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# **Reading Diego de San Pedro in Tudor England**

Daniel Gil Sáenz

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## Reading Diego de San Pedro in Tudor England

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### Abstract

This article traces the changing cultural spaces within Tudor England in which San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* and *Arnalte y Lucenda* were transferred and read. The analysis of bibliographical data and paratextual materials sheds light on how and by whom these works were read throughout this period, from the court of Henry VIII to the wider audiences marketed by Claudius Hollyband's Italian-English edition. The case of Diego de San Pedro serves to illustrate the interplay between transfer, rewriting and reading competence which conditioned the dissemination of texts in the English Renaissance.

**S**cholarly interest in the English translations of Diego de San Pedro's works has followed two main directions: the bibliographical/historical (Randall, 1963; Fazzari, 1974; Chamosa, 1992) and the descriptive/stylistic (Crane,

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1937 and 1950; Borinski, 1971; Calvo Marín, 1991). Questions of social causation—why were the works translated there and then, and who was supposed to read them?— have only been sketchily treated. This article sets to explore the changing material conditions of production, transmission and consumption of San Pedro's texts in Tudor England. The different rewritings of these texts tell us something about the way (translated) fiction was read, edited and appropriated in different cultural spaces, from the court of Henry VIII to the print industry of the late sixteenth century. My study of San Pedro aims to contribute to the ongoing revision of our assumptions about the readership of fiction in the Renaissance proposed by Arthur F. Kinney (1986), Louis Schleimer (1994) and Helen Hackett (2000). These scholars, among others, have in different ways called into question aspects of the traditional picture of Renaissance readership which found canonical expression in the work of Louis B. Wright (1935) and which postulates the rise of an increasingly middle-class and predominantly female audience for romantic fiction.

My analysis moves freely from the transfer of texts to the reading of texts and vice versa, in the belief that the two aspects illuminate each other. Transfer is understood here as the movement of texts in space and time; a textual displacement

which is the precondition of translation (Pym, 1992:17). The study of transfer allows us to ask some interesting questions about the translated text, such as “what came from where and for what reason; and where, why, and to whom the translated text is to go” (Pym, 1992:27). If we accept that the translator is first of all a reader and has a community of readers in mind when he or she translates, then the process of reading is involved from the beginning in the process of transfer, as one of the factors which conditions the direction and the moment in which a text moves. But there are very different possible kinds of reading. Eugene R. Kingten has proposed the incorporation of concepts of cognitive linguistics into the historiography of reading; in his *Reading in Tudor England* (1996) he underlines the importance of grammar school education on the one hand, and of basic religious education on the other to explain the kind of competence that was demanded from readers by different kinds of texts. I have found the notion of reading competence useful to understand the different ways in which San Pedro’s texts were transferred and disseminated in sixteenth-century England.

Apart from the transformation of the translated texts themselves (which will not be considered in detail in this article), the most important materials for analysis are bibliographi-



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cal data and paratexts, that is, all the texts surrounding the translated text. My approach to the material support in which the texts exist is informed by D.F. McKenzie's argument that books cannot be studied simply as physical objects, separate from the social meaning invested in them. The new understanding of bibliography as a sociology of texts "allows us to describe not only the technical but the social processes of their transmission" (1999:13). In this article I will use bibliographical data in order to understand the social conditions in which San Pedro's works were disseminated (a chronology of the different editions of the translations can be consulted in the Appendix). Paratexts are essential as representations of both transfer and readership. In prefaces and dedicatory epistles, translators or editors give reasons for the movement of the texts, justifying their presence in print and in English; they also picture a certain kind of reader for whom the text is allegedly intended.

## **1. The original texts and their space**

To understand the transfer to England of San Pedro's two main works it is convenient to consider –albeit very briefly– the circumstances of their original production and their main generic characteristics. San Pedro was a servant in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, where he presumably enjoyed cer-

tain fame as an *auctoritas* in the expression of courtly feelings. The two texts we will consider here were probably written in the 1480s, but they would not appear in print until the following decade. His audience was primarily the court, and probably all his works circulated in manuscript before being printed, though only a few manuscripts (in Spanish, French and Flemish) have survived. His first romance, *Arnalte y Lucenda*, was dedicated to the Queen's maids, while his second, *Cárcel de amor*, is said in the title page to have been written by request of Diego Hernández –the dedicatee– and other gentlemen of the court. (note 1) Once printed, the two works enjoyed considerable editorial success throughout the sixteenth century, not only in Spain but also in their Italian and French versions. The texts are difficult to classify generically. The only way they are marked is as “treatise” (*tractado*), and in a way that is what they are, since they provide both ethical and rhetorical models of how to conduct a love affair, drawing on the uninterrupted Ovidian tradition of the *ars amatoria*. This label is, however, not satisfactory for historians of fiction, who have grouped San Pedro's work with some of his contemporaries' as a subgenre of romance, usually called *novela sentimental*, which has been recently translated as sentimental romance. These works are distinguished from chivalric romances by their brevity, the comparative simplicity of their

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plots, and their attention to matters of love, usually of a tragic nature. Early Italian models for the genre are to be found in Boccaccio's *Elegia di madonna Fiammeta* and Piccolomini's *Historia duobus amantibus*. (note 2)

In *Arnalte y Lucenda*, Arnalte tells the author how he fell in love with Lucenda of Thebes, how he courted her and got her to love him back, but after confiding the whole matter to his friend Ierso, the latter betrays Arnalte by marrying Lucenda in secret. Arnalte takes revenge in a singular combat, after which Lucenda takes vows as a nun and Arnalte retires to the desert. *Cárcel de amor* shares some of these narrative elements, but the author plays a more active role in the story. He finds Leriano suffering torments in an allegorical prison of love, and decides to help him in his courtship of Laureola, daughter of the king of Macedonia. After many speeches and letters passed between them without success, a jealous rival accuses Leriano of secretly visiting Laureola in her chamber at night. Laureola's father condemns her to death, but she is rescued by Leriano and his soldiers. Even after saving her life and clearing her honour, Leriano is rejected by Laureola; he dies of unrequited passion, after a discussion with a friend in which he offers a lengthy defense of women. Both works are organised in short narrative sequences interspersed with

elaborate discourses and letters. These frequently follow rhetorical set-pieces, like *ratioinatio*, *exemplum*, *confirmatio*, *refutatio* or *planctus*, modeled on Hermogenes' and Aphthonius' *praeexercitamenta* (also known as *progymnasmata*; they were taught in English grammar schools in the sixteenth century [Crane, 1937: 61-67]).

## **2. San Pedro in the Henrician court: manuscript circulation**

Henry VIII's court was one of the centers of Northern European humanism, housing the likes of More, Erasmus and Vives; it was also a nurturing ground for poetry and music. But can the same be said of narrative fiction? A look at the list of printed works of fiction compiled by O'Dell (1954) will tell us that they were few and sporadic, mostly reprints of Caxton's time, old chivalric romances either English or translated. We find neither the quantity nor the quality to be found years later during the reign of Elizabeth. Fiction, however, must have been present at least in court circles. In his *Institutio foemina christiana*, which Vives wrote during his stay in England (1523-1525) at the instance of Queen Catherine, he condemns the reading of romances, and gives examples of unsuitable books from different parts of Europe, showing quite an extensive knowledge (he later confesses having looked at them), and

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also pointing toward an international community of romance readers with similar tastes. From Spain he mentions a list of chivalric romances (*Amadis*, *Tirant lo Blanc*, etc.) and then two different, more recent works: “*Celestina laena, nequitarum parens, carcer amorum*” (1964:IV, 87; “bawdy *Celestina*, mother of naughtiness, and the prison of love”). These are *La tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* by Fernando de Rojas, and *Cárcel de amor* by Diego de San Pedro. Vives’ comment, included in a work ostensibly directed to the English princess, but probably written with a university-trained European male audience in view, tells us something about the possibility of transfer of European fiction in a courtly context. The text itself is a translation of titles in French, Italian, English and Spanish into the academic and internationally mobile Latin of Vives. It also connects fiction to women’s reading, which must be taken rather as an attempt to feminize fiction than as an actual index to readership. In fact, the connection is immediately complicated by the fact that Vives himself seems to have read the romances.

The transfer of San Pedro’s works into England bears some resemblances to the conditions in which they were originally produced. The translated texts must be seen in the context of the cultural space of the court and of specific aristocratic

families connected to it. In fact, a survey of persons associated with the first translations gives the impression of a coterie at court, a familiar network of informed readers who then proceeded to disseminate the texts more widely. *Arnalte and Lucenda* was translated by the secretary of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk and dedicated to his son the Earl of Surrey, who was by then still in the King's favour. John Bouchier, Lord Berners, who translated *Cárcel de Amor*, was connected by marriage to the Duke of Norfolk's family. Berners claims that the translation was requested by his niece Elizabeth Carew, wife of Sir Nicholas Carew. Elizabeth's brother, Sir Francis Bryan, was at the centre of much of the court activity, both political and cultural, taking a central role in jousts, tournaments and masques, and also being one of the few royal favourites to survive his king. Bryan shared literary interests with his sister, and he also asked Lord Berners to translate a Spanish work, Guevara's *Golden Book of Marc Aurelius*, which would become one of the century's best-sellers. (note 3)

Thus a network of courtiers, with their international mobility and their cosmopolitan intellectual interests (all the above-mentioned had traveled to the Continent), can be seen as the material cause for the transfer and translation of the two works. If we believe Lord Berners' claim that the translation

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was requested by his niece, we can speculate about different ways in which Elizabeth Carew had come to know San Pedro's work in the first place, that is, how the text was transferred to a position of potential translation. She may have come across or heard about *Cárcel de amor* at court, maybe from one of the Queen's maids. The presence of a Spanish queen and her household probably kindled a certain interest for Spanish literature, since the first translations from Spanish date from this time, though France and Italy continued to be the main sources for English translation. (note 4) Another option is that she came across the French translation of the work, since her husband, Sir Francis Bryan, besides being famous for his love of French culture, was Marshall of Calais in 1520 and was employed in several embassies to the Continent. Or maybe it was her uncle who roused her curiosity in the first place, since he had been in a special mission to the Spanish court in 1518 and he used both the Spanish text and the French version for his translation.

We must assume that, as the original, Berners' translation circulated in manuscript before it was printed. Taking into account that Lord Berners died in 1533 and the first printed edition of the book has been tentatively dated 1548-49, it is clear that he produced the translation with private or court consumption

in view. This is not strange if we consider that among his other translations he only published Froissart's *Chronicles* during his lifetime, while Guevara's *Golden Book*, finished six days before he died, was printed the following year. His translations of fiction (which include the chivalric romances *Huon of Bourdeux* and *Arthur of Lytell Brytaine*) were only printed years after his death. This supports the idea that the romances were not considered in the same standard with the 'serious' works, which had a more clear public utility. They belonged to the space of the familiar and courtly recreation and, initially, to the limited and more controlled circulation in manuscript.

The recreational character of *The Castell of Love* is also marked by its association to female readers. In the prologue, partly translated from the French version, Berners writes that "the matter is very pleasunte for yonge ladyes and gentlewomen" (Sig. A2). This has obviously to do with the amorous character of the work, but must be understood as a conventional practice. Helen Hackett has warned us from taking such dedications at face-value, as indicators of a real or predominantly female audience. The dedication works to locate the text metaphorically in a feminine space that would be of erotic interest for male readers (2000: 11). Besides, we will see that John Clerk had reasons to think that *Arnalte and Lucenda*



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would appeal to a male audience embodied in his dedicatee, the Earl of Surrey. I think that a useful category to understand the audiences of these romances is that of the household as reading formation, proposed by Louis Schleimer: “We are here probably studying an international reading formation, one that obtained in circles of aristocratic ladies and their waiting women quite as much on the continent as in England, and that continued little changed from over a century” (1994: 21). Schleimer understands households as female formations, but I think that is a mistake, at least when we speak of aristocratic households connected with, and modeled upon, the royal household of the court. When John Clerk published his translation of *Arnalte and Lucenda*, he was not only aiming for literary fame, but trying to gain merits by adding to the glory of the household to which he belonged, that of the duke of Norfolk (and his son the Earl of Surrey). Lord Berners presented his translation to her niece, Elizabeth Carew, and the Carew household can be considered as an instance of reading formation. In the inventory dated 1562 of the family site of Beddington, which was seized by the Crown after Carew’s attainder, there is a list of books and manuscripts preserved in several drawers; it includes a rich manuscript of *Confessio Amantis*, several French romances, and the historical works of Froissart and Orosius. This list (in *Add. Ms.* 29605 at the

British Library) attests several tendencies in readership that we have already suggested: the coexistence of manuscript and print, of serious ('male') and recreational ('female') works, and the possession and consumption of fiction by an elite family as a symbol of status.

### 3. The first edition of *Arnalte y Lucenda*

The reading practices discussed above are mostly typical of manuscript circulation at court; but conditions necessarily change when print exposes the work to a non-selective audience. Around 1543 the bookseller Robert Wyer published for the first time a translation of a romance by San Pedro: *A certain treaty most wyttely deuysed orygyinally wrytten in the spaynysshe, lately Traduced in to French entytled, Lamant mal traicte de samye*. It was translated by John Clerk, secretary of the Duke of Norfolk and maybe at some stage tutor of the dedicatee, Surrey, since he mentions in the dedicatory epistle "the excedyng great paynes and trauayles susteyned by yourselfe in traductions aswell out of Laten, Italien as the Spanysshe and Frenche" (1543, sig. A1v). The translation was made from the French, only four years after the appearance in print of the French version by Nicolas d'Herberay, Sieur des Essars. This again indicates the awareness in court circles of the fiction that was being produced in the Conti-

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ment. In the epistle, Clerk also gives us a clue about how he expected the book to be read. First of all, he apologises for dedicating an amatory fiction to Surrey, excusing the “lyght matyer of folysshe loue”; then he directs the reader’s attention to the usefulness of the work as a model of rhetorical expression: “regarde and consyder the wytty deuse of the thýnge, the manner of Locucyons, the wyse sentences and the subtyll and dyscreeet answeres made on bothe parties” (sig. A1v). Clerk thus appeals to the reading competence of the dedicatee, envisaging an ideal reader who has had a formal education in languages and the rules of eloquence. William G. Crane noticed the early confluence of rhetoric and romance in Clerk’s and in Berners’ translation, and their possible effect on English prose (1937: 162-70). More recently, Paul Salzman (1985) has distinguished two tendencies in the development of Elizabethan fiction, one toward narrative action and another toward rhetorical expression. The latter category embraces the works that have also been called “high” or “humanist” romances (Kinney, 1986). This is the English tradition –if any– in which the translations of San Pedro can be placed. Without entering into the long and vexed debate about the possible sources of Lyly’s style (Borinski, 1971), there are some obvious similarities both in subject matter and in rhetorical expression between his works and San Pedro’s.

By printing the work, we may assume that Clerk, or Wyer, had a wider audience than the court in prospect. But material evidence points toward failure in attracting readers: there is only one extant copy of the 1543 edition; Clerk's translation was never reprinted; and nobody mentions it before the acquisition of the British Library copy in 1915. (note 5) If we compare this with the success of the French translation during the 1540s and 1550s (we can count nine editions and reprints), the lack of popularity of Clerk's translation calls for an explanation. In my opinion three possible factors, or a combination of them, were at play:

1. Clerk's translation is tentative, it does not convey the sophistication of the original (which, we must remember, was read very much for the style), and can be judged on the whole as poor prose compared with the standards of the time. That is, the text failed to satisfy the kind of competent readers for whom it was intended.
2. The patrons named in the title page fell from political power in subsequent years (Surrey was executed in 1547), which may have made a possible reprint politically inconvenient.
3. There was simply no audience for a sentimental romance of this nature outside the court, where they still circulated in manuscript. The tradition of 'rhetorical fiction' which I have

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mentioned above began (if we except Berners' translation) in the 1560's with Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses* and Paynell's *Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce* (both 1667). The success of these works relied on the rhetorical competence both of the translators and of his readers (the kind of competence acquired in grammar school). We can assume that in 1643 that competence was not sufficiently widespread, or at least not connected to the reading of fiction.

### 4. Printed editions of *The castell of love*

Lord Berners' translation of *Cárcel de amor* was first printed by Iohan Turke probably in 1548-49. If the date is correct and there was no previous printed version unknown to us, then we may ask ourselves why the translation was printed at that time and not before. There is a possible political reason for this delay: the work is dedicated to "lady Elizabeth Carew, late wyfe to Syr Nicholas Carew knight", and the latter had been charged with treason and executed in 1539, his name would not have been popular at least until Henry's death in 1547.

The second edition of Lord Berners' translation is again tentatively dated. There are two extant copies of this edition, one of which is dated by the officials of the British Library in 1550?, while the *English Short Title Catalogue* estimates the date to be 1552. It was printed by Robert Wyer (the printer

of Clerk's translation of *Arnalte & Lucenda*) for Richard Kele. This edition was reprinted in 1555 by John Kinge, so we may assume that it had a certain, if rather ephemeral, appeal for the mid-century reading public. The most significant feature of this second edition is that Lord Berners' version is edited, with marginal comments and some additions in verse, by Andrew Spigurnell. Nothing is known about this person, but if we trust his account in the verse prologue he includes, he came across Lord Berners' translation by chance, and seeing its didactic utility as an *exemplum to all women (and also, we presume, its market possibilities)* he decided to prepare a new edition for the press:

therefore I have taken, thus upon me  
this booke to peruse, and reade with payne  
in wyll to have it printed agayn.  
And bicause to the reader it shold be more delectable  
I have taken upon me presumptously  
Newly to penne the matter, though unable (sig. A2).

Spigurnell represents the process of transfer in interesting, if somewhat misleading, terms. First of all, he presents himself as reader; but his reading is not located in the context of the court, as in Berners' and Clerk's dedications, but directly associated with the press. His reading is not recreational, it is

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done “with payne” for the service of other readers. He is in the intermediary position of the professional *lector* or interpreter of texts. Having finished the reading, he describes the rest of the transfer as a rewriting of the text (“newly to penne the matter”); in fact, Berners’ translation is reproduced with only minor changes (an act of misappropriation not unusual in early modern ‘new’ translations). Spigurnell’s contribution resides mainly in the frequent marginal annotations which adorn this edition, and with them he was obviously trying to direct the text to a wider audience. His marginal comments serve as guidance for the reader, indicating not just the plot events, but also moral points and some of the rhetorical divisions of the speeches. They underline the didactic value of the text and also make it more accessible to less competent readers (always among those who could afford to buy books). Spigurnell appears as a figure of mediation between the courtly texts and a more printed-oriented audience.

As I said before, this edition was reprinted in 1555. John Kinge was a rather select kind of printer, specialising in literary and historical books. He published works by Skelton, a translation of Erasmus’ *Epigrams* and another of Piccolomini’s *Historia duobus amantibus*, one of the sources of inspiration of San Pedro. But apart from its literary qualities, there are two

reasons that made *The castell of love* appealing for Kinge: one was the favorable political moment, since the marriage of Princess Mary with Philip of Spain in 1554 had stirred an interest in (soon turned into suspicion of) all things Spanish. The other was the fact that it contains a lengthy defense of women, spoken by Leriano before dying of love. This defense is very much in tune with the public debate between misogynists and profeminists that was taking place in England at the time (probably revived by the successive moral condemnation of queens in Henry's reign). (note 6) To give only a few examples, Elyot's *Defense of good women*, Morley's *Forty six lives* (a translation of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*), Robert Burdet's *A dyalogue defensive of women, against malycyous detractors*, and the anonymous *The deceyte of all women* appeared in the 1540s. Kinge was obviously involved in the continuation of the debate (or in its editorial possibilities), since besides *The castell of love*, he also published Gosynhall's *Praise of women* (1557), and the anonymous *A defence of Women* (1557-8). (note 7) This aspect is also present in Spigurnell's verse epistle, in which he offers the work as an example of the nature of women:

To the intent, that women in generall  
By their disdayne, and lacke of pytie



Shall note, what inconuenyence shal come and fal  
To lovers that be tormented crewly (sig. A2)

### 5. Subsequent editions of *Arnalte y Lucenda*

In 1575 *Arnalte y Lucenda* came out in a new bilingual edition: *The Pretie and wittie Historie of Arnalt & Lucenda: with certen Rules and Dialogues set foorth for the learner of th'Italian tong*. The new translation by Claudius Hollyband (who probably did not know Clerk's translation) was printed parallel to the Italian version by Maraffi. This had already been done, as Hollyband surely knew, in a French-Italian edition published in Lyon. Claudius Hollyband, englished form of Claude Desainliens, was a French Huguenot refugee who had established himself as language teacher in London and had already published a very successful method to learn French. The book was fairly well received, as the different editions show. It is not at all inappropriate that a work by San Pedro became part of a language method (the second edition, with an extended grammar part preceding the text, was called *The Italian Schoolmaster*), since his fiction had always been used as a model of language proficiency. Besides, Hollyband's translation, which follows closely the Italian version, was much more enjoyable than Clerk's. English prose had changed significantly in the interval, and so had reading practices. The last quarter of the

century saw a great increase in the publication of fiction; part of this fiction displayed a rhetorical style not unlike that of San Pedro, and the popularity of Lyly's *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and *Euphues and His England* (1580) shows that readers were up to the sophistication.

The position of Hollyband's translation *en face* the Italian text sets it apart from previous versions: it is not meant to stand on its own but as a medium to reach the Italian language. José Luis Chamosa (1992) has noted the relation between this new version and the contemporary demand for the learning of foreign languages as a business tool for an ascending merchant class. But before we postulate the appearance of a whole middle-class readership we must look at the terms in which Hollyband presents the transferred texts to his readers. The first edition (1575, reprinted 1591) is dedicated in verse "unto the Worshipful, Sir Hierom Bowes", while the preface is directed more generally to those who want to learn the Italian tongue. The presence of the dedicatee must remind us that the learning of French and Italian was considered first and foremost as a mark of prestige, a fashionable accessory in the education of the aristocracy and gentry. The wider availability in London of schoolmasters like Hollyband made this asset accessible to the aspiring classes. The two copies of

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this edition preserved in the British Library belonged to two highly educated men: Gabriel Harvey, professor of Rhetoric, and (almost two centuries down the line) the virtuoso Horace Walpole. Significantly, in Harvey's copy the romance has been torn apart from the grammar section (which is the only part extant); this suggests that San Pedro's text could still be read with certain independence from language learning.

The second edition of Hollyband's translation (1583, reprinted 1597 and 1607) not only changes the title but bears a different dedication, this time to the "Gentleman, Maister Ihon Smith". Even if it is not directed to a nobleman, the dedication preserves some of the tone set by John Clerk, mentioning Smith's control of Latin and Greek (a sign of gentility) before becoming his pupil in French and Italian. But although Hollyband is keen on presenting language learning as a delightful cultivation of the spirit, this dedication surely marks the dissemination of San Pedro's text in a format suitable to the burgeoning book market of the late sixteenth century, governed by rules quite apart from those first encountered at court.

The history of the different editions of San Pedro in England can be said in conclusion to run more or less parallel to that of the popularisation of romance reading. But the example of San Pedro shows that generalisations about romance read-

ing and audiences can be dangerous. In the way they were transferred, rewritten and edited, the texts speak about their specific claims to an audience, and the kind of reading competence that the audience was expected to have. We have seen that the interaction between the process of transfer and the reader's competence and expectations determines to a great extent the directions in which a text moves. Thus, the probable circulation of *The castell of love* in manuscript must be understood in the cultural space of an original elite audience in the court of Henry the VIII. Obviously, the generic characteristics of the text also play a part in the process of transfer: San Pedro's texts were associated from the beginning with humanist rhetoric and language proficiency; even the wider audience targeted by Hollyband's translation in the last quarter of the century, must have appealed to a different kind of reading competence than, for instance, the contemporary popular translations of Spanish and Portuguese romances made by Anthony Munday. The study of the material conditions in which the San Pedro's works were transmitted allows us to historicise the relation between the text's generic qualities and style and the readers' competence and taste.

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**APPENDIX: Chronology of the editions of San Pedro in Tudor England.**

1543 *A certain treaty most wyttely deuysed orygynally wrytten in the spaynysshe, lately Traduced in to French entytled, Lamant mal traicte de samye. And now out of French in to Englysshe, dedicat to the ryght honorable lorde Henry Erle of Surrey, one of the knightes of the most honorable ordre of the Gartier, Sonne and heyre apparaunt to the ryght hygh and myghtie prynce Thomas duke of Norfolke, hygh Treasourour, and Erle mershall of Englande.* London. Imprinted by Robert Wyer. 16°.

1548? *The castell of loue, translated out of Spanishe in to Englyshe, by Iohan Bouchier knyght, lorde Bernis, at the instaunce of the lady Elizabeth Carew, late wyfe to syr Nicholas Carew knyight. The which boke treateth of the loue betwene Leriano and Laureola doughter to the kynge of Masedonia.* London. Printed by Iohan Turke. 8°.

1552? *The castell of loue, translated out of Spanishe in to Englyshe, by Iohan Bouchier knyght, lorde Bernis, at the instaunce of the lady Elizabeth Carew, late wyfe to syr Nicholas Carew knyight. The which boke treateth of the loue betwene Leriano and Laureola doughter to the kynge of Masedonia.* London. Printed by Robert Wyer for Richard Kele. 8°. Edited, with additions, by Andrew Spigurnelle.

1555 *The castell of loue, translated out of Spanishe in to Englyshe, by Iohan Bouchier knyght, lorde Bernis, at the instaunce of the lady Elizabeth Carew, late wyfe to syr Nicholas Carew knyight. The which boke treateth of the loue betwene Leriano and Laureola doughter*



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*to the kynge of Masedonia.* London Printed by John Kinge. 8°. A reprint of Spigurnelle's edition.

1575 *The Pretie and wittie Historie of Arnalt & Lucenda: with certen Rules and Dialogues set foorth for the learner of th'Italian tong: and Dedicated unto the Worshipfull, Sir Hierom Bowes Knight. By Claudius Hollyband Scholemaster, teaching in Paules Churchyarde by the sign of the Lucrece.* Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoot. 16°. Bilingual edition.

1583 *The Italian Schoole-maister: Contayning Rules for the perfect pronouncing of th'italian tongue: With familiar speeches: and certain Phrases taken out of the best Italian Authors. And a fine Tuscan historie called Arnalt & Lucenda. A verie easie way to learn th'italian tongue. Set forth by Clau: Hollyband Gentl. of Bourbonois.* London, Thomas Purfoot. 16°.

1591 *The Pretie and wittie Historie of Arnalt & Lucenda: with certen Rules and Dialogues set foorth for the learner of th'Italian tong: and Dedicated unto the Worshipfull, Sir Hierom Bowes Knight. By Claudius Hollyband Scholemaster, teaching in Paules Churchyarde by the sign of the Lucrece.* Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoot. 8°. Reprint of the 1575 edition.

1597 *The Italian Schoole-maister: Contayning Rules for the perfect pronouncing of th'italian tongue: With familiar speeches: and certain Phrases taken out of the best Italian Authors. And a fine Tuscan historie called Arnalt & Lucenda. A verie easie way to learn th'italian tongue. Set forth by Clau: Hollyband Gentl. of Bourbonois.* London, Thomas Purfoot. 8°. Reprint of the 1583 edition.

1608 *The Italian Schoole-maister: Contayning Rules for the perfect pronouncing of th'italian tongue: With familiar speeches: and certain Phrases taken out of the best Italian Authors. And a fine Tuscan historie called Arnalt & Lucenda. A verie easie way to learn th'italian tongue. Set forth by Clau: Hollyband Gentl. And nor revised and corrected by F.P. an Italian professor and teacher of the Italian tongue.* London, Thomas Purfoot. 8°.

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1. For this section I have used the critical editions of both works done by Ivy A. Corfis (1985 and 1987).
2. For a discussion and brief history of the genre see Alan Deyermond (1995).
3. For Berners, Carew and Bryan, see *Dictionary of National Biography* (1997).
4. See John Garret Underhill (1899: 60-81) and the list of translations 1475-1560 in H.S. Bennet (1970).
5. There is a modern edition of Clerk's translation by Clara Fazzari (1974).
6. For an interpretation of *Cárcel de Amor* as a *profeminist rhetorical oration*, see *J.F. Chorpenning* (1977).
7. For a list of Kinge's publications see Greg Duff et al. (1915).