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► **To cite this version:**

Stacey Triplette, Elisa Beshero-Bondar, Helena Bermúdez Sabel. A Digital Humanities Approach to Cultural Translation in Robert Southey's Amadis of Gaul. 2023. hal-03917302

**HAL Id: hal-03917302**

**<https://hal.science/hal-03917302v1>**

Preprint submitted on 1 Jan 2023

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**A Digital Humanities Approach to Cultural Translation in  
Robert Southey's *Amadis of Gaul***

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**Abstract:**

This essay discusses the Amadis in Translation digital project (<http://amadis.newtfire.org>), which applies TEI XML encoding to Robert Southey's 1806 translation *Amadis of Gaul*, comparing it to Southey's source, the 1547 Sevilla edition of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula*. The project uses computational methods to align the source at the clause level rather than word-by-word, reflecting the radical compressions and changes Southey made to the source. The essay uses the alignment tables generated by the project to assess Southey's use of emotion in a set of sample chapters. Contrary to what the aesthetics of the Romantic era might have led us to believe, the data shows that Southey dampened the use of emotion in the source text, potentially for reasons of taste or national and cultural identity. Our digital project illustrates how computational analysis of translations can revise common-sense predictions about texts and make comparisons between translations precise and quantifiable.

**Author biographies:**

Stacey Triplette is Assistant Professor of Spanish and French at the University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg. Her essays on Cervantes and Iberian romances of chivalry have appeared in *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, *La corónica*, and *Cervantes: The Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*. Her book, *Reading, Chivalry, and Women's Culture in Early Modern Spain*, is forthcoming from Amsterdam University Press. Her current research engages in Digital Humanities approaches to translations from early modern Spanish to French and English.

Elisa Beshero-Bondar is Associate Professor of English at the University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg. Her book, *Women, Epic, and Transition in British Romanticism*, was published by the University of Delaware Press in 2011. Her published articles in *ELH (English Literary History)*, *Genre, Philological Quarterly*, and *The Wordsworth Circle* investigate the poetry of Robert Southey, Mary Russell Mitford, and Lord Byron. She is the architect of the [Digital Mitford Project](#) and other web-based Digital Humanities projects. She was elected to serve on from 2016 to 2019 on the [TEI Technical Council](#), an eleven-member international committee that supervises amendments to the TEI Guidelines.

Helena Bermúdez Sabel is pursuing her PhD in Medieval Studies at the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (Spain). Her research interests focus on the modeling of philological data and the implementation of quantitative analyses as part of editorial models. She is involved in the publication of digital scholarly editions and the development of tools for text analytics. She is currently working for the ERC-funded project *Poetry Standardization and Linked Open Data* (POSTDATA) and is a member of the Laboratorio de Innovación en Humanidades Digitales (LINHD-UNED).

## **A Digital Humanities Approach to Cultural Translation in Robert Southey's *Amadis of Gaul***

Robert Southey is unique among English Romantic poets for his depth of engagement with Spain and Portugal. He traveled to both countries, spoke both languages, and translated medieval and early modern texts from Spanish to English. In May of 1802, Southey entered into a contract with Longman, who had published his verse romance *Thalaba the Destroyer* in 1801, to produce a new translation of *Amadís de Gaula*, a medieval Castilian romance whose earliest extant version, compiled by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, dates to 1508. While Southey's *Amadis* sold well at its time of publication and has been admired by readers and scholars alike, the changes he made to the source text have been difficult for scholars to quantify. The English poet took a free approach to translation, engaging in radical abridgement, simplification, domestication, and ideological recalibration of the 1547 Sevilla edition of Montalvo. To complicate the matter even further, Southey referenced previous French and English translators of Montalvo's *Amadís*, multiplying, in a sense, his source texts. Our research project suggests a method for comparing a free translation to its source using the guidelines of the TEI (Text Encoding Initiative), an XML language for the analysis and editing of texts. We have created machine-readable versions of sample chapters of Southey and the 1547 *Amadís* and compared them not word-by-word, but segment-by-segment, capturing on the microcosmic level some of the radical changes Southey made to his source. The alignment tables on the web version of our project (<http://amadis.newtfire.org>) allow readers to separate and examine each of Southey's linguistic decisions. In this article, we first introduce Southey's translation and our TEI methodology and then use our alignment tables to assess the changes Southey made to Montalvo's use of emotion. Contrary to what some readers might expect from a Romantic-era translation, we find that Southey dampened the expression of emotion in Montalvo's *Amadís*. Though our analysis extends only to a small set of sample chapters, it suggests some ways in which markup-based study, combining human-readable code with computational processing, might overturn assumptions about translations created by literary history or by less quantitative methods.

### **Southey's *Amadis***

*Amadís de Gaula* was one of the most popular romances of the sixteenth century both in the original Spanish and in translation, and Southey continues a long tradition of altering the text to suit new audiences. The plot of the Castilian romance chronicles the rise to prominence of a young prince of Gaul. Abandoned at birth, Amadís learns his identity, reconciles with his parents, indulges in a secret marriage with a British princess, and eventually becomes king of Britain and Gaul. Southey translated *Amadís* after traveling twice to the Iberian Peninsula, first in 1795 and then in 1801 (Speck 2006, 62–65; Zarandona 2006, 310). Juan Miguel Zarandona writes that the Iberian Peninsula had become a Grand Tour destination after the publication of Anglo-Italian Giuseppe Baretti's 1770 travel diary, and thus travel to Spain might have been expected of a wealthy aristocrat of Southey's era (2006, 309). Yet Southey, the son of a draper, viewed his trips to Spain and Portugal not as idle travel, but as an economic opportunity, as they allowed him to conduct research for his literary works (Speck 2006, 83–84). As early as 1797, Southey's letters express his appreciation of *Amadís* and all related texts, including Bernardo Tasso's poetic adaptation *Amadigi di Gaula* (Southey 2009). Southey's highly readable version of the medieval romance did, in fact, answer his financial hopes; he wrote to his wife Edith in 1804 that *Amadís* had already outsold *Thalaba* (Southey 2013b).

Southey's *Amadís* resembles other early nineteenth century translations in its approach, rendering the late medieval Castilian sense-for-sense rather than word-for-word. Southey makes the notoriously difficult language of the Spanish romance pleasant to read in English and alters cultural detail that might not have met the expectations of the English reading public. Susan Bassnett writes that early nineteenth century translators expressed two conflicting tendencies in their work:

One exalts translation as a category of thought, with the translator seen as a creative genius in his own right, in touch with the genius of his original and enriching the literature and language into which he is translating. The other sees translation in terms of the more mechanical function of 'making known' a text or author. (2013, 74)

Both ideologies are active in Southey's *Amadís*. The voice of Southey the author is in evidence in many of the sentence-level changes to the text. Southey's *Amadis* is highly readable, free of the rhetorical flourishes and extended flights of sentiment previous French and English translations by Nicolas de Herberay (1540), Anthony Munday (1590), and the Comte de Tressan (1779) had added to the Castilian work. Southey's motivations, however, for bringing *Amadis* to

the nineteenth-century English reading public primarily stemmed from its perceived market value among consumers who did not know the early modern versions.

Southey describes his translation practice in the Preface to *Amadis of Gaul* as one that seeks to improve the aesthetics of the original through compression. Addressing the source romance's famous length, he writes:

To have translated a closely printed folio would have been absurd. I have reduced it to about half its length, by abridging the words, not the story; by curtailing the dialogue, avoiding all recapitulations of the past action, consolidating many of those single blows which have no reference to armorial anatomy, and passing over the occasional moralizings of the Author. (1803, xxxi)

Southey throughout the Preface takes a dismissive view of the Author, by whom he means Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, the sixteenth-century editor and compiler. Southey's lack of fidelity to the persona of Montalvo does not reflect his view of authorship in general, but of a figure he believed to be a translator like Herberay, Munday, and Tressan, all of whom he despised.

Southey is correct in his assumption that the narrative of *Amadis* did not originate with Montalvo, a minor city official from Medina del Campo. However, Montalvo is responsible for the medieval or "primitive" text's survival, and he is the first 'author' of *Amadís* whom we can reference by name. The medieval *Amadís*, inspired by French Arthurian texts like the *Lancelot*, emerged sometime around 1350 in the Iberian Peninsula (Riquer 1987, 13). Antonio Rodríguez Moñino's 1955 manuscript find, which uncovered fragments of a pre-Montalvo *Amadís*, indicated that the legend most likely originated in Castile, though other readers and scholars previously believed it to have a Portuguese or French origin (1957, 15–24). The French origin of *Amadís* has always been a fanciful notion, a misreading of French translator Herberay's apocryphal claim to have found manuscript fragments of *Amadís* in Picardie (1986, iii). Herberay's early modern readers, accustomed to the apocryphal manuscript trope, would likely have understood the story of the fragments as proto-nationalistic posturing.

Herberay in fact encountered the famous Spanish romance while serving as master of artillery in Francis I's wars against Spanish monarch Charles V (Avalle-Arce 1990, 57; Thomas 1920, 199). Readers of later centuries, however, including Sir Walter Scott, did lend the French thesis some credence (1803, 109). However, greater proof existed for the Portuguese thesis, of which Southey was a proponent. As Southey himself mentions in the Preface, Portugal had a



tradition of claiming *Amadís* for itself, with evidence ranging from late medieval poetry to chronicles, much of it plausible (Southey 1803, x, 2013c). The idea of medieval Portuguese courtier Vasco de Lobeira as *Amadís*'s original author had some adherents among nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars of Spanish literature but has been deprecated in recent decades. Even before Rodríguez-Moñino's discovery, references uncovered in medieval Spanish poetry suggested that *Amadís* predated the historical Lobeira (Williams 1907, 22–26; Riquer 1987, 13; Avalle-Arce 1990, 69–87). Most scholars of Hispanic Studies now agree that *Amadís* is Castilian (Sales Dasí 2006, 6–7).

As he translated, Southey attempted to restore an imaginary Portuguese original, unraveling additions to Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's early modern Spanish edition of the text by previous translators. By walking back what he perceives to be *Amadís*'s translation history, Southey takes a scholar's approach to the text. Southey based his translation on the earliest version of *Amadís* he could access, a copy of the 1547 Sevilla printing of Montalvo that belonged to his friend Richard Heber. Abridging from Anthony Munday, who translated Herberay's *Amadís* into English in 1590, would have been a more expedient option than translating from the Spanish and was in fact Southey's first plan (2011a, 1803, xxxiv). The choice to use Montalvo instead reflects not only Southey's facility with early modern Spanish but also his attention to textual authenticity. Southey remarks in his preface that while writing *Amadís*, he kept Herberay, Munday, and Tressan at hand, sometimes adopting Munday's wording while rejecting Herberay and Tressan's anachronisms (Southey 1803, xxxiii–xxxiv).<sup>1</sup>

In some cases, Southey made guesses about the medieval *Amadís* that have since been disproved. For example, he writes: "With the celebration of the marriage, the story obviously concludes. I have ended here, and left the reader to infer that Amadis and Oriana, like the heroes of every nursery tale, lived very happy after" (1803, xv). The medieval *Amadís*, in fact, ended with the accidental killing of Amadís and Oriana's subsequent suicide, a messy and tragic conclusion that mirrored those of medieval French Arthurian romances (Lida de Malkiel 1969, 150–52). Southey imagines a marriage plot for the medieval romance that suits the aesthetic preferences of his own era much better than those of medieval Iberia. Medieval romances,

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Munday translated *Amadis* based on Herberay, not the Castilian original, as was a usual practice for English translators in the early modern era. Most educated Englishmen and women knew at least some French in Munday's era, but because of military and political conflicts, knowledge of Spanish was less common, and texts from Castile were less frequently available. See O'Connor (1970, 208–9).

especially those that feature courtly love, end in cataclysm; early modern romances, like Montalvo's *Amadís*, end in the infinite production of children and sequels necessary to satisfy the demands of serial publication (Williamson 1984, 31; Krause 2003, 121). Indeed, for Daniel Gutiérrez Trápaga, the impulse to form sequels and cycles is constitutive of early modern Iberian romance as a genre and is essential to its meaning (2017, 6–8). By giving *Amadís* narrative closure, Southey works against its ideology.

Southey's scholarly instincts and attention to the slow changes *Amadís de Gaula* experienced throughout its translation history reward closer study for those interested in the history, theory, and practice of translation. Even though Southey follows a dead-end path in literary scholarship, his choices offer insight into the aesthetics and ideology of translation both in the nineteenth century and more generally. We are not the first to study Southey's Spanish-to-English translations; Zarandona has described Southey's translations as "pragmatic" and "medievalizing," and on the whole, our results show that conclusion to be correct (2006, 313). The digital methodology of the *Amadis in Translation* project, however, can shed light on Southey's work at the level of the word, the clause, and the paragraph much better than traditional methods can. *Amadís de Gaula* has an extent of approximately 2,000 modern-equivalent pages, and human reading cannot account for each translation decision in a systematic way.<sup>2</sup> Our digital project uses machine reading to assist, track, and record different types of human reading. We use our TEI alignment of the two texts to test Southey's statements about his own practices in the Preface and to identify phenomena he did not discuss. Producing results from the project requires a combination of the quantitative analysis enabled by computational methods and the traditional methods of literary scholarship. We have customized the TEI XML language to help us mark the smallest comparable segments we can locate in the source and the translation, and our markup allows us to see points of coincidence and divergence. The TEI is a very adaptable tool for this approach because of its controlled vocabulary for linguistic segment categories, including clauses, sentences, phrases, and words, as well as its attribute classes that facilitate the work of connecting the source and translation clause by clause.

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<sup>2</sup>In this essay, we use the term "human reading" as a catchall for the traditional methods of non-computer assisted literary analysis, which continue to be an important part of our work. We contrast this term with "machine reading," a generalized term we use for all computer-based text processing. We prefer these terms to "close" and "distant" reading, because both machines and humans can read closely and distantly, and because we like to ground our human and machine readings in literary history in a way that has not always been a part of close or distant reading.

## Methods

The guidelines of the TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) offer the basis for an interchangeable vocabulary for the encoding of texts in XML (Extensible Markup Language), optimally customized to the needs of a project.<sup>3</sup> TEI allows researchers to produce a version of a text in which the hierarchical structure that underlies it is made explicit. Small-scale structural features, like clauses, sentences, and words, nest inside larger features, like paragraphs and chapters. In this project, we begin with a plain text version of each Montalvo or Southey chapter and then apply structural markup according to the norms of TEI.<sup>4</sup> Our project makes use of the TEI required modules (core, TEI, header, and textstructure) and additional modules we find helpful, including analysis, linking, namesdates, and iso-fs (feature structures).<sup>5</sup> We created an ODD (One Document Does it All) file to constrain our use of the TEI to these modules, and we added additional rules with Schematron to customize attribute values according to our project standards.<sup>6</sup> Our adaptation of TEI calls for us to surround each clause in Montalvo with the `<cl>` or clause element and assign it a unique identifier attribute, `@xml:id`.<sup>7</sup> In our case, `@xml:id` records the chapter, paragraph, and clause number of each segment in Montalvo. In our corresponding TEI file for Southey, we find the matching clause (if it exists) for each `xml:id` and use the `<anchor>` element to refer back to this identifier in the Montalvo, tethering our translation to our source. Image 1 contains a sample of our code on a Montalvo chapter.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See “TEI Text Encoding Initiative: Guidelines” 2018, <http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/>.

<sup>4</sup> We would like to acknowledge the work of undergraduate research assistant Madison Bredice in transcribing PDFs of the 1547 Montalvo into a machine-readable format.

<sup>5</sup> See especially the TEI Guidelines 17.1 Linguistic Segment Categories: <http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/AI.html#AII.C>.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/Customization/odds.xml>

<sup>7</sup> We have measured clause-like units from punctuation mark to punctuation mark, as the division of clauses and sentences in the 1547 Montalvo does not follow twenty-first century conventions.

<sup>8</sup> We invite readers to consult our public Github repository, which contains all of our project files, including our TEI files: <https://github.com/ebeshero/Amadis-in-Translation>.

## Image 1

```
<cl xml:id="M0_p1_c91">Ella se fue tras su madre con tan gran alteración/</cl>
<cl xml:id="M0_p1_c92">que casi la vista perdida llevaba/</cl>
<cl xml:id="M0_p1_c93">de lo cual se siguió que esta infanta no pudiendo sufrir
    aquel nuevo dolor que con tanta fuerza al viejo pensamiento vencido
    avía:</cl>
```

Image 2 shows how we refer back to Montalvo’s clauses in our Southey files with the self-closing `<anchor>` element. We mark the start and end of each connection point, which we refer to affectionately on the project as a “stitch” point (a metaphor that recalls sewing pieces of fabric together), with the attribute `@ana` (analysis). This strategy allows our code to be flexible enough to account for clause order inversions or even interruptions.

## Image 2

```
<anchor ana="start" corresp="#M0_p1_c91"/>She followed her mother, but so
    disturbed<anchor ana="end"/>
<anchor ana="start" corresp="#M0_p1_c92"/>that her sight was dizzy,<anchor
    ana="end"/>
<anchor ana="start" corresp="#M0_p1_c93"/>and now not able to endure her
    feelings<anchor ana="end"/>
```

Once we have marked anchor points between the two texts, we use XSLT (Extensible Stylesheet Language Transformation), an XML technology that allows for the transformation of XML documents, to generate a second document that embeds our matched clauses in TEI feature structures. The TEI Guidelines define the feature structure, which can be used for linguistic analysis, as “a general purpose data structure which identifies and groups together individual *features*, each of which associates a name with one or more values.”<sup>9</sup> Feature structures prove helpful to us in extending our translation analysis beyond what we can feasibly encode in markup on the Southey and Montalvo documents. We use the element `<fs>` to hold our count of the number of words in the corresponding Montalvo and Southey clauses, allowing us to generate a numerical value for the amount of compression in each instance.

In Image 3, the `@n` attribute on `<f>` for Montalvo and Southey records the number of words (tokenized based on the number of white spaces) in each clause. The `@ana` attribute on the

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<sup>9</sup> See Chapter 18 of the TEI Guidelines: <http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/FS.html>

Southey clause records the value of  $(\text{montalvo}@n - \text{southey}@n) / \text{southey}@n$ . Positive values indicate that Southey compressed the source text in that particular clause, while negative values indicate that he expanded on the source. Our first two `<f>` elements inside each `<fs>` (feature structure) hold the Montalvo and Southey clauses respectively; the third element `<f >` with attribute `@name = type` leaves a space for classification of the translation strategy Southey applied to the clause. Image 3 shows two succeeding `<fs>` elements, each of which represents a clause. The first clause has both a Montalvo and Southey version, with an `@ana` of 1.25, indicating compression. The second clause in the sample was omitted in the Southey, and thus the attribute `@name = type` on the second `<f>` element has the value “omission.”

### Image 3

```

<fs corresp="#M1_p1_c11">
  <f name="southey" n="4" ana="1.25">
    <string>to the chamber door</string>
  </f>
  <f name="montalvo" n="9">
    <string>Assí llegaron a la puerta de la cámara.</string>
  </f>
  <f name="type" select="indefinite">
    <string>Comments</string>
  </f>
</fs>
<fs corresp="M1_p1_c12">
  <f name="montalvo" n="14">
    <string>Y comoquiera que Elisena fuesse a la cosa que en el mundo
      más amava/ </string>
  </f>
  <f name="type" select="omission">
    <string>Comments</string>
  </f>
</fs>

```

The alignment of source and translation was the major goal of our TEI encoding, and we have used it to generate side-by-side reading views of the Southey and the Montalvo on our website, <http://amadis.newtfire.org>. Our visualizations use XSLT to generate graphs in SVG (Scalable Vector Graphics), the sizes of which are calculated from word counts and percentages of overlap. The visualizations on the Table of Contents offer a concise summary of the comparative amount of compression Southey employed for each chapter (Tables 1 and 2). Alignment tables, linked from the bars, match the source to the translation by clause (Table 3). We produce these alignment tables with an XSLT transformation of our Montalvo and Southey TEI files, matching Southey to Montalvo via the “stitch” points coded in <anchor>. For the purposes of this essay, we use our alignment tables as the basis for a quantitative comparison of the diction of emotion in the source and translation, which we have produced as a spreadsheet portable to XML. TEI never eliminates the human factor in text analysis; rather, it allows for a durable identification of text features that can later be machine-counted or transformed for visualization.

### **Analysis of Sample Chapters**

Our project website features five sample chapters from Montalvo and Southey drawn from Book I, the most faithful portion of Southey’s translation.<sup>10</sup> The selection covers three episodes: the meeting of Amadis’s parents, their clandestine liaison, and the birth of Amadis in the first two chapters, the false report that Amadis has died in Chapter Twenty-One, and Amadis’s combat with his brother Galaor in Chapter Twenty-Three. These well-known episodes all contain moments of high emotional intensity, and the feelings they express in word and gesture range from joy to sorrow. Chapter Two, about Perion and Elisena’s love affair and Amadis’s birth, is rich in the language of happiness and despair, and Chapter Twenty-One overflows with Oriana’s grief. Amadis’s combat with Galaor, meanwhile, shows off surprise, anger, and hatred. In choosing these chapters, we attempted to find a sample for *Amadis of Gaul* that included all its major characters and its emotional range. Though we plan to add chapters in the future, we believe that this test bed of texts represents Southey’s translation—at least in Book I—accurately. Tables 1 and 2 show how we present these chapters to the reader of our website, first with a visualization that indicates the degree of overlap between Montalvo and Southey, and then

<sup>10</sup> In general, deviations from the source increase as Southey’s translation progresses, and Montalvo’s Book IV is mostly missing.

in segments, with indications of omissions and additions. In Table 1, the middle section represents the part of the text Southey and Montalvo have in common; the left portion shows the percentage of the Montalvo text that does not appear in Southey, while the right portion is the percentage of the Southey text with no antecedent in Montalvo. These bars function like Venn diagrams; the center portion is overlap. Table 2 shows a larger image of the alignment bar for Chapter 2. In that chapter, 81.2% of the Montalvo text is represented in the Southey. Read from the point of view of the Southey document, 84% of Southey's text contains a direct translation from the Montalvo and the rest is superadded material by Southey. Table 3 shows a sample from our alignment tables, with Southey's additions displayed on the left column and omissions displayed on the right.

**Table 1: Aligned Table of Contents**

## Table of contents

- The overlapping bars summarize how much each chapter was altered by Southey. On the left, in yellow, we see how much of Montalvo's clauses were omitted in Southey's translation. On the right, in red, we see how much Southey added that was not present in Montalvo's text.
- Percentage values indicate proportions omitted and retained of the Montalvo text, and the proportion of new material added by Southey to the translation.
- Calculations reflect the number of clauses represented or cut from Montalvo, and the number of anchored segments in Southey's texts not present in Montalvo.

### Comiença la obra --- Chapter 1



### Capítulo I --- Chapter 2



### Capítulo II --- Chapter 3



### Capítulo XX --- Chapter 21



### Capítulo XXII --- Chapter 23

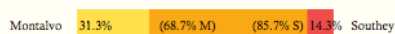


Table 2

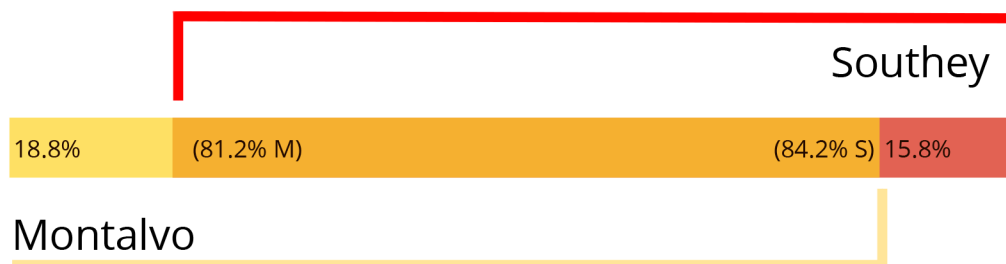


Table 3: Sample Alignment Table

Southey	Montalvo	Word count rate	Analysis
At night			Addition
when all was husht,	Como la gente fue sossegada:	0.25	Match
Darioleta rose,	Darioleta se levantó y tomó a Elisena assí desnuda como en su lecho estava solamente la camisa:	8	Match
and threw a mantle over her mistress, and they went into the garden.	y cubierta de un manto y salieron ambas a la huerta:	-0.15	Match
	y la luna hazía muy clara. La donzella miró a su señora: y abriéndole el Manto católe el cuerpo y díxole riendo. Señora en buena hora nasció el cavallero que vos esta noche avrá: Y bien dezía que esta era la más hermosa Donzella de rostro y de cuerpo que entonces se sabía. Elisena se sonrió y dixo. Assí lo podéis por mi dezir que nací en buena ventura en ser llegada a tal cavallero.		Omission

Within the sample chapters, we have uncovered a striking feature of Southey's translation that he did not preview in the Preface, a systematic dampening of the language of emotion. Southey declares in the Preface that he minimizes repetition and combat detail from the 1547, but he only mentions objectionable expressions of emotion when he references the two French



translations (1803, xxxi). We discovered that, in fact, Southey calmed down the Castilian *Amadís*, reflecting the same range of emotion words as the source but using each with less frequency. Southey's suppression of sentiment is silent, pervasive, and so subtle that, even for the member of our team who specializes in Iberian romance, it passed unperceived until we looked at it with digital methods. Southey both omits full clauses in which descriptions of emotions appear and fails to translate the diction of emotion in clauses he compresses. We term this change a cultural translation, recognizing that the expression of emotion in language obeys cultural rules and can vary quite a bit from one genre or time period to another. While there is much that is universal in human feeling, we agree with Jan Plamper's argument that specific iterations of emotion, in this case emotional language, are "framed and pre-structured" by the media in which they are embedded (Plamper 2015, 74). Though both might be termed "romance," Montalvo's Iberian chivalric text obeys one set of cultural instructions, while Southey's obeys another. Though we expected Southey's translation to deviate from the source, it did not always do so according to stereotypes about Romantic literature or even according to our knowledge of Southey's other works, like the verse romance *Thalaba*. For example, we expected the sex scene in Chapter Two to be truncated, but we did not guess beforehand that the amount of emotional suppression would be greater in the chapter that features grief than in the chapter that showcases love and sex.

To illustrate how Southey alters the emotional language of the Montalvo 1547, we have prepared a number of charts drawn from the alignment tables. The clause-by-clause alignment tables make it easy to see the number and extent of clauses Southey omitted wholesale from Montalvo's text. They have also made readily evident that Southey occasionally adds emotion words to Montalvo, as in the phrase "the pleasure of sleep," in Chapter 2, while the Montalvo simply uses the verb *dormir* ("to sleep"). We have also noticed that Southey occasionally substitutes a weaker emotional word for an expression of feeling, rendering the sense without the intensity. For example, in Chapter Twenty-One, the character Arcaláus expresses *vergüença* ("shame") at having to sing his own praises, but Southey translates with the milder "albeit I must be content to declare mine own praise."

Some of the differences between Southey and Montalvo, however, have less to do with emotion than cultural codes for the presentation of texts. The 1547 Montalvo presents a particular challenge for translation, as it bridges the textual aesthetics of the medieval and early

modern periods and lacks modern paragraphing and punctuation. Indeed, early sixteenth century romances of chivalry printed in Castile, including the copy of *Amadís* Southey had to hand, look very much like their manuscript forebears and employ a number of practices that allowed printers to maximize the number of characters on the page, including substituting the calderón symbol (similar to the modern paragraph symbol) for white space, hyphenating words at the end of lines regardless of where syllable breaks occur, and using the tilde (~) to mark the elision of letters. Paper was a printer's most expensive resource, and these techniques make it possible to print long texts like *Amadís* with relatively little of it (Lyons 2010, 38). In the 1547, moreover, even in-line punctuation is difficult for modern readers to interpret. Periods, colons, and forward slashes are used in a freely alternating pattern, and it is difficult to say where sentences begin and end. The spelling is not consistent in the 1547, and archaic forms alternate with early modern ones. Southey had to modernize for publication: he uses vastly different clause and sentence boundaries that obey modern punctuation rules.

Southey's modernization of the text's grammar and typography, so essential in communicating with English readers, also tended to simplify the text at the level of diction and theme. Omissions are a primary vector for this simplification, and the most overt type of omission to emerge from our markup occurs when Southey eliminates an entire clause from the Montalvo. In our five sample chapters, we found that Southey omitted 111 clauses out of a total of 1461, or 7.6% of the clauses. Most of the full-clause omissions target repetition or wordiness in the source text, but some address matters of culture or taste. Iberian romances of chivalry were notorious by the late sixteenth century in Spain for their poor style, and critics up until the mid-twentieth century tended to judge them to be of scant aesthetic quality (Menéndez y Pelayo 1925, 1:278).<sup>11</sup> Southey follows a well-established line of criticism on Montalvo in correcting perceived deficiencies. Though most of the omitted clauses could be perceived to have a stylistic flaw, we identified some whose objectionable qualities were primarily thematic: thirty-four related to emotion, eight related to expressions of courtesy, eight that contained religious diction, and six that contained combat detail (Table 4). The small number of sample chapters does not yet allow us to pinpoint how extensive Southey's suppression of emotion at the clause level might be, but a striking number of the omitted clauses deal with emotion. In fact, emotion appears to

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<sup>11</sup> Curiously, in France, Herberay's translations of Montalvo, though word-for-word in some places, were considered masterpieces of prose style. The English market also held Munday's translation from Herberay to be elegant and fashionable. See Giraud 1986, 18–19; Rothstein 1999, 36; Moore 2004, xix.

occasion a greater degree of suppression than the themes Southey acknowledged altering in his Preface, namely medieval expressions of courtesy, appearances of the Catholic religion, and descriptions of combat (1803, xxxi). Our look at the sample chapters suggests that the suppression of emotion is likely deliberate and not just a consequence of general compression.

**Table 4: Omitted Clauses by Category**

Apparent reason for omitting clause	Definition	Number of occurrences	Percentage of omitted clauses (out of 111; rounded to nearest half percent)
style	clauses containing repetition	57	51%
emotion	clauses that contain specific diction related to emotion	34	31%
courtesy	clauses containing late medieval hierarchical forms of address	8	7%
religion	clauses containing reference to Catholic practices	6	5.5%
combat	clauses containing the specific diction of battle	6	5.5%

Of the clauses that appear to have been omitted for reasons of content rather than style, the emotional clauses predominate. Clauses with overt sexual diction (sexual acts, sexualized body parts) comprise only 8% of the emotional clauses (three clauses in the sample), which suggests that the suppression of sexuality is not the only reason for changes to emotion in this part of the text. This contradicts our original hypothesis, formed based on prior knowledge of Southey.

Though thirty-four out of the 111 suppressed clauses contain emotion, the omitted clauses do not, on their own, tell the whole story of Southey's sentimental transformation of *Amadís* for its new audience. Indeed, most of Southey's omissions occur within clauses,

compressing the text at a more minute level. When we examined the clauses from Montalvo that Southey translated, we found that many of Montalvo's emotion words had been omitted. Emotion appears, at least in this sample, to be a particular target for omission, even when Southey wishes to retain the sense of the Montalvo. To ascertain approximately what percentage of Montalvo's emotional vocabulary Southey eliminates from his translation, we analyzed the alignment charts for Montalvo and Southey for two chapters in the sample, Chapters Two and Twenty-Two, taking into account both the clauses Southey omitted and the clauses Southey translated. In both chapters, Southey makes dramatic changes to emotion, but the percentage of emotion suppressed varies widely. To calculate the numbers below, we determined that an emotion word in Southey matched the Montalvo if the translation rendered it at all, either freely or literally (Table 5).

**Table 5: Emotional Suppression by Percentage**

Chapter number	Number of emotion words in corresponding Montalvo chapter	Number of emotion words in Southey translation	Number of emotion words suppressed	percentage of emotion words suppressed
Southey 2	57	40	17	29.8%
Southey 21	63	23	40	63.4%

We also created a list of the emotion words in both chapters and compared them against each other. In the chart, related words have been grouped together; i.e., instances of *alegre* (happy) are housed with *alegría* (happiness). In the two sample chapters, we found only two instances where Southey omitted an emotion word in one clause and recuperated it in another. These appear in the chart as co-occurrences (Table Six).

**Table 6: Comparison of Emotion Words for Two Chapters**

Emotion word	Number of occurrences in the two Montalvo chapters	Occurrences in the two Southey chapters	Number suppressed	Percentage suppressed
afición (affection)	2	0	2	100%
alegría (happiness)	7	3	4	57%
amor (love)	12	9	3	25%
angustia (anguish)	1	0	1	100%
bien (joy)	1	1	0	0%
congoja (anxiety)	1	0	1	100%
consuelo (consolation)	3	1	2	66%
corazón (heart)	8	6	2	25%
cuita (sorrow)	13	7	6	46%
deleite (delight)	3	2	1	33%
descanso (relief)	3	2	1	33%
desprecio (spite)	1	1	0	0%
deseo (desire)	2	0	2	100%
dolor (pain)	6	4	2	33%
duelo (grief)	2	1	1	50%
enojo (anger)	4	1	3	75%
espanto (fright)	1	1	0	0%
holganza (enjoyment)	1	1	0	0%
gozar (to enjoy)	3	2	1	33%
grave (grievous)	2	0	2	100%
lágrimas (tears)	2	1	1	50%
llorar (to cry)	9	6	3	33%

maravilla (amazement)	1	1	0	0%
miedo (fear)	1	1	0	0%
orgullo (pride)	1	1	0	0%
padecer (to suffer)	3	1	2	66%
pagar (to gratify) <sup>12</sup>	1	0	1	100%
pesar (to aggrieve)	1	1	0	0%
piedad (pity)	1	0	1	100%
placer (pleasure)	4	3	1	25%
querer (to love) <sup>13</sup>	2	0	2	100%
reír (to laugh)	1	0	1	100%
sentir (to feel) <sup>14</sup>	1	0	1	100%
sobresalto (distress)	1	0	1	100%
sonreír (to smile)	1	0	1	100%
sufrir (to suffer)	1	0	1	100%
temer (to fear)	1	0	1	100%
tormento (torment)	1	0	1	100%
tristeza (sadness)	3	0	3	100%
vergüenza (shame)	1	1	0	0%
vicio (pleasure)	2	1	1	50%
total unique emotion words in sample: 42	total uses = 115	total uses = 59	total suppressed = 56	overall suppression = 48%

Though our sample size for this comparison, two chapters, is quite small compared to the overall extent of the Montalvo and Southey's texts, we think the fact that Southey retains only 52% of Montalvo's emotion words in the sample suggests that the suppression of emotion is a deliberate practice. Our feature structure analysis has allowed us to estimate that of the total extent of Montalvo's chapters, Southey retains 81.2% of Chapter 2 and 68.7% of Chapter 22 in his translation. For these two chapters at least, Southey seems to have translated much of the general content but eliminated a higher proportion of emotion words. Analysis of a larger portion of

<sup>12</sup>The verb *pagar* usually means "to pay." We have an archaic use here in *Amadís*, "muy pagado de su amiga," very pleased/gratified with his lover.

<sup>13</sup>When *querer* means to want, as in "I want a sandwich," rather than to love, we have not included it in the chart. *Querer* can be a synonym for *amar*.

<sup>14</sup>We include *sentir* only when it means "to feel an emotion" not when it means "to hear."

Montalvo and Southey would be needed to provide a definitive answer, but our preliminary results suggest that Southey minimized emotion specifically in his version of *Amadís*.

The reason for Southey's suppression of emotion, however, remains a matter for debate. It is commonplace to consider Romanticism as concerned with the engagement of readerly sympathies and the expression of affect, but Romantic authors (including Southey's friends, William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge) took emotion very seriously as a sublime, motile force that could drive the mind from measured reason. Their interest in the emotion-laden texts of past centuries may have been to modulate, dilute, and refine it for a modern age, attenuating the diction of emotion to account for the susceptibility of the mind to overwhelming emotion.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, Jan Plamper, citing examples going back to John Huizinga's foundational work in the field, writes that it has been traditional in the history of emotion to represent the people of the Middle Ages as "hyperemotional medieval children" (2015, 39). While scholars in recent years have questioned the idea of a progressive notion of human emotion defined by epochal increases in emotional control, it may be that Southey calms Montalvo's *Amadís* as a means of suiting his audience's perceived taste (Plamper 2015, 49). Yet Southey is not, as a rule, unemotional, even in *Amadis of Gaul*. His parting comment to the reader of the Preface, indeed, is rich in sentiment, in this case his own fond affection for the source text: "Perhaps others may not see the beauties which I perceive; the necessity of dwelling upon every sentence has produced in me a love for the whole" (1803, xxxv).

Based on clues from Southey's Preface, we have another hypothesis to suggest: Southey suppressed emotions in the Montalvo text in reaction against the two French translators who expanded rather than contracted Montalvo's sentiment. While Southey's Preface does not criticize emotions in Montalvo, it does critique expressions of feeling in both Herberay and Tressan. Southey accuses the sixteenth-century Herberay, his least favorite *Amadís* translator, of "abominable obscenities" and complains that the late eighteenth-century Tressan concealed true expressions of chivalry under a "varnish of French sentiment" (1803, xxxiii–xxxiv). To our project team, it seems plausible that for Southey, the language of sentiment in the Montalvo simply felt too French to be acceptable in a text for English readers.<sup>16</sup> In a curious moment of

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<sup>15</sup> For a representative sampling of Southey's contemporaries theorizing engagement with the emotions, see Wordsworth's Preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads* (Wordsworth 1800, xiii–xiv, xxx–xxxvi), and Joanna Baillie's preface to the 1798 *Plays on the Passions* (Baillie 2001).

reverse causality, it appears that *Amadís's* translation history might have caused the source text to seem overly emotional.

Indeed, Southey's own feelings—anti-French feelings, that is—appear to be quite strong by the time of composition of *Amadis of Gaul*. In the Preface, Southey frequently mentions France and French translators in a disparaging way, and in a letter to Richard Heber, he expresses disapproval for the widely appreciated French Vulgate romances that influenced *Amadís* (2013f). Southey's strong dislike of France was not universal among English readers of *Amadis*. In the *Edinburgh Review*, Walter Scott expressed his belief in the French thesis about the text's origin, which appears to have annoyed Southey (Scott 1803, 109). Southey laments Scott's disagreement in five letters to different recipients and finally writes Scott directly to debate the question in 1808, five years after the review appeared (2013e). W.S. Rose's English versification of Book I of Herberay's *Amadis*, which appeared in 1803, the same year as Southey's translation, constitutes another English vote for an *Amadís* liberally varnished in Frenchness (Moore 2004, xxii; Thomas 1920, 256).

Regarding France, Southey is perhaps more nationalistic—at least in 1803—than Scott or Rose. The threat of war with Napoleon forms the backdrop for Southey's Preface and letters about his *Amadis* translation, and it seems likely that the looming conflict informed Southey's negative opinion of French translators and French sentiment. Caught up with anti-French sentiment, moreover, are positive feelings for Portugal, which Southey believed to be the true origin of *Amadís*. In an 1803 letter to Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, Southey jokingly references Napoleon:

if this war shuts me from Portugal & cuts off my supplies of books – it will almost break my heart. God send that Bonaparte may come in person with his Invaders. [H]e had better come with a diving-bell instead of a helmet, in readiness—for if he do not feed the crabs in the channel [...] the Crows shall have him ashore.

The boast in Southey's letter perhaps conceals a degree of anxiety about conflict on English soil. Yet war brings opportunity as well as chaos. In the same letter, Southey wonders if war might lead to work in Portugal: "It has come into my head that France will go to war with Portugal—& if so perhaps we may send an army there, & if so—perhaps it might not be impossible that I could get a civil appointment' (2011b). France, not Spain, is the source of Southey's fears about

<sup>16</sup>Marian Rothstein and Yves Giraud have discussed Herberay's tendency to add to Montalvo's erotic scenes. See Rothstein 1999, 55; Giraud 1986, 14.



England's political future, and Portugal, not Spain, is the site of his hope to profit from it. Between these two fantasies, there is little room left for Spain, or for Spanish emotion.

Southey's changes to the expression of emotion in *Amadís* might well be an attempt to peel back the text one layer beyond Montalvo, to the apocryphal Portuguese author Lobeira. From our twenty-first century perspective, the task is impossible, as it is certain that Lobeira did not write the primitive *Amadís*, but it is nonetheless compelling to Southey, not least for its emotional resonance. For Southey, Lobeira represented "the age of chivalry, the noon-day of heroism and honour;" in other words, the kind of medieval authenticity Herberay, Tressan, and even Montalvo lacked (1803, xxiii). According to Southey, Montalvo came from a comparatively fallen world: "a Spaniard who described humane and generous valour in the days of Ferdinand and the Austrian family could paint only from a dim recollection of the past" (1803, xxiii). Lobeira is less a real person for Southey than the focal point for projections about a glorious Middle Ages. Twice in his letters, Southey imagines meeting Lobeira in heaven (2013a, 2013d). The fantasy recalls Dante's journey through the afterlife with Virgil in the *Divine Comedy* and positions Lobeira as a spiritual guide. Montalvo, the earliest "author" who can be attached in truth to *Amadís*, earns neither respect nor longing from Southey.

The Romantic poet provides the clue to this difference in his comment about the "Austrian family," i.e., the Spanish Hapsburgs, including Charles V, whose aunt Catherine of Aragon was queen of England, and Philip II, husband to Mary Tudor and sender of the "Invincible" Armada. Southey's distaste for Spain has its origin in Spain's imperial past, and specifically, in its early modern rivalry with England. While early modern Portugal was an empire in its own right, Spain emerged in the sixteenth century as the greater power. Indeed, due to the consanguinity of the two monarchies, Portugal and Spain were united for a brief period, 1580-1640. Spain, a fiercely Catholic and fiercely militaristic nation in the early modern period, was a consistent threat to England, while Portugal was less menacing. For Southey, it may have been ideologically easier to dream of medieval Portugal than to dream of medieval Spain.

Though we are persuaded by our theory that nationalism inflected Southey's rendition of emotion in *Amadis of Gaul*, we also recognize the wide cultural gap that lies between Montalvo and Southey. One of the strengths of our digital project has been to suggest that translation decisions are incredibly complex, and that a translator's description of his or her method can only give an incomplete accounting of them. Though we began the project with a belief that

translation decisions could be sorted according to simple typologies like “literal” v. “free,” our project team has come to view all translations as cultural and multivalent. We look forward to expanding the project and continuing our study of Southey’s early nineteenth-century translation as a means to learn more about the history of translation and the cultural factors that inform the representation of emotion.

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