

## *Reception: texts, readers, audiences, history*

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Angelica Duran, "John Milton, Englishman: 'Of the Devil's Party' per the Spanish Inquisition"

Meaning production requires interpretive communities and is regulated in part by materials: from the books, journals, and ephemera available in libraries to the architecture, streets, and posters in cities. Both the abilities of the members of such communities and the availability of materials coordinate in various ways and in various domains, three of which overlap in ways that help us understand how cultural inheritances have been and can be negotiated. The first is within the scholarly arena. There was a time when most scholars worked with the material resources at their home institutions and proximate cultural sites, such as libraries and museums, the exception being the fortunate few who enjoyed large personal or institutional financial support. The advent of electronic archives and of electronic communities willing and able to share resources has greatly increased the number of scholars and the degree of scholars' involvement and responsibility in actively seeking, advertising, remedying, or perpetuating historical absences of attention to specific sets of texts. The boom of scholarship on recovered texts and little-known works has continued in recent decades in large part because of both electronic availability and interest by the scholarly community. Sometimes individuals and institutions do not actively advertise or remedy neglected works they may notice because of the constraints of time, human energy, skill sets (particularly language skills), and so on. Of course, there are still many others who do not do so because financial, political, and social limits continue to disable them from making such scholarly choices.

The second domain is that of book-making. Texts, as well as their availability or

unavailability, are expressions of the choices of small communities of booksellers, publishers, artisans, laborers, and authors about what materials to include and exclude. One highly-charged instance of active exclusion is captured in John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667). For Milton, obscurity was so dreadful that he constructed it as a punishment for the rebel angels. After describing the daring exploits of some of the chief good angels at the beginning of the War in Heaven, the archangel Raphael curtails his story asserting that,

those elect

Angels contented with their fame in Heav'n

Seek not praise of men: the other sort

In might though wondrous and in acts of war,

Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom

Cancelled from Heav'n and sacred memory,

Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell. (*Paradise Lost* 6.374-80)

The very calling of attention to the rebel angels obverts the epic narrator's purported purpose of consigning the rebel angels to oblivion. Instead, it succeeds in highlighting the narrator's agency in maintaining his own and his readers' focus on the good.

Milton's poetic process here is distinct from other processes which, rather than redirecting readers' attention to a specific good – as does Milton in describing the exploits of Abdiel, Michael, Raphael, and other good angels – simply inform about a prescribed bad. We find those processes redolent in political institutions, such as in the Spanish Catholic Inquisition. It produced its own series of lists of the individuals and texts that “scandalized” and threatened “our Catholic faith,” the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.<sup>1</sup> There is no corresponding *Index Librorum Commendatorum*.

Scholarly, literary, and political communities all converge in ways that produce different meanings; some anticipated, others unanticipated; some present for some groups of readers, others absent for other groups. For example, Milton succeeded in not making *Paradise Lost* a resource about “the other sort,” but his active disregard of the rebel angels, ironically enough, has prompted Miltonists to research the devils named in the epic and even those he might have known about. What of the success of the Spanish Catholic Inquisition’s attempt to shape reception with its indexes? In his study of the slow growth in early modern England of *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* – to put the study’s title to use – Stephen Dobranski reaffirms a general belief about censored books: “Ironically, the books that caused their authors the most pain often earned their booksellers the most profits: once the government ordered a book to be burnt publicly, the demand for it increased. As Crispinella remarks in John Marston’s *The Dutch Cortezan* (1605), ‘those books that are cald in, are most in sale and request’ (D3v)” (25). Such is not the case with the indexes. Plenty of names on it have indeed ended up in “dark oblivion.” Significantly, there are also a few names that are well-known and well-studied outside of Spain’s boundaries but obscure or ignored in Spain and most of the Spanish-speaking world, the most germane example being John Milton.

A case study of the differences in Anglophone and Hispanophone reception of Milton informs our understanding about both branches. As would be expected for an Anglophone author, Anglophone primary and secondary literature and culture is by far the most persistent, numerous, and influential in Milton studies. But what to make of Hispanophone literature and culture being the least among the major European language-bases? French, German, and Italian scholarship have contributed strongly to Milton studies, and Milton’s presence is felt in those cultures. Correlatively, the Hispanophone world has actively embraced Milton’s near-

contemporary and fellow-Englishman William Shakespeare. Yet, Hispanophone translations of Milton's works do not convey and have not provoked passion for the works or the author.<sup>2</sup>

There is no Spanish *Paradise Lost* akin to George Chapman's English *Homer*, for example. Additionally, few copies of *Paradise Lost* are to be found in Hispanophone bookstores, public libraries, and shelves in this first decade of the twenty-first century.<sup>3</sup>

This essay argues that at least one potent cause for this absence is the Spanish Catholic Inquisition's indexes. The institution succeeded in severely minimizing Hispanophone reception of Milton by curtailing its popularity when the general public still read epics, translated and otherwise. Additionally, it succeeded in constructing the narrow and plainly unattractive representation of Milton that pervades Hispanophone reception of Milton, different in both degree and kind from Anglophone reception. For the last three hundred years or so, Milton has generally been known by Anglophone readers as primarily the great English epic writer, with his political republicanism taken up by the Romantics as an attractive additive to his literary role, appealingly "of the Devils party" according to William Blake (6). In contrast, in the infrequent Hispanophone references that exist, Milton is represented primarily as a British government agent responsible for heretical political prose, and therefore assuredly of the Devil's party, but not interestingly so.

#### Raising Milton's Cultural Capital in England

Milton's works had as much reason to remain as obscure in his homeland of England as in Spain. In June 1660, shortly after the Restoration of the British monarchy, the British House of Commons ordered Milton's "*Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* [...] to be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman" (French 322). Yet, not all of his many works were suppressed, and within a decade, in 1667, *Paradise Lost* was licensed and published (Corns and Campbell

335). Roy Flannagan notes its sales as “tepid, initially” (44).<sup>4</sup> It gained widespread prestige only after Milton’s death in 1674, when in 1688, Jacob Tonson published it in an ornate folio edition. Tonson published the work in the early stages of what would later be an illustrious career as a British publisher. He considered *Paradise Lost* to be such a major element in his professional success that when he commissioned a portrait of himself much later in life, by Godfrey Kneller (c1720), he elected to pose holding his edition of the work.

Tonson’s edition is persistent in characterizing Milton as a poet. The front-matter contains two paratexts, the author portrait and title-page, both of which draw readers’ attention to Milton’s role as a poet as soon as they open the book (see Figure 2).

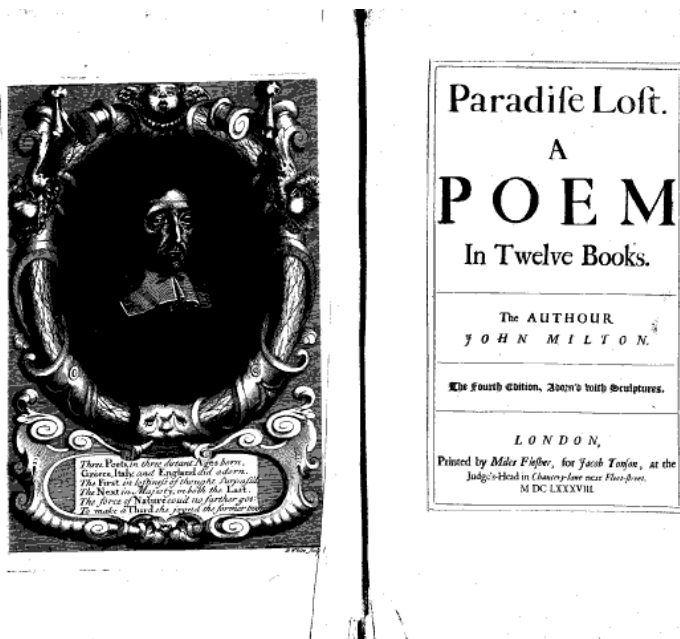


Figure 1. Facing author portrait and title-page of the 1688 Tonson edition of *Paradise Lost*.

Photo courtesy of The Newberry Library.

The content of John Dryden’s commendatory poem below the author portrait complements the title-page’s ascription of Milton as “The AUTHOUR” of “A POEM,” even the best poet of the Western world. The emphasis on Milton as an author and the work as a poem is consistent with

the Tonson edition's predecessors, the six printings of the homelier first edition. While scholars have puzzled over the intent of the slightly-varying title-pages of the six printings, including attempting to increase tepid sales, what is certain is that the word "POEM" is emphasized in all and Milton "The Author" in most.

In the early eighteenth century, Joseph Addison published eighteen essays in the popular gentleman's magazine *The Spectator* (est. 1711) on Milton's contributions to and, as Addison would have it, precedence in world literature. Addison focuses on Milton's poetry to the exclusion of his political career. He concedes some possible areas of faulty artistry only to deftly steer readers towards appreciating the power of Milton's epic. Addison's arguments celebrating Milton's poetic skills adroitly double as promotion of the English language and by extension England, as when he writes,

*Milton*, by the abovementioned Helps, and by the Choice of the noblest Words and Phrases which our Tongue would afford him, has carried our Language to a greater Height than any of the *English* Poets have ever done before or after him, and made the Sublimity of his Stile equal to that of his Sentiments. (Addison 360)

Elsewhere, he makes it clear that Milton's selection of the subject of humankind rather than a nation expands the poem's sentiments beyond those of any other epics, those of Greece, Rome, and Italy in particular.

In the late eighteenth century, Samuel Johnson confirmed the Anglophone reception of Milton as England's great non-dramatic poet. As the title indicates, Johnson's *The Lives of the English Poets: and a Criticism of Their Works* (1779/80), dedicates attention to both the "Lives" and "Works" of select authors. So, certainly, he calls attention to Milton's political life. As Flannagan asserts, the Tory "Johnson seems to take Milton the regicide personally. As if Milton

were still threatening to the existence of the British monarchy” (48). Johnson’s distaste for Milton’s politics yet praise for his *Paradise Lost* and other poetry serves to win over even recalcitrant audiences: if the learned Dr. Johnson could detest the man yet praise the poetry with such comments as “Before the greatness displayed in Milton’s poem, all other greatness shrinks away” perhaps other readers could embrace it too (41).

In today’s bookstores and libraries in the U.S. and U.K., Milton’s poetry regularly occupies shelf-space in the “Literature” sections, and Anglophone editions of Milton’s collected works prioritize Milton’s poetry. They generally include all the poetry and selections from his prose but not vice versa. Anglophone readers may take this for granted, but would not if they were to visit the bookstores and libraries of Hispanophone countries. There, Milton’s works appear less regularly but when they do – usually in university libraries – his prose is as likely to appear as is his poetry. Indeed, Hispanophone copies of *Areopagitica*, Milton’s prose pamphlet in favor of pre-publication freedom of the press, show much more wear and tear in the random sampling of university libraries that I researched in Barcelona, Granada, Madrid, Seville, and elsewhere in Spain.

John Milton, *Anglus*

Milton’s limited Hispanophone reception has focused on Milton’s political role. The development of the Hispanophone reception of Milton is not one in which a poetic emphasis gave rise to a political one or in which the poetic and political grew in tandem until the latter took precedence; the political emphasis developed first then remained primary. Indeed, the plots of three extant Iberian plays clustered in the late nineteenth century that feature Milton in the leading role emphasize Milton’s political life, with his poetry contributory.<sup>5</sup> In Hermenegildo Giner de los Rios’s *Milton: A Drama in One Act and In Verse* (1879), the plot involves the Duke

of York's foiled attempt to locate and imprison Milton at the very end of Milton's life, to avenge the death of his father, King Charles I of England.

While we do not have time to review Milton reception in other European countries, it is important to give some indication of the distinct nature of the Hispanophone Milton. One indicator of Milton's reception as a poet worthy of attention outside of his homeland of England is that translations of *Paradise Lost* into the major European languages came soon after the work's original publication: German in 1682, French and Italian in 1729 (Shawcross 44). The first Spanish translation of *Paradise Lost*, on the other hand, was not published until 1812. Indeed, no authorized works of Milton appeared in Spain and its American holdings until the early nineteenth century in large part because of another set of texts: the Spanish Catholic Inquisition's *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.

Milton's name first appears in the Vidal Marin index of 1707. His name resides in the Class I section of prohibited books. "Class I" consists of tampered works by Christian authors and the names of heretical authors, all of whose works are prohibited; "Class II" lists works and authors whose works require expurgation; "Class III" is comprised of anonymous works, either prohibited or requiring expurgation (Consejo 1707, 1). In the 1707 Vidal Marin index, only 2.8% of the roughly 2,950 entries in Class I and II are identified as "Anglus," or English. The paucity indicates, perhaps unsurprisingly, the relative lack of textual commerce between Spain and England.

The entries in three key indices, those of 1707, 1790, and 1844, include elements important to the shaping of the figure of Milton in the Spanish imaginary<sup>6</sup>:

1) Transcription of the entry from the 1707 Spanish *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*:

“\*IOANNES MILTHONIVS, Anglus, Hae-|retic. *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, con-|tra*



*Claudii Salmatij Defensionem Regiam.*| Londini."

2) Transcription of the entry from the 1790 Spanish *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*:

“Milthonius (Joan.), Angl. I. *cl.*”

3) Transcription of the entry from the 1844 Spanish *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*:

“\*Miltonus (Joannes). Litterae pseudo-sena-|tus anglicani, Cromwellii, reliquorumque| perduellium nomine, ac jussu conscriptae| (decr. |21 decembris 1700).| +Il paradiso perduto: poema inglese, tra-| dotto in nostra lingua da Paolo Rolli (decr.| 21 de januarii 1732)” (Consejo 1844, 230)<sup>7</sup>

The 1707 Vidal Marin entry cites the second political prose work that Milton undertook as Secretary of Foreign Tongues for the Interregnum government. It is the same text the English House of Commons ordered burned in June 1660 and that King Charles II issued an Official Proclamation against in August 1660, for “contain[ing] sundry Treasonable Passages against Us and our Government, and most Impious endeavors to justifie the horrid and unmatchable Murther of Our late Dear Father [King Charles I], of Glorious Memory” (French 329). As much as *Pro Populo* specifically defended the execution of King Charles I of England in 1649, it threatened hierarchies more generally, including the Spanish monarchy, which was closely allied with the Spanish Catholic Inquisition.

The next entries, even the sparse second one, reflect other important factors in the construction of the Hispanophone Milton. The second includes only Milton’s name in Latin, nationality, and class as basic information, reflecting what seems to be an overall attempt in the 1790 index to make the work more user-friendly for the merchants, book-sellers, censors, and other members of the Spanish book trade. We can note even from just Milton’s entry the change from alphabetizing by first name (“IOANNES”) to surname (“Milthonius”), and the adoption of

the letter *J* for *I*.

The 1844 edition returns to a more-in-depth approach. Significantly, “Hae-|retic” does not appear in either the 1790 or 1844 entries. Some might assume that the Spanish Catholic Inquisition had deemed all named authors in the indexes heretics, in which case Milton’s designation in the earlier 1707 Vidal Marin index as “Hae-|retic” might seem redundant. Not so. Since their beginnings, the Spanish Catholic indexes noted that some authors were included not because “those authors had strayed from the sense of the Holy Roman Church, [...] but rather; or because some alien words or sentences have found their way into them because of the great carelessness of printers or the great care of heretics who have falsely added them; or so that they do not circulate in the vernacular; or because they contain things that, even though the authors were pious and learned, and were said simply with the belief that they had a sound and catholic sense, the malice of the times has made them occasions for the enemies of the faith to twist them for their harmful intentions” (Consejo 1707, [xxii]).<sup>8</sup> This is the case with Gregory the Great and other Church Fathers listed in the indexes. Because of the varied reasons for individuals’ inclusion on the index, earlier editions specified the authors who were deemed heretical.

The 1707 Vidal Marin index names Milton as a heretic based on his political prose piece *Pro Populo*. The magnitude of the personal charge of heresy against “IOANNES MILTHONIVS” focalizes an individual author and an individual soul, evading Milton as an author-function and as a corporate spokesperson for the Interregnum government, even though Milton indicates in that work that he writes in his representative role: “the leaders of our state have authorized me to undertake this task” (4.305). The 1790 index moves away from bold assessments of individuals’ personal and spiritual status as heretics. In some ways, that move participates in the construction of modern forms of reception that situate authors within their historical roles and emphasizes

networks of power relations, overriding attention on individuals and individual souls.

Without the descriptor of “Haeretic,” the 1844 index might seem to more clearly reflect the corporate nature of the works; but that is not the case, for either expert or novice users of the index. The Milton entry in the 1844 index includes two works: “*Litterae pseudo-senatus*” and “*Il paradiso perduto*.” Indeed, most contemporary electronic catalogues identify *Litterae Pseudo-senatus* [*Writings of the Pretended-Senate*] (1676) as “A surreptitious publication of dispatches written by Milton in his capacity of Latin secretary to the Council of State, between the years 1649 to 1659” (Purdue). It is essentially a collection of high-level government information from the Interregnum. As Bruce Harkness and Maurice Kelley record, the wily work was incendiary enough to the British monarchy that the first three publications bear no publishing identification (273). It is a work that attracted much interest both in England and abroad, both immediately and later.<sup>9</sup>

The problems of authorial definition and ascription with this posthumously-published work are manifold. Milton never took part in publishing this work.<sup>10</sup> The title that the (unknown) agents gave the work subordinates Milton’s agency both to the Interregnum government and to their own, as they derogate Milton’s compatriots: “Letters written by John Milton in the name and by the order of the *so-called* English parliament of Cromwell and other traitors” (emphasis mine).<sup>11</sup> The presentation of the title-page corresponds with the content of the words: the precedence and larger size of the name of England’s Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell reflects his primacy as authorizing agent, as does the use of the ablative rather than genitive for Milton’s name and the use of “*conscriptae*” to describe Milton’s participation. Contemporary catalogues reflect the ascription of primary agency for the work to Cromwell or a corporate body by listing the work’s author as “Council of State, England and Wales” or “Lord Protector (1653-1658; O.

Cromwell), England and Wales” (Purdue).

Those who regularly referred to the Spanish Catholic Inquisition’s indexes – contemporary publishers, booksellers, censors, etc. – would have readily recognized that the 1844 entry, although absent of the term heretic, still points the finger not to Cromwell but to Milton and his soul. The asterisk alone indicates Milton’s heretical. While the asterisk may be neglected when read in isolation, within context, it identifies heretics even more readily than the use of the word. The indexes were also used, if only occasionally, by novices: clergy not associated with the Spanish Catholic Inquisition, merchants, book-buyers, etc. Their reception of the indexes could not be controlled and should not be ignored. Indeed, the entry itself reflects the likelihood that the general reading public attributed *Literae* to Milton, that it circulated under his name, not Cromwell’s, despite the connotative and denotative niceties described above. The entry thus reflects and perpetuates the impression that, in his role as an early modern British government official, Secretary of Foreign Tongues Milton wielded a high level of authority. Contemporary correspondence and subsequent histories indicate such is the case for the Spanish Ambassador to London (1640-55), Alonso Cardenas, whom Milton would have known. In either case, for expert and novice users of the index, the emphasis is on Milton the politician.

What of the other work listed in the 1844 index? *Il Paradiso Perduto* further demonstrates the unwieldy nature of reader reception and its proposed controls. *Il Paradiso Perduto* is not a Spanish but rather an Italian translation of *Paradise Lost*. Its inclusion on the list confirms that a large enough number of Spanish (nationality) readers were also Italian (language) readers, many of whom would have had access to prohibited works during their travels to nearby Italy, or to other European locales. The increasing ineffectiveness of the Spanish Catholic Inquisition’s indexes is also signified in the decree dates for both *Literae Pseudo-senatus* and *Il*

*Paradiso Perduto*. The parenthetical “(decr. |21 decembris 1700)” and “(decr.| 21 de januarii 1732)” refer to the dates the respective texts were deemed heretical. By 1844, the first full Hispanophone translation of *Paradise Lost* had been published, in 1812, although in Bourges, France. Still, why isn’t it included? The decree dates in this entry are 1700 and 1732, even though its preface states that it incorporates books reviewed by the Spanish Catholic Inquisition through 1805, seven years before the 1812 translation.<sup>12</sup> Indexes were notoriously delayed in updating their lists. While the popular perception characterizes the Spanish Catholic Inquisition’s indexes as intensely urgent and as tools for exacting cruel punishment on individuals, we get a different picture with these Milton entries, because what we have is a deceased author slowly transformed in part into an author-function rather than an individual soul and the absence of works that seem more logical to include; what of the absence in the 1844 index of *Pro Populo*, deemed heretical in the 1707 Vidal Marin index?

There is one more important element to note about the decree dates in the 1844 index. The audience for the indexes had changed significantly by the time of the publication of that edition. In 1812, the same year as the publication of the Spanish translation of *Paradise Lost*, Napoleon’s assigned head of Spain, Joseph I, abolished the Spanish Catholic Inquisition and the institution never regained power. Most people mark its conclusion in 1834. The Spanish Catholic Church, however, remained. It continued to publish its *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, but now it was no longer for a complex system of national censorship governed by a religious institution but rather for a reading public that was interested in willingly avoiding works that might scandalize, much in the same way that adult patrons and theater-owners in the U.S. today use the movie rating system to voluntarily censor their film viewing.

Comparing all three Spanish indexes against Milton’s original Anglophone works and

against Anglophone reception also illuminates a glaring absence in those indexes: Milton is not labeled a “poeta,” a designation that does appear in a number of other entries, native and foreign. Designators play an important role in the works Milton published. In his first collection of published poems, “*POEMS / OF / Mr. John Milton*” (1645), Milton draws attention to his social status; in his government prose piece *Pro Populo*, he designates his nationality, “Angl[us]”; and by the 1668-1674 publications of *Paradise Lost*, he is “The Author.” The first time one of Milton’s poetic works is referred to on the Spanish Catholic Inquisition’s indexes is, as noted, in 1844; and that poetic work is an Italian translation of Milton’s epic. Without the proscribed text at hand, readers would be unable to determine readily if the Italophone verse translation transferred the original English’s verse or converted the original’s prose to verse, as both forms of translation were practiced. Additionally, regular users of the Spanish Catholic Inquisition’s indexes would have reserved judgment on wherein lies the heresy: on the original poem and therefore author, or on an insidious Italophone translator, or on the paratexts of the Italophone translation.

“Transactions betwixt the English and Spaniards” in the Twenty-first Century<sup>13</sup>

Herein, I have only traced the predominant contemporary Anglo and Hispanic figurations of Milton back to the late seventeenth-century: as a poet in the Anglophone world, and as a political prose writer in the Hispanophone one. I have also given some account of the driving forces: in England, a desire to promote a native son, its best and brightest, to build its international reputation in the *belles lettres*; in Spain, a commitment to curtail external, heretical threats to its intensely imbricated religious and political national institutions. What driving forces can we harness in terms of the Anglo and Hispanic Miltons today?

The current Anglo Milton attracts all the trappings associated with the canonical. I was of

the generation of the mid-twentieth century schooled primarily by the Odyssey Press's *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose*, edited by Merritt Hughes. The predominant availability of this standard secondary and post-secondary resource provided some coherence among scholarly Anglophone readers of Milton, or put another way, regulated Anglophone readers' reception of his work. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there are many reliable and readily-accessible Anglophone editions of Milton's poetry. These are indebted to the Hughes edition, and are genealogically founded on the Tonson edition, as their covers reflect: *The Riverside Milton* uses Andrea Mantegna's fifteenth-century *Samson and Delilah*; the Penguin edition, Peter Paul Rubens seventeenth-century *Adam and Eve*; and the Longman, Modern Library, Oxford, and other editions, similar covers and paratexts that advertise their contents as scholarly.

In the Hispanophone world at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the 1812 Escoiquiz verse translation and the 1873 Rosell prose translation of *Paradise Lost* are the most available. Hispanophone Milton studies are minimal, however, and there is no standard edition or set of editions. Therefore, Hispanophone publishers have been forced to be creative to attract everyday purchasers. Two covers of recent Hispanophone editions of *Paradise Lost* remind us that the epic is, after all, a witty work (see Figure 4).

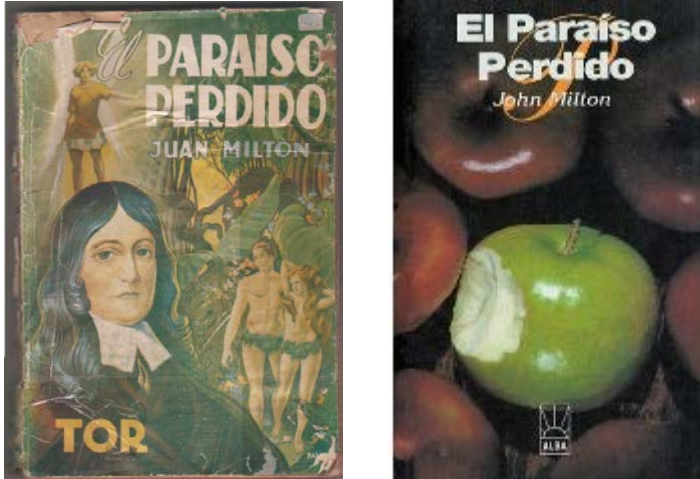


Figure 2. Covers of the Tor (1957) and Alba (1999) Hispanophone editions of *Paradise Lost*.

From the author's private library.

While innovative, these paratexts can also be genealogically traced back to their fascinating Hispanophone predecessors. The first illustrated edition of *Paradise Lost* of 1883 uses the 1812 Escoiquiz verse translation, but the then-recent illustrations by the French artist Gustave Doré, commissioned for an 1866 Anglophone edition, then proliferated in many other English and non-English editions; “new skins for old wine,” so to speak (Luke 5:37, 38). Anglophone editions that use the Doré maintain the original formatting of an entire page of illustration with a short excerpt below, facing an entire page of verbal text. The 1866 Anglophone edition separates verbal and visual texts by assigning consecutive page numbers to verbal texts, and either no or separate plate numbers to visual texts.<sup>14</sup> The separation of verbal and visual art is almost invisible until we look at the 1883 Hispanophone edition, where Doré's illustrations are cut into circles, columns, and polygrams, and inserted among verbal text (see Figure 5).



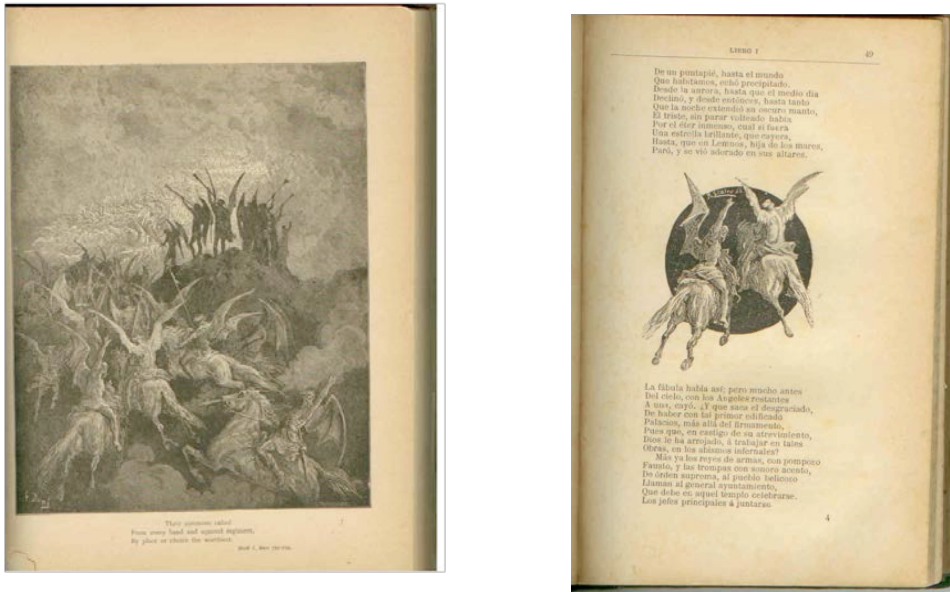


Figure 3. The same illustrations by Gustave Doré of *Paradise Lost* as used in the late nineteenth-century Anglophone edition (1880) and late nineteenth-century Hispanophone edition (1883). Courtesy of the Purdue University Libraries.

Rather than full-page illustrations, the Hispanophone edition expresses a greater play with verbal and visual texts, reminiscent of Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass* (1871) and anticipatory of the two contemporary covers above. Anglophone scholars and publishers might consider similar types of paratexts to reflect the play inherent in Milton's verbal text and to foster an Anglophone reception that readily appreciates the delight of the text.

The Hispanophone Milton, on the other hand, could benefit from adopting and adapting some of the scholarly paratexts of the Anglophone Milton. Modern footnotes would be highly desirable: the most widespread contemporary Hispanophone editions continue to use not only the 1812 Escoiquiz and 1873 Rosell translations but also their footnotes. A first step could certainly be straight translation of the footnotes of recent Anglophone editions. That alone would require judicious selection among the many fine choices.<sup>15</sup> More desirable would be a bilingual edition that uses both the selected English footnotes and newly-created Spanish ones in both languages

on both sides. These newly-created Spanish footnotes would most likely attend to the Spanish references and the brief but important Hispanophone criticism that are currently lacking in Anglophone editions.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Anglophone materials necessary to produce such fulsome meaning sets are obtainable, especially because of electronic communication, but those materials are not readily at hand in most Hispanophone countries, and vice versa. So, it will require that the first element of meaning production that I started with, interpretive communities, muster the dedication, creativity, and financial support needed to carry out the work. There is so much more to say about and do with the national receptions of the bogeyman, heretic, poet, politician, Puritan, and always Englishman Milton in terms of his Anglo and Hispanic receptions. I will be happy for now if I have succeeded in demonstrating in brief how major state interests contributed to shaping the reception of one author, and if I have provoked considerations about how individual and scholarly interests can contribute to the shaping of the concepts of authors and authorship. The best outcome of the reception of this essay will be the future scholarly activity needed to combine the best elements of the Anglo and Hispanic Miltons to augment the reach and delight of future readers.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the importance of the word “scandal” in the social contexts of religious censorship, see Andrew Keitt. I use the term Spanish Catholic Inquisition because this institution and its series of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* is distinct from, if related to, the Roman Catholic Inquisition and its series. Given the dire consequences it perceived from heretical works, the Spanish Catholic Inquisition, on the front lines of Christendom, came to rely on its own resources. As such, it resisted fighting someone else’s (Rome’s) battles. Historian Henry Lea notes one prominent example of the independence of the Spanish Catholic Inquisition at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Roman Catholic Inquisition solicited the Spanish Catholic Inquisition to include Galileo Galilei in its indexes. But it declined. Apparently, Galileo was not a figure that was important enough to the Spanish Catholic Inquisition (Lea 3.536). I discovered the opposite dynamic with Milton: the 1664 and 1726 Roman Catholic indexes do not list Milton; but the 1707 Spanish Catholic index and subsequent ones do.

<sup>2</sup> There are a number of other translations of varying quality, but all with limited sales. In addition to the 1812 Escoiquiz verse translation and 1873 Rosell prose translation of *Paradise Lost*, discussed in this essay, are those by Benito Ramon de Hermida (1814), Santiago Angel Sauro Mascaró (1849), Francisco Granados Maldonado (1858), Anibal Galindo (1868), Dionisio Sanjuán (1868), Demetrio San Martin (1873), Enrique Alvarez Bonilla (1897), M.J. Barroso-Bonzón (1910), Juan Mateos (1914), Antonio Fuster (1953), Pilar Vera (1961), Antonio Espina (1965), Esteban Pujals (1986), Manuel Álvarez de Toledo (1988), Abilio Echeverría (1993), Enrique Lopez Castellon (2005), and Bel Atreides (2005); as well as a children’s version by Manuel Vallvé (1913) and an adaptation by Ramón Conde Obregón (1972).

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<sup>3</sup> The data is based on anecdotes by colleagues in Hispanophone countries and my limited sampling of Buenos Aires, Argentina; Mexico City, Mexico; Montevideo, Uruguay; over ten cities in Spain, and over one hundred cities in the U.S.; and intensive electronic research.

<sup>4</sup> Many studies provide interpretations about the initial sales of *Paradise Lost*; Kerry MacLennan's "John Milton's Contract for *Paradise Lost*: A Commercial Reading" (*Milton Quarterly* 44.4 [2010]: forthcoming) is especially helpful in its clear exposition of the data we possess regarding this topic.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the plays, see Angelica Duran.

<sup>6</sup> An intervening edition that has garnered scholarly attention is the 1747 Prado and Cuesta index, but it is not discussed in this brief study due to my limited access to that work.

<sup>7</sup> English translation:

1) John Milton, English, Heretic. *Defense of the English People, in Response to Claude Salmasius's Defense of the King*. London.

2) Milton (Jo[hn]), Engl[ish]. Class I.

3) Milton (John). Letters Written by John Milton in the Name and by the Order of the So-called English Parliament of Cromwell and other Traitors (decr[ee date] 21 December 1700). *Paradise Lost: An English Poem, Translated into our Language [Italian] by Paolo Rolli* (decr[ee date] 21 January 1732).

<sup>8</sup> Original Spanish: "no es porque los tales Auctores se ayan desviado del sentir de la Santa Iglesia Romana, [...] sino porque, ó son libros que falsamente se los han atribuido, no siendo suyos, ó por hallarse en los que lo son algunas palabras, y sentencias ajenas, que con el mucho descuydo de los Impressores, ó con el desmasiado cuydado de los Hereges se las han falsamente impuesto, ó por no convenir que anden en lengua vulgar, ó por contener cosas, que aunque los

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*Autores píos, y doctos las dixerón sensillamente, creyendo, que tenían sano, y católico sentido, la malicia de los tiempos las haze ocasionadas para que los enemigos de la Fé las puedan torcer al proposito de su dañada intencion.”*

<sup>9</sup> It was subsequently published in English in 1682 and re-titled to call approving attention to Milton: *Miltons Republican Letters or A Collections a Such as Were Written by Command of the Late Commonwealth of England; from the year 1648. To the Year 1659. Originally writ by the Learned John Milton, Secretary to Those Times, and Now Translated into English by a Wel-wisher of Englands Honour.*

<sup>10</sup> Milton did participate in the posthumously published work *Brief History of Moscovia*.

<sup>11</sup> The Corns and Campbell translation is used (382).

<sup>12</sup> The 1844 index advertises that it incorporates books reviewed by the Roman Catholic Inquisition through 1842. It is unlikely that the Spanish translation would have had widespread use outside of Spain.

<sup>13</sup> The phrase is taken from *A Manifesto of the Lord Protector [...] against the Depredations of the Spanish* (7), a work ascribed to Milton even though its authorship is uncertain.

<sup>14</sup> Separation of verbal and visual text is consistent with the Anglophone *Paradise Lost*, from the first time it was illustrated in the 1688 Tonson edition, down to the 2005 Oxford World's Classics edition, with an introduction by best-selling author Philip Pullman, designed for the general public, which uses the Tonson illustrations.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of the stakes involved in the footnotes, prefaces, and other scholarly apparatus of contemporary Anglophone editions of Milton's works, see John Leonard.

<sup>16</sup> I gratefully acknowledge the Newberry Library Audrey Lumsden-Kouvel Fellowship (2008) and the Purdue University Libraries' Scholars Grant (2005) that enabled me to complete the

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