, logic becomes a much more practical tool than it was before, a tool that aids a student not

²⁹² Crane 1993, 17.

²⁹³ Jardine 2000, 800-802.

only in organizing any type of discourse but also in analysing a text in terms of its underlying questions and argumentative structure. The book was one of the most influential works in the history of Renaissance thinking on language and argumentation. It exercised considerable influence on major humanists such as Vives, Erasmus, Melanchthon or Peter Ramus.²⁹⁴ Agricola's principles also influenced Luis de Granada's *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica*. The Spanish author quoted Agricola's insistence on the difficulty to persuade and convince the audience: "and certainly, to teach, as Rudolph said, is an easy task which any person with little understanding can do, but to convince with empathy to the audience, to transform their view as you please, to move them to your words, to have them expentant, this is only possible to those great and ingenious people favoured by the muses." Granada also used Agricola's notion of topic in the fifth chapter of the second book dedicated to the places "where we find the arguments to deal with the matter", he claims: "Dialectics and Rhetoricians called this *locos*, because they extract from them, and their places, as if it were a storehouse, all the arguments needed to prove or to amplify. Of this, Aristotles, Cicero, Boecio and other important writers, in these times Rudolph Agricola, have written profusely." He uses again Agricola's authority to explain the difference between artificial and real places. In this case Granada uses a quotation that Agricola included in the first book of *De invention dialectica*, chapter XXIII: "Whom most rightly wears the harness is difficult to know because each of them is defended by a great Judge. The victorious cause pleased God; but the gained cause pleased Caton" ("Quis justius induit arma, / Scire nefas: magno se iudice quisque tuetur: / Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa

²⁹⁴ For more information on the theory of topic see Mack 2011.

Catoni”).²⁹⁵ The *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica* is also evidence of the influence of the new rhetoric advocated by Agricola and his followers. Within this work, Luis de Granada focuses the attention on *elocutio* and *pronunciatio*, which were, according to the Spanish author, the most important parts in a discourse. He considered that illiterate people were not able to understand the dignity of ideas, but they would believe what the preacher/orator says if he knows how to convey these ideas. This was the idea that he took from Agricola in the first quotation mentioned above. *Elocutio* and *pronunciatio* were the two parts of a discourse that these humanists gave to rhetoric, whereas *inventio* and *dispositio* belonged to dialectic and *memoria* was common to both. This would also explain why Granada obviated memory from his work, whereas the other two are briefly mentioned.

The commonplace book produced “a ‘circle’ of learning” that “satisfied the thirst for accumulating universal knowledge, so characteristic of the Renaissance writers.” It became “a central [form] of transaction with classical antiquity” that “provided an influential model for authorial practice and authoritative self-fashioning.”²⁹⁶ Early modern educators would use the commonplace book as an educational device and tool that served both to advance the learning of languages and to achieve eloquence.²⁹⁷ This study aid was often praised for giving students the possibility to navigate more efficiently a vast sea of learning and to re-shape a foreign language to their purposes. This method would make alien wisdom more easily accessible, and it also enabled writers to extract passages out of context so that they could later modify them for their own convenience. Collections of wise sayings, apothegms, and moral

²⁹⁵ *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* 1576, 35, 42, 43. There is another reference in page 48. *De inventione dialéctica* 1539, 127.

²⁹⁶ Crane 1993, 3; Lechner 1962, 234.

²⁹⁷ Ong described it as a “by-product of rhetoric” (1968, 58).

essays as well as advice or courtesy books supplemented the schools' moral instruction. Such books were considered valuable resources for the future needs of the student, providing him with an abundance of material, as well as a categorical framework, to apply to a discourse on any subject. Humanists also encouraged students to compile their own commonplace books from their readings as it served as a basic means of synthesising or reorganizing existing ideas in one's own scheme, and which could later on be used as models in their own compositions. The commonplace system was defended by Erasmus in *De duplici copia verborum et rerum* (1512). This work was quickly adopted as a textbook of rhetoric in schools and universities all over Europe. Here, he instructs students to provide themselves with several sheets of paper that were later on bound into a notebook. Then each student will come up with a list of place-headings for insertion at the top of each page. Such system, he insisted, was a means of assuring that "what you read will stay fixed more firmly in your mind and that you will learn to make use of the riches you have acquired by reading" ("Atq, ad eum modum pariter fiet, ut & altius insideant animo quae legeris, & adsuescas uti lectionis opibus").²⁹⁸ Erasmus also came up with methodological considerations of the commonplace for scriptural theology in *Methodus* (1516) and, above all, *Ratio verae theologiae* (1518). Here, he proposed theologians to take themes or topics as they are found in the course of the study of Scripture and annotate all of the relevant texts that influenced them. In addition to building knowledge of these themes as they are dealt with in Scripture, these *loci* will also aid in the interpretation of obscure passages. Erasmus was a prominent advocate and promoter of the *loci* method to the next generation of humanists: the structure of Michael de Montaigne's *Essais*, as well as his

²⁹⁸ The English translation has taken from Moss 2005, 36. For the Latin text see *De Duplici Copia* 1546, 249.

own *Adagia* mirror the commonplace organization of material. With the same aim in mind, Juan Luis Vives in *De tradendis disciplinis* (1523) required each boy to keep a large book in which to record maxims from his master, readings or conversation.²⁹⁹ Roger Ascham too, recommended this practice in the *Schoolemaster*. He inspired students to keep three types of books, one for translation, another for retranslation, and the third for a collection of phrases and grammatical notes while reading.³⁰⁰ In these compositions the student was directed to texts where the cultural codes of antiquity and modern Europe coincided, invoking the values and morals of the ancients, insofar as they had relevance to the present age. In this way they were able to write and speak on contemporary subjects supported by the weight and authority of the ancients. Each commonplace was unique and reflected its creator's interests or profession. Some commonplaces were highly organized and structured, arranging the material under commonplaces, alphabetically or chronologically. Others, in contrast, were hasty compiled notebooks in disarray.

This technique of keeping books in which to enter notable passages, observations and inventions, according to a set of pre-conceived subjects or topics, was both a book form and a method of reading. Readers should learn to identify the chief 'topics' or *loci* that an author made in his work, and just then, to gather them together to formulate an understanding of the author's argument, or a statement of teaching or doctrine. In his *Opusculum de discipulorum officiis* (1505) Johann Murnellius describes this method and guides his pupils' reading in the following terms:

²⁹⁹ "The boy should also have a large book in which he can put all the notes expounded and developed at length by the teacher, also what he reads for himself in the best writers, or the sayings which he observes used by others" (This passage is found in chapter 3, book 3. The translation has been taken from Watson 1913, 108; see also Watson 1908, 263).

³⁰⁰ Ascham 1570, 1v; 3v. For more evidence on Vives and Ascham's educational methods see Watson 1908. See also Berland, Kirsten Gilliam and A Lockridge 2001, 22-29.

Not in advisedly, but at the suggestion of his teacher, the diligent student should carefully correct his textbooks, pick out phrases and pithy remarks by inserting indicators, put a mark against the most memorable passages, or better still, excerpt them, and write what he has extracted in a little book designed for the purpose [...] For in the course of our reading we often meet many things worth remembering which we forget if we do not make extracts of them. If we wanted to find them again, we would be obliged to go through almost the whole book over again, but if we had collected them as little excerpts, they would be to hand whenever we wanted them. Remarks which relate to the same subject-matter should be noted down and collected together in one particular place in the notebook.³⁰¹

Evangelical reformers too, were influenced by the commonplace method. Philip Melanchthon's *Loci communes rerum theologicarum* (1521), Hermann Bodius' *Unio Dissidentium* (1527), Georgius Major's *Sententiae veterum poetarum* (1534), John Calvin's *Institutio Christianae religionis* (1536), Batholomew Westheimer's *Conciliationem Sacr. Scripturae et Patrum* (1538), Wolfgang Musculus' *Loci Communes Sacrae Theologiae* (1560)—which John Man translated into English as *Commonplaces of Christian Religion* (1578)—and Martin Bucer's *Praelectiones doctiis in epistolam D. P. ad Ephesios* (1562) are some examples of how this method was used to interpret and analyse the Holy Scriptures.³⁰² The English reformer Robert Barnes too, used this method in his *Sententiae Ex doctoribus collectae* (1530), which collected opinions from the writings of the Church Fathers under topical theological headings. Thomas Cranmer and Peter Martyr Vermigli in his *Loci Communes* (1576) also employed these commonplaces to elaborate on the biblical text, whereas Thomas Becon was the first to write a commonplace on the Bible in English in *The Commonplaces of Holy Scripture* (1562). In Catholic theology too, this form of textual analysis had certain relevance. Johannes Hoffmeister's *Loci communes rerum*

³⁰¹ Quoted in Judd 2006, 128. See also Nauta 1999, 15.

³⁰² See Amos 2009, 175-194 and his recent volumen, *Bucer, Ephesians and Biblical Humanism. The Exegete as Theologian* (2015). See also Heinrich F. Plett 2004, 131-146.

theologicarum (1547), abstracted and excerpted from the Church Fathers, is one of the earliest examples, and it was also used in some of Luis de Granada's works. The Spanish author followed this method in the *Collectanea moralis philosophiae* (1571), *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* (1576) and *Silva locorum* (1585). In them, the Bible as well as the writings of the Church Fathers and pagan authors were synthesised and abstracted in an attempt to provide preachers with all the material they might need to prepare their sermons, all of it compiled in a single book. Both the *Collectanea* and the *Silva* were divided in three parts (*classis*), each of which was composed of a number of common places (*loci communes*)—‘Deus’, ‘Anima’, ‘Peccatum’, ‘Fides’, ‘Credulitas’, ‘Exilium’, ‘Patientia’, ‘Ira’, ‘Mors’ or ‘Felicitas’ are some of these entries in the *Collectanea*—which the Dominican friar filled in with the quotations he had previously gathered, of varying extensions, and noting its source at the end of each. Some examples are:

Si bonum esset ira, perfectissimum quemq sequeretur. Atqui iracundissimi infantes, senesque, & aegri sunt, & inualidum omne natura est querulum. Lib. 2. *De Ira*. Cap 13.

Cum à Deo non credimus nos videri, in Sole clausos oculos retinemus, illum à nobis abscondimus, non nos illi. *Gregor. 25. Moral. Cap. 5.*

Sicut malitia etiam ante gelienam, eos qui hic ea participant, cruciare consuevit: ita virtus etiam ante regnum eos qui hic eam operantur, praeparat voluptati, & cum spe optima, & delectatione perpetua viuere facit. *Chrysost. Super Ioan.*³⁰³

Another synthesis of intertextual allusions is the *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae*, its structure, however, was different. In this case, the work did not consist of commonplaces, but its abundance of quotations and testimonies (mainly from Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, Quintilian's *Institutiones Oratoriae*, Cicero's *De Oratore*, *De inventione* and *Topica*, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Aristotle's

³⁰³ The first passage is taken from *Collectanea* 1571, 359. The other passages are taken from *Silva locorum* 1586, 4, 133.

Rhetorica), spread out through the six books in which it was divided. As with Meres, Granada's originality (or rather the lack thereof), and method had also been criticized. In the *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* the quotes were not acknowledged by the Spanish friar, at least not consistently, and Pinto de Castro defined the work as a "patchwork blanket whose seams are too noticeable" ("manta de retalhos onde a cerzidura aparece com demasiada evidencia").³⁰⁴ In his defense, Huerga insisted that Granada's reliance on other sources did not detract from the works' value, but rather that the authority of the texts from which he took the quotations were a guarantee of what the Spanish author affirmed.³⁰⁵

While all of these works are compendia of theological topics, doctrines or their practical implications (justification, predestination and morals), yet they reveal the existence of different approaches to the use of the *loci communes*, and give us an indication of how varied the method could be.³⁰⁶ Moreover, these were just one type of commonplaces, those that were used for theological matters or Bible analysis and interpretation. But these collections applied to a wide variety of themes, such as philosophy or morality, and they could be collected from the writings and commentaries of particular authors, as happens in *Palladis Tamia*. Other examples are *Catonis Disticha*, which Anthony Woodville translated into English as the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* (1477), and Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmatum* (1555), which were some of the most popular Latin commonplace books that Meres could have had at his disposal.

³⁰⁴ Castro 1973, 53.

³⁰⁵ Huerga 1992, 31.

³⁰⁶ Their use of the method has been analysed by N. Scott Amoss in 'Exegesis and Theological Method' 2009, 175-194.

Due to the great success of Latin commonplace books, English handbooks of similar characteristics began to appear as well. In England, an early example of this type of books is William Baldwin's *A Treatise of Morall Philosophie, containing the Sayings of the Wyse* (1547), which adds to a brief survey of great philosophers several collections of "worthy Sentences, notable Precepts, Counsels, and Parables" arranged under different headings. Other similarly arranged collections published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries include Baldwin's *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1559), Richard Taverner's *Garden of Wisdom* (1559), Thomas Blage's *Schole of wise Conceyts* (1569), Haly Heron's *A Newe Discourse of Morall Philosophie* (1579), Thomas Crewe's *The Nosegay of Morall Philosophie* (1580), John Marbeck's *A book of notes and commonplaces* (1581), Anthony Fletcher's *Certaine Very Proper and Most Profitable Similies* (1595), Nicholas Ling's *Politeuphuia, Wits Commonwealth* (1597), Robert Allott's *Wits Theatre of the Little World* (1599) and *Englands Parnassus* (1600), John Bodenham's *Belvedere* (1600), Robert Cawdrey's *A Treasurie or Store House of Similies* (1600), William Wrednot's *Palladis Palatium: Wisdom's Palace* (1604), Ben Jonson's *Timber* (1641) or John Cotgrave's *English Treasury of Wit and Language* (1655).

As students became accomplished in acquiring materials for their books, alarm arose that they did not take the time required to assimilate the materials. Some writers could even acquire prior commonplaces such as Georgius Major's *Sententiae* (1534) or Nicholas Ling's *Wits Commonwealth* (1597), which could save them the trouble of having to read any of the books it quoted.³⁰⁷ The practice was criticized on the grounds that it did not require extended reflection on the part of the compiler. Though designed to provide them with something to say, commonplace books threatened to create weak

³⁰⁷ Other examples are described in detail by Ann Moss in *Printed Commonplaces* (1996): 186-214.

and sloppy subjects. Sixteenth and seventeenth century's writers worried about an excessive reliance upon such methods. Thomas Nashe warned "to the Gentlemen Students of *Both Universities*" that it fostered an "idle age", whereas John Selden complained that the method was "patcht vp out of *Postils* (comments or notes) [and] *Polyantheas* (anthology of extracts)", and it was one of "such excellent Instruments for the aduancement of Ignorance and Lazinesse."³⁰⁸ Modern scholars have also realized its limitations. Thomas M. Greene observed that this method could not "produce sensitive understanding and creative imitation." Similarly, Harold Andrew Mason considered it "pathetic" and Paul Oskar Kristeller insisted that the practice "gives to all but its very best products an air of triviality that is often very boring to the modern critical reader". He continues, "human inventiveness is limited, and repetition is the rule rather than the exception." Michael Schoendeldt also defined this method as a "very literal form of a reader's digest." Jennifer Richards too, realized the method's weaknesses in her analysis of William Baldwin's *Morall Phylosophie*.³⁰⁹ Even though many noted that the practice was subject to misuse, it became a fundamental feature of the intellectual culture of Renaissance Humanism. Scholars such as Mary Crane, Ann Moss or Kevin Sharpe, counter widespread assumptions that considered this system trivial, archaic and a mere mnemotechnical aid for rote memorization, and call for a new look at commonplacing. Crane, for instance, insisted that storing commonplace books facilitated a textual dialogue with antiquity and provided an influential model for authorial practice and

³⁰⁸ Preface to Greene's *Menaphon* 1589, **4r; *The History of Tithes* 1618, I-II.

³⁰⁹ Greene 1982, 318; Mason 1986, 25-6; Kristeller 1990, 38; Schoenfeldt 2003, 220; Richards 2013, 43-58. See also McKeon 2005, 42-50.

authoritative self-fashioning that Meres also used in his attempt to become a player in contemporary literary circles.³¹⁰

3.2.2 Meres' commonplace *Palladis Tamia*, *Wits Treasury*

Meres' personal position with respect to this method of organizing information remains unknown to us. In the entry that David Kathman dedicates to Francis Meres within the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, we learn that the English writer prefixed to the text a dedicatory to Thomas Eliot, member of the Middle Temple, and a Latin note to the reader. We do not have access, however, to any of these documents, which could have contributed some insight into Meres' thought about contemporary reading practices and methods for the appropriation of ideas and quotations from other authors and texts. One could hypothesize, however, that he must have considered the 'loci method' useful and with enough potential to decide to compile a commonplace book himself. It is also probable that he were instructed in this practice at university, where he must have had access to a great number of classical and spiritual books that he might have extracted and synthesized after a process of careful reading. In this analysis, however, we distinguish between the 'Comparative Discourse' and the rest of the book; there are certain features within them that suggest that they belong within different periods of composition.

³¹⁰ Crane 1993, 3. For an analysis of this genre see Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces* (1962); Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (1993); Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (1996); Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolution: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (2000); Kevin Berland, Jan Kirsten Gilliam, and Kenneth A. Lockridge, *The Commonplace Book of William Byrd II of Westover* (2001); or Jennifer Richards "Commonplacing and Prose Writing: William Baldwin and Robert Burton" (2013).

The first and most extensive part (279 out of 325 pages) of Meres' *Palladis Tamia* was a florilegium of sayings and apothegms on religion and morals. The similitudes were classified under varied headings; the work begins with God, Christ, The Holy Ghost, Heauen, Angels, The Church, Preachers or Sermons. Then we slide to Man, Women, The Soule, The Minde, The Heart, Education, Parents, Children and Youth; and to the virtues, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Fortitude or Temperance. Its entries followed the formula "As A so B": "As of the *Hircanian* fishes neither good nor euill is expected: so the Epicures wold haue vs neither to be trobled with the fear of god, nor delighted with his bounty", "As God is vnknowne vnto vs according to his essence: so is he immeasurable according to his maiesty", "As Iron and steele do excel other things in hardnes, but are exceeded of the Adamant: so the loue towards children is a mighty and a powerful thing, but the loue towards God doth excell it". As a commonplacer, Meres' technique for storing information had nothing unusual in it, i.e. he employed a list of commonplaces, which were filled with a number of quotations taken from different sources.³¹¹ It was very similar to that used by Nicholas Ling in his *Politeuphuia*, whose publication in 1597 coincided with Meres' arrival in London. Jason Scott-Warren implies that Meres might have taken some cues from the first part of Ling's anthology to organize the headings. Robert Detobel and K. C. Ligon too, suggested that Ling was the driving force behind the English translator's project. The title-page of Meres' work, in fact, boasted that it was the "second part of Wits Commonwealth." The hypothesis in this study is that Meres began writing his anthology during his student years, and though there is no evidence to consider Meres' *Palladis* an official part of Ling's

³¹¹ An index of the commonplaces used was usually included at the end of each work.

commonplace book, it is possible that the publisher intervened in the finalization of the work, in its publication as well as in the compilation of the “Comparative Discourse”—about which more below. We ignore how and when they met (if they ever did), but the coincidences between *Palladis Tamia* and *Politeuphia*, and Ling’s involvement with other publications of the English writer seems to indicate that he was to some extent responsible for Meres’ reputation as a writer and translator of Luis de Granada.³¹²

The entries in the *Palladis* document Meres’ course of reading over a period of several years, probably during his student days. The compilation of a commonplace was part of a process in which readers digested a series of texts by identifying topics and extracting, ordering and recording particular phrases or passages in notebooks of their own. Meres’ commonplace reveals, therefore, his own method of reading and it represents his own personalized encyclopaedia of quotations. This invites speculation on whether Meres was one of those who made use of ready-made collections, (probably Ling’s commonplace?). We prefer to hold the thought that Meres was an honourable man. We do not know the criteria with which he selected the material for his commonplace book; it is possible that some of the entries pertain to serious matters that concerned him throughout his entire life, some could reflect issues that were of paramount importance to him at a specific time in his life, and still others may provide insight into what kinds of things he found entertaining or significant. Influenced or not by Nicholas Ling’s anthology, Meres might have began the compilation of the work at university, thus, by looking at the material he considered important enough to reproduce

³¹² Detobel and Lingon 2009, 123-137; Jason Scott-Warren 2017, 902-923. Ling, Meres, Allot and even Wrednot’s commonplaces are usually referred to as the ‘Wit’s series’. The hypothesis in this research is that Meres’ settlement in London could have been somehow due to some sort of professional relation with Ling. Moreover, the apparent connection between Meres and Ling’s commonplaces calls for further research as the latter’s *Politeuphuia* is thick with republican ideas on authority. See Melnikoff 2013.

in his commonplace book, we have a clear idea of the books he chose to read and we can learn more about his intellectual, educational and cultural background.

Numerous, though not all, of the quotations in this part of *Palladis Tamia* are attributed. Out of almost 130 authors cited by the English translator, a high percentage of the quotes derive from classical authors, Plutarch's *Moralia*, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Philo Judaeus' *Legum Allegoriae* and *De Specialibus Legibus*, Johannes de Sancto Geminiano's *Liber de Exemplis et Similitudinibus Rerum*, Seneca's *De vita beata*, *De Beneficiis* and *De Consolatione*; Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*, *De Officiis* and *De Oratore*; Laertius' *Lives and opinions of Eminent Philosophers*; the Church Fathers, John Chrysostom's *Homilies*, Saint Augustine's *De Trinitate* and *De Civitate Dei*, Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*, Saint Basil's *Hexameron*, Maximus the Confessor's *Capita de Caritate*, Saint Gregory's *Morals* or Jerome's epistles; or contemporary English writers such as John Lyly and his *Anatomy of Wit*, Sidney's *Apology of Poetry*, and John Harington's *Briefe Apologie of Poetry*. Together with these, Meres chose to include some one hundred quotations from Luis de Granada's works to deal on issues as varied as 'the Mercie and Love of God', 'Heauen', 'Angels', 'The Church', 'Wicked and ungodly Men', 'The Heart', 'Youth', 'Prayer', 'Devotion', 'Faith', 'Concord', 'Perseverance', 'Fortitude', 'Riches', 'Sinne', 'Gluttonie' or 'Death'. Some examples taken from *The Sinners Gvyde* are:

As a Painter, who guideth the pencil in the hand of his scholler, and so maketh a perfect picture, deserueth more praise then his scholler: so to God, who worketh all good in vs, and effecteth euery good work belongeth greater honor and glory, then to man. *Lodouicus Granatensis lib. 1. Ducis Peccatorum.*

The holy Ghost is compared to fire, to a Doue; to a cloude; and to a winde. To fire, because he doth enlighten our vnderstanding, and exalteth it from the earth to heauen. To a Doue, because hee maketh vs simple, gentle, peaceable, and friendes to all. To a Cloud, because he doth refresh and coole vs, and defend vs from the heat of the flesh,

and doth asswage and moderate the madnes and fury of our passions. And to a vehement and strong winde, because he moueth and inclineth our will to all good. *Lodouicus Granatensis lib. 1 ducis peccatorum.*

Even as wild beastes according to their nature are hurtfull vnto men, and yet when they are tamed, do them good seruice: so when as the perturbations of our soule are gouerned and moderated, they helpe vs in many exercises of vertue. *Lodo. Granat. lib. 1. Ducis peccatorum.*³¹³

He also took passages from *Granados Devotion*:

AS a father, that hath a lunatike and franticke son, doth lament & grieue when he heareth his son to talk wisely with him; and presently seeth him fall out of his wits and runne madde: so also our heauenly father doth grieue and lament (if so it could be) when hee seeth the corruption of our nature to bee so great, that in that veye time, wee are talking wisely with him in prayer, forthwith wee run here and there, and vage and wander thorow a thousand cogitations. *Lodouicus Granatensis, lib. de Deuotione.*

Even as in a bright and cleare glasse the sunne beames doe make the greater splendour: so in a purified and cleare soule the beames of the diuine truth doe shine more clearely. *Lodouicus Granatensis in lib. de deuotione.*³¹⁴

There were also a several examples taken from *Granados Spirituall and Heauelie Exercises* (six in total):

As one eye ca~not be turned about, with out y^e other be also turned; but they are alwaies turned together one waie: so the body and the soule, and the whole society of the righteous shall haue such concorde & agreement in heauen, that they shall will no contrarities, but shal alwaies haue the same wil. *Lodouicus Granatensis in suis septem Meditationibus, Meditatione septima.*

As the little Worme *Teredo*, that eateth woodde, in the night shyneth, and maketh a crackeling, but in the day time is knowne to bee a Worme, and putrifaction: so also Vaine-glorie shyneth and glistereth with great pompe in the night of this worlde to weake and dimme eyes, which cannot iudge but by outwarde appearances; but when that cleare & bright day of iudgement shall come, wherein God shall reueale the darkest and obscurest things of our soules, and shall manifest the secret counsels of our harts, then those that seemed happy and glorious, shall bee knowne to be filthie and vile, and

³¹³ *Palladis Tamia* 1598, 3v, 20r, 157v. Compare these passages in *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 321, 60-1, 319.

³¹⁴ *Palladis Tamia* 1598, 7v-8r, 48v. Compare these passages in *Granados Devotion* 1598, 316-7, 58.

without any hope of saluation. *Lodouicus Granatensis in lib. de septem Meditationibus, Meditatione quinta.*³¹⁵

The fragments were verbatim reproductions from Meres' renderings of the Spanish author's works. Their inclusion within the *Palladis* could give us an indication of the date of composition of these translations. Professor Scott-Warren suggests that Meres might have been gathering material for his *Palladis* as he undertook his translations from Spanish. It would not be far-fetched to think that they predate the composition of his commonplace, but such an ambitious project would first require a stimulus, and this anthology could well have been the motivation behind it. If we accept the hypothesis that *Palladis Tamia*, at least this first part, was to some extent the result of Meres' stay at university, it is possible that Granada's texts also formed part of those books that he read, extracted and synthesized during his student days. It also sounds plausible that this process of thorough reading inspired him to eventually translate his works (to which he later on added those parts he had already translated). The fact that the fragments were included in English should not mislead us into thinking that his renderings of the friar's writings predate the compilation of the *Palladis*. This was not an unusual circumstance because he had to subject all the fragments to this process of translation, as it is quite probable that he read all or most of the sources from which he took the quotations in Latin, including those works that he knew via Isselt's versions.

Irrespective of whether his renderings predate or follow the composition of the *Palladis*, what seems clear is that, when he settled in London, he had already translated them and that he moved there with the intention of publishing not just his translations but also *Gods Arithmeticke* and *Palladis Tamia*, which he probably finished there. In

³¹⁵ *Palladis Tamia* 1598, 105r, 177v. Compare these passages in *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* 1598, 174-5, 123-4.

any case, the fact remains that in coupling Granada with the Church Fathers Meres is awarding the Spanish author a significant canonical status within the history of early modern Christianity. Uncertain, and unlikely, as it is that Meres could have been influenced or inspired in the compilation of his anthology by Luis de Granada's own commonplaces, the fact that they used the same method proves that they belong within a common, and very interesting, European context. The quotations the English translator did include reveals that he was determined to create the most complete translations of the body of Granada's writings into English.

To all this material Meres added a short section on English literature (46 pages), the extensively quoted 'A Comparatiue Discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets', where he matches up the Greek and Roman literary canons with a list of English authors, from Chaucer to his own day, in what appears to be an attempt to extol Elizabethan England's literary greatness as an equal to the glories of ancient Greece and Rome. It is at this point that simile turned into syncretism.³¹⁶ Chaucer and William Langland are paired up with Homer, Harding the Chronicler with Ovid and John Skelton with Sotades. In this part, he followed the same formula, "As the Greek tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides, and Aristophanes; and Latin tongue by Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ausonius, and Claudianus: so English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments by Sir Philip Sydney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare,

³¹⁶ Donaldson 2007, 167-179.

Marlow, and Chapman”; “As Sextus Propertius said, *Nescio quid magis nascitur Iliade*: so I say of Spenser’s *Fairy Queen*; I know not what more excellent or exquisite poem may be written.” He also mentions a long list of contemporary English works such as Sidney’s “immortal poem, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia*”; Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* and *The Shepherd’s Calendar* (imitator of Virgil’s *Eclogues*); Daniel’s sonnets to Delia, the romance *The Complaint of Rosamond* and *The First Four Books of the Civil Wars*; Warner’s *Albion’s England*; or Charles FitzGeoffrey’s *The honourable Life and Death of worthy Sir Francis Drake*. Two authors, however, are signalled for attention in this part. Michael Drayton is an imitator of Ovid, “*Golden mouth’d*, for the purity and pretiousnesse of his stile and phrase”, “a *Tragoediographus*” and “a man of vertuous disposition, honest conuersation, and wel gouerned cariage, which is almost miraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but rogerie in villanous man, & whe~ cheating and craftines is counted the cleanest wit, and soundest wisdom.”³¹⁷ William Bellamy sees a direct connection between Meres’ laureate nomination of Drayton (“*quem toties honoris & amoris causa nomino*”) in this work and Drayton’s self-presentation as laureate poet in a portrait 1599.³¹⁸ Apart from this commendation, Meres praises Drayton’s works: *Mortimeriados*, *England’s Heroical Epistles*, *The Legend of Robert Duke of Normandy*, *The Legend of Piers Gaveston*, *Matilda* and his *Poly-olbion*. The other author is William Shakespeare and his production. Meres mentions the titles of six comedies—*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, *Love’s Labour’s Won* (the only known reference to the work), *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice*; six tragedies— *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*

³¹⁷ *Palladis Tamia* 1598, 281r-v.

³¹⁸ Bellamy 2015, 138.

and *Romeo and Juliet*; his poems *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* and his “sugred Sonnets 282 among his priuate friends.”³¹⁹ These allusions, which proved to be one of the few surviving documents that bear witness to Shakespeare’s early reputation as poet and dramatist rising at the end of the century, have dominated discussion of the *Palladis* since the eighteenth century, and have prompted some debate as to the nature of this extraordinarily prophetic and keen commentator, Francis Meres. In a time when Shakespeare’s name had not appeared on a title page, Meres places him amidst the greatest contemporary writers. Moreover, his knowledge of the titles and authorship of several of Shakespeare’s plays that were not in print yet in 1598, notably *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* or *King John*, which appeared first in the *First Folio* (1623), led Andrew Gurr to include Meres in his list of distinguished playgoers in *Playgoing in Shakespeare’s London*. The same does R. Sawyer when he defines Meres as an “inveterate playgoer.”³²⁰ Meres is also an important figure in the work of Lukas Erne, who sees the *Palladis* as “a fascinating attempt at the formation of an English literary canon *avant la lettre*” and a key to Shakespeare’s consecration as an author.³²¹ His presentation alongside literary worthies of his age in *Palladis Tamia* and the appearance of Shakespeare’s name on the title pages on his plays the same year of the publication of Meres’ anthology, lends credibility to the hypothesis that the ‘Comparatiue Discourse’ initiated a whole series of attempts from publishers to capitalize on the name of Shakespeare. There appeared four non-Shakespearean plays with the title pages bearing his name or initials. *The True*

³¹⁹ *Much Ado About Nothing* (1598) or *All’s Well That Ends Well* (1602) have been presented as possible candidates for *Love’s Labour’s Won*, though Robert Detobel claimed that the possibility that the title was included in contrast to *Love’s Labour’s Lost* because of his fondness of antithesis could not be discarded. For an analysis of Meres’ fondness of antithesis in his *Palladis Tamia* see Detobel and Ligon 2009, 123-137.

³²⁰ Gurr 2004, 81, 180; Sawyer 2017, 51.

³²¹ Erne 2013, 89.

Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell (1602), *The London Prodigall* (1605), *The Puritaine or the Widow of Watling-street* (1607) or *A York-shire Tragedy* (1608) are some examples.³²² Like Bellamy, MacDonald P. Jackson has also hypothesized about Shakespeare's awareness of Meres' text. This scholar gave evidence that the praise within the 'Comparative Discourse' of Marlowe, Chapman and Jonson inspired the creation of the Rival Poet sonnets. In the article, "Cultural Contexts of Shakespeare's Rival Poet Sonnets", Jackson dates the creation of these sonnets in the period 1598-1600 and he corrects the assumption that the series was completed in the timespan 1593-1596.³²³

Francis Meres' knowledge of works that were not in print yet in 1598, went beyond Shakesperian plays. Interestingly enough, he also mentions Michael Drayton's *Poly-olbion* (1612) and Everard Guilpin's *Skialetheia*. The latter was published in 1598 but it was registered after the registration of the *Palladis*.³²⁴ Without denying the view of Meres as an attentive observer of the London literary scene, his acquaintance with these works reinforce the hypothesis about some sort of connection with the influential Elizabethan publisher and bookseller Nicholas Ling. Ling's early publications were religious in subject matter. To these he added a number of literary works from Drayton, Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene (significantly enough, all of them mentioned in the *Palladis*). At the end of his career, Ling released some six collections of wise sayings: his own *Politeuphuia Wits Commonwealth* or Allot's *Wits Theatre of the Little World*.

³²² See Erne 2013, 93.

³²³ Jackson 2005, 224-246. Jason Scott-Warren gives evidence that Jackson's claims about the similarities between Meres and Shakespeare's text could not be sustained (2017, 902-923).

³²⁴ In the case of the *Skialetheia*, Meres did not provide the name of the author.

³²⁵ These two works were printed by James Robert, who was also the printer of some of Drayton's works, Guilpin's *Skialetheia* and, significantly enough, the first edition of *The Sinners Gvyde* and *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises*. The publisher of Meres' *Palladis* as well as *Granados Devotion* was Cuthbert Burby. To him and John Smethwick, Ling transferred the copyright of some of his works. Among these there were some of Shakespeare's plays that were not in print yet, such as *Love's Labour Lost* and *Romeo and Juliet*. They could have provided Meres with the information about unpublished works. His praise of Michael Drayton within the "Comparative Discourse", on a par with his admiration for William Shakespeare, and his awareness that Drayton was writing his *Poly-Olbion* when Meres' commonplace was published also hint at some sort of personal, or even professional, relationship between Meres and the author of *Politeuphia*. In *Palladis Tamia* he claimed, "As Ioan. Honterus in Latine verse writ 3 bookes of Cosmography with Geographically tables: so Michael Drayton is now in penning in English verse a Poem called *Polu-olbion* Geographical and Hydrographically of all the forests, woods, mountaines, fountaines, riuers, lakes, flouds, bathes and springs that be in England."³²⁶ Drayton's *Matilda*, *Piers Gaveston*, *The Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy* and *England's Heroical Epsitles*—published by Nicholas Ling—, were all included in Meres' anthology. By 1598 Ling must have also known that the English writer was composing his *Poly-Olbion* (1612). Had he not died in 1607 he is likely to have published that work that was eventually published by M. Lowes, I. Browne, I. Helme and I. Busbie. The latter was professionally related with Ling; they had published, for instance, some of Drayton's early works. Thus, he might have

³²⁵ Other collections are *A Myrroure for English souldiers* (1595), Breton's *Wits trenchmour* (1597), *The harmonie of Holie Scriptures* (1600). For an analysis of Nicholas Ling published works see Johnson 1985, 203-214.

³²⁶ *Palladis Tamia* 1598, 281r.

informed Meres of this circumstance and he might have also advised him to compile his section on English literature.

There is more evidence of Meres' possible connection with the publishing trade. He included, in the section of Love, a verbatim quotation from *Hecatonphila, The arte of Love*. The work, Anthony Munday's English translation of Leone Battista Alberti's *Ecatonfilea* (1428), entered the Stationers' Register on 16 December 1597 and it was published the same year that Meres' commonplace. Apart from this, Francis Meres contributed a commendatory poem (reproduced below). This circumstance could also suggest that Meres held some sort of relation with its publisher, William Leake, and printer, Peter Short. Interestingly enough, most printers and publishers of Meres' texts also printed and published Shakespeare's works.

In Artem amandi Decastichon.

EXimiè scripsit *Cicero*, benè pinxit *Apelles*,
 Inuidiae morsum sensit vterque tamen.
 Conscia mens recti cum te comitetur euntem,
 Sperne venenato quicquid ab ore fluit.
 Quòd liber est nitidus, miscetur & vtile dulci,
 Dexter *Apollo* tibi; Fama perennis erit.
 Ergo macte animo, nec publica co~moda tardes,
 Ingenij viuent sic monumenta tui.
 Candidus Interpres laudetur, & optimus Au|thor,
 Viuat vterque diu, cedat vtrique decus.
 FRANCISCVS MERES.

A final remark needs to be made about Meres' reference to William Shakespeare. In the "Comparative Discourse" he claimed that "the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare. Witness his *Venus and Adonis*; his *Lucrece*; his sugared *Sonnets*, among his private friends."³²⁷ A year later,

³²⁷ *Palladis Tamia* 1598, 281v.

John Weever too, begins his sonnet ‘Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare’ (epigram 22, fourth week) addressing it to “honie-tong’d *Shakespeare*”:

Honie-tong'd *Shakespeare* when I saw thine issue
I swore *Apollo* got them and none other,
Their rosie-tainted features cloth'd in tissue,
Some heauen born goddesse said to be their mother:
Rose-checkt *Adonis* with his amber tresses,
Faire fire-hot *Uenus* charming him to loue her,
Chaste *Lucretia* virgine-like her dresses,
Prowd lust-stung *Tarquine* seeking still to proue her:
Romea Richard; more whose names I know not,
Their sugared tongues, and power attractiue beuty
Say they are Saints althogh that Sts they shew not
For thousands vowes to them subiectiue dutie:
They burn in loue thy childre~ *Shakespear* het the~,
Go, wo thy Muse more Nymphish brood beget them.

Meres and Weever’s references to Shakespeare as a ‘sweet’ writer recall Covell’s allusion to “sweet” Shakespeare within his polemic *Polimanteia* (London: John Legate, 1595). In this work, the bard’s name was included in a long marginal note that reads, “All praise worthy. Lucrecia Sweet Shakspeare. Eloquent Gaueston. Wanton Adonts. Watsons heyre. So well graced Anthonie deserueth immortall praise from the ha~d of that diuine Lady who like Corinna conte~ding with Pindarus was oft victorious. Sir Dauid Lynsay. Matilda honorably honored by so sweet a Poe~. Diana.” It was a note to a laudation of Spenser and Daniel, of which Covell offers no explanation of its meaning but it seems that hidden messages and cryptic allusions lie behind it. It is considered one of the earliest references to Shakespeare in print.³²⁸ There is evidence to assume that Weever’s reference to William Shakespeare was influenced by Covell’s

³²⁸ *Polimanteia* 1595, R2v, R3r. The text beside which the note is set reads: “Let other countries (sweet *Cambridge*) enuie, (yet admire) my *Virgil*, thy Petrarch, diuine *Spenser*. And vnlesse I erre, (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloued *Delia*, and fortunatelic fortunate *Cleopatra*; *Oxford* thou maist extoll thy courte-deare-verse happie *Daniell*, whose sweete refined muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst men, to gaine pardon of the sinne to *Rosemond*, pittie to distressed *Cleopatra*, and euerliuing praise to her louing *Delia*”.

allusion. The former had studied at Queen's College (Cambridge), of which Covell's was a fellow from 1589 to 1599, and another epigram within his *Epigrammes* (London: Thomas Bushell, 1599) was addressed to 'Gulielmum Covel'.³²⁹ In the case of Meres too, he might have knowledge of the *Polimanteia* as both coincided at Cambridge as students. Moreover, Weever seemed to have some knowledge of Meres' text as the coincidences between Meres' passage and Weever's epigram prove; both alluded to the poems *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, stressed the "sugared" character of his poems and Shakespeare's renown for the sonnet form; Francis Meres with his reference to "his sugared *sonnets*, among his private friends", Weever with the unusual sonnet form of his epigram (the only poem in this form within the *Epigrammes*) and with the allusion in the final line to a sonnet between Romeo and Juliet (Act I, scene 5). All this confirms that Shakespeare's sonnets were circulating in manuscript and that both Meres and Weever knew them.

Palladis Tamia gave Meres certain renown in his own day. Thomas Heywood, for instance, praised his effort in *An Apology for Actors* (1612):

Here I might take fit opportunity to reckon vp all our *English* writers, & compare them with the *Greeke, French, Italian, & Latine* Poets, not only in their *Pastorall, Historical, Elegeicall, & Heroical* Poems, but in their *Tragicall, & Comical* subiects, but it was my chance to happen on the like learnedly done by an approued good scholler, in a booke called *Wits Comon-wealth*, to which treatise I wholly referre you, returning to our present subiect.³³⁰

Meres' review of Shakespeare has also been recognized. Richard Farmer used them in *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (1767). His reliance on other sources, however, biased modern responses to the work, which criticized his method and accused Meres of plagiarism. As we have seen, both parts respond to the same formula

³²⁹ *Epigrammes* 1599, Epig. 22 (the third weeke).

³³⁰ *An Apology for Actors* 1612, E3r-E3v.

(“As A so B”). The method he used was also similar. He translated passages from Latin works, for the most part, which he later on ordered under different headings. The entries of the first part were culled from a wide range of secondary sources. In the second part too, the reader confirms Meres’ fondness for second-hand material as most of the comparisons were drawn from Roger Ascham’s *The Schoolmaster* (1570), William Webbe’s *Discourse of English Poetry* (1585), Puttenham’s *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), Textor’s *Officina* (ca. 1503) or Domenico Nani Mirabelli’s *Polyanthea* (1503).³³¹ Most of the quotes in the first part were acknowledged by the English writer, noting at the end of each its source:

As by the excellent structure of an house, we gather that there hath beene an architect: so by the glorious frame of this world we conclude that there is a God. *Philo Iudaeus lib. 2. legis allegoriarum.*

As Physitians meete with some diseases before they appeare: so God punisheth certaine offences before they be effected. *Plutarch. in Morolib.*

AS Christ was gentle and milde in his first comming: so will hee be hard and inexorable in his second. *Lodouicus Granat. lib. 1. Ducis peccatorum.*³³²

This, in contrast, does not happen in the second part, and all of the ‘Comparative Discourse’ seems an original piece of writing. An example of this is found in one of the few references that Meres included in this part to Spanish literature. The fragment read, “As *Consaluo Periz* that excellent learned man, and Secretary to King *Philip* of Spayne, in translating the *Ulysses* of *Homer* out of Greeke into Spanish, hath by good iudgement auoided the faulte of Ryming, although not fully hit perfect and true versifying: so hath *Henrie Howarde* that true and noble Earle of *Surrey* in translating the fourth book

³³¹ Allen provides a detailed account of these borrowings, presenting them in parellel columns.

³³² *Palladis* 1598, 2v-3r; 9v; 10v.

of *Virgils Aeneas*.”³³³ Virtually the same excerpt was found in Ascham’s *The Schoolmaster*: “The noble Lord *Th. Earle* of Surrey, first of all English men, in translating the fourth booke of *Virgill*: and *Gonsaluo Periz* that excellent learned man, and Secretarie to kyng *Philip* of *Spaine*, in translating the *Vlisses* of *Homer* out of *Greke* into *Spanish*, haue both, by good iudgement, auoyded the fault of Ryming, yet neither of them hath fullie hite perfite and trew versifying.”³³⁴ Meres’ inclusion of “Edwardes Ferris”, whose identity remains uncertain, among tragic poets and his presentation as the author of *Mirror for Magistrates*, also had their source in Puttenham’s *Arte of English Poesie*. The same argument explains Francis Meres’ evaluation of “Edward, Earl of Oxford” and “Master Edwardes, one of Her Majesty’s Chapel” as the “best poets for Comedy.”³³⁵ It is difficult to imagine Meres’ motives for doing that. However it is only in this case (i.e. the “Comparative Discourse”) when he is in danger of incurring the charge of plagiarism. Gregory Smith contrasted the “absolute “scissors-and-paste” method” that Meres used in the compilation of *Palladis Tamia* to “the happily disguised borrowings” of Sidney’s *Apology* (1595), and defined the work as a “directory of writers.”³³⁶ R. H. MacDonald described him as “a gossip and a somewhat derivative critic”, Don Cameron Allen, who had consistently analysed the influences and sources of this part, also castigated Meres’ lack of originality describing it as “the product of an intellectual conspiracy against originality” and emphasizing his medieval attitude in his pedantry and “servile use of authority.” Robert Detobel and K.

³³³ *Palladis* 1598, 279v.

³³⁴ Ascham 1570, 61r-61v.

³³⁵ *Palladis* 1598, 283r-283v. Meres was probably referring in the first case to George Ferrers who contributed to this collection. The excerpt in Puttenham was: “That for Tragedie, the Lord of Buckhurst, & Maister *Edward Ferrys* for such doings as I haue sene of theirs do deserue the hiest price: Th’Earle of Oxford and Maister *Edwardes* of her Maiesties Chappell for Comedy and Enterlude” (Puttenham 1589, 51).

³³⁶ Smith 1950, xiii and xxi.

C Ligon defined it as “an amorphous succession of names.”³³⁷ It is true that *Palladis Tamia* does not have anything original to it, since Meres produced a recycled book for others to recycle. However, this was after all a commonplace book, by definition a collection of citations, “a book in which things to be remembered are arranged under general heads.”³³⁸ He thus followed the *modus operandi* generally used in this type of compositions. His *Palladis Tamia* gives modern scholars the opportunity of reassessing the practice of commonplacing, which was one of the dominant modes of reading and composition in the early modern period. Despite the work’s flaws of composition and lack of originality and creativity, some have recognized its relevance as an encyclopaedia of available knowledge: R. B. McKerrow in the introductory note to his edition of Weever’s *Epigrams* recognized that, “with the exception of the *Palladis Tamia* of Francis Meres, there is, I think, no single work of so early a date which contains references by name to so many Elizabethan writers of the first or second rank.”³³⁹ Similarly, Gregory Smith defended that “by having no mind of his own, and only a plodding interest in the whims of others he has given us a digest of contemporary history and opinion which is of positive value.”³⁴⁰ To Jason Scott-Warren Meres was “the priest of unoriginality”, but he has also praised his innovative vision of a literary canon in which English works stand as rivals to the classics.

³³⁷ MacDonald 1971, 138; Allen 1933, 58, 60; Detobel and Ligon 2009, 126.

³³⁸ Maunder 1840; Johnson 1785.

³³⁹ McKerrow 1922, v.

³⁴⁰ Smith 1950, xci.

4 Anglo-Hispanic Literary Relations

4.1 The 'Black Legend'

The negative picture of Spain and its people became noticeable in England during Mary's marriage to Philip II. The Queen's religious policy, and above all the view that a Spanish foreigner would come to dominate them caused popular discontent. Wyatt's rebellion left testimonies that the Spaniards would devastate the land, or that they were "commynge into the realme with harnes and handgonnes and would make us Englishmen wondrous vile." The perception of Spanish people too, was that "these English are barbarous people and great heretics, with no soul or conscience or fear of God and His Saints."³⁴¹ John Ponet's tract, *A Warnyng for Englande* (1555) portrayed the entrance of Philip II as an "imminent and present daunger" that cannot be avoided save for "gods miraculous help." The document also warns against his "fayre promises sugared talk & colored friendship" which are designed to llul England into a false sense of security that would subsequently enable him to "disherite your children for ever and bring England unawares to a most shamefull and perpetuall captivitie."³⁴²

This anti-Spanish sentiment continued during Elizabeth reign. In 1559 bishop John Jewel wrote to Heinrich Bullinger saying that:

³⁴¹ Quoted in Hillgarth 2000, 352.

³⁴² *A Warnyng for Englande* 1555, a2r. Lorin Scott in her research 'The Vilification of Mary Tudor' has attributed this work to John Ponet (2014, 104).

We have at this time to contend not only with our adversaries, but even with those of our friends who of late years have fallen away from us, and gone over the opposite party [...] and, what is more vexatious, we have to struggle with what has been left us by the Spaniards, that is, with the foulest vices, pride, luxury, and licentiousness.³⁴³

Jewell was referring in this passage to those Spanish theologians that were part of Philip's entourage when he arrived in England. These men could provide spiritual support and advise the king in his new position. They had also come to assist in returning England to the Catholic fold. There is some uncertainty about the number of clerics who accompanied Philip. John Edwards identified some of them: the churchmen Pedro de Castro, Bartolomé Torres, Fernando de Valdés and Pedro de Soto, confessor to Emperor Charles V; the Franciscans Alonso de Castro and Bernardo de Fresneda; and the Dominicans Juan de Villagarcía and Bartolomé Carranza.³⁴⁴ Some of them were rather influential and they played an active role in the Marian restoration. Villagarcía and Pedro de Soto, for instance, were teaching at Oxford. They purged the Universities of any sign of Protestant ideology and doctrine, burning, for instance, heretical books. In Jewell's view, they left those universities "so ruined and depressed, that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us [...] That despicable friar, Soto, and another Spanish monk, I know not who, have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr had so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness."³⁴⁵ These clerics were also involved in the trials of the Protestants Hugh Latimer, Nicholas Ridley and Thomas Cranmer. Their participation appears recreated in *An Answere by the Reuerend Father in God Thomas Archbysshop of Canterbury*. The following excerpt of the text recreates the moment of Cranmer's

³⁴³ Robinson 1842, 32.

³⁴⁴ Edwards 2005, 5-6. Tellechea Idígoras 2005, 24.

³⁴⁵ Robinson 1842, 33.

execution while he was accompanied by several Spanish Dominicans, one of them described as a “Spanish barker” that was “ragyng and fomyng” at Cranmer’ disavowal of his recantation:

And then Cranmer beyng pulled downe from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those Friers, vexyng, troubylyng, and threatnyng him most cruelly. What madnes (say they) hath brought thee agayne into this errour, by which thou wilt drawe innumerable soules with thee into hell? To whom he aunswered nothyng, but directed all his talke to the people, sauynge that to one troubylyng him in the way, he spake and exhorted him to get hym home to his study, and apply his booke diligently, saying if he did diligently call vpon God, by readyng more he should get knowledge. But the other Spanish barker, ragyng and fomyng, was almost out of his wittes, alwayes hauyng this in his mouth: Non fecisti? diddest thou it not?³⁴⁶

The broad dissemination of this Hispanophobic sentiment occurred during the last decades of Elizabeth’s reign. *A True Discourse of the Assault Committed upon the Person of the Most Noble Prince, William Prince of Orange, Countie of Nassau, Marquesse de la Vere &c. by John Laureguis Spaniarde* (1582) was one of the earliest among a number of pamphlets of a politico-religious nature, most of which had developed in the Low Countries and France, and which appeared to rouse English feelings against the Spanish. The anti-Spanish propaganda increased with the failed invasion of 1588. *A Pack of Spanish Lies Sent Abroad in the World* (1588) is the most famous and structurally interesting example: organized in two columns, on the left figured the description of Spanish victory that is matched on the right with a condemnation of these lies.³⁴⁷ Another similar volume that flowed from the exultation aroused by the English victory was Greene’s *The Spanish Masquerado* (1589). The work, which was reissued twice within the year, was intended to influence public opinion and it reflects the attitudes of Greene’s contemporaries. In this work, the author intended to discover, “in certaine breefe sentences and Mottos, the pride and insolencie

³⁴⁶ *An Answer* 1580, Ciir.

³⁴⁷ See Warner 2004, 63-76.

of the Spanish estate.”³⁴⁸ Edward Daunce’s brief treatise *A Brief Discourse Dialoguewise* (1590) and *A briefe discouse of the Spanish State* (1590) also recreate the Armada moment. In the dedicatory of the last work to Queen Elizabeth, Daunce exalts “your Maiesties proceedings; which [...] can suffer no alteration of time or fortune.” There is not, he claims, more honourable example of this “then the resolution of all men to withstand the *Spaniards* intended inuasion.”³⁴⁹

A Fig for the Spaniard (1591), *The masque of the League and the Spanyard discovered* (1592), and *A Discourse of the usage of the English Fugitives by the Spaniard* (1595), later on expanded as *The estate of English fugitives under the King of Spaine and his ministers* are other similar volumes. In the latter text, Lewis Lewkenor purports to give an eyewitness account of the cruelties of Spanish armies towards English fugitives who were exploited and cast off by their Spanish masters: “To rehearse vnto you the sundrie and seuerall calamities that these poore men as well captaines as souldiers indured, during the time of that their vnfortunate seruice, especially at *Gausbecke*, *Aske*, and *Gauer*, would seeme (I am sure) vnto you for the vnspeakable strangenes thereof, scarcely credible”. The fugitives “neuer receiued in all the time of their seruice, anie one moneths paie”, and he also saw “Lieutenants & Ensignes of them go vp and downe sickly and famished, begging their bread, couered onely with poore blankets and tikes of featherbeds, that they had rifled in the villages abroad.”³⁵⁰ He further insisted that “this hard dealing and hatred of theirs” came from “a rooted and ingrafted malice of the Spaniards to our whole nation.”³⁵¹ This work was probably written at the behest of Burghley, who apparently took the trouble to annotate

³⁴⁸ This work is analysed by Griffin 2012, 61-66.

³⁴⁹ *A briefe discouse of the Spanish State* 1590, Aiiiv.

³⁵⁰ *The estate of English fugitives under the King of Spaine and his ministers* 1595, A4v-B1r.

³⁵¹ *The estate of English fugitives under the King of Spaine and his ministers* 1595, G1v. On Lewkenor and his works see Nievergelt 2010, 536-558.

it. Hannah Leah Crummé affirms that Lord Burghley, in collaboration with Sir Francis Walsingham and Richard Percival, would use his position as secretary of state and recipient of most of the intelligence that came from abroad, to sponsor most of these pamphlets that encouraged the “Black Legend”, i.e. the inherited view “that Spaniards were unusually cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, indolent, and authoritarian.”³⁵² The adjectives that David J. Weber provides in this definition are very similar to the sixteen qualities of a Spanish ‘Signior’ as they appeared in *A Pageant of Spanish Humours* (1599), translated out of Dutch. According to this tract, a Spanish Signior is ‘an Angel in the Church’, ‘a Diuel in his lodging’, ‘a Woolfe at Table’, ‘a Hogge in his Chamber’, ‘a Peacocke on the streete’, ‘a Foxe to deceiue Women’, ‘a Lyon in a place of Garrison’, ‘a Hare in a besieged place’ and ‘a Lambe vnder the Gallowes’. He is also ‘auaritious’, ‘ambitious’, ‘bloodthirstie and tyrannous’, ‘greedie of reuenge’, ‘faithlesse and periurous’, ‘a miserable estate to be vnder a Signors subiection’, and ‘a happie estate to be free from Signor’. The Elizabethan polemicists and propagandists filled their writings with historical anecdotes and exempla about Spanish people that became cliché and helped to constitute the set of characteristics that governed public representation of Spanish nationality.

In *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (2012), Eric Griffin also investigates the role played by early modern English drama in conveying the sense of who the Spaniard was and inculcating the stereotypes of the Black Legend as historical truth. This scholar focuses his attention on how this discourse influenced Thomas Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy*, Marlowe’s *Jew of Malta*, and Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*. Similarly, Barbara Fuchs analyses how

³⁵² Crummé 2011, 7. Weber 2009, 244. See also Hillgart’s chapter 8 (2000, 309-327). An interesting work on the Black Legend is Greer, Mignolo and Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (2007).

some of the works of Ben Jonson, Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher and Thomas Middleton reflected on the vexed relation to Spain that characterized English letters. Jacques Lezra also mentions the example of Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607). This work shows British efforts to imagine Spain and its people. In a dialogue between Captain Bret and the play's Clown, they think about what a Spaniard should be. To them, he is "no Englishman", but a "Camocho" and "Callimanco", a "Dondego" (i.e. Don Diego) who is "a kinde of Spanish Stockfish or poore Iohn". He is also a "desperate Viliago" who will make them "smell abhominably" and whose "yard" is "but a span".³⁵³ This dialogue is more complex of what might otherwise appear. It links the languages of national character, commodity trade and even masculinity where Spanish people appear ridiculed.

Paraphrasing William Beeman's arguments, the theater does more than engage participants in the immediate context of the theatrical event. It evokes and solidifies a network of social and cognitive relationships existing in a triangular relationship between performer, spectator, and the world at large.³⁵⁴ It does not mean that the theatre operated primarily as an ideological platform for Elizabethans but it certainly had the potential for either furthering their aims or inspiring resistance. Elizabethans therefore turned to the theatre not only for entertainment or relief but also to help them, as a community, to make sense of the time in which they lived, to interpret the challenges their worlds presented, and to understand the nature of the enemies they faced.³⁵⁵ While there were occasional expressions of anti-Hispanic sentiment and attitudes in the discourses of early decades, the number of publications that bear imprints from the 1580s and 1590s suggests that by the late sixteenth century Black Legend typology

³⁵³ *The Famous history of Sir Thomas Wyatt* 1607, E2r-v.

³⁵⁴ Beeman 1993, 386.

³⁵⁵ Griffin 2012, 13.

became thoroughly codified. This propaganda was crucial to the English perception of Spain, as it was not in general reinforced by first-hand acquaintance with the country. Few English, other than Catholic exiles, made their way to the Iberian Peninsula during the second-half of the century and these books, and translations too, might have offered a substitute for an actual journey.³⁵⁶ This was David Rowland's justification of his translation of *Lazarillo de Tormes* because "by reading hereof, such as haue not trauailed Spain, may as well discerne much of the manneers & customs of that cuntry."³⁵⁷ Apart from those already mentioned, there were other works that played an important part in undermining foreign relations during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries, such as Nicholas Sanders's *De origine et progressu schismatic Anglicani* (1585). This work fashioned continental perceptions of the English Reformation as a dictatorial Calvinist revolution. Similarly, Richard Verstegan and Giovanni Battista de Cavalleriis' engravings depicting Protestant atrocities influenced the creation of a counter 'Black Legend'.

Most scholars perceive a duality in the analysis of Anglo-Spanish relations in the early modern period. Richard Helgerson identified Spain as England's foremost ideological enemy, but he also insisted that the country "necessarily defined itself and the character of its overseas expansion in terms of its relation to Spain."³⁵⁸ Alexander Samson too, claimed that England's cultural Hispanophilia must be distinguished from the anti-Spanish sentiment that characterized English reactions to Spain on a political and religious level. He defines the relationship between England and Spain as a "web of interrelated qualities", which are fundamental to understand the varied nature of the

³⁵⁶ Elliott gives some interesting ideas on the relationship between England and Spain in "Learning from the Enemy: Early Modern Britain and Spain" (2009, 25-51).

³⁵⁷ *The Pleasant historie of Lazarillo de Tormes* 1586, Aiiir-Aiiiv.

³⁵⁸ Helgerson 1992, 182.

causes underlying both tensions and also attractions between both nations.³⁵⁹ Jacques Lezra also agrees that the internal characteristics of early modern England were built in relation to its construction of Spain. Imagining Spain, he insists, became a way of defining England's own contours. When Dekker asks his players, and audience too, to imagine what a Spaniard is, he is also, by exclusion, defining what an Englishman must be. Of the same opinion is Eric Griffin who recognizes a "profound ambivalence" within the network of relationships and connections that linked England and Spain. "Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia", he claimed, "[walked] hand in hand."³⁶⁰ Similarly, Barbara Fuchs' *The Poetics of Piracy* (2013) focuses on how rich the Spanish sources proved for early modern English writers who frequently turned to Spanish literary models, even at the times of greatest enmity between the two nations. She also insists that the emergence of a national literary canon in England must be approached in the context of its political and religious rivalry with Spain. However, this scholar complains that an emphasis on these differences has often denied the significant productivity of the Spanish connection for English literature. Fuchs' volume is an attempt to reinscribe this Spanish legacy that has so often been erased.

Mary Tudor was to some extent responsible for the reception in England of "a certain vein of Spanish literature."³⁶¹ Mary was born in England but she knew enough of her mother's language to use Spanish in secret correspondence with her. Her reign saw the publication in England of several interesting translations from Spanish writers, which presented a different view of England's allies from that contained in the anonymous pamphlets mentioned above. Some of Juan Luis Vives' (1492-1540) most famous educational writings had been rendered into English during Henry VIII's reign.

³⁵⁹ Samson 2009, 66.

³⁶⁰ Lezra 2009, 120. Griffin 2012, 17.

³⁶¹ Taylor 2013, 67.

Richard Hyrde translated *De Institutione foeminae Christianae* (London 1540) and Richard Morison his *Introductio ad sapientiam* (London 1540). 1553 also witnessed the publication of Thomas Paynel's English rendering of Vives' *De Officio mariti*. Interesting enough, the list of damnable books, which he included within *De Institutione foeminae Christianae* (see section 1.2.3), corresponds closely to those titles which, after Vives' time, entered the English market. In 1548 Sir Francis Bryan published his translation of Antonio de Guevara's *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* as *A Dispraise of the life of a courtier and a commendacion of the life of a labouring man*, of which there was another edition in 1575. This was followed by Sir Thomas North's English rendering of Guevara's *Relox de príncipes* (London 1557). Robert Wyer had also issued, in 1554, the anonymous *Book of Englysshe and Spanissh* and *A Very Profitable Book to Learn the Manner of Reading, Writing and Speaking English and Spanish*; whereas John Wilkinson's *Commentaries of Don Lewes de Auella, and Suñiga*, written to show people in England the consequences of Lutheranism, appeared in 1555, the same year that Robert Eden published his English translation of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Nouo Decades*, considered one of the most influential early accounts of the Spanish conquests of the Americas.³⁶² Richard Wills expanded this edition in 1577, though he omitted Eden's original preface where he praised Spanish rulers. Eden also translated into English Martín Cortés de Albarca's *Arte de navegar* as *The arte of nauigation* in 1561, which went through eight editions until 1630. During Mary's reign the aim of translators was naturally to celebrate the achievements of their allies and to

³⁶² *The Commentaries of Don Lewes de Auella, and Suñiga great master of Aranter which treateth of the great wars in Germany made by Charles the fifth Maximo Emperoure of Rome, King of Spain, against Iohn Frederike Duke of Saxon, and Philip the Lantgraue of Hesson with other great princes and cities of the Lutherans, wherein you may see how god hath preserued this worthie and victorious emperor, in al his affayres against his enemyes* (1555). This work has been analysed by Andrew Hadfield in "Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World: Reading, Experience and Translation" (1995, 1-22). See also Hillgarth 2000: 356-7.

make the history and wisdom of Spain commonly known among their fellow Englishmen, also encouraging the study of chronicles of Spanish history and discovery. However, the translation of Spanish works *per se* was still quite modest. English interest in the literary capital of Spaniards would intensify a few years later precisely during the period when political relations had deteriorated into war.

Spain's imperial dominance was a source of fascination for other European states. Spanish, therefore, became a popular language to learn as evidenced by the appearance of printed Spanish grammars for foreign students such as Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática de la lengua castellana* as early as 1492, a work that was intended as a guidance for teachers on how to teach Castilian to non-Spanish speakers. Since the 1560s, numerous English translations from Spanish writings were reproduced in England. Barnaby Googe's *Eclogues, Epitaphs and Sonnets* (1563) were rendered from Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*, and *Obras de Boscan y algunas de Garcilaso de la Vega*.³⁶³ Googe's translation of Iñigo López de Mendoza's *Proverbs* was also published in 1579. Richard Shacklock's *Epistle to the most excellent Princesse Elizabeth* (1565) was his translation of Jerónimo Osorio da Fonseca's letter to the Queen of England, whereas John Fenne translated Osorio's *In Gualterum Haddonum* (1568) and William Blandy's part of his *De Nobilitate civili*. Some of Guevara's *Epístolas familiares* were the source of Henry B.'s *An ancient Order of knighthood, called the Order of the Band* (1568), Edward Hellowes' *Familiar Epistles* (1574) and Sir Geoffrey Fenton's *Golden Epistles* (1575). Hellowes also translated Guevara's *Década de las vidas de los x Césares* and *Aguja de marear y de sus inventores* in *A Chronicle, conteyning the liues of teene emperoures of Rome* and *A Booke of the invention of the arte of navigation*

³⁶³ *Diana* was also translated by Bartholomew Yong and Thomas Wilcox, both of which were published in 1598. It is important to mention that most of these works were not translated directly from Castilian, but either from French or Italian.

(1578), whereas his *Monte Calvario* was also anonymously translated and published in 1595. *The Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce* (1568) was Thomas Paynel's English rendering of García Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadis de Gaula*. This work was also translated by Anthony Munday and published in 1589. Thomas Fortescue published his rendering of Pedro Mexía's *Silva de varia leccion* (1571), whereas William Patten's *The Calendars of Scripture* (1575) was compiled in part from the *Biblia Polyglota Complutense*. A year later, appeared David Rowland's English rendering of *The pleasant History of Lazarillo de Tormes* whereas William Phiston translated the second part of the work (1596). Rowland's version was immensely popular in England with several editions in the period 1576-1677. As Alexander Samson noticed, it influenced Spenser's poem *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), some of Robert Greene pamphlets, Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, Francis Beaumont's *The Woman Hater* (1607), and Thomas Dekker's *Blurt Master-Constable* (1602) or *Match-me in London* (1631).³⁶⁴ Besides the work's impact on the course of English fiction, *Lazarillo de Tormes* helped to define an English understanding of Spanish literature and culture.

Other examples are Anthony Munday's translation of *Palmerin de Inglaterra* (1581), an English rendering of Bartolomé de las Casas' *Breúísima Relacion de la destruicion de las Indias* (1583) translated by an unidentified M. M. S; John Thorius' translation of Francisco de Valdés' *Espejo y disciplina militar* (1590) or Thomas Lodge's *A Margarite of America* that was apparently rendered from a story in Spanish. English renderings of Luis de Granada were published during this period too. Despite the amount of Spanish works that were translated into English, some of them published

³⁶⁴ Alexander Samson has analysed this work in "Lazarillo de Tormes and the Picaresque in Early Modern England" (2013, 121-136).

while Meres was at university, there is no trace of them in his production. There is a good record in contrast in Gabriel Harvey's copy of Antonio del Corro's *Spanish Grammar* (1590). In this work he included a list of Spanish works such as *Lazarillo*, Montemayor's *Diana* and the poetry of Boscán and Garcilaso.³⁶⁵

Both Elizabeth I and Lord Burghley were proficient in Spanish. The latter, despite his promotion of an English aversion to Spain, may have owned one of the largest private collections of Spanish books—some fifty-six titles—in Elizabethan England: “Though Burghley's collection was likely motivated by a sense that his precise knowledge would help his defence of England, through it he became one of the most well-read Spanish scholars.”³⁶⁶ But the reintroduction of Spanish literature to Early Modern England should be attributed, to a large extent, to the patronage of the Earl of Leicester. He may not have been conversant in the language, but during the second half of the sixteenth century Dudley brought under his protection a significant community of Spanish scholars at the University of Oxford. These included Rodrigo Guerrero (who left England soon after his arrival), Cipriano de Valera and Antonio del Corro: these two became the centre of a group of Hispanists in this university. These discontented Spaniards were compelled to leave their native country for matters of conscience and ideology. In spite of the efforts of Charles V to keep the faith of his subjects within the limits of orthodoxy, reformist ideas had penetrated into the Iberian Peninsula, and their followers fled to other places more sympathetic to their thought. These Spanish theologians are usually considered minor figures, but their presence in the country provides an interesting example of a movement that has otherwise been quite often disregarded. Their production and the translations of their work in England

³⁶⁵ For further details see Caroline B. Bourland 1940, 85-106.

³⁶⁶ Crummé 2011, 25. For an examination of the extent of the library see Ungerer 1965, 177-229.

is extremely relevant. Meres' rendering can, from a certain perspective, be viewed as part of a more or less continuous inflow of documents and doctrines from Spanish theologians in contrast with the controversies that existed with other, more hostile, theologians who would also use the work of devotional works, sometimes of Spanish divines, to actively militate against Lutheranism.

De Valera left Geneva for England in 1558. During the period 1560-7 he was professor, probably of theology, at Magdalen College (Cambridge). He then moved to London until his death *ca.* 1602. *Dos Tratados* (1588, with a second edition in 1599), and *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria en la catolica y Antigua fe, y religion Christiana [...]* (1594) are some of his publications. He also produced a Castilian edition of the New Testament (1596, with a second edition in 1602), based on Casiodoro de Reina's edition (Basle 1567-1569), and a Castilian version of Calvin's *Catechism* and *Christianae religionis institution* (both in 1597). The fact that they were all written in Spanish proves that Valera did not produce these texts for an English audience, but rather that his intention was to reach and influence Spain from abroad. There is evidence of this in the second epistle to the reader that he prefaced to his Castilian translation of William Perkins' *The Catholic Reformado*. Here he insists that his intention was to take down the Antichrist who had tyrannized Spanish consciousness.³⁶⁷ In providing a significant supply of evangelical literature that could be used in religious controversy Valera became rather useful to the English. His ideas may have also reached some English reformers such as John Golburne, who would publish an English version of De Valera's *Dos Tratados* in 1600.³⁶⁸ Meres too, might have come in contact, or under the influence, of De Valera, given his familiarity with both

³⁶⁷ *Catholico Reformado* 1599, A4r. Valera reproduced William Massan's Castilian version and he included a second epistle to the reader that he signed "C.D.V."

³⁶⁸ Golburne's translation was based on the second edition of 1599.

Cambridge and Oxford. Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde* and Golburne's *Two Treatises* (1600) were addressed to the same patron, Thomas Egerton.

Del Corro also came to England in 1567. Four years later, he was appointed Latin reader in divinity at the Temple, a post that he held for three years, and then *ca.* 1579 in Oxford and the colleges of Hart Halls and St. Mary. He published in London some of his most famous writings, such as *Tableau de l'Ouvre de Dieu* (1569), *Dialogus Theologicus* (1574), *Sapientissimi Regis Salomonis* (1579) and *Paraphrasis and Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (1579). There were others in French such as his *Epistle et amiable remonstrance d'un minister de l'evangile aux pasteurs de l'eglise flamengue d'Anvers* (Low Countries 1567), or *Lettre envoyée à la majesté du roy des Espaignes* (1567). The former is an appeal for moderation in doctrinal disputes and for protestant unanimity. In the latter he defended his evangelical belief, explained his abandonment of the Catholic Church and pleaded for liberty of conscience. These works were rendered into English in 1569 and 1577 respectively. Another English rendering of *Dialogus Theologicus* was published in 1575, whereas Thomas Pitt abridged and printed his sermons on Ecclesiastes in 1585. Most of these were highly controversial, defending religious freedom, toleration and reconciliation. He was also accused of sharing pelagian and universalist tendencies. His works targeted a more general readership and did not contain any reference to the Spanish situation in particular (as the writings of his compatriot Valera did).

Del Corro's reputation in the country is largely due to his *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua española y francesa* (1586 Joseph Barnes). While his previous writings were none in his native Castilian, his *Reglas* was the first book printed entirely in Spanish in Elizabethan England. Del Corro's pupil, John Thorius, translated and

adapted it for English speakers as *The Spanish Grammar* (John Wolfe, 1590).³⁶⁹ This edition contained an English/Spanish dictionary, the first of its kind printed under Elizabeth. Since the 1590s Spanish became a fashionable language to learn, and useful handbooks and lexicons began to be published. Lord Burghley also recognized the potential these sorts of texts had and he sponsored the very biased *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599) of John Minsheu. Minsheu's document was published together with *A Spanish Grammar* and *Pleasant and Delightful Dialogues in Spanish and English*, which were based on two textbooks of Spanish that Richard Percival included in his *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591). These were also published under the sponsorship of Burghley.³⁷⁰ These dictionaries created a means of accessing Spanish literature without significant mediation but, more importantly, they opened the door to printing in Spanish in Elizabethan England. They contributed to cultivate an interest in learning Spanish around the court, such as the Sydney-Pembroke circle, because "no families of Elizabethan England were open to influences from Spain at more points than the Sidneys and Herberts."³⁷¹ But above all, it created a demand for Spanish books. In subject-matter these books naturally covered a wide range of interests: education, medicine, pharmacology, anatomy, law, navigation, art of war, sociology, mathematics, psychology, travel, geography or poetry. In this list, however, the predominant position was held by works of a religious and devotional nature; Bibles, books of divinity and religious controversy were avidly demanded in Elizabethan England.

³⁶⁹ This work was one of the first publications to be issued by the Oxford press after its suspension for a hundred years.

³⁷⁰ Florio's Italian-English dictionary, *A World of Words* (1598), was also a landmark and standard throughout the seventeenth century.

³⁷¹ Underhill 1899, 264.

4.2 Religious publishing and Catholic texts

“Religious books [...] [were] the single most important component of the publishing trade, comprising around half the total output of the industry.”³⁷² In *The Book in the Renaissance*, Andrew Pettegree talked about an avalanche of religious publications, most of which were reprinted in many editions and often published over a long chronological span. Bibles, psalters, catechisms, primers or sermons were the most prized publications in the trade, and jealously guarded against industry competitors.³⁷³ The steady profits they generated gradually enlarged the capacities and ambitions of the London print trade. There is evidence of this in Kirkman’s edition of Richard Head’s *The English Rogue*. In this work, Testaments and Psalters (also Grammars and Accidents) are considered the ‘Priviledged ware’. The sale of these books was sure but the profit was small. The sale of books of divinity (and history too) was not so certain but they were more profitable.³⁷⁴ Catholic texts were also very successful and English exiles played a major role in the reception that these had in the country. Recusants were forced to champion their doctrines in opposition to the Protestant leaders, and this, they could only do abroad.

William Allen, Thomas Harding, John Rastell, Sir Francis Englefield, Hugh Owen, Nicholas Sanders, Richard Hopkins, Edmund Campion or Robert Parsons are some of the most prominent among those who fled abroad in the early 1570s. In the introduction to *A Memoriall of a Christian Life*, Richard Hopkins wrote that “diuers godly learned Priestes of our Seminaries [...] haue trauailed of late yeares in diuers parts of our realme, with great Christian charitable and Apostolicke zeale, to conuert the

³⁷² Collinson, Hunt and Walsham 2008, 29. See also Shell 2010, 418-432.

³⁷³ Pettegree 2010, 221.

³⁷⁴ *The English Rogue* 1680, 193.

Caluinists and Puritanes.”³⁷⁵ Europe offered important opportunities. In the Continent they could find ideological affinity and take advantage of its recently founded universities and, above all, their presses, which turned them into perfect environments for the production of persuasive and controversial texts. A great number of the exiles chose to study at the English College of Douai (1568) or in any of the similar institutions that were established in neighbouring towns, such as that at St. Omer, founded in 1583 by Father Parsons. Also in Rome Pope Gregory XIII set up a Jesuit College in 1576 that welcomed a great number of English exiles. At this time, Douay was under the Spanish dominions, and its college depended to an extent upon Philip II’s financial aid. This circumstance was another crucial factor in the subsequent development of Anglo-Hispanic relations.³⁷⁶

This explains why many of the works from English pens came from the presses of Rheims, Paris, Rouen, Douay, Louvain and other neighbouring cities, during the last decades of the sixteenth century. Others, however, were printed in London. Printers and Stationers were aware of the success of the genre and some of them assured that these books continued to be produced, dispersed and secretly sold. Brinkley and his assistants, for instance, printed books for Persons and Campion; whereas John Wolfe and James Robert printed, for Gabriel Cawood, Robert Southwell’s *Marie Magdalens funeral teares* and *Saint Peter complaint with other poems*. Most of them worked outside the city, where covert printing and publishing was more secure and they remained a constant challenge to the authorities. False and misleading imprints and dates as well as fictitious pseudonyms were common measures among those involved in illicit publishing.

³⁷⁵ *Memoriall* 1599, 20.

³⁷⁶ The college removed to Rheims in 1578 as a result of a temporal understanding between England and Spain. It again returned to Douay in 1593.

The most important literary achievement of the exiles and the Douai-Rheims College was an English Catholic translation of the Bible published in 1582. It sought to reassert the integrity of the Vulgate as the authentic expression of the divine word and Church tradition against other English protestant versions, which relied on the Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek originals. In general, they produced a wholesale body of recusant writings that challenged the country's religious establishment. A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers' catalogue confirms the success of Catholic literature in England. They catalogued about 930 English Catholic books that were printed on the continent or secretly in England from 1558 to 1640. The corpus increases to 1619 titles if we include texts in Latin and other continental vernaculars.³⁷⁷ This printed material is just one sector of what Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt and Alexandra Walsham have called English Catholic Counter-Reformation book culture. There was also a tradition of scribal publication that ensured that much devotional and controversial material propagated furtively through the Catholic underground. An example of this is Antonio de Molina's *A Treatise of mental prayer in which is briefly declared the manner how to exercise the inward actes of vertues* (1617). In the preface to the reader, the author recognized that prior to its publication his treatise was "deliuered from hand to hand, many copies thereof being spread abroad."³⁷⁸

William Allen's first exilic writings, *A defense and declaration of the catholicke churches doctrine touching purgatory and prayers for the soules departed* (1565) and *A treatise made in defense of the lauful power and authoritie of priesthood to remitte sinnes* (1567) addressed the critical matter of sixteenth-century theological debate, that

³⁷⁷ Allison, A. F., and D. M. Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England* (1956); See also their *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640* (1994).

³⁷⁸ *A Treatise of mental prayer* 1617, 6r.

of justification and works. In 1581 came his famous *Apologie and true declaration of the institution and endeauours of the two English colleges*, where he called for the free circulation of Catholic texts and offered non-conformists and other opponents to the state church refuge in the English Colleges. He condemned the execution of some missionary priests, Edmund Campion among them (December 1581), in his *A briefe Historie of the Glorius Martyrdom of xii Reverend Priests* (1582) and *A true report of the late apprehension and imprisonment of John Nicols Minister, at Roan, and his confession and answers made in the time of his durance there* (1583). His most militant writing was, however, *An Admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland* (1588) where he tried to persuade English Catholics of a revolt against the country's settlement and its head, the Queen that is described as an "incestuous bastard, begotten and borne in sinne" thus "illegitimate and vncapable of succession to the croune of England."³⁷⁹ The literary activities of the Jesuit Robert Persons were also fundamental as instruments of Catholic revival. He produced numerous controversial writings. *A brief discours containing certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to church, A brief censure upon two books written in answere to M. Edmonde Campions offer of disputation* or *A discoverie of I. Nichols minister* written in the early months of the Mission and published in 1581, dealt with the two main controversial issues of the day: the permission for Catholics to attend Anglican services and the perception of the Mission as a purely spiritual venture. These writings were printed in a clandestine press, probably at Stonor Park, presumably by Parsons and his printer, Stephen Brinkley. At this moment they were also planning to publish Campion's *Decem rationes* addressed to the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge. The work was subsequently rendered into English by Richard Stock as *Ten Reasons proposed to his adversaries for disputation in*

³⁷⁹ Allen 1588, A6r and A5r. Allen burned this work after the Armada episode.

the name of the faith and presented to the illustrious members of our universities (1606), and it is considered together with his *Challenge* or letter *To the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council* (1580), as the real academic thrust of the mission and a formal defence of Catholic doctrine. In the latter work, Campion petitioned English Protestants for a debate to be held in the presence of Queen Elizabeth. These two Jesuits were, however, discovered; Campion was arrested and eventually executed. His martyrdom became an inspiration for the Catholic in England and abroad. Parsons in contrast fled to France and settled at Rouen where he continued writing his most famous work, the *Resolution* (1582). *The First Book of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution* is considered a key document in the understanding of the impact of the Catholic counterreformation upon England. In line with the Jesuit practice, the work was devised as a spiritual guide to transform the religious conditions of English people without being embroiled in controversy; the very same objective Thomas Harding pursued when he advised Richard Hopkins to translate Luis de Granada's spiritual works.³⁸⁰ Parsons was planning another edition of the work when, in 1584, Edmund Bunny considered it worth assimilating to Protestant churchmanship and he wrote a work with the same title but free of all specifically Catholic doctrine and idiom that also won a considerable readership. He realized the potential damage Parsons' stylistic brilliance and spiritual power could work on their faith.³⁸¹ By the summer of that year, Parsons resumed work on the *Resolution* that would eventually appear in 1585, considerably expanded, renamed as *A Christian Directory* (Rouen) and with a second

³⁸⁰ "The principall cause and reason was, to the ende our cuntrye men might haue some one sufficiet directio for matters of life and spirit, among so many bookes of controuersies as haue ben written, and are in writinge dailye" (Parsons 1582, 2). For an analysis of the influence of Luis de Granada among the Jesuits see Joseph de Guibert's *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice* (1964).

³⁸¹ The alterations in Edmund Bunny's work has been analysed by McNulty in "The Protestant Version" of Robert Parsons' *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise* (1959).

part published in 1590. Yet the work would undergo a final revision in 1607 that would continue in print for centuries to come. Victor Houlston considers it the most popular devotional work to appear in English before 1650, “a phenomenal best-seller” that “was written by a genuine prose artist.”³⁸²

In an essay about the sources and influences of the *Resolution*, Helen C. White claimed that it was an expansion of Gaspar de Loarte’s *Esercizio della uita christiana* (1557). Maria Hagedorn, A. C. Southern and J. P. Driscoll on the contrary, identified Luis de Granada as the main source of the work. Though the latter talked about a “minor borrowing.” In Victor Houlston’s edition of *The Christian Directory* (1998) we find a middle ground between these two arguments: he did not reject the claim that the *Resolution* began as a preface to Loarte’s work (Parsons’ printer, Brinkley, had presumably printed an English edition of his *Esercizio della uita christiana* in 1579). This scholar also recognized the inevitable influence of Ignacio de Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises* upon Parsons’ text. But, above all, Houlston emphasized Parsons’ indebtedness to Luis de Granada, whose texts he might have encountered before embarking on the English mission. In a letter to Acquaviva (21st October 1581) Parsons recommend Granada’s works among those who could provide spiritual help to people in Scotland and England (“Incumbo iam prelo ad excudendos varios libros spirituales ad iuvandam tam Scotiam quam Anglicam; maxime autem unum, qui ad propositum nostrum maxime pertinet. Traduci curavi multa ex Granatensi Loarte et aliis”).³⁸³ Victor Houlston further insisted that the *Resolution* shared many features with Granada’s *Guía de pecadores*. According to this scholar, Parsons borrowed not only Granada’s general scheme, many of his chapter headings and subheadings, but also illustrations, analogies

³⁸² Houlston 1998: xi; Houlston 1996, 160.

³⁸³ McCoog 1999, 109.

and arguments because “the Dominican author had been highly successful in addressing the needs of a new audience of lay people.”³⁸⁴ Houliston also affirms that Parsons was conscious of the suitability of Luis de Granada for English readers, and he even raised the hypothesis of a possible collaboration with Richard Hopkins’ English translations of Luis de Granada. Hopkins’ version of *Libro de la oración y meditación* was published the same year of the publication of the *Resolution* (1582). Moreover, the 1584 edition of *The First Book of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution* was published by George L’Oyselet, who was also the publisher of Hopkins’s second edition of *Prayer and Meditation* (1584) as well as *A Memorial of a Christian Life* (1586). A close comparative analysis would be needed to determine the position of Robert Parsons’ text with respect to *Guía de pecadores*, at this stage of the investigation it is safe to propose that he knew Granada’s works. In the preface to *A Christian Directory* (1585), Parsons wrote to Bunny saying:

But here I would demande of M. Buny in sincerite, where or when, any of his religion did either make or set forthe (of them selues) any one treatise of this kinde or subiect? I meane, of deuotion pietie and contemplation? Of ours I can name infinite both of times past and present. As in times past S. Bernard, S. Bonauenture, S. Auselme, Iohn Gerson, Thomas de Kempis, Dionisius Cathusianus, and others, whom no man wil deny to haue bene al of our religion. For this time present, the most excellent writings of *Ludouicus de Granada*, *Diegostella*, *Polancus*, *Angerius*, and this present booke with infinite others.³⁸⁵

A relation of the king of Spaines receiving in Valladolid (1592) or *Newes from Spayne and Holland* (1593), were other writings about the seminaries. In the latter work Parsons contrasts the seminaries in Spain and England’s religious policy.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ Houliston 1998, xxxv (note 86), xxxvi.

³⁸⁵ *The Christian Directory* 1585, 9r.

³⁸⁶ There a list of Parsons’s works in Houliston 2007, 183-4.

Problems of supply and distribution were critical. The network of communication was increasingly elaborate and extensive. Merchants were persuaded or generously paid to conceal prohibited literature from their cargo, to land them on isolated ports or to bribe customs officers to turn a blind eye. Here too, Parsons played a fundamental role. His press in Rouen was a good spot for the preparation and export of clandestine books to England. His involvement in, at least, the distribution of *The Copie of a Letter wryten by a Master of Arts of Cambrige*, better known as *Leicester's Commonwealth* (1584), a Catholic attack on Elizabeth's religious policy and particularly Dudley's puritan sympathies, forced him into hiding again. It is equally possible that he helped to introduce Hopkins' translations. Other individuals played their part in the distributive network. The recusant Thomas Aufield admitted, prior to his execution in 1585, that he had smuggled some five or six hundred copies of William Allen's *A true, sincere and modest defence of English Catholics that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad* (1584) into the country. Peter Lowson too, confessed that he had introduced several packs with catechisms, Old Testaments and meditations; whereas Nicholas Sanders estimated that around 20,000 of these books had been imported and secretly sold.³⁸⁷ Women were also active in this business. Ann Dowse, Joan Daubrigscourt, and Roger Heigham's wife, Marie Boniface, were famous female dealers. Booksellers and stationers in the Churchyard found it profitable to act as intermediaries in the trade. The success of the Jesuit Mission was unquestionable not as much as regards conversion as to the introduction of Catholic propaganda. There is evidence of its success in the records of private book ownership, which foreground the efficient connection between lay people and Catholic book smugglers and distributors. Over half of Andrew Perne's library—3,000 titles— consisted of books entitled

³⁸⁷ Quoted in Samson 2011, 387.

‘Catholici’, most of them written in Latin by non-English Catholic authors. The library of John Stow also contained sizable numbers of Catholic texts, at least thirty-eight had been identified, which were printed in the continent. Even though he was suspected by the ecclesiastical authorities of sharing heterodox predilections, it seems that his collection was kept to serve his own antiquarian interests and Stow’s remained Anglican under Elizabeth. John Barber too, was related to the book distribution activities of the book-smuggling priest and martyr Thomas Aufield. Lord Howard’s acquaintances among the Catholic gentry were several large-scale acquirers of Catholic books that were active during the Elizabethan period. The library of Lord Vaux of Harrowden, for instance, contained Catholic titles by Thomas Stapleton and Luis de Granada. Thomas Cornwallis also acquired a modest library of Catholic books and may have had local connections to Catholic book-smuggling networks in the 1580s.

Thomas Tresham (1543-1605) and John Lumley (1533-1609) owned one the largest private Elizabethan Catholic libraries amassed by the leading members of the English Catholic minority. They possessed a total of nearly 4,300 books on architecture, mathematics, astronomy, science or literature, but a wide range of these titles was on Catholic theology and devotion. The Church Fathers Augustine, Basil or Jerome; *devotio moderna* mystics such as Savonarola, Alonso de Madrid, Diego de Estella, Peter Canisius or Osorius; and the exilic writings of Cardinal Allen, Nicholas Sanders or Thomas Stapleton were among them. Apart from these, Lumley owned ten works by the popular Luis de Granada, whereas this figure increased to twenty-three in Tresham’s library, making him the best-represented contemporary Catholic author among their books. In their collections there were editions of his works in Spanish, Italian, French and Latin. Tresham was deeply connected to networks of English Catholic book smugglers, a fact that made him subject to repeated searches and seizures of his books.

Richard Hopkins' first English versions of Luis de Granada were among the books confiscated from Tresham's estate at Hoxton. They also figured in the inventory of titles confiscated from the house of George Brome and his sisters, Elizabeth and Briget Brome.³⁸⁸ These private libraries may have provided Meres' invaluable information about the most commercially successful genre of the period in the country as well as potential sources for his renderings.

In England, the success of Catholic literature and doctrine was a source of great concern as it challenged the unity of the Anglican Church. Harbours and vessels were carefully inspected. The Act against Fugitives over the Sea (1571) prohibited anyone from leaving the country without a royal licence, and those who refused to return within an established period were deprived of their property. The effect of this propaganda on national allegiance was one of the main concerns of the three royal proclamations issued between 1580 and 1582. Reports of a Catholic conspiracy to invade England and restore Catholicism under Mary Stuart prompted the first proclamation (July 15, 1580) whereby travel became linked with treason. A subsequent proclamation (January 10, 1581) attempted to reclaim those faithful subjects who had been perverted abroad. Families were asked to provide authorities with the names of any family members living abroad, further mandating their return within the space of four months. Loss of whatever property they possessed were some of the penalties inflicted on all who disobeyed the Queen. The ultimatum came with a third proclamation (April 1, 1582) mandating seminarians to return within the established months. Loomie defined the presence of Catholic refugees abroad as "the most serious loophole in the Crown's control of the

³⁸⁸ For a more detailed account of lay Catholic book ownership in England see Havens 2016, 217-262. On the libraries of Thomas Tresham and John Lumley see also Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham & Thomas Brudenell* (2006) and Sears Jayne and Francis R. Johnson, *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609* (1956).

Catholic resurgence.” The exiles’ writings “[sabotaged] the Crown’s success over religious conformity.”³⁸⁹

Much of the stock in the trade of Catholic works was controversial and political. Texts in support of Mary Queen of Scots were numerous. In *A Treatise of treasons against Q. Elizabeth, and the Crown of England* (Louvain 1572), John Leslie depicted the Queen’s two powerful advisors, Nicholas Bacon and William Cecil, as perverse figures whose anti-Catholicism was guided not by genuine religious conviction, but by their desire to control the succession and continue to reap profits attained from ruling over land. There was also a large corpus of polemical theology whose aim was to defend church doctrine and attack Protestant practice. An example of this is the Jewel-Harding controversy in English. Other important examples in Latin are John Gibbons’s *Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia* (1583) or Bellarmine’s *Disputationes* (1586-9) that learned Catholics considered impregnable. Shorter manuals, pamphlets and broadsheets were meant to be read aloud so that their contents could reach the illiterate population. Many leading figures in the English mission believed that works of controversy were having a detrimental effect. William Reynolds observed that it was filling the heads of men “with contentions, disputes, and brawles wordes” and distracting them from more properly religious concerns.³⁹⁰ Their priority was the publication of works designed to cultivate piety, devotion and repentance. There were numerous small books intended for the laity, whereas others were designed to help priests consecrate the sacrament and say mass.

³⁸⁹ Loomie 1963, 6.

³⁹⁰ *A refutation of sundry reprehensions, cavils, and false sleights* 1583, 5-6.

There were also instruction manuals for those who remained faithful to Mother Church in the fundamentals of Catholic practice and ritual: how to pray, how to confess or how to receive the Eucharist.

George Thomas Kurian in his *Encyclopedia of Christian Literature* (2010) claimed that, after the Bible, Christian devotional literature has provided the most popular and instructive kind of reading and guidance for believers. Broadly considered, devotional literature is defined as any text that could be viewed or used as a means of stirring religious fervour or of shaping the faith of its readers, transforming them as much as possible into the image of Christ. As such it may be thought to encompass any verbal artefact employed to stimulate the production, sustenance, and direction of the unique interior Christian self, whether solely in relation to the divine or including also service to fellow believers, neighbours, and/or the world. Prayer books, instruction manuals, primers, printed sermons, psalters, missals, breviaries, hagiographies, and catechisms help to shape devotional practices and usages and they were recurrently printed in this period.³⁹¹

Translations of the works of Spanish authors were not numerous but they were highly influential. We have already seen, for instance, some of Juan Luis Vives' pedagogical works translated into English and though Vives himself was not a member of the church, he wrote several moral and religious treatises, which constitute an essential part of Elizabethan devotional literature. These works were distinctly Erasmian in character. His interest was ethical and devotional but he showed very little concern for theological controversies. Vives' *De Institutione foeminae Christianae* was used by women in England as an aid to private piety. *Excitationes Animi in Deum* is his most important contribution to the literature of Christian devotion. In this work, he admits his

³⁹¹ Kurian 2010, 57-60. Eire 2007, 85-6.

indebtedness to Cassian's spiritual writings, which were of great importance in the establishment of active and the contemplative ideal in western spirituality. The volume was composed of a number of treatises some of which John Bradford translated into English in *Private Prayers and Meditations* (1559) and *Godly Meditations* (1562). Part of Bradford's translation was included John Day's book *Christian Prayers and meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greeke and Latine* (1569) better known as *Queen Elizabeth's prayer book*. Other editions of the text, this time by Richard Day appeared in 1578, 1581 and 1590. Vives' *Seven Meditations on the Penitential Psalms* and the *Meditations on the Passion of Christ*, both of which stress some of the basic principles of Erasmus' *Philosophia Christi*, were read in Elizabethan England too.³⁹² Similarly, several controversial treatises of Jerónimo Osório da Fonseca were Englished by Richard Shacklock and John Fenne in 1565 and 1568 respectively. Both of which were printed in exile; Shaclock's *An Epistle to Queen Elizabeth* was published in Antwerp, whereas Fenne's *A Learned and very Eloquent Treatie* appeared in Louvain. William Blandie also translated Osorio's *De Gloria et nobilitate civile et Christiana* (London 1576). Another Spanish churchman who was read in the country at the end of the century was the Franciscan Diego de Estella (1524-1578). His work *De la Vanidad del Mundo* (Salamanca 1574), which bore a close resemblance to the *Imitation of Christ*, went through four editions and six translations into Latin, French and Italian before 1600. Two English editions appeared at the end of the century; the first of these was an exilic version titled *The Comtempte of the world and the vanitie thereof* made by

³⁹² *Meditationes in septem psalmos paenitentiales* (Louvain 1518), *Meditatio de Passione Christi in psalmum XXXVII* (Bruges 1529), *Exercitationes animi in Deum* (Bruges 1535). Juan Luis Vives' religious works also include *Christi Iesu triumphus* (Paris 1514), *Veritas fucata* (Paris 1514), *Clypei Christi descriptio* (Bruges 1514), *Fabula Homine* (Louvain 1518), *Genethliacon Jesu Christi* (Louvain 1518), *De tempore quo, id est, de pace in qua natus est Christus* (Louvain 1518), *Commentaria in XXII libros De Civitate Dei Divi Aureli Augustini* (Louvain 1521), *Satellitium animi* (Bruges 1524), *Sacrum diurnum de Sudore Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Bruges 1529) or *De veritate fidei christianae* (Bruges 1543).

an unidentified G. C. (Douay 1584), whereas Thomas Rogers, who had previously translated the *Imitation* (1580), translated it as *Methodo unto Mortification, called heretofore the contempt of the world and the vanity thereof* (London 1586).

English translations from Luis de Granada's devotional writings were remarkable both in number and popularity. No other Spaniard in that age save for Guevara, whose works had been translated by Francis Bryan, Thomas North or Geoffrey Fenton, was so often translated or so widely read; Juan de Ávila's *Audi Filia* and Teresa's *Libro de la vida* were first recorded in England in 1620 when Sir Tobie Matthew translated them.³⁹³ By that time, about twenty English editions of Luis de Granada's works were either printed, or licensed to be printed. His principal works translated into English were *Libro de la oración y meditación*, *Guía de pecadores* and *Memorial de la vida Cristiana*. These works, coming from both Protestant and Catholic translators, doubtless contributed enormously to the spirit and method of Christian devotion that is found in the native English devotional writers. When they were first rendered into English in the 1580s, Granada's spiritual writings enjoyed great European diffusion. Numerous editions of his works were published in the principal vernacular languages, alongside many Latin editions. Hopkins and Isselt's versions of Luis de Granada provided Meres with information about the international success of Granada's prose. In *The Sinners Gvyde*, for instance, he claimed that *Guía de pecadores* had "since been translated into Latine, Italian, and French" and complains that in England just some anonymous translators had rendered into English Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación*. This work enjoyed great popularity. In Italy some thirty editions were published in the period 1568-1597; at least thirteen in Spain, nine in France and three in Cologne. In Antwerp too, Christopher Plantin (interestingly enough, one of the major

³⁹³ Underhill 1899, 182; Samson 2011; Helen C. White 1931.

importers into England) issued five different editions of *Guía*. Meres himself published another edition of *The Sinners Gvyde* in 1614 (London) when he was rector of Wing. These re-editions suggest a positive response from its readership and a demand for this work. It is significant, at any rate, that contemporaneous with the appearance of his works in England the production of devotional literature begins afresh among native writers.

4.3 The influence of Christian devotion over English writers

As Andrew Hadfield's volume, *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640* (2013) confirms, Early Modern prose covers an extraordinarily diverse range of forms of writing. However, "an unwieldy category—which ranged from pastoral writing to polemical, devotional to doctrinal, exegetical to ecclesiastical— religious prose dominated publishing."³⁹⁴ Section 4.2 above analysed religion as the grand animating force for translators. English writers, other than Catholic exiles, were also stimulated by this genre during the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign.³⁹⁵ The sonneteers Barnabe Barnes, Henry Constable and Henry Lok displayed in their poetry the features of Christian devotion. In Barnabe's *A Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnetts* (1595) the Christocentric type of contemplation, reliance on faith for salvation, meditations upon heaven and God or petitions for purification and illumination are recurrent themes. In Sonnet XXII, for instance, he calls the "deare Sauour", the "fountaine of life and endlesse happinesse" and he implores Him to "quench these wordly sparkes of Sathans fier/ Enkindled in my fancies and desier" and to "Defend mee charg'de with sinful

³⁹⁴ Maxwell 2009, 184. On the success of the sermon see McCullough 2013.

³⁹⁵ For a more detailed analysis of the influence of Christian devotion over English writers see Collins 1940, 135-231.

wickednesse”. He ends pleading that “through mercy, my poore soule shall heauen inherite.”³⁹⁶ The image of the fountain is recurrently used in *The Sinners Gvyde*. In this work, God is “the fountaine and originall of all nobility”, “a fountaine to coole thee”, and “the fountaine of liuing water.” Similarly the Grace of the Holy Ghost is described as “the fountaine and originall of all other priuiledges, and benefits.”³⁹⁷ In Constable’s most representative spiritual work, *Spiritual Sonnettes* (written in the late 1590s and published in 1815), the poems were addressed to God and the saints, with particular attention to Mary Magdalene, and they were a vehicle for expressing the soul’s desire for unification with the divine. In the seventeenth sonnet in the series the persona talks about the moment of death in the following terms:

My body ys the garment of my spryghte,
Whyle as the day-tyme of my lyfe doth last:
When death shall brynge the nyght of my delyghte,
My sowle unclothed shall rest from labors past:
And clasped in the armes of God injoye
By sweete conjunction everlastyng joye.³⁹⁸

Again, this is very similar to the way in which death is described in *The Sinners Gvyde*:

That day sometime will be, when as thou shalt liue in the morning, but shalt not lyue at night. That day at the length wil come, [...] in the which thou thy selfe, who novve readest these things which we write, beeing strong and lustie, measuring thy life with longnes of desires, and thy dayes vvith multitude of businesses, thou shalt see thy selfe lying in a bedde, expecting the blow and sentence of fearefull death.³⁹⁹

Henry Lok’s *Sundry Christian passions contained in two hundred sonnets* (1593) also display a deep spiritual insight. Here he justified, ‘to the Christian reader’,

³⁹⁶ *A Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnetts* 1595, C1v.

³⁹⁷ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 101, 140, 194, 222; 147.

³⁹⁸ Hazlitt, 1859, 60.

³⁹⁹ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 71.

how a predominantly secular form could serve as devotional medium and he insisted on “the apt nature of Poetry”:

To delight, to contriue [significantly] in fewe words much matter, to pearce and penetrate [affections] of men, with the aptnesse thereof, for helpe of [memory], I will not saie much: but for my deducing [these] passions into Sonnets, it answereth (as I suppose) best for the [shortness], to the nature of passions, and common burner of men, who are either not long touched with so good motions, or by their worldly affaires not permitted to continue much reading.⁴⁰⁰

The sequence was later on appended to and expanded in his verse translation of *Ecclesiastes* (1597). Here he was probably inspired by his mother’s version of Psalm 51, *A Meditation of a penitent Sinner* (1560). In this work, Anne Locke pioneered the use of the religious sonnet sequence in England.⁴⁰¹

Alexander Hume’s *Treatise of Conscience* (1594), though not spiritual *per se*, manifests a thorough acquaintance with medieval theology and devotion. In this work he advised those with a bad conscience:

Not to entangle nor meddle thy selfe much with worldly busines: but to abstract thy mind from the solicitude of temporall affaires; and to withdrawe thy selfe from the societie of the prophane multitude [thus] thou may be the better disposed to serue thy God, to giue thy selfe to contemplation, and to be exercised in all spirituall and godly exercitions.

He further recommends them:

Let then thy daily exercise, during the disease of thy *Conscience*, be this: If thou can read, giue thy selfe to the lecture of comfortable books composed by learned and godly men; and to the reading of the holy Scriptures.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ *Sundry Christian passions* 1593, A5v.

⁴⁰¹ Women played a fundamental role in the production and dissemination of religious books during the Tudor and Jacobean periods. It is the subject of study of Micheline White’s volume, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World: English Women, Religion, and Textual Production* (2011).

⁴⁰² *Treatise of Conscience* 1594, 68.

Of this too, we find examples in *The Sinners Gvyde*. Here, Granada advised that, “as we beleue that it is not of any necessity to God, that hee should nourish mens bodies with bread onely, [...] so is it not necessarie to him, that he should satisfie soules with temporall blessings onely.” He provides the example of all his Saints, “who were endued with that spirituall ioy and mirth, and with that affection of deuotion, that their prayers, exercises, teares, and delights, exceeded all the solaces and pleasures of this world.” He further illustrates the benefits of despising temporall good for Christ: “thou shalt find in him inestimable treasures: if thou shalt contemne false and fayned honours, thou shalt finde in him those that be true: if thou shalt renounce the loue of thy father and mother, for this he will delight thee, with greater blandishments and cherishing, and thou shalt find for a temporall father an eternall; & if thou shalt cast from thee those pestiferous and venomous pleasures, thou shalt haue in him sweeter, pleasanter, and holier delights.”⁴⁰³ Hume also wrote *Four Discourses of praise unto God* (1594) and *A treatise of the felicity* (1594). John Davies’ poem, *Nosce Teipsum* (1599) and *The Muses Sacrifice* (1612) are also examples of Christian devotion. In the latter work we read:

So, is thy *Goodnesse* greater then each *Good*;
And thy loue more then other lasting *loues*.

Ah Lord! what made thee make me, but that *loue*?
What to redeeme me but that tender moode?
Of nought thou mad'st me (which can nothing moue
Being Nought) and me redeemest, to make me good.

O let me stretch the *armes* of mine *Affects*,
To hold thee to the *Breast* of my *d^sires*:
O *cause* of *sweetnesse*, cause these sweet *effects*;
And make my *Breast* the *Furnace* for these *Fires*.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰³ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 128.

⁴⁰⁴ *The Muses Sacrifice* 1612, 16r.

Other interesting examples are Henry Walpole's *The Song of Mary the Mother of Christ* (1601) and *A Dialogue between a Catholic and Consolation. A Prisoner's Song* within *The Song of Mary*, based upon a poem wrongly attributed to Saint Augustine. Robert Parsons's *Christian Directory* was another important spiritual treatise that appeared during Elizabeth's reign. This complete handbook of Christian fundamentals was, as already mentioned, rather successful in England and was reprinted several times after the publication of the *editio princeps* in 1582. Thomas Nash or Robert Greene, for instance, recommended its reading. Thomas Lodge too, holds an important position in the history of English Christian devotion. His love for contemplation was revealed in the poem 'In Commendation of a solitaire life' within the work *Scillaes metamorphosis* (1589). Similarly, in *Prosopopeia* (1596), *The Devil Conjured* (1596) and *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado* (1601) he made constant use of the Scriptures as well as patristic and medieval spiritual authorities. Another important figure was Philip Howard. The long poem *A Foure-Fould Meditation of the foure last things* (1606), written while in prison, was one of his most important religious works. Like Hume's *Treatise of Conscience*, Howard warns against temporal and worldly pleasures:

OH wretched man, which louest earthly things,
 And to this world, hast made thy selfe a thrall,
 Whose short delights, eternall sorrow brings,
 Whose sweet in show, in truth is bitter gall:
 Whose pleasures fade, ere scarce they be possest,
 And grieue them least, that do them most detest.⁴⁰⁵

The poem "Through Thy Cross and Passion", the *Epistle of Jesus Christ to the Faithful Soule*, *A Hymne of the Life and Passion of our Saviour Christ* and *A Hymne*

⁴⁰⁵ *A foure-fould meditation* 1606, B1r.

wherein the praises of all Creatures are offered up unto the Creatour—three translations of the Carthusian writer Lanspergius published in 1595—are other important contributions to English Christian devotion with repeated pleas for detachment from the world and authentic growth.

Similarly, the writings of Robert Southwell, Nicholas Breton and Edmund Spenser also displayed the features of Christian devotion. The Jesuit Southwell, always in contact with English Catholics, earned a place of honour among the great religious writers of the Elizabethan period with a large amount of verse and prose between 1591-1595. His use of popular standards in his prose writings and the lyrical strain of his sacred poetry attracted many readers and most of his works went through different editions. Instructed by the theologian Leonardus Lessius at Douai and an avid reader of Ignacio de Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, his relation to Christian devotion appeared early in his life. Among his prose writings stand out some seventy-three meditative exercises, an English version of Diego de Estella's *Meditaciones Deuotissimos del Amor de Dios (A Hundred Meditations of the Love of God)* and *Mary Magdalen's Funerall Teares* (1591, other editions appeared in 1594 and 1602) that was a paraphrase of John 20, 1-8. The poem *St. Peter's Complaint* (published twice in 1595) and the series *The Myrtae* (1595) and *The Maeoniae* (1595) were also very popular. Southwell influenced Lodge, among others, and his poems bear a striking affinity to Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes*. Nicholas Breton too, was a prolific and versatile writer. The deep piety and devotional nature reflected in his texts also mark an important contribution to the spiritual literature of the period. He was sensitive to the claims of the spirit over the desires of the flesh, and was possessed of a missionary zeal for human betterment. Some examples are the poems *The Pilgrimage to Paradise* and *The Countesse of Penbrookes loue* (both published in 1592). The first of these is a long allegory of man

as a pilgrim on the journey of life which ends in paradise; whereas the second, complementary to the previous one, is a meditation upon mystical love.⁴⁰⁶ Following these, he published in 1595 the poem *A Solemne Passion of the Soules Love* (re-printed in 1598 and 1623) and a prose commentary on John 20, titled *Mary Magdalen's Love* (1595).⁴⁰⁷ The poem *The Countesse of Penbrooke's Passion* was a companion piece to the earlier *The Countesse of Penbrookes Loue* and it circulated in manuscript until 1853. *Auspicante Iehova: Marie's Exercise* (1597), *The Rauish Soule*, *The Blessed Weeper*, *The Longing of a Blessed Heart which loathing the World doth long to be with Christ* (all published in 1601) or *The Soule's Harmony* (1602) are other of his religious works where he made recurrent exaltation of heavenly love in contrast to its earthly counterpart:

Oh my sweet CHRIST, help mee to honour thee: Inspire my heart with thy Loue, tell mee what to thincke of thee, teach mee what I shall say of thee, learne mee how I shall praie vnto thee; that in my Soule, I may neuer cease to prayse thee: O glory in the highest heuens, highest glory of the heuens, onely glory beefore the heuens, bee thou glorified aboue the heuens.⁴⁰⁸

Edmund Spenser ranks highest in the history of Christian devotion in the Elizabethan age. The reader can discern his transcendental character in the *Faerie Queene* (1590).

Cant. X begins:

What man is he, that boasts of fleshly might,
And vaine assuraunce of mortality,
Which all so soone, as it doth come to fight,
Against spirituall foes, yields by and by,
Or from the fielde most cowardly doth fly?
Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill,

⁴⁰⁶ In 1577 he had already published the short poem *A Solempne and repentant Prayer, for a former life mispent*.

⁴⁰⁷ The authorship of *Mary Magdalen's Love* has come under question. See Collins 1940, 183.

⁴⁰⁸ *Auspicante Iehoua* 1597, 30r-30v.

That thorough grace hath gained victory.
If any strength we haue, it is to ill,
But all the good is Gods, both power and eke will.⁴⁰⁹

This is also noticeable in the second pair of hymns within the *Fowre Hymnes* (1596), ‘An Hymne of Heavenly Love’ and ‘An Hymne of Heavenly Beavtie’.⁴¹⁰ Alongside the Christian component in his poems, we must also take into consideration the influence of Renaissance Neoplatonism. The concept of love and beauty, as well as the perception of reality that Spenser uses follow the Neoplatonic conceptions expressed by the most prestigious Renaissance humanists and philosophers such as Marsilio Ficino or Leon Abrabanel. On the spiritual nature of these poems Greenlaw claimed, “Spenser’s Hymns are the finest expression in English literature of that Mysticism which growing out of Neo-Platonic impulses developed into a transcendental philosophy that has been a continuous and pervasive element in our poetry.”⁴¹¹

The study of Elizabethan devotion presents a new, and often overlooked, picture of the period. Any description of its literature which does not take into consideration the abundant, and often overlooked, production of devotional texts is incomplete. Most of these works were published while Meres was in London, and through the references within the ‘Comparatiue Discourse’ it is apparent that he might have read some of these. In this work, Davies is considered one of the best English Epigrammatists, whereas Lodge is included within the best comic and satiric poets. He also mentions Breton within lyric and elegiac poetry, the same as Spenser who is also described as a heroic,

⁴⁰⁹ *The Faerie Queene* 1590, 135.

⁴¹⁰ Greenlaw 1920, 347. For further details on Spenser’s life and literary production see Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser, A Life* (2012).

⁴¹¹ Greenlaw 1920, 347. On Neoplatonism see Paul O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (1961, 48-69) and Michael J. B. Allen, ‘Renaissance Neoplatonism’ (2001, 435-441). On the influence of Neoplatonism in Spenser see Robert Ellrodt, *NeoPlatonism in the Poetry of Spenser* (1960).

pastoral and “divine poet”. His *Fairy Queen* too, is identified as an exquisite poem.⁴¹²

Francis Meres too contributed to this wave of spiritual fervour with his translations of Luis de Granada.

⁴¹² *Palladis Tamia* 1598, 280v.

5 The Reception of Luis de Granada in England

5.1 English translations of Granada's prose: Catholic and Protestant editions

The accentuation of the religious differences with Spain after the death of Mary and England's religious pluralism precipitated theological debate. We have already mentioned how English reformers used the works of Spaniards, such as De Valera, Del Corro or Juan Pérez de Pineda, in support of Protestantism.⁴¹³ Catholic writers too followed, in part, the steps of Spanish authors of devotional prose in defence of church tradition. Through the efforts of ministers trained in Douai, Rome or Valladolid, the works of "Tridentine giants" like Osorio, Diego de Estella and, most relevant for our purposes, Luis de Granada were rendered familiar to English readers.⁴¹⁴ Leaving aside the possible influence of Granada's ideas on Parsons' *Christian Directory*, Richard Hopkins pioneered English translations of Luis de Granada's writings. In 1582 Thomas Brumeau published in Paris *Of Prayer and Meditation*, a translation of the first part of *Libro de la oración y meditación*, of which there were at least two editions in 1584 (Rouen, George Loyselet) and 1612 (Douay, John Heigham). Then in 1586 George Loyselet published in Rouen his rendering of the first part of *Memorial de la vida Cristiana*, which was published again in 1599 (Rouen, George Loyselet), 1612 (Douay,

⁴¹³ John Daniel had translated Pineda's *Espístola para consolar a los fieles de Jesucristo* (Geneva 1560) and another work titled *Jehovah. A free pardon granted to all Christians* (London 1576).

⁴¹⁴ Walsham 2014, 263.

John Heigham) and 1625 (St. Omers, John Heigham). Maria Hagedorn and A. F. Allison identify him as the author of ‘A tratisse [sic] of the loue of God’ included within John Heigham’s *Six Spirituall Bookes* (1611). This treatise could be Hopkins’ rendering of the second part of the *Memorial*, which did not appear in print but which the exile recognized to have been translated. There is not, however, definite evidence to affirm that. Another English exile, Richard Gibbons, translated one of Granada’s latest works, *Doctrina Espiritual*. Gibbons’ *Spiritual Doctrine* was first published in 1599 (Louvain, Lawrence Kellam) with two re-editions in 1630 and 1632. Gibbons’ acquaintance with the works of the Dominican friar might be due to his stay in the Iberian Peninsula in 1590.

More surprising was, however, the popularity that Granada’s devotional writings had among seemingly Protestant circles. The appreciation of Spanish religious and devotional prose was not confined to the exiles at Douay. The qualities of style that made Granada so attractive to readers on the continent became admired in England too, and a group of translators were also engaged in the same task: the translation of key texts of Spanish authors such as Estella, but above all, Luis de Granada. In London, Thomas Gosson and John Perrin published in 1592 the first English edition of the Dominican Granada’s writings, which was sold at their shop in St. Paul’s Churchyard. The work was an anonymous translation of the first part of *Libro de la oración y meditación*, which was followed by those of 1596 (London, Thomas Gosson and Richard Smith), 1599 (London, William Wood), 1601 (London, William Wood), 1602 (London, Edward White), 1611 (London, Edward White), 1623—two editions (London, Joseph Brown; London, J. Grismond) and 1634 (London, Robert Allot), that were also anonymously published and which could have been influenced by Richard Hopkins’

continental edition (see below, sections 5.2 and 5.3).⁴¹⁵ Francis Meres in contrast, focused on the second part of *Libro de la oración y meditación*; *Granados Devotion* (London: Cuthbert Burby, 1598) was a translation of the first book, whereas *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* (London: J. B[ing], 1598; with a second edition in 1600 published in Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave) was a translation of the third. He also translated *Guía de pecadores* (London: Paul Linley and John Flasket, 1598; in 1614 Edward Blount published another edition of the work). In 1598 too, I. P (presumably, Parnell) published *The Conversion of a sinner* translated by an unidentified M. K, of which there was another edition in 1599 (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave). It was a translation of the first part of an anthology of Luis de Granada's writings acknowledgedly rendered from an Italian version (*Fiori Preciosi Raccolti da tutte le Opere Spirituali del R. P. F. Luigi di Granata diuise en sei parti [...]*). This part was also translated by T. L (widely acknowledged, Thomas Lodge) under the title *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado* (London: Thomas Heyes, 1601).⁴¹⁶ Then, in 1614 with another edition in 1633, appeared *A Paradise of Prayers containing the purity of devotion and meditation*, which claims to be another anthology of the Dominican friar's works.⁴¹⁷ Here too the identity of the translator is uncertain, but the Stationers' Register says that it has been "Englyshed by T. L." At the end of the century, an English translation of the first part of *Memorial de la vida cristiana* was published in London by Mathew Turner (1688) and then, in 1699 the second part of the work. Only on the title page of the latter edition does the translator identify himself as C. J. S. and A. F. Allison

⁴¹⁵ For an analysis of anonymity's role in early print and culture see Marcy L. North, *The Anonymous Renaissance* (2003); Robert J. Griffin, *Faces of Anonymity* (2003); John Mullan, *Anonymity* (2007); Janet Wright Starnes and Bárbara Howard Traister, *Anonymity in Early Modern England. 'What's In a Name?'* (2011).

⁴¹⁶ I will deal with this work later on.

⁴¹⁷ A. F. Allison identifies a prior edition of this work in 1609. See A. F. Allison 1974, 114.

presents him as the translator of the first part too. Hagedorn mentions a prior translation of this work, *A most fragrant flower or deuout exposition of the Lords praier [...] compiled by Granada a frier* (London: I. Browne, 1598) made by the Protestant John Golburne, who will later on translate De Valera. Michael ab Isselt's Latin versions were immediate sources for some of these editions (Francis Meres' among them), as this study will prove later on.

The activities of these London translators were complementary to the activities of the English refugees abroad. Had only the translations of the latter found their way into the country, devotional literature would have acquired little power. At the end of the sixteenth century supporters of the Established Church opposed the doctrines of the Jesuits and seminary priests that had been trained in the continent. And yet, both, Anglicans and Catholic exiles, bestowed their approval upon the same works. The difference was the process of adaptation to which the original text was subjected to eliminate those excerpts that would not suit the country's religious settlement. Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde* and probably the series of anonymous editions published in the period 1592-1634 would confirm this view. This translation was the first English edition of *Guía de pecadores* but its relevance lies in Meres' open recognition of authorship and what it tells the reader about its content. From the 1580's until about 1650 the government vigorously pursued a policy of repression. For this reason, Catholic books, whether printed secretly in England or smuggled into the country from abroad, seldom bore the name of the English author or translator, unless he lived abroad and was unlikely to return to England (as in the case of Hopkins or Gibbons). It is significant then, that his title page boasts that the text had been "Englished" by "Francis Meres, Maister of Artes, and student in Diuinitie", which could hint at the process of adaptation to which he subjected the text's original Catholic content, as he eventually

did. As we have seen, Granada's prose was also rendered in English by mysterious translators such as 'C. J. S.', 'M. K.' or 'T. L.' whose identity is virtually impossible to track. Only in the latter case have the initials been identified as those of Thomas Lodge.

Lodge's interest in the Dominican Granada is worth mentioning too. Though Lodge was a physician, his literary production is rather extensive. His innovative versatility included romances like *Rosalynde: Euphues Golden Legacy* (1590), an editorial success in its own time, which subsequently became famous as the source of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. He collaborated with Robert Greene in *A Looking Glasse for London and England* (1594) and produced the first English rendering of *The Famous and Memorable Works of Josephus* (1602). Thomas Lodge is also the author of an important monumental translation into English of Seneca's Works, *The Works of Lucius Annaeus Seneca* (1614), both of which went through several editions. We have already seen how Meres also mentions him in his account of contemporary literary production within his *Palladis Tamia*.⁴¹⁸ It is widely acknowledged that he was the author of *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado* and there is some evidence to suggest that he could have been the translator of *A Paradise of Prayers* as well as of the first anonymous edition of *Libro de la oración y meditación* published in 1592. But apart from that, some of the Dominican friar's works appear to be the major source of

⁴¹⁸ The best Poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these, *Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis, Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxa~drides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Athenie~sis* and *Callias Atheniensis*; and among the Latines, *Plautus, Terence, Naeuius, Sext. Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex, and Virgilius Romanus*: so the best for Comedy amongst vs bee, *Edward Earle* of Oxforde, Doctor *Gager* of Oxforde, Maister *Rowley* once a rare Scholler of learned *Pembroke Hall* in Cambridge, Maister *Edwardes* one of her Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie *John Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundy* our best plotter, *Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle*.

As *Horace, Lucilius, Iuuenall, Persius & Lucullus* are the best for Satyre among the Latines: so with vs in the same faculty these are chiefe, *Piers Plowman, Lodge, Hall* of Imanuel Colledge in Cambridge; the Authour of *Pigmaliions Image, and certaine Satyrs; the Author of Skialetheia*. (*Palladis Tamia* 1598, 291).

inspiration for *Prosopopeia Containing the Teares of the holy, blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of God* (1596)—see section 5.3. Lodge's relation with the friar's works is of a different sort to that of Meres or Hopkins. It is not so much a question of how he approached Granada's works, as of the influence that Granada's prose could have exerted on Lodge's conversion to Catholicism. As such, his approximation to Luis de Granada gives us an unbiased understanding of how his work was received in England, attending simply to Granada's spirituality.

Despite the popularity of his works, Granada's reputation in England did not live on and he remained within the limits of religious literature. There is no trace of his influence on English writers of the seventeenth century (as happened in France, for instance). Both the character of his own work and the complexity of the times united to prevent that he should. In the first half of the 1600s, the Church continued to promote writing of several kinds (devotional treatises, tracts and sermons) designed to explain Scripture, to instruct and to move. People still argued over many religious topics such as how public worship should be conducted, how Scripture should be understood, the qualifications of ministers, or the meaning of the Sacrament of Eucharist. A new translation of the Bible, the King James Bible, was published. Religious controversies were still ongoing. The Gunpowder Plot halted the king's impulse towards religious toleration, an event that renewed anti-Catholic sentiment in the country. His son's, Charles I, marriage with a Catholic woman and his appointment of William Laud as archbishop of Canterbury, angered puritans, who suspected him of popish sympathies. Old ideas such as the Ptolemaic universe, the four elements or the four humors, remained rich sources of imagery in the early decades of the century. Analogy and order were fundamental concepts too. But a new era in English history was underway. England was beginning to establish itself as a colonial power and as a leading maritime

nation, and there were exciting new scientific theories and discoveries (William Gilbert on magnetism, Galileo on astronomy or William Harvey on the circulation of the blood) to which writers responded with a mixture of enthusiasm and anxiety. The theatre consolidated as a commercial market, often court-affiliated. The plays of William Shakespeare, Thomas Dekker, Christopher Marlowe, Ben Jonson and John Webster were staged during these days. Their power of influencing the opinions and emotions of large crowds of spectators and the controls over them caused that writers often employed animal fables, tales of distant and imaginary lands or past historical events to comment upon contemporary issues. Poets and prose writers preferred short and condensed forms to long allegorical and pastoral ones, and they often opted for the features of informal, colloquial speech instead of the excessive ornamentation that many Elizabethans sought. Ben Jonson, John Donne and George Herbert were rather influential figures. They promoted a renovated variety of genres including the love elegy, satire, epigrams, verse epistles or country-house poems, and influenced the next generation of poets such as Thomas Carew, Henry Vaughan, Robert Herrick, Richard Lovelace, Sir John Suckling, Abraham Cowley and Andrew Marvell. In prose, the essay became an essential genre. It was represented, for instance, in Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum* (1620) and *The New Atlantis* (1626). Current events also generated a great demand for information and the newsbook became one of the most important literary forms of the period. These cheaply printed pamphlets, issued weekly, encouraged an unprecedentedly wide and deep sense of civic involvement that contributed to the creation of factional differences. During the early decades of the seventeenth century, Englishwomen entered into authorship and publication, Aemilia Lanyer, Elizabeth Cary, Rachel Speght and Lady Mary Wroth are the most representative examples. In the 1560s, the war, its aftermath and the issues over which it was fought

also left a lasting imprint upon English literature and established a tradition of overtly political writing. It overshadowed, for instance, the productions of many writers, Andrew Marvell and John Milton chief among these. All these new genres and models were better suited for depicting the turbulent world in which they lived in than Luis de Granada's works. These instead of becoming milestones to the intellectual world remained the special property of men of piety.

5.2 Richard Hopkins

The first English translator of Luis de Granada, Richard Hopkins' versions are a fundamental background for the production of other translators, including Meres'. It is claimed, for instance, that his English rendering of *Libro de la oración y meditación* influenced some of the London editions published since 1592.⁴¹⁹ An English recusant exile established at Louvain, Richard Hopkins (1546-1596) was part of the Catholic diaspora that followed Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570. In England, he combined his studies of Common Law in the Middle Temple with those at Magdalen College (Oxford). At this moment, the theologian Laurence Humphrey presided over the College: his protestant zeal and anti-Catholic propaganda may have influenced Hopkins' decision to leave England in 1566. His stay in the Continent proves to be more interesting. He was a close associate of William Allen and the community of English exiles that had taken refuge in the colleges where missionary priests were trained to promote the Catholic cause in England. He became leader of the exiles in Flanders and pensioner of the Spanish Crown as agent for Hugh Owen. In Louvain he met the Jesuit Thomas Harding, "[...] a man for his greate vertue, learninge, wisdom,

⁴¹⁹ See Samson 2011, 383 and A. F. Allison 1974, 108-9.

zeale, and sinceritie in writinge againste heresies, of verie godlie and famous memorie.”⁴²⁰ Initially a reformer, Harding reconciled himself with Roman obedience during the Marian regime. At this time he was Stephen Gardiner’s chaplain and treasurer of Salisbury. However he was deprived of further preferment because of his refusal to change his faith on Elizabeth’s accession. He took refuge in Louvain matriculating in the university there in 1563; eventually he became professor at Douai. In exile he began to write the polemical works for which he is famous, particularly those attacking bishop John Jewel in the 1560s— seven in the period 1565-1568— that aroused from Jewel’s challenging sermon in 1559 against the Roman Church, and his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1562) published both in Latin and English in defence of the Church of England.⁴²¹ Harding’s books revealed great erudition and he was supported in the debate with Jewel by his fellow exiles Thomas Stapleton, John Rastell, Thomas Dorman, John Martiall and Nicholas Sanders. The latter supported him in his petition calling for special permission to read books in the vernacular and for the elaboration of an English translation of the Bible, a project that culminated with the publication of Gregory Martin’s Douay-Rheims Catholic Bible. In 1568 Harding encouraged Hopkins to translate the spiritual works of Luis de Granada, because these were more profitable “to the gayninge of Christian sowles in our countrie from schism, and Heresie, and from all sinne, and iniquitie” than open theological debate.⁴²² Whether he was influenced by Harding or not, Hopkins’ choice of Luis de Granada was not surprising. By that time, Granada resided in Lisbon as adviser of cardinal-infant Don Enrique, he enjoyed widespread reputation as a preacher of great erudition and his writings were internationally famous. In the dedicatory of *Prayer and Meditation*,

⁴²⁰ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, a6v.

⁴²¹ We are referring to the sermon preached on 26 November 1559 at St. Paul’s Cross.

⁴²² *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, a6v.

Hopkins affirms that “his books haue wroughte wonderfull muche good, not onelie in Spaine, and Portugall, but also in Italie, Fraunce, and Germanie.” He too became acquainted with his widespread popularity as he “finde [him] greatelie commended by diuers godlie learned men”.⁴²³

The nine years that Hopkins seems to have spent in Spain, from 1570 to 1579, allowed him to become a “perfect Master of that language.”⁴²⁴ During this period too, he may have been befriended by the exile Hugh Owen, who was also there in 1572-1573. Owen left England in 1571 after being denounced for his involvement in the Ridolfi plot. In the continent, he exerted a paramount role as a spymaster. He organized an international network of correspondents that gradually spread over into England, the Low Countries and France. Information was highly priced. Those unwilling to take military service were given a pension as intelligencers to report from different cities in the continent. Richard Hopkins, for instance, shared with Owen news from Paris, a service that allowed him to enter the still uneven Spanish pension system with a salary of thirty *escudos* a month. In “a memorial for the Archduke Ernest, governor of the Low Countries, regarding English persons and affairs in their relation to the government of Flanders” (1594), he is described as “hombre de grande fidelidad y zelo en las cosas del servicio de Dios y del rey.”⁴²⁵ This pension system resulted in tensions among the exiles. Owen together with William Stanley (the dedicatee of Richard Gibbons’ translations of Luis de Granada) and William Holt, tried to reform it in 1596, but their revision was eventually shelved. Their recusancy kept their properties confiscated by the English government, and Philip II’s patronage was intended to assist them. The

⁴²³ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, a6v, a7r.

⁴²⁴ Handwritten annotation in an edition of *Memoriall* published at Rouen in 1599. Underhill also mentions that Richard Hopkins had studied in “one of the principal” universities of the country, probably that of Alcalá (1899, 209).

⁴²⁵ Knox 1878, 401-408 (Appendix LXVI).

English, naturally, perceived this system as what it was, i.e. a stratagem to favour Spanish policy.

Hopkins' writings were addressed to the Catholic community in Britain, or those Anglicans who were willing or likely to convert. The English exile based his arguments on several important documents of the period. John Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1562)— translated into English by Lady Ann Bacon as *Apologie or answere in defence of the Church of Englande* (1564)— was used to defend his view that the Reformation set up a new Church in the country. He also used John Whitgift's answer to *Admonition to the Parliament* (1572), and the puritans' response to Whitgift's arguments in 'A Replye to an answere made of M. Doctor Whitegifte' (1573). Finally, Hopkins also referred to Edmund Bunny's *Treatise tending to Pacification* added to *A Book of Christian Exercise, appertaining to Resolution* (1584)—his own biased version of Robert Parsons' *First Book of the Christian Exercise* (Rouen 1582)—which Hopkins used as a model as it put forward "a pacification and reconciliation in religion between them and us."⁴²⁶

His long epistles to the "fower principall howses of Cowerte in London" best exemplify his militant Catholicism. By addressing his texts to one, if not the most, important and influential institution of Elizabethan England, Hopkins sought with it the example to "a greate number throughout our whole Realme [...] to embrace firmelie and zealouselie the aunciente Catholike believe."⁴²⁷ Recusancy had also affected the Inns of Court and among its members there was still a high number of conservative and Catholics that could be helpful in launching the seminarians' evangelical and didactic purposes in the country. Hopkins' apocalyptic view of Elizabethan England in his

⁴²⁶ *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* 1599, 18.

⁴²⁷ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, b1v.

dedicatory epistles was another strategy to instil Catholic ideas into sceptical Anglicans. He talks about the coming of Antichrist and the end of the world. He further insists on the envy and malice of Satan that accosts faithful Christians with divers temptations to procure them to follow his most wicked rebellious example. Hopkins refers to “an ungracious age” with manifold sects and heresies and he laments the existence of “Christian people generallie without anye deuotion and zeale to the seruice and honour of our Sauour Iesus Christe.”⁴²⁸ Both Protestantism and Calvinism were gaining ground in England and Scotland, and Hopkins made clear the urgent necessity these lands have of Granada’s prose, as these are “spirituall helps to strengthem our weake minds.” Granada’s texts were also useful “to withstand so manie deceitfull temptations of the enemie of mankind” and a “fitt remedie for their conversion” since his manner of writing has a “singular rare grace to pearce the harde harte of a dissolute sinner.”⁴²⁹

In his epistles, Hopkins’ harshest attacks addressed the Puritans, “counterfaite pure gospellers” and their “suttle wicked doctrine.” He criticized their willingness to supress holy festival days and ceremonies as these were “fullie conueniente for their weake capacities, and for the comforting and strengthening of their faithe, and as they were bounde of necessitie to knowe.”⁴³⁰ Such criticism continues, in a more elevated tone, in the epistle that accompanied his second translation, *A Memoriall of a Christian Life*. Here Hopkins compares the “late Apostates”, Luther, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Calvin and Theodore Beza, to St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, and St. Francis, founders of the chief monastic orders; and their influence in the Church of England. Hopkins condemned their “hereticall licentious doctrines, to abolish away thereby the Catholicke religion, and in place thereof to found a new deuised politike licentious

⁴²⁸ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, a3v.

⁴²⁹ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, a6v, a8v, a6v.

⁴³⁰ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, a4v, a5r.

Religion, consisting of manifold different sects.”⁴³¹ The exile censured the Lutheran principle of *sola fide*, and the abolition of sacramental confession and penance to grant them pardon and remission of sins as only *infidelity* condemns before God. Unlike other translators such as Meres, for instance, it seems that Hopkins’ reasons when translating Luis de Granada were clear: to awaken the sort of Catholic piety that the Elizabethan Settlement had not entirely eliminated. As we have seen, his recusant writings were part of a wider campaign of Catholic propaganda that sought to return the country back to Roman obedience. They challenge the view of the English nation as an exclusively Protestant construct, and it is significant that he chose to muster Granada’s writings for this cause.

5.3 Other English translators of Granada’s prose

Luis de Granada’s writings were admired in England too. In London, Thomas Gosson and John Perrin issued in 1592 a new English translation of the first part of *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, which went through subsequent editions in the period 1592-1634. The anonymous translators could have been influenced by Hopkins’ edition of 1582 (of these, there are six that bear the same title), while adapting it for a non-Catholic readership. Most likely, the translator provided alternative readings of certain passages where the matter under consideration could be potentially controversial, as Meres would also do with his edition of *Guía de Pecadores*. The *English Short-Title Catalogue*, for instance, identifies the edition of 1592 as the first of a series of protestant editions.⁴³² The most noticeable difference concerns the order of the content:

⁴³¹ *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* 1599, 4.

⁴³² *English Short Title Catalogue* http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc [accessed 08 November 2015].

Hopkins followed Granada's division of the first part of *Libro* in ten chapters. These English editions, in contrast, divided the text in two parts; the first part was dedicated to chapter 2, whereas the second part consisted of the rest of chapters. There was yet another difference. Chapter 2 was about fourteen meditations for the week, seven to be prayed in the morning and the rest at night. In the English editions, morning meditations appear at night and the other way around. As regards the content of the translations, there are different views. Antony Francis Allison maintains that English editions were carefully examined to eliminate any Catholic reference. Samson, in contrast, talks about a "light adaptation", since both works are quite close in doctrinal terms.⁴³³

The 1592 translator of *Prayer and Meditation* can be identified with a high degree of plausibility. This edition was dedicated to Ferdinando Stanley and his wife, Alice Spencer. Ferdinando was well-known as a patron of several poets, authors, and playwrights but the relevance of the dedication of this anonymous translation lies in its subject matter.⁴³⁴ His opinions on religion remained ambivalent throughout his life. In *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Inghland* (1594) one of the fictitious speakers says: "The Earle of Darbyes religion, is held to be more doubtful, so as some do thinke him to be of al three religions, and others of none."⁴³⁵ His mother, Margaret Clifford, was related to Mary, daughter of Henry VII and widow of Louis XII of France, and Ferdinando inherited from her the burden of a claim to the English throne. English Catholic exiles took advantage of Ferdinando's ancient royal blood as they thought he might aid their Roman Catholic cause in England. They sent the Lancashire recusant Richard Hesketh, a family friend, to urge him to take the throne of

⁴³³ Samson 2011, 392-3; Allison 1974, 109.

⁴³⁴ Greene's *Ciceronis amor* (1589) and Anthony Munday's *The Defence of Contraries* (1593), a translation of Charles Estienne's *Paradoxes* (1553), were both dedicated to him.

⁴³⁵ *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Inghland* 1594, 253.

England, though Hesketh was eventually executed.⁴³⁶ This circumstance is very revealing and posits English Catholic exiles as potential authors of this anonymous translation. However, there is an important piece of information in the dedicatory through which its authorship could most certainly be traced: “this excellent and diuine worke (right noble Lord and Ladie) so long since by me made promise of at Channon-rowe: now at length, by much care, more cost, but comfort most of all, is fully perfected, and the same in all humilitie presented to your Honors.”⁴³⁷ The fact that the translator presents the work as an early promise he made at Cannon Row (London) where the Derby House was located could also point to Thomas Lodge who had spent his childhood in this house and whose personal relation and gratitude with this family would be permanent. When he was a child, Ferdinando’s father, Henry Stanley fourth earl of Derby, took the young Lodge in when his father Sir Thomas Lodge went bankrupt in 1563. One of the greater families under Elizabeth, the Stanleys must have provided Thomas with excellent training in languages, music and in general along the lines of the traditional humanist curriculum. As a result he established long-lasting ties to this family.⁴³⁸ This was a circumstance Lodge acknowledged with gratitude in the dedicatory of his collection of poems *A Fig for Momus* (1595) to William Stanley, and the affectionate tone of the dedicatory of *Prayer and Meditation* (1592) addressed to “the Right honourable, and his especiall good Lord, Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange: Sonne and heyre to the great and puisant Lorde, Henrie Earle of Derby. & c. Likewise to the chast, uertuous, and most affable Ladie, the Ladie Strange: the happy content of theyr owne harts desires euermore wished” may also rightly point to Thomas Lodge as

⁴³⁶ See Manley 2003, 276-281.

⁴³⁷ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1592, 4r.

⁴³⁸ It is likely that Ferdinando’s prominent company of players, Strange’s Men, first performed in 1591 Lodge’s famous play, *A Looking Glass for London and England*, or at least it was in the company’s repertory.

potential candidate for its authorship. It is not strange that, by the time this 1592 edition was published, Lodge was already familiar with Granada's works. Hopkins' other translations were already in circulation in England and Lodge had also spent time in Brazil visiting the Jesuit College where he might have become acquainted with Spanish theological authors. A work of the Spanish Franciscan Joseph Angles (*Flores Theologicarum Quaestionum in Secundum Librum Sententiarum*) was also one of the principal sources in *Wits Misery and the Worlds Madnesse*, and he based *A Margarite of America* on a story in Spanish as he himself recognized in the prefatory material of the work: "Some foure yeres since being at sea with *M. Candish* [...] it was my chance in the librarie of the Iesuits in *Sanctum* to find this historie in the Spanish tong, which as I read delighted me, and delighting me, wonne me, and winning me, made me write it."⁴³⁹ He was probably referring to Sao Paulo dos Campos de Piratininga where the Jesuits José de Anchieta and Manuel da Nóbrega founded a Jesuit College in 1554. As the epistle recounts, in its library he found a story in Spanish that inspired him to write *A Margarite*. In all probability he also found Luis de Granada's and Angles' works there too. Groups of Franciscans, Dominicans and later on Jesuits accompanied the first colonists in the New World, and it is not strange then that they carried with them certain spiritual books that could assist them in the didactic and evangelizing purposes of their mission.

If Lodge is the anonymous translator of this edition, the controversy that surrounds his early Catholicism could explain his decision to hide his identity. Lodge's initial religious beliefs are uncertain. Eliane Cuvelier stresses his early Catholicism in *Thomas Lodge: Témoin de son temps* (1984), as does Arthur F. Kinney in his *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric, and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (1986). His

⁴³⁹ Epistle to the reader in *A Margarite of America*.

dedicatories to Catholic patrons (the Countess of Derby, William Stanley, the Countess of Shrewsbury, the Countess of Cumberland, and the Hare family), his marriage to the Catholic Joan Aldred or the publication of some of his works by the Catholic printer and publisher (and brother-in-law too) Edward White, are part of the evidence this scholar provides to support the claim that Lodge might have been communicant at the end of the century. *The Famous, True and Historical Life of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy* (1591), *Euphues Shadow* (1592), *A Margarite of America* (1596), *Wits Misery or the World's Madness* (1596) or *The Devil Conjured* (1596), are some of the works in which we can most certainly perceive his interest in spirituality. *Prosopopeia Containing the Teares of the holy, blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of God* (1596) is, however, the work where Lodge most overtly declared his Catholic sympathies and that, according to David Thomas Long, declares his Catholic conversion.⁴⁴⁰ It contains translations from the medieval treatise *De Oraculo Morali*, and the theological writings *In Librum Sapientiae Praelectiones* by Robert Holkot and *Somme des Pechez* by Jean Benedicti that he had also used in the prose pamphlets *Catharos* (1591) and *Wits Misery*.⁴⁴¹ But Lodge's sources of inspiration for this work were, however, Luis de Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Memorial de la vida Cristiana*. There are three marginal references within this work. He referred for instance to "Granaten. li. meditationu" or "Granatensis lib de vita Christi", works that he may have known through Latin copies, those by the Catholic exile Michael ab Isselt who, as mentioned above, had translated into Latin Granada's most famous works—*Libro de la oración y meditación*, *Memorial de la vida cristiana* and *Introducción al*

⁴⁴⁰ Long 2007, 53. J. Payne Collier analysed the authorship of the *Prosopopeia* in *The Shakespeare Society's Papers* (1845).

⁴⁴¹ Nathaniel B. Paradise studied Lodge borrowings in *Thomas Lodge, the History of an Elizabethan* (1931).

simbolo de la fe, besides several compilations— and which were fundamental to other English translations, including Meres'.⁴⁴²

A work under the title *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado* and signed with the initials T. L. appeared in 1601. It was a translation of the first of six parts of a work gathered out of several of Luis de Granada's writings, which probably came from Thomas Lodge's pen. There are different hypotheses about the immediate source text used for the translation. Arthur F. Kinney maintains that Lodge's source was a copy that he brought back from Brazil in 1591, though there is evidence to affirm that the book Lodge took was the manuscript *Doutrina Christaa Nalingua Brasilica*, a Catholic work for missionaries.⁴⁴³ Alice Walker and Nathaniel Burton, in contrast, maintained that he might have translated from Isselt's Latin edition, published under the title *Flores R. P. F. Lodoici Granatensis* (Cologne 1588). However, it is more than likely that he used a previous English edition that was published of the same part under the title *The Conversion of a Sinner* (London 1598) by the unidentified M. K., as both reproduce the same epistle to the reader and follow the same structure. There is yet another work that seems to be attributed to this author. *A Paradise of Praiers containing the puritie of deuotion* (1614) was also a selection from several of Granada's works made from the Latin version of Michael ab Isselt, *Paradisus Precum* (Cologne 1589), with at least another edition in 1633. Even if Lodge was the author of the 1592 anonymous edition of *Prayer and Meditation* and, apparently, the author of the 1601 and 1614 editions, the nature of his interest in Luis de Granada differs from Hopkins, or Meres'. Most probably, the English writer approached Granada's prose because his style and the content of his works suited Lodge's Catholicism at his old age. This invites speculation

⁴⁴² *Prosopopeia* 1596, B4v, B7r, F4r; Walker 1932, 281.

⁴⁴³ See Alden 1996; Cohen 1998; Quinn 1975. This manuscript survives today in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS Bodley 617).

on whether his acquaintance with Granada's works might have influenced his conversion to Catholicism. In any case, his translations show Lodge's interest in spiritual matters, and they confirm Granada's success among audiences of different religious persuasions.

6 Francis Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde*, A Case Study

Why are translations made and with what aim in mind? These are some of the usual questions that come to mind when approaching a translated work. While it is widely acknowledged that translation is about recreating forms of writing already existing in other vernaculars, to decide what translations are about has been a matter of debate. The essays that make up Sara Barker and Brenda Hosington's volume, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads*, insist on how intricate, and sometimes simple, these notions can be. Translators themselves understand their work to be about different things, from patronage to instruction to a commercial enterprise. A translator's aims and ambitions were hard to articulate at the time, and they are harder to recreate by the modern scholar. As Barker and Hosington show, translation was not always about answering questions.⁴⁴⁴ While it would be interesting to know why Meres decided to focus his attention on a Spanish Catholic author of devotional literature, his translations, and particularly in this study *The Sinners Gvyde*, allow us to investigate the complex world in which Renaissance readers found themselves, and the repercussion of certain styles and genres in Early Modern England and Europe in general.

Chapter 2 insisted that translation was not about following rules and conforming to expectations, it was never as simple as changing words from one language to another. Part four within Barker and Hosington's volume illustrates how original works were

⁴⁴⁴ Barker and Hosington 2013, xix.

sometimes lost in the complexity of the translations. In these cases, deliberate manipulation was necessary in order to achieve aims conceived by the translator and not necessarily aims shared by the original author, as it happens with Meres' rendering. Adding to texts, exploiting ambiguities and fashioning a translation were some of the strategies used by the translator to manage a series of difficult words or ideas, i.e. *untranslatables*, in the process of being rendered into another language.

To the early modern reader the justification and the relevance of the translation, was as important the ideas that it conveys. As Lefevere suggests, if you produce a text that 'refers to' another text, rather than producing your own, you are most likely to do so because you think the other text enjoys a prestige far greater than the prestige your own text might possibly aspire to.⁴⁴⁵ That is, the original is an indicator of authority and credibility to the translated product. Meres wrote *Gods Arithmeticke* and *Palladis Tamia* (though this work was in fact recycled from other texts), the rest of his production consisted of renderings from Luis de Granada. He might have thought of translation as a shortcut to his aims. He probably thought that the text could be ready earlier than if he wrote one himself. But these are just mere speculations, what is certain is that Granada's writings were texts of value. Meres' intention with his translations is uncertain. Nationalistic, economic or merely literary interests could lie behind his role as a translator of religious prose. The working hypothesis is that he aspired to belong within the literary circles of his time and to that end, he invoked the authority of Luis de Granada. But the effort that entailed to translate a considerable amount of Granada's writings in a brief period of time is an indication that he must have had certain spiritual interests in mind too.

⁴⁴⁵ Lefevere 1992b, 2.

While we can only hypothesize when or where Meres became acquainted with the Spanish author and his works— as already mentioned, it is possible that it may have occurred at some point during his student days and that he may have started working on that prior to his settlement in London, during the period he spent in Aubourn in the house of his relative, John Meres and after the compilation of the first part of the *Palladis*— the source employed for his translation of *Guía de pecadores* was Michael ab Isselt's Latin rendering, *Dvx peccatorum R. P. F. Ludovici Granatensis Ordinis S. Dominici*.⁴⁴⁶ This was published in Cologne in 1587 in the press of the heirs of Johann Quentell and the dedicatory of the work was signed in “Coloniae, Agripinnae, ex nostro musaeo monasterii Corporis Christi.” But the volume proved particularly lucrative, reaching a second edition in 1590 and a third in 1594. All of them were published “cum gratia & priuilegio Caesareae Maiestatis”. *Dvx peccatorum* was avowedly rendered from an Italian source, which has not been established yet with certainty. There are some reasons to assume that it could have been Timotheo da Bagno's *Della guida overo Scorta de' peccatori* (Venice: Giorgio Angelieri, 1576; with a second edition in 1581). This translator was mentioned in Isselt's dedicatory to *Exercitia in Septem Meditationes matutinas*. However, it could have been any of the twenty-five Italian editions that were published of this work in the period 1576-1581. The modifications found in the Latin text were not in da Bagno's version, therefore, either Isselt used another edition that already included these changes or these were introduced by Isselt himself. These are, however, speculations too.

⁴⁴⁶ Maria Hagedorn analysed this influence in *Reformation und spanische Andachtsliteratur. Luis de Granada in England* (1934). It was also mentioned by Antony F. Allison in *English Translations from the Spanish and Portuguese to the Year 1700* (1974) as well as by Joseph Laurenti and Alberto Porqueras Mayo in “La colección de Fray Luis de Granada (Siglos XVI y XVII) en la Universidad de Illinois” (1979) and “La colección hispánica (siglos XVI) de ediciones colonienses en la biblioteca de la Universidad de Illinois” (1988).

While it is difficult to assure the exact moment when Isselt's work entered the British Isles, an examination of early modern libraries and collections corroborated that his works were available to early modern English readers. His *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*, for instance, had been of perennial interest in the country since its first appearance in 1594. Considered the first printed newspaper, it was published semi-annually and it contained periodical summaries of Continental news. Elisabeth Leedham-Green's "Books in Cambridge inventories: book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court probate inventories in the Tudor and Stuart periods" lists this work within the library of Hammond (sic), whereas Isselt's *De Bello Coloniensi* also figures in the collection of Andrew Perne.⁴⁴⁷ In Peterborough Cathedral Library, there is a copy of Isselt's *Vita Christi R. P. F. Ludovico Granatensi* (Cologne 1596) and another copy of his *Dvx Peccatorum* (Cologne 1594). This is evidence that these volumes were formerly in private ownership too. There is another copy of *Dvx Peccatorum* in the University of Cambridge Library that could feasibly have been there in the sixteenth century. Any of these could have been potential sources for Meres' rendering. A search in its electronic catalogue revealed that there are about 41 different copies (at least) of works by Luis de Granada published before 1600 in several languages (Spanish, 19; Latin, 16; English, 7; Italian, 3; Portuguese, 1 and French, 1). It is difficult, however, to know exactly which, if any, of the existing copies were in the University's Library during Meres' years as a student there (i.e. roughly between 1584-1591). The primary place of books in the University Library dating from the sixteenth century is the collection "the Stars" (also called old collection or non-Royal books)—i. e., the contents of the Library before 1715. Of the 41 books by Granada printed up to 1600, only those with star classmarks

⁴⁴⁷ Leedham-Green 1986, 454.

could feasibly have been in the UL during the sixteenth century. These are, the *Stimulus Pastorum* (Paris, 1583), the *Silva Locorum* (Ludguni, 1587), and Michael ab Isselt's *Dvx Peccatorum* (Cologne 1594). These were probably gifts rather than purchases. The copy of Isselt's version of *Guía de Pecadores*, for instance, is inscribed by William Coe. He was possibly the individual who took his BA from Gonville & Caius College in 1581-2 and was ordained deacon and priest in 1586 (Lincoln). However, there are other later individuals with the same name and a possible relationship with Meres would require further evidence. Apart from 'the Stars', Elisabeth Leedham-Green and D. McKitterick's "A Catalogue of Cambridge University Library, 1583", could also provide information about the editions present in the UL prior to 1583. In this case, however, none of Granada's works figure within it.⁴⁴⁸ Other titles from the Royal Library which could potentially have been in English collections in Cambridge before being acquired by John Moore are: Andrea Gianett's *Rosario figurato della Sacratissima Vergine Maria Madre di Dio* (Roma 1577), apparently rendered from Granada's works; Michael ab Isselt's *Flores R. P. F. Lodoici Granatensis* (Cologne 1588) and *Conciones de praecipuis sanctorum festis* (Antwerp 1593).⁴⁴⁹ Many of the colleges also had their own libraries. Dr. Liam Sims, rare book specialist at Cambridge University Library, informed me that some of the older among them, i.e. Gonville & Caius and St John's college, appear to have sixteenth-century copies of Luis de Granada, some of which came to them from collectors active at that time, particularly William Branthwaite (1563-1620). He donated Luis de Granada's *Ecclesiasticae rhetoricae* (Cologne 1578), *Tertius tomus concionum de tempore* (Antwerp 1579),

⁴⁴⁸ Leedham-Green and D. McKitterick 1997, 153-235.

⁴⁴⁹For more information about the Stars collection consult <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/rarebooks/stars.html>. For more information about the Royal Library consult <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/rarebooks/royallibrary.html>

Conciones de praecipuis sanctorum festis (Antwerp 1580), *Secundus tomus concionum de tempore* (Antwerp 1584) and *Silva Locorum* (Paris 1586) as well as Hopkins' *Of Prayer and Meditation* (1582). Henry Wriothesley (1573-1624) also donated at St. John's a Latin copy of Granada's *Introductionis ad symbolum fidei* (Cologne 1588). Two copies of his *Collectanea moralis philosophiae* (Lisbon 1571; Paris 1582), *Ecclesiasticae rhetoricae* (Cologne 1594) as well as Isselt's *Flores* (Cologne 1588), *Memoriale Christianae vitae* (Cologne 1598) and *Dvx Peccatorum* (Cologne 1590) are some of the volumes found in the Trinity College Library. All this confirms that Granada and Isselt's works were not unknown to English audiences.

Guía de pecadores was first published in 1556/7, with a second and new edition in 1567. Soon after its publication it won unanimous praise from readers and authors. Francis Meres too, voiced his opinion on the work: "albeit all the works of this reuerend Diuine are profitable for instruction in religion, and very auailable for perswasion to good life: yet my judgement [...] doth estimate this booke about the rest."⁴⁵⁰ *Guía de pecadores* was manageable and easy to read. More importantly, Luis de Granada's work is a fine exemplar of literary intertextuality. One of the most significant features of devotional and other religious works is the use of examples through which to transmit the author's moral. *Guía de pecadores* is built on a continuous succession of cross-references to a wide range of some of the most outstanding works, both biblical and secular: "*The Sinners' Guide* is a treasury of citations from patristic and medieval authorities to an even greater extent than Granada's other works."⁴⁵¹ As this quotation shows, *Guía de pecadores* interweaves scenes, motifs and themes from the Bible and

⁴⁵⁰ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiir. From this statement we deduce that Meres knew other works by the Dominican friar and, presumably, that he had already translated his selections from the second part of *Libro*, which would soon be published.

⁴⁵¹ Collins 2008, 127.

other well-known works of literature with a whole range of allusions to historical personalities, such as kings, popes, saints and philosophers, as well as to mythological figures. These references might have attracted the attention of an author who has shown interest in these types of compositions judging by *Palladis Tamia*.

Julia Kristeva's theory of intertextuality is relevant here. The concept that she initiated proposes the text as a dynamic domain: "the literary word is an intersection of textual surfaces rather than a point (a fixed meaning), "a dialogue among several writings" and, she continues, "each word (text) is an intersection of other words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read."⁴⁵² Even the Bible, María Jesús Martínez Alfaro claimed, pointed to the objects in God's other book, the Book of Nature, which acquire a spiritual sense as these had been invested with God's meanings.⁴⁵³ An analysis of the pervasive presence of these intertextual references within a given text help to establish the complex network of textual relations that intervene in its reading and interpretation. Works of literature are built from systems, codes and traditions established by previous works of literature that are crucial to its meaning. Reading, then, becomes a process of moving between texts.⁴⁵⁴ Even though the concept of intertextuality has often been understood as the study of the sources that has been used in a given text, intertextuality requires an understanding of texts not as self-contained, self-sufficient systems but as differential and historical since they are shaped by the repetition and transformation of other textual structures. It enables the reader to see the social, political, philosophical or religious transpositions from one sign system to another, and which are always plural, shattered and capable of being

⁴⁵² Kristeva 1980, 65-66.

⁴⁵³ Martínez Alfaro 1996, 269.

⁴⁵⁴ Graham 2000, 1.

tabulated.⁴⁵⁵ The numerous quotations and allusions to the Bible, the Fathers of the Church and classical authors provide the context under which *Guía de pecadores* is understood; its meaning is grasped once the reader moves between that text and all the other texts to which it refers and relates, in order to reconstruct their relationship. The source text continues to speak through the new work; i.e. the reader ‘hears’ about a particular passage, whose meaning is affected by the new context in which it now fits.⁴⁵⁶ These intertextual relations take on new meanings once the work is rendered into another language. In *The Sinners Gvyde*, for instance, Granada’s text as well as all the texts to which it refers, are imbued with the new features of Meres’ context. As a reader of *Guía de pecadores*, Meres might have noticed the potential meaning that English audiences would have made of certain allusions or quotations if they were rendered into English. This could have moved him to alter certain aspects of Granada’s text. Meres’ version concentrates, therefore, on the reinterpretation of Granada’s *Guía de pecadores* in his attempt to establish a new relationship between those allusions and the new context in which the work is inserted.

The following section results from a comparative analysis between Granada’s original and Isselt’s rendering from an intertextual point of view. The Latin text shows, for instance, continuous marginal notes to assist the reader, summaries of the main points dealt with or continuous references to the works he quoted. The analysis is, however, based on the constitutive texts that inform *Guía de Pecadores*. Such evidence will be then compared and contrasted with Meres’ own version. This will help to ask questions such as which are the constitutive texts and elements from the Bible and classical literature that Granada weaves into his work? How are these reinterpreted in

⁴⁵⁵ Kristeva 1984, 59-60.

⁴⁵⁶ Moyise 1995, 110-111.

Isselt and Meres' versions? And above all, I intend to describe and analyse how Meres managed to modify the original text, if he did. The larger aim of this part is to shed light on the relation between Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde* and those texts that have played a crucial role in the making of his text and in doing so to visualize the complex intertextual relation between Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde* and its literary predecessors, Michael ab Isselt's *Dvx Peccatorum* and Luis de Granada's *Guía de pecadores*.

6.1 Luis de Granada's intertextual references

6.1.1 The Bible

The Bible was naturally a constant source in the work of Luis de Granada. In the first edition of *Guía de Pecadores* (1556/7) he included a Castilian translation of the *Sermon of the Mount*, three chapters of the Gospel of John and some of the Pauline Epistles. Though these chapters were eliminated in the second edition of the work after the intervention of the Inquisition, the Holy Scriptures remained a fundamental source in the text with more than five hundred entries from the *Old Testament* and more than two hundred from the *New Testament*. When Rodrigo de Yepes examined the manuscript 1567 for approval he claimed: "having attentively examined [the work], I have found it Catholic and of great utility to all those who read it because it contains important doctrine in agreement with the divine Scripture (of which it has great part)" ("auiendole visto con mucho studio y diligencia hallo ser muy catholico y de gran prouecho para todos los que en el se exercitaren, porque contiene doctrina graue, y juntamente apazible, muy conforme a la diuina escriptura (de la qual tiene buena parte)").

In Isselt's Latin version Biblical passages remained, for the most part, as they appeared in the original text, save for the fact that they were italicized probably to show emphasis, or to differentiate them from the main body of the text. There was also more systematization when annotating the references in the margin and Granada's text was corrected in cases where the bibliographical note was wrong. An example of this is found in a passage taken from the Book of Malachi. The excerpt in the Castilian original is annotated as belonging to Malachi 4 while in fact it is found in a previous chapter:

Vna cosa es server a Dios: porque, q fructo nos ha acarreado auer guardado sus mandamientos, y auerandado tristes delante del Señor delos exercituu? Por esto tenemos por bienaventurados a los soberuios: pues los vemos medrados y prosperados viuiendo tan rotaniente: y auiendo tentado a Dios, estan a saluo (*Malac. iiiii*)

*Vanus est qui seruit Deo, & quod emolumentum quia custodiimus praecepta illius, & quia embulauimus tristes coram Domino exercituu? Ergo nunc beatos dicimus arrogantes, siquidem edificati sunt facientes impietatem, tent auerunt Deum, & salui facti sunt (Mal. 3.)*⁴⁵⁷

Similarly, the passage “porque donde este spiritu mora, ay esta la verdadera libertad (como dize el Apostol)” did not belong to the second chapter within 2 Corinthians, but to the following one as Isselt rightly noted: “*vbi enim Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas, ait Apostolus*” (2 Cor. 3.).⁴⁵⁸ “Lo que no allegaste en la mocedad, como lo hallaras en la vejez?” was also mistakenly annotated. These lines are not found in Ecclesiasticus 15 but in chapter 25 within this book.⁴⁵⁹ The same happened with the excerpts, “Esperaua yo a aquel, que me libro de la pusilanimidad del spiritu, y dela tempestad?” or “El zelo Señor dela gloria de vuestra casa tiene enflaquecidas mis carnes.” Luis de Granada

⁴⁵⁷ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 85v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 166-7, *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 122.

⁴⁵⁸ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 144r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 275, *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 197.

⁴⁵⁹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 215r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 400, *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 279.

annotated them within Ps. 53 and Ps. 118 respectively, when they belonged to Ps. 54 and Ps. 68, as Isselt also noted.⁴⁶⁰ Following Isselt's version, Meres' biblical passages were italicized and the references of the above quoted excerpts are 'Mala 3', '2 Cor. 3' and 'Ecclus 25'. This is not the case, however, with the last couple of examples. In *The Sinners Gvyde*, "I will wayte for the Lord who hath deliuered me from faynting, and from the stormie wind and tempest" and "The zeale of thine house hath euen eaten me" are annotated as Ps. 55 and Ps. 69 instead of Ps. 54 and 68. This does not mean that Meres annotated them incorrectly, but rather that they were using a different edition of the Bible; i.e. the number of the Psalm will vary depending on the Bible we consult. Those Bibles based on the Vulgate text will annotate the above passages as Psalms 54 and 68, whereas those based on the Hebrew Masoretic text will annotate them as Psalms 55 and 69.

The change in the numbering of Psalms is consistent all through the English version where the tendency is to find one number more in Meres' text than the number in Granada and Isselt's versions. As already said, such difference has to do with the edition of the Bible they used and the source text in which these were based. While divisions within the Bible into chapters and verses developed over time (12th and 16th centuries), the division of the Book of Psalms into 150 chapters distributed in five books had been established in the manuscript textual tradition that predated the invention of print. But this division can cause a number of problems. First among them is that different editions of the Book in different Bibles have different chapter numbers. One numbering system is that used by the Hebrew text, whereas another is that used by the Vulgate, which reproduces the Septuagint and in general, *one less* than the Hebrew

⁴⁶⁰ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 177r, 373v-364r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 334, 680, *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 238, 473-4.

numbers. Both numbering systems were (and still are) in circulation. Catholic sources often used both systems, which is why we will see references like ‘Ps 22 (23)’ or ‘Ps 23 (22)’ depending on which numbering systems they are treating as primary. In English sources this is not the case, and they just reproduce the number as it appeared in the Hebrew text. Such difference accounts for the lack of coincidence between Granada, Isselt, and Meres’ versions: the former applied the Latin Vulgate, and naturally its numbering system; whereas Meres employed an English Bible that was based on the Masoretic text, which is the source used for the Old Testament in Protestant translations.

Difference in numeration appears in Psalm 9, which splits into Psalms 9 and 10 in the Hebrew text. Up to that Psalm, the numeration coincides in source and translated texts. Thus, “*I will lay me downe, and also sleepe in peace: for thou, Lord, onely makest me dwell in safety*” (Psal. 4) was Meres rendering of Michael ab Isselt’s “*In pace in idipsum dormiam, & requiescam: quoniam tu Domine singulariter in spe constituistime*” (Psal. 4). Similarly, “*Offer the sacrifices of righteousness, and trust in the Lord*” (Psal. 4) was his English translation of “*Sacrificate sacrificium iustitiae, & sperate in Domino*” (Psal. 4).⁴⁶¹ From there on forward, we will find in Meres’ version one number more, i.e. Ps. 37 instead of 36, Ps. 45 instead of 44, Ps. 55 instead of 54, Ps. 69 instead of 68 or Ps. 119 instead of 118. This is the case not simply in marginal bibliographical notes, but also when Psalms were referred to in the body of the text. An example of this is found in the following excerpt:

Non ita facile huic materiae finem imponere poterimus, si omnes versus & integros subinde Psalmos, hac de te scriptos, in medium preferre velimus. Psalmus enim nonagesimus, & centesimus vigesimus quartus, in eo toti sunt, ut hanc cirtute nobis

⁴⁶¹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 170r, 241r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 323, 449; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 230, 313.

commendent, & praeclaros eius fructus describant, quibus gaudent ii, qui sperat in Domino, & habitant in illius protection.

In this case, Psalms 90 and 124 become in Meres' text Psalms 91 and 125: "We shal not easily end this matter, if wee should alledge all the verses, and sometimes whole Psalmes, written of this matter. For the ninety and one Psalm, and the hundredth and fiue and twenty are wholly employed in commending this virtue vnto vs."⁴⁶²

There are some incongruities in Francis Meres' text. In page 20, for instance, the reference to Psalm 50 should have been changed to 51, as he did later on in the text when annotating a quotation from the same Psalm: "*Thou hast taught me wisdom in the secret of mine hart*" (Ps. 51).⁴⁶³ The same happened with a marginal note referring to Augustine's commentary upon Psalm 144 ('The praise of David'), which in English editions of the Bible is Ps. 145. In the following page, in fact, another reference to Augustine's commentary upon Psalm 70 ('Of Salomon') was changed to Ps. 71 in Meres' text.⁴⁶⁴ Similarly, the reference to Psalm 26 in page 97 should appear as Ps. 27 and a bit further ahead, Psalm 83 should have been changed to Ps. 84 in *The Sinners Gvyde*. In the latter case, Meres did not only leave the number unchanged but he also reproduced the mistake. The quotation "*Verè gloriosa dicta sunt de te ciuitas Dei*" did not belong to Psalm 84 but to Ps. 86 (87).⁴⁶⁵ Another example of this is the quotation "*Meritò itaque dictum est, quod respici terram & facit eam tremere, tangit montes & fumigant*". In Isselt's Latin version it is annotated as belonging to Psalm 105 when, in

⁴⁶² *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 137v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 264; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 190 (this page is wrongly annotated as 200).

⁴⁶³ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 10r, 108v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 18, 211; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 20, 152.

⁴⁶⁴ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 19r, 41r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 76, 77; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 61, 62.

⁴⁶⁵ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 66r, 67v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 130, 133; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 97, 99.

fact, it belonged within Ps. 103 (104).⁴⁶⁶ Similarly, the following excerpt is found in Isselt's text:

Salus enim, ait, iustorum à Domino, & protector eorum in tempore tribulationis. Et adiuuabit eos Dominus, & liberabit eos: & eruet eos à peccatoribus, & saluabit eos: quia sperauer ut in eo (Psal. 35)⁴⁶⁷

This reference should have been changed to 36 in *The Sinners Gvyde*, but for some reason Meres left it unaltered too:

For the saluation, sayth he, of the righteous is of the Lord, and he is theyr protector in the time of tribulation: and the Lord shall helpe them and deliuer them, and shall take them from among sinners, and shall saue them, because they trusted in him. (Psalm 35)

When we look this reference up, we will realize that it is not in the indicated Psalm either. For some reason, Isselt also annotated it as belonging to Psalm 35 when, in fact, this passage consists of the last two verses of Psalm 36 (39-40). Those based on the Vulgate text will annotate the above passage as Psalm 36 whereas those based on the Hebrew Masoretic text will annotate it as Psalm 37. These types of mistakes were occasional within Meres' work, but the fact that he reproduced them in his version could suggest that he did not pay much attention to the translation process, which might have been done in haste.

Francis Meres' use of an English version of the Bible also justifies his omission of Granada's reference to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. The passage in Granada's text was: "Y pudiendo Dios obrar todas estas cosas con sola su asistencia y voluntad: no quiso sino adornar el anima con todas virtudes infusas, y siete dones del Espiritu

⁴⁶⁶ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 72r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 144; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 106.

⁴⁶⁷ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 177r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 334; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 238.

Sancto.” In Latin, the reader will also read “septem sancti Spiritus donis”, in Meres’ version, however, this part of the excerpt was modified: “When as God could haue wrought all these things by his helpe and will, he would not doe it; but it pleased him to adorne the soule with infused vertues, and with the gifts of his holy Spirit.”⁴⁶⁸ The characteristics of the awaited Messiah appear enumerated in the Book of Isaiah 11: 1-2. In the Hebrew Masoretic text, the “Spirit of the Lord” is described with six characteristics: Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Strength, Knowledge and Fear of the Lord (the latter is repeated in the following verse). The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit originated with patristic authors. Thus, the Greek Septuagint and Latin Vulgate translations list seven instead of six (*sapientia, intellectus, consilium, fortitudo, scientia, pietas, timor Domini*), adding piety and eliminating the repetition of fear of the Lord.

Apart from these, there are other interesting examples through which it is apparent that Meres must have been assisted by an English edition of the Bible. One of these is a passage taken from Ephesians 5 (31-32). In *Guía de pecadores* we read: “Porque (despues de aquellas palabras, que dixo el primer hombre a la primera mugger: conuiene saber, Por esta dexara el hombre padre y madre, y allegar se ha a su mugger, y seran dos en vna carne) añade el Apostol y dize, Este *sacramento* es grande, entendido como yo lo entiendo de Christo, y de la yglesia que es esposa suya.” Michael ab Isselt in his version did not talk about “primera mugger” but Eve, and he maintained the word “sacrament”:

Nam post verba illa, quibus protoplastus Euam compellauit, *Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem & matrem suam, & adhaerebit vxori suae: & erunt duo in carne vna; addit Apostolus: Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo & in Ecclesia, quae est illius sponsa.*

⁴⁶⁸ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 35v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 69; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 57. “Porrò cùm Deus omnia haec solo suo auxilio & voluntare posset operari, id facere noluit: sed placuit illi animan adornare virtutibus infuses, & septem sancti Spiritus donis”.

In Meres' version, in contrast, *Eve* remains, whereas the word *Sacrament* is substituted for *secret*:

For after those words, with which he that was first formed spake to his wife Eue, *Therefore shall a man leaue his Father and his Mother, and shall cleaue to his wife: & they shall be one flesh: the Apostle addeth; This is a great secrete, but I speake concerning Christ, and concerning the Church. Which is his Bride.*⁴⁶⁹

A similar modification is found in a passage taken from Hosea 11 (: 4): “*I will draw thee with the cords of a man, sayth the Lord, and with bonds of love.*” While Francis Meres talked about “a man”, Luis de Granada and Isselt specified that this man was Adam: “Con las cuerdas de *Ada* lo traere a mi (dize el Señor) y con ataduras de amor.” Isselt too, translates “*In funiculis Adam traham vos, inquit Dominus, & vinculis amoris.*”⁴⁷⁰ These alterations may belong to the group of modifications that the English translator poured into his version. But these examples are also the result of his use of an English version of the Holy text. In the first case, Marriage was not taken as a dominical Sacrament in the Anglican Church because it has not been given by Christ to his Church (see article XXV of the Thirty-Nine Articles). Thus it would not be strange if the English translator had decided to replace this word. But the fact was that it appeared in that way in English Bibles. In the Bishops' Bible we read, “For this cause shall a man leaue father and mother, and shalbe ioyned unto his wife, and two shalbe made one fleshe. This is a great secrete: but I speake of Christe and of the Churche”, and the same

⁴⁶⁹ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, 98r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 292; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 140. I have underlined key words in each passage.

⁴⁷⁰ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 28v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 57; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 48.

happens in the Geneva text.⁴⁷¹ With respect to the second example, had Meres introduced the change, he must have been consistent with the rest of references to Adam within the text such as “O yee beastly ingratitude of the sonnes and children of Adam”, “If so great things be due unto him, because he hath made vs the sonnes of Adam, how much more, that he hath made vs, of the vnhappy sonnes of Adam, the sonnes of God”, “What priuiledge I pray thee, is giuen vnto thee beyond the other sonnes of Adam.”⁴⁷² This confirms the hypothesis that in his renderings of biblical passages, Meres was assisted by an English Bible. If the reader goes to Hosea 11: 4 in the Bishops’ Bible, he will read “I led them with cordes of a man euen with the bandes of loue.” Yet another example is taken from the Book of Job. Isselt’s Latin quotation, “*Manè primo consurgit homicida, interficit egenum & pauperem: nox verò comoda est illis ad tege da furta*”, of “de la noche se sirven para encubrir sus hurtos: y del día para tender sus redes”, appears in Meres as “*The murtherer riseth early and killeth the poore and the needy, and in the night hee is as a theefe.*” The passage was very similar in the three versions but the latter bears a striking resemblance with the same passage in English versions of the holy text: “The murtherer ryseth early and killeth the poore and needy, and in the night is as a thiefe.” Moreover, in this case Meres corrects the reference of Job 23 in Luis de Granada and Isselt’s texts, to Job 24 (: 14).⁴⁷³

While it seems safe to assume that Meres used an English Bible, it is more difficult, however, to determine which edition of the Holy text he used. With an abundance of English Bibles available as the sixteenth century unfolded, it naturally becomes relevant to ask which of them Meres used. The most sensible thing would be

⁴⁷¹ “For this cause shal a man leaue father & mother, and shal cleaue to his wife, & they twaine shalbe one fleshe. This is a great secret, but I speake concerning Christ, & concerning the Church” (Geneva Bible). The Douay-Rheims Bible, in contrast, talks about *sacrament*.

⁴⁷² *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 34, 62-3, 310. See also page 148, 199, 303, 311, 317, 451.

⁴⁷³ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 22r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 43; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 39.

to think that he used the authorized Bishops' Bible (the above quotations have been taken from this edition). The Geneva version, however, surpassed the official text in popularity.⁴⁷⁴ Its compact quarto size was one of the most obvious reasons for its success. The Bishops' Bible was primarily designed for use in the churches and the average person could hardly afford to buy a heavy, expensive folio size of most of its editions. The Geneva text, in contrast, was more portable and affordable and more convenient for household use. Another great advantage of this version was that it used, for the first time, chapter and verse divisions and this organization facilitated reference and quotation. Moreover, the Geneva Bible was the first Bible to depart from that black-letter style, often preferred by conservative readers because it was more dignified and appropriate for the word of God. It also introduced the use of italics for words that were not in the original language and its marginal comments made the Geneva text all the more popular, for there was great demand by the public for explanatory notes and guidelines, though this was also one of its most controverted aspects.

Analysing Meres' biblical passages we perceive similarities with the Geneva Bible. In the passage taken from Ephesians 5 mentioned above, we see how Meres used the word "cleaue" rather than "ioyned" as in the Bishops' Bible, and verse 32 is an exact copy of that verse in the Geneva text: "This is a great secret, but I speake concerning Christ, & concerning the Church", as opposed to "This is a great secrete, but I speake of Christe and of the Church." Similarly, Meres' reference to "2 Chronicles" instead of "2 Paralipomenon" like Isselt and Granada also seems to point to the fact that

⁴⁷⁴ Of the twenty-seven editions of the complete Bible published in the period 1576-1585, twenty were Geneva Bibles, while only seven were Bishops' Bibles. Moreover, from 1576 until 1611 when the King James Bible appeared, ninety-two editions of the complete Bible were published in England, eighty-one were Geneva Bibles, and eleven were Bishops' Bibles (Shaheen 1999, 28).

he followed the Geneva text.⁴⁷⁵ This change was not of a doctrinal nature. It rather seems a matter of preference and convenience. The Bishops' Bible recognizes that this book "in Latine Verba dierum: or after the Grekes" it was called "Paralipomenon", whereas the Hebrews called it "Dribe Haiamin". Something similar happens in the Geneva text where we read in the title: "the first boke of the Chronicles, or Paralipoménon". In this case there is, however, a preference for the title of Chronicles, and it would explain Meres' choice too. There is also evidence of this parallelism if we consider passages taken from the New Testament. For instance, "Wee must all appeare before the iudgement seate of Christ, that euery man may receiue the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or euill" was taken from 2 Corinthians 5. In the Bishops' Bible this verse was slightly different, it uses 'workes' instead of 'things' and 'bad' instead of 'euill.' The same happens with the passage "the holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, which I haue told you."⁴⁷⁶ In the Bishops' text we read 'whatsoever' instead of 'which'. This was, for example, the Bible used by William Shakespeare, at least since 1598.⁴⁷⁷ All that we know about Meres' church life is that he was a mainstream Anglican and the hypothesis that he might have used the Geneva text does not transform him into a crypto-Puritan. Shaheen condemned the simplistic view that considers this version a Puritan Bible because, he insisted, though the latter may have preferred the Geneva text over authorized translations, so did

⁴⁷⁵ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 136v, 172r (in this case Luis de Granada does not annotate the passage); *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 262, 326; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 188, 232.

⁴⁷⁶ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 54v, 110v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 108, 214-5; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 82, 155.

⁴⁷⁷ It is thought that his writings contain more references to the Bible than the plays of any other Elizabethan playwright. One of the most significant studies on Shakespeare's indebtedness to the Bible is Shaheen 1999.

many Anglicans, even bishops and archbishops.⁴⁷⁸ In Meres' text there are also coincidences with the Bishops' Bible. For instance, he translated Ecclesiasticus 25, "*Quae in iuuentute tua no congregasti, quomodo in senectute tua inuenies?*" as "*If thou hast gathered nothing in thy youth, what wilt thou finde in thine age?*"⁴⁷⁹ This rendering was the same as that which appeared in the Bishops' Bible. This verse in the Geneva text was virtually the same but it used "canst" instead of "wilt". Similarly, his translation of "*Omnia gloria eius filiae regis ab intus, in fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietatibus*" (Psal. 44), as "*The Kings daughter is all glorious within: her clothing is of wrought gold*" (Psal. 45) and the same passage in the Bishops' Bible were very alike. While here we read "The Kinges daughter is all glorious within: her clothing is of wrought golde", in the Geneva text that in the last part of the sentence uses "broydered golde."⁴⁸⁰ Another example is verse 9 from Ps. 69 mentioned above. When translating this passage Meres included the word "euen" that was not in the same verse in the Geneva text: "The zeale of thine house hath eaten me." All this confirms the hypothesis that Meres could have contributed his own versions of these passages. An example of this is seen in a passage taken from Matthew 25, *Afterward came also the foolish Virgins saying: Lord, Lord open to us.* While both, the Geneva and the Bishops' texts talk about 'other Virgins', Meres uses the adjective 'foolish'.

6.1.2 Fathers of the Church

Luis de Granada addressed patristic authors as the pillars of Christian doctrine. For the nearer they were to the Apostolic days, the better they must have understood the truth,

⁴⁷⁸ Shaheen 1999, 27.

⁴⁷⁹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 215r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 400; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 279.

⁴⁸⁰ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 380v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 709; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 491.

and the more correctly and with more clarity they must have explained the dogma. They all testified to the origin and authority of the Canonical Scriptures, and many of them wrote invaluable commentaries upon the holy Books. They formed an essential part of the education of the clergy and their writings. In *Guía de pecadores* the Dominican Granada re-imagines and re-presents various pieces of patristic literature. Saint Augustine's *Confessions*, *Soliloquies*, epistles and homilies; Saint Bernard's Sermons, Saint Dionysius' *Mystical Theology*, Saint Ambrose's *De Officiis* and *Hexameron*, Saint Gregory's *Morals* and homilies, Jerome's Letters, John Chrysostom, Cyprian and Eusebius Emisenus' homilies and epistles or John Climacus' *Scala Paradisi* are recurrent intertextual references all through the work. The reader will hear statements like: "[...] but are not contrary in deede, as Augustine hath well noted", "vpon which wordes, Saint Augustine dooth thus comment", "heere-vpon it is that Saint Gregory saith vpon those words of Iob", "I will relate vnto thee a notable example, recorded long agoe of Saint Gregory", "Saint Gregory hath commented vpon these words thus [...]", "wherefore also Saint Chrisostome dooth vse this argument also in his Homilies", "as saith Chrisostome" or "this doctrine is borrowed of that excellent & great Diuine Dionisius."⁴⁸¹ In Isselt's text the sources of the passages aluded to are annotated more carefully, mentioning the title of the book, and sometimes even the chapter. He mentions Saint Gregory "Lib. 27. Moral. Cap. 36", Saint Dionysius "De mystic Theol. Cap I" and Saint Augustine "Libro Soliloquiorum ca. 31".⁴⁸² There are, however, certain modifications, which suggests that the translator went to the original texts or

⁴⁸¹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 4v, 41r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 8, 77; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 13, 62.

Guía de Pecadores 1567, 6r, 77r, 131r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 11, 154, 251; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 15, 113, 181.

Guía de Pecadores 1567, 58v, 259r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 115, 481; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 87, 336.

Guía de Pecadores 1567, 3v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 6; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 12.

⁴⁸² *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 6r-6v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 11-12; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 15. In the last example Meres mentions chapter I.

rather, that he added his own ideas to the Castilian original. This could be illustrated with a passage that Luis de Granada took from John Chrysostom's Homilies. It reads:

Todas estas cosas bien consideradas, son vn grande estimulo y despertador de la virtud: y assi por este medio nos incita muchas vezes a ella el bienauenturado Sant Chrysostomo en muchos lugares de sus Homilias, donde dize assi. Porque trabajes que tu anima sea temple y morada de Dios, acuerdate de aquel terrible y espantoso dia, en que todos auemos de asistir ante el throno de Christo: para dar razon de todas nuestras obras. Mira pues de la manera que este Señor viene a juzgar viuos y muertos.

In *Dvx Peccatorum* this excerpt is reproduced as follows:

Omnia hec & singular si bene perpendantur, stimuli sunt, & incetiua virtutum. Quare & B. Chrysostomus hoc argumento vtitur in suis homiliis, vt populum ad virtutes excitet: Vt animam tuam, inquit, velut Dei habitaculum praeres, memento horrendi multum & tremedi illius diei, in quo omnes Christi throno assistentes, rerum hic gestarum rationes reddemus.

But before finishing the last sentence, the Latin version included another paragraph:

[...] ante omnium oculos peccata nostra ponentur, & rursum reuelabatur, & ignorantibus ostendentur actiones, vbi ignis fluius, & in sopitus vermis, vbi Omnia nuda & praecipitata. Vbi cordium nostrorum libri aperientur, & in medio manifeste legentur etiam occulta, nocturna & diurna, ex ignorantia & obliuione facta, quae membris effecimus, quaque nunca latent reuelabuntur. Cogita igitur, quod omnino nos hinc ad infallibilem migrare iudicem oportet: vbi non tantum actiones, verum & verba & cogitate iudicantur: vbi terribiles etiam eorum quae videntur esse parua, poenas dabimus. Haec semper recordare, & inextinctae nunqua obliuiscaris flammae. Praeuide venietem iudicare viuos & mortuos.

Interestingly enough, this passage was also in Meres' version, where, on the other hand, it is wrongly annotated too. In Isselt's version this passage is annotated as belonging to the 22 Homily, 'ad populum Antiochem', while Chrysostom's homilies on the Statues consisted of 21 sermons.⁴⁸³ This too, reaffirms that Meres, and Isselt, did not proofread

⁴⁸³ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 58v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 115; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 87.

their texts carefully enough. Another example is a passage taken from Augustine. In the Castilian original it reads:

Conforme a lo ql dize S. Agust, Quando yo busco a mi Dios, no busco forma de cuerpo, ni hermosura de tiepo, ni blancura de luz, ni melodia de cato, ni olores de flores, ni vnguentos aromaticos, ni miel, ni mana deleytable al gusto, ni otra cosa q pueda ser tocada y abraçada co las manos: nada desto busco, quando busco a mi Dios.

Similarly, Isselt wrote:

Quare & B. Augustinus dicit: Quando Deum meum quaero, no quaero speciem corporis, nondecus temporis, non candorem lucis, non colorem, non dulcium melodiarum cantus, & quaecunque dulce sonantia: non florum & vnguentorum, vel aromatum odores, non mella vel manna gustui delectabilia, non eçtera ad tangendum vel amplexandum amabilia, nec Omnia alia sensibus his subiecta quaero, cùm Deum meum quaero.

But then the passage continues: “Absit vt ista crediderim Deum meum, quae etiam à brutalium sensibus comprehenduntur.” This excerpt was taken from Augustine’s *Soliloquies* (book ten) and though this sentence was not in the Castilian original, it might have been added by the Latin translator in his attempt at producing a critical edition of Granada’s text. Meres too, included it in his version: “God forbid that I should thinke these to be my God, which also are apprehended of the senses of brute beasts.”⁴⁸⁴ Even though the Scriptures and the Church Fathers laid the foundation for the faith of all Christians, Anglicanism put more emphasis on these than other branches of Christianity. Anglicans joined other Protestants in their defence of the clarity of Scripture and the ability of the individual believer to be guided by the Holy Spirit in its reading and interpretation. But they have also insisted upon the importance of the Church in interpreting it. English reformers considered Scripture the supreme standard of faith, but the Fathers represent the tradition of the Church by which the Holy text has

⁴⁸⁴ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 7r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 12; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 16.

been understood correctly. During the English Reformation, for instance, the Fathers were primarily studied for the sake of providing important evidence in the Anglican disputes with Rome. The already mentioned anthology of Robert Barnes is a good illustration in that respect. Moreover Canon 6 of 1571 concerning preachers, taught that “they shall take heed, that they teach nothing in theyr preaching, which they would haue the people religiously to obserue, and beleue, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the olde Testament, and the new, and that which the catholike fathers, and auncient Bishops haue gathered out of that doctrine.”⁴⁸⁵ It is for this reason that Meres had no qualms about narrating these stories as they appear in Isselt’s version. Most of these texts were, in fact, synthesized by the English translator when compiling *Palladis Tamia*.

6.1.3 Classical Authors

Classical authors constitute another important source in the work of Luis de Granada. The most recurrent and explicit examples of intertextuality in *Guía de pecadores* are taken from Cicero’s *De Officiis*, *De natura deorum*, *Pro Milone*, *Tusculanae Disputationes* or *Laelius de Amicitia*, Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* and Seneca’s *De Beneficiis*, *De breuitate vitae* and his epistles. The latter author was particularly important to the Dominican Granada. José González Vázquez and Antonio Alberte González are among those who have analysed the *senequismo* that pervades Luis de

⁴⁸⁵ *A Booke of certaine Canons* 1571, 23.

Granada's production. His interest in Seneca was motivated by the philosopher's moral significance, but Granada was also inspired by his stylistic and rhetorical force.⁴⁸⁶

Seneca's literary aesthetics stands between two historical referents; on the one hand, the conceptism of Stoic philosophy, and, on the other, the widespread presence of Ciceronian rhetorical principles. Cicero opposed the emphasis that Stoicism placed on concepts as well as most rhetoricians' insistence on *verba* (i.e. form). He defended a balance instead. According to Cicero, an eloquent man must understand the concept (i.e. *cognitio rerum*), but he must also have the capacity to transmit it convincingly (i.e. *tractatio orationis*). Whereas *cognitio rerum* dealt with conceptual aspects, the other dimension (i.e. *tractatio orationis*) satisfied the senses causing acoustic pleasure or emotional excitement. Cicero's argument conveys both a mental and a material view of elocution. According to him, an idea is apprehended as a mental thing. The image that it evokes is perceived by the senses as if it were a physical object. This should be transmitted as eloquently as possible.

Seneca represents an alternative to Cicero's view of elocution. As a Stoic, he considers reason the ultimate virtue. In one of his epistles he states that "it is reason alone that is unchangeable, that holds fast to its decisions. For reason is not a slave to the senses, but a ruler over them" (*Sola ratio inmutabilis et iudicii tenax est. Non enim servit, sed imperat sensibus*).⁴⁸⁷ He defended that elocution must focus just on the concepts as only these will reveal the truth and are useful. He, therefore, rejected

⁴⁸⁶ González Vázquez 2003, 85-94; Alberte González 2004, 5-27. See also González Vázquez 1996, 737-746. On the influence of Seneca in the work of Luis de Granada see also Julian-Eymard d'Angers, "Les Citations de Sénèques dans les sermons de Louis de Grenade (1505-1589)" (1960) and Pedro Laín Entralgo, *La antropología en la obra de Fray Luis de Granada* (1946). Another fundamental work on the reception of Seneca in Spain is Juan Conde's edition of Blüher's *Seneca in Spanien* (1983). On the influence of Seneca on Spanish Christian religion see Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, *Introducción a la Historia de la Literatura mística en España* (1927).

⁴⁸⁷ *Epistle LXVI*. A bilingual Latin-English edition can be downloaded from *Loeb Classical Library* <http://www.loebclassics.com/>

Cicero's efforts to integrate *res* and *verba*— i.e. thought and form. For him, this will lead to irrational and deceitful arguments as such he will condemn linguistic and verbal adornments and the excitement that they produce. His elocution did not seek for pleasure of hearing (i.e. *voluptas aurium*) but for the exaltation of the concept or idea to satisfy the intellect (i.e. *pulchritudo rerum*). With that aim in mind, he uses language as an instrument (rather than as the material cause to produce acoustic pleasure) to obtain and understand the concept, which is the only producer of spiritual *gaudium* or happiness. In his production, literary devices acquire a new dimension as 'illuminators' of complex matter. Seneca will consistently use paronomasia, antithesis, paradoxes, emphasis or paradiastole to extract the *splendor dei* of ideas. He agrees that language must be appropriate to the matter dealt with, but this does not counter Seneca's arguments about its precision, conciseness and brevity. Seneca's elocution is a defence of the concept or *res* as the fundamental referent but at the same time, a plea for its artistic value and power. It is not a mere oratorical product but a communicative device.

Seneca's aesthetic was criticized by Quintilian in his *Instituto Oratoria* (book 10, chapter 1): "In philosophy he was not diligent enough, but he was an exceptional persecutor of vices. There are many excellent *sententiae* in his works, and much that should be read for the sake of morals, but his style is mostly corrupt and extremely dangerous because it abounds in pleasing vices." Similarly, Aulio Gellio in the twelfth book of his *Noctes Atticae* (XII, 2) refers to him as a "writer of simplicities" (*Homo nugator*). Seneca's ideas were, however, welcomed by several Christian writers. There are numerous possible correspondences between Seneca's works and the writings of the Fathers. Like Seneca, they also criticized linguistic adornment and demanded attention to *res* and Christian truths, which must be transmitted as clearly and as concisely as possible. Seneca's critique of what he sees as false and superstitious Pagan practices

and his argument for the creation of a true, spiritual cult influenced Saint Augustine's *The City of God*, Tertullian's *Apology*, Minucius Felix's *Octavius* and Lactantius' *Divine Institutes* as well as the debate he held with Arnobius and Martin of Braga. The latter's *Formula for an Honest Life* may have also been derived from a lost Senecan work, probably *De Officiis* or *Exhortations*. *Driving Away Vanity, Pride and Exhortation to Humility* also show Seneca's influence. His texts, Chiara Torre notes, "were an important part of the vast pool of doxographical writing from which the Fathers regularly drew."⁴⁸⁸ Their engagement with Seneca goes beyond the appropriation of a few aphorisms, and reflects a deeper understanding of his works. They perceived Seneca as a moral guidance on topics such as anger, superstition, and continence.

The publication of Erasmus' critical edition of Seneca's works at the beginning of the sixteenth century caused the re-evaluation and re-discovery of Seneca's aesthetic and his rejection of the *cultus verborum*. This edition influenced Spanish authors and theorists such as Alfonso de Valdés or Hernán Núñez de Guzmán who wrote an addendum to Erasmus' work, *Castigationes in omnia L. A. Senecae*. Juan Pérez also edited Seneca's works in *Progymnasmata Artis Rhetoricae*. In *De disciplinis and Rhetoricae sive de recte dicendi ratione Libri III*, the humanist Juan Luis Vives praised, with some restraints, Seneca's literary capacity as a complement to Ciceronian rhetoric. Thanks to this recovery, Seneca became "good to think with", not just as a storehouse of moral wisdom. His role as moral guide remained firm, but now too his style was gradually perceived to offer advantages that the more elaborate Ciceronian prose lacked: flexibility, spontaneity, and informality. The esteem and value of Seneca's

⁴⁸⁸ Torre 2015, 275.

literary fundamentals is noticeable in the work of Luis de Granada.⁴⁸⁹ The *prima classis* within the *Collectanea moralis philosophiae* is entirely devoted to this philosopher. In the preface to the reader, he recognized that he read with much pleasure and admiration Seneca's works, to such an extent that he enjoyed the same thing repeated, once and over again. He also admired Seneca's acuteness of intelligence, his capacity to be concise or redundant and his use of certain rhetorical figures such as comparisons, metaphors and hiperboles, aspects that informed Granada's style too.⁴⁹⁰ Like the Fathers, Luis de Granada was also interested in Seneca's moral authority and moralistic teachings about vices and virtues as well as on his testimonies of a perfect way of life. The *Collectanea* was a book for preachers, who, as intermediaries, could teach all men Seneca's disdain for opulence and temporal pleasures. Thus, he presents the philosopher's writings as eyedrops to remedy men's sinful nature ("Cum autem infinitis pene erroribus vulgus hominum propter insitam communis peccati labem caecutiat, audio dicere, efficacissimum adversus plerosque eorum collirium, assidum eius lectionem futuram").⁴⁹¹ Many of Seneca's topoi will also be used by the Spanish author in his writings: *Providentia divina*, *Gratia Dei*, *Consolatio afflictorum*, and *Benevolentia et clementia* among others. Seneca's aesthetic qualities also informed Luis de Granada's *Ecclesiastica Rhetoricae*. In this work Granada recommends any person who wants to be eloquent to read Seneca's writings" ("Haec fere de sententiarum ornamentis rhetores praecipunt, in quibus qui volet esse dives, legat ex ethnicis quidem

⁴⁸⁹ Francisco Terrones del Caño's *Instrucción de predicadores* (1617), Juan de Jáuregui's *Discurso poético* (1623), Baltasar Gracián's *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (1642), and Pérez de Ledesma's *Censura de la elocuencia* (1648) are other seventeenth century works where the reader can perceive the influence of Seneca's aesthetics too.

⁴⁹⁰ *Collectanea* 1571, 4r.

⁴⁹¹ *Collectanea* 1571, 6r.

scriptoribus Senecam”).⁴⁹² He further used Seneca to establish the division between rhetoric and dialectic: “Hitherto Seneca whose works I included here literally because they clearly show the difference between dialectical and rhetorical styles”; as well as to explain several rhetorical figures such as amplification, conversion, paradiastole or conciseness.⁴⁹³

In England, Seneca’s writings were also rather popular. Section 2.4 offers evidence of how his works were rendered into English by several English translators since the mid-sixteenth century. His tragedies had an immense influence upon the development of Elizabethan drama. From 1559 to 1581 his tragedies appeared in English translations and they were finally edited by Thomas Newton (1581).⁴⁹⁴ Meres also shared this interest in Seneca. He is one of the best represented classical authors in *Palladis Tamia* with about 90 acknowledged quotations from his works and he begins the dedicatory of *Granados Devotion* with a reference taken from *De Beneficiis*: “*Vlde, ne mittas munera superuacua, vt Faeminae arma: rustico libros: et studiis dedi[...], retta: sayth that Gentile Sa[...]*mon Seneca in his first Booke De Beneficiis.” In the early seventeenth century too, Thomas Lodge produced an important monumental translation into English of his Works, *The Works of Lucius Annaeus Seneca* (1614).

In the case of pagan authors, the major difference between Isselt’s version and its Castilian original is also found in the degree of detail when narrating these passages, which could also suggest that the translator went to the original source to render these excerpts into Latin. At the beginning of the first book within *Guía de pecadores* Luis de Granada tries to justify his claim that men are like beasts referring to a number of

⁴⁹² *Ecclesiastica Rhetorica* 1575, 83.

⁴⁹³ *Ecclesiastica Rhetorica* 1575, 58 (whole example see pages 56-58); *Ecclesiastica Rhetorica* 1575, 173, 213, 220, 337.

⁴⁹⁴ For the influence of Seneca’s tragedies see Schubert 2014, 73-96.

examples taken from Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* and Pliny's *Natural History*. In that sense he writes:

Porq que cosa mas fiera que el leon? Pues de este escriue Apion autor griego, q porq vn hobre, q estaua Escondido en vna cueua, lesaco vna espina q traya hincada en vn pie: el leon partia con el cada dia la carne q caçaua.

This passage was taken from book 5, ch. 14 but Isselt's version of the same excerpt was considerably longer:

Quid ferocious leone? & tamen Appion Polyhistor scriuit, Androdum Dacum seruum viri consularis, iniquis domini & quotidianis verberibus, ad fugam in Africa coactum: & vt utiores essent eius latebrae, in camporum & arenarum solitudinem concessisse. Specum autem quandam bactum remotam, in eam se recodidisse. Non ita multo post **Leonem** venisse debili vno & cruento pede, gemitus edentem, & murmura dolorem vulneris comiserantia. Territum initio serui animum, sed leonem tandem mitem & mansuetum accessisse, & sublatum pedem ostendisse seruo quasi opis petendae gratia visis est. Androdus (vt ait Appion) stirpem ingentem vestigio pedis eius haerentem, reuulsit, conceptamque saniem vulnere intimo expressit. Leo Androdi opera & medala leuatus, pede in minibus eius posito, recubui, & requieuit. Atque ex oe tempore triennium totum seruus & leo in eadem specu, eodemque victu vixerunt.

If we compare this excerpt to the same excerpt in Meres' text, we will notice how it is virtually the same:

What is more cruell and fierce then a Lyon? And yet Apion Polihistor writeth, that Androdus a Dane, the seruant of a Romane Senator, being constrained to take his flight into Affrica through the bad dealing of his Maister with him, being daily and vniustly beaten & abused; and that his lurking might be the more safe and secret, he liued in the wildernes of fieldes, and in the desert of sands; and hauing gotte into a certaine Den farre from any frequencie of people, there hee hid and reposed himself. Not long after, a **Lyon** came thether into the same Denne, with one of his feete lame & wounded, pitifully complaining, and lamenting the grieffe of his wound. At the first, the seruant was horribly afraide, but at the length, the Lyon being mild and gentle, came vnto him, and lifting vp his foote, showed it to the seruant, as though hee seemed to desire his helpe. Androdus (as sayth Appion) pulled out a great stumpe or stalke of a tree sticking in the sole of his foote, and crushed and squeased out the putrified matter that was festeres and corrupted within the wound. The Lyon being eased thorough the cure and helpe of Androdus, putting his foote into his hands, he laid him downe and rested

himself: & from that time three whole yeeres, the seruant and the Lyon liued together, in the same Denne, and with the same food.⁴⁹⁵

Another illustrative example is taken from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Granada writes:

[...] Del bienauenturado Agathon se escriue, que estando en este passo [of death] con este mismo temor [to die], y pregutado porque temia, auiendo viuido con tanta inocencia: responadio, q porque eran muy diferentes los jyzios de Dios delos hombres.

In *Dvx Peccatorum*, in contrast, this passage significantly differs from Granada's text:

De B. Agathone referent historia, quod moriturus tres dies oculos apertos habuerit, nec eos mouerit. Fratres autem tangents eum, dixerunt; Vbi nunc es Abba? At ille dixit, In conspectus iudicii Dei sto: dicunt autem ei fratres; Nunquid & tu times? Quibus ille respondit, Interea quantum fuit ad virtutem meam semper considerauit, vt mandata Dei mei facerem. Sed homo sum, & vnde scire possum, si opera mea Deo placeant? Cui fratres dixerunt, Non confidis in opera tua, quia secundum Deum sunt? At ille respondit, Non confido in conspectu Dei; quia aliud est iudicium Dei, & aliud hominum.

In Meres it reads thus:

Histories report of Agathon, that hee dying had his eyes three dayes open, and neuer shut, neyther euer moued them. But his brethren touching him, sayd; ô holy Father where art thou now? He sayd, I stand in the sight of Gods iudgement: his brethren sayd moreouer vnto him; doest thou also feare? To whom heeaunswered; always as much as lay in me I purposed to keepe the commaundements of God, but I am a sinfull man, and how should I know, whether my works please God? To whom his brethren sayd, doest thou not trust in thy works, because they are according to Gods word and rule? To whom he aunswered, I doe not trust in my works in the sight of God, because in his iudgement and sight all our best works are imperfect and full of infirmity, but onley in Christ Iesus my Redeemer, in whom I assure my selfe to haue all righteousness and perfection.⁴⁹⁶

The last part of this excerpt is not exactly the same in Isselt and Meres' versions. The statement that he only trusts Jesus Christ seems to be Meres' own judgement, and it is

⁴⁹⁵ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 19v-21r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 37-42; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 34-37. See also *Noctes Atticae* 1541, 219-222.

⁴⁹⁶ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 51r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 100; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 77.

interesting that it coincides with the note that he later on added to the copy that he bought of Bellarmine's *Disputationes*, when he said: "My sinnes doe not frighte me, because / I haue Christ my Redeemer" (see section below).

The fact that these Latin passages were also reproduced in Meres' text is significant and it confirms that the English writer did not use any other edition for his rendering save for Isselt's text. When translating a passage of Eusebius we read "he shall find them [the words of Eusebius] in the fourth tome of saint Ierome workes, in a certaine Epistle of Eusebius, to Byshoppe Damasus as touching the death of Saint Jerome." In the margin he noted: "in the ninth tome of Plantynes edition, a little before the end." Again, the source of such precision was Isselt's Latin version where we also read "In editio Plantiniana tomo 9. Paulè ante finem."⁴⁹⁷ This being the case, neither classical nor patristic authors were unknown to him as he took from them numerous moral and religious quotations to compile his *Palladis Tamia*. Moreover, if we accept the hypothesis that the compilation of this anthology predated the translation of *Guía de pecadores*, Meres must have been already familiar with most of these passages when rendering Isselt's text into English, because many of them were part of the curriculum taught in both Cambridge and Oxford.

6.2 Meres' problem of *Translatability*

Licebit duo uerba uno reddere, & unum duobus, & in quocunq; numero, ut nactus eris linguam. Quin & aliquid addere, & detrahare [...] Quamuis non facile patiar quemlibet interpretem tantum sibi sumere, nisicertum prius atq; exploratum habeat non falli se: quiq; in arte de qua tractat, iustam operam posuerit.
 Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi*.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 406.

⁴⁹⁸ Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi* 1536, 226-7.

Out of the three-fold classification of translations to which Vives referred in *De Ratione Dicendi*, this quotation belongs within those translations in which only the meaning is preserved. That is, he was talking about those cases in which a comprehension of the overall content to the text is sought, instead of a word-for-word literal rendering. To that end, he claimed, it would be most useful to the translation, if the translator or interpreter, as he put it, adds or subtracts from the original text depending on his intention and the prospective audience. In this process, he approved of inventing new words so that both, original and translation are made rich, if the translator has a good command of the language and subject matter of the original text. He provided the example of Theodorus Gaza, who used this method in the Latin translation of *De Animalibus*, and he gives his words the authority of Cicero and Seneca. The latter in *De Tranquilitate* defended that “something must be signified by the name which has the force of the Greek appellation, not the face.”⁴⁹⁹ In his version, Meres too defended a translation *ad sensum* in which he gave priority to content over form. He insisted that “[interpreters] should not be discouraged in this spirituall pursute, for a few corruptions and dangers.”

What he does not quite say is that Granada’s previous English translator is the Catholic exile Richard Hopkins. There is not in Meres’ text any mention to the Catholic

“In order to find the most suitable language, the translator may add or subtract. He may put two words for one or one for two [...] However, I will not easily agree that the interpreter take such great liberties upon himself unless he has first explored and ascertained that he is not mistaken in the art and the matter he treats. It should be a just work” (Translation by Mary Jean Thomas in Robinson 1997, 93).

⁴⁹⁹ Seneca *De tranquillitate* (2.3) quoted in Robinson 1997, 93.

The passage in Latin reads “Quod desideras autem magnum et summum est deoque vicinum, non concuti. Hanc stabilem animi sedem Graeci euthymian vocant, de qua Democriti volume egregium est; ego tranquillitatem voco. Nec enim imitari et transferre verba ad illorum formam necesse est; res ipsa, de qua agitur, aliquot signanda nomine est, quod appellationis Graecae vim debet habere, non faciem”.

exile but the elimination from *The Sinners Gvyde* of certain cross-references (six in total) to *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Memorial de la vida cristiana* invites speculation on whether he was aware of his existence. The purpose of these references was varied. With them, Luis de Granada sometimes justifies his possible redundancy of matter. In *Guía de pecadores*, for instance, he elaborates on some of the content that was introduced in *Libro de la oración y meditación*:

We treat this matter in other place, however, these arguments are repeated here: and we never repeat them sufficiently, and all encouragements are scant. [Marginal note]: Book 1, *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*. This is the source of the exercises

(Quamuis hanc materiam alto loco copiosius tractauimus, aliis tamen, iisque diuersis argumentis eam hoc loco repetemus: vt nunquam satis de illa dici possit, & per Omnia stimulus ad bene viuendum administret. [Marginal note]: Lib. I de Orat. & meditate. Ex quo exercitia de sumpta sunt.)

These works are also cross-referenced in *Guía de pecadores* for the reader to find extra material. An example of this is found at the end of chapter XIII (second book, second part, chapter XV in Isselt and Granada's versions) when talking about abstinence. Here the reader is referred to the third book, second part within *Libro de la oración y meditación*:

This suffices to understand the content of the virtue of abstinence. The person who wants to learn more about its benefits [...] he must read another tract about this matter that we wrote in *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*. [Marginal note]: Book 3, part 2.

(Hactenus de virtute abstinentiae. Qui volet de fructibus illius latius instrui, & scire quam vtilis sit ea in rebus gerendis, [...] legat tractatu, quem hac de re scripsimus in opera de Oratione & Meditatione. [Marginal note]: De oratione & meditate. Lib. 3 parte 2.)

Similarly, within chapter XVI (second book, second part. It was chapter XVII in Isselt and Granada's versions) Luis de Granada directs the reader to the seventh book within *Memorial de la vida Cristiana* to learn more about what man owes God:

About this matter there is a complete part within *Memorial*, the reader would realize that it is fully developed there. [Marginal note]: Book 7 *Memorial*

(Quia verò peculiaris de hac material tractatus est in nostro Memoriali, latius de his omniibus ibidem inueniet studiosus lector. [Marginal note]: Libro 7 Memorialis)⁵⁰⁰

While these omissions do not prove that Meres was aware of Hopkins' versions, it is, at any rate, significant that he eliminated from his translation the references to those works that the recusant exile had translated. Presumably this might have reminded readers of the 'corruptions' rather than underlined the possibility of avoiding them. How, then, does Meres accomplish this? On the title page of this translation Meres is said to have "nowe perused, and digested into English" Granada's text, and this is confirmed in the dedicatory to Egerton where he recognized to have "remov[ed] corruptions, that as Rocks would haue endangered many."⁵⁰¹ Digestion implies change, and close comparison reveals that Meres followed Isselt's version as regards its structure, typography and content. The work was divided into two books and its main aim was to reclaim sinners "from the by-path of vice and destruction, and brought unto

⁵⁰⁰ These are literal English translations of the Latin text. Marginal notes were not in the Catilian original. The excerpts quoted in the text above are found in *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 71v, 341v, 360v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 142-3, 640-1, 674; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 105, 447, 470. For the rest of cross-references compare *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 333v, 359v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 627, 673; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 438, 469. See also the 'Argument of the First Book' prefixed to the text in the three versions.

⁵⁰¹ In the dedicatory of *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* Meres also affirms that he had digested Luis de Granada works (A4v). This confirms that these were not literal translations but summaries and shortened versions of the original.

the high-way of euerlasting happinesse.”⁵⁰² We have already mentioned some of the differences between original and translated texts on the grounds of the three major sources of *Guía de pecadores*. Meres introduced, however, other modifications to ensure his translation could not be accused of ignoring or undermining his country’s religious settlement. Both, Meres’ context and the target readership of his text, justify the translator’s decision and they offer much insight into his intentions and translation strategies. The sections that follow focus on *Guía de Pecadores’ untranslatables*, which are those terms and expressions that create a problem in their translation into English. Meres’ procedures to compensate for this lack of equivalence are clearly noticed; on account of such differences, Catholic writings such as those of Luis de Granada were expurgated and ‘domesticated’ in translation while maintaining the text’s spiritual content. By doing that, Meres guaranteed the favour of both institutional authorities and the English audience, a process that, as already seen, the Dominican friar himself had to carry out when his works were censored in the Iberian Peninsula.

The first ‘problem’ is created by a group of expressions that clearly addressed a Castilian or more general readership. These are clear examples of of Catford called *linguistic untranslatability*. In *The Sinners Gvyde*, these expressions are domesticated so as to make clear that his version targeted an English audience. An example of this is found in an excerpt in which the friar talks about “dineros”: “Pues que quiere dezir, atesoras ira, sino dar a entender, que como el que allega thesoro, va cada dia añadiendo

⁵⁰² “Opvscvlvm valde pivm, in duos libros distributum: quo peccatores à via vitiorum & perditionis ad regiam virtutum ac salutis eterne viam perducuntur” (*Dvx Peccatorvm* title page).

dineros a dineros, y riquezas a riquezas.” The same passage was very similar in Latin: “Quid est quod dicer, thesaurizas tibi iram; nisi vt significet, quod vti aliquis colliges thesaurura, quotidie denarium denarii addit, & diuitias diuitiis congerit”, whereas in English it was somewhat different: “What is it that he sayth, thou heapest wrath vnto thy selfe, but that hee may signifie, that as one gathering a treasurie, doth daily add a penny to a penny, & doth heape riches to riches.”⁵⁰³ The reference “dineros a dineros”, or “denarium denarii”, was replaced by “a penny to a penny.” This kind of change illustrate why Vives defended that the translator “should be forgiven for omitting certain things which do nothing toward bringing out the meaning, or for adding what aids the meaning.” Naturally with the use of “penny” Meres brings the ideas closer to the reader in the target language than using merely “money”. The latter term applied to a much wider context than “penny”, which was restricted to that of England. Vives further explained that neither figures nor schemes, much less idiomatic expressions, of one language should be expressed in the other.⁵⁰⁴ Meres was well aware of this circumstance too, and it would justify why the maxim “la muerte nos hará iguales a todos” was replaced in Meres’ text by “Death maketh the begger equall with the king, and the cottage with the crowne.” In English the proverb used to signify this type of final justice was “we shall lie all alike in our graves”, and there is no evidence of the existence of Meres’ saying. We ignore why he did not use the one in current use at that moment. The hypothesis is that the English translator might have invented it himself considering it more appropriate and suitable to the English mind.⁵⁰⁵ The case was different with another Castilian proverb used by Luis de Granada in the excerpt:

⁵⁰³ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 75r and 265v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 150 and 492; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 110 and 344.

⁵⁰⁴ Robinson 1997, 93.

⁵⁰⁵ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 287v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 536; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 377. “Mors [...] Sceptra ligonibus equat”. See also Hazlitt 1869, 449.

“Porque no venga a ser (como dizen) allegador de la ceniza, y derramador de la harina, como a muchos acontece.” The passage was similar in Latin: “ne (quod dici solet) cineres colligate, atque farina spargat: id quod multi faciunt”, but Meres replaced it with a common English aphorism with the same meaning: “Least he (as it wont to be sayd) be penny wise and pound foolish, least he I say, gather ashes, and cast away flower: which many doe.” Meres explains it in his rendering, while Granada and Isselt do not.⁵⁰⁶

With respect the examples just mentioned, the languages involved (i.e. Castilian, Latin and English) share common linguistic expressions whereby the original meaning was retained. There were other examples, in contrast, in which this is not possible and the degree of interchangeability is narrower. Even though there are other terms and expressions that create a problem, the reason is not linguistic. In these cases we talk of *cultural untranslatability*. Though this might not be the precise label, this term is meant to signify the problems posed by the larger cultural, social, political and religious context in which the translation fits. For Meres’ name to appear in the title page of the work without fear of censorship, the English translator also had to modify other potentially controversial excerpts of the original text that were of a doctrinal nature. He was careful, for instance, to remove Granada’s emphasis on religious orders. References to Domingo de Guzman or Francisco de Asís (founders of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders respectively), and references to the Cistercian Order or the Clairvaux Abbey are eliminated; the Franciscan San Buenaventura becomes in Meres’ text “a certaine learned and holy man”, the Augustinian monk Hugo de San Victor features merely as “another Doctor of the Church”, whereas the Capuchin and Carthusian orders

⁵⁰⁶ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 379v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 707; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 490.
“Ne (quod dici solet) cineres colligate, atque farina spargat: id quod multi faciunt”.

are simply “some austere and straight kinde of lyuing.”⁵⁰⁷ He also reduces Granada’s reference to Saint Anthony the Abbot, founder of the eremitical type of Christian monasticism, to the general statement, “a certaine excellent writer.”⁵⁰⁸ However, there is certain inconsistency here because later on Meres does include a similar reference and he even mentions the source from which the passage derives in a marginal note that reads “Athanasius in the life of Saint Anthony.”⁵⁰⁹ This circumstance is suggestive of the fact that it was not clear to him, whom Granada was referring to. It could also be another reaffirmation that Meres did not proofread his texts with enough care.

The figure of the Pope as spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic Church is also considered in this study as another example of *cultural untranslatability* within *Guía de Pecadores*. In a section talking about death Granada claims that “no puede nadie escusar este trago, q sea Rey, que sea Papa”, whereas Meres cleverly argued that “no man is free from thys cup, but all must drinke of it, whether he be Emperor, King, or whatsoeuer he be.”⁵¹⁰ Similarly, in *Guía de pecadores* there is a passage taken from Pope Innocent III’s *De miseria humanae conditionis*, but Meres’ generally mentions that “learned Wryters, and graue Doctors of the Church haue written large and copious volumes of this matter.”⁵¹¹ In relation with that is Meres’ consideration of ‘prelate’ within *Guía*. His treatment of this word strike at the Church hierarchy as a prelate is an ecclesiastical dignity chosen and officially appointed by the Pope in precedence over other members of the clergy. When Granada wrote “Y llamase resignación, porq assi como vn clérigo q resigna vn beneficio, totalmente se despossee, y lo entrega en manos

⁵⁰⁷ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 118.

⁵⁰⁸ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 349v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 655; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 456.

⁵⁰⁹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 263r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 488; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 341.

⁵¹⁰ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 47v-48r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 92; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 71.

“Ita vt nemo immunis sit à calice hoc, sed omnes eum bibere debent, siue Papa, siue Rex, siue quiuis sit alius”.

⁵¹¹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 171r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 324; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 231.

del perlado [...]”, in Meres’ version it appeared as “it is called Resignation, because euen as *he* that resigneth a benefice, vtterly depriueth himself of it, and committeth it wholly to the *next incombent* [...].”⁵¹² The English translator, however, is not consistent in the way he treats the word *praelati*. Apart from “next incombent”, other terms that he uses are “rulers and ouerseers” and “bishops and pastors”. Some of these terms are reproduced in the passages below:

Por agora bastara auisar breuemente, q demas de lo suso dicho, debe tener cada uno respect a las leyes y obligaciones de su estado [...] segun la diuersidad de los estados q ay en la yglesia. Porque vnos son perlados, otros subditos, otros casados, otros religiosos, otros padres de familia & c.

Meres’ version of the last part of this excerpt was modified:

Every one must have an eye and a diligent respect vnto those Lawes, ordinances and customes, that are prescribed and directed for his estate and condition [...] according to the diuersitie of estates in the Church & Common-wealth: in which some are *Rulers and Ouerseers*, and some subiects; some Clergy, some Layetie, some ministers of families & c.⁵¹³

The omission in the English version of Luis de Granada’s reference to the marriage of priests, cannot be attributed to Francis Meres because it was also eliminated from the Latin version. In this case too, the last part of the excerpt is translated as “secundum statuum Ecclesie diuersitatem; in quibus alii sunt Praelati, alii sibditi: quidam Religioso, nonnulli patre familias & c.”⁵¹⁴ There is yet another example in which Meres uses a different term; while Granada mentions, “por donde prudentissimamente hazen los *perlados* que assi como en sus capitulos y ayuntamientos repiten muchas vezes estas

⁵¹² *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 370r-370v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 691; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 478. “Vocatur aute Resignatio, quia quemadmodum clericus, qui resignat beneficium, seipsum penitus illo priuat, & arbitrio praelati committit”.

⁵¹³ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 376v; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 486.

⁵¹⁴ *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 702.

vozes”, in Meres it is changed to “wherefore I say, that those *Bishops and Pastors* do very wisely, that in theyr pulpits and Sermons doe often beate vpon these words.”⁵¹⁵

Meres’ treatment of this word could also reveal his knowledge of national religious conflicts such as that of Elizabethan puritanism, of which there is evidence in his translation. The excerpt “let a good Christian striue and endeauour, that those that be in his house, may be free from all enormous vices; [...] And furthermore, that they haue knowledge and skill in matters of Christianity; and that they obserue the orders and constitutions of the Church; and that especially vpon the Lords day they be at Church to heare Sermons and diuine seruice” was Meres’ translation of “Studeat itaque bonus Christianus, vt ii qui in edibus sunt, liberi sint ab omnibus manifestis vitiis; [...] vt praetera calleant doctrinam Christianam; obseruent Ecclesiae mandata, maximè autem, vt diebus Dominicis, aliisque Sanctorum festinitatibus intersint tremendo Missae sacrificio: ieiunent etiam, cùm ieiunandum esse praecipit Ecclesia, nisi legitimu obstet impedimentum, vt suprè declarauimus.” However the last part of the passage about fasting was replaced in Meres’ version with: “and that they be not contumacious and peruerse in thwarting the good and orderly proceedings of the Church, as the Puritans and Precisians of this time are, who by their ignorant zeale, & peeuish singularity disturbe the quiet and peace of the Church.”⁵¹⁶ Clearly, expurgation or ‘sanitization’ is not the process at work in an example like this one. Meres has abandoned any attempt to translate. Such a passage looks like a bid to gain the favour of the Elizabethan establishment. But, however this may be, Meres’ motives must have gone beyond self-promotion, for it can hardly be a coincidence that as early as 1599 he was ordained priest.

⁵¹⁵ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 385v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 718; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 497. “Quare dico prudentissime facere *Praelatos*, qui in suis Capitulis & Congregationibus sepe repetunthas voces.”

⁵¹⁶ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 378v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 706; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 489.

The Puritan debate arose out of discontent with the 1559 religious settlement. After several moderate attempts at reform, the conflict spread to fundamental criticism of Church government and doctrine. Anglicans and Puritans had similar aims and ideals but they disagreed on several central issues, namely, the government and structure of the church and its elements of worship. On these matters, the puritans' terms were clear. They argued against 'popish remnants' such as the use of clerical vestments and the presence of Apocryphal texts in the Book of Common Prayer. They also reacted against certain traditional ceremonies of the English Church, such as kneeling to receive communion or making the sign of the cross in baptism. Above all, most of them reacted against the Church's hierarchy because bishops, they thought, were abusing their power. Puritans advocated for the establishment of the Presbyterian model whereby each local church is governed by a body of elected elders (*session*), at the same time governed by a higher assembly of elders (*presbytery*). Other more radical branches advocated for the establishment of different independent and autonomous congregations. In 1580-1 Robert Browne and Robert Harrison formed the first separatist congregation at Norwich. Over the course of the following years Scottish ministers fought to convince English puritans to fully establish an alternative Presbyterian system in England. The new Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift together with the High Commission began a severe campaign against them that resulted in the suspension of some three hundred ministers. The response was a series of six pamphlets and a broadsheet printed on a secret press in the period 1588-9. Due to their emphatic criticism of bishops, the tracts were signed under the pseudonym Martin Mar-prelate, where 'prelate' was clearly referred to the (bad) consideration that prelates or bishops had in England. This could explain Meres' treatment of this word as another bid to gain the favour of the Anglican Church.

The identity of the satirist is still a matter of debate. Job Throckmorton (1545-1601) has been identified as the most probable candidate for its authorship, though John Penry, Thomas Cartwright, Gabriel Harvey, Christopher Marlowe, or Edward de Vere have also been considered.⁵¹⁷ The texts were secretly printed, probably at John Penry's press with the help of Robert Waldegrave, and distributed via a well-organized puritan social network; about two dozen individuals are known to have been involved in the tracts' production and distribution. They attacked the established Church, and argued on behalf of the alternative Presbyterian system. These tracts caused a sensation, not so much on account of their arguments as for the novelty of their style and method of presentation. With its conversational and ironic prose, these tracts destroyed conventions of decorum that had guided debates about the church since the accession of Queen Elizabeth. The same points of theological contention and reform that they proposed had been previously addressed in printed books over almost two decades of Presbyterian opposition without provoking significant retaliation. They believed that polemic of this kind was ineffective and something new and attractive was needed to get the public to ponder about the necessity of reform.

Due to the success of these tracts the state, the church and its supporters initiated a campaign to counter their arguments and influence. In 1589 Thomas Cooper warned, "There are of late time [...] three or foure odious Libels against the Bishops, and other of the Clergie, printed and spread abroad into all Countreyes of this Realme." These

⁵¹⁷ For an extended discussion of the Marprelate controversy, see Joseph L. Black, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts. A Modernized and Annotated Edition* (2011); Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (2003). For discussion of the Martinist style see Joseph L. Black, "The Marprelate Controversy" (2013). 544-59; For the issue of its authorship see Donald Joseph McGinn, *John Penry and the Marprelate Controversy* (1966); Leland H. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate, Gentleman: Master Job Throckmorton Laid Open in His Colors* (1981) and Tudur R. Jones, Arthur Long and Rosemary Moore, *Protestant Nonconformist Texts: 1550-1700* (2007). On Throckmorton's biography see Patrick Collinson's entry in the *DNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27391> [Accessed 01 February 2016].

tracts contained “vntrueths, slaunders, reproches, raylings, reuilings, scoffings, and other vntemperate speeches” that were “neuer committed to Presse or paper, no not against the vilest sort of men, that haue liued vpon the earth.”⁵¹⁸ Other writings that appeared in defence of the bishops are *Mar-Martine* (1589), *A Whip for an Ape: or Martin Displayed* (1589); the prose satires *Martins Months Minde* (1589), *Pappe with a Hatchet* (1589), *An Almond for a Parrat* (1590); or the treatises *A Countercuffe given to Martin Junior* (1589), *The Returne of the Renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England* (1589) and *The First Parte of Pasquils Apologie* (1590). The authorship of these pamphlets is not certain, but it is possible that John Lyly, Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe were involved in this counteroffensive. This Martinism or Martinist style, as it was called, remained the focus of many studies in the nineteenth century, when pioneering research by scholars such as Edward Arber, J. Dover Wilson, R. B. McKerrow and William Pierce acknowledged the tracts as the finest examples of Elizabethan prose satire.

The Marprelate press was finally discovered in August 1589 and over the following eighteen months almost all the “Martinists” were indicted, tried, and fined or imprisoned. John Penry and Robert Waldegrave, himself the printer of several tracts such as *The Epistle*, *The Epitome*, *Mineralls* and *Hay any Worke for Cooper*, fled to Scotland where they and their families found the Kirk’s protection. The figure of Waldegrave deserves some analysis in this study. Despite the fact that he and his family were harassed and insistently searched for, they managed to escape without punishment and the printer and publisher achieved a position of security and privilege. Once there, his services were openly and urgently desired mainly since 1590, when James VI appointed him King’s Printer. Andrew Melville’s *Stephaniskion* (1590), John

⁵¹⁸ Cooper’s *An Admonition to the people of England* 1589, 26-27.

Davidson's *D. Bancrofts* (1590), John Penry's *Treatise* (1593), and a 1590 edition of the *Confession* were among the first books that Waldegrave printed in Edinburgh. A collection of works by Dudley Fenner, William Perkins' *A Golden Chaine, A Case of Conscience* (all in 1592), *A direction for the government of the tongue* and *An Exposition of the Lords Praier* (both in 1593), John Davidson's *A Memorial of the life and death of two worthye Christians* (1595) were other books that he printed. The publication of James' works such as *Daemonologie* (1597), *The True Lawe of the Free Monarchies* (1598) and *Basilikon Doron* (1599) awarded him a place of honor. Most of the works that he printed in the 1590s were for Scots Presbyterians, the King and the Scottish Parliament, but Waldegrave also printed, and reprinted, other profitable books. Some examples are Wentworth's posthumous work, *A Pitie Exhortation* (1598) and a 1599 faked edition of Sydney's *Arcadia*, two works with which he involved in controversy. Atypical as it is, Waldegrave also printed two English translations of Luis de Granada; M. K.'s second edition of *The Conversion of a Sinner* (1599) and Francis Meres' second edition of *Granados Spiritual and Heauenly Exercises* (1600). This fact turns Meres into an even more enigmatic figure. His replacement of the original content with the above quoted excerpt from *The Sinners Gvyde* positioned him against the Puritan controversy and presents him as an Anglican devotee. It is surprising, then, that while in *The Sinners Gvyde* he had openly criticized the puritan movement and religious controversies, one of its most direct and controversial participants, Robert Waldegrave, prints one of his translations in Edinburgh. This circumstance could be analysed on the grounds of the printer's change of view and attitude, instead of Meres' connection with Puritanism. Eleven years passed between Waldegrave's establishment in Scotland and his publication of Meres' translation, thus, his personal and professional situations, as well as his doctrinal positions, may have undergone important changes. Even though in

Scotland he would find the protection of the Presbyterian Church and the King, Waldegrave tried earnestly to obtain the Queen's pardon. The numerous risks that he took in order to print some of the Marprelate tracts are usually taken as a good example of his degree of commitment to the Puritan cause. There is more evidence of this in his involvement with the publication of John Field's *Caveat for Parsons Howlet* (London 1581) and *A Godly Exhortation* (London 1583); Laurence Chaderton's *A Fruitfull sermon* (London 1584); William Fulke's *Brief and plain declaration* (London 1584); and John Udall's *Peters Fall* (London 1585, 1587), *Amendment of Life* (London 1588), *The State of the Church of England* (London 1588) or *The Combate betwixt Christ and the Devill* (London 1588). He also issued various works of Beza, Luther, Calvin and Knox. Even though Waldegrave printed some unusual works such as a Latin grammar and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, his reputation in London was bound with the writings of those individuals hostile to the Established Church.

When the Marprelate press was discovered and after the completion of the pamphlet 'Hay any work for Cooper' (1589), where he mocked and responded to the Bishop of Winchester, Waldegrave decided not to meddle with Marprelate things. The work was laborious and dangerous and most Puritan preachers with whom he conferred disapproved of Martin's course and irregular proceedings. Furthermore, with each publication he made more impossible that he should again exercise openly the art of printing in England, where he wishes to return. Therefore, having convinced himself that his safety lay in flight, Waldegrave went to Scotland. Here, he would find a Puritan establishment in power and he might still share strong puritan and presbyterian tendencies, but Waldegrave was above all a businessman, motivated by profit and interested in printing what he believed would sell. Apart from the two editions of Luis de Granada previously mentioned, Waldegrave also printed an edition of the Catholic

Robert Southwell's *Saint Peters Complaint* (1600). These works would not find a wide vogue among Scotland's readership. It seems feasible to suggest that Waldegrave kept connections with some of the Stationers, and favours were exchanged. Irrespective of their religious persuasions, both Meres and M. K. might have decided to publish their translations in Edinburgh in search of Waldegrave's prestige granted by his position as King's Printer. This reaffirms Meres' awareness of, and possible connection with, the publishing industry. In any case, there is more evidence about his consideration of Puritan ideas. Within the copy that he bought of *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* he included the following text:

My paynes do not dismay me, because
I travel to bringe forth eternall lyfe:
My sinnes doe not frighte me, because
I haue Christ my Redeemer:
The Iudge dothnot astonish me, because
The Iudges sonne is myne Advocate:
The Diuel doth not amaze me, because
The Angels pitch about mee:
The Grave doth not greeve me, because
It was my Lordes bed.

These were not Meres's own words, but a miniature testament of faith that he took from the Puritan Henry Smith's sermons. The text was printed in Henry Smith, *Three praiers* (London, 1591), and it was reprinted in *The sermons of Maister Henrie Smith gathered into one volume* (London, 1593).⁵¹⁹ He might have been attracted towards this text simply because of its content, but the puritan origin of his passage and the publication of the second edition of his last translation by a printer and publisher previously committed to the Puritan cause is rather significant, and it might suggest that Meres shared these ideas too.

⁵¹⁹ *Three praiers* 1591, 21-22. *The sermons of Maister Henrie Smith* 1593, Tt3v.

There were other modifications that provide information about Meres' interests when translating. At the end of chapter XXIII (second part, book 1) about the twelfth privilege of virtue, which deals with the death of good and bad Christians, Luis de Granada adds a series of examples taken from Saint Gregory's *Dialogues* to prove his arguments on this part: "Mas para mayor declaracion y confirmacion delo dicho y para Spiritual recreacion del Lector: me parecio añadir aqui algunos exemplos digos de memoria delas muertes gloriosas de algunos sanctos, tomados del quarto libro de los dialogos de S. Gregorio Papa." This part was removed from Meres' version. Similarly, at the end of chapter VI (first part, book 2) about the remedies against Luxury, Meres also eliminated two examples taken from the same work.⁵²⁰ The content of these pages was not particularly controversial. Even though the work dealt with the histories of Saints in Italy, these were in fact a sequence of tales of visions, miracles and extraordinary Christian virtue to help his contemporaries escape from their worldly troubles and contemplate eternal life. These tales did not ask for the Saint's intercession, which was a matter of considerable debate—about which more below. There is, in fact, another reference to the work (book 4, chapter 37) that Meres does not eliminate: "I will relate vnto thee a notable example, recorded long ago of Saint Gregory."⁵²¹ Had he considered it open to question, he ought to have removed all mentions. The hypothesis that justifies these omissions is the considerable length of the examples just mentioned, the content might not be particularly relevant and its inclusion would delay the finalization of the work.

⁵²⁰ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 195r-201r, 303r-305v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 367-374, 567-570; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 261, 398.

⁵²¹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 77r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 154; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 113-4.

6.3 The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England in Meres' text

English translation of the Bible played an essential part in the English Reformation: “Whether radical, mainstream, or sidelined, every act of scriptural translation in this era was an act of biblical interpretation, essentially religious at its core and thus unfailingly political in its effects.”⁵²² It forms the basis of the reformed Church of England, as they believed that the Bible *alone* validated the doctrines and practices of Christianity. The Book of Common Prayer (1549, 1552, 1559) and the Articles of Religion (1563, 1571), however, eventually defined the Anglican Church.⁵²³ Elizabeth inherited a politically fragmented and religiously divided kingdom, and these two documents gave stability to the country, providing clarity about the limits of the Elizabethan Settlement. The fifth Canon within the *Book of Canons* (1604) about “Impugners of the Articles of Religion established in the Church of England, Censured” summarily proclaimed “whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that any of the Thirty Nine Articles agreed upon [...] are in any part Superstitious or Erroneous, or such as he may not with a good Conscience subscribe unto: Let him be Excommunicated *ipso facto*”, and Meres, naturally, had to subscribe to them when he was ordained priest.⁵²⁴ The concern he shows with it could indicate on the one hand, that he was a supporter of the Anglican Church, but above all, it seems to anticipate that he might have already made up his mind to become a man of the cloth, a purpose that would first require compliance with what the Church prescribed. A significant group of his *untranslatables* are explained under the light of this formulary. In this case we would speak of *religious untranslatability* caused by the

⁵²² Ferrel 2008, 60.

⁵²³ On the BCP see Brian Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (2011) and Daniel Swift “The Book of Common Prayer” (2013).

⁵²⁴ Davis 1869: 15.

difficulty to adjust religious texts to various cultural settings, as it was the case with Granada's *Guía de pecadores* and Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde*. Christopher Shackle's remark is very relevant here because he claimed that it is "context rather than content [that] makes the holy untranslatable."⁵²⁵ The section that follows offers a general overview of the Articles' history and development and their role in the shaping of Anglican identity. It will pay special attention to the way in which these articles are reflected in Meres' text as it offers much insight into the translator's own interests.

The Articles were framed with a view to "auoiding of the diuersities of opinion, and for the stablishyng of consent touching true Religion" and all clergy was required to subscribe to them.⁵²⁶ They were ratified in Latin by Convocation in 1563. The text was later on revised and translated into English, with a final revision that received canonical approval in 1571. This doctrinal formulary began its development with Henry VIII's excommunication and it covers a period in which several Reformed Confessions were also published— The Consensus Tigurinus or Consensus of Zurich (1549), the Confession de la Rochelle (1559), the Scots Confession (1560), the Belgic Confession (1561) and the Second Helvetic Confession (1566)— all of which intended to bring unity to the Protestant churches on their doctrines. In England, several formularies were drawn up in the period 1536-1539. In 1536, the *Ten Articles* were produced as a formulary of the new faith of the Church. The document began with an emphasis on the words of the Scripture and the recognition of the sacramental character of baptism,

⁵²⁵ Shackle 2005, 20.

⁵²⁶ This measure was included in "An Act to reform certain disorders touching Ministers of the Church", enacted in Elizabeth's 3rd Parliament (1571).

penance and the Eucharist. It also defended the doctrine of transubstantiation, whereas the Lutheran concept of *sola fide* was rejected. Those articles concerning ceremonies also recognized the intermediary role of saints and prayers for the dead, however the doctrine of indulgences was condemned. These aspects were reaffirmed in the *Institution of a Christian Man* or *Bishops' Book* (1537) which also deal with the questions of purgatory or the status of the other four missing sacraments in the previous formulary. A year later, the *Thirteen Articles* were a further attempt at a formulary of faith that had at its base the Augsburg Confession, mainly its first seventeen articles. This was followed by another, and shorter, statute consisting of just six articles (1539) that returned the Church to unambiguous Catholic orthodoxy, except for papal supremacy. Both, the concept of transubstantiation and auricular confession were reaffirmed and the king was determined to enforce these doctrines under heavy penalties. Despite the apparent reformist character of these documents, Henry VIII was partially attracted to Protestant doctrine. At first he tried to incorporate some evangelical ideas into his Church but in its core, it was still a Catholic one. His son Edward and his advisors would turn England into something more like a true Protestant country. In that regard, the next fundamental step for the Anglican Communion was the publication of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549, with a revised more radical edition three years later that came to be known as *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*. But uniformity of doctrine was still required and Cranmer drew up a draft of forty-two Articles that were issued in 1553. The Articles were devised “for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord, in certain matters of Religion” and they constituted the most thorough and systematic expression of Reformed doctrine at that time.⁵²⁷ On crucial matters (Grace and the Sacraments) the

⁵²⁷ The document initially included forty-five articles.

Articles were comparable to both Calvin's French Confession and Bullinger's Second Helvetic Confession. On matters of ecclesiastical policy and discipline they lean towards Zurich instead. The Forty-Two Articles, however, were dropped at the accession of Queen Mary and Archbishop Matthew Parker reintroduced them for debate in 1559. After some revision, the new Latin draft was issued under royal authority in 1563. To the document of 1553, one article was added, four were removed, and seventeen others were modified; Articles II, V, X, XI, XII, XIII and XX were influenced by the Württemberg Confession of 1552. The controversial article XXIX (*De manducatione corporis Christi, et impios illud non manducare*) was initially removed because it might offend Lutheran sensibilities on the question of the real presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but it was restored in the revision of 1571. Thus, the canonically approved formulary of thirty-eight Articles came to consist of thirty-nine.

The first group of five articles were not controversial.⁵²⁸ They treated the substance of the Faith contained in the doctrine of God and the Trinity (I), the Incarnation (II-IV), and the Holy Ghost (V), and its content has been agreed upon by the other principal Lutheran, Reformed and Tridentine formularies. The next three articles deal with the authority of Scripture and its sufficiency to salvation (VI), the Rule of Faith as contained in the Bible (VII) and the ancient creeds of the Church (VIII). Of these, article VI has a significant role in Meres' version of *Guía de Pecadores*. It constituted the nucleus of England's reformed Church. With the statement, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the faith, or be though requisite or necessary to salvation", the

⁵²⁸ I have followed the classification suggested by professor W. J. Torrance Kirby in Andreas Mühling and Peter Opitz, *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften* (2009).

place of supreme authority the Bible held in the formulation of doctrine for Anglicans becomes clear.⁵²⁹ Jesus Christ is the *only* certain revelation of God and Holy Writ is its *only* sure record. As mentioned above, the Bible is an essential source in *Guía de pecadores* and the numerous biblical passages to which Luis de Granada alludes are important to an understanding of Meres' interest in this work. In the Argument of the First Book, Granada declared that "any man was seene, or read of me, who handled this matter so copiously, and in that order, as wee doe. Therefore it hath not beene unto mee a little trouble, or small labor to bring together into one head all these things out of diuers places of Scripture", and he gave his readers mandates to search, read and "run throughout the holy Scripture".⁵³⁰ Some examples of the central role played by the Bible in Granada's text are reproduced below:

The same also is yet more plainly seene in examining the Diuine iustice, the effects aud executions of which, be these punishments. Thys is after some manner knowen by the effects, that is, by the feareful punishments of God, inflicted at diuers times vpon wicked men, sundry of which are remembred in the Scriptures.

But how great that prouidence is, it cannot be vnderstood, vnlesse of them, which haue tried, or at least haue seene, or haue read with industrie & attention those places of Scripture, which speake of this prouidence.

Neyther thou, nor I doe see the Diuine iustice, as it is in it selfe; that we may come to the knowledge of the measure of it. Neither doe we know God himselfe in this worlde, but by hys workes. Therefore let vs enter into the spirituall world of the holy Scripture, & then let vs goe out into this corporall world, wherein we liue, and let vs out of them both reason, what the Diuine iustice is, that by this meanes we may know it.⁵³¹

Meres also leaves proof of this fundamental role in the dedicatory to Thomas Egerton. This epistle is rather revealing about the translator's own thought as it is one of

⁵²⁹ *Articles* 1693, A1r.

⁵³⁰ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 8.

⁵³¹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 73r, 91r, 230v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 145, 181, 430; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 107, 132, 300.

the few documents that we have within *The Sinners Gvyde* of Meres' original writing and, therefore, ideas. Here, he warned that "all wrytings haue a relish of theyr earthly and corruptible Authors", with the exception of the Sacred Scriptures, "which are absolute pure and perfect". Furthermore, it is one of the reasons he gave Egerton to accept the text (see page xxx). The view that the Church of England held about the Holy text confronted Pope Paul III's Decree passed on the fourth session of the Council (8 April 1546) in two different directions. On the one hand, it rejected the Decree's emphasis on the doctrinal authority given to the Church and its traditions as equal to that of Scripture. In response to this challenge not just article VI, but articles XX and XXI too, affirmed the passive role of the Church as a "witness and a keeper of Holy Writ", which as a consequence, "ought not to decree any thing against the same." In other words, these articles taught that the Church does not have the authority to interpret or to decree anything contrary to Scripture in such a way as to make one part of Scripture contradict another (XX), and neither the Church nor General Councils have the authority to ordain things additional to Scripture as necessary for salvation (XXI).⁵³² The position defended at Trent is reproduced in Granada's text. In *Guía de pecadores* he claimed that to obey divine inspirations Christians need to follow a general rule of life that consisted of several obligatory and voluntary services apart from what it taught in Scripture and the doctrine of the Saints ("demás del contraste de la Scriptura divina, y de la doctrina de los Sanctos: en el cual se han de examinar estas cosas").⁵³³ In this excerpt, Luis de Granada placed the same importance upon the Bible that he did upon a series of actions that the Church prescribed. In Meres' version, in contrast, the pages in which this rule and services are explained are reduced to the statement, "the Scriptures

⁵³² *Articles* 1693, B3r.

⁵³³ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 367v.

are to be our onely direction in this, neyther must we harken vnto any thing, which crosseth the analogie of faith, or Gods reuealed will in his word. The sentence of Samuel must haue place in vs; *Obedience is better than sacrifice.*”⁵³⁴ This statement was expressly added by the English translator and through it the reader reaffirms Meres’ subscription to the article under examination.

Apart from that, article VI also challenged the Council’s treatment of the Apocrypha as part of the Bible. In its treatment of the books included within and outside the Canon, the formulation of this article does not reject deuterocanonical books, but rather it allows that the Church may read and take instruction from these books so far as they agree with the canonical scripture. It would explain Meres’ inclusion of those quotations that belong to deuterocanonical books such as Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Daniel or 1 and 2 Maccabees. Some examples are: “*And as soone as we were borne, we beganne immediately to drawe to our end*” (Wisdom 5:13), “*He that toucheth pitch, sayth another, shall be defiled with it: and he that is familiar with the proud, shall be like unto him*” (Ecclesiasticus 13:1), “*But very few are found, who haue so stedy a confidence, as that holy woman Susanna had; Whose hart (when she was condemned to death, and brought to the place of execution) had confidence and trust in the Lord*” (Daniel 13: 35) or “*There is an example of this in the bookes of the Machabees [...] And nowe doe I remember the euils that I haue done at Ierusalem: for I tooke all the uessels of gold and of siluer that were in it, and sent to destroy the inhabitants of Iuda without cause. I know that these troubles are come upon mee, for the same cause, and beholde, I must die with great sorrowe in a strange Land*”

⁵³⁴ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 367v-370r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 686-691; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 478. “*Proinde vltra discussionem sacrarum Scripturarum, & sanctorum Doctorum consilia, quae in hac re sequenda sunt, etiam haec regula potest obseruari [...]*”.

(1 Maccabees 6: 12-13).⁵³⁵ The division within this article of Canonical Books and Other Books was also reproduced in English editions of the Bible, and it was influenced by Luther's placement of them in the Apocrypha of his edition. This organization challenged the Council's confirmation that the deuterocanonical books were equivalent to the other books of the canon.

The understanding of the Bible as supreme authority has been held continuously in Anglicanism. The text of the *Ten Articles* began with the affirmation that "all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people [...] that they ought and must constantly believe and defend all those things to lie true which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible", and a similar view can be perceived all through the formulary of the 13 Articles. The official view of the Church of England regarding Scripture is also expressed in the Book of Common Prayer. The only explicit reference that this document has about Holy Writ is found in the collect for the Second Sunday in Advent. Here, it declares that that God has caused Holy Scripture to be written in order to teach his people ("Blessed Lorde, whiche haste caused all holye Scriptures, to bee written for our learning"), that Christians need to have an active engagement with Scripture ("Graunte vs that wee maye in suche wyse heare them, reade, marke, learne, and inwardly digest them") and that the purpose of this engagement is to enable us "by pacience and comforte of thy holye worde we maye embrace, and euer holde faste the blessed hope of euerlasting lyfe, which thou hast geuen vs in oure sauour Jesus Christe."⁵³⁶ In addition to this single explicit statement the BCP also testifies implicitly the central importance of Scripture, both in the way that it promotes the constant and systematic reading of the Bible (as well as the Apocrypha) in English and in the extent

⁵³⁵ The number of verses have been added in this study. *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 336, 341, 473, 179.

⁵³⁶ Benham 1911, 61.

to which the services are full of quotations from the Bible and allusions to biblical texts and ideas. Within the *Book of Canons* (1604), published five years after Meres' own ordination as a priest and just two after his appointment as rector of Wing, Canon XIV (Of Divine Service and Sacraments) claimed that "all Ministers likewise shall observe the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, as well in reading the holy Scriptures and saying of Prayers, as in Administration of the Sacraments, without either diminishing, in regard of Preaching, or in any other respect, or adding any thing in the Matter or Form thereof." Similarly, Canon XLII (Ministers Ordination and Function) defended that "the Petty Canons, Vicars Choral, and other Ministers of their Church, be urged to the study of the holy Scriptures, and every one of them to have the New Testament not only in English, but also in Latin", whereas Canon LXXIX (School-Masters) maintained that "they shall train them up with such Sentences of holy Scripture, as shall be most expedient to induce them to all Godliness." Moreover, in the Ordinal of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, it was one of the vows made by ordinands on the day of their ordination. On the question: "Bee you perswaded that the holy Scriptures conteine sufficiently al doctrine required of necessitie for eternall saluation, thorow faith in Jesu Christ? And are you determind with the sayd Scriptures, to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing [...] but that you shall be perswaded may be concluded, and prooved by the Scripture?" ordinands answered, "I am so perswaded, and haue so determind by Gods grace." "I will, the Lord being my helper" was also the answer to the question "Will you bee ready with al faithful diligence, to banish and driue away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to Gods word [...]?" Similarly when they were asked "Will you bee diligent in prayers, and in reading of the holy Scriptures [...]?" ordinands answered "I will

endeavour my selfe so to doe.”⁵³⁷ These newly ordained Anglican priests were given a Bible to show that their authority is rooted in Scripture: “Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy Sacrament in this Congregation, where thou shalt be so appointed.”⁵³⁸ The Ordinal, with subsequent revisions, remains the doctrinal standard of the Church of England and Meres too was required to accept all these questions on the day of his ordination.

The series of articles IX to XVIII address the elements of the doctrine of salvation. Article IX begins by defining the human condition with a firm emphasis on original sin, that in words of Torrance Kirby, is understood as a passive and inherited lack of the original *justitia* or sin; while article X defines its effects upon the will (that, as a consequence, is irremediably annihilated) and the need of grace.⁵³⁹ There follows a definition of Justification and the importance of faith (XI); by drawing a clear distinction between works and grace, the article adheres to the stance taken by other Reformed confessions, and corrects the Tridentine Decree of Justification (13 January 1547) where it is defined as both the remission of sins and the sanctification and renewal of the inward man. This article ends by directing the reader to the Homily of Justification, which appeared in the first Book of Homilies of 1547 under the title “A Sermon of the Salvation of Mankind.” The articles that go from XII to XIV are

⁵³⁷ These quotations have been taken from a 1634 printing of the Ordinal. The first Ordinal in English was published in 1550.

⁵³⁸ The Ordinal of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, though somewhat modified, included the questions: Do you accept the Holy Scriptures as revealing all things necessary for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ? Will you be diligent in prayer, in reading Holy Scripture, and in all studies that will deepen your faith and fit you to bear witness to the truth of the gospel? Will you lead Christ's people in proclaiming his glorious gospel, so that the good news of salvation may be heard in every place? Or, will you faithfully minister the doctrine and sacraments of Christ as the Church of England has received them, so that the people committed to your charge may be defended against error and flourish in the faith? To which ordinands answered, “By the help of God, I will”.

⁵³⁹ In the formulary of 1553 between the article of free will and that of justification, there was an independent article about grace, but it was deleted in 1563.

corollaries to that on Justification, and the teaching that Christ alone is sinless (XV), reinforces the rejection of supererogatory works in art. XIV. The next article expresses the idea that men sin after baptism (XVI) and it is followed by the longest article of the formulary that treats a widespread dispute since the early 1550s, that of predestination and election. The series conclude with the affirmation that Christ alone is responsible for our salvation (XVIII).

This group of articles is particularly relevant in the analysis of *The Sinners Gvyde*. This too, gave Meres a series of *untranslatables* that he had to manage accordingly. Generations of thinkers have been struggling since the classical period over the issues of free will and predestination. They tried to reach an agreement about how man is saved and how works can be justified. The Eleatics, Democritus and the Stoics generally opposed the idea of free will, whereas the Pythagoreans, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Epicureans attempted various explanations in its defence. Medieval thought developed a complex theology of the free will. In his *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, Augustine of Hippo taught the freedom of the will against the Manicheans, but the necessity of grace against the Pelagians. This cooperation was later on defended in his *Retractationes*; “I wrote a book”, he claimed, “because of those persons who, by thinking that free choice is denied when the grace of God is defended, defend free will in such a manner as to deny the grace of God by affirming that it is bestowed according to our merits.”⁵⁴⁰ In the twelfth century, Thomas Aquinas developed some aspects of Augustine’s teachings in his *Summa Theologica*. Here he affirmed that will is a fundamental part of our nature and it is essentially linked to our rational power. If a being is to be rational, it follows that it must have a free will. But a man, he claimed, “cannot know any truth without grace”, and he further insisted that the same as “bodily

⁵⁴⁰ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Opera Omnia* 1838, 470.

sense cannot see any visible thing without the light of the sun”, the human mind, however perfect, “cannot by reasoning know any truth without the light of God, which belongs to the aid of grace.”⁵⁴¹ In this work, Aquinas also reaffirmed Saint Augustine’s distinction between operative and cooperative grace. Generally speaking, operating grace refers to God’s gracious work in a sinner, whereas in cooperating grace the human will accept God’s intervention, moving the person unto meritorious works. In both of them, God is the main agent. In the former case God takes the initiative, whereas in the latter God’s intervention caused human action. When God’s help is accepted, grace is cooperative, but when it is not grace is only operative. This distinction was also articulated by the Thomist and Molinist schools of thought.⁵⁴² The Dominican or Thomist school saw God as premoving man in accord with his free nature. Divine foreknowledge and God’s providential control of the world’s history are in harmony with man, who is by nature and definition a free cause. The Jesuit or Molinist school, in contrast, does not think this can sufficiently explain freedom of the human will. They conceive the relation of divine action to man’s will to be concurrent rather than promotive, exempting God more clearly from all responsibility for man’s sin. These two schools also claimed the existence of two quite distinct sorts of grace; the Thomistic-Agustinian *Gratia efficax ab intrinseco* insisted on the sufficiency of grace to influence our will to perform God’s acts. Luis de Molina and his followers, in contrast, defended that our will freely determines the success or failure of grace, i. e. *Gratia efficax ab extrinseco*.

⁵⁴¹ *Summa Theologica*, Questions 82 and 83, Part I; Questions 109-113, Part II (first part). This work is accessed through *Christian Classics Ethereal Library* <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/aquinas/summa.i.html> [accessed 09 May 2016].

⁵⁴² Thomas Aquinas’ work is analysed by Joseph P. Wawrykow in *The Westminster Handbook to Thomas Aquinas* (2005).

In the sixteenth century, the debate focused on the figures of Erasmus and Luther. The decade that went from 1519 to 1529 was a particularly turbulent period for Erasmus. By 1524, he was engaged in a written debate with the Spaniard Diego Lopez Zúñiga and the Archbishop of York, Edward Lee on account of his new edition the New Testament (1516) and his alternative reading of key passages.⁵⁴³ In April of that year, Luther wrote to Erasmus thanking him for all he had done in the fields of literature and textual research but counselled leaving theology to the experts. Such a rebuke stroke Erasmus who, despite his initial reluctance, yielded to pressures from the Pope and the king of England, and he wielded his pen against Luther: “I, too, encouraged by my friends, am going to try to see whether, by the following brief discussion, the truth might not become more visible.”⁵⁴⁴ September 1524 saw the publication of Erasmus’ *De libero arbitrio*, which served the double purpose of attacking Luther and countering accusations that he was a Lutheran.⁵⁴⁵ Apparently motivated by his wife, Katherine von Bora, Luther responded to it on December 1525 with *De servo arbitrio*, considered by some the greatest piece of theological writing that ever came from Luther’s pen. Luther himself considered his work, his most valuable work as he made it clear in a letter he sent to the German reformer Wolfgang Fabricius Capito in 1537. Warfield considers it the manifesto of the Reformation. Erasmus, for his part, rejected Luther’s radicalism and he vindicated the existence of a certain power of freedom. He maintained that repentance, baptism and conversion depended on the existence of human free will, whereas Luther affirmed that such freedom was compromised by Adam’s fall. As such we are naturally dominated by evil, there is nothing we can do for our salvation, and

⁵⁴³ I will comment on Erasmus’ methodology when analysing the Bible in the last section.

⁵⁴⁴ *Discourse On Free Will*, translated and edited by Ernst F. Winter.

⁵⁴⁵ Carlos Eire in the article “Early Modern Catholic Piety in Translation” (2007) echoes the opinion that Erasmus’ questioning of the Vulgate text and his criticism of the late medieval Church and its piety led many to say that Erasmus had laid the egg hatched by Luther.

only Grace can save us. Erasmus admitted, however, the complexity of these debates, which he considered one of these secrets into which God does not want us to penetrate. He is always very careful with his own words presenting himself as a mediator between two extremes, absolute free will and sovereign grace— “I merely want to analyse and not to judge, to inquire and not to dogmatize”— though he, in fact, had very clear ideas.⁵⁴⁶

In England, More and Tyndale, Cranmer and Gardiner, John Jewel and Thomas Harding were also involved in similar debates at the time. The opinions of the Church of England here are very close to those of the reformers. In the *Confessio Augustana* we are told that “man’s will hath some liberty to work a civil righteousness, and to choose such things as reason can reach unto; but that it hath no power to work the righteousness of God, or a spiritual righteousness, without the Spirit of God” (art. XVIII). For more evidence of this teaching, this article relies on the third book of the *Hypognosticon* (in the formulary wrongly attributed to Augustine) that says “we concede that all men have a free will which enables them to make judgements according to reason. However, this does not enable them, without God, to begin or (much less) to accomplish anything in those things which pertain to God, for it is only in acts of this life that they have freedom to choose good or evil.”⁵⁴⁷ These views informed Elizabeth’s formulary, which also insisted on the cooperative nature of grace. Its tenth article teaches that “we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us.”⁵⁴⁸ The content of this article is rather neutral about the assertion or denial of our free existence and power. It emphasizes, however, man’s inability to act according to God’s will unless working with grace; i.e. a preventing grace, not fully

⁵⁴⁶ Winter 2013, 13.

⁵⁴⁷ *Hypomnesticon contra Pelagianos et Coelestinianos* Book 3.

⁵⁴⁸ *Articles* 1693, B1r.

dependent upon man, is necessary to free man's will from original corruption. The assertion that man is not saved by *sola arbitrium*, implicitly confirms our free nature. Similarly, article XVII teaches that predestination is "the everlasting purpose of God" whereby He deliver us from curse and damnation and bring us to everlasting salvation. It continues, "they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God" must "through Grace obey the calling."

Richard Hopkins condemned this doctrine in the dedicatory of *A Memoriall of a Christian life*:

The wicked intention of these late Apostates, is vtterlie to abolish and change the state of Christs catholicke church, [...] by teaching the people diuers curious heretical new doctrines concerning predestination, & reprobation, and perswading them contrary to the holy scriptures, that man hath no free will: nor that any Christian is able with the assistance of the grace of God to keepe God his commandements.⁵⁴⁹

This and other similar views included within the dedicatories of his translations could have been one of the reasons why Meres tried to avoid any sort of connection with Hopkins' translations. He too, will be very careful with this matter. In *Guía de pecadores* there were numerous statements about Grace that were also very appealing within a Protestant context: "Grace is a supernaturall forme, and diuine, which maketh that a man leades a life comfortable to the forme, from which it proceedeth", "[it] is also a spirituall ornament of the soule, wrought by the hands of the holy Ghost", "a shield couering the whole body", "a complete Armor, which armeth a man from the head to the foote." Grace has the capacity to make "the soule so acceptable and beautifull in the eyes of God", "to strengthen it with those virtues, which precede from it", "it maketh us the sonnes of God" and "the heyres of the heauenly kingdome", "it is grace that maketh man fitte to all good" and above all, "[it] maketh God to dwell in our soule, that

⁵⁴⁹ *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* 1599, 9.

dwelling in it, he may gouerne it, defend it, direct it in the heauenly way.”⁵⁵⁰ Meres was, however, aware that he was dealing here with a complex and controversial matter. This would explain why, when comparing Grace with an armor that protects man, he omits the reference to Thomas Aquinas. Luis de Granada wrote: “[Grace] maketh [man] beautifull and valiant, & so valiant, that, as Saint Thomas Aquinas said, a little grace is sufficient to conquer and ouer-come all the deuils.”⁵⁵¹ In Meres’ version the excerpt is the same save for the reference to Aquinas which he changed to “if we beleuee a certaine learned Schoole-man.” Luis de Granada belongs within the Dominican or Thomist school of thought and there are several quotations taken from his works in *Guía de Pecadores*. These are some examples that Meres reproduced too: “Thomas Aquinas doth show in his Breuiarie of Diuinity”, “Thomas Aquinas, in a certaine worke of his”, “incredulitie be like that of Saint Thomas”.⁵⁵² It is apparent that the content of the former passage justifies the omission.⁵⁵³ The same argument accounts for Meres’ treatment of other equally controversial passages. The statements, “Assi como acaesce tambien a nuestro libre aluedrio el qual aun que co el uso de peccar se debilita y enflaquece, mas nunca del todo muere” and “la ordenacion y los juyzios de Dios no ponen necesidad a las obras de los hombres: ni les quitan su libre aluedrio” are omitted from his English version. Similarly, the excerpt “Y llamalos aqui vedidos como esclauos no porq por el peccado perdiessen ellos el libre aluedrio co q fueron criados (porq ni se perdio ni perda) mas quato a su essencia: por mas pecados q se haga, sino porq por el pecado qdo por vna parte este libre aluedrio ta flaco, y por otra el appetite ta

⁵⁵⁰ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 105r-106r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 204-206; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 148-151.

⁵⁵¹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 106r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 206; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 149.

⁵⁵² *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 8r, 125v, 253r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 14, 242, 470; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 18, 174, 328.

⁵⁵³ See for instance *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 18, 52, 153, 174.

fuerte q por la mayor parte preualesce lo fuerte contra lo flaco, y quiebra la sogá por lo mas delgado” is translated as “he calleth him sold vnder sinne, because his sensuall appetite is made so mighty, that it carrieth him as a bondslaue, whether so euer it lefteth.” Another example is “[el hombre es] esclauo de aquello que desordenadamente ama: porque donde esta su amor, alli esta preso su coraçon, aunque no se pierda por esso su libre aluedrio” that in Meres’ version appears as “[a man is] a seruant of his owne riches. For where the loue or desire is, there the hart lyeth bound and fettered.”⁵⁵⁴ Through these instances we can perceive Meres’ awareness of theological debates of his time, and though we do not know the position he took on this matter, the modification of these fragments leads us to consider that, at least, he did not want to be involved in religious discussions and, the same as the content of article X, he chose to be neutral rather than to translate something that would complicate his future intentions.

Articles XIX to XXXI dealt with ecclesiology, the Church and its ministry. This group begins by defining “the visible Church of Christ” as “a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance [...]”⁵⁵⁵ To this followed another (XX) that defended the Church’s authority against Anabaptists who denied it altogether, against Puritans who sought to minimise it in matters of government and ceremony, and against the Council who exaggerated it in the definition of doctrine. But here too, it is made explicit that Scripture is supreme and may not be contradicted by positive ecclesiastical ordinance. This idea is reaffirmed in the following article about the authority of General Councils (XXI), which is a corollary of the preceding one. Article XXII, of Purgatory, addresses the excesses of the doctrine of Indulgences, worshipping and adoration of

⁵⁵⁴ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 128r/235v/145v-146/152v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 247/435/278/291; *The Sinners Gyvde* 1598, 177/303/200/208-9.

⁵⁵⁵ *Articles* 1693, B2v.

Images and relics as well as the Invocation of Saints. *The Sinners Gvyde* also offers much insight into the relevance of this article.

The doctrines of purgatory, worship, veneration of relics and images and the invocation of saints as well as the effectiveness of indulgences were reaffirmed in the twenty-fifth session of the Council. Protestant reformers, in contrast, disagreed with the Catholic teaching about the existence of an intermediary and temporal stage after death where a soul was prepared to meet God by undergoing purification from (venial) sins. But above all they rejected the Catholic view that a soul's time in purgatory can be reduced through good works on the part of a living Catholic, such as praying to Saints or recitation of the Rosary. Anglicans too, condemned this doctrine in a most determined tone. Prayers for the departed were deleted from the Edwardian Book of Common Prayer and they were also negatively described in their chief formulary of faith, the 39 Articles. In the content of article XXII they are described as "a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture."⁵⁵⁶ A very similar idea was expounded by William Fulke in his *Defense of the sincere and the true translation of the Holy Scriptures* when he said that "those fables of *Limbus patrum*, & Purgatorie, which the Church of God, from the beginning of the worlde vnto the comming of Christ, neuer heard of, nor many hundreth yeares after Christe, vntill the Montanists, or such like hethenish heretikes brought in those fantasies."⁵⁵⁷ Anglican reformers were convinced that people should take the opportunity of benefitting from prayer in life and their Church would not accept the doctrine of purgatory for the simple reason that it is not taught in the Holy text. There is evidence of this in John 5: 24, "Veryly, Veryly I say unto you, he that heareth my worde, and beleueth on him that sent me, hath

⁵⁵⁶ *Articles* 1693, B3r.

⁵⁵⁷ *A defense of the sincere and true translation of the holie Scriptures* (1583, 85).

eueralasting lyfe, and shall not come into dampnation, but is escaped from death unto lyfe”; and also in 1 John 2:1, “My little children, these thynges write I unto you, that ye sinne not. And yf any man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, Jesus Christe the righteous.” Meres must have read carefully the few lines that inform article XXII. The italicized words in the following excerpts were eliminated from Meres’ English version: “For it is of necessity, that one of these must happen vnto thee; that either thou shalt raigne eternally with God, or that thou shalt be tormented with the deuils in eueralasting flames. For betweene these two extreames, there is no meane *but limbo or purgatory*” (“No es assi: sino q forçadamente nos ha de caber vna destas dos suertes tan desiguales: porque o auemos de Reynar para siempre con Dios, o arder para siempre co los Demonios: ca no se da medio entre estos dos extremos, *sino es el Limbo, o el purgatorio*”). The same applies to this passage: “Therefore, as we haue said, let the seruant of the Lord hang vp the balance, and in one balance let the shortnes and profit of this pleasure be put: and in the other the beauty of abstinence, with the fruites, which come of it: the examples also of the Saints, and the labours of Martirs, who haue gone to heauen thorough fire and water; the memory of sinners with the paines of hell *and also those of purgatory*” (“Ponga pues (como diximos) el sieruo de Dios en vna balança la breuedad y vileza deste deleyte, y en otra la hermosura de la abstinencia, los frutos que se siguen della, los exemplos de los santos, y los trabajos de los martyres (que por fuego y por agua passaron al cielo) la memoria de sus pecados, las penas del infierno, y *también las del purgatorio*”).⁵⁵⁸

The practice of indulgences as another way to shorten the stay of the deceased in purgatory was one of the most controverted aspects. Such position was a source of

⁵⁵⁸ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 70v, 339r-339v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 141, 637; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 104, 444.

income to the Church, as relatives of deceased people paid for masses to be conducted for them. Interestingly enough, this Roman-Catholic doctrine was reaffirmed in the tenth article of the *Ten Articles*. Here, the doctrine of purgatory is described as a “very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed” and that “a Christian man [should] pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God’s mercy, and also to cause other to pray for them in masses and exequies.”⁵⁵⁹ The sale of indulgences, in contrast, was reprimanded: “It is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced, as, to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome’s pardons souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory and all the pains of it.”⁵⁶⁰ In the *Thirteen Articles* we are told “the salvation of the body and the soul, the forgiveness of sins, grace, eternal life and the like are solely in the gift of God, nor can be given by anyone other than by God.” The same idea was reaffirmed in Elizabeth’s formulary.

The Anglican position on saints is also unambiguously stated in the content of this article. Although today the view has changed, during the sixteenth century this medieval practice was attacked and then marginalized within Anglicanism.⁵⁶¹ While it is true to say that it was defended in the *Ten Articles* of 1536, where it is claimed that it “is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us unto Almighty God”, two years later, in the *Thirteen Articles* of 1538 we are told that “anyone who prays to the saints and begs them for these gifts, and seeks them from them” makes “a great

⁵⁵⁹ *The Church History of Britain* 1845, 158.

⁵⁶⁰ *The Church History of Britain* 1845, 158-9.

⁵⁶¹ These practices were renewed during the nineteenth century and today it is common to find Anglicans who are familiar with or integrate these practices into their devotional lives.

mistake” because “depriving God of His glory, attributes it to a creature.”⁵⁶² To understand the historical origins and roots of the English reformers’ critique here it is fundamental to refer again to Erasmus, whose ideas shaped the opinions of many people in England. The Dutch scholar, as other followers of the *devotio moderna*, opposed external devotions and defended the intentional pursuit and practice of piety. This is visible in most of his works. In *The Manual of a Christian Knight* for instance, he claimed:

yf he be our foo may destroye vs bothe bycause that we stande on theyr syde whiche onely can neuer agre with god for how can lyght and darknes agree & also that bycause we as men moost vnkynde abyde not by the promesse that we made to hym but vniustly haue broken thappoyntment made bytwene hym & vs with {pro}testacion & holy ceremonies.

To what purpose I beseche the referrest thou thy study to get the a benefyce withall? with what mynde desyrest thou a benefyce? verily to lyue at thyne owne pleasure not at Christ{is}. Thou hast missed y^e marke which a christen man ought to haue euerywher p~fixed before his eyes. Thou takest meate that thou myghtest be stronge in thy body & thou wylt haue thy body stronge that thou myghtest be suffycient vnto holy exercyses & watche. [...] thou hast hyt y^e marke. But thou {pro}uydest for helth & good lyuing leest thou shuldest be more yuell faouered or deformed leest thou shuldest not be stronge ynough vnto bodily luste thou hast fallen from Christe making vnto the another god. There be whiche honour certayne sayntes with certayne cyremonyes.⁵⁶³

Similarly, in *The Praise of Folly*, Folly opines on the state of religion and concludes that pilgrimages, prayers to saints assigning them particular tasks, and liturgical ceremonies conducted with excessive pomp and circumstance were a distraction from the fundamentals of Christian faith and life:

Why shoulde I fynde lacke of a temple, seeyng all this worlde is in maner of a temple most goodly (as I take it) vnto me? And as for priest{is} of my law, and other ministers of my religion, I am sure I want none in any place, wheras men want not. Than, I am not altogether so foolish, to demaunde any grauen or peincted images representyng

⁵⁶² *The Church History of Britain* 1845, 156 (eight article).

⁵⁶³ *Manual of a Christian Knight* 1533, Aiiiv, Gviii.

me, whiche rather shoulde derogate than aduance myne honour wheras oftentimes I see many do t{is}, and fattehedd{is} woorshippe suche stock{is}, instede of the saint{is} them selues, wherby I might chance to be serued, as they that are thruste out of theyr roumes, by theyr deputies.⁵⁶⁴

Other similar ideas appeared in *The Sinners Gvyde* too:

I would that thou sitte as a Iudge in the iudgement seate of thine hart, & that thou heare all these words with silence & quietnes of mind.

Hence it is that the seruants of God, are often more sensibly merry & delighted (for so it pleaseth me to speake) in celestial rauishments, in silence, in reading, in prayer, in meditation, and in such like exercises.⁵⁶⁵

In the monumental work, *Erasmus y España*, Marcel Bataillon found indications of considerable Erasmian influence on Luis de Granada's Latin works, most clearly in the *Collectanea*. There is also evidence of this in his Castilian writings. Even though Granada does not mention the Dutch scholar, this does not mean that he did not use Erasmus' works. Bataillon noticed similarities between the second book within *Guía de pecadores* and Erasmus' *Enchiridion*.⁵⁶⁶ Compare for instance:

The moderne & neotericall Heretikes, after a contrarie maner vnderstanding this error, and being willing to auoyde one extreame, fall into another: that is, into contempt of all externall vertues, according to that: Charybdis gulfe who thought to haue escap'd, Fell into Scyllaes i[...]es, that widely gap'd.

yf by his ensample we shall fyght as he fought wherfore thou must so kepe a meane course as it were betwene Scilla and Charibdis.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁴ *The Praise of Folie* 1549, B1v.

⁵⁶⁵ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 2r, 157v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 7v, 301; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 5, 215.

⁵⁶⁶ Bataillon 1983, 598-99. Further examples of possible influence are included in notes 46-9.

⁵⁶⁷ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 384r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 715; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 495.

Manual of a Christian Knight 1533, Bir. According to Dámaso Alonso, Luis de Granada was using Arcediano de Alcor's 1526 Castilian version. Compare Arcediano 1528 fo. ix and Erasmus 1523 21r.

While this was a very general motif that Granada could have worked into his work from any other source, if any, Dámaso Alonso identified two explicit verbal coincidences between Erasmus' *Enchiridion* and Luis de Granada's *Guía de pecadores*. One of this in the first edition of the work (Book II, chapter XIV): "Pues que es esto? Condena Dios lo que el mismo ordeno, y tan encarescidamente mando? [...] No por cierto: mas condena los hombres que se contentauan con solo esto: sin tener cuenta con la verdadera justicia, y con el temor de Dios". He continues with a verse from Isaiash: "Lauaos, sed limpios, quitad la maldad de vuestros pensamientos delante de mis ojos, cesad de hacer maldad".

This passage was clearly taken from Erasmus' *Enchiridion*:

But what shall we saye this to be: dothe god condempne that thyng whiche he hym selfe commaunded? Naye forsothe. what than? But to cleue and stycke fast in the flesshe of the lawe & to haue co~fidence of a thyng of nothyng that is it veryly whiche he hateth deedly. Therefore he sheweth that he wolde haue added in eyther place. Be ye wasshed (sayd he) and made clene take away your euyl cogitacyons & thoughtes out of my syght.⁵⁶⁸

Dámaso Alonso did not notice it but Luis de Granada used this passage again in the second edition of *Guía de Pecadores* where we read:

What meaneth this? vvhat doth God condemne, that he appoynted, and expresly commaunded; especially seeing that they be the acts of the noblest vertue, which we call Religion: whose proper function and duty is to worship God with the seruice of adoration, and Religion? No certainly: but he condemneth the men, that contenting themselues with those externall ceremonies, had no regard nor care of true righteousnes, and the feare of the Lord, as forth-with he declareth, saying; *Wash you, make you cleane, put away your euill thoughts out of my sight.*⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁸ *Guía de Pecadores* 1556, 143v; *Manual of a Christian Life* 1533, fifth rule, chapter XIII; Arcediano de Alcor 1528, fo. Lxxix.

⁵⁶⁹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 388r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 722; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 500.

In this edition there is another coincidence with Erasmus' work. In this case, Granada acknowledged the borrowing simply as: "como dice un doctor", probably because Erasmus works', i.e. *Enchiridion*, *Morias* and his *Colloquia*, were banned in the 1559

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Consider furthermore, (as a certaine learned Doctor sayth) what a multitude of other mischiefes this deceitfull pestilence bringeth with it. First it spoyleth thy good name, which is the most precious thing that belongs to man, neyther is there any sinne, that pulleth more haynous infamy vpon thee, then luxurie doth. After that it weakeneth and enfeebleth the strength of man, it taketh away the beauty, it hurteth the sound constitution, it bringeth infinite diseases, which are both filthy, and reprochfull; it perisheth and blasteth the flourish and blossome of thy youth, neyther suffereth it to bud and increase; it bringeth old age before the time, it breaketh the force & strength of thy wit, it dulleth the subtiltie of thine vnderstanding, and maketh a man like vnto a brute beast. It with-draweth man from all honest studies and exercises, and drowneth him in the sea of carnal pleasures, so that miserable man dare not presume, nor offer to speake of any other thing, then of dishonest and carnall delights. It maketh young men foolish and reprochful, and exposeth old men to the scorne of men.⁵⁷⁰

Meres modified all references to the invocation of Saints as intercessors to achieve the holiness we need to enter heaven. Didymus becomes "a learned man"; Richard the Pilgrim, "a learned divine", Martin of Tours, "a certaine holy man" and Cesarius of Arles "another learned Writer."⁵⁷¹ This view also applies to what Anglicans believe about the Blessed Virgin, whose intercession is not to be sought without impiety. The position of the Church of England on that respect would also explain the English translator's treatment of the *Ave Maria*. The reference to the Pater Noster and Hail Mary in the paragraph: "y quando el mismo en esto se descuydare, tega por estilo dar alguna lismosna, o rezar si quiera un Pater noster, y un Ave Maria." A literal

⁵⁷⁰ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 299r-299v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 558; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 393. Compare *Manual of the Christian Knight* 1533, A6r (fifth rule, chapter xiii). Arcediano de Alcor 1528, fo. cxxii.

⁵⁷¹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567 108v, 127r, 193v, 205v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594 211, 245, 364, 383; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598 152, 176, 259, 267.

translation of this passage would be: “when he gets distracted from that [i.e. not to take the name of God in vain], he should give alms or pray, at least, a Lord’s Prayer and a Hail Mary”. However, Granada’s text is replaced in Meres’ version with: “And if there be any man, to whom this custome is so turned into a nature, that he can hardly expel it, let him accustome himself, that for euery such offence he giue some thong to the poore, or *exact some other thing of himself.*”⁵⁷² The Hail Mary was a traditional Catholic prayer based on Scripture. The first part reproduced Gabriel’s words to the Blessed Virgin. The second part was more controversial as it requested her intercession for us before God. Together with a new emphasis on Scripture as the fundamental standard of faith, there was a renewed emphasis by the Reformers on Jesus Christ as the only mediator between God and humanity. Article VIII of the *Ten Articles*, as we have already seen, commends saints as intercessors but it also emphasized that the faithful are to pray to “our blessed Lady, to St. John Baptist, to all and every of the apostles, or any other saint”, provided they remember that grace and salvation are available only through Christ. English reformers such as Thomas Cranmer or John Jewel reacted against Mary’s role as Mediatrix that developed from the view of Christ as an inaccessible Judge. This position rejected any overt devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and diminished her place in the life of the Church because, they insisted, requesting prayers of her is no different than requesting the prayers of any other within the communion of saints. They are not set by God as mediators to procure blessings for us, Christ alone is and prayer offered to the saints or to the Virgin is idolatry. There is evidence of this in 1 Timothy 2: 1-5:

⁵⁷² *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 320v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 598; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 417.

I exhort therefore, that firste of all prayers, supplications, intercessions and giuyng of thanks be made for all men: For Kynge, and for all that are in auctoritie, that we maye leade a quiete and peaceable lyde, in all godlynesse and honestie. For that is good and accepted in the sight of God our sauour, who wyll haue all men to be saued, and to come unto the knowledge of the treth. For there is one God, and one mediatiour of God and men, the man Christe Jesus.

This view would also justify another modification in Meres' text. The excerpt from

Guía de pecadores was:

Hallareys agora muchos Christianos, que oyen cada Domingo su missa: y rezan por sus horas y por sus cuentas, y ayunan cada semana los Sabados a nuestra Señora, y huelgan de oyr sermones y otras cosas semejantes: y con hazer esto (que a la verdad es bien hecho) tienen tan viuos los appetitos de la honra, y de la cobdicia, y de la ira, como todos los otros hombres que nada desto hazen.

In Isselt's Latin version the passage was almost the same:

Sic & nostro tempore multi sunt Christiani, qui singulis Dominici diebus intersunt sacro Misse sacrificio, pensum horarum ecclesiasticarum soluunt, Rosaria B. Mariae Virginis legunt, & in honorem illius singulis Sabbatis ieiunant: libenter conciones audiunt, similiaque faciunt, & quidem bene: sed interea sic infrunita sunt illorum desideria, sic honoribus, sic diuitiis student; tam sunt vindicate cupidi, quam quiuis alius, qui nihil illorum obseruant.

A literal English version of Granada's passage would be: "Nowadays, you will find many Christians who every Sunday hear the Mass and they pray with the hours and beads. They also fast every week on Saturdays to our Virgin and go to hear sermons and other similar things. While doing that (which is good) they have satisfied their honour, covetousness and ire, the same as those who do not do anything." In Meres' version, in contrast, the first part of the fragment is reduced to the statement: "So also in our time, there are many Christians, which euery Sabaoth, and at all occasions frequent the

Church.”⁵⁷³ Both the *cuentas* and the *Rosaria B. Mariae Virginis* referred to the Catholic Rosary, where the Virgin Mary has a privileged position. Here, the prayers are arranged in sets of ten Hail Marys, each of them preceded by one Lord’s Prayer and followed by one Glory Be to the Father. There was another reference to the Dominican Rosary in the excerpt: “Y algunos de estos siendo muy largos en rezar muchas coronas de Aue Marias, son muy estrechos en dar limosnas, y hazer bien a los necessitados.” Here the *coronas* referred to each set of ten Hail Marys that in Meres’ version is was changed to the more general statement: “Many of them that are most liberall in pouring forth long *prayers*, and very *prodigall* in *discoursing Scripture matters*, oftentimes are exceeding miserable and very niggards in giuing almes, and helping theyr needy neighbours.” This excerpt is followed with an addition by the English writer, which did not appear either in Granada’s original nor in Isselt’s text:

Many of them hold up theyr hands to heauen, and in the villainy of theyr deceitfull hypocrisie, turne up the white of their eyes in theyr prayers, as though they were rauished with the heavenliness of theyr meditations, when theyr harts are sette upon mischief, being full of hatred, bitternes, and selfe-conceited singularitie.⁵⁷⁴

In this excerpt Meres is, on the one hand, criticizing external devotion, which he considers, should always be intentional and deepen self-knowledge and strengthen virtue, much in line with Erasmian thinking. But on the other, he is referring to two universal practices for prayer. These were, the lifting up of hands and eyes towards heaven. Such gestures were, and still are, the accepted way to express devotion and

⁵⁷³ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 391v-392r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 279; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 505. The passage in Meres’ continued: “who are called very good Churchmen, and doe run from sermon to sermon, and performe such like things, and that well. But in the meane-time theyr desires are so full of vaine-glory, they so gape after honors and riches; and are so desirous of reuenge, as any other that neuer obserueth any such thing”.

⁵⁷⁴ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 392r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 279; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 505.

“Multi eorum, qui in **legendis rosariis** & salutationibus angelicis dicendis sunt liberalissimi, saepe in erogandis eleemosynis, aut proximis iuuandis sunt parcissimi”.

adoration, a means of ordering one's affections to God as well as a sign of piety and surrender to His mercy. The strong sense that Heaven, the place where omnipresent God dwelt, did indeed have a physical location meant that lifting or rising yourself to God was more than a metaphor. With this action, they are admitting that they are weak and without any power aside from the power they receive through the Holy Spirit. The English theologian and contemporary of Meres, Daniel Featley in his *Ancilla Pietatis* (1626) defined devotion as "a spiritual muscle moving only upward, and lifting up the hearts, eyes, and hands continually unto heaven."⁵⁷⁵ Some reformers such as Thomas Becon or John Calvin viewed these practices as indifferent things. Yet, it was not this simple. As reformers knew, all these actions had been used to express adoration, particularly towards the consecrated host, and they condemned them as idolatrous. Article XXVIII of the Thirty-Nine Articles declared that "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped."⁵⁷⁶ Despite the objections of English reformers, hand-rising and eye-lifting remained the standard practice of piety, and Meres' references in this excerpt confirms that he practiced religious services. Looking heavenward with eyes opened was open to mockery and ridicule too. The anti-puritan Leonard Wright mocked and deplored this practice in *A Display of dutie dect with sage sayings* (1589). Here he referred to "certaine seditious preachers" that "possessed with proud erronious spirits, euey one hauing a Church plot, or common wealth in his head", present "an hipocriticall shew of holinesse: turning vp the white of the eye: with déepe groning sighes, in their long pharisaicall prayers to blind the multitude: presume to walke at libertie, according to their owne lustes, speaking peruerse things, to drawe disciples after them: beating

⁵⁷⁵ *Ancilla Pietatis* 1626, 2.

⁵⁷⁶ *Articles* 1693, C1r.

daily in the peoples heads, what possible they can, to conceiue a loathing and misliking of her Maiesties gouernment and order of religion established.”⁵⁷⁷ The same expression was later on used by Thomas Heywood in *A Pleasant conceited comedy* (1602):

The Porter spying me, did lead me in,
Where his faire mistris sat reading on a chapter:
Peace to this house quoth I, and those within,
Which holy speech with admiration wrapt her,
And euer as *I* spake, and came her nie,
Seeming diuine, turnd vp the white of eye.⁵⁷⁸

While it is difficult to connect Wright, Meres and Heywood’s words, with these expressions the English translator was recycling a recurrent theme in religious works. Coming back to the previous theme, Anglican attitudes towards the Blessed Virgin Mary can also be seen in their chief confessional documents. Again, article VI of the *Ten Articles* commends the veneration of images, as “representers of virtue and good example” to repentance, especially if these are “the images of Christ and our Lady.”⁵⁷⁹ *The Bishops’ Book* (1537) too, praises Mary’s perpetual virginity as well as the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and similar views are found in the *Thirteen Articles* (1538) as well as in the *King’s Book* (1543). At first sight, the statement “you have to see the dazzling face of Christ *and his sacred mother*” (“tu has de ver la cara resplandeciente de Christo y de su Sanctissima madre”) has not any inherent controversy since she appears here as the Mother of God, but in this case too, Meres decided to eliminate the second part (italicized).⁵⁸⁰ Beginning with the reign of Edward VI and continuing under Elizabeth, Marian doctrine and devotion were, as already

⁵⁷⁷ *A Display of Dutie dect with sage sayings* 1589, 13.

⁵⁷⁸ *A Pleasant conceited comedy* 1602, G3r.

⁵⁷⁹ *The Church History of Britain* 1845, 155.

⁵⁸⁰ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 45r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 87; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 67. “Túne coruscantem illa Christi faciem, eiusque sanctissime Matris contempleris?”

mentioned, curtailed. In this, English reformers were also influenced by Erasmus' opinions in the *Praise of Folly* that referred to Mary in the following terms:

For what a noubre of them see we, to set tapers afore the virgin mother of God: and that at noone daies whan lest nede is? But than againe, how few of them goe about to folow hir stepp{is} either in chasnesse of life, sobrenesse of maners, or loue of heauenly thyng{is}? For so shulde saint{is} most dignely be woorshipped.⁵⁸¹

Three of the Thirty-Nine Articles were also used to suppress Marian devotion. Article VI, certified that holy Scripture contained all things necessary to salvation, apparently leaving any devotion to Mary and other saints as merely optional and rejecting doctrines based on tradition alone. Article XV too, insisted that of all the baptized only Christ is without sin, questioning the traditional assumption of Mary's holiness, and above all article XXII, which, as has already been mentioned, rejected her role as Mediatrix. All this would justify Meres' modifications in that respect. The Church of England maintains quite an extensive Calendar of Saints, and the Blessed Virgin Mary also figures within it. The Edwardian Book of Common Prayer retained two biblical Marian feasts (The purification of Mary on February 1 and the Annunciation of B. V. M. on March 25). Anglicans *do* honour the memories of the Saints, recount their virtues and try to model their lives by their holy example. But this, and to petition them for their intercession, is a different thing. As an Anglican, Meres too might believe that to pray to a Saint, or the Virgin Mary, must mean that they possess the sort of superior power that only God can have.

Within the group articles we are discussing, articles XXV to XXX focused on the sacraments. The sequence began with a general classification of the number and nature of the Sacraments (XXV). This article was influenced by article XIII of the

⁵⁸¹ *The Praise of Folie* 1549, B1v.

Augsburg Confession, which teaches that “the Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them.”⁵⁸² It continues with an emphasis of the Sacraments of Baptism (XXVII) and the Lord’s Supper (XXVIII). Article XXIX deals with the administration of the Sacrament to the wicked and impious. The aim of the last article of the group concerning the sacraments (XXX) was to restore participation of both species of the sacrament as it is indicated in Scripture since the cup had been denied to the laity in the Western Church.⁵⁸³

This group of articles also gave Meres relevant *untranslatables*. The major controversy had to do with the number of Sacraments, seven recognized by the Catholic Church as opposed to two considered by the Anglican Church in its last formulary, i.e. Baptism and Eucharist. The other five “are not to be counted for Sacraments [...] for they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.” We have already mentioned, for instance, Meres’ treatment of Matrimony in the passage taken from Ephesians 5 (see section 6.1.1 above). This change resulted from his use of an English version of the Bible, but this example is useful to analyse the position of the Anglican Church with respect to the Sacraments. The Vulgate text translated the Greek work *μυστήριον* as *sacramentum*. In English versions, however, there was a dichotomy. For obvious reasons, in the Catholic Douay-Rheims version we read ‘sacrament’; but in the rest of translations, including the Great Bible, this word was changed to ‘secret’. The use of this word was one of the errata that the Catholic Gregory Martin identified in his *Discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the heretikes of our*

⁵⁸² Article XIII reads “Of the Use of the Sacraments they teach that the Sacraments were ordained, not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather to be signs and testimonies of the will of God toward us, instituted to awaken and confirm faith in those who use them. Wherefore we must so use the Sacraments that faith be added to believe the promises which are offered and set forth through the Sacraments”.

⁵⁸³ Article II in the *Six Articles* taught that communion in both kinds was unnecessary.

daies specially the English sectaries (1582). The sixteenth chapter within this work begins with the affirmation that “they [English translators] are iniurious translatours to the sacred order of Priestthoode, so a man woulde thinke they should be very friendly to the sacrament of Matrimonie [...] Yet the trueth is, we make it, or rather the Church of God esteemeth it as a holy sacrament, they do not.” He further criticized that they considered matrimony a “civil contract”, and that they made no account of its sanctification and holiness. To this William Fulke answered that their view of matrimony derived from Scripture: “Wee acknowledge that God giueth grace to them that bee faithfull, to liue in loue, concorde and fidelitie, euen as he did to the fathers of the olde testament liuing in the same honorable estate.” This, he claimed, proved that matrimony is no sacrament of the New Testament but “an holie ordinance for Gods children to liue in, and in it is contained, a holy secret or mysterie of the spirituall coniunction of Christ and his church.” Gregory Martin specifically condemned their translation “in the epistle to the Ephesians, 5. Where the Apostle speaketh of matrimonie, *This is a great secret*. Whereas the Latine Church and all the Doctors thereof haue euer read, *This is a great Sacrament*”, which was in his view an equivalent to the Greek word ‘mystery’.⁵⁸⁴ Thus, he wonders why “translating the Greeke, [...] why sayde they not of matrimonie, *This is a great Mysterie?*” The explanation that Gregory Martin provides is that English translators want to avoid those words which are used in the Latin and Greek texts to signify sacrament. In the Greek text the Sacrament of Eucharist, for Protestants a true Sacrament, is called a mystery of misteries, thus, by referring to matrimony as a ‘mystery’, they would be indirectly insisting on its sacramental character too. Hence, Martin concludes that “they do it because of their heretical opinion against the Sacrament of Matrimony, & for their base estimation

⁵⁸⁴ “τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν”.

therof.” Fulke, on the other hand, denied Martin’s assumed equivalence of words and he defended the use of the English word ‘secret’ because it signified as much as the Greek word: “Sacrament without preiudice to y^e trueth we could not translate, and mysterie for the better vnderstanding of the people we haue expressed in the English worde, secrete.” Fulke further justified this translation arguing that the same as people understand that “mystery of mysteries” stands for the Sacrament of Eucharist, the word ‘secret’ allows, to those who recognized the sacramental character of Matrimony, to interpret it as such: “Out of which if it haue any force of argument in it you may proue matrimonie to be a sacrament as well as out of the Greeke worde mysterie.”⁵⁸⁵

This discussion exemplifies the enormous importance of translation from the originals when it came to the establishment of dogmas of faith, and how different interpretations could lead to different doctrines, and therefore, to controversies. The various translations of the original Greek in the Gospels and in the New Testament in general, provided and encouraged by Valla, Erasmus, and philological humanism, set in motion a series of far-reaching controversies that had very important consequences. Neil Rhodes, in his volume about *English Renaissance Translation Theory*, insisted that “violent conflict could be generated over the translation of single words, since in some cases entire doctrinal structures rested upon them.”⁵⁸⁶ In the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529), Thomas More criticized the “prestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale” and he focused on “certain words evill and of evill purpose changed” in the latter’s translation of the New Testament. More was referring to Tyndale’s preference for ‘seniors’ and ‘elders’ over ‘priests’, ‘congregation’ over ‘Church’, also used by

⁵⁸⁵ *A defense of the sincere and true translations of the holie Scriptures* 1583, 423-426. See also *A discouerie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the heretikes of our daies specially the English sectaries* 1582, 244-249.

⁵⁸⁶ Rhodes 2013, 14.

Erasmus in his *Novum Instrumentum*, ‘love’ over ‘charity’, ‘repentance’ over ‘do penance’ and ‘acknowledge’ over ‘confess’.⁵⁸⁷ The use of these words in English versions of the Scriptures was also criticized by Gregory Martin in his *Discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures* (1582). Besides the use of ‘secret’ over ‘Sacrament’ in relation to Matrimony, chapter five within this work focused on the ‘heretical translation against the Church’. Here, Martin regrets that the preference of congregation entailed the end of the “Church militant and triumphant” because “a congregation is of beasts also: a conuocation of reasonable creatures onely.”⁵⁸⁸ The following chapter was devoted to the ‘heretical translation against priest and priesthood’ and he wonders “why and to what end they suppress the name *Priest*, translating it *Elder*, in al places where the holy Scripture would signifie by *Presbyter* and *Presbyterium*, the Priests and Priesthod of the new Testament?”⁵⁸⁹ It mattered whether the Greek word *πρεσβυτερος* was translated as ‘bishop’ or ‘elder’. The former translation suggested that the Church hierarchy was rooted in the language and practice of early Christianity, the latter allowed the possibility that it was not. Similarly, chapter thirteen focused on the ‘heretical translation against penance and satisfaction’. On that respect Martin claimed that “English bibles when they transla[e] best, say, *repentance*, & *repent*: but none of them all once haue the wordes, *penance*, and, *doe penance*. Which in most places is the very true translation, according to the very circumstance of the text, and vse of the Greeke word in the Greeke Church.”⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* 1529, chapter viii, fo. lxxix v. Brian Cummings has also analysed the More-Tyndale debate in “Different Tongues: More versus Tyndale” (2007, 192-96). See also Rashkow 2012, 54-68; Rhodes 2013, 15.

⁵⁸⁸ *Discoverie of the manifold corruptions* 1582, 64-5.

⁵⁸⁹ *Discoverie of the manifold corruptions* 1582, 73.

⁵⁹⁰ *Discoverie of the manifold corruptions* 1582, 197.

This new terminology may have influenced the doctrinal issues at stake in the contrasts and similarities between the original text of Luis de Granada, Isselt' Latin version and Meres' translation. Of the changes just mentioned, there is also evidence in Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde*. Compare for instance Luis de Granada's advice to hear the Mass: he mandated the hearer to be quiet and his heart lifted up towards God, "paying attention to the mysteries of the Mass ('considerando Missae mysteria'), to any other holy thought ('aut alia quadam sancta cogitatione occupatus'), or praying something devout ('aut saltem orationes aliquas pias recitans')". Meres' text also agrees that the man who "heare Diuine seruice and sermons" ought to have "his hart lifted vp to God". But he should also "considering of the high misteries reuealed in his word, with great feruency and deuotion praying together with the congregation, and attentiuely hearing that which is deliuered vnto him."⁵⁹¹ This is something isolated in Meres' version. There are within *The Sinners Gvyde* some 80 references to the Church, being this one of the most recurrent words in the text. The same extract where Meres made use of the word 'secret' in the passage about Matrimony (see page xxx), he maintains the word 'Church' instead of using 'congregation':

Therefore shall a man leaue his Father and his Mother, and shall cleaue to his wife: & they shall be one flesh: the Apostle addeth; This is a great secrete, but I speake concerning Christ, and concerning the Church.

Even though the use of this word in this passage was criticized by Gregory Martin in his disapproval of Tyndale's version of the New Testament, this term was changed in later

⁵⁹¹ *Guia de Pecadores* 1567, 325r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 606; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 423.

editions of the Bible.⁵⁹² The Geneva text and the Bishops' Bible, both reproduce the term 'Church' over 'congregation'. Meres' treatment of this word in those passages taken from the Holy text, results from his use of an English edition of the Bible. However, when he insisted that the hearer must consider "the high misteries reuealed in [God's] word, with great feruency and deuotion praying together with the congregation", the English translator was adding his own ideas. There is in *The Sinners Gvyde* a reference to the Elders. What in Granada is "the magesty of those noble ancient men" ('illorum Seniorum') in Meres is "the maiesty of those venerable Seniors and Elders."⁵⁹³ As in the other case, this is something isolated.

His preference of 'repentance' over 'penitence' is more systematic. When answering to Gregory Martin's insistence on the importance of doing penance, William Fulke claimed that 'repent' and 'repentance' was more appropriate to the original Greek word, as it meant not only "amendment of life, but also sorrow for the sinnes past."⁵⁹⁴ This is very well illustrated in Meres' version. In all those excerpts where Granada talks about *penitence* and Isselt about *paenitentiae*, Meres uses 'repentance'. Some of examples are: "Saint Augustine doth speak of this matter, in his booke of true and false repentance", "Saint Ambrose also, in his bookes of repentance", "Such was the repentance of Shimei for that offence which he had committed against Dauid" or "But remember I pray thee, what teares Esau shedde, *Who*, as the Apostle saith, *found no place of repentance though he sought it with teares*" (Hebrews 12, 17).⁵⁹⁵ Through the

⁵⁹² *Discoverie of the manifold corruptions* 1582, 64. "Ye husbands loue your viues, as Christ loued the congregation, and censed it to make it vnto him self a glorious congregation without spot or wrinkle. And, This is a great secrete, but I speake of Christ and of the congregation".

⁵⁹³ *Guia de Pecadores* 1567, 70r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 139; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 103. On Meres' his treatment of the word 'prelate' see page xxx.

⁵⁹⁴ *A defense of the sincere and true translations of the holie Scriptures* 1583, 62-3.

⁵⁹⁵ *Guia de Pecadores* 1567, 216r/217r/221r/228r-228v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 402-403/404/412/426; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 281/282/288/297.

use of this word, they were implicitly rejecting the mediating role of priests. In the process of repentance just the sinner took part, he or she through faith repented of his or her actions, whereas in the process of penitence an intermediary role was needed. Moreover, the recurrence in the Bishops' Bible of the words *repent* and *repentance* would explain Meres' preference towards this word in his translation.

Penance is the most recurrent Sacrament within *Guía de Pecadores*. It is considered one of the seven rituals within the liturgical life of the Catholic Church, which impart Grace and prepare the faithful to worship God and exercise charity. Reformers, in contrast, rejected its sacramental character on the grounds that it was not based on Scripture. But there were other controversial inherent practices in this doctrine to which they also reacted. Generally speaking, the Sacrament consists in the confession of sin to a priest, made with sorrow and regret, with the intention of amendment, followed by the forgiveness of the sin. In other words, it is the ritual by which one, via an intermediary (i.e. the priest), is reconciled with God when such relationship has been broken by sin. Reformers did not use confession in the same way as Catholics do. Instead, confession for them includes direct repentance before God without the interposition of a priest as they considered that *only* our faith would intercede for our sins. Another serious objection to penance was, as already mentioned, the abuse of indulgences.⁵⁹⁶ These allowed a person to confess sins and receive absolution based on a donation to the Church. Similarly, in Anglican theology, the sacramental character of Penance was not recognized in any of its formularies of faith. There were, however, different opinions about their treatment of its practices and doctrines. In the third article of the *Ten Articles* Penance is described as “a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man, which

⁵⁹⁶ The doctrine of indulgences was regulated in article XXII.

after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved, or attain everlasting life.” It was also affirmed that the said sacrament “consisteth of three parties; that is to say, contrition, confession and the amendment of the former life.” In the eight article within the *Thirteen Articles* too, Penance is presented as a “kind of antidote and effective remedy against despair and death for all who repent” and auricular confession is considered “really useful and extremely necessary” and it “must be by all means retained in the Church.”⁵⁹⁷ The concept of confession is grounded in biblical stories of repentance and contrition before God and it is probably the most controversial part within the Sacrament of Penance. As is generally known, Catholic believers confess their sins to a priest who then, on behalf of Jesus Christ, offers absolution. Despite the apparent reformist character of the first formularies of faith of the Church of England, they still retained certain traditional Roman Catholic doctrines such as this one. In the *Ten Articles* we read that “they ought and must give no less faith and credence to the same words of absolution, so pronounced by the ministers of the church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself, if he should speak unto us of heaven.” A similar view is held in the 13 Articles, where we are told that the confession of sins is made in private to the ministers of the Church. The last entry within the *Six Articles* too, unambiguously defined auricular confession as “expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented, in the Church of God.”⁵⁹⁸

In the Thirty-Nine Articles Penance, also called Confession and Absolution or the Sacrament of Reconciliation, is briefly addressed and what the reader learns from it

⁵⁹⁷ It was reaffirmed in the Six Articles of 1539, where it was claimed that “auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God” (sixth article).

⁵⁹⁸ *The Church History of Britain* 1845, 150.

is that it is not a mandated Sacrament.⁵⁹⁹ Such position is also evidenced in Meres' translation. The passage in *Guía de pecadores* "Those who are in charge of examining men's consciences in the Church could give account of this" ("Desto podrian dar muy buen testimonio muchos delos q estan diputados en la iglesia para examinadores de las consciencias ajenas") is eliminated in *The Sinners Gvyde*.⁶⁰⁰ A similar explanation applies to his omission of a paragraph on contrition and penance or Luis de Granada's emphasis on auricular confession. There is a reference in *Guía de pecadores* to the five Commandments of the Church, i.e. "(1) oyr missa entera los Domingos y fiestas, (2) *cofessar una vez al año*, (3) comulgar por Pascua, (4) y ayunar los dias que ella manda y (5) pagar fielmente los diezmos." In Meres's version precept two is omitted and the Commandments of the Church came to consist in four, i.e. "(1) on the Sabaoth dayes, and on certaine other dayes, it is thought good by the Church, to heare Diuine seruice and sermons: (2) to receaue the holy Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of our Sauior Christ: (3) to fast on dayes appointed: (4) and faithfully to pay Tithes."⁶⁰¹ After that Granada extended on the first and fourth commandments to explain what is

⁵⁹⁹ The seven Sacraments were present in the Book of Common Prayer: (xiii) Thorder of the ministración of the holy Communion; (xiiii) Baptisme both publique and priuate; (xv) Confirmation, where also is a Catechisme for children; (xvi) Matrimonie; (xvii) Visitation of the sicke. The ordinal appeared at the end. Benham 1911.

⁶⁰⁰ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 253v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 471; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 328. "De pluribus huiusmodi optimum norunt dare testimonium hi, qui in ecclesiis constituti sunt, vt aliorum examinent conscientias".

⁶⁰¹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 324v-325r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 605-6; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 422-23. The paragraph on contrition reads: "Otros Allegan otra manera de remedio, diziendo que los sacramentos de la ley de gracia hazen al hombre de attrito contrite: y q entonces alomenos tendrán esta manera de disposicion, la qual junto con la virtud de los sacramentos, sera bastante para darles salud. La respuesta desto es, lo primero, que esto no es de fe, sino opinión piadosa, lo segundo q no qualquier dolor basta para tener aquella manera de attricion, que junta con el sacramento da gracia al que lo recibe. Porque cierto es que ay muchas maneras de attricion, y de dolor y que no por cualquier attricion destas, se haze el hombre de attrito, contrito: sino por sola aquella que en particular sabe el dador de la gracia, y otro fuera del no puede saber. No ignorauan esta Theologia los santos Doctores: y con todo esto hablan co tanto temor en esta manera de penitecia, como arriba declaramos: y expressamente S. Augustin en la primera autoridad que del allegamos, habla del que recibe penitecia, y es recociliado por los sacrametos de la yglesia: al ql dize. Damos penitencia, mas no seguridad".

Guía de Pecadores 1567, 227r-227v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 424; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 296.

understood by it. That of fasting is eliminated in Meres' text whereas the former is significantly reduced. Meres' treatment here is very much in line with Richard Hopkins's criticism within the dedicatory of *Prayer and Meditation*, which Meres might have read too: "these new Preachers doe neuer preach to the people, to doe pennance for their sins, and to fast and pray for them."⁶⁰²

Also related with the Sacrament of Penance is Meres' elimination of the classification between mortal and venial sins. The chapter that in Granada reads "De los peccados veniales" in Meres' text it is substituted for "Of other kinde of sinnes, which because they seeme small, therefore the world maketh no account to commit them."⁶⁰³ The content of the chapter, in contrast, is not significantly altered with the exception of the following omission: "Acuerdate que aunque sea verdad, que no bastan siete, ni siete mil peccados veniales para hazer vn mortal."⁶⁰⁴ The reason for this change is that the understanding of sin and degrees in sin differs within the Catholic and Protestant traditions. Both of them approach it as an inextricable part of human nature. According to Romans 3: 23, "all have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God", as such it is understood as a universal moral corruption which is overcome by Jesus dying upon the cross. Roman Catholic doctrine distinguishes between personal (either mortal or venial) and original sin. In the former the sinner performs the act with full knowledge and consent, as such it destroys grace (also called damnation); venial sins in contrast, are those which are not contrary to the love of God or our neighbour as such they do not cut off the sinner from His grace. In simpler terms, a mortal sin causes 'spiritual death'

⁶⁰² *Prayer and Meditation* 1582, 11.

⁶⁰³ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 325v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 607; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 423.

⁶⁰⁴ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 326r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 608; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 423.

"Praemoneote, etsi verum sit, septem millia peccatorum venialium non efficere vnum mortale".

whereas a venial sin can be forgiven. Thus, in these cases the relationship with God has been injured but it should be reconciled through the Sacrament of Penance, after contrition and confession, or receiving the Eucharist. Thomas Aquinas also established this distinction in his *Summa Theologica*.⁶⁰⁵ The Protestant position in that respect is that, due to original sin, humanity has lost the capacity to move towards reconciliation with God and they may be brought back only by way of God's rescuing the sinner from this condition. Roman Catholics believe that a person's actions can achieve penance for sins or limit one's time in Purgatory after death. Reformers believe that "we are accounted righteous before God [...] by Faith and not for our own works or deservings" (Art. XI of the *Thirty-Nine Articles*).⁶⁰⁶ In other words, their view that salvation is *sola fide* and *sola gratia* rejected any possible classification. The reformist principle that only faith would intercede for our sins would also explain why Meres altered the last part of the excerpt: "Porque ay unos hombres naturalmente sossegados y quietos, que segun esto son mas aparejados para la vida contemplativa: otros mas cholericos y hazendosos que son mas habiles para la vida actiua: otros mas robustos y sanos y mas desamorados para consigo mismos: y estos son mas aptos para los trabajos de la penitencia", to "[...] others are strong and of a sound and healthfull constitution, who

⁶⁰⁵ "It would seem that the division of sins according to their debt of punishment diversifies their species; for instance, when sin is divided into *mortal* and *venial*. For things which are infinitely apart, cannot belong to the same species, nor even to the same genus. But venial and mortal sin are infinitely apart, since temporal punishment is due to venial sin, and eternal punishment to mortal sin; and the measure of the punishment corresponds to the gravity of the fault, according to Deut. xxv. 2: According to the measure of the sin shall the measure be also of the stripes be. Therefore venial and mortal sins are not of the same genus, nor can they be said to belong to the same species" (I-II q.72 art. 5). This book has been accessed through *Christian Classics Ethereal Library* <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/aquinas/summa.i.html> [accessed 16 November 2016].

⁶⁰⁶ *Articles* 1693, B1r.

do not much tender and effect themselves, and these are meete for greater austerity of life.”⁶⁰⁷

A similar explanation applies to Meres’ treatment of the Sacrament of the anointing of the sick. This was not represented in any of the Anglicans’ formularies of faith either and it is briefly addressed in the Thirty-Nine Articles within the group of five Sacraments which “have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.”⁶⁰⁸ This justifies why what in Granada reads “*extrema vnction*” in Meres’ is changed to “a little phisicke”: “This holy man was many times so payned with the Windy-colicke, that often his life was endangered by it, & he stroue with death. When on a time he had lost together with his speech all his sence [...] they applying a *little phisicke* vnto him, forthwith againe he began somewhat to breathe, and by little & little to come vnto himself.”⁶⁰⁹ Even though the Anglican Church rejects that the Anointing of the Sick has sacramental character, like Baptism and the Eucharist, it is known as a ritual and it is still represented in the BCP as “the order for the visitation of the Sick.”

In the formulary of 1571, to this general classification of the Sacraments, follows an emphasis on the Sacraments of Baptism (XXVII) and the Lord’s Supper (XXVIII) in two independent articles. The latter was particularly controversial; it begins claiming that “the Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another, but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ’s death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.”⁶¹⁰ In all previous

⁶⁰⁷ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 396r; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 736; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 510.

⁶⁰⁸ *Articles* 1693, B4r.

⁶⁰⁹ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 89v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 178; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 130.

⁶¹⁰ *Articles* 1693, B4v.

formularies (IV art. in the *Ten Articles*; VII art. in the *Thirteen Articles* and I art. in the *Six Articles*) the doctrine of transubstantiation was affirmed and defended. In the Six Articles, for instance, those who denied it were to be charged for heresy and burnt.⁶¹¹ The article as it appeared in the formulary of 1553 (art. XXIX) explicitly denied “real and bodily presence of Christ’s flesh and blood in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper”, but in the revision of 1563 this denial was eliminated. The controversy lay in a disagreement on their understanding of the mode of the conversion; while the Catholic Church talked about conversion, Lutherans defended the idea of coexistence. For its part, the Church of England rejects here the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation saying that “the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after a *heavenly* and *spiritual* manner.”⁶¹² The presence is real but not sensible. The article ends insisting that “the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance

⁶¹¹ “It is therefore ordained and enacted by the king our sovereign lord, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any person or persons within this realm of England, or any other the king's dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, ciphering, or in any other wise do publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the blessed Sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after the consecration thereof), there is not present really the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration there remaineth any substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man, or after the time above said publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion (hat in the flesh, under form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ; or that with the blood, under form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, as well apart as though they were both together; or by any of the means above said, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said Sacrament to be of other substance than is above said; or by any means contemn, deprave, or despise the said blessed Sacrament: that then every such person and persons so offending, their aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein, being thereof convicted in form underwritten, by the authority above said, shall be deemed and adjudged heretics. And that every such offence shall be adjudged manifest heresy, and that every such offender and offenders shall therefor have and suffer judgment, execution, pain, and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, clergy, or sanctuary to be therefor permitted, had, allowed, admitted, or suffered; and also shall therefor forfeit and lose to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, all his or their honours, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods and chattels, terms and freeholds, whatsoever they be, which any such offender or offenders shall have at the time of any such offence or offences committed or done, or at any time after, as in cases of high treason” (Penalty upon the first article, *Six Articles*).

⁶¹² *Articles* 1693, B4v.

reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.”⁶¹³ Since reception is intrinsic to the reality of presence, certain traditional medieval uses of the sacrament are no longer tolerable. Reservation, procession, elevation and adoration of the host, then, exemplifies an objectification of His presence as opposed to the sense of presence involved in the spiritual lifting of the heart in a spiritual eating. In his text, Meres also rejected the doctrine of conversion defended by Catholicism, for this reason, he removed several paragraphs where Granada described the Eucharist as “gracia de gracias, y sacramento de sacramentos por el qual quiso Dios morar en la tierra con los hombres, y darles cada dia en matrimonio y en remedio. Vna vez fue ofrecido en sacrificio por nosotros en la cruz, mas aqui cada dia se ofrece en el altar por nuestros pecados. Cada vez (dize el) que esto hizieredes, hazeldo en memoria de mi. O memorial de salud, o sacrificio singular, hostia agradable, pan de vida.”⁶¹⁴ Other examples are: “Cosidera tambien quantas vezes co tu boca has recebido aquella hostia consagrada: y no consientas que por la misma puerta por donde entra la vida entre la muerte, y el nutrimento y ceuo delos otros pecados.”⁶¹⁵

Article XXXI, of the one Oblation of Christ upon the Cross, is the last in the series relating to Church, ministry and sacraments and it dated from 1553. In its content it rejects the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, “blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits”, defined by the Council of Trent in 1562 (session 22) and it asserts the uniqueness and perfect sufficiency of the sacrifice of the Cross.⁶¹⁶ Articles XXXII to XXXVI treat discipline, worship and ceremonies. Of these, XXXIV declares that “it is

⁶¹³ *Articles* 1693, C1r.

⁶¹⁴ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 41r-41v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 77-78; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 62.

⁶¹⁵ *Guía de Pecadores* 1567, 310v; *Dvx Peccatorum* 1594, 579; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, 404. “Attende quoties ore tuo sacratissima Eucharistiae hostiam recepisti: noli ergomittere, vt per eadem porta, per quam intrauit vita, mors ingrediatur, & nutrimentu fomentumque alioru peccatoru”.

⁶¹⁶ *Articles* 1693, C1r.

not necessarie that traditions and ceremonies be in al places one, or vtterly like, for at all times they haue ben diuerse, and may be changed accordyng to the diuersitie of countreys, times, and mens maners, so that nothing be ordeyned against Gods worde”, and it responds to the Council of Trent’s assertion of a universal uniformity to the insistence of some of the radical Protestants on the exercise of private judgement in such matters.⁶¹⁷ The next article, XXXV dealt with the Second Book of Homilies (1563) and it derives from the formulary of 1553. From the beginning of the Reformation, Stephen Gardiner claimed, homilies were devised “to make for stai of such errours as were then by ygnorant preachers sparkeled among the people.”⁶¹⁸ In this Book the majority are attributed to John Jewel, Edmund Grindal, Matthew Parker and James Pilkington. A number of the clergy were opposed to the doctrine propounded by the homilies, and so read them unintelligibly. Abolition of the homilies was one of the demands made by Puritan critics of the Elizabethan Settlement in “An Admonition to the Parliament” (1572). As does Art. XXXII, the last article of this group affirms the three-fold ministry of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons. In the “Admonition”, another claim was parity of ministers in the name. The defence of the rites of ordination stands out against the Roman objection of deficiency of form as well as against the Puritan charge of superstitious excess: “The booke of Consecration of Archbishops, and Byshops, and orderyng of Priestes and Deacons, [...], doth conteyne all thinges necessarie to suche consecration and orderyng: neyther hath it any thing, that of it selfe is superstitious or vngodly.”⁶¹⁹ The second part of the article, affirms the statutory legality of the Ordinal as having been attached to the Book of Common Prayer. It was confirmed in 1565 with the enactment of “An Act declaring the making and

⁶¹⁷ *Articles* 1693, C1v.

⁶¹⁸ Muller 1933, 296.

⁶¹⁹ *Articles* 1693, C2v.

consecration of the Archbishop and bishops of this realm to be good, lawful and perfect.”

The last group includes articles XXXVII to XXXIX and they address the office of civil power as one of the external means of grace, and the political duty of Christians. The first of them begins with the statement that “the Queenes Maiestie hath the cheefe power in this Realme of Englande, and other her dominions, vnto whom the cheefe gouernment of all estates of this Realme, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Ciuile, in all causes doth apparteine, and is not, nor ought to be subiect to any forraigne iurisdiction” and it continues with the ratification that “the bishop of Rome hath no iurisdiction in this Realme of Englande.”⁶²⁰ The following article (XXXVIII) remained unchanged since the 42 Articles and it condemns the communism advocated by Anabaptists and other radical reformers. The formulary ends with another article against the teachings of the Anabaptists (XXXIX) dating from 1553 and unchanged since.

⁶²⁰ “An Act Extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of Rome” (1536). *Articles* 1693, C2v; C3r.

Conclusions and future research

A general overview of the sixteenth century provides the chronological framework of this study. It constitutes the general context under which both Luis de Granada and Francis Meres' lives and literary production have to be approached. Three themes, i.e. money, power and religion, permeate everything that the century produced, and they are necessary to understand how such dissimilar figures may have connected with each other. In the sixteenth century Europe had to deal with important conflicts caused to a great extent by the advent of Protestantism. This important movement affected not just religion, but it also had an effect on governance, control and territorial dominance. This was a time of terrible wars, great tension, violence and bloodshed, but it was also the beginning of popular claims for religious freedom, which meant personal independence too. A series of conflicts over religious reform and the measures taken by reformist and orthodox supporters divided Christendom forever. Both Francis Meres and Luis de Granada, or rather, England and Spain, find themselves on different sides in this scale. However, it is not difficult to understand the appeal that the English translator holds for such a confessionally dissimilar figure. The Spanish Dominican was, at any rate, a revolutionary in his own time. An evident proof of that is the inclusion of his works in Valdés' *Index* of prohibited books. Luis de Granada was among those religious men who sought to promote reform in an attempt to make the Word of God accessible to everyone, but he was also interested in the improvement of the education of the clergy, which he thought, would influence the laity's awareness of God's desire too. This concern was addressed in his Latin works, available for clergymen to peruse at their will; with his Castilian works, in contrast, Granada addressed the common reader,

contributing more directly to the development of a different type of spirituality which insisted on inner, personal and individual faith. Most of his works, therefore, transmitted the values of the Pietist philosophy that also inspired reformist theologians. Moreover, his works relied heavily on the Bible, the uttermost authority in the Anglican Church. This too, may have appealed to Meres who, as it appears, provided his own versions of the numerous biblical passages that the work contained in a moment in which it was clear that what ordinary people needed for their own spiritual good was a personal knowledge of Scripture. In fact, the authority of the Holy Writ gave Thomas Egerton, the dedicatee of *The Sinners Gvyde*, a guarantee of the work's soundness. Whether Meres' used the Bishops' Bible or the Geneva text is a matter that deserves further analysis.

These changes were obviously possible due to the development of the printing press. Its impact on every field of human enterprise was noted by S. H. Steinberg when he stated that "neither political, constitutional, ecclesiastical, and economic events, not sociological, philosophical, and literary movements can be fully understood without taking into account the influence the printing press has exerted upon them."⁶²¹ However, Eisenstein in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, complains that while all these events have been subject to close study by generations of scholars, the influence that printing has exerted upon them has often gone unnoticed. The new device fixed text, thus facilitating the preservation and dissemination of knowledge in a standardized form.⁶²² The sixteenth century saw a gradual increase in literacy rates. The output of books was multiplied, the cost reduced and libraries could store greater

⁶²¹ Steinberg 1974, 11.

⁶²² Daniel Wakelin counters the influence that Eisenstein mentions in her book. He rejects the belief that printing transformed European culture by possibilities for standardization, textual fixity and increased dissemination of ideas. Printed books, in contrast, acquired their reputation because of conscious efforts by authors, printers, booksellers and readers to treat them thus (see Wakelin 2007, 128-129).

quantities of texts. For the first time in history, access to knowledge and information was more varied and ideas spread quickly and with great impact. In the words of Anthony Pym, “print made possible the democratisation of knowledge” and this was precisely the influence that Eisenstein sought to investigate, that is, to decide how laws, languages, mental constructs and human behaviour were affected by more uniform texts.⁶²³ Translations too became a common practice as most writers realized their power to transform people’s minds and attitudes, to reinforce or unsettle linguistic or political dominance, to establish cultural contact and to participate in cultural appropriation and effacement. Unlike in medieval times, Early Modernity brought about a tension between Latin, as the language of international scholarship, and the emerging vernaculars competing for supremacy and prestige. Hence, in the sixteenth century, translation involved languages of potentially equal values; in this process linguistic, literary and religious capital was exchanged from Latin into each of the vernaculars, and then, in a second phase among the vernaculars themselves.⁶²⁴ This mode of thought was not found prior to the advent of print and it was not common beyond Europe. According to Anthony Pym, its features became coherent enough to be regarded as the Western mode of translation, which influenced and shaped Early Modern society.⁶²⁵ One of the most controverted texts to be translated was naturally the Bible. Following Erasmus’ Latin-Greek *Novum Instrumentum*, other early modern Latin and multilingual translations of the Scriptures arose from different presses during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Luis de Granada’s problems with the Spanish inquisitorial authorities were in part related to his Castilian translation of entire passages of the Holy text. Meres might have also contributed his own version of certain passages as already

⁶²³ Pym 2017, VII.

⁶²⁴ Pérez Fernández 2012, 10.

⁶²⁵ Pym 2017, VIII.

mentioned. This situates them within wider European processes of transmission and exchange. Numerous versions of other classical works, and religious texts, both Catholic and Protestant, from a cross-section of genres covering a wide range of languages and periods between 1500-1660 approximately appeared during these years too. Meres for his part is responsible for making available in English the Catholic works of Luis de Granada between 1598-1614. Similarly, a number of women were also engaged in the translation of religious works, some of which show parellisms with Meres' text. In 1548, Anne Cooke translated five sermons by the Italian reformer Bernardino Ochino. The sermons that she chose were not particularly controversial: they addressed how a Christian should prepare for death and resist the temptations of the devil. As most translators did, Anne stated in the preface of her translations the reason why she had translated those sermons, "for the enformation of all that desyre to know the truth." Similarly, Meres admired Granada's works because they were useful for "perswasion to good life" and he presents himself as a "Pillar and Protector of true religion and Christianity" on a par with Hercules, Alexander Magnus, Julius Caesar, Charlemagne and Lorenzo de Medici among others. Moreover, Anne asserts, "I have translated in to my natyve spech out of Italien a sermon of maister Bernardine Ochyn teaching how a true chrysten ought to make hys last wyll", and she continues, "two have I also translated, whych enforme vs of the true workes that god requireth of vs, and the way to go to heauen".⁶²⁶ In fact, there are coincidences between her words and those that we find in Meres' version of *The Sinners Gyvde*. In the title page he mentioned that the aim of the book was to reclaim sinners from the bypass of vice and destruction and to bring them to the highway of everlasting happiness. In his preface too, Meres justified his decision and we read "[...] what ought not Christians to doe, and whether

⁶²⁶ Cooke 1548, A4r-A3r-A3v. *The Sinners Gyvde* 1598, Aiiir.

shoulde not they trauell to heare one [Luis de Granada], not teaching how the heauens are mooued, but how men may come to heauen: yea, how *Sinners* may be *Guyded* thether?" In this quotation the words 'sinners' and 'guided' are emphasized so that it is clear what the text is about.⁶²⁷ Similarly, in her edition of the *Fourteen Sermons of Bernardine Ochyne*, Anne affirmed that she had chosen Ochino's sermons "for the excellent fruit sake in them contained". Meres too, talks about "so rich a Mine".⁶²⁸ Apart from her own personal and ideological forces, Cooke's translations may have been inspired by the ideology of the marketplace. The commercial interests of Cooke's printers merged with those of the Reformed religion. The coincidences just mentioned do not entail that Meres might have been inspired by Anne Cooke's translations, they show on the one hand, how popular and profitable these texts were, and on the other, that Luis de Granada's ideas did not differ much from those of the reformers. In 1560, Anne Locke translated Calvin's four sermons on the history of Jezekeiah as told in Isaiah 38. Even though Locke's translations protested against the Elizabethan Settlement, her editions participated in a movement of radical Protestant translations whose mission was to warn against a return to the Catholic fold. These translations and Meres' texts prove that he was aware of the context in which he lived. In his version of *Guia de Pecadores* he talked about simony and corruption, about an age in which the Church and Religion lie in 'a desperate Paroxisme [...] shaken and assaulted by wicked Patrons and wretched Atheists'.⁶²⁹

The increasingly widespread practice of translation brought about concerns about how it should be done. The dichotomy between linguistic (*ad verbum*) and semantic (*ad sensum*) equivalence was at the core of early modern debates on the

⁶²⁷ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiiv. Emphasis in italics is mine.

⁶²⁸ Cooke 1551, A4r; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiir.

⁶²⁹ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiiv.

practice. Cicero's *De Optimo genere oratorum*, Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* influenced the ideas of early humanists such as Leonardo Bruni, Coluccio Salutati or Juan Luis Vives, who perceived translation as a demanding stylistic task rather than a mere literal transposition of an original work. English writers were concerned about these issues too, though they did not theorize about the practice as much as other European linguists did. To name some, Lawrence Humphrey in Latin and Roger Ascham in English with *Interpretatio Linguarum* (1559) and the *Schoolemaster* (1570) respectively, reflected on aspects of translation. Francis Meres was aware of how popular, and probably profitable, translation was. In the 'Comparative Discourse', for instance, he mentions Terence's translations of Apollodorus and Menander, Aquilus' translation of Menander, Germanicus' translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, Ausonius' *Epigrams* out of Greek, Thomas Watson's Latin version of Sophocles' *Antigone*, Thomas Phaer's *Aeneid*, Arthur Golding's *Metamorphoses*, John Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, the translators of Seneca's tragedies, Barnabe Googe's translation of Marcellus Pallingenius, George Turberville's translations of Ovid's *Heroycall Epistles* and Mantuanus' *Eglogs* and George Chapman's versions of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It is apparent too that he might have been familiar with Humphrey's well-known and monumental work. In his *Interpretatio Linguarum*, Humphrey argued for faithful renderings of the original text alongside more creative forms of imitative and imaginative rewritings that he called 'interpretatio'. This creativity and originality that Humphrey was defending is noticeable in Meres' text when he identified "certaine corruptions" that "threatened shipwracke" and "would haue endangered many". By using the metaphor of a shipwreck, the English translator justifies the modifications he had willingly introduced in his text. He continues, "if other Interpreters, as good Pylots doe the same in this learned Iberian, neuer had Diouscurias more Interpreters, nor Titus

Livius more visitors, than Granatensis shall have.”⁶³⁰ That is to say, if other translators modify controversial aspects within Granada’s works, cutting what is not useful and adding alternative material, the Spanish author is one of the best authors that could ever be translated. This passage confirms how learned Meres was as his preface is riddled with mythological and historical references, to such an extent that sometimes it is even difficult to understand his intention and meaning. On the other, it also reaffirms his admiration for Luis de Granada whom he had compared to Livius from the beginning of his dedicatory. But, above all, even though he did not contribute his own ideas explicitly, Meres was taking part here in early modern discussions about the ideal translation and he was justifying the reliability of his version. As Douglas Robinson claims, there is not a single simple formula for abstract semantic or linguistic equivalence that can be applied easily and unproblematically in every case. All that matters is that the translation be reliable in more or less the way both the translator himself and the intended audience expect; that is, linguistically accurate, semantically effective or somewhere in the middle according to their specific purposes. In other words, a translation could be accurate if it conveys the informational content with varying degrees of syntactical and stylistic closeness, or accurate in that it concisely reproduces the syntax of the original with no attention to who commissioned it and for what purpose. A text that meets these demands will be ‘good’ and ‘successful’, even if it is considered a failure by those with different expectations as it does not meet their reliability needs. It is unfortunate, this scholar claims, that the norms and standards appropriate for one group or situation should be generalized and applied to all: “because some users demand literal translations, for example, the idea spreads that a translation

⁶³⁰ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiir.

that is not literal is no translation at all; and because some users demand semantic (sense-for-sense) equivalence, the idea spreads that a translation that charts its own semantic path is no translation at all.⁶³¹ Hence, *The Sinners Gvyde* could be claimed to be a reliable translated text given that it meets its users' situational needs and expectations. As a translator, Meres' own milieu and audience interfered in the translated product. He used, therefore, a number of strategies to 'Anglize' Granada's work in order to lead the reader across a foreign text. The *Untranslatables* that he found within *Guía de Pecadores* had to be biased by England's own universe of discourse. No translation is really neutral, for each brings its own world of linguistic and cultural values to supplant the ones conveyed by the original.

The pages that precede this conclusion emphasize the view of translation as a social practice rather than a mere linguistic activity performed on texts. With that aim in mind, the ideas of contemporary linguistic theorists on translation studies such as André Lefevere, Eugene Nida, Theo Hermans, Lawrence Venuti and more recently William T. Rossiter, Belén Bistué or Matthew Reynolds constitute the methodological framework and the set of critical principles employed in the analysis of the subject of study in this research. It takes Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde* as an example to illustrate the way in which the practice of translation is a collaborative and reciprocal venture rather than an abstract equivalence game divorced from real people's actions in a social context. It is rather a richly social process involving not only material things but also employers, clients, publishers, printers, and patrons. Translators are, therefore, mere "textual mediators" within the varied group of participants in the process. It is for this reason that translation should not be approached as an autonomous literary artefact in which just abstract linguistic structures matter, but rather we must reorient our gaze towards

⁶³¹ Robinson 2003, 7-9.

the social network of people that influence the translator in his or her choices, including the choice of theme and translation procedures, the reception of texts and their audience, their needs and expectations, the material conditions and the cultural contexts under which translations were produced. Taking this view into account, translators are also considered agents of change. Eisenstein used this metaphor to refer to the power of the printing press to transform society. For the first time, people had access to information of very different kinds and this influenced their appraisal of the world. In a similar way, translations do not simply provide access to works encrypted in a foreign language; above all, they provide access to the ideas that these works contain. Through this process translators mediate the recipients' understanding of different cultures and shape their attitude and opinion about them. As Schurink insists, translations are an important contribution for our understanding of a broad range of aspects and they offer new viewpoints on the intellectual, religious and political history of the period. In the case of religious texts, translators saw themselves as possible agents of spiritual and institutional reform. Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde*, for instance, contributes to map out the cultural, literary and social contours of Elizabethan London. It re-examines and enhances our awareness of some of sixteenth-century England's defining features, i.e. English humanism, the Reformation and the growth of English literature, and more generally, the book trade, the importation of continental books, networks of immigrant communities abroad and England's relation to its continental neighbours, mainly Spain.

This study has insisted on the evident importance of translation in Elizabethan England and Meres's contribution to its popularity and development. Fred Schurink's book *Tudor Translation* (2011) and the essays that it contains, provide interesting insights in that respect. The aim of this book, among many others, was to emphasize the relevance of Early Modern English Translation. Despite its centrality, some scholars

complain about its omission from serious studies about Renaissance Literature. Fred Schurink argued that the *Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500-1600*, has no chapter on translation, and does not even list the term in the index. It is listed, in contrast, in the *Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature* (2002), but there are only several brief references. Robert Cummings too, points out a rather startling failure of correspondence between the corpus of works translated in sixteenth century England and the fraction of works which attract attention from literary scholars. This is precisely the subject of his 'Recent Studies in English Translation'. A whole body of reference works have now been published to assess the importance of translation in the English language. Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie's *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* (Vol 2), the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* online catalogue, S. K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington's *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640*, Fred Schurink's *Tudor Translation* (2011) and Neil Rhodes' volume, *English Renaissance Translation Theory* (2013) are some of them. This study too, contributes to the current revival in studies of early modern translation and to bring to the foreground Tudor England's continuous engagement with continental Europe in all major aspects of cultural life. There is yet another difficulty when analysing these translations. Massimiliano Morini, for instance, laments the lack of an historical framework that would enable researchers to produce a corpus books illustrative of the common qualities of Tudor translators, their aims, strategies, practices and theoretical ideas. The reason, according to this scholar, is the lack of a single, authoritative theoretical treatise, which would allow the critic to define all translations according to a set of principles. Unlike other European countries, such as France, England did not produce any great theorist of translation before Dryden, at least in English; thus, translators used prologues and

dedicatory epistles to mention their ideas and nature of the practice, as Meres also did. However, these are varied and discordant. As a result, the sixteenth-century translator becomes, Morini insists, “a compound ghost as soon as we try to define the stars he [...] steered by.” Prefaces, then, constitute a rather important source of information about translator’s practice. However, Morini has also identified a discrepancy between the statements contained in them and the translators’ real practice. Even though most translators declared in their epistles their faithfulness to the originals, in practice, however, they behaved in radically different ways, adding or cutting significant portions of the text, altering original details to further their own interest and making them the vitality of the work. “The impression [therefore] is one of anarchy”, of everybody doing what they pleased while conforming to a certain formal decorum in the prefaces, Morini claims.⁶³² Sixteenth-century translations in which the writer tries to conscientiously replicate the original are mere exceptions; writers yielded to different pressures departing, sometimes quite radically, from the source text. And yet, Elizabethan translators are quite eloquent when they have to justify their works even if it entails defending corrections and alterations, and Meres’ text is a good example in that respect. As a solution, this scholar suggests an approach to the sixteenth century as a period of transition between two ages with different ideas and methods in the field of translation, as a mix of the old medieval habits and the new modern methods. Of the same opinion is William T. Rossiter when he talks about a ‘critical schism’ over periodization when trying to separate the Medieval from the Renaissance. A schism, he insists, which took place in the early modern period and which is responsible of dividing history into the glorious Roman past, the inglorious intervenient middle and a possibly reinvigorated future. The sixteenth century was a rather inconsistent period in the sense that

⁶³² Morini 2006, vi-vii.

several social, economic, religious, cultural and political changes were taking place at the same time. It brought about, for instance, the emergence of Europe-centred networks of production and exchange, the fragmentation of Christendom, a prolonged Reformation, popular pressures and dissent against established authority, clashes of interpretation and approach and conflicts about the nature of literary canon too. In this process, two options were available, whether to reformulate the past in the light of new and modern ideas or to start completely afresh. These are the two models of historical transition mentioned by James Simpson; on the one hand, the revolutionary model, which advertises its own novelty, operates within strictly defined and contrasted periodic schemata and works by iconoclasm and demolition; on the other hand, the reformist model, which highlights continuities across historical rupture and operates by accretive *bricolage*.⁶³³ These two conflicting perspectives are shown in the *Arte of English Poesie*. Puttenham's emphasis on novelty when he compares Italian stylistic features as 'nouices newly crept', contrasts with his insistence on the fact that English Poesie had been 'polished' rather than erased:

In the latter end of the same kings raigne sprong vp a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir *Thomas Wyat* th'elder & *Henry Earle* of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who hauing trauailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie as nouices newly crept out of the schooles of *Dante Arioste* and *Petrarch*, they greatly polished our rude & homely maner of vulgar Poesie, from that it had bene before, and for that cause may iustly be sayd the first reformers of our English meetre and stile.⁶³⁴

With all the varied practices that Tudor translators exhibit they are also including themselves within the creative diversity of a period of change and consolidation of new ideas, slowly adapted and accepted by English culture and literary

⁶³³ Rossiter 2014, 39; Simpson 2004, 35.

⁶³⁴ *Arte of English Poesie* 1589, 48-49.

cannon. English authors, therefore move themselves within the revolutionary axis that Simpson established; on the one hand, they emphasize novelty, but on the other they insisted on the fact that old practices are not erased but polished and, sometimes, imitated. In the same way as Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard could not be thought of as medieval or Renaissance writers, because they are both, Elizabethan writers keep a balance between these two poles.

Francis Meres' contribution to this period of transition is one of the many questions that remain unanswered in this investigation. The analysis of his prose style as compared to that of other contemporary writers could bring interesting insights in that respect. His works beyond his English renderings of Luis de Granada call for further research too. The unusual content of Meres' first published work, *Gods Arithmeticke*, is an unexplored field that deserves careful examination. On the one hand, this work offers a good portrait of early modern society in which egalitarian models and relationships were viewed as chaotic and problematic. Frances E. Dolan, for instance, begins her chapter 'One Head is Better than Two' with the affirmation that Renaissance tragedies often depicted two equal powers fighting for dominance and dividing loyalties. Order, then, emerges when one of the two becomes victor. *Gorboduc*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus* are some examples and *Gods Arithmeticke* deals with the same idea too. On the other hand, the work provides some extra information about the figure of Francis Meres. Robel Detobel and K. C. Ligon suggested that the English writer was interested in numerology. It seems that he was particularly fond of the number three and its multiples. If this were the case, Meres' choice would mean more than a mere coincidence as the significance of this number in the Bible is abundantly attested and it has been consistently used by religious and biblical authors. These scholars also noticed a high degree of symmetry in the 'Comparative Discourse'; Meres lists, for instance, the

same number of Greek, Latin and English poets. Even though Detobel and Ligon focused on this small part within *Palladis Tamia*, Meres' apparent interest in numbers is worth investigating, it could help in understanding why the English author decided to talk about marriage in mathematical terms, but it would also be interesting to analyse whether such a numerical pattern is found in other works too. The subject of *Gods Arithmeticke* was, at any rate, common. At that moment, the affluence of tradesmen due to the development of commerce increased the number of marriages between different social classes. Thus, several manuals and sermons were published about the purpose of marriage as well as to educate / indoctrinate women about domestic life and their duties. Andrew Kingsmill's *A Godly Advice Touching Marriage* (1580), Richard Greenham's *A Godly Exhortation* (1584), Charles Gibbon's *A Work Worth the Reading* (1591) and Henry Smith's *Preparative to Marriage* (1591) are some of them. Marriage advice is also found in Edmund Tilney's *A Brief and Pleasant Discourse of Duties in Marriage called The Flower of Friendship* (1571), the anonymous work *A Passionate Morrice* (1593), George Whetstone's *Aurelia* (1593) and Matthew Parker's *An admonition to all such as shall intende hereafter to enter the state of matrimonie, godlily and agreeably to lowes* (1594). Meres' text also reflects on the hierarchical role of married women and their responsibilities. His choice of subject matter confirms, then, that he was an attentive observer of the London literary scene. Significantly enough, the printer of Meres' work, Richard Jones, had published other works of the same subject, namely, *A Passionate Morrice* and *Aurelia*.

Palladis Tamia, however, has been the subject of extensive debate, particularly, the 'Comparative Discourse' due to the information it provides about contemporary English writers. Lois Potter includes this work within the *Wit's Commonwealth* volumes—i.e. Nicholas Ling's *Politeuphuia*, Robert Allott's *Wits Theatre* and *Englands*

Parnassus and John Bodenham's *Belvedere*. It is uncertain whether Meres' text was part of the series, but all of them responded to the same pattern and method of composition; they are collections of quotations from different authors compiled with a patriotic aim in mind, i.e. "to replace the ancient canon of authors and rewrite commonplaces in the language of a new canon."⁶³⁵ The fact that Meres used this popular method of compilation confirms that he was decided to enter the marketplace of print—although his apparent connection with important publishers and printers, mainly Richard Jones, Nicholas Ling and Robert Waldegrave, is still a matter of debate. Apart from this, there are other questions that remain unanswered: why did Meres decide to add the 'Comparative Discourse'? Was this small section planned as a separate book? If so, why did Meres decide to include it at the end of *Palladis Tamia* despite their different content? When were these two parts written? What is the relation between this work and the rest of his translations, if any? What was the relation between Meres' commonplace and Nicolas Ling's *Politeuphuia*? Is Meres' text part of the *Wits* series as Potter claims? Was this collection his motivation to translate Granada's works? There are parallelisms and affinities between what Meres did with *Palladis Tamia* and what Granada did with his own compilation of commonplaces: could this suggest that Meres had read other books by the Spanish author? Why had Meres chosen Shakespeare as another central figure of this original production? How could he be aware of still unpublished works? Was this due to his connection with the publishing industry or rather did Meres and Shakespeare meet and exchange manuscripts of their work in progress? His acquaintance with some unpublished works, such as some Shakesperian plays, Michael Drayton's *Poly-olbion* and Everard Guilpin's *Skialetheia* reinforce the hypothesis about some sort of connection with the influential Elizabethan publisher and

⁶³⁵ Potter 2012, 258-9.

bookseller Nicholas Ling. Other scholars have argued about a possible awareness of Meres' *Palladis Tamia* on the part of other contemporary writers such as Shakespeare or Drayton. MacDonald P. Jackson's thesis that Meres' praise within the 'Comparative Discourse' of Marlowe, Chapman and Jonson inspired the creation of the Rival Poet sonnets is another area that deserves investigation.

The majority of Francis Meres' production concentrates on the Spanish author. Even in his commonplace book there is evidence of this interest with more than a hundred quotations from Luis de Granada's works. It is difficult to give an account of the exact reasons that compelled Meres to take up this project in a moment of political hostility between England and Spain. An initial hypothesis considered Meres the epitome of the religious diversity that characterized the last decades of Elizabeth's reign. Puritans, Catholics and Crypto-Catholics struggled to establish their religious ideas against those of the Church of England and it is apparent that with these modifications Meres wanted to counter this religious pluralism and one could even think that, at this moment, he was already thinking about being ordained as a priest. However, as Venuti claimed, "translating might be motivated by much more questionable things."⁶³⁶ It is uncertain whether Meres' original reasons were religious in nature. In any case, he was very cautious when purging the text to make sure he gained the favour of the Elizabethan establishment. In this sense, an alternative, and rather plausible, possibility is that Meres wanted to fulfil his ambition of becoming an important player in the literary sphere of his own time as already suggested, with that aim in mind he turned to Spanish sources that proved profitable for early modern English writers. Juan Luis Vives, Antonio de Guevara, Martín Cortés de Albacar, Jorge de Montemayor, Íñigo López de Mendoza, García Rodríguez de Montalvo and *Lazarillo*

⁶³⁶ Venuti 2004, 502.

de Tormes were rendered into English in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Meres, for his part, contributed to this movement by rewriting internationally famous works of devotional prose such as Luis de Granada's texts in the language of a new English canon to enhance the value of national production without disfiguring the grace of the original's lines. Whatever Meres' real interests might have been, the Spanish author did not leave the English translator indifferent and it could not be a coincidence that a year after the publication of his last translation, in 1599, he was ordained priest and abandoned his literary endeavours.

Luis de Granada's production, mainly his vernacular treatises, was known internationally. His works, translated into Latin, French and German, were praised by readers of different religious ideas, and Meres' translations are good evidence of that. In fact, he was inspired by "the iudgements of graue and worthy Diuines" in his choice of text for translation. Granada had the privilege of being one of the few Spanish religious writers to make his way into the English mind. His stylistic and rhetorical genius should not be underestimated as a motive to translation for English translators such as the Catholic exile Richard Hopkins or Thomas Lodge, among others. After all, many other expositions of Christian doctrine were available for printing and reprinting, whether in translation or not. Hopkins, for instance, recognized that he had selected Granada's works because his "deuout manner of writinge hath [...] a singular rare grace to pearce the harde harte of a dissolute sinner."⁶³⁷ The Spanish author's writings provided both richness of expression and variety in subject matter in the way that Erasmus suggested. That is, Luis de Granada was not among those Mystical Divines who "deliver only a kinde of Cabalisticall or *Chymicall*, *Rosicrucian* Theologie, *darkning wisdome with words*, heaping together a *farrago* of obscure affected expressions and wild allegories,

⁶³⁷ *Prayer and Meditation* 1582, A6v.

containing little of substance in them.”⁶³⁸ He was, in contrast, among those who provide enjoyment as he advises in *De Copia*; on the one hand, by using synonymy, heterosis, enallage, metaphor, change of word form and isodynamy to achieve variance in expression; on the other, by means of assembling ideas, explaining, amplifying through exempla, comparisons, similes, dissimiles and opposites to achieve richness in subject.⁶³⁹ Meres’ praise of Luis de Granada’s linguistic skills and singular prose style proves his awareness of the background context in England and its dominant genres, but also that he was a good translator as he selected the writings of an author whose stylistic features were similar to those admired by sixteenth-century English writers. Meres’ use of rhetoric in his works is rather interesting too. As a student at Cambridge University, he must have been familiar with the contemporary canon in rhetorical doctrine. I have already mentioned in this study the influence that John Lyly might have exerted on Meres’ rhetorical devices. At any rate, the English translator was fond of metaphors, hyperboles and above all similes in a moment in which, as Foucault insisted, *resemblance* played a constructive role in the knowledge of Western culture. It guided exegesis and interpretation of texts; it organized the play of symbols; it made possible knowledge of things visible and invisible and controlled the art of representing them. Foucault distinguishes four essential types of similitude; i.e. *convenientia*, things are convenient when they are adjacent in time or place; *aemulatio*, things which emulate or imitate one another; *analogy*, applies to things more abstractly and remotely similar and finally, *sympathy-antipathy*, things tending to be more like the other. These devices were some of the primary means available for the Elizabethans to organize, understand and make sense of the natural world. They provided writers with resources to express an

⁶³⁸ *Ecclesiastes or A discourse concerning the gift of Preaching* 1651, 71. English translation accessed via *Early English Books Online* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/> [15 November 2017].

⁶³⁹ *De Duplici Copia* 1546, 11.

idea in different ways, giving it the force and intention desired. Meres' use of these devices proves his erudition; in fact, he became rector and grammar school headmaster in Wing for the next 45 years. But, it also confirms Morini's claim that the sixteenth century was a period of transition, not just in terms of translation practices but also in terms of ideas about language.

An aspect that certainly deserves further investigation is the kind of audience that Luis de Granada had in England. At this point of the investigation it is safe to argue that the English versions of his writings were read by well-educated audiences. Apart from Meres, we know for certain that the Spanish writer was well-known among the Jesuits. But, were his works read by the common audiences that they have been written to serve? This is a question that deserves further study. A series of anonymous London editions of Luis de Granada's *Libro de la Oración y Meditación* confirmed that his work was well received in the country. But this too calls for future research. A comparative analysis between these editions, the original work and other continental versions such as Richard Hopkins' text could provide interesting insights that might help understand Meres' own versions. The success that Luis de Granada enjoyed in England was greatly influenced by the work of English exiles in the continent. Robert Parsons and Richard Hopkins were the first English authors to be influenced by the Spanish writer's oeuvre. The latter was, however, the forerunner of all English translations of his works in English and his versions had certain impact on English minds as evidenced by private catalogues and collections. It is probable that Meres knew Hopkins' works too, though there is not definite evidence to prove it. In this study, the influence that English colleges in the continent had in the Isles is just briefly mentioned. However, this is another interesting area to be explored. English and Scottish Catholics founded more than fifty colleges in France, Flanders, Spain,

Portugal, Rome and the Habsburg Empire. There, students found more confessionally congenial institutions than those at home. The essays within Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor's work, *College communities abroad. Education, migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe* (2017), explore the colleges' institutional interconnectivity and their roles as instruments of regional communities, dynastic interests and international Catholicism. They could throw new light on how the ideas of these Catholic writers penetrated English spirituality, if they did. English Catholic writing is also explored in Alison Shell's *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (1999). Considered an area unfairly marginalized and often misunderstood by literary critics, Shell investigates the way in which Catholic, or rather anti-Catholic, imagery constituted an important stimulus for Tudor and Stuart writers such as Sidney, Spenser, Webster and Middleton. She also examines the strategies used by other Catholic writers such as the Jesuit Robert Southwell and Richard Crashaw to demonstrate loyalties to the monarch and their religion, and how their works influenced English poetry, as well as the benefits of exile and persecution to those who wanted to write about about English heresy and schism. Shell's analysis of the interaction between individual of opposing religious views is particularly interesting for this research. According to this scholar, Catholics and Protestants often lived side by side, spoke to each other without quarrelling, and read each other's books. Devotional writing, she insists, demonstrates how very little *real* difference there was between Catholic and Protestant spirituality as such it was possible for Catholic devotional texts to be appropriated by Protestant. This certainly opens new areas for future research and traces Meres' translations within a context in which a large category of Catholic texts were read by both sides and altered by Protestants. Other recent publications are also useful to contextualize Luis de Granada's influence on English writers. James E. Kelly

and Susan Royal's *Early Modern English Catholicism* (2016) allows us to further explore the connection between key terms such as identity, memory and Counter-reformation and how these shaped English Catholicism in the early modern period. The volume also looks into the historiography of English Catholicism and English Catholic diaspora. They affirm that there existed a large circulation of European Catholic texts in the period 1580-6; these books were demanded in England despite Elizabethan censorship. Havens and Patton mention 614 volumes. Among the authors that they signal for attention are Peter Canisius, Robert Bellarmine and Luis de Granada.⁶⁴⁰ Similarly, the importance of the Society of Jesus in this massive movement and its influence on English mind is the focus of Thomas M. McCoog's work, S. J. *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England, 1598-1606* (2017). In 1598, Jesuit missions in Ireland, Scotland and England were either suspended, undermanned or under attack. With the Elizabethan government's collusion, secular clerics hostile to Robert Parsons and his tactics campaigned for the Society's removal from the administration of continental English seminaries and from the mission itself. Other continental Jesuits alarmed by the English mission's idiosyncratic status within the Society, sought to restrict the mission's privileges. This and James VI's unfulfilled promises of Catholic support replaced hope with anger. How these events may have curtailed Luis de Granada's widespread influence in England is an important area that these works may help to investigate.

The Sinners Gvyde throws new light on Humanism understood as a socio-cultural movement aimed at empowering and instructing the reader to have his or her own opinion. Taking this view into account, humanists sought to exert a direct and specific effect upon their audience; i.e. texts had to be morally, intellectually, spiritually

⁶⁴⁰ For further details on Catholic book distribution in England see Havens and Patton 2016, 165-188.

and culturally valuable for their recipients, and this is precisely what Luis de Granada, Isselt and Meres aim at with their texts. Moreover, Luis de Granada's text showed the typical feature of those writings moulded under humanism; i.e. a self-conscious study or imitation of the classics. In his texts, Granada's has the ability to blend new learning with late medieval pieties and wisdom, demonstrating the continuities between old and new. This too, could have inspired Meres towards Granada's works, which are riddled with intertextual references from a number of different sources. Only in *Guía de Pecadores*, there are entire passages from Erasmian works, classics of moral such as Vives, extracts from Scripture and plenty of others from Saint Augustine, to Ambrose and Gregory, among many others. All of these passages reinforced the humanist commitment to a return *ad fontes*, but they were also instructional or educative in some of the ways mentioned above. The latter was probably the reason of Thomas Paynell's selection of some of his texts for translation such as Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae historia*, Erasmus' *The Civilitie of Childehode*, Vives' *The Office and Dutie of an Husband*, some medical and theological writings, *De Contemptu Mundi* among them, and a selection of letters and orations from the romance *Amadis de Gaule*. Paynell considered his translations 'profitable' in a double sense; they were *remedial and curative* of society's maladies as well as *beneficial* because of their power to teach and instruct.⁶⁴¹ This twofold meaning of the word is also found in Meres' version of *Guía de Pecadores*. In his dedicatory to Thomas Egerton he also explains why he considers Luis de Granada's works *profitable*:

[...] All the workes of this reuerend Diuine are profitable for instruction in religion, and very avaiable for perswation to good life [...] I dedicate unto your Honor, whom God of his great mercy, hath vouchsafed in this decrepit and ruinous age of the world, to

⁶⁴¹ See, for instance, Helen Moore's analysis of Thomas Paynell's translations from a humanist point of view in "Gathering Fruit" (2011, 39-57).

*bestow upon our state for the maintenance and countenance of Religion and Learning, and for the defacing & suppressing of vice and corruption like as in times past hee gaue unto Common-wealths, that needed such helpe.*⁶⁴²

From this passage we observe that Granada's works were *curative* in the sense that they 'helped' to 'deface' and 'supress' vice and corruption; but they were also *beneficial* to 'instruct' the reader in religion and good life. Daniel Wakelin's argument in *Humanism, Reading and English Literature* (2007) throws new light of the study of humanist traces in English literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This scholar goes beyond the view of these texts as an attempt to return to the classics and social acts beneficial to readers. Wakelin treats English works as *readings*, as a reciprocal process between writers and readers. On the one hand, English works were shaped by the reading habits of that moment, but at the same time, these habits were reshaped by English works. Humanism is one of those phenomena which force writers to imagine the potential readership in ways which challenge them to re-imagine the political community and intellectual freedom of the reader. As a consequence, Wakelin questions whether the reading of these humanist texts was free or biased by other aspects. That is to say, whether classical allusions were an attempt to benefit the reader encouraging independent thought and judgement or whether they served to flatter powerful patrons and to indoctrinate a wider readership into accepting the rulers' decisions without criticism; whether humanism developed interpretive and textual communities of people who turned to the classics for new ideas or whether humanism was simply imposed on readers by the ruling classes who championed it as a pedantic philological activity married to absolutism or discipline. He also questions whether humanism aimed at in-depth formation of man or was it a superficial erudition. Wakelin addresses these conflicting perspectives by looking into humanist reading. That is to say, he investigates

⁶⁴² *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, Aiiir.

how authors, themselves readers of their sources, quote, translate and mistreat texts in order to comment on and criticize contemporary events or to ingratiate themselves with their powerful patrons. This was the case with a fifteenth-century translation of Vegetius' *Knyghthode and Bataile*. Wakelin insists on the poet's mistreatment of the source text due to the pressure of events and the politics of 1460. The same applies to Meres' *mistranslation* of some original passages of Granada's works. We have already seen how all the controversial religious references were wiped out from the original source. This has to do with the fact that Meres' text and its reception were also shaped by the scholarly controversies of the Reformation. Even though the choice of texts is significant, we should assess the inventiveness of translators to resituate a foreign source into a new one that fits in a new language and environment. Thus, translations should be approached as *original* works.⁶⁴³ Translators have opportunities to intervene and appropriate a text that they may have chosen for several reasons. Through their lexical choices, omissions and additions translators are just seeking local equivalents for the settings, customs, and religious practices of the original. Not just religious debates, the author-patron relationship, the marketplace of print, together with the translator's beliefs, time, space and goals are powerful factors that govern the translators' choices. But, as Brenda M. Hosington argues, changes do not necessarily constitute mistakes, they are part of the translator's strategies when reshaping the work for a new and different audience.⁶⁴⁴

The analysis of Meres' version of *Guía de Pecadores*, in particular, and in general most translations, reveal the influence that cultural, political and intellectual context, the material conditions for the production and reception of texts as well as its

⁶⁴³ Schurink 2011, 2; Morini 2006, ix.

⁶⁴⁴ Hosington 2011, 121.

prospective readers exerts in the final product. As a consequence, the goals of the original work are not the same as the goals of the translated one, and the target text could not be the same either. This study has insisted on the view of texts as dialogues with the past. Taking this view into account, *The Sinners Gyde* is placed both psychologically and historically in transition. Hence, some of *Guía de Pecadores* original references are not of topical interest for sixteenth-century Elizabethan readers, and they had to be revisited from a new perspective. Meres' attempt at introducing a Catholic text into the English mind 33 years afterwards its publication can be perceived as an endeavour to redefine and negotiate the past by means of the present and its new reality. Meres' reading of Isselt's Latin text was certainly different from Isselt's reading of Granada's text and even Hopkins' reading of it. In turn, the readers and users of Meres' texts will be different too. They were all in different contexts and under different circumstances. Thus, in the same way as place, time and personal situations may affect our reading of a given text, translations too are affected by those conditions as they are done, or should be done, with the reader in mind. As Douglas Robinson rightly pointed out, a particular user's expectations are not the same as everyone else's and the task of the translator should be to figure out what the user wants, needs or expects, and provide that. Frequently, clients' demands might be unreasonable, unrealistic, even impossible, the translator, then, has to decide whether s/he is willing to undertake the job and, if so, whether s/he can figure out a way to do it that satisfies the client. No matter if in the process, some adaptations have to be made simply because neither the receptor's conditions nor his or her expectations will be the same as those of the original text's users, no matter how close they are. Time modulates texts and these incorporate new meanings accordingly. Translations, therefore, are very mediated texts, in second, third or fourth degree. *Guía de Pecadores*, for instance, was written in Castilian, and then

translated into Italian, Latin and finally English. Francis Meres is responsible of the most comprehensible translations of Luis de Granada's most famous works in English for the first time. Even though his work as a translator has been neglected from serious study, this thesis has placed *The Sinners Gvyde* within the literary splendour of Elizabethan England. It was on the one hand, his contribution to encourage the use and prestige of the English language and, on the other, an attempt to provide those countrymen who could only read the vernacular with the same cultural and religious tools of the other great European countries. As a consequence, English became aware of its own powers as a language not only of popular instruction, but also with literary and linguistic possibilities to compete with the other modern languages. Francis Meres' appropriation of the Spanish author's literary capital and its rendering into English has to be understood as Meres' own contribution to England's culture of translation, but also to the broader European process of cultural transmission and exchange, which eventually helped in the consolidation of the European book market.

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Catholic Translation and Protestant Translation: The Reception of Luis de Granada's Devotional Prose in Early Modern England

Miriam Castillo

The impact of Luis de Granada's prose in early modern England is a topic infrequently addressed. Through a survey of the translations produced by Richard Hopkins, Francis Meres, Thomas Lodge, and other unidentified translators, this essay investigates the various audiences his writings had, and the different ways in which they were received by contemporaries and rendered into English. I shall examine the translators' aims, and, in particular, their attitudes to the doctrinal positions they found Luis de Granada's writings to espouse. This will mean asking how his works were modified for audiences of different religious persuasions within the general context of Anglo-Hispanic relations in this period, and more particularly of the place of Catholic texts in a no longer Catholic England.

Luis de Sarria was born in Granada in 1504. At the age of twenty he joined the Dominican Order, whose ethos of preaching, contemplation, study, and piety would contribute to the shaping of his character and spiritual profile. Five years later he enrolled in the Colegio de San Gregorio (Valladolid). There he combined advanced training in theology with the secular curriculum of rhetorical humanism, learning the *pietas christiana* of the *devotio moderna*. He was then appointed to the Escalaceli convent in Córdoba, remaining there until 1551, when he moved to Évora in Portugal, first as adviser to Cardinal-Infante Don Enrique, and later as confessor to Queen Catherine of Austria.

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In Portugal he became a popular preacher and launched his career as a writer with the publication of his *Libro de la oración y meditación* (1554). From this time onwards he was indefatigable in his literary activity, with a prodigious output both of vernacular (mainly Castilian but also Portuguese) and Latin publications. His œuvre in Spanish includes *Guía de pecadores* (1556–7), *Memorial de la vida Cristiana* (1565), *Introducción al símbolo de la fe* (1583), and *Doctrina espiritual* (1587). Among his best-known Latin productions were *De officio et moribus episcopum* (1565), *Collectanea moralis philosophiae* (1571), *Conciones de tempore et sanctis* (1571–81), *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* (1576), and *Silva locorum* (1585).

Many of these works would become internationally renowned both in their original languages and in translation. Those written in Latin were designed as manuals for priests, so that their content was doctrinal and technical – dealing with matters such as preaching techniques, the use of sources, and the composition of sermons. The aim of those written in Castilian was the promotion of meditation as a means to moral instruction. Targeting a more general readership, these commend the Catholic faith to the laity, supported by the conviction that all individuals are destined to attain holiness. In Spain, the increasing proliferation of vernacular writings became a source of great concern because it allowed a direct, individual approach to subjects previously accessible only through the Church and its priests. For this reason among others, Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Guía de pecadores* figured in Valdés' *Catalogus librorum prohibitorum* in 1559, a list which included other highly regarded Catholic spiritual writers too. Additional factors which help explain the inclusion of Granada's works in the Index are their excerpts from the Bible in the vernacular, their emphasis on private prayer and isolation, Granada's friendship with Bartolomé Carranza (whose *Cathechism*, 1558, was also prohibited), and his advocacy for the Society of Jesus as an institution.¹

Granada's prose works of both spiritual and didactic purpose nevertheless achieved great popularity. Some 800 appearances of them are recorded from presses all over Europe during the sixteenth century in the principal vernacular languages, alongside many Latin editions.² Granada's works were rendered into Latin by the Dutch

¹ For further details of how censorship affected Granada's works see Giorgio Caravale, 'Forbidding Prayer in Italy and Spain: Censorship and Devotional Literature in the Sixteenth Century. Current Issues and Future Research', in *Reading and Censorship in Early Modern Europe*, edited by María José Vega, Julian Weiss, and Cesc Esteve (Bellaterra, 2010), pp. 57–78 (p. 67, n. 39).

² This figure, which includes original editions and translations, is based on the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*; see also A. F. Allison, *English Translations from the Spanish and Portuguese to the Year 1700* (London, 1974).

scholar Michael ab Isselt; into German by Philip Dobereiner; into Italian by Timotheo da Bagno and Camillo Camilli; and into English by Francis Meres, among others. The Society of Jesus played a major role in the dissemination of Granada's writings outside Europe, carrying them to Asia and probably America too. In 1591 several chapters of his *Introducción al símbolo de la fe* appeared with the *Flos Sanctorum* as the first book printed in Japanese with European characters. *Flos Sanctorum* (i.e. Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Sanctorum*) was a fundamental medieval text that contributed to the establishment of Catholic iconography, and the coupling of Granada's work with it reveals the very high status accorded him within early modern Catholicism. Another Japanese edition of *Introducción al símbolo de la fe* was published in 1592; in 1599 a translation of *Guía de pecadores* became the first book printed in Japanese characters.³

One of the most important authors of Spain's so-called Golden Age, Luis de Granada's place close to the origins of the Spanish prose canon is assured. Luis Muñoz compared him to the great orators of ancient times, 'whose language the Muses would speak whenever they had to speak Castilian'. Joaquín de Mora considered him 'el verdadero fundador de la culta y limada prosa castellana', and Azorín referred to him as 'prosista castellano de primer orden'.⁴ But it seems to have been the combination of an attractive style with congenial teachings that drew many towards him in his own time. Explaining why he has undertaken to produce the first English renderings of *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Memorial de la vida Cristiana*, his early English translator Richard Hopkins affirms that 'having read a great number of spirituall books in diuers languages . . . yet could I neuer find any, whose spirit and wise order of writing hath so well liked my taste, and iudgement, as this godly Authors books'.⁵ Hence Granada's enthusiastic reception in England can be attributed in part to his close relationship with the internationally popular *devotio moderna*.

As the dominant European power, Spain elicited both hatred and fascination in other parts of the Continent. In England, interest in things Spanish had intensified precisely during the period when political relations had deteriorated into war. Negative attitudes to

³ For further discussion of this translation see William J. Farge, *The Japanese Translations of the Jesuit Mission Press, 1590–1614: 'De Imitatione Christi' and 'Guía de Pecadores'* (Lewiston, NY, 2002).

⁴ Luis Muñoz, *Vida y Virtudes del Venerable Varon el P. M. Fray Luis de Granada* (Madrid, 1771), pp. 173–4; José Joaquín De Mora, *Obras del V. P. M. Fray Luis de Granada*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1856), I, vii; Azorín, *Los dos luses y otros ensayos* (Madrid, 1921), p. 23.

⁵ Richard Hopkins, *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* (Rouen, 1599), sig. A2^v.

Spain and its people spread quickly after Mary Tudor's marriage to Philip II. But it was under Elizabeth that this anti-Spanish sentiment became the norm, in the world of learning as elsewhere. In 1559 Bishop John Jewel was complaining of having to 'struggle with what has been left us by the Spaniards, that is, with the foulest vices, pride, luxury, and licentiousness'. Jewel was referring here to the presence in Oxford and Cambridge of Spanish theologians, who left those universities 'so ruined and depressed, that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us'. And he complains more specifically of 'that despicable friar, Soto, and another Spanish monk, I know not who, [who] have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr had so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness'.⁶ He probably has in mind Juan de Villagarcía or Bartolomé Carranza, who accompanied Philip II.

But the anti-Spanish sentiment that characterized English reactions on a political and religious level coexisted with certain strands of cultural Hispanophilia.⁷ The reign of Mary I saw the publication in England of several interesting translations from Spanish writers which presented a different idea – of Vives and Peter Martyr, for instance. In the 1560s arrived Barnaby Googe's translations from Montemayor and Lope de la Vega. Richard Shacklock translated Jerónimo Osorio da Fonseca's letter to the Queen of England, and John Fenne Osorio's *In Gualterum Haddonum* (1568). Some of Guevara's *Epistolae familiares* were englished by Geoffrey Fenton, Edward Hellowes, and others.

English readers of Spanish devotional prose owed much to the activities of English exiles on the Continent, Shacklock and Fenne being examples. It was, however, in Granada's spiritual works that the literary activity of the exiles found its most striking expression. Richard Hopkins, the early English translator of Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Memorial*, became leader of the exiles in Flanders and a pensioner of the Spanish Crown. *Of Prayer and Meditation* (Paris: Thomas Brumeau, 1582) was his translation of the first part of the *Libro*, with further editions in 1584 (Rouen: George Loyselet) and 1612 (Douay: John Heigham). In 1586 there appeared his rendering of the first part of *Memorial de la vida Cristiana* (Rouen: Loyselet), with further editions in 1599 (Rouen: Loyselet), 1612 (Douay: John Heigham), and

⁶ *The Zurich Letters, comprising the Correspondence of several English Bishops and Others, with some of the Helvetic Reformers, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, translated and edited by Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 32–3.

⁷ For a recent general account see Alexander Samson, 'A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39 (2009), 65–94.

1625 (St Omer: John Heigham). Alongside the unabashedly militant content of Hopkins' versions, his long epistles to the Inns of Court (he was a Middle Templar from 1560) best exemplify his pro-Catholic activism. He criticized the Lutheran principle of *sola fide*, focusing his attacks upon Puritans ('counterfaite pure gospellers') and their 'suttle wicked doctrine'.⁸ He took exception to their suppression of holy days and ceremonies. In the prefatory epistle to *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* Hopkins contrasts the mendacity and wickedness of 'late Apostates' – Luther, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Calvin, and Theodore Beza – with the virtues of St Benedict, St Bernard, St Dominic, and St Francis, founders of the chief monastic orders who in his account contributed to the true foundations of the Church of England. Hopkins condemned the reformers and their 'hereticall licentious doctrines', along with their intention to abolish 'the Catholicke religion', and 'in place thereof to found a new deuised politike licentious Religion, consisting of manifold different sects'.⁹

Hopkins sought, therefore, to reinforce his militant Catholicism with translations of Luis de Granada, with a view to rekindling those embers of Catholic piety which the Elizabethan ecclesiastical settlement had not entirely smothered. When he addressed his works to the Inns of Court, he expressly declared his intention to provide an example for 'a greate nomber throughout our whole Realme . . . to embrace firmelie and Zealousie the aunciente Catholike beliefe'.¹⁰ Hopkins' apocalyptic view of Elizabethan England might be seen as another strategy to instil Catholic ideas into sceptical Anglicans. He talks of the coming of Antichrist, the end of the world, Satan's diverse ways of tempting the faithful, 'an ungracious age', heretical sects; and he laments the existence of 'Christian people generallie without anye deuotion and Zeale to the seruice and honour of our Sauour Iesus Christe'.¹¹ With Protestantism and Calvinism gaining ground in England and Scotland, Hopkins presents these translations as an urgent necessity, 'spirituall helps to strengthen our weake minds, to withstand so manie decietfull temptations of the enemie of mankind', and a 'fitt remedie for their conversion'; Granada's manner of writing has a 'singular rare grace to pearce the harde harte of a dissolute sinner'.¹²

⁸ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, sig. a4^v. All quotations from the dedication to this work are given in reversed fonts, italic to roman and *vice versa*.

⁹ *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* 1599, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, sig. b1^v.

¹¹ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, sig. a3^v.

¹² *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, sigs a6^v, a8^v, a6^v.

Another English exile, Richard Gibbons, translated one of Granada's last works, *Doctrina Espiritual*. Gibbons' *Spiritual Doctrine* was first published in 1599 (Louvain: Lawrence Kellam) with further editions in 1630 and 1632. But by the end of the seventeenth century the activity of the exiles abroad, leading to the increasing influx of texts from continental Europe that contested the Elizabethan settlement, had led to a series of decrees and royal proclamations aimed at control of the press. Specific sanctions included forfeiture of stock, imposition of financial penalties, exclusion from the book trade, and imprisonment.¹³ This did not prevent the continued importation into England of large quantities of books from the Frankfurt fair via Antwerp or other commercial routes. The production of sanitized versions of Catholic texts became common, and complicated the identification of potentially heretical books.¹⁴ Unlike their Catholic counterparts, Anglican censors did not issue an index of prohibited books as a mechanism of control, nor were any other sort of official lists of confiscated books ever published. Still, the fact remains that Hopkins' translations figured, for example, in the list of those seized from the estate of the recusant Thomas Tresham, who owned some twenty-three copies of works by Granada.¹⁵

This appreciation of Granada's spirituality was not confined to the exiles at Douai. His writings were admired in England too. In London, Thomas Gosson and John Perrin issued in 1592 a new English translation of the first part of *Libro de la oración y meditación*, which went through many subsequent editions. The anonymous translator could have been influenced by Richard Hopkins' version of 1582, while adapting it for a non-Catholic readership. A. F. Allison suggests, at all events, that this version has been 'purged of all specifically Catholic references'.¹⁶ It may be that the 1592 translator at least tried to suppress anything he thought might be

¹³ On the regulation of book production in England and Spain see the digital archive *Primary Sources on Copyright*. See also David Scott Kastan, 'Print, Literary Culture and the Book Trade', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, edited by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 81–116.

¹⁴ For Catholic publishing in England see further Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt, and Alexandra Walsham, 'Religious Publishing in England 1557–1640', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 4: 1557–1695, edited by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 29–66.

¹⁵ On the library of Thomas Tresham see Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham and Thomas Brudenell* (London, 2006), and more recently Earle Havens, 'Lay Catholic Book Ownership and International Catholicism in Elizabethan England', in *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, edited by Teresa Bela, Clarinda Calma, and Jolanta Rzegocka (Leiden, 2016), pp. 217–62.

¹⁶ Allison, *English Translations* (n. 2), p. 109; for another view see Alexander Samson, 'Luis de Granada en Inglaterra: traducciones católicas y protestantes de la literatura devote

interpreted as tending towards Catholicism, but concealed his identity just in case.

But the 1592 translator can be identified with a high degree of plausibility. Addressing his dedicatees, Ferdinando Stanley and his wife, Alice Spencer, he writes: 'this excellent and diuine worke (right noble Lord and Ladie) so long since by me made promise of at *Channon-rowe*: now at length . . . is fully perfected'.¹⁷ Cannon Row was the London residence of the Stanley family. It is also where Thomas Lodge grew up, because, when his father went bankrupt 1563, William Stanley, fourth earl of Derby, Ferdinando's father, took the young Lodge in. He was, it seems, provided with a traditional humanist education with an excellent training in languages and music, a circumstance Lodge acknowledged with gratitude in the dedication to William Stanley of his collection of poems *A Fig for Momus* (1595). The affectionate tone of the 1592 dedication, addressed to 'the Right honourable, and his especiall good Lord, Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange' and his wife, sounds as though it too reflects the family connection.

It is not strange that, by the time this 1592 edition was published, Lodge was conversant with Granada's writings. Lodge had spent time in Brazil at the Jesuit College where he seems to have become acquainted with the work of Spanish theological authors. A work of the Spanish Franciscan Joseph Angles (*Flores Theologicarum Quaestionum in Secundum Librum Sententiarum*) was one of the principal sources of his *Wits Misery and the Worlds Madnesse*, and he based *A Margarite of America* on a Spanish story, as he himself acknowledged: 'Some foure yeres since being at sea with *M. Candish*', he writes in the Preface, 'it was my chance in the librarie of the Iesuits in *Sanctum* to find this historie in the Spanish tong, which as I read delighted me, and delighting me, wonne me, and winning me, made me write it'.¹⁸ Lodge is probably referring to Sao Paulo dos Campos de Piratininga, where a Jesuit College was founded in 1554. He probably encountered Granada's and Angles' works in its library too.

If Lodge is indeed the translator of the 1592 *Of Prayer and Meditation*, the controversy that surrounds his early Catholicism would help explain his decision to conceal his identity. Eliane Cuvelier gives notable emphasis to his early Catholicism in *Thomas Lodge: Témoin de son temps* (1984), as does Arthur F. Kinney in his *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric, and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (1986).

española, 1558–1634', in *La transmission de savoirs licites ou illicites dans le monde hispanique (XII-XVII siècles)*, edited by Luis González Fernández (Toulouse, 2011), pp. 383–98.

¹⁷ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1592, sig. 44^r.

¹⁸ *A Margarite of America for Ladies delight, and Ladies honour* (London, 1596), sig. A2^v.

His dedications to Catholic patrons (the Countess of Derby, William Stanley, the Countess of Shrewsbury, the Countess of Cumberland, and the Hare family), his marriage to the Catholic Joan Aldred, or the publication of some of his works by the Catholic printer and publisher, his brother-in-law Edward White, are part of the evidence scholars provide to support the claim that Lodge might have been communicant by the end of the century. The *Prosopopeia Containing the Teares of the holy, blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of God* (1596) is the work in which Lodge most overtly declared his Catholic sympathies.¹⁹ Here his use of Granada is evidenced by some of the marginal references he includes, to ‘Granaten. li. Meditation’ or ‘Granatensis lib de vita Christi’, works he may have known through Latin translations, probably those by the Dutch Catholic exile Michael ab Isselt, whose translations served in their turn as a basis for English translations, Francis Meres’ among them.²⁰

In 1601 there appeared a book titled *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado* signed with the initials ‘T.L.’ It was a translation of the first of six parts of a work gathered out of several of Luis de Granada’s writings, and this too probably came from Thomas Lodge’s pen. Arthur F. Kinney maintains that Lodge’s source was a copy he acquired in Brazil in 1591, and we know that Lodge brought back other printed and/or manuscript items.²¹ Alice Walker, Nathaniel Burton, and A. F. Allison, in contrast, maintained that he might have translated from Isselt’s Latin edition, *Flores R. P. F. Lodoici Granatensis* (Cologne, 1588). However, it is more than likely he used a previous English edition of the same part that was published under the title *The Conversion of a Sinner* (London: Josias Parnell, 1598) by an unidentified ‘M.K.’, because both publications carry the same epistle to the reader. A further relevant work is associated with Lodge: *A Paradise of Praiers containing the puritie of deuotion* (London: Matthew Law, 1614) was another selection from several of Granada’s works, and in the Stationers’ Register, though not in the volume itself, it is specified that it has been ‘Englyshed by T.L.’²²

¹⁹ David T. Long suggests that this work announced Lodge’s conversion to Catholicism: see his ‘Object Vanishings in Early Modern Narrative’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, 2007), p. 53.

²⁰ Thomas Lodge, *Prosopopeia containing the teares of the holy, blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of God* (London, 1596), sigs B4^v, B7^r. See further Alice Walker, ‘The Reading of an Elizabethan: Some Sources of the Prose Pamphlets of Thomas Lodge’, *RES*, 8 (1932), 264–81 (p. 281); Allison (n. 2), p. 113.

²¹ Arthur F. Kinney, *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric, and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (Amherst, MA, 1986), p. 411. See Lodge’s *A Marguerite of America (1596)*, edited by Henry D. Janzen (Toronto, 2005), p. 58.

²² Allison (n. 2), p. 114.

English translations from Granada's devotional writings came from both Protestant and Catholic translators, and were so numerous and so popular that we can be confident no other Spaniard in that age was so often translated or so widely read. Francis Meres produced two translations from the second part of the *Libro de la oración y meditación*. His *Granados Devotion* (London: Cuthbert Burby, 1598) was a rendering of the first book, whereas *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* (London: J. B[ing], 1598; Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1600) was a rendering of the third. He also translated (as *The Sinners Gvyde*) the *Guía de pecadores*, a version first issued in London by Paul Linley and John Flasket in 1598, and then by Edward Blount in 1614.²³ A translation of the *Memorial* as *A most fragrant flower or deuout exposition of the Lords praier . . . compiled by Granada a frier* (London: I. Browne, 1598) was made by the Protestant John Golburne. As already mentioned, Michael ab Isselt's Latin versions were immediate sources for some of these English renderings.

The activities of the London translators were complementary to the activities of the English refugees abroad. In these cases, however, the translator engaged in a process of adaptive translation in which originals were modified to fit within a new context whose prevailing ideology differed from the original milieu. Meres' *Sinners Gvyde* of 1598 is a good example. His open acknowledgement of authorship is relevant here. From the 1580s until the mid-seventeenth century the government vigorously pursued a policy of suppression with most categories of Catholic works. For this reason, Catholic books, whether printed secretly in England or smuggled into the country from abroad, seldom bore the name of the English author or translator, unless he lived abroad and was unlikely to return to England (as in the case of Hopkins or Gibbons). It is a strong hint that Meres feels he has steered around the 'rocks' he mentions,²⁴ sanitizing his original in the process, that his title page explicitly announces this translation as the work of 'Francis Meres, Maister of Artes, and student in Diuinitie'. I now turn to Meres and his interesting translations in more detail.

Little is known about Francis Meres' background. After being educated at Cambridge and Oxford, Meres returned to his native Lincolnshire and sought preferment with the assistance of his influential local relatives, one of them a Member of Parliament. When this failed he moved to London, where he published his sermon on marriage, *Gods*

²³ Edward Blount was also the publisher of the first English translation of *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (London, 1612) by Thomas Shelton.

²⁴ He writes of 'corruptions, that as Rocks would have endangered many'; for a fuller quotation from the passage see below. *The Sinners Gvyde* (London, 1598), sig. A2^v.

Arithmetick (1597), his translations from Luis de Granada, and his most famous work, *Palladis Tamia*. The last, a type of commonplace book, consisted of insights on morals and religion drawn from classical authors and the Church Fathers, alongside humanists such as Erasmus. Meres includes within the work a segment labelled 'Comparatiue Discourse', where he pairs up Greek and Roman authors with contemporary English counterparts – Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Marlowe, and Shakespeare chief among them.

The entries in the *Palladis* document Meres' course of reading over a period of several years. A glance at the books he chose to read and the material he considered worth collecting here provides relevant information about his educational background. Out of almost 130 authors Meres cites, a high percentage of the quotations derive from Plutarch's *Moralia*, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Philo Judaeus' *Legum Allegoriae*, Seneca's *De vita beata*, *De Beneficiis* and *De Consolatione*; Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, *De Officiis*, and *De Oratore*; Laertius' *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, John Chrysostom's *Homilies*, Saint Augustine's *De Trinitate* and *De Civitate Dei*, Saint Basil's *Hexameron*, Maximus the Confessor's *Capita de Caritate*, Saint Gregory's *Morals*, and Jerome's epistles. Together with these, Meres includes some 100 quotations from Luis de Granada's *Guía* and *Libro* on matters as varied as 'the Mercie and Love of God', 'Heauen', 'Angels', 'The Church', 'Youth', 'Prayer', 'Faith', 'Perseverance', 'Fortitude', 'Riches', 'Sinne', 'Gluttonie', and 'Death'. The fragments are verbatim reproductions from Meres' translations, but their inclusion within the *Palladis* is highly significant, because, by coupling Granada with the Church Fathers, Meres is according the Spanish author a canonical status within the history of Christianity.

Meres' own writings are pervaded by the then fashionable euphuistic prose style. As is well known, the richly ornamented, densely patterned style of Lyly's *Euphues* produced a popular sensation, a host of imitators, and a mixed set of critical responses (the fashion was also an object of ridicule). Lodge's *Rosalynde, or Euphues Golden Legacy* (1590) was one of the best tributes to the style that Lyly had made so popular. Even though the fashion was already on the wane by the end of the sixteenth century, Meres might have persisted in finding it attractive. If so, this could help explain why he was drawn to Granada. Grandiosity, verbosity, and elaboration are characteristic of his pages. One rhetorical device that stands out above the rest is his constant use of similes – more than 100 can be counted in *Guía de pecadores* alone, a point to which I shall return.

As with Lodge, the epistles that precede Meres' translations provide important information, in this case as to the writer's intentions. These

convey that, more than a source of income, he looked for public recognition, and for that he sought the patronage of influential individuals. Sir Thomas Egerton, the dedicatee of his first translation, for example, was at this date Master of the Rolls, a Privy Councillor – and a Roman Catholic. In Meres' judgement, *Guía de Pecadores* was the most accomplished of Granada's works, and the fact that his translation was reprinted in 1614 indicates that there was a demand for it.²⁵ In this dedication he resorts to mythology (Jason and Hercules) to illustrate how difficult the role of the translator is when approaching such works as those of Luis de Granada within an Anglican context. He asks Egerton to accept and weigh this gift according to the 'soundness of the doctrine therein contained ... which is warranted by the authority of the holie Scripture'.²⁶ This reference to the authority of Scripture is interesting within a Protestant context; *Guía de pecadores* is probably the work in which Granada includes the greatest number of biblical quotations. Meres also exalts Granada's power of oratory, comparing it to that of Livy, 'whose eloquence was famous throughout the whole world', or making him 'another Cicero'.²⁷ In *Granados Devotion*, too, he describes his original as a 'rare and matchlesse Divine' and the work as 'heavenly and exact ... both for the matter, and the manner of handling it'.²⁸ Meres' frequent praise of Granada's eloquence sounds conventional (and hyperbolic) enough, but the non-stop comparisons with ancient authors may remind us of the 'equivalences' of *Palladis Tamia*: Granada is being presented as classical, canonical.

Meres was aware of Granada's international success. He boasts that 'F. Lewes of Granada' has already been translated into Latin, Italian, and French; he hopes the 'celestiall meditations' of this 'reuerend Authour' will 'doe as much good in England, as they haue done in Spayne, Portugall, Italy, Fraunce, and Germanie'.²⁹ He mentions the names of some of these translators too: the Italians Camillo Camilli, Giorgio Angelieri, Giovanni Battista Porta, and Timoteo da Bagno; and Philip Dobreiner who translated his *Manual* into German.³⁰ Although Meres is always evasive about the sources he uses for his translations,

²⁵ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, sig. A3^r. All quotations from the dedication to this work are given in reversed fonts, italic to roman and *vice versa*.

²⁶ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, sig. A3^{r-v}.

²⁷ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, sig. Aii^r; *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* 1598, sig. A4^v.

²⁸ *Granados Devotion* 1598, sig. A4^{r-v}.

²⁹ *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, title page and sig. A2^{r-v}; *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* 1598, sig. A4^v.

³⁰ Meres' knowledge of these translators derived from his use of Isselt's versions. Isselt names them in the dedication to *R. P. Fr. Lodoici Granatensis Exercitia, in septem Meditationes matutinas, ac totidem Vespertinas* (Cologne, 1598), sig. (*)5^r.

it has been established that he knew these works through the Latin versions by the Dutch scholar Michael ab Isselt.³¹

Without being too explicit, Meres' dedication to *The Sinners Guide* notes that it is the very 'corruptions' of Granada's writings that have prevented their being translated into English:

I wondred that England, whose Voyagers were neuer out-stript by any, had so sparingly and slenderly visited this famous and renowned Diuine: that shee, I say, as Germany had but onely one Interpreter lying with him, seeing that otherwhere she had such abundance of worthy Factors, and rich linguists.

Entering into consideration of the great scarcity of our Traffickers to so rich a Mine, I discouered certaine corruptions, which as dangerous Rockes threatned shipwracke, to them that sailed vnto him.³²

At this point Meres observes that all writings except holy Scripture have their faults: 'all wrytings ... haue a relish of theyr earthly and corruptible Authours', with the exception of the Sacred Scriptures 'which are absolutely pure and perfect', 'so we should not be discouraged in this spirituall pursute, for a few corruptions and dangers'.³³ What he does not quite say is that Granada's previous English translator is the Catholic exile Richard Hopkins. Presumably this might have reminded readers of the 'corruptions' rather than underlined the possibility of avoiding them.

How then does Meres himself accomplish this? On its title page, *The Sinners Goyde* is said to be 'nowe ... digested into English'. Digestion implies change, and close comparison reveals that Meres followed Isselt's version as regards both its typography and content, but introduced modifications to ensure his translation could not be accused of ignoring or undermining his country's religious settlement. Allusions to Domingo de Guzman and Francisco de Asís, founders of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders respectively, and references to the Cistercian Order and Clairvaux Abbey, are eliminated. The Franciscan San Buenaventura becomes in Meres' text 'a certaine learned and holy man', whereas the Augustinian monk Hugo de San Victor features merely as 'another Doctor of the Church'. He anonymizes Saint Anthony the Abbot, founder of the eremitical type of Christian monasticism, into 'a certaine excellent writer'.³⁴ And he

³¹ Allison (n. 2) evidences Meres' use of Isselt's texts. See also Maria Hagedorn, *Reformation und spanischr Andachtsliteratur: Luis de Granada in England* (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 68–72.

³² *The Sinners Goyde* 1598, sig. A2^v.

³³ *The Sinners Goyde* 1598, sig. A2^v.

³⁴ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, fol. 349^v, *Dux Peccatorum* 1594, p. 655; *The Sinners Goyde* 1598, p. 456.

cleverly removes two references to the Pope. In a section on death Granada claims that 'no puede nadie escusar este trago, que sea Rey, que sea Papa'. Meres writes: 'no man is free from thys cup, but all must drinke of it, whether he be Emperor, King, or whatsoeuer he be'.³⁵ Similarly, in *Guía* is found a passage taken from Pope Innocent III's *De miseria humanae conditionis*, but Meres simply reports that 'learned Wryters, and graue Doctors of the Church haue written large and copious volumes of this matter'.³⁶

In doctrinal terms, Meres' modifications reveal that he kept the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1571 in mind. Arguably, the most influential was Article VI, which constituted the nucleus of England's reformed creed. Its formulation 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation' unambiguously endorses the supreme authority of the Bible as the doctrinal foundation for Anglicanism.³⁷ In the original *Guía* Granada explains that to live in accordance with divine precepts Christians need to follow a general rule of life: 'demas del contraste de la Scriptura divina, y de la doctrina de los Sanctos: en el cual se han de examinar estas cosas'.³⁸ This rule consists of several obligatory and voluntary services which are set out in the pages that follow. In Meres' version, in contrast, these pages are reduced to the simple statement, 'the Scriptures are to be our onely direction in this, neyther must we harken vnto any thing, which crosseth the analogie of faith, or Gods reuealed will in his word. The sentence of Samuel must haue place in vs; *Obedience is better than sacrifice*'.³⁹

Meres also eliminates Granada's references to Purgatory.⁴⁰ Protestant reformers, of course, rejected this doctrine in no uncertain terms. In Article XXII the 'Romishe doctrine' concerning 'purgatorie, pardons, worshipping, and adoration, as well of images, as of reliques, and also inuocation of Saintes' is condemned as 'a fonde thing, vainly inuested, and grounded vpon no warrantie of Scripture', and prayers for the departed were deleted from the Edwardian Book of Common Prayer. The same Article that rejects Purgatory also rejects the invocation of saints. Similarly, Meres modifies all mentions of saints as intercessors

³⁵ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, fols 47–8; *Dux Peccatorum* 1594, p. 92; *The Sinners Guyde* 1598, p. 71. 'Ita vt nemo immunis sit à calice hoc, sed omnes eum bibere debent, siue Papa, siue Rex, siue quiuis sit alius.'

³⁶ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, fol. 171; *Dux Peccatorum* 1594, p. 324; *The Sinners Guyde* 1598, p. 231.

³⁷ The Articles are quoted from *Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy* (London, 1693).

³⁸ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, fol 367^v.

³⁹ *The Sinners Guyde* 1598, p. 478.

⁴⁰ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, fols 70^v, 339^{r-v}; *Dux Peccatorum* 1594, pp. 141, 637; *The Sinners Guyde* 1598, pp. 104, 444.

for departed souls. He much more neutrally describes Richard the Pilgrim as 'a learned divine', Didymus as 'a learned man', Martin of Tours as 'a certaine holy man', and Cesarius of Arles as 'another learned Writer'.⁴¹

Meres was not, of course, the only translator who had to concern himself with such matters. In Hopkins' pro-Catholic *Of Prayer and Meditation* we also read about the importance of praying to the saints and the role of the priest as intercessors:

Now approacheth the sicke person to his last ende: and the Catholike Church as a verie louinge and pitiefull mother; beginneth then to helpe her Children with praiers, and Sacramentes, and with all the meanes she maie possible doe. And because his necessitie is so great . . . greater hast is made to calle vpon all the Sainctes in heauen, that they all will helpe the sicke man in this his great peril and daunger. For what other thinge is the Letanye which then by commandement of the Church is to be saied ouer him that is at the poynt of death, but that the Catholicke Church as a pittifull mother; beinge verie carefull for the daunger of her sicke childe, knocketh at all the gates of heauen, and cryeth vnto all the Sainctes, desiring them to be intercessors before the diuine maiestie for the saluation of him, that standeth now in so great neede of their helpe, at the time of his passinge out of this worlde.⁴²

In contrast, in 1592 the reference to the saints is replaced by alternative material:

Now approacheth the sicke person to his last end, and the Church of Christ (as a very louing and pittifull mother) beginneth then to help her children with prayers, as also that Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, and with all the meanes she may els possibly doe. And because his necessity is so great . . . great hast is made to haue the passing bell to be touled, whereby the faithfull people that shall heare the same: may be put in minde to help the sick man, with theyr deuout prayers in thys hys great perill and danger.

And when they perceiue his senses beginne to fayle, his speech to fualter, his eyes to sinck, and his feet to die: then the Pastor is called for.⁴³

In his translation Meres is particularly careful with his treatment of the Sacraments, addressed within Articles XXV-XXX. Seven Sacraments were recognized by the Catholic Church, as opposed to

⁴¹ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, fols 127^r, 193^v, 205^v; *Dux Peccatorum* 1594, pp. 245, 364, 383; *The Sinners Gyde* 1598, pp. 176, 259, 267.

⁴² *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, p. 199.

⁴³ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1592, pp. 171-2.

just two by the Anglican Church in its last formulary: Baptism and the Eucharist. In relation to the Sacrament of Penance, for instance, Meres removes a paragraph on contrition and the second precept of the Commandments of the Church about auricular confession. The rejection of the sacramental character of the Anointing of the Sick in the Anglican Church explains why the idea of extreme unction has disappeared from this passage:

This holy man was many times so payned with the Windy-colicke, that often his life was endangered by it, and he stroue with death. When on a time he had lost together with his speech all his sence . . . they applying a little phisicke vnto him, forth-with againe he began somewhat to breathe, and by little and little to come vnto himself.⁴⁴

Granada's 'extrema vnction'⁴⁵ has perfunctorily turned into the application of the wholly secular remedy of 'a little phisicke'.

We might compare a similar moment in Hopkins' 1582 translation with this of 1592. Hopkins follows Granada's text quite closely with an explicit reference to the 'holie Oyle' and the mediating role of the priest in the administration of the Sacrament: 'Then the Preist out of hande annointeth all the senses and members of the sicke person with the holie Oyle . . . And desireth almightie God to pardon the sicke person all that he hath offended by any of his senses.' The 1592 translator declines to use either the adjective or the noun of 'holy oil', but refrains from turning the remedy into a secular one: here the 'pastor' is 'called for, to minister some heauenly phisicke for the health of his soule; whose bodie they see to be past recouery'.⁴⁶

Meres' translation skirts around the disputed doctrine of Transubstantiation. Debate focused on two issues: on the one hand, whether Christ's presence in the Eucharist was real or spiritual; on the other, what happened to the bread and wine. In the latter sense, the controversy lay in a disagreement about the physical event: while the Catholic Church talked about conversion, Lutherans defended the idea of coexistence. For its part, the Church of England teaches, in Article XXVIII, that the elements of bread and wine remain after consecration, and 'the body of Christe is geuen, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heauenly and spirituall maner'. The presence is thus real, but not material or physically perceptible, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation was perceived in England as the most overt symbol of the Roman Catholic Church that 'can not be

⁴⁴ *The Sinners Guyde* 1598, p. 130.

⁴⁵ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, fol. 89^v.

⁴⁶ *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1582, p. 199; *Of Prayer and Meditation* 1592, p. 171.

proued by holye writ, but is repugnant to the playne words of scripture ... and hath geuen occasion to many superstitions'. This matter was evidently too controversial for adjustment to suffice, so Meres removes several paragraphs wholesale, including Granada's description of the Eucharist as 'gracia de gracias, y sacramento de sacramentos ... memorial de salud, o sacrificio singular, hostia agradable, pan de vida'.⁴⁷

All my examples thus far have been of Meres' cuts or rephrasings, but he is also capable of additions, with not a shred of provocation from Granada's text. Like Richard Hopkins, Meres addresses in his translation one of the most important movements within England's reformed Church, namely Elizabethan Puritanism. Following the original carefully, he translates one passage: 'Let a good Christian striue and endeauour, that those that be in his house, may be free from all enormous vices ... And furthermore, that they haue knowledge and skill in matters of Christianity.' But he then adds: 'and that they be not contumacious and peruerse in thwarting the good and orderly proceedings of the Church, as the Puritans and Precisians of this time are, who by their ignorant Zeale, and peeuish singularity disturbe the quiet and peace of the Church'.⁴⁸ Clearly, expurgation, or as I have called it 'sanitization', is not the process at work in an example like this one. Meres has evidently abandoned any attempt to translate: why? Such a passage looks like a bid to gain the favour of the Elizabethan establishment by inscribing internationally famous works of devotional prose such as Granada's within his own intellectual and religious milieu. But, however this may be, Meres' motives must have gone beyond self-promotion, for it can hardly be a coincidence that a year after the publication of his last translation, in 1599, he was ordained priest and abandoned his literary endeavours.

Richard Hopkins and Thomas Lodge's translations are, as we have seen, of a different character. The former used Luis de Granada's works as part of the endeavour to return his country to Rome. His translations may have acquired notoriety, for, in his *Sinners Gvyde*, Meres eliminated all the original references to the *Libro* and *Memorial* in *Guía*; these were precisely the works Richard Hopkins had englished. Lodge is the most clearly interested of the three in Granada's rhetorical and stylistic genius. This should not be underestimated as a motive to translation for these men and others. After all, many other expositions of Christian doctrine were available for printing and reprinting,

⁴⁷ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, fol. 41^{r-v}.

⁴⁸ *Guía de pecadores* 1567, fol. 378; *Dox Peccatorum* 1594, p. 706; *The Sinners Gvyde* 1598, p. 489.

whether in translation or not. Granada's wide appeal and influence upon European literature is primarily owing to these stylistic qualities. Finally, it may be worth pointing out that Isselt's translations of Granada, Meres' familiarity with them, and possibly Lodge's too, as well as Hopkins' acquaintance with Granada, are all suggestive of a well-established European network of writing, thinking, publishing, and translating, through which the work of Luis de Granada circulated, from Castile to France and the Low Countries, Italy, Germany, and finally to England in less than thirty years; and beyond Europe, to Japan and probably America too.

University of Granada

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TESIS

NOTA:

TÍTULO DE LA TESIS: TRANSLATION, ANGLO-HISPANIC RELATIONS AND DEVOTIONAL PROSE IN THE RENAISSANCE: FRANCIS MERES' RENDERING OF LUIS DE GRANADA'S GUÍA DE PECADORES

Sí existe consentimiento para publicar el contenido del fichero de la tesis en Teseo.

RESUMEN: This thesis investigates the enigmatic figure of Francis Meres (1565/6-1647) and above all his interest in Luis de Granada (1504-1588). In one year, 1598, he published three translations of some of Granada's most famous and international works; The Sinners Gvyde was his rendering of Luis de Granada's Guía de pecadores, whereas Granados Devotion, and finally Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises, consisted of selections from the second part of Granada's Libro de la oración y meditación. Meres' most widely known publication is, however, Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury, a collection of quotations on morals, religion and literature where we can also perceive Granada's influence: more than a hundred entries were taken from the Spanish author's works. The most influential part of the volume is, however, 'The Comparative Discourse', a significant review of contemporary English literature with a special emphasis on Shakesperian plays. The popularity religious literature had achieved in England and, above all, Granada's singular style, some of whose features showed similarities to those admired in Elizabethan culture, particularly those promoted by John Lyly's popular work, Euphues, account for Meres' selection of the friar's writings.

The focus of the study is Meres' The Sinners Gvyde, the first translation of Guía de pecadores into English, both in England and abroad. His English version did not derive from the Spanish original, though. The text he employed was Michael ab Isselt's Latin edition published in Cologne under the title *Dvx Peccatorvm* (1587), which was in turn rendered from an Italian version, not yet identified. In his version Meres introduced a number of modifications that hint at his concern about the country's religious settlement and his aspiration to become a writer. The Sinners Gvyde is, therefore, an excellent case study for the process of adaptive translation which works of literature undergo when they have to fit within a context that differs from the original. This research provides an introduction and a description of the general features and characteristics of Meres' The Sinners Gvyde. It looks into the motivations for the changes introduced with respect to the source text under the light of the doctrinal differences between Granada and Isselt's Catholicism, on the one hand and, on the other, the religious divide of Meres' context— within which Puritans, Catholics and Crypto-Catholics struggled to establish their religious ideas against those of the Church of England. Such analysis will also allow the investigation of traces of the doctrinal tenets of the Thirty-Nine Articles in Meres' version. Beyond that, this investigation analyses what these modifications can tell us about the ideas and mentalities of their readers and writers, about the worlds they inhabited and the ways in which the culture of the printed word interacted with their lives and environment. Moreover, it re-examines and enhances our awareness of some of sixteenth-century England's defining features, i.e. English humanism, the Reformation and the growth of English literature, and more generally, the book trade, the importation of continental books, networks of immigrant communities abroad and England's relation to its continental neighbours, mainly Spain. The lack of accurate and comprehensive information on Meres' life does not help when trying to establish his religious allegiance. On the grounds of the modifications that he added to his version of Guía de Pecadores, it seems safe to argue that Meres was a supporter of Anglicanism. These are all working hypotheses and future investigation is still required.

Chapter 1 offers a general overview of Early Modern phenomena such as the Reformation, Humanism and the development of the book trade. The influential movement of the *Devotio Moderna* as well as the importance of Early Modern Bible translation and interpretation are analysed in this part too. Chapter 2 focuses Early Modern Translation, which played a fundamental role in defining the Early Modern European canon, its cultural, political and religious ideals. Translation is also approached as a fundamental instrument of mediation between the masterpieces of the past and those to come. In that regard, the ideas of contemporary linguistic theorists on translation studies such as André Lefevere, Eugene Nida, Theo Hermans, Lawrence Venuti and more recently William T. Rossiter, Belén Bistué or Matthew Reynolds constitute the methodological framework and the set of doctrinal principles employed in the analysis of the subject of study in this research. It takes Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde* as an example of how translation constitutes a richly social process involving material aspects but also social and cultural agents such as ideology or poetics that manipulate the process of translation, including the choice of theme and translation procedures. The concept of translatability and the strategies used to compensate for this will be central in this analysis too. Luis de Granada and Meres' production is the main subject of chapter 3. The effort of Álvaro Huerga in editing the complete works of the Dominican Granada has been essential in the compilation of this part. This is not the case, however, with Meres' role as a translator. While a considerable amount of references mentions his anthology, Meres' translations remain poorly documented, which is the thrust of this investigation. Anglo-Hispanic literary relations are the main subject of Chapter 4, which provides the framework for the reception of Luis de Granada in England. The core of the argument is contained in the last two chapters of the dissertation; chapter 5 delves into the reception of Luis de Granada's prose in England, and how it was used by translators of different religious persuasions, both Catholic and Protestant. Chapter 6, on the other hand, focuses on Meres' *The Sinners Gvyde*. It begins with a comparative analysis between the Castilian original, the Latin version and Meres' English rendering, taking into account the three major sources of the work, i.e. the Bible, the Church Fathers and classical authors. It then examines Francis Meres' strategies in the process of translation. Finally, this chapter further analyses the presence of articles VI, X, XXII, XXV, XXVIII in his text.

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- Conferencia anual organizada por la Renaissance Society of America. Berlín 26-28 marzo 2015
- XIV Conferencia Internacional organizado por la universidad de Durham en colaboración con la universidad de Notre Dame. Durham 1-3 julio 2015
- Conferencia internacional organizado por la universidades de Gante y Bruselas. Bruselas 9-11 diciembre 2015
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- II Jornadas de Investigadores en Formación organizadas por la universidad de Granada. Granada 17-19 mayo 2017
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Además, tengo un artículo publicado en la revista *Translation and Literature* (Volumen 26, Issue 2. Julio 2017) bajo el título “Catholic Translation and Protestant Translation: The Reception of Luis de Granada’s Devotional Prose in Early Modern England”

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Granada, Junio 2018