

The Popularity of Montemayor's *Diana*, from Spain to England: Bartholomew Yong's Literary and Political Leverage

Nora Rodríguez Loro (norarloro@usal.es)

Universidad de Salamanca

Abstract

Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* (c. 1559) provides an excellent example of the cultural interplay between tradition and originality in the Renaissance. Its immediate widespread popularity and subsequent influence are demonstrated by the vast number of editions and translations of Montemayor's masterpiece, as well as the sequels by Alonso Pérez and Gaspar Gil Polo. By 1600, forty-three reprints had been published, in addition to eight editions in French and the English translation by Bartholomew Yong. Although written in the early 1580s, when Sir Philip Sidney penned the *Arcadia*, Yong's version remained unpublished until 1598. The lavish folio, which also included the two sequels, was dedicated to Lady Penelope Rich, a most influential noblewoman and eminent patroness, also known for being the model of Sidney's "Stella." That very same year a new folio edition of the *Arcadia* was published together with *Astrophil and Stella*. Yong's dedication to Lady Rich aimed at enhancing his translation by capitalising on the popular acclaim of Sidney's works, as well as Lady Rich's connection with the venerated poet. In addition, by choosing this dedicatee, Yong attempted to capture the attention of her brother, Robert Devereux, Queen Elizabeth's favourite.

Keywords: Bartholomew Yong, Jorge de Montemayor, Penelope Rich, Sir Philip Sidney, translation, literary patronage.

La popularidad de la *Diana* de Montemayor, de España a Inglaterra: la influencia literaria y política de Bartholomew Yong

Resumen

La *Diana* (c. 1559) de Jorge de Montemayor constituye un ejemplo excelente de interrelación cultural entre tradición y originalidad en el Renacimiento. Su inmediata e inmensa popularidad y su posterior influencia quedan ampliamente demostradas por el vasto número de ediciones y traducciones de la obra cumbre de Montemayor, así como por las continuaciones a cargo de Alonso Pérez y Gaspar Gil Polo. Antes de 1600, se habían publicado cuarenta y tres re-impresiones, junto con ocho ediciones en francés y la traducción al inglés a cargo de Bartholomew Yong. A pesar de haber sido escrito a comienzos de la década del 1580, cuando Sir Philip Sidney compuso su *Arcadia*, el texto de Yong no fue publicado hasta 1598. El suntuoso folio, que también incluía la traducción de las secuelas, estaba dedicado a Lady Penelope Rich, una influyente mujer de la nobleza y conocida mecenas, quien también era conocida por haber servido de modelo de la “Stella” de Sidney. Ese mismo año una nueva edición en folio de la *Arcadia* se publicó junto con *Astrophil and Stella*. La dedicatoria de Yong a Lady Rich perseguía realzar su traducción capitalizando la popularidad de las obras de Sidney, así como la conexión de Lady Rich con el venerado poeta. Además, al escoger a dicha dedicataria, Yong pretendía captar la atención de su hermano, Robert Devereux, favorito de la reina Isabel I.

Palabras clave: Bartholomew Yong, Jorge de Montemayor, Penelope Rich, Sir Philip Sidney, traducción, mecenazgo literario.

Renaissance culture lies in an interplay of tradition and originality: the veneration of classical antiquity is paired with an eagerness to innovate. The Renaissance or “rebirth” implies, as James Turner has

put it, “a self-conscious movement of cultural renewal.” The authors of this period attempted to match the literary exploits of their admired predecessors in the vernacular, as a means to bring glory to the new forming nations in Europe. The historical and political setting of the epoch, marked by military conflicts and marital alliances between the royal houses, favoured a context of cultural connections and interchange between the different states. Writers were decidedly attentive to the accomplishments of their fellows, which they were diligent to reproduce if not to surpass.

Pastoral literature provided a fruitful field for the emulation of both classic and contemporary models. Following Joseph Loewenstein (1984), Michelle O’Callaghan has defined pastoral as “a responsive mode, deliberately imitative and echoic” (231). As she explains, this genre “insistently figured processes of imitation and intertextuality,” which can be viewed, for instance, in the disposition of certain poems included in the pastoral anthology *England’s Helicon* (1600): Christopher Marlowe’s “Come live with me and be my love,” a lyric which was widely spread in manuscript in the late 1580s, was followed by Sir Walter Raleigh’s response (“The Nymph’s reply to the Shepherd”) and “Another of the same nature, made since” (cf. Macdonald 192-195).

The pastoral revived when Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio composed Latin and vernacular eclogues after the mode of the Roman poet Virgil (70-19 BC), the acknowledged father of this literary trend. The development from eclogue to pastoral romance, which rapidly became one of the most prolific subgenres all over Europe, was achieved by linking the eclogues with prose and creating a narrative frame. Anticipated by Boccaccio’s *Ameto* (1342), Sannazaro’s *Arcadia* (1504) inaugurated the Renaissance vogue for pastoral romance and was followed by a swarm of imitators. In the second half of the century, the Portuguese poet and courtier Jorge de Montemayor produced the most representative and influential pastoral work, *Los siete libros de la Diana*, first published in 1559. The popularity of *Diana* spread forthwith all over Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century through a vast number of editions and translations.

Montemayor’s paramount work gained a major significance in English literature by inspiring Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*, which turned him into a venerated author. Concurrently, Bartholomew Yong, a

gentleman of the Middle Temple, translated Montemayor's *Diana* and its sequels in the early 1580s, encouraged by his close friend Edward Banister. Yong's version did not appear in print until 1598. Yong's *Diana*, published as a lavish folio, was dedicated to Lady Penelope Rich, a puissant noblewoman and celebrated patroness. In the dedicatory epistle, Yong justifies his choice on account of Lady Rich's talents in languages and the fact that she had expressed her satisfaction at his performance in a dramatic entertainment staged in the Inns of Court.

Further reasons, which were manifest to Elizabethan courtly coteries, may be involved in explaining Yong's dedication to Lady Rich. Gifted with an alluring beauty, Penelope had aroused a grand passion in Sidney during 1581, which he related and immortalised in *Astrophil and Stella*. The sonnet sequence circulated in manuscript until its publication in 1591; most significantly, the collection was reprinted in 1598 as an appendix to the *Arcadia*. As T. P. Harrison has suggested (126), Yong's dedication constituted an acknowledgement of Sidney's reverence for the *Diana*, and a tribute to his memory. Furthermore, by dedicating his translation to Rich, Yong attempted to enhance his work by capitalising on the popular acclaim enjoyed by Sidney's works and the dedicatee's connection to the poet. Finally, by trying to establish a connection with Lady Rich, Yong was undoubtedly expecting to propitiate her brother, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, who was at the time Queen Elizabeth's favourite.

In this essay, I will first examine the significance of Montemayor's *Diana* in Spanish and English literature, detailing the reasons for its phenomenal success and expanding on Sidney's literary debt to Montemayor. Secondly, I will consider the connection between Lady Penelope Rich and Sidney's production, particularly *Astrophil and Stella* and the *Arcadia*. Thirdly, I will analyse Lady Rich's prominent role as patroness, Yong's career as literary translator and the circumstances that prompted him to choose her as the dedicatee of his ambitious work.

1. Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* and the reasons for its unprecedented success

Jorge de Montemayor (Montemor-o-Velho c. 1520 – Piamonte c. 1564) was a courtier of modest origins gifted with musical and literary

talents who spent most of his life attached to the Spanish nobility. It is believed that he was a member of the retinue of the Infanta Maria of Portugal when she came to Spain in order to marry the future King Philip II in 1543. His first dated publication (*Exposición moral sobre el Psalmo LXXXVI*, Alcalá de Henares, 1548) is dedicated to the Infanta Maria of Castile and in its preface, the author describes himself as a chorister in the chapel choir of the infanta. Around November 1549 he became as “cantor contrabaxo” in the church choir of the Infanta Joana and retained the position until June 1552. He accompanied the Infanta Joana to Portugal as her usher when she married Prince John that very same year. After Prince John’s death in 1554, he probably returned to Castile with the widowed Infanta, who was appointed regent of the kingdom while Prince Philip proceeded to England to marry Queen Mary. Francisco López Estrada suggested that Montemayor was part of the entourage of the Prince, drawing on an identification between the poet and Sireno, one of the protagonists of *Diana*: those “certaine affaires,” mentioned in the Argument, “which could by no means be excused, nor left undone” and which forced the shepherd “to be out of the kingdom” would be a veiled reference to the journey to England (7). Two stanzas in the second book (70, ll. 1-12) also allude to the circumstances of Sireno’s departure. Montemayor next dwelled in Valencia under the protection of Juan Castellá de Vilanova, lord of Bicorn and Quesa, to whom he dedicated his *Diana*, whose first known edition appeared in this kingdom in 1559. He spent his last years in Italy: *Diana* was printed in Milan in 1560, with a dedication to Lady Barbara Fiesca, and he probably died in Piamonte in 1561 in a duel over a love affair.

Montemayor is best remembered for being the author of one of the first international bestsellers of the modern age. *Diana* narrates the story of the lovelorn shepherd Sireno, who returns after a period of absence to discover that his beloved Diana has married Delio. The main story is interspersed with other cases of unrequited love in related substories, all of them linked by the association of characters. In addition, the stories are thematically unified, due to the recurrence of the themes of love: suffering, inconstancy, loyalty, jealousy, deceit. The whole work explores and illustrates the philosophy of love, its causes and its effects, and it is profoundly influenced by contemporary Neoplatonic theories of love. In fact, one of the most eminent sources, Leone Ebreo’s *Dialoghi d’Amore* (1535), is largely paraphrased in book four. In addition,

the novel presents, like Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (1528), the ideal conduct of love (its manners and language) against which the actual behaviour of the characters (and readers) may be measured.

The different discussions and debates on the nature of love also examine its relation to noble birth, as pointed out by Sukanta Chaudhuri: "In *Diana*, ... there is a running debate as to whether shepherds can aspire 'gentle' love. It is generally granted to be possible, but the aristocratic lover provides the yardstick; the shepherd can at most conform" (254-255). The dominant values are courtly: shepherds are constrained to behave according to these values. The aristocratic preeminence embedded in Montemayor's pastoral can be explained in terms of his intended readership: the court and all those who were curious about the lives of aristocrats or were willing to imitate them. Most significantly, in his dedication to Lady Barbara Fiesca, the author states that the pastoral originally came to light to satisfy the request of several ladies and gentlemen. *Diana* was created for "the recreation of a fashionable society amusing themselves with amorous accounts of its contemporaries disguised as shepherds and shepherdesses" (Damiani 1).

Certainly, readers were invited to believe that its fictional characters were identifiable persons in real life. The author himself was responsible for that assumption, for in the Argument he claims that his characters "shall finde divers histories of accidents, that have truly happened, though they goe muffled under pastorall names and style" (10). Diana, who dwells "in the fieldes of the auncient and principall citie of *Leon* in Spaine, lying along the bankes of the river *Ezla*" (10), was believed to stand for a lady named Ana, from a town matching this description: Valencia de Don Juan. Montemayor certainly knew this location since he addressed dedications to the duke and duchess of this town, don Manrique de Lara and doña Luisa de Acuña (Montero 314, n. 7.2). The identification of this lady with Diana aroused such a lively interest that even King Philip III and Queen Margaret visited her in 1602 when traveling from León to Valladolid (n.7.3). This anecdote attests the enduring popularity of Montemayor's paramount work and that at the time it was generally read as a pastoral *roman à clef*.

This interpretation was encouraged by the inclusion of a poetic tribute to Spanish and Portuguese noble ladies in the "Song of Orpheus," a sequence of forty-three octaves which appear at the centre of book four

and thus of the whole romance. The shepherds finally arrive at the palace of Felicia, the white witch capable of curing them of their lovesickness. They visit the temple of Diana, whose walls are decorated with the portraits of the virtuous ladies who have been admitted. Among them are the daughters of the Emperor Charles V, the Infantas Maria and Joanna, and those of the Duke of Segorbe, viceroy of Valencia. Jean Subirats (1968) suggested that Felicia was inspired on Mary of Hungary, the regent in the Netherlands, and that this episode was drawn on the lavish festivities that she held in honour of her nephew Prince Philip at Binche in August 1549.

The references to courtly life and the detailed descriptions of these well-known ladies undoubtedly held a strong appeal for readers belonging to the nobility. For this reason, the edition printed in Milan included four new stanzas honouring ladies from this duchy, most probably written by Montemayor himself. Furthermore, due to the popularity of the “Song of Orpheus,” panegyrics became an essential element in pastoral romances. Gil Polo, for instance, introduced in his pastoral verses in praise of the dedicatee of his work, Lady Hieronyma de Castro, and her husband Bernard de Bolea, vice-chancellor of the Estates of the Crown of Aragon.

Nonetheless, as Maxime Chevalier (1974) first pointed out, the main reason for the success of Montemayor’s *Diana* resulted chiefly from the variety of narrative and poetic traditions that it combined. Among its sources not only do we find pastoral romances (such as Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*), but also Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, *Ameto*, and *Fiammetta*, and other *novellieri* (for instance, Bandello, from whom he borrows the story of Felismena); chivalric romances, such as Rodriguez de Montalvo’s *Amadis de Gaula* and Francisco Vázquez’s *Palmerin de Oliva*; and Garcilaso’s poems, both in Montemayor’s prose and poetry. In addition, the prose narrative of *Diana* is interspersed with poems, which serve to develop the poetic or emotional component of particular situations within the story. Therefore, Montemayor’s *Diana* exemplifies the interrelation of the arts proclaimed within Renaissance aesthetics (insertion of lyrics in the narrative prose, inclusion of ecphrases or verbal descriptions of pictures).

Montemayor’s *Diana* immediately became one of the most widely read and printed prose fiction works in Spain. Other than its first known

publication in Valencia around 1559, there were thirty-two editions during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Furthermore, two writers made haste to provide readers with the continuation of the story which Montemayor had announced though left undone due to his sudden death. Alonso Pérez's *Segunda parte de la Diana* was issued in 1563 and Gaspar Gil Polo's *Diana enamorada* in 1564. These sequels were also repeatedly printed until the mid-seventeenth century (nineteen and thirty editions respectively). Montemayor's work also spawned a vast array of imitators, both in Spain and abroad.

2. Montemayor's *Diana* and its continuations in England

Diana also achieved a great success outside Spain in a short period of time. Before 1600, there were eight editions printed outside the Spanish borders, which undeniably contributed to its international fame. The first complete translation was in French by Nicolas Colin. It appeared in 1578 and underwent eight editions during the second half of the sixteenth century. However, Montemayor's *Diana* had a prior influence in England. As early as 1563 Barnabe Googe, a poet who had been at the service of the ambassador Sir Thomas Chaloner in Spain, penned an abbreviated and partial translation of Montemayor's *Diana* in *Eglogs, Epitaphes and Sonnettes* (Egloga septima 'Sirenus, Silvanus, Selvalgia').

Notwithstanding, the influence and reputation of *Diana* in England did not depend exclusively on its English translations. William Drummond of Hawthornden read it in French (Newdigate 1941); Edward Banister owned the French version by Colin and Chapius by 1582. Sidney, among others, was acquainted with it in the original. It appears that *Diana* was particularly popular among Queen Elizabeth and her ladies during the 1580s (Varlow 139).

The most decisive example of the influence of *Diana* and its sequels in English literature was Sidney's *Arcadia*. The precise dates of composition are uncertain. Sidney probably began the first version, the *Old Arcadia*, when visiting his sister Mary, the Countess of Pembroke, at Wilton in the spring of 1577 and completed it during a long visit in the summer of 1580 (Ringler xxxvi). In 1584 he undertook an extensive revision of the *Old Arcadia* and he redrafted the first two books and a part of the third before his death in 1586 (Ringler 1). The *Old Arcadia* circulated in

manuscript among Sidney's entourage and it remained unpublished until Feuillerat edited the text in 1912. The revised portion of the *Arcadia* was printed in 1590 under the supervision of Fulke Greville, Sidney's friend and biographer. This version was superseded in 1593 when the Countess of Pembroke, perhaps to meet a public request for the whole text, brought out a folio consisting of the revised version together with the rest of book three and the last two books as contained in the *Old Arcadia*.

Sidney's debt to Montemayor was widely recognized at the time. In 1599 John Hoskins listed the three main sources of Sidney's pastoral: "Heliodorus in Greek, Sannazarius *Arcadia* in Italian, and *Diana* [by] de Montemayor in Spanish" (41). The details of this well-attested influence have been expounded by Harrison (1926), Genouy (1928), Kennedy (1968), Robertson (1973), and Fosalba (1994) among others. The parallels and borrowings identified by these scholars are numerous, though varying in importance. Principally, Sidney took the Arcadian shepherd setting and the combination of prose narrative, eclogue and song. As Jean Robertson and Judith Kennedy have pointed out, the *Old Arcadia* is also indebted to Gil Polo's *Diana enamorada* (Enamoured Diana) with regards to the structure, the didactic openings of the books, as well as the grouping and function of the poems. In addition, Sidney's debt to the *Dianas* is also attested in his poetry. According to William Ringler, Sidney was "well acquainted with the more than 150 poems in the *Diana* of Montemayor and in the continuations of Alonso Perez and Gil Polo" (xxxv). Furthermore, Sidney translated two poems from Montemayor's *Diana*, "What changes here, ô haire" and "Of this haigh grace with blisse conioyn'd", which were included in the 'Certain sonnets' appended to the *Arcadia* edition of 1598.

In all probability Sidney's *Arcadia* prompted the vogue of pastoral romance in English literature and the interest towards the Spanish *Dianas*. In the words of John Buxton, "for a century and a half, from the time of the Armada to the time of the '45, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* remained the best-loved book in the English language" (246). Robert Greene's *Ciceronis Amor* (1589) bears a certain resemblance to Montemayor, since its plot is based on a succession of unfortunate love stories. Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynde* (1590), a pastoral romance with inset lyrics, is indebted to Greene's model, ultimately to Sidney's, and it seems to have enjoyed some popularity, for it was reprinted several times. John

Dickenson's *The Sheperdes Complaint* (1596) is a brief story in prose interspersed with verse, very similar to the works of Montemayor and Gil Polo. Robert Parry's chivalric romance *Moderatus, the Blacke Knight* (1595), written in mannered prose interspersed with poems and songs, extols the virtues of courtly behavior and encompasses the philosophic refinements of pastoral. The two parts of Gervase Markham's *The English Arcadia* (1607 and 1613) are intended as a continuation of Sidney's great romance, and the influence of Montemayor's *Diana* is also tangible

The overall interest in the pastoral among English authors and readers accounts for Bartholomew Yong's decision to translate the *Dianas*. It is remarkable that Yong undertook this project at the time Sidney began the *Arcadia* and that it was finally published in 1598, the very same year in which a new edition of Sidney's pastoral masterpiece was issued. Between the early 1580s and the late 1590s, Spanish chivalric romances were also translated into English (mainly Anthony Munday's translations of the Palmerin cycle, the first title being published in 1588), which certainly contributed to the popularity of Spanish literature among English readers and paved the way for a publication of Yong's *Diana*.

3. Bartholomew Yong's translations of the *Dianas*

The first complete English translation of Montemayor's pastoral romance, together with the sequels by Alonso Pérez and Gaspar Gil Polo, was produced by Bartholomew Yong (*bap.* 1560, *d.* 1612). In the preface, Yong mentioned a lost fragmentary translation of Montemayor's *Diana* by a certain Edward Paston, a gentleman of Norfolk and musician amateur, grandson of Sir William Paston, the founder of North Walsham grammar school. In addition, in 1596 Thomas Wilson translated Montemayor's pastoral, of which only the first book survives in a manuscript presented by Wilson to the courtier and author Fulke Greville between 1614 and 1620. These various versions certainly demonstrate the strong interest in providing English readers with a translation of the well-acclaimed Spanish pastoral.

The son of Gregory Yong, a Yorkshire grocer, Bartholomew Yong was the eldest of a large Roman Catholic family. In fact, his uncle, Dr. John Young, was vice-chancellor of Cambridge in 1553–5 and took an active role in restoring the university to the Catholic faith. At

the accession of Queen Elizabeth I he was deprived of his mastership and committed to prison for refusing to take the oath of supremacy (cf. Ford). Yong's knowledge in Spanish dates back to his youth, and it could have been fostered by his uncle. At the age of eighteen, Yong went to Spain and spent two years there. His return to England through France was reported by Sir Henry Cobham to Walsingham (Queen Elizabeth's principal secretary), in a letter dated in June 1580. From this letter, we know that Bartholomew "had conference with the Duchess of Feria, being recommended by a privy token from his uncle" (*Calendar of State Papers*, 308-309). As suggested by Harrison, the fact that he was commissioned by his recusant uncle to go to Spain and that there he encountered Jane Dormer, who struggled for the reversal of the Reformation, could indicate that Yong was also a Catholic (132).

Upon his return to England Yong entered the New Inn and afterwards he was admitted to the Middle Temple in May 1582. During these years he took part in dramatic entertainments for which the Inns of Courts had long been famous and became a close friend of Edward Banister, a literary connoisseur acquainted with Sidney. As Yong explained in the Preface, Banister "perceiving my remissenes in the saide language, perswaded and encouraged me earnestly, by some good translation to recal it to her former place" (5). Banister may have suggested the *Dianas* because he knew about their appeal in literary circles or because he had had access to one of the manuscripts of Sidney's *Arcadia*. Indeed, Banister possessed a copy of 'Ring out your bells' given to him by Sidney in December 1584 at Putney (Ringler 555). Kennedy has suggested that Banister may have introduced Yong to Sidney after the completion of his translation (lix), although there is no evidence of such an encounter.

Although Yong's version was completed in May 1583, it remained unpublished for fifteen years. One can only speculate about Yong's reasons for putting off the publication of his *Diana*. He certainly had the necessary connections and the literary context was undoubtedly favourable, for numerous pastoral works were coming to light in this period: Fleming's translation of Virgil's *Eclogues* (1574); Sidney's *The Lady of the May* (c. 1578); Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calendar* (1579), dedicated to Sidney; John Lyly's *Gallathea* and George Peele's *Arraignement of Paris*, both published in 1584. Furthermore, a wide variety of romances were being published in these years: Lyly's *Euphues* (1578); Margaret Tyler's

translation of the Spanish *The Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* (1578); Anthony Munday's *Zelauto*, (1580); Robert Greene's *Mamillia* (1583); Thomas Lodge's *Forbonius and Prisceria* (1585); and Greene's *Pandosto* and Munday's *Palladine of England* both printed in 1588.

Since the original 1583 manuscript has not survived, we cannot compare it to the printed version of 1598, which allows to suggest that Yong may have revised the translation before submitting it to print. He may as well have preferred his manuscript to circulate among a selected coterie of readers, and then submitted his text to the press, but again there is no definite evidence, even though we do have evidence of English readers accessing Montemayor's *Diana*, but they may have relied on the Spanish original or the French translations.

Yong possibly drew from the pursuit of law to that of literary translation. He next undertook the translations of two Italian works thematically linked to the *Dianas*. The first was Stefano Guazzo's *La Civile conversazione*, of which Yong translated the fourth book. It was an influential manual for educated readers wishing to learn Italian manners and social skills, similar to Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* and Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo*. It was published in 1586 and Yong's name was displayed on the title-page, presenting him as a gentleman of the Middle Temple. Guazzo's work was widely read during the Renaissance and had also been translated into French twice at the time. Book four was considered the most important and, as Harrison has pointed out, it is noteworthy that Yong had a hand in introducing this work to England (135). It is said that the conversations in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* are inspired by Yong's translation of Guazzo (Luce 89). The second, Giovanni Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, appeared the following year as *Amorous Fiammetta*.

Yong's translation of the *Dianas* were finally printed in 1598, as an expensive publication aimed at affluent readers, for it was a folio volume consisting of almost two hundred and fifty pages with an engraved title-page. The folio format with ornamented title-page had also been used in two related publications issued a few years before: Harington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591), which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I, and Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1593). Remarkably, Montemayor's name was displayed on the title-page, a testimony to the renown of the Spanish author and his pastoral

romance in literary coteries, as well as a printer's strategy to attract buyers. Moreover, the printer, Edmund Bollifant, seems to have borne a particular interest in Spanish books, for the following year he also published *A Spanish grammar* and *A dictionarie in Spanish and English*, both authored by Richard Percival. Bollifant's choices, together with the publication of Spanish romances by Anthony Munday, unquestionably point to the existence of a market for works translated from Spanish.

Overall, Yong's translation is lively and faithful, although, as pointed out by Kennedy and Fosalba, he shows a tendency towards expansion, which takes different forms and produces various effects: duplication ("con gran deseo" / "with great affection and desire"); addition of adjectives ("sus aguas" / "his crystalline streames"); amplification of details ("sino la voz de mis sospiros tristes" / "but the voice of my *piteus outcries*, and the violent breath of my sorrowful sighes"); explication of meaning ("cosa de que no poco sobresalto recibí" / "whose sudden sight engendred a forcible passion of joy and feare in my amazed soule"). Moreover, Yong strives to recreate in English the musicality of Montemayor's prose, usually by repetition of a word or construction, or by alliteration: "los tiempos y el coraçon de Diana se mudaron" / "time, and *Dianas* hart with time were changed." Yong's most outstanding skill as translator is his handling of a wide variety of metres, some of them characterised by considerable complexity: Petrarchian and Shakesperian sonnets, sestinas, *ottava rima*, *terza rima*, *rima sdruciole*, quatrains, quintains, and several six and eight-line stanzas.

Not surprisingly, Yong chose an eminent patroness to dedicate such a lavish and ambitious publication: Lady Rich, known for her knowledge of continental languages, and sister to the queen's favourite Sir Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex. In the dedication, Yong recalls how Lady Rich had attended the Middle Temple revels when he acted "the part of a French Oratour" (3). He explains that, although he had feared her "mature judgement and censure in that language," she expressed her satisfaction by "favourable applause" (3-4). Her reaction, apparently, encouraged him to offer her his translation, pointing out that she was knowledgeable about both the language of the original and the matter of the book. Indeed, her proficiency in languages, together with her musical taste, had also been praised by the French lutenist Charles Tessier, who dedicated to her *Le premier livre de chansons* in February 1596. By making

this anecdote known to his readers, Yong attempted to capitalise on his personal connection to Lady Rich to make his translation appear more engaging to readers, showing that he was well connected to the elite. Whenever authors were well acquainted to their patrons, that had to be demonstrated so as to increase the renown of their works.

Other than her interest in the arts and mastery of Spanish, the reason Yong dedicated his translation to Lady Rich was that she could be associated with the eponymous heroine of Montemayor's work, for she represented the *malmaridada* or unhappily married woman at the Elizabethan court. In addition, Yong aimed at enhancing his translation by capitalising on the dedicatee's connection with Sidney and on the popular acclaim of the works by the venerated poet.

4. Lady Penelope Rich and Sir Philip Sidney

Penelope Devereux (1563-1607) was the eldest child of Walter Devereux, first earl of Essex and Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys. She was educated by tutors at home until her father's death in 1576. Then she was confided to the guardianship of Henry Hastings, third earl of Huntingdon, and lived at his house in Leicestershire. Before his death her father had expressed a wish that she marry Philip Sidney, but Sidney did not wish to marry then. In January 1581 Penelope arrived at court to become one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour. Huntingdon soon arranged for her marriage to Robert Rich of Leighs, Essex, who had just succeeded to the peerage and had a large income. The wedding took place in November 1581 and, according to a later statement, she even protested her unwillingness at the ceremony (cf. Wall).

About this time, Sidney composed his *Astrophil and Stella*, a collection of 108 sonnets in which he relates the love of a young courtier for a married woman. Sidney identified himself with Astrophil and Lady Rich with Stella, and even wrote three poems alluding to her married name. The first of these is sonnet 37, which first appeared in the folio edition of 1598:

Towards *Auroras* Court a Nymph doth dwell,
Rich in all beauties which mans eye can see:

.....

Rich in the treasure of deserv'd renown,
 Rich in the riches of a royall hart ;
 Rich in those gifts which give th'eternall crowne;
 Who though most rich in these and everie part,

.....

Hath no misfortune, but that Rich she is. (Ringler 183)

The others are sonnet 24, “Rich fooles there be” (176-177), and sonnet 35, “What may words say, or what may words not say” (182), in which he includes a very explicit reference to his beloved: “... long needy Fame / Doth even grow rich, naming my *Stellas* name.” The sonnet sequence circulated in manuscript among Sidney’s coterie until its publication in 1591. In this same year, John Harington published his translation of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, in which he states that “Sir Philip Sidney ... often comforteth him selfe in his sonets of *Stella*, though despairing to attaine his desire, and ... yet the nobilitie, the beautie, the worth, the graciousnesse, and those her other perfections, as made him both count her, and call her inestimably rich, makes him in the midst of those his mones, reioyce euen in his owne greatest losses” (126). Another contemporary tribute to Sidney mentions Stella and has recourse to the pun on ‘rich’: “Stella, a Nymph within this wood, / Most rare and rich of heauenly blis.” These lines appear in the first poem of *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), “An Elegie, or friends passion, for his Astrophill,” attributed to Mathew Roydon.

A few years afterwards a pastoral poem alluding very explicitly to the liaison between Sidney and Stella was issued, though the tribute was satirical. Richard Barnfield’s *The Affectionate Shepherd*, published anonymously in 1594, was dedicated in two stanzas “To the Right Excellent and Most Beautifull Lady, the Ladie Penelope Ritch.” The poem expresses the love felt by the shepherd Daphnis (Barnfield’s alter ego, as he uses it to sign the dedication) for the shepherd Ganymede, who loves and is loved by Queen Guendolena; she is loved by an unnamed old “doting foole” (l. 55) and she previously loved “a lustie youth / That now was dead” (ll. 29-30). The characters can be identified with Lady Penelope (Queen Guendolena), Lord Rich (the old fool), Sidney (the lusty youth), and Sir Charles Blount (Ganymede). Although it is uncertain how Barnfield intended his poem to be read, there is

unequivocal evidence that the poem caused discussion and scandal. In his next work, *Cynthia* (1595), Barnfield, this time under his own name, claimed that his readers had misinterpreted *The Affectionate Shepherd*, which he had only intended as a story of homosexual love, modelled upon the second eclogue of Virgil.

In the winter of 1589 Lady Rich initiated a liaison with a prominent courtier, Sir Charles Blount, which was common knowledge in aristocratic circles by November 1590 (Ringler 444; Wall). The first of their children, Penelope, was baptized on 30 March 1592, but given the surname Rich and brought up with Penelope's former children. Their next child, baptized in 1597 with the Christian name Mountjoy, was not included in the Rich pedigree. Two more sons and a daughter followed, and they were acknowledged by Blount. Given Lady Penelope's enduring liaison with Lord Montjoy, she could be identified with Diana, who had been also unhappily married.

Penelope Rich wielded some power at court, which derived from her personal qualities, as well as her brother's position as the queen's favourite (cf. Wall). Lady Penelope was acclaimed for her beauty and she possessed courtly graces and accomplishments. The vast array of dedications and poetical tributes she received demonstrate her interest in literature and the arts, and she appreciated being esteemed by artists.

5. Yong's dedication to Lady Rich

In the epistle to Lady Rich, Yong resorts to the traditional *topoi* of dedicatory writing: the praise of the dedicatee, the gratitude for past favours, the request for protection, the insistence on the social distance between the patroness and the author. He begins by justifying his choice of dedicatee: Lady Penelope being knowledgeable in languages and a renowned patroness justified the dedication of a major work of Spanish literature. Yong extols her mastery of foreign languages while belittling his own (a common topos in dedicatory writing):

Right honorable, such are the apparent defects of arte and judgement in this new pourtraied Diana, that their discoverie must needs makes me blush and abase the worke, unless with undeserved favour erected upon high

and shining pillar of your Honorable protection, they may seeme to the beholder lesse, or none at all. (3)

Whereas most patronesses were praised for their beauty, Yong celebrates Lady Rich's "magnificent mind" and "all noble vertues" and expands on the acclaim of her skills in languages: "I have no other meanes, then the humble insinuation of it to your most Honorable name and clemencie, most humbly beseeching the same to pardon all those faultes, which to your learned and judicious view shall occurre" (4). By asking Lady Penelope to forget him for any faults in his translation, Yong attempts to show his readers that he has produced a valuable translation, for he would not offer it as a tribute to such a learned lady if that were not the case. In addition, this is the reason why he relates the anecdote about his performance as a French orator in the Inns of Court entertainments which prompted Lady Rich's applause.

As T. P. Harrison has pointed out, the dedication functioned as an acknowledgement of Sidney's reverence for the *Diana*, and a tribute to his memory (126). Montemayor's pastoral was known and admired in English courtly circles, and it would be unmistakably associated with Sidney's *Arcadia*. In fact, Wilson also alluded to the connection with Sidney in his dedication of the first book of Montemayor's *Diana* to Fulke Greville, Sidney's closest friend: "Sir Phillipp Sidney did very much affect and imitate the excellent Author there of, whoe might well tearme his booke Diana ... as his Arcadia ... might well have had the name of Phoebus for never was our age lightned with two Starres of such high and eminent witt, as are the bookes of these two excelling Authors" (Kennedy xxiv).

The fact that both Sidney's *Arcadia* and Yong's *Diana* were printed in folio format points out that Yong was capitalising on the popularity of Sidney's pastoral work and aimed at the same readership. In addition, Yong's dedication to Lady Rich was based on the dedicatee's connection to Sidney, and ultimately on the popular acclaim of Sidney's works. The association of his translation with Sidney's *Arcadia* could enhance his work and recommended it to his readers. Yong's translation was issued the very same year of the publication of the folio edition of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* which included the sonnets of *Astrophil and Stella*. Undoubtedly, the *Dianas* were issued in an attempt to take advantage of the success of the *Arcadia* and attract its readers.

At the end of his epistle, Yong introduces his pledge for patronage, by asking Lady Rich to accept his translation as an homage to her ladyship:

Since then for pledge of the dutifull and zealous desire I have to serue your Ladiship, the great disproportion of your most noble estate to the qualitie of my poore condition, can affoorde nothing else but this small present, my praier shall alwaies importune the heavens for the happie increase of your high and woorthie degree, and for the full accomplishment of your most Honorable and vertuous desire. (4)

He also insists on the social disparity between himself and his patroness, as a means to emphasise her nobility and present himself as a poor poet (a common topos of dedicatory writing, used even by affluent writers) which justifies the request for protection. By characterising the translation as a “small present”, Yong resorts to the topos of the trifle, the belittling of his work to avoid being seen as ambitious or arrogant.

The inclusion of the date, 28th November 1598, at the end of the dedicatory epistle suggests that Lady Rich accepted the tribute, which would constitute a strong appeal for readers, since an accomplished and eminent lady had approved of this work. Perhaps, Yong also attempted to be part of the entourage of Lady Rich, which was one of the most dominant coteries of Elizabeth's reign. Indeed, her brother, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, was an eminent courtier who enjoyed a great renown as Queen Elizabeth's favourite. As indicated by Hugh Gazzard, “between 1577 and 1599 eighty-three printed books ... and three works in manuscript were dedicated in whole or in part to the Earl; the total is higher than any other Elizabethans save the Queen, Lord Burghley, and the Earl of Leicester” (10). This vast number of dedications demonstrates his influence as a patron of scholars and literary authors. Indeed, Essex had interests in intellectual pursuits, for he had completed MA degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, a rare qualification for a young nobleman.

Essex carved out a political and military career. Under the influence of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, who had married Essex's mother Lettice Knollys in 1578, Robert was appointed colonel-general of the cavalry during a campaign in the Netherlands. This position was socially prestigious and politically significant, for it declared his status

as Leicester's new protégé and a potential future leader for his supporters (Hammer). Furthermore, Essex was knighted for his service at Zutphen and inherited one of the two best swords of Sir Philip Sidney, a token which had a considerable impact on his self-image. This gift symbolically appointed him as Leicester's right-hand man and a champion in the defence of Protestantism (cf. Hammer).

Upon his return to England, Essex's political career took off, and he soon became not only the Queen's favourite, but also the foremost military leader of the age. He was appointed Master of the Horse, an office that brought him into close and frequent contact with Elizabeth (Dickinson 2). Young, handsome, and intellectual, Essex rapidly caught the Queen's eye. By the summer of 1587, Essex had become Elizabeth's new favourite and showered Essex with honours and grants, the most important of which would be Leicester's farm of the customs on sweet wines after his death in 1588.

As one of the men who held the highest offices around the Crown, Essex was a patron to those who sought advancement in the royal service. Due to his most favourable position, Essex promoted intellectual culture, for he strongly believed in the dual function of literature. According to Sidney, the function of the poetry was to "teach and delight"; the literature of the period thus reflected and reaffirmed the values of the chivalric ethos (Dickinson 11). The importance of "aspiring towards an ideal and of shaping one's own actions towards the goal of becoming an ideal courtier, knight and gentleman was highly important at the Elizabethan court." (Dickinson 11) Essex's circle included, for instance, Robert Sidney (younger brother to Philip and Mary), Fulke Greville, Gervase Markham, and Henry Cuffe, among others.

Yong was probably planning on having access to the Earl's coterie, for he was also competent in Spanish. Essex had recently been the dedicatee of two pastoral works: George Peele's (1589) and Thomas Bradshaw's *The Shepherd's Star* (1591). Yong may have thought it more expedient to approach the earl courting the favour of his sister, to whom he was already known.

There is evidence to consider that Yong's *Dianas* were highly valued given that twenty-nine copies of the original edition have been preserved. Furthermore, twenty-five of the lyrics contained in these works were

included in *Englands Helicon* (1600). The *Dianas* were the last instance of Yong's vocation for translation and manifested his ambition. He chose a Spanish editorial success which had already aroused interest among members of the English court for its discussions on love in a courtly background. In addition, the translations appeared at a moment when other pastoral works, as well as works of similar content were being published. Yong dedicated the book to Lady Rich as a manoeuvre to attract readers by capitalising on the association of the dedicatee with Sidney and the great appreciation of his works. His choice of dedicatee may also have been intended as a means of opening a path of access to the lady's brother, the earl of Essex and, through him, to Queen Elizabeth herself.

Notes

¹ A minor genre in the Middle Ages, the eclogue reappeared with Dante (1319), then Petrarch (1357) and Boccaccio (1341-1342; 1341-1345), its full expansion occurring in the hands of the Renaissance humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The appeal of this form of bucolic poetry lies in its true discursive ends: a poet composes an eclogue "not of purpose to counterfeit or represent the rustically manner of loves and communication, but . . . to insinuate and glauce at greater matters" (Puttenham 128). These "greater matters" range from praise of a person, commentary on the nature of poetry to criticism of political or religious corruption (cf. Congleton and Brogan).

² It was Sannazaro who transformed the motif of the Arcadia (the utopian mountainous province in Ancient Greece inhabited by shepherds living in harmony with nature, which is associated with the Golden Age) into a literary genre (Petrina 97). Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and *Eclogae piscatoriae* rapidly spread throughout Europe in the mid-sixteenth century, although *Arcadia* was not translated into English until 1781. Nevertheless, Sannazaro's influence in Renaissance England is well attested before that date: Sidney explicitly referred to the Neapolitan poet in *Defence of Poesie* (1595), praising him for having "mingled prose and verse, as . . . Boethius" (22). Moreover, both Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1578) include imitations of Sannazaro. For a full discussion of Sannazaro's influence in England, see Petrina.

³ Montemayor dedicated a sonnet included in *Obras en verso* (1554) to the death of the Infanta Maria (1545).

⁴The preface to an edition of *Diana* (Madrid 1622) dates his death on the 26th of February 1561. The anecdote concerning the mortal duel was given by Fray Bartolomé Ponce in *Clara Diana*: “Nunca más le vi, antes de allí a pocos meses me dixerón cómo un muy amigo suyo le avía muerto por ciertos celos o amores” (265).

⁵“Ella salió luz en España, a ruego de algunas damas y caballeros que yo deseaba complacer” (Montemayor 291). Juan Montero, however, claims that this should be read as a common topic in prologues.

⁶This first known edition is undated, although it was most probable issued in 1559, since according to Fray Bartolomé Ponce in this year Montemayor was at the Court in Valladolid “when everybody was reading the *Diana*” (Rennert 33-34). For a full account of the various editions of *Diana* see López Estrada, Huerta and Infantes 98-101.

⁷Cristina Castillo has argued that the sequels of Montemayor’s *Diana* by Alonso Pérez, Gaspar Gil Polo and Jerónimo de Tejada (the author of the so-called *Tercera Diana* [Paris, 1627]) were not intended as providing an ending to the original story, for the shepherdess Diana had already turned into an archetype and that is why her name is present in the titles of these new versions.

⁸These were the following: Milan 1560 or 1561; Antwerp 1561; Lisbon [Köln] 1565; Venice 1568; Antwerp 1570; Antwerp 1580; Antwerp 1581; and Venice 1585.

⁹Colin’s translation was reprinted the very same year in Rheims and in Antwerp; in 1582 it was published in Basel and also in a different edition including Chappuis’s translations of Alonso’s and Gil Polo’s sequels in Paris, Tours and Lyon, and it was reedited in 1587 and 1592.

¹⁰The first of these was also collected in *Englands Helicon* (cf. Macdonald 131).

¹¹It was first translated by Gabriel Chappuis in 1580 and then by François de Belleforest in 1582.

¹²Most interestingly, Percival also authored *Bibliotheca Hispanica* in 1591, which he dedicated to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. I will later argue that Yong’s dedication of the *Diana* to the earl’s sister was ultimately aimed at accessing Essex’s entourage.

¹³Leticia Álvarez Recio has explained that Munday targeted his translations at middle-class readers, by publishing them in different books at a cheaper price. However, Yong’s text was aimed at the nobility and the gentry, as based on the publication format.

¹⁴ This collection of French and Italian songs included two specifically written for her: “Ces beaux yeux a trayans” and “Casche toy celeste soleil.”

¹⁵ In today's literary market, this could be compared to the addition of a foreword by a well-known author in the publication of a novel writer, for this is meant to signal that they approve of their works.

¹⁶ Barnfield justifies himself on the following terms: “. . . Some there were, that did interpret *The affectionate Shepheard*, otherwise then (in truth) I ment, touching the subiect thereof: to wit, the loue of a Shepheard to a boy; a fault, the which I will not excuse, because I neuer made. Onely this, I will vnshadow my conceipt: being nothing else, but an imitation of Virgill, in ye second Eglogue of *Alexis*” (46).

¹⁷ For an analysis of the rhetoric of dedicatory writing, see McCabe's ‘*Ungainefull Arte*’ (‘The Rhetoric of Paratexts’).

¹⁸ According to Hugh Gazzard, by the 1590s the Earl had the rudimentary knowledge to correspond in Spanish (25).

¹⁹ Bradshaw addressed the dedicatory epistle jointly to Lord Burgh and Essex.

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