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“What if this present were the world’s last night?”:
The Poetics of Early Modern English Apocalyptic Hispanophobia

By

José Juan Villagrana

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requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

“What if this present were the world’s last night?”:
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by

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My project on early modern Anglo-Spanish literary relations and apocalyptic thought, ““What if this present were the world’s last night?: The Poetics of Early Modern English Apocalyptic Hispanophobia,” posits a new model of Renaissance cultural transmission and reception. Against the pressure, then and now, to treat English and Spanish literary cultures as fundamentally incompatible outside the context of imperial rivalry, I recover a deceptively familiar discursive mode operating in both Protestant and Catholic Reformations—apocalypse—to highlight how the English apocalyptic imagination redefined its national literary canon by producing unexpected trans-national cultural formulations.

In a time when England saw its national identity and its political future tied to the outcome of its military rivalry with Spain, English authors cast their nationalist Hispanophobia in increasingly apocalyptic terms. By “apocalypse” I mean two things: the first is the theological discourse on the “last things”—death, resurrection, judgement, heaven, and hell; the second is the realignment of the temporal and spiritual order of things as they approached a cataclysmic end-point. Both of these understandings were current in the early modern period due to their intuitive accessibility and their prevalence in theological disputations on the subject. Perceived as an imminent threat, Spain became a natural prism for a plurality of English apocalyptic views. Yet far from just being the inevitably fanciful clearinghouse of Anglo-Spanish antagonism, apocalypticism in the early modern period, I argue, was the very site for negotiating and assimilating points of cultural difference into innovative literary formations. As I show in a new reception history of Spanish lyric, romance, and satire in England, the most outspoken English Hispanophobes conscripted Spanish texts and contexts, keenly attending to Spanish literary form, to launch their invective: Philip Sidney and John Donne took lyrics from Garcilaso de la Vega, Juan Boscán, and Jorge de Montemayor, while Royalists James Turner and Roger L’Estrange imitated translated Francisco de Quevedo’s apocalyptic satires. By invoking the countervailing powers of the apocalyptic moment—destruction and reconstitution—English poets fashioned themselves as nationalist prophets and doomsayers whose poetic making transformed Spanish literature into a natural vehicle for rearticulating England’s evolving literary and political identity.

My first chapter, the general introduction, begins by tracing the origins of English apocalyptic Hispanophobia to the realignment of English apocalyptic history in the mid sixteenth century

spurred by military encounters with Spain. Hysteria over the Spanish siege of Antwerp and a heightened apocalyptic spirituality surrounding the Spanish Armada, I argue, franchised tropes of apocalyptic Hispanophobia in the conventional repertoire of any aspiring poet of Tudor and Stuart Britain. Inspired by the many potential Spanish Armageddons that never actually came to pass, aspiring English poets saturated the Elizabethan court with figurative depictions of doomsday. English authors grafted the mixed forms of the Spanish “tragicomedy” and the metrically heterogeneous Spanish lyrics, creating their own English versions of these “mungrell” works. But this grafting created a problem. By conscripting literary forms from Spain, English authors assumed a stance contrary to the Renaissance literary conventions of unity and decorum derived from Aristotle and Horace, eschewing a linear vector of classical inheritance and *imitatio*. By theorizing the extraordinary power of prophetic authorship, I argue, English authors fashioned a more polyvalent understanding of literary influence. Across the chapters of my project, I show how English literary history was transformed by its own apocalyptic conception of cultural contact with Spain.

The second chapter, “Sir Philip Sidney: The ‘Courtier Prophet’ and His Legacy,” shows how Sidney redefines prophecy against the practice of historical hermeneutics—divining the course of history from sacred texts—and Puritan millenarianism in favor of embracing poetry’s objective power to participate in creation, with the foregone conclusion that what can be brought together can be unmade and vice versa. In his quintessential treatise on English poetics, *The Defence of Poesy*, Sidney slyly decouples key characteristics of prophecy from religious poetry, opening up the possibility of associating certain qualities of the secular poet with prophetic creation. In doing so, Sidney’s treatise takes aim at Spain, staking the surprising claim that his native letters are uniquely equipped to avoid the deficiencies of the Spanish vernacular because English tolerates mixing especially well. Despite such bluster, however, I show how the sonnet fad and the continuations of narrative romances that Sidney respectively inspired with *Astrophil and Stella* and the *Arcadia* were sourced from Jorge de Montemayor’s *La Diana*, even as they helped popularize anti-Spanish references and figures in the works of countless other poets working in nearly every generic category. Sidney’s death at the hands of the Spanish in 1586 did not prevent his literary coterie from further mining the Spanish works Sidney preferred to cement his literary legacy as the preeminent Elizabethan man of letters.

In the third chapter, “‘Antes muerto que mudado’: John Donne’s Apocalyptic Hispanophobia,” I show how John Donne draws from the same Spanish authors as Sidney, inheriting a complex ideological tapestry surrounding the purchase of the Spanish literary debt. Often thought to have held an unequivocally affirmative view of Spain due to his Catholic upbringing, I trace how Donne’s Hispanophobia shadowed his evolution from a libertine to a religious poet. For Donne to ask “What if this present were the world’s last night?” at the opening of his Holy Sonnet is to resurrect the question of Spanish eschatology from his earlier erotic poetry. I examine Donne as an apocalyptic wartime poet, whose own hostile encounters as a soldier fighting in Spain propel his theological lexicon of apocalyptic equivocation in his *Sermons* and in the *Pseudo-Martyr*. I argue that the crisis of conversion long understood to be manifested in Donne’s *Holy Sonnets* is a crisis of collapsing an English identity with the Spanish ethno-cultural other, framed in Donne’s unique apocalyptic figurations.

The fourth chapter, “Francisco de Quevedo’s Baroque Eschatology and Seventeenth-Century English Royalist Satire,” illustrates how the apocalyptic satire of the English Revolution was not a hermetically bound product of a reactionary royalist anti-Puritanism, but that it emerged from a line of anti-Spanish satire from decades past. Remarkably, the same continuations of anti-Spanish satire are accomplished by translating and imitating the Spanish author Francisco de Quevedo’s own apocalyptic satires. English royalists channeled their affinity for apocalyptic satire through Quevedo’s “The Dream of the Last Judgement” and “The Vision of Hell,” both directed at the Spanish nobility and the declining bureaucracy that supported it. After the outbreak of the English Civil War, the enduring popularity of Quevedian satire began to reflect how England internalized the aesthetic of the Spanish other—the baroque—into its own increasingly divided aesthetic discourse. I argue that Quevedo’s satires, circulating in translation in England, France, and the Low Countries, functioned as a circular apocalyptic epistle that exiled English royalists, through their own translations and continuations, mobilized to illuminate the terrors of the Thirty Years War as a backdrop to the English Puritan millenarian vision.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AV</i>	<i>Authorized Version (1611)</i>
<i>DA</i>	<i>Diccionario de Autoridades</i>
<i>GNV</i>	<i>Geneva Bible (1559)</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>TLC</i>	<i>Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española</i>

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Th'ill Times, and Ills born with me, I bemoan:
 For Fame had rumour'd, that a Fleet at Sea,
 Wou'd cause our Nations Catastrophe;
 And hereupon it was my Mother Dear
 Did bring forth Twins at once, both Me, and Fear.
 For this, my Countries Foes I e'r did hate,
 With calm Peace and my Muse associate.¹
 —Thomas Hobbes, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Hobbes*

Marke hym that showes ye Tragedies,
 thyne owne famylar Frende,
 By whom ye Spaniards hawty Style
 in Englysh Verse is pende.²
 —Barnabe Googe, “Cupido Conquered”

The *Spaniard*, who evolved from the mixture of
 European blood with Arabian (Moorish) blood...is
 cruel...and he displays in his taste an origin that is
 partly non-European.³
 —Immanuel Kant, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic
 Point of View*

After years of writing verse in pursuit of preferment in government office, George Gascoigne was finally dispatched to the Low Countries, where, in early November 1576, he witnessed in Antwerp how the Spanish occupying forces left “huge numbers, drowned in ye new Toune: where a man might behold as many sundry shapes and formes of mans motion at time of death: as ever Mighel Angelo dyd portray in his tables of Doomes day”⁴ (see Figure 1.1). Just a few years earlier, in a mask celebrating the ancestral nobility of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, Gascoigne would heap praise upon the Spanish fleet and its commander, Don John of Austria, as it faced off against the Ottomans in the 1571 Battle of Lepanto: “If any sight on earth, may unto hell resemble, / Then sure this was a hellishe sight, it makes me yet to tremble: / And in this blouddie fyght, when halfe the day was spent, / It pleased God to helpe his flocke, which thus in pound was pent.”⁵ Two different occasions produce two distinct apocalyptic visages of Spain, one as a demonic catalyst of doom and another as a messianic intercessor. Both accounts display the strangeness with which the often simultaneously-felt awe and fear of Spain would grip many Englishmen for the decades spanning the Anglo-Spanish War, leaving a lasting imprint long after hostilities had ceased. And from both figurative accounts of doomsday, Gascoigne shows that depictions of Spanish power inevitably would produce an intertextual impression: Hispanophobic apocalyptic depictions quickly outgrew their mainstay forums, Protestant pamphlets and satire, and spilled into popular drama, art, and narrative and lyric verse.

Writing in the moment after Wyatt and Surrey and before Kyd and Sidney, Gascoigne exemplifies the fraught ideological underpinnings of English Hispanophobia that constructed apocalyptic views of Spain, which would dominate a slice of the English apocalyptic imagination over the next century, with resounding political and cultural repercussions.

An English poetics of doomsday is informed by the coherent and sustained deployment of Hispanocentric figurations, tropes, and rhetorical strategies underscoring a fear of cataclysmic crisis, moral and aesthetic judgement, and death brought about by the rival nation. The intersection of language, religion, ethno-culture, and nation along with apocalyptic thought has produced an enduringly complex ideological tapestry concerning early modern Anglo-Spanish cultural relations. This project traces the emergence of a poetics of doomsday to show how English apocalyptic Hispanophobia transforms moments of military and political crisis into a sustained concern about a future in which contact between Spanish and English nations, ethnicities, and cultures could yield novel literary expressions.⁶

Yet while the crises of the early modern Anglo-Spanish conflict predictably heightened apocalyptic fears and birthed Anti-Spanish sentiment, apocalyptic Hispanophobia outlives the crises that produced it, becoming a fixture of English poetics. The poetics of prophetic eschatology ensured that Hispanophobia would endure: although political prophecy is typically understood as a response to a crisis, it can be the very source of crisis. Anti-Spanish prophetic speech iterates crisis by merely invoking its potential.

This type of anti-Spanish prophetic doomsaying is typified by the subjects of chapters two and three, Sidney and Donne. Both authors orient their literary efforts toward the public discourse about the Spanish threat, elevating the gravity of their works by offering dooming invectives against Spain and defining their linguistic superiority over and against Spain's literature. They stood to gain preferment by defining themselves against Spain, as other outspoken Hispanophobes, such as Walter Raleigh, Richard Hakluyt, Francis Bacon, and George Villiers, did. But this effort did not yield a singularly traceable reaction to Spain. These authors would routinely elevate certain aspects about the Spanish character while denigrating others. Spaniards were praised, for instance, for their commercial savvy, or for their accomplishments in law and letters. Meanwhile, biological, phenotypical, and religious markers of difference would be singled out to diminish their standing. Such a practice was by no means contradictory. To point out the advantages and shortcomings of the particulars of the Spanish character was to show a studied and cultivated perspective in the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts. Indeed, we should understand tropes of Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia to be part of the conventional repertoire of any aspiring poet of latter Tudor and Stuart Britain. Hispanophobia was by no means an English invention; for, as recent scholarship has demonstrated, Spain's internal divisions gave way to mistrust between ethno-cultural and religious-political factions within the Iberian Peninsula, thus allowing any of its many enemies to exploit "its Moorish part to construct the nation as a racial and religious other."⁷ Cultural ties to Spain nevertheless ran deep in early modern England, even as relations between the two nations soured. Sidney's and Donne's lyrics, for example, consistently show that a regard—and appetite—for Spanish literature persisted even as both poets were poised to engage the enemy combatants at sea and on land. In the case of Donne, who is mostly discussed in terms of his formal experimentation and his sacred libertinism, his military contact with Spain remained a replenishing source of tropes and references informing his eschatological musings and his metaphysical dualism abounding in his corpus.

As other crises in the seventeenth century—the English Revolution and the Thirty Years'

War—overtook the Spanish apocalyptic threat in the English imagination, English authors continued to draw from the pool of Hispanophobic figurations put forth by previous generations of poets and merged them with newly arrived Spanish works. Foes, new and old, could be measured against the triumphalism of anti-Spanish discourse. But the Spanish subjugation of England never really happened in the way that the English apocalyptic imagination feared. Instead, oblique forms of Spanish culture were routinely admitted into English poetics to a greater extent than observers in the early modern period, as in ours, cared to admit. Such is the case with the subject of the fourth chapter, the English translations and adaptations of Francisco de Quevedo's apocalyptic satires, the *Sueños y discursos*. By the time that royalist exiles and prisoners harnessed Quevedo's baroque visions to counter the optimistic millenarianism that Oliver Cromwell's government promised, the Spanish satires had become a sort of circular letter for the disenchanted and disaffected in France, the Low Countries, and the German principalities, each inflected by its own local vernacular predilections and Hispanophobic jabs, with Protestants and Roman Catholics alike naturally adding their polemic. English versions of Quevedo produced an apocalyptic vision that challenged varying stripes of radical Puritan teleologies, ranging from the Levellers and Fifth Monarchists to various wings of the Parliamentary coalition, of the impending merger of the terrestrial and heavenly New Jerusalem. With this, they ushered in a proto-modern form of apocalyptic expectation that deconstructed the End by insisting that it would never actually come, at least not in the way of a Puritan Millennium.

The modes of political prophecy, apocalypse, and eschatology support the English impetus toward Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia because they offered a way to contain a paradoxical worldview of supremacy, doubt, and fear, in a future inextricably joined to the commercial and cultural fate of Spain. The aspiration to predict, subvert, or otherwise influence the trajectory of a rival nation pressed England to articulate its own increasingly uncertain place in history, with apocalyptically-minded authors tasking themselves "to overcome the unbearable tension perceived ... between what was and what ought to have been," as Adela Yarbro Collins puts it.⁸ If we subscribe to the narratives describing the upheaval of the Catholic and Protestant Reformations, the Spanish Armada, the Thirty Years' War, and the English Revolution, then apocalypse becomes an increasingly important category for understanding how English makers and courtiers responded not only to political uncertainty, but also to aesthetic and cultural shifts. This lens has implications for literary criticism and the humanities in general: Anglo-Spanish apocalypse reveals how England comes to understand its literary history in terms of transnational and intertextual exchanges. In order to attend to this shift, this study produces an expanded reception history of Spanish works in England as well as a detailed account of anti-Spanish rhetoric with a view toward bringing into greater focus the intersections between early modern Anglo-American and Hispanist studies.



Figure 1.1: *Il Giudizio Universale*, from Michelangelo's fresco in the Sistine Chapel, engraving on paper, by Martino Rota, 1569. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1. Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Eschatology

Apocalyptic thought has often undermined its own efforts to assert its legibility, mostly veering toward apophatic descriptions of what it is not, leaving the door open to countless ways of imagining the ends of time.⁹ Studies on apocalyptic texts, spirituality, and thought are numerous, as are those that view historically specific military, economic, and political conflict through that lens. While the outlook of apocalyptic studies are wide and varied, many approaches, ranging from historical-critical biblical hermeneutics to post-Marxist critical theory, concur in that apocalyptic thought is both a product and producer of historical crisis. It is dialogical discursive mode that is routinely mobilized by the dispossessed and the powerful alike. In these senses, the early modern Anglo-Spanish conflict sits right at home with apocalypticism, as would just about any other early modern adversarial relationship: for, of course, apocalypse is a mode of expression originating from ancient near Eastern conflict, which was harnessed by the earliest Christians and invoked countless times in medieval and early modern conflicts on scales small and large. Early modern English apocalyptic rhetoric was levied against the French, Irish, Ottomans, Moors, New World natives, and among the regional and religious groups within the small island nation.¹⁰ Yet here I show that while English adversarial apocalypticism is ubiquitous and commonplace, contextualized within its protracted contact with Spain, it produced exceptional cultural effects and outcomes that helped shape its literary production for nearly a continuous century. In this light, I depart from conventional narratives of apocalyptic crisis to emphasize that apocalypse is not only the mode of political upheaval, but also the language with which Christian poets negotiated increasingly mutable representations of culture. In this study I seek to retain the capaciousness of the term “apocalypse” and its various branches, not to eschew specificity, but to highlight how the intersectionality between literary form and historicity produce unexpected transnational cultural formulations motivated by the apocalyptic imagination.

In the early modern period, as is true now, references to what we might call anything apocalyptic ranged from the most sober academic dissertations on the biblical Book of Revelation, exemplified by John Napier’s *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of St. John* (1593) and Joseph Mede’s *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627), to the most lay understandings of the term surfacing from visual depictions in parish chapels that survived the iconoclastic hammer of the English Reformation, and other forms of doctrinal instruction. Given the expansive views of apocalypse that its early modern usage produces, wherever possible, I contextualize my usage of terminology, with certain readings necessitating shuttling between various registers. Eschatology is the theological study of the four Last Things—death, judgement, heaven, and hell, often dovetailing with resurrection. Eschatology holds a particular teleological node—the *eschaton*, or the end—in place in order to describe what happens, in the dualist scheme, to the mind/body, where it goes, and why it goes there. Within eschatological *poiesis*, it is conventional to anthropomorphize the poem and subject it to the fate suffered by the body, lending the poem not only its own material frame but also imputing it with the subjectivity of the deceased poet. Thus, for instance, Shakespeare in his *Sonnets* toys with the idea that putting the body back together at doomsday is as joining metrical feet in a line of verse, pleading that “if you read this line, *remember not / The hand that writ it.*”¹¹

To be clear about the terminology in this study, I capitalize the Last Judgement and Apocalypse when referring to theologically inflected notions; in discussions of biblical sources and typology, I avoid interchanging the Apocalypse for the Book of Revelation, preferring the

latter exclusively; and I use the term Millennium when addressing the biblically grounded teleological concept—commonly, though not universally, understood to be period of Christ’s one-thousand year terrestrial reign after Armageddon—alongside millenarianism to describe any of a variety of social and theological positions derived from it.¹²

Prophecy is of central concern to this study because it confers discursive authority to authors who fashion themselves simultaneously as anti-Spanish doomsayers and divinely-inspired makers of innovative literary forms. Prophecy is commonly understood as the faculty of any superhuman endowment of learning what is, has been, and will be, owing to a variety of classical and biblical traditions that often overlap in character but may not owe entirely to any one representative form or formula.¹³ Yet, just as with apocalypse, prophecy was used in a broad assortment of contexts.¹⁴ Prophetically-minded early modern poets especially enjoyed conflating and syncretizing classical and biblical examples of prophecy taken from the likes of Ovid or the Sibylline oracles¹⁵ to bolster their claims to authorial supremacy. Furthermore, the English Reformation helped reshape the use of the term prophecy by applying it broadly to preaching, prayer, and biblical hermeneutics. William Perkins defines the “Arte of facultie of *Prophecyng*” as a “Sacred doctrine” that “is a publique and solemne speech of the Prophet, pertaining to the worship of God, and to the salvation of our neighbor.”¹⁶ Perkins’ view that any inspired speech should be construed as prophecy was not uncommon by any means. By pointing to figures such as Moses and David, Perkins could identify the range prophecy represented as it drifted from, say, examples of political doomsaying to common public prayer. For Perkins, the preaching of divinely inspired scripture carried with it its own divine inspiration. But the capacity for prophecy no longer was a result of divine election: Perkins makes prophesying more accessible by establishing as a skill or “art” to be cultivated, much in the same way as learning from a rhetoric manual could be. Rather than viewing prophets as entities in the remote past of biblical history, religious figures such as Perkins saw an active generation of prophets operating in select circles in England in their present historical moment.

As the religious underpinnings of prophecy increased and multiplied in early modern England, the secular literary-authorial designations likewise grew by means of self-fashioning¹⁷ after epic poets such as Virgil and Homer, who were viewed by such authors as Spenser and Sidney as the models for the literary prophet, the *vates*, who drew his inspiration from a divine source. The demarcation of the literary prophet coexisted alongside the common understanding of prophecy as a vehicle for political doomsaying and futuristic prognostication. Indeed, while domestic political prophesying in Elizabethan England was largely taboo, it was celebrated when it was turned toward anticipating the downfall and espousing the decadence of a national rival. When pressed into the service of anti-Spanish prophesying or doomsaying, the competing facets of the early modern English prophet—the literary *vates*, the preacher, and the political doomsayer—all contributed to the project of apocalyptic Hispanophobia.

Spain had to be penned into the new apocalyptic teleologies surfacing in the political realignment that began with the accession of Mary Tudor in England. Such anxieties found expression in the apocalyptic imagination, which drew on scriptural prophetic examples.¹⁸ The English Reformation relied on apocalyptic tropes and ideas to cleave its own history onto Spain’s while steadfastly affirming that it was merely the object of divine coordination in its historical course. Prompted by John Bale’s political eschatology, John Foxe sought to realign the cosmic clock of the Millennium to coincide with the Marian persecution or martyrs—never losing sight of the Spanish hand in all of it—despite the precedent set forth by early church fathers to look away from worldly events to focus on matters of the spirit in the millenarian age. According to

Eric J. Griffin, Foxe accomplished this by deciding “that Satan had not after all been ‘bound’ at the time of the Resurrection, as the traditional view had insisted,” putting Satan’s captivity at “the end of the ten persecutions of the primitive church.”¹⁹ Curiously, it would not be the Anglo-Spanish wars that ensued in the latter sixteenth century that spurred Foxe’s millenarian reconfiguration of English history, but rather the interlineal and political mixing of the English and Spanish nations. Only the impossibility of Mary giving birth to an heir in her advanced age as a consort to Philip could allay the xenophobic fear of a mixed Anglo-Spanish successor to the English throne.²⁰ Such a fear underlined Sir Philip Sidney’s rash letter of advice to Queen Elizabeth against her marriage to the Catholic foreigner Alençon; I show in Chapter Two that this letter earned Sidney the title of prophet.

Sixteenth-century popular doomsday poems and judgement narratives, such as those found in Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*, went beyond simply speculating about the doomsday or the Millennium to reinforcing a narrative that judgement is always already happening at the real, present moment. Foxe made it a productive experience to contemplate, with measured fear, the moment of the eschaton and the individual soteriological condition of the faithful’s spirit in tandem with the English Protestant resistance to Catholic-Spanish influence. A wider audience seems to be implicated in having to learn how to rehearse and anticipate the day of judgement and to witness its immanence and reality by taking solace in the “severe punishment of God upon the persecutors of his people and enemies to his word” to redress the martyrdoms of Mary Tudor’s reign.²¹ Yet while Foxe’s influential and scathing writings shared Augustine’s view that divine judgement is always already underway, they departed from Augustinian millenarianism by finding irresistible the interpretation of current events as forms of direct divine retribution against the enemies of the (truly) faithful. For Foxe a stroke, a bowel obstruction, or a riding accident befalling an establishment divine was confirmation of God’s active justice at work, and he encouraged his readers to extrapolate these sorts of fateful events to a larger national and ethno-cultural theater. Such a view of righteous retribution conditioned English Protestants to see the divine hand at work in defeating the Spanish rivals during the Anglo-Spanish War. Furthermore, by reading the martyrologies of the Reformation, readers were being connected both to a more cosmopolitan community of martyrs that included a contingent of Spanish anti-Catholic resistance and to the larger English apocalyptic project, in all its various manifestations.

Heavily peppered within the increasingly swollen volumes of the editions of the *Actes and Monuments* were the Hispanophobic conceits the English reading public would come to know well into Elizabeth’s reign. Alongside the apocalyptic conditioning against Spain in the *Actes*, there were embedded a set of anxieties about cultural, if not explicitly ethnic, mixing. Foxe shows how depictions of Mary and Philip contained coded elements that ranged from the very subtle to the absurdly obvious as it sought to expand its readers’ repertoire of distrustful stereotypes. According to Foxe, Mary “needes bring in king Philip, and by her straunge maryage with him, make the whole realme of England subject unto a straunger.” Representative instances lurk through the pages of the *Actes*, but none more than when Foxe narrates the exchange of the young Lady Elizabeth’s spurious pledge of loyalty to Queen Mary: “I humbly beseeche your Majestie to have a good opinion of me, and to thynke me to be your true subject, not onely from the beginnyng hitherto, but for ever, as long as lyfe lasteth’: and so they departed with very few comfortable words of the Queene, in English: but what she sayd in spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that king Phillip was there behynde a cloth, and not seene, and that he shewed himselfe a veye friend in that matter.”²² Philip is the curious fixture in the corner, the hidden auditor, waiting behind the curtain and asserting the Spanish sovereignty through the proxy of Mary, “a

verye friend in that matter.” But his presence is a luridly suggestive plant, a wink and nudge to those who understand that Mary is a willing puppet for Spanish interests. Philip was not really hiding in the corner; the Spanish monarch was front-and-center of the scene that would set the stage for Elizabeth’s eventual retribution and assertiveness against Spain. Mere suggestion would probably give way to more troubling implications for the tender of conscience who would be scandalized by the sexual plotting and triangulation accomplished by the Spanish presence and the overheard but not understood Spanish-language exchange.

While the pamphlet wars of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations stirred up resentment on religious grounds between England and Spain, religious fervor and the assertion of political sovereignty did not fully account for England’s exceptional dislike of Spain. Elizabethans had a sure way of making mere national demonyms into epithets conveying diminished standing on both the most obvious points of difference and, as is to be expected with epithets, on the most bizarre grounds. Certainly ethnicity factored into making “Spaniard” a dirty word, as did the immediate conjuring of a willing papal puppet or militant Jesuit, but so did a lot of other things tied to fashion, custom, and speech—or culture, more generally—that led keen English observers to develop all sorts of interesting stereotypes. Furthermore, to say that religious, not ethno-cultural, difference was the chief worry with Spain would fail to account for the mixed faith Anglo-Moroccan alliance between Elizabeth and the Alcazar Moors Mulai Mohammed, Abd el-Malek, and Ahmed el-Mansur. English anti-Moorish racial supremacism and their perception exoticism of course underlined such alliances, but Spain was a much more grotesque example of otherness because its Moorish heritage was understood to be mixed and undecipherable from its other racial and ethno-cultural components. An exceptional hatred for Spain transcended mutual charges of religious infidelity commonplace to both English and Moorish sides, as both banded together to undercut Spain in the standing Atlantic trade underway authorized by royal patent.²³ The same can be said about the oft-rumored Anglo-Ottoman alliance that never materialized. For, much to England’s relief, the Ottomans proved to be a persistent and humiliating thorn for the Spanish and a source of Maurophobic fantasy for the English, often mediated through Spanish narratives.

The English conception of the mixed Spanish race was ubiquitous, but it was not always consistent or coherent.²⁴ Reactions to the prevalent view of the Spanish race encompassed many standpoints ranging from passive indifference, to dispassionate study, and to sustained pondering. The issue predictably surfaces in considerations of colonialism. Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland* exemplifies the kind of dissection of Spanish identity and history that Englishmen undertook to stake claims about their national supremacy. An extended selection from Spenser’s dialog exhibits such an attitude:

Irenaeus: Even of a very desire of newfangleness and vanity for being, as they are now accounted the most barbarous nation in Christendom, they to avoid that reproach would derive themselves from the Spaniard, whom they now see to be a very honourable people, and next bordering unto them. But all that is most vain, for from the Spaniard that now is, or that people that now inhabits Spain, they no way can prove themselves to descend, neither should it indeed be greatly glorious unto them, for the Spaniard that now is, is come from as rude and savage nations as they, there being, as it may be gathered by course of ages and view of their own history (though they therein labour, much to ennoble themselves), scarce any drop of the old Spanish blood left in them. For all Spain was first conquered by the Romans and filled with colonies from, which were still

increased and the native Spaniard still cut off. Afterwards the Carthaginians in all the long Punic wars having spoiled all Spain and in the end subdued it wholly to themselves, did (as it is likely) rout out all that were affected to the Romans. And lastly, the Romans having again recovered that country, and beat out Hannibal, did doubtless cut off all that had favoured the Carthaginians so that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was scarce a native Spaniard left but all inhabited of Romans, all which tempests of troubles being overblown, there long after arose a new storm, more dreadful than all the former, which overran all Spain and made an infinite confusion, of all things. That was the coming down of the Goths, the Huns, and Vandals, and lastly all the nations of Scythia, which like a mountain flood did overflow all Spain, and quite drowned and washed away whatever relics there were left of the landbred people, yea and of all the Romans too, the which northern nations, finding the complexion of that soil and the vehement heat there far differing from their natures, took no felicity in the country, but from thence passed over, and did spread themselves into all countries in Christendom, of all which there is none but hath some mixture and sprinkling, if not through peopling of them. And yet after all those the Moors and barbarians breaking over out of Africa, did finally possess all Spain, or the most part thereof, and tread down under their foul heathenish feet whatever little they found there yet standing; the which through afterward they were beaten out by Ferdinand of Aragon, and Elizabeth his wife, yet they were not so cleansed, but that through the marriages which they had made, and mixture with the people of the land during their long continuance there, they had left no pure drop of Spanish blood; no, nor of Roman or Scythian; so that of all nations under heaven I suppose the Spaniard is the most mingled, most uncertain and most bastardly...For in that I said he is a mingled people it is no dispraise, for I think there is no nation now in Christendom, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with others. For it was a singular providence of God, and a most admirable purpose of His wisdom, to draw those northern heathen nations down into those Christian parts, where they might receive Christianity, and to mingle nations so remote, so miraculously, to make as it were one kindred and blood of all people, and each to have knowledge of him.²⁵

The general conceit in this passage is that the Irish would be foolish to look to the Spaniards to elevate their own standing, for the Spanish blood is diluted and its influence is not sufficient to raise the Irish. After lengthily describing why intermarriages with Moors “had left no pure drop of Spanish blood,” Spenser’s Irenaeus retreats from his otherwise conventional compendium of Spanish miscegenation to say that “it is not dispraise” to say that Spaniards are a “mingled people.” Strangely, Irenaeus manages not to contradict himself, for his dispraise is entirely directed toward the Irish. The sudden change in disposition does not efface the exposition of the view of the Spaniard, however. It earns some toleration to accommodate the spread of Christianity and “to mingle nations so remote” to share in the knowledge of Christ. Such a striking accommodation seems only natural in the context of Spenser’s treatise: racial and ethnic mixing sheds is problematic if English colonial supremacy is asserted. With this passage, we may begin to trace the elements of apocalyptic Hispanophobia in Spenser’s description. It joins similar positions held by continental writers, aiding in the formation of the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty.

Apocalyptically-influenced early modern English authors recognized that, while they could not predict the moment of the eschaton, they knew that in the End an increasingly

heterogeneous landscape would have to be sorted out. This was far from mere conjecture and extrapolation from changing cultural tides. Apocalypse is inherently transnational and, as a literary form, generically mixed. Just as with any classical Hellenic epic or Theogony, the Book of Revelation, and the prophetic books of the Hebrew Scriptures on which it relies, is replete with strange creatures and mixed literary forms: the seven-headed beast; the tribal diaspora of the saints recollected from all the races of the earth; the forms of allegory, circular epistle, and visionary iconography working in tandem; and what appear to be multiple timelines and material dimensions contributing to a palpably hybrid compilation. Its digressions rival any early modern romance in their orderly disarray. With this, the Reformation produced a proliferation of apocalyptic-historical exegesis²⁶ that regarded national, linguistic, and ethno-cultural mixing alongside religious heterodoxy as apocalyptic concerns.

By the late sixteenth century, distinctions between the reformed Anglican Church and the Catholic Church concerning liturgical practice, soteriology, and the use of vernacular scripture to disseminate doctrine and to regulate common practice had begun to be defined. Yet apocalyptic thought presented unique problems for the Protestant and the Catholic Reformations alike: Calvin largely ignored apocalypse; Luther, in his early period, questioned the canonicity of biblical apocalyptic literature; and the Catholic Church condemned the writings of Joachim of Fiore and other Catholic eschatologists.²⁷ In the vast gaps concerning apocalyptic doctrine, many took to the loosely held practice of political-apocalyptic conjecture sourced from wedding biblical typology to history in the tradition of the *Cursor Mundi*. In his *History of the World*, Raleigh went beyond the abundant Black Legend narratives, cleaving apocalyptic history to genealogies highlighting Spain's ethnic heterogeneity by making Spaniards direct descendants of the nations of Gog and Magog from Ezekiel and the Book of Revelation, speculating "that in the process of time these people might from their first habituation pass into the countries near the Euxine sea, and from thence in the after-ages into Spain."²⁸ For Raleigh, Spain's tribal ancestry positioned it to take arms against the Messiah as allies of the Beast in the post-millenarian battle.

As I have described, Hispanophobic views articulated through religious and racial anxieties were current in Tudor England long before the Anglo-Spanish conflict reached its zenith. The Armada, however, stitched these anxieties into the cultural memory of England, normalizing anti-Spanish discourse into its poetics. In the 1580s, the threat of a Spanish invasion prompted mass apocalyptic speculation which registered widely in English drama and poetry. When the Spanish Armada was unexpectedly defeated in 1588, Hispanophobic sentiment swelled in England, bolstered by a sense that the victory was divinely conferred on the elect nation. But the phobia of the Armada Crisis never really passed; it was easily revived as a project of political prophecy in the seventeenth century in attempts to heighten Anglo-Spanish tensions. Nothing too specific or too expansive could fail to be folded into some kind of apocalyptic framework. To be sure, Spain was but one of a myriad of apocalyptic concerns inhabiting the minds of the English. Yet by focusing on Spain this study accounts for some of lasting effects of the Anglo construction of Spain's otherness. An event like the Armada crisis of 1588 was, in Richard Bauckham's view, "a turning point for Tudor apocalyptic thought...Englishmen believed the defeat of the Armada to have been a genuinely miraculous divine intervention," and the origin of a distinctly English national historicism.²⁹ My first case study, of Sidney and his hagiographers, contrasts the writings of an author who apprehended but did not live to see the Armada with constructions of his heroic memory after that event, when he was posthumously elevated into a national prophet.

The attempted invasion by the Spanish in 1588 was framed as a religious war on the grandest of scales. The events of the Armada inspired English eschatologists Anthony Marten and Arthur Dent to map military events (including the alliances and compositions of forces, dates, and geographic locations) onto an apocalyptic scheme of historical prophecy.³⁰ This allowed for no small amount of prognostication and prophesying pertaining to the expected English victory and Elizabeth's role in resisting the forces of the Antichrist. Dent, for example, enthusiastically merged apocalyptic exegesis with the jingoistic declarations of an English triumph over the Spanish in a vision in which "we doe see that all these significations and derivations of *Armageddon* come to one thing in effect; which is, that the great armies which assemble themselves in battaile against the Lord, shall bee destroyed."³¹ Dent sees the defeat of the Armada as a partial, though crucial, fulfillment of an apocalyptic trajectory, finding it irresistible to draw a connection between the mild likenesses of the words "*Armado* of the Spaniards" which "came to *Armageddon*."³² In many ways Dent follows a common trend in early seventeenth-century England that sees the Armada crisis ushering in an era of turbulence and tribulation, which the English elect have to weather in order to confirm the prophetic prognostications of persecution leading up to the Second Coming of Christ. Dent seems to hold an integrative view of apocalyptic fulfillment in which the historical confirmation of apocalyptic prophecy is far from allegorical and fully manifested in the inevitability of troubling political, economic, and religious events: "for they must come to *Armageddon*, when they have done all that they can. For God fighteth from heaven against them, God bringeth them downe, and no power of man is able to uphold them."³³

Dent's brand of xenophobic-apocalyptic ideology hardly accounted for the more pressing economic and political factors that precipitated Anglo-Spanish conflict. Modern historiography outlines how maritime trade wars for commercial goods from Europe and the Americas, privateering, and mutually established embargoes beginning in 1585 formed a complex intersection of interests for and against full-scale war. Between July 1585 and March 1586, Elizabeth I gave privateering licenses to the likes of Bernard Drake (and later infamously to Sir Francis Drake) to seize commercial vessels from the Americas in reprisal to similar actions by the Spanish.³⁴ Ten years before Donne set sail to Cádiz under Raleigh and Essex, Sir Francis Drake undertook a highly successful raid against Cádiz in April of 1587, which had disastrous consequences for the Spanish fleet that was preparing to move against England.³⁵ According to Richard Hakluyt's report, "by the assistance of the Almightye, and the invincible courage and industrie of our Generall, this strange and happy enterprize was atchieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of *Spaine*."³⁶ Hakluyt's report betrays the English delight in humiliating Philip II, which would be mythologized into apocalyptic discourse that was quick to credit what they would have viewed as the resistance to the Antichrist by the military leaders of the Protestant nation.

Not only did English written history and polemical discourse relish the apocalyptic narrative of the Anglo-Spanish conflict, but so did early modern material and visual culture. Medals commemorating the defeat of the Armada were minted and circulated (see Figure 1.2). Their inscriptions on the former clearly highlight the apocalyptic narrative of the entire conflict. On the face of the coin, emanating from a billowy cloud, the Hebrew Tetragrammaton overlooks a naval encounter between the two fleets, with the caption economically materializing an apocalyptic historical moment: "Flavit et Dissipati Sunt," He blew and they were scattered. God's wind here is the powerful storm in August of 1588 carrying tremendous gusts and wind-shear that stunned the Spanish commanders, the Duke of Parma and the Duke of Medina-

Sidonia, and scattered the Spanish military convoy in the English Channel, first threatening to run them ashore but ultimately pushing them off to the East, toward the Netherlands. This prevented them from landing in Kent, and it dealt the English a winning outlook for the rest of the attempted invasion.³⁷ It was not only that England was God's elect nation, for that would be too obvious a proposition for any Englishman, but it was also that through nature God displayed his power and willingness to defend against the Antichrist and provide retribution for the wrongs against the nation in a most spectacular miracle—a miracle which would fan Hispanophobic flames and fuel apocalyptic expectations well into the Stuart period.



Figure 1.2: Medal commemorating the defeat of the Spanish Armada, copper silvered alloy 51mm, 1588. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Soon after the Spanish fleet was pushed off to the North Sea did Elizabeth travel in her barge down the Thames to Tilbury to pay a visit to her Captain General, the Earl of Leicester, and to deliver the famed speech to the troops there, where she asserts, among other things, the divine virtue endowed in her political body, unyielding to rival monarchs. Furthermore, assimilating himself into the English crown, James VI/I takes up the apocalyptic rhetoric of the Armada defeat in writing a commemorative sonnet on the momentous occasion, enthusiastically attaching himself to the nationalist cultural production occasioned by the conflict. According to one historian, James “in the very year of the Armada was expounding the Apocalypse in terms of a cooperation of secular as well as spiritual powers in the overthrow of the Antichrist.”³⁸ Indeed the imagery of the sonnet follows that of the medal above in describing the divine scattering of the Spanish fleet when the “windes began to tosse” and the divine judgement and annihilation ordained to any “number that escapt”:

The Nations banded gainst the Lord of might,
 Prepar'd a force, and set them in the way:
 Mars drest himself in such an awfull plight,
 The like whereof was never seen they say:

They forward came in such a strange array.
 Both sea and land beset us everie where,
 Their brags did threat our ruine and decay;
 What came thereof the issue did declare,
 The windes began to tosse them here and there;
 The sea began in foaming waves to swell,
 The number that escapt, it fell them faire:
 The rest were swallowed up in gulfes of hell.
 But how were all these things so strangely done?
 God lookt on them from out his heavenly Throne.

Writing polemic against Pope Sixtus V decades after hostilities with Spain had ceased under James I, Puritan pamphleteer George Salteren writes in his *Seven problems concerning Antichrist* (1625) “[t]his Sonnet publisht with the consent and applause of all the ancient Brittain Nation, inhabitants of this kingdome, truly even of verie ancient time...shall be an everlasting testimonie for us.”³⁹

Yet even after all that, James aggressively pursued a match between his heir Charles and the Infanta María Margarita of Spain decades later, much to the discontent of his closest advisers and his subjects, dispatching George Villiers who would ultimately do much to undermine the mission he was appointed to head. One of the most biting critiques of the match between Charles and María Margarita was found in *Vox populi* (1620) by Thomas Scott, an apocryphal account of the report to the Spanish crown by the Count of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador mercilessly spoofed in Thomas Middleton’s *A Game at Chess* (1624). The pamphlet, viewed by many as a genuine report, was very popular, going through several print editions before it was ultimately pulled from press. Even so, the work was copied by hand and circulated widely in that format. Scott wrote several more pamphlets on the subject up until his murder in 1626 (*ODNB*). According to Scott’s Gondomar, “two sorts of people unmeasurably desired the match might proceed,” “beggarly Courtyers” and “Romish Catholiques.” In planning for the inevitable takeover of the English crown that would come with the match, one of the counselors recalled how he “felt the force and wit of the English in 88.”⁴⁰ With the proposed suit of Charles and María Margarita the old wounds of national, linguistic, religious, and cultural mixing by marriage were revisited, recalling Mary and Philip and Elizabeth and Alençon. Understandably, England’s self-identified sense of anti-Spanish resistance was rekindled long after the Treaty of London (1604) ended hostilities.

Calls for renewed hostilities between England and Spain came not only from radical Puritans eager to counter the threat of the Jesuit nation but also from prominent members of the Stuart court with political capital to lose, chiefly Walter Raleigh and Francis Bacon. Bacon addresses his *Considerations Touching a Warre with Spain* to Charles, Prince of Wales, soon before he ascends the throne in 1625. Bacon, being interested in a war that would assert England’s greater position in New World exploration, set out to compare the current military and political states of England and Spain to those in 1588. Though, according to Bacon, “Spain is the only State of *Europe* that is a *Money grower*” due to its mines in the New World, its holdings are scattered and rebellious, giving England an opportunity to rival Spain. Bacon advocates for a war that would bring a greater share of world dominance to England, and he uses this treatise to justify the legality of war based on “cleare Foresight of imminent Danger.”⁴¹ Aware of the reservoir of Hispanophobia in the English cultural memory, Bacon looked to develop a new

narrative about England's colonial endeavors to counter those resting on the relative commercial failures of its scarce holdings in the Americas. But with the apocalyptic impetus of imperial commercial assertion of the kind that Bacon proposes, these shortcomings would soon come to be reversed in the New World and beyond.

2. Spanish Texts and English Literary History

Given the saturation of apocalyptic Hispanophobia in Tudor and Stuart English public and private discourse, it is important to underscore that a poetics of a Spanish doomsday not only suggests a conceptual or thematic engagement with apocalyptic Hispanophobia but also motivates a reexamination of how manifold literary forms were mobilized and transformed in response to Spain. An ever widening set of voices, forms, and modes offered the comfort of nationalist panoply deployed to defend England from, among other things, religious and political subjugation. To be sure, this project did not preclude English writers from actively seeking out, imitating, and assimilating Spanish texts into their own poetics. Indeed, imitating Spanish works and deploying Hispanophobic discourse were not mutually exclusive projects—they were mutually constitutive and complementary.

Partially an accident of the geography of an island-nation, and partially an ideological disposition of vernacular supremacy outlined in the early modern period and sponsored through the present day by the Anglo-American critical tradition, locating material, cultural, and intellectual intricacies has not yielded the advances in early modern Anglo-Spanish studies promised by the New Historicism; or as Jeffrey Knapp puts it, “the English could see their island as much excluding the world as being excluded by it.”⁴² Nor have the ideological positions from the early twentieth century that deny any such contact been brought to task. Early modernist Hispanist scholarship has struggled to find a foothold in stating its relevance to the fancies of the Anglo-American academy, largely due to its appearance of linguistic illegibility and its historical porousness.⁴³ Nevertheless, while interest in reexamining the comparative study of early modern national vernaculars, ideology, and ethnicity is growing, Anglo-Spanish relations remain understudied and retain great potential for expanding early modern cultural studies.

Early modern English and Spanish works did not develop in mutual isolation, nor can their affinity be easily explained away as merely a coincidental product of owing to a common heritage of, say, Petrarchism.⁴⁴ Both Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia are central to understanding how English formal experimentation, especially in lyric and the mixed-form tragicomedy, rises out of an anxiety to authorize the exceptionalism of the English vernacular, as Puttenham and Sidney would fret. In many ways English post-Petrarchism, to use Roland Greene's descriptor, owes to Spanish anti-Petrarchism its self-conscious pursuit of innovation. Chief among these is the popularity within the Sidney Circle of the lyrics and narrative verse of Juan de Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega published under the title *Las obras de Boscán y algunas de Garcilaso de la Vega repartidas en quatro libros* in Barcelona (1543), Salamanca (1547), and Antwerp (1597). In another example, the allusions, quotations and translations of Jorge de Montemayor's lyrics from *La Diana* attest to its cultural impact. It spoke to Sidney and Donne as the quintessential pastoral complaint of the rebuked lover. And for Donne it extended even further to encompass statements of religious non-conformity and recusancy, which he epitomized in a translated line from the poem that he took as his personal motto. Gabriel Harvey and Abraham Fraunce, members of the Sidney Circle, probably learned Spanish partly in order to get a grasp of Garcilaso's and Boscán's lyrics; and they took this knowledge of the Spanish

tongue to propel their own literary careers. And John Milton, in his *Areopagitica* and *Eikonoklastes*, makes reference to the sweeping cultural currency of Montemayor's prose romance and its lyrics on the political writings of his contemporaries, allies and adversaries alike, most notably in the pious plagiarism of Charles I's *Eikon Basilike*, which lifts a prayer from Sidney's *Arcadia* echoing Montemayor.⁴⁵

Moreover, the perceived scarcity of Spanish works in England was not for lack of trying. Varying access to markets and direct channels to the Low Countries and the Iberian Peninsula itself ensured that there was some supply of Spanish texts that, when imported into England, would exchange hands among coteries, making its way into various segments of English literary culture. Garcilaso's and Montemayor's presence in England was noticed as early as 1562 thanks to Barnabe Googe, who travelled through France, Spain, and Portugal as secretary to the English ambassador to Spain. In addition to adding to the long tradition of English travel poetry complaining about the parched Spanish climate and its tempestuous seas, Googe penned translations of some of Garcilaso's eclogues along with some selections from Montemayor's bestselling *Diana*.⁴⁶ And in the seventeenth century this was also certainly the case with George Digby (1612-77), second earl of Bristol, son of John Digby, sometime ambassador to Spain for James I.⁴⁷ After spending his childhood in Spain, Digby brought with him back to Oxford in 1626 a vast Iberian library containing the preeminent works of the Spanish and Portuguese baroque, among many other things, notably including editions of Luis de Camoões' *Os Lusíadas* (Madrid 1639), Quevedo's *Obras* in three volumes (Brussels 1660), and Luis de Góngora's *Obras* in three volumes (1643).⁴⁸ Given that these samplings from Digby's library appeared in print well after he had returned to settle back in his native England, it appears Digby was tapped into the foreign book trade in London and elsewhere, and that he maintained contacts abroad who were able to secure for him the copious volumes of Spanish the varying aesthetic movements within the baroque, *conceptista* and *culterano* poetry. Sir Richard Fanshawe (1608-1694) is the other seventeenth-century importer and translator of Iberian works. Travelling to Spain in 1635 as secretary to Lord Aston, ambassador to Spain, Fanshawe took to Englishing Iberian works, notably producing a translation of *Os Lusíadas*.⁴⁹

My focus on Spanish lyric, romance, and satire in England adds to the well-known comparative studies that have asserted how in the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth, notable English authors (Wyatt, Marvell, Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare) knew the literature of Spain either in translation or in the original Castilian; they delighted in it, and they imitated it. For example, Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina* (1499) was available in translation at the hands of John Rastell, though with some alteration and omission, in the court of Henry VIII, with an edition appearing in 1525. Rastell's translation of the *Celestina* introduces into England the intricacies of genre that would accompany such a courtly "tragicomedia." Further, Jorge de Montemayor's prose pastoral romance *La Diana* (1559) was taken up by Sidney in the *New Arcadia* and also by Shakespeare in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Sidney and Shakespeare would have probably availed themselves of the original Spanish text or a French translation long before Bartholomew Young's English translation would have been available in print in 1598. Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and the *Novelas Ejemplares* and Mateo de Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* became immensely popular in seventeenth century England.⁵⁰ Thomas Shelton, James Mabbe, and John Phillips, the nephew and sometime live-in secretary to John Milton, were variously responsible for English translations of these texts.

This study is interested in viewing how the English apocalyptic regard toward Spain

transposed the vector of Anglo-Spanish influence from one of imitation to intertextuality. Early modern English apocalyptic anxieties produced a pipeline for transnational cultural exchange that sought to challenge inherited notions of aesthetic forms.⁵¹ In the Hispanocentric references in Sidney and Donne's lyrics, the most oblique references to Spanish texts stood to have the greatest purchase for select coterie audiences expected to capture and process the intertextual exchange. While Elizabethan and Jacobean drama dominated the public construction and negotiation of apocalyptic Hispanophobia in the likes of Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587), Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (1590), Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624), and the construction of English identity in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1598), *Othello* (1603), and *The Tempest* (1611), the liminal discursive spaces afforded by lyric and verse satire were just as sure outlets of apocalyptic Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia alike. English makers revolted against the common Petrarchan inheritance shared between them and their Spanish counterparts. They instead sought to assert the authority of the English vernacular and English verse by self-consciously invoking a prophetic authority to reconfigure Spanish culture.

I take an approach that builds off the studies of Richard Helgerson⁵² and Roland Greene⁵³ that largely focus on Anglo-Spanish colonial rivalry and imitation; and Eric Griffin and Barbara Fuchs,⁵⁴ who discuss the public Hispanophobic outlets in prose polemic and drama. I focus primarily on Spanish lyric, romance, and satire in England and English responses to Spain in order to expand Anglo-Spanish reception studies beyond the widely documented genres of chivalric romance, pastoral, picaresque, and drama studied in Gustav Ungerer's *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature*, Dale B.J. Randall's *The Golden Tapestry*, and Edward M. Wilson's *Spanish and English Literature of the 16th and 17th Centuries*.⁵⁵

This project speaks from an Anglo-centric standpoint in order to better account for a still-understudied Spanish influence. Studies by Hispanist scholars looking at the influence of the Anglo-Spanish conflict on Spanish letters are generally more available than those focusing on England. A rich critical history and a steady publication of modern scholarly editions, for instance, underscores the significance of Lope de Vega's nationalist epic *La Dragontea* (1598), which decries the repeated assaults led by Sir Francis Drake against Spanish ports, easily enlisting the English captain's surname for its paronomasia.⁵⁶ Cervantes' "La española inglesa" (The English Spanish Girl), from his *Novelas ejemplares* (1613) tells the story of a young girl who is captured in the English raid of Cádiz by an honorable English privateer, and a recusant Catholic no less, brought to England to be admired and elevated by Elizabeth herself, and assimilated into the English court with a scintillating marriage plot.⁵⁷ And the *Defensa de la poesía*, a seventeenth-century version of Sidney's treatise, is anonymously brought into Spanish in a rather faithful translation.⁵⁸

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Chapter Two, "Sir Philip Sidney: The 'Courtier Prophet' and His Legacy," shows how Sidney redefines prophecy against the practice of historical hermeneutics—divining the course history from sacred texts—and Puritan millenarianism in favor of embracing prophecy's objective power to participate in creation, with the foregone conclusion that what can be brought together can be unmade and vice versa. In his quintessential treatise on English poetics, *The Defence of Poesy*, Sidney slyly decouples key characteristics of prophecy from religious poetry, opening up the possibility of a secular poet-prophet, who manages to distance himself from both the classical *vates* and the tradition of Christian teleology. In doing so, Sidney's treatise takes aim at Spain,

staking the surprising claim that his native letters are uniquely equipped to avoid the deficiencies of the Spanish vernacular because English tolerates mixing especially well. Despite such bluster, however, I show how the sonnet fad and the continuations of narrative romances that Sidney respectively inspired with *Astrophil and Stella* and the *Arcadia* were sourced from Jorge de Montemayor's *La Diana*, even as they helped popularize anti-Spanish references and figures in the works of countless other poets working in nearly every generic category. Sidney's death at the hands of the Spanish in 1586 did not prevent his literary coterie from further mining the Spanish works Sidney preferred to cement his literary legacy as the preeminent Elizabethan man of letters.

In Chapter Three, “‘*Antes muerto que mudado*’: John Donne's Apocalyptic Hispanophobia,” I show how John Donne draws from the same Spanish authors as Sidney, inheriting a complex ideological tapestry surrounding the purchase of the Spanish literary debt. Often thought to have held an unequivocally affirmative view of Spain due to his Catholic upbringing, I trace how Donne's Hispanophobia shadowed his evolution from a libertine to a religious poet. For Donne to ask “What if this present were the world's last night?” at the opening of his Holy Sonnet is to resurrect the question of Spanish miscegenation, of what “makes Moors seem white,” from his earlier erotic poetry. I examine Donne as an apocalyptic wartime poet, whose own hostile encounters as a soldier fighting in Spain propel his theological lexicon of apocalyptic equivocation in his Sermons and in the *Pseudo-Martyr*. I argue that the crisis of conversion long understood to be manifested in Donne's *Holy Sonnets* is a crisis of collapsing an English identity with the Spanish ethno-cultural other, framed in Donne's unique apocalyptic figurations.

Chapter Four, “Francisco de Quevedo's Baroque Eschatology and Seventeenth-Century English Royalist Satire,” illustrates how the apocalyptic satire of the English Revolution was not a hermetically bound product of a reactionary Royalist anti-Puritanism, but that it surfaces from an uninterrupted line of anti-Spanish satire from decades past, including the satirical verses of John Donne and his coterie. Remarkably, the same continuations of anti-Spanish satire are accomplished by translating and imitating the Spanish author Francisco de Quevedo's own apocalyptic satires. English Royalists channeled their affinity for apocalyptic satire through Quevedo's “The Dream of the Last Judgement” and “The Vision of Hell,” both directed at the Spanish nobility and the declining bureaucracy that supported it. After the outbreak of the English Civil War, the enduring popularity of Quevedian satire began to reflect how England internalized the aesthetic of the Spanish other—the baroque—into its own increasingly divided aesthetic discourse. Seizing upon the repository of apocalyptic anti-Spanish discourse sourced from its cultural memory, England began to see itself as an increasingly religiously and culturally hybrid nation, conversely fueling its thirst for Spanish literature well after the Restoration. I argue that Quevedo's satires, circulating in translation in England, France, and the Low Countries, functioned as a circular apocalyptic epistle that exiled English Royalists, through their own translations and continuations, mobilized to illuminate the terrors of the Thirty Years War as a backdrop to the English Puritan millenarian vision.

NOTES

¹ Thomas Hobbes, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury written by himself in a Latine poem, and now translated into English* (London, 1680), p. 2, sig. A2v.

² Barnabe Googe, "Cupido Conquered," in *Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets*, ed. Judith M. Kennedy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 109.

³ Immanuel Kant, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, trans. Victor Lyle Dowdell, ed. Hans H. Rudnick (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 231-232. Kant goes on to expound on the "character of races": "Instead of assimilation, which was intended by the melting together of various races, Nature has here made a law of just the opposite. In a nation of the same race (for example, of the white race), instead of allowing the characters to develop constantly and progressively toward resembling one another....Nature has preferred to diversify infinitely the characters of the same stock, and even of the same family as to physical and spiritual characteristics" (236-237).

⁴ George Gascoigne, *The spoyle of Antwerpe. Faithfully reported, by a true Englishman, who was present at the same. Nouem...Seene and allowed* (London, 1576), sig. C1r.

⁵ George Gascoigne, "Devices of Sundry Gentlemen," in *A hundreth sundrie flowres....* (London, 1573), p. 389, sig. Bb3R.

⁶ Gary A. Schmidt, *Renaissance Hybrids: Culture and Genre in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 1. "This study will consider such instances of 'hybridity' and their many social functions: as vehicles both of containing anxiety and of registering wonder about other cultures, as efforts to mediate between competing forms of political organization, as avenues for managing social dissent, and as mechanisms for reconceptualizing the history of England itself to accommodate differing visions of the island's present and future." The most recent contribution to the study of Renaissance hybridity comes from Peter Burke, *Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016). See also Rosalie Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

⁷ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 116.

⁸ Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), 141.

⁹ See especially Bernard McGinn's introduction to McGinn, ed. and trans., *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-En-Der, Joachim of Fiore, The Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1979), 1-16.

¹⁰ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 22: “Prompted by the cultural breaks of Renaissance and Reformation, sixteenth-century nation self-articulation began with a sense of national barbarism, with a recognition of the self as the despised other, and then moved to repair that damaged self-image with the aid of forms taken from a past that was now understood as both different from the present and internally divided.”

¹¹ William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. Stephen Booth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 61. Sonnet 71.5-6, with my emphasis.

¹² Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

¹³ See James L. Kugel ed., *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

¹⁴ For a study of non-biblical prophetic traditions in early modern England, see Tim Thornton, *Prophecy, Politics and the People in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006). And for a view of the prophetic “seer” in the literary tradition, see N. Kershaw Chadwick, *Poetry and Prophecy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1942).

¹⁵ See J.L. Lightfoot, ed. and trans., *The Sibylline Oracles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁶ William Perkins, *The Arte of Prophecying...* (London, 1607), 1.

¹⁷ The historicist framework informing the recent critical awakening to Anglo-Spanish literary studies still owes much to the seminal work of Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

¹⁸ See, for instance, George Joye’s translation of Philip Melanchthon, *The exposycion of Daniel the prophete, gathered out of Philip Melancthon ... A prophecye diligently to be noted of al emperoures [and] kinges, in these laste dayes* (London, 1550), sig.D5r-D8v. Melanchthon’s views were deeply influential to Sir Philip Sidney by way of his mentor, Hubert Languet. For the influence of Philippist thought on Sidney, see Robert E. Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

¹⁹ Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 39-40. Griffin continues: “Because relations between Protestant England and Catholic Spain were no longer felt to occur on the same temporal plane, having been prefigured instead within the arc of sacred history as revealed in the Apocalypse of Saint John—the foregone conclusion of which had been written before time itself (as well as for all time)—real international dialogue hardly remained possible” (41-42).

²⁰ See William Haller, *The Elect Nation: The Meaning and Relevance of Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), J.N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), and Edward Grierson, *The Fatal Inheritance: Philip II and the Spanish Netherlands* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969).

²¹ John Foxe, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Select Narratives*, ed. John N. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 274.

²² John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO*, 1583 edition (Sheffield: HRI Online Publications 2011), p. 2098, sig. BBBBB1r. Available from <http://www.johnfoxe.org>.

²³ Emily C. Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From Alcazar to Othello* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 24.

²⁴ For a classic study on early modern English constructions of race, see Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

²⁵ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, ed. W.L. Renwick (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 43-45.

²⁶ See Bryan W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); and Irena Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse: Geneva, Zurich, and Wittenberg* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

²⁷ In the continent, Zwingli and Erasmus questioned the apostolicity and canonicity of the apocalypse, and while Luther initially disparaged the Apocalypse of John, English polemicists, divines, and martyrs like John Bale, Thomas Bilney, Thomas Hitton, and many others synthesized the temporally structural millenarian thinking of Joachim de Fiore and merged it with Lollard and Hussite eschatology. The oft invoked Protestant trope of naming the Catholic Pope as the Antichrist from 2 Thessalonians and Revelation eased the English public (high and low) into an apocalypticist understanding of history (Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse*, 32). And though apocalyptic thought certainly has historically concerned a reaction to political turmoil or socioeconomic struggle, as Norman Cohn has convincingly argued (*The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 13-16), the proliferation and variety of apocalyptic expression in early modern England produced a vernacular tradition of story-telling and, as I will argue, lyric meditation.

²⁸ Walter Raleigh, *History of the World*, in *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt.*, 8 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1829), II:265.

²⁹ Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse*, 173.

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- ³⁰ My exposition on the apocalyptic energy surrounding the Armada is indebted to Frank Ardolino, *Apocalypse and Armada in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy* (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 1995), especially chapters 1 and 7.
- ³¹ Arthur Dent, *The ruine of Rome: or An exposition upon the whole Revelation ...* (London, 1603), pp. 223-224, sig. Gg2r-Gg2v.
- ³² Dent, *The ruine of Rome*, p. 223, sig. GG2r.
- ³³ Dent, *The ruine of Rome*, p. 224, sig. GG2v.
- ³⁴ Simon Adams, "The Outbreak of the Elizabethan Naval War Against the Spanish Empire: The Embargo of May 1585 and Sir Francis Drake's West Indies Voyage," in *England and Spain and the Gran Armada, 1585-1604*, eds. M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado and Adams (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), 46.
- ³⁵ Porfirio Sanz-Camañes, *Los ecos de la Armada: España, Inglaterra y la estabilidad del Norte, 1585-1660* (Madrid: Silex, 2012), 115.
- ³⁶ Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 ...* (London, 1599), II:121-122.
- ³⁷ Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston: Mariner), 338-341.
- ³⁸ Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse*, 175-176.
- ³⁹ George Salteren, *Sacrae heptades, or Seaven problems concerning Antichrist ...* (Amsterdam, 1625), p. 102, sig. N3r.
- ⁴⁰ Thomas Scott, *Vox populi, or Newes from Spayne translated according to the Spanish coppie ...* (London, 1620), sig. B2v.
- ⁴¹ Francis Bacon, *Considerations Touching a Warre with Spain, Written five yeares since and inscribed to his Majestie, At the time Prince of Wales* (London, 1629), 71, 9-13.
- ⁴² Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 4.
- ⁴³ Iberian journals devoted to Anglo-Spanish early modern studies as well as author-specific periodicals are often absent from the contemporary Anglo-American critical discourse. The *Yearbook of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies (SEDERI)* published by the University of Zaragoza since 1990 has been a consequential source, along with special appearances in *La Perinola*, a Quevedo Journal. Only very recently has the *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* and the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* published special editions including Hispanic topics.

⁴⁴ See Thomas P. Roche, Jr., *Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequences* (New York: AMS Press, 1989).

⁴⁵ John T. Shawcross, "John Milton and His Spanish and Portuguese Presence," *Milton Quarterly* 32.2 (1998), 42.

⁴⁶ See Judith M. Kennedy's introduction to her edition of Barnabe Googe, *Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets*, 13-14.

⁴⁷ ODNB: "George Digby."

⁴⁸ Kenelm Digby, ed., *Bibliotheca Digbeiana, sive, Catalogus librorum in variis linguis editorum quos post Kenelmum Digbeium eruditissimum ...* (London, 1680), 65-68.

⁴⁹ See the modern edition, Richard Fanshawe, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols., ed. Peter Davidson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997-1999).

⁵⁰ Cervantes loomed large for figures such as Philip Massinger, whose tragicomedies *The Picture* (1629) and *The Renegado* (1624) allude to and imitate *Don Quixote* and *Los baños de Argel*.

⁵¹ Gary A. Schmidt, *Renaissance Hybrids: Culture and Genre in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

⁵² *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and *A Sonnet from Carthage: Garcilaso de la Vega and the New Poetry of Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

⁵³ Roland Greene, *Post-Petrarchism: Origins and Innovations of the Western Lyric Sequence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); and *Unrequited Conquests: Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

⁵⁴ Respectively, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) and *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

⁵⁵ Respectively, (Bern: Francke, 1956); (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963); and (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980). See also James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Cervantes in England* (London: H. Frowde, 1905), and by the same author, *Relations Between Spanish and English Literature* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1910); Susan L. Fischer, *Comedias del Siglo de Oro and Shakespeare* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1989); R.V. Young, *Richard Crashaw and the Spanish Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Martin A.S. Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (London: E. Nash, 1905); John Garrett Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors* (New York: Macmillan, 1899); Frank J. Warnke, *European Metaphysical Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961); Robert S. Rudder, ed., *The Literature of Spain in English Translation* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1975); A.F. Allison, ed., *English Translations from the Spanish*

and Portuguese to the Year 1700: An Annotated Catalogue of the Extant Printed Versions, excluding Dramatic Adaptations (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1974); Remigio Ugo Pane, *English Translations from the Spanish, 1484-1943, A Bibliography* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1944); and Louise and Peter Fothergill-Payne, eds., *Parallel Lives: Spanish and English National Drama, 1580-1680* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1991).

⁵⁶ Lope de Vega, *La Dragontea*, ed. Antonio Sánchez Jiménez (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007).

⁵⁷ For a comprehensive survey of Cervantes' influence in seventeenth-century England, see Dale B.J. Randall and Jackson C. Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The Tapestry Turned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁵⁸ Benito Brancaforte, ed., *Deffensa de la poesía: a 17th-Century Anonymous Spanish Translation of Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesie* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

CHAPTER TWO

Sir Philip Sidney: The “Courtier Prophet” and His Legacy

occasions give minds scope to stranger things than
ever would have been imagined¹

—Philip Sidney, *A Letter to Queen Elizabeth*

if severed they be good, the conjunction cannot be
hurtful²

—Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesy*

A young Sir Philip Sidney, writing to his trusted mentor Hubert Languet from a long-embattled Venice in 1574, hopes

ante paucos annos hispanorum virtutem omnibus gentibus notam fore, qui nati servi cum nihil aliud unquam egerint, præterquam (quasi vorsuram solverent) dominos commutarent, semper enim Carthiginensium romanorum vandalorum Gothorum Saracenorum maurorum mancipia fuerunt, nuper quidem unius Caroli virtute et quidem Belgæ erecti, post illius decessum quanto impetu iter accelerent ut ad pristinum statum redeant videre est.

that within the next few years all the nations will know the Spaniards’ worth: they were born slaves, and have never achieved anything except (as if paying a debt with a loan) to change masters; they have always been slaves—of the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Goths, the Saracens, [and] the Moors. Now, though, while they had been raised up by the excellence of Charles [V] alone and even to the status of Dutchmen, since his death we can see with what speed they are hastening the road back to their original condition.³

Summoning his spite for the Spanish in a letter intended for limited circulation, the aspiring courtier was anxious to disclose what he knew to be true about the Spanish. Recalling the priestly account of creation in Genesis, Sidney reverses the account of Adam and Eve’s Fall, prophesying that the Spaniards’ fate to return to their “original condition” would not be idyllic, but rather a return to perpetual bondage. The thinly veiled implication of Sidney’s logic is that, in 1574, the slave-born Spaniards would need a new master, and that master could well be the English. Even Spaniards being “raised up by the excellence of Charles...to the status of Dutchmen,” England’s northern-European cousins, could not raise their “worth.” In Sidney’s view of natural slavery, following Aristotle’s, the Spaniards were born a servile race whose constitutional deficiencies prevented them from ever occupying any other role.⁴

Toying with his own connection to Spain as Philip II's godson, Sidney imagines his own original condition of love-bondage to a dark-featured version of Stella in *Astrophil and Stella* as an analogy to Spanish subjection. His rhetorical question pondering his late loss of "liberty" in Sonnet 47 (1) asks about Stella's eyes, "Can those blacke beames such burning markes engrave / In my free side, or am I borne a slave, / Whose necke becomes such yoke of tyrannie?" (2-4) Unsure of his original condition, Astrophil proposes two equally unsatisfactory scenarios with regard to the provenance of his love of Stella: whether Stella's "blacke beames" have recently given him his slaves' "markes" or, echoing his appraisal of the Spanish *natus servus* above, whether he was "borne a slave" is largely inconsequential. But as a political statement the significance of the two propositions outgrow their few lines. To suffer the "yoke of tyrannie" is to invoke the quintessential charge against the Spanish monarchs. Fearing the Spanish military threat to English sovereignty, Sidney asks "Can those blacke beames such burning markes engrave / In my free side"? And fearing a direct connection to his namesake and godfather, Philip II of Spain, Sidney asks, "am I borne a slave"? Sidney's post-Petrarchan use of the love-bondage trope imagines that the most troubling humiliation that Astrophil could endure would be not under Love or Stella but at the hands of a Spanish Philip. This would simply not do for Sidney. Along with commonplace political and personal news, Languet's and Sidney's correspondence often pointed to a serious mistrust of everything and everyone Spanish. The Huguenot Languet was especially careful to show the young Sidney just how much of a threat Spanish supremacy was to the Protestant cause.

Despite his increasingly routine expressions of anti-Spanish sentiment, prophet was a title Sidney never sought—perhaps out of the conventional pretention to modesty common in his age, or, more so, because he wished to avoid the dangerous association with the Puritan practice of political prophesying that Elizabeth sought to suppress in the 1560s and 1570s.⁵ After all, he protests too much as it is in calling himself a poet in *The Defence of Poesy*, having "slipped into the title of a poet" to defend his "unelected vocation" (212). In the *Defence*, his notion of the ideal poet appears to eschew the title of prophet, which he reserves for divinely inspired poetry exemplified by the Psalms of David and the speech of Nathan. Yet elsewhere in the *Defence* he surprisingly affirms the prophetic qualities of poetry to substantiate his appraisal of the faculties belonging to the ideal poet. While it would not have been out of place in early modern England for a poet to claim casually a mantic quality to his poetry (as Spenser and Milton famously do), Sidney is coy about making the poet-prophet connection explicit, preferring instead to pay homage separately to the biblical speaker and the classical *vates*. He hedges to delineate and distinguish the sources of secular and sacred poetic making in a treatise interested in elevating English vernacular literature and extolling the universal virtue of poetry.

Although Sidney maintained an uneasy (and inconsistent) disposition toward the title of prophet in the *Defence*, his surviving contemporaries nonetheless saw fit to foist it upon him after he died. Such is the case with Fulke Greville, Sidney's lifelong friend and biographer. He appraises Sidney's *A Letter to Queen Elizabeth Touching her Marriage with Monsieur* (circulating in manuscript in 1579), which counsels her not to marry the Duke of Alençon, in terms of its efficacy as political prophecy: "in the practice of this marriage he foresaw and prophesied that the very first breach of God's ordinance in matching herself with a prince of a diverse faith would infallibly carry with it some piece of the rending destiny which Solomon and those other princes justly felt for having ventured to weigh the immortal wisdom in even scales with mortal conveniency or inconveniency."⁶ Greville problematically casts Sidney as a political prophet who publicly intervenes on behalf of God by comparing Elizabeth to Solomon in 1

Kings 11. It is understood, however, that Sidney's prophecy, in which "he foresaw" divine retribution for a mixed-faith marriage, could never be confirmed because Elizabeth never married her French suitor. Sidney, in effect, "foresaw" nothing, yet, in Greville's view, his prophetic authority comes from his willingness to publicly decry the mixing of the English faith and bloodline with a stranger. In actuality, the result of Sidney's *Letter* was not the triumphant confirmation of a prophetic prediction: while it did not incur any public punitive action, it did earn him Elizabeth's sustained displeasure, forcing a hiatus from his pursuits at court in 1579. It was after this episode that Sidney chose to withdraw from court to write at Penshurst, being, for a time, neither a courtier-poet nor a welcome courtier-prophet.

Greville's biography, completed sometime between 1610 and 1612, insists on fashioning Sidney as an oracular political prophet⁷ because, as I will argue in a later section, it is a politically expedient way of turning Sidney's courtly political counsel toward the service of cultivating an enduring English Hispanophobia. In his justification for Sidney seeking to join Sir Francis Drake's expedition to annoy the Spanish in the New World in 1585, Greville cites Jesus' adage from the Gospels to orient Sidney's prophetic mission toward transnational and transatlantic encounters: "it is an observation among the wisest that as no man is a Prophet in his own country, so all men may get honour much cheaper far off than at home, and at sea more easily than at land."⁸ Greville further recasts Sidney's courtly political counsel against mixing English with foreigners as prophecy in order to cultivate English Hispanophobia in a climate receptive to a nationalist poetics. Edward Berry describes Sidney's aesthetic theory as "a kind of poetic nationalism": "These three problems [of contemporary England]—national idleness, contempt for poetry, and the proliferation of base poets—are for Sidney interdependent. An active, warlike England is one that values and produces great poetry....To revitalize England, one must revitalize poetry, and to revitalize poetry one must turn to poets who are capable of inspiring the nation to heroic action."⁹ Yet the underexamined byproduct of feeding the English hunger for war, the poetically induced "heroic action" Berry proposes, is a ready justification for a self-sustained hatred toward Spain in prose and verse.

Numerous biographies of Sidney can be counted as unsuspecting accomplices to the growth of the nationalist poetic project underwriting English Hispanophobia. Many of these focus on how Sidney's legacy as a national treasure is centered on his death resulting from a wound he received in a skirmish with the Spanish just before the Armada got underway, in 1586.¹⁰ But this on its own was not the central pillar sustaining his legacy of Hispanophobia. His own distempered dispositions toward Spanish politics and culture and, as we shall see later on, his own scornful yet envious musings about their colonial enterprises recorded in his letters and poetry, were ready ammunition for Greville's version of Sidney as the prophet of apocalyptic Hispanophobia. Furthermore, those biographies that portray Sidney as the flower of Elizabethan nobility fail to acknowledge that he dies a martyr for the English cause of anti-Spanish hatred. Hence the apocalyptic fervor surrounding a moment of crisis was not the sole driving force behind the longstanding English tradition of anti-Spanish poetic production: English Hispanophobia outlives the crises that give birth to it. The prophetic posture, later attributed to Sidney, effectively allows Sidney to intervene as an agent of divinely endowed creation to render Spanish cultural production as an object to be read and imitated.

Critics have noted Sidney's association with political prophecy in the context of England, but they leave much to be examined in the cosmopolitan and transnational contexts of Sidney's works and travels. For instance, closest to describing Greville's vision of Sidney as political prophet, Anne Lake Prescott draws an analogy between Sidney to his monarch and Nathan to

David to highlight his political function, explaining that “extended fictions, he may have thought, consciously or not, were what he himself could create, whether feigning Arcadia or Stellifying a lady. He could not of course be a Christ, but he could be a Nathan, not king of kings but advisor to a monarch.”¹¹ Yet Sidney’s interest in prophecy comes not from its power to prognosticate future historical events but from its theorization of uniting and dividing, mixing and joining, and separating and segregating various forms and modes of literary creation. In this project, he draws not only from both biblical and classical examples of literary creation to describe his process and terminology, but also from Spanish literary models. I argue that mixing and dividing is the common apparatus shared between Sidney’s conception of the literary prophet and that of Hispanophobic doomsayer. Sidney’s postures concerning literary prophecy and Hispanophobia can be difficult to parse because his varied stances on mingling and dividing genres can seem contradictory. Yet it is not the case that Sidney seeks to maintain a uniformly negative view of mixed modes and genres in his poetics. Because his primary concern is to assert the poet-prophet’s power or dominion over kinds and species, Sidney can maintain equivocal or contrary views on the objects of creation at any given moment.

While anti-Spanish propaganda swelled after Sidney’s death in advance of the Armada crisis, English poets would inherit from Sidney a ready-made poetics of Hispanophobia infused with influences drawn from Spanish sources. In many ways, those poets who modeled their lyric *personae* after Sidney’s Astrophil would be assimilating the internally divided “two Philips” which make up the character, an English nobleman with ties to a Spanish godfather and namesake. This too added to the legendary status of Sidney. Greville wrote that the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, upon learning of Sidney’s death, “could not but lament to see Christendom deprived of so rare a light in those cloudy times, and bewail poor widow England ... that, having been many years in breeding one eminent spirit, was in a moment bereaved of him, by the hands of a villain.”¹² Philip of Spain even paused to acknowledge the death of the young Sidney, writing in the margin of the dispatch that reported his death, “He was my godson.”¹³ For Sidney, the question of his own ancestry and ties to Spain would remain a concern regarding his own sense of identity, his breeding. This, too, was a matter Greville was eager to sanitize by affirming the elements of breeding that contributed to the Sidney’s admixture: “It is ordinary among men to observe the races of horses and breeds of other cattle, but few consider that as diverse humours mixed in men’s bodies make different complexions, so every family hath, as it were, diverse predominant qualities in it which, as they are tempered together in marriage, give a certain tincture to all the descent.”¹⁴

This chapter brings together two established yet distinct strains in Sidney criticism touching on the question of how Sidney understood poetic mixing and inspiration. One strain specifically centers on the question of Sidney’s Spanish influences, which inspired his experimentation with mixed literary modes.¹⁵ Recently, critics have extended the discussion of Sidney’s preference for the mixed mode to reflect his own mixed feelings about Spain. Elizabeth Bearden argues, for example, that “Sidney’s view of Spain was equivocal, marked by admiration and envy as well as by distaste and fear,” and his references to Spain and its literature opens “a counterdiscourse to the English extremes of anti-Spanish sentiment in the 1580s.”¹⁶ The other strain, exemplified by Michael Mack’s view, accounts for the divine origins of Sidney’s conception of poetic making that bring forth the prophetic voice, inspired by biblical poetry, the theological thought of Philip Melancthon, and classical poetics: “working with the ‘force of a divine breath,’ the poet has a power not only to figure forth an ideal fictional world but also to move his audience to make that ‘golden’ world real.”¹⁷ Both of these discourses deal with

considerations of poetic influence and creation, and they both supply explanations for Sidney's interest in literary experimentation and the intersection of divine and political speech. By placing these critical discourses in conversation, I posit that, rather than viewing Hispanophobia as merely the result of countercurrents in poetic practice and political disposition, we should view it as entailing its own poetics. That is, Hispanophobia is not simply a reactionary response to the Anglo-Spanish conflict; it is a way of conceiving early modern English poetics. In turn, I argue that Sidney's poetics of prophetic mixing and dividing yield the figurative and intertextual resources that undergird English apocalyptic Hispanophobia.

Sections 1 and 2 trace a reception history of Spanish literary works read by Sidney and his greater circle of friends, relatives, and those supported by his patronage. These Spanish works represented innovation and novelty in the minds of their English readers, and they were eagerly collected by Sidney's circle as both political tokens and tributary devices that could not only secure continued patronage from the Sidneys after the death of Sir Philip but also form an English view of a Spanish vernacular canon against which Sidney could be shown to be immeasurable. Section 3 shows how Sidney's *Defence* defines the poetic qualities of mixing and dividing unlike things that are central to his conception of the ideal maker. Rather than dismissing prophetic faculties altogether, Sidney instead picks from classical, biblical, and secular examples of prophetic making, carefully distinguishing between creative and political prophecy. Section 4 brings together the concerns of the previous sections by looking to Sidney's letters and political writings in order to demonstrate that Sidney's poetics of prophetic mixing illuminate the flourishing of anti-Spanish speech, which will inflect the development of early modern English poetics.

1. Sireno Sidney

Before turning to a sustained discussion describing how Sidney's interest in literary innovation paves the way for Hispanophobic discourse, I begin with a reception history detailing the interactions Sir Philip and his larger circle had with Spanish literature, with the purpose of establishing a textual example of Sidney's theorizations of mixing¹⁸ that are central to the fashioning of the prophet.

Sidney read in the Spanish language, read a variety of Spanish works in prose and verse, and was interested in their formal composition and character. He encouraged contact with Spanish literature and culture in his closest circles, and he sought to discover its customs and its economic and political character. In a letter sent to his younger brother Robert on the eve of his departure for his continental tour, Sidney counsels him to take in the curiosities of Spain, but not to become entangled in them: Robert should observe "in Spaine th[eir] good and grave proceedinge, their keeping of many Provinces under them and by what manner, with the true pointes of honour, wherin sure they have the moste open conceiptes: wherin if they seeme over curious, it is an easie matter to cut off[f], when man sees the bottom."¹⁹ The curious glance at Spain encourages Robert to be part spy and part statesmen, observing "the moste open conceiptes." Such a view of Spain proves to be characteristic of Sidney's interest in the nation, as he remains vigilant regarding its political matters while open to assimilating its customs and cultural productions.

As the general introduction to this study has surveyed, some claims about Sidney's relationship to Spain have already been widely documented in Hispanist literary studies. Gustav Ungerer, for instance, provides the most consistent and reliable evidence that "with Sir Philip

Sidney and Lady Rich we enter into a circle which was deeply marked by the influx of Spanish culture. No English family was more open to Spanish influence than the Sidneys...Sidney was brought up in a circle where Spanish had become a customary language."²⁰ And the philological analysis undertaken by J. de Oliveira E Silva has made a strong case "that Sidney could read Spanish and that he consulted the *Dianas* in their original form."²¹ Moreover, it is not my aim to confirm these earlier findings (though in some instances I do expand them) exhibiting Sidney's dexterity with languages and his active collection of Spanish works. Instead, I explore the ways in which the assimilation of Spanish works shapes his theory of fiction-making to include mixed forms.

I begin with a Spanish song Sidney translated into English in 1580, reportedly after suffering the heartbreak of learning that Penelope Devereux had preferred another. It was not unusual for Sidney, a musically inclined courtier,²² to take a special liking to a particular song; nor was it unheard of that Spanish *villancicos* would make the rounds at the courts of northern Europe. If Sidney registered the Spanish origin of the song at all, besides encountering it in that language, it was likely for its effusive tone. Sidney registers the curious manners of the hot-blooded Spaniards, who were ridiculed for their cheap outward performance of decorum. Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* makes good fun of this English view of the Spanish customs, when Surly gives the Spanish greeting of kissing the hands deemed too obsequious by the English, "*Señores, beso las manos à vuestras mercedes*" (Sirs, I kiss your graces' hands), to which Subtle replies, "Would you had stooped a little, and kissed our *anos!*"²³ Sidney's engagement with the Spanish song is significant because it touches on both the context of his state as a disaffected courtier and his literary pursuits during that time which are primarily concerned with originality and experimentation.

There is some chance that Sidney knew he was imitating the hybrid Arab-Spanish *villancico* when he composed verses to the tune of a Spanish song "*Se tu señora no dueles de mi.*" With the distinct three-line *estribillo* or refrain at the beginning of each strophe, the remaining lines structure a theme and variation on a subject. Of this song, Katherine Duncan-Jones observes that the "tune of this Spanish *villancico* has not been traced."²⁴ While we cannot definitively settle on the source of the original tune, we can observe that Sidney's composition seeks to render Spanish features of rhyme and prosody into English. Moreover, Sidney's gloss simply reminds the reader that his song is to "the tune" of a Spanish one, whose title has little to no resonance or thematic bearing on Sidney's composition. In the first place, the English song is a veritable joyful ode to requited love. Translated as 'If you, lady, are not hurting for [saddened by] me,' the title of the Spanish song immediately strikes a more lamentful tone by its conditional construction, unanswered and uncompleted by Sidney's *villancico*. In this case, what is most directly imitated is not the conceit, but the form of the Spanish lyric. One plausible source for the tune that inspired Sidney's *villancico* is Juan Vázquez's "*Duélete de mí, señora.*"²⁵ Vázquez (1500-1560), an Andalusian composer, would have had his songs collected in popular *cancioneros* widely available in print.

Villancico á 3 de Joan Vázquez

Transcripció de F. PEDRELL

Molt moderat

CANT

Due - le - te de mí, Se - ño - ra, Se - ño - ra

VINUELA

Due - le - te de mí, due - - le - te de mí, que - si yo

pe - - nas pa - des - co, To - das son, Se - ño - ra, por

ti, To - - - das son, Se - ño - ra, por ti. FIN

El di - a que no te ve - - o - - - Mil a - ños

Figure 2.1: A modern transcription of Juan Vázquez' villancico "Duélete de mí, señora." Felip Pedrell, ed. *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona, Vol. II* (Barcelona: Palau de la Diputació, 1909), 143.

Vázquez' refrain is in the imperative while Sidney's recollection of it is in the conditional. But the subject matter seems to overlap generally, with both versions petitioning the lady for pity. If we take Vázquez' tune to be the source for Sidney's song, then we find that the English poet displaces the Spanish conceit with his own original while retaining the formal characteristics of the *villancico*. A closer look at the first stanza of the English *villancico* reveals Sidney's special attention to Spanish prosody, which he replicates in his version:

To the tune of the Spanish song *Se tu señora no dueles de mi*

O fair, O sweet, when I do look on thee,
 In whom all joys so well agree,
 Heart and soul do sing in me.
 This you hear is not my tongue,
 Which once said what I conceived,
 For it was of use bereaved,
 With a cruel answer stung.
 No, though tongue to roof be cleaved
 Fearing lest he chastised be,
 Heart and soul do sing in me. (1-10)

A particularly attractive feature of the *villancico* is the minimal variation in rhyme scheme (*aaa bccbb aa*), with no variation in the *estribillo* and the repeated line at the end forming a couplet, which could be rather difficult to imitate in English, though Sidney manages it quite well. His verse is a little different, however, going *bccb* in the middle. Another clue that Sidney understood Spanish prosody is that he keeps the octasyllable and decasyllable line to conform to the native, non-Italianate Spanish line; he adds further variation by giving seven-syllable lines. This was no accident, and it was not simply another example of Sidney's originality. The *villancico* exemplifies the formal mixing of Spanish prosody, with its verses observing various measures, regular or irregular. Indeed the asymmetry of the *villancico* line lengths would have been understood to be a result of the mixed Arab and Hispanic heritages that produced the popular southern Andalusian song.²⁶

The intertextual forays of Sidney's *villancico* extend to his interest in the prophetic speech he reveres in the Davidic Psalms by recalling Psalm 22 with the phrase "though tongue to roof be cleaved" (8), which Sidney translates as "my cleaving tongue, close to my roof doth bide."²⁷ Mary Sidney seems to vary the construction in her rendering of Psalm 137, preferring the verb *to glue* over *to cleave*: "And let my tongue fast gluèd still / Unto my roof lie mute in me."²⁸ The reference appears in the *Arcadia* when Zelmane sings "My tong to this my rooffe cleaves."²⁹ The play between the Psalms and the practice of translation adds a certain irony to the Spanish *villancico*'s phrase, "This you hear is not my tongue" (4), which both establishes the conceit of amorous confession and puns on "tongue" to mean a language. The pun allows the poem to reference the tune's Spanish provenance, all the while dwelling on the speaker's inability to externalize his erotic expression, except through song.

As the *villancico* shows, Sidney furthers the aims of his intertextual exercises by emphasizing their emblematic qualities. In effect, he traffics in the excessive Spanish sentimentality available to him in the lyrics from Jorge de Montemayor's romance, *Los siete libros de la Diana*. Despite the relatively limited volume of lyrics from the pastoral romance he

selects to translate, it is clear that *La Diana* makes an outsize impact on his creative projects. With his lyric translations from *La Diana*, Sidney elevates the Spanish songs into the quintessential expression of English courtly dissatisfaction. Sidney's translation of two lyrics from the romance precede the full-length English translations of Montemayor's *Diana* and Gaspar Gil Polo's continuation, *Diana enamorada*, by Bartholomew Yong—who dedicated his work to Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich—and the somewhat less popular translation of *La Diana* by Sir Thomas Wilson³⁰ by a decade and a half. These appeared in the years following Sidney's death as apparent tributes to Sidney's earlier pioneering engagement with the Spanish pastoral romance. So much was Sidney identified with the speaker of his lyric translations, Sireno, that to translate and dedicate the work of Montemayor to a member of Sidney's circle was to pay certain homage to Sidney himself.

To be sure, Sidney borrows not just from Montemayor but Sannazzaro before him, whose pastoral romance lends its title to Sidney's own *Arcadia*. For Sidney, a significant feature of Sannazzaro and Montemayor is that they have successfully brought together seemingly unlike conceptual matters while also mixing prose and verse. He makes this point explicit in the *Defence*:

it is to be noted that some poesies have coupled together two or three kinds, as the tragical and comical, whereupon is risen the tragi-comical. Some, in the like manner, have mingled prose and verse, as Sannazzaro and Boethius. Some have mingled matters heroical and pastoral. But that cometh all to one in this question, for, if severed they be good, the conjunction cannot be hurtful. (228-229)

For Sidney, Montemayor, Ariosto, Sannazzaro, and Boethius exemplify the gainful outcome of mixing both matter and form. A cursory examination of the diction signals his enthusiasm for unexpected combination: “coupled together,” “mingled,” and “conjunction.” Although in this instance Sidney does not supply an example of the admixture of the “tragical and comical,” he could have been imagining Fernando de Rojas' *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, later known commonly as *La Celestina*, a bawdy romance Englished by John Rastell (1525) during Henry VIII's reign, which would serve as the basis for several English narrative and dramatic works. As Sidney's dense discussion rapidly shuttles between speaking of matter and speaking of form, the consistency of the theoretical terminology is secondary to the emphasis on mixing and mingling, broadly defined. In the case of Montemayor's pastoral romance, and its representative lyrics, we can understand how Sidney's conception of Spanish literature joins the consideration of a national vernacular literature with its accomplishment in mixing and joining forms. That is, at least one representative feature of Spanish literature, for Sidney, was that literary mixing was one of its precepts and innovations.

The first book of the *Diana* opens with the shepherd Sireno recounting the events that transpired during a year of exile: his love Diana, once having pledged eternal constancy to him, marries another shepherd, Delio, abandoning her pledge to face death before giving up on Sireno.³¹ While Yong's translation of Sireno's song is perhaps the most directly diplomatic of those popularly available in Elizabethan England, it disappoints because it is incomplete with its truncated lines, and it largely fails to reproduce Spanish figures of poetic language. Sidney's translation is quite daring by comparison, as it demonstrates a uniquely high level of comfort in reproducing, modifying, and expanding the conceits of the poem. In order to achieve such a high level of interpretive confidence Sidney's comprehension of the original text would have to be

quite sound. The conceit of the poem centers on a lock of hair, a love-token left behind by Diana, to which Sireno addresses his lament:

What changes here, O hair!
I see? since I saw you.
How ill fits you, this green to wear,
For hope the colour due.
Indeed I well did hope,
Though hope were mixed with fear,
No other shepherd should have scope
Once to approach this hair.

Ah, hair! how many days
My DIANA made me show,
With thousand pretty childish plays,
If I wore you or no?
Alas, how oft with tears,
O tears of guileful breast!
She seemèd full of jealous fears;
Whereat I did but jest.

Tell me, O hair of gold!
If I then faulty be,
That trust those killing eyes, I would,
Since they did warrant me.
Have you not seen her mood?
What streams of tears she spent!
Till that I swear my faith so stood,
As her words had it bent.

Who hath such beauty seen
In one that changeth so?
Or where one's love so constant been,
Who ever saw such woe?
Ah hair! are you not grieved?
To come from whence you be:
Seeing how once you saw I lived;
To see me, as you see?

On sandy bank, of late,
I saw this woman sit,
Where "Sooner die, than change my state,"
She, with her finger, writ.
Thus my belief was stayed.
Behold love's mighty hand
On things, were by a woman said,

Cabellos, ¡cuánta mudanza
he visto después que os vi,
y cuán mal parece ahí
esa color de esperanza!
Bien pensaba yo, cabellos
(aunque con algún temor)
que no fuera otro pastor
digno de verse cabe ellos.

¡Ay cabellos, cuántos días
la mi Diana miraba,
si os traía, o si os dejaba,
y otras cien mil niñerías!
¡Y cuántas veces llorando,
ay lágrimas engañosas,
pedía celos, de cosas
de que yo estaba burlando!

Los ojos que me mataban,
decí, dorados cabellos,
¿qué culpa tuve en crearlos,
pues ellos me aseguraban?
¿No visteis vos que algún día
mil lágrimas derramaba,
hasta que yo le juraba
que sus palabras creía?

¿Quién vio tanta hermosura
en tan mudable sujeto,
y en amador tan perfecto,
quién vio tanta desventura?
¡Oh cabellos!, ¿no os corréis
por venir de a do viniste,
viéndome como me viste,
en verme como me veis?

Sobre el arena sentada
de aquel río, la vi yo,
do con el dedo escribió:
"Antes muerta que mudada".
¡Mira el amor lo que ordena,
que os viene a hacer creer
cosas dichas por mujer,

And written in the sand.

y escritas en el arena!³²

I reproduce the entire poem here to offer an analysis of several key parts of the translation which point to Sidney likely using Montemayor's original Spanish language poem as his source text.³³ In the first place, Sidney goes to great lengths to preserve the homophonic pun (*cabellos*) discussed above. The first line begins the phonetic association with "here" and "hair" while distinguishing two types of locative functions, one by space with "here" and the other by direct address with "hair." This play is collapsed when Sireno indicates that no other shepherd "should have scope / Once to approach this hair" (8-9). Sidney redeploys the sense of *caber* to deny others the "scope" of grabbing the hair. To round out the conceit, Sidney redeploys the association of "here" and "hair" from the first line with again a locative sense ("approach") which is available with the indicative "this hair." Furthermore, Sidney is able to translate a compelling version of the penultimate stanza which offers the apotheosis of Sireno's appeal for compassion. In this stanza, Montemayor's Sireno questions the lock of hair to ascertain if it stood as a reliable witness to Diana's beauty and Sireno's grief. These lines deploy the verb to see, *ver*, and to come, *venir*, in various tenses to produce an effect of consonant alliteration. Sidney not only closely follows the varying verbal tenses, but also mimics the alliteration with consonant and assonant repetition: "be," "seeing," "saw," and "see me" all echo the effect of the Spanish original. Sidney understands, furthermore, that Sireno makes his pledge of faith through an exchange of bodily fluids that Diana "spent" to secure his belief. Sidney's translation aptly observes the changes in perspective that Sireno's song conveys. In Sidney's first stanza, the speaker easily moves from "I see" to "I saw" (2) to mark Sireno's *desventura*. Perhaps what is most significant is Sidney's translation is how he renders Sireno's problem of misplaced faith in the last stanza. In a one-line declarative sentence Sidney's translation emphasizes the devastation of dysfunctional belief: "Thus my belief was stayed" (37).

While the *Diana* has long been understood to be one of Sidney's sources, along with Sannazaro's pastoral, for the *Arcadia*, its influence was considerably more extensive throughout Sidney's works, even shaping the narrative and characterological composition of *Astrophil and Stella*. Sidney's sonnet sequence saw Stella's betrayal of Astrophil, or Penelope Devereux's inconstancy toward Sidney in marrying Robert, Lord Rich, not only in terms of his own starry lovers' narrative, but as an extension of Montemayor's Sireno's plaint for his lost love in *La Diana*. Reproaching Stella for preferring another, Astrophil's introspective and retrospective "Fifth Song" seeks to diagnose the cause of her inconstancy:

For wearing Venus' badge in every part of thee
Unto Diana's train thou, runaway, did'st flee:
Who faileth one, is false, though trusty to another. (71-73)

The "Fifth Song" stands as one of the more scornful and spiteful reproaches addressed to Stella in the familiar second person. Among other titles, Astrophil calls her "ungrateful thief; you ungrateful tyrant, you; / You rebel runaway.../ You witch, you devil, alas—you still of me beloved" (85-87). Sidney would have us situate Astrophil's subject-position as witnessing Stella ambulating away with another as he shouts abuse at her. Stella walks off the page of Sidney's song and on to Montemayor's with the understanding that by leaving Astrophil for Rich, Stella, "Who faileth one, is false," would follow in Diana's footsteps, her "train," when she left Sireno for Delio, becoming "trusty to another." The context of the reference to *Diana*, shows greater

affinity to Montemayor's story than it does to the other possible source in Ovid's tale of Diana and Acteon in Book III of the *Metamorphoses*. In the Ovidian tale, Acteon, being changed into a stag, is the one who takes flight after seeing Diana in her divine blush of naked shame. The scene from the "Fifth Song" also departs from Petrarch's voyeuristic madrigal in which the beloved is favorably compared to the bathing Diana: "Non al suo amante più Diana piacque / quando per tal ventura tutta ignuda / la vide in mezzo de le gelide acque"³⁴ (Diana never pleased her lover more than when by chance he saw her bathing naked in the icy waters). For Astrophil to chastise Stella for wearing the mark of erotic availability, "Venus' badge," yet fleeing in "Diana's train," is not only to describe her as joining the retinue of the inconstant shepherdess, but also to suggest that Stella is familiar with the tale of Diana. The local context of the song further suggests an affinity with Montemayor's Diana when we note that Astrophil inhabits Sireno's affective position by insulting Stella by comparing her to Diana, yet is still ensnared in his belief that she might return. This departs from more positive associations of resemblance to the feminine beauty of the Ovidian Diana to be found in Petrarch and elsewhere.

Such an example of *La Diana's* brief appearance in Sidney's accomplished sonnet sequence demonstrates that his stable of influences included Spanish sources, and that these were integrated with classical and contemporary sources, yielding an expansive poetic project. Stella's following of Diana transfixes the vector of influence from being one of imitation to intertextuality, as the two narratives are linked by the characterological *pathos*: so great is Astrophil's grief that his own conceit should have to borrow from Sireno's. By registering the presence of mixed-mode Spanish sources in Sidney's poetics, we can further account for the greater emphasis he places on joining and mixing sources in his poetic creations, and its broader influence of this practice on his coterie.

2. The "Poco, y bueno": The Sidney Circle's Collection of Spanish Literary Texts

Spanish poetry penned by authors of signal fame and importance was physically available in England, in the original Castilian, and it was sought after and read eagerly by Sidney and such members of the greater Sidney circle as Abraham Fraunce, and Gabriel Harvey. But a direct and constant pipeline for Spanish literature to England there was not. Best described in Gabriel Harvey's inscription heading a flyleaf (see Figure 2.1) to his copy of John Thorius' and Antonio de Corro's *The Spanish Grammer* (1590), the Spanish literary works that appeared to be available to Englishmen were the "poco, y bueno," the *few and the good*. In other words, England was at least able to get the greatest hits, with its readers increasingly aware that there was more out there. The Spanish works were attractive because they could be scarce, rare, and, as a product of an ethno-cultural other, exotic. The bottleneck of Spanish works produced by a number of intervening political and logistical circumstances gave England a pre-fixed Spanish national canon which its national poets could imitate.

We can look to two members of the Circle with varying connections to Sidney and even broader stances toward Spain and its cultures, Harvey and Fraunce. The former was a well-regarded poet and scholar in his own right. The latter was a humanist scholar, rhetorician, lawyer, and poet, who dedicated his works to the likes of Robert Sidney and Mary Sidney, eventually obtaining the latter's patronage.³⁵ Each took to memorializing aspects of Sidney's literary legacy, and in the process of doing so, procured from it an enduringly complex ideological tapestry concerning Spanish literary culture. The Sidneys' renowned generosity toward Fraunce ensured that the study of the Spanish language as a scholarly pursuit would be

sustained. Patrons such as Philip and his sister Mary were effectively paying bounties for the popular Spanish literary works that trickled into England.

The English demand for Spanish works of all types originates just as much from the curiosity of humanist scholars and cosmopolitan courtiers as it does from the necessity to collect intelligence on Spanish military mobilization and mercantile activity. English administrators and favorites of Elizabeth, such as William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and Sidney's uncle, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, were involved in economic espionage which included securing reports of Spanish activities in the New World, including examples from José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, as well as their dealings with the Ottomans and their standing in the Low Countries. Both Leicester and Burghley retained secretaries fluent in Spanish to assist with their business of state and to manage the intelligence gathered by English spies on the continent, while, in other instances, Spanish captives were used for translating and intelligence gathering. One plain example of a Spanish book brought into English with priority by Burghley's operatives is Pedro de Paz Salas' *La Felicissima Armada* (1588), which carried the inventory of Spanish vessels and supplies. An English translation quickly appeared in 1588 done by Daniel Archdeacon out of the French under the title *A true discourse of the armie which the King of Spaine caused to bee assembled*. The English translation was deployed as anti-Spanish propaganda, coupled with Burghley's own *The copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza* (1588).³⁶ The English translation of Spanish works related to military strategy and the mobilization of the Armada demonstrates the ready practice of pressing any morsel of Spanish publications into the service of the propaganda war.

Linguistic and geographic divides meant that indeed "few" Spanish works of fiction appeared in England in the 1570s and 1580s, but they were representative and of high quality; those works deemed "good" by Harvey corresponded with the most popular titles in print. Instead of suppressing the dissemination of Spanish works of fiction, English anti-Spanish ideology helped their importation. Although religious propaganda coming from Spain was routinely rooted out and suppressed, Spanish works of literary fiction made it to England unmolested due to their use in the larger propaganda war, and because they often served as useful primers to those who were already employed either translating Spanish military intelligence or producing English propaganda, as is the case with Robert Greene and Gabriel Harvey. Outside of French translations of miscellaneous Spanish texts, and Latin printings of Spanish theological writings, the most direct sources for literary and cultural texts in the Spanish language are the importations of English ambassadors and envoys and their retinues and English travelers to the continent. Barnabe Googe, a kinsman of Burghley's, demonstrates the route of the Spanish to English literary pipeline best. Supported by Burghley, Googe took his continental tour through France and into Spain and Portugal in the train of Sir Thomas Chaloner, ambassador to the Spanish crown. Judith M. Kennedy remarks that it is "No wonder that in such stimulating company Googe began to acquaint himself with contemporary masterworks of Spanish literature such as Garcilaso's *Eclogues* and Montemayor's *Diana*," producing translations and imitations from both sources.³⁷ It is worth noting that Googe's travels to the Iberian Peninsula occurred in 1561, with a return to England within two years of his departure, giving us an early date of 1563 for the Spanish texts that returned with him to make their way to Burghley, Leicester, and, eventually, to a young Sidney.

English translators of Spanish works were not ignorant of the difficulties of Englishing Spanish letters, verse in particular. Those Elizabethans that had any contact with Spanish letters seemed to have a clear view of the state of the Spanish vernacular canon. Yet knowing that

Italian and French translations of popular Spanish works were extant, some still wondered why Spanish works were not more widely available in England. Such is the case in John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica*, a French pronunciation primer containing French phrases translated into English as a dialogue. In their discussion on "The Tongues," Eliot's dialogists survey Spanish letters:

Who have bene the quickest Spanish wits of any fame in the world?
 For an Historian *Antony Guevare*, who was Secretarie to the Emperour *Carolus quintus*.
 I have read over and over againe almost all his workes: but who are the best Spanish
 Poets?
 They are *Boscan, Grenade, Garcilasso* and *Mont-maior*.
 I wonder that men get them not translated into English.
 They would have no grace.
 Why so? we find them almost all translated into Latine Italian and French.
 I beleeeve it well, yet have they more grace in their Castillian, which is the purest Spanish
 dialect, in which the learned write and speake ordinarily.³⁸

According to Eliot's dialogue, it is common knowledge among learned circles that, along with Montemayor, the lyricists Juan de Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega should be recognized as the "best Spanish Poets." He adds the Dominican Spanish theologian Fray Luis de Granada to the list of renowned Spanish poets, whose virtuosic devotional writings range in scope from treatises on prayer and preaching to hagiography and Christian ethics. Eliot understands poetry to encompass any type of creative writing; hence he makes no distinction among the genres represented by the various authors he names. Instead, his focus turns to the question of why "men get them not translated into English." The reply supplied is a curious one: the English translations "would have no grace," as that is the deficiency found in the Latin, Italian, and French translations. Eliot implicitly recommends that an English reader should learn the "Castilian, which is the purest Spanish dialect, in which the learned write and speaker ordinarily." The exchange praises the character of Spanish letters while suggesting that the English are deficient when it comes to their grasp of Spanish.

Among the members of Sidney's extended coterie, Harvey dedicated the greater effort to curating a reading list of popular Spanish chivalric romances, picaresque, and travel narratives were the lyrics of Juan Boscán (1490-1542) and Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536). For Harvey to read Spanish lyric he would have to rely on imported copies of the collections, as there were no known translations of these works in Tudor and Stuart England. A translation into English would not have suited Harvey's or any other scholar's purpose of learning the Spanish language and its prosody, as Sidney had claimed to have done in his glosses about French and Spanish meter in the *Defence*.

The Sidney coterie, moreover, was not only working with some of the most popular Spanish fiction available in the latter sixteenth century, but also dealing with works whose character and composition represented significant shifts, innovations, and mixtures in the Spanish vernacular canon. Easily perceived by Harvey and others, for instance, would have been the shared sources of their Italianate imitation as well as the Spanish invention. Indeed both Spanish authors were credited with importing Italianate prosody and lyric forms into common Castilian usage, and Boscán was also responsible for bringing Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Corteggiano* into Iberia. Following the publication of Boscán's and Garcilaso's songs and

sonnets, collected in four books, in Barcelona (1543) and later Madrid (1547), sonnets, along with heptasyllabic and hendecasyllabic verses, quickly emerged in the Spanish courts, at times overshadowing the native Spanish octosyllabic and decasyllabic forms of the *romances* (specifically a ballad form popularized in the medieval period by troubadours with alternating unrhymed and assonant rhymed lines, not to be confused with the narrative ‘romance’ genre) and other popular musical forms. Harvey and Fraunce, however, like were unaware that Boscán’s verse would have to brave much ridicule from Spanish lyricists for writing in the hendecasyllable as opposed to the native Spanish heptasyllable and octasyllable. One such verse satire by Cristóbal de Castillejo branded the alien Petrarchan forms as “una tan nueva y extraña, / como aquella de Lutero” (a strange and new Lutheran heresy), in a fit of nationalist outcry.³⁹

The common Italian heritage has led scholars to suggest that any literary affinity among Sidney, his followers, and Boscán and Garcilaso is solely a product of their common influence. However, the greater availability of Spanish grammar books in England points to an interest in the Spanish language in its own right, and its intertextual relationship with English, during the various stages of the Anglo-Spanish conflict. John Thorius, translator of *The Spanish Grammar*, was in fact well acquainted with those interested in Sidney’s literary afterlife, and due to the misfortune of getting involved in the quarrel between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe, he was rather well known to them.⁴⁰ Harvey’s enthusiasm for reading Spanish works would find a familiar countercurrent in Thorius’ rather short and politic epistle to the reader. We can infer from Thorius’ letter to the reader that he was aware of the politics of vernacular exchange, protesting as much, that he did “meane not here to write an [encomium] in commendation of the Spanish or French tongue: leaving the consideration thereof unto every one his liking.”⁴¹ The withheld encomium could effectively affirm an anti-Spanish stance while nonetheless endorsing the study of Spanish letters, making it all the more mysterious and alluring by leaving it to the reader’s own risk to pursue.

Harvey’s interest in reading Spanish was not just limited to reviewing the grammar-book produced by one of his coterie. He sought out others. He writes at the top of the title page to his copy of Thorius’ manual the title to Richard Perceval’s own Spanish grammar-dictionary, the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591), possibly as both a suggestion for further reading and matter for comparison with Thorius, whose book had come out only a year before. In the wake of Thorius, Perceval also drafted a Spanish-Latin-English dictionary and grammar. But whereas Thorius had developed his grammar-book with the aid of a French-Spanish grammar, Perceval had written his book with the assistance of some of the Armada prisoners, whose ransom he helped to negotiate. Seeking to further establish himself as a prominent Hispanist, Perceval dedicated the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* to Penelope Devereux’s brother, Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, presumably in hopes of gaining his patronage.⁴²

Poco, y bueno.

La vida de Lazarillo de Tormas, y de fortunas
y adversidades. Todo es nada.

Latina Lingua, incorruptior apud Hispanos, quam apud Italos,
aut Gallos. Fovius Italus, de Pisabus Romanis, c. 4. bis.

Cortesijs, et Medinae Libri Hispanici, de Arte navigandi:
Guevara de Inventionis Navigationis:
The braue Indian Histories, of Hernando Cortes / pl /
Examen de Ingenios.
Diara of monde maggior: Boscan: Garcilaco:
& sum other Legends of Chivalry, & Errant Knights.

enid

Figure 2.2: Gabriel Harvey's reading list, in his own hand, from the flyleaf of his copy of Antonio de Corro and John Thorius, *The Spanish Grammer* (London, 1590). Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

If English supremacy was to be proven on the battlefield, as Sidney tried to do at Zutphen, it must also be asserted in a rhetoric manual meant for popular circulation among scholars, aspiring courtiers, and those with mercenary interests. Published in 1588, Fraunce's *The Arcadian Rhetorike* was undoubtedly meant to be largely accessible, and its didacticism pointed toward championing Sidney as the example of the English master of letters. According to Fraunce's modern editor, his aim is "that of claiming for English poetry (and prose, for nearly half of the passages from the *Arcadia* are in prose) a high place in contemporary European letters, and of asserting the supereminence of Sir Philip Sidney in particular. This he does by the simple device of steadily giving to Sidney the third place, almost always in large type, next to the semi-divine [Homer and Virgil], and before the Italian, French, and Spanish poets—always and systematically in that order."⁴³ The typographical arrangement of Fraunce's rhetorical examples follows the hierarchical arrangement of vernacular languages that Sidney describes in the *Defence*. Although Fraunce would cite extensively from Boscán and Garcilaso as he arranged a hierarchical order of vernacular literatures, his hierarchical scheme was not his own. He would follow Sidney's order from the *Defence*; though Sidney too would not surprise any of his contemporaries by placing Spain in the lower reaches of the vernacular hierarchy. For Sidney, vernacular verse was most virtuous when it imitates the quantitative prosody of the classical lines in the rhythms of the vernacular's own conventions. On this account, he cites Spanish verse for its deficiency. Before doing so, he extolls the graces of the English language in a *digressio* moving from a discussion of oratory to verse:

I know some will say it is a mingled language. And why not so much the better, taking the best of both the other? Another will say it wanteth grammar. Nay, truly, it hath that praise that it wanteth not grammar. For grammar it might have, but it needs it not; being so easy in itself, and so void of those cumbersome differences of cases, genders, moods, and tenses, which, I think, was a piece of the Tower of Babylon's curse, that a man should be put to school to learn his mother-tongue. But for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world; and is particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, near the Greek, far beyond the Latin,—which is one of the greatest beauties that can be in a language.

Now of versifying there are two sorts, the one ancient, the other modern. The ancient marked the quantity of each syllable, and according to that framed his verse; the modern observing only number, with some regard of the accent, the chief life of it standeth in that like sounding of the words, which we call rime...Truly the English, before any other vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts. For, for the ancient, the Italian is so full of vowels that it must ever be cumbered with elisions; the Dutch so, of the other side, with consonants, that they cannot yield the sweet sliding fit for a verse. The French in his whole language hath not one word that hath his accent in the last syllable saving two, called antepenultima, and little more hath the Spanish; and therefore very gracelessly may they use dactyls. The English is subject to none of these defects. Now for rime, though we do not observe quantity, yet we observe the accent very precisely, which other languages either cannot do, or will not do so absolutely. That cæsura, or breathing-place in the midst of the verse, neither Italian nor Spanish have, the French and we never almost fail of. (247-248)

To represent the southerly trajectory of the hierarchy, namely English, Dutch (i.e. German), French, Italian, and Spanish, Sidney would have to display the lesser languages against a set of criteria characterizing their main weakness as metrical rigidity. Given that Sidney had introduced the question of quantitative classical verse earlier in his treatise, this section comes as a digression following his discussion of formal decorum; and here we should treat it as such. For once again, in a very pronounced manner, the prescriptive affirmation comes down to another exaltation of the virtues of English being “fit for both sorts.” The conceit of the encomium for the English language reverses the distaste for disunity that Sidney voices for the tragi-comedy and the high/low in epic. In “versifying,” according to Sidney, the mixed origins of the English provides resources for either “ancient” or “modern” prosody. By asserting a historical link between the classical period and his present moment, Sidney was asserting the possibility of trans-cultural assimilation, with English verse being its natural product. And it would not have been out of place for Sidney to place English at the top of vernacular literatures to assert England’s budding interests in an ever globalizing political worldview.

Sidney did not need to be exactly right about why the Italian and Spanish do not have the caesura; the performance of authoritativeness overtakes humanist rigor and curiosity in importance, at least in this instance. Playing the diagnostician was enough for Sidney to weigh in on the defect of other vernaculars according to their own inherent natures. This is the most taciturn yet the most scathing indictment against Sidney’s own pretensions to experimentation and originality, however. The implicit logic suggests that if English is naturally the best equipped for both verse traditions, then its aim in experimentation is no more than perfunctory. Ultimately a compromise provides balance to the two angles of his argument: that the conceit could outgrow its former nature into a newer one while maintaining both the ancient and modern metrical conventions. This distinction, on the one hand, would allow Sidney to press charges against the Spanish verse at will, showing his distaste for the paucity of *palabras esdrújulas* (what he calls the “antepenultima”). And, on the other hand, Sidney could profess his approval of Spanish conceits from *cancioneros* and Montemayor.

Moreover, given the precedent detailing the qualities of Spanish verse in the *Defence*, we see how Fraunce wanted to magnify Sidney’s statement with concrete examples from the choicest texts of the continental vernaculars. He even went as far as to include unpublished selections from Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* to lean up against Sidney’s sizable corpus. While taking unauthorized or otherwise pirated material to print would have been far from uncommon, Fraunce’s undertaking of it reflected his concern with curating the most appropriate representatives for both a national vernacular and his rhetorical apparatus. In this respect, Boscán and Garcilaso, along with du Bartas and others, represented the flower of their respective nations. As it so happens, Fraunce juxtaposes the *vates* of each nation with respect to the thematically prophetic works that each produced, so that du Bartas’ *La Sepmaine* and *Judit*, the *Faerie Queene*, and various selections from Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata*, not to mention Virgil’s *Aeneid* and Homer’s epics, sit alongside each other in his manual. The chief commonality between Fraunce’s Spanish selections and those from Sidney is that they largely do not come from epic, and are selected opportunistically, though nevertheless didactically, from lyrics and narrative romances.

Most certainly working from the printed collected works, disposed into four books, of Boscán and Garcilaso, Fraunce provides citations of this source throughout, noting the book with an Arabic numeral after the author. It readily appears that he was not simply reading around or relying on the front matter for his Spanish source, nor could he, given that his rhetorical

examples had to pass muster, which they most often do. The volume was one which he knew quite well, and one he knew represented every sort of poetic exercise, from the song and sonnet to the *ottava rima* and the narrative “Leandro y Hero” contained in the Third Book. Fraunce showed Boscán some favor beyond the rhetoric manual, including verses of Hero and Leander in his *Yvychurch*, another title dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, noting, in regard to the narrative of Hero and Leander, that “*Ovid* in his epistles passionately setteth it downe, and *Boscan* hath made a whole volume of it in Spanish, entituled *Historia de Leandro y Hero*.”⁴⁴ His penchant for Spanish could not be so offensive to Mary Sidney as to deny him patronage, for eventually she did grant her preference in honor of the work he undertook in memory of her brother.

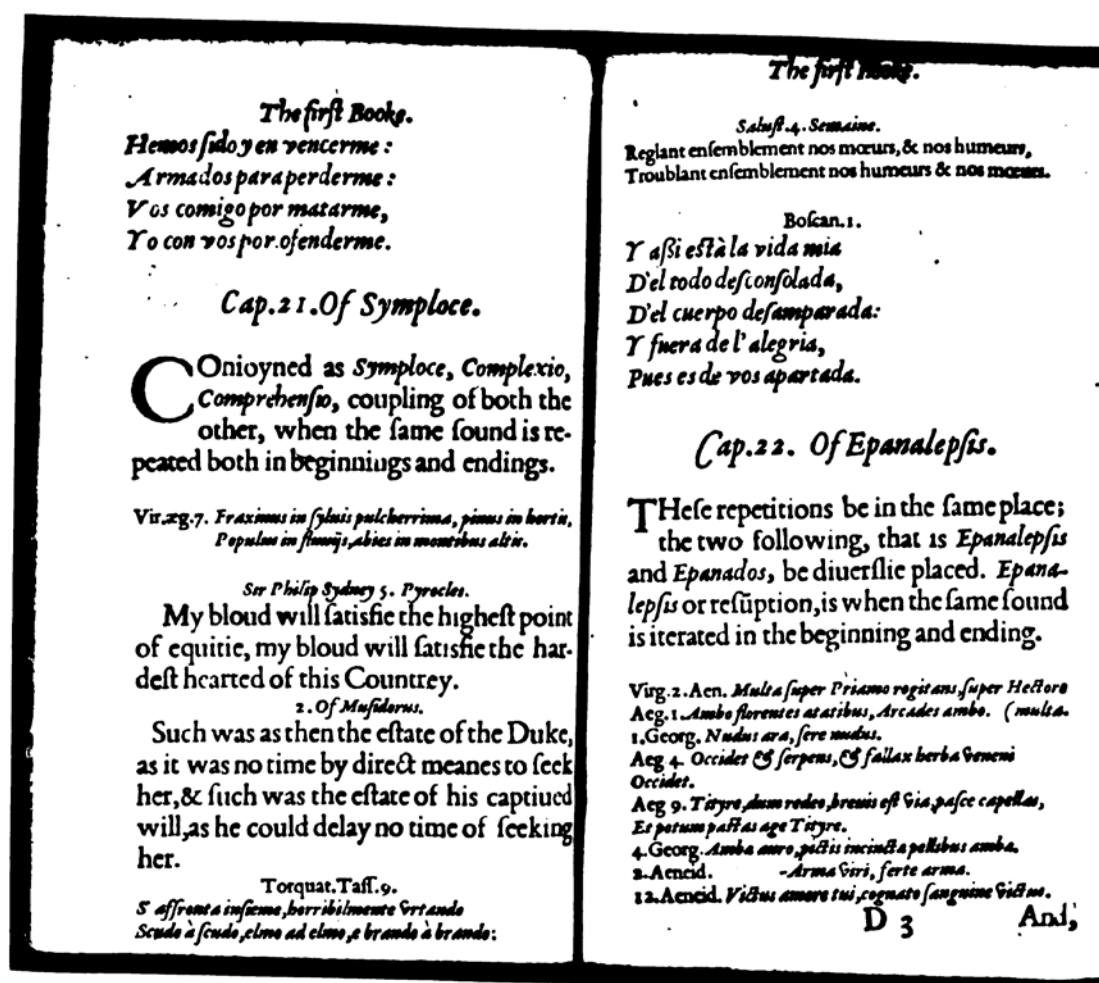
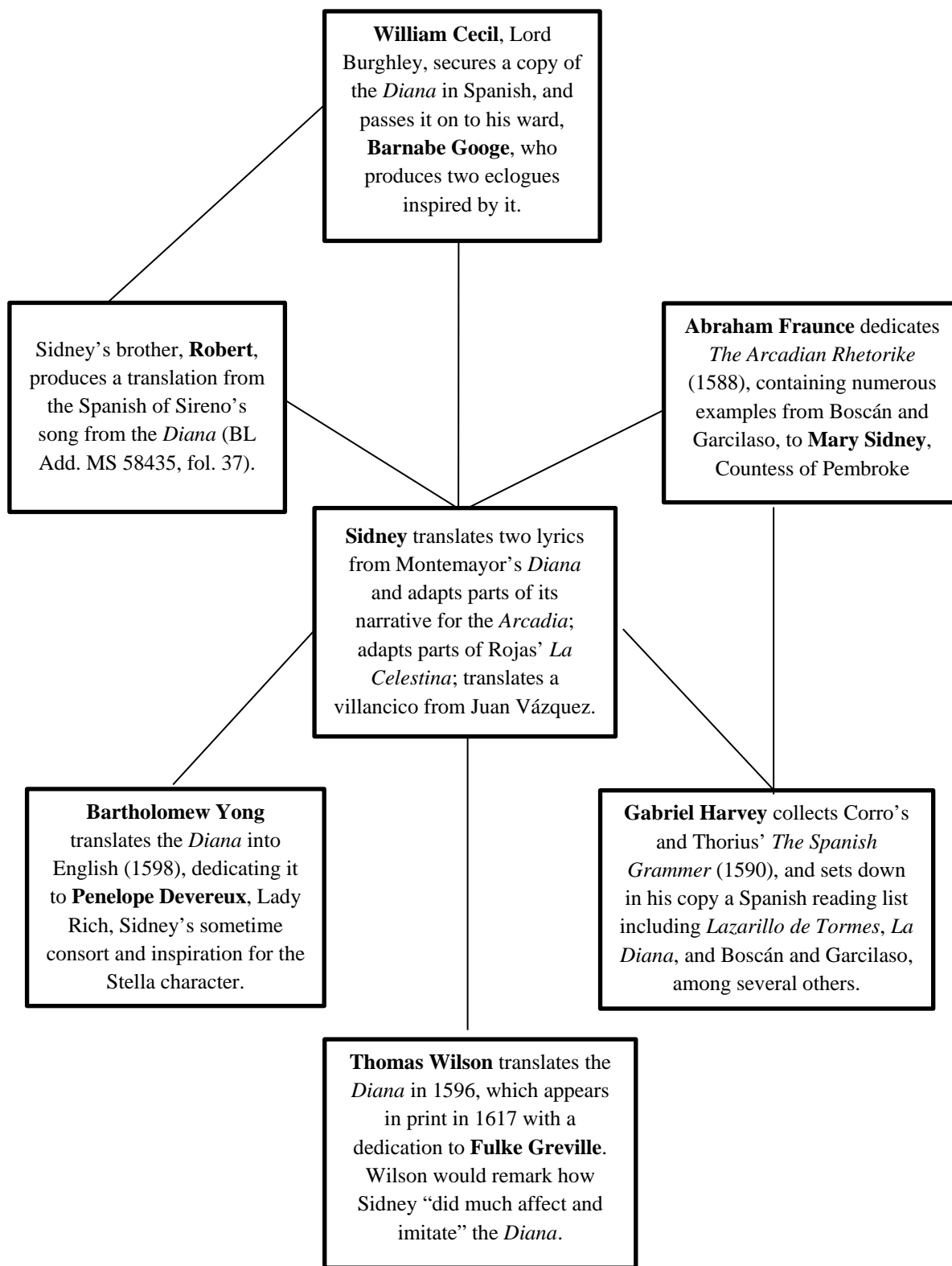


Figure 2.3: Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (London, 1588), sig. D2v-D3r, showing the quotations according to a hierarchy: Virgil, Sidney, Tasso, Du Bartas, and Boscán.

Chart 2.1: Tributary and Ancillary Connections to Spanish Works in Sidney's Coterie



3. “To me, the variety rather delights me than confounds me”: Sidney’s Theory of Prophetic Making

In describing above the relationship to Spanish cultural production that Sidney and his circle maintained over an expansive period of time, I briefly suggested that their contact with Spanish texts resulted in a concerted effort to experiment with mixing of tragedy and comedy, prose and verse, and the heroic and pastoral. I turn now to examine the theoretical basis encouraging the mixing of forms and modes which underpin Sidney’s claims to the exceptionalism of the English *vates* or prophet. Before theorizing the development of Sidney’s anti-Spanish doomsaying, I first turn to the *Defence* to suggest that Sidney views poetic mixing as a phenomenon that results in innovative expressions.

Drawing from the wealth of cosmopolitan knowledge collected throughout his extensive continental tour, Sidney fashions his poetic persona from the *Defence* in a distinctly transnational setting: “When the right virtuous Edward Wotton and I were at the Emperor’s court together, we gave ourselves to learn horsemanship of John Pietro Pugliano, one that with great commendation had the place of an esquire in his stable” (212). The framing scene of the *exordium* that opens the *Defence of Poesy*, his renowned treatise on poetics, takes place not in his native England, but at the Spanish riding school in Habsburg Vienna, and his companion, Edward Wotton, the sometime English ambassador to Spain and recusant Catholic, was Sidney’s own teacher of the Castilian tongue.⁴⁵ Speaking to England from the outside, pointing to the entrenched Tudor rivalry with the Habsburg Empire, Sidney’s *bravura* performance of praise for his “unelected profession” of poet puts him above and against Pugliano’s own “faculty” as a horse-tamer. Both Sidney and Pugliano were squared off by rank; the latter, as Sidney observes, was a servant to the Emperor just as Sidney was a sometime envoy for Elizabeth. With its emphasis on setting forth the “right” kind of poetry, Sidney’s monumental treatise on imaginative literary works situates its discourse in a cosmopolitan frame to signal its comparative aim. In contrast, Stephen Gosson’s *The School of Abuse* (1579), to which Sidney’s treatise was replying, languishes in its parochialism. And unlike George Puttenham’s *The Art of English of Poesy* (1589) and George Gascoigne’s *Certain Notes of Instruction* (1575), which sought to find a place of esteem for English poetics among other national vernacular literatures, the *Defence* sees itself as a universal apology for poetry, seeking not only to define it, but to reformulate it by insisting that the *English* poet, the maker, was a prophet, endowed by divine authority, who could bring together and assert dominance over unlike and unexpected things.

Sidney’s theory of poetry relies on a poet’s power to mix modes and “kinds” of poesy to address an institution or to vivify an image. To do this, he would have had in mind the Priestly account of creation from Genesis 1 (*GNV*) where “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth” *ex nihilo* and then “separated” light from darkness, and the firmament from the waters, “gathering” each to form the seas and land over the course of the six days of creation. There are a number of features that make the opening of Genesis attractive for a theory of poetic creation: the universe begins with speech through the divine breath of God’s blessing; new natural genres are brought forth, the “seed” of the earth and the “fruit” of the tree; and order is achieved through the classification and division of species. Biblical creation was of great poetic importance and urgency to Sidney and his contemporaries, for, as S.K. Heninger, Jr. observes, he was certainly pondering these alongside questions of Aristotelean *imitatio* in the *Defence*.⁴⁶

Although he was devoted to the Protestant cause in his politics, Sidney handles his theorization of poetics in a decidedly more secular manner. He advances a view that remarkably

synthesizes classical and biblical elements of prophetic accounts of creation resulting in a syncretic view of poetic making. The creation-myths to which Sidney alludes are prophetic because in the biblical tradition their source was understood to be God, who transmits the knowledge of creation to man. Hence, Moses is considered a prophet. Other parts of the Scripture, notably Sidney's key example of the Psalms of David, were also considered prophetic because they were divinely inspired. In fashioning his poetics, Sidney disavowed the title of prophet, but exalted his practice. The symptoms of Sidney's evasive behavior are best described by James L. Kugel's diagnosis of the Renaissance concern over poetic prophecy: "the makers of poetry have more than once been attacked as usurpers or falsifiers of the Divine Word, and defended as following nothing less than Scripture's own dictates and models of prescribed behavior."⁴⁷ Indeed Sidney performs such an equivocal gesture as to equate divine prophecy, specifically David's, with poetry:

may not I presume a little further, to show the reasonableness of the word *vates*, and say that the holy David's Psalms are a divine poem? If I do, I shall not do it without the testimony of great learned men, both ancient and modern. But even the name of Psalms will speak for me, which, being interpreted, is nothing but Songs; then, that it is fully written in metre, as all learned Hebricians agree, although the rules be not yet fully found; lastly and principally, his handling his prophecy, which is merely poetical ... But truly now having named him, I fear me I seem to profane that holy name, applying it to poetry, which is among us thrown down to so ridiculous an estimation. (215)

There are two points being advanced here: the first is that the reverent terminology of prophecy (*vates*) from classical Roman literature can profitably be applied to biblical poetry, which moves by its divine conceits and its metrical observation; the second is an unabashed apology for giving the prophetic Davidic Psalms the title of "poetry." Indeed, by 1650 the idea that David was a prophet was so familiar to readers that a gloss of identification was omitted. Such is the case in Henry Vaughan's devotions, *Mount of Olives*, which quotes a psalm and identifies David's prophetic authorship: "*Holinesse* (saith the Royall Prophet) *becometh thy house for ever*."⁴⁸ Sidney's gestures become more accessible when we consider that the exchange in nomenclature that would seem to distinguish various poetries and authors instead prefers to collapse their classification, not with regard to terminology, but on account of their effect. That is to say, for Sidney, the nature of poetry is to observe its numbers, to create new conceits, and, above all, to move its reader—biblical prophecy ticks all these boxes, but cannot readily be named poetry for reasons stemming from religious controversy. We may elsewhere in the *Defence* observe how Sidney exalts poetry by again associating it with the term *prophet*—and citing biblical authority for doing so, even when the poet is pagan. Distinguishing philosophy from poetry, he posits that "St. Paul himself ... for the credit of poets, twice citeth poets, and one of them by the name of 'their prophet'" (239).

Furthermore, Sidney inherits and redeploys prophecy in his *Defence* to signal the ancient reverence to the poet as a *vates*, "a diviner, foreseer or prophet." The critical trend focusing on Sidney's Protestant politics has had to argue that the term *vates* exists to exclude either a predominantly religious or secular set of concerns in the *Defence*.⁴⁹ If we detect slippage in the terminology of prophecy of the *Defence*, it is perhaps because Sidney's definition of prophecy does not sit well with literary criticism's categorizations of religious-political prognostication in the Elizabethan era. As I explained earlier, prophecy was a source of great consternation for the

monarch, and an outright dangerous practice for a would-be prognosticator to make predictions about the political future of England.⁵⁰ Even Prescott, craving a more straightforward understanding of Sidney's biblical poetics, identifies the slippage between the biblical poet-prophet and a secular version of the ideal poet-prophet in the *Defence*, pointing to the "peculiar status of the psalms—so like 'right' poetry and yet so beyond emulation, so central to parts of his case and yet finally so irrelevant to a defense of merely secular verse—that encouraged Sidney both to keep David under house arrest in the temple of divine poets and yet to subpoena him from time to time to testify on poetry's behalf."⁵¹ While Prescott describes Sidney as putting forth an either/or proposition about religious versus secular poetry, we could read Sidney as enjoying the "liberty of conceit" that makes mixing forms all the more tempting.

Yet for Sidney, it is not simply the imitation of biblical typology, in this case the Psalms, that attests to the divine endowment of prophecy, but rather the formal observance of versification and conceptual range of figurative fancy. He offers in the *Defence* that "since both by the Oracles of Delphos and Sybillas prophecies, were wholly delivered in verses, for that same exquisite observing of number and measure in the words, and that high flying liberty of conceit proper to the Poet, did seem to have some divine force in it" (215). Divine authority to foresee and foretell the future is not entirely what makes the Hellenic oracles the venerated outlets for prophecy. The poet's "liberty of conceit" could only "seem" to be divinely inspired if it was strictly accompanied by quantitative versification, with its "numbers" well in order.

Poesy, for Sidney and his contemporaries, encompassed all forms of creative literature. Distinctions of form were less an accident of the structural and mechanical characteristics of a piece, and relied more on audience, occasion, and vision to achieve their categorization, "some of these being termed according to the matter they deal with, some by the sorts of verses they liked best to write in" (217). This allows for the introduction of foreign elements in the conceit and prosody alike. When Sidney comes around to define the poet, he favorably compares him to the *vates*, saying the poets

be they which most properly do imitate to teach and delight, and to imitate borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be; but range, only reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be and should be. These be they that, as the first and most noble sort may justly be termed *vates*, so these are waited on in the excellentest languages and best understandings with the fore-described name of poets. For these indeed do merely make to imitate, and imitate both to delight and teach, and delight to move men to take that goodness in hand, which without delight they would fly as from a stranger; and teach to make them know that goodness whereunto they are moved. (217)

This is the *Defence's* centerpiece, coming from the *propositio*, which in no uncertain terms ponders the Aristotelean conception of imitation from the *Poetics*, terming the maker a prophet meant "to move men." Imitation is the mechanism by which the *vates* gets his authority. But the task of the poet has a two-fold purpose, "both to delight and teach." Sidney seems to take some extra measures to say that these two things, formerly considered distinct, actually go together. In proposing imitation of ideal forms as the highest form of achievement for the poet-as-*vates*, he also proposes that the poets "borrow nothing of what is." The tacit proof of Sidney's assertion is that the poet surpasses the forms of nature by bringing together unlike forms in his creations. In this respect, he is speaking in terms of imaginative conceits, which does not foreclose a

transnational and polyglot view of idealized poetic creation; in fact, it requires it, for the poets “are waited on in the excellentest languages,” that facilitate the conceptual *invention*.

Moreover, Sidney’s persistent mingling of the offices of poet and prophet comes from the most surprising disposition toward biblical prophetic designations. In terms of the biblical narrative of the rise and fall of the Davidic dynasty, “David is a most unlikely candidate for the title of prophet,” as Kugel succinctly puts it.⁵² In the Deuteronomist sources of the Hebrew Bible, the prophetic office in David’s court was held by Nathan. As a messenger of God, Nathan was a mediator between God and David, and offered counsel and advice to the monarch, who, after starting on a righteous path, strayed from it by hatching an assassination plot to kill Bathsheba’s husband and take her as his concubine. This distinction between David as king and Nathan as his prophet did not seem to trouble Sidney much when he repeatedly emphasized David’s preeminence among the prophets in the *Defence*. In part, Sidney was following the Christian tradition in the New Testament that calls David a prophet to underscore the Messianic antecedent of Christ. While appearing contradictory, his competing designations and examples would have been understood by his contemporaries to agree with the multitude of examples of the “prophet” in the Old and New Testaments. Still moving farther afield, Sidney commends Nathan for succeeding in moving David with his poetic fiction:

Nathan the prophet, who, when the holy David had so far forsaken God as to confirm adultery with murder, when he was to do the tenderest office of a friend in laying his own shame before his eyes, sent by God to call again so chosen a servant, how doth he it but by telling of a man whose beloved lamb was ungratefully taken from his bosom? The application most divinely true, but the discourse itself feigned; which made David (I speak of the second and instrumental cause) as in a glass to see his own filthiness, as that heavenly psalm of mercy well testifieth.

By these, therefore, examples and reasons, I think it may be manifest that the poet, with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually than any other art doth. And so a conclusion not unfitly ensueth: that, as virtue is the most excellent resting-place for all wordly learning to make his end of, so poetry, being the most familiar to teach it, and most princely to move towards it, in the most excellent work is the most excellent workman. (228)

In the example of Nathan, the ends of poetry and prophecy meet: “The application most divinely true, but the discourse itself feigned.” Channeling the divine breath, Nathan discharges his prophetic duty of censuring the king, but his fictional invention is what moves David “to see his own filthiness.” Yet the attention turns away from Nathan to settle on David’s own poetic making, “as that heavenly psalm of mercy well testifieth.” Sidney argues that Nathan’s fiction inspires David to write Psalm 51, a plaint of *miserere mei*, and one of the most popular penitential psalms preferred by Calvinists for its exemplarity in espousing the doctrine of total depravity. The presence of Psalm 51 in early modern English lyric is vast: it inspires the first English sonnet sequence done by Ann Vaughn Locke, and its gravity is highlighted by appearing in rhyme royal in the Sidneys’ translation. The convergence of prophetic descriptors in this passage can be difficult to parse because they do not easily align with the view of *poiesis* Sidney advances, yet they all prove to be instrumental to describing the ends of poetry: David and Nathan show that fiction making can be divinely inspired to meet both spiritual and political ends, and that the poetry of prophecy manifests and authorizes the work of creation, for “in the

most excellent work is the most excellent workman.” By smuggling an encomium for David’s psalm into a compliment to Nathan, the *Defence* signals its approval for the fiction-making qualities of prophecy by making it available to the ampler project of *imitatio*, but in the process of doing so, it downplays the significance of Nathan’s role as a political prophet.

The poet’s task of recovering the political aspects from prophecy, for Sidney, originates from his understanding of the “workman” who not only narrates primordial creation in the case of biblical and classical genesis accounts, but participates in it. Although the *Defence* takes much from classical authority to theorize how a poet should imitate to delight and instruct, it nevertheless seeks to revise inherited notions of poetic unity, decorum, and categorization. Sidney echoes Aristotle to say that the poet imitates the idealized forms of nature to produce his art, for

only the poet, disdainful to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow, in effect, into another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew, forms such as never were in nature, as the heroes, demi-gods, cyclops, chimeras, furies, and such like; so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging within the zodiac of his own wit. (216)

Yet Sidney’s key examples of “forms such as never were in nature” largely focus on transcending biological and physiological types to create genres of fantastical creatures and deformed monsters, in the case of the cyclops, and hybrid beasts, such as the lion-snake-goat chimera or the beast-woman furies. This passage does away with the ironical propositions to be found practically everywhere else in the treatise to such an extent that Sidney’s affirmative view of an exceptional new and better “nature” can seem suspicious. According to the Aristotelean scheme, after all, the poet imitates nature, not creates it.

In experimenting with the poet’s capacity of recombining unlike things, Sidney was participating in a form of creation with the matter already available to him in the example of Spain. For Sidney, the farther two national forms of artistic production were apart, the more interesting a challenge it was to bring them together in some way. “To me, the variety rather delights me than confounds me,” Sidney writes to Edward Denny in 1580, around the same time that Sidney was writing *The Defence of Poesy* and revising the *Old Arcadia*, exhorting him to read as widely as possible from classic and contemporary works.⁵³ According to a modern editor, “easy to overlook is Sidney’s originality in genre” with the *Arcadia* and the trend-setting *Astrophil and Stella*.⁵⁴

To be sure, the examples from the *Defence* treating the mingling of languages and of the heroic and pastoral that we have surveyed so far have been largely affirmative. But Sidney seems to reverse his stance on mingling by violently denouncing mixed literary modes in terms of generic breeding. By doing so, Sidney wanted to unsettle Aristotelian theories of decorum by subjecting them to the Spanish test-case. Although not the one to coin the term, Sidney was interested in theorizing the “tragi-comedy” in his *Defence*, stemming from the influence of Rojas’ *Celestina*. With the *Celestina* we have an example of one of the most direct importations of Spanish literary terminology concerning the mixed mimetic mode, coming from the title page of 1514 Valencia edition of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*. According to Bearden, Sidney did not only borrow its titular generic designation, but he took elements from it to compose Miso’s tale in the *New Arcadia*.⁵⁵ Out of Rojas and, later, Montemayor’s *La Diana*

would come the poetic “innovations” to be found in the new and old *Arcadia*, often described by modern and early modern critics alike as the premier example of Sidney’s singular genius. Yet the affirmative assessments of these Spanish sources sit uneasily with the vexed courtier’s professions of anti-Spanish sentiment. Sidney’s *Defence* produces the analogy between literary and biological mixing that he is interested in associating with the *vates* by looking at the mixing of high and low in dramatic poesy:

But, besides these gross absurdities, how all [English dramatists’] plays be neither right tragedies nor right comedies, mingling kings and clowns, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in the clown by head and shoulders to play a part in majestical matters, with neither decency nor discretion; so as neither the admiration and commiseration, nor the right sportfulness, is by their *mongrel tragi-comedy* obtained....But I speak to this purpose, that all the end of the comical part be not upon such scornful matters as stir laughter only, but *mixed* with it that delightful teaching which is the end of poesy. (244, my emphasis)

Permissible to Sidney was any mixing encompassing his two maxims concerning the aim of poetry, to delight *and* to instruct, “which is the end of poesy.” To emphasize the didactic element of poetry was to take on the mantle of the humanist and to supersede Ascham and Gosson. It is no surprise that Sidney presses himself into the role of the rhetorician—he would have had much practice from his correspondence with Languet and Ramus, after all. The demarcation of the “mongrel” further stresses the conception of mixing as being most prominent in the phenotypical features characterizing procreation. Sidney first has to make the textual “tragi-comedy” a biological organism to attribute to it the quality of generic mixing.

Ironically, however, the term tragicomedy would later be used by Thomas Nashe as a kind of epithet to describe Sidney’s own poetic creations in a euphuistic letter to the reader from the pirated edition (1591) of *Astrophil and Stella*, the quintessential collection which inspired a sonnet fad in Elizabethan England. Promising to deliver a drama that would efface the unrequited lover’s pain, Nashe invites the reader

into this Theater of pleasure, for here you shal find a paper stage streud with pearle, an artificial heaven to overshadow the faire frame, & christal wals to encounter your curious eyes, whiles the *tragicommodity* of love is performed by starlight.⁵⁶

To call *Astrophil and Stella* a “tragicommodity,” Nashe has to account for the theatrical usage of the mixed mode that he applies to the narrative arc of the sonnet sequence, framing it as a “Theater of pleasure” with a “paper stage.” He is self-conscious about moving the mixed mode of the stage onto the sonnet sequence, for his elaborate conceit does protest too much in insisting that *Astrophil and Stella* is very much a “tragicommodity” and very much a performance with all the trappings of the stage. Nashe is doing something dodgy and strange, though not entirely unheard of, in claiming that the sonnet sequence is comparable with attending the theater. The reader can make of *Astrophil and Stella* his theater, complete with its own paper carpentry and an unenclosed top to see the performance “by starlight.” The mixed mode of the tragicomedy is the selling point of the sonnet sequence; and as Nashe would have it, it also produces a mixed medium as well. He is asking that the readers’ mind’s eye and the “paper stage” become one common place under “an artificial heaven.” That is to say, Nashe is naturalizing the sonnet

sequence as a public spectacle of love that transcends the intimacy of the “lyric I” by relentlessly pursuing a conceit in which the mode and the medium can be organized under the category that best connotes the mixing of the unlikely high and low, the tragicomedy. Perhaps, then, it is not so much the theatricality of *Astrophil and Stella* on which Nashe is hoping to capitalize, but on the excitement surrounding the claim to originality and innovation that so much undergirds the reception of Sidney’s lyric collection, but that Sidney himself consistently toys with.

4. Prophetic Hispanophobia and the Cultivation of Hatred

At the outset of this chapter, I described how Greville fashions Sidney’s reluctant foray into the sphere of courtly politics into an act of public prophetic speech. Compared to such a characterization, the examples from Sidney’s and Languet’s epistles on Anglo-Spanish affairs, and on the nature of the Spaniard, inhabit a more liminal space. They are not open letters in the same way that Sidney’s letter to Elizabeth was meant to be; the latter is artfully executed and marked with the performance of restraint that bespeaks the act of deference toward the monarch. As commentators on political matters, Sidney and Languet do not espouse policy positions as much as they traffic in fearful and hateful speech. I deliberately refer to hateful speech as the primary designation for apocalyptic Hispanophobia, despite its broader anachronistic applications, because it best describes the desired political effects, or to borrow from the *Defence*, the “ends” of such poetry. Greville seeks to make his characterizations of Sidney’s anti-Spanish stances politically disruptive in two ways: he deploys Sidney’s poetic concerns with generic mixing along with their rhetorical strategies for calling them into question; and, by casting Sidney as a political prophet, turns Sidney’s circumscribed Hispanophobia into a publicly franchised discourse.⁵⁷

We have observed that Sidney, in the *Defence*, tries to keep overtly political forms of prophecy out of the way, instead preferring to focus on the *vates*’ relationship to the matter of making, uniting, and dividing. But the architects of Sidney’s literary legacy thrust him and his works onto the stage of political prophecy. Greville would go further than Sidney dared, attributing to him the gift of seeing and divining to account for his expedient condemnation of Spain. Nevertheless, Greville’s view of the *vates* had the political currency he wished to impute to Sidney. Such an understanding of the *vates* as possessing political foreknowledge was current in the period, as evidenced by George Puttenham’s *The Art of English Poesy*. Unlike Sidney’s *vates*, Puttenham prefers to refer to the first poets as seers, after the Vulgate’s *videntes*. Like Sidney, though, Puttenham comes down on the side of verse, rather than prose, as the most suitable vehicle for conveying prophecy, owing to the tradition of oracular verse. The prophets were those “apt to receive visions, both waking and sleeping, which made them utter prophesies, and foretell things to come.” Greville’s hagiography further follows Puttenham in viewing the poet-prophet as the subject most capable of “devising all expedient means for the establishment of commonwealth, to hold and contain the people in order and duty by force and virtue of good and wholesome laws, made for the preservation of the public peace and tranquility.”⁵⁸ In carving out for Sidney a privileged position in the history of English politics, Greville was inviting readings of Sidney’s works with a heuristic view toward prophetic policy positions that shaped English national identity.

The lasting implications of Greville’s remarks are that Sidney’s poetry was largely concerned with laying out what did or did not go together, politically and culturally, in terms of safely navigating England’s relationship to Habsburg interests. And in doing so it was not only

the subject matter of Sidney's letter to Elizabeth that got him in trouble but also the directionality of address the open epistolary form demands. While the audience of the letter was open and diverse, the intended recipient of the discourse is unequivocal due to the required act of salutation, or apostrophe, which opens the letter. However, stoking political and religious difference seemed to be more pronounced when it resulted from internal dysfunction. Other acts of prophetic speech could offer not only greater political shelter but larger return. Greville further describes how

it pleased [Sidney] to question yet a greater oversight in both these kingdoms, England and France, because while their princes stood at gaze, as upon things far off, they still gave way for the popish and Spanish invisible arts and counsels to undermine the greatness and freedom both of secular and ecclesiastical princes...and to that end perchance have set Spain on work with her new and ill-digested conquests, her dangerous enemy Fez, her native Moors and Jews (since craftily transported).⁵⁹

It is a trope of gluttonous intemperance that activates anti-Spanish disgust for both the New World conquests and to the expulsion of Jews and Muslims beginning in 1492. The Spanish body politic suffered from acute dyspepsia due to its internally repulsive composition, swallowing up new "conquests" while voiding itself, unsuccessfully, of the sources of its religious and racial otherness. Claiming that England need only hold out against such an internally toxic nation, Greville suggests that public anti-Spanish discourse, along the lines that Sidney dispenses, could continue to be a formidable political strategy. "In his own way Greville helped to perpetuate the 'black legend' against the Spanish," according to one modern editor. The stakes of Hispanophobic speech were anything but anodyne for Greville, who "deliberately abandoned historical accuracy in order to make a polemical point...when he displays his affinity with the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish spirit."⁶⁰

Greville situates Sidney's prophetic perspective in such a way as to transcend time and geography altogether. This was necessary not only to authorize Sidney's prophetic perspective as divinely inspired and timeless, but to contend with and contain the vastness of the Spanish power. Much like the admonition to Elizabeth about her proposed mixed-faith marriage, Greville turns Sidney's perspective toward Philip of Spain and his successors to mount the charge of tyranny against them:

the state of tyrants is so sublime, and their errors founded upon such precipitate steps, as this growing Spaniard both did, doth, and ever will, travail (with his forefathers in paradise) to be equal or above his maker, and so to imprison divine laws within the narrowness of will, and human wisdom with the fettered selfnesses of cowardly or over-confident tyranny. In which preposterous course to prevent all possibility of commotion, let the reader be pleased to observe how that continually he forceth his own subjects freeddenized in America to fetch weapons of defence, conquest, invasion, as well as ornament, wealth, necessity and delicacy, out of Spain, mere to retain want, supply, price, weight, fashion and measure still (contrary to nature) in that barren crown of Castile; with an absolute power resting in himself to rack or ease both peoples according to the waving ends of an unsteady and sharp-pointed pyramis of power.

Nay, to rise yet a step higher in this bloody pride, Sir Philip—our unbelieved Cassandra—observed this limitless ambition of the Spaniard to have chosen that

uttermost citadel of bondage—I mean the Inquisition of Spain—for her instrument; not, as in former masks, to prune or govern, but, in a confidence rising out of the old age of superstitious phantasms, utterly to root out all seeds of human freedom, and (as Sir Philip conceived) with fatal dissolution to itself: in respect that these types of extremity would soon publish to the world what little difference tyrants strive to leave between the creation, use and honour of men and beasts, valuing them indifferently but as counters to sum up the diverse, nay contrary, uses and audits of sublime and wandering supremacy; which true glass would (in this gentleman’s opinion) show the most dull and cowardly eye that tyrants be not nursing fathers, but step-fathers, and so no anointed deputies of God, but, rather, lively images of the Dark Prince, that sole author of discretion and disorder, who ever ruins his ends with over-building.⁶¹

Political prophecy requires the performance of confirmation to achieve its canonization. That is Greville’s strategy here in calling Sidney “our unbelieved Cassandra” to observe the malefaction of the greedy Spaniard. The indictment against the haughty Spaniard is that he “both did, doth, and ever will, travail (with his forefathers in paradise) to be equal or above his maker, and so to imprison divine laws within the narrowness of will.” Seeking to transcend natural and divine law, the Spaniard is fixed eternally in his own devolution. Nimrod comes to mind, as does Nebuchadnezzar, in Sidney’s ventriloquized jeremiad.

Greville’s rhetorical strategy mirrors William of Orange’s argument for rebelling against Spanish control in terms of ethnic and biological characteristics. Apologizing for his late acquiescence toward a Hispanophobic disposition, Orange charts his own evolving anti-Spanish stance in terms of the procession of the Spanish disease afflicting the Dutch body politic:

I will not (my Lordes) recite unto you anie thing of that, which I have seene in the Emperours time, not because I did not perceave sundrie matters set out and practiced by the Spaniardes, which I approved not as good, and of which I did not sufficiently conceave, that the disease in processe of time might growe so farre that in the ende it should be verie necessarie to use a strong and powerfull medicine and to purge the country from these pernicious and hurtfull Spanish humours. But because I was not able then...to knowe the deep malice of the Spaniardes and their adherents, I could hardlie perswade my selfe that we should be inforced to bring a whot yron to this cancker of Spaine, or els to come so farre as to roote it out ... for, amongst the Indies and in other places, where they commanded absolutely, they yeilded to evident a prooffe of their perverse naturall disposition, and tyrannous affection and will.⁶²

The purgation of “these pernicious and hurtfull Spanish humours” underlies the general argument for armed revolt against the Spanish. However, the pathology of the Spaniards is traced to the “Indies and in other places” where “they yeilded to evident a prooffe, of their perverse, naturall disposition, and tyrannous affection and will.” Orange’s argument is strange because it is largely predicated on hearsay: he claims that he was unable to see or perceive these innate Spanish characteristics before, but had to learn of them from other reports. We know that the Black Legend is built on such perceptions of Spanish cruelty, but what Greville and Orange expose is that the fiction-making qualities of the Black Legend owe to the prophetic disposition to publish and affect its reader toward inhabiting an anti-Spanish stance that is confirmed by the

manufacture of phenotypical distinctions. Only in this way can Greville's Sidney-Cassandra be confirmed to be perpetually confirming his own prophecy.

English apocalyptic Hispanophobia is riddled with a number of ironies stemming from its conception of ethnic and racial difference. It is not so much the case that England sought to contain racial miscegenation. Instead, Sidney and Greville sought to insert themselves within the new racial hierarchies of colonial castes and take over their governance from the Spanish. In listing Sidney's justifications for seeking to join Drake in the New World, Greville expands Sidney's prophetic footprint to include a sub-Messianic disposition toward becoming a New World warlord who delivers native peoples from their cruel Spanish overlords:

Thirdly, out of confident belief that their inhumane cruelties had so dispeopled and displeased those countries that as he was sure to find no great power to withstand him, so might he well hope the relics of those oppressed Cimaroons would joyfully take arms with any foreigner to redeem their liberty and revenge their parents' blood.

Fourthly, by reason the scale of distance between Spain and America was so great as it infallibly assured Sir Philip, he should find leisure enough to land, fortify and become master of the field before any succour could come thither to interrupt him.

Fifthly, the pride, delicacy and security of the Spaniard, which made him live without discipline; and trust more to the greatness of his name abroad than any strength, order, courage or munition at home.

Sixthly, Sir Philip, prophesying what the pedigrees of princes did warrant—I mean the happy conjunction of Scotland to these populous realms of England and Ireland—foresaw that if this multitude of people were not studiously husbanded, and disposed of, they would rather diminish than add any strength to this monarchy.⁶³

Greville describes the natives having to flee the Spaniards as “oppressed Cimaroons.” The *OED* does not register a definition of “cimarron” before the nineteenth century, though it was a current term in early modern Spanish to denote racial otherness and general savagery. Confident in his own constitutional supremacy, according to Greville, Sidney would be able to defeat the undisciplined Spaniards. Further “prophesying” with regard to the political “conjunction” that joined Scots, Irishmen, and Englishmen, Sidney suggested that the general lack of discipline of the Spaniards, by comparison, endangered the strength of their monarchy. The tactic, moreover, was to sever Spanish colonial territories from their Iberian lord and transfer them into the hands of the northern princes possessing the greater “pedigrees.” The irony, of course, was that the colonial practices of the Spaniards should be entirely replicated by the English and their northern allies, but that it would not be offensive to natural and divine law because the colonial masters were of a superior race. All other colonial justifications being equal, the supremacy of the English race justified surpassing Spanish leases in the New World.

* * *

To conclude this chapter, I offer some readings of *Astrophil and Stella* that speak to this chapter's central concern about the legacy of English Hispanophobia Sidney's poetics leave for early modern authors. Indeed, this chapter has held that Sidney fashioned his identity as a nationalist poet-prophet and maker by speaking out against the Spanish threat to English

supremacy across a variety of texts and contexts. In doing so, Sidney was setting a precedent: Hispanophobic discourse seemed to be the prerequisite not only for political advancement in Elizabeth's court, but also for poetic realization. In *Astrophil and Stella* he had to key his English response in increasingly self-aware nationalist gestures. Astrophil's avowed concern with breaking off from the traditions established by monolithic literary figures jostles between playful irony and outright absurdity, yet nevertheless motivates a series of conceits which redirect their address to attend to questions of English political sovereignty and fear of the Spanish other.

Through its manifold modes of address *Astrophil and Stella* discloses its martial concerns with Habsburg mobilization. Resistance to expansionist influence, however, is not given as an easy response to it, just as resistance to Love's siege is futile. In the case of Sonnet 29, anticipating the entrance of the first-person subject only delays the predictable outcome, which casts Astrophil as the willing-unwilling slave to love. The mode of address in this poem suppresses the intervention of the lyric first-person until the very last couplet. It is mostly in the third person with indirect references to Stella. What is certain is that Stella is not the intended addressee of Astrophil's speech. The vector of address is somewhat more diffuse given that the sonnet reads like a military manual, or if pointed toward some specific event, a kind of dispatch from the field. When Stella does enter the referential scheme of the sonnet, her agency is delimited by Love's mobilizations as an expeditionary military force, setting up camp in her heart. She is a tributary prince to Love's expansionist project, with a clumsy blazon serving as a quartermaster's inventory. The military objective is to win over Stella's heart, but such an enterprise is complicated by a number of intervening factors concerning diplomatic allegiances. Sidney's extended military conceit conveys a strong if oblique hint of Dutch mobilization against the Habsburgs:

Like some weak lords, neighboured by mighty kings,
 To keep themselves and their chief cities free,
 Do easily yield, that all their coasts may be
 Ready to store their camps of needful things:
 So Stella's heart, finding what power love brings,
 To keep itself in life and liberty,
 Doth willing grant, that in the frontiers he
 Use all to help his other conquerings.
 And thus her heart escapes; but thus her eyes
 Serve him with shot, her lips his heralds are,
 Her breasts his tents, legs his triumphal car,
 Her flesh his food, her skin his armour brave,
 And I, but for because my prospect lies
 Upon that coast, am giv'n up for a slave.

Roland Greene reads Sonnet 29 as an example of how *Astrophil and Stella* is a “thought-experiment about the hazards of the imperialist mentality.”⁶⁴ And if we take it as such, then the virtual simulation hazards a more pressing scenario for Astrophil. The “coast” on which Astrophil could find himself could be anywhere. Rather than an exercise in imperialism, Astrophil finds himself imagining the circumstances that would lead him to report on Love's state of readiness. Astrophil is not the conventional slave, but rather the hypothetical prize for some invading force. The circumstances are more dire than that. He is a conscript. And his

philippic is instead directed at Stella as a body politic, who provides “shot” as “her lips his heralds are.” In a battle for supremacy, the analogy putting cannon-shot alongside polemical dissemination, heraldry, is especially pressing. Astrophil may well be indicted for his own military heraldry here, a mere soldier caught up in struggle between rival nations. Yet the more Astrophil protests about his lowly state to anyone at all, or no one special, the more palpable it becomes that he is speaking to everyone. Instead of recoiling from the dispatch-like report of Stella’s position, the lyric “I” is the epideictic marker that transposes the mode of address from an indirect third-person to a second-person, making the I-them/I-her into an I-thou.

Languet warned Sidney in a letter dated 14 June 1577 that “You English should certainly not sleep easy, especially if the Spaniards have obtained a truce from the Turks, as is being written to us from various places.”⁶⁵ Languet sought to offer practical, though nevertheless alarming, advice to Sidney which had repercussions beyond the context of two individuals exchanging political news. Languet addresses his warning to the collective nation, “You English,” the apostrophe producing an epideictic vector of address—a finger pointing out. These developments and their military consequences would not have been surprising to Sidney. Languet’s urgent warning of impending crisis forms the architecture for the discourse of apocalyptic Hispanophobia. He seems to want to provoke some sense of urgency in Sidney, though it is unclear what, if anything, Languet wanted him to do about it. Ongoing hostilities between Christendom, or more precisely the Papacy-baked Holy League of which Spain was a major player, and the Ottoman Turks had begun to calm significantly since such decisive clashes as the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Philip II of Spain, Sidney’s godfather and namesake, was setting his sights anew on England, leading Languet to call attention to the geographical proximity of England to the newly disengaged Spanish navy. Languet was warning that Spain was to be an existential threat to England, and that same thought should keep the English awake at night.

If Sonnet 29 deals in a thinly veiled political analogy, a more defined historical moment comes into view in Sonnet 30, which takes up events happening during the summer of 1582. The closing lines are ironic because they are meant to refute the compounding reports that precede it, and they also show Astrophil being derelict in his duty as a courtier employed in foreign service. He is not dissimulating the lover’s distraction well at all, as he is performing a reluctance to comment on pressing affairs of national importance. Astrophil’s poetic voice is making no pretension to secrecy because he is describing events that everyone already knows alongside asserting his love for Stella, which also is no big secret. Of course the answer is that, well, everyone should be worried. The speaker claims to respond to these questions, but we never learn exactly what those answers might be. Yet the intensifier “answer do” (13), interrupted by the appositive before it, reads like an imperative indicating an affirmative response to the questions. The irony of this poem is that, though “busy wits to [Astrophil] do frame” these questions concerning England’s interests abroad within the walls of court, where he is “cumbered with good manners,” he nevertheless publishes the state of affairs in the sonnet for his coterie audience:

Whether the Turkish new moon minded be
 To fill his horns this year on Christian coast;
 How Poles’ right king means, with leave of host,
 To warm with ill-made fire cold Muscovy;
 If French can yet three parts in one agree;

What now the Dutch in their full diets boast;
 How Holland hearts, now so good towns be lost,
 Trust in the shade of pleasing Orange tree;
 How Ulster likes of that same golden bit
 Wherewith my father once made it half tame;
 If in the Scotch court be no welt'ring yet:
 These questions busy wits to me do frame.
 I, cumbered with good manners, answer do,
 But know not how, for still I think of you.

Standing in for a conventional Petrarchan trope denoting hierarchy is a series of uncertain propositions, whose answers resist any kind of political predictability. Sonnet 30 tests Astrophil's very bond with Stella, his trope for poetic production, by pointing to larger national and familial political goals. Unlike the few other manifestly political sonnets in the sequence, we can be sure, here, that Sidney himself steps in for Astrophil by describing how his "father once made [Ireland] half tame" to signal the present moment of crisis. For Sidney, the Irish colony is a wild horse, and his father Henry, Lord Deputy of Ireland, had been its tamer with a "golden bit." The equestrian metaphor naturally points to the analogy between Philip and Ireland, both unruly wards of Sir Henry Sidney. Pondering simultaneously the provenance of his political acumen and his reluctance to speak elsewhere in Sonnet 41, he ultimately returns to the mixing of blood to offer the familial explanation that "of both sides I do take / My blood from them who did excel in this" (9-10), the horsemanship-politics of Anglo-Spanish affairs.

NOTES

¹ Philip Sidney, *A Letter Written...to Queen Elizabeth Touching Her Marriage With Monsieur*, in *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 49.

² Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesy*, in *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works including Astrophil and Stella*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 212. All subsequent references to the *Defence* follow quotations in parenthesis. Selections from *Astrophil and Stella* are taken from this edition, with line numbers following quotations in parentheses.

³ Roger Kuin, ed. *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), I:278-279.

⁴ See especially chapter 1 of Aristotle, *The Politics and The Constitution of Athens*, ed. Stephen Everson (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), and Nicholas D. Smith “Aristotle’s Theory of Natural Slavery,” *Phoenix* 37.2 (1983): 109-122.

⁵ Roger E. Moore, “Sir Philip Sidney’s Defence of Prophesying,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 50.1 (2010), 35.

⁶ Fulke Greville, *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*, in *The Prose Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 33.

⁷ *ODNB*: “Fulke Greville, first Baron Brooke.” John Gouws’ *ODNB* entry further explains that “‘A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney’ (retitled *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney*) was not published until 1652, when its implicit criticism of Stuart monarchy and advocacy of an aggressive, anti-Catholic foreign policy would find a ready Commonwealth readership.”

⁸ Greville, *A Dedication*, 65.

⁹ Edward Berry, “Sidney’s ‘Poor Painter’: Nationalism and Social Class,” in *Literature and Nationalism*, ed. Vincent Newey and Ann Thompson (Savage: Barnes & Noble Books, 1991), 1, 2.

¹⁰ See, for instance, Matthew Woodcock, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Sidney Circle* (Tavistock: Northcote, 2010) and Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991).

¹¹ Anne Lake Prescott, “King David as a ‘Right Poet’: Sidney and the Psalmist,” *English Literary Renaissance* 19.2 (1989), 147-148. Sidney’s interest in biblical-apocalyptic forms of literary production is apparent in the *Arcadia*, which reinforces Protestant themes through its allegorization and correspondence with other apocalyptic-themed continental narratives, such as

Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, according to Barbara Brumbaugh, "Jerusalem Delivered and the Allegory of Sidney's Revised Arcadia," *Modern Philology* 101.3 (2004), 337-338. A similar approach by Angus Fletcher, in his discussion of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, holds, much like Lewalski's Protestant poetics, that epic is the form of the prophetic and apocalyptic, though downplaying the significance of the Bible in claiming that sixteenth-century English prophetically-minded poets preferred to avoid futuristic predictions of cataclysmic events (*The Prophetic Moment: An Essay on Spenser* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971], 3-5).

¹² Greville, *A Dedication*, 20-21. For a discussion of the beginnings of Sidney's literary hagiographies, see John Buxton, "The mourning for Sidney," *Renaissance Studies* 3.1 (1989): 46-56.

¹³ Buxton, "The mourning for Sidney," 55.

¹⁴ Greville, *A Dedication*, 4.

¹⁵ See Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Sidney's 'Arcadia' and the Mixed Mode," *Studies in Philology* 70.3 (1973): 269-278.

¹⁶ Elizabeth B. Bearden, "Sidney's 'mongrell tragicomedy' and Anglo-Spanish Exchange in the New Arcadia," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10.1 (2010), 30.

¹⁷ Michael Mack, *Sidney's Poetics: Imitating Creation* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 6. See also Neil L. Rudenstine, *Sidney's Poetic Development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967) and Mark Rose, *Heroic Love: Studies in Sidney and Spenser* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).

¹⁸ Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 76. Colie focuses on the "subject of literary and generic experimentation by mixing kinds, and by following out generic implications into new areas of expression. Aristotle's and Horace's rules for feigning, fiction, and poetry ruled out many of those dignified literary forms beloved of the humanist...thus setting up bounds beyond which proper literatures should not pass. In Sidney's synoptic *Defense of Poesie*, we have noticed both the exclusionist view of literature as an art or craft, and the inclusionist view of literature as not only representing but as indeed being the *paideia*. More important even than this, we have noticed Sidney working from these two positions without acknowledging, or needing to acknowledge, the least conflict between them."

¹⁹ Kuin, ed., *Correspondence*, II:881.

²⁰ Gustav Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (Bern: Francke, 1956), 67-68.

²¹ J. de Oliveira E Silva, "Sir Philip Sidney and the Castilian Tongue," *Comparative Literature* 34.2 (1982), 131.

²² See Katherine R. Larson, “The Sidneys and Music,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Sidneys, 1500-1700, Volume I: Lives*, eds. Margaret P. Hannay, Michael G. Brennan, and Mary Ellen Lamb (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015): 317-328.

²³ Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, ed. Alvin B. Kernan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 140-141. Act 4, scene 3, lines 21-22.

²⁴ Of this song, Duncan-Jones observes that the “tune of this Spanish *villancico* has not been traced” (*The Major Works*, 338n).

²⁵ Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature*, 77, 213.

²⁶ P. Henríquez Ureña, *La versificación irregular en la poesía castellana*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1933), 158-161

²⁷ Philip and Mary Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter: The Psalms of Sir Philip and Mary Sidney*, ed. Hannibal Hamlin et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 43. Line 36.

²⁸ Philip and Mary Sidney, *The Sidney Psalter*, 265. Lines 21-22.

²⁹ Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*.... (London, 1593), p. 119v. Line 12.

³⁰ The *ODNB* (“Thomas Wilson”) gives us: “While staying in Italy and Germany in 1596 [Wilson] translated from the Spanish Gorge [sic] de Montemayor's *Diana*, a romance later used as a source by William Shakespeare for *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. The original translation, dedicated to Shakespeare's friend the earl of Southampton, does not appear to be extant, but about 1617 Wilson made a copy which he dedicated to Fulke Greville, chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards Lord Brooke. He remarks that Brooke's friend Sir Philip Sidney ‘did much affect and imitate’ *Diana*, and possibly Wilson took part in publishing some of Sidney's works.”

³¹ For a study of Sidney's fashioning of his literary characters on Sireno in the *Old Arcadia*, see Timothy D. Crowley, “Sireno and Philisides: The Politics of Piety in Spanish Pastoral Romance and Sidney's *Old Arcadia*,” *Studies in Philology* 110.1 (2013): 43-84.

³² Jorge de Montemayor, *Los siete libros de la Diana*, 4th ed., ed. Asunción Rollo (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008), 114.

³³ My discussion of Sidney's translation is largely indebted to De Oliveira E Silva's “Sir Philip Sidney and the Castilian Tongue,” 136. De Oliveira E Silva offers an extensive comparison between the versions of Sidney, Young, and Wilson, as well as a compelling explanation of Sidney's interest and proficiency in the Spanish language.

³⁴ Francesco Petrarca, *The Canzoniere, or Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, ed. and trans. Mark Musa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996): Poem 52. Lines 1-3. My translation.

³⁵ ODNB: “Abraham Fraunce.”

³⁶ Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature*, 49-50, 69.

³⁷ Judith M. Kennedy, introduction to Barnabe Googe, *Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 13-14.

³⁸ John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica Eliots fruits for the French...* (London, 1593), pp. 31-32, sig. F4r-F4v. In Gabriel Harvey’s copy, held at the Huntington Library, he annotates the appearance of Spanish works in the margin.

³⁹ Cristóbal de Castillejo, “Reprensión contra los poetas españoles que escriben en verso italiano” in *Poesía lírica del Siglo de Oro*, 26th ed., ed. Elias L. Rivers (Madrid: Cátedra, 2013), 51

⁴⁰ ODNB: “Thorius translated from the Spanish Bartolome Felipe's *The Counsellor* (1589), Antonio de Corro's *Spanish Grammer* (1590), and Francisco de Valdes's *The Sergeant-Major* (1590); from the Dutch he translated *A Spiritual Wedding* (1597). Thorius also contributed verses to Florio's *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611).”

⁴¹ Antonio del Corro and John Thorius, *The Spanish Grammer...* (London, 1590), sig. A2r.

⁴² ODNB: “Richard Perceval.”

⁴³ Ethel Seaton, introduction to Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, ed. Seaton (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1950), xix-xx. In chapters where Fraunce provides no Greek example, Sidney is actually in *second* place (see Fig. 2.3).

⁴⁴ Abraham Fraunce, *The third part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch...* (London, 1592), sig M4v. Fraunce goes on to reproduce the following lines from the Spanish original:

Canta con voz suave y dolorosa,
O musa, los amores lastimeros,
Que en suave dolor fueron criados.
Canta tambien la triste mar in medio,
Y à Sesto de una parte, y d'otra Abido, &c.

⁴⁵ William A. Ringler, Jr., introduction to Philip Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Ringler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), xx-xxi.

⁴⁶ S.K. Heninger, Jr., *Sidney and Spenser: The Poet as Maker* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), xi: “It will be my contention that Sidney, by assimilating the principles of Aristotelian mimesis, devised a poetics that assigns meaning to the verbal system itself, independent of anterior systems of thought. In Sidney’s poetics of making, language is the means of creation, and the poet reenacts the divine imperative preserved in the opening of John’s Gospel: “In the beginning was the Word...” ...Writing is making, so the verbal artifact is self-

sufficient...Furthermore, poetry has now become a process not a substance. It has become a performative act on the part of both poet and reader.”

⁴⁷ James L. Kugel, “Poets and Prophets: An Overview,” in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. James L. Kugel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 1.

⁴⁸ Henry Vaughan, *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, 2nd ed., ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 147.

⁴⁹ Robert E. Stillman, “Sir Philip Sidney: *The Defence of Poesy*” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to The Sidneys, 1500-1700, Vol. 2: Literature*, eds. Margaret P. Hannay, Michael G. Brennan, and Mary Ellen Lamb (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015): 153-174.

⁵⁰ Howard Dobin, *Merlin’s Disciples: Prophecy, Poetry, and Power in Renaissance England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

⁵¹ Prescott, “King David as a ‘Right Poet’: Sidney and the Psalmist,” 147

⁵² James L. Kugel, “David the Prophet,” in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. James L. Kugel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 45.

⁵³ Sidney, *The Major Works*, 290.

⁵⁴ Katherine Duncan-Jones, introduction to *The Major Works*, xvii.

⁵⁵ Bearden, “Sidney’s ‘mongrell tragicomedy,’” 34-36. Bearden helpfully explains, that “Spain produced some of the first self-styled tragicomedies of the Renaissance, calling first on the Plautine mixed and Christianized Terentian double styles and later on the pastoral tragicomedy to theorize and put the genre into practice” (35).

⁵⁶ Thomas Nashe, “Somewhat to reade for them that list,” in Philip Sidney, *Syr P.S. His Astrophel and Stella Wherein the excellence of sweete poesie is concluded....* (London, 1591), sig. A3r.

⁵⁷ My distinction originates from Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 43-65.

⁵⁸ George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, in Sidney’s “*The Defence of Poesy*” and *Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. Gavin Alexander (London: Penguin, 2004), 61-62.

⁵⁹ Greville, *A Dedication*, 16.

⁶⁰ John Gouws, introduction to *The Prose Works*, xxi.

⁶¹ Greville, *A Dedication*, 67-69.

⁶² William of Orange, *The Apologie or Defence of the Most Noble Prince William...* (Delft, 1581), sig. F1v-F2r. Punctuation has slightly been redacted for clarity: commas not demarcating an appositive phrase or conjunctions were removed.

⁶³ Greville, *A Dedication*, 65-66.

⁶⁴ Roland Greene, *Unrequited Conquests: Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 178.

⁶⁵ Kuin, ed., *Correspondence*, II:748, 750. Languet to Sidney, 14 June 1577: “Non oportet sane vos in utramque aurem dormire, & præsertim, si Hispani inducias a Turci impetarunt.”

CHAPTER THREE

'Antes muerto que mudado': John Donne's Apocalyptic Hispanophobia

Foole and wretch, wilt thou let thy Soul be tyed
 To mans lawes, by which she shall not be tryed
 At the last day? Oh, will it then boot thee
 To say a Philip, or a Gregory,
 A Harry, or a Martin, taught thee this?
 Is not this excuse for mere contraries;
 Equally strong? Cannot both sides say so? (93-99)¹
 —John Donne, "Satire III"

In the previous chapter, I argued that the imaginative underpinnings of Sidney's office of the courtier-prophet in the Elizabethan court merged his poetic interest in developing innovative literary forms with anti-Spanish hate. Taking charge of his literary legacy, Sidney's coterie leveraged his closeness to Spanish letters to cast him as both their heir and propagator, helping give prominence to a public and cosmopolitan dimension of lyric poetry. John Donne is representative of the next generation of English poets, steeped in Sidney's poetics; he seized upon this legacy to negotiate his own anxieties about Spain across various forms and forums. Similarly, the apocalyptic foci informing early modern English Hispanophobia drifted in a number of directions: as we turn from Sidney's interest in prophetic speech and creation, we see Hispanophobia interact with Donne's obsession with the fate of the body and soul during the eschatological events of death, resurrection, and judgement. My readings suggest that Hispano-centric thought is central to our understanding of how, as Ramie Targoff describes, "Donne struggled throughout his life with the fear of death."²

A signal literary strategy Donne cultivates to deploy his apocalyptic Hispanophobia is to produce a lifelong literary connection showing him is an actor in Anglo-Spanish affairs, both in Europe and the New World.³ Both his manifold literary subject positions and those deployed in his epistles and religious writings situate their perspectives within a personal history underwritten by a fear of death and judgement resulting from his Anglo-Spanish encounters. From this, he creates an array of figurations in which he is an agent in particular controversies and an actor in vast geographic military and colonial theaters, ranging from the 1596 raid on Cádiz, to New World colonialism, and to the marriage negotiations between Charles and the Infanta María Margarita in 1623. The consequence of my argument is in demonstrating that the same literary resources devoted to eschatological religious discourse fervently and frequently implicate Spain to nuance and complicate religious discourse.

Moreover, I suggest that the English Hispanophobia stemming from Spanish colonialism has broader implications for Donne's theology of death and resurrection and his understanding of the relationship between body and soul. While certainly interested in the Spanish markers of race, Donne subordinates this concern to his larger musings about the fate of the body and soul in the resurrection. In his vision of doomsday, the recollection of all peoples to form the Church

Triumphant, particularly the lately discovered and converted natives of the West Indies, is just as sure as the reunification of the body and soul. I locate how Donne develops this stance by looking at Iberian colonial narratives and New World models of Spanish governance and sovereignty to figure the reconstitution of the body and soul at doomsday.

In underscoring the ubiquitous presence and consequence of Hispano-centric thought, I read across Donne's works following John Carey's claim that "Donne's opinions upon such furiously controverted issues as original sin, election, resurrection and the state of the soul after death, were generated by recognizably the same imagination as the poems about love and women. They are not dull side-tracks but members of an animated whole in which every part illuminates and is illuminated by every other."⁴ Section 1 examines Donne's early reception of Montemayor's *Diana*, from which he develops his view of Spain and eschatology by aligning himself with Diana's subject position. With this, he begins to sketch his conception of the resurrection by casting himself as both a martyr to love and a Catholic martyr. Section 2 shows how, in the satires, epigrams, and elegies he writes upon returning from the raids on Cádiz and the Azores, his identification with martyrdom gives way to a fully-fledged fear of persecution by the Spanish, which is registered in his references to the biblical prophet Daniel.⁵ Finally, sections 3 and 4 read Donne's religious writings with a view toward the ethical concerns raised by the Spanish Hispanophobic colonial accounts, and how these concerns inform his views of the resurrection at doomsday.

1. Diana Donne

Establishing an affirmative connection between Donne and Spanish literature and culture has eluded historicist and biographical critical accounts—even though, in a 1623 letter cited below, he claimed to own more books of poetry and theology from Spain than from any other nation. Dennis Flynn's hedging about his study of the "puzzle" that is Donne's early years foregrounds this challenge in his project, "through recovered facts and reasonable conjectures, to shape a probable (not certain) solution to this puzzle."⁶ Affirmative critical accounts of Donne's relationship to Spain hold that Donne had a special affinity for Spanish language, literature, and culture because he, like Sidney, demonstrated reading-knowledge of Spanish and sought out Spanish literature. Moreover, like Sidney, Donne toyed with fashioning himself as a Spanish subject in his early years as a libertine love poet and aspiring courtier. More skeptical accounts are exemplified by Evelyn M. Simpson's conclusion "that Donne drew more inspiration from French and Italian sources than he did from Spanish," laying down the challenge that "those who believe that Spanish literature exercised a predominant influence on Donne should now produce the evidence on why they base their conclusion."⁷ What Simpson casts as a problem of evidence is perhaps better understood as an issue of methodology, if not ideology. Despite the growing understanding that knowledge of Spanish language and literature was a desirable skill in the courts and universities of late sixteenth-century England, a skill a go-getter like Donne would have been eager to acquire, its significance is routinely downplayed. The issue stems from the fact that Sidney's Protestant credentials have remained largely intact, while Donne's are often under suspicion due to his recusant Catholic upbringing and subsequent public conversion to Anglicanism. It has often been understood that to invoke Spain and Donne in the same sentence is to blow a dog-whistle that resonates on a predominantly Roman Catholic critical wavelength, especially with the studies by Louis L. Martz and R.V. Young on Loyolan and Salesian influence in Donne's poetics of interior devotion.⁸ The resulting false equivalency, that Hispanophilia

betrays Catholic sympathies while Hispanophobia denotes a Protestant allegiance, is especially misleading in the context of Donne's writings. His works anticipate and resist the dyad of Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia and its false equivalency of religious and ethno-cultural coding on a number of generic and thematic fronts. Donne's uses of Spanish works were as diverse as the classes of texts he consumed. Yet despite the diversity of texts he approached, his treatment of them tended to conform to the political, courtly, or propagandistic niche that each text occupied within his evolving corpus of writings over the course of his career.

The dominant question in Donne's early years was whether he would die *for* Spain or die *by* Spain, and it was a question that routinely appeared in his literary fiction and, later, in his religious writings. Although he came close to either one of those two possibilities in his early life—as a recusant, convert, soldier, diplomat, and preacher—the answer was really neither. Yet the anxiety lingered and grew stronger in Donne's works, even the immediate threat of a Spanish death diminished, becoming a preferred trope to imagine his death, resurrection, and judgement. References to his relationship to Spain gave his religious writings, in verse and prose, some of their best defined literary contours.

What I am calling here Donne's self-fashioned relationship to Spain, Flynn usefully calls a "posture."⁹ Flynn calls Donne's self-fashioning a "posture" because Donne represents himself as something of a Catholic infantryman as a teenager (see Figure 3.1). Indeed, Donne will continue to write himself into an imaginative apocalyptic history of Anglo-Spanish relations in a way that outlives and outlasts a singular posture. Hence I see Donne as an *auctor*, following John Guillory, in the way Donne assumes a poetic authority through the imagination of a personal history weaving in and out of an eschatological *telos* centered on Anglo-Spanish affairs.¹⁰

With this in mind, I begin with the Spanish line from the title of this chapter, *antes muerto que mudado*, Donne's motto at around age eighteen, proudly displayed in a 1591 portrait, now lost. An engraving of it by William Marshall for the 1635 printing of Donne's *Poems* survives with an inscription by Izaak Walton. The motto originates from a line in a pastoral lyric appearing early in the first book of Jorge de Montemayor's prose romance *Los siete libros de la Diana*. As we have seen in Chapter Two, Sidney and his coterie popularized this same lyric as the preeminent expression of political dissatisfaction and lament of the fickleness of courtly love. Donne's posture toward the fashionable poem departs from Sidney's fetishistic post-Petrarchan version, however. The motto is one of the earliest pieces of evidence showing the recusant Catholic poet brashly broadcasting a disposition toward Catholic martyrdom at the hands of the English by fashioning himself as something of a Spanish gentleman. It is no coincidence that the c. 1591 adoption of the motto comes in the wake of the greatest Anglo-Spanish military encounter of Donne's time in 1588, going hand-in-hand with the renewed interest in rooting out recusants who were regarded by law as traitors after the number of failed assassination plots against Elizabeth. In the years preceding the Spanish Armada, Donne was at Oxford, then Cambridge, taking a degree at neither to avoid subscribing to the Act of Supremacy and the Thirty-Nine Articles. More dire experiences of dissent are documented in the well-known accounts of how Donne's uncles Jasper and Ellis Heywood died in England as leading Jesuits, and how his brother Henry died while incarcerated for harboring a Jesuit priest. If Donne actually wanted to die a Catholic martyr, then he very well could have found a way. But he did not.

The significance of Donne's motto and its relationship to its source text is that it exemplifies an imaginative eschatological position as a Spanish subject. *Antes muerto que mudado* means *I will die before I change*, or *rather dead than changed*. As a love statement, the

change denotes a change of heart; it is a pledge of constancy and a disavowal of *mutatio* (TLC “mudar”). As a political-religious statement, the change suggests defecting from one nation to another or converting from one confession to another. As a statement of Donne’s precarious position as a recusant with a view toward eschatological judgement, the ultimate change comes with death and resurrection. In stark terms, the moment of death is anticipated, at which point the subject will be judged true to his religious confession. But the ostensibly sincere pledge to die a martyr is far from that.¹¹ The motto is a joke built on numerous ironies, some of Donne’s devising, and others the products of historical circumstance. These ironies would be detectable to those who know its source text well enough to know its context—a reading quiz aimed at a select coterie of English readers of *La Diana* forming an insider/outsider divide. Donne’s manufactured ironies demonstrate an early commitment to the fiction of his Spanish relations he deploys, specifically as a literary fiction: in a letter to Henry Goodyer referencing the motto, he says “the Spanish proverb informes me, that he is a fool which cannot make one Sonnet, and he is mad which makes two.”¹² Naturally, Donne could not have anticipated the historical events that shaped his career, but his motto was written as if it could, compounding such ironies. We will unpack those here.

Donne defamiliarizes the English relationship to *La Diana* a reader of Sidney would have formed. Whereas Sidney’s poetic speakers, and his coterie imitators, identify with the spurned male shepherd, Donne’s position assumes the words spoken by the inconstant female lover, which are then cited by the spurned shepherd in his complaint. The creation of his posture depends on the knowing audience to confirm the irony of the statement, that Diana is in fact already *mudada* before the poem begins. The irony concurs with Donne’s concerns with death and martyrdom because the speaker of these lines, in the fiction of the romance, should be dead and buried, true to her pledge—but she is not.

In the first book of *La Diana*, Sireno, the now former lover of Diana, composes a song by a riverbank where he and Diana used to visit to lament her inconstancy and express his longing to be reunited. Diana had a romantic change of heart (*mudanza*) because she had been separated from Sireno, who had been in exile from the kingdom of León. Diana marries another shepherd named Delio, forgetting the love she once had for Sireno. Sireno learns of Diana’s marriage to Delio and composes these verses, repeated from the previous chapter, addressed to a lock of hair Diana leaves behind:

¿Quién vio tanta hermosura
en tan mudable sujeto,
y en amador tan perfecto,
quién vio tanta desventura?
¡Oh cabellos!, ¿no os corréis
por venir de a do viniste,
viéndome como me viste,
en verme como me veis?

Sobre el arena sentada
de aquel río, la vi yo,
do con el dedo escribí:
"Antes muerta que mudada".
¡Mira el amor lo que ordena,

Who saw so much
beauty in such a
mutable subject, and in
such a perfect lover,
who saw so much
misfortune? O locks of
hair! Won’t you run to
return from whence
you came, seeing me as
you saw me, in gazing
upon me [i.e. my state]
as you do?

I saw her sitting on the

*Whomore beautie ever knew
In a subject of such change,
Or more sorrowes or more strange
In a loue so perfect true?
On the sand her did I see
Sitting by yon river bright,
Where her finger this did wright
Rather dead then changed be.
See how loue beares vs in hand,
Making vs beleene the wordes,
That a womans wit affordes,
And recorded in the sand.*

<p>que os viene a hacer creer cosas dichas por mujer, y escritas en el arena! (25-40)¹³</p>	<p>sandbank of that river, where she with her finger wrote: “[I’ll be] Dead before inconstant.” See what love demands [ordains], that makes you believe things said by women, and written in the sand!</p>
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Donne’s Spanish motto, taken from these verses, tends to get two types of responses from critics. One response is exemplified by Robert G. Collmer, who sees the near-quotation as evidence of Donne’s proficiency in the Spanish language; a clue, along with the cross on Donne’s ear and the features of the sword, for his fashioning as a Catholic and Spanish gentleman; and a sympathetic commentary on Diana’s fickleness.¹⁴ Anita Gilman Sherman offers another typical response, mostly echoing Flynn, saying that in “the romance, the line is ironical, since it illustrates the protestations of constancy by a woman later discovered as unfaithful. Donne’s appropriation of the verse would appear to partake in this flaunting of constancy belied by facts.”¹⁵ Both critics redeploy Flynn’s thesis concerning Donne’s relation to ancient Catholic nobility, and both are inclined to hold up the line from *La Diana* as evidence for Donne’s affinity for Spanish literature, as well as noting that it can be read as crypto-Catholic code concerning mutability in matters of confession.¹⁶ These critics usefully remind us of the great significance this quote can carry, but they fail to read the line in its literary context and further neglect to read how the quote from the romance influences Donne’s poetry.¹⁷

The selection from Sireno’s song requires a closer look in order to understand how Donne reads the work. Above I offer the last two octaves of the forty-line poem in the original Spanish, my plain English translation, and the corresponding translation from a 1598 printing of Bartholomew Yong’s popular translation.¹⁸ For Donne to have understood the ironical tone of the poem, he would have had to possess a sufficiently strong grasp of Spanish to decode the numerous homophonic puns embedded in the original Spanish. The song’s conceit centers on an extended apostrophe to “unos cordones de seda verde y cabellos” (some ribbons of green silk and locks of hair), a conventional love token, that is essentially a relic (a remnant), from which a series of puns originate. In the first stanza, for example, Sireno declares, “Bien pensaba yo, *cabellos* / (aunque con algún temor) / que no fuera otro pastor / digno de verse *cab’ ellos*” (my emphasis, 5-8). The apostrophized subject “cabellos” (hair) is redeployed in the contraction “cab’[e] ellos” (holding them), with a transitive verb “caber” (from the Latin *capere*) that connotes sexual possession and penetration. Crucially, Sireno’s lament is not explicitly directed toward Diana. Instead, the lock of hair functions as an object to which a variety of metonymic and metaphorical values can be imputed. As Sherman argues, the line alone “illustrates the protestations of constancy by a woman.” But Diana’s words are only belatedly ventriloquized to call into question the constancy of a material object (the hair) or an inscription on the bank of a river. The irony results from Sireno’s and Diana’s shared belief that a token and an inscription on a riverbank should stand as evidence of immutability.¹⁹

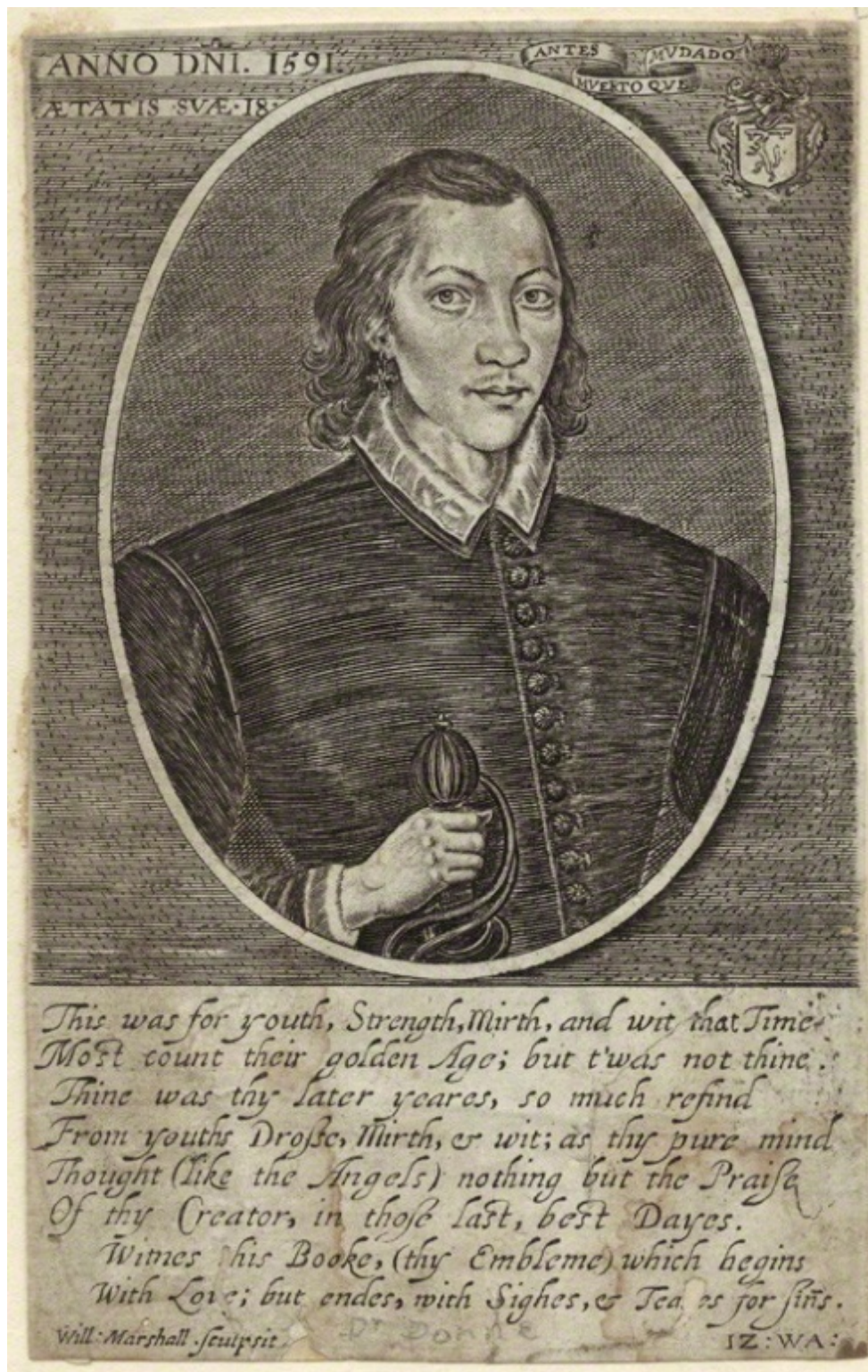


Figure 3.1: Portrait of John Donne at age 18, the frontispiece to his poems of 1635, engraving on paper, by William Marshall, England, 1635 (reproduced from 1591). British Museum, London.

There are a number of homophonic puns embedded in the poem that Yong ignores in his translation but that Donne could have likely observed in following Sidney's example.²⁰ These puns multiply as the poem develops, giving Sireno's plaint a quality of riddle or play that stands at odds with the ostensibly lamentable tone of the lyric. The last two octaves of the poem capitalize on the play with the phrases "de a do" (from whence/where) and "dedo" (finger). The finger is the instrument Diana uses to make her inscription upon the sands of the riverbank to pledge her romantic fidelity to Sireno. The phrase "de a do" is the fulcrum which supports most of the prepositional play concerning the passage of time and the expression of affective mood. Moreover, "de a do" clearly overlaps homophonically with "dedo," with only the preposition "a" modifying the aural quality of the prepositional phrase. The resulting effect is a combined, coextensive sense of motion ("de a do" can be understood here to mean "to and fro") acting upon the writing instrument and human body part, the finger. The pun, then, locates Diana's romantic *mudanza* squarely on the action of the roving finger.

Far from simply being a youthful fancy, moreover, Montemayor's *Diana* remains on Donne's mind some thirty years after his run-in with the popular pastoral lyric. In a letter to a close friend and fellow admirer of letters, Sir Robert Ker, the libertine poet turned preacher once again offers a glimpse into his curious disposition toward the Spanish romance:

SIR,

I Amend to no purpose, nor have any use of this inchoation of health, which I finde, except I preserve my roome, and station in you. I beginne to bee past hope of dying: And I feele that a little ragge of *Monte Magor*, which I read last time I was in your Chamber, hath wrought prophetically upon mee, which is, that Death came so fast towards mee, that the over-joy of that recovered mee. Sir, I measure not my health by my appetite, but onely by my abilitie to come to kisse your hands: which since I cannot hope in the compasse of a few dayes, I beseech you pardon mee both these intrusions of this Letter, and of that within it. And though Schoole-men dispute, whether a married man dying, and being by Miracle raised again, must bee remarried; yet let your Friendship, (which is a Nobler learning) bee content to admit mee, after this Resurrection, to bee still that which I was before, and shall ever continue.²¹

The letter to Ker must have been composed after the bout of illness in 1623 that inspired the *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*.²² The timing of the letter also coincides with Ker's travels to Spain from April to November 1623 in the retinue of Charles and Buckingham to secure the hand of the Infanta María Margarita.²³ We can detect in Donne's remarks a decidedly engaged reader of the Spanish text, whose fiction inflects his recent outlook toward death. Now recovered, Donne jests that Montemayor's "little ragge ... hath wrought prophetically upon mee," helping him confront, or cheat, death. Donne here is long departed from the considerations of Catholic martyrdom that his earlier engagement with the Spanish work suggests. Nevertheless, he recovers from this reading his penchant for fictionalizing his encounter with death and resurrection, and for hectoring death by overriding his fear of it with the resultant "over-joy." Here we see Donne's personal experience, the encounter with potential death, rendered and mollified in Spanish fiction. Rounding out the sustained eschatological musings of the letter is Donne's interest in posthumous friendship and love. He closes the letter by offering his pledge of constancy as a devoted friend, beseeching Ker to "admit mee, after this Resurrection, to bee still that which I was before, and shall ever continue."

Before turning to a sustained discussion of Donne's poetry, I wish to return briefly to his erect pose in his early portrait: the sword is partially drawn, the tip pointing down, the right hand awkwardly secured around the hilt. It is a pose that communicates martial preparation and fidelity.²⁴ Yet any reader of *La Diana* would know not to fall for Donne's pretension of martyrdom when they saw it. One of these distracted readers was Izaak Walton, Donne's seventeenth-century biographer, who reads Donne's portrait and Spanish motto naively:

I have seen many Pictures of him, in several habits, and in several postures...I have seen one Picture of [Donne], drawn by a curious hand at his age of eighteen; with his sword and what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth, and the giddy gayeties of that age: and his Motto then was,

*How much shall I be chang'd,
Before I am chang'd.*²⁵

Walton's mistranslation of the motto morphs it into a tautology obscuring Donne's fiction-making by voiding the ironies its Spanish source reveals. Troublingly, Walton's phrasing leaves out the reference to death altogether, preferring to focus on interiority and constancy. However, bringing Donne's eschatological overtones into perspective, as I have done, shows that the fiction of the portrait and motto sets the tone for a tortured, masochistic self-portrait molded by a violent outlook toward Anglo-Spanish relations.

2. Courting Fear and War

In Donne's Inns verses, which fueled his spiritual hypochondria and shaped his eschatological views, the prophetic Book of Daniel becomes the foundation for an explicit and stubborn interest in imagining death by the Spanish. He weaves his personal encounters with Spain into the typological tapestry of the prophetic book by identifying Philip II of Spain with the Babylonian kings depicted in the book and himself with the persecuted Israelite prophet living in exile. The verse satire and epigram forms mobilize his discourse as a reactive response to the pressing Spanish military threat in the late 1580s and 1590s. He takes up the standard of the warrior-poet in his prolific writings about his participation on the raid on Cádiz in 1596, not as a triumphal nationalist but as an uneasy accomplice. These verses are undoubtedly laced with a bitter resentment of the Anglo-Spanish military conflict, but they were also quite different, perhaps even tempered, from the anti-Spanish speech advanced by his contemporaries. Whereas competing Hispanophobes manufactured antagonistic religious and ethnic smears, Donne casts himself as a character in these fictions, vulnerable to yet defiant of such antagonism.

Two public events, experienced as spiritual transformations, shape Donne's stance toward Spanish affairs in the 1590s: his participation in the expedition to Cádiz and the Azores in 1596 and his conversion to Anglicanism soon after he returned to England.²⁶ These two experiences consistently feed the network of references to Spain in Donne's literary and imaginative renderings. It is no surprise that Donne brought Spain into his generative orbit to link issues of soteriology and eschatology given its historical presence. But Spanish affairs were more than a convenient set-piece for Donne. It is important to stress that the fixation on the Anglo-Spanish conflict is most heightened when Donne is endorsing a confrontational view of death that is intent on regulating its fear of it.

I turn first to a reading of one of Donne's late sermons before engaging with his earlier satires and epigrams to show the curious playfulness with which he pivots to Spain to couch anxieties about death. As a convert, he draws from the symbolic examples of those two famed Christian converts, Paul and Augustine, relying on the latter extensively to frame his eschatological perspective in his religious writings.²⁷ From Augustine, Donne derives a spatial perspective on his eschatology to imagine a cosmopolitan view of the resurrection in which the expanse of God's terrestrial kingdom would unify disparate nations and result in an unprecedented ecumenicism. Before that time, however, the terrors of war, dearth, and disease would be mapped metonymically across the known world. And Spain had its own distinct associations for Donne in 1630, when he was a preacher of high estimation and Dean of St. Paul's in London. In a sermon on Paul's conversion, he considers conversion along cosmopolitan and geographic lines, depicting a virtual pilgrimage through Spanish territories:

Now how shall hee govern himself, that is unlearned, and not able to try, which is the common opinion? Or how shall the learnedest of all governe himselfe if he have occasion to travaile, but to change his Divinity, as often as he changes his Coine, and when he turns his Dutch Dollars into Pistolets, to go out of Germany, into Spain, turn his Devotion, and his religious worship according to the Clime?²⁸

Dr. Donne's rhetorical questions simultaneously confirm and exalt his native Anglican church while laying into those "learnedest" men—an impersonal example for a highly personal internal and external confession and profession—who would be unable to auto-regulate their tendency to convert as they "travaile" the continent, calling into question their ability to "governe" themselves in relation to their political allegiances on Earth as well in the Kingdom of Heaven. The sermon takes aim at those who would take a more liberal path than the *via media* between Rome, Geneva, and Wittenberg, diverging one way or another from the Anglican establishment. A common trope of Reformation English polemics, references to Calvinism or Roman Catholicism, and everything in between, would have certainly registered for Donne's audiences. Yet in this frenzied moment in his sermon Donne seems to be most interested in leveraging references to the exchange of monetary currency, the "Dutch Dollars" and the "Pistolets," as a metaphor for religious conversion. In doing so, Donne effectively skirts the question of a comparative value of faiths and assumes that the exchange rate (dollars for pistolets to be pegged as Reformed faith for the Roman) could yield an equilibrium. The Hispanophobia betrayed here is that the learned man should be enticed to go out from England to the Habsburg controlled Low Countries and into Spain. For Donne, this metaphorical marker of inconstancy and incontinence is tied to the local "Clime," and having been there himself on Essex's excursions to Cádiz in 1596, Spain looked mighty enticing to Donne's learned convert.

Perhaps what is most resonant about the sermon above, delivered in his final years, is how it retrieves from the young libertine Jack Donne's *Satyres* a battery of ideologically motivated charges of Spanish otherness by inhabiting the terror of a death by Spain. Berating himself in "Satire III," for example, Donne anticipates the volley of rhetorical questions concerning religious conversion and the prospect of damnation performed in his sermon by invoking naval conflict and the English involvement in the Spanish-Dutch hostilities:

O if thou dar'st, feare this,
This feare great courage, and high valour is;

Dar'st thou ayd mutinous Dutch, and dar'st thou lay
 Thee in ships woodden Sepulchres, a prey
 To leaders rage, to stormes, to shot, to dearth? (15-19)

With the reference to the mutinous Dutch, Donne's speaker inserts himself into the moment before the "English came to the aid of the Dutch, who repeatedly revolted against Spanish rule during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, in 1582 and later."²⁹ He speaks to the more protracted fight between the United Provinces and the Spanish territories. Donne did not offer himself up for military service until after 15 March 1596 when Elizabeth signed Essex's and Lord Howard of Effingham's commissions. Young men from the Inns eager to gain favor, or at least hoping to secure booty, pledged their service for the expedition to Cádiz, among them the young Jack Donne as well as his friend Henry Wotton, then secretary to Essex. In many ways, Donne's "fear" from "Satire III" both anticipates future times of conflict and tribulation with Spain and remembers and repeats previous engagements with the rival nation in a variety of theaters, ranging here from the Low Countries to the Iberian peninsula, and, of course, England itself with the attempted invasion of the Spanish Armada.³⁰

It remains puzzling, however, just how Donne's speaker casts an unequivocal fear of Spain alongside an ironical meditation on the paradox of *daring* to "feare" what is "great courage" and "high valour." In a flurry of asyndeton that confirms and confines the rhymed couplet of "lay" and "prey" to the "woodden Sepulchers," Donne's speaker identifies the perils of maritime conflict: a "leaders rage," "stormes," "shot," and "dearth." A few lines after planting the paradox, Donne's speaker asks "Canst thou for gaine beare" "like divine / Children in th'oven, fires of Spaine" (23-26)? For Donne, the paradoxical "feare" that one is to endure with "great courage" and "high valour" is to be like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, the "children in th'oven" from Daniel 3, as one is to the *autos-da-fe*, the "fires" of the Spanish Inquisition and the ship being burned.³¹ Both his expedient reference to and identification with Daniel, a young Israelite placed in an oven by Nebuchadnezzar for refusing to publicly commit an act of idolatry, and his comparison to the Spanish Inquisition, revolve around the ethics of courtly advancement. Can he "beare" or endure "for gaine" of advancement?

More than just a satiric debate on the conundrum of finding the true and false religions, Donne's meditation on the threat of Spain involves an apocalyptic dimension that conveys a fear of divine judgement regarding the ethics of privateering "for gaine." Speaking to the state of his soul and doomsday, Donne's satirist suggests that he is caught between two powers, one a Spanish-Catholic, represented by a reference to Philip II of Spain and Pope Gregory XIII, the other an English-Protestant, represented by Henry VIII and Martin Luther:

Foole and wretch, wilt thou let thy Soul be tyed
 To mans lawes, by which she shall not be tryed
 At the last day? Oh, will it then boot thee
 To say a Philip, or a Gregory,
 A Harry, or a Martin, taught thee this?
 Is not this excuse for mere contraries;
 Equally strong? Cannot both sides say so? ("Satire III" 93-99)

In examining the liberation of his soul from the finite authority of "mans lawes," Donne's speaker focuses on the *eschaton* to answer his rhetorical questions. We should note the parallel

structure in lines 96 and 97 that juxtaposes the Spanish monarch, whose rise coincides with the Council of Trent and the Catholic Reformation, and the English “Harry,” who ushers in the English Reformation. According to M. Thomas Hester, Donne strips these figures’ “temporal authority in order to view them as they shall be examined on ‘the last day.’”³² The satirist is arguing that the apocalyptic moment delivers his soul from the temporal authority of these two powers, thereby dissolving his ties to the conflicts represented by them.

With “Satire III,” Donne is considering how patriotism and religious duty conflate a historical node, the immanent Spanish threat(s), with a personal consideration of religious “valour.” After all, to go on the Cádiz expedition was a significant opportunity for personal advancement. Elizabeth signed off on the raid largely for its propagandistic value: it marked the ten-year anniversary of the devastating assault on the Spanish launched by the notorious Sir Francis Drake, and it was commemorated as such in literary and visual culture (see Figure 3.2). But more significantly, the raid fueled the conception resulting from the crushing defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 that the apocalypse was playing out in the Anglo-Spanish military rivalry in which divine providence favored Protestant England over Catholic Spain. The stakes were high for Donne: to partake in the successful raid against Spain was to participate in apocalyptic history.



Figure 3.2: Medal commemorating the Allied expedition to Cádiz, silver 51mm, 1596. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Furthermore, the brief passage from “Satire III” above insists on pressing Spain into the speaker’s considerations about conversion and religiosity in a fraught historical moment. But this was not an isolated reference. Donne returns to this very same trope in “The Calme,” his verse letter to Christopher Brooke likely written in 1597 on a voyage to the Azores soon after the raid on Cádiz:

Who live, that miracle do multiply
Where walkers in hot Ovens, doe not dye.

If in despite of these, wee swimme, that hath
 No more refreshing, then our brimstone Bath,
 But from the sea, into the ship we turne,
 Like parboyl'd wretches, on the coales to burne.
 Like *Bajazet* encag'd, the shepherds scoffe,
 Or like slacke sinew'd *Sampson*, his haire off,
 Languish our ships. (27-35)

Griping about the oppressive heat of the southern climate like a good Englishman, Donne shuffles through a series of allusions, many of them to be recycled in later poems, starting with the “walkers in hot Ovens” from Daniel 3. Donne’s affinity for this image probably stems from its adaptability to any instance of oppression resulting from perceived political disloyalty. That is, Donne’s apocalyptic disposition continues to identify him with the persecuted martyrs long after the threat of direct persecution was mitigated by his conversion. Whereas in “Satire III” the three Israelites in Nebuchadnezzar’s ovens are a metaphorical comparison to the Spanish Inquisition, “The Calme” repositions the metaphor to suggest an eschatological moment where the speaker finds himself in a hell-scape. The claim that swimming is “No more refreshing, then our brimstone Bath” so much evinces a scene of hellish torture that we might note the resonance in the description of the lake of fire from Book I of Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, when Beelzebub describes how the fallen angels “lye / Groveling and prostrate on yon Lake of Fire” (l.279-280).³³ Far from the conventional Petrarchan conceit of being Love’s prisoner, the compounded simile and anaphora of “like” harrowingly compares the “ship” to a burning stove and to Bajazeth’s cage from Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine the Great, Part I*.

While these references are surely hyperbolic, the figurative landscape painted by Donne consistently draws from chapters three and four from the Book of Daniel to explain its politics in an increasingly curious subject position. This interest persists across a number of selections, none more curious than his exercises in the epigram form, with “The Lier”:

Thou in the fields walkst out thy supping howres
 And yet thou swearst thou hast supd like a king;
 Like Nebuchadnezzar perchance with grass and flowres,
 A sallet worse then Spanish dyeting.

The political jab in this epigram is surprising, quickly outgrowing its four lines. The conceit draws from the narrative of the punishment Nebuchadnezzar suffers after he boasts, “Is not this great Babel that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?” His punishment is that he should go mad and eat “grass, as the oxen” to remind him that his rule is due to the will of God (Daniel 4.27-30 *GNV*). The analogy between the Spanish Empire and Babylon is available here in a direct and scornful way. Donne is echoing Augustine’s *City of God*, which reads Daniel’s prophetic moment as a yet unfulfilled political prophecy that foretells the coming of the Antichrist, and, more importantly to Donne, as a confirmation of a “resurrection” to come.³⁴ Further pressing is the performance of judgement that surfaces at its outset with the address to the second person “Thou.” The apostrophe of the first two lines suggests that Donne is cautioning someone’s quixotic delusion of power, calling truth into question with “thou swearst.” The punchline comes in the form of a simile contained in a dependent clause. The joke is that the addressee has already suffered God’s judgement, and his

political fate is now worse than the collapse of power in the Spanish court. The epigram is a moral invective whose conceit is aided by the diminishing of a person with some sort of comparison to Spain. I would resist calling this poem eschatological, but it most certainly exemplifies Donne's interest in inhabiting the prophetic voice to deliver moral judgement. This epigram intrigues, moreover, due to the timing of its composition: it was probably authored during or soon after Donne's expedition to Cádiz, along with "Cales [Cádiz] and Guyana," "Sir John Wingfield," and "A burnt ship." Each of these treats maritime voyages and military expeditions, and each of these riffs off a conceit of death intertwined with a stoic consideration of the violent English reprisals toward Spanish New World mercantilism. The grimly witty epigram on dying in a ship set ablaze by the enemy gives added point to Donne's fear of the "fires of Spain."

To usefully read Donne's shifting stances on Spanish literature and culture, one must read what might seem isolated references to Spain in an aesthetic framework that recognizes a continuity of thought existing in a network of Hispano-centric references.³⁵ For instance, Donne's speaker in "Satire II" suggests a sympathetic relationship between poets and lawyers that is analogous to "Papist" Spaniards, explaining that "Though Poëtry indeed be such a sinne / As I thinke that brings dearths, and Spaniards in,...yet their state [i.e. lawyers' state: the court of law] / Is poore, disarm'd, like Papists, not worth hate" (5-6, 9-10). The passing reference to "Spaniards" here aids the conceit deployed at the outset of the poem that compares the detached fancy of a courtier-poet to the depravity of lawyers and courts of law. The joke is that courtly love poetry is all-consuming like pestilential "dearths" just as it is saturated with excessive and cheap Spanish sentimentality. Donne's statement relies on the hyperbolic "dearths," but it also seems to expect the reader to understand that "Spaniards" works as a metonym for excessive courtly effusiveness. Donne's speaker seems to recall this comparison a little further on, saying "One would move Love by rithmes; but witchcrafts charms / Bring not now their old feares, nor their old harmes. / Rammes, and slings now are seely battery, / Pistolets are the best Artillerie" (16-20).

With "pistolet," Donne is punning on the shortened gun and its phallic associations—"To out-doe Dildoes, and out usure Jewes" (32)—to mean the Spanish *escudo*, a coin that would suffer debasement and whose abundance would contribute to rampant inflation. Donne channels his critique of the vice of avarice into his satire in order to develop a conceit that debases its subject by means of reinforcing stereotypical depictions of Spanish culture. But he couches the satiric allusion to Spaniards in phallogocentric language that evinces an anxiety about his own authorial persona. The "pistolet" in "Satire II" draws attention to an awkward and deficient poetic foot that "would move Love" with "rithmes." The "charms" here aid the meditation on poetic form, noting the potential for enchantment of the *carmina*. The speaker then declares that the stiffer "rammes" and "slings" that would undoubtedly penetrate a would-be courtly beloved are inferior to the Spanish "Artillerie" that is at both at once cheaply available as metonym for Spanish courtly sentimentality and also relatively useless as sexual ejaculate (cannon-shot) for the impotent and incontinent speaker.

As a metonym, the "pistolet" firing "Artillerie" contains both a figurative phallic reference and a more direct and scornful depiction of maritime warfare. In the military mobilization leading to the war of 1588, English ships were outfitted with larger guns to rival the tactical advantage the Spanish had with a newer, swifter fleet. The English strategy was to engage the Spanish with long-range artillery, while the Spanish prepared for close-quarter combat and boarding ships.³⁶ The disappointment of a shortened gun running out of shot was

very real to Donne. The reference to the material object destabilizes the signifier, evacuating one signification while immediately introducing another. As David Landreth explains, “the coin serves not as the locus to ground an ethical and political agenda upon an ontological account of what the material world is like, but as an instance of centrifugal discontinuities and disintegrations.”³⁷ Both conceits overlap, but they do not quite fit together comfortably, as Donne is unsure how to move between bodily anxiety and the alarming “fear” of maritime war to which he alludes so regularly.

Donne elsewhere launches into an anti-Spanish digression in his elegy, “The Bracelet,” again, by recalling the quip about the “children in the oven” subject and the inquisitorial “fires of Spain” from “Satire III.” Indeed Donne’s penchant for retelling the story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego from Daniel 3 most aggressively seeks to provoke a debate on God’s theodicy following the example in Job 9 and 10. Most alarming to Donne is how well the human capacity for destruction rivals that of God, when, as he says in his *Devotions*, “in a minute a Cannon batters all, overthrowes all, demolishes all.”³⁸ As we have seen in the *Satyres*, Donne reads Daniel 3 with an enthusiasm for imagining how God’s angel protects the three young Israelite men from being consumed in the flames of a furnace after being condemned to die by Nebuchadnezzar for refusing to pollute themselves with a public act of idolatry. The elegy, though, takes a different approach to Daniel. The poem is primarily based on a libertine *laccio* or *catena* conceit considering love tokens and the bonds of love. The gold angels, the speaker fears, might have some Spanish gold in them, but the inquisitorial fires they would endure are the blacksmith’s. It delights in its cleverness by momentarily suppressing the fear of maritime death, and martyrdom more generally, that the trope represents elsewhere. It then returns to Daniel as it sets out to prove if the gold angels can intercede on the speaker’s behalf just as well as God’s angel does for the Israelites. Still speaking about the twelve gold angels, Donne’s speaker asks

Shall these twelve innocents, by thy severe
Sentence (dread judge) my sins great burden beare?
Shall they be damn'd, and in the furnace throwne,
And punisht for offenses not their owne?
They save not me, they doe not ease my paines,
When in that hell they'are burnt and tyed in chains (17-22)

There is little faith that the coins, reminted, could ever be sufficiently pure to withstand God’s judgement on doomsday. The threat of damnation looms too large for the speaker, especially in the context of idolatry under which this entire conceit operates. The fear of damnation, and the play between the material object and ethereal spirit, deprives a restless soul of any comfort. This indeterminacy is precisely what motivates the moment of comparative appraisal that underwrites Donne’s scornful view of the Spanish. For Donne, surely the English angel, though far from pure, has to be more precious to God than the widely available and heavily debased Spanish pistol.

* * *

I wish to conclude this section by showing how Donne’s personal fear of death by the Spanish at sea that we have examined so far becomes diffused onto broader fears stemming from colonial ambitions. Donne regarded violence as a pathological condition affecting the fallen man. Only

men instrumentalized by God had any righteous claim to martial action. Hence men's pretexts for war are always suspect, symptomatic of other depravations. The clear case for this is Donne's discomfort with exploiting others for gold by means of theft and fraud. In much the same way, Donne was certain in his diagnosis of Spanish depravity—greed. Stunningly, Donne seems to register anti-Spanish sentiment itself as its own pathology; that is, the envy and hatred toward Spain is its own kind of disease, one from which Donne was eager to inoculate himself. One antidote for Spanish greed is the contemplation of fear of doomsday: if Spanish greed is a contagious sin, it should be considered and excised before the final judgement arrives. One such example comes with the language of purgation, featured prominently in "Loves Warre," a politically minded elegy from Donne's time at the Inns, or soon after. In his elegy, the Irish revolt against their English colonial masters is represented as a disease to be eased by blood-letting. There is some fun to be had with Donne's diction outlining the cure. To be "purged," of course, hearkens to the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory, which became quickly excised from eschatological theology by Protestant reformers. Yet purgation, hearkening back to its Latin root *purgatio*, bypasses a crypto-Catholic association with purgatory by announcing that the soul is immediately vectored toward heaven at the imputation of righteousness. This purgation occurs on strictly bodily terms of voiding and letting bodily fluids in the form of *katharsis*. Donne gives his diagnosis:

Sick Ireland is with a strange warr possest
 Like to an Ague; now raging, now at rest;
 Which time will cure: yet it must doe her good
 If she were purg'd, and her head vayne let blood. (13-16)

With the reference to "Sick Ireland," and using the first-person plural possessive "our" to modify "Spanish journeys" (17), the speaker is indirectly judging a number of political events and calling into question their relationship to England. Of chief complaint is the "strange warr" in Ireland, likened to "an Ague," one of Donne's favorite similes. He sees Irish rebels as a fever, the "Ague," that "time will cure" but needs to be "purg'd, and her head vayne let blood," better to "doe her good." Indeed, Donne's verses echo Orange's statement, presented in the previous chapter, in which he expresses the wish to "purge" his country from "pernitious and hurtfull Spanish humours." The prescription here is metaphorical: war is a disease, and should be purged through phlebotomy. Donne applies similar eschatological diction to move between the individual body and the political body, suggesting that purgation (of blood, of ware, of illness, of evil) precedes the arrival of the eschaton. Immediately following the strange simile concerning Irish wars Donne's speaker turns his view toward the English campaigns against Spain, casting much doubt on the moral reasoning behind the expeditions:

Midas joyes our Spanish journeys give,
 We touch all gold, but find no food to live.
 And I should be in the hott parching clime,
 To dust and ashes turn'd before my time.
 To mew me in a Ship, is to inthrall
 Mee in a prison (17-22)

The adjectival-predicative nominative function of “our,” modifying the noun-phrase “Spanish journeys,” in line 17 requires some careful attention. There is an easy—though likely incorrect—reading of a genitive sense of “our” in relation to “Spanish journeys,” giving the impression that the speaker assumes the identity of a Spaniard who goes on journeys to secure gold. The likelier sense of “our” is adjectival, expressing that the speaker assumes a participatory role in a collective journey to Spain. The two possible senses of “our” highlight the dialectical relationship of Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia. On the one hand, the speaker repudiates the privateering mission and, as in other poems, likens the “hot parching clime” to an apocalyptic episode of bodily disintegration, anticipating and accelerating the eschaton “before my time.” On the other hand, the speaker nearly assumes the identity of a Spaniard and understands and accepts his role as an instrument of imperialism. These two perspectives meeting in one, though contrary, speak to the dialecticism of the condition in that, despite the contradiction on the surface, the syntactical relationship is one of dependence.

There is a subtle yet highly problematic critique embedded in the metaphorical reference to “Midas joyes” further on account of its relationship to “our.” At first glance, “Midas joyes” appears to be a blunt criticism of the stereotypical Spanish greed for gold manifested through its relentless colonial deployments. But again the complex syntactical arrangement of this line allows for the critique to be understood as directed toward the English expedition to Cadiz, and to Donne. The issue is with the elided auxiliary preposition *to* which would offer a clearer dative reference following “our Spanish journeys give.” The most obvious source of Donne’s reference to Midas comes from Book XI of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. Donne’s “lack of food to live” (line 18) easily recalls Ovid’s description of how “with watering mouth [Midas] tried to bite / The tempting food, he bit but golden flakes.”³⁹ The scene of privation at sea from Donne aligns with the Midas’ tantalized state in Ovid, but because of the metaphorical allusion to mythology, the passage also suggests that it be read as political allegory.

Donne’s comparison of Spanish greed to the Midas myth is far from original, however. It probably owes a greater debt to John Lyly’s play *Midas*, written and performed within a couple of years after the defeat of the Armada. The play was performed for Elizabeth in early 1590, entering the Stationers’ Register in 1591 and appearing in print in 1592, thus likely being available to Donne at the early stages of his literary career. According to David Bevington, *Midas* presents a political allegory in which the eponymous character stands for the notoriously avaricious Phillip II of Spain. Midas’ lieutenants in the play are perhaps analogous to the Duke of Alba and Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma.⁴⁰ The allegory in Lyly’s play extends beyond the typical Hispanophobic rhetoric that celebrates the elect nation’s deliverance from the Spanish threat. It is more interested in considering how Spain continues to be a threat to English sovereignty with its capacity to buy influence due to its supply of precious metals from the New World. After Midas’ counsellors convince him to ask Bacchus for the golden touch, Midas explains his designs for his new power:

I will with gold pave my court and deck with gold my turrets. These pretty islands near to Phrygia shall totter, and other kingdoms be turned topsy-turvy. I will command both the affections of men and the fortunes. Chastity will grow cheap where gold is not thought dear. (I.ii.124-129)

It is quite clear that the “pretty islands near to Phrygia” refer to the British Isles. Philip, of course, failed to overthrow Elizabeth, but he certainly managed to destabilize and/or control “other

kingdoms.” Clearer still is Lyly’s concern with the potential influx of Spanish gold that would buy “the affections of men” and diminish the value of a commodified “Chastity” by the abundance of ore. It is another manifestation of Donne’s fear of the “Spanish stamps” roaming Europe with their shortened guns. The historical ironies need only be briefly mentioned. “Chastity” suggests the prostitution of political allegiance and the heightened frequency of discreet bribery. Yet Lyly is unable to foresee, much like the Spanish *arbitristas* (accountants),⁴¹ that the greater availability of gold and silver from the New World would lead to rampant inflation, destabilizing commodity prices.

Donne’s reference to the subject of Lyly’s Midas in relation to English imperial ambition ponders the moral and ethical dimensions of these military pursuits. What is most troubling for Donne in his pronouncement of judgement is the difficulty in reconciling his personal involvement in such a dubious mission with the larger national endeavor of overpowering the rival nation for the glory of God. To parse Donne’s sense of complicity and involvement in Anglo-Spanish affairs, it is necessary to be mindful of the constant repositioning and play with pronouns. When judging the moral value of the “Spanish journeys” that add to “Midas joyes,” Donne prefers the first person *plural* adjectives and pronouns “our” and “we.” The subsequent independent clause immediately shifts its attention back to the first person singular with “I” and “my.” The individual instances of singular or plural pronouns offer little hermeneutic traction on their own. However, in such a key moment, the variable pronoun use marks the interstice where Donne retreats to an eschatological meditation on personal damnation in the first person as a consequence of his complicity in the larger privateering endeavor and the Black Legend of Spanish colonial cruelty more broadly.

3. The Black Legend and the Resurrection, or the “Spanish businesse being done”

In my discussion of the satires, “The Bracelet,” and “Loves Warre,” I demonstrated how Donne’s identification with Daniel to consider the fear of death and martyrdom takes on new dimensions as it uneasily begins to assimilate the polemic of the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty into its poetics. As we move on to a study of Donne’s libertine and religious poetry, we can profitably situate his youthful anti-Spanish stance in his treatment of the Black Legend, not simply as a confirmation of his Hispanophobic poetics, but for its significance and value to Donne’s eschatological framework regarding the resurrection of the body and soul. With this, we find that his eschatological Hispanophobia is adjacent to and interacts surprisingly with the well-known religious and erotic discourses informing his views of the fate of the body and soul at doomsday.⁴²

Walter S.H. Lim and Tom Cain have noted that cartographical and mercantile metaphors in Donne’s poetry are often founded upon, or give way to, sustained treatment of colonial enterprises in the New World. The most famous evidence given to this point is, of course, the elegy “To His Mistress Going to Bed.” In it, the speaker ecstatically gropes his way around his mistress’ body, naming her “my America! my new-found-land,” and engages the exploration of sexual boundaries authorized by royal license. Feminist readings of this poem have illuminated the broader discourse of the rape culture that underpins discovery, surveying, and mining in the English colonial expeditions, and historicist accounts describe Donne’s interest in the literature and business of the Virginia and Guyana expeditions.⁴³ Both of these approaches underscore how colonial enterprises were more than just a passing interest of Donne’s. He actively sought

out preference for secretary positions in Ireland and in the Virginia Company between 1608 and 1609, ultimately failing to secure a position in the colonial bureaucracies.⁴⁴

The defining characteristic of “To His Mistress Going to Bed” is the male subject’s conception of himself as the colonizing force experiencing his sexual encounter as the agent of empire. Exhibiting some of the English anxieties surrounding Spanish colonial dominance, Donne giddily collapses his fetishist concern for the violence of Spanish colonialism and slavery with the familiar language love-bondage expressed by Petrarch: “Amor con sue promesse lusingando / mi ricondusse a la prigione antica, / et die’ le chiavi a quella mia nemica / ch’anchor me di me stesso tene in bando” (Love, enticing me with her promises, leads me back to my old *prison*, and gives the keys to my enemy, who keeps me apart from my very self).⁴⁵ Petrarch’s conceit maintains that Love and Laura conspire to keep him imprisoned in a metaphorical state of sexual dissatisfaction. The state of imprisonment is meant to highlight an ontological dualism that appears to be paradoxical with the phrase “me di me stesso” suggesting both the partitive and origin (“from” in the English sense) and emphasizing the first-person perspective with the reflexive intensifier “stesso.” Donne’s own brand of dualism and paradox follows Petrarch’s example, though couched in a colonial context, as the speaker, in “To His Mistress Going to Bed,” petitions his beloved to

Licence my roving hands, and let them go,
Before, behind, between, above, below.
O my America! my new-found-land,
My kingdom, safeliest when with one man mann’d,
My Mine of precious stones, My Empirie,
How blest am I in this discovering thee!
To enter in these bonds, is to be free;
Then where my hand is set, my seal shall be. (25-30)

Donne’s speaker simultaneously assumes the roles of colonial viceroy with his “license” and native slave entered in “bonds,” easily punning on “mine” to evoke and equate the invasive excavation of minerals, ore, and gems with vaginal penetration. Milton’s imagination perhaps seized on Donne’s image of the sexual “mine,” and the Black Legend’s emphasis on Spanish greed, to describe in *Paradise Lost* the incestuous avarice of men inspired by Mammon who “Ransack’d the Center, and with impious hands / Rifi’d the bowels of their mother Earth / For Treasures better hid” (I.686-688). The “Treasures better hid” from *Paradise Lost* can be viewed in relation to Donne’s conceit of exploration and discovery—the “roving hands” and “discovering thee”—with the former lamenting the violence of exploration and the latter celebrating it.

As I note in the general introduction, the Black Legend was instrumental to the development of the construct of race in the early modern period. English responses to the relationship of the Spanish to native peoples in narratives of imperial conquest viewed that Spaniard, regardless of rank, as both the product and agent of mixing, belonging to the exclusionary categories of non-whiteness. In Spain, this construct was exhibited in the tests for purity of blood of new Jewish converts to Christianity.⁴⁶ Spanish Jews (*sephardim*) were hounded by the assumption that a religious convert’s bloodline was always already debased, and not just on account of the conversion, which was meant to make them new in the Christian church through baptism. From the pernicious distrust of newly converted Jews came the

pejorative term *marrano*, or “swine,” a smear perhaps derived from an Arabic term of bodily prohibition (*TLC*) and, more so, a taunting reminder of the *kashrut* commandment prohibiting the consumption of pork. What I highlight here, moreover, is how Donne translates his predilection for poetic figurations and objectifications of the mixed or debased body and soul of the Spanish *conversos* to the New World, and how he attaches these to his Hispanophobic fiction.

Far from being immune to considerations of Spanish race, Donne would have understood that the Black Legend also capitalized on Maurophobic sentiment to a great degree, and he sought to imitate that attitude in his poetry, where a latent rhetoric of white supremacy is detectable. In Donne’s elegy “The Anagram,” for example, a reference to the Netherlands’ wars of independence against the Spanish during the 1580s and 1590s⁴⁷ is leveraged against a conventional comparison of the virtue of the beloved’s beautiful face to the whitening of dark “Moors”:

When Belgia's cities the round countries drown,
That dirty foulness guards, and arms the town:
So doth her face guard her; and so, for thee,
Which, forced by business, absent oft must be,
She, whose face, like clouds, turns the day to night;
Who, mightier than the sea, makes Moors seem white. (41-46)

As Paul R. Sellin argues, it is no coincidence that Donne’s speaker looks to political events in the Netherlands as he offers a political jab at the Spanish.⁴⁸ What is more striking, however, is how Donne imagines a conceit in which a political concession by the Spanish could also be associated with the fantasy of a woman’s face who “makes Moors seem white.” In contrast to Shakespeare and others who typify a Moor as having dark complexion and indistinct pan-Mediterranean or Ottoman origin, Donne employs “Moors” in a specifically Spanish context.

Donne’s concerns about Spanish internal religious and ethnic heterogeneity and colonialism are linked and form a continuous imaginative strand of Spanish Hispanophobia. Donne links these two geographic and ideological theaters of the Black Legend through his imaginative eschatology and his metaphysical dualism. Whereas “mixing” was the central creative concept animating Greville’s version of Sidney’s Hispanophobia, Donne prefers “joining,” which he applies both to the colonial annexation of new geographic territories and to the reunification of the body and soul at the resurrection taking place at doomsday. To the body, variously represented as a “temple” or “little world,” he assigns a contiguous colonial framework in the form of mystical and terrestrial geography whose cartographic markers lie in the distant Indies and are constituted by Iberian reports of the native inhabitants’ tribulations.

I start by pointing to the Spanish texts on which Donne relies to imbue his metaphysical dualism with the Black Legend. An important source for understanding Donne’s dispositions toward Spanish theology engrossed in colonial narratives is a letter from 1623 addressed to James I sometime favorite, George Villiers, duke of Buckingham:

Most Honoured Lord, - I can thus far make myself believe that I am where your Lordship is, in Spain, that, in my poor library, where indeed I am, I can turn mine eye towards no shelf, in any profession from the mistress of my youth, Poetry, to the wife of my age, Divinity, but that I meet more authors of that nation than of any other. Their authors in

Divinity, though they do not show us the best way to heaven, yet they think they do. And so, though they say not true, yet they do not lie, because they speak their conscience.⁴⁹

This letter is often cited as unequivocal evidence of Donne's positive disposition toward Spanish letters and culture, but its pretention to Hispanophilia should instead be understood in the context of Donne's evolving postures. With this curious letter, Donne is meddling in Anglo-Spanish diplomatic affairs. He addresses the letter to Buckingham during his trip to Madrid with Prince Charles to arrange the marriage to the Infanta María Margarita. There is nothing very straightforward about this letter, however. Although there is no reason to doubt Donne's sincerity concerning his erudition and interest in Spanish works, the political context of the letter nonetheless speaks to another subtext. The potential match between Charles and the Infanta was highly unpopular among most members of the Privy Council and the Archbishop of Canterbury, not to mention the general public. Buckingham, to whom Donne addresses the letter, and whose mission it was to secure the match in Madrid, was one of its greatest opponents. The situation was fraught: in 1619 Frederick, the Elector Palatine, James' son-in-law, had been deposed from his claim to the kingdom of Bohemia as well prevented from returning to the Palatinate by Habsburg forces. James wanted to find a peaceful solution, having made peace with Spain before in 1605, but Buckingham and many of his peers wanted an open sea war.⁵⁰ According to some accounts, it was due to Buckingham that eight years of negotiations were soured and the match called off, further escalating tensions between the two nations.⁵¹ Given the polarizing political climate the Spanish match precipitated, it is possible to read the letter as either an encomium in favor of the Spanish match, nudging Buckingham, or a more personal expression of affinity for Spain that is inconsistent with many of his other writings.

Yet far from merely professing an affinity for Spain, it seems that Donne was making a choice to conform to James' desires for a peaceful outcome, adding his voice to a dwindling minority of loyal supporters who wanted to avoid another war with Spain. We know from a letter to Goodyere that he was intently following the affair: "of any new treaty of a match with *Spain*, I hear nothing. The warres in the *Lowcountries*, to judge by their present state, are very likely to go forward. No word of a Parliament."⁵² As Dean of St. Paul's and a beneficiary of the king's bounty, it was a safe and calculated move for Donne to put forth an apology for his possession and appreciation of Spanish works of divinity.⁵³

My interest in the letter, moreover, is to evaluate Donne's claim that "I meet more authors of that nation than of any other" in the subject of "Divinity," authors who shaped Donne's own peculiar version of the Black Legend detectable in his citations left behind in the *Sermons*, *Essays in Divinity*, *Biathanatos*, *Ignatius His Conclave*, and *Pseudo-Martyr*. These latter three appear between 1608 and 1611, in Donne's prolific period of writing controversial theology. In this period, Donne had surrounded himself with Spanish authors writing on theology and Canon Law, showing considerable attention to the debates between Dominicans and Jesuits.⁵⁴ The justifications for empire and for the enslavement, forced conversion, and, in some cases, slaughter of native peoples in the New World loomed large in these debates. His sources would have been useful for their grounding in the law, but as colonial reports, they would have been outdated by the 1610s. Yet in tapping these sources to construct his view of the Black Legend, he cited them regularly and consistently across a number of works.

Set as a colloquy in Hell presided over by Satan, the first-person satirical prose narrative *Ignatius His Conclave* presents an ostensibly anti-Jesuit treatise delighting in its own imaginative whims: Ignatius is an arch-fiend whose tempers even Satan must accede to; Machiavelli, one of

the influential denizens there, has an unusually cooperative relationship with Ignatius; and, in a peculiar imaginative turn, it is suggested that Ignatius and the Jesuits, whose thirst for colonial dominance is unquenchable, should be sent to colonize the moon. In some ways, *Ignatius* is an exercise in lampooning controversy itself by dwelling in the profound irony that there should be such great disagreements in Hell, where all are equally damned.⁵⁵ It conversely renders the ethical-moral debates of the Dominicans and Jesuits regarding the treatment of New World natives, of which the Valladolid debate is representative,⁵⁶ as absurd and ineffectual. Donne's speaker traces the Jesuits' colonial ambition to the mixed ethnic background of the founder of the order by referring to him as "this *French-spanish* mungrell, *Ignatius*."⁵⁷ The "mungrell" Ignatius is reduced to his singular ethnic characteristic trait. As the father of the Jesuit order, he will mark the successors with the dubious quality of being a "mungrell" from Spain. The purpose of establishing Ignatius as a "mungrell" is partly to account for the outsize cruelty of the Jesuits among the crude Spanish colonists. Ignatius brags to Satan:

You must remember, sir, that if this kingdome [Hell] have got any thing by the discovery of the *West Indies*, al that must be attributed to our *Order*: for if the opinion of the *Dominicans* had prevailed, *That the inhabitants should be reduced, onely by preaching and without violence*, certainly their 200000 of men would scarce in so many ages have beene brought to a 150 which by our meanes was so soone performed. And if the law, made by *Ferdinando*, onely against *Canibals: That all which would not bee Christian would bee bondslaves*, had not beene extended into other Provinces, wee should have lacked men, to dig us out that benefite, which their countries afford.⁵⁸

Donne ventriloquizes his Ignatius to take a retrospective view of the great massacres perpetrated by the Spaniards beginning early in the sixteenth century under Ferdinand V. He touches on the system of *encomiendas*, patents awarded by the Spanish crown to hold native peoples as perpetual slaves, all the while subordinating any possible distinction between leading Dominicans and Jesuits. This passage is representative of Donne's frenzied and confusing coordination of particular details of Spanish colonial policy and uncorroborated accounts of Spanish cruelty. Although Donne's Ignatius glosses over the subtleties distinguishing the evolving Dominican and Jesuit positions on the subject of colonialism for satirical effect, he cites Ferdinand's patent along with the report of mass casualties as coming from Jean Matal's preface to the Portuguese historian Jerónimo Osório's *De Rebus Emmanuelis, Regis Lusitaniae*,⁵⁹ a source he will turn to in *Biathanatos* and *Pseudo-Martyr*. In this instance, his consideration of the Black Legend arrives at the conventional invective against Spanish greed, "to dig us out that benefite" of gold, along with his view of the Jesuit's scorched-earth tactics for both condoning genocide and the enslavement of the survivors. But it remains unclear where he gets his numbers for the number of dead natives. The lack of specificity here is central to the way that the Black Legend works in Donne's prose satire: any representation, inflated or otherwise, of the extent of atrocities can be distilled for its pointed effect of showing Spanish cruelty that is amenable to Donne's manifold purposes in poetry and controversialist literature.

Before Donne had ventured to write his controversial pieces, he had prefigured his posture toward the Black Legend by cementing pointed tropes aimed at communicating the futility of resistance by pointing to the natives' plight under the Spaniards. Such references had an established presence in Donne's coterie, as is evidenced in Donne's verse letter to his friend and sometime travelling companion Henry Wotton. The context for the letter is a reflection on

the moral decadence at court: having no news about the affairs at court, Donne frames the letter by saying that he “may as well / Tell you *Calis*, or *St. Michaels* tale for newes” (1-2), referring to the shared experience of going out on the Cádiz and Azores expeditions. In the instance of bemoaning the woes of court, the verse letter takes a surprising turn by producing a simile comparing the suffering of “Indians” to that of poorly connected aspiring courtiers:

In this worlds warfare, they whom rugged Fate
(God's commissary,) doth so thoroughly hate,
As in'the Courts squadron to marshall their state:

If they stand arm'd with seely honesty,
With wishing prayers, and neat integritie,
Like Indians 'gainst Spanish hosts they bee. (10-15)

There are two parts to the conceit above. The first part counsels that it is futile to resist “rugged Fate / (God’s commissary)” with “wishing, prayers, and neat integritie.” This fatalistic moral statement is the crux of the conceit, but its sense is almost entirely subordinate to the simile attached to the moralism, constituting the second and final part of the conceit. That is, resistance to divinely ordained fate is futile, for “Like Indians 'gainst Spanish hosts they bee.” The conceit operates in absolutes, as Fate is unyielding to the will of man in any way. This absolutism maps on to the simile of native resistance to the Spanish by insisting on a simile that more or less describes the indiscriminate genocide of native peoples and their inability to resist such fate.⁶⁰ The simile is surprising because, rather than fetishize the wealth and advancement of colonialism, it inverts the ethical characteristics of courtly ambition to align with the fate of the victims of colonialism.

What might seem an isolated emphatic metaphor in the verse letter above becomes instead a sustained interest of Donne’s controversial theology on the subject of Spanish catechetical instruction about the fate of the body and soul in colonial contexts. In the *Pseudo-Martyr* (1611), for example, Donne recounts how

when the Spaniard in the Indies found a generall inclination, and practise in the inhabitants to kill themselves, to avoide slaverie; they had no way to reduce them, but by some dissemblings and outward counterfeittings, to make them beleeve, that they also killed themselves, and so went with them into the next world, and afflicted them more then, then they did in this.⁶¹

This passage surprisingly attests to the power of theatricality and dissimulation, especially as it is leveraged as an instrument of oppression against native peoples. Donne’s representation of the colonial report shows how religious instruction and conversion are subordinated to accommodate the retention of the *encomienda*. The figuration is a literary play that evokes a terrestrial hell in which the Spaniards are the tormentors. In Donne’s imagination, both the natives’ and the *conquistadores*’ views of the afterlife are compatible so that the performance put on by the Spaniards is effective.

Donne maintains a curiosity concerning the manner in which Spaniards prevented natives from committing suicide to avoid slavery. For Donne, the significance of this passage is magnified by his interest in the subject of suicide itself, to which he devotes his full attention in

Biathanatos (1608), a treatise defending suicide under limited circumstances. In a nearly-identical account, again citing Matal and Osório, Donne addresses the prospect of suicide as self-preservation:

in our age, when the *Spaniards* extended that Law, which was made onely against the Caniballs, that they who would not accept christian religion, should incurre bondage, the *Indians* in infinite numbers escaped by killing themselves: and never ceased till the *Spaniards* by some counterfaytings made them thinke, that they allso would kill themselves, and follow them with the same severity into the next Life. And thus much seeming to me sufficient, to defeat that argument, which is drawn from self-preservation, and to prove that it is not of so particular Law of Nature.⁶²

It seems that this early version of the account in *Biathanatos* becomes the source for *Ignatius and Pseudo-Martyr*, as it contains most of the key details which are distributed in the later texts. In the case of *Biathanatos*, it supports Donne's cause for exempting suicide in its paradoxical ploy at self-preservation. The cruelty and cunning of the Spaniards is interesting to Donne because it generates an example of an act of resistance, even if it is problematically accomplished through suicide.⁶³

The curious dramatization, moreover, reveals the deficiencies in the colonialists' religious instruction concerning the fate of the body and soul after death. We can detect how Donne's interest in eschatology and Spanish colonialism easily intersect in his sustained considerations of metaphysical dualism he realizes from the pulpit to an unprecedented degree.⁶⁴ On two separate occasions, Donne delivers an Easter sermon in which he dramatizes a moment of religious instruction where naiveté leads Indians to doubt the resurrection. In one of these sermons from 1630, he asks his audience to identify with the knowing Christian who marvels at his faith in the resurrection in contrast to an idolatrous native. He tells how

A West Indian King having beene well wrought upon for his Conversion to the Christian Religion, and having digested the former Articles, when he came to that, *He was crucified, dead, and buried*, had no longer patience, but said, If your God be dead and buried, leave me to my old god, the Sunne, for the Sunne will not dye. But if he would have proceeded to the Article of the Resurrection, hee should have seene, that even then, when hee lay dead, hee was GOD still; Then, when hee was no Man, hee was GOD still; Nay, then when hee was no man, hee was God, and Man, in this true sense, That though the body and soule were divorced from one another, and that during that divorce, he were no man, (for it is the union of body and soule that makes a man) yet the Godhead was not divided from either of these constitutive parts of man, body or soule.⁶⁵

The frustrated "West Indian King" is subject to Donne's sarcastic literary wit by pleading that the colonists "leave me to my old god, the Sunne, for the Sunne will not dye." The obvious homophonic pun on "Sunne" to elicit the Son of God is tenderly deployed to exemplify the potential for implicit faith the King demonstrates. Yet it is almost certainly a fabrication to imply that his pun originates in his source text, as such a homophonic pun on sun/son is unavailable in Spanish or Latin. By telling the story just as he does in a holy sonnet—"The Sonne of glory came downe and was slaine ("Wilt thou love God" 11)—Donne manages to complete the religious instruction of both his English audience and, seemingly, the native peoples: faith in the

resurrection of Christ is the own resounding proof of the resurrection to come. The resulting outcome celebrates the miraculous resurrection and the risen Christ by asserting the metaphysical dualism “of these constitutive parts of man,” rehearsing and anticipating the ecumenical resurrection at doomsday. In his Easter-day sermon from 1623, Donne stresses that “The Heathen confesse Christs death; to beleieve his Resurrection, is the proper character of a Christian.”⁶⁶

Donne’s corrective instruction on eschatology exposes a point of contention against Spanish cruelty in that it misses the point of its own colonial project. Preferring to emphasize the pacification and enslavement of new peoples, Spanish colonial religious indoctrination fails to identify and celebrate the confirmation of the prophetic promise regarding the world to come, according to Donne’s view of the Black Legend. The greedy pursuit of enslavement eschews the eschatological promise of the resurrection and reconstitution of the Christian church, whose converts and martyrs will be raised from all corners of the Earth. The beleaguered native converts, suffering enslavement and genocide, were central to Donne’s view of the Church Triumphant at the end of time. Just as body and soul are constitutive of man, an embodied temple, the native converts from the distant Spanish colonies are representative of the unified mystical temple of the New Jerusalem along with its universal restorative justice. Expounding on the prophecy of Ezekiel, Donne illustrates the reconstitution of the Christian church:

When *Elias* complained, *I, even I onely am left*, and God told him, that he had *seven thousand* besides him, perchance *Elias* knew none of this *seven thousand*, perchance none of this *seven thousand* knew one another, and yet, they were his flock, though they never met. That timber that is in the forest, that stone that is in the quarry, that Iron, that Lead that is in the mine, though distant miles, Counties, Nations, from one another, meet in the building of a materiall Church; So doth God bring together, living stones, men that had no relation, no correspondence, no intelligence together, to the making of his Mystical body, his visible Church. Who ever would have thought, that we of *Europe*, and they of the *Eastern*, or *Western Indies*, should have met to the making of Christ a Church? And yet, before we knew, on either side, that there was such a *people*, *God* knew there was such a Church. He that lies buried, in the consecrated dust under your feet, knowes not who lies next to him; but one Trumpet at last shall raise them both together, and show them to one another, and joyn them, (by Gods grace) in the Triumphant Church.⁶⁷

Despite Donne’s repeated outcries against Spanish cruelty on behalf of the natives in his controversialist pieces, we should note that his stance on doomsday from the pulpit seems to endorse tacitly the colonial project of mass conversion in order to realize his vision of the triumphant Church. Or, if not an endorsement, he acknowledges the presence and effect of colonialism in post-Tridentine doctrinal considerations. The inclusion of native converts in the church prompts Donne to chart the diversity of nations and peoples which constitute the synecdoche that is the “material Church” by assigning metaphorical commodities which “bring together, living stones, men.” Timber, stone, iron, and lead are joined together by God, the master architect, to build his church. Divinely ordained and foreknown is the encounter of these diverse nations. Astonished, Dr. Donne asks his flock, “Who ever would have thought, that we of *Europe*, and they of the *Eastern*, or *Western Indies*, should have met to the making of Christ a Church?” Donne’s view of the constitution of the material church has particular implications for

the reconstitution of the body. In “Resurrection, Imperfect,” the resurrection of Christ is understood as an alchemical process that changes the baser elements, the sinners, to gold to make them of one flesh: “He was all gold when He lay down, but rose / All tincture, and doth not alone dispose / Leaden and iron wills to good, but is / Of power to make e'en sinful flesh like his” (14-17). Donne’s preferred dyad to represent the separation and reunification of body and soul, “divorce” and “join,”⁶⁸ applies both to the joining of the body and soul that makes a man and to the joining of unknown strangers, when “one Trumpet at last shall raise them both together, and show them to one another, and joyn them.”

4. The Viceroy and the Resurrection

According to David Marno, “resurrection is one of the few Christian doctrines with which Donne had a lifelong concern, long predating his career in the Church of England and accompanying him till the end.”⁶⁹ This chapter has sought to demonstrate that his lifelong interest in Anglo-Spanish literary and political affairs interacts with his eschatological thought, specifically his poetics of the resurrection. The last major category of Donne’s works we have yet to examine to detect the symptoms of apocalyptic Hispanophobia is his religious poetry. To be sure, the eschatology of the *Holy Sonnets* is not exempt from the influence of earlier manifestations of apocalyptic Hispanophobia from Donne’s early secular poems. From what we have seen in the *Sermons*, Hispanophobic tropes put in the service of apocalyptic didacticism tend to make Donne’s expostulations more insistent. The overwhelming burden and terror of contemplating the fearful day becomes bearable when it is familiarized in an embodied Hispanophobia. Taken alongside Donne’s lifelong work of fashioning and regulating a literary fiction of Spain, Donne’s religious poems bring this project to a soaring crescendo.

When dealing with Donne’s more straightforwardly religious poems, we might be tempted to revert to a viewpoint holding that if there is any trace of Hispano-centric thought, it is only in the form of Catholic doctrinal posturing, or that a Spanish death is subordinate to and indistinguishable from the universal terrors of “Death,” who “art Slaue to Fate, Chance, kings, and desperat men, / And dost with poyson, war, and sicknesse dwell” (“Death be not proud” 9-10). Doctrinal controversy abounds in the *Holy Sonnets* concerning matters of soteriology and sacramentality, but not eschatology itself. Donne’s outline of what doomsday might hold for him in terms of the reconstitution of the body and soul is uncontroversial. It is rooted in what could be called experience. Despite its emphasis on the future arrival of the eschaton, his apocalyptic poetry is hauntingly retrospective. As Kathryn R. Kremen notes, “Catholic eschatology is oriented toward man’s eternal fate after the last judgment, while Protestant eschatology seems to remain within this world a while longer because it is oriented toward how man must act before the *dies irae*, as Luther and Donne preach.”⁷⁰ Another way of usefully describing Kremen’s distinction is to point out that the particulars of millenarianism were rarely a source of anxiety for Donne. He was content to follow the Anglican outlook, in the vein of Augustine, for the world to come, while easily avoiding the scholarly futurology of his contemporaries. He needed little convincing on the point of whether or not his historical moment was pressed up against the Millennium, for his concern about the prospect of his own impending death always took precedence. A loyal subject of James, he rarely speaks out of apocalyptic hope or anticipation for a utopian political upheaval, as many non-conformists did in the decades after Donne’s death in 1631. We might instead heed in his religious poetry the presence of the ineluctable repository of

experiences, virtual or actual, Donne most closely associates with Spain—maritime warfare, colonialism, and territorial expansion.

The more direct connection to Spain in Donne's apocalyptic worldview surfaces in the geographic landscape of the Church Triumphant at the end of time represented in the New World, which I touched on in the previous section. While little else need be rehearsed about Donne's well-charted theological stances on the biblical Book of Revelation, its iconography, and typology, a notable exception is his recurring allusion to the Bride of Christ,⁷¹ as exemplified in his petition from the *Holy Sonnets*: "Show me deare Christ, thy Spouse, so bright and cleare" (1). Critics tend to read this poem with an attention toward the sexual pageantry of confessional affiliation: the Bride of Christ from the Book of Revelation and the Song of Songs, the Church, is most triumphant when it is most promiscuous "and open to most Men" (14). Yet the most critical aspect to consider for the speaker to unravel his paradox is the spatial and geographic search he proposes with a salvo of rhetorical questions: "What is it She, which on the other Shore / Goes richly painted? Or which rob'd and tore / Laments and mournes in Germany and here?...Doth She, and did She, and shall She evermore / On one, on Seaven, or on no hill appeare?" (2-3, 7-8) We might note that any recognizable doctrinal or controversial markers to distinguish the churches are missing; the "richly painted" woman descriptor is far more subtle and tame than invoking the Whore of Babylon as the common metonym for the Roman Catholic Church. Instead the speaker beckons us to rely on geographic synecdoche to be "embrac'd" (14) by the true church. For the speaker, the ironic turn is that the Bride of Christ may roam in Geneva, Wittenberg, Canterbury, or Rome, so an alert lover should plead that she stay put. The petition for the promiscuity of the Church, that she be "open" to most men, is not only that she may be available for sexual penetration, but also that she may be geographically proximal to all corners of the known world. For Donne, the Church or Bride encompasses all places, but not all doctrines. Because this sonnet is often read to gauge Donne's views on the state of his soul, we tend to ignore the more enticing prospect that Donne is seriously pondering others' salvation. In Donne's expanding view of Spanish conquest, it is conceivable that to be "open to most Men" would mean being open to native converts as well, as he says in his sermon: "Who ever would have thought, that we of *Europe*, and they of the *Eastern*, or *Western Indies*, should have met to the making of Christ a Church? And yet, before we knew, on either side, that there was such a *people*, *God* knew there was such a Church."⁷²

Donne's vision of the End in the *Sermons* and before in the *Holy Sonnets* is capacious, integrative, and just as universal as it is personal.⁷³ In short, Donne's apocalypse is global, and inflected by his interest in colonialism I have charted above. And he seeks to negotiate the ethical concerns generated by such imperialism, where sound governance of the newly conquered subjects is especially warranted. In a sermon preached at a christening on Revelation 7.7, he declares that

no man is able to expresse that true comfort, which a Christian is to take, even in this, That God hath taken him into his *Church*, and not left him in that desperate, and irremediable inundation of *Idolatry*, and *paganisme*, that overflows all the world beside. For beloved, who can expresse, who can conceive that strange confusion, which shall overtake, and oppresse those infinite multitudes of Soules, which *shall be changed* at the last day, and shall meet Christ Jesus in the clouds, and shall receive and irrevocable judgment of everlasting condemnation, out of his mouth, whose name they never heard of *before*; that must be condemned by a Judge, of whom they knew nothing *before*, and who

never had *before* any apprehension of the torments of *Hell*, till by that lamentable experience they began to learn it? What blessed meanes of preparation against that fearfull day doth he afford us, even in this, that he *governes us* by his law, delivered in his Church.⁷⁴

The biblical source passage reads: “For the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall govern them, and shall lead them unto the lively fountains of waters, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes” (*GNV*). The immediate context of this passage describes how twelve thousand saints from each of the twelve tribes of Israel are to be recollected from the earth before the Day of Judgement, but not before the four angels poised to rain destruction on the earth are halted by another angel coming from the East. Donne is sympathetic to the experience of confusion that those who never knew Christ Jesus would experience, and lamentful for those who would experience the “torments of *Hell*” without ever having known of it. The Gentiles who walk in idolatry and paganism can preempt the confusion of the *anastasis* by being taken in to the Church and submitting to “his law, delivered in his Church.” Donne emphasizes “preparation against that fearfull day” through the doctrinal didacticism that the Church Militant affords as His earthly proxy. Donne’s sermon is making good on his proposition in the holy sonnet above that the Bride of Christ be “open to most Men” through the means of doctrinal instruction that would be inclusive of those who “knew nothing *before*,” but only if they are willing to submit to the laws of God. In this, Donne closely follows Tertullian, who puts it in stark terms: “There is a rivalry between God’s ways and man’s; we are condemned by you, we are acquitted by God.”⁷⁵

The eschaton, for Donne, is not always ecstatic but it is persistently triumphant and terrifyingly immediate, a feature stressed by the preposition “before” in the sermon above. For example, in “At the round Earths imagind corners,” it is the speaker’s own command to “Arise Arise” that unites souls with bodies to reform the humankind, limb-by-limb: “At the round Earths imagind corners blow / Your trumpets Angels, and Arise Arise / From Death you numberles infinities / Of Soules and to your scattered bodyes go” (1-4). His vision amounts to an elaboration of the Burial Service from the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, based on Paul’s 1 Corinthians 15: “Beholde, I shewe you a mysterye. We shall not all slepe: but we shall al be changed, and that in a momente, in the twynkelynge of an eye, by the last trumpe. For the trumpe shall blowe, and the dead shall rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed.”⁷⁶ In a strange turn of events, however, it is not the angels’ trumpets or God’s voice which reanimate all of the dead on doomsday, but Donne’s speaker’s command.

I wish to push this examination further to discuss the glimmers of eschatological thought that are wrapped up in Donne’s metaphorical landscape of the body. Donne engages in this very kind of mis-direction in “The Relique,” a play of Catholic spirituality that covers for a meditation on a token of commemoration. The speaker imagines that if the remains of he and his beloved are ever uncovered in a time when the land has fallen to “mis-devotion,” their bones would be made into relics. This stands in contrast with the more likely scenario the speaker imagines, when

he that digs [our grave], spies
A bracelet of bright haire about the bone,
Will he not let us alone,
And thinke that there a loving couple lies,
Who thought that this device might be some way

To make their soules, at the last busie day,
Meet at this grave, and make a little stay? (5-12)

Much like Montemayor's Sireno, the speaker places a misguided reading of the "bracelet of bright hair about the bone" in the mind of "he that digs" the grave to mean that the token might reunite the two souls on the day of resurrection and make time "stay" a little while to have intercourse. Donne here is seizing on the example of Montemayor's Sireno, who suffers from his misguided and misplaced faith in a love token and a prophetic pronouncement. Donne gives the bracelet sentience much in the same way that Sireno mistakenly imputes to Diana's lock of hair. Moreover, Donne's imaginative perspective is so thoroughly engrossed by the chaos of "the last busie day" that he ridicules those who would believe that a love token could work as a beacon for two entities to reunite at the moment of the eschaton.

Montemayor's poem aligns with Donne's more extensive interest in reconciling some kind of prophetic mode with his own materialist ontology of the body, a concern typified in poems that imagine the sinewy remains of the dead body lying in the grave, "The Relique" and "The Funerall." Elaine Scarry detects this very connection in Donne's "accounts of God's authorial acts of speaking and writing," which "are revelatory because in them he announces so clearly his own sense of what is most difficult, and what is most to be emulated." This leads Scarry to conclude that for "Donne, language achieves its greatest triumph when it is inclusive of the material realm."⁷⁷ In her reading of *Devotions Upon Emerging Occasions* Kimberly Johnson comes to a similar conclusion as Scarry, though by way of an emphasis on sacramentality, in saying that "God's language incorporates the material, the objective: it is fleshed out with 'sinewes' and substance."⁷⁸ For Scarry and Johnson, God's language is "inclusive" or "incorporates" the material world into its system of signification, and Donne aspires to imitate this form of communication in his poetic language.

Even more striking about Donne's eschatology are the logistics that the conceit of the "Relique" demands. For if the bones are moved and separated from the grave, proper bodily integration on doomsday could be, at best, difficult and, at worst, impossible. Doomsday is not a time to celebrate the certainty and fulfillment of bodily re-integration. Instead, according to the poem's conclusion, "All measure, and all language, I should passe, / Should I tell what a miracle shee was" (32-33). The materiality of the body is subordinated to the poetic "measure" and "language" of the divinely inspired "miracle" that "she was." Donne does not dismiss the importance of corporal materiality in his Doomsday vision, but he does privilege the type of divine language—poetry—that he takes up. The poem is less a critique of Catholic ritual practice, and more a critique of the capacity for a material "device" to be a repository of faith after the fall, after "we lov'd well and faithfully" (23). Further, the playful designation of "relic" given to the deceased lovers' bones is a way of animating dead tissue in an artificial manner so that it can physically move to reunite. As Caroline Walker Bynum explains, the relic begins to assume a dangerous role in lay devotional practice because of its ability to be "transformative and transformed."⁷⁹ In the case of Donne, the materiality of the flesh is both subject to movement and change and destination for devotional reliquary pilgrimage by other souls.

"The Funerall" takes up the conceit of "The Relique," but its perspective is markedly different. And even though both poems deliver a meditation a "wreath of hair," neither poem should be considered a continuation of the other, as "The Funerall" views doomsday from a singular perspective that, unlike "The Relique," resists interpolating a lover, or any other figure. "The Funerall" is a poem that rehearses the broader eschatological concerns that are addressed in

the *Holy Sonnets*, and it contains Hispano-centric diction that threads together some of the different currents of Hispanophobic sentiment expressed in his earlier poems with the more personal eschatological concerns of personal resurrection and judgement that abounds in his religious poems.

I conclude this chapter by focusing on one particular trope of governance—the “viceroy,” occurring in “The Funerall” and “Batter my heart”—to demonstrate the transformative energy Hispanophobia has in Donne’s repository of eschatological tropes. The viceroy is a metaphor appearing in both the *Sermons* and the *Holy Sonnets*, whose signification across a number of contexts and occasions is inconsistent. At its surest, the viceroy is a spatial metaphor: when Donne needed to convey the distance and diversity of the farthest reaches of creation, the Spanish Empire first came to mind. Elsewhere, it is a metaphor representing the tributary and subordinate status of a distant ruler; and it can also be thought of as an envoy, ambassador, or messenger—a conduit, proxy, and representative for the emperor’s majesty. Hence, for Donne, the viceroy is the designation for certain facets of the Holy Spirit; the constituent parts of the fragmented and decayed body; the delegation of man’s stewardship of God’s creation; and, most frequently, the referential marker poised to join the body and soul at doomsday. Despite its prominence and significance in Donne’s religious works, it has received little attention, according to one modern editor, due in part to its misprinting as “victory” in editions well into the nineteenth century, and its absent record of figurative usage in the *OED*.⁸⁰ Its currency as a figurative device is current elsewhere in early modern English apocalyptic poetry. Thomas Dekker’s apocalyptic dream vision celebrates the glory of the coming Christ and the hierarchy of regal majesty: “About him, round / (Like petty Viz-royes) Spirits (me thought) all-Crownde, / Shewd, as if none but Kings, had bin his Guard.”⁸¹

England, in Donne’s time, did not employ viceroys in its nascent imperialist-colonialist governance structure. In the early modern period this innovation belonged exclusively to the Spanish and Portuguese, with the French and English adopting the title later on. Englishmen would have learned about the viceroy by learning of the Spanish colonies at Naples, the Low Countries, and, increasingly, in the Americas. By developing the figurative use of “viceroy,” Donne succinctly conveys a neutralized version of the exploits of a rival empire, which compliments “his ability to invoke figures linked to England’s new geographical and navigational interest.” In the metaphor, Donne locates a more idealized relationship between parts and whole that was strikingly different from what Lim calls the “neither sustained nor coherent”⁸² English colonial enterprises in the New World and Ireland. Donne’s fascination with Spanish foreign affairs most certainly contributed to the development of this metaphor; it is sufficiently flexible that its application motivates the multi-tiered system of dependent organization that Donne imagines for the coordination of the spiritual and the material at doomsday.

In the case of “The Funerall,” a “subtle wreath of haire” given to the speaker by his beloved “crowns my arme.” The hair is a love token and marker for the soul to find its corresponding body at doomsday. The speaker nominates the love token as a “Viceroy” to his “outward Soule,” a sort of remote control device that “keeps these limbes, her Provinces, from dissolution,” as the materiality of the flesh⁸³ is both subject to movement and change between the speaker’s death and the resurrection:

Who ever comes to shroud me, do not harme
Nor question much

That subtle wreath of haire, which crowns my arme;
 The mystery, the signe you must not touch,
 For 'tis my outward Soule,
 Viceroy to that, which then to heaven being gone,
 Will leave this to controule,
 And keepe these limbes, her Provinces, from dissolution. (1-8)

While the speaker will but wink, not registering the passage of time, and immediately be brought to the resurrection, his body will endure the ravages of time. As with the lock of hair Diana leaves to Sireno in *La Diana*, Donne's interest in the object is in its constancy. The viceroy is an integral part of the conceit because it sets in motion Donne's more expansive outlook of the resurrection. The "limbes" are distant "Provinces" and the "Soule" is the map of them, while the "Viceroy" is the delegated political agent that will keep his limbs from scattering and preventing him from joining his beloved. Moreover, it is fitting that Donne would take an Iberian political innovation, the viceroy, and adopt it as a stock metaphor to represent metonymic relationships between the body and soul, and to associate the metaphor with some element of death, resurrection, and judgement. Although Donne's speaker expects to be fully re-integrated at doomsday, he nevertheless takes precautions from having his body, metaphorically an empire, be dissolved and corrupted.

The viceroy holds in place a system of analogies between things of different scale of material and spiritual value in Donne's religious thought, foregoing the necessity for exact quantification while affirming a dependent and tributary status. His figurative elaborations of the term inform his theological teachings concerning man's stewardship of the world until the arrival of the eschaton. The viceroy trope seems to have held some useful theological and didactic significance beyond its occasional appearance in his poems. In a sermon on Genesis 1.26 preached in 1629 to Charles at court, Donne explains that God "speaks like a King, in the plurall," when He "creates man, whom he constitutes his Viceroy in the World," and when "he extends mans terme in his Vicegerency to the end of the world."⁸⁴ This results in a model that arranges the individual alongside the universal in the divine schema in which the godhead is the supreme *colonial* King whose promise to unify his provinces is never in question. Elsewhere, however, Donne's trope discloses a less confident stance. In another sermon on Genesis 1.2 preached at St. Paul's on Whitsunday 1629, he uses the term and a different manner and context, naming the "Vice-roy of God, *Providence*," to orient his audience toward an understanding of the Holy Ghost, the *Spiritus Dei*, as a mediator and executor of God's will (*Operatio Dei*) on Earth. Yet here, the distant and partitioned viceroy falls short of the Trinitarian unity outlining the sameness of the Godhead and the Holy Spirit:

That this Spirit of God may be that universall power, which sustaines, and inanimates the whole world, which the Platoniques have called *the Soule of the world*, and others intend by the name of *Nature*, and we doe well, if we call *The providence of God*.

But there is more of God, in this Action, then the Instrument of God, *Nature*, or the Vice-roy of God, *Providence*; for as the person of God, the Son was in the Incarnation, so the person of God, the Holy Ghost was in this Action⁸⁵

It is not so much the case that the viceroy is diminished as a metaphor denoting dependence, but that, in this instance, the nature of God's providence is simply not comparable to the relationship

of “the person of God” and the “Holy Ghost,” which is one of sameness. Hence Donne understands the viceroy as a separate instrument and subordinate tributary, accommodating God’s gifts for man by traveling great distances and managing the scale and scope of the magnificence of the gifts.

We need only turn to “Batter my heart,” a holy sonnet thoroughly engrossed in the mechanics of the resurrection, to see Donne testing the metaphorical deployment of the “viceroy” that so amply informs his sermons above. The decidedly difficult poem is committed to its tripartite figurative structure: lines 1-4 comment on creation and resurrection; lines 5-8 launch into a martial metaphor of a penitent under siege; and lines 9-14 petition for the deliverance from sin and death through loving, forcible *raptus*. The viceroy trope preempts what many find to be the paradoxical conclusion of the poem by revealing both the weakness of reason delegated to man and the viceroy metaphor itself: because “Reason your viceory in me” (7) fails to “defend” (8) the speaker, the petition “Take me to you” (12) to become rapt by God is the only conceivable expression of devotion. The speaker would hope that his erection and the resurrection would close the distance between him and salvation, of which the viceroy is a troubling reminder. If we read the metaphor in “Batter” in the context of Donne’s sermons, then we note that the sonnet points out the weakness of the viceroy when compared to the direct actions of the Holy Spirit:

Batter my hart, three-persond God, for you
 As yet but knock, breathe, shine, and seeke to mend;
 That I may rise, and stand, orethrow me; and bend
 Your force to breake, blow, burne, and make me new.
 I like an usurp'd towne to'another dew
 Labor to'admit you, but Oh to no end.
 Reason your viceroy in me, me should defend,
 But is captiv'd and proves weake or untrue.
 Yet dearly I love you, and would be loved faine:
 But ame betroth'd unto your enemy:
 Divorce me, unty or breake that knott agayne,
 Take me to you, emprison me, for I,
 Except you enthrall me never shalbe free,
 Nor ever chast, except you ravish mee.

M.H. Abrams finds that “behind the diversity of Donne’s metaphors we can make out the root-images of the latter days as described in the Book of Revelation, translated to a personal and spiritual application.”⁸⁶ Abrams perceptively notes the imagistic and metaphorical elements in “Batter” that give the poem its highly eschatological view, but he prefers a “personal” and typological reading from the Book of Revelation that is representative of the romanticist commitment to the individuality of the lyric. Instead we might read “Batter” as gesturing out beyond the convenience of the “personal” toward a communal view of death resurrection that thinks in the geographic terms that his vision of doomsday demands.⁸⁷ “Batter” undoubtedly begins with an image of alchemical integration that evokes the moment of creation in Genesis and resurrection in Revelation when “I may rise, and stand, orethrow me; and bend / Your force, to breake, blow, burne, and make me new” (3-4). As the sonnet progresses, Donne’s speaker metaphorical associates himself with both a larger political body and with the gruesome punishments inflicted by the Spanish on natives according to Black Legend propaganda, calling

himself “an usurp’d towne to’another dew” (5). Donne’s speaker assumes an identity, the “usurp’d towne,” that is, a metonym standing for a community. The simile in which the speaker compares himself to a besieged town is provocative, and not entirely foreign from Donne’s experience, for it easily recalls the equivocal sentiment Donne evinces concerning the raid on Cádiz. The conventional Petrarchan paradox of the “captiv’d” lover can also be read as Donne taking a nearly sympathetic view of being a victim of a military siege. And finally, most telling, Donne’s apostrophe toward God, naming “Reason your viceroy in me,” effectively nominates God as an emperor who employs the tributary viceroys in distant lands akin to the Spanish monarch. With this, we find a glimmer of Donne’s earlier Hispanophobia which fiercely questions the efficacy and ethical integrity of the Spanish tributary. “Reason,” in a fallen man, is an unreliable faculty that as a “viceroy” is subordinate to the remaking in God’s image that is to take place at the moment of the resurrection.

The conclusion of the poem strikes a chord with the compassion Donne expresses evinces toward the beleaguered natives suffering under the yoke of the *encomiendas* in his controversial prose. Seeking to be free from sin, the speaker expresses the seemingly paradoxical condition of liberation: “for I, / Except you enthrall me never shalbe free, / Nor ever chaste, except you ravish mee” (12-14). Resurrection has the capacity to make the speaker “chaste,” or “continent” (*OED* 1 a.), in the sense that he becomes a *constant* and consistent amalgamation of body and soul. The irony that motivates the paradox is that the speaker should first have to die to enjoy the benefit of becoming erected at the resurrection, and that he should have to be sooner dead in order to be changed. In some ways, the petition is a righteous authorization of suicide that would make the speaker free by transferring himself as a bondsman from one master to another, resulting in the imputation of sanctity. For Donne, the resurrection entails the reunification of the body and soul along with a change that can sanctify⁸⁸ a fallen sinner:

We are assured then of a Resurrection...But of what? Of all, Body and soule too; *For Quod cadit, resurgit*, says S. Hierome, All that is false, receives a resurrection; and that is...the person, the whole man, not taken in pieces, soule alone, or body alone, but both...*A man is not saved, a sinner is not redeemed, I am not received into heaven, if my body be left out*; The soule and the body concurred to the making of a sinner; and body and soule must concur to the making of a Saint.⁸⁹

If the viceroy is a placeholder that denotes separation and distance, then it proves to be something of an incidental precursor to the resurrection. It is a reminder of God’s promise to unify the body and soul, following Tertullian’s teaching that God’s “Reason made this universe of things diverse, that all things should consist of a unity made of rival natures, such as void and solid, animate and inanimate, tangible and intangible, light and darkness, yes! of life and death, too.”⁹⁰ In the case of “Batter my heart,” Hispano-centric thought animates the poem by taking up both *sides* of the question of Spanish colonialism: the poetry is supple enough to animate the “viceroy” at one moment and the compassionate with the beleaguered native at the next. The consequence of my reading is in showing that the type of turmoil we find in Donne’s Hispanophobia from his libertine poems is helpful in reading his religious poetry in which he takes two clearly hostile bodies and perspectives, forcing them both into the service of his eschatological discourse.

NOTES

¹ All selections of Donne's verse, unless otherwise noted, are taken from *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, ed. John T. Shawcross (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1967). Selections from the *Holy Sonnets* (Westmoreland Sequence) are taken from *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne, Volume 7, Part I: The Holy Sonnets*, ed. Gary A Stringer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 11-20. Line numbers follow quotations in parentheses hereafter. Abbreviated first lines are given to identify the sonnets. Selections from the sermons are taken from John Donne, *The Sermons of John Donne*, 10 vols., eds. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-1962). I have relied on the digitized concordance of Donne's poems in developing this chapter: Mary Farrington, Carly Thompson, and Laura Perrings, "A Complete Concordance to the Poems of John Donne," *Digital Donne: the Online Variorum*, ed. Jeffrey Johnson, 2016, <http://donnevariorum.tamu.edu/html/resources/completeconc/index.html>.

² Ramie Targoff, *John Donne: Body and Soul* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 106.

³ It has been noted that Donne takes a similar approach to the cultivation of his contrary positions regarding religious questions. For a recent example, see Margret Fetzer, *John Donne's Performances: Sermons, Poems, Letters and Devotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

⁴ John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 14.

⁵ For studies of the early modern self-fashioning and interest in the biblical prophet Jeremiah, see Reuben Sánchez, *Typology and Iconography in Donne, Herbert, and Milton: Fashioning the Self after Jeremiah* (New York: Palgrave, 2014) and Hilaire Kallendorf, "Tears in the Desert: Baroque Adaptations of the Book of Lamentations by John Donne and Francisco de Quevedo," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39.1 (2009): 31-42.

⁶ Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 1.

⁷ Evelyn M. Simpson, "Donne's Spanish Authors," *The Modern Language Review* 43.2 (1948), 185. Simpson's dismissal of the significance of the quote is shaky due to her misidentification of the motto quote as coming from Gil Polo's *Diana enamorada*, a continuation of Montemayor's romance, which was possibly obtained from Keynes, *Bibliography*, 198n2.

⁸ For a detailed history of religious bias in Donne criticism, see Francesca Bugliani Knox, *The Eye of the Eagle: John Donne and the Legacy of Ignatius Loyola* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), 5-21.

⁹ My exposition here is greatly indebted to Flynn, *Ancient Catholic Nobility*, 1-2.

¹⁰ John Guillory, *Poetic Authority: Spenser, Milton, and Literary History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), vii-xiii.

¹¹ The relationship between early martyrdom and the development of Christian eschatology, especially the resurrection, is made explicit in the first chapter of Caroline Walker Bynum's magisterial book, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995). We can trace the eschatological triumph of martyrdom, and Donne's enthusiasm for it, notably to Tertullian's exordium: "Yes, when we have achieved our purpose. So we have conquered, when we are killed; we escape when we are condemned. So you may now call us 'faggot-fellows' and 'half-axle-men,' because we are tied to a half-axle-post, and faggots are piled round us, and we are burnt. This is our garb of victory, the robe emboldened with the palm; this our triumphal chariot" (*Apology*, in Tertullian and Minucius Felix, *Apology. De Spectaculis. Octavius*, trans. T. R. Glover and Gerald H. Rendall [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931], 222-223).

¹² John Donne, *Letters to severall persons of honour...* (London, 1651), 104-105.

¹³ Jorge de Montemayor, *Los siete libros de la Diana*, 4th ed., ed. Asunción Rollo (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008), 114.

¹⁴ Robert G. Collmer, "John Donne: His Spanish Connections," *Mediterranean Studies* 18 (2009), 179-181.

¹⁵ Anita Gilman Sherman, "John Donne and Spain," in *Studies in Honor of Denah Lida*, ed. Mary G. Berg and Lanin A. Gyurko (Potomac, MD: Scripta Humanistica, 2005), 71-72.

¹⁶ Izaak Walton claims in his life of John Donne that "he returned not back into *England*, till he had staid some years first in *Italy*, and then in *Spain*, where he made many useful observations of those Countreys, their Laws and manner of Government, and returned perfect in their Languages." (*The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Robert Sanderson*, ed. George Saintsbury [London: Oxford University Press, 1956], 26.) It is curious for Walton to claim that Donne might have been making many useful observations of Spain's laws and manner of government, as his contact with Spain was primarily as a privateer. What is more telling from Walton's claim, moreover, is his very own consistent sympathetic, if not wholly favorable, view toward Spanish culture. Walton is keenly interested in representing how Spanish culture can be mediated and Englished by the likes of Donne. And although it is rather difficult to prove what, when, and why Donne might have had an extensive stay in Spain, Donne's command of the Spanish language is rarely ever in doubt on account of the numerous references to works by Spanish authors available in his moral-theological works. See José Ramón Fernández Suárez, "Repercusiones de la obra de Fray Luis de Granada en los sermones de John Donne," *Revista de filología inglesa* 4 (1974): 109-131. But if in 1623 Donne had more books of poetry and divinity from "authors of that nation than any other," then nearly all of those volumes have been lost. Geoffrey Keynes counts only 213 titles with evidence of Donne's ownership, most of which "were published before the appearance of the *Pseudo-Martyr* in 1610, the work for which Donne first applied himself seriously to controversial theology. It is still

more remarkable that very few of the books were published after 1615, the year in which he took orders” (*A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul’s*, 4th ed. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1973]), 258).

¹⁷ In contrast to these historical-biographical approaches to Donne, Hispanist critics have produced studies dedicated to addressing thematic and generic features of Donne’s work in the larger continental context of the baroque and mannerism. See, for example, Luis Carlos Benito Cardenal, *El manierismo ingles: John Donne* (Granada: University of Granada Press, 1978).

¹⁸ *Diana of George of Montemayor...*, trans. Bartholomew Yong (London, 1598), p. 3, sig. A2r.

¹⁹ Diana writing in the sand with a finger, then, offers a miniature parody of poetic practice that is elsewhere typified in Edmund Spenser’s *Amoretti* 75, where, “One day I wrote her name upon the strand / ... ‘Vayne man,’ sayd she, ‘that doest in vain assay, / A mortal’ thing so to immortalize” (1, 5-6): Edmund Spenser, *Amoretti*, in *Edmund Spenser’s Poetry*, 4th ed., eds. Andrew D. Hadfield and Anne Lake Prescott (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014), 646-647.

²⁰ Another possible source for the Spanish motto may be a proverb list or some loose reference Donne could have picked up from the members of his coterie. However, the motto in its context seems to speak to the broader currency of the Montemayor lyric in Donne’s early years.

²¹ Donne, *Letters*, 299-300.

²² There can be some confusion as to whether the addressee was Robert Ker, earl of Ancrum, or Robert Carr (or Kerr), earl of Somerset. The 1651 printing of the letters gives the name as “Karre.” Roger E. Bennett (“Donne’s *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*,” *PMLA* 56.1 [1941], 121) helpfully explains: “Twenty-four letters are to Sir Robert Ker, later Earl of Ancrum, and two were to his kinsman and friend the royal favorite, Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset, to whom Donne sent letters through Ker.”

²³ *ODNB*: “Robert Ker”

²⁴ My summation of the portrait comes from Carey, *Life, Mind and Art*, 23, who mentions the motto and Walton’s circumstantial account of Donne’s travels to Spain, but does not weigh in on whether Walton is credible here.

²⁵ Walton, *Lives*, 79.

²⁶ Molly Murray, *The Poetics of Conversion in Early Modern English Literature: Verse and Change from Donne to Dryden* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 69.

²⁷ Katrin Ethenhuber, *Donne’s Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 205-206.

²⁸ Donne, *Sermons*, IX:160-2.

²⁹ Donne, *Complete Poetry*, 397n3

³⁰ R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 80-86.

³¹ Underscoring the eschatological elements of these lines in general terms, M. Thomas Hester remarks that Donne's "*memento mori* tone focuses on the mortality of man" (*Kinde Pitty and Brave Scorn: John Donne's Satyres* [Durham: Duke University Press, 1982], 61). See also chapter 1 of Peter DeSa Wiggins, *Donne, Castiglione, and the Poetry of Courtliness* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

³² Hester, *Kinde Pitty*, 68.

³³ John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, in *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2003).

³⁴ Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans, Volume VI: Books XVIII.36-XX*, ed. Jeffrey Henderson, trans. William M. Green (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), 399, 401.

³⁵ Robert Greene's *The Spanish Masquerado* (1589) stands as an example of a possible *literary* source for Donne Hispanophobic rhetoric, where, through a series of verses, mottoes, and glosses, the Armada disaster is recounted, and the Pope/Antichrist, Philip II and his commanders are lampooned. The euphuistic "Twelve articles of the state of Spain," as Greene calls them, economically assign charges of gluttony, simony, lasciviousness, and cowardice (to name only a few of the most obvious) to the majority of the Spanish estates. Greene offers a blanket condemnation to all Spaniards, which he takes up at length in his glosses to further describe in apocalyptic terms the role of the Spanish in relation to English supremacy. Curiously, however, despite Greene's ardent apocalyptic Hispanophobia, his own literary activity is largely indebted to the 'mixed' genres of Spanish prose romances, as Sir Philip Sidney's *New Arcadia* had been, with his *Mamillia* (1580), *Pandosto* (1585/1588) and many others.

³⁶ Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston: Mariner, 2005), 195ff.

³⁷ David Landreth, *The Face of Mammon: The Matter of Money in English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 187.

³⁸ John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 7.

³⁹ The Latin reads: "sive dapes avido convellere dente parabat, / lammina fulva dapes admoto dente premebat" (XI.123-124). Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. A.D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 252.

⁴⁰ From Bevington's introduction to John Lyly, *The Revels Plays: Galatea and Midas*, eds. George K. Hunter and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 132-135.

⁴¹ DA: “El que discurre y propone medios para acrecentar el Erario público, ò las rentas del Príncipe. Viene del nombre Arbitrio; pero esta voz comunmente se toma en mala parte, y con universal aversión, respecto de que por lo regular los Arbitristas han sido mui perjudiciales à los Príncipes, y mui gravosas al comun sus trazas y arbitrios.”

⁴² See Ramie Targoff, *Posthumous Love: Eros and the Afterlife in Renaissance England*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014) and Sarah Gene Dawson Ellison, “Until the Resurrection: Poetic Fame and the Future of the Body in English Renaissance Lyric, 1590-1641” (PhD dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2014).

⁴³ Walter S.H. Lim, *The Arts of Empire: The Poetics of Colonialism from Raleigh to Milton* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), 69-72. Tom Cain, “John Donne and the Ideology of Colonization,” *English Literary Renaissance* 31.3 (2001): 440-476.

⁴⁴ ODNB: “John Donne”

⁴⁵ Francesco Petrarca, *The Canzonere or Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, ed. Mark Musa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). Poem 76, lines 1-4, with my translation and emphasis.

⁴⁶ See Achsah Guibbory, *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁴⁷ Donne, *Complete Poetry*, 61n41.

⁴⁸ Paul R. Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion: John Donne and Diplomatic Contexts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1619-1620* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 1-8.

⁴⁹ Edmund Gosse, ed., *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's*, 2 vols. (1899; repr., Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1959), II:176-177. The original letter in Donne's hand can be found in Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 73, f. 305.

⁵⁰ ODNB: “George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham”

⁵¹ Pauline Gregg, *King Charles I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 72-89.

⁵² Donne, *Letters*, 220.

⁵³ I am suggesting that the religious conformity demonstrated in Donne's sermons can also be understood as a didactic enterprise to soften the political stance against Spain. I am, of course, drawing from Jeanne Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2003).

⁵⁴ Simpson, “Donne's Spanish Authors,” 184.

⁵⁵ Fetzer, *John Donne's Performances*, 45.

⁵⁶ The English translation of Bartolomé de las Casas' treatise claims to report the transactions of the Valladolid debate between de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, in *The Spanish colonie, or Briefe chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the newe world ...* (London, 1583), sig. O1r. See also Brian C. Lockety, *Law and Empire in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁵⁷ John Donne, *Ignatius His Conclave*, ed. T.S. Healy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 25.

⁵⁸ Donne, *Ignatius*, 69.

⁵⁹ Jean Matal, "Epistola ad Antonio Augustino, Episcopo," in Jerónimo Osório, *De Rebus Emmanuelis, Regis Lusitaniae ...* (Cologne, 1576). This expansive history of the events under the reign of Manuel I of Portugal collects a number of colonial accounts from the East and West Indies. While Donne cites it in a number of his writings, it is one of the many examples of volumes of Iberian provenance not to be found in the surviving records of Donne's library in Keynes bibliography. Osório's works were available in print in Elizabethan England by way of France and Germany.

⁶⁰ Healy identifies the verse letter to Wotton in conjunction with the references to Matal and Osório in *Ignatius*, 169n12, n16.

⁶¹ John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1993), 30. This passage refers to Jean Matal's (under the name Johannes Matalius Metellus Sequanus) preface, noted above, to Osório's *De Rebus Emanuelis* (Raspa ed., 283n5-8).

⁶² John Donne, *Biathanatos*, ed. Ernest W. Sullivan III (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984), 52.

⁶³ Targoff, *Body and Soul*, 110-111.

⁶⁴ Targoff emphasizes that "when Donne became a minister in the Church of England, he pursued his lifelong preoccupation with the resurrection of the flesh in a manner unprecedented in his earlier works" (*Body and Soul*, 154).

⁶⁵ Donne, *Sermons*, IX:207. This is the second version of the same story Donne preached on Easter 1626. See *Sermons*, VII:96.

⁶⁶ Donne, *Sermons*, IV:455.

⁶⁷ Donne, *Sermons*, X:170.

⁶⁸ Speaking of reconstitution at doomsday in Revelation 20, Donne says, "we must pass a desert; a disunion and divorce of our body and soul, and a solitude of the grave" (*Essays in Divinity*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952], 76). It should be noted that the *Essays* make extensive use of the Book of Revelation as a theological pillar. Certainly Donne's

eschatology saturates his works, but the *Essays* go a step further by citing his biblical sources on the apocalypse more frequently.

⁶⁹ David Marno, *Death Be Not Proud: The Art of Holy Attention* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 203.

⁷⁰ Kathryn R. Kremen, *The Imagination of the Resurrection: The Poetic Continuity of a Religious Motif in Donne, Blake, and Yeats* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1972), 80.

⁷¹ Claude J. Summers, “The Bride of the Apocalypse and the Quest for True Religion: Donne, Herbert, and Spenser,” in “*Bright Shootes of Everlastingnesse*”: *The Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric*, ed. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987): 72-95.

⁷² Donne, *Sermons*, X:170.

⁷³ See Jade C. Fleck, “A Grammar of Eschatology in Seventeenth-Century Theological Prose and Poetry,” in *Reform and Counterreform: Dialectics of the Word in Western Christianity since Luther*, ed. John C. Hawley (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994): 59-76.

⁷⁴ Donne, *Sermons*, V:106.

⁷⁵ Tertullian, *Apology*, in Tertullian and Minucius Felix, *Apology. De Spectaculis. Octavius*, trans. T. R. Glover and Gerald H. Rendall (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 226-227. The Latin reads: “Ut est aemulatio divinae rei et humanae, cum damnatur a vobis, a deo absolvimur.”

⁷⁶ Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 173.

⁷⁷ Elaine Scarry, “Donne: ‘But yet the body is his booke,’” in *Literature and the Body: Essays on Populations and Persons*, ed. Elaine Scarry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 73.

⁷⁸ Kimberly Johnson, *Made Flesh: Sacrament and Poetics in Post-Reformation England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 117.

⁷⁹ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), 25ff.

⁸⁰ Donne, *Variorum*, 269n.

⁸¹ Thomas Dekker, *Dekker his dreame ...* (London, 1620), sig. B4r.

⁸² Lim, *Arts of Empire*, 15-17.

⁸³ Elaine Scarry detects this very connection in Donne's "accounts of God's authorial acts of speaking and writing," which "are revelatory because in them he announces so clearly his own sense of what is most difficult, and what is most to be emulated." This leads Scarry to conclude that for "Donne, language achieves its greatest triumph when it is inclusive of the material realm" ("But yet the body is his booke," 73). In her reading of *Devotions Upon Emerging Occasions* Kimberly Johnson comes to a similar conclusion as Scarry, though by way of an emphasis on sacramentality, in saying that "God's language incorporates the material, the objective: it is fleshed out with 'sinewes' and substance" (*Made Flesh*, 117). For Scarry and Johnson, God's language is "inclusive" or "incorporates" the material world into its system of signification, and Donne aspires to imitate this form of communication in his poetic language.

⁸⁴ Donne, *Sermons*, IX:58.

⁸⁵ Donne, *Sermons*, IX:97.

⁸⁶ M.H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971), 50.

⁸⁷ As I describe in greater detail in the general introduction, I follow Targoff's (*Common Prayer* [2001]) approach to devotional lyric which conceives the performance of petition as public.

⁸⁸ While Donne's metaphysical dualism has naturally generated much conversation about the ontology of body and soul, typically lost is that Donne's ontology figurations most often depend on and privilege an ethical-moral system of divine judgement (*iudicium*). Donne follows Tertullian in his understanding of the immediacy of moral judgement at the moment of physical reintegration at the moment of resurrection: "for the dead...shall be raised, refashioned and reviewed [*reformatis et recensitis*], that their deserts of either kind, good or evil, may be adjudged" (Tertullian, *Apology*, 90-91).

⁸⁹ Donne, *Sermons*, VII:103 (my emphasis).

⁹⁰ Tertullian, *Apology*, 217.

CHAPTER FOUR

Francisco de Quevedo's Baroque Eschatology and Seventeenth-Century English Royalist Literature

Reports by hear-say, who will credit?
 What though the Parish-Parson said it?
 But that the Truth may pass for *Credo*,
 I, even I my self, *Quevedo*;
 Resolv'd to visit Forreign Islands,
 The Southern Climates, Low and Highlands,
 Lands which indeed were other Peoples,
 To view their *Towns*, their *Churches*, *Steeples* ...¹
 —Attributed to Francisco de Quevedo, *Travels of*
Don Francisco de Quevedo

These stilted couplets from the prologue to the spurious *Travels of Don Francisco de Quevedo* (1684), written by an anonymous Englishman, lay out the argument for an adventure novel in which a fictionalized version of Don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, the celebrated Spanish poet, travels to the South Pole. The conceit is that Quevedo will travel to the geographic underworld, the Southern Hemisphere, and report on his travels, just as he did in his satiric visions of Hell and doomsday, the *Sueños y discursos*. The English author assumes the first-person narrative perspective—"I, even I my self, *Quevedo*"—to cast his eyes toward the "Southern Climates," effectively having the Quevedo character deliver a travel narrative so "that the Truth may pass for *Credo*." References to Quevedo and his works were far from scarce in seventeenth-century England. Along with his popular picaresque, *La vida del Buscón*, his satires contributed to the development of English prose fiction in the second half of the seventeenth century. English readers found immense delight in his widely popular satirical pieces that served as models for discontented royalists' satires.² And they homed in on Quevedo's Spanish background to motivate the anti-Spanish jabs that by then were conventional in English poetics.

"Don Francesco de Quevedo," according to Edward Phillips, was "a Spanish writer, of signal Fame and Credit both in Prose and Verse, of which later kind are his Obras Metricas, or Poetical Works, which were printed at Brussels Anno 1660."³ By the final decades of the seventeenth century, Quevedo's works had become widely available on the continent. The *Sueños* in particular, first appearing in English in 1640, were translated numerous times into French, Italian, Dutch, German, Latin, and English.⁴ Their popularity in France attracted the interest of English translators who began to English Quevedo's works in the years leading up the English Civil War and well after the Restoration. It is very possible that John Milton, Andrew Marvell, Samuel Pepys, and John Dryden, among others, would have known or heard of Quevedo's works at some stage in their careers, perhaps referenced in the pamphlets of some of their adversaries. And given the relatively frequent references to Quevedo by seventeenth-

century English writers, it is quite clear that his works were of great interest to English readers due to the numerous translations, editions, and imitations that appeared from 1640 to 1700.

Quevedo's place in English literary history coincides with the flourishing of royalist satire in the early Stuart period, carrying forward well after the Restoration. In some ways, Quevedo's satires emerge in the next generation of English satire, following the likes of Donne, after the Bishops' Ban of 1599, which, according to Andrew McRae "evidently brought an abrupt end to a vigorous, late-Elizabethan outpouring of verse satire."⁵ While, to be sure, Quevedo's *Sueños* is a translated prose work, not an original English satire, it nevertheless contributes to English satire in its voice, form, and outlook. Indeed, the *Sueños* departs from satire of the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, which, as Harold Love posits, "had prided itself on attacking the vice in generalized terms rather than the vicious individual."⁶ If in Donne's *Satyres*, for instance, we see his poetic speaker displacing his anxiety about individuals onto generalized institutional entities (as in "a Philip or a Gregory" from "Satire III") or his own body, then we notice a distinction in Quevedo and Stuart satire, which takes a more direct aim in exposing and lampooning the individual and his vices. Andrew Marvell's *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* comes forth as a famous example of an individualized attack in prose satire, which also owes some of its barbs to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.

The source of the English fascination with Quevedo's satires is his voice and posture, his *persona*. The same is true for both Quevedo's *siglo de oro* Spanish audience and modern Hispanist literary criticism, the latter of which, as Arthur Terry has noted, has tended to conflate aspects of Quevedo's eventful biography with the voice and "strong personality" of his poems and prose satires.⁷ Citing Quevedo's presence in the development of the English novel, James Grantham Turner points out that, "like Cervantes, Quevedo was naturalized, together with his sardonic, self-aware, convention-busting authorial persona."⁸ Yet it is unclear to what extent a seventeenth-century English audience relied on Quevedo's biographical details, as they were known then, to construe a literary perspective. As the apocryphal *Travels* sampled above suggests, they did not hesitate to create pseudographs that fashioned a biographical sketch based on his fictionalized *personae* derived from his satires and picaresque. English versions of Quevedo's works remained popular and easily marketable, rivaling those of Cervantes, in part because Quevedo's *fama*, as a stand-alone product, was just as valuable as the works themselves.⁹ Such a disposition resulted in a whole crop of self-fashioned English Quevedos, rattling off translations and anti-Puritan polemic under the familiar guise of the witty Spaniard.

The discussion in this chapter of the *Sueños*' satirical voice and style demands a few notes on Quevedo's life to adequately address how satire and apocalypticism drive his early writing. Born into a noble family in 1580, Quevedo grew up at court, and at age sixteen enrolled in the University of Alcalá to study Greek, Latin, Hebrew, as well as French and Italian, under Jesuit tutelage. His reading of the classics shaped his interest in Christian Stoicism, which is ubiquitous in his writings. Between 1605 and 1609 he begins to compose the *Sueños* and to translate various Greek and Latin works. It was during his university years that he met Pedro Téllez Girón, Duke of Osuna, to whom his fortunes would be tied for the coming decades. In 1613, he accompanied Osuna as his secretary to Naples and Sicily, following his appointment as Viceroy of Sicily.¹⁰ But Osuna fell out of favor soon after the death of Philip III in 1621, and Quevedo's fortunes fell with him. He would suffer a major disappointment when he was banished from court for a time. Quevedo next attached himself to the rising court favorite, the Count-Duke of Olivares, and enjoyed stable employment for some time. But after launching into some ill-advised criticism of Olivares' bureaucratic administration, Quevedo found himself in

jail for three years, from 1639 to 1643. Quevedo's health had deteriorated while he was in imprisoned, and after his release, he lived out his remaining two years far removed from court. The rise and fall of his fortunes and his imprisonment at the hand of Olivares rattled Quevedo, further sharpening his moralist critiques. His prolific writings earned him the reputation of being a singular wit, with a piercing view of the subtleties of the Spanish estates. Despite the moments of precarious political footing, he never shied away from polemical writing. He famously pursued a rivalry with his fellow poet, Luis de Góngora, which transpired in verse, delivering anti-Semitic jabs against his rival. Drawn from both his political dissatisfaction and his learned wit, Quevedo's skeptical and often taunting voice resounds throughout his moral and satirical works in prose and verse. This stinging quality becomes a defining feature of his work that attracted his imitators and critics alike.

Quevedo's visions are a significant presence in seventeenth-century England because they mark a departure from the typical forms and genres of Spanish works to be found there: the field of translated works from Spanish was dominated by the romances, pastorals, and picaresque novels of Mateo Alemán, Jorge de Montemayor, and Miguel de Cervantes, as well as the ever popular translations of chivalric narratives. The *Sueños* stands out among these other works because they are the more straightforwardly polemical, satirical, and, to some extent, theological.¹¹ The satirical mood of the works represents a familiar medium of expression for an English reader versed in classical works and invested in humanistic study. But they also provide an accessible model for an expression of apocalyptic spirituality, offering an alternative view of English eschatology that is not centered on a strictly Protestant millenarian view, instead positing what we might call a secular eschatology.

This last point is central to this chapter, and requires some foregrounding. The *Sueños* are framed within eschatological dreams imagining the Last Judgement and a descent into Hell; and as the full title of the collection (*Sueños y discursos*, or dreams and discourses) describes, other satires are framed as discourses in which, for instance, a demonically possessed individual is an interlocutor describing the workings of Hell. This quality gives their authorial perspective prophetic authority and justifies their moral critique. However, the amalgamation of apocalypticism and satire is by no means a Quevedian or Spanish innovation; placing a rival in Hell was a conventional gesture, regardless of an author's religious sympathies. What gives an apocalyptic satire such as the *Sueños* the semblance of secular judgement is that their apocalyptic frames hardly advance a doctrinal understanding of some eschatological nuance. By contrast, Donne's eschatological outlook implicates questions of his own salvation and redemption into his figurations of death and judgement. Yet viewed within the context of seventeenth-century English eschatological anxieties about political crises, the *Sueños*' seemingly incidental or ancillary apocalyptic elements become all the more prescient. Quevedo's visions reinforce the immediate benefit of imagining imminent judgement by engaging in eschatological parody, in which sarcasm, irony, and litotes underwrite a pretention to political or moral truth-telling that the satiric mode implies.¹² Moreover, the apocalyptic elements of Quevedo's satires should not be ignored in a discussion of their English translations and continuations: the combination of imitating Quevedo's uniquely brusque and witty *persona* and enforcing the apocalyptic frame made for a useful bludgeon the royalists could use to undercut their rivals' own eschatological views on the nature of Puritan rule, and supplant their own.

The aim of this chapter is two-fold: I offer a brief reception history of the *Sueños* and a discussion of their baroque aesthetics, and I examine how the eschatological function of the *Sueños* captivated the imagination of its English audience. The *Sueños* reflect and refract a broad

array of views of English apocalyptic thought especially in terms of sovereignty, military conflict, and religious conformity. Indeed, the various dimensions of Quevedo's popularity in seventeenth-century England leave much to be examined and deserve their own dedicated study. In this final chapter, however, I focus on placing Quevedo in the context of apocalyptic thought, Hispanophobia, and early modern English poetics that I have established in the first three chapters of this project. Section 1 presents an updated reception history of Quevedo's *Sueños* in England, while touching on the greater continental popularity and significance of this signal Spanish work. Section 2 examines the sources of Quevedo's apocalyptic and baroque aesthetics before moving on to analyses of the first English translation of the *Sueños* by Richard Croshaw in 1640 and a continuation done by the Scottish mercenary Sir James Turner in sections 3 and 4, respectively.¹³

1. The Arrival and Popularity of the *Sueños* in England

Quevedo's *Sueños y discursos* first became "strangely displayed," according to its first English title, to Stuart audiences in an English translation under the title *Visions, or Hells kingdome, and the worlds follies and abuses ... Being the first fruits of a reformed life* (1640) by Richard Croshaw, gentleman of the Inner Temple.¹⁴ (See Table 4.1 for an overview of the production and publication history of these works.) Quevedo's *Sueños* are a series of prose dream visions, some of which were composed as early as 1605, espousing his satirical view of a decadent Spanish society through the lens of a moralist eschatology and neo-Stoic philosophy. Quevedo's burlesque depictions of the Last Judgement, Hell, and the demonic possession of magistrates and gendarmes, among other things, spared few segments of Philip III's court, and Spanish society at large. The gentlemen at the Inns of Court, to whom Croshaw addresses his dedication, would have delighted in Quevedo's take on a satirical tradition owing to Juvenal, Horace, and Perseus, much like they had enjoyed Donne's *Satyres* and *Ignatius His Conclave* some time before.

Table 4.1: Select Chronology of the Appearances of the *Sueños y discursos*

1605	"El sueño del juicio," the first of dream visions, begins circulating in manuscript in Quevedo's coterie. Manuscript copies of the dream visions circulate for over twenty years before they are printed.
1627	The first published edition of the <i>Sueños y discursos</i> appears, Barcelona containing "El Sueño del Juicio Final"; "El Alguacil Endemoniado"; "Sueño del Infierno"; "El Mundo por de dentro"; and the "Sueño de la Muerte."
1631	An expanded version of Quevedo's the visions based on a different manuscript is published under the title <i>Juguetes de la niñez</i> .
1632	<i>Les Visions de Don Francisco de Quevedo</i> , a French translation by Paris the pseudonymous Sieur de la Geneste, is published.

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|-------|---|--|
| 1640 | <i>Les Visiones de Don Francesco de Quevedo Villegas, oder, Wunderbahre Satyrische Gesichte</i> , probably a translation and continuation of La Geneste's version, is published under the name of Philander von Sittewald, known pseudonym of German satirist Johann Michael Moscherosch. Subsequent editions are published in Strasburg and Leipzig in the following decades. | Strasburg |
| 1640 | Richard Croshawe's <i>Visions, or Hels kingdome, and the worlds follies and abuses</i> , the first English translation of the <i>Sueños</i> by way of La Geneste's French translation, is published by Simon Burton. | London |
| 1641 | <i>Hell reformed or A glasse for favorits</i> , (from Quevedo's <i>El infierno enmendado</i>) translated from the French by Edward Messervy and also published by Simon Burton, becomes available. | London |
| 1657 | <i>The life and adventures of Buscon the witty Spaniard</i> , Englished by J. Dodington, is published. | London |
| 1659? | Sir James Turner composes <i>A letter from Francisco of Quevedo to Philander of Sitwald, concerning some discourses which pasd in the Infernall Court., betweene the late Usurper Oliver Cromwell, the late Chancellor of Sueden Axell Oxesterne</i> , perhaps a continuation of Moscherosch's translations of Quevedo's <i>Sueños</i> , written while in proximity to Charles II's exiled court. This work survives only in manuscript. | Composed in Breda?
The Hague?
Paris? |
| 1667 | The first of eight editions (before 1700) of Roger L'Estrange's vastly popular translation of the <i>Sueños</i> is printed with the title <i>The visions of dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas</i> , collecting seven visions under varying translated titles: "El alguacil endemoniado" ("The Catchpole Possessed"); "El sueño de la muerte" ("Death and her Empire"); "El sueño del juicio final" ("The last Judgement"); "El loco enamorado" ("The Loving Fools"); "El mundo de por dentro" ("The World"); "El sueño del infierno" ("Hell"); "El infierno enmendado" ("Hell Reformed"). | London |
| 1668 | J. Dodington puts out <i>The visions of Dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Knight of the Order of St James Written originally in Spanish ... The true edition to compete directly with L'Estrange's translation.</i> | London |
| 1682 | J.S Gent's <i>The Visions of Dom Francisco D'e Quevedo Vellegass. containing many strange and wonderful remarques</i> is published, closely followed by an entirely apocryphal <i>Second part</i> to the <i>Sueños</i> . | London |
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1684 The pseudographic *Travels of Don Francisco de Quevedo ... a novel*, London originally in Spanish is published.

Sueños y discursos is the title of the printed collection of five different dream visions that first appeared in Barcelona in 1627, twenty two years after Quevedo began work on them and circulated them in manuscript. The collection is arranged in the order in which each vision was written. The first work is the “Sueño del juicio final” (“The Last Judgement”)¹⁵ in which Quevedo describes the moment angels blow their trumpets to call forth the dead who arise and recollect their putrefied bodies as they make their way to the divine throne for judgement. Devils can be seen as the ushers that forcibly guide fearful lawyers, tailors, law-sergeants, and prostitutes to the throne all the while the narrator uncontrollably lets out taunting guffaws (*carcajadas*). The second piece is “El alguacil endemoniado” (“The possessed sergeant”)¹⁶ who the narrator encounters being exorcised by a priest. The narrator asks the possessed *alguacil* (law-sergeant) questions to learn more about the conditions of Hell while the demon begs to be freed from the *alguacil* because he is ashamed to be associated with someone more evil than a demonic spirit. Third comes “El sueño del infierno” (“Hell”), a tour of Hell taking a sustained look at political figures and current events. “El mundo por dentro” (“The World in its Interior”) is the fourth work, marking a departure in form from the previous three. The narrator engages in dialogue with Desengaño (Disabuse) about hypocrisy and follows the moralizing mirror tradition. The final of the original set of dreams is the “Sueño de la muerte” (“Death and her Dominion”) which starts out with meditations on Lucretius’ *De rerum natura* and the plight of Job. The narrator then follows Death around as he proceeds to lampoon many of his contemporaries. Although each piece can stand alone as a narrative, there is substantial overlap between them, especially in the recycled tropes Quevedo displays, which follow Juvenal’s practice of carrying themes across a series of satires.

The source text of the first English translation was likely a French translation-adaptation titled *Les Visions de Don Francisco de Quevedo* (Paris, 1632) by Le Sieur de la Geneste. The history of the transmission of the *Sueños* from the Spanish to the French to the English is largely incomplete and remains relatively obscure. In the French translation, while the authorship of Quevedo is clearly announced in the title page, the identity of the translator remains highly questionable. La Geneste is most likely a pseudonym appearing as the translator of another of Quevedo’s works, the picaresque *El Buscón*, later Englished by John Davies in 1657. It remains unclear who exactly translated the text from the Spanish. Some scholars have put forth the poet and novelist Paul Scarron as a likely translator. However, a recent editor of La Geneste’s translation finds Scarron to be an unlikely candidate.¹⁷ What is most certain, however, is that the translator of *Les Visions* took great liberties with his source text, often suppressing, omitting, or re-writing much of it, leaving Richard Croshaw a relatively unique and adaptable source text.

The French and English versions of the *Sueños* should be understood primarily as an adaptation, and not as a diplomatic translation. One reason for this is perhaps that the condition of anonymity of the French translator was a precaution against exposing himself to charges of libel levied by those he sought to criticize through Quevedo’s text.¹⁸ Indeed, the threat of censorship loomed over the *Sueños* since their inception, both in Spain and in France. Alongside commonplace complaints against *conversos*, Luther, and Muhammed, the *Sueños* regularly deployed thinly veiled political attacks on Quevedo’s contemporaries. As a matter of course, these critiques attracted negative attention for Quevedo, most especially on account of his

questioning the crown's foreign policy. The many manuscript copies produced between 1605 and 1625 of each of the dream visions offered some protection against the censure and censorship Quevedo feared: by circulating the visions in manuscript among a coterie audience instead of submitting them for official review and licensing, Quevedo hoped to avoid prosecution from the Inquisition.¹⁹ Moreover, the *Sueños*' success as a translatable satire owes in part to the fact that it achieves a unique level of referential density, stemming from the familiar and local to the foreign and universal. Such a universality effaces the doctrinal contours of apocalypticism, making it all the more accessible. Quevedo collapses and eliminates certain key social distinctions in his fantasies of justice: prostitutes, magistrates, cobblers, and tailors all suffer divine retribution equally. For Quevedo, the common sin of hypocrisy permeates and unites every segment of society.

Despite the mediation of La Geneste and Croshaw, the influence of Quevedo's baroque *conceptista* aesthetics makes its way into seventeenth-century England because his authorial *persona* is imported intact. The translations preserve Quevedo's brusque yet direct style, his voyeuristic point of view, and his taste for locating spiritual corruption in bodily grotesquerie. Yet, to be sure, the baroque is a contested term among Anglo-American scholars of early modern literary aesthetics. Both the signifier and the signification of this term change as they are discussed along a variety of temporal, linguistic, and national axes, offering a relatively unstable definition of the concept. As an aesthetic term, the baroque always already provokes an anxiety about ideology, as some perceive the term to be perhaps too closely associated with certain religious positions or certain national or cultural backgrounds. The baroque threatens the privileged conception of a singular, insulated nation because the term evokes a much larger and untenable view of transnational influence. According to John Beverley, "the pejorative sense the term acquires comes from the Enlightenment attack ... on the Baroque as a decadent and irrational style—the aesthetic component, as it were, of the Black Legend."²⁰ Citing the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty, Beverley points out that Hispanophobic stereotypes and stigmas survived into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when a definition of the baroque began to surface. Furthermore, the pejorative use of baroque emerges from an often unchallenged notion that the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, and the Counter Reformation more generally, shaped the aesthetic elements most commonly associated with them.

For this reason it is not the purpose of this chapter to claim that some sliver of English literature or literary history should be termed baroque instead of "metaphysical" or otherwise. Instead this chapter looks at Quevedo's *Sueños* and its corresponding French and English translations to explain how Spanish eschatological thought—with its impulses toward a secular moralism—found a ready audience among certain figures who variously considered themselves to inhabit the margins of English religious and political conflicts.

To associate eschatology with the aesthetic foundations of the Spanish literary baroque is no great leap. Locating a socially corrective apocalyptic ethos in the works of Góngora, Quevedo's contemporary and poetic rival, Beverley points out that Góngora's pastoral narrative poem, the *Soledades*, is "able to intuit the advent of a 'new Jerusalem.'"²¹ Although Quevedo and Góngora differ in stylistic and ideological approaches, they share an ambition for testing the boundaries of idealization through an eschatological lens. On the one hand, Góngora's *culterano* style of wide hyperbaton and hypotaxis both dilates and dissects the *silva* verse to delay a sense of imminent fulfilment.²² On the other hand, Quevedo rushes to the moment of the eschaton to test the frailty of the material composition of the body and the physical structures that are the metonyms of institutional power. It has been extensively noted that the satirical disposition and

barbed style of the *Sueños* is very much indebted to the works of Horace and Juvenal, and that their moralism is a product of Senecan stoicism. Yet, as I will argue in this chapter, Quevedo goes beyond simply imitating classical sources as he synthesizes his satirical influences with a didactic eschatological outlook.

The *Sueños*, however, eschew any absolute notion of orthodox eschatology in that their narratives vacillate between an elevated spiritual outlook of the contemplation of death and what we might read as a secularized view of the apocalyptic in which Hell is ever present on earth. We can begin to understand the earliest influences of Quevedo's work in England as an appeal to a very specific set of ideological positions. Quevedo's eschatological visions offer a literary framework for radical expressions of moral judgement and, predictably, for reactions to crises that is avowedly anti-millenarian. This latter conception of the *Sueños* perhaps explains how the Scottish royalist and sometime Covenanter Sir James Turner approached Quevedo's work. Turner wrote two "continuations" of Quevedo's "Vision of Hell," one placing the Scottish divine George Buchanan in Hell, and the other, framed as a letter written by Quevedo himself to Philander of Sittewald, a pseudonym of German satirist Johann Michael Moscherosch, concerning Oliver Cromwell's fortunes in Hell. According to one historian, Turner "self-consciously modelled his manuscript account of Buchanan's descent into Hell on" Quevedo's *Sueños y discursos*,²³ leaving no doubt that Turner had access to one or both of Simon Burton's versions of Quevedo in translation. In framing his continuation as a letter from Quevedo to Philander of Sittewald, Turner offers evidence of his familiarity with the German translation and continuation penned by Moscherosch. Though there is no evidence that these two figures ever corresponded or collaborated, Turner imaginatively gestures toward, and inserts himself in, a continuity and community of authorship inspired by Quevedo's dream visions.

According to one historian, Turner's continuations were a form of personal entertainment fueled by frequent drunkenness.²⁴ But they were also a meditation on the agency of an individual against the greater backdrop of a larger conflict. For Turner, the *Sueños* provoke further literary production as a ready framework for continuing a work with imported allegorical figures and satirical subjects. And while Turner's *Memoirs of His Own Life and Times* appears in print in 1829, his letters, poems, and other writings from his time in prison and his exile in France and the Low Countries are only available in manuscript, making Quevedo's direct influence less readily visible to scholars.

With very few notable exceptions,²⁵ the presence of Quevedo's works in seventeenth-century England has been a topic of critical discussion only in *siglo de oro* Hispanist studies. Anglo-American scholars have taken a rather pessimistic view of the magnitude and importance of Quevedo's *Sueños* in early modern England. An oft-cited though greatly outdated opinion comes from James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, who claims the "translation of Quevedo's *Sueños* made by Roger L'Estrange...ran through many editions, but left no permanent mark on English literature."²⁶ We may gather that Fitzmaurice-Kelly was entirely unaware of the translations and adaptations from Richard Croshaw and Edward Messervy from 1640 and 1641. Fitzmaurice-Kelly refers to a Restoration translation of Quevedo's visions produced by Roger L'Estrange, Royalist pamphleteer, censor, and political rival to John Milton, in 1667 under the title *The visions of dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Knight of the Order of St. James*.²⁷ L'Estrange's translation, which produced multiple editions and garnered many admirers, gives evidence to the sustained interest in England for Quevedo's works over several decades.



Figure 4.1: Frontispiece of Philander von Sittewalt's continuation of Quevedo's visions, *Les Visiones de Don Francesco de Quevedo Villegas, oder, Wunderbahre Satyrische Gesichte* (Strasburg, 1644). Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

In addition to translating Quevedo, L'Estrange also produced translations of Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares* as *The Spanish Decameron* (1687), leveraging Boccaccio's famous title to enhance his own reputation as a translator. Moreover, we find in L'Estrange's version of the *Sueños* Quevedo's name and title prominently displayed on the frontispiece, perhaps indicating a desire to have the translation gain recognition by capitalizing on the popularity of *El Buscón*. L'Estrange's version remains very much an adaptation, differing further still from Croshaw's and Messervy's versions preceding his. L'Estrange appears to use La Geneste as his source text, but it is possible that he may have read Croshaw and Messervy. Some critics describe L'Estrange's translation of Quevedo as the most popular of those published in the seventeenth-century, citing the probable sanitizing of La Geneste for a Protestant audience.²⁸ Moreover, as with Turner's politically charged condemnations of Cromwell and Buchanan in his continuation of Quevedo's "Vision of Hell," L'Estrange adapts his translation to suit his ideological disposition, placing the Whig printer and Fifth Monarchist Livewell Chapman in Hell and having Julius Caesar announce the failures of Republicanism, for instance.

Quevedo's *Sueños*, rendered in their various English translations, were an attractive template for politically minded translators, publishers, and imitators in seventeenth-century England across the dynamic political spectrum. Examinations of the publication history and reception of Quevedo's works offers greater insight into discussions of radical eschatology as well as royalist views on the hellish perils of war. The formal features of the *Sueños* can be variably understood to be baroque, but the mediation and translations of these works greatly complicates the linguistic attributes of the Spanish language that contribute to our conception of the baroque. Even so, Quevedo's eschatological conceits seem to touch English literary culture with an imaginative turn toward a more visceral and accessible kind of lay eschatology.

2. The Secularist Oracle: Quevedo's Apocalyptic Poetics

Despite Quevedo's recurring use of an eschatological scene to frame each of his dream visions, a dominant perspective among critics is that the *Sueños* are almost entirely unconcerned with the religious aspects of apocalypse and eschatology. Ilse Nolting-Hauff, for instance, has offered the influential claim that "to reproduce the impetus and the multiplicity of apocalyptic visions could not be the ambition of Quevedo's satires."²⁹ Nolting-Hauff further claims that apocalypticism and satire are somehow mutually exclusive as forms of literary production. As evidence for this claim, Nolting-Hauff notes that "The Last Judgement" fails to offer a clear moralizing message, and that it avoids a hortative address to the reader extolling the horrors of the last judgement based on an explicit theological doctrine. However, this perspective fails to account for the secularized figurations that underpin Quevedo's depictions of death, resurrection, and judgement. What makes Quevedo's poetics so attractive to his translators and imitators is their ability to retool the prophetic voice into a secular mode. While a biblical reading of Quevedo's poetics might claim that the poet asserts divine inspiration to assume the prophetic voice, his apocalyptic voice draws its authority from its self-awareness of its *poiesis*, its poetic making. For, as Richard Bauckham and others have explained, the numerous biblical apocalypses, prophetic books, and revelations often merged and recalled various types of formal features, be it the circular letter, the dream-vision allegorical heuristic, or the warrior-nationalist psalm.³⁰

Quevedo would have been attuned to the implications of directly imitating biblical sources in his secular poetry, for early in his literary career he sought to establish himself as a

humanist authority on biblical translation.³¹ The frontispiece to the 1613 printing of his *Lágrimas de Hieremías Castellanas ordenado y declarando la letra hebrea* (Castilian tears of Jeremiah ordering and declaring the Hebrew letters) highlights Quevedo's academic authority by calling attention to his university degree, his Hebraism, and his assumed title of "Theólogo Complutense." In undertaking the project of translating the Lamentations of Jeremiah into Spanish, he was working with a text that calls out for the acknowledgement of prophetic authority and political doomsaying. His association to the Universitas Complutensis, that bastion of Renaissance humanism that produced the *Biblia poliglota complutense*, is impossible to overlook, as is his title of theologian.³² The larger project of the *Lágrimas*, moreover, is the philological commentary to be found in Quevedo's glosses, which are devoted to the academic authority they derive from their pretention to rigor.³³ Out of the Hebrew, also, he renders selections from Job, the Psalms, and the Song of Songs. Faithful to their source texts, Quevedo's vernacular renditions, in verse, of biblical literature sought to exalt the Castilian tongue and its literary art by following the metrical patterns of popular *canciones* and *romances* in the Spanish octasyllable and decasyllable. Of his biblical translations, moreover, we find a preference for wisdom and prophetic literature, offering a model for the eschatologically minded authorial voice we find in his secularist lyrics and prose dream visions.

What is missing from Quevedo's dream visions is an authoritative claim to divine revelation that is so abundant in early modern Protestant millenarian political-apocalyptic writings. More specific to Quevedo, Augustine would have loomed large for any of his literary contemporaries wanting to take up eschatology in strictly theological terms. Yet in Quevedo's frame to his first dream vision on the Last Judgement, he attributes the origin of his dream to reading the writings of the third century bishop and martyr Hippolytus of Rome, who wrote an important anti-Nicene eschatology *Discourse...on the End of the World, and on Antichrist, and on the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*. This title, however, does not appear in print until well after Quevedo's death. Another possible source is *Oratio de consummatione mundi ac de Antichristo et secundo adventu Jesu Christi* appearing in 1563, now attributed by scholars to a Pseudo-Hippolytus of Byzantine origin.³⁴ This treatise interprets anti-Christian prophecy in light of the Book of Daniel, and it tends to be just as impressionistic and imagistic as it is systematic and theological. Pseudo-Hippolytus' homily underscores the horrors of martyrdom and hails the presence of tribulation in nightmarish terms. Yet Quevedo's description of the induction to his dream vision only casually cites Hippolytus:

Dígolo a propósito que tengo por caído del cielo uno que yo tuve en estas noches pasadas, habiendo cerrado los ojos con el libro del Beato Hipólito de la fin del mundo y segunda venida de Cristo, lo cual fue causa de soñar que veía el Juicio Final.³⁵

I say in relation to this [the origin of dreams] that I've caught one [a dream] from heaven that I had these past nights having closed my eyes with the book of the Beatific Hippolytus concerning the end of the world and the Second Coming of Christ, which caused me to dream that I saw the Last Judgement.

This statement seeks to draw attention to its moral authority on aesthetic grounds more than theological ones. We are not to take his claim to divine authority too seriously, for Quevedo goes on to say that

en casa de un poeta es cosa dificultosa creer que haya juicio aunque por sueños. (91)

in the house of a poet it is a difficult thing to believe that there would be judgement, even by dreams.

Punning on “casa” for *causa* (the poet’s cause), and both Day of Judgement and aesthetic judgement for “juicio,”³⁶ Quevedo jokingly laments the difficulty of performing aesthetic judgement in and on his own project as he dreams of how his literary art will represent the Day of Judgement. He nevertheless tacitly affirms that his dream vision performs moral judgement, and by calling himself a poet, he becomes the very subject of moral judgement. This morsel of a poetic manifesto means to evoke the features of a line of verse, a recurring trope in the *Sueños y discursos*. The alliterative chiasmus formed by “en casa” and “es cosa” interweaves “un poeta,” a poet, with belief, *creer*. Irony frames this statement, which simultaneously pokes fun at the poet yet asks his audience to implicitly believe, *creer*, in his moral-aesthetic judgement. For Quevedo, the authority of his own poetics is at least equal to the tradition of biblical dream visions from Jacob’s ladder, Joseph’s divinations, and Daniel’s political doom. Moreover, in order to usefully read Quevedo’s apocalyptic poetics, we must understand that it is not only generic forms—the sonnet, satire, or dream vision—that mark these eschatological functions, but also, more importantly, local networks of figurative language.

I describe Quevedo’s authorial voice as both oracular and prophetic because both these terms are interchangeable in a secular understanding of his poetics. Oracular and prophetic literatures of the classical and Judeo-Christian traditions operate in allegorical modes that metaphorically and metonymically link local narratives and quotidian occurrences to the fate of a tribal or national group. The prophetic voice both generates its text and models the exegesis of that very text. Quevedo operates under this model, except that he eschews the divine authorization of prophecy, preferring to privilege the text as its own source of literary and moral authority. In a dig at his contemporaries who would merge their Christian and classical influences, Quevedo describes in the “Juicio” how it was a sight to see how philosophers and poets

ocupaban sus entendimientos en hacer silogismos contra su salvación. Mas lo de los poetas fue de notar, que de puro locos querían hacer creer a Dios que era Júpiter y que *por él decían ellos todas las cosas*, y Virgilio andaba con sus *Sicelides musae* diciendo que era el nacimiento de Cristo... Y al fin, llegando Orfeo, como más antiguo, a hablar por todos, le mandaron que se volviese otra vez a hacer el experimento de entrar en el infierno para salir, y a los demás, por hacérseles camino, que le acompañasen. (118-119, my emphasis)

occupied their thought in making syllogisms against their salvation. And it was something to remark about the poets that out of utter insanity they tried to persuade God to believe that he was Jupiter and *because of him they said all of these things*, and Virgil was there with his *Sicelides musae* saying that it was the birth of Christ. And in the end, Orpheus having arrived, being the most ancient, to speak for all, [the angels and devils, his judges] commanded him to try once more that experiment of going down to Hell to come out again, and to the others, to keep him company, to go along with him.

In Quevedo's formulation, it is folly to posit conventional humanist-literary syncretism in which God is the divine source of poetic inspiration in adaptations of classical themes and forms that should be understood as fully secular. As the tone of this passage implies, this barb is not so much a product of devotional-religious zeal that firmly cleaves sacred and profane literatures. Instead, it calls into question the very convention of the invocation to the divinity, any divinity, for the purpose of performing the modesty *topos*. Quevedo is challenging the myth of divine inspiration on the face value of its claim to some higher authorization. The resulting irony of the apocalyptic frame, of course, is that Quevedo's is claiming prophetic authority in order to dispel it.

Indeed, Quevedo's visions retain their apocalyptic design in their translations and adaptations because the secular eschatological elements of the original are highly portable. Quevedo's secularism, here, is not simply a distinction between his moralist verses and his love poetry; for both mobilize elements of spiritual meditation to describe their relationship to the beloved and the divine. Secularism, instead, functions by displacing the sovereign prerogative of judgement from the divine onto the literary in order to accomplish its very end of elucidating justice. Highly aware of the popularity of the *Sueños* among his coterie, Quevedo's narrator equivocally claims divine inspiration yet again for his vision of Hell while engaging in an immodest spectacle of self-citation:

Yo, que en el "Sueño del Juicio" *vi* tantas cosas y en "El alguacil endemoniado" *oí* parte de las que no había visto, como *sé* que los sueños las más veces son burla de la fantasía y ocio del alma, y que el diablo nunca dijo verdad, por no tener cierta noticia de las cosas que justamente nos esconde Dios, *vi*, guiado del ángel de mi guarda, lo que se sigue, *por particular providencia de Dios* ("Infierno" 171-172, my emphasis).

I, that in the "Dream of the Last Judgement" *saw* so many things and in the "Possessed Sargeant" *heard* those parts which I hadn't seen, for I *know* that dreams are most often the trickery of fantasy and the idleness of the soul, and that the devil never spoke the truth, for having no certain notice of the things that God justly hides from us, *I saw*, guided by my guardian angel, what follows, *by particular providence of God*.

In no subtle terms, the imitative prosodic patterning of this passage underscores the complementarity of seeing and hearing the passing of judgement and the reports of Hell framed in the first person perspective. The appositive phrases that flood an otherwise modest declarative sentence ostensibly qualify and delimit the claim to veracity of the "Judgement" and "Possessed Sargeant" dreams, ironically advertising the popularity and sensory richness of these two works. To claim, moreover, that the dream of Hell comes about by particular providence of God, in a subordinate adjectival clause, only magnifies the irony of such claim in light of the overwhelming emphasis on the first person authorial perspective. While Spanish verbal conjugation easily and routinely implies the person and number of its subject without requiring a pronoun, Quevedo here places the first person nominative singular "Yo" at the outset of this sentence.³⁷ The verbs *hear* and *see* take the first person referent as their pronoun to mark the provenance of the oracular voice that produces the aesthetically rich dream visions. The truth-value of the things to be seen and heard by the authorization of God is easily overshadowed by the things *shown* by Quevedo's literary art, his prophetic mediation. What of God is hidden, Quevedo's narrator brings to light.

The work of Quevedo's poetics is to reorient the source of the authoritative poetic voice toward the literary text, and by extension, to his own authorial voice that witnesses all from a topographically elevated perspective to make use of the chief prophetic senses, sight and hearing: "veía todo esto de una cuesta muy alta, al punto que oigo dar voces" (I saw all of this from a slope on high, at which point I begin to hear voices ["Juicio" 97]). For Quevedo, all eschatological landscapes, be they Hell or that of the resurrection at doomsday, are nearly indistinguishable. The same is true for time, which ceases to have any relative use or meaning after death in most any of his imaginative frameworks. Quevedo's texts, instead, evoke different material sceneries and presences, often by highlighting conspicuous absences, or, conversely, by saturating a panorama with indistinguishable noises or forms. Voice and address also play an important role in orienting his eschatological landscape. Absent from the pronouncements of judgement upon the constituents of Spanish society is Quevedo's speaker himself. As a member of that society, he is complicit in offence and subject to judgement, but as a prophet, he is temporarily exempt in order to put forth the figurations that evoke scenes of judgement. But his situational distance is not simply an ironic accident; it foregrounds the sensory event that produces the eschatological scene. As Quevedo's narrator has it, the imaginative faculties that produce literary art are most productive when they are detached from exterior sensory experience:

Luego que, desembarazada, el alma se vio ociosa sin la traba de los sentidos exteriores, me embistió de esta manera la comedia siguiente, y así la recitaron mis potencias a oscuras siendo yo para mis fantasías auditorio y teatro. ("Muerte" 312)

Now having given birth, the soul found itself idle without the hindrance of the exterior senses, the following comedy charged upon me in this way, and in this manner my faculties recited it in the dark, myself being for my fantasies both theater and auditorium.

In the "Sueño de la Muerte," the last dream of the original sequence, Quevedo's rhetoric of secular poetic inspiration finds its apotheosis by theorizing how the mind's eye produces a virtual *Wunderkammer* without sensory stimulation or divine inspiration. The narrator's mental faculties, his "potencias," project in the darkness the "comedia" of Hell—both a generic marker and perhaps a reference to Dante—to which his mind is both "auditorio y teatro." Particular to this formulation is the claim that the mental faculties "recitaron," recited, the spectacle. "Recitar," as given by the *DA* is to "Referir, contar o decir en voz alta algún discurso o oración" (To refer, recount, or tell aloud some discourse or oration) with the clear connotation of the rhetorical practice of *recitatio*. The discursive quality of the spectacle highlights the rational mind's intellectual work in its production, the "fantasías," and the rhetorical confidence of its author. The mediation of simulacra is the outcome of the eschatology frame that points to its veneer of prophetic truth only to point out its fiction—an aesthetic *desengaño*.

In his secularist poetics, Quevedo hopes to recast the literary art of death, resurrection, and Hell both as an exemplary poetic practice and its very own hermeneutic. This attitude registers in his lyric poetry, where he calls attention to the aesthetic goals of the prophetic-oracular voice in a post-Petrarchan framework that parodies the personification of Death and Time. Commonplace negotiations with moral characters through apostrophe are relatively scarce in his poetic framework. Quevedo deemphasizes the characterization of Time as a moral figure in order to assume the very characteristic of transcending time in his own authorial voice. We

locate this gesture in the moral poem “Fue sueño ayer,” typically understood to be a hallmark of the baroque *conceptista* style, which starts from a perspective that beholds universal time in a commonplace framework that (de)materializes doom in a number of substances: dreams, dust, nothingness, and smoke. This yields an easy chiasmus in the first two lines, which points toward the complementarity of ethereal and ephemeral elements with disintegrated matter. Although the conceit of the chiasmus pinpoints a nexus of decay in the trajectory of life, the verses themselves call attention to the prosodic integrity of the line. Conceptually, the chiasmus is exceptionally tenuous. The substantives mentioned above resist inferential correlation at every turn. The chiasmic function centers on the shifting verbal tenses and temporal markers that paratactically join the unit of thought:

Fue sueño Ayer, Mañana será tierra:
Poco antes nada, y poco después humo,
¡Y destino ambiciones! ¡y presumo,
Apenas junto al cerco que me cierra!

Breve combate de importuna guerra,
En mi defensa soy peligro sumo:
Y mientras con mis armas me consumo,
Menos me hospeda el cuerpo, que me entierra.

Ya no es Ayer; Mañana no ha llegado;
Hoy pasa y es, y fue, con movimiento
Que a la muerte me lleva despeñado.

Azadas son la hora y el momento,
Que a jornal de mi pena y mi cuidado,
Cavan en mi vivir mi monumento.³⁸

Yesterday it was a dream, tomorrow it shall
be dirt: nothing just before; and smoke
soon after; and I design upon ambitions and
make presumptions, just as a siege closes
around me.

In the brief combat of a senseless war, I am
a greater danger in my own defense: and
while, with my own weapons, I am
consumed, my body, which inters me, is
less my host.

Now is not yesterday, tomorrow has not
arrived, today passes and is, and was, with
a motion that precipitously carries me
toward death.

Carved out are the hour and the moment,
that with the daily stipend of my own
torment and care, dig into my life my
monument.

The substantives correspond to the fate of the body and the senses, with a unidirectional view directed toward the moment of death. The verbal and adverbial temporal markers, however, point to a missing referent, a missing substantive that is the subject of the independent clause that governs the first quatrain. Life is the implied ‘it’—a chiasmic formulation of dream, dirt, nothingness, and smoke. The first quatrain develops a conceit, with the aid of equivocal temporal prepositions and verb tenses, in which time is fixed at a certain point that is paradoxically not now, yesterday, or tomorrow: “ya”, “ayer” or “mañana.” Today (“hoy”) is simultaneously present-progressive (“pasa”) and (“y”) the simple present of the verb to be (“es”) followed by the preterit (“fue”).

The passing of time literally dis-arms (“y mientras con mis armas me consume” 7) the physical virtue of the body, dismembering the body before its death. Rather than the poem offering a straightforward understanding of resurrection, the *volta* at the sestet imagines how the

“monumento” can be *erected* in the voided node in time. The “hora y el momento” (12) are effectively excavated (“azadas”), resolving in a contradictory understanding of how a fragmented body can be *excavated* to build a monument—a grave and/or latrine—in the concave of the earth (“cavan en mi vivir mi monumento” 14). There are two puns here, one high and one low: first, there is the easy pun on “cavan” with *cagan* (they shit), with which the sonnet deploys a poetics of decay and dismemberment—a *katharsis* (bodily voiding). The second suggests that a sculptor is cutting out a monument for the poet’s fame.

While some might see this sonnet as a Senecan morality poem employing paradoxical metaphysical conceits to undo the notion of Petrarchan edification, it must be noted that this poetic meditation begins with an implied pronoun in the third person that was pictured as a dream (“sueño”). A straightforward reading of the poem might suggest a poetic resistance toward the moment of death by countering the passage of time by reconfiguring verbal-temporal markers that correspond to the condition of being. This is a perfectly valid and accessible description of how the sonnet operates within a moralist framework. But this reading does not adequately explain why Quevedo’s poetics tend to displace their burden of literary authority onto other literary figurations. It is no simple coincidence that the first substantive of the sonnet is a *sueño*, a dream, which argues for its own relevance despite its ephemeral description. Attached to “sueño” is *fue*, the third person singular preterit form of both *to be* and *to go*. Within the context of the chiasmus, the ontological connotation of the preterite prevails—the dream simply *was*. However, if we account for Quevedo’s localized wordplay, the temporal connotation of *went* comes into contact with the adverbial yesterday (“ayer”). The dream, then, both *was* and *went* simultaneously. This syntactic equivocation becomes unavailable as the next clause moves into the future tense. The reference to the dream provocatively asserts the poetic work of dreams and interpretation: the prophetic voice of the poet exerts influence beyond the material dimension of the morally decayed body by avowing its hermeneutic authority in the face of time.

Within the context of the stylized practices of the Spanish literary baroque, we are able to understand that Quevedo’s prophetic and oracular poetics achieves their secularist outlook primarily because they disavow a model that lays claim to moral and aesthetic truth. As William Egginton theorizes, there are two frameworks under which baroque aesthetics operate: one in which “all representation aims at a true world hiding right behind the veil of [everyday] appearances,” and another, contrary to the first, that takes up “representations of reality and rides them to their extremes, demonstrating ... that the ultimate reality ... is itself only one mediation more.”³⁹ For Quevedo, moral truth offers no useful corrective to the social-institutional failures he critiques in his dream visions. Aesthetic “truth” is even more elusive, but its pursuit is precisely what is so generative of his literary art. The prophetic voice of secular doom is an integral part of our understanding of baroque aesthetics because it fundamentally challenges the institutions that caused the great political and social declines and disappointments, of the Spanish *siglo de oro*, to which Quevedo is so deeply attuned.⁴⁰ The prophetic voice rarely proposes to offer a constructive or corrective critique aimed at repressive institutions of power. Instead, it asserts its authority on the very grounds of its individual authorship, presenting itself as an outsider-perspective to the political court and the church while delighting in the richness of detail that betrays an insider-perspective.

While some aspects of Quevedo’s rhetorical approaches are informed by Senecan moralism, his style of *poiesis* departs from the Stoic model of didactic epistle and merges with western Christian conventions of transcendent visionary experience. Yet, unlike the Judeo-Christian prophetic tradition, Quevedo’s prophetic poetics are just as invested in the aesthetic

consequences of their intervention as they are in their political ones. This claim might seem counterintuitive to critics who see moral instruction and poetic erudition as the primary and irreconcilable difference between the poetics of Quevedo and Góngora.⁴¹ As Ignacio Navarrete sums up, on the one hand, Quevedo's *conceptismo* strives for a pointedness of communication that harnesses the most common resources of the Spanish vernacular to deliver an unequivocal didactic statement. Góngora's erudite *culteranismo*, on the other hand, saturates its verses with allusive density and elaborate figurative ornamentation to point to its own artificiality.⁴² Or, in sum, Góngora's poetics are (needlessly and indulgently) difficult and obscure; Quevedo's are ecumenical and economical. Often overlooked, however, is that Quevedo's insistence on assuming an oracular voice in his literary art points out the fictitious nature of morality for its own sake. The formal inflections of his poetry, therefore, reveal another dimension to his *conceptismo* that complicates the commonly held notion that Quevedo's directness is incompatible with poetic and thematic concerns of secular eschatology in early modernity.

For Quevedo, vernacular didacticisms take their moral authority from the aesthetic framework in which they are deployed. In the sonnet form, for example, the *volte*, the staple features that mark the formal and conceptual shifts in a sonnet, pose a challenge to Quevedo's moral didacticism. "Ah de la vida" is a sonnet whose vernacular idiomatic expressions lend it the rustic air of *vida retirada* poems, ascetic country-poems. But the aesthetic austerity that Quevedo's moral didacticism promises to deliver in this sonnet gives way to localized figurative wordplay that posits a transcendent relationship between a higher-stakes teleological and ontological claim of being and time:

<p>"¡Ah de la vida!"...¿Nadie me responde? ¡Aquí de los antaños que he vivido! La Fortuna mis tiempos ha mordido; Las Horas mi locura las esconde.</p> <p>¡Que sin poder saber cómo ni a dónde La Salud y la Edad se hayan huido! Falta la vida, asiste lo vivido, Y no hay calamidad que no me ronde.</p> <p>Ayer se fue; Mañana no ha llegado; Hoy se está yendo sin parar un punto: Soy un fue, y un será, y un es cansado.</p> <p>En el Hoy y Mañana y Ayer, junto Pañales y mortaja, y he quedado Presentes sucesiones de difunto.⁴³</p>	<p>"Ah life!"...No one will answer me? Here from the many years I've lived! Fortune has taken a bite out of my time; my madness hides away the Hours.</p> <p>How without being able to know how or where health and youth have fled! Life is wanting, life-lived is present, and there is no calamity that hasn't befallen me.</p> <p>Yesterday left; tomorrow hasn't arrived; today is leaving without stopping a point: I am a was, and a will be, and a tired is.</p> <p>In the today and the tomorrow and the yesterday, swaddling bands and death shrouds together, and I've become the current inheritances of a dead man.</p>
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"¡Ah de la vida!" is not only an exclamation of exasperation, but also a formulaic pronunciation announcing one's presence in a provincial context, approaching a city wall or *estancia*, for example. The first two quatrains lament the passage of time and the speaker's relegation to a status of diminished agency. Although the *volta* retains the conceptual elements central to the

sonnet, its register markedly moves away from the call and response format of the first two quatrains. Dialogic idioms in the first eight lines are subject to a straightforward syntax that has only one or two active verbs in the independent clauses. This scheme is compressed at the *volta*, however. A succession of clauses is linked without conjunctions to produce an asyndetic aphorism that localizes universal time in metonymic terms of quotidian time: “Ayer se fue; Mañana no ha llegado / hoy se está yendo.” The conceptual point, however, is much easier to parse than the syntax that orders it. In a formula very similar to that of “Fue sueño ayer,” time and being are equivocally intertwined to underscore the inevitability of doom and the suffering of life, swaddling bands and death-shrouds (“pañales y mortaja”) are collapsed into one temporal node. The attire points to the incontinence of bodily functions in infancy and death; both are garments of dignity for the imperfect body.

The first person inhabits the position of both the grammatical subject that facilitates rhetorical play and the discursive subject that deploys the moral didacticism. In a strange turn, the poetic speaker asserts that both the sonnet and himself are the heirs of death. The implied subject of the closing tercet is the first person pronoun “yo” to which the construction “he quedado” corresponds. The speaker assumes the identity of the poem that is to remain after death. An affirmative reading of this phrase seeks to make the sonnet the legacy of the speaker after his death. But this association comes into contact with the bodily voiding, caused by the *rigor mortis*, which follows death so that the inheritance is both the poem and bodily fluids. But the scatological play here is neither ironic nor humorous. Indeed, Quevedo achieves his bawdy play not by puns, but by pronominal and verbal equivocation. The poem delights in its own wit and overtakes the moralistic *concepto* by calling attention to the saturation of signification that the rearrangement of ordinary idioms can achieve.

Quevedo’s poetics argue for the commensurate significance of moral didacticism and poetic didacticism within a framework that is both apocalyptic and secular. The success and the pleasure of this sustained exercise supplied segments of his English audience with a model for disseminating political-ideological responses to rivals who claimed to be privy to divine revelation in matters of both state and religion. English translators and adaptors of Quevedo laid claim to the secularist prophetic authority that his aesthetic framework provided beyond that of simply imitating the satirical mode. As we shall see in the following sections, the eschatological framework, localized rhetorical play, and the unreliable claim to moral authority that the *Sueños* display prove to be highly influential in seventeenth-century England.

3. Englishing the Morality of the *Sueños*: Croshaw’s Inns Adaptation

The study of Quevedo in England is not a straightforward reception history; at its center, the study of Quevedo is a study of translation, and further, a study of Renaissance *imitatio*. It is only very recently that critics have begun to look at how Quevedo and his works were mobilized for ideological purposes in seventeenth-century England. The curious *Travels of Don Francisco de Quevedo*, as I have described at the outset of this chapter, is a pseudograph published in 1684 framed as a travel narrative reminiscent of Thomas More’s *Utopia*. In one key episode, the fictional Quevedo arrives in a country exclusively populated by women (a common trope) where the presence of men has been outlawed. Quevedo is apprehended and brought to a tribunal where, asking for clemency, he says, “I got leave to speak for my self, declaring my Nation to be Old England; (had I said *Spain*, I had been ruin'd to all intents and purposes).”⁴⁴ The satirical point behind claiming English nationality is that Quevedo was apprehended in the “Country of

Letcheritania,” associating Spain with lechery and hot-bloodedness. The episode easily takes up longstanding anti-Spanish attitudes and tropes that I have discussed in earlier chapters in its characterization of Quevedo.⁴⁵ And in such a short space the emerging modern notion of the English nation and an understanding of nationality are attached to the decision process of the pseudo-Quevedo, who abandons his Spanish citizenship for England.

The *Travels* continue the work of Englishing Quevedo as a fixture of English culture begun by Croshaw, though not simply in translating him, but in naturalizing him as an Englishman and subordinating his Spanish identity. The anonymous author was very well acquainted with Quevedo’s characters from *El Buscón* and the *Sueños*. The result is a *persona* that seems to be an amalgamation of elements from the picaresque pilgrimage and voyeurism. One critic suggests that the *Travels* capitalize on the popularity of Quevedo achieved by the enthusiastic reception of the protestantized versions of the *Sueños*, and also perhaps by an intended confusion between the names Quevedo and Quixote.⁴⁶ In the letter to the reader, however, the anonymous translator/author of the apocryphal *Travels* lays out a humorous apology that means to clarify, not confuse, the Quevedo/Quixote conflation. For the pseudo-translator, what distinguishes Quixote from Quevedo, both knights and fantastical adventurers, as the “*Don Q*” in his archival finding is that Quevedo is the more “Valiant to a Miracle,” going on pilgrimage to the underworld:

I had the Opportunity and Success, to Redeem from the Teeth of time, and very Paw of Destruction, This so Admirable and pleasing a *Tract, Originally in Spanish*; whose beauty appeared to me in *Tattered Robes*, to be the very *Emblem of Eternity*, it having neither beginning nor end; and therefore the more justly I call it a piece of Antiquity. It was very much defaced; *Time* or *Accident* having *Worn*, or *Torn* out those *Characters*, which serve for distinction of *Ages*; as also our *Travellers* Name; Except in one place, where was Remaining thus much of the *Mouse-eaten Author, Don Q*. And from hence I concluded, it must be either *Quevedo*, or *Quixot*; but that it was rather the former: I offer this Reason. Because, He of all the Spacious and Flourishing *Kingdom of Castile*, was only Valiant to a Miracle: He that never flinch'd at a Voyage to those Dangerous *Caverns*, in *Plutos Subterranean Dominions*; was only capable to undertake this so hazardous a Journey; Through the Confines of *Terra Australis Incognita*.⁴⁷

This entire discourse is farcical, of course. And what authorizes the farce is the popularity of both Quevedo and Cervantes. It should be noted that the author is riffing on the narrative frame of *Don Quixote* to achieve his ironic purpose. In a belated explanation of the provenance of the tale in Part I, Chapter 9 of the *Quixote*, the narrator introduces the *Historia de don Quijote de la Mancha, escrita por Cide Hamete Benengeli, historiador arábigo*, explaining that after he purchased the leaves of the history penned in Arabic by a Moorish historian, “apartéme luego con el morisco por el claustro de la iglesia mayor, y roguéle me volviese aquellos cartapacios, todos los que trataban de don Quijote, en lengua castellana, sin quitarles ni añadirles nada.”⁴⁸ (I went aside with the *morisco* by the cloister of the greater church, and I begged him to turn all those commonplace books that touched on Don Quijote into the Castilian tongue, without adding or subtracting from them anything.) It is with this same degree of enthusiasm that the speaker of the *Travels* saves them from the ravages of time and from being “Mouse-eaten,” treating them as an antiquarian treasure newly recovered.

The argument of the letter to the reader from the *Travels* is that Quevedo is the most probable author of them because his apocalyptic visions are closer, in their thematic interests, to exploring the geographic underworld than Cervantes' Quixote would be. This is a telling detail that distinguishes one English view of the notable distinctions between the two Q-named *personae*: Quixote's affliction is being trapped within Iberian geography and chivalric romance; Quevedo's imagining is more temporally and geographically unbounded. Indeed, Quevedo's reputation is largely built on the popularity of English apocalyptic narratives and lyrics. For instance, the author of the *Travels* echoes Revelation 1:8 ("I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty" AV) when he says he found the novel "having neither beginning nor end; and therefore the more justly I call it a piece of Antiquity." Further still, the author describes the work in terms of prophetic language, describing the "*Tatter'd Robes*, to be the very *Emblem of Eternity*," which he saves "from the Teeth of time, and very Paw of Destruction."

I use this example from the *Travels* to further my discussion of the earliest English translation of the *Sueños* done by Croshaw, to which this section is devoted. Croshaw's adaptation is particularly invested in bringing morality into greater relief, correcting one of the perceived shortcomings of Quevedo's original. Croshaw not only protestantized La Geneste's version of Quevedo, which tends to soften Quevedo's rebukes of Catholic clergy, but also adds a moral conclusion to the end of each vision that seems to profess earnestly a "reformed" life. For Croshaw, Quevedo was a ready vehicle to air the frustrations of an aspiring gentleman of the Inns. Yet his version seems to go out of its way to dispense with much of the humor that Quevedo originates and La Geneste largely retains. Croshaw's adaptation results from reading its source text as too light and too morally lax. By Englishing the work Croshaw supplies the corrective that would realize the moral potential of the dream visions. To illustrate this, I discuss Croshaw's treatment of two of the dream visions, "The Possessed Sergeant" and "The last Judgement."

In "The Possessed Sergeant," Quevedo achieves instances of humor by means of ironic attacks on artistic production, specifically music, drama, and poetry. The irony operates on a number of levels, the most obvious of which is the fact that Quevedo's narrative speaker of the *Sueños* is self-consciously aware of his role as a poet, and that, when he rails against poets, he implicitly acknowledges his complicity as one of that tribe of condemned individuals. According to the demon speaking from within the possessed *alguacil*, or "sergeant,"

Donde hay poetas, parientes tenemos en corte los diablos, y todos nos lo debéis por lo que en el infierno os sufrimos, que habéis hallado tan fácil modo de condenaros que hierve todo él en poetas y hemos hecho una ensanchar a su cuartel. (147)

Where there are poets, we devils have relatives at court, and you owe everything to us for what we must suffer in Hell, that you have found such an easy way of damning yourselves that Hell is boiling over with poets and we've made an annex to their barracks.

The devil is speaking in a general manner that seems to encompass all types of poets. The hyperbolic imagery of multiplication—the overpopulation of Hell by poets—is attributed to the irresistibility and ease of damnation. The notion of the universality of damnation through poetry presented here plays a significant role in the way that the *Sueños* tends to look beyond Spanish

politics to deliver its invective. The “court” where this devil can find many of his kin is a functionally universal space very much like Hell. Both places are not only parallel universes but also counterparts in a moral system that has no escape valve to purge the iniquity: the swelling bureaucracy of Hell struggles to keep up with the proliferation of poets that populate the courts of Western Europe.

Quevedo specifically targets English literary production and its court when he universalizes his attacks on poets. He explicitly singles out “Bretaña” to say that comic poets are responsible for scandalizing and dishonoring the women there. La Geneste retains this passage, going a step farther than Quevedo to add that the poets are responsible for figuratively sexually violating high-born women. Rather than abridging this section, as he does elsewhere, Croshaw smuggles the attack on English drama into his translation:

There are others [poets], that seeking out a consonancy, as it were blindfolded, walke raving to and fro, biting their nailes and eating their band-strings, till they fall into holes and pits, from whence wee have a great deale of trouble to plucke them out. But those that endure most, and are worst entreated are Comicke Poets, justly punished for making a rape upon the honour of so many Queenes, Princesses, and great persons in England, by their unequall matches of them; and in their Playes for displaying so many invectives against men of esteeme. With these of the land, water Poets are not planted, but because they have used so many inventions, fictions, and lyes, to coozen the World, and get money, are put among Proctours and Solicitours, as amongst people that live by that exercise: for you must understand, that as there is great conveniency, so there is very good order kept in Hell. (14-15)

By invoking the “many Queenes, Princesses, and great persons in England,” Croshaw delivers the indictment against mimetic art that depicts “unequall matches” and those who produce it, “Comicke Poets,” by means of “so many inventions, fictions, and lyes to cozen the World, and get money.” He is being quite cheeky here by mentioning “water Poets,” perhaps referring to John Taylor, known as the Water Poet. In the case of Quevedo, writing for a trusted coterie in Spain, assumes an Anglophobic stance on mimetic art to distance himself from criticizing Spanish cultural production.

Moreover, the universal depravity of poets to which Quevedo so firmly testifies is leveraged by Croshaw into a suspicious plot to undermine political authority by “displaying so many invectives against men of esteeme.” Quevedo’s model of Hell, here, is playful; punishment is ecumenical, and order is regulated by kind, not by degree of sin. Hell models a system in which social order is carefully governed and estates carefully arranged to conform along the lines of a prescribed system of morality. Their intervention provides a different reading of Quevedo’s narrative. The possessed *alguacil* exemplifies Quevedo’s emphasis on the universality of institutional hypocrisy. As I have described above, the *alguacil* is somewhat of a low-level judicial enforcer attached to a municipality, regional magistrate, or court office, and, as Croshaw gives it, “there is no man but steales one way or other, but most of all the Sergeant; who contrary to all these, steales away both his Soule and body by wilfull relinquishment; for hee forsakes them [i.e. his soul and body] with his eyes, flies from them with his feet, and disavowes them with his tongue” (32-33).

The punchline of the story—the devil begs his interlocutors to free him from the body of the *alguacil* because it is too corrupt for even a demon to inhabit—animates the entire moral

conceit of the story and suggests the universal complicity of immorality that Quevedo hopes to depict. While Quevedo's narrator, for instance, simply describes the order of Hell by concluding that

en el infierno están todos aposentados con tal orden, que un artillero que bajó allá el otro día, queriendo que le pusiesen entre la gente de guerra, como al preguntarle del oficio que había tenido dijese que hacer tiros en el mundo, fue remitido al cuartel de los escribanos, pues son los que hacen tiros en el mundo ... Un ciego, que quiso encajarse con los poetas, fue llevado a los enamorados, por serlo todos. Otro que dijo: "Yo enterraba difuntos," fue acomodado con los pasteleros ... Los malos ministros, por lo que han tomado, alojan con el mal ladrón ... Y un aguador que dijo que había vendido agua fría, fue llevado con los taberneros ... Al fin todo el infierno está repartido en partes con esta cuenta y razón. (151)

in Hell, all are lodged according to this order, that an artillery-man that came down the other day, wanting to be placed among soldiers, when he was asked his occupation he said he fired shots in the world, was remitted to the barracks with the scribes, for they are the ones who fire shots in the world ... A blind man, who wanted to be attached to the poets, was put with the lovers, for they are one and the same. Another said: "I buried the dead," was given over to the bakers ... The bad ministers, for what they have taken, lodge with thieves ... And a water seller, who said he sold cool water, was taken to the tavern-keepers ... In the end all of Hell is distributed in parts with this count and reason.

Croshaw boasts, in his version, of this last sentence that "there is not any Common-wealth so well ordered as Hell, where every one hath a retirement according to his quality" (16). Croshaw follows La Geneste closely here: "il n'y a point de Republique qui soit si bien ordonée que l'Enfer, chacun y a son domicile selon sa condition."⁴⁹ The imaginative leap of the Englished version concerns a view of Hell that is a mirror-image of the depravity on earth which is graduated by different kinds of sin, as in Dante's *Inferno*. Although this might at first glance appear to be a minor emendation, the three different versions treated here each seek to modify the eschatological outlook of satire in relatively broad terms. Croshaw is less likely to direct his attention toward any one political figure. However, his model of Hell casts its view toward the English tradition of eschatological retribution. By depicting the order of Hell as a reflection of the political establishment, Croshaw renders the justice of Hell as essentially unjust, simply a parody of terrestrial human justice.

The apparent mismatching of each malefactor to his new lodging is wickedly apposite in Quevedo's Hell, and, by contrast, is far removed from the likes of Dante's.⁵⁰ The depictions of sinners are often fragmentary and fanciful, as Quevedo's narrator usually favors the immediate satisfaction of witty wordplay over a prolonged and systematic description of torment. La Geneste and Croshaw change Quevedo's vague organizational "razón" to a "Republique" and "Common-wealth," respectively. But in Quevedo's Hell, no such order is ever realized: those who fight are placed with those who write; government ministers are placed with common thieves; and the blind are cast with the lascivious poets. Estates, occupations, and physical abilities resist the hierarchical graduation that underlies a Dantesque allegorical schema of Hell. Quevedo's humor relies on the most direct figurative associations, dispensing with an elaborate theoretical schema built off a medieval moralist literature that is more straightforwardly didactic.

The ironical amalgamation of sinners in this passage directly undermines the notions of both narrative order and differentiated eschatological judgement, presenting a vision of Hell that finds justice in the very disintegration of social order.

Perhaps the singular exception to Quevedo's disordered Hell comes in the form of marking ethno-cultural and religious difference. As a matter of course, for Quevedo, Ottoman Turks, Moors, *conversos*, and Jews must endure the harshest punishments, whose sins of heresy, hard-heartedness, and racial heterogeneity underpin their moral depravity. However, the devil-speaker of "The Possessed Sergeant" strays from this tired formula, for he is keen to mark national distinctions by means of an extended pun on homosexual buggery, in this case with Italians:

Dais al diablo un mal trapillo y no le toma el diablo, porque hay algún mal trapillo que no le tomará el diablo; dais al diablo un italiano y no le toma el diablo, porque hay italiano que tomará al diablo. Y advertid que las más veces dais al diablo lo que él ya se tiene, digo, nos tenemos. (157)

If you give a devil a bad dandy [then] the devil won't take him, because there's some other bad dandy that a devil wouldn't take; if you give a devil an Italian [then] the devil wouldn't take him, because there is an Italian that would take the devil. And be warned that the greater times you give a devil what he has, I say, what we have.

As Ignacio Arellano explains,⁵¹ the *DA* gives the verb *tomar* to describe sexual intercourse in common usage, though not explicitly homosexual anal penetration. In the active voice, the verb connotes the top position for intercourse while the passive voice (*tomado*) connotes the bottom. The extensive pun here is governed by manifold connotations of *tomar*. In the first place, before the mention of the Italians, comes the "trapillo" (literally a diminutive rag) that is some effeminate version of a young man, a fop. A devil, knowing these types of men well, would never take him for fear of being sexually taken himself, by surprise. An Italian is entirely off limits for a devil, as they are depicted to be too easily sexually aggressive. The final independent clause of this passage, however, is a little less clear. It ends with a sense that "we have" between themselves what the devil has. That is, the devils are just as active in homosexual intercourse as Italians are, but the latter are far too abundant and too aggressive to partake in orgies with the keepers of Hell.

La Geneste enthusiastically seizes on this passage to broaden the joke beyond Quevedo's pun. Though it is fairly clear that La Geneste understands the sexual implications of the verb *tomar* (with the French *prendre* available), in his adaptation, stylistic and linguistic cues from the Spanish wordplay are subordinated. Linguistic correlation gives way to ethno-cultural difference by means of extending and re-directing the sexual position and social order of the joke. La Geneste embeds in the joke an extended reference to the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty which destabilizes national and ethnic markers of moral superiority. The devil-speaker explains that

Vous donnez au Diable un Italien, & le diable vous en remercie de bon cœur: car il y a tel Italien qui prend[r]roit un diable par le nez comme fine moûtarde, come aussi vous luy donnez quelque Espagnol, mais le diable qui sçait les cruautéz dont ils ont accoutumé d'user, pour se rendre maistre des lieux, dont on leur permet l'entrée, vous prie de les envoyer au Grand Turc pour en faire des Eunuques.⁵²

You give a devil an Italian, and the devil thanks you wholeheartedly: because there are such Italians who would take a devil by the nose like a fine mustard, in the same way, also, you may give him any Spaniard, but the devil who knew the cruelties that they're used to practicing, in order to gain control of a place, of which one permits them entry, you'd [sic] beg to send them to the Grand Turk to make them Eunuchs.

Intercourse between a devil and an Italian is transposed onto a courtly portrait of seduction while also implying that Italian men are effectively being pimped out to devils in Hell; for the fragrances that they wear in court would either entice or, more likely, aggressively assault a lecherous devil's nose like a "fine moûtarde." Although the next clause promises simply to liken the Spaniard to the effeminate courtly Italian, the power dynamic of the sexual copulation is reversed, and a more sexually violent caricature emerges. A brief synopsis of the Black Legend anchors a thinly-veiled analogous depiction of violent anal penetration perpetrated by Spanish *conquistadores* after having received diplomatic consent. Spaniards are "accoutoumé d'user" certain "cruautez" when "on leur permet l'entrée"; that is, native peoples of the New World, willing to parlay with the Spanish, are violently raped by the depraved men. Moreover, La Geneste's original contribution to the Black Legend is that the Ottoman king would provide just retribution against Spanish cruelty by castrating the Spaniards, fully realizing the trope of effeminacy and subservience as eunuchs. This is a fraught suggestion due to the literature of Ottoman captivity that emerges from Spain, of which Cervantes' tale *Los baños de Argel* is representative. The fascination with the Ottoman custom of making court eunuchs is not lost here. La Geneste makes a rival Mediterranean empire the force of retribution. The analogy built off the Black Legend transposes Quevedo's pun about buggery into terms of moral judgement and retribution at a larger political scale.

Croshaw goes further to recalibrate the language of the French by paratactically linking the elements of the conceit. This results in a conjunctive effect that blurs national distinctions and equivocally redistributes the charge of sodomy among a number of groups:

You bestow likewise on the Divell every roguish Page and Footboy; but hee will have none of them, for know (that for the most part) they are more wicked than Divells themselves. Also you give to the Divell an Italian, but the Devill thanks you with all his heart, yet loves not to bee undermined. An Englishman, but hee will have none of their new fashions. A Spaniard, but hee that knowes the tyranny they use in making themselves masters of Townes, when once they are permitted entrance; detests their cruelty. And a Frenchman, but the Divells stomacke will not serve him, because they are already parboyld; and therefore intreats you to send them to the Great T[u]rk to season, and make Eunuchs. (23-24)

This rendition achieves its ironic humor by eliciting sympathy for the devils. Their lechery is significantly downgraded, for it is the "roguish Page and Footboy" that surpasses the devils in their sauciness. Croshaw's translation of this passage not only manages to import another example of widely disseminated tropes of the Black Legend and homophobia, but he furthers his project of bringing order to Quevedo's Hell. Croshaw is not here necessarily sanitizing the passage of the sexually violent associations supplied by Quevedo and La Geneste. Instead he orders the sinners of various nationalities to be beholden once again to the devils' punishments.

There are two original readings that Croshaw brings to the passage. The first interposes “Englishmen” in a dependent clause that confuses the antecedent of “he”: “An Englishman, but hee will have none of their new fashions.” The Englishman either does not participate in buggery at all, avoiding the “new fashions,” or the devil does not recognize the peculiar English fashion. The other, more likely, reading of this passage is that Croshaw actively indicts the English in his compilation. And while it might seem that he singles out the “parboyld” French, perhaps acknowledging the national origin of his source text, he in turn makes the “Great Turk” an accomplice of the devils. It is the Great Turk’s duty to join the system of retribution that Croshaw reimagines, for he is to “season” sinners who are on their way to Hell for the better digestion of the devils, who will consume them, not sodomize them.

Quevedo argues that to grasp the moral quality of his vision of the Last Judgement his audience must be willing to examine the work on aesthetic grounds too. Croshaw assumes this reading in his adaptation by shifting the focus of the induction toward the practice of introspection. While La Geneste, saying “m’être endormy sur le livre du bien heureux Hypolite, qui traite de la fin du monde,”⁵³ offers a straightforward translation of this passage, Croshaw offers an original version of the dream vision frame:

Many are the opinions of men concerning Dreames, and many doe conclude a faith to be given them, in these dayes; which I will neither contradict, nor approve; yet I count it not unlawfull to regulate a transitory life by them, especially if they bee of the nature of my last, which thus happened unto me. One Evening, after I had long examined my selfe, by that glasse of Salomon, Ecclesiastes, Sleepe laid his leaden mace upon mee at the end, and this Verse, God will bring every worke into Judgement, with every secret thing, whether it be good or evill. (85-86)

Wisdom literature of the Old Testament replaces Hippolytus in a direct citation of Ecclesiastes 12:14 in the AV: “For God shall bring every work into judgement, with every secret thing, whether *it be* good, or whether *it be* evil.” Croshaw builds his frame from the larger thematic of Ecclesiastes: Solomon, preaching in the first person, speaks about the nature of divine judgement and decries the abuses of the vain. This argument is laid out in Ecclesiastes 1:14-16 by Solomon: “I have seen all the works that are done under the sun; and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit. That which is crooked cannot be made straight: and that which is wanting cannot be numbered.” Divine *iudicium*, as Croshaw implies, does not only belong to universally addressed prophetic-eschatological and allegorical-apocalyptic literatures, but also the experiential consolation and wisdom literature that codifies moral teachings.

It is probable that Croshaw opted to replace Hippolytus with Ecclesiastes in order to offer a protestantized version of the dream visions due to Hippolytus’ venerated status in Roman Catholicism. And it is also likely that Croshaw finds that Ecclesiastes’ critical judgement of “works” fits more nicely into the Reformation’s emphasis of *sola fide* than a more faithful rendition of La Geneste/Quevedo would. Croshaw finds it necessary to modify the theological inclination of his source text further by delineating humankind according to their predestined state of grace:

The Throne was decked by the hand of the Almighty, and by the same Miracle, God was adorned with himselfe, with mercy for the Elect, and wrath for the Reprobate. The Sunne, Moon, and Starres were his Footstoole; the winde was husht, the waters calme, the Earth

still, and timorous, ready to bee entranced for the love shee bore her Children; and all things in generall very pensive and heavy. The Just were busied in giving thanks to God, and praising his Goodnesse, and the Sinfull were inventing stratagems, to moderate their chastisements. (92-93).

God's sublime majesty that emanates from his being as "mercy" is also internally convective, "adorned with himselfe" as one and the same substance. And quite plainly differentiated are the "Elect" and the "Reprobate," constituting the crux of Calvinist soteriology, with God's corresponding "mercy" and "wrath" emitting gloriously and justly from one substance. If we fail to locate a specific theological platform in Quevedo's eschatology, then we might surely locate it Croshaw's adaptation. For not only is the majesty of God on display, but also the Edenic revitalization of the Earth "ready to bee entranced for the love shee bore her Children." Quevedo's scenes of chaos are cast aside in favor of a unified, orderly view of the millennium that overpowers the grotesquerie of bodily reconstitution that dominates the description of the resurrection.

Croshaw's reading of Ecclesiastes, moreover, sustains his project of lending both aesthetic and moral unity to his adaptation, as it supplies an alternate literary context to that of the biting satire of the *Sueños*. Unlike Quevedo and La Geneste, Croshaw concludes "The last Judgement" in terms of the very same biblical frame from which he begins:

Upon this the Judgement ended, the Throne was taken up, the shadowes fled to their place, the Aire was filled with milde Zephirs, the Earth was enamelled with flowers, and the Heavens were cleare and translucent; and I was in my bed, more joyfull than sorrowfull, that I was not yet dead: therefore that I might make use of my Dreame, I undertooke a constant resolve, to keepe a strict watch over my Conscience; that I may have a defensive armour, when there are no more delays to hope for, and the soveraigne Judge shall call me before himselfe. (103-104)

We cannot really call Quevedo's spiteful conclusion a frame because it does away with so much of the content of its opening. Quevedo closes abruptly and decisively, expressing his appreciation for the *jouissance* the vision affords him: "Diome tanta risa ver esto que me despertaron las carcajadas, y fue mucho quedar de tan triste sueño más alegre que espantado" (133). (Seeing this [the condemned suffering their punishments as a hellish maw consumes them] made me laugh so much that my guffaws woke me up, and I emerged from such a sad dream more cheerful than frightened.) Quevedo's delight comes from being exempt from punishment and complicit in the divine judgement of humankind—his moral outrage radiating outwardly, universally. In contrast, Croshaw's conclusion is dominated by the personal application of judgement, by the fear of divine wrath, and by consolation through scripture. Croshaw's "defensive armour" takes on a specifically eschatological outlook that links the speaker's present time with Doomsday as he recalls Ephesians 6:13: "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand."

4. Cromwell in Hell: Sir James Turner's Royalist Retribution

Some two decades after Croshaw's translation of the *Sueños*, and before L'Estrange's Restoration version, Sir James Turner composed "A Letter from Don Francisco of Quevedo to

Philander of Sittewald, Who wrote the Continuation of Quevedo's Visions Concerning some Discourses which passed in the Infernal Court Betweene the Late Usurper Oliver Cromwell and The Late Chancellor of Sweden."⁵⁴ Whereas Croshaw took on the Quevedo project to entertain and advance at the Inns, making his contribution before the major crises of the English Civil War took place, Turner likely set down to write his vengeful screed against Oliver Cromwell and Axel Oxenstierna, the Swedish Chancellor, while in exile with the court of Charles II in France and the Low Countries around 1659. Much of Turner's military career was frustrating, and much like Donne, the horrors of maritime war were personally disturbing to him, according to his own *Memoirs*. After failing to take religious orders in 1632, Turner became a mercenary in Germany under Oxenstierna, who ascended as Chancellor following the death of the Protestant defender Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.⁵⁵ In the late 1640s, he returned to Scotland to join the Covenanter army, who had at that point turned against its sometime ally Oliver Cromwell, and went later to England to fight against Parliamentary forces. He was captured in 1649 and imprisoned in Hull by Colonel Robert Overton, who was friendly to him and helped secure his release. But he was recaptured by the Parliamentarians in 1651, but he escaped and fled to the continent and lived in Bremen and The Hague for much of the 1650s. He returned to London following the restoration of Charles II, where he obtained a knighthood and a commission as a colonel, later stripped. In 1683 he published a military treatise, *Pallas Armata*, which briefly revived his military career, but he died in relative obscurity in 1689.⁵⁶

Turner's military career, both as a mercenary in Germany during the Thirty Years War and as a royalist commander in the English Civil War, was largely disappointing. In both theaters he engaged in violent suppression of religious dissenters of all kinds, saying in his memoirs how the vulnerable population of war-torn Germany "did show us with what dreadfull countenance that bloodie monster of warre can appear in the world."⁵⁷ And in England he mostly endured defeat, imprisonment, and privation. Describing in his memoirs how he came to serve as a mercenary in Germany, he remarks that early in his career, "I had swallowed without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxime, which militarie men there too much follow; which was, that so we serve our master honestlie, it is no matter what master we serve; so, without examination of the justice of the quarrel, or regard of my dutie to either prince or country, I resolved to goe with that ship I first rencounterd."⁵⁸ This "dangerous maxime" helps describe his years of mercenary service and early years with the Scottish Presbyterians as an understudied and apolitical decision, regretted in retrospect. The significance of his "Letter" is that it seeks to address such regrets by vilifying Cromwell and Oxenstierna by calling attention to their hypocrisy in matters of state and religion—a conventional cavalier criticism.

Turner's fantastical report of Cromwell in Hell, though never published or widely circulated, joins the royalist apocalyptic literature of his fellow cavaliers in its outlook. As Ted-Larry Pebworth and Claude J. Summers have explained, for some groups the events of the Civil War "might be greeted exultantly as affording the possibility of redressing social grievances or realizing millenarian dreams," while for others, "the feeling of disorientation might be the result of what they saw as a deeply bewildering breakdown of authority of all kinds."⁵⁹ Indeed, for Puritans, radicals, and royalists alike, apocalyptic literary production was at once a mode of fantastical escapism and a template for expressing hope for radical social change tethered to the establishment of a terrestrial theocracy that both mirrored and anticipated the heavenly Jerusalem. However, some royalist apocalyptic thinkers, as Nigel Smith points out, differed from the Puritan strain on the nature of events at doomsday, holding, for instance, that it was not the Second Coming but only the Last Judgement which took place then.⁶⁰ This challenged the way

in which political realignment would occur at doomsday. Turner's version of apocalyptic satire is symptomatic of what Jonathan Rogers explains: "ridicule and moral repugnance" characterize "Royalist treatments of radical apocalypse, both before and after the Restoration. In the Royalist poetry of the 1660s we see a conscious attempt to establish a new historical mythology to replace the radical vision of apocalyptic history that had prevailed in the previous decades."⁶¹

Turner's relationship to Quevedo's work is quite different from that of the translators that earlier popularized the *Sueños* in England, Germany, and France: Turner avowedly assumes the voice of Quevedo to frame the discourse between Cromwell and Oxenstierna; he develops an allegory to illustrate religious hypocrisy and mismanagement in matters of state; and his original composition—framed as a continuation of Quevedo's visions—betrays an understanding of the publication history of the text in England and Germany. A significant formal feature of Turner's piece is that his dialogue between the two statesmen is framed as an epistle from Quevedo's own first-hand account rather than a dream vision. While Turner's "Letter" does not imaginatively engage with the workings of Hell or the nature of resurrection that inform Quevedo's brand of apocalypticism, his work maintains an interest in apocalypse by describing how revelation offers an alternative version of history. Turner assumes the voice of Quevedo to put forth a literary perspective that transcends the underworld and reconciles the events of a number of highly destructive conflicts to which he was privy with a revisionist political agenda.

As we turn now to the bulk of Turner's text, it is worth noting that this piece has received little attention outside of that given by a handful of historians. The "Letter" has yet to be discussed in any significant literary context, as it remains relatively obscure in the English reception history of Quevedo. My reading of Turner's "Letter" builds off the work of Clare Jackson, who argues that "as well as illustrating a wider royalist inclination to displace the horrors of civil warfare into humorous satire, Turner's attempts to interpret life from the viewpoint of death offer intriguing insight into the eclectic mental world of mid-seventeenth-century Scottish royalism."⁶² We can further delve into what Jackson calls "the eclectic mental world" of Turner's royalism to think about how imaginative literary apocalypse shapes our understanding of moral judgement. Questions of virtual authorship and attribution arise, furthermore, in the details displayed in the title-page done in Turner's hand (see Figure 4.1). There, in addition to naming Quevedo as the source of the letter, Turner suggests that the imaginary correspondence between Quevedo and Philander is in the "hie Dutch," which necessitates Englishing. Such a gesture places Quevedo's satires in a cosmopolitan frame that foregrounds the greater popularity of his text in the continent, which was indeed translated into German.

The very detail of placing Quevedo in Hell to report on the new arrivals there suggests that in the translations of Quevedo Turner perhaps encountered some indication that Quevedo had died in 1645. Another possibility indicates that the popularity of Quevedo's works made the link between the authorial *persona* and a fictionalized Hell quite common. We see that later being the case in the *Travels*, which fashion Quevedo as both a guide to the Southern Hemisphere and to Hell. It remains unclear whether Turner intended for his continuation to appear eventually in print, yet his emphasis on virtually connecting Philander and Quevedo reveals that he may have had in mind an audience for whom these two authors were familiar and accessible.

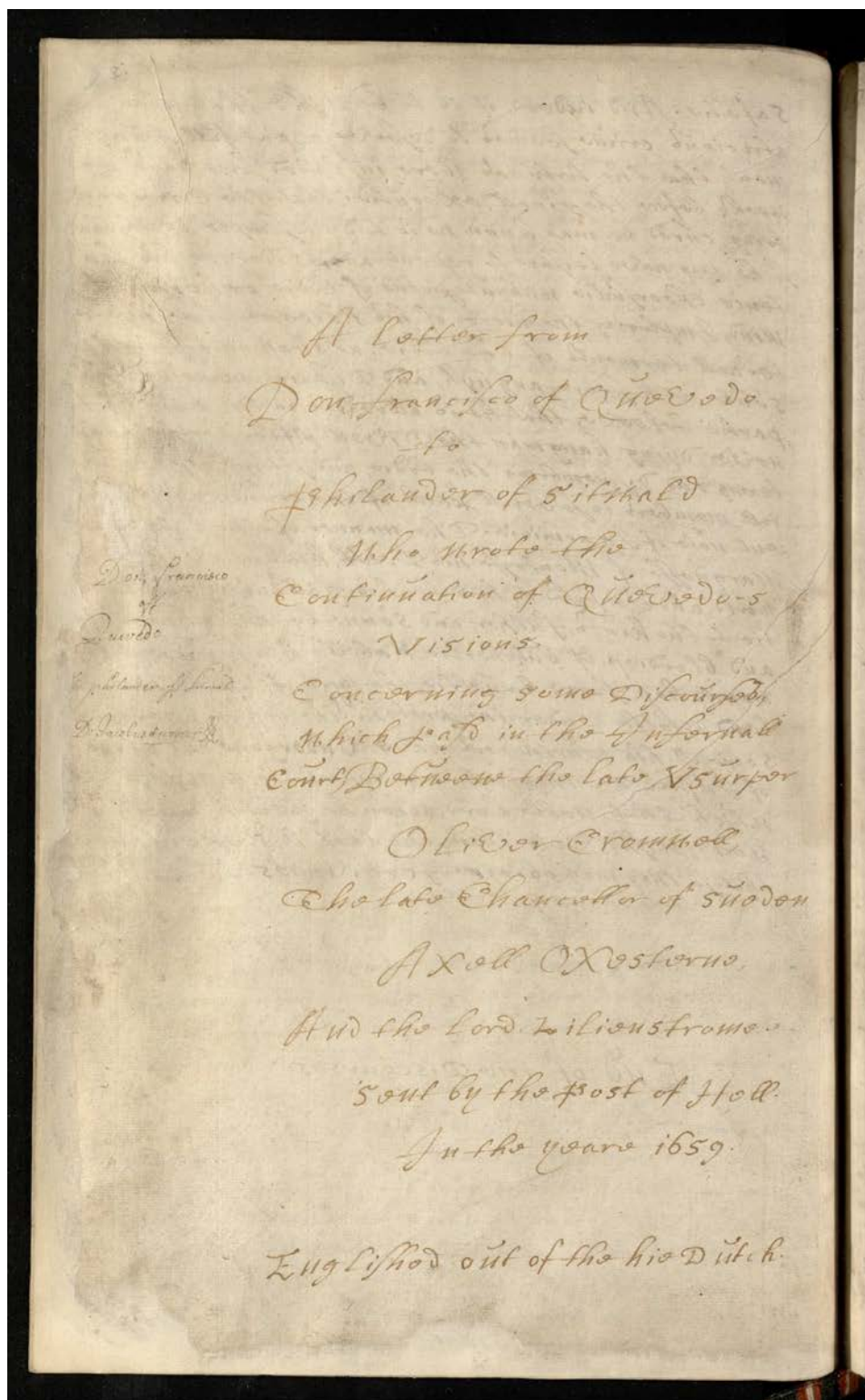


Figure 4.2: Sir James Turner's manuscript title page to his "Continuation of Quevedo's Visions," Additional MS 12067, fol. 132v. British Library, London.

Turner establishes the literary connection between Quevedo to Philander in the letter that opens the discourse. In it, Quevedo nominates Philander to continue the work of writing the *Sueños* in perpetuity to offer news from Hell sourced from Quevedo himself, who has been a resident there for some time. Parodying the common trope of the heroic descent to the underworld, Turner's Quevedo envisions Hell to be a clearinghouse for the expiation of political error through dialogue. The fictional Quevedo writes to Philander:

Dear friend,

Since my departure from ... the world, I am informed, by daylie passengers, how you have beene pleased to ... impart the continuation of my Visions to those yet permitted to breath aire by the fates for ... [this] hie favour I returne you my humble thoughts that you may be the more able to give satisfaction to those who are curious to know the occurences of the Infernall Court. I thought fit to send you the inclosed, by which you will understand of the late Protector of Englands arriveall [to] this populous place, and of some remarkable Discourses, that [passed] betwixt him, the Lord Oxesterne, Late Chancellor of Sweden, and the Lord Lilienstromme. Beseeching you to ... insert all I send you with the rest of my Infernall Visions that the upper world be not defrauded of the knowledge of so notable a rencounter. And I promise you that when any such considerable news comes to my knowledge heere, I shall not faile to communicate them faithfullie to you. And so I bid you farewell. (133r)

This letter is key to understanding the reception history of the *Sueños* outside of Spain. Turner appears to understand clearly the relationship of transmission that allowed Moscherosch to produce Philander's continuation. The fact that Philander is alive and Quevedo resides in Hell suggests that Turner would have known that Quevedo had died before Cromwell did in 1658. He would have understood, also, that Moscherosch's text is an adaptation and "continuation of [Quevedo's] Visions." Turner may have learned this only from reading Philander's work, which features Quevedo's name prominently in its printed editions, but it is also possible that Turner might have had access to an English translation while he was in Overton's custody. Turner's version of Cromwell in Hell is not the first of such Quevedian works he composed. While Turner was captive in Hull in 1649, Overton indulged Turner's request to "furnish me with any books I called for" along with paper, pen, and ink resulting in a manuscript entitled "A novell against Buchanan, giving a faithfull and true account of his descent and reception into Hell."⁶³ Turner's novel against the Scottish divine George Buchanan may well have been informed by an English version of Quevedo that Overton could have had. Certainly the exercise of placing Buchanan in Hell prepared Turner to try his hand at the more extensive complaint against Cromwell and Oxenstierna.

Turner's narrative is driven by metaphorical conceits exposing the machinations of the Protestant statesman: a "cloak" made of fox and sheepskin signifies the cloak of religion that obfuscates the view of those hoping to understand matters of state; and a pair of "spectacles" allows these men to hold onto a distorted, affirmatively-biased view of the state of their countries ravaged by war. In the case of Cromwell, the obfuscation is orchestrated at the highest levels of government in hopes of justifying the most heinous of acts, regicide. Oxenstierna and Cromwell each take turns in the dialog discussing how they have employed the cloak of religion to achieve their political goals, with Oxenstierna schooling Cromwell on the Swedish manner of statecraft. I term Turner's narrative an apocalyptic fantasy of retribution because the subjects of his work

were responsible for antagonizing Scottish Covenanters at different points in time. A case is to be made, also, for Turner's personal resentment of Cromwell, who directly commanded Overton to keep Turner captive in Hull. Turner directs his attention toward a narrative of retribution that serves as an indictment of Cromwell and Oxenstierna that is couched within a larger indictment of civil war, more generally. While, as Jackson suggests, Turner's seeks to contextualize the horrors of civil war in an eschatological context to reinterpret history, it is more to the point that the narrative leverages its apocalyptic setting to offer a critique of Cromwellian rule.

Despite the abundance of revanchist energy animating the piece, the narrative elements of the satire and the imaginary hellscape are relatively uninspired in Turner's production. Certain objects and rooms, however, become the focal points of the material dimensions of the satire. Upon arriving in Hell, Cromwell is able to secure lodging with his fellow statesman Oxenstierna. He arrives to find the apartment in disarray, noting, at first sight, that Oxenstierna was engaged in the task of tailoring the emblematic cloaks:

Oliver's Joy lasted not long, for when one of the porters had cast up the door of the Chancellors Chamber ... he found himself exceedingly disappointed, for whereas he thought to have found with that famous statist, a faire librarie, adorn'd with the choycest books, he saw, to his exceeding grieffe, some chestsfull of old bookes and ... a great many foxe [furs and lamb skins] ... broken spectacles, and in a corner apart, some instrument for torture, but so spoild, as they seemd alltogether useles: He saw allso the master of the lodgeing sitting among that trash ... mending some of these cloakes. (133v-134r)

At its outset, the narrative attempts to draw a distinction toward different types of crafts of statehood, one designated by intense study, the other characterized by menial labor. Cromwell is horrified to see Chancellor Oxenstierna doing the work of a tailor, even while in Hell. This emphasis on labor directly echoes Quevedo's tirades against tradesmen, especially tailors (*sastres*). In both narratives the tailor embodies the essence of pettiness: theft, deception, and fraud tend to be their underlying characteristics. More than simply riffing on Quevedo, however, Turner establishes the parameters of the conceit of the cloak of religion, for he scornfully demystifies state-sponsored religious practice by describing it as a product of human manufacture rather than as a spiritually-based institution. The Puritan failure at statecraft, Turner's attitude suggests, is symptomatic of the failure to build both a spiritual and practical New Jerusalem in the English Commonwealth.

Turner attacks the religious establishment of Sweden and the English Commonwealth by invoking arguments against simony and the presbyters reminiscent of certain wings of the English Reformation, which sought to transform the role of the prelates and the ecclesiastical structure. Turner had dismissed the possibility of discussing theology alongside politics by emptying Oxenstierna's cell of any usable books. He turns to an elaboration of the materials used to manufacture the cloak to underscore its metaphorical significance. For example, Chancellor Oxenstierna

let the protector see, that the foreskirts of [the cloak], were lind with sheepskins, but behind were the skins of foxes and wolves but exceedingly bare. The Lord Protector with much curiositie inquired, what kind of cloake that was. It is, said the Chancellor, the cloake the Swedes have constantlie cast about them, when they intended under the notion of religion, to cheate the world, and wherof they have made very good use of Silesia,

Pomerania, Prussia, the Marquisate of Brandenburg, and many other places of the Roman Empire, officiallie with the Lutherans, and more particularlie, the Clergie ... who distrustes the great God, and put their confidence in the arme of flesh. And, said he, by that cloake of Religion they blinded the eyes of the Churchmen, with the off[r]ence of some gold, wherewith they used sufficientlie to anoynt them, and by that meanes, the Swedes were become masters of men, money, and provinces. For it was ane ordinarie thing, said he so to mufle up the ministers with that cloake, that they supererogated, when bye their desperate preachings, they fired up everie where subjects to Rebellion against their lawfull hereditarie soveraigne princes. I should hardlie beleeve, proceeded he, that the present king of Sweden should have such a clergie ... if it were not for the use he makes of this cloake, neither would there be so much talk of the Lutheran perfidie, if men knew but how to hide themselves for a litle time under this wide mantle. (135r)

The predator skin remains out of sight while the sheepskin lining can be seen from the front. This owes to the dictum from Matthew 7:15 (“Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves”) into one object. According to the argument here, one cannot claim to be of God’s party while also being a (false) prophet. It is “with the off[r]ence of some gold” that factions secure the cooperation of the clergy to foment religious dissent among the polity, threatening submission to the king. At Cromwell’s urging, Oxenstierna is obliged to explain the metaphor, no longer tenable, in great detail in order to elucidate how Protestantism was instrumentalized by the Swedes to extend their dominion and to incite “Rebellion against [subjects’] lawfull hereditarie soveraigne princes.” Turner sarcastically invokes the supererogation of the “ministers,” in their zeal to dethrone Charles, in order to underscore their hypocrisy in the “arrogancy and impiety,” laid out in article XIV of the Thirty-Nine Articles,⁶⁴ that rebelling against their natural sovereign entails. For Turner, the Puritans were such busybodies, in their supererogation, that they inadvertently exceeded in their works, resembling their Catholic rivals.

The “Letter” further pursues the strategy of conflating and equivocating confessional distinctions to assault the signal Puritan marker of identity, which distinguishes it from Roman Catholicism. To illustrate the success of the Swedish cloak, Oxenstierna cites the 1618 Defenestration of Prague, which accelerated the start of the Thirty Years War, saying “the Protestants of Bohemia threw the Emperours Minister of State out of his owne windows of his Castle of Prague ... But if the people on earth should heare me tell such tales they would certainlie beleeve, I were turned either a Roman Catholique, or Calvinist, or a foole” (135v). The final clause of this passage is puzzling because it sarcastically deemphasizes the religious distinctions under which the conflict was precipitated. More to the point, it suggests the idea that true religion, the *via media*, avoids the extremes of both the Papist and the hardline Protestant. A sense of understatement governs this clause to jettison the notion that a religious position could be articulated by a correct political affiliation. Turner is ostensibly claiming that when a monarch assumes religious supremacy, that very power structure makes him vulnerable to rebellion. Given the lament Turner expresses in his *Memoirs* about his regrettable allegiances as a mercenary, it seems his critique seeks to persuade his imagined audience to vet the Puritan leaders. That is to say, Turner imputes a familiar mercenary logic to the English and Swedish leaders, marginally implicating himself in his critique.

The second half of the “Letter” turns toward exploring Turner’s eschatological concerns about war and death more directly. Whereas the former half of the piece was concerned with

Turner's attitudes toward statecraft and religion as it concerns England, Scotland, and the Thirty Years War, the latter exhibits concerns that are more personal to a mercenary. He leaves behind his grievances with Oxenstierna, and sets his sights on evaluating Cromwell as a military commander. After Cromwell and Oxenstierna exchange remarks concerning the veil of religion and the deceptions of statecraft, the focus of the letter shifts to discuss primarily the Protectorate and remains on that subject for the rest of the piece. Turner's transitions are rocky and inelegant, as he hastily turns toward the confrontation between Cromwell and seafaring soldiers, which is the centerpiece of his satire:

His hienes ... was interrupted by the ringing of a little bell and a murmur of some people, which followd upon it. He desird the Chancellor to let him know what all that signified, who tels him, the noyce came from some of his schollars, and the bell gave notice of a disputation in which, within halfe ane houre, Lilienstrom was to preside. The subject was...taken out of Tacitus. He who was ordaind to answeare, was a fine young Divell, who was latelie arrivd at the Stigian fields, by some Englishman out of Jamaica ... [Oxenstierna] beseechd his hienes pluck up his heart, and be of Good courage, for, said he, you shall find heere store of Countrey men of yours, who were your followers on earth, and be assurd, you shall meet with many of your Good friends, persons, who were accounted to be of no small account in the time of your usurpation. (137v)

As a narrative node, this detail helps reorient the satire toward the confrontation or visitation trope of the underworld visit. The conceit here is that Cromwell must witness a farcical disputation that further exposes his hypocrisy before being confronted by his "Countrey men" and "followers." The scheduled disputation on the Roman historian Tacitus fits Turner's ironic retrospective or history of Cromwell's time as Lord Protector. Even Cromwell's support of expanding the English presence in the New World and its mercantile efforts is spoofed in passing with the reference to "some Englishman out of Jamaica" who died and was ushered in as a devil who would participate in the disputation on Tacitus.

As Turner's revanchist ploys evolve, so too do his aims. This pageant in Hell, for Turner, allows Cromwell to witness the wartime suffering he is blamed for by the royalists. We can trace his interest in imputing affective responses to Cromwell by the way he describes his "perturbation of soule" after "looking on this sad spectacle" (141v) in Hell. Turner desires for Cromwell not only some kind of suffering but some contrition:

he had not spent much time in some sad thoughts, when he rencounterd with ane accident, which did exceedinglie augement the grief of his allreadie very melancholie minde. He saw some infernall spirits draweing sleds full of frozen men, who had layne long in water ... He saw, how they carried them to ane excessivelie hote fire, before which they tosd and tumbl'd them, they were [thawed]. His Conductor told him, that some of these spirits who are commanded to have a carefull eye to the sea ... had latelie informed their great Master, that some galleons full of Englishmen who had arrived in the sound to assist the swell, had beene cast away in some part of the North Sea, not without the helpe of some cunning divells, who frequent these waters so that for a farewell to the world these English in steade of better liquor, were forcd each of them, take a draught of saltwater, which to them was very unsavorie, thogh otherwise it is thought not to be unwholesome, for the spirit of salt gives ane appetite to meate. (141r-141v)

We may notice how Cromwell's "sad thoughts" are encouraged by his experiences in Hell, which are routinely interrupted, under the pretext of delivering him from them, only to be magnified by new encounters that "augement the grief of his allreadie very melancholie minde." Turner's morbid vision depicts a grisly scene in which drowned English sailors are frozen stiff after perishing in the icy waters of the North Sea. The episode presents a causally untenable revision of history which sets the blame for the death of English soldiers, occasioned by "some cunning divells," at the feet of Cromwell. Laboring to thaw the dead sailors, the devils "tosd and tumbld them" in "ane excessivelie hote fire," which both emphasizes the commodification of the sailors' lives and makes a joke about the abundance of the hellish heat. Further highlighting the somatic injuries of a maritime death, Cromwell's guide informs him that they took "a draughte of saltwater" as their final drink. The sarcasm and understatement of the narrator concerning the sailors' death exhibits a kind of cruelty that Turner seeks to attach to Cromwell, who, in his view, is either too cruel or too ignorant to have compassionated with the plight of the sailors who were exposed to the fierce elements and privation patrolling either the English coast or perhaps the Canadian coast in Cromwell's naval expedition against the Dutch in North America.

The final set-piece of the narrative is produced by the arrival of a familiar commander among the dead sailors, recognized and summoned by Cromwell, who tells a history of Swedish, English, and Scottish affairs spanning 1631 to 1659. In his long screed beginning at the bottom of 142r, the drowned officer lambastes Cromwell's son for readily accepting to succeed his father. This section sees the continuation of the screed, interrupted by references to "republicans, sectaries and Fifth Monarchy Men" (142v), apocalyptic prophets and harbingers of the year 1666. In this last satirical thrust, the Puritan millenarian vision of divine justice is called into question. Turner's revisionist royalist apocalyptic fantasy leverages Cromwell's reputation as an effective military commander into an image of despotic and tyrannical tendencies that are only lately softened since his arrival in Hell. Turner's Quevedian narrator formulates Cromwell's encounter with the commander again as an interruption of the Protector's contrite affect: "Whill his hienes with great perturbation of soule, lookd on this sad spectacle, he might see one among them, who had formerlie beene a commander under him, he intreated his conductor to bring that officer to him" (141v). The "perturbation of soule" elicited by "this sad spectacle" allows Cromwell to compassionate with a naval officer as Turner's Quevedian narrator brings him forth as a representative victim of Cromwell's tyranny:

The curteous divell ranne immediatlie, and snatched him up in his armes, and [gave] him three or foure such hugs as Beares use to bestow on such mastiffs, as have the bad fortune to resseave their embraces, cast him doune at Olivers foot, saying, there hast then him, and if he will declare truth, I suppose, he will say, it is all one to him, whether theie have him, or I have him. And indeed the poore officer casting up a gastlie looke the length of Olivers nose and conceaveing he had the power given him in hell, which he had usurped on earth, did not at all thinke himselfe at libertie, for being out of the divells claws, and therfor scrambling to his knees, he besought his hienes to be so gracieous to him, as not to strike his heade off till he heard him. For his comrads and himselfe were sent in the last expedition to fight against men, onlie, and not against the elements, and the winds, for by [those] onlie were they ever throwne. The protector, comforting him, bad him rise for in hell, said he, cutting heads off is no punishment, but I wish, it were on condition, mine were first ... provided that all my acts of hie justice on earth might be therby

expiated, onlie, said he, I earnestlie desire thee to tell me, how you were shipbroken, how my sonne behaved himselfe after my death, and how things goe in England. (141v-142r)

The corrective Turner's narrator has prescribed for Cromwell finally seems to have taken effect, for he now actively resists "cutting heads off," if only for the reason that such punishment is not honored in Hell. The narrator's sarcasm is thrown off by Cromwell's solemn admission that he would volunteer to be decapitated "provided that all my acts of hie justice on earth might be therby expiated." The bitter irony of this pronounciation is inescapable, as it exemplifies the cavalier complaint against the execution of Charles I. In Turner's view, the course of justice could have been restored by correcting the misguided execution of the monarch, placing it instead on Cromwell's shoulders. Such a view defies logic because it at once affirms and denies equating Cromwell to a usurper, or at least executor, of the king's justice. The fantastical element of such a pronounciation testifies to the alternative apocalyptic history that Turner develops both to deny and compete with Puritan millenarianism that is partly to blame for the rise of a figure like Cromwell.

NOTES

¹ Pseudograph attributed to Francisco de Quevedo, *The Travels of Don Francisco de Quevedo...A novel, originally in Spanish* (London, 1684), sig. A8r.

² My exposition here and my discussion of the ideology behind the English reception of Quevedo is largely informed by David Arbesú, “La manipulación ideológica de las obras de Quevedo en la Inglaterra del siglo XVII,” *La Perinola* 10 (2006): 317-338.

³ Edward Phillips, *Theatrum poetarum, or, A compleat collection of the poets especially the most eminent, of all ages ...* (London, 1675), 46.

⁴ See the bibliography in Marie Roig Miranda, ed., *Les Visions de Quevedo traduites par Le Sieur de la Geneste* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004), 97-135.

⁵ Andrew McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

⁶ Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 11.

⁷ Arthur Terry, *Seventeenth-Century Spanish Poetry: The Power of Artifice* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 135. See also Raimundo Lida, *Prosas de Quevedo*, ed. Ana Prieto (Barcelona: Crítica, 1981).

⁸ I thank James Grantham Turner for sharing his insights from his forthcoming chapter, “Cross Sections (3): 1660-1670,” in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English, I, Prose Fiction in English from the Origins of Print to 1750*, ed. Thomas Keymer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). Text is edited but page numbers not set yet; will be Chapter 5.

⁹ Arbesú, “La manipulación ideológica,” 318-319.

¹⁰ For a careful study of Quevedo and Italy, see Encarnación Juárez, *Italia en la vida y obra de Quevedo* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 1-5.

¹¹ A notable exception is to be found in Nicholas Ferrar’s translation of Juan de Valdés *Ciento diez consideraciones*. See Julián Jiménez Heffernan, “‘A Super-Political Concernment’: Evolution and Revolution of Inward Light from Juan de Valdés to John Locke,” in *Poiesis and Modernity in the Old and New Worlds*, eds. Anthony J. Cascardi and Leah Middlebrook (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012): 181-200.

¹² McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*, 7.

¹³ I omit a discussion of L’Estrange’s vastly popular versions of the *Sueños*, as these would require their own dedicated study. L’Estrange’s fascination with Quevedo would be helpful to

study with regard to his connections to figures such as Milton and Marvell. For recent studies on L'Estrange and English literary history, see the edited volume, Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch, eds., *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

¹⁴ Croshaw should not be confused with the Richard Crashaw, the Catholic convert, poet, and admirer of Spanish mystical devotion.

¹⁵ NB: I use the English titles from Richard Croshaw's translation throughout.

¹⁶ *DA* gives "alguacil" n. m.: "Ministro de justicia con facultad de prender y traer vara alta de justicia. Debaxo de este nombre hai varias diferencias de Alguaciles, que consisten en los grados y prerogativas que están annexas à sus empleos: como Alguacil mayor de una Ciudad, ò Villa, que ò es propietario por juro de heredad en una familia por merced del Rey, ò electivo del Concéjo y Justicia de las Ciudades, ò Villas, ò por nombramiento del Corregidor, ò Gobernador de ellas." Croshaw diverges from *La Geneste* by applying the title of "sergeant" to the *alguacil*.

¹⁷ I am referring to Marie Roig Miranda's introduction to *Les Visions de Quevedo traduites par Le Sieur de la Geneste* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004), 52-53.

¹⁸ Miranda ed., *Les Visions*, 52

¹⁹ James O. Crosby, *La tradición manuscrita de los Sueños de Quevedo y la primera edición* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2005), xiv.

²⁰ John Beverley, "Going Baroque?" *boundary 2* 15.3 (1988), 27-39, 28.

²¹ John Beverley, *Aspects of Góngora's Soledades* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1980), 7.

²² See Begoña López Bueno, ed., *La silva* (Seville and Cordoba: PASO, 1991).

²³ Clare Jackson, "Buchanan in Hell: Sir James Turner's Civil War Royalism," in *George Buchanan: Political Thought in Early Modern Britain and Europe*, eds. Caroline Erskine and Roger A. Mason (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 205-211.

²⁴ Jackson, "Buchanan in Hell," 227.

²⁵ See L. Elaine Hoover, *John Donne and Francisco de Quevedo: Poets of Love and Death* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

²⁶ James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Relations between Spanish and English Literature* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1910), 26. For a history of downplaying Quevedo's role in early modern England, see María Pilar Navarro, "Quevedo en lengua inglesa," in *De clásicos y traducciones: Versiones inglesas de clásicos españoles, ss. XVI-XVII*, eds. Julio-César Santoyo and Isabel Verdagner (Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1987): 165-188.

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- ²⁷ ODNB: “Roger L’Estrange.” *The visions of dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Knight of the Order of St. James* (London, 1667).
- ²⁸ Geoff Kemp, “The Works of Roger L’Estrange: An Annotated Bibliography,” in *Roger L’Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, eds. Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 216.
- ²⁹ Ilse Nolting-Hauff, *Visión, Sátira y Agudeza en los “Sueños” de Quevedo*, trans. Ana Pérez de Linares (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1974), 163, with my English translation.
- ³⁰ Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 12. See also the seminal work by John J. Collins, *An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed., Grand Rapids and Livonia: William B. Eerdmans-Dove, 1998.
- ³¹ Valentín Nuñez Rivera, “Quevedo y la traducción bíblica: tradiciones y contextos (En torno al *Cantar de los Cantares*),” *La Perinola* 10 (2006), 225-226, 228-229.
- ³² Francisco de Quevedo, *Lágrimas de Hieremías Castellanas*, ed. Edward M. Wilson and José Manuel Blecua (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953), 1.
- ³³ See Natalio Fernández Marcos and Emilia Fernández Tejero, “¿Quevedo hebraísta?: *Lágrimas de Hieremías castellanas*,” *Sefarad* 62 (2002): 309-328.
- ³⁴ A. Whealey, “*De consummatione mundi* of Pseudo-Hippolytus: Another Byzantine apocalypse from the early Islamic period,” *Byzantion* 66 (1996): 461-469.
- ³⁵ All selections from the *Sueños* are taken from Francisco de Quevedo, *Los sueños, Versiones impresas: Sueños y discursos. Juguetes de la niñez. Desvelos soñolientos*, 3rd ed., ed. Ignacio Arellano (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999), 91. Subsequent citations appear in parenthesis throughout, with my translations following.
- ³⁶ Arellano’s note: “fácil juego de palabras en la doble significación de juicio ‘sensatez’, ‘Juicio Final’” (91n9).
- ³⁷ For a discussion of the first person voice and perspective in the *Sueños*, see R.M. Price, *Quevedo: Los Sueños* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1983), 53-54.
- ³⁸ Lyrics are selected from Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, *Poesía varia*, 15th ed., ed. James O. Crosby (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007), 160, with my translations.
- ³⁹ William Egginton, “The Opacity of Language and the Transparency of Being: On Góngora’s Poetics,” in *Poiesis and Modernity in Old and New Worlds*, ed. Anthony J. Cascardi and Leah Middlebrook (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012), 257-258.

⁴⁰ Ignacio Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 190.

⁴¹ Andrée Collard, *Nueva poesía: Conceptismo, culteranismo en la crítica española* (Madrid: Castalia, 1967), 102.

⁴² Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch*, 205-206.

⁴³ Quevedo, *Poesía varia*, 158-159.

⁴⁴ *Travels*, 84.

⁴⁵ The same is true for anti-Catholic polemic. Take John Gother's reference to Quevedo in his complaint about the Catholic belief in miracles, for example: "*HE is so given up to the belief of idle Stories and ridiculous Inventions in favour of his Saints, which he calls Miracles, that nothing can be related so every way absurd, foolish, and almost impossible, but it gains credit with him; and he is so credulously confident of the truth of them, that there's no difference to him, betwixt these Tales, and what he reads in Scripture. 'Tis a pretty Romance, to see what is recounted of St. Francis's Cord, the Scapular, St. Anthony, St. Bridget, and other such Favourites of Heaven. He that has but read the Achievements of these, may excuse the perusal of Bevis of Southampton, the Seven Champions, or Quevedo's Dreams; For these are nothing to compare to the former, either for the rare invention, wonderful surprises, or performance of impossibilities*" (*A papist mis-represented and represented ...* [London, 1685], 52).

⁴⁶ Arbesú, "La manipulación ideológica," 326, 336. Arbesú concludes (336): "Unos se aprovecharon de su tirón editorial, publicando en su nombre obras que de otra manera quizás no hubieran tenido la misma recepción por parte de los lectores, aunque otros utilizaron a Quevedo de manera menos inocente. Tanto la edición falsa de los *Sueños* como la publicación de *Los viajes* contienen una dualidad interesante. En la primera de las obras es el 'Quevedo autor' el que censura su patria y religión. En *Los viajes* se trata del 'Quevedo personaje.' Sin embargo, en los *Sueños* Quevedo participa también como personaje, ya que él es el protagonista de sus propias 'visiones,' y en *Los viajes* el autor da a entender que el manuscrito original es de Quevedo. De esta manera, 'Quevedo autor' y 'Quevedo personaje' se complementan para integrar la culminación de la prosa satírica inglesa del siglo XVII."

⁴⁷ *Travels*, sigs. A4r-A4v.

⁴⁸ Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Florencia Sevilla Arroyo (New York: Vintage Español, 2010), 117.

⁴⁹ Miranda, ed., *Visions*, 166

⁵⁰ This summary of critical perspectives on Quevedo's Hell can be found in Rodrigo Cacho Casal, "Dos aspectos del infierno en Quevedo y Dante: ordenación y penas," *Criticón* 78 (2000), 77ff.

⁵¹ Arellano, ed., *Sueños*, 157n117-118.

⁵² Miranda, ed. *Visions*, 170.

⁵³ Miranda, ed. *Visions*, 235.

⁵⁴ BL Additional MS 12067, fols. 132r-151r. Hereafter, folio numbers follow in parentheses after quotation.

⁵⁵ See Michael Roberts, *From Oxenstierna to Charles XII: Four Studies* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁵⁶ Jackson, "Buchanan in Hell," 205-10.

⁵⁷ James Turner, *Memoires of His Own Life and Times* (Edinburgh, 1829), 10.

⁵⁸ Turner, *Memoires*, 14.

⁵⁹ Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth, introduction to *English Civil Wars in the Literary Imagination*, eds. Summers and Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 1.

⁶⁰ I take this instructive example for Smith's discussion of Henry Vaughan: Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 268-271. Christopher Hill is helpful in charting the proliferation of lay prophetic eschatology surrounding the English Civil War: *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1972), and *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1990).

⁶¹ Jonathan Rogers, "'We saw a new created day': Restoration Revisions of Civil War Apocalypse," in *English Civil Wars in the Literary Imagination*, eds. Claude J. Summers, and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 188.

⁶² Jackson, "Buchanan in Hell," 227

⁶³ Jackson, "Buchanan in Hell," 205-06

⁶⁴ Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 677.

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