

María Jesús Lorenzo-Modia

Chapter 1 Literary Critics as Cultural Mediators between Spain and the United Kingdom in the Romantic British Press: The Case of Ángel Anaya*

Abstract The cultural and literary exchange between Spain and the United Kingdom in the Romantic period was powered by newspapers and literary magazines in which members of the public could find both reviews and announcements of new publications of Spanish literature being produced in London. This information appeared not only in periodicals issued in the metropolis of London and the city of Edinburgh, but also in Ireland. This chapter explores the role of the Spaniard Ángel Anaya, a literary critic, anthologizer and translator based in London, who wrote various books, notably *La belleza. Silva* (1790?), *El teatro español* (1817–18) and *An Essay on Spanish Literature containing its History, from the commencement of the Twelfth Century, to the present time* (1818). Although there is speculation about the reasons for his presence in the United Kingdom, little is known about it. He has been considered a liberal in exile, following the accession to the Spanish throne of Ferdinand VII, although this may be contradicted by the dedication of his essay to the Spanish ambassador sent to Britain by Ferdinand. Additionally, his mastery of Italian and French, and references in his texts to members of the Society of Jesus have led some to believe that he was an expelled Jesuit. This study of this, hitherto rather unknown, aspect of the history of Spanish literature sheds light on both the author's origins and – more importantly – the dissemination of Spanish culture in the English-speaking world.

Keywords: Ángel Anaya, literary criticism, Spain, United Kingdom, Romantic British press, cultural mediator.

The constant cultural and literary exchange between Spain and the United Kingdom in the early nineteenth century was fuelled by newspapers and literary

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magazines, in which readers could find both reviews and announcements of new British publications relating to Spanish literature. Such information featured not only in journals based in the metropolis of London or in the city of Edinburgh, but also in others in Dublin and other Irish cities. The present chapter examines literary historian, anthologizer and translator Ángel Anaya, who published a variety of texts, the most notable being a treatise on Spanish literature which was widely publicized in journals: *An Essay on Spanish Literature containing its History, from the commencement of the Twelfth Century, to the present time* (1818). Although there is speculation as to the reasons for his presence in London, little is known about his life, the only reliable evidence being his published work, and a handwritten English translation of his will – originally in Spanish – held in the British National Archive (Public Record Office, PROB 11/1618/3) and transcribed at the end of this chapter. His books, plus their announcements and reviews in the British literary press, are thus the best means of understanding his intellectual life and the cultural dissemination of his work.

Anaya published the above-mentioned treatise on Spanish literature in English and – according to the catalogue of the British Library – he was also a translator, his literary career having begun in 1790 with *La belleza. Silva*, a book containing Spanish translations of the fifth canto of *L'imagination* by Jacques Delille (1738–1813), a member of the Académie Française, and of two fables by the Italian writer Lorenzo Pignotti (1739–1812) and a translation into Italian of a fable by the Basque author Félix María Samaniego (1745–1801) *Fábulas*. The first poem is Delille's "El templo de la fama," [The Temple of Fame], an allegorical dream composed on the occasion of the weddings of Mr. Juan Bergnes and Mr. Antonio Rave, and dedicated by Anaya to his disciple Josefina de Olivier y de Comerás, "A mi discípula Josefina de Olivier y de Comerás."¹ The volume's place of publication is tentatively listed as Barcelona in the British Library Catalogue, and the French and Catalan family names of Bergnes and Olivier y de Comerás lend this supposition some credence, since they lived in Barcelona. Juan Bergnes is probably the uncle of Antoni Bergnes de las Casas (1801–79), a language teacher, Hellenist and publisher with French roots, and future rector of the University of Barcelona (Villoria 178). The second dedicatee, Antonio Rave, is said to be Antoni's nephew (Camós Cabeceran 662; Clua 59–71; Thion Soriano-Molla 343). Anaya's dedication indicates that Rave was the language and literature tutor of a young lady belonging to the Barcelona bourgeoisie and also that he was connected to families of French origins, who we might imagine would appreciate the literary

1 All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

value of the work of so august a writer as Delille. As noted above, the book also contains two fables by Pignotti, translated into Spanish: “La rosa y la zarza, fábula en verso” [The Rose and the Brier, a Fable in Verse], and “El Milano y la paloma ó la lisonja” [The Eagle and the Dove, or Flattery]. Finally, there is a version in Italian of Samaniego’s fable “El ciudadano pastor” [The Shepherd Citizen], translated as “Il cittadino fatto pastore.” The inclusion of this writer, who had published his first volume of fables in 1781 with the Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País [Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country], may be understood as reflecting Anaya’s interest in his own Basque origins.

After the publication of this book in Barcelona, Anaya reappears as an author in London in 1816, apparently continuing his activity as a teacher and a writer with *Leçons de langue italienne ou grammaire complète*, published by Boosey and Sons. The work appears in the catalogues of contemporary publications such as *A Catalogue of Books with their sizes and prizes*, compiled by William Bent in 1816 (32). Anaya’s work is listed in the section “Miscellaneous Literature” alongside texts such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Emma, a Novel, Gil Blas de Santillana*, described simply as “Spanish,” and *Sancho or The Proverbialist* (1816) by John William Cunningham. Anaya’s relevance as a writer is perhaps indicated by the fact that this work still features some four decades later in *The Classified Index to the London Catalogue* from 1853, for books “published in Great Britain 1816 to 1851” (197). The work was also briefly appraised in the “Education” section of *The Monthly Review* following its publication in 1817: “M. Anaya has furnished a distinct, methodical and useful guide. The exercises, which correspond to the respective lessons, present the double advantage of illustrating the rules laid down and of fixing them in the memory” (222). The second edition of *Leçons de langue italienne* was also announced, under a slightly different title: *Grammaire italienne ou grammaire complète*, in the Boosey and Sons Catalogue (8) annexed to *The Quarterly Review* 24 (1821), edited by John Murray, a publication which had arisen as a means of counterbalancing the influence of *The Edinburgh Review*. A previous review essay of the 1818 edition of the work (*Discours*) by François-Just-Marie Raynouard, a member of the Académie Française, had already appeared in *Journal des savans*: “La seconde partie de l’ouvrage de M. Anaya mérite l’attention des philologues, et elle ne peut qu’être très utile aux personnes qui étudient les poètes italiens et les poètes espagnols” (89) [Mr. Anaya’s work merits the attention of Philologers, and cannot be but very useful to those who study the Spanish and Italian poets]. His work is also advertised in J. Marconi’s *A Key to the Italian Language* (1826).

Anaya’s Italian grammar would be followed in 1817 by *El teatro español*, in 4 volumes (1817–21), an anthology of Spanish plays and authors, which

illustrates his particular interest in the dissemination of Spanish culture in Britain. Both the full title of this publication, and its length, indicate a deep interest in Spanish Golden-Age drama as well as playwrights from the following centuries: *El teatro español, ó colección de dramas escogidos de Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Moreto, Rojas, Solís, Moratín y otros célebres escritores, precedida de una breve noticia de la escena española y de los autores que la han ilustrado* [Spanish Theatre, or Selected Plays by Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Moreto, Rojas, Moratín, and Other Illustrious Playwrights, Preceded by a Brief Note on Spanish Theatre and on the Authors Who Have Contributed to it].

All the above-mentioned works suggest that Anaya was accepted as a literary anthologizer in London for readers of texts in both English and Spanish, and indeed his anthology in particular was the subject of a twenty-four-page review article in *The Quarterly Review* (April 1821) and referred to in *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres* (7 July 1821). Its publication was also announced by Boosey and Sons on the back of various of their other books, together with Luis Vélez de Guevara's *El Diabolo Cojuelo* and *Don Quijote*, as being published "in Monthly Numbers, handsomely printed in Octavo, single Columns, each Number to contain a Play, the price of which will not exceed 3s." *El teatro español* is, like *Leçons de langue italienne*, cited in the 1851 *London Catalogue of Books Published in Great Britain 1816 to 1851* (550). The review of *El teatro español* in *The Quarterly Review*, attributed to Henry Hart Milman and Robert Southey, states that "The drama of Spain, although its influence has been felt both in France and England, is by no means generally known beyond the precincts [*sic*] of the Peninsula" (1). The reviewers engage with Spanish literature more broadly, referring to the text on Spanish drama recently published by Lord Holland (*Some Account of the Lives and Writings of Lope de Vega Carpio and Guillén de Castro*, 1817), as well as responding to *De la littérature du Midi de l'Europe* by French critic Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi (4, 5, 21). In addition, they praise Cervantes's play *El cerco de Numancia* (1585), "which stands alone in the drama of Spain in its rude and austere simplicity" (12) and provide an excerpt in translation (8–12). The review pays special attention to the dramas of Calderón de la Barca: "The florid and ornamented manner of Lope, wrought to its highest perfection by Pedro Calderon della Barca [*sic*], gained undisputed possession of the stage" (12). The reviewers compare Anaya's work with that of other internationally reputed critics, and also note the high esteem in which Calderón is held by the German critic Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel:

M. Schlegel, however, is deeply enamoured, as it would seem, even of the defects of Calderon. This extravagant tone of sentiment, and this luxuriant language are to him the purest idealism; Calderon is his poet *par excellence*, and in a long and rapturous eulogy he dwells on his boundless imagination, and his high conceptions of unsullied honour among men and spotless chastity among women (14).

The reviewers include a long quotation by Schlegel in French (20) and end the review by indicating that his “estimate of Calderon approaches much nearer to that of Sismondi than that of Schlegel” (24).

Another text by Anaya published at Boosey and Sons is *Discours sur la manière d'apprendre les langues vivantes, et particulièrement l'italienne et l'espagnole. Suivi d'un traité sur les difficultés de la lecture des poètes de ces deux nations* (1818), listed that year, under the abbreviated title *Discours sur les langues vivantes*, in the conservative High Church journal *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review* (670). Although this is a handbook for the teaching of languages, its relation to literature can be perceived even in its title, mentioning as it does the poetry of the two countries in question.

The British Critic (670) also announced the publication in English of a history of Spanish literature by Anaya: *An Essay on Spanish Literature containing its History, from the commencement of the Twelfth Century, to the present time with an account of the best Writers in their several Departments, and some critical remarks, followed by a history of the Spanish drama and specimens of some of the writers of the different ages* (1818). The essay includes an “Appendix on the Metres and Forms of Verse used by the Spaniards” (111–25). It was printed by George Smallfield for Thomas Boosey and Sons, as were Anaya’s previous books. *An Essay on Spanish Literature* was reviewed extensively in the United Kingdom. In *The Edinburgh Monthly Review*, Robert Southey describes it as “a mere introductory work” (85) and concludes by saying that Portuguese literature should not be excluded from Anaya’s work as had happened in texts by Bouterwek and Sismondi: “The sister tongues, however, should go together, and it is perhaps doing justice to neither to consider them separately” (94). A critical tone permeates the review, which starts by noting that “Political events, a few years ago, attracted the public attention of this country in an unexampled manner to the Peninsula,” and he goes on to say that criticism depends on “the political creed of the critic” (84). The review essay contains a two-page excerpt in Spanish (with a translation) from the *Chronicle* by Pedro López de Ayala (1332–1407) (89–91). The reviewer rejects Anaya’s structuring of the history of Spanish literature and does not share the Spaniard’s appreciation of mystic authors such as Saint Theresa and Father Luis of León: “Who, now, reads the *Vida Interior* of Palafox, or the *Symbolo* of Fr. Luiz of Granada? even [*sic*] the spiritual letters

of Santa Teresa de Jesus, have lost their once enthusiastic admirers. And the *Exercicios* of Rodrigues, and the *Perfecta Casada* of Fr. Luis of Leon, sleep together undisturbed, on the dusty shelves of the few libraries in which they are to be found” (93). The reviewer regrets that Baltasar Gracián is not included, and compares Miguel de Cervantes to Walter Scott, asserting that the former is superior in style: “We question whether the author of *Waverley* himself has ever given us a more natural or pleasing specimen of the language of low life, as it does still, and always did exist, than is to be found in the letters of Teresa Panza to her husband, and to the duchess” (94). Henry W. Sullivan suggests that this assessment may have been written by the poet Robert Southey (500), but Denis F. MacCarthy attributes it to another Hispanist, John Gibson Lockhart (21), while García Gómez gives this less credence (168).

An Essay on Spanish Literature was also advertised in other English journals, for instance in the November issue of *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences* (736), and again in the January issue of the following year. In a section on “New Publications” both *Leçons de langue italienne, Discours sur les langues vivantes* and *An Essay on Spanish Literature containing its History* are mentioned (Nov. 7, 1818). The same journal advertised Anaya’s *Essay*, alongside *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* in January 1818, and with *Rob Roy*, the *Collected Works of Lord Byron* and *Frankenstein* the following week.

Anaya’s works were also advertised in Irish publications. *The Freeman’s Journal*, mentioned them twice in 1818, on 26 August and 23 November, both indicating where it could be bought in Dublin (2). The *Essay* was also included in the same section on new books in the following year, and appeared once more much later, on 7 May 1827 (4). *The Dublin Journal* edited by George Faulkner, announced its publication on the 1 February 1819 (3), although on this occasion it was heavily criticized. It appears again in the same publication in 1820 in a list of books sold at an auction. These public references indicate that the dissemination of the text is at least relatively widespread.

An Essay on Spanish Literature was also advertised in the end pages of several books, for instance in *Ancient Spanish Ballads Historical and Romantic*, translated with notes by John Gibson Lockhart and published in Edinburgh by Thomas Caddell in 1823. The influence of Anaya’s history of Spanish literature among British and American intellectual circles is also reflected in the fact that it was cited and listed in the Bibliography section of the 1842 American edition of J. G. Lockhart’s *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, on the same page as works relating to Spanish matters such as Robert Southey’s *Chronicle of the Cid* (1808), Friedrich Bouterwek’s *Historia de la literatura española* (1829), J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi’s *De la littérature du Midi de l’Europe* (1829) and even work by the

American poet Henry W. Longfellow (272). Indeed, Longfellow introduced Anaya's books to the library of Bowdoin College in Brunswick (Maine) when he studied there (Emerson 68). *An Essay on Spanish Literature* can also be found in other American libraries, as shown by Boston Public Library's Index of 1861 (Jewett 741), together with other histories of Spanish literature such as George Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* and Bouterwek's *Historia de la literatura española*.

Although some claim that Anaya's analysis of Spanish literature "appears not to have been widely known nor disseminated" (Escribano 77; González Cañal 100), others describe the text as groundbreaking (Rodríguez 249; Álvarez Barrientos 156–7). Paul Larson argues that the text was a pioneer in the constant development of literary history (114), setting it alongside works by other authors of various nationalities, such as Paul Ferdinand Buchholtz's *Handbuch der spanischen Sprache und Litteratur* (1801–4), Victor Rendu's *Leçons espagnoles de littérature et de morale* (1830) and Luis de Mata y Araujo's *Lecciones elementales de literatura* (1839). Anaya's *El teatro español* is also referred to by the German Romantic critic Johann Nikolas Böhl von Faber (1770–1836) (Tully 159), who lived in Spain and was the father of novelist Fernán Caballero.

Anaya was relatively well-known professionally in the United Kingdom. He was described as a teacher of Spanish and other languages in London by his publisher, in an announcement at the end of *An Essay on Spanish Literature*: "Mr Anaya, Teacher of languages" (Montoliu 263; Allison Peers 233–4). It is also interesting here to analyse the London publishing house by which his books were issued, since it acted as a cultural mediator and publicized his books. The printer, George Smallfield, produced books in both Spanish and Portuguese, and the publisher, Boosey and Sons, also issued books in various other European languages. Although well known as printmakers and lithographers, Boosey and Sons were also publishers of language and literary texts, such as *La floresta española* by Antonio Garrido (1807).

Another question concerns the reasons why Ángel Anaya was living in the city of London. Due to the difficult situation of Spanish liberal intellectuals during the reign of Ferdinand VII, many had to leave the country and chose to travel to the English capital as exiles. Anaya has thus been considered to be a liberal in exile (Pérez 104; Álvarez Rubio 92; Allison Peers 233–4), although no reasons are forthcoming and such an assertion may be contradicted by the dedication in the *Essay on Spanish Literature*, which is to the Spanish Ambassador to Britain, appointed by Ferdinand VII. It has also been speculated that Anaya was an expelled Jesuit, in view of his mastery of both the Italian and French languages and references in his text to members of the Society. However, another

reason to doubt this line of reasoning is that he had been in London since at least 1816. Also, although he may have met other émigrés in the city, he is not included in the dictionaries of London exiles (Gil Novales), and the copy of his *Essay* extant in the Spanish Biblioteca Nacional comes from the library of an exile, Pascual de Gayangos y Arce.

One of the seemingly contradictory elements in Anaya's oeuvre is the dedication of *An Essay on Spanish Literature* "by permission" to the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke of San Carlos, José Miguel de Carvajal Manrique de Lara (1771–1828), after the accession to the throne of Ferdinand VII, for whom De Carvajal had participated in the mutiny of Aranjuez in order to depose Charles IV. This laudatory dedication would have been rather unlikely if Anaya had been in any sense a prominent member of the Spanish liberal exile community, and thus it seems that he was either an unknown member of this group, with an interest in gaining admission to the royal circle, or indeed simply a teacher and writer with no political affiliations. Since the copy of *An Essay on Spanish Literature* extant in the Spanish National Library comes from the personal library of Gayangos (BN 1/43468), an eminent intellectual of the London circle, one might infer that Anaya was not altogether rejected by members of the exiled community, and might even have been considered to be one of them. However, he is not included in Gil Novales's *Diccionario biográfico del trienio liberal*. Perhaps the truth is that the situation of the Spanish expatriates in the British capital at the time was more fluid than one might think from a Spanish perspective.

Some, as noted above, have argued that he was a Jesuit in exile, since he knew both French and Italian. Such a suggestion emerges from the references to many Jesuit authors from the sixteenth century onwards in his *Essay*: Juan Andrés (1740–1817), author of *Origen, progreso y estado actual de toda la literatura* (8); Juan de Mariana (1536–1624), author of *Historia general de España* (1601) (18); Francisco de Toledo Herrera (1532–96) *Opera* (23); Father Luis de la Puente (1554–1624) *Meditaciones* (58); Father Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658) *Obras christianas* (58); Father Manuel de Larramendi (1690–1766), who advocated the study of the Basque language in *De la antigüedad y universalidad del bascuence en España* (1728) (17) or in *Diccionario trilingüe* (1745); Father Juan Francisco de Masdeu, Jesuit historian and author of *Historia crítica de la cultura española de todo género* (1783–1805) (67); Father Francisco José de Isla (1681–1748), author of *Fray Gerundio de Campazas* (1758) (49); and Francisco Javier Lampillas, author of *Saggio storico-apologetico della letteratura spagnola* (1778–81) (177), translated into Spanish by Josefa Amar y Borbón as *Ensayo histórico-apologético de la literatura española contra las opiniones preocupadas de algunos escritores modernos italianos*.

However, it must be taken into account that Anaya is not included in Charles O'Neill's and Joaquín María Domínguez's *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, and that he includes references to many other writers, both secular and belonging to different religious orders. In the latter group we find: the Benedictines Father Benito J. Feijoo, author of *Theatro crítico universal* (1726–40) (30), and Father Antonio de Yepes (1560?–1618), author of the *Historia de la Orden de San Benito* (1615) (42); Augustine monks such as Father Pedro Malón de Chaide (1530–89) (56), Father Juan Márquez (1565–1621), author of *El Gobernador Christiano* (31, 58), and Father Flores, who published *Tratado de las antiguas medallas de las colonias y pueblos de España* (1757–73) (31); the Dominicans Father Luis de Granada (1504–88) (56) and Father Luis Bertrán (1526–81) (57); also mentioned are Father Diego de Estella (1524–78) (56), a Franciscan friar, and Father Joseph of Sigüenza (56), monk of the Order of Saint Jerome. To these we can add many other writers and intellectuals who were members of no order. Indeed, the Jesuits cited in the book do not represent a large proportion of the many writers mentioned, particularly if we consider that a text that lists notable works of Spanish literature until the early nineteenth century will necessarily refer to a range of Jesuit authors, since they were reputed for their intellectual pursuits. Likewise, the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Spain does not correspond exactly to the period Anaya was known to have been in the United Kingdom, since the Jesuits were expelled by Charles III and subsequently restored by Ferdinand VII in 1814. Thus, Anaya does not seem to have been a Jesuit or an exile (Baasner 47), but rather an expatriate. He wrote his will in England, and it is held in the National Archives. The date of the document is 1 July 1818. In it he bequeaths his legacy to his Spanish relatives, namely to his niece and godchild or, alternatively, to his friends. There are no references either to offspring or to the Society of Jesus.

This study of a largely unknown yet comprehensive early history of Spanish literature by Ángel Anaya has shed some light on the author's origins. More importantly, it has provided a detailed picture of the dissemination of Spanish culture in the English-speaking world, of the rewriting of the Spanish canon for English audiences, particularly in comparison to works by other Spanish and international critics: Andrés, Lampillas and Antonio de Capmany among the Spanish, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel and Sismondi – all of whom Anaya cited in his conclusion (125), as well as a book published by the Hispanist Lord Henry Richard Vassal Fox, third Baron Holland, (1773–1840) on Lope de Vega and Guillén de Castro (89) – and later publications such as those of Friedrich Bouterwek (1823), George Henry Lewes (1846) and George Ticknor (1849).

Will of Angel Anaya of Finsbury Square, Middlesex. Translated from Hispansh [*sic*] language

IN THE NAME OF GOD and this his Monsignor when I submit my Soul to my Creator and my body to the Earth, and out of my property consisting of certain sums of money deposited in Her Majesty's banks of England and what appears from Boots and other things existing in London to be sold the whole to the care of Mr. Jonny Gibbs. I dispose [...] thereof in favour of my cousin? and godchild Constantia Pison/Prior? y Anaya, the sum of which is to serve for her Education and Maintenance, as far as it will go, and afterwards the whole to be for her marriage portion if she marries a respectable and religious man, for otherwise the said money [should go] to my cousin [...] Anaya [...] at [...] in the province of [...] appointing for my Attorney and?? for my friend Mr. Robert Manning [...] at [...] for him to dispose of the said money for the purposes above expressed. London, 17th June 1818, Angel Anaya.

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