An Introduction to the Presence and Influence of the Seventeenth-Century Spanish Novel in the English Restoration Period

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English prose fiction written before the eighteenth century has generally been undervalued or simply ignored because it was considered too inferior to and influenced by other European literatures, too politically and morally incorrect, and/or too idealising. However, despite the disregard of scholars and critics, and the subsequent lack of knowledge of the general public, prose fiction was extensively written, translated, and read in the English Restoration period (1660-1700). It was an important manifestation of the culture of the time, and prepared the way for the novel to come. Therefore, it should not have been neglected. Besides new and old native material, there were plenty of translations from Classical and modern Continental narrative, which were very popular and influential. The Spanish novel of the seventeenth century became so either directly or through its French adaptations. But this presence and influence on the English narrative of the period has not been appropriately analysed. This paper attempts...
to establish a corpus and give an introductory insight into the matter, in which further research may be grounded.

The impact of Spanish picaresque novels in England was important. The anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) had been well-known since Elizabethan times, and had inspired English works such as Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) and Nicholas Breton's *The Miseries of Mavillia* (1599). The former gave a vivid description of low life told in the first person by the protagonist, although the protagonist was not really a *picaro* but a gentleman. Jack Wilton did not suffer poverty or hunger, and did not serve several masters, as he himself said at the beginning of the story:

"I, Jack Wilton, a gentleman at least, was a certain kind of an appendix or page, belonging or appertaining in or unto the confines of the English Court; where what credit was, a number of my creditors that I cozened can testify" (Steane ed. 1972: 254).

Breton wrote and episodic auto-biography told by a suffering girl in a plain style and with realistic detail, including some unpleasant and grotesque situations. However, none of these works reached the end of the century, whereas *Lazarillo* was reissued five times between 1669 and 1693.

The combination of moralistic and entertaining material together with its rich and vigorous Baroque style made Mateo Alemán's *La vida de Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599-1604) have an extraordinary success, the book being several times reprinted in Spain, and soon translated to the main European languages. James Mabbe did the English version, entitled *The Rogue, or the Life of Guzman de Alfarache*, in 1622, which was reissued at least six times until 1661, though often omitting the moral discourses. Mabbe emphasised the rhetorical and encyclopedic quality of the novel, and presented it as a reliable source of information about Spanish customs and language.

Quevedo's *Historia de la vida del Buscón* (1626) was translated into English by John Davies of Kidwelly in 1657 under the title *The Life and Adventures of Buscon, the Witty Spaniard*, and with a second edition in 1670. An anonymous shortened version translated from the French and entitled "The Pleasant Story of Paul of Segovia" was added to Céspedes y Meneses's *The Famous History of Auristella* (1683), taken from his *Poema*
Trágico del español Gerardo (1622)⁶. However, Davies used La Geneste’s French version, which transformed Pablos into a clever, handsome, young man capable of true love and friendship, who is rewarded for his nobility, being thus closer to the protagonists of romans comiques than to a pícaro⁷.

Other minor works of Spanish picaresque were published during the Restoration. Salas Barbadillo’s El necio bien afortunado (1621) was translated by Philip Ayres as The Fortunate Fool in 1670. The author was already known in England because La hija de la Celestina (1612) had been adapted through Scarron’s version by John Davies as The Hypocrites (1657). The witty Elena was a good example of the tradition of picaresque heroines started by López de Úbeda in La pícaro Justina (1605): beautiful, lively, cunning, and with a strong character. Castillo Solórzano’s La garduña de Sevilla (1642) was translated from the French by John Davies in 1665 as La Pícaro, or The Triumphs of Female Subtilty, and had an abridged version by Edward Walton under the title The Life of Donna Rosinna (1700?). This tradition of pícaras heralds the creation of autonomous, ambitious, non-virtuous female protagonists by later English novelists such as Aphra Behn and Daniel Defoe⁸. Although not pícaras due to their social background, Behn’s Miranda is a vain, treacherous, greedy woman who finally repents in The Fair Jilt (1688), and her Silvia is an example of conceit, selfishness, and inconstancy who is left in search of "new Prey" in Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and His Sister (1684-7) (Todd ed. 1993: 439).

Spanish picaresque novels, then, were well known and appreciated in Restoration England, and they surely helped to change the attitudes of readers and writers towards prose fiction. But few native authors of that time actually wrote what can be called picaresque novels. The most famous was Richard Head’s The English Rogue Described in the Life of Meriton Latroon (1665), continued by Francis Kirkman in 1668 and 1671, and published several times in both full-length and abridged editions. Like the Spanish models, it was an autobiography of a rogue, from his boyhood to adulthood in prison and his departure for the East Indies, where he had further adventures. Head borrowed from various Spanish picaresque novels⁹, and Kirkman’s prologue mentioned Guzmán and Buscón (1928 ed.: 269), but it also owed much to the native tradition of jest-books, criminal lives, and coney-catching pamphlets.
The first part of *The English Rogue* offered the relatively unified story of Meriton Latroon, full of vivid incidents and situations taken from other similar works. Meriton always moved on, playing tricks on everyone, outwitting society. His joyous recounting of past crimes seems to conflict with the occasional moral comments included. Kirkman complicated the plot with inset stories, so that it became somewhat chaotic and contrasts with Head's much more linear narrative sequence. Neither of the two authors managed to reach the level of the Spanish models, particularly in satire, characterisation, observation of manners, dialogues, and scenery. Nevertheless, this book had many imitations: *The French Rogue* (1672, and 1694), *The Dutch Rogue* (1683), *The Yorkshire Rogue* (1684), and *The Irish Rogue* (1690).

Picareseque elements can be found in other Restoration narratives. George Fidge's *The English Gusman; or the History of the Unparallel'd Thief James Hind* (1652), Thomas Dangerfield's *Don Tomazo* (1680) and Elkanannah Settle's *The Complete Memoirs of the Life of that Notorious Impostor Will Morrell* (1694) have some similarities with rogue fiction, but bear more relation to native forms of criminal biography. John Dauncey's *The English Lovers* (1662) integrates romance and picaresque. Charles Croke's *Fortune's Uncertainty, or Youth's Unconstancy* (1667) and Francis Kirkman's *The Unlucky Citizen* (1673) combines rogue narrative with autobiography.

Strictly speaking, it can be said that there are no real *picaros* in the English prose fiction of the seventeenth century. The rogues and *gusmans* are never presented as sympathetic characters of humble origins that trick their masters out of sheer necessity and wander from place to place in stoic resignation, but as antisocial characters who enjoy outwitting people or whose greed leads them to crime. That is why it is so close to the native tradition of jest-books and criminal biographies. Dangerfield explains it in *Don Tomazo*:

"See here the difference between a Spanish and an English gusman; the one pursuing a poor, hungry plot upon his penurious master's bread and cheese, the other designing to grasp the riches of the fourth part of the world by the ruin of a national commerce" (Salzman ed. 1991: 390).

Social conditions are certainly to be taken into account to explain this. In England, the Poor Law developed from Elizabethan times provided..."
relief for the needy and work for the able-bodied. Therefore, as Trevelyan (1967: 245) stated, "The worst horrors of failure, of unemployment, and of unprovided old age were not suffered by the poor in England to the same extent as in the continental countries of the ancien régime". There were no regiments of beggars nor of hungry youngsters who needed to outwit their masters to be able to eat something, i.e. there were no picaros in seventeenth-century English society. That is the reason why contemporary rogue fiction was different from the Spanish picaresque.

Another important narrative genre with Spanish origin that became popular and influential during the English Restoration period was the novela modelled by Cervantes in 1613. In England, the Novelas ejemplares were known thanks to James Mabbe's excellent translation of six of them in Exemplary Novels (1640), and Walter Pope's choice in Select Novels (1694). Knowles (1969: 283 & 287) has remarked that both translators chose five "Italianate" tales: "Las dos doncellas", "La señora Cornelia", "El amante liberal", "La fuerza de la sangre", and "La española inglesa", instead of "El coloquio de los perros" or "Rinconete y Cortadillo". They probably thought that those stories were closer to their readers' idea of the novela. But considering the popularity of picaresque fiction, I think the other two would have also been successful in England. Knowles has also pointed out that Cervantes's novels were known before Mabbe's translation, most likely thanks to the 1615 French version, as some Jacobean dramatists borrowed plots for their plays (see p. 283).

Moreover, The Jealous Gentleman of Estremadure appeared separately in 1681, and Sir Roger L'Estrange included five in The Spanish Decameron: or Ten Novels (1687), the other five being works of Castillo Solórzano (three novels and two chapters from La garduña). According to Salzman (1985: 311 and 368), the book published as Quevedo's Novels (1671) was, in fact, a version of Salas Barbadillo's Don Diego de Noche (1623). The Famous History of Auristella (1683) by Céspedes y Meneses was taken from Poema trágico del español Gerardo. And, finally, The Perplex'd Princess (1683) was ascribed to María de Zayas, but this title does not resemble that of any of her novels. Some of her works were known in England through Scarron's adaptations translated by John Davies in 1665.

Direct imitations of the Spanish novelas in English were, for instance, the anonymous collection of three stories of love and intrigue entitled...
Triana; or, a Threefold Romanza of Mariana, Paduana, and Sabina (1654, reprinted ten years later), Cox's Lisarda, or the Travels of Love and Jealousy (1690) and also Philip Ayres's The Revengeful Mistress (1696). The influence of the Spanish novelas can be noticed in the Restoration novels in general, particularly those by Aphra Behn, William Congreve, and those included in The Gentleman's Journal edited by Peter Motteux. Either directly or through their imprint on French fiction, that influence is noticeable in their penchant for brevity, realism, lively plots, and familiar settings. Todd (1995: xiii) has remarked that Behn's "The Unhappy Mistake" is in some aspects reminiscent of Zayas's "El traidor contra su sangre". Although it is not sure that Behn may have read Zayas's works, her novels have some points in common in spite of their differences. The beginnings of many of their stories are similar, e.g.:

"En Nápoles, insigne y famosa ciudad de Italia por su riqueza, hermosura y agradable sitio, nobles ciudadanos y gallardos edificios, coronados de jardines y adornados de cristalinas fuentes, hermosas damas y gallardos caballeros, nació Laura, peregrino y nuevo milagro de naturaleza, tanto, que entre las más gallardas y hermosas fue tenida por celestial extremo; (...)" ("La fuerza del amor", in Novelas ejemplares y amorosas (Rincón ed. 1968: 63).

"The River Logre has on its delightful Banks abundance of handsome, beautiful and rich Towns and Villages, to which the noble Stream adds no small Graces and Advantages, blessing their Fields and Plenty, and their Eyes with a thousand Diversions. In one of these happily situated Towns, called Orleance, where abundance of People of the best Quality and Condition reside, there was a rich Nobleman, (...) he had one only Son, call'd Rinaldo, now grown to the Age of Fifteen; who having all the excellent Qualities and Grace of Youth, by Nature, he would bring him up in all Vertues and Noble Sciences, (...)" (The Lucky Mistake, in Todd ed. 1995: 167).

There are other similitudes between Zayas and Behn. One is their attempt to create an impression of verisimilitude by mentioning historical events and personages, setting the stories in contemporary, familiar locations, and insisting on their authenticity. Here are some examples:

"(...) Este caso me refirió quien le vio por sus ojos, y que no ha muchos años que sucedió me afirmó por muy cierto. Y más os diré, que no se ha disimulado en él más que la patria y nombres, porque aún viven algunas de

"Todo este caso es tan verdadero como la misma verdad, que ya digo me le contó quién se halló presente". ("La inocencia castigada", Yllera ed. 1983: 288).

"I do not pretend here to entertain you with a feign'd Story, or any thing piec'd together with Romantick Accidents; but every Circumstance, to a Tittle, is Truth. To a great part of the Main, I my self was an Eye-witness; and what I did not see, I was confirm'd of by Actors in the Intrigue, holy Men, of the Order of St Francis: But for the sake of some of her Relations, I shall give my fair Jilt a feign'd Name, that of Miranda; but my Hero must retain his own, it being too illustrious to be conceal'd" (The Fair Jilt, in Todd ed. 1995: 9).

"I cannot omit giving the world an account, of the uncommon villainy of a Gentleman of a good Family in England practic'd upon his Sister, which was attested to me by one who liv'd in the Family, and from whom I had the whole truth of the Story". ("The Unfortunate Happy Lady", in Todd ed. 1995: 365).

Moreover, both writers deal mainly with love, conceived as a powerful passion which can have dangerous consequences; focus on the feelings of their characters; and often present active, resourceful women, and many characters that determine to escape from worldly life and enter a religious order.

Another narrative genre initiated by Cervantes was anti-romance. This time the model was El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha (1605-15). Its influence on the English realistic novelists of the eighteenth century, like Defoe, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne, has generally been acknowledged, but its presence in the previous century has been by and large ignored.

Don Quijote has had several interpretations through history, but it seems that for the seventeenth-century readers the book was comic, a parody of chivalric romances. And to a great extent at least, this was actually Cervantes’s intention, as he expressed openly at the very end of the Second Part: "(...) pues no ha sido otro mi deseo que poner en aborrecimiento de
But other approaches soon turned up. Already in the eighteenth century, English authors like Peter Motteux and Samuel Johnson, stated that everybody had thoughts and visions somehow similar to those of Don Quixote. Alexander Pope and Sarah Fielding asserted that the Spanish hidalgo could be mad, but at the same time was a moral and judicious person\(^\text{13}\). But the first literary influence was to produce other narratives that criticised the excesses of romance.

Thomas Shelton translated Cervantes’s masterpiece between 1612 and 1620 under the title of *The History of the Valerous and Wittie Knight-Errant Don Quixote of the Mancha*, a version which reached its fourth edition in 1675. John Philips’s translation, entitled *The History of the Most Renowned Don Quixote of La Mancha and His Trusty Squire Sancho Panza*, appeared in 1687; Motteaux's and Stevens's versions were published in 1700, and five abridgments were brought out between 1686 and 1699. This bears witness of the popularity of this work in the Restoration.

A few English imitations of *Don Quixote* were produced in the seventeenth century. The first part inspired the general idea of Robert Anton’s *Moriomachia* (1613), which satirised chivalric tradition, particularly Henry Robarts’s *Pheander the Mayden Knight* (1595), which gave name to the protagonist\(^\text{14}\). But perhaps being a simple parody with little characterisation was the reason why this book was not reprinted. Samuel Holland's *Don Zara Del Fago* (1656) was a more highly developed and substantial anti-romance in general. Holland mocks chivalric books, pastoral romances, Classical epic, travellers' tales, and literary and historical scholarship\(^\text{15}\). It appeared in the same year as *Wit and Fancy in a Maze*, and in 1660 as *Romancio Mastrix*.

The anonymous Don Samuel Crispe (1660) and *The Knight-Adventurer, or, The Infamous and Abominable History of that Terrible Troublesome and Vain-glorious Knight Sir Firedrake* (1663) continued the line of social satire and burlesque chivalric romance found in *Moriomachia*\(^\text{16}\). But Don Juan Lamberto; or, *A Comical History of the Late Times* (1661), was an amusing, satirical account of the intrigues of some Commonwealth leaders in the time of Cromwell. Written in the archaic language of the romances, this work aimed its satire at recent political events, and also parodied contemporary secret histories. It was published under the pseudonym of "Montelion", and has been attributed to Thomas Flatman and
John Phillips. Williams (1978: 85) records a burlesque of Cervantes's masterpiece, precisely by John Phillips, entitled The Life and Achievement of ... Don Quixote (1686), where the Spanish novel is adapted to an English scene and a lower social and literary level.

Apart from these prose imitations, the influence of Don Quijote was also noticeable in English drama. The story of "El curioso impertinente" is the basis of the subplot of Behn's The Amorous Prince; or, The Curious Husband (1671) and Thomas Southerne's The Disappointment (1684), and of the plot of John Crowne's The Married Beau; or The Curious Impertinent (1694). Thomas D'Urfey's trilogy The Comical History of Don Quijote (1694-6) is a mediocre, immodest version of some episodes of Cervantes's novel.

All this bears witness to the popularity and influence of Cervantes's Don Quijote, to which we should add those of the anti-romances and romans comiques written by French writers such as Sorel, Scarron, and Furetière. They created a tendency to avoid the absurdities of old romances, and to tell stories about contemporary, familiar characters and settings. This trend, noticeable also in other narrative genres, such as the Spanish novela cortesana and the French nouvelle historique and nouvelle galante, influenced the English Restoration novel.

Many English prose fiction writers working in the last two decades of the seventeenth century, such as Aphra Behn, Alexander Oldys, Richard Blackbourn, William Congreve, and Peter Motteaux, determined to write a kind of narrative that was characterised by its penchant for brevity, verisimilitude, brisk plots, dramatic structure, intrusive narrators, and familiar settings. These practices were inspired not only from coeval French and Spanish narrative, but also from the native Restoration drama. The result was a group of novels which bear the sign of the time, prepare the ground for future prose fiction, but that have been disregarded by most students of English Literature. Some of them have interesting features and do not deserve the oblivion they have suffered.

Of these Restoration novels, Congreve's Incognita (1692) is that which has received more general acclaim by twentieth-century critics, at least until the 80s when Behn's works were reassessed. This was so mainly due to the interesting theory of narrative set out in the preface "To the Reader", where Congreve distinguished between novel and romance, defended
the former, and proposed the use of dramatic conventions to improve prose fiction. Thus he managed to write a very tightly-plotted novel, with unity of time and space, and full of surprise and intrigue. It certainly recalls many seventeenth-century Spanish novels and comedies, yet Congreve is more directly indebted to French narrative. Incognita cannot be considered an anti-romance nor a roman comique, but features substantial mockery of romantic love and is clearly influenced by Scarron. The ironic comments of the narrator are all-important for the interpretation of the novel. The Quixotic delusions of his heroes are mainly amatory but occasionally chivalric, as we may see, for instance, after Aurelian’s idealising description of Incognita:

"(...) Nay, so particular were their allotments in her service that Aurelian was very positive a young cupid, who was but just pen-feathered, employed his naked quill to pick her teeth. And a thousand other things his transport represented to him, which none but lovers, who have experienced such visions, will believe" (Salzman ed. 1991: 492).

Also when Aurelian and Hippolito speak about being in love:

"(...) There arose another sigh. A sympathy seized Aurelian immediately (for, by the way, sighing is as catching among lovers as yawning among the vulgar). Beside, hearing the name of love made him fetch such a sigh that Hippolito's were but fly-blows in comparison "(p. 495).

And, finally, when the two friends mistake a joust "only designed for show and form" for a real one, making themselves look ridiculous in front of their beloved ladies and many other honourable people (p. 503)\(^{18}\).

Three other important seventeenth-century Spanish works were known in England during the Restoration period. Francisco de Quevedo’s Sueños was first translated by Richard Croshawe in 1640 under the title of Visions, and then in 1667 by Sir Roger L’Estrange, which reached its tenth edition in 1696. La hora de todos y la fortuna con seso was englished as Fortune in her Wits, or The Hour of All Men in 1697. Sir Paul Rycaut, who studied in Alcalá, translated Baltasar Gracián’s El criticón in 1681 as The Critick. It appeared at a time when allegories were in vogue in Britain and, no doubt, this contributed to its immediate success. The allegorical journey of Critilo and Andrenio to the "Isle of Immortality" surely reminded many English readers of John Bunyan’s The Pilgrim’s Progress (1678)\(^{19}\).
To conclude, it can be said that the presence and influence of seventeenth-century Spanish prose fiction during the English Restoration period was more important in quality than in quantity. Only around fifteen different works were translated into English between 1660 and 1700, and very often from their French versions, but they were works as important as *Lazarillo de Tormes, Guzmán de Alfarache, El Buscón, Novelas ejemplares, Don Quijote, Los sueños,* and *El criticón.* Most of them had several reprints, and also imitations of some kind or other. England did not avoid the influence that the Spanish narrative of the Golden Age had in Europe. Either directly or through French literature, the imprint of the aforementioned works was left in English prose fiction of the seventeenth century, and mainly during the Restoration. Narrative genres such as the picaresque, the *novela,* and anti-romance were very popular at the time and modelled much of the English prose fiction produced from the second half of the century onwards.

It is my purpose to draw the attention of scholars to the fact that there is considerable number of narrative works written before Defoe, which have been wrongly disregarded but can help us understand the development of English prose fiction more thoroughly. The translations of Spanish novels were very influential in the production of those works, and this deserves much more critical attention.
NOTES


2. The aforementioned scholars make a few references to this presence and influence, but there are no systematic studies as far as I know. However, the influence of Spanish narrative on the English novel of the eighteenth century has been extensively analysed.

3. Many studies on the picaresque in general, such as Chandler 1907, Parker 1967, Whitbourn ed. 1974, Bjornson 1977, Sieber 1977, and Dunn 1979; and papers such as Kearful 1970 and Blanco 1983 mainly deal with the influence on eighteenth-century novelists.

4. It was first translated into English as The Marvelous Dedes and Lyf of Lazarro de Tormes (1568), although this version was lost, and then by David Rowland in 1576 with the title Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes.

5. On these, see Bjornson (1977: 146).


8. For other English versions of La garduña, see Tucker (1952). On the possible influence of Spanish picaresque heroines in English narrative, Cunningham 1971 and Welles 1986 see these pícaras as predecessors of Moll Flanders, but Soons 1978 thinks that they belonged to different moral worlds.


10. Notice Fidge's use of the word gusman to refer to a rogue, common at the time due to the popularity of Alemán's novel. In his preface "To the Reader", Dangerfield mentions Guzmán and Lazarillo as famous rogues whose "cheats and cunning contrivances" were translated "as well to instruct as to delight" (Salzman ed. 1991: 351). Some of Will Morrell's exploits resemble those of Buscón, but Settle's narrative is told in the third person, and shows no character development (see Peterson ed. 1961: 287-8).


14. Anton ridiculed conventional situations of the chivalric and pastoral romances, and underneath those absurd situations, there occasionally lay a touch of social satire. Anton used a witty, ironical, extra-heterodiegetic narrator which provided humour by telling absurd adventures and plays on words. The knights’ elevated language makes a funny contrast with that of the lower characters. However, neither Pheander nor Sir Archmo-riander were developed psychologically through the narrative, they were merely ridiculed and treated ironically, never human enough to win the reader’s concern. The story is included in Mish (1963: 43-78).


16. Samuel is dubbed Knight of the Order of Fond Love by an ale-house owner, tries to court a sensible lady unsuccessfully, and finally puts off knight errantry as he is laughed at by everyone. Set in the year two thousand eight hundred ninety ten (sic), Sir Firedrake’s first-person narration is a parody life of a highwayman told in the style of a chivalric romance. For more information, see Mish (1969: 272-3 & 321-2).

17. For further details, see Knowles (1969: 286).


19. On the similarity between both works, see Wilson 1959.
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