Proceedings of the II Conference of the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies

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Actas del II Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Renacentistas Ingleses (SEDERI)

Edited by S. G. Fernández-Corugedo

Universidad of Oviedo
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TO THE READER

The proceedings that you hold in your hands are the result of the combined efforts of a great number of people, all of whom deserve the most sincere thanks of the organizing committee in whose name I write these lines. First of all, there are those, of course, that attended the lectures held in the Spring of 91: members of SEDERI, colleagues from the English section of the Departamento de Filología Anglogermánica y Francesa of this University and students. Without their support and contributions, needless to say, this volume, and the conference as such, would never have been possible.

SEDERI was born with at least two very clear purposes in mind: in the first place, to bring together the people in Spain that shared an interest in English Renaissance Studies. In the second, to make it possible for them in this frame to let the results of their research be known, not only in our own country but also abroad. The two conferences so far held (Zaragoza and Oviedo) prove that the initiative was worth the effort it so far has carried along.

In the second place, thanks must also be given to those institutions, and the persons that represented them, that believed from the very beginning in the idea of a second annual conference: the Rector of the University, Dr López Arranz, the Vicerrectorados de Investigación y Estudiantes, the Publishing Service of the University, the Decanato de la Facultad de Filología, the Dirección General de Investigación Científica y Técnica, the Conservatorio Superior de Música "Eduardo Martínez Torner" and The British Council.

Our final wish is that somebody like you can benefit from it all.

Juan E. Tazón Salces

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* * *

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FROM FIRE TO WATER: A SYMBOLIC ANALYSIS OF THE "ELEMENTS" IN THE ELIZABETHAN EROTIC DISCOURSE

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Much has been written about the Petrarchan influence on the love poems of the Elizabethan age. In this sense, there has been an endless number of studies which have attempted to give an overall view of the correlations between the Petrarchan conception of the sonnet and the innovations introduced by the English sonneteers, not to speak of the purely stylistic analyses of the most frequent tropes and figures used in this erotic code. However, an interpretation of the four elements and the role played by each in the game of love could well serve as a basis for an analysis of the logic which underlies the erotic discourse of the love sonnets, though this has never been undertaken in a systematic way. The aim of this paper is, then, to investigate the presence of three of these elements -Fire, Air and Water- in this erotic discourse and to elicit the symbolic connotations which can rather easily be derived from their pervasive appearance in the poetic structure of three typically Elizabethan sonnet-sequences like "Astrophel and Stella", "Tears of Fancie" and "Parthenophil and Parthenophe".[1] For clarity's sake, I will by examining two spaces attempt to analyse the love poems in question not as isolated units but as discourses nurtured by the same erotic logic:

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[1] All the sonnets by Sir Philip Sidney, Thomas Watson and Barnabe Barnes have been taken from *An English Garner. Elizabethan Sonnets*, ed. Sidney Lee, Vol. 1 (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1964).

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(i) The space of Presence: The vision of the beloved object or the Dialectic of Fire.

(ii) The space of Absence: The solitude of the lover or the Dialectic of Air and Water.

Needless to say, these spaces are not separate entities and very often interact with each other.

THE SPACE OF PRESENCE: THE VISION OF THE BELOVED OBJECT OR THE DIALECTIC OF FIRE

"Thy beauty is the Sun which guides my life"
B. Barnes

It is obvious that to speak of any erotic discourse whatsoever implies to recognise the existence of a person "X" who loves and a "Y" who is loved, "X" being the subject or the "I's" of the poems and Y the object of the discourse, usually a third and more rarely a second person.[1] It goes without saying that in most of the love sonnets of the period, this X, the subject who loves, is a man. This truism is important insofar as it shows that the erotic game which is going to be put into play is a male-centred one, which unavoidably implies a vision of the beloved object -the mistress- from a specific perspective. In fact, it is precisely the woman who is going to become the object of love "par excellence". Not surprisingly, her figure is bound to occupy the central position in the moral, aesthetic and artistic debates of the age from different -if not opposing- standpoints. Woman can be either the epitome of the most praiseworthy virtue or the byword for moral corruption, an example of purity and chastity or the object which arouses lust and other base instincts. This is indeed the controversy which takes place in Book Four of *The Courtier* by Castiglione.

[1] For a philosophical account of the thematic structure of the erotic discourse, see Roland Barthes, *A Lover's Discourse. Fragments*, trans. Richard Howard, (New York. Hill and Wang, 1975).

Whereas Peter Bemboo, the defender of the Neoplatonic conception of love, argues for the doctrine that "Beauty is always good" and accordingly beautiful women can only be viewed as examples of virtue, Mr. Morello supports the traditional negative opinion of women in the following terms:

> "...beauty is not always good, for the beauty of women is many times cause of infinite evils in the world (...); and beautiful women for the most part be either proud and cruel, as is said, or unchaste." [1]

But this is also a debate which is present in Elizabethan poetry, particularly in the poetry that Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie* defines as "the meanest sort" which can be "used for recreation only", [2] i.e., in the love sonnets and lyrics of the age. Stella, Parthenophe, Delia, Myra ..., to give but a few examples from the endless list of woman's names which appear in this kind of poetic production, would doubtless fit into the vision of women put forward by Mr. Bemboo, since they are seen as reflections of beauty and virtue. Yet it is no less true that there is a good deal of poems which underline the other side of woman's nature: I am here referring to all the satirical pictures which do not precisely convey a laudatory vision of the mistress and which in fact constitute an overt attack on the benefits of love.

Thus, between these two extreme poles -love as a "brain-sick foolery" and love as an eternal sacred reality does move the love poetry of the age. I do not intend, of course, to enter here into a discussion on the ideological conflict between the misogynist position, which is a clear remnant of the medieval vision of women and passion as emblematic objects of fleshly sin, and the Neoplatonic doctrine which enhances the moral virtues which can be derived from the courtly practice of love. Instead, I will focus my attention upon what seems to be the freshest and most typically Renaissance attitude towards the erotic code, which breaks through the old poetic patterns and thematic forces of the poetry of the age. This new erotic code starts from two important Neoplatonic premises which can be summarized as follows:

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[1] Taken from Sir Thomas Hobby's translation (1561). Rptd. (New York: Dutton and London: Dent, 1928).

[2] Cfr. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Gladys Doidge Willock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 24.

(i) Love is defined not as a gratification of the senses but as a spiritual yearning for beauty.

(ii) Physical beauty can only be understood as an external sign of virtue. Ficino does not hesitate to recognise the spiritual nature of beauty in his influential treatise on the topic:

> "And by this it is revealed that the source of beauty itself cannot be the body for if beauty were a physical phenomenon it would not correspond to the virtues of the spirit which are immaterial." [1]

For this reason, physical beauty is often viewed as a mirror of the divine order of the universe, i.e., as a balanced mixture of the four elemental spheres that make up the sublunary world. This might also account for the fact that the poetic representation of the beloved object, far from being a unique experience of the individual who loves, can be decodified into a number of elements which are always present under one form or another in most of the love poems of the age. Thus, the mistress is beautiful and can be set up as a model of physical perfection insomuch as she becomes a microcosmic reflection of the arrangement of the four elements, not in an arbitrary fashion but precisely in the way in which these are assumed to be ordered in the macrocosm.

The Elizabethan conception of the world, as far as the theory of the elements is concerned, is hierarchical: the four elements are arranged following a vertical line in which Fire takes up the top of the hierarchy whereas Earth is located at the bottom. Air and Water occupy the intermediate positions.[2] Right now, we may ask ourselves how this

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[1] Marsilio Ficino, "De Amore. Commentarium in Convivium Platonis" (1594). Rptd. *De Amore. Comentario a "El Banquete" de Platón,* transl. and ed. Rocío de la Villa Ardura (Madrid: Tecnos, 1986), p. 91. The translation into English is mine.

[2] For a detailed discussion on this topic, see the classic study by E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (Hardmondsworth: Penguin, 1943) which still deserves to be read notwithstanding the fact that to the contemporary critic it mayappear somewhat somewhat simplistic and perhaps even outdated. Much more interesting is a recent article by Edward Grant "Medieval and Renaissance scholastic conceptions of the influence of the celestial region on the terrestrial" in JMRS, Vol. 17 (1987), pp. 1-23.

particular arrangement might be translated into physical beauty, i.e., into the image of a mistress. The difficulty for a twentieth-century reader to grasp questions like this lies in the fact that our habits of thought and knowledge of the world have been formed from a positivist and rationalist standpoint which prevents us from understanding the construction of sixteenth century knowledge. In this sense, Michel Foucault makes a magnificent analysis of the Renaissance epistemology and his theory will suffice to explain this point.[1] It is impossible, he argues, to apprehend the logic of the prescientific ages if we do not take into account the category of "analogy" or "similitude", this being one of the most powerful tools of knowledge up to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only by starting from the concept of "analogy" will we be able to understand how the sublunary world is basically seen as a reflection of heaven in the Renaissance and how the same elements can be found in one and the other regions, the differences being only a natural consequence of the matter of which they were made. It is not surprising, then, if we follow this train of thought, to find allegedly objective sentences like the following in countless treatises of the age:

> [Every flower and plant] "is an earthly star which glances at the heavens just as every star is a celestial plant in spiritual form, which is only different from the earthly counterpart in its material composition."[2]

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[1] For a deeper investigation into the Renaissance epistemology and the category of Analogy in any of its forms, a prime text is Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses. Une archeology des sciences humaines* (1966). I am quoting from the Spanish edition: *Las palabras y las cosas*, transl. Elsa Cecilia Frost (México D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1984). All the quotations in English included hereafter have been translated by the present author. See also Joseph A. Mazzeo's excellent article "A Critique of some Modern Theories of Metaphysical Poetry" in *Seventeenth Century English Poetry*, ed. William R. Keast (New York, 1962), pp. 63-74. His theory is based upon the premise that metaphysical poets "possessed a view of the world founded on universal analogy and derived habits of thought which prepared them for finding and easily accepting the most heterogeneous analogies." For a wider reference to these "habits of thought", Gaston Bachelard's suggestive work *La formation de l'esprit scientifique* should be consulted. The Spanish edition can be found in G. Bachelard *La formación del espíritu científico*, transl. José Banini, (México D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1948).

[2] Quoted by Foucault, p. 29.

It is this category of "analogy" that also explains the game of resemblances between the universe as the macrocosm and man as the microcosmic unit. Indeed, we can easily find all the elements of the former arranged in a similar way in the latter, everything being reduced to a question of reflection in varying degrees. Finally, it is this analogical view of the world that seems to justify the fact that in a microcosmic experience like love, which is supposed to partake of divine properties, the figure of the mistress mirrors the order prescribed in the constitution of the universe: Fire, Air, Water and Earth.

This is, at least, the idea presented by Sir Walter Ralegh in a poem called "Nature that washt her hands in milk". The subject-matter is simple: the allegorical reincarnation of Love asks Nature to compose a mistress and the result can only be the image of a woman in which the first three elements -Fire, Air and Water- appear vertically arranged on her face: Fire is immediately identified with the brightness of the eyes ("Her eyes he would should be of light"); Air is transformed into "a violet of breath" and finally Water appears in "her lips of jelly". Naturally, the difficulty arises with the problem of how to represent Earth, the most ignoble and meanest of the elements. Since love is by definition a godlike phenomenon, it is difficult to see how Earth can take part in the idyllic vision of the mistress. Ralegh unravells the problem by introducing this impure element in the following way:

> "At Loves entreaty, such a one
> Nature made, but with her beauty
> She hath framed a heart of stone" [emphasis added]

Only when the four elements have been ordered in the only way possible, the iconic representation of the beloved object appears to be perfected.

But there is no doubt that the Neoplatonic definition of love put forward by the different "trattatisti d'amore" prescribes that out of the four elements it is Fire, the noblest and purest of them, which, above all others, takes up the most prominent position in the depiction of the beloved. An important question arises here: which of the bodily parts of the mistress can be a reflection of this first element? The answer to this question is not too difficult to find if we again think of the logic of analogy as the only possible means to grapple with seemingly unsolvable problems like this. If Fire is represented by the Sun in the universe and the Sun is the celestial body which illuminates the earth, it is no coincidence, then, that the eye,

the organ which serves to see light, analogically comes to incarnate the properties we typically assign to this element. Discussing the "Aemulatio", one of the methods of knowledge of the age, Foucault remarks:

> "The eyes are the stars since they illuminate the face just as the celestial bodies shed light in the darkness, and because the blind are in this world like a man of normal vision who is trying to see in the darkest night." [1]

Thus, if the eyes become the embodiment of Fire, it is hardly surprising that they are constantly equated with the Sun, the stars or any other celestial or earthly body which gives or reflects light.º Astrophil devotes a complete sonnet to his mistress' eyes (VII), and he goes as far as to attribute his success in the tournaments to the almost divine inspiration which can come from a single glance from his beloved:

> "the true cause is
> Stella lookt on, and from her heavenly face
> Sent forth the beams which made so fair my race"
> (XLI)

To give a list of the examples in which the properties of Fire are associated with the eyes of the beloved would be an endless task and is beyond the scope of this paper. Most notable are, perhaps, Spenser's line "Her goodly eyes like Saphyres shining bright", Robert Greene's simile "Thine eyes like flames of holy fire" and Parthenophil's extended comparison "the torchlight of two suns" (Sonnet XXII). There is, nevertheless, an important idea which underlies all these poetic images: from an animist point of view, the eyes were held to be the window through which the twin souls -those of the lover and the beloved imprisoned in the body- could look out and recognise each other. Thus, Ficino regarded sight as the noblest sense through which the spiritual joy of love could be achieved:

> "Beauty is a *blaze* which the human spirit draws towards itself. The beauty of the body is no other than the *blaze* itself resulting from the harmony of lines and colours (...). But this *light* of the body is not

[1] Foucault, p. 36.

> perceived either by the ear or the smell or the taste or the tact but by the eye. *If only the eye knows it, only the eye can enjoy it."*[1]
>
> [emphasis added]

What we have here is undoubtedly a Neoplatonic vision of love as a heavenly flame sent forth by God and perceived by the body through the visual sense, the only gate which can keep the soul in contact with the external world. But what is noteworthy is that the images used to illustrate the purifying force of Love and Beauty can be no other than those related to Fire, the noblest of the elements, the least polluted of them. It is in this sense that we should understand this kind of poetic obsession with the mistress' eyes. In fact, they are going to become the definite proof -the external mark, we could say- that the beloved object is not only beautiful but also spiritually illuminated with the grace of love. In other words, if only the beautiful souls can be endowed with the illuminating power of love and this can only be reflected through the light of the eyes, it is logical that the lover focuses his attention upon no other bodily part of his mistress but her eyes. Astrophil does not hesitate to recognise this fact: "Mine eyes (shall I say curst or blest) beheld / STELLA. now she is named, need more be said?" (XVI).

This dialectic of Fire, present in the vision of the beloved object, is going to produce a whole image-repertoire which spreads from the "boiling sprites" and "restless flames" of the lover to the no less recurrent motif of the mistress' look turned into a "ray" or "beam" which inspires either the lover courtier to win his races in the tournaments as in Sonnet XLI mentioned above or the lover-poet to write his poetry as in Sonnet XV. But the symbolism of Fire in the passionate game of love is not restricted to the depiction of the mistress' eyes, however fundamental this may be. Moreover, there are some other poetic devices connected with this element which also remain invariably associated with the vision of the beloved. I am here alluding to the massive use of words like "gold" or "red", words which hint in one way or the other at this dialectic of Fire to we have been continually referring.

That "gold" seems to be analogically coupled with Fire in the Renaissance can be perfectly seen in the alchemists' appreciation of this precious metal:

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[1] Ficino, p. 47.

> The Sun and gold have a special correspondence and some strenghth for the Sun has worked on the gold as a powerful mediator (...). Hence gold has its origin in the golden and celestial Loadstone.[1]

It is this correspondence that explains the belief in gold as being the purest, the most spiritual and temperate of all the earthly substances, a belief which is reinforced by the fact that most alchemists also thought the metal to be composed of a balanced mixture of the four elements and hence its curative value and use in medicine.

> "Gold fortifies the heart, reanimates the spirit and cheers up the soul (...) it is useful for melancholy and for heart pangs and throbs."[2]

Seen from this perspective, gold cannot be absent in the idealised picture of the beloved: Stella's face is compared to a palace whose "covering" is "gold" (Sonnet VII) and gold also seems to be one of the obligatory colours for Parthenophil to compose his mistress' portrait, as we can see in the iconic representation he makes of his beloved in Madrigal 4.

The same can be said in relation to the symbolism of red in the love poetry of the age. It is perfectly obvious that an identical analogical correspondence with Fire can be found in all the metaphors whose only common element is the colour red, the one which most clearly represents the symbolic force of Fire and therefore also of concomitant experiences such as love and passion. I am not going to enter here into a discussion of the bipartite symbolic status of a colour like red and its long tradition in literature. What I would like to emphasize instead is the fact that red, as far as the logic of the erotic discourse is concerned, is a colour which definitely must be present in the depiction of the mistress' complexion. It is only in this light that we should interpret all the flower and fruit motifs which are almost invariably used to refer to the features of the beloved's face: thus, archetypal images like "roses" or "apples which the Sun hath rudded" (Spenser's "Epithalamion") can easily be understood as metaphorical expressions constructed around the axis of the fire element and used to refer to the lady's cheeks, whereas metaphors or similes like "cherries", "red

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[1] Quoted by Bachelard, p. 166.

[2] Bachelard, p. 161.

porphiry" and "vermillion" are the commonest poetic devices utilised to enact the lips of the beloved.

Thus far we have seen how the logic of the love poems included within the space of the mistress' presence depends on a series of images of light which can only be grasped if we interpret them according to this dialectic of Fire, a dialectic which spreads from the eyes of the beloved -the epitome of the Sun- to the flower, fruit and metal motifs by which she is depicted. But the problem arises when the mistress is out of sight, i.e., when she departs from her lover. This forces us to move on to the second space into which a large number of sonnets can easily be placed. This space is obviously no other than that of absence.

THE SPACE OF ABSENCE: THE SOLITUDE OF THE LOVER OR THE DIALECTIC OF AIR AND WATER

"Whatever dies was not mixt equally"
John Donne

Let us see how the dialectic of Fire which operated in the discourse of presence is now substituted by a new dialectic of two elements -Air and Water- in a set of poems which clearly revolve around the thematic axis of the mistress' absence and which accordingly can be analysed from a totally different standpoint. First of all, we should remark that if the beloved being was seen as a perfect whole, i.e., as a balanced macrocosmic-like combination of the four elements, of which Fire took up the most prominent position, now the solitary lover, overwhelmed by the burden of the beloved's departure, is bound to undergo a disorder -frequently verging on a chaotic state- of the elements. Hereafter Air and Water are going to play the most important role. This is the idea expressed by Parthenophil in Sonnet LXXVII. Note how instead of the macrocosmic vertical order, we now find a complete inversion of the elements:

"How can I live in mind or body's health,
When all four Elements, my griefs conspire?
The Fire, with heat's extremes mine heart enraging.
Water, in tears, from Despair's fountain flowing.
My soul in sighs, Air to Love's soul engaging.

My Fancy's coals, Earth's melancholy blowing."

This explains that the lover's chaotic state easily finds analogical correspondences with natural phenomena in which the elemental agents are seen as confronting each other in a violent struggle: storms, tempests, earthquakes... Thus, the mechanism which nurtures a microcosmic experience like love, in which the wild action of Air and Water seems to be the defining feature, is represented by the collision of elements as they are assumed to act in the universe, the essential game of analogical relations being once again accomplished. A good instance of this is Sonnet XXXVI of "Tears of Fancie" in which the distressed state of the lover is compared to the "raging wind" and to the "surging seas" or Parthenophil's description of his anguish as a strange concurrence of "seas, volumes, earthquakes and hell" (Sonnet XX).

The importance of Air and Water within the space of absence can also be interpreted from a symbolic perspective: since the departure of the beloved means the lover's privation of light, i.e., the disappearance of Fire in a phenomenon like love which can only subsist through the action of this element, it is perfectly understandable that now Air and Water take the stage in an erotic discourse which is about to disintegrate. This is why the images of light are now changed into images of darkness and hence the entire game of dichotomies (summer/winter, day/night, sun/moon) which plays such a fundamental role in the Elizabethan erotic discourse.

On a primary level, this new dialectic of Air and Water is most often realized by the ever-recurrent appearance of sighs and tears. Thus, Astrophil's complaint about Stella's absence is typically expressed in lines like the following: "Oft with true sighs, oft with uncall'd tears/ Now with slow words, now with dumb eloquence" (LXI). And no less revealing in this sense proves the lover's language in a sonnet-sequence like "Tears of Fancie": "Teares, plaints, and sighes, all cause of ioyes declining" (XXXIX). In fact, the logic which underlies this bulk of examples in which tears and sighs take up the central position is no other than the struggle of Air and Water, two elements which often blend and clash in the lover's soliloquies, since they seem to convey contrary effects. Obviously, the functions of Air and Water are not only different but also opposed: Water in the form of tears aims either to relieve the repressed force of desire or to extinguish the flames of burning passion. In both cases the presence of Fire, the driving element of love, is counteracted, when not annihilated:

> " Hart said that loue did enter at the eies,
> And from the eies descended to the hart:
> Eies said that in the hart did sparkles arise,
> Which kindled flame that wrought the inward smart,
> Hart said eies tears might soone quencht that flame"
> (XX)

This dialectic of Water checking the burning action of Fire is going to create a series of contradictory images which reflect the two halves of the lover's tormented nature. In this sense, it is worth noting that Parthenophil defines himself as a mixture of Water and Fire in Sonnet XLII (" Thus am I Water-Man, and Fire-Man").

On the other hand, Air, an element purer than Water since it is situated closer to Fire, brings about the reverse effect: sighs do not serve but to kindle the lover's incandescent heart which after the purifying action of tears has become reduced to a heap of embers. This is at least the conceitful thought expressed by Astrophil in Sonnet XCV (" Yet sighs! dear sighs! Indeed true friend you are") or by Parthenophil in Sonnet LXXXVII:

> " Burn on, sweet Fire! For I live by that fuel,
> Whose smoke is as an incense to my soul!
> Each sigh prolongs my smart..."

However, Water is the element which is going to play a most important role in the space of absence. Its function is not only restricted to the simple use of this pervasive language of tears, of which we can enumerate a host of examples.º Water is also present in the form of three important motifs:

> (i) Very often the lover who has been deprived of light and who cannot support the oppressive burden of his beloved's loss seeks refuge in the monotonous rhythm of the fountain. Thus, the lover of " Tears of Fancie" does not need long to see a parallel of his grief in the water springing from it:
>
> " Taking a truce with teares
> I thus began hard by the fountain side
> O deare copartner of my wretched woe"

(XXIX)

(ii) Similarly, the lover during his mistress absence can also express his thoughts more easily by the side of a river or stream. Here we may recall Astrophil's sonnet to the river Thames (CIII), or Sonnet XXVII of "Tears of Fancie" ("The banke whereon I leand my restles head"). No less interesting in this sense proves one poem clearly articulated around the theme of the beloved's absence: Spenser's "Prothalamion", in which the line "Sweet Thames, run softly, till I end my song" is anaphorically repeated at the end of each stanza.

(iii) Finally, the Sea also seems to be a minor symbolic space within the discourse of absence. The opening lines of Sonnet LXXV of *Amoretti* can be given as a good example of this:

> "One day I wrote her name upon the strand
> But came the waves and wash'd it away:"

What is at issue here is the use of Water as the poetic element which most explicitly symbolizes an abstract category like Time and a parallel concept like Death. Gaston Bachelard claims apropos of this:

> "Water is really the transient element. It is the essential ontological metamorphosis between fire and earth. The self consecrated to Water is a self living on the verge of giddiness. It dies every single minute, something of its substance ceaselessly crumbles down. (...) The everyday death is the death of Water. Water always flows, always falls down, always ends up with its horizontal death. (...) The pity of Water is boundless." [1]

Thus, the three images mentioned above can definitely be interpreted as symbols of Time operating in different forms:

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[1] Cfr. Bachelard's illuminating work *L'eau et les rêves. Essai sur l'imagination de la matiére* (1942). I am quoting from the Spanish edition published in Mexico D. F. with the title *El Agua y los Sueños* by Fondo de Cultura Económica (p. 15). Again the translation is mine.

(i) First, the fountain functions as a clear image of melancholy: it is simply the vision of the water condemned to flow continously in a cyclical way, and whose music can only convey an overwhelming feeling of sadness. It is therefore the the clearest analogical reflection of the lover's sorrow.

(ii) The river or the stream is obviously the symbolic motif of the passage of time: it is the image of the water whose flow -like that of Chronos- cannot come to a halt.

(iii) The Sea is eventually used as an emblem of Death.

Obviously enough, Time, as one of the most important thematic forces, does not seem to be absent in the erotic discourse of the age from Shakespeare's sonnets to Marvell's poetry, as it has often been pointed out. In fact, if the love union has proved impossible and the solitary lover is compelled to confront the problem of his fragile identity, it is logical that Water -the most changeable of the elements- emerges as the driving force of a discourse which can no longer be constructed around its natural thematic axis -Fire- and which accordingly is on the verge of its own disintegration. Only the vision of Water in any of its possible forms -either fountain, river or sea- can then operate as a crystalline reflection of the lover's fragmented identity. Thus, if Fire represented the spiritual force of love in an erotic game in which the vision of the beloved made the lover take part in a phenomenon which was supposed to be immutable, Water can only bring about the reverse effect: its discoursive function is no other than to be a reminder of the lover's brittle, Time-bound nature, and simultaneously to emphasize the futility of his amorous discourse.

* * *

THE DRAM OF EVIL: MEDIEVAL SYMBOLISM IN *HAMLET*

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In Act I scene iv, Hamlet disparagingly describes Claudius' intemperance as one of those qualities which foreigners all too readily ascribe to the Danes, and shows he does not take kindly to a king who insists on living up to this notorious fame by practising 'a custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance'. He concludes his invective with the following lines:

> '...the dram of evil
> Doth all the noble substance of a doubt
> To his own scandal' (I, iv: 36-38).

Or, in Harold Jenkins' interpretation: "doth all the noble substance *often dout*": often obscures or renders invisible the reputation of a man.

The title of this talk is really a misnomer. I do not wish to enter the debate concerning three lines which Jenkins has called "probably the most famous crux in Shakespeare". I assume the correctness of the hypothesis which sees in Q2 *eale* a corruption or contraction of *evil;* and I will refrain from interpreting *of a doubt* beyond Jenkins' reading. I am more interested in the word *dram* and the value it may have in establishing a mythological reading of *Hamlet*.

Far too much emphasis is usually laid upon *Hamlet* as a play *of character* in our sense of the concept, as 'modern', hence realistic, hence 'psychological', so much so that Sigmund Freud was able to uncover an Oedipus complex from the information the text gives about Hamlet.

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Without seeking to deny the validity of these approaches, I would like to emphasise, rather, the fact that many situations and images in the play constitute late manifestations or remnants, altered to whatever extent, of symbolic systems which predate Shakespeare by centuries if not millennia. Now, I have only got about fifteen minutes to make good this somewhat grand claim, so I shall limit myself to making a small contribution towards a *mythological* reading of the play.

So, let me get back to the word *dram*. It derives from the Greek *Drachm*, a coin, and also a weight unit; from there, in the 16th century it began to be used to signify a *fluid* dram, a unit for measuring liquid weights. One of the earliest uses given by the *OED* for this sense is in the expression 'a dram of poison', found in *Romeo and Juliet*. In the play *Hamlet*, the word clearly has this sense: one drop of evil conduct suffices to obscure all virtues. This effect parallels that of Laertes' poison,

> 'So mortal that, but dip a knife in it,
> Where it draws blood, no cataplasm so rare
> ... can save the thing from death' (IV, vii: 141 ff.).

This in turn resembles that 'thrice infected' mixture which Lucianus pours into the Player King's ears. Like the literal poisons, the metaphorical dram is part of that imagery of infection which pervades the play (Spurgeon, undated). To the poison I shall return later; now, this dram of evil which so perverts the nobility of a king does, by a process of metonymy deliberately employed by Shakespeare, also pervert the kingdom of which Claudius is the head, and the world of which this kingdom is a microcosmic image (see Aguirre 1990: 68, ff.); it therefore sums up one major theme of the play, its concern with a cosmic imbalance, with a time 'out of joint', with a major disturbance in the human universe.

So much for the symbolic implications of the 'dram of evil'. But what of its literal basis? In actual fact, the expression "the dram of evil" is used by Hamlet at the end of and as a colophon to a long tirade *a propos* of Claudius' carousing; its liquid connotations leave us in no doubt that Shakespeare is drawing a metaphor from the literal cup the king is quaffing. And as a consequence, all the connotations of this dram -infection, corruption, poisoning, subversion of the order of nature, etc.- revert to that innocent-looking cup, which thereby begins to appear as a most ominous symbol of all that is not right in Denmark and the human universe.

Something about this cup is most unwholesome. So, what does it contain? What is Claudius drinking that not only sullies his character, his nobility, his 'substance', but equally corrupts the state of Denmark - and this, on the very night of the day when, through marriage, Claudius has acquired or confirmed his right to the Danish crown?

There is much in the European medieval tradition which, properly examined, would help us explain the significance of this cup; but for plainness and clarity perhaps no literature is as explicit in this matter as the Celtic. An Irish story tells of how, when king Fingen of Munster died, his queen Mór Muman went to Cathal mac Finguine, because it was his turn to hold the kingship of Munster; 'one day Cathal heard Mór mourning her former husband... He pointed out to her that it was not proper to weep for one who was dead, and she then promised to forget her dead husband and love the living' (MacCana 1955-6:79). The story is an allegory for the process whereby the goddess of a given territory transferred the kingship from one ruler to another. We recognise here the argument appealed to by Gertrude and Claudius (and rejected by Hamlet) that 'all that lives must die' and that, therefore, the living must accept change just as the queen must accept a new consort.

This tale is but one version of a theme which is not specifically Celtic but which yet appears most prominently in Celtic texts: the territorial queen, ultimately the earth-goddess, bestows Sovereignty on a chosen suitor. In *Baile in Scail* (= "The Prophetic Ecstasy of the Phantom"), King Conn meets a crowned woman who repeatedly offers him a golden cup while asking the question, 'To whom shall the cup be given?', whereupon the names of Conn's descendants are given one by one. In *Immram Curaig Mailduin* ("The Voyage of the Boat of Mael Duin") the hero reaches two islands on each of which a woman offers him food and drink; on a third island he meets a Queen who serves him in the same guise, after which she invites him to share her bed (for a detailed study of the symbolism in this tale, see Aguirre 1991a). In *Echtra mac n'Echach* (= "The Adventure of Eochaid's Sons") the young prince Niall goes in search of water and meets a repulsive old hag guarding the well; she demands a kiss in exchange for the water, and when Niall grants this she is transformed into a beautiful young girl who calls herself the Sovereignty of Ireland and proclaims Niall High King of Tara (for a discussion of this theme in connection with Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*, see Aguirre 1991b).

In the Irish and Welsh traditions, the theft of a royal goblet often symbolises the abduction of or sexual violence against the queen (Goetinck 1975: 135, ff.); and both events symbolise the challenge to the current king, or the conquest of Sovereignty by a rival king. The central image in this myth is that of the Queen's dispensation of drink to her suitor as a symbol for her granting him Sovereignty; indeed, one of the Irish names for this queen-goddess is *Medb*, which relates to Welsh *meddw* (= "drunk") and English mead, and means "she who intoxicates" (MacCana 1955-6:78).

And there is, of course, the matter of the Grail. Originally a descendant of such Celtic items as the Cup of Truth, the Platter or Horn of Plenty, or the Cauldron of Rebirth, the Grail first appears in Chrétien de Troyes' unfinished *Perceval*, where a *graal* with a Host inside is brought by King Pelles' daughter to the presence of Perceval, who must ask a question identical to that in *Baile in Scail*, 'Whom does one serve with the Grail?'. This *graal* soon came to be interpreted in Christian terms as the chalice of Christ's Last Supper, and thereby to acquire the peculiarly 'patriarchal' slant of Judeochristian myths; it is because of this new reading that later writers eventually substituted a youth or a priest for the figure of the maiden (Loomis 1959), thus reinforcing the Christian message and obscuring the original connection between vessel, woman, and Sovereignty.

Curiously enough, the connection is retained in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: the cup symbolises both Claudius' sexual union with the queen *and* the Sovereignty of Denmark.

But, granted that the cup symbolises the Sovereignty of Denmark, how come it appears poisonous, evil, if it is such a sacred symbol? Because it has been stolen? But it is part of the myth that Sovereignty should be passed on, and this power transference is often symbolised by theft or sexual violence; these, precisely, were Claudius' methods in Hamlet's eyes: 'he that hath kill'd my king and whor'd my mother'; it follows that the entire play is biased, has been given us through the eyes of a despondent prince who cannot resign himself to change, to the fact that 'all that lives must die' - indeed, who bears his father's name, Hamlet, and is thus a representative of the old order. Nothing more natural, then, than that he should see in Claudius the source of an infection - the infection of change - of life.

But of course this is not all. That Hamlet is a paranoid does not mean Claudius is innocent of the crimes Hamlet suspects him of. To return to my starting-point: the king *drinks*, does so constantly; I count eight occasions when he is shown or mentioned in the context of drink; he seems to be always holding onto his cup, as if Shakespeare, consciously or not, were trying to convey an obsessive attachment to the Sovereignty the cup symbolises; Claudius himself is quite aware that the throne does not belong to him. It is this fact, as much as Hamlet's own dark thoughts, that explains the metaphorical reference to the cup as containing a 'dram of evil': the traditional concept itself of the transmission of Sovereignty seems to have been perverted by two men neither of whom proves worthy of the crown of Denmark; the Cup of Sovereignty that should be a gift proves to contain *poison.*

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A COMMENTARY ON FOUR COURTIER POETS' AUTOGRAPHS

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The following paper is basically a commentary on four autographs of some of the most important courtier poets of the English Renaissance. It is known that the courtier, a Renaissance ideal, was a man trained in many arts and his highest function is to give good counsel to his sovereign. Courtiers wrote poetry for several reasons. To begin with, says Robert M.Bender, it was expected of them; it was a means by which they could display their grace and wit, it was also a way of gaining favour at court[1]. In fact, we know that Wyatt's early success was due to his skill at composing songs for Henry VIII, and Ralegh rose from obscurity to a position of great acclaim through his poetic compliments to Elizabeth. These poets follow the model of courtier proposed in *Il Cortegiano*, book translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1554 and edited a few years later by W.Ralegh as *The Book of the Courtier*.

All courtier poets wrote with a cursive *Secretary* handwriting or a cursive *Italic*, though in most cases there is a gradual fusion and admixture of the *Secretary* and *Italic* hands. We think that a knowledge of these scripts is interesting to all who study and read the literature of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century; because as it has been suggested the essential fascination of the cursives lies in their spontaneous revelation of the individual. They respond readily to the demands of the individual temperament and the pressures of the moment, so that each hand

[1] Robert, M. Bender. *Five Courtier Poets of the English Renaissance,* New York, 1967.

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has in a sense to be learned from within[1]. We are here with a kind of script different from the disciplined work of the medieval scribes which constitutes the proper study of the palaeographer; in the Renaissance MSS. we can observe that the manner in which a writer, in this case the courtier poet, adapts and combines his forms, reveals his instinctive sense of rhythm.

Let us consider now a very brief survey of the two handwritings used by the courtier poets, the *Secretary* and the *Italic* handwritings.

The *Secretary* hand is the name applied by the writing-masters of the 16 th century to the formal business hand which developed out of the free small hands of Henry VII's reign. Every country of northern Europe had, in general, a cursive handwriting from the 15th.century *Secretary*. The English variety was in fact called *Secretary hand* probably because it was the script employed by the amanuensis. It has been distinguished three periods: *Early Tudor Secretary, Mid-Tudor Secretary* and *Elizabethan.*

Early Tudor covers about fifty years, from Henry VII until the later years of Henry VIII. It derives from a version of *Secretary* in use from about the middle of the 15th. century with admixture from the more cursive form of *Anglicana*. There is a remarkable uniformity of style in the use of this handwriting as can be seen from examples as diverse as parish records, a poetry book of Thomas Wyatt, and the letters of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon.

Mid-Tudor Secretary seems to extend from the mid 1530's to about the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. It is best defined as an intermediate stage in which there is a gradual narrowing and angularity.

By about 1550 we find a third period of *Secretary* handwriting, it is a compact script written with a very fine nib held at a slightly oblique angle, it was very cursive and could be written at great speed. The most formal script of the *Elizabethan secretary* was the *engrosing hand*, often used for professional scribs and official documents.

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[1] P. J. Croft. *Autograph Poetry in the English Language*, v. 1 London, 1973.

The *Italic* script, on the other hand, was the most important handwriting reform of the Renaisance. This script started in Italy in the last decades of the 14th. century and is usually ascribed to Petrarch and Coluccio Salutati, the chancellor of Florence. This handwriting was modelled on Carolingian script, so a round letter is now used rather than an angular type. The new *littera* was named *littera antiqua, romana, rotunda* or *tonda*. This script was used in three basic forms, *formata*, in which the letters were perfectly upright, exactly proportioned and usually unlinked, though it was so compact that the letter seemed to be joined. The next grade was called *cursiva*, and though still upright its letters were mainly linked; the third form was called *currens* and had a slight slope and distinctive diagonal links. Later, in the 16th century, larger and more rounded varieties of *cursiva littera antiqua* are also to be found, and all these varieties of cursive handwriting were known under the general heading of *Italic* or *Italian* since they originated in Italy[1]

The *Littera antiqua* reached England around the middle of the 15th century and towards the end of the century this script was introduced, probably through the influence of Petrus Carmelianus of Brescia, who arrived in England around 1480 and became Latin secretary of Henry VII. Royal patronage gave this new letter additional prestige and the royal children were taught to write the hand. We know that queen Elizabeth wrote with one of the styles of this script from her early youth, and the nobility followed the example of royalty in learning the *Italic* hand. Generally speaking, the nobility used *Italic* for their own correspondence hands, while their secretaries would employ the more traditional *Secretary* hand.This is why most courtier poets wrote with *Italic* handwriting rather than *Secretary*, though very frequently there is a kind of fusion and hybrid style as we can see in the following lines.

Sir Thomas Wyatt: This courtier poet was born in Kent in 1503, and was educated at St. John College, Cambridge, he was a courtier and diplomat whose travels to Italy and France in 1526 and 1527 acquainted him with the High Renaissance abroad as pointed out Hollander [2].Wyatt

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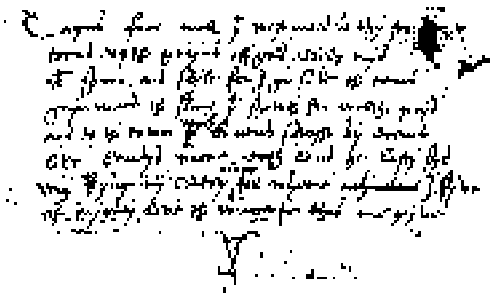
[1] A. G. Petti. *English Literary hands from Chaucer to Dryden.* London, 1977.

[2] J. Hollander. *The Literature of the Renaissance England. The Oxford Anthology of English Literature.* London 1973, v. 2 p. 116.

served Henry VIII in Spain in 1537, later he was charged with treason and acquitted a year before his death in 1542[1].



Tagus fare well y(t) westward w(t) thy strems
torns vp the grayns off gold alredy tryd
w(t) spurr and sayle for I go seke the tems
gaynward the sonne (wych) y(t) brutus sowght by drems
like bendyd mone doth lend her lusty syd.
My kyng my Contry (alone) for whome I lyve
of myghty love the winge for this me give

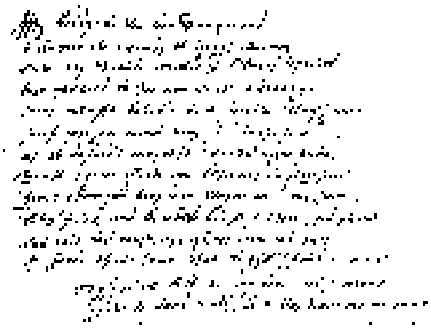
This facsimile belongs to the Egerton MS 2711 Brit. Library, London. The earlier part of the MS. was apparently copied before Wyatt left for Spain in 1537, but the later pages contain poems written both during his residence in Spain, where he remained for two years as Henry VIII's ambassador, an after his return home.

This poem was composed shortly before he left in early June 1539 for London. The handwriting is *Secretary* though it has been influenced by the *Italic* hands which were reaching England from the continent in the latter part of the 15th century. This Italic influence is revealed in the following formations: the initial capitals of *Spayn* and *Contry*, simplified *y* with open top and straight descender, though Wyatt still follows the medieval practice of dotting the letter; the type of *r* exemplified in *fare*, besides the Gothic 2-form, and especially in the presence of simple unlooped ascenders as in *d, h, b,* and *l* as in *only*, l. 7.

[1] The Best edition is *Poems* ed. Kenneth Muir. London 1949.

The poet signed his autograph poems in this MS. with a symbol which is probably to be interpreted as *Y.T.* monogram. Summing up, we can see that this poem was written in a *Secretary* script with some *Italic* features.

Sir Walter Ralegh: This poet was born in Devon in 1552, his careers were many, soldier, sailor, founder of colonies in America, lover, intellectual and obviously courtier. After being the Queen's protegee for a decade he was dropped and finally he was beheaded at Westminster in 1618 [1]



My boddy in the walls captived
feels not the wounds of spighfull envy.
butt my thralde minde, of liberty deprived,
fast fettered in her auntient memory,
douth nought beholde butt sorrowes diing face,
such prison earst was so delightfull
as it desirde no other dwellinge place,
Butt tymes effects, and destines despightfull
haue changed both my keeper and my fare,
loves fire, and bewtis light I then had store,
butt now closs keipt, as captives wounted are
y(t) food, that heat, that light I find no more,
    Dyspaire bolts vp my dores, and I alone
    speake to dead walls, butt thos heare not my mone.

[1] Agnes M. C. Latham's edition of the poems is standard. London, rev. ed. 1951.

This facsimile belongs to a MS. which now occupies folios 238-247 of a volume of miscellaneous papers and is called Cecil Papers 144, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. These lines shows the sonnet on folio 239 which proves that Ralegh was writing in prison. John Hannah believed from internal evidence that it was written during Ralegh's last imprisonment, under James I, between 1603 and 1616; but later, Edmund Gosse rejected this dating and suggested that the MS. must belong to the period Ralegh's first imprisonment in 1592[1]. Recently, however, K. Duncan-Jones has argued in favour of the later date[2], when Ralegh is reviewing his own past life from the standpoint of a man who, following his trial and condemnation in 1603, is himself *dead* in the eyes of the law.

In this sonnet Ralegh is writing in a formal way with *Italic* hand, but despite its essentially *Italic* character, this hand is technically an idiosyncratic example of the hybrid hands which begin to be common towards the end of the 16th century. In Ralegh's case the most consistent *Secretary* letter is *c*, while like many other writers he uses the *Secretary e* alongside the *Italic* form. A clear example of *secretary h* occurs in *dispightfull*, l. 8, and the final *s* of *bewtis*, l. 10 is of the *Secretary* type, the same as the word *to* l. 14. A *Secretary* feature to which Ralegh is prone is the tendency to conclude certain final letters *g, l, t,* and *Secretary e* with and upward curving flourish. Generally speaking, we can say that this sonnet reflects an *Italic* script, but quite influenced by the *Secretary* hand.

Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke: He was born at Beauchamp Court, Warwickshire in 1554. He worked at court as Treasurer of the Navy, the Chancellor of the Exchequer under James. He became Sidney's close friend and shared his literary and political interest, finally he was murdered at Brooke House, Holborn, London in 1628 [3]

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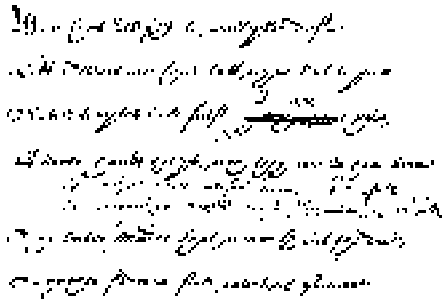
[1] John Hannah, *The Courtly Poets.* London, 1870.

[2] Edmund Gosse, see " The Athenaeum" , 2.Jan, 1886

[3] G. Bullough edited *Poems and Dramas* 2 vols. 1939.



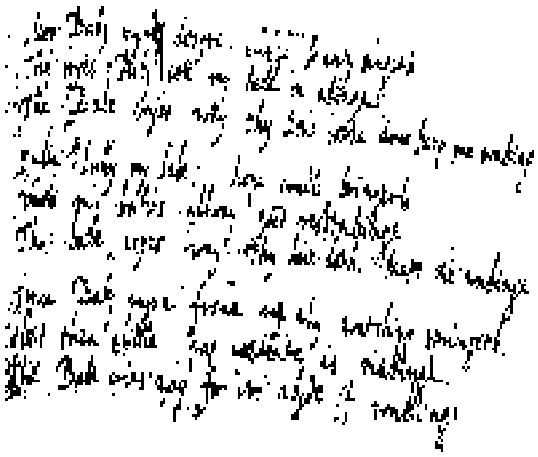
Men that delight to multiplie desire,
Like Tellors are that take coyne but to paie;
Still tempted to be false, wth little hire,
Blake hands except wch they would haue awaie.
for where powr wysly audytes her estate
the checquere mens bst recompence is hate
The litttle Maide that weareth out the daie,
To gather flowers, still covetous of more,

The lines here commented come from the volume containing the *Caelica* sequence and shows the poet revising the third line and adding the final couplet to the first stanza of sonnet 93. The rest of this text was copied by a professional scribe who employed for the main text a sloped *Secretary* handwriting widely practised by these amanuenses during the first half of the 17th century. The essentially *Gothic* character of this *Secretary* hand is expressed in its interplay of light and heavy strokes, a feature consciously emphasized in the enlarged capitals. On the other hand, Greville's own handwriting is an *Italic* cursive which is one of the most eccentric hands written by any English poet. Greville had already evolved his mature cursive by the summer of 1580, when he wrote to Walsingham four letters which are the earliest in his hand known to survive[1]. But there was little development of his handwriting thereafter, and Greville's script is a hybrid one like many writings of his period; in fact, it may be classified mainly as *Italic* with some influence of *Secretary* forms, e.g. *c*, *p* in *recompence* and *clokwise;* final *s*, as in *mens* and *is*. Some original peculiarities are *e*, which slants down below the line, and the frequent headlong of *m* and *n*, as we

[1] Place Office: S. P. 63/74, fol. 4-5, 6, 32; S. P. 63/75 f. 3

can see again in *recompance*. That Greville himself realized the strangeness of his hand is indicated by his letter to Michael Hicks of 18 January 1600-1 for which he employed an amanuensis and explained in the postscript *I write in annother mans hande for feare my owne will not be vnderstood* [1]

Sir Philip Sidney: This poet was born to an aristocratic family in 1554, and was almost the perfect courtier. He travelled extensively abroad assisting in diplomatic missions; fought in Ireland and in Holland where he was killed fighting the Spanish forces in 1586.[2]



Sleep Baby myne desyre, nurse beauty singeth
Thy cryes o Baby sett my hedd on akinge
To Babe cryes way loue dothe keep me waking

Lully lully my babe, hope cradle bringeth

[1] Brit. Lib. Lansdowne MS. 88, art. 1

[2] The complete works were edited in four volumes by Albert Feuillerat, 1912-16; but the standard text of the poems is that of William A. Ringler *Sidney's Poems.* Oxford 1962.

vnto my babies allway good rest takinge
the babe cryes way Thy loue doth keepe me wakinge

since Baby myne frome me thy watching springeth
sleep then a little pap contente is makinge
The Babe cries nay for it abyde I wakinge

This poem was first printed as number six of the section *Certain Sonnets'* in the 1598 *Arcadia*, which is in effect the first collected edition of Sidney's writings. The heading of the published text describes it as written to the tune of *Basciani vita mia* and the two verbal changes found therein, viz. *children* for *babies* l. 5 and *that* for *it* l. 9 probably represent subsequent revisions by the poet. The thirty two poems published under the general title *Certain Sonnets* appear to be Sidney's own collection of the miscellaneous poems he composed during the years 1577-81 in the intervals of his labour on the original version of his Arcadia [1]. The image of Desire as a baby seeking the breast of Beauty was used by Sidney again in lines 201-3 of his unfinished poem beginning *A Shepheard's tale no height of style desires* and in sonnet 71 of *Astrophil and Stella.*

William A.Ringler Jr. wrote in the *Introduction* to his great edition of Sidney's Poem: *"No manuscript of Sidney's verse in his own hand survives"*, though we know that a certain amount of prose, mainly personal letters, survives in Sidney's hand from the years when he was writing poetry, however there is an autograph poem which has hitherto escaped the attention of Sidney scholars and which owes its unique survival to the fact that the poet wrote it at the end of a folio, a copy of the edition printed at Poitiers in 1557 of Jean Bouchet's *Les Annales d'Aquitaine...* This book itself reminds us that Sidney's primary interests were political.

This poem was written in an *Italic* script with some personal characteristics and influenced by some *Secretary* features. *Italic* handwriting includes the occasional clubbed and slightly sinuous ascender, *beauty* l. 1; the curved f *for* l. 9; the g with curving descender; t, with short stem and long stroke, *it*, l. 9 is quite distinctive. Some letters as p and r are personal characteristics; for example, the final p of *pap*, l. 8, and r in *nurse*,

[1] A. Ringler op. cit. pp. 423-4.

l. 1. Summing up, this poem shows an *Italic* handwriting though rather personal and clumsy.

To finish with, we have seen the autograph of some famous courtier poets: Wyatt, Ralegh, Greville and Sidney, and all these autographs and the poetry which survives in MSS of the Renaissance period, while naturally it is sometimes in a condition that the poet himself would not have authorized for publication, abounds with insights of a kind not always to be gained from the "official" published versions, (in a similar way, an artist's preliminary sketch can be more revealing than the finish portrait), and as Croft says:

> Any text in the author's handwriting, in fact, possesses a validity of its own, while experience soon teaches that there can be no simple and all-embracing definition of the ideal text [1]

* * *

[1] P. J. Croft, *Autograph Poetry in the English Language*, vol. 1 London, 1973.p. 2.

AUTHORIAL REVISION AND AUTHORITATIVE TEXTS: A CASE FOR DISCOURSE STYLISTICS AND THE PIED BULL QUARTO

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> There the matter must rest, while we wait for more positive arguments, if possible, from within the texts.
> (E. A. J. Honigmann, *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text*, p. 10)

King Lear has always been surrounded by textual problems, partly because there are two extant authoritative textual sources for the play, the so-called Pied Bull Quarto of 1608 and the First Folio of 1623.[1] In recent years a controversy has emerged as to whether these two textual sources constitute two distinct versions of the play and whether it was Shakespeare himself who revised the Quarto King Lear in order to produce the Folio version of the play.

This paper is an attempt to summarise the present state of the controversy and to show how a stylistic approach can be useful for textual

[1] There exists a second Quarto, which appeared in 1619, but this 'bad' Quarto basically reprints the 1608 text, though slightly edited, and it is widely regarded as a non-authoritative text. For the purpose of this paper, the existence of the second Quarto (Q2) will be ignored; the Pied Bull Quarto (Q1) will be refer as 'the Quarto' or simply 'Q'.

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criticism, by comparing how the Pied Bull Quarto (Q) and the First Folio (F) render the first encounter of Lear and his jester on stage.

The main editorial problem of King Lear arises from the fact that both the Quarto and the Folio present doubtful readings and symptoms of corruption, so an editor cannot simply choose to follow one text and ignore the other. Q and F differ in several regards. First of all, there are a great number of variants - about 850 occasions on which Q and F do not agree. Sometimes it seems that F merely corrects Q's corrupt readings; at other times F offers an alternative reading when Q's reading makes perfect sense; and in some cases F seems to be corrupt when Q's reading is obviously correct. These variants complicate the editorial task to a considerable degree because it is necessary to distinguish between several kinds of variants: compositorial, editorial and, possibly, authorial. The difficulties encountered by any potential editor of King Lear are perhaps illustrated by one of several variants found in the play's first dialogue between Lear and his Fool. In one of Lear'ss speeches, the Folio preserves the word 'sirrah', which is not present in the Quarto:

> 'And you lye, weele haue you whipt' (sig. D)
>
> 'And you lie sirrah, wee'l haue you whipt' (TLN 694)

One could argue that the word 'sirrah' was simply left out by the careless compositor of Q and that F, in restoring it, simply corrects a mistake introduced by the Quarto text. However, one could equally argue that the introduction of this word in F is an instance of revision: John Kerrigan (1983: 195-245) has shown that revisers were usually concerned with small changes and alterations rather than with the introduction of long stretches of text, as interpolators did. The presence of the word 'sirrah' in F and its absence from Q may be then taken as evidence of Shakespeare's revising pen; but there is no definitive and undeniable proof that the reviser could not have been anyone other than Shakespeare. As a result, we cannot be conclusive about the compositorial, editorial or authorial nature of this variant.

Apart from the existence of these 850 variants, there are several speeches which are assigned to one character in the Quarto and to another character in the Folio, so the editor of *King Lear* also has to meet the challenge of deciding whether this reassignation of speeches is authorial or

not. Finally, a further problem arises from the fact that Q contains about 300 lines which are absent from F, and F contains around a 100 lines which are not present in Q.

These textual problems have attracted the attention of Shakespearean scholars since the beginning of this century. In his *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (1927), Granville-Barker suggested that the Quarto and Folio versions of *King Lear* could have come from different prompt books and that the F version could perhaps 'represent Shakespeare's own second thoughts' (Quoted by Wells 1983: 3). In 1931, in *The Text of King Lear,* Madeleine Doran ventured that the Quarto probably represents an earlier version of the play which was later revised. Doran's suggestion, however, found little support amongst Shakespearean scholars at that time and for almost fifty years there was practically no research carried out on the possibility that *King Lear* could have been revised. The only exception to this trend was E.A.J. Honigmann who, in *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text* (1965), observed that editors of Shakespeare's plays when confronted with two acceptable readings ought to address the possibility that both readings might be authorial.[1] With regard to *King Lear* in particular, Honigmann showed that the Quarto is sometimes superior to the Folio from a metrical point of view and that some of the Quarto-Folio variants may well 'represent first and second thoughts' (1965: 121).

These scholars excepted, from the beginning of the 18th century until the late 1970s, the assumption underlying editorial practice has been that F and Q represent different states of one single version of *King Lear.* The play had been rendered imperfect and corrupt by textual transmission and therefore the task of *King Lear's* editor was to attempt to reconstruct the *King Lear* which Shakespeare wrote, in order to retrieve the 'lost' *King Lear.*

[1] 'In the eighteenth century it was natural for the editors of Shakespeare to model themselves upon the slightly more experienced editors of the classics, and perhaps this accounts for the now scarcely questioned assumption that where two substantive readings differ one or both must be corrupt. An editorial tradition that disposes so easily of what could well become an embarrassment of riches inevitably recommends itself before the alternative that both readings may be correct, that is, may be the author's,' (E.A.J. Honigmann, 1965: 1).

This assumption partly rests on the belief that the Pied Bull Quarto is a 'bad' Quarto, i.e. a reported text, the result of memorial reconstruction.[1] G.I. Duthie (1961: 131-135) first suggested that Q had perhaps been dictated by the actors when the company was on tour and did not have the prompt book; he later modified his theory, influenced by Alice Walker's research, and supposed that Q had originated in a transcription of foul papers by dictation, in which the persons involved had some memorial knowledge of the play. Both versions of the theory, however, reach the same conclusion: the 1608 Quarto must be considered a non-authoritative text. Most editors of *King Lear* have shared Duthie's view and have consequently followed the text of the Folio for their editions; but they nevertheless incorporate the 300 hundred lines present in the Quarto, which, it is assumed, were left out of the play when the Folio was printed.

The belief that the Pied Bull Quarto is a 'bad' Quarto is partly due to the fact that the 1608 Quarto is very carelessly printed. Q repeatedly prints verse continuously as if it were prose, it also prints prose in chopped up lines as if it were verse, and punctuation and spelling are far from being consistent. However, in recent years, there has been a rehabilitation of the 1608 Quarto, which is now held to be a good, authoritative text. Two things have contributed to this change of opinion in the scholarly community. First, research on the characteristics and production of the printing house in which the Quarto was manufactured has revealed that it was one of the first books to be printed by Nicholas Okes, who at the time was an extremely inexperienced printer.[2] A shortage of certain types in the cases of the printing house could explain some idiosyncracies of the Quarto in matters of punctuation and spelling. The printing house was badly equipped for printing plays: on the one hand, the compositors had to make do with cases which soon ran out of full-stops[3] and this partly explains the erratic style of punctuation; on the other, a shortage of wooden blocks could account for the frequent printing of verse as prose. Second, there is an increasing awareness of the fact that some of the textual problems presented by the Quarto may have originated in the nature of the copy from which the

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[1] On the problems arising from dividing Quartos into 'good' and 'bad', see Paul Werstine, 1990: 65-86.

[2] For the Quarto's printing history see Peter W. M. Blaney, 1982. See also a review of this book by Paul Werstine, in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 36, 1985: 120-125.

[3] A play consumes vast quantities of full-stops: at least two are needed for each speech, one after the speech-heading and another one at the end of the speech.

Quarto was set: the printer's copy standing behind the Quarto could have been Shakespeare's own manuscript or a scribal copy of this holograph. This supposition has been reinforced by the fact that close study of the Q text has revealed that corruption does not occur regularly and uniformly throughout the text as would be expected if Q had originated in memorial reconstruction (see Howard-Hill 1985: 165).

This recent rehabilitation of the Quarto has contributed to a reconsideration of the textual problems of *King Lear*. Madeleine Doran's suggestion that the Quarto may represent an early draft of the play has been seriously taken up and examined, giving birth to the theory of the two texts of *King Lear*.

This current of opinion is based on the belief that it is likely that Shakespeare did with *King Lear* what Wordsworth did with *The Prelude.*[1] Shakespeare may have first written the play as it survives in the 1608 Quarto and later he could have revised it, producing the version preserved in the 1623 Folio.

The theory of authorial revision for *King Lear* has become controversial partly because it has not yet been totally and undeniably proved, but also because it undermines the traditional editorial practice on which the *King Lear* we know and are familiar with exists. We are told by the revision theory that the *King Lear* we have read, studied and seen performed was not written by Shakespeare but by his editors.

It is even more difficult to accept the theory of authorial revision if one thinks that *King Lear* (the play that Shakespeare never wrote) has been held to be the greatest tragedy by the greatest post-classical playwright and a monument of Western Civilization. It is hard to accept that there never was a single, unified text of *King Lear* because then the foundations of Western European art are shaken. And yet we have to accept that we do not even have a single, unified title for the play: in the Quarto, the play is entitled *True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear;* in the Folio, the play's title is *The Tragedie of King Lear*.

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[1] For a study of Shakespeare's possible revision of some of his plays in the light of known instances of revision by writers such as Wordsworth, Yeats and Eliot, see Andrew Gurr, 1984.

It is therefore important, in order to approach the revision theory unbiased, to bear in mind that prejudice -and reluctance to find our 'favourite' passages of *King Lear* gone - may influence our critical capacities. If nothing else, the followers of the revision theory deserve credit for unveiling the hidden assumptions on which traditional editorial practice has been based. The editorial practice which revisionists attack is that of producing a composite text by conflating the texts of the Quarto and the Folio.

According to the revisionists, the conflation theory operates under the following assumptions:

1. Shakespeare wrote one *King Lear;*

2. The original *King Lear* which Shakespeare wrote is now lost;

3. The lines missing in Q or in F offer passages from the original *King Lear* which should have been preserved in both texts;

4. Differences between Q and F are therefore 'errors of textual transmission' and comparison of variants is necessary to establish what 'corrections' are needed;

5. Conflation of Q and F is the only way to proceed if we want to retrieve an approximation of what Shakespeare originally wrote.

The theory of authorial revision proposes instead a new set of assumptions:

1. Shakespeare wrote two versions of *King Lear;*

2. The original, lost *King Lear* is an archetypal construct, an invention of the last three centuries of Shakespearean scholarship;

3. The practice of conflation rests on 'bardolatry'; it is based, in the words of the Victorian editor Charles Knight, 'upon the principle that not a line which appears to have been written by Shakespeare ought to be lost';[1]

[1] Charles Knight, *The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare,* vol. 6, 1843, p. 392. Quoted by Stanley Wells in Taylor & Warren, 1983: 8.

4. Q and F are autonomous texts which should be edited, published, read, interpreted and performed separately;

5. Q offers Shakespeare's first thoughts and a more literary version whereas F offers Shakespeare's second thoughts and probably represents actual theatrical practice.

The theory of authorial revision as explanation for the textual problems of *King Lear* began to gather momentum after a paper delivered by Michael Warren to the International Shakespeare Congress in Washington D.C. in 1976. This paper, entitled 'Quarto and Folio in *King Lear* and the Interpretation of Albany and Edgar' (Warren 1978), postulated that a comparison of the differences in the speeches attributed to these two characters in Q and F reveals that a revision has taken place. The role played by Edgar has been magnified in F at the expense of Albany's importance in Q. The cuts in F are regarded as part of a conscious strategy to diminish the stature of Albany in the play.

In this paper, Warren convincingly argues that there never was an original arch-text of *King Lear*, that Q, despite its errors, is an authoritative text, and that F *may* be a revised version of the play (1978: 96-97). Warren's suggestion that F could have been the result of conscious revision triggered a number of studies which aimed to identify strategies of revision. In 1980, a paper by Gary Taylor, 'The war in *King Lear'*, identified another strategy of revision in the differences between Q and F: some of the cuts and variants of F aim to tighten the structure of Act IV and are directed to hasten the pace of the action towards the war (Taylor 1980: 28). In the same year, a book by Steven Urkowitz, *Shakespeare's Revision of* King Lear, concluded that Shakespeare revised Q to produce a new version, F, which would be more effective on stage (see Urkowitz 1980). Urkowitz identified theatrical economy, practical action and theatrical imagination as the strategies of revision lying behind the new version. According to him, most changes and differences between Q and F originated in Shakespeare's wish to render Q into a better play for the stage.

Still in the same year, 1980, a seminar of the Shakespeare Association discussed the differences between the Quarto and the Folio texts and the essays presented in that seminar have been collected in a volume entitled *The Division of the Kingdoms*, edited by Gary Taylor and Michael Warren, and published in 1983.

Most of the essays in *The Division of the Kingdoms* are dedicated to the study of the Folio text and to the identification of strategies of revision. The contributors to this volume regard most differences between Q and F as part of Shakespeare's strategy of revision in order to diminish the importance of Kent, re-shape the character of Goneril, revise the role of the King and re-cast the Fool from a natural or idiot into a wise, sarcastic jester.

In 1986, the publication of the Oxford Edition of the Complete Works put into practice the assumptions of the authorial revision theory. The editors of the Oxford Shakespeare, Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, decided to publish the Quarto and Folio texts of *King Lear* independently, as two separate plays (see Wells *et al.* 1986), giving the authorial revision theory the status of a new orthodox editorial practice.

The response of Shakespearean scholars to the theory of authorial revision has been by no means uniform. Some scholars, notably R.A. Foakes (1985), E.A.J. Honigmann (1984), Mac D. P. Jackson (1983), George Walton Williams (1982) and Paul Werstine (1983) have sided with the revisionists, but a number of discordant voices have criticised the revision theory both for lack of logical reasoning in their interpretative strategies and for inconsistencies in the bibliographical foundations of their affirmations. These scholars include William C. Carroll (1988), Philip Edwards (1982), Richard Knowles (1985), T.H. Howard-Hill (1985), Kenneth Muir (1983), Sidney Thomas (1984) and Marion Trousdale (1986). This list is far from being exhaustive and it is included here to show that there is no agreement amongst scholars on this matter and that the controversy is still open.

Most critics of the revision theory do not altogether deny the possibility that F may be a revised version of Q. Their complaints are mostly directed towards the lack of convincing evidence. The case might still be plausible but it has not yet been sufficiently argued and proved.

However, there are firm grounds for taking the revision theory seriously, since it seems that the differences between Q and F cannot always be attributed to printing house corruption or contamination produced by the process of textual transmission. The revisionists believe that those differences affect the structure of the play, the psychology of several characters and the interpretation of certain passages. In my opinion,

these claims are worth investigating. However, the main problem still lies in the fact that between Warren's paper in 1976 and the publication of *The Division of the Kingdoms* in 1983, what were mere working hypothesis have become established without having been sufficiently proved.

Although we should not reject the idea that Q and F may represent two versions of *King Lear*, I would like to take issue with some of the contributions to *The Division of the Kingdoms* which take for granted that Shakespeare was unquestionably the reviser of *King Lear* and that when the two texts differ, F is always superior to Q. I would like to try to show that sometimes F makes better sense than Q but that at other times Q's reading seems better than F's and that, for the purpose of editing and performing *King Lear*, it might be more fruitful, in some cases, to subordinate the question of authorial revision and authorial intention to the evidence obtained from a close examination of the intention of the text, or rather, the intention of the texts.

If we now turn to the first dialogue between Lear and his fool, we can see that, apart from the existence of a handful of variants, the Quarto and Folio texts differ mainly on three occasions:

> i) when the Quarto reads '*Kent.* Why Foole?' (sig. C^4_v) the Folio changes the line to 'Why my boy?' (TLN 628) and attributes it to Lear;
>
> ii) another speech, 'This is nothing foole' (sig. C^4_v; TLN 658) is attributed to Lear in Q and to Kent in F;
>
> iii) and perhaps the greatest difference concerns the cut in F of 12 lines which are present in Q.

Two of the contributors to *The Division of the Kingdoms*, John Kerrigan (1983: 195-245) and Gary Taylor (1983: 75-119) have seen in the Folio cut and the reattribution of the two speeches irrefutable evidence of Shakespeare's revising pen.

Gary Taylor has suggested that the omission of those 12 lines by the Folio may have had its origin in censorship. The lines would have been censored in 1605 or 1606 when the prompt-book of the original performance was submitted to the Master of Revels, but since the Quarto

was probably set from Shakespeare's 'foul papers', the censored lines were printed in Q (Taylor 1983: 105-106). However, Howard-Hill (1985: 168) has argued that it is very unlikely that the cut originated in censorhip because if the lines excised in F were found to be offensive around 1605, they would have been found equally offensive in 1608 when the Quarto was licenced for publication, because the censor in both cases would have been the same person, Sir George Buc.

Taylor explains the excision of those lines in the Folio by arguing that although the cut may have originated in censorship: 'Shakespeare may not have resisted the change too vehemently; in fact, once it was suggested he may have welcomed the deletion' (1983: 108). The problem here is that one can always argue for or against a Shakespearean interpolation on the grounds of imagery, vocabulary, syntax, etc., but it's almost impossible, it seems to me, to argue for or against a Shakespearean excision, because how can we possibly identify a truly Shakespearean cut? Interpolators may leave trace of their linguistic and stylistic preferences but unfortunately excisors do not, so the cut in F could have been performed by someone other than Shakespeare (see Knowles 1981: 197 and Werstine 1988: 2).

Gary Taylor bases his argument in favour of Shakespeare's responsibility for this cut on a fallacious, untenable conclusion: since any other explanation one can think of is highly implausible (compositor's omission or editor's interference) the only explanation left (that the cut was consciously performed by Shakespeare) is bound to be correct (1983: 106-107). The reattribution of speeches in F has been considered by John Kerrigan (1983) as an indication of authorial revision. According to Kerrigan, Shakespeare re-structured this dialogue between Lear and his Fool partly by cutting out some lines and partly by giving Lear one of Kent's lines and giving Kent one of Lear's. Kerrigan thinks that by giving Lear the line 'Why Foole?' (TLN 628) Shakespeare improved the whole dialogue because the king and his jester talk to each other without being interrupted for 32 lines. Shakespeare also improved this dialogue, according to Kerrigan, by giving the line 'This is nothing foole' (TLN 658) to Kent, because as a result of this the dialogue becomes less monotonous (1983: 218-219). So Kerrigan concludes, the Folio version of this dialogue is superior to the Quarto version.

In my opinion, Kerrigan is mistaken in attributing superior literary merit to F and in identifying these changes as evidence of authorial

revision. Kerrigan does not discuss at all whether these changes could be the result of printing house corruption or theatrical abridgement. It seems to me that Kerrigan and Taylor have reached their conclusions before they have set down their premises. Since they are trying to prove that Shakespeare was the reviser of *King Lear*, they feel they have to prove that the Folio is always superior to the Quarto in every possible instance, every reading or passage in which the two texts differ, even at the cost of ignoring evidence which emanates from the texts themselves.

Trying to escape from the kind of bardolatry on which the conflation theory rests (that every line supposed to have been written by Shakespeare must be preserved and venerated when editing *King Lear*, Taylor and Kerrigan have been prey to another kind of bardolatry: if Shakespeare was the reviser of *King Lear*, the revised version must necessarily be far better than the previous one, since Shakespeare's genius could only exceed itself (Kerrigan 1983: 230).

I would like to show now that if we put aside any considerations of the *intentio autoris* and instead attend to the *intentio operis* or intention of the text, we cannot sustain that whenever Folio and Quarto King Lear disagree, the Folio version is always better than its Quarto counterpart. In fact, we might find that the opposite is sometimes the case. In particular, with regard to the first dialogue between Lear and the Fool, one can argue that the Folio impairs rather than improves the Quarto version, partly because when the Folio attributes Kent's line to Lear, the dialogue does not make sense, but also because, by excising the 12 lines preserved in the Quarto, the Folio text deprives the scene of its climax.

If we look at the reattributed speeches in their context, we can determine, I think, who could and who could not speak each line by the position which those lines occupy in the chain of discourse:

Pied Bull Quarto (1608)

Foole. Let me hire him too, heer's my coxcombe.

Lear. How now my prety knaue, how do'st thou?

Foole. Sirra, you were best take my coxcombe.

Kent. Why Foole?

Foole. Why for taking on's part, that's out of fauour, nay and thou can'st not smile as the wind sits, thou't catch cold shortly, there take my coxcombe; why this fellow hath banisht two on's daughters, and done the third a blessing against his will, if thou follow him, thou must needs weare my coxcombe, how now nuncle, would I had two coxcombes, and two daughters.

Lear. Why my boy?

Foole. If I gaue them any liuing, id'e keepe my coxcombs my selfe, ther's mine, beg another of thy daughters.

(sig. C^4_v)

First Folio (1623)

Foole. Let me hire him too, here's my Coxcombe.

Lear. How now my pretty knaue, how dost thou?

Foole. Sirrah, you were best take my Coxcombe.

Lear. Why my Boy?

Foole. Why? for taking ones part that's out of fauour, nay, & thou canst not smile as the wind sits, thou'lt catch colde shortly, there take my Coxcombe; why this fellow ha's banish'd two on's Daughters, and did the third a blessing against his will, if thou follow him, thou must needs weare my Coxcombe, How now Nunckle? would I had two Coxcombes, and two Daughters.

Lear. Why my Boy?

Foole. If I gaue them all my liuing, I'ld keepe my Coxcombes my selfe, there's mine, beg another of thy Daughters.

(TLN 625-639)

If we take into account what comes before and after the reattributed speeches and study the way in which the taking of conversational turns is

managed, we can see that the attribution of Kent's line to Lear in the Folio text stands at odds with its surrounding dialogic context. The Fool has just addressed Kent ('Sirra, you were best take my coxcombe'), so it is reasonable to expect that it will be Kent who replies to the Fool, not Lear. It is possible to tell that the Fool is addressing Kent and not Lear because of the conversational function of the utterance in the context: the Fool's offer disguises an indirect speech act whose illocutionary force ('you are a fool and therefore you need a coxcombe, a fool's hat') is superimposed on its perlocutionary force ('take my fool's cap'). The Fool, in perfect harmony with a long tradition of court jesters, is mocking Lear's hiring of Kent as a servant: the Fool pretends that he wants to employ Kent as his own fool.

Also, the fact that the Fool uses the pronoun of address 'you' indicates that he is addressing Kent and not Lear: the Fool hardly ever addresses Lear with 'you'; he usually prefers the endearing, familiar 'thou'.

It is also quite clear that the Fool's reply to Kent's 'Why Foole?' is addressed to Kent and not to Lear because in his reply the Fool refers to Lear with a third person term of reference, as if the king were not present: 'this fellow has banished two of his daughters ...'

But what finally settles the matter is the Fool's greeting to Lear. After replying to Kent, the Fool turns round to address Lear with 'How now Nunckle?'. This is the Elizabethan equivalent of 'Hello, how are you?'. Lear himself uses it at the beginning of this scene: 'How now, my prety knaue'. Greetings always occur at the beginning of conversations: one never says 'Hi' or 'Hello' after talking to somebody for a while.

By contrast, what we have in the Folio is the Fool addressing Kent, Lear replying to the Fool in place of Kent, the Fool answering Lear's question but addressing it to Kent and then greeting Lear as if the king had just turned up on stage. It does not make good conversational sense. It is not too far fetched to suggest, I think, that the Folio compositor may have made a mistake here and instead of setting Kent's line 'Why Foole?', he simply set Lear's 'Why my boy?' twice.

Kerrigan claims that Shakespeare revised this dialogue to make it less monotonous, but to me, the 'revised' version sounds even more monotonous than the original because Lear has to deliver the same line twice - and in two conversational turns which are almost consecutive.

The second controversial speech, the one which the Quarto attributes to Lear and the Folio attributes to Kent ('This is nothing foole', sig. C^4_v; TLN 658), is also regarded by Kerrigan as an instance of authorial revision and as compensation for a line which Kent had in the excised passage and which he loses in the Folio. However, it is also possible, if not likely, that the reattribution of this speech may have originated in a compositor's mistake. Lear usually addresses his jester with affectionate terms of address such as 'boy', 'lad', or 'pretty knaue', and if he is annoyed, he calls him 'sirrah'. Not once throughout the whole play, does Lear address his jester as 'foole'. Kent, instead, consistently uses the vocative 'foole' to address the jester.

What may have happened here is that the Quarto compositor, after setting for a while *Lear* and *Foole* as alternative speech headings, continued to do so and failed to notice that this line was to be spoken by Kent. The Folio would simply correct a Quarto mistake here and there would have been no authorial reattribution of this speech.

The Folio supression of the 12 lines preserved in the Quarto has been used by Gary Taylor to argue that the Folio surpasses the Quarto in literary merit. According to Taylor, the omission of those 12 lines improves the dialogue by producing a jump from sweet and bitter fools to eggs and crowns. In my opinion, the only thing the Folio achieves by supressing these lines is to deprive the audience of a punch-line:

Pied Bull Quarto (1608)

Foole. Doo'st know the difference my boy, betweene a bitter foole, and a sweete foole.

Lear. No lad, teach mee.

Foole. That Lord that counsail'd thee to giue away thy land,
Come place him heere by mee, doe thou for him stand,
The sweet and bitter foole will presently appeare,
The one in motley here, the other found out there.

Lear. Do'st thou call mee foole boy?

Foole. All thy other Titles thou hast giuen away, that thou wast borne with.

Kent. This is not altogether foole my Lord.

Foole. No faith, Lords and great men will not let me, if I had a monopolie out, they would haue part an't, and Ladies too, they will not let me haue all the foole to my selfe, they'l be snatching; giue me an egge Nuncle, and ile giue thee two crownes.

(sig. C^{4}_{v}-D)

First Folio (1623)

Foole. Do'st thou know the difference my Boy, betweene a bitter Foole, and a sweet one.

Lear. No lad, teach me.

Foole. Nunckle, giue me an egge, and Ile giue thee two Crownes.

(TLN 667-671)

Throughout the dialogue, the Fool is repeatedly using the same kind of joke, a Question-Answer joke: 'would I had two Coxcombes, and two Daughters' (TLN 634-5), 'can you make no vse of nothing, Nuncle?' (TLN 660-1), 'Do'st thou know the difference my Boy, betweene a bitter Foole, and a sweet one' (TLN 667-8) or 'Nunckle, giue me an egge, and Ile giue thee two Crownes' (TLN 670-1) are all first parts or questions of some of the Fool's jokes. The humour of Question-Answer jokes rests, as Walter Nash (1985: 9-12;49-50) has pointed out, on the interplay of two compulsory elements. The first of these is the *signal*, a word, phrase or clause which indicates the intention to joke and is generally present in the Question. The other element is the *locus*, the word, phrase or clause which triggers the humour, usually present in the Answer.

By supressing those 12 lines preserved in the Quarto, the Folio does little more than present us with a *signal* ('Do'st thou know the difference...') only to deprive us of the corresponding *locus*, leaving the

joke unfinished. We are asked to guess what is the difference between a sweet and a bitter fool and we never get to the punch-line because someone has crossed out the answer to the riddle.

There is yet another reason why I think that the Folio not only does not improve but impairs the Quarto. The Folio supresses two crucial lines, crucial for this dialogue and for the play as a whole. When Lear asks the Fool in the Quarto 'Do'st thou call mee foole boy?' and the Fool replies 'All thy other titles thou hast giuen away, that thou wast borne with', we finally reach the climax of this fool-master duologue. With his jokes, the Fool has been trying to tell Lear that he has been a fool for giving away his kingdoms and it is precisely in these two lines, excised from the Folio text, that the Fool finally makes his point.

Audiences do not fail to notice the dramatic importance of the excised lines. In a paper entitled, 'The *King Lear* Quarto in rehersal and performance', David Richman refers to the ins and outs of a production of *King Lear* which took place at the Drama Center of the University of Rochester. This performance was based on the Quarto text and kept the lines omitted in the Folio. Richman (1980: 381) comments:

> In our performance this was one of the Fool's most successful sequences. "All thy other titles thou hast giuen away, that thou wast born with" elicited a strong reaction from the audience throughout the run. Every night the spectators laughed and gasped, fully understanding the comedy and growing pain of Lear's situation.

With this analysis of the first fool-master duologue in *King Lear*, I have tried to show that a combination of stylistics and discourse analysis can be of use for textual criticism because it encourages us to look at the differences between Quarto and Folio not as isolated variants but as elements operating in a text. By comparing the variants in each text, not in themselves but in relation to their function in a stretch of discourse, it is possible to obtain evidence which emanates directly from the text of the play. And since we cannot unfortunately ask Shakespeare whether he revised *King Lear* or not, there is little we can do besides trusting the two extant authoritative texts of the play.

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THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE AND THE CANARY ISLANDS: THOMAS NICHOLS AND EDMUND SCORY

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> "Thus much have I written of these ilands by experience, because I was a dweller there ..."
>
> T. Nichols

> "This Iland hath beene called Nivaria, by reason of the Snow ..."
>
> E. Scory

The English presence in the Canary Islands in the 16th and 17th centuries can be seen at three different levels. As a result of the hostile relations held by Britain and Spain at this time, some English forces, adventurers and pirates arrive by surprise and with violent manners, trying to obtain in the roads and harbours of the Canaries the riches and the valuable cargo that the galleons and ships of the Spanish Empire carry from the American colonies to the mother country, as well as the attractive and sure plunder of the towns and villages of the Islands, little protected and insufficiently defended.[1] Others, less ambitious than the above mentioned and of a more peaceful and civilized disposition, know the privileged situation that the Canaries have for the traffic in the Atlantic and are quite

[1] Francis Drake, John Hawkins, Walter Raleigh, the Count of Cumberland, and Robert Blake are some of the Englishmen that attacked the Canaries at this time. Cf. Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *Piraterías y ataques navales contra las Islas Canarias*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1948-1950.

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aware of the commercial possibilities of the Islands, and so they establish in them - especially in Teneriffe, La Palma and Grand Canary - several trade agencies, houses and stores, whose activities are usually dedicated to import manufactured goods from England, generally London cloth, and to export to Europe and the West Indies the main products of the Archipelago: sugar and wines.[1] Other English travellers, not interested in business and not particularly eager in making money, come to the Islands attracted by its unknown origin and by the nature of the prehispanic culture, a civilization about which nothing or very little was known for certain at this moment. Filled with scientific curiosity and zeal, these travellers and explorers want to have a direct contact with the Canaries, to check empirically all the information, most of it of a legendary sort, which had been collected for centuries about them, and to obtain on the spot good and satisfactory answer to their questions about the geology, the fauna and the flora of the Islands, as well as on the characteristics and origin of the primitive people that inhabited them at the time of the coming of the European conquerors and first settlers in the 15th century.[2] Two men, Thomas Nichols and Edmund Scory, are indicative examples of this kind of peaceful English presence in the Canaries in this period.

Thomas Nichols' early and last years are quite unknown to us. According to his own words, it seems that he was born in the city of Gloucester by the year 1532.[3] In 1556, when he was about twenty four years old, he was sent to Teneriffe, where he lived for three months, learning Spanish and getting familiar with the commercial activities of the place, with the idea of becoming a trade agent there in the near future. He came back to Teneriffe in 1557, this time as a representative the commercial interests of Anthony Hikman, Edward Castelin and Thomas

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[1] Cf. Antonio Béthencourt Massieu, "Canarias e Inglaterra: el comercio de vinos: 1650-1800", *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos,* II, 1956, pp. 31-114: Víctor Morales Lezcano, *Relaciones mercantiles entre Inglaterra y los archipiélagos del Atlántico ibérico: 1503-1783,* Instituto de Estudios Canarios, La Laguna, 1970.

[2] Cf. Víctor Morales Lezcano, *Los ingleses en Canarias,* Edirca, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1986, pp. 18-20.

[3] Cf. Nichols' biography in Alejandro Cioranescu, *Thomas Nichols, mercader de azúcar, hispanista y hereje,* Instituto de Estudios Canarios, La Laguna, 1963, pp. 9-59.

Lok, three London merchants.[1] But, just a year after his settling in La Laguna, Nichols began to have troubles, troubles not only suffered by him but by many - if not by all - of the English commercial agents and merchants established in the Islands at this time. In the 16th and 17th centuries and particularly after the accesion to the throne of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, both the government and the Inquisition authorities in the Canaries did have in the Anglo-Spanish political enmity and in the differences between Spain and England in the religious field a good excuse to commit all sorts of abuses on the English subjects that arrived to the Islands. In February 1559, Polo Morteo, the governor of Grand Canary, sent Nichols to prison and confiscated his properties on the grounds that the Queen of England was an enemy of Spain and the Catholic faith. He was released a month later but, in February 1560, he was imprisoned again in the city of Las Palmas, this time by the Holy Office, accused of heresy and apostasy, of being a follower of Luther's doctrine, of having declared that the British faith was better than the Roman one and that the English mass was better than the Catholic one, of having sung songs used by heretic people; of having made some negative comments about the confession and the bulls, and of not going usually to church. These charges, always rejected by Nichols, were based on the declarations of several witnesses of uncertain morality. Nichols' prosecution was quite irregular and so extremely slow that, three years after his imprisonment, he had not been judged yet. As the Inquisitor Luis de Padilla had died, Nichols' case was sent in August 1562 to the Holy Office in Seville, where he was taken nine months later. In Seville, Nichols was found guilty and sentenced to seclusion in the city in the way decided by his judges and to life exile from the Canary Islands. He was also condemned to go out in the *auto-da-fe*, the public exhibition of penitence and acceptance, in which he was compelled to wear the shirt, hold a lighted candle and forswear *de vehementi*. From 1564 onwards, Nichols' biography is hardly known. He may have stayed in Spain during a period, but then, before 1577, he went back to England and established himself in London, where he began to publish his works.

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[1] Cf. A. Cioranescu, *op. cit.*, p. 16: "En el annio de N.S. 1556 mis maiores me embiarun encomendado a Gilermo Edge, residente entonce en Tenerif y fator delios, para que deprendiesse la lengua hispaniola; y sendo asi bossal, estuve trez meses alla y torne despues de los tres meses a mi terra ... En el annio de N.S. 1557 buelvi otra vez a estas yslas."

The Spanish that Nichols learnt in the Canary Islands would be a very helpful tool for him. In the first place, he uses it in his business and to defend himself in the different lawsuits in which he was engaged. Then, when he is back again in his country, he uses it in a very different field: to translate into English several of the most relevant Spanish works of the 16th century.

Nichols published five works.[1] The first one, printed in 1577, is *The strange and marueilous Newes lately come from the great Kingdome of Chyna, which adioyneth to the East Indya*, an English version of a Spanish work not found and probably written in the city of Mexico by a Spanish merchant that had travelled to China. The following year appeared *The pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the West India, now called new Spayne, atchieved by the worthy Prince Hernando Cortes, Marques of the Valley of Huaxacac,* a translation of the second part of the history written by Francisco López de Gómara, whose name the translator does not include. In 1580 Nichols' translation work increased with a new contribution, *A delectable Dialogue, wherein is contayned a pleasaunt disputation between two Spanish Gentlemen, concerning Phisick and Phisitions,* with sentence of a learned Maister given upon their argument, which is a piece from the *Coloquios y diálogos* (1547) of the Spanish humanist Pedro de Mejía. This translation, whose author is hidden behind the capitals T. N., has been traditionally assigned to Thomas Newton (1542-1607), but Alejandro Cioranescu, a qualified expert in Nichols' biography and creative work, puts it among the English versions of Spanish books made by this author. A new work is published in 1581, *The strange and delectable History of the discoverie and Conquest of the provinces of Peru, in the South Sea. And of the notable things which there are found; and also of the bloudie civill warres which there happened for government,* in which Nichols translates almost all the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* (1555) by Agustín de Zárate.

The translation work made by Nichols is relevant and deserves a specific study. But our present interest is limited to his last work, *A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Ilandes, called the Ilands of Canaria,*

[1] Nichols' translation and creative work is also commented by A. Cioranescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-84.

with their straunge fruits and commodities,[1] an account of what he knows about these islands which, as he explains, "may call infortunate, for there was I apprehended for an heretike and an open enimie to the Romish Churche; and there deteyned in that bloudie Inquisition the space of five years".[2] In the dedication of the Description - offered to John Wolley, one of the secretaries at Queen Elizabeth's service - we can see its genesis. The author follows the old use of the poor pilgrims, who, when the hard days of the journey are over and they are back in their country among their dearest friends, tell them all the relevant and wonderful things seen in remote lands.[3] Nichols adds that with "this little pamphlet" he wants to clarify all

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[1] Imprinted at London by Thomas East, 1583. This work will be published by Richard Hakluyt in his *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation,* imprinted at London by Georg Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker, 1599, vol. II, part II, pp. 3-7, under the title of *A description of the Fortunate Ilands, othervise called the Ilands of Canaria, with their strange fruits and commodities. Composed by Thomas Nicols, English man, who remained there the space of seven yeeres together.* In the 18th century, Nichols' Description is translated into French and German. It was included in the *Histoire generale des voyages ou Nouvelle collection des toutes les relation de voyages par mer et par terre ...* , vol. II, Paris, 1746, pp. 225-248, under the title of "Description des Iles Canaries & de l'Isle Madere, par Thomas Nicols". Later, it was published in S. J. Schwabe's *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande,* vol, II, Leipzig, 1747, under the title of "Beschreibung der Canarischen Eylande und Madera, nebst ihren merkwürdigen Früchte und Waaren". The first Spanish translation of Nichols' *Description* was published by Buenaventura Bonnet, "Descripción de las Canarias en el año 1526, hecha por Thomas Nicols, factor inglés", *Revista de Historia,* Universidad de La Laguna, V, 1933, pp. 206-216. A. Cioranescu published a new Spanish translation and a new edition of Nichols' original text in his work *Thomas Nichols mercader de azúcar, hispanista y hereje,* pp. 95-127.

[2] Cf. 101. Nichols' quotations are from Cioranescu's edition.

[3] Cf. p. 109: "Pore pilgrimes use, Right worshipfull Sir, that after their wearie journies and returne into their native soile, to communicate the troth of anie thing worthie to be knowen and of them seene, among their especiall friends which are learned, and also lovers of such kinde of vocation. The Holy Scripture sheweth us, that when the wise men called Magi, being led by a straunge starre, to the place where Christ our Saviour was borne, at which place the starre did not only staie, but also gave a wonderful brightnes with shining beams, to assure them that there the Saviour was. Undoubtedly these men letted not to declare these marvailous things and visions at their returne, as appearteth at this present, that in Aetiophia and the East Countries are an infinite number of christians. Like-

the variety he finds in some writers about the Canaries and to repair several "untrothes" relating to these islands and included in the work *The New Found Worlde Antartike* written by André Thévet.[1] From the beginning, Nichols makes a clear distinction between Thévet - "a Frenchman who wrote of the Fortunate Ilandes by hearesay" - and himself, who writes of the Canaries "as time hath taught me in manie yeares".[2] For him, this circumstance has a special relevance and he insists on it at the end of his paragraph on Fuerteventura, where he says: "Thus much have I written of these ilands by experience, because I was a dweller there, as I have sayd before, the space of seven yeares, in the affaires of Master Thomas Lock, Master Anthonie Hikman and Master Castlin, who in those dayes were worthie merchants and of great credit in the citie of London".[3]

We find in Nichols' work a brief but full account of the Canaries in the second half of the 16th century, a description that includes geography, history, government and administration, economy, production and primitive culture. Most of the work is dedicated to the agriculture, the economy, the fauna and the flora of the Archipelago, and this is not surprising because these references clearly show Nichols' interests and experience. As a

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wise the eunuch, messenger to the queene of Candace, letted not to manifest in his countrie the miraculous things that he had seene in Jerusalem when Christ our Redeemer suffered the most bitter death of the cross; nor yet the queene of Sabba kept in secret the wisdome of Salomon."

[1] Nichols uses an English translation made by Hackit and published in London in 1568. The original title of Thévet's work is *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique* (1558). On Thévet and the Canaries, cf. Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, "El capítulo de Canarias en el Islario de André Thévet", *VI Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1988.

[2] Cf. pp. 103 and 105: "Because mine intent is particularly to speak of the Canaria ilands, which are seven in number, wherein I dwelt the space of VII yeares and more; because I finde such varietie in sundry writers, and especially great untrothes in a booke called *The New Found World Antartike*, set out by a French man called Andrew Thevet, the which his booke he dedicated to the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the great seale of Fraunce. It appeareth by the said booke that he read the works of sundrie philosophers, astronomers and cosmographers, whose opinions he gathered together. But touching his owne travaile which hee affirmeth, I referre to the judgement of the experient in our daies; and therefore for mine owne part I write of these Canaria Ilandes, as time as taught me in manie yeares."

[3] Cf. p. 123.

merchant or commercial agent he was able to know all about the Canary wines[1] and sugar, and we have an example of this in the complete description of how sugar canes were grown and how sugar was obtained:

> The manner of the growth of sugar is in this sort. A good ground giveth foorth fruit nine times in 18 yeare. That is to saie, the first is called *planta,* which is laid along in a woerowe, so that the water of a fluce may come over everie roote being covered with earth; this roote bringeth forth sundrie canes, and so consequently all the rest. It groweth two yeares before the yeelding of profit, and not sixe monethes, as Andrew Thevet the French man writeth.
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> Then are they cut even with the ground, and the tops and leaves called *coholia* cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggets; and so are carried to the sugar house called *ingenio,* where they are ground in a mill, and the juyce thereof convayed by conduct to a great vessell made for the purpose, where it is boyled till it ware thicke; and then is it put into a fornaice of earthen pots of the moulde of a sugar loafe, and then is it carryed to another house called a purging house, where it is placed to purge the blackness with a certain clay that is laid thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a second sort, called *escumas,* and of the purging liquor that droppeth from the white sugar is made a third sort, and the remainder is called *panela* or *netas.* The refuse of all the purging is called *remiel* or *mallasses,* and thereof is made another sort, called *refinado.*
>
> When this first fruit is in this sorte gathered, called *planta,* then the cane field where it grew is burned over with sugar straw to the strumps of the first canes, and being husbanded, watered and trimmed, at the end of other two yeres it yeeldeth the second fruite, called *zoca.* The third

[1] Cf. p. 110: "This Iland [Grand Canary] hath singular good wine, especially in the towne of Telde ... "; p. 115: "Out of this iland [Teneriffe] is laden greate quantitie of wines for the West India and other countries. The Best groweth on a hill side called the *Ramble.";* p. 119: "Their best wines grow in a soile called the *Brenia* [La Palma], where yeerely is gathered 12 thousand buts of wine like unto maulmsies."; p. 121: "There is no wine in all that iland [El Hierro], but onely one vineard that an English man of Taunton in the West countrie planted among rockes, his name was John Hill. "

> fruite is called *tercia zoca,* the fourth *quarta zoca,* and so orderly the rest, till age causeth the olde canes to be planted againe.[1]

Nichols' account is not only concerned with the present but also with the past of the Islands, which he tries to know and to explain. And this is so because he is a man of his time and because rationalism rules both the material and spiritual life of the Renaissance man, to whom the irrational has no use, the contradictions must be cleared and reduced, and truth must be sought. That is why we find Nichols going to see the caves where the primitive inhabitants of Teneriffe were kept after death, and asking the people of Grand Canary if they had ever heard that the geographic name *Canaria* came from the number of dogs which were found in this island. An additional example will ilustrate this point. Nichols accepts the ancient reference of Atlantis, given by Plato in his *Timeo,* as a positive and appropriate explanation of the origin of the Canaries. Nichols observes nature, and finds that the coast of Guinea has sands and shallows lying out a great way into the ocean, which lets him consider Plato's report as true.[2] In relation to the primitive inhabitants, Nichols' references are unfortunately short and limited to two islands, but not lacking interest. Of the aborigines of Grand Canary he writes:

> They were clothed in goate skinnes made like unto a loose cassocke. They dwelt in caves in the rockes, in great amitie and brotherly love. They spake all one language. Their chief feeding was gelt dogs, goates and goates milke; their bread was made of barlie meale and goats milke, called *gofia,* which they use at this daie; and thereof I have eaten diverse times, for it is accounted exceeding wholesome.

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[1] Cf. pp. 109 and 111.

[2] Cf. p. 103: "Plato, in his *Thimeo,* writeth that about 750 yeres past, ther was a great Ilande lieng in the Ocean Sea, in front of Hercules Pillers, which stood at that time in the iland of Cadez. This ilande was called Atlantica, which lande by Gods permission senke, saving certaine ilands which yet remaine, calld the Ilands of Cabo Verde, the Ilands of Canaria and the Ilands of Azores and others. The opinion of Plato seemeth to be true, because the coast of Guinea hath sands and shallowes lying out a great way into the maine Ocean, which agreeth as parcell appertayning to the other ilandes before rehearsed. Some of the Canaria ilands, as the ile of Fortaventura by name, lyeth 50 leagues distaunt from the continent land of Africa, and the ilands of Azores neere 300 leagues. The opinion of Plato shall serve for this purpose, to the which I remit me."

> Touching the originall of these people, some holde opinion that the Romanes which dwelt in Africa exiled them thether, as well men as women, their tongues beeing cutte out of their heades, for blasphemie against the Romane Gods. But howsoever it were, their language was speciall and not mixed with Romane speech or Arabian.[1]

To these references we have to add the ones given in relation to the primitive inhabitants of Teneriffe:

> In this iland, before the conquest, dwelt seaven kinges, who with all their people dwelt in caves and were cloathed in goat skinnes, as the Canaria people were, and with such like order of dyet as they had. Their order or buriall was, that when anie died, he was carried naked to a greate cave, where he was propped up against the wall, standing ou his feete. But if he were of anie authoritie among them, then had hee a staffe in his hand, and a vessel of milke standing by him. I have seene caves of 300 of these corps together; the flesh beeing dryed up, the body remained as light as parchment.
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> These people were called *Guanches* by naturall name. They spake another language cleane contrarie to the Canarians, and so consequently every iland spake a severall language.[2]

Nichols is not a historian and his *Description* is not an academic work, accurately done and well documented. He plans and writes it in England, where he does not have the necessary materials and sources and after a long absence from the Canaries -twenty years, if he wrote it just before its publication. Had he planned it when he was living in the Islands he would have offered a very different work, as, in this way, he could have made use of the manuscripts on the history of the Archipelago that were circulating at the period, and also he could have gathered complementary material and could have made further research. Unfortunately his only source seems to be his memory, and his memory sometimes fails as, when speaking about Fuerteventura, he says that "on the North side, it hath a little ilande about one league distant from the maine iland, betweene both of the which it is navegable for anie ships, and is called *Graciosa.*"[3] This is

[1] Cf. p. 107.
[2] Cf. p. 117.
[3] Cf. p. 123.

not true: the island called Graciosa is in the northwest of Lanzarote. However, on the whole, Nichols' memory is happy and his remembrance shows generosity and warmth.

Nichols' Description has a good complement in Scory's work which, under the title of *Extracts taken out of the Obseruations of the Right Worshipfull Sir Edmond Scory, Knight, of the Pike of Tenariffe, and other rarities, which hee observed there, has come down to us thanks to the fact that Samuel Purchas included it in his work Purchas His Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places discouered, from the Creation unto this Present...*, published in London in 1626.[1]

Scory's life is quite unknown to us. We do not know how long he stayed in the Canary Islands. Buenaventura Bonnet says that this knight was living in Tenerife in 1582, because he mentions an account of the wheat production gathered in Teneriffe in that year, but it does not seem to be true. Scory's work mentions the Duke of Lerma, King Philip III's favourite, so that his stay in the Canaries must have taken place in the last years of the 16th century and, more probably, in the first decades of the following century.

The first lines of the work clearly show the limit of his report:

> Teneriffe is the pleasantest of the Canary Ilands. This Iland hath beene called Nivaria, by reason of the Snow which like a Collar enuironeth the necke of the Pike of Teyda. The name of Tenariffe was imposed by the inhabitants of the Palme Iland, for Tener in the Palmesian language signifies Snow, and Iffe an Hill. It is situate in the Atlanticke Ocean fourescore leagues from the Coast of Affricke. It is in

[1] Cf. pp. 784-787. A copy of this edition, which we have consulted, is available in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (R/38399). Bergeron included Scory's work, translated into French, in his *Traicté de la navigation et des voyages de descouverte & conqueste moderne* ... , Paris, 1629. It was published again in the *Histoire generale des voyages* ... , vol. II, Paris, 1746, pp. 249-253, under the title of "Description du Pic de Tenerife & recherches sur les Guanches". A Spanish translation was published by Buenaventura Bonnet, "Observaciones del caballero inglés sir Edmond Scory acerca de la Isla de Tenerife y del Pico del Teide", *El Museo Canario,* IV, 8, enero-abril 1936, pp. 44-59.

> forme triangular, extending itselfe into three Capes, and stands within eight and twenty degrees of the equinoctiall.[1]

Then the singular and complete description of Mount Teide follows. Through his words, Scory makes us feel the admiration he has for the high mountain, "a Mountaine which begets I know whether a greater attention, when you come to it, or when you behold from a farre off: but in both very great".[2] He takes notes about the suitable paths to the top, the effects that the considerable height causes to the travellers, the weather, and the very interesting geology of the place.

The second part of the work is dedicated to the island: its mountains and valleys, its water resources, its woods and its agriculture. Here, Scory gives - as Nichols had previously done - a special mention of the wine production, the Canary sack[3] so much praised by Falstaff:

> The Vineyards of account are in *Buena Vista,* in *Dante,* in *Oratana,* in *Tigueste,* and in the Ramble which place yeeldeth the most excellent Wine of all other. There are two sorts of Wines in this Iland *Vidonia* and *Muluesia. Vidonia* is drawne out of a long Grape, and yeeldeth a dull Wine. The Maluesia out of a great round Grape, and this is the only Wine which passeth all the Seas of the World ouer, and both the Poles without sowring or decaying; whereas all other wines turne to Vineger, or freeze into Ice as they approch the Southerne or Northerne Pole."[4]

Just like Nichols had previously done, Scory's interest is not only restricted to the economy and other practical aspects of the present. He also pays a lot of attention to the primitive inhabitants of Teneriffe and to their

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[1] Cf. p. 784.

[2] Cf. p. 784. On Teneriffe and the Pike in English works of the l6th, 17th and 18th centuries, cf. the very insteresting paper by Bernd Dietz, "Tenerife en las letras inglesas: posibles antecedentes de un texto de Samuel Johnson", *Serta Gratvlatoria in Honorem Juan Régulo,* Universidad de La Laguna, I, 1985, pp. 223-230.

[3] Many references about the canary or sack can be seen in Shakespeare's plays: *The Merry Wives of Windsor, Henry IV (First part), Henry IV (Second part),* and *Twelfth Night.* Cf. Andrés de Lorenzo-Cáceres, *Malvasía y Falstaff,* Instituto de Estudios Canarios, La Laguna, 1941.

[4] Cf. p. 785.

ancient and simple culture, and in this case Scory does not limit himself to the brief references on this matter that we find in Nichols' *Description*, but he provides a complete account that includes food and dress, physical features, social organization, economic resources, religious and funeral rites, language and entertainment. Most of the information given here by Scory belongs to the work *Del origen y milagros de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, que aparecio en la isla de Tenerife, con la descripción de esta Isla*, which is not mentioned. This book was written by the Dominican friar Alonso de Espinosa and was published in Seville in 1594, although Scory does not limit himself to copy literally the materials and information taken from Espinosa, but he treats them in a personal manner, and we can also see now and then Scory's original contribution, as when he says:

> The first that were knowne to inhabit this Iland are called Guanches: but how they came thither it is hard to know, because they were and are people meerely barbarous & voyd of Letters. The language of the old Guanches (which remayneth to this day among them in this Iland in their Towne of Candelaria) alludeth much to that of the Moores in Barbary, to be no other then meere Gentiles ignorant of God.[1]

In the last part of his work, Scory gives a full report of La Laguna, the city which seems to have been his residence in Teneriffe and which he praises. After speaking of the place in which La Laguna lies, its surroundings, the refreshing trade winds that come from the east, and the night atmosphere cooled by the dew, he goes on giving a detailed description of the city:

> Their buildings are all of an open rough stone nothing faire, they are very plaine in their buildings, two or three stories high and no more, and commonly but one story high in the remoter parts of the City. It is not walled, they haue no chimneyes, no not so much as in their kitchins. They make only a flat hearth against a wall, and there they toaste their meate rather then roast it. The decency of their streets is commendable, for when you are in the centre of the City, your eye reacheth almost to the extreamest parts thereof. They haue no want of water. The City hath its name from a great standing Lake at the West end of it, vpon which there are comonly diuers sorts of fresh water-fowles. The haggard

[1] Cf. p. 786.

> Falcons doe euery euening flye vpon this Lake, and the Negros with slings beate them, which is the noblest sport of that kind in the world for the stoopings are many, and at one time, and the Hawkes the strongest and best mettalled of all other; of a greater kind then the Barbary Falcons.[1]

In his work and in a natural way, Scory takes England as a close reference for comparison. So, when speaking of the pines he says that "There are of these Pine-trees two sorts, the strait Pine, and the other growing after the manner of our spreading Okes in England..." .[2] Refering to the natives, he writes later that "They eat the flesh of Sheepe, of Goats, and Pork, but not commonly, for they haue certaine assemblies, like our festiuall Wake-dayes in England, at which times the King in person with his owne hands did giue to euery twentie of them three Goates, and a proportion of their Giffio" .[3] And also, he says that there is very little difference between the body, colour and smoothness of "our English fallow Deere and their Goat" .[4]

As we have just seen, thanks to Thomas Nichols and Edmund Scory, the Canaries are introduced to England and to Europe. It is not a mere coincidence that Nichols' *Description* is the first published work specifically dedicated to the Islands, and it is not a matter of chance that the primitive civilization of the Archipelago is widely known by the English Renaissance through Scory's work. Both of them deserve our acknowledgment and our gratitude.

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[1] Cf. p. 787.
[2] Cf. p. 785.
[3] Cf. p. 786.
[4] Cf. p. 787.

THE STRANGE FATE OF THE ENGLISH *ARNALTE Y LUCENDA* BY DIEGO DE SAN PEDRO

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Quite by chance, when looking up a reference in the British Library Catalogue (the one in the Main Reading Room) last summer on behalf of a colleague of mine in the Spanish Department, I came across the name of Diego de SAN PEDRO. Out of a matter of curiosity, I reread the many entries devoted to his works (I had had the opportunity of doing so before, when writing my Ph.D thesis.) Till that moment, I had only paid attention to his main production, *Cárcel de amor,* which I knew had been translated relatively early in the 16th century and had had a fairly large audience in England (John BOURCHIER, Lord BERNERS, translated it in 1549.[1] But what quickly caught my attention was the fact that another one of his novels, the less ambitious *Arnalte y Lucenda,* had been translated into English at least on three different occasions in less than a century and that one of those translations had been printed four different times in thirty years. Of course, we are not talking of what we would call today a "best-seller", but if you let me make the point, we have here the proof of an interest on the side of the reading public which lasted for a century and meant that, at least for the English, *Arnalte y Lucenda* made better reading than *Cárcel de amor.*

Nothing much is known about Diego de SAN PEDRO. There are no precise dates of birth and death (He probably died in the first years of the

[1] *The Castell of Loue,* Iohan Turke (London: 1549?).

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16th century). We do not even know for sure the number of his literary works. His authorship is beyond doubt as far as the following titles are concerned: *Arnalte y Lucenda* (1491), *Cárcel de amor* (1492), *Sermón* (being a discourse on "leyes enamoradas"), *Pasión trovada, Desprecio de la Fortuna* (a long poem of a didactic nature) and some minor poetry. He has been also attributed the authorship of many others.[1] The *Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda* included in its first edition two long poems: one in honour of Queen Isabella, the other of Our Lady, under the title *Las Siete Angustias de Nuestra Señora.* They were not printed again together with the book in later editions and there is no trace of them in its translations. So we suppose HERBERAY, the French translator (and all other translators who based their work upon his) used as his source text the second edition, that of Burgos: 1522.

The first English translation of the work we are concerned with is by John CLERK and was published in 1543.[2] We know that CLERK was a Catholic writer who had studied in Oxford for a time, and had travelled on the Continent where he had learnt French and Italian. He was secretary to the Duke of NORFOLK and, apparently, he committed suicide in the Tower of London (10-5-1552), where he had been imprisonned with his lord, the Duke. The entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* tells us of his being the author of two books on religious matters and the translator of another two. Nothing is said of this evidently more frivolous undertaking of his, the translation of *Arnalte y Lucenda.* In the title-page we can read: "A Certayn tre/atye moste wyttely deuysed/ orygynally wrytten in / the spaynysshe, lately/ traducted in to / frenche entytled / Lamant mal traicté de samye/". It is dedicated to a very special person, "Lorde Henry / Erle of Surrey". In his Epistle Dedicatory CLERK underlines the merit of SURREY's own translations and "the great paynes and trauayles susteyned by your selfe in traductions as well out of the Laten, Italian as the Spanyshe, and Frenche, wherby your Lordship surmouteth many others, not onely in knowledge, but also in laude and comendacyon". CLERK goes on with this typically eulogizing game but not for very long, as he quickly

[1] For a complete account of his works *vide* Diego de SAN PEDRO, *Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda (Obras completas,* vol. 1), edited ed by Keith Whinnom, Castalia (Madrid: 1979), pp. 34-5.

[2] It was printed by Robert Wyer "dwellynge in seynt Martyns parysshe at Charyng Crosse". Unluckily this beautiful volume (the only extant copy in the British Library) is incomplete.

turns his attention to the actual procedures of translating. He carefully states how he has made every effort to keep the grace of the original by not being a mere slave to it: *not verbum pro verbo, sed sensum pro senso.*

Nicholas de HERBERAY, Seigneur des Essarts, in the service of FRANCIS I, had made a high sounding French version in the late thirties (1539).[1] HERBERAY was a well known translator at the time and he had already tried his hand at several Spanish books: his is, for instance, the translation of *Amadís de Gaula* that Anthony MUNDAY used as his source for his own English rendering.[2] HERBERAY's version of *Arnalte y Lucenda* was the immediate source of CLERK's translation.

Nearly a century after CLERK's work was published, the third (and last) translation of *Arnalte y Lucenda* came into being in 1639. The title-page offers a very meaningful approach to its story: the headline keeps the reference to its main characters ("A Small Treatise betwixt Arnalte and Lucenda") and the legend following gives the would-be readers the clue to its plot: "The Evill- intreated Lover,/ or/ the Melancholy Knight". Immediately afterwards we have the ancestry of the edition exposed: "Originally written in the Greeke Tongue,/ by an unknowne Author./ Afterwards translated into *Spanish*, after that, for/ the Excellency thereof, into the *French Tongue* by/ *N.H.*, next by *B.M.* into the *Thuscan*, and/ now turn'd into *English Verse* by *L.L.*,/ a well wisher to the Muses".[3]

As you can quickly realize, the path has been long and winding: we can count four intermediate stages up to the actual rendering into English. The initial source is, of course, fictitious (in the tradition of a well known literarydevice, the authorship and origin of the novel are disguised under the garments of a pretended Greek source -shall we remember *Don*

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[1] "Petit Traité DE/ Arnalte et Lvcen-/ da, Autrefois tra-/ duit de langue Espaignole/ en la Françoyse, & intitulé/ l'Amât mal traité de s'amye:/ Par le Seigneur des Essars Ni-/ colas de Herberay, cômissair-/ re ordinaire de l'artilerie du/ Roy", Denis Janot (Paris: 1539).

[2] *Vide* RANDALL, Dale B.J., *The Golden Tapestry. A Critical Survey of Non-Chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation (1543-1657),* Duke U.P. (Durham, N.C.: 1963), pp. 34-35. He puts this precise book as an example of those Elizabethan trnaslations from the Spanish which had French intermediaries.

[3] "Printed by *J. Okes* for *H. Mosley*, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Signe of the Princes Armes in *Pauls* Church-yard" (London: 1639).

Quixotte's supposed Arabic birth?-). The initials *N.H.* clearly refer to our French translator, Nicolas de HERBERAY, the ones *B.M.* stand for Bartolomeo MARRAFFI, the Florentine writer whose work *L.L.* (Leonard LAWRENCE) used as the starting point for his "Melancholy Knight".

Of course, the approach to the task of translating by using intermediate languages was common coin at the time: French and, to a lesser degree, Italian were the usual sources of works originally written in more "exotic" languages.

Leonard LAWRENCE, of whom we know no other literary endeavours but his translation, dedicates his work to an uncle of his, Adam LAWRENCE. In a longish Epistle Dedicatory he carefully points out how he does not pay any attention to his critics (upon his words we would say there were many of them!)[1] and according to tradition he begs pardon for the possible mistakes that undoubtedly had slipped in, "My *Genius* having promt me to present these unpolisht lines to Your judicious Censure; I shall intreate You'ld pardon the faults my English Stile affords; and attribute them to my unskilfulnesse". Apparently, we have before us the gift of a grateful nephew to a munificent uncle. But the very nature of the gift is a bit striking, as we are concerned with a sentimental novel, the story of a badly paid love, not the kind of reading we would expect to interest a gentleman of a certain age (as Adam LAWRENCE must have been at the time). A three-page long poem, that closely follows the epistle-dedicatory, gives the answer to this predicament. The heading reads thus:

> To all fair Ladies,
> Famous for their Vertues,
> L.L. wisheth the enjoyment of their
> Desires; whether Celestiall, or
> Terrestriall, but most especially to
> that Paragon of Perfection, the ver-
> ry Non-Such of her Sexe, famous
> by the Name of Mistris

[1] "But's not matter, such Censurers may use their freedome, I will not say of ignorance or envy, if of either I care not: It's Your Honour'd selfe, whom I observe: so you be pleased, it imports not who's offended" (The Epistle Dedicatory, A3 r).

M.S.

Now the aim of the translator's task lies patent to our eyes: LAWRENCE, in an evident attempt of *captare benevolentiam*, is offering the sad example of ARNALTE's travails upon LUCENDA's hardened will.

What makes of this 1639 edition a very special case indeed is the fact that it is written in verse. LAWRENCE introduces, just before the actual text of his translation, a poem of his own in which he pays tribute to "all ingenious Poets, who, he hopes will cherish these his Infant Verses, as being the first that hee ever writ". The result of his decision is very irregular: the whole of it is written in couplets and the strife for the rhyme has from time to time a comic effect completely nonexistent in the original (at least in the eyes of his contemporaries).[1]

Before we go on studying the English versions of our novel let's stop for a while and make a short reference to the Italian translation by Bartolomeo MARRAFFI, LAWRENCE's source text. It was first printed in LYON in 1555 and it is a bilingual edition (French & Italian). Its title-page indirectly seems to tell us of the existence of a previous Italian translation, as it reads: "Picciol trattato d'ARNALTE & di / LUCENDA tiontolato l'AMANTE / mal trattato della sua amorosa, *nuo- / uamente* per Bartolomeo Marraffi / Fiorentino, in lingua Thoscana tra- / dotto". There is no allusion whatsoever to its Spanish origin. The time gap existing between this Italian translation and LAWRENCE's one into English is great (nearly seventy years) and there were several editions of the work by MARRAFFI other than this one from Lyon the English translator could have consulted (Paris: 1556, Lyon: 1570, Lyon: 1578, Lyon: 1583).

Finally, after having had a brief look at both the first and last representatives in English of SAN PEDRO's novel, let us concentrate on the translation made by Claudius HOLLYBANDE in 1575[2]. Again, as it was the case of the Italian version by MARRAFFI, we face here a bilingual edition (English and Italian), in which the texts can be easily compared. The translator works with the Italian as his source text. Once more, we are

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[1] Whinnom discards any such interpretations, *vide* Diego de SAN PEDRO, o.c., pp. 57-8.

[2] "Imprinted at London/ by Thomas Pursoote".

dealing with a translation that was indirectly rendered from the original tongue. Why a bilingual edition? A look at the title-page suffices to answer this question. I quote: "The Pretie / and wittie Historie of / Arnalt & Lucenda: / with certen Rules and / Dialogues set foorth for / the learner of th'Ita = / lian tong:". As a matter of fact, this precise circumstance makes it different from the other books we have reviewed, and, I dare say, makes it different from a translation proper. What we have here is a "Teach yourself Italian" handbook with a long reading, set as an example of Italian writing (which, I might add, is nothing but a translation from the Spanish). In the introductory declaration to the reader, HOLLYBANDE himself states that this, and no other, has been his aim for preparing his book. He starts by saying: "Who wisheth to attayne my skill in th'Italian Tong". And as such the edition not only includes both the Italian and the English versions of *Arnalte y Lucenda*, there is as well an appendix on the phonetics of Italian ("Certaine rules for the pronunciation of th'Italian tongue") and also a choice selection of situations of real life (with its equivalent in English) under the title "Familiar talkes". Here is but a short sample of them (I just want to whet your appetite!):

> "Modo di favellar, et primo come il viandante domandera la strada"
> ("The manner to talke, and first how a voiager may aske for the way")
>
> "Dell'ostaria" ("Of the Inne or lodging")
>
> "Ragionar con donne" ("To talke with wemen")

To this HOLLYBANDE adds a seven-page long appendix on grammar dealing basically with nominal declension and verbal conjugation. In this, especially as far as nominal declension is concerned, he shows his debt to Latin Grammars on the model of which he builds his own. He advises the reader to spend some time studying this material before actually attempting to read the story "in the reading whereof using a good discretion, he maye attayne great profite, as well for th'understanding of any other Italian books, as for his entraunce to the learning of the same tongue". Several interesting questions arise here. Probably the most obvious (and important) is: Is the translator aware of the fact that he is not dealing with an Italian original? The immediate answer is: Yes, he is. He includes (and translates) the very epistle-dedicatory that MARRAFFI wrote for his Italian translation. And not only this: the translation by

HOLLYBANDE is the sole version that counts in an *Argument* of the work, and it openly tells the reader the whole genealogy of the story (how it was originally written in Greek, and then translated successively into Spanish, French, and Italian). For a contemporary mind the basic issue still remains unanswered: Why a translation as a model for learning a foreign tongue? The question is all the more interesting because this precise rendering was printed again twice before the end of the century. The 1591 edition is nothing but a reprint of that of 1575.[1] The version of 1597 is a very different matter, indeed. What we have here is a new edition which has undergone many changes when compared with that of 1575. Even the title has been modified: the didactic aspect has been stressed by renaming it *The Italian Schoolemaster*.[2] A second line sentence tells us of an added offer "And a fine Tuscan historie cal- / led Arnalt & Lucenda". The importance of the translation has been debased to a less prominent place. The order in the parts of the book has been changed too: first comes a very much enlarged grammar of Italian, of which the translated text is but an illustration. Secondly, the story proper in which no alterations have been introduced. There is no other reference to its origin but a statement saying that it is a translation from HERBERAY's French version. Undoubtedly public demand must have weighed heavily in HOLLYBANDE's decision. Proof that he was right is a reedition of *The Italian Schoolemaster* ten years later, in 1608, in this occasion "revised and corrected by F.P., an Italian". Robert S. RUDDER, in his well known work *The Literature of Spain in English Translation*, lists the three versions we have been talking about, but there is no reference whatsoever to this reprinting of HOLLYBANDE's as revised by F.P. in 1608.

There existed a demand for the learning of foreign languages at the time. As a matter of fact, the final years of the century witnessed an enormous growth in interest for them. Let me include a quotation from Louis WRIGHT's *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England:* "Even though the study of modern languages increased remarkably from the late sixteenth century on, and though Latin remained the backbone of grammar-school education, the majority paid only lip service to Latin and knew no

[1] *Vide* Diego de SAN PEDRO, o.c., p. 73.

[2] Thomas Pursoot (London: 1597).

modern languages other than their own".[1] As a matter of fact, Englishmen had to wait till the 17th century for the foreign vernaculars to become a part of the official grammar-school curriculum. Even at Oxford and Cambridge, the study of modern languages was furnished by private tutors, most of whom were refugees from the Continent. This said, we have to underline the fact that simply for communication's sake, since English was a minority language at the time, learning a foreign language (at least the essentials) was a must for certain trades: merchants, for instance. Conversation books in two or three tongues were used by Englishmen since the first years of the 16th century. Authors of this kind of books would very often keep schools in which people were instructed, especially in French. This is the gap HOLLYBANDE's translation attempted to fill. Taking into account what we have just said, we have to be very careful when trying to assess the popularity of a translation as a means of judging on the role it had in the literary system of the language of reception. Four of the six editions *Arnalte y Lucenda* underwent in England (all those of HOLLYBANDE's translation) were meant to be something else than the actual proof of a literary success. *Cárcel de amor* does not fare so badly when we consider this phenomenon.

When I was asked to give the title of the paper I was going to read today, I thought "strange" was the proper word to denominate the curious story of *Arnalte y Lucenda's* translations into English. "Strange" also evokes the character of "foreign", which it has as definition nº 1 in the OED: *(of persons, language, customs, etc.: of or belonging to another country; foreign, alien).* If you allow me to sum up briefly the data I have been offering up to this very point, I think you will agree with me on the choice of the word.

1º - Our little treatise was edited in six occasions in less than a century in three different translations. That is practically a record of its own as far as translations of Spanish books are concerned at the time.

2º - None of the English versions was translated from the Spanish original. CLERKE made his through the French of HERBERAY, HOOLYBANDE & LAWRENCE through the Italian of MARRAFFI, who, in his turn, also used the French as his source.

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[1] Louis WRIGHT, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England,* The University of North Carolina Press (Chapel Hill: 1935), p. 339.

3º - That by HOLLYBANDE had the widest circulation. It was the only one that considered the text as an instrument for other means than those of enjoyment and/or literary appreciation, namely the didactic purpose of teaching a foreign language. Paradoxically, he made use of a translation and not of an original: this clearly shows there was no bias between originals and translations at the time.

Judging on the circulation a translation had as the measure for assessing its influence on the culture of reception is by no means always valid. As Keith WHINNOM states in his excellent edition of SAN PEDRO's *Obras completas:* "Sería arriesgado, pues, llegar a cualquier conclusión acerca de una supuesta diferencia entre el gusto español y el europeo".[1]

TEXTUAL APPENDIX

"The strange fate of the English *Arnalte y Lucenda* by Diego de San Pedro"

> "Este verano pasado, más por ajena necesidad que por [premia de] voluntad mía, huve, señoras, de hazer un camino, en el cual de aquesta nuestra Castilla [me convino] alongar; y cuando el largo caminar entre ella y mí mucha tierra entrepuso, halléme en un grand desierto, el cual de estraña soledad y temeroso espanto era poblado; [y como yo de aquellas tierras tan poco supiesse, cuando pensé qu'el cierto camino llevava, falléme perdido] y en parte que cuando [quise] cobrarme, no [pude] por el grand desatino mío y por la falta de gentes, que [no] hallava a quien preguntar." (SAN PEDRO, 1491-1522, ed. by Keith WHINNOM, Castalia (Madrid: 1979)).

[1] Diego de SAN PEDRO, o.c., p. 63.

“ Ayant en cest esté passé entreprins vn voyage (plus pour la necessité d’autruy que de mon bon gré) pour lequel faire me conuenoit de ce païs grandement esloigner, & apres auoir par longtemps cheminé, me trouuay, de fortune, en vn tres grand desert, non moins solitaire de gents qu’ennuieux à trauerser. Et comme ceste contrée me fust incogneuë, pensant aller mon droit chemin, me vy esgaré, de sorte que ie ne peu recouurer mon adresse, tant pour la grand’facherie que i’auois, que pour la faulte d’aucun à qui la pouuoir demander.” (HERBERAY, 1539)

“ After that I had this sommer passed emprysed a voyage (more for the necessyte of another, than for my pleasure) for the accomplysshement, wherof it was conuenyent for me to absent my selfe, farre from this countree, conformablie therunto by a long tyme trauayled in the same. I came by chaunce into a great deserte no lesse solytarie of peoploe, than displesaunt to passe thorughe. And as this coutree was unknowen to me. So thynking to go the right way, I strayed i such sort, as coulde not eftsones directe myself, as wel for the great displeasur that I had, as for the lacke of some one, of whom I might demaud the same” (CLERKE, 1543).

“ Sendomi io questa state passata, messo a far’un viaggio (più per la necessità d’altrui, che di mia propia volontà) per il quale mi bisognaua grandemete da q’sto paese allontanare: poi ch’ebbi molto camminato, per caso in un gran deserto mi trouuai, non manco di genti solitario, che ad à trauersarlo difficile. Et per questo luogo m’era incognito, pesando io d’andare pe’l mio dritto camino, ismarrito mi ritrouai, in modo, ch’io non potetti ritirarmi s’ul mio sentiero, tanto per il gran dispiacere che io haueua, quato per mancamento d’alcuno, à cui lo potessi domandare.” (MARRAFFI, 1555)

“ Hauing this sommer past take in had to make a viage (more by other mes necessity, the through mine owne good will) thereby I was copelled to go farre fro this countrey: and after I had far trauailed, I came by chauce into a great wildernes, no les destitute of people, the hard & tedious to go through it. And bycause this place was unkowen unto me, thinking to go my right, I foud my selfe astrayed: so that I could not come backe to my path waye, as well for the great displeasure

it had therof, as for the lacke of anye, of whome I might aske it" (HOLLYBANDE, 1575).

" There's but a Summer past; the golden Sunne,
He had but once his Annuall course o're run,
And lodg'd his fire-breathing Steeds within
The lofty Stables of cold Pisces Inn:
And fragrant Flora, dewie-breasted Queene
Of hills and Vallies, which we all have seene
Be-spread with Grasse-greene Carpets, intermixt
With pleasing Flowers, which no art had fixt.
For By their spreadings and their disperst show,
One might perceive that Nature caus'd them grow:
Attended on with Troopes of lovely Roses,
Carnations, Lillies, which the Spring discloses;
And divers sorts of various colour'd Flowers,
As Pinks and Pawnses, nurs't by Aprils showers.
She hath but once with her Traine giv'n place
To wintring Hyems, with his Snow-white face,
Since I a Journey, to my selfe no gaine,
Did undertake; for, for my friend the paine,
I freely did embrace, for certainely,
The place at distance farre remote did lye,
Whereto I was addrest: but with my Steed,
Like Pegasus I did intend to speed.
But having some dayes spent in this my race,
My fortunes brought me to a desart place,
Set thick with Trees, whose lofty tops aspire
To kisse the Clouds; nay yet to reach more higher,
Spreading their branches with that large extent,
That from my eyes they hid the Firmament;" (LAWRENCE, 1639)

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THE INEVITABLE DEATH OF DESDEMONA: SHAKESPEARE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN TRADITION

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Our endeavour in this paper is none other than examining the literary impact of an archaic preoccupation, honour and reputation. This preoccupation is almost omnipresent in many cultures but not every culture solves issues involving the injured honour of an individual, or that of family, or a clan, in an identical manner. Consequently it has been a motif that has given an ample number of writes the chance of creating stories with a single thematic nucleus: honour. There are many elements that could affect both honour and reputation, but in this paper we are concerned only with one specific type of honour: that which embraces the behaviour of a woman. This type of honour involves both a woman and man simply because the honour and good name of a man depends on the demeanour of his wife, or his mother, or even his own sister. To be a man whose honour has been stained by the sexual behaviour of a woman who is either related to him by blood ties, or by the bond of matrimony, is not a trivial matter. Society, not the law, does censure and ridicules him. So, for a man this type of aggression becomes an intolerable affront he must revenge if he wants to regain the respect of his society. The way in which a given community, or culture, regards this class of offense coerces the man to become the custodian of the honour of his family. Obviously to be this kind of keeper is difficult for it involves a great deal of voyeurism, since he must observe not only the sexual behaviour of his wife, is he has one, but that of the ladies of his family. As a consequence of this the man could be faced with the painful, traumatic and tacit obligation of killing a human being he loves because she has broken an implicit, and so unwritten code of behaviour

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dictated by society. To neglect this duty signifies running the risk of being labelled as a complacent husband, or as a man who accepts dishonour and shame, it being a attitude that certain societies decodify in a rather humiliating manner.

Bearing in mind the social demands cognate to this class of honour, we hope to examine the way in Shakespeare regards this problem with the purpose of briefly comparing his treatment with that of Calderón de la Barca. This consideration will show that in the case of *Othello* the death of Desdemona is not only inevitable, but a necessary ordeal Othello has to undergo in order to restore his good name, and that of his family. When Shakespeare wrote *Othello,* he had ample information about the Mediterranean code of honour, since *Othello* is a play which is not all that different from those written by Calderón, Lope de Vega, or Tirso de Molina. To assert that Shakespeare approaches the issue of honour exactly as Calderón does is a mistake, but when it comes to Othello's reasons for killing Desdemona, he has been very accurate. Othello is a man who, according to his cultural background, behaves correctly. He has proofs confirming his wife's unfaithfulness, and thus he must kill her.

Othello's utterances about justice show that he is a divided man: the *cause* is for him a sin that is far more unbearable than the savagery inherent in killing a wife. His words must not be taken as a fallacious piece of poetic justice, but as the verbal manifestation of the painful ordeal he must undergo in order to be a man, not a poor Cernunnos, as Iago suggests when he asks him: " How is it, General?/ Have you not hurt your head?" .[1]

Othello's reaction and behaviour does not reflect a purely Anglo-Saxon attitude towards chastity, but a Mediterranean one. In his case there are many concurring facts which function as signs he deconstructs incorrectly, thus believing he must be the executioner of his own disaster. The nature of these facts imply that, sooner or later, with or without Iago, something would have inflamed Othello's mistrust simply because he is not a man who trusts a woman easily. This reality augurs the inevitability of Desdemona's death caused by an intellectual deficiency in Othello which gives rise to the enactment of a code that governs his understanding of honour.

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[1] Ridley, M.R. (1971: act, IV, sc, i, 58)) *Othello,* Arden Shakespeare Paperbacks, Methuen and Co., Ltd., London. All quotations from this ed.

The play's circular structure functions as an architectonic sign that forces the reader to return at the end of the play to its point of departure: Desdemona's wedding night. In the end she lies dead on the same bedding she uses on her wedding night. In addition to the semiotic corollaries intrinsic to concrete objects, such as those of bedding or kerchief, there is verbal information about the same issue: the unsuitability of the marriage, it being an information that achieves dramatic proportions not because of what Iago, or Brabantio, says, but due to what one sees, Desdemona's body, the ocular evidence of Brabantio's misgivings about Othello's worth as husband.

The deplorable confrontation of Othello and Brabantio shows that Othello's wedding is not flawless for it begins with a dark note of discord that foreshadows its brittleness. One learns during this dispute a great deal about Othello. He is a prince by birth, a point he emphasizes when he implicitly insinuates he has the right to marry her. Had Othello been in his own country, his royal blood would have given him the type of social status that would have empowered him to take Desdemona as he does. However he is in Venice, and in Venice he is just a paid warrior at the service of the state, it being a fact he perceives well enough even in spite of speaking not as a man who has lost the social authority native to his "birth", but as a man whose royalty could "out-tongue" [Brabantio's]. However and despite what Othello thinks, what "out-tongue" them all is not really what he says, but Desdemona's words.

The oriental poet endowed with both imagination and an unusual capacity to react to all types of stimulus comes to light when hearing how he won Desdemona's love. The tales he narrates are those of a poet writing about poetic justice based on suffering. He speaks about his unhappiness, sorrows, times of humilation, slavery, catastrophes, lethal situations, and horrors such as those of cannibalism. The style he uses shows he is truly Mediterranean: he emphasizes suffering at the expenses of happiness, he makes music, to use Wilson Knight's phrase, [1] out of misery, and this constitutes a mannerism that is typical of Mediterranean cultures. A Mediterranean sees his or her life in terms of a long, piercing and sad lament simply because life is perceived in terms of long and painful arrangements of dramatic musical notes transmuted into beautiful

[1] Wilson Knight, G. (1977: 97-119) *The Wheel of Fire*, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London.

metaphors of suffering and death. The problem cognate to this approach lies in the tendency that a Mediterranean has to give more credit to what is negative than to what is positive. There is a latent pessimism which prompts a Mediterranean to imagine what is negative in terms that seldom are applied to what is positive. The slightest provocation gives rise to drama merely because life is drama. It is no accident that Othello responds to Desdemona's hints with stories about woe and calamities, with creativity, self-pity and firmness, but to do this makes either for greatness or disaster, and in his case it makes for disaster.

The dignity, verbal charm, and directness of his self-defense is impressive. Yet, it shows he is a man who feels he has moral rights which Brabantio, and indirectly the Senate, do not wish to acknowledge. Whence it is the locution of a man who knows why he has acted thus: he has used the tactics of a poet to win Desdemona's love, and the strategy of a warrior to legalize his love. His marriage takes place because of the efficacy of his strategies which derive from his awareness of the nature of the obstacles he has to avoid. In short, Othello takes what otherwise may not have been given to him: Desdemona. However, the predicament he faces having to "most humbly" asks the Senate to take care of his wife, providing for her both a home and servants, is humiliating. His dilemma shows he has acted according to Will, not Reason, since he does not have a proper home for Desdemona to live in. The answer of the Duke is corrosive, "If you please, / Be't at her father's." *(Othello,* act I, sc, iii, 239). By comparing Cassio's advantages with those of Othello, it is hardly surprising that Othello reacts as he does when Iago suggests he is Desdemona's lover. Unawares, Othello sees in him an opponent that could win Desdemona's affection because he has what he lacks; a family, a home, youth, and a sure welcome in any Venetian home.

Brabantio's decision signifies that Desdemona cannot go back to his home. Yet, Desdemona's quick reaction solves the problem thus avoiding her husband further mortifications. Trying to explain to the Senators why he accepts Desdemona's proposal, he affirms a little too often that his motives have nothing to do with sex, thus revealing he feels not only vexed but concerned with what he does not have, a home. Albeit Desdemona manages to avoid an embarrassing situation, her reaction throws light onto Othello's situation as a married man. That no servant was with Desdemona when she went to the Sagittar is not all that implausible, after all Othello asks Iago to let his wife attend on her, *(Othello,* act, I, sc, iii, 296). The

point seems insignificant but is not because the elucidation of Othello's dilemma helps to perceive his marriage in the light of deficiencies, deficiencies which explain why Othello reacts so quickly against anybody who, like Cassio, has what he lacks.

A nominalistic analysis of the names show the inevitability of Desdemona's death. The word-play inherent in Othello does not derive from the story of Cinthio simply because the name of the Moor is not mentioned. To conjecture that Shakespeare worked out for himself this pun is not a very far fetched idea. Probably he did consider not only Italian, but Spanish and English. The way in which the pun functions in these languages should serve to give support to this possibility. Othello constitutes a clever pun with *o-jealousy:* a perfect pun in Spanish, and nearly perfect in Italian. When it comes to English the pun has a different semiotic connotation, that of an excessively zealous person, since it could derive from *zealot,* and from Zelos, the ancient Greek personification of zeal, or emulation. In Spanish it derives from *O/ celo,* in Italian from *geloso,* thus giving rise to *gelos[o].*

Since the idea of a case is present in English, Spanish and Italian, the pun inherent in Cassio is that of case. Cassio is a real *case,* perhaps a man who in spite of being presented as a very noble creature, he is not so noble. It is not for nothing that he does not dare approach Othello after his downfall. If Cassio is a real case, Iago is a maker, a promoter of both false and real cases. Nominatively speaking his name constitute a blatant word-play on *do,* that is *hacer* in Spanish. What he does and achieves is not always the product of a very ingenious mind, but the outcome of several concurring facts he knows how to exploit to his advantage. To perceive the layers of meaning concealed in Iago's name is not difficult for a Spanish or Italian reader, since the former only needs to remember that the present tense of *do* is *hago,* and the latter the meaning of *ago:* also the fact that the first personal pronoun in English is I, in Spanish *Yo,* and in Italian *Io.* The phonetic value of the present tense of *do* is very similar to that of *[I]ago.* The name suits Iago for he is a true artist, a demonic maker of a world of delusion, confusion, and equivocation. The interplay between languages is no accident. Shakespeare sets the play in Venice, and yet Iago sings an English song, and so does Desdemona who in spite of being a Venetian lady does not behave like one. A Spanish, or Venetian lady, married to a Moor would have been able to deconstruct Othello's wrathful language in a very different fashion than she does. In Italian the pun inherent in Iago's

name is more eloquent than in Spanish, but not unrelated, for *ago* means needle, or point of a goad. What Iago does is like pricking with a goad Othello's soft spot, his well controlled jealousy. He is the only one who achieves communication because by means of his ability to wound with his tongue sore spots, he is the maker, the creator of the likeness of communication. His communication is both negative and private, but it is the type of communication he wants to be able to control his victims. When he controls the thoughts, hidden fears, and wishes of his victims he can persuade them to ponder what he wants them to ponder, while they are unable to perceive that Iago is violating their minds since they cannot grasp what lies bellow his illocutions. In Iago's case both positive and perverse unilateral communication is achieved because Cassio is a real case with ladies; Othello a man corroded by a hidden jealousy that not even himself is aware of; Emilia a "fair and foolish" wife that loves well but not wisely, and Desdemona a lady who cannot decodify her husband's language correctly till it is too late.

When applying this method of analysis to Desdemona's name, one acquires more elucidating data about the shortcomings of the characters, and so about their motives for doing what they do.[1] By breaking Desdemona into units what comes to light is this; Des/ *demon* [a], it being a sign of the nature of Othello's mistake since *démone* in Italian means demon, or devil. He kills her in order to kill the demon he thinks lodges in her fair body, fully incognizant of the fact there is no "cause" and ergo no demon to kill. The prefix *des* shows that in Desdemona's death Othello sees some sort of exorcism. The inevitability of Desdemona's death is shown to the audience through the layers of meaning inherent in her name. To believe that a name reveals a great deal about a person is an old idea rooted in religious and mythical principles.[2] Othello does not believe this, but in

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[1] To perceive this is not all that difficult, and it does not require any special knowledge of foreign languages. The way Shakespeare plays with puns inherent in the names of his characters function into different directions: one, that of a private test of the readers or audience's knowledge and sagacity. Two, a sort of word-play directed to people who claimed to be well educated, since travelling abroad and foreign languages was part of the curriculum of those who claim to be well educated and sophisticated people.

[2] We have omitted the analysis of both Emilia's name and that of Brabantio because there is nothing in Emilia's name, and not all that much in Brabantio's. This stands to reason because she is the only character in the play who is not

the end he acts as if he would do so, for besides talking about his wounded honour he speaks of his need to sacrifice a creature who if not killed would deceive more men.In fact, he is so sure there is some sort of devil in her that he, in public, acknowledges her as a devil.

Othello sees in his wife something beyond the level of adultery, otherwise he would not transform what he believes to be his private shame into a public spectacle. Don Gutierre, unlike Othello, is not only very judicious but very private when faced with the conjuncture of killing his wife. For Don Gutierre her shame and his dishonour constitute a private drama, for Othello an issue that touches her family, the State and so her country. This dissimilitude begs an explanation that should be sought in ethnic backgrounds. Don Gutierre has to wife a woman of his own background, thus he has nothing to flaunt to the king or to her family: his is a communal tragedy that everybody acknowledges without words, pretending to ignore the cause, or what is more important making believe there is not cause, but a natural and deplorable death. Don Gutierre is no exception, or an idiosyncratic character in Spanish literature. The Othello of Cinthio acts as Don Gutierre does, killing his wife with a stoking full of sand in order to avoid a social scandal. Because he is a Moor and she a Venetian, Othello, unlike Don Gutierre, transforms his drama into a pageant. When he shows her body to her uncle he is implicitly saying; here I am, a Moor, the man who was not good enough for her, and there she is, your niece, a Venetian lady of good breeding, but a devil and a whore.

The archetypal hero of Spanish plays based on a conflict touching the hero's honour would have killed Desdemona having less evidence than

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emotionally involved, as the other characters are, with Desdemona, beyond the level of service. Emilia is a woman who wants little, she seems to take life as it comes. To serve her lady is all she seems to want. We never see her in the privacy of her room with Iago, thus we know very little about her, expect for the fact she does nothing when Desdemona is so worried about the handkerchief. She seems to have little faith in human beings but accepts human frailties and errors as an unavoidable part of life. It is only when it is too late that she acquires some tragic stature by means of a painful not to say shocking *anagnorisis*, that her husband is a devil. There is more to Brabantio's name than here is to Emilia's. The pun resides in *brave"*, it being an ironic pun since he is older than Othello and thus unable to fight him. Also there is another pun inherent in the verb *bravare* which means to challenge, a fit pun then for he tries to challenge Othello and loses the challenge.

that Othello has, thus leaving no room for the playwright to create villains of Iago's kind. In England the Mediterranean concept of honour connected to that of revenge based solely on the sexual behaviour of a wife seems to be closer to a literary convention than to a truly factual and so accepted social reality. In Spain it is a literary convention that reflects a social obsession, that of being almost anything but a *cornudo*. How and when this obsession began is difficult to say. Probably the concept of *cornudo* may have had its origins in religious ideas that should be sought in Crete, ideas which were not unrelated to a feminine principle and her renewal through the sacrifice of a male principle, which was probably impersonated in a bull. To be a *cornudo* may have been a religious privilege involving the death of a bull, but never that of the female principle. This conception of life implied the symbolic, or not so symbolic, substitution of one male for another. With the passing of time the concept attached to a *cornudo* was forgotten, and so it came to signify that a man other than the husband was enjoying the favours of a wife. What in former times was a religious ceremony in which a goddess, so to speak, took to husband the symbolic, or not so symbolic, killer of her former husband, came to be considered as an unacceptable exchange of partners.

When examining literary conventions such as those of Courtly Love, one perceives that nobody considers Arthur a dishonourable man because his wife is sleeping with Lancelot. Granted, Guinevere is condemned to death, but it has nothing to do with Arthur's wounded honour, but with the law. Had Guinevere been the wife a Mediterranean the issue would have been a little different, her husband would have killed her before having the chance of facing a legal trial.

When contrasting Othello's tragedy with that of Don Gutierre in *El Médico de su Honra* it becomes evident that Othello is not an exceptional case in regard to his demeanour towards his wife. Not only that, when bearing in mind Don Gutierre's obsession with honour, Othello is no longer a complex character but a rather simple one, faced with an equally commonplace dilemma: his name and his honour.

Othello is an outsider, a man who knows little about his officers, including Cassio, and to know little causes both anxiety and insecurity. To

say, as critics do, that Othello is within the "crust"[1] of the Venetian society is an error because he is not. Iago mentions that Cassio is not a Venetian, but a Florentine as if to be a Florentine would mean to be less than a Venetian. What Iago says should not be considered as an oddity since he makes a virtue of saying what others do not dare to say, or would like to say. If to be a Florentine is enough to arose a negative attitude in Iago, to be Moor would be more than enough to awake a malicious disposition in others, so, sooner or later, another of Iago's type would have been insidious about Othello's marriage, thus involuntarily generating an unforeseen drama.

When considering the hero of *El Médico de su Honra*, Don Gutierre, one becomes aware of the fact that Othello's emotions were not easily aroused. Don Gutierre does not take Doña Leonor to wife merely because he saw a man, Don Arias, leaving her house through a balcony. He is not sure if he was visiting her and yet even if she were innocent, he would not take risks marrying her. He does not need much to abandon the woman he loves, only "apprehension". The motives for breaking the engagement place into question Leonor's chastity wherefore she becomes as obsessed as Don Gutierre is with the issue of her honour. To show her moral worth to her community becomes an ethical obligation: her only duty and moral obligation is none other than proving her chastity with the purpose of regaining the fame that used to be attached to her name.

A woman's honour is a serious an issue, yet it is not a question of the behaviour of a man, but always that of a woman. Never a woman feels dishonoured because her husband has a lover, but humiliated, offended, or what you will. Leonor demands compensation from the king Pedro Primero el Cruel, or el Justiciero, but there is no evidence to prove it was another lady who has been visited by Don Arias. The king intuits that Don Gutierre has acted foolishly, and yet Leonor's plead does not go beyond the level of appealing.

Because both men have the Mediterranean capacity to imagine the unimaginable, they cannot avoid creating a vivid and fatalistic picture of love, thus causing themselves much pain and suffering, incognizant of the fact they are just sketching a picture that projects within the pale of their

[1] French, M. (1981: 207) *Shakespeare's Division of Experience*, Summit Books, New York.

own society their unconscious not to say primeval fears. They are transforming an obsessive, a collective preoccupation, into a fallacious concrete reality that is bound to come to the surface at the slightest provocation, for which reason a woman's role is both dangerous and bitter.

Don Gutierre's wife, Doña Mencia de Acuña, grieved her fate, but her complaint proved to be as futile as that of Desdemona. Both ladies say they are chaste, but both are killed by men who speak in terms of sacrifice and ask them to pray in order to save their souls. The insistence on giving them time to repent is suggestive in the sense that it confers to this type of revenger a moral stature that other types of avengers do not have. From the Christian point of view this avenger is very concerned with the soul of his wife, it being a fact that shows he does not see himself as common killer, but as some sort of sacred minister whose duty is that of saving the soul of his erring wife. In his mind he seems to believe that leaving to chance the death of his wife is like living her soul in the hands of Satan for she is in mortal sin. Death may come when less expected depriving her of the opportunity to repent. By rescuing his wife from eternal damnation this avenger defeats death. At first sight Othello's concern with Desdemona's soul may sound almost like an intolerable irony but it is not: he is acting according to the norms, and so is Don Gutierre who gives her more time than Othello does to prepare for death as a good Christian should do.

The way in which Don Gutierre kills Doña Mencia is repulsive: he forces a doctor, Ludovico, to bleed her to death. Doing it this way he achieves two things: one, nobody will question his wife's chastity; two, he cures his wounded honour. In this Don Gutierre is closer to Iago than to Othello. We must bear in mind however that the Moor of Cinthio acts like Don Gutierre in order to avert what Gutierre avoids. To see Othello planning, thinking about ways of killing Desdemona, as Don Gutierre does, is not possible because Othello must not be placed at Iago's level, acting like him, calculating without feelings how to feign a natural death. There is no Iago in Don Gutierre's tragedy and therefore no one to compare the hero with. Granted there is an Iago in Cinthio's tragedy, but the Moor of Cinthio lacks the Aristotelian stature of Othello. To see Othello doing what the Moor of Cinthio does would have been rather unpalatable, and Shakespeare new this well enough. Othello has a name, he is a real human being, but the Moor of Cinthio is a nameless creature whose function seems to be that of embodying received ideas and unwritten concepts.

When it comes to the killing of their wives, the symbol of light achieves the same meaning in both plays. Othello and Don Gutierre put out the light while speaking of the disappearance of light in terms of what is going to disappear from their lives: their wives. A woman is light and a symbol of life, so that the exact nature of this light must be conveyed through a binary system of oppositeness, that of light versus darkness. The light must also be put out in order to avoid what they fear, the power inherent not in their souls but in their images, since the light is a vehicle of images.[1] According to them, once their wives break the rules, their light loses its worth because it is not a real light but a deceitful imitation of it: their light must become what it really is, darkness, in order to restore the needed light in their lives. The fact that both use the imagery of light and darkness is an identical manner cannot be a coincidence, especially when bearing in mind that both use this imagery when they are about to kill their wives. The light must be put out, both physically and symbolically, since only this can bring the required restoration. Consequently this symbolism must be understood in terms of the recognition of sin, since to recognize a sin is the same thing as to seeing the light, so that sin and darkness must be equated.

Watching Othello's incapacity to believe Desdemona generates not only disgust but anger mixed with pity. Othello cannot perceive that he, unlike Don Gutierre, can banish his wife because in Venice it is a socially acceptable act. When trying however to understand Don Gutierre's behaviour, worse than that of Othello and applauded by the king, one can perceive the pain, and the suffering of Othello. When trying to visualize Don Gutierre bleeding his wife to death, as if she were a pig, forcing a doctor to do so, because he thinks "Que el honor/ con sangre, Señor se lava", [2] one perceives there is nothing very extraordinary about Othello's deed, because there is not.

The obsession of Othello, like that of Don Gutierre, arises from the workings of a social machinery they do not dare to oppose: they are trapped in a situation which brings nothing but chaos and madness; they are confronting a conflict that offers only one choice: an alternative that

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[1] Giordano Bruno. (1987: 347-50) *Mundo, Magia, Memoria: Selección de Textos,* Taurus, Madrid. Ed. Ignacio Gómez de Liaño.

[2] Calderón de la Barca. (4th ed.: Jornada Tercera, Escena XIX, p. 231), *El Médico de su Honra,* Espasa Calpe, S.A. Madrid.

proffers them a rather peculiar relief, to act according to a code that forces them to commit what Othello defines in terms of "an honourable murder" *(Othello,* Act.V, II, 295). Nothing can really justify their crimes: at least Shakespeare tries to make the reader comprehend why Othello does what he does. An Anglo-Saxon may be able to understand Othello, but one ponders if an Anglo-Saxon would feel much sympathy for a man who bleeds his wife to death as Don Gutierre does.

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THE 'FEMALE PAGE': TRANSVESTISM AND 'AMBIGUITY' IN ELIZABETHAN THEATRE ROLES[1]

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> What an odd double confusion it must have made, to see a boy playing a woman playing a man one cannot disentangle the perplexity without some violence to the imagination.
>
> C. Lamb

There are two stimulating, if apparently contradictory, quotations with which Iwould like to introduce the question of transvestism in Elizabethan drama: a highly intricate question which, as we shall see, touches upon a myriad of levels. The first of these comments was made by Carmelo Bene:

> After the Elizabethan summer came the autumn of the English Restoration and the inevitable wintery harshness of the European theatrical season ... The coming of women onto the scene signalled, once and for all, the division between the categories of male and female,

[1] This is an expanded version of the article entitled, "The 'Female Page': trasvestitismo e ambiguità dei ruoli nel testo elisabettiano", which appeared in *Forme drammatiche e tradizione al femminile nel teatro inglese*, ed. by R. Baccolini, V. Fortunati, R. Zacchi, Urbino, Quattro Venti, 1991.

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> consigned to different sexual characters ... Actors and actresses had lost their femininity, but then, art is androgynus.[1]

The second quotation is taken from the Prologue to the 1660 performance of *Othello* in which, for the first time ever in England, a female came upon the stage to play the part of Desdemona:

> The woman plays today: mistake me not,
> No man in gown, or page in petticoat,
> ... in this reforming age
> We have intents to civilize our stage[2]

It is far from easy to pin-point the socio-historical reasons for the exclusion of women from the theatre, on the one hand because of the difficulty in unearthing adequate material from the various historical contexts themselves, and on the other, because the "woman-theatre" rapport has frankly never been a simple or direct one, filtered as it is through the relationship between fiction and reality that is clearly inherent in the genre of theatre itself. Indeed, those who have dealt with the question of transvestism, and conversely, that of the representation of the "feminine" in Elizabethan theatre, have inevitably found themselves obliged to deal with the larger question of the theatre's relationship with society as well. So it is that Shakespearean criticism, together with that branch of feminist studies that has concentrated on the role and the position of women in the theatre, can still be said to be divided between the so-called 'traditionalist' position -characterized by a rather superficial historical realism which would see the theatre as a "mirror" that the playwright holds up to contemporary social reality- and a position which, in concentrating upon illusionist technique and theatrical convention, tends to render the relationship between the play and the reality it represents a problematic one.

In the light of such critical dichotomy, the position recently delineated by Stphen Greenblatt is of even greater interest. Against the simple idea of theatrical 'reflection', Greenblatt sets up one of 'exchange',

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[1] C. Bene, *La Voce di Narciso,* ed. by S. Colomba, Milano, Il Saggiatore, 1982, pp. 65-67, [our translation].

[2] cited in G. Boas, *Shakespeare and the Young Actor,* London, Barrie and Rockcliff, p. 6.

of 'negotiation', between the two systems. Thus between theatre and society a complex relationship of 'give and take' is established, an interrelationship by which the 'social energy' that is unloaded on the stage is then, by means of theatrical technique, reformulated by the theatre for public consumption. As Greenblatt puts it:

> Through its representational means, each play carries charges of social energy onto the stage; the stage in its turn revives that energy and returns to the audience[1]

Although the methodology she adopts may vary, it is along these same lines that the feminist critic, Lisa Jardine, is also moving. What Jardine tenaciously objects to is a form of crude feminist criticism that insists -in an ultimately vain attempt at finding traces of the dominant or opposing ideologies in Shakespeare- on labelling his heroines as exempla of either emancipated women or victims of the system, thus simplistically attributing the dramatist with either the merit of having been some rare sort of proto-feminist or flinging at him the accusation of having been the spokesman for some villanous brand of contemporary male chauvinism. As Jardine tells us:

> We now know aconsiderable amount about this historical period, in particular about the position of woman and about views concerning women: enough to know that Shakespeare's plays neither mirror the social scene, nor articulate explicitly any of the contemporary views on "the woman question" ... I try to suggest alternative (corrective possibilities for reading the relationship between the real social condition and literary representation.[2]

Now, I in no way propose to go into a detailed philological analysis of these issues, but rather intend to discuss various aspects of a theme that appears to remain in large part still unexplored and highly enigmatic. While the relationship between women and writing in literature has received a good deal of attention in recent years, it seems to me that theoretical studies of woman's rapport with the thatrical genre have been relatively few. One

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[1] S. Greenblatt, *Shakespeare Negotiations,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990, p. 14.

[2] L. Jardine, *Still Harping on daughters, Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare,* Sussex, The Harvester Press, 1983, pp. 6-7.

reason for such an omission may be that, despite the many studies done in recent years on the subject of contemporary feminist plays written by women, what seems to be missing is a real ''historical memory' regarding women and the theatre. Such a history, as I said above, remains mysterious; but it is also discontinous. Above all, however, it is a history which must still be investigated and awarded its proper place in our 'memory'.[1] In an attempt to bring forth some elements of this submerged history in this paper, I have chosen to concentrate on the subject of transvestism as dramatic convention, and, in particular, on that of 'the female page' -a key figure for the understanding of how, from the very beginning, 'woman-as-sign' could only find its place in relation to theatrical space globally speaking- a space permeated with and dominated by invention, by fiction.

There would appear to be two primary reasons for the historical exclusion of women from the stage. In the first place, the theatre is conventionally a public space and, as we know, for centuries women were not considered to be socio-historical subjects in their own right. The domestic space alone was their assigned realm. Unquestionably, such a motive for exclusion conjures up for us once again the age-old silence and submission of the woman kept within the 'prison-walls' of the home. But theatre space is also a ritual space, and at this level I would say that the deprivation is even deeper, woman being thus excluded from any mediation with the divine. Although in western cilture women are both mythically and ritually associated with Earth and, like the Earth, participate in the mystery of Nature, in theatre, in the theatrical space, the rite, the ritual act, is denied her.[2]

From the point of view of the history of manners, the banning of woman from the stage is also undoubtedly linked to the way the acting profession was generally regarded: as threatening figure, not only because he is able to play an infinite number of roles, to sport an infinite number of masks , but also becaus, according to the stereotype, he was inclined to lead

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[1] This problem was the subject of intense discussion at two separate, recent conferences: the first, "Transformations and Transpositions: Changing Patterns in Women's Theatre History", which took place at the University of Warwick in 1986, and the second, held in Bologna in 1989, "Forme drammatiche e tradizione al femminile nel teatro inglese."

[2] Cfr. the entry under "Woman" by F.O. Basaglia in the *Einaudi Enciclopedia,* vol. 5, Torino, Einaudi, p. 5 ff.

a dissolute life in which alcohol, brawls and prostitutes all had their ample place.[1]

And yet the theatre, insomuch as it was a space in which the return of the repressed was brought to light and elaborated, could not entirely refuse to talk about women. Thus our tas is to focus upon just how the genre resolved the contradiction by which, on the one hand, it denied women a status high enough for them to be able to personallt tread the stage and, on the other, it was unable to suppress that denial, indeed, it was obliged to represent it. In short, how did the theatre resolve the problem of representing woman, even in her absence?

In his study of transvestism-as-performance, Peter Ackroyd[2] stresses the fact that the convention of the 'female impersonator' is one that goes back to antiquity: to the convention in classical Greek tragedy of the male who, in acting the female role, donned not only female masks, but also high buskins and richly decorated gowns, as well as to the Roman games, in which the comic possibilities of dressing up were exploited to the full. So it was from the very beginning of the genre that the representation of women on the stage presented a series of difficulties which, to my mind, can be seen as evidence of the discomfort that society has always felt in the face of the necessity of representing 'woman-as-sign'.

If we consider transvestism in terms of performance, two main types can be distinguished. The first of these is the comico-parodic kind, which emphasizes and exaggerates the sign, producing a caricature, a mockery. Such transvestism would exorcize what is threatening and enigmatic about woman by means of a liberating, anarchic laughter, but such laughter also has a misogynous ring. From this point of view, however, transvestism appears to be linked to fertility rites, one societal ritual from which sexual distinctions were eliminated.

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[1] Cfr. A. Pitt, *Shakespeare's Women*, London, David and Charles, Newton Abbott, 1981.

[2] P. Ackroyd, *Dressing Up, Transvestism and Drag: The History of an Obsession*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1979. On the same subject, see R. Baker, *Drag, A History of Female Impersonification on the Stage*, London, Triton Boon, 1968. Concerning the history of female transvestism, cfr. L. van de Pol & R. Dekker, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe*, London, the Macmillan Press, 1989.

The second type of transvestism tends towards a stylization, an idealization of woman such as can typically be found in Japanese No theatre, where 'female actors' don masks and recite their parts in a highly conventionalized style, and where the predominant element becomes androgyny.

But let us get back to the problem of transvestism in Elizabethan drama. Whether the exclusion of women fro the stage was an advantage for the playwright who had to represent the female, or not, is a point that has long been debated by theatre historians.[1] Moreover, in recent years several Shakespearean critics have stressed the importance of considering the actual conditions surrounding female character representatioin for a true understanding of the phenomenon which would seek to avoid the pitfall of overly-idealizing the concept of feminity. In addition, there has also been much talk of how Shakespeare, being the good theatre man he was, would not have been able to fail to take into consideration the fact that female roles were to be played by very young actors.[2] Indeed, precisely the presence of these 'boy-actors' can explain, at least in part, why the female roles in Shakespeare are generally shorter in length than their male counterparts. Furthermore, the reason that Shakespeare rarely chose to write lengthy parts for mature women lies precisely in the objective difficulties that any young man has in portraying a woman in full sexual bloom. The notable exceptions are, of course, Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra. These motives clearly go a long way towards explaining the propension Shakespeare had for fleeting and febrile emotions, and for adopting the device, the 'diversion' of transvestism as a conventional element of *Romance* -an element that, according to Pett, was employed precisely for the purpose of putting the playwright's boy-actors at their ease:

> No doubt much of Shakespeare's fondness for this device is to be explained by the fact that he had only boy-actors to perform his female

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[1] G. Fréjàville, *Les Travesties de Shakespeare*, Paris, Editions Seheur, 1930 and M. Jamieson, "Shakespeare's Celibate Stage", in *The Seventeenth-century Stage*, ed. G. E. Bentley, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1968. These two studies of transvestism stress the ambiguous fascination that the dressed up character produced on the stage.

[2] Cfr. on this point, J. Dusinberre, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women*, London, 1975.

> parts;certainly it must have seemed an attractive solution to his difficulties.[1]

In addition, there is an undeniable preference in Shakespearean drama for.*telling* the love scenes rather than *showing* them. G. Melchiori has noted how the characterization of Ophelia is nebulous, indeed quite insufficiently delineated in the text of *Hamlet*, and that this is most likely due to the fact that the part was to have been played by some young man whose own personality was highly slippery and unclearly defined. And, if one performs a line count to ascertain exactly what proportion of the play is dedicated to Ophelia, the hypothesis is thereby strengthened. Indeed, one cannot help but think that the part only began to be acted once the 'woman-actress' finally came upon the scene. From this point of view, the Shakespearean text would seem to be an *open* one, especially as regards its female roles.

There are still several considerations, however, which I believe need to be made if one is to approach, correctly, the problem of transvestism in Elizabethan times. In the first place, one cannot ignore the fact that the world-view of the Elizabethan public was not our own.[2] For the Elizabethan theatre public, the boy-actors who played the parts of females on the stage constituted the norm, not the exception, as they would for us today. It is in this sense, then, that the term 'transvestism' is a loaded one for us to use today in reference to Elizabethan drama. connoting as it does both the parody of the female sign that is operated by, say, the dame of the pantomime and the world of sexual perversion associated with the "drag queen", as Meg Twigcross has pointed out in her interesting study of transvestism in the Mystery Plays.[3]

Secondly, the Elizabethan public genuinely delighted in the sight of these precocious young boys, these little *enfant prodiges*, ably directed by

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[1] E. C. Pett, *Shakespeare and the Romance Tradition*, London, Staples Press, 1949, p. 82.

[2] C. J. S. Thompson, *Mysteries of Sex, Woman who Posed as Men and Men who Impersonated Women*, London, Hutchinson, 1938 and M.C. Bradbrook, "The Rise of the Common Player, a Study of Actor and Society", in *Shakespeare's England*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

[3] M. Twigcross, "Transvestism in the Mystery Plays". in *Medieval English Theatre*, V, 2, 1983, pp. 123-180.

their tutors,[1] as they acted out their adult women's roles, while to us today, the very idea of seeing some boy still wet behind the ears impersonating Cleopatra is quite monstrous, freakish.

In the third place, the theatre historians that have investigated this question tend to suggest that the boy-actors indulged in a highly stylized and codified manner of role playing which was in no way naturalistic.[2] This fact may go some way towards explaining why it was that a Puritan public should hace accepted the practice of transvestism at all -a practice which, as Puritan teaching did not fail to remind its followers, constituted a serious transgression against the admonition set forth in Deuteronomy:

> A woman shall not wear an article proper to a man, nor shall a man put on a woman's dress; for anyone who does such things is an abomination to the Lord, your God.

It was around this very passage from the Bible that the debate on the sinful repercussions of transvestism in Elizabethan drama raged in the fascinating exchange of leters among three eminent Oxford dons: Dr John Rainolds, who argued for a strictly literal interpretation of the Biblical passage, and William Gager, along with his friend, Alberico Gentili, who attempted to argue in defense of contemporary drama and theatrical practice.[3] I do not intend on going into the details of this controversy, yet I would like to emphasize two of its aspects that appear to be relevant to our discussion of transvestism and the representation of the female.

For the Puritans, transvestism was a source of anxiety insomuch as it threatened the clear-cut lines between the sexes, and did this by means of a simple change of clothes. Indeed, the Puritan attack on the boy-actors was based precisely upon this link between costume and sex. Even the rather

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[1] W. Baldwin, *The Organization of Personnel of Shakespeare's Company*, Princeton University Press, 1927.

[2] On this question, cfr., for example, A. Nicoll, "Actors and Theatres", in *Shakespeare Survey*, 17, 1964, p. 91; W. Robertson Davies, *Shakespeare's Boy Actors*, London , Dent and Sons, 1939; J.R. Brown, *Shakespeare's Plays in Performance*, London, Edward Arnold, 1966 and R. Baker, *Drag, A History of Female Impersonification on the Stage*, London, Triton Book, 1968.

[3] J. W. Binns, "Women or Transvestites on the Elizabethan Stage? An Oxford Controversy", in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 2, vol. v, October, 1974.

androgynous fashions of the times were considered by the Puritans to be a grave symptom of the process of sexual barrier erosion at work in contemporary society. Since it cloaked traditional signs of recognition, such a confusion of the sexes obscured social identity and, according to the polemist Stubbes in his *The Anatomy of Abuses* (1583), generated social monsters -who were nonetheless not without a certain wicked fascination in Puritan eyes:

> To weare the Apparel of another sex ... was to participate with the same, and to adulterate the verite of his owne kinde...these women may not improperly be called Hermaphrodita, that is, Monsters of bothe kinds, half women half men.[1]

There is, however, an interesting phenomenon to be discovered in the Puritan tracts attacking the theatre of the times: that is, it was precisely those who had the most intimate knowledge of thetare practice, due to their studies or obsessive observation of it, who emerge as its severest denigrators. Such is certainly the case of Dr Rainolds, who in his investigation into the erotic feelings prompted by the boy-actor in his audience, demonstrates to have fully grasped the eortic potential of a young boy in female dress. Rainold's condemnation of the practice was base upon the strong homo-erotic feelings stimulated in an audience by both the sexual disguise and the effeminacy of the boy-actor himself. And the weight of his censorship was added to by accusations of alleged homosexual practices and outright sodomy taking place between the boy-actor and his trainer-tutor -accusations which theatre historians have, however, proven to be unfounded:

> ... then, these goodly pageants eing done every mate sorts to his mate, every one bringes another homewrod of their way verye freendly, and in their secret conclaves (covertly) they play the Sodomits, or worse.[2]

Finally, as J. Kott reminds us, we must not forget that the *Masquerade* was an extremely popular form of entertainment in the English

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[1] P. Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583), in J. C. Agnew, *Worlds Apart*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

[2] P. Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583), cited in W. Robertson Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

court, as well as in those artistocratic families which followed Italian fashions. Marlowe, in his *Edward II*, provides us with a detailed description of such revelries and Edward's passion for the courtier, Gaveston, finds expression in theatrical guise:

> And in the day, when he shall walk abroad,
> Like sylvan nymphs my pages shall be clad;
> My men like satyrs grazing on the lawns,
> Shall with their goat-feet dance an antic hay;
> Sometime a lovely boy in Dian' s shape,
> With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
> Crownets of pearl about his naked arms,
> And in his sportful hands an olive-tree,
> To hide those parts which men delight to see,
> Shall bathe him in a spring; ... (I,i,56-65)

To the modern spectator, such a description cannot help but echo with the ambigous and grotesque verbal portraits of Firbank or the images of Beardsley.

Yet even Shakespeare, I suggest, is not unaware of the disturbing and menacing effect that the masquerade could have upon an audience, insomuch as what we have is a transvestism which occurs at more than one level, as we shall see. To begin with, we have a boy-actor dressed up as a female character, who in turn is disguised as a female-page. The allusions to this theatrical prectice within the Shakespearean *corpus* are many. Thus, for instance, Duke Orsino speaks to Viola, disguised as Cesario in *Twelfth Night:*

> Dear lad, believe it;
> For they shall yet belie thy happy years,
> That say thou art a man: Diana's lip
> is not more smooth and rubious;thy small pipe
> Is as the maiden's organ, shrill and sound,
> And all is semblative a woman's part. (I,iv, 29-34)[1]

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[1] This and all of the following quotations from Shakespeare are taken from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Blakemore Evans, Boston, Houghton and Mifflin, 1974.

And the Epilogue delivered by Rosalind at the close of *As You Like it* also serves to highlight the way in which theatrical fiction is highlighted by the practice of transvestism. What occurs here in essence is a return to extra-dramatic reality, "... in which Rosalind slowly vanishes and the actor goes back -the magic of the play dispelled- to being merely an actor, a man who, together with the audiencce, had been but a willing conspirator in this theatrical play of disguise":[1]

> ... my way is to conjure you; and I'll begin with the women. I charge you, O women, for the love you bear to men , to like as much of this play as please you: and I charge you, O men, for the love you bear to women, -as I perceive by your simpering, none of you hates them, -that between you and the women the play may please. If I were a woman, I would kiss as many of you as had beards that pleased me, complexions that liked me, and breaths that I defied not: and, I am sure, as many as have good beards, or good faces, or sweet breaths, will, for my kind offer, when I make curtsy, bid ne farewell.
>
> (Epilogue)

The sign of sexual connotation in the play is, *par excellence*, the voice -a voice that for the female parts was obliged to resemble a eunuch's, as Viola tells us in *Twelfth Night:*

> I prithee, -and I'llpay thee bounteously-
> onceal me what I am; and be my aid
> For such disguise as, haply, shall become
> The form of my intent. I'll serve this duke;
> Thou shalt present me as an eunuch to him;
> It may be worth thy pains; for I can sing,
> And speak to him in many forms of music,
> That will allow me very worth his service. (I,ii, 52-59)

Such a voice had to be, as Hamlet says in a scene full of interesting notions concerning the 'Children of the Chapel' (II,ii): "... a piece of

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[1] R. Mullini, "Pluridirezionalità della comunicazione nella convenzione drammatica del travestimento", in *Spicilegio Moderno,* 10, 1978, p. 151, [our translation]

uncurrent gold ... not cracked within the ring", neither 'squeeking', nor 'harsh'.

The exchange of parts and roles in Shakespeare, however, is centered around dressing up (the 'doublet and hose'). It is, indeed, the clothes that make the 'man', his (or her) character, and which can create truly dramatic effects. As Rosalind tells us:

> I could find in my heart to disgrace my man's apparel and to cry like a woman; but I must comfort the weaker vessel, as doublet and hose ought to show itself courageous to petticoat; therefore, courage, good Aliena.
>
> *As You Like It* (II,ii, 4-8)

It is natural that many scholars should have discovered close links between the 'woman in breeches' and the heoine dressed up as a page[1] -a fashion that the Puritans strongly opposed since it blurred the lines between the sexes, transforming female into male, as numerous writings of the period testify:

> ... flat-chested [they] wore ruffs and appropriated the masculinity of high-crowned hats and simultaneously the androgynous splendour of slashed and jewelled bodices.[2]

What I want to stress at this point is the vital importance of costume in Shakespeare, of costume as a sign triggering certain dramatic effects. As O. Wilde perceptively noted in his essay, "The Truth of the Masks":

> Shakespeare was very much interested in costume. I do not mean in that shallow sense by which it has been concluded that he was the Blackstone and Paxton of the Elizabethan age; but that he saw that costumes could be made at once impressive of a certain effect on the audience and expressive of certain types of characters and is one of the

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[1]See, for example, L. Van de Pol & R. Dekker, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe*, London, Macmillan, 1989 and S, Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women*, Brighton, The Harvester Press, 1981.

[2] E. Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, London, Virago Press, 1987, p. 118.

> essential factors of the means which a true illusionist has at his disposal.[1]

Yet, the power of the costume lies not solely in its ability to transfigure the character, to penetrate his or her most intimate essence; it lies in its capacity to create and transform language itself. Indeed, the metaphors derived from Shakespearean dress are part of the fabric of the Shakespearean word. But if so much is true, then it is also true that what we have in Shakespeare is a sort of disquieting play of mirrors, of interpenetrating genders, for as V, Woolf reminds us in *Orlando:*

> Different though the sexes are, they intermix. In every human being a vacillation from one sex to the other takes place, and often it is only the clothes that keep the male or female likeness, while underneath the sex is the very opposite of what it is above.[2]

So then, we might say that the banning of women from the stage in Shakespeare's time, though it often constituted a gross limitation and inconvenience for the dramatist as we have seen, could be transformed into a powerful tool for better probing female identity by this continuous switching of roles and parts. In this sense, the age-old convention of transvestism becomes in Shakespeare a means for revealing the endless variety of roles that an individual can play. The theatrical device of the boy-actor thus leads the playwright not only to a keen observation of the resemblances between the sexes, but prods him also to a discerning portrait of the female personality. Now, this representation is successful precisely because femininity is presented to the audience as a concept, a category, rather than merely as some attribute of some 'real' person. The dressing up of the boy-actor, precisely because of the disturbing, defamiliarizing effect it provokes in the audience, is able to highlight the particular characteristics specific to each sex. As Brecht remarked, "If the part is played by a person of the opposite sex, the sex of that character will be much more clearly highlighted." This same sort of defamiliarizing effect was also observed by Goethe at a 1788 production of the *Locandiera* in which men were acting the parts of the female characters:

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[1] O. Wilde, "The Truth of the Masks", in *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, London, Collins, 1966, p. 1074.

[2] V. Woolf, *Orlando*, London, The Hogarth Press, 1979, pp. 171-172.

> I found [at the Roman comedies] a pleasure to which I had hitherto been a stranger ... in the particular kind of representation we witnessed, the idea of imitation, the thought of art was called forth vividly, and ... only a kind of self-conscious illusion was produced.
>
> We ... experience a double charm from the fact that these people are not women, but play the part of women. We see a youth who has studied the idiosyncrasies of the female sex in their character and behaviour; he has learned to know them, and reproduces them as an artist; he plays not himself, but a third, and in truth, a foreign nature.[1]

Shakespeare had clearly studied the convention of the female page in detail and knew how to take full advantage of the reactions that the boy-actor in women's clothes stimulated in his audience -reactions which Shapiro has defined as 'dual consciousness' and which consist in an awareness on the part of the spectator of a continous tension between the actor and the part he is playing.[2]

Neither is it unusual for the dramatist to have his boy-actors (dressed up as women who are in turn dressed up as pages) comment aloud upon their stage state. The result is an unquieting metadramatic irony:

> Disguise, I see, thou art a wickedness
> Wherein the pregnant enemy does much.
> How easy is it for the proper-false
> In women's waxen hearts to set their forms!
> Alas, our frailty is the cause, not we;
> For, such as we are made of, such we be.
> How will this fadge? My master loves her dearly,
> And I, poor monster, fond as much on him;
> And she, mistaken, seems to dote on me.
> What will become of this? As I am man,
> My state id desperate for my master's love;
> As I am woman, now alas the day!
> What thriftless sighs shall poor Olivia breathe?
>
> *Twelfth Night* (II,ii, 27-39)

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[1] From *Goethe's Travels in Italy* (1883), in M. Jamieson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] M. Shapiro, *Children of the Revels*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1977.

So it is that Shakespearean female characters -from Julia in *Two Gentlemen of Verona,* to Rosalind in *As You Like It* and Viola in *Twelfth Night*- study themselves, as in a mirror, while they play their dual roles, each of these roles presenting various characteristics which are constantly juxtaposed, in opposition: on the one hand, the clever wit of the male and, on the other, the delicate sensitivity of the woman.

In both *Twelfth Night* and in *As You Like It*, the disguise operates on three different levels. Viola in *Twelfth Night* is a girl who dresses up as a boy, Cesario, who at the paly's conclusion takes on the semblance of a boy dressed up as a girl. And the same roles are played by Rosalind/Ganymede in *As You Like It.* The theatrical technique of disguise working together with the convention of the boy-actor becomes in Shakespeare a highly refined instrument for the weaving -through a distinctive register replete with puns, paradox and homosexual allusions- of the subtlest, most highly intricate misunderstandings. *As You Like it*, for instance, contains several passages with double, sexual, *entendres*:

> You have simply misused our sex in your love-prate: we must have your doublet and hose plucked over your head, and show the world what the bird hath done to her own nest.
>
> (IV, i, 201-204)

Here, of course, the double meaning is evinced by the word 'bird', with its reference to the male sexual organ, the comic effect being due to the obvious impossibility of Rosalind's revealing something that , as a woman, she simply has not got.

However -as has been rightly pointed out- the full meaning of the passage can only be understood if the role of the boy-actor is duly taken into account. In so doing, to the apparent double entendre of this 'smutty joke',[1] is added a third meaning. The first is metaphorical: indeed, Celia is using the term, not in its literal sense, but for the purpose of expressing to Rosalind her unfitness for criticizing her own sex; the second derives from the conventional reference to the male organ, which Rosalind as woman lacks, and the third is linked to the recognition of the fact that this woman's

[1] Cfr. P. H. Parry, "The Boyhood of Shakespeare's Heroines", in *Shakespeare Survey,* 42, 1990, p. 108.

role is being played by a boy. Consequently, the play on the word becomes even more risqué.[1]

So then, in making use of the dramatic convention of disguise, and of that of the boy-actor as well, Shakespeare is indeed playing on a triple ambiguity, the primary fiction being provided by the boy-actor's dressing up as a girl, which is then compounded by the disguise adopted by the heroine to trick the other characters in the play. These, of course, remain unaware of the deception for the best part of the performance, but the audience, which has been in on the (double) game from the very start, sits back and enjoys the multiplication of misunderstandings:

> Viola: I am not that I play
> *Twelfth Night,* (I,v,184)
> Viola: I am not what I am.
> *Twelfth Night,* (III,i, 141)

Within the play, then, the Shakespearean heroine serves a dual function. Not only does she draw the audience close to the action of the play, but she contemporaneously distances it from its fiction, putting it in touch with extra-threatical reality. By means of the disguise -and the continuous metadramatic reflection in operation- what takes place within the play is in essence a reproduction of its very mechanisms.

The setting of this subtle and perturbing role-exchange is Illyria, or the Forest of Arden.[2] These are, of course, utopias *par excellence*, places where all is turned upside-down and no one is left untouched. In this sense, it appears that Shakespeare turns the stage into a scene of illusions, a space in which "no one is what he is ... or everyone is what they seem", a space in which everything is at once real and unreal, true and false, where both theatrical form and theme continually interpenetrate. And the play on

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[1] Concerning erotic-sexual connotation in the dialogue of Shakespeare's comedies, cfr. S. Greenblatt, *op. cit.,* p. 90: "Dallying with words is the principal Shakespearean representation of erotic heat".

[2] Cfr. N. Frye, *A Natural perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance,* London, Columbia University Press, 1962 and J. Kott, *Arcadia Amara,* Milano, il Formichiere, pp. 7-57.

appearance and reality goes deeper than any metadramatic commentary; it pervades the very structure of the play itself.[1]

The appearance, the deception, have, paradoxically, a truth-revealing function and, in the case of *As You Like It* in particular, the task of probing the male-female rapport. The double disguise of Rosalind/ Ganymede/ Rosalind serves to show Orlando the difference between the real woman and her idealized image, and thus the conflict that exists between the male and female modes of perception.

And yet the utopia here is at once magical and deranging , lyrical and tragic, because if it is true that the disguise in Shakespeare begins as a game, the playwright does not fail to give us a hint of the insidious nature of the game. The myth of Arcadia, that is, is dual. There is its realistico-sexual level on which we have an exchange of roles that appears to indicate a willingness to get beyond the limits of one's own body, one's own sex.

But then there is another, metaphysical level, typical of the Renaissance culture. And it is at this level that we have the Shakespearean tension towards the great myth of androgyny -the reconciliation of contradictions, the unification of opposites.[2] In this light then, Rosalind, Portia, Viola etc. can be seen as evoking the myth of androgyny in the context of an Arcadia that is no more, where the categories of male and female were once in perfect balance, perfect harmony -a balance, aharmony, based upon a conscious acceptance, an ironic sureness, of the admixture of both the male and female in either sex.

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[1] N. K. Hayles, "Sexual Disguise in *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night*", in *Shakespeare Survey*, 32, 1979.

[2] Regarding the myth of androgyny in Shakespeare, Cfr. also C. G. Heilbrun, *Towards a Recognition of Androgyny*, London, Victor Gollanz, 1973.

MATEO DE OVIEDO, PERHAPS IRELAND'S GREATEST SPANISH FRIEND OF ALL TIME[1]

Francisco García González
E. O. I. Oviedo

The second half of the XVIth century was about to start when the Good God decided to give a break to Henry VIII and asked him to his side. That same year, Mateo de Oviedo was born in Segovia (Spain), and although he was not such a well-known person as the English King, obviously, he has, in our humble opinion, gained a place in history.

Mateo de Oviedo was born in 1547, his parents having been Don Pedro de Oviedo and Doña Isabel de Carranza. We first hear of him when he is sent to the University of Salamanca to study law, probably with the good intention of making a lawyer out of him. That happened in 1562 when he was fifteen. Not long after, he would enter Salamanca, having taken the decision to join the Franciscan order. We must remember the ideals of that age when Counter-Reformation was the craze and obviously the Church was in the front line. Mateo, a son of his time, took the vows on June the 14th the following year. As a consequence of it, he gave up law and devoted all his energies to the study of Philosophy and Theology; subjects both of them, at which he became an expert, as we will have the opportunity to see.

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[1] WALSH, Michaline, *The O'Neills in Spain.* The National University of Ireland, Dublin, 1957, p. 6.

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The period of instruction couldn't last for ever and so we see Mateo de Oviedo teaching Theology in the Franciscan convent of León in 1573.[1] That probably was his first job as a teacher. We find him years later doing the same activity but now in the convent of San Bernardino in Madrid. That was in 1579 and Mateo was already thirty two. We can consider that it was then when his, so called, 'political career'started.

He must have been very good in his job for the Papal "nuncio" in Spain chose him, in 1579, to go to Ireland, "in order to bring that isle back to Christ and at the same time see what could be done about England'.[2] A delicate and difficult mission indeed. Pope Gregory XIII was determined to exterminate the Protestants wherever they were. In his opinion, Elizabeth I, the English Queen, was a "heretic" and "despotic" sovereign. That was why he sent a mission 'to reduce that island to the Catholic Faith'.[3]

The mission was secret and Mateo was asked to leave Spain immediately with the only company of some Franciscans, probably Irish, and a gentleman, Irish as well. They left Spain from El Ferrol in Galicia. Due to the secrecy of the mission Mateo couldn't tell his King, Philip II, about his journey but before leaving Spain he wrote two letters: one to the King and another one to the King's secretary Mateo Vazquez. We haven't found the letter to the King, yet, but we have found the letter he sent to his namesake Mateo Vazquez from El Ferrol, on May the 26th, 1579. In that letter, kept in The British Museum in London, Mateo shows his affection to the King and promises to have him informed of everything related to the good service of Spain.

Before going any further, however, we must remember what the situation in Europe was like in order to understand Mateo de Oviedo's activity.

Three European countries, England, Ireland and Spain formed the three angles of a turbulent relationship that had its apex in the first years of the XVIIth century when Spain sent a fleet with the intention of helping the

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[1] RODRIGUEZ PAZOS, Manuel, *Provinciales Compostelanos*. Madrid.

[2] British Library, MS AD.28.360, fol. 83-84.

[3] Ibidem.

Irish to get rid of the English. Our Mateo de Oviedo was there and had a word to say.

Since as early as 1520, Henry VIII had sought to hold a balance of power between the Habsburg Union of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire on one hand, and France on the other. This policy gave him the possibility of an attack on Ireland, but whenever he leaned towards one of the Continental giants,the other was naturally tempted to hit him in his Irish Lordship. Henry, therefore, sought to bring Ireland under a more firm control and subsequently he decided to make himself King of Ireland in 1541.[1] The relations between Ireland and England had always been complicated but they deteriorated much more after 1534 when the English Monarchy abjured of Papal supremacy.

The Irish Lords who looked for help in Europe based their appeals on religious grounds mainly, although there were obviously other advantages that we will analize below. It was in France, not in Spain, where the Irish Lords looked for help in first place, in spite of the fact that Spain was considered the leading country in Europe after the peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559, and in spite as well of the supposed Spanish origin of the island supported by historians like Giraldus Cambrensis[2] or Edmund Campion,[3] poets like Edmund Spenser,[4] or militarymen like Captain Diego Ortiz de Urizar and Donill O'Suiban[5] among others. I quote what Captain Diego Ortiz de Urizar said in a letter he sent to the emperor Charles V refering to the Spanish origin of Ireland:

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[1] MAGNUSSON, Magnus. *landord or Tenant?* The Bodley Head, London, 1978, p. 13.

[2] WALES, Gerald of. *The History and Topography of Ireland.* Penguin Classics, Reading, 1985, p. 97-98.

[3] VOSSEN, Alphonsus Franciscus, *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland.* Volgoe de Couragie, Nijmegen, 1963. p. 32.

[4] SPENSER, Edmund, *A View of the State of Ireland.* The society of Stationers, Dublin, 1633, p. 33.

[5] Archivo General de Simancas, *Guerra Antigua* 587.

> " ... Dizen los irlandeses que aquel rreyno toca a V magt porser su origen y antiguedad deespaña parte degalizia y parte de bizcaya, yo les dezia q bien entendido setenia enespaña ser ello asj." [1]

To the eyes of Rome, either France or Spain were equally acceptable as agents of the Roman Empire. That was probably why Shane O'Neill asked for help in France in 1566 and afterwards in Spain.

What was the reaction of England to this?

As the possibilities of an intervention of Spain in Ireland increased, England intensified her help to the "rebels" of the Low Countries to the point of threatening the whole existence of the Spanish Empire. As a counterpart, the Irish, and some Spaniards like Mateo de Oviedo, urged King Philip II to transform Ireland into the English Netherlands at a minimum cost.[2] Spain had already sent qualified people to get information of the real situation of Ireland just in case she decided to launch an attack in the English backyard. Among them, we find figures such as Gonzalo Fernandez, personal chaplain to the emperor Charles V, who is sent over to get all the information he can gather about the military strengh of the Earls,[3] or captain Diego Ortiz de Urizar who left us a detailed military description of the island and its people.[4]

For Spain the advantages of sending troops to "free" Ireland from the "heretics" were enormous. On one hand that would make the English spend money and people to keep an army in Ireland with the possible consequence of having to stop their help to the "rebels" in the Low Countries; on the other, the Spanish fleets coming from the New World would not have to face the constant attacks of English pirates and privateers. Mateo de Oviedo knew all these reasons and that's probably why he decided to keep the King informed about his trip to Ireland.

To make matters worse, James Fitzmaurice, the Earl of Desmond's cousin, had to leave Ireland hunted by the English. That was 1575.

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[1] Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado* 828, fol. 106.

[2] Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado* 840.

[3] B.L. Cotton MS Vespasian, London.

[4] Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado* 828, fol. 106.

Fitzmaurice flew to the continent where he tried to get some help to free Ireland from the protestants. It was not an easy task to convince Philip II to invest money on such an adventure and subsequently Fitzmaurice's progress was slow. He was still in Spain three years later when Elizabeth I sent Walshingam to negotiate with William of Orange, something Philip II took exception to and that forced him to let Fitzmaurice sail for Ireland. James Fitzmaurice landed in Dingle (Ireland) on July 18th, 1579, and Mateo de Oviedo took part in the expedition. Even though it was an enterprise financed by the Roman Catholic Church, Mateo de Oviedo felt he had to tell his king about his trip and so he did, as we have already mentioned.

James Fitzmaurice's invasion of Ireland took place in 1579. In itself it proved disappointing, for Fitzmaurice was killed in a skirmish, shortly after landing, while on his way to the monastery of the Holy Cross at Tipperary to fulfil a vow. However, the doubtful Desmond, dismissed by Sidney as harmless, put himself at the head of the rebelion. The Earl asked for help in Spain, as his cousin had done before, and Mateo de Oviedo is mentioned by Desmond as someone who knows the Irish situation so well that he is capable of explaining everything to the Spanish King. In other words, Mateo de Oviedo was one of Desmond's men in Madrid.[1]

In spite of Mateo's efforts to convince the King to send some help to the Irish Earl, Desmond was defeated and eventually caught and decapitated by a disgruntled kerne called O'Moriarty.

The following years were of great importance in the clash between England and Spain. It was in 1580 when Spain incorporated Portugal to the Spanish Crown. Almost instantly the Portuguese pretenders to the throne fled to England helping to deteriorate an already deteriorated situation as a consequence of which the citizens of both countries, England and Spain, were the first to suffer the consequences. The number of seized ships soared and it was an adventure to trade with any country in the area.

We have found a beautiful testimony of what the situation was like in a letter found in the Archivo General de Simancas. We refer to a letter a couple of sailors from Betanzos in Galicia, Pero Gómez and Pero García,

[1] Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado* 833, fol. 65.

sent to King Philip II. They asked for help since they had lost everything, their ship included.[1]

While those things were happening, Mateo de Oviedo was in Ireland getting all the information available for his King. Once more he must have been very good at his job because on the 14th of October 1580, the Gaelic Earl of Desmond in a letter sent to the King of Spain, refers to Mateo de Oviedo as a person who knows the Irish situation very well as we have already mentioned.

By about the same time, his signature appears in a letter brought over from Ireland by Diego de Cuebas, a man from Santander.[2] The letter gives details of the Nobles who are against the English Queen and there is a list of the most urgent things the Irish need to fight the "heretics".

Mateo's first experience in Ireland lasted, most probably, between three and a half and four years since we find him in 1583 in Santiago de Compostela in charge of the convent of San Francisco. He remained there till 1588 as it is said in the ACTAS DE TOMAS DE HABITOS DE NOVICIOS.[3]

That notwithstanding, Mateo de Oviedo appears in another chronicle as being "Guardián" of the convent of Oviedo between 1583 and 1588.[4] We think that unless both responsabilities were compatible, something we very much doubt, it is more likely that Mateo de Oviedo had spent those years in Santiago. We know that from 1585 he taught Theology at the University of Santiago making it compatible with his being in charge of the community. While at the University, there was an incident that may reveal the type of character he had. He had been in charge of teaching Theology while the lecturer Dr. Francisco Gómez was in Madrid negotiating certain matters concerning the relationships between the University and the Archbishopric, as Mateo wasn't paid anything for that, he thought it was

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[1] Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado* 833, fol. 50.

[2] Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado* 833, fol. 64.

[3] *Asientos de novicios desde* 1568, Archivo de la Provincia de Santiago (convento de San Francisco de Santiago).

[4] *Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Santiago,* 1214-1614, por un franciscano anónimo del siglo XVII. Archivo Iberoamericano, Madrid, 1971.

not a good idea to work for nothing and decided to resign. His lessons were so popular among the students that almost immediatly the University begged him to continue with his lessons with the promise of paying him 120 ducats a year. Mateo accepted the new situation and went on teaching till he was sent to Madrid to help Dr. Francisco Gómez with the negotiations he was undertaking, in November 1586.

In 1587 Mateo de Oviedo was back in Santiago again and the following years he devoted most of his energies to the Order after having been elected "Definidor Provincial" a couple of times. (1588 and 1594). The beginning of 1598 finds him in Toro, (Zamora) as "Guardián" of the convent the Franciscan Order had in that town. It is during this period when his political activities in Ireland are more intense, especially in relation to Ireland and the Irish.

It is clear that the Irish hadn't forgotten Mateo's good services in Ireland because on the 17th of October, 1597, a group of Irish bishops proposed him as Archbishop of Dublin in a letter sent to the Spanish King. They say among other things that, 'during Gregory XIII's life he had been sent three times to Ireland with great danger to his life, and that the degree of his zeal and goodwill to the Irish had been so high that all the catholics of the country knowing of his great personality and wishing to have him with them for ever had named him Archbishop Cassiliense, which is one of the main churches in Ireland, as well as his "nuncio" and "Procurador General" in the Vatican and the Spanish Court'.[1] 'He loved Ireland so much and had worked so hard for its spiritual health, that he had never stopped doing so in the last eighteen years'.[2] He had been the best Irish Agent in the Spanish Court since his first arrival in Ireland. There is little doubt that Mateo had tried very hard to convince the Spanish King to send an army to Ireland to free that catholic country from the protestants, to the point that Profesor Silke says that 'in recognition of his usefulness O'Neill gained his appointment to the See of Dublin in May 1599'.[3] It is not our intention to contradict Profesor Silke, but we think Mateo de Oviedo was not named Archbishop of Dublin before the last days of 1599, or even the

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[1] Archivo General de Simancas, *Guerra Antigua* 3143.

[2] Archivo General de Simancas, *Guerra Antigua* 3143.

[3] SILKE, John, *Kinsale, the Spanish Intervention in Ireland at the end of the Elizabethan Wars*. Liverpool University Press. Liverpool, 1970, p. 65.

Spring of 1600. We base this thesis, first, in the letters we have come across in the Archivo General de Simancas where Mateo himself insists in the necessity of having a title of some consistency before embarquing to Ireland. In a letter he wrote in the last days of November 1599, he asks his majesty to send him to Ireland endowed with authority to handle such serious affairs which are no less than the preservation of the whole kingdom of Ireland. As Rome was slow, Mateo suggested that the King nominated him for a See in Spanish territory, either in Spain, Italy or the Indies.[1] In the second place we base our thesis in the fact that the writing before and after being named Archbishop is completely different. That change takes place not before the Spring of 1600 and we haven't found any letters dated before March 1600, where Mateo may have used the tittle of Archbishop of Dublin.

In any case the important question now is that Mateo was finally granted that title though as you probably know, he never set foot in Dublin and of course the Protestant authorities never recognized such a Popish title, though they knew of Mateo and his title and whenever they refer to him they say things like:

> 'The Spaniard who called himself Archbishop of Dublin'.[2]
>
> ' ... a letter sent by a friar in Ulster, lately came out of Spain with the supposed Archbishop of Dublin',[3] or 'that a Spanish bishop, who called himself by the title or name of the Bishop of Dublin.'[4]

Once Mateo was invested with that authority, he displayed all his ability to convince the Spanish authorities to send a substantial aid to Ireland. He probably was the Spaniard who best knew the Irish situation. We can say he was a personal friend of the Gaelic Earls, O'Neill and O'Donnell, the main opponents of the English in Ireland. His moral authority was so accepted among the Irish that, all the Irish ships that wanted to trade with Spanish ports, had to have a kind of passport with

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[1] Archivo General de Simancas, *Guerra Antigua* 3143.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers*, Ireland. June 16th, 1600. "A letter from the Earl of Ormonde to the Queen Elizabeth I".

[3] *Calendar of State Papers*, Ireland. July 13th, 1601. Cork. "A letter sent by Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil".

[4] Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado* 2511 & 961.

signature together with O'Neill's, in order to preserve the secrecy required in the preparation of the Armada:

> "It is most suitable for the good service of His Majesty that not a single ship coming from those kingdoms be allowed in Spain unless they bring passports signed by O'Neill and the Archbishop of Dublin who is with the Earl".[1]

As a man of great activity and a strong character he got furious when the Spanish public officials were negligent in anything related to Ireland. We have found letters of complaint to the Ministry of State for War and Finances, Esteban de Ybarra, for that. He even got furious as Michaline Walsh says in her book THE O'NEILLS IN SPAIN, when Henry, O'Neill's son, wanted to become a Franciscan friar in Salamanca and Mateo was asked to solve the problem, because he considered that he had more important things to do.[2] However, it is during the attempt to free Ireland from the protestants where Mateo's character is best seen. As an expert on Irish matters and due to his special relations with the Irish Earls he gave his opinion about the place where the Armada should land. He said Kinsale was the place and it had to be Kinsale in spite of the opposition of the Chief Comander of the Spanish landing forces, Don Juan del Aguila. During the time the Spanish forces were there, he was in charge of the hospital, something that gave him a certain degree of authority, especially when the King himself had asked Don Juan del Aguila to take into account any suggestions made by Mateo de Oviedo; I can assure you, by the way, that, for Juan del Aguila's digrace, he made quite a lot of them. When everything was over and the conquest of Ireland to the Catholic Faith was lost, Mateo de Oviedo, in the ulterior survey carried by the Spanish government, accused Don Juan del Aguila of not having been a competent commander and blamed him for having surrender to the English Viceroy, Lord Mountjoy. Nevertheless, the Spanish government cleared both of them of any rsponsability and Mateo, old, tired and disappointed, retired to Valladolid where he died on the 10th of January, 1610 according to some[3] and on the 2nd of May, 1611 according to others.[4] He is the man who, in

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[1] WALSH, Michaline, Op. Cit. p. 6.

[2] *El Eco Franciscano,* 1: Diciembre 1919, 556-58.

[3] *El Eco Franciscano,* 1: Diciembre 1919, 556-58.

[4] *Hierarchia Catholica* IV, 177.

Michaline Walsh's words, 'is perhaps Ireland's greatest Spanish friend of all time'.[1]

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[1] WALSH, Michaline, Op. Cit. p. 6.

CELTIC UNDERTONES IN *MACBETH*

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In this paper I propose to examine Shakespeare's tragedy "Macbeth" in the light of what we know about Celtic custom and belief. At first sight it may seem strange to seek Celtic symbolism in a play set in 11th century Scotland and written in 17th century England. The question also arises as to why one should do so. The answer is to be in the play itself: it deals with a time when Celtic and Pictish tradition was still very much alive in early mediaeval Scotland, and from what we can see in the sources used, the original imagery of the play seems to have been based in this tradition.[1] I would suggest that an examination of the play in the light of what we know of Celtic lore would be helpful in elucidating some aspects that may appear obscure, and that an understanding of these traditions may throw light on the motives underlying the story, besides clearing up some points which have intrigued critics.

It is obvious that any Celtic touches to be found in the play were in the original sources used by Shakespeare, and not introduced by him. It is true he brings some "local colour" into the play -Scottish mannerisms and dress would have been familiar to Londoners since James I's accession in 1603,- as well as some topical allusions, but in this play, Shakespeare was drawing on Scottish sources, and reference to these show us that the Celtic elements were already present in the original story. *Macbeth* has bona fide Celtic connections: the Kingdom of Dalriada, inhabited by Gaelic tribes from Ireland, had been united by Kenneth MacAlpin with the Kingdom of

[1] It is usually agreed that Shakespeare's sources were Holinshed's "Chronicles of Scotland" and possibly Buchanan's "Rerum Scoticarum Historia".

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the Picts in 844 A.D. -so forming a union from which modern Scotland would emerge. Gaelic was still being spoken there at the time this play is set, as we can see from the fact that Duncan's son Malcolm was surnamed Canmore ("Ceann mór" -great head), the other son Donal's surname being "Bane" (from "Báin" -meaning white). Literary and cultural contact was maintained between the Scots and Irish Gaelic peoples until well into the 14th century,[1] so that the imagery and symbolism we find in the sagas and myths of Ireland where women play such a prominent role, the themes of sacral kingship, including ritual substitution, the ease of contact with the supernatural and the Otherworld, and the effect of good or evil on the cosmic forces, including the disruption of the elements to herald untoward events, would have been familiar to the Scots of the 11th century.

The Celtic world was a world of magic, where the supernatural existed in very close contact with everyday life, and might be found at the turning of any road. Within this world, there were some very strong themes, which occur again and again. One of the most important aspects was the special significance given to woman in the legends and literature of the Celtic peoples. Without romanticising her position, woman still had role in society superior to that found in many classical societies, including the sophisticated world of the Romans.[2] The female deity especially had an extremely important influence on the thought of the Celts. She was the embodiment of sovereignty and the land, and because of the "triplication" of divinity so beloved by all Celtic races, could be variously or conjointly the maiden, the mother and the hag. The importance of the triple aspect, though common to Indo-European peoples, was of a particular intensity among the Celts, and recurs throughout their literature, together with its multiple of nine. (Several instances are found in *Macbeth*, whenever the weird sisters appear). The Goddess also had fiercer duties to perform; as the Morrigan, or great Queen, she was the bloodthirsty goddess of war, in her three aspects: Badbh the raven that haunts the battle field and announces and often leads the attack on ancient heroes ... Medb the warrior queen and Macha, the horse goddess, are but three examples of this strong female: we read that the Great Goddess "seems to have been a fundamental part of Celtic mythology ... (and) *often assumes a dominating attitude regarding*

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[1] JACKSON, K. Hurlestone.(1951) *A Celtic Miscellany*. Rep. Penguin, 1971. Routledge and Kegan; London. p. 17-18.

[2] Among various classical authors, DIO CASSIUS quotes instances to show the greater freedom and equality enjoyed by upper-class Celtic women.

her male partner[1] ... and was renown for her war-like vigour".[2] It is not far-fetched to see this cruel aspect of the dominating female borne out in the behaviour of Lady Macbeth and it has been found also in the indifference and cruelty typical of the faëry women in Medieval legend, and epitomized by the "belle dame sans merci".[3]

As symbol of the sovereignty of the land, the Goddess was basic to the renovation of kingship by needing the substitution of the old ruler by a younger, and thereby demanding the ritual shedding of blood of the previous king. This blood was necessary for her rejuvenation and metamorphoses back into a young and fertile woman. This theme of kingship occupies a prominent part in the laws of the Celts as we know them. They saw in kingship a sacred bond uniting the representative of the people with the spirit or tutelary goddess of the land. Personification of the land was particularly strong among all Celtic peoples and was closely identified with the idea of fertility: when the king became old, the land became wasted, desolate and barren and the goddess's rejection of him and was carried out as a sacrifice. With the new king, the land became fertile again. In so far as a good king brought happiness and prosperity to the land, a bad king, young or not, would bring desolation and misery. The conferring of kingship involved certain ceremonies of approbation including the "Bainis rí" -or wedding banquet of the king, and legitimization before the stone of Fál, the stone of Destiny.[4] Kingship among the Celts was represented by the golden torque or circlet, rather than a crown, and the horse, a sacred animal to the Goddess, played a prominent part in the ceremony. Once elected, the king was warned not to transgress specific "geasa" or magic taboos. The demise of the king was heralded when, induced by fate he began to break these taboos, so bringing about the fulfilment of these prophecies. This was a divine sign that his reign was

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[1] My italics.

[2] MAC CANA, Proinsias.(1968) *Celtic Mythology*. Rep. 1984. Newnes, London. p. 86.

[3] For a commentary on the origins of cruelty and indifference in women in Mediaeval romance see Jean Frappier's "Chrétien de Troyes" in LOOMIS, R. (1927) *Arthurian Legend in the Middle Ages.* New York. Rep. 1957 Clarendon, London.

[4] These two elements -the banquet of the new king and his investiture before the stone of destiny, at Scone, are present in the play. cf. Act 2, sc. 4. l. 31 and Act 3, sc. 4.

approaching its end, and that he would be sacrificed to make way for a new, vigorous king.

With this introduction we have set the scene for our summary examination of Macbeth in the light of Celtic lore. As we know, Macbeth himself reigned as an actual historical figure from 1040 till 1057, when he was defeated by Malcolm. Duncan and Macbeth were first cousins, sons of the two daughters of Malcolm II.[1] To understand what lies behind Macbeth's, by later standards, "usurpation", we must examine the basic tenets of royal succession prevalent among the Celts. Kingship was not yet hereditary as we know it- the king was chosen from among 4 generations of a family group, including descent through females,[2] the actual decision being made after a series of rites including ritual dreams.[3]

As we have seen, Duncan and Macbeth both based their right to the throne on descent through royal princesses. What we are not told in the play, but is stated in the sources, is that Lady Macbeth was also a member of the royal family group in her own right: like the goddess, she has had more than one husband, and according to custom her son by the previous marriage, who does not appear in the play, would have had a claim on the throne. It is interesting to speculate whether historically her ambition might have had as much a maternal as a personal basis.

In Celtic myth and legend, women played an important part in the rites of regal substitution: Blathnad[4] in Ireland and Blodeuwedd[5] in Wales both betray an older divine figure for a younger man; and Deirdriu and Grainne with their taunts prevail on young men to break faith with the king or leader to whom they are bound by loyalty -a fearsome responsibility in

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[1] Duncan, on two occasions at the beginning of the play uses the word "cousin" when referring to Macbeth. Act 1, sc. 2 l. 24 and sc. 4 l. 14.

[2] BEDE, (1955) *A History of the English Church and People* Bk.1. Rep. 1988. Penguin, London. p. 39.

[3] These ritual dreams involved apparitions to the chief druid as to who would be the right choice for king.

[4] *Aided Con Roi.* See MAC CANA, Proinsias. (1968) *Celtic Mythology*. Rep. 1984. Newnes, London. p. 98 ff.

[5] See GANTZ, Jeffrey. (1976) *The Mabinogion.* Penguin, London. p. 11-114.

primitive societies.[1] Lady Macbeth precipates the tragedy by stimulating her husband to break of the bond of fealty to his liege lord.

There can be no doubt that periods of transition are marked by turbulence, and the transition between elected and hereditary kingship must have been fraught with setbacks. In the case of this play it can be seen that the actual detonator of the assassination plot is Duncan's decision to flout the customary laws of succession and bestow the title of Prince of Cumberland, that is, heir designate to the throne, on his eldest son.[2] This stands in the way of what, in traditional circumstances, might have been Macbeth's just claim to the throne at a later date. For, as we have seen, Macbeth's aspirations are not based solely on the prophecies of the witches, as in the play, but on a lawful right to the throne, to be taken up when the old king can no longer fulfil his role.

The traditional signs that Duncan's reign has run its course and that a new king needs to be substituted are missing in the play: although Shakespeare depicts him as older than the historical character actually was and as relying on the help of others to hold his kingdom together, Duncan still retains what were importance attributes of sacral kingship. When he arrives at castle of Glamis, the fact that he is a beneficial king for the land is confirmed by favourable signs of nature,[3] in contrast to the desolation which has greeted Macbeth and Banquo on the "blasted heath". After his murder, there is no joyful renewal of nature: indeed, as a metaphor of the anti-natural forces unleashed by this untimely sacrifice, Duncan's horses, sacred animals to the Celts -we must not forget that one of the aspects of the Great Queen was that of Epona or Macha, the horse goddess, -revolt against the unlawful slaying of their master and devour each other.[4] Duncan's death is also accompanied by a gross disturbance of the elements, a sure sign that the tutelary deities as manifest in the forces of nature have been offended.

As for the man who substitutes Duncan on the throne, when we first hear of him at the beginning of the play he in fact appears to be a suitable

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[1] KINSELLA, T. ed. (1970) *The Táin.* OUP, London and Dolmen Press. p. 12.

[2] Act 1, sc. 4. l. 38-38 and l. 48-49.

[3] Act 1, sc. 4 l. 1-9.

[4] Act 2, sc. 4. l. 1-19.

candidate for the crown. Macbeth's valour is stressed: we are told of his many exploits, and he is referred to as Bellona's bridegroom, that is, the mate of the goddess of war. It is interesting to note that critics from Douce to Granville-Baker have had difficulty explaining the exact significance of this phrase.[1] For students of myth and legend no such difficulty exists. This is the typical role of the new king and points him out as a future favourite of the goddess: the younger man, defender of the unity of the realm, famous for his bravery, whom the goddess has chosen to be her next mate. Macbeth, therefore is seen to have a future claim on the kingship, whatever the purpose of the witches' prophecies may have been. His taking of Macdonwald's head and placing it on a pole will also be familiar to those who have read Celtic myth: the head was regarded as the seat of the soul and it was a typically Celtic custom to take as trophies the heads of those they had vanquished in battle; similarly Macbeth's head will be struck off in its turn and presented by MacDuff to Malcolm.[2]

It is less easy to find a satisfactory Celtic framework for the witches, who in the sources present both aspects of the triple goddess and of the Sídhe or faery women. In presenting us with the three hags or witches, Shakespeare seems to have modified the concomitant atmosphere of the original story, possibly out of deference to the new King, James I, who interest in witchcraft led him to authorship on the subject. However, Shakespeare does retain the number three, and the total of three successive apparitions to Macbeth and even refers to them throughout as "the weird sisters". His source Holinshed also speaks of three "weird" sisters, - meaning supernatural, a word derived from the Anglo-Saxon for "destiny" or "fate"; he goes on to call them "the goddesses of destiny or else some nymphs or faeries".[3] This is much more in keeping with Celtic beliefs, but it maybe that Shakespeare wished to flatter the royal author of the *Daemonlogie* by depicting spirits that conformed to his prejudices. Witches did exist in the legends of the Celts: in Irish folklore they are the children

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[1] See MUIR, K. ed. (1964) The Arden Shakespeare: *Macbeth.* Rep. 1973. Methuen, London. Act 1 sc. 2. l. 55, p. 9. note. "Valour's minion", Act 1. sc 2. l. 19, is a similar image.

[2] c.f. Act 1, sc. 2. l. 22; Act 5, sc. 9, l. 21.

[3] Holinshed's *Chronicles of Scotland.* p. 170. Quoted in The Arden Shakespeare *Macbeth,* op. cit. p. 171.

of Cailidín, who plot Cú Chulainn's death[1] and in Welsh legend, we find the hags of Gloucester, warrior women whom the young Peredur slays.[2] It should therefore come as no surprise when we hear that the titles given by these beings to Macbeth are three: Glamis, Cawdor and King, and that the witches throughout speak in threes, this being, as we have said a sacred number for the Celts.[3]

Nevertheless the witches in *Macbeth* still seem to owe more to their Elizabethan stereotype than to the idea of the three supernatural goddesses of destiny. We should note, however, the wildness of the elements that attend their appearances, and the fact that among the witches' appurtenances is a cauldron, one of the sacred objects of Celtic mythology, which can return the dead to life. The atmosphere in which Macbeth and Banquo meet the witches -separated from their retinue, in a swirling mist, at a moment when nothing is as it seems, is typical of encounters between the heroes of legend and the Otherworld folk. However, it is interesting to note here that the Celtic Otherworld did not have unpleasant associations, -often the case was quite the contrary; what one could never do, however, was place one's trust in the Sídhe. Also basic to the Celtic idea of the world, was a belief in the closeness of the Otherworld to everyday life, especially at key seasons of the year, so that the signs that accompany the three weird sisters signify something much deeper than mere stage business around the typical figure of the witch. They represent a disturbance of the cosmic and psychic forces that govern the earth. That this is a disruption of the normal state of affairs is pointed out by Macbeth's words:

> So foul and fair a day I have not seen[4]

echoing the weird sisters' chant of "Fair is foul and foul is fair".[5] Something is not right with the order of things -and as we know, the supernatural in Celtic tales occurs wherever opposites meet.

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[1] JACKSON, K. Hurlestone. (1971) *A Celtic Miscellany.* Penguin, London. p. 42-48.

[2] GANTZ, J. ed.(1976). *The Mabinogion.* Penguin, London. p. 232.

[3] c.f. Act 1, sc. 3, l. 48-50; Act 4, sc. 1, l. 61 and l. 107-9.

[4] Act 1. sc. 3. l. 38.

[5] Act 1. sc. 1. l. 10.

Apart from Macbeth, the other central figure in this tragedy conforms also to the symbolism of the Celtic legends. Lady Macbeth, when we meet her, epitomises the strength of character one might expect from one of these primitive women. Not for her the doubts of her husband, bound by ties of faith and loyalty to the king: like Blathnad and Blodeuwedd she has decided actively to engineer the succession of her more vigorous mate, whom she suspects of being too squeamish to "help" fate along. Her reference to the raven at the beginning of Act 1, sc. 5, announcing the death of the King seems to have puzzled some critics,[1] yet no such difficulty should exist in its interpretation: as we have mentioned, the crow is not just a bird of ill-omen, a haunter of the battle-field -it is the embodiment of the Great Queen, the Morrigan, the triple and terrible aspect of the blood-thirsty goddess of war, hungry for victims, and who initiates in the legends the persecution of the male hero who defies her. In the story of Cú Chulainn the Goddess of War, in the shape of a raven, alights on the dying hero's shoulder and only then does the enemy dare to rush forward and cut off his head.[2] The fact that the play appears to be the amalgamation of the story of Macbeth and that of Donwald who murdered his king, "set on by his wife",[3] only serves to reinforce the aspect of fierceness and ambition of such single-minded females. The goddess was famed for her cruelty -even to her devotees: Lady Macbeth's invocation to the spirits to unsex her, and her unnatural recourse to the image of infanticide more than hints at the dark forces that underlie the seemingly too human aspirations to the crown and the sublimation of herself to her husband's advancement.[4] The strength of character of Lady Macbeth, which strikes everyone who reads or sees the play, is totally in keeping with the image of Celtic womanhood that we find in the legends and sagas. As we have seen above, the woman is often the person who unleashes the forces that result in tragedy: in the stories of Grainne and Diarmuid, Naoise and Deirdriu, it is the woman in each case who taunts the hero into betraying his king or chieftain in her desire to substitute a younger man for the old ruler.

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[1] Notably Hunter and Manly, as quoted in The Arden Shakespeare *Macbeth,* op. cit. p. 28. note to Act 1 sc. 5. l. 38-39.

[2] KINSELLA, T. ed. op. cit.

[3] Holinshed's *Chronicles of Scotland,* p. 149.

[4] GRAVES, R. (1961) *The White Goddes.* Faber and Faber, 1961) p. 426. He states that it is the spirit of the White Goddess (the Great Mother) who takes possession of Lady Macbeth, and inspires her to murder Duncan.

The murder of the King, which is the enactment of the substitution of the new king for the old in the regeneration Myth, is performed as a ritual sacrifice. However, certain basic elements in this rite are missing: that Duncan is a good king for Scotland has been confirmed by the signs attending his arrival at the castle. We may deduce therefore, that in sacrificing Duncan before his time, the Macbeths are going against the rules that govern the substitution. Their action will not bring good to the country for they transgress the basic tenets of primitive society: they murder a king who is still beneficial to the land, a king to whom they owe loyalty, and one moreover who is a kinsman and a guest.

The sacrifice of the druids was preceded by a libation, followed by the shedding of the victim's blood and ritual cleansing. All this elements are present in the play. The drink Lady Macbeth takes to make her strong[1] fulfils the function of the libation. She herself does not perform the sacrifice -the substitute of the goddess, the priest, is Macbeth. The main characters' obsession with blood from the moment of the murder on is perhaps the most pervasive image of the play -the word blood and the cognate words such as bleeding, bloody or gory, is mentioned more than a hundred times throughout the play, as the critics have pointed out: what they have not pointed out is the significance of this word. This emphasis on blood reflects the importance given to its power among primitive people, as representing life itself, and with a force of its own:

> Blood will have blood, they say ... [2]

It was even customary among the Celts to drink some of the blood of someone dear who had been slain in battle: so Emer drinks Cú Chulainn's blood,[3] and as late as the 18th century Eileen O'Connell, aunt of Daniel O'Connell the Liberator, in a famous elegy, drinks the blood of her husband Art O'Leary, murdered by the men of the English High-Sheriff of Cork.[4] From the murder of Duncan on, Lady Macbeth's preoccupation will be with

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[1] Act 2, sc. 2. l. 1-2.

[2] Act 3, sc. 4 l. 121.

[3] JACKSON, K. Hurlestone. op. cit. p. 253.

[4] O'TUAMA, S. and KINSELLA, T. eds.(1981) *An Duanaire.* Dolmen Press, Portlaoise. p. 205, l. 69. The reason was a quarrel over that symbolic animal, a horse.

cleansing her husband and herself of the victim's blood. Even Macbeth himself is haunted by the seas of blood that seem to cling to him.[1]

As to the instrument of sacrifice, the importance of the knife that appears to Macbeth cannot be overlooked in this interpretation: it is the sacred sacrificial knife, present -first in Macbeth's heat oppressed brain, but then very really in his and Lady Macbeth's hand. This image of the knife streaming with blood remits us to the magic lance of the god-hero Lugh which streams blood, and which has also reached us in the stories of the Holy Grail in the procession of the Fisher King, and to the sword of Nuadhu.[2]

Macbeth attains the crown, and his installation retains some of the trappings of sacral kingship. The ceremony takes place at Scone, where the famous Stone of Destiny had been kept since its capture from Tara.[3] Moreover, Macbeth celebrates the event with a banquet -the wedding feast of the king -an ill-fated banquet, which will turn to ashes in his mouth.

Yet the error that underlies the new kingship will become soon evident: the land resents this imposed change, and demonstrates its unease with the freak weather that scourges Scotland. Eventually, even Macbeth will call the land "sick", and beg the doctor who attends his wife, to cure it. Here again, the woman is in sympathy with the state of the land: Lady Macbeth's sickness is a mirror-image of what has been happening to Scotland on a cosmic scale. The only cure will be the substitution of a new and lawful king for the old. Hereditary kingship from now on will be the norm, and Celtic Scotland and the old ways will disappear.

Finally, another area of Celtic imagery that we can find in the play are the apparitions that the three sisters conjure up for Macbeth out of their

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[1] Act 2, sc. 2 l. 45, l. 66. and Act 5, sc. 1. l. 28, l. 41, l. 48, l. 58.

[2] Traditionally, Lugh's lance was so thirsty for blood that it had to be restrained. With this dual significance of the dagger, the play now contains the four talismans or sacred objects of the Tuatha dé Danaan: the stone of destiny, the cauldron of the Dagda, the bleeding lance and the victorious sword of Nuadhu.

[3] It was removed by Edward I in 1296, and now resides in Westminster Abbey, where it has been used in the coronation ceremonies of the English kings ever since. It was only after its removal that the Scottish kings adopted the ceremony of coronation.

cauldron. Although the ingredients smack of Elizabethan folk-lore, and James I's *Daemonlogie*, the cauldron itself is a potent cult-object, as has been mentioned.[1] Apparitions, if we believe the legends and sagas, were such frequent occurrences in Celtic life as to be considered normal. The apparitions that issue from the cauldron are the armèd head, the bloody babe and the child with the crown and tree. The armèd head has been given different interpretations: some see it as a representation of Macbeth, some of Macduff and others even of Macdonwald. We have mentioned the importance of the head in Celtic lore as the seat of the soul, and also as a favourite trophy. The head represented the life force of a person, and its removal circumscribed his hope of immortality and prevented his regeneration, and possible revenge. (In this sense it is relevant that Banquo is not decapitated, and so is able to return to haunt his murderer. Macbeth cannot perform this traditional act, because it would reveal that no ordinary murder has taken place). Macbeth even states his belief in the importance of decapitation when he says

> ... time has been,
> That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
> And there an end ...
>
> Act 3, sc. 4, l. 77-78.

admittedly an observation as much attributable to common-sense as to primitive superstition. But in this connection, we must remember that wonder-working and talking heads also feature in the legends, as in the tale of Sualdam, Cú Chulainn's father, or of Bran in the Mabinogion, though their ritual significance is not clear. In the case of the apparition, it may be taken to represent some life force, possibly that of Macbeth himself, especially as it is the only one to give him a true warning- to "beware Macduff" ... , and heralds his future death and beheading. The bloody babe does not seem to have specific Celtic connotations as such that I can find and is generally taken to represent Macduff. It may also hint at the infanticide about to take place in Macduff's castle -and it recalls to us the horrifying image evoked by Lady Macbeth when she seeks to instill courage into her husband. This apparition in turn also instills courage into

[1] RUTHERFORD, Ward. (1987). *Celtic Mythology*. Aquarian Press, Wellingborough. p. 84-84.

him, directly contradicting the words of the armèd head, but it is a false courage based on a flawed prophecy and will lead to his doom. The third apparition, that of the child wearing the crown and holding the tree may for Shakespeare represent Malcolm, but it is also full of primitive symbolism for us. The circular crown now replaces the torque, worn at the point of union where the head meets the body- and which was the symbol of sacred kingship to the Celts. The uprooted tree refers obviously to Birnam Wood - but the imagery goes much more deeply than this. It is the "crann bethadh" -the tree of life -a powerful force in the mythology of these peoples, where each tribe held a particular tree as sacred, and the victorious tribe in war would automatically cut down or uproot the tree of the vanquished. So closely was the life of the tree identified with the tribe, that the word *crann*- tree - came to mean fate, or destiny. Moreover, in Welsh lore at least, the Druids were credited with the power of turning trees into men and sending them into battle.[1] Hence the symbol of the uprooted tree signifies the eventual defeat of Macbeth, even though the sisters mislead him as to its real meaning. It is typical in this world where the supernatural and the real mix, that nothing is as it seems. Macbeth, now launched on the inevitable path to self-destruction, chooses to believe only what is meant to deceive him, and like the kings of the sagas, cannot prevent the doom that awaits him. The witches' words, uttered at the beginning of the play are fulfilled: "fair is foul and foul is fair ... " That which Macbeth desired, the kingship, has led to his death, and those he despised as too weak to withstand him, the young Malcolm and Macduff, have triumphed over him. As in Celtic lore, things are not what they seem, and opposites are but close aspects of one another.

CONCLUSION

These are some of the points of symbolism and imagery from Celtic mythology which I feel would benefit a discussion on the interpretation of this play, and which, without straining the comparisons unnecessarily, I hope will help to throw some light on the complexities that underlie the actions of these fascinating and polemical characters.

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[1] See GRAVES, Robert. op. cit. p. 27-48, and especially p. 38. The Battle of the Trees, *Câd Goddeu,* was a fundamental part of Celtic tradition.

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EXISTENTIAL NEEDS AND POLITICAL DEEDS IN *CORIOLANUS*

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Should we look for the reason why *Coriolanus*[1] has been so underrated by Shakespearean criticism[2] and so neglected as far as stage performances are concerned,[3] we shall find that the play "has often been misunderstood and has never been very popular."[4] However *Coriolanus* should be praised for its uniqueness and complexity as it is a complete literary masterpiece that makes dramatic sense. Thus a new understanding and critical revaluation are needed to come to terms with all its theatrical potential. We intend to show why it is, together with *Antony and*

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[1] Textual quotations are taken from the Arden Shakespeare edition. Philip Brockbank ed. *Coriolanus.* London and New York: Methuen, 1976 (rpt. 1984).

[2] A. C. Bradley maintains that *Coriolanus* stands apart from other tragedies of Shakespeare because it is not one of "the great four". Critics associated with *Scrutiny* "expressed their indignation at the growth of impersonal, violent, mass society through their comments on Coriolanus, especially in his guise as heroic warrior." Finally "Psycho-analytic criticism has strongly emphasized Coriolanus' infantile relation to his castrating mother." Cfr. M. Charney, *"Coriolanus* and *Timon of Athens"* in S. Wells ed.: *Shakespeare: Selected Bibliographical Guides.* Oxford University Press, 1974, pp. 217-219.

[3] A. C. Bradley wrote in 1912 that *Coriolanus* "was seldom acted, and perhaps no reader called it his favourite play." Cfr. B. Vickers, *Shakespeare: Coriolanus.* London, E. Arnold, 1976, p. 7. Surprisingly there is no direct evidence of its having been performed in Shakespeare's lifetime, and its stage history has been complicated by adaptations. Cf. Adrian Poole, *Coriolanus.* London, Harvester, 1988, xv.

[4] Cfr. Vickers, op. cit. p. 7.

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Cleopatra," Shakespeare's most assured artistic success."[1] To begin with let's focus our attention on the dramatic genre in which it might be included. To say that it is just a Roman play[2] or a tragedy[3] leaves out some important questions. Contemporary criticism should take into account all the radical material it has and all the basic interpretations it shows. Then it might well be considered as a historical tragedy because both the tragic element and the historical implications shape the whole life and actions of the hero of Corioles. The personal tragedy of Coriolanus is more than a dramatic representation. It is also an expression of contemporary historical reivindications. Thus the play was intended to have a metatheatrical dimension with a real influence on the historical context.

Coriolanus has a special theatrical appeal owing to his complex personality and strange identity. He is always beyond expectation and definition. He is just Caius Martius Coriolanus. He is human and divine at the same time. He is like us but just different. He acomplishes and fulfils the utopian ideal of integrity, pride and honesty. He is the hero and the superman. However he is also the representation of human failure in its eternal fight against misuse and abuse. He cannot get rid of external manipulation coming from matriarchal authority and senatorial commands. That is why he is both a victor and a traitor. From these revealing facts we can perfectly understand Sicinius' words which describe him as "a traitorous innovator" (3.1.173). His tragedy and success reside in his perpetually active contradiction. He is hated and loved. And this is the supreme proof of his humanity and attraction. He is more a leader than a heroical personification with all kinds of good qualities and virtues because he is radically human in his personal confrontation with destiny and adversity. Coriolanus, like Hamlet, must face a personal dilemma: to be himself or to act "like an engine" that "when he walks the ground shrinks before his treading" (5.4.18-19). He, unlike Hamlet, reaches a decision. He tries hard to be himself but he fails time and time again.There is no other solution for his existential question but to live without being. Therefore he becomes the hero of a stricken city, knowing beforehand that defeat will be his reward. The existential framework in which Coriolanus must live and

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[1] Cfr. T. S. Eliot, "Hamlet" in *Selected Essays.* London, Faber, 1932 (rpt. 1980), p. 144.

[2] Cfr. V. Thomas, *Shakespeare's Roman Worlds.* London, Routledge, 1989.

[3] Cfr. D. Mehl, *Shakespeare's Tragedies: An Introduction.* Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 178.

exist makes him appear inhuman and horrible. Finally he becomes a monster. We are forced to admit,together with Menenius, that Martius "has grown from man to dragon" (5.4.13-14). The absurdity of an existence of complete alienation ends in exile and death. But it is not his fault. He is predestined to follow what others say. Under these circumstances for Coriolanus to be human is to be theatrical. Thus the hero must play his role to please other people's desires. His existence is a performative act. Personal convictions and social impositions make him a very skillful actor and a professional entertainer. He knows how to act from childhood. His mother, Volumnia, was his drama teacher. She taught him how to act and what to perform. External appearances are the radical tenet of the daily show. Acting has nothing to do with his personal decisions but with the intentions of others. It is Coriolanus himself who, following Volumnia's theatrical patterns, presents a brilliant practical outline of dramatic activity to us. The theatrical transformation he must undergo to play his existential role is expressed as follows:

> Well, I must do't.
> Away my disposition, and possess me
> Some harlot's spirit! My throat of war be turn'd,
> Which choired with my drum, into a pipe
> Small as an eunuch, or the virgin voice
> That babies lull asleep! The smiles of knaves
> Tent in my cheeks, and schoolboys' tears take up
> The glasses of my sight! A beggar's tongue
> Make motion through my lips, and my arm'd knees
> Who bow'd but in my stirrup, bend like his
> That hath receiv'd an alms!
> (3.2.110-120)

Acting is described as something unnatural which requires a positive effort. It is a perversion and disorder of Coriolanus' own identity. The man changes his personality to play his role. Again he is ready to satisfy the demands of the audience. He prefers to be what they expect him to be rather than be himself. He is not allowed to change the plot. And to succeed in his theatrical enterpise he accepts being the victim. This status means a radical contradiction because acting is more than entertaining. It is not a natural disposition, it means becoming another person through an indecent act of existential prostitution. He must be possessed by "some harlot's

spirit" and become his own contradiction. The representation of his personal drama requires a radical change in order to abandon his military condition and be transformed into something completely different," ... into a pipe/ Small as an eunuch, or the virgin voice/ That babies lull asleep!". He must be false to his nature because he cannot be the man he is said to be.He is the leading star of the political *belly* rotted by civil disorder, accepting his dramatic holocaust in order to be the saviour of an unredeemable world. And in his performative role he is supreme. Undoubtedly he is one of the outstanding acting characters within the Shakespearean dramatic universe. For him to live is to act. Thus acting, in his case, has existential connotations. Existence becomes essentially theatrical. In *Coriolanus* the theatrical dimension within the play itself reaches its peak. It is theatre about theatre. Reality and dramaticity are indistinguishable and interchangeable. The dramatic role is completely assumed by Coriolanus when he follows someone's instructions. However when he is expected to be the director of his own tragedy, he is lost. Confusion makes him forget his part in his unending drama. He does not know what to do nor where to go.He cannot distinguish between fiction and reality. So life becomes the stage where the hero has to face the demands of an audience that claims the right to be entertained. The peculiar theatrical situation requires a very particular character in order to perform a metatheatrical function. This superb interpretation produces a permanent and irritating *maladjustment*[1] in Coriolanus. He is always unable to adapt himself to the real situation. He is condemned to exist in perpetual inadaptation; a consequence of the social roles he is compelled to play. We may say that he is the many-sided figure ready to act and to please public expectations, redeeming the city from foreign invasion. He must be judged and identified for what he does and not for what he is. He will be the manipulated factor within an alienated society.

Coriolanus is a tragic hero in perpetual need of being himself. He exists and acts in reciprocal alienation. He is internally divided because he is incapable of adapting himself to the critical situation of Rome burning in popular rebellion. However his antisocial attitude is the external revelation of his radical necessity of people who are the opposite element of his internal contradiction, for he cannot be without them. His heroism cannot be tested without the mob, and his rejection is the most reliable test of his

[1] Paul A. Cantor, *Shakespeare's Rome. Republic and Empire*. Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1976, p. 79.

engagement with society which is the basic element of his theatrical performance. To be himself he must be projected onto the others who are the reason and possibility of his political strategies. Being a lonely hero, he cannot be alone. J. Bayley is right when he asserts that " ... Coriolanus is the most public, the least solitary of Shakespeare's heroes."[1] He needs to hear the voices of his enemies and the accusations of the tribunes. And when exile comes, he is forced to look for another country and different people to share his radical alienation and confrontation. He needs an anti-hero to express in actions all his human and military power. Aufidius might be the solution to his social demands. The Volsces are the last opportunity to overcome his antisocial disposition. However he fails in his final attempt to be socially accepted. Thus Coriolanus becomes the perfect outsider.

Linguistic abuse and semantic manipulation are also responsible for his existential banishment. Coriolanus' antisocial behaviour is also a consequence of his inability to communicate. The linguistic fight will be his most outstanding failure. From the very beginning he is aware of the inadequacy and falacy of words which are considered to be noisy sounds. The whole play is abused and perverted through verbal discourse. Words are not used according to their value. They are not intended to perform a communicative function. They are not text but pretext. They are reversed in their meaning. Words are only air, pure exhalation. A mechanical act, an instinctive action. In this way words become noise. It is the only resource people have to be heard and to express their complaints and discontent. They shout, for the intensity of their cries is the only possible way they have left to air their views. Then dialogue is not possible because both Coriolanus and the plebeians lack "a viable language".[2] The opening of the play seems a dramatic discourse for deaf people without any possible mutual understanding. Everyone wants to speak but nobody is ready to listen. Consequently we find,throughout the whole performance, a verbal perversion and also a linguistic rebellion. People support their right to speak and to be heard. And this is the most radical failure of Roman

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[1] He places limits on his critical position adding "Except in one respect". In any case his argumentation is valid to support our personal approach. Cfr. John Bayley, *Shakespeare and Tragedy*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, p. 147.

[2] James L. Calderwood, "*Coriolanus:* Wordless Meanings and Meaningless Words.", *SEL* 6 (1969), p. 213.

authority. The combination of "meaning and meaninglessness"[1] is the origin of the verbal confusion and linguistic maladjustment within the dramatic universe. Thus it is that "In an unstable society whose verbal currency is fluctuating back and forth between inflationary and deflationary levels, one can never know at any time what words are worth ... "[2] The verbal symbol is not permanent. It is always in continuous fluctuation depending on the exchange rate on the market and the profit made from verbal currency. There is not a fixed linguistic code, "With every minute you do change a mind,/ And call him noble that was now your hate,/ Him vile that was your garland." (1.181-183). This verbal contamination reaches Coriolanus through maternal education. For Volumnia the function of words is to falsify truth since they are bastard elements. Therefore she causes linguistic prostitution. To speak is not to communicate but to breath words with no real meaning at all. However Coriolanus knows how to react to his mother's verbal manipulation. The maternal command is transformed into an obsession for being meaningful. His distrust of language is the result of living in a world of linguistic imposition since words, like drums and trumpets, are profaned. He is conscious of the verbal conflict,

> between a stationary meaning and drifting words, between private meanings incapable of fitting into a public language and a public language that has become meaningless, or, as we have said ... between wordless meanings and meaningless words. Isolated from one another in this fashion, both meanings and words become self-destructive as well as destructive of language generally.[3]

He can no longer stand suffering the verbal nonsense which brings social and political confusion. Language has also become a contradiction. Therefore Coriolanus must admit his defeat in his fight against linguistic abuse though he has always shown verbal integrity. He does not mind being rejected by his countrymen or by his family, for telling the truth is his only verbal intention in order to express his feelings and ideas. However he is often misunderstood. He has forgotten that truth is not to be spoken. And linguistic exile is the beginning of his complete isolation. His verbal inability comes from the fact that he is a foreigner, speaking a different

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[1] M. Grivelet, "Shakespeare as Corrupter of Words", *SS* 16 (1963), p. 73.

[2] James L. Calderwood,, op. cit. p. 217.

[3] James L. Calderwood, op. cit. p. 220.

language. Therefore leaving the city is a necessary action if he wants to be understood. It is also a deliberate and personal choice because Coriolanus is not only the victim but also the agent of the people's banishment. He banishes them for their corruption since they are " As the dead carcasses of unburied men" (3.3.122). In this situation Coriolanus is forced to look for a meaningful language. It is the great victory to be won if Rome wants to be free from chaos and sedition. Finally action will be his last and more efficient word. His deeds will openly speak for him. Silent actions are the only language he is going to use in his verbal exchange with people. And through action which, in this case, is eloquence (3.2.76) he dominates and manipulates the dramatic universe of the play. Fortunately he has discovered a much more sophisticated and effective way of communication which has an immediate impact on the listener. He has the advantage of being essentially a man of action who knows how to mean without speaking since he is a hero for what he did not for what he said. He becomes the antytype of the Roman orator.Thus we learn that his linguistic weapons are integrity and honesty without any formal usage of rethorical elements as words are naturally intended for communication. For this reason his alliance with Aufidius and the Volsces is more meaningful than all his words spoken in the marketplace. Now everybody knows the real Coriolanus. In Rome there is no doubt of the meaning of his intentions. At last actions have spoken louder than words. In this way he, through political action, tries to restore speech.

Coriolanus' needs are partly satisfied with political confrontation. Politics is his only successful activity. *Mori pro patria* is his greatest ideal to which he devotes all his energies and his complete life. Hence *Coriolanus* is an essentialy political play for it cannot be properly understood and performed without its relation to power and the government of people. Recent Shakespearean criticism points out its political involvement and implications.[1] A. Poole holds that "Most critics have had

[1] Cfr. J. Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy. Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries.* Brighton, The Harvester Press, 1984; Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy.* London, Methuen, 1985; Terry Eagleton, *William Shakespeare.* Oxford, B, Blackwell, 1986; Terence Hawkes, *That Shakespearian Rag.* London, Methuen, 1986; John Drakakis ed., *Alternative Shakespeares.* London, Methuen, 1985; J. Dollimore and Alan Sinfied eds., *Political Shakespeare.* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1985; Graham Holderness ed., *The Shakespeare Myth.* Manchester, Manchester University

something to say about the antagonistic political principles apparently embodied in the figures of Caius Martius and "the people".[1] Undoubtedly this play is "Shakespeare's most immediately political".[2] However we should know what is meant by the term *political* before we reach a conclusion about the importance of the political aspect in a critical interpretation of the play. Politics, in this case, refers not only to a general preoccupation with public affairs or to "a lively concern with the ends and methods of public actions"[3] but also to a positive interest in particular matters related to the assertion of power, to the abuse of authority and to social rebellion. Therefore it can be said that *Coriolanus* is political in the sense that it "is about power: about State, or *the* State; about order in society and the forces of disorder ... about conflict, not in personal but political life; and -the aspect which catches our minds first- about the conflict of classes."[4] It seems to me that personal conflict cannot be separated from political confrontation since it is both the consequence and the active principle of social subversion. However the political implications of the play are stronger than these. Politics is what really matters in *Coriolanus.* The material, the plot and the characters have an immediate and direct political connotation. But its most distinctive political feature is the radical consciousness that the play presents about rebellion and disorder. We should bear in mind that Renaissance drama, and especially Shakespearean drama, exhibits a deep concern with political matters. So the dramatist tries to reverse and change reality through drama. He devises his performative strategies to subvert and to provoke the audience. Hence in *Coriolanus* there is a theatrical awareness of the subversive possibilities of drama and the practical intention of reflecting common expectations. The dramatic strategies are arranged in order to achieve political aims. In this

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Press, 1988. The political approach is also a basic tenet for teaching Shakespeare today. Cfr. Ann Thompson, "*King Lear* and the Politics of Teaching Shakespeare", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41 (1990), pp. 139-146. B. Vickers, "*Coriolanus* and the Demons of Politics", *Returning to Shakespeare.* London, Routledge, 1989.

[1] A. Poole, op. cit. XVIII.

[2] B. A. Brockman ed., *Coriolanus.* London, Macmillan, 1977, Introduction p. 12.

[3] L. C. Knights, "Shakespeare's Politics: with Some Reflections on the Nature of Tradition", K. Muir ed., *Interpretations of Shakespeare.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953, pp. 86-87.

[4] A. P. Rossiter, "Political Tragedy", in B. A. Brockman ed., *Coriolanus.* London Macmillan, 1977, p. 145.

way the dramatist tries to demystify imposed patterns and beliefs using theatrical weapons to provoke social involvement. And the political intention, in this case, means "the capacity to be not only intellectually, but emotionally and purposively, engaged by the management of public affairs."[1]

Political perversion and practical subversion are not general dramatic characteristics as some of the theatrical episodes dramatized in the play may reflect contemporary events. Thus drama is a topical media to express social disension and oppresion. Theatre was also a place of social propaganda and political awareness which projected the contextual complaints shared by a concrete social order since drama gives a good account of contemporary facts. The opening of *Coriolanus* could not be more brusque as "Shakespeare portrays the unreasoning violence of mob action".[2] The plebeians rebel against the official power. The outburst of the rebellion is on its way. People express themselves using weapons. Everywhere there is physical tumult. It seems, in principle, that the only reason for their revolt is hunger. They are desperately looking for something to eat. And, at first sight, there is not an immediate political cause as the first citizen speaks "in hunger for bread, not in thirst for revenge" (1.1.24-25). This mutinous action might have been a reflection of the social conditions of the time and the attitude of the people against the government that was unable to provide the necessary food for them since "Shakespeare and his contemporaries lived with the permanent threat of dearth, the memory and fear of hunger as a widespread human and social fact."[3] What is most surprising is that food shortage and harvest disaster which were a real threat for Europe at that time provoked so few occasional outbreaks of disorder in England.[4] However dearth, as in the play, was not the only cause of historical disorder. There was also a strong confrontation between classes. "Antagonism towards the mob ... was indeed expressed

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[1] Ibid. p. 149.

[2] Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare's Rome*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 16.

[3] Adrian Poole, op. cit. p. 4.

[4] Cfr. John Walter and Keith Wrightson, "Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England" in Paul Slack ed., *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 128.

time and again in Jacobean England."[1] It led to a conscious class hostility. There was, then, among some of the common people an increasing hate of the rich whom they regarded as exploiters. The *belly* metaphor (1.1.95 ff.) might be a visual presentation of the social confrontation. In addition to physical needs and social division, political discontent was a manifest demand under the reign of James I, culminating in the peasant revolt which began in Northamptonshire in May 1607 and soon spread to other counties. This topical situation is something to bear in mind if we try to know all the basic contextuality which might explain and give reason for the dramatic material and theatrical intentionality of *Coriolanus* since the dramatic performance might be a reflection of the historical conditions in England. It shows new patterns of social behaviour and opposes the orderly arranged Elizabethan World Picture. Critics have found "the play intimately involved with Jacobean political and social conflict. It seems almost certainly to echo current debate over parliamentary versus royal prerogatives."[2]

However the political sense of *Coriolanus* is more radical and decisive. In it we get "Shakespeare's most detailed analysis of politics".[3] There is a theatrical discussion of central political issues. We may say that "the play is a political treatise in dramatized form."[4] Power and authority are the two more critical disrupting forces within the dramatic universe of the play. Its abuse and manipulation are the cause of the situation which is out of control. The scarcity of bread is a consequence of something more radical, namely the perversion of the political body:

> ... They ne'er cared
> for us yet. Suffer us to famish, and their store-
> houses crammed with grain; make edicts for usury,

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[1] J. Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy. Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries.* Brighton, The Harvester Press, 1984, p. 225.

[2] B. A. Brockman ed., op. cit p. 11.

[3] B. Vickers, *Coriolanus.* London Ed. Arnold, 1976, p. 7.

[4] Hans-Jürgen Weckermann, "*Coriolanus:* The Failure of the Autonomous Individual" in B. Fabian and K. Tetzeli von Rosador eds., *Shakespeare. Text, Language, Criticism. Essays in Honour of Marvin Spevack.* Hildesheim, Olms-Weidmann, 1987, p. 335.

> to support usurers; repeal daily any wholesome act
> established against the rich, and provide more
> piercing statutes daily to chain up and restrain the
> poor. If the wars eat us not up, they will; and
> there's all the love they bear us.
>
> (1.1.78-84)

Lack of care is the political sin. The belly is completely infected as the Roman authority does not serve the people but abuses and manipulates them in order to make a profit and to maintain power at any cost. Political corruption is the ultimate cause of social instability. The leaders of the city project their own ambition and frustration onto the "many-headed multitude" (2.3.16-17) as there is a positive "displacement of disorder from within the dominant onto the subordinate."[1] The figure of Coriolanus should be judged and viewed from this political scope. He is a representative member of the establishment who has the responsibility of fighting the Volsces on the battlefield at the same time as he represents the possibility of overcoming internal insurrection. And he is ready to play the political role as best he can. He embodies the ideal of a politican since he can adopt "various kinds of image -a monument, a machine, a monster, a god, a thing."[2] He is the only one able to fight against "The beast with many heads" (4.1.1-2) because he knows what strategies to use. Coriolanus is a cunning politician who follows certain Machiavellian-like patterns in his political disguise for "He's a lamb indeed,that baes like a bear" (2.1.10) and a "viper" whose arrogance "would depopulate the city" (3.1.261). However his political instinct lacks the gentle touch, and he becomes the chief enemy of the people.

Coriolanus is more than a play. It has metatheatrical sense, for it shows a positive intention beyond the dramatic representation. There is, through theatrical exposition, political awareness of contemporary implications. Thus we are shown that political abuse and social

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[1] J. Dollimore, "The Case for a Political Cultural Analysis of Shakespeare: The Instances of Displacement and Perversion" in M. Barbeito ed., *In Mortal Shakespeare. Radical Readings.* Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1989, p. 38.

[2] A. Poole, op. cit. p. 23.

manipulation create subversion and corruption in the management of power. Unfortunately little has changed since Coriolanus' day.

* * *

THE NATURE OF SHAKESPEAREAN TRAGEDY

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According to Northrop Frye, Aristotle's ideas on tragedy are based on *Oedipus Tyrannus* while Hegel drew his by reading *Antigone*(127-8). A.C. Bradley, in the first part of his *Shakespearean Tragedy* states that tragedy "would not be tragedy if it were not a painful mistery" (28). In the five tragedies to be analyzed in this essay -*Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth,* and *Antony and Cleopatra*- I hope to reach certain conclusions about the nature of Shakespearean tragedy. Could we draw as many theories about Shakespearean tragedy as the number of tragedies Shakespeare wrote or are there any elements common to them all? In order to answer this question, I am going to concentrate on three points of the above mentioned tragedies: the structure, the tragic hero and the outcome.

I) THE STRUCTURE:

1) Usually the play opens with what could be considered a stable situation, but soon the characters reveal through their comments their surprise, insecurity or misgivings about it. For example, *King Lear* opens with a conversation between Kent and Gloucester about Lear not favoring Albany over Cornwall and continues with Gloucester's mixed feelings about having had an illegitimate child. Similarly, *Antony and Cleopatra* opens with Demetrius' and Philo's comments about Antony's doting on Cleopatra. In *Hamlet* Francisco's ("I am sick at heart"(I.i.9) and later Marcellus's ("Something is rotten in the state of Denmark" (I.iv.90)) words add to the atmosphere of impending doom. *Othello* opens with Roderigo complaining to Iago about having used his purse and witholding information apparently important to Roderigo. In Macbeth and *Hamlet* the

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appearance of "aliens" or supernatural beings help to create this feeling of instability.

2) There is an evil character -or characters - who through ambition or malice destroys -Iago, Lear's daughters, Edmund, Macbeth -or has destroyed -Claudius -the once stable situation.

3) There is some character (Iago, Cordelia) or spirit (Ghost, Weird Sisters) whose words push the hero into tragic action. In Antony's case it is Cleopatra's charm that leads him to tragic inaction.

4) All the tragedies we are going to analyze, with the exception of *Antony and Cleopatra*, are tragedies concerned with an individual, that is, they are about a single tragic hero. I conceive the tragic hero as endowed with a tragic sense of life in spite of his jesting, as would be the case of Hamlet. During most of the action of *Antony and Cleopatra*, both lovers seem too decadent or frivolous to qualify as tragic heroes. However, at the end, they show through their tragic sense of life, their true stature.

As aforementioned, the Shakespearean tragedy revolves around a tragic hero, that is, it is mainly concerned with a single character. However, contrary to what happens in Christopher Marlowe's *Dr Faustus*, where the fall of the tragic hero[1] does not have any fatal consequences on the other characters -at most, it arouses pity in them -in Shakespeare the death or "fall" of the tragic hero involves the death of many of the sorrounding characters and a change in the political status. This is very clearly seen in *Hamlet*, where his actions, or his inaction, results in the death of almost all the remaining characters. In the case of Macbeth, however, he kills on his way up and in order to maintain his position, but on his falling he only kills once, Seyward's son (V.vii).[2]

II) THE SHAKESPEAREAN TRAGIC HERO

With respect to the Shakespearean tragic hero the following points can be made:

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[1] Some critics deny Dr. Faustus the qualifications of tragic hero.

[2] A variation of Seyward is Siward; the former appears in the *Riverside* edition and the latter in Penguin.

1) he is usually an honest person -"indifferent honest" (III.i.121) in Hamlet's words, though he may have some defects, great defects as is the case of King Lear, but in any case "More sinned against than sinning" (III.ii.60), or even greater and without excuse as would be the case of Macbeth. With regard to the tragic hero, Robert B. Heilman in "Tragedy and Melodrama: Speculations on Generic Form" says that Aristotle defined "the tragic hero as the good man who gets into trouble through some error or shortcoming for which the standard term has become the tragic flaw" (Corrigan 206). Aristotle called the protagonist's weakness the tragic flaw because, he believed this flaw was the cause of the hero's fall. In Shakespearean tragedy the tragic hero sometimes plays an active role in the events that follow, while at other times he does not. For example, Lear divides his kingdom and disinherits the daughter who really loves him, and Richard II banishes Mowbray, his supporter. Similarly, Macbeth is coerced into acting by Lady Macbeth, though he had previously stated: "If chance will have me king, why chance may crown me / Without my stir" (I.iii.143-4) He could have waited for the "Weird Sisters'" prediction to take place. Impatient, and like Richard II, insecure and jealous of any opponents, Macbeth tries to secure his position by plotting their death. Northrop Frye equates the tragic flaw with false pride, and calls the tragic hero "an imposter", "self-deceived or made dizzy by Hybris" and continues:

> In many tragedies he begins as a semi-divine figure, at least in his own eyes, and then an inexorable dialectic sets to work which separates the divine pretence from the human actuality. (Corrigan 131)

This could apply to King Lear, who, in Regan's words: " ... hath ever but slenderly known himself" (I.i.293-4). Not surprisingly on becoming aware of his deceit, he asks: "Who is it that can tell me who I am". (I.iv.230) But close to the end of the play conscious of his true identity he laments: "They told me I was everything" (IV.vi.104-5) and realizes his hand "smells of mortality" (IV.vi.133) His flaw is not too different from that of Richard II who thinks that "Not all the water in the rough rude sea / Can wash the balm off from an annointed king" (III.ii.54-5). They both have a false sense of what they are worth. Their reactions at the time of their awakening are different; while Richard feels sorry for himself, Lear addresses the most vicious insults to his own daughter, then starts feeling sorry for himself, afterwards for others, and finally, aware of his own guilt, tells Cordelia: "You have some cause" (IV.vii.74). Lear and Macbeth create their own

tragedy, while Hamlet, Othello and Antony seem to be moved by external forces. In the case of Hamlet, he inherits the situation and is commanded to act in a certain way, while Othello is like a puppet in Iago's dexterous hands and Antony yields too easily to Cleopatra's charm.

2) Some critics insist that the tragic hero "must not be the average man: nor ordinary, commonplace, undistinguished; not like the fellow next door or a girl like me" (Krook 37) or in Frye's words, that seem to contradict his previous assertion about self-deceit, "The tragic hero is typically on top of the wheel of fortune, halfway between human society on the ground and the something greater in the sky," (Corrigan 125). This does not apply to many Shakespearean heroes. Nothing is so far removed from the top as Hamlet's first appearance, in mourning trying to make his presence as little obvious as possible, despite his claim to be "too much on the sun" (I.ii.67). Hamlet is never "on top of the wheel of fortune." He could have reached it, but he missed the opportunity.[1] Before the play's action he was just a student, an old students for that matter. He was a prince, but in spite of Claudius's contention about "the great love general gender bear him" (IV.vii.18), nobody seems to pay much attention to Hamlet, who is not even allowed to court the woman he likes. Lear is at the top for a mere hundred lines of the play. Macbeth reaches the top, but his insecure position causes him to impose a tyrannical regime. Othello is at the top as a general but soon he begins behaving irrationally and Antony, though he is "the triple pillar of the world", is described by his friends as "transform'd / into a strumpet's fool" (I.i.12-13).

3) With the exception of Macbeth, usually the evil character or characters, whose actions unsettle the delicate balance of the opening situation, is not the tragic hero. In the case of *King Lear*, Lear, in spite of

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[1] It is said that Hamlet should have avenged his father's death when his uncle was alone praying. The audience knows that, by killing his uncle, he would have avenged his father's death because Claudius's prayers, due to his lack of contrition, could not reach God. Hamlet, however, believed his father's death would not have been avenged. The ghost had said about his death: "No reckoning made, but sent to my account / With all my imperfections on my head. / O, horrible! O, horrible! Most horrible! / If thou hast nature inthee, bear it not" (I.v.78-80). And Hamlet thinks: "A villain kills my father, and for that / I, his sole son, do this same villain send / To heaven" (III.iii.76-8). Hamlet was apparently a perfectionist and would not do anything halfway.

his flaws, cannot be considered evil; he created the tragedy because he placed his trust in his two eldest daughters, who are the real evil characters. *Antony and Cleopatra,* seems to be a tragedy very different from the others. Here we cannot talk of an evil character. We have two political figures. Ceasar is level-headed and shrewd, a real politician and consequently unsympathetic. Antony is warm and pleasure indulging, and consequently sympathetic.

4) The tragic hero usually has a trustful nature. Hamlet, however, though he is referred by Claudius as "being remiss, / Most generous, and free from all contriving" (IV.vii.134-5), does not trust the king, and for this reason he was able to exchange his lot with Rosencrantz and Guilderstern. Not surprisingly, Hamlet has his misgivings about the duel, in spite of the fact that he insists "it is such a kind of gaingiving as would perhaps trouble a woman" (V.ii.215-6). Knowing Claudius, Hamlet is necessarily suspicious of anything in which the king is involved. The Shakespearean tragic hero may be credulous or at least give a lot of importance to words - Othello, King Lear, Gloucester-[1] but Hamlet does not trust words (II.ii.192), not even those of the Ghost. Antony is the other exception. He does not trust Ceasar or his men.[2]

5) According to Heilman "The drama is a lesser one ... if the hero simply does not know what it is all about or never comes to know what it is all about" (Corrigan 207). In my opinion, the tragic hero must experience a feeling of guilt, has to know the part he has in the tragic events. Oedipus's tragedy starts when he gains self-awareness, before his acquisition of knowledge, the events occurring in his country were just disastrous happenings. However all Shakespearean tragic heroes do not experience feelings of guilt at the same time, do not become right away aware of their tragic flaw. Early in the play, Antony realizes that "These strong Egyptian fetters (he) must break, / Or lose (himself) in dotage" (I.ii.116-7) and a little bit later insists that he "must from this enchanting queen break off" (I.ii.138). Lear also realizes soon: "Woe that too late repents!" (I.iv.254)

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[1] Gloucester, though he is not considered a tragic hero, because of his parallelisms with King Lear shares several of his features.

[2] Antony warns Cleopatra about Ceasar's men by saying: "None about Caesar trust but Proculeius" (IV.xv.48), however, even Proculeius will prove false to Cleopatra by allowing his soldiers to take her while she is talking to him (V.ii.35).

and, in order to make clear what he repents of, a few lines later adds, "O most small fault, / How ugly didst thou in Cordelia show!" (I.iv.263-4).[1] Richard II and Othello do not become aware of their flaw until few moments before dying. When in prison, Richard II realizes his ear was tuned to musical instruments while he "Had not an ear to hear (his) true time broke" (V.v.48), and it is only when the tragedy has taken place that Othello learns that the handkerchief was put on purpose and exclaims: "O fool, fool, fool!" (VB.ii.323).

For Heilman "The tragic character is essentially a divided character" (Corrigan 206). The cause of it could be "between the moral ordinance and the unruly passion" (Corrigan 207). Macbeth is a divided hero between his desire to become a king and his conscience, so the idea of murdering the King awakens in him the following thoughts:

> ... why do I yield to that suggestion
> Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair,
> And make my seated heart knock at my ribs
> Against the use of nature? (I.iii.133-6)

Thoughts that will be awakened again before the actual murder cooling his will, that will be enkindled by Lady Macbeth's persuasions (I.vii). Though in a different sense Lear is also a divided character because he wants to keep on believing in his daughters. For that reason he is not the first one to complain about the way he is being treated at Goneril's. However, on hearing one of his knights comment that Lear is not receiving the due treatment from Albany or Goneril, he exclaims: "I have perceived a most faint neglect of late, which I have rather blamed as mine own jealous curiosity than as a very pretence and purpose of unkindness" (I.iv.67-80). In spite of Goneril's rejection, he still believes in Regan, and exclaims: "Yet have I left a daughter" (I.iv.251). Their combined ingratitude awakens his self pity: "O Regan, Goneril! / Your old kind father, whose frank heart gave all!" (III.iv.19-20). But only after continued suffering does Lear become aware of the others' misery and eventually of his own sin.

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[1] Notice this is Lear's first time to mention Cordelia. Remember that on hearing about Cordelia's banishment as the cause of the fool's sadness, he interrupts with: "No more of that!" (I.iv.74), however he added, "I have noted it well."

Antony and Macbeth are aware of their guilt even before acting. At times suffering seems to make the hero aware of his flaw as is the case with Lear and Richard II, but not in the case of Othello. Othello thinks he is doing justice for he says: "I did proceed upon just grounds / To this extremity" (V.ii.138-9).

Not all heroes experience the greatest suffering at the end of the play. Hamlet, at the beginning of the play is at the height of his misery. He is totally depressed and considers suicide. It is the time of "O that this too too sullied flesh should melt" (I.ii.129), and "To be, or not to be" (III.i.55). But later on he fights for his life as his action against Rosencrantz and Guilderstern proves. Perhaps the explanation could be that now he needs to be alive in order to do justice. Concerning the consequences due to Hamlet's delay in carrying out the vengeance he does not seem to experience guilt. He does not feel sorry for having accidentally killed Polonius and in his mourning of Ophelia there is competitiveness.

With respect to suicide, Antony and Othello commit suicide, but they had not considered it before. In Antony's case, he is lingering to life but is pushed to imitate Cleopatra's supposed honorable ending. When their end approaches some characters seem to react from their lethargy. Richard II, who has spent the entire play pitying himself, shows last minute bravery by killing one of his executors, while Lear, "a very foolish, fond old man" (IV.vii.59), avenges his daughter's death.

III) THE OUTCOME.

According to Northrop Frye "tragedy ... is not confined to actions that end in disaster" (Corrigan 124) and gives examples of some of Shakespeare's so called tragedies which end in serenity. Aristotle considered that unhappy endings are the right endings since "pity and fear are most fully excited by a change in Fortune from good to bad" (Muller 7), however, he adds later that it is better if the hero learns "the truth just in time to avoid the tragic deed" (Muller 8-9). Thus he grants the possibility of a tragedy with a happy ending. Joseph Wood Krutch also talks about happy endings but his idea of what constitutes a happy ending differs from that of Aristotle's:

> All works of art which deserve their namehave a happy end ... Whatever the character ... we accept gladly the conclusion which they

> reach and would not have it otherwise ... Tragedy, the greatest and the most difficult of the arts ... must reach its own happy end in its own way ... we are glad that Juliet dies and glad Lear is turned out into the storm. (Corrigan 275-6)

All the tragedies under study end with the death of the tragic hero, an element apparently common to most tragedies, not only to Shakespeare's. In Shakespearean tragedies the death of the tragic hero is not an isolated event because it brings with it the death of almost all the other characters. The king's plan to kill Hamlet results in the deaths of Gertrude, Laertes and the king himself, who receives the poisoned sword Laertes had used on Hamlet. Usually, the more meaningful characters are swept by the tragic events while the characters who remain alive are passive (Horatio, Albany, Edgar) or less important ones, exception be made of Othello, where Iago, the action's prime mover, and Cassio, though wounded, remain alive. Other exceptions would be *Macbeth* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, but while in *Othello* the death toll is relatively low, in the other two, especially in *Antony* it includes almost every character. The only survivor in *Hamlet* is Horatio,a very passive spectator of the events. All of them, who knowingly or unknowingly help to shape the events, die an often-times violent death: Polonius, Rosencrantz, Guilderstern, Ophelia, Gertrude, Claudius, Laertes, and Hamlet. *King Lear* is no exception, where the long list of meaningful characters who die starts with Cornwall and his servant, continues with Oswald and Gloucester, and in the final act with Regan, Goneril, Edmund, Cordelia, perhaps the Fool, King Lear himself, and possibly Kent (V.iii.322-3). In addition, the death of the tragic hero has consequences for the whole nation because it brings about a change in the political situation. In *Hamlet* Fortinbras at the beginning is said to be pestering Denmark for the surrendering of the lands his father lost (I.ii.22-3); however, at the end of the play Hamlet predicts that " th'election lights / on Fortinbras" (V.ii.355-6). In *Othello*, Cassius, who early in the play is deposed, (II.iii) in the end becomes the ruler of Cyprus. In *King Lear*, Albany who opposes his forces to King Lear's defendants, at the end, after his victory, resigns his power to King Lear (V.iii.301). In *Macbeth*, Malcolm, who on learning of his father's assassination flees to England (II.iii.137) leaving the throne to Macbeth, at the end becomes king. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Caesar, who had to share power, after Antony's defeat becomes the single ruler of the civilized world.

To summarize, there are very few generalities to be drawn from Shakespeare's tragedies since Shakespeare does not seem interested in repeating himself. The only characteristic that seems to apply to those under study is the death of the tragic hero and the political turmoil and loss of lives that this death brings with it. However, with respect to the tragic hero, we cannot find many general characteristics because sometimes he is not only the "hero" but the villain, as is the case with Macbeth. The same can be said about his character or reactions. Hamlet is as obsessed with his mother's marriage as Othello is with Desdemona's supposed infidelity. However, Hamlet does not kill his mother, even though the thought does come to his mind (III.ii.394-5). Lear, the epitome of arrogance, who disowns his favorite daughter because she is incapable of flatteries and who banishes a loyal vassal for speaking the truth, later kneels in front of Regan (II.iv.154), something unthinkable to Lear at the beginning. However, all Shakespearean tragic heroes, even the evil ones, eventually exhibit that special stature that makes us feel we are confronting a demigod. If we feel repelled by Macbeth's actions we are drawn to the character by his inner struggle and determination. But though all Shakespearean tragedies do not have common characteristics, each tragedy shares at least some feature with most of the others, and all of them share that special and intangible Shakespearean quality that makes them great.

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EVENTS SURROUNDING THOMAS MALLIARD'S WILL, AN ENGLISH MERCHANT IN SEVILLE, (1522-1523)

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Many years before the beginning of the Tudor period, English merchants from Bristol and London had been trading with the Crown of Castile. They came looking for Basque iron and they were also interested in some products that Andalucia offered. England exported tin, lead, carved alabaster and above all, different sorts of woollen clothes: from expensive scarlets and good broadcloths to modest kersies and kendals, and inexpensive Cornish clothes. While Castile, and especially Andalusia, offered English traders dyestuffs, mordants and the oil which became increasingly important as the English cloth industry expanded; other products included wine, fruit, sugar, furs and skins, velvets and expensive silks, without forgetting salt and tuna fish from the Gulf of Cadiz.[1]

From 1485 onwards the friendship between King Henry VII and the Catholic Kings contributed to the development of this trade, particularly with Andalusia, as in the north of Spain the English traders had to compete with merchants from Burgos and seamen from the Basque country. On the other hand the Duke of Medina Sidonia looked favourably upon the presence of English merchants in Andalusia, and encouraged them to trade in the town of Sanlucar de Barrameda and granted them special privileges. Shortly afterwards, the discovery of America increased the interest of the

[1] CHILDS, W. R. (1978): "Anglo-Castilian Trade in the later Middle Ages". Manchester. Passim.

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English merchants in trading with Andalusia, and particularly with Seville. The early 1520's were undoubtedly among the most prosperous years enjoyed by the English merchants trading with Andalusia in the Tudor period. Their privileges at Sanlucar had been reaffirmed in a charter of 1517, and the city records of Seville show that English merchants were also taking part in trade with the New World.[1]

However, this does not mean that English merchants who traded with Andalusia lived a wonderful problem-free life, not even in Sanlucar. When Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, reaffirmed the privileges of the English merchants it was in reply to their request. The English merchants had complained about the Duke's officials in Sanlucar who they declared exacted higher custom duties from the English than from other merchants. But the most serious protest of the Englishmen was against their inability to obtain justice in lawsuits against the townsmen, particularly regarding collecting payment of debts owing to them. As local men of justice favoured the native Spaniards, the English were found themselves lodging interminable appeals without getting results[2].

This paper does not deal -except peripherally- with the story of Anglo-Spanish trade in this period. My focus is different. I want to consider the hostility towards the English felt in Seville by evaluating the circumstances relating to Thomas Malliard's inheritance[3].

THOMAS MALLIARD, an English merchant, died in Seville on 28th August 1522. Five days earlier he had dictated his will to the solicitor Alonso de la Barrera. Rodrigo Diaz, Malliard's representative in Sanlucar, and the English merchants Thomas Bridges, Robert Thorne and Roger Barlow witnessed this act. The will has 30 chapters about the following points:[4]

1). - *Charitable bequests:*

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[1] CONNELL-SMITH, G (1954): "Forerunners of Drake: a Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period". London: 4-8, 60.

[2] Ibidem: 82-89.

[3] The primary sources are contained into a thick lawsuit kept in the Archive of Simancas, section Consejo Real, file 8, book 2; file 12, book 6.

[4] Consejo Real 12-6 (ff. 22-26); another copy in file 8, book 2 (ff. XXIII-XXVIII).

Thomas Malliard bestowed different sums of money to various religious institutions in Seville, especially to the monastery of San Francisco where he wanted to be provisionally buried. He also gave 100. 000 maravedies for the redemption of Christian captives in the north of Africa and to provide for the marriage portions of poor maidens.[1] Nonetheless I should point out here that the most important bequest, 500 golden ducats, was bequeathed to build the new English church of St. George in Sanlucar, where Malliard's remains were to be finally interred.[2]

2). - *Distribution of his Inheritance:*

His brother John Malliard, who lived in England, was his general heir. However Thomas did not forget his mistress Beatriz Hernandez and their daughter Ana. According to his will Beatriz was to be given a few houses he had in Almonte, a little village belonging to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and four slaves and an annual income of 34.000 maravedies as long as she lived. He was a lot more generous to his natural daughter as he bequeathed her a dowry of 4.000 ducats to be increased to 6.000 if she accepted to marry Sancho de Herrera, a well-known gentleman from Seville.

3). - *Solution of outstanding business:*

Malliard's will is of particular interest for its references to his associates in England, Andalusia, the Canary Islands and America.[3] According to this record the English merchant had traded on his own behalf, delegated powers to factors and attorneys to do business for him and he had handled the affairs of other English merchants. Malliard's will shows that he had oustanding business with merchants from Genoa, a banker from Seville, Alonso de Melgar, and two merchants from London, William Ostriche and Richard Reynolds. It also shows that Thomas

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[1] All these legacies show that Malliard was as pious as others contemporary Sevillian merchants. Cf. PIKE, R (1978): "Aristocratas y comerciantes. La sociedad sevillana en el siglo XVI". Barcelona: 119.

[2] About this church see CONNELL-SMITH, G, op. cit.: 84.

[3] One of the first Englishmen to take part in the trade to the Indies was Thomas Malliard: he supplied goods for transportation to Santo Domingo as early as 1509. Cf. "Forerunners of Drake": 71.

Malliard was the owner of the 4th part of the Sevillian soap-factory and he also had some cattle, houses and pieces of land in Sanlucar, Almonte and Cadiz.

Finally this rich merchant appoints his fellow countrymen Thomas Bridges, Robert Thorne and Roger Barlow, his executors. They all have to administer his fortune until his brother John Malliard comes to Spain to take it over. In the meantime they have to administer it according to the information in the ledgers Roger Barlow has.

Bridges and Thorne were merchants from Bristol that had been trading with Sanlucar and Seville for many years, where they were very well established by the early 1520's.[1] We know that Thorne in 1525 invested half a million maravedies in Sebastian Cabot's voyage to La Plata. His object was to obtain information of a possible English route to the Spice Islands. For this reason in 1527 he wrote two letters that make up the *Book of Robert Thorne*, a propagandist work of geographical information to encourage the King of England to finance transatlantic explorations. As for Barlow, Malliard's book-keeper, he also contributed to Cabot's expedition, and went along as super-cargo.[2]

AS I have mentioned before, Thomas Malliard died on Thursday 28th August 1522. The following day all his executors met at his house to take an inventory of his properties, which they did very carefully. This inventory is very useful as it shows the extent and variety of the defunct Malliard's business. He had traded in English and Welsh clothes and in Flemish and German embroidered handkerchieves and tablecloths. But he had been also interested in Basque iron and in the traffic of cold steels and firearms and also the black slave trade.

This same document shows that on Saturday 30th August the Englishmen's attorney take charge of cows, bullocks and bulls that Malliard had in Aznalcazar, a little village near the marshy region at the

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[1] COLLANTES, A (1977): "Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media. La ciudad y sus hombres". Sevilla: 218. CONNELL-SMITH, G. op. cit, : 67.

[2] PIKE, R. (l966): "Enterprise and Adventure. The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World". Ithaca: 105, 196 and 200. PARKS, G. B. (1928): "Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages". New York: 12-13.

mouth of the Guadalquivir.[1] Later on, this same attorney went to Almonte to take charge of the houses and pieces of land that Thomas Malliard had there, but the local judge refused to comply as he had already transferred the ownership of this estate to a representative of Beatriz Hernandez and her daughter Ana Malliard.[2] This incident marks the beginning of a nightmare that involves Bridges, Thorne and Barlow.

It seems that the day following Malliard's death his mistress obtained a warrant to question his will. As she was not satisfied with what she had inherited according to that will, she appointed her friend Pedro Lopez de Herrera her legal representative to protect her interests and those of her daughter Ana. This lawyer proved that Beatriz was Malliard's wife and so she had the right to receive the whole of the inheritance. For this reason he asked some witnesses to give evidence before a Sevillian judge that Thomas Malliard had recognized Beatriz as his legitimate wife shortly before his death. The most important testimony was given by a Franciscan friar who had been Malliard's confessor for several years. According to this, Malliard had assured him that he wanted to marry her but he did not dare becouse he felt ashamed before his fellow countrymen.[3]

This same judge accepted this evidence as definitive proof and authorized Pedro Lopez de Herrera to take charge of Malliard's inheritance; he did it on the night of 1st of September when he went to the house of the late English merchant to take an inventory of his properties. This new inventory was not as detailed as the previous one taken by Malliard's executors and it seems it was made very swiftly. The reason for this is due to occurrences that night at Malliard's house of which we have two different versions.[4]

According to the declarations of Thorne and his partners they were at Malliard's house working at his ledgers when Francisco del Alcazar, a distinguished member of the local government, and Pedro Lopez de Herrera and some other men carrying weapons suddenly broke in. The Englishmen were thrown out in spite of their protests and the assailants plundered the

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[1] Consejo Real, 8-12 (ff. XXIX-XXXVI).
[2] Consejo Real, 8-12 (ff. XLVII-LI).
[3] Consejo Real, 12-6 (ff. 22 and 44-48).
[4] Consejo Real, 8-2 (ff. LXIV-LXVIII).

place.[1] The version of Alcazar and his men is quite different: they had gone there to accompany Pedro Lopez de Herrera to take charge of Malliard's properties. Beatriz, her daughter Ana and Roger Barlow were also there. Barlow allowed them to take an inventory of the dead English merchant's properties, and as they were at work, Robert Thorne plus some other Englishmen and some workers of the Sevillian soap-factory arrived, all of them armed with weapons. Nothing extraordinary happened and both groups left the place peacefully.[2]

It is clear that neither of these versions reflect the truth, among other reasons because none involved makes clear why they went to Malliard's house carrying weapons in the first place. But it does seem clear that the Sevillian justice would not pay attention to the Englishmen's complaints in subjects relating to their business. On the contrary, a local judge allowed Pedro Lopez de Herrera to confiscate a certain amount of silks and clothes that Thomas Bridges had in his house, because the judge said that they belonged to Thomas Malliard.[3]

So it is not surprising to read that in mid September Roger Barlow arrived in Valladolid to request justice from King Charles. The story of the events he told before the Consejo Real (the Supreme Court in Castile), turned out to be interesting for several reasons. Firstly because Barlow pointed out that Thomas Malliard's heir was his brother John, servant of Thomas Wolsey, the Cardinal of England.[4] Secondly because he accused his opponents of having taken Malliard's ledgers with the risk of losing a great fortune of 15.000 golden ducats, about six million maravedies. Finally he claimed that only the King himself could do justice as his enemies were important people from Seville and that place was governed by the House of Medina Sidonia through the members of the Townhall, "who do what they want and particularly with foreigners", to quote Barlow.[5]

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[1] Consejo Real, 12-6 (ff. 9-20).

[2] Consejo Real, 8-2 (ff. LXXI-LXXXVII).

[3] Consejo Real, 8-2 (ff. LXVIII-LXX and XXXVI-XLVII).

[4] The Lord Chancellor of England was renowned for his grandeur: he maintained a household fit for a king.

[5] Consejo Real, 12-6 (ff. 1-5).

Roger Barlow did not exaggerate. Francisco del Alcazar, Herrera and other local authorities in Seville sympathized with the Duke of Medina Sidonia. The Duke's protection had been of the utmost importance for Alcazar who had made a lot of money in dubious business.[1]

The reply of King Charles to Barlow's complaints was immediate. Between the 20th and the 24th of September the Emperor sent Count Osorno, Asistente in Seville, two letters commanding him to punish those who had offended the Englishmen and advised him not to disturb them again,

> because being foreigners in our Kingdoms and subjects of the King of England whom I respect, I must be certain that they are treated with justice.[2]

It seems strange that the King punished Francisco del Alcazar and his partners in advance without allowing them to defend themselves before the royal court. To understand this, it is necessary to know the relationship between England and Spain at this time. Thomas Wolsey had signed the secret Treaty of Bruges with the Emperor Charles V in November 1521 for the war on France.[3] This war had already started when Malliard's inheritance became known; and from my point of view this is the reason for the King's speedy answer, if we consider that the English merchant's heir belongs to the House of Wolsey.[4]

Between the 11th and 17th of October the *Asistente*, the King's representative in Seville, acted through his deputy Pedro Diaz. This judge listened to all of them and condemned Francisco del Alcazar and his partners to house arrest until they gave back the properties robbed from the

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[1] PIKE, R: "Aristocratas y comerciantes": 48-49.

[2] Consejo Real, 8-2 (fol. XCVIII).

[3] WERNHAM, R, B, (1966): "Before the Armada: the Growth of English Foreign Policy. 1485-1588". London: 102.

[4] Something similar will happen later when the English traders have problems with the Spanish Inquisition. As the warmth of the friendship between Henry VIII and Charles V depended largely upon the rivalry between Spain and France, the treatment of the English merchants in Spain was always the best when the Emperor needed England's support against France. Cf. CONNELL-SMITH, G.: op. cit.: 101.

Englishmen. Besides he also warned them that if they refused to do so each one would have to pay half a million maravedies.[1]

Alcazar and his partners did not accept this sentence and appealed against it before the Supreme Court of Seville. They tried to gain time as members of the local government and they managed to do so in spite of the Englishmen's complaints. They took advantage of the delay in serving their sentence to get themselves out of the whole question, as they affirmed that Sancho de Herrera had taken Thomas Malliard's properties. He had married Ana Malliard shortly after her father's death as he was sure Ana was Malliard's legitimate daughter.[2]

The complaints of Thorne, Bridges and Barlow who did not succeed in getting Malliard's inheritance back, provoked a new intervention from the King. On the 19th of December he sent some letters to Francisco del Alcazar and his partners commanding them to go to Valladolid to be judged before the Royal Court. Pedro Lopez de Herrera was the only one who obeyed this order. Alcazar and Sancho de Herrera. Ana Malliard's husband, apologized again and again but pointed out the fact that they were squires and had to be judged in Seville according to the privileges that the KIng himself had granted to this city. It all seemed a new manoeuvre to gain time and make off with Thomas Malliard's inheritance.[3]

At least this is what Malliard's brother John said before King Charles in April 1523. He pointed out that he had come to Spain to take over his brother's fortune and had found out that the fortune was going to be lost because of the slowness of Spanish justice.[4]

However it will be this same John Malliard who will prevent the Royal Court from resolving this longstanding lawsuit. He travelled to Seville to claim his inheritance and, once there, he made a private agreement with Sancho de Herrera and Ana Malliard. According to notarial testimony John Malliard got his brother's participation in the soap-factory in Seville and Triana, and all the goods, merchandises and obligations that

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[1] Consejo Real, 8-2 (ff. LIII-XCV).

[2] Consejo Real, 8-2 (ff. I-VI and XCV-CIX). 12-6 (ff-30-36).

[3] Consejo Real, 8-2 (ff. 1-14).

[4] Consejo Real, 8-2 (ff-16-17).

the defunct Thomas had in England. However the rest of the well-earned fortune accumulated by his brother was left in the hands of Doña Ana Malliard as Thomas's daughter and universal heiress.[1]

According to an English source, we know that Sampson, the English ambassador to Charles V, sent a letter to Wolsey from Valladolid in November 1524, claiming that he had helped John Malliard to recover 6. 000 or 7.000 ducats by making representations to the Emperor. Sampson declared that his efforts alone had enabled Malliard to obtain his inheritance and complained bitterly of his ingratitude.[2]

It is not surprising that John Malliard was upset since he had received less than half of the inheritance that Barlow had valued at 15. 000 ducats. In any case I cannot enter here into the reasons why John Malliard accepted to sign this agreement with his niece, perhaps the call of kinship or perhaps there were some other motives. The documents relating to this lawsuit do not offer any further explanation on this point. So, the story of Thomas Malliard's inheritance is incomplete.

I would like to finish this paper by pointing out that Robert Thorne learned his lesson. Shortly before his death he went back to England leaving his mistress and natural son Vicente behind. According to his will he took measures so that his son's mother did not interfere in the distribution of his inheritance. Other English merchants of the time were to do the same. So, when an anonymous Sevillian chronicler wrote that Seville owed a lot to foreign merchants and that they had all integrated very well into local society with the exception of the Englishmen, I ask myself if what happened to Malliard's inheritance had anything to do with this lack of integration.[3]

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[1] Consejo real, 8-2 (ff. 18-25).

[2] CONNELL-SMITH, G.: op. cit.: 68-69.

[3] PIKE, R.: " Enterprise and Adventure" : 8-151, note 39.

THE INEVITABLE DEATH OF DESDEMONA: THE CONFLICT BETWEEN WILL AND REASON

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One of the main elements needed to deambiguate the relationships established between the different characters in *Othello* is the analysis of *Desdemona's behaviour*. Only through the study of her attitudes and relations to other characters we will be able to understand the essential meaning of the play. This study should try to describe Desdemona's behaviour through both her speeches and her significative silences, isolating the characters with which she is connected and clarifying the connotations of these links. In our opinion, this is essential in order to realize the inevitability of Desdemona's death and the importance of Othello's concept of honour, what should be the matter of another paper. Here we are going to focus on the behaviour of Desdemona towards four characters of the play: Brabantio, Cassio, Othello and Iago.

Brabantio appears only in the first act of the play, but he is present in all three scenes of this act. Obviously, his presence in these scenes introduces an important linking element in the act. Later in the play he will be mentioned by Gratiano (V, ii), and that is the whole of his activity. But it seems reasonably clear that, being Desdemona's father, the relationship that we can establish between them may serve us to analyse and understand her personality. First of all we should point out the fact that it is on honour and its dramatic possibilities that *Othello* may well be considered to be built. Apart from *marital honour* (the most dealt with) and *professional honour* (of Iago's professional status versus that of Cassio), it is *parental*

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honour, its dramatization, what greatly explains the kind of ties that link Desdemona to her father.

The play opens, from the first scene, with a *treason.* Desdemona has not only accepted Othello's courtship but she has also decided to marry him without letting Brabantio know a word about it. It is at least significative that Brabantio is completely unaware of Desdemona's affair with Othello. In spite of this, Brabantio, who calls Iago "villain" in line 119, only some forty lines later is completely convinced of his daughter's guilt:

> It is too true an evil. Gone she is,
> And what's to come of my despis'd time
> Is naught but bitterness. (I, i, 161-3)[1]

This opening presents the reader with a character, Desdemona, who is able to deceive, with amazing efficiency, her father, who completely ignores her engagement to Othello, and also (and this is even more important) Iago; the latter was certainly interested in Desdemona's sentimental life but he was cheated by her behaviour. In just one scene the reader is made aware of Desdemona's lack of innocence and ability to deceive everyone when she is interested in it. Amazingly enough, a great part of the critics have failed to see this second or inner nature of Brabantio's daughter. Brabantio not only feels himself treasoned, as he explicitly states, "O, she deceives me!" but he also predicts Othello a future disgrace. Brabantio's "despis'd time" will be, later, Othello's dishonour:

> Look to her, Moor, if thou hast eyes to see.
> She has deceived her father, and may thee.

The reader must be aware of the fact that a father whose daughter married without his permission would be regarded as dishonoured. This is essential to understand the importance of Desdemona's action, which can only be considered as a complete *lack of loyalty* to her father, a sin almost unforgivable in the society of the time. According to professor Marienstrass: " ... treachery and infidelity still have such profound symbolic meaning in the sixteenth century: they reveal that man's

[1] Quotations are taken from the 1968 edition of *Othello* by Kenneth Muir (Penguin Books, London, 1968).

obligation towards God may be broken, that it is not necessarily the basis of existence." [1]

Brabantio's love for Desdemona is, obviously, that of a father to a daughter, but this is stressed by means of some other elements; first of all Brabantio is, apparently, a widower, and he doesn't seem to have anyone to share his grief with; this appears to be a dramatic resource to reinforce the effect of Desdemona's treason to Brabantio, being his closest person. Secondly, Desdemona is Brabantio's only child; this, that can be inferred from his speeches, becomes clear when it is later stated by Brabantio himself:

> For your sake, jewel,
> I am glad at soul I have no other child,
> For thy scape would teach me tyranny. (I, iii, 193-5)

Brabantio, not without reason, feels that Desdemona has deceived him, escaped and, thus, strucken mortally his honour. This seems enough to show how far she is of being someone incapable of doing any harm, as many have tried to present her, simplifying her tragic stature. But Shakespeare goes further still in this direction: in a world where "to mourn a mischief that is past and gone/ Is the next way to draw new mischief on" (I, iii, 202-3), Brabantio is unable to overcome his grief for his lost honour and his solitude. The complex essence of his love for Desdemona cannot be treated here in any full detail, but the moral and ethical quality of Desdemona can only be totally appreciated by means of Shakespeare's last reference to Brabantio at the end of the play:

> Poor Desdemona, I am glad thy father's dead:
> Thy match was mortal to him, and poor grief
> Shore his old thread in twain. (V, ii, 202-5)

All the elements that we have been studying up to here, lead to the recognition of the lack of loyalty inherent in the character of Othello's wife, exemplified by her treason to her father; and consequently it also leads to the affirmation of Desdemona as the *deceiver,* a role that will be

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[1] Marienstrass, Richard, "Othello, or the husband from afar" in *New Perspectives in the Shakespearean World.* C.U.P. 1985• (Originally published in French as *Le Proche et le Lointain* by Les Editions de Minuit, 1981).

played by other characters (Iago mainly) with relation to other characters, but now defining Desdemona's attitude towards Brabantio.

In the first act Desdemona clearly knows what she is doing; she didn't have a single doubt when she left her father, substituting Othello for him and degrading his reputation; but with other characters further in the play she will show quite a different capacity. *Michael Cassio,* the Fiorentine, has acted as a go-between in Desdemona and Othello's love affair, as we are informed in the third act; the exact importance of Cassio in this matter lies beyond the time scope of the play, but Desdemona, by reminding Othello, allows the readers to know it:

> What! Michael Cassio,
> That came a-wooing with you? And so many a time-
> When I have spoke of you dispraisingly-
> Hath taken your part, to have so much to do
> To bring him in? (III, iii, 70-4)

Leaving aside the fact that this may probably turn against her, now that Othello is jealous, it states the affection that exists between both of them. This is not the moment to analyze the part played by Iago in Othello's reaction against his wife, but we should remember, at least, that it was his encouragement of Cassio to ask for help what makes possible the tragedy. Iago convinces Cassio that he should ask Desdemona the favour of begging for him, and assures him that she won't deny this,

> For 'tis most easy
> The inclining Desdemona to subdue
> In any honest suit (II, iii, 329-31)

To our concern, what matters here, apart from Iago's statement on Desdemona's nature, is the existence of one powerful reason that almost obliges Desdemona to act. If Cassio, as we said before helped Othello and Desdemona in their relations,[1] then Desdemona cannot but say yes to Cassio's petition; thus, what we have is a *reversal of the role of the go-between.* The triangle is closed again in this way, and Desdemona falls in

[1] We mustn't forget that Cassio could find easier than Othello, who was a Moor, to enter Desdemona's house, as G. K. Hunter suggests in *Othello & Colour Prejudice* (Reprinted from *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Tradition*, 1978).

Iago's spider's web. It is difficult to state to what extent we can blame Othello's wife for this, of course it is clearly the way through which Iago achieves his purposes, but neither Desdemona nor anyone in the play will realize this ; we know that she is " as fruitful as the free elements" (II, iii, 331-2), and Iago takes good advantage of this, proving too quick for everyone including Cassio. But Desdemona will accept Cassio's proposition without thinking in her position or her husband's; if she shouldn't be blamed for being fooled by Iago, she certainly could have tried to analyze Cassio's attitude. It was not at all orthodox in that time, and we would dare say it isn't in ours, the situation by which a soldier should ask for the wife of his Captain's intercession to regain his lost position. Desdemona doesn't understand this and she won't understand it till the end of the play. She doesn't seem to perceive that Cassio is putting her in a difficult situation, asking her to place her *desire* (that is, to help her friend) before her *duty* (as the General's wife). On top of this, she doesn't distinguish between Cassio's genuine pain for an old friendship now broken, and his personal interest in his political status in Othello's army. In this sense, it is interesting to see how he stresses the importance of being reconciled with Othello as soon as possible so as not to lose his place:

Cassio- That policy may either last so long
That I being absent and my place supplied
My General will forget my service.
Desdem- Do not doubt that, before Emilia here
I give thee warrant of thy place. (III, iii, 14-20)

Othello's wife blindly accepts Cassio's request and this will start a series of reactions of terrible consequences still unknown to her. With her acceptance, she will prove how little she knows her husband, Cassio and Iago, and she will also show a strange readiness to fulfil what could reasonably be considered as an *interference in state affairs.*

Once that she accepts Cassio's request, it may be worth considering how she tries to work out the problem. Immediately after she has spoken with Cassio, she will assault her husband. Her promptitude to introduce the matter to Othello is only explicable if we keep in mind her love for Cassio and the fact that she doesn't know Othello's concept of honour and the second reading that this concept may give to her actions. This *promptitude* we speak about is perfectly visible in the following lines:

How now, my lord?
I have been talking with a suitor here,
A man that languishes in your displeasure. (III, iii, 41-3)

And even more conspicuous is her *insistence:* she repeats her petition seven times, acquiring the greater degree of desperation from line 56 to line 63 of this third scene of the third act:

Desdem.- But shall't be shortly?
Othello.- The sooner, sweet, for you
Desdem.- Shall't be tonight, at supper?
Othello.- No, not tonight.
Desdem.- Tomorrow dinner then?
Othello.- I shall not dine at home.
I meet the Captains at the citadel.
Desdem.- Why, then, tomorrow night, or Tuesday morn,
On Tuesday noon, or night; on Wednesday morn
I prithee name the time, but let it not
Exceed three days. (III, iii, 56-63)

Promptitude and *insistence* are, then, the two main characteristics of Desdemona's intercession on Cassio's behalf. But they can only be understood, or explained, if we accept that she ignores Iago and Cassio's intentions, and almost completely Othello's nature. Only if the reader is aware of this *lack of insight*, it will be able to understand how can Desdemona behave in this way before Othello and an audience:

Lodov.- He did not call: he's busy in the paper.
Is there division 'twixt my lord and Cassio?
Desdem.- A most unhappy one; I would do much
T'atone them, for the love I bear to Cassio.
(IV, i, 228-231)

Thus, if we explained Desdemona's behaviour towards Brabantio by means of an extreme *lack of loyalty*, in this case we will have to speak of an *extreme sense of loyalty* to Cassio, a loyalty that takes her to forget, or ignore, all the bonds of position, rank or appearances. In this sense, it is the same Desdemona that abandoned her father without minding the consequences, or, at least, placing her own good before that of Brabantio.

But on the other hand, if we spoke above of Desdemona as the *deceiver* in the relation with her father, now we will have to speak of *Desdemona deceived*, for she is deceived by her own pseudo-knowledge of her husband, by Iago's apparent honesty (as we will see later) and by Cassio's false pretensions and abuse of their friendship.

It may seem beyond any reasonable doubt that Desdemona is passionately in love with *Othello:* it can be argued that she really doesn't know him or it can be questioned the nature of this love, but in any case the reader must be aware of her fidelity and passion, which are expressed, in the first place, by her desire not to be separated from him:

> I saw Othello's visage in his mind
> And to his honours and his valiant parts
> Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate.
> So that, dear lords, if I be left behind
> A moth of peace, and he go to the war,
> The rites for which I love him are bereft me
> And I a heavy interim shall support
> By his dear absence let me go with him. (I, iii, 250-6)

From this quotation, which is in the first act, till the fifth, when she, just before dying, doesn't accuse him of being her murderer, we can find quite a few instances of Desdemona's fidelity; even when she can't understand the reason of his coldness, she still justifies him and accepts his strange behaviour.

> Emilia.- I would you had never seen him.
> Desdem.- So would not I: my love doth so approve him
> That even his stubbornness, his checks, his frowns
> Prithee, unpin me- have grace and favour in them.
> (V, iii, 17-20)

The touch of domesticity introduced by Shakespeare with " ... unpin me ... " prevents us from taking this assertion too seriously: their union is but a few days old and so we cannot be sure about the health of their relationship. Regardless of the role played by Iago as the "malefactor", it is not difficult to perceive the racial problem existing in the play; and it is precisely concerning Desdemona that modern criticism has tended to

overlook this problem, ignoring the more than probable prejudices that, even subconsciously, a Venetian lady of the aristocracy could have. Of course, the main element that can help us to note this is the apparition of the word *Moor*, which is systematically used by all the characters in the play, and when we say *all* we include Desdemona as well. R. Marientrass says:

> The expression denotes his ethnic origins, origins with overtones that were by no means neutral. In the literature of the period a Moor was sometimes a magic, malevolent being.[1]

On the other hand, we are not unaware of the problems existing to clarify the exact connotations of this word and its possible pejorative meaning; we can not carry out here a thorough study on the use of this term, but it is at least significative that it is used when Othello is not present, he being adressed as *General* or using his real name.[2] And it is not less significative that even Desdemona, as we pointed out above, uses this term " ... and but my noble Moor ... " (III, iv, 26). If we consider this problem in detail, it shouldn't surprise us that Desdemona, like all the characters in the play, is aware of the ethnic difference between Othello and all the rest. Othello belongs to a different race and this fact is explicitly stated in the play and has a very specific purpose; we will only be able to understand everything that Desdemona says or does as long as we keep in mind that Desdemona also considers Othello a *Moor*. We are not dealing now with racism, interesting as it may be, but with the existence of an obvious difference, cultural and racial, between Desdemona and Othello that, at least partially, explains the different codes, and even languages, that they use. Desdemona's ignorance of Othello's real nature is only paralleled with Iago's perfect knowledge of both; in this sense, it may be relevant the following comparison between Iago and Desdemona's opinions on Othello.

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[1] Marienstras, Richard, op. cit. p. 136.

[2] *Othello*, Instituto Shakespeare, Cátedra, Madrid, 1985, p. 86. It is essential for the correct understanding of the play an analysis of the language used and its variations along it. Of course, such an analysis would include *names*, and in this sense the way in which Othello is referred to by other characters is enormously important. As a proof, we can point out the fact that he is called *Moor* eight times before he is identified as Othello in the first act of the play; the ethnic implications of this shouldn't be studied separately because of their great significance.

The Moor is of a free and open nature,
That thinks men honest that but seem to be so. (I, iii, 393-4)

Desdemona is unable to understand that *appearances* are, more with Othello, as important as the essence, as *reality*. She is only worried about her real intentions and behaviour and not about what her behaviour may appear to be;

Desdem.- And, but my noble Moor
Is true of mind, and made of no such baseness
As jealous creatures are, it were enough
To put him to ill think
Emilia.- Is he not jealous?
Desdem.- Who? He? I think the sun were he was born,
Drew all such humours from him. (III, iv, 26-31)

But experience proves Desdemona wrong and she starts, gradually, to consider that Othello might be a *jealous creature:*

Emilia.- Pray heaven it be state matters, as you think
And no conception nor no jealous toy
Concerning you.
Desdem.- Alas the day, I never gave him cause.
Emilia.- But jealous souls will not be answered so;
They are not ever jealous for the cause,
But jealous for they're jealous. It is a monster
Begot upon itself, born on itself.
Desdem.- Heaven keep that monster from Othello's mind.[1]
(III, iv, 151-9)

Eventually, Desdemona begins to understand what's going on into Othello's mind. In act IV, scene iii, both Emilia ("I would you had never seen him", line 17) and Desdemona seem to suspect which Othello's intentions may be. In this sense, it is essential to appreciate the enormous dramatic significance of the *willow song* in the play.

[1] Is Emilia thinking of Iago?; in any case, Desdemona applies this to Othello, who behaves in a new and strange manner to her, and so she begins to see what is happening.

> My mother had a maid called Barbary:
> She was in love : and he she loved proved mad
> And did forsake her. She had a song of willow;
> An old thing 'twas; but it expressed her fortune,
> And she died singing it. That song, tonight
> Will not go from my mind: I have much to do
> But to go hang my head all at one side,
> And sing it like poor Barbary - (...) (IV, iii, 25-32)

It is through this introduction to the song, and of course through the song itself, that we learn that Desdemona is very possibly aware of Othello's ideas:

> Prithee hie thee; he'll come anon
> (she sings)
> Sing all a green willow must be my garland.
> Let nobody blame him; his scorn I approve-
> (she speaks)
> Nay, that's not next. Hark, who is't that knocks?
> (IV, iii, 47-50)

In this sense, the song fulfils the function of unveiling the truth: the song -fiction- fuses with reality -Desdemona's reality-, which, at the same time, is fiction for us; thus, fiction within fiction yields truth, copying reality; Ann Barton says " ... art may acquire a temporary and unpredictable dominion over life ; (...) dramatic fictions can comment upon the situations in which individual members of the audience find themselves in ways far more complex and disturbing than any mere exemplary tale".[1] By not trying to escape or explain anything Desdemona implicitly shows that she ignores what she had been doing or how her actions had been decodified through Iago's filter by Othello's concept of honour, what asked for her inevitable death.

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[1] Barton, Anne "Introduction" to *Hamlet*, Penguin, London, 1980, p. 30. This same device was used by Shakespeare in his previous play, *Hamlet* (1602), with even greater significance: the *play within the play.* Both in *Hamlet* and in *Othello* it is connected with one of Shakespeare's favourite themes: *appearances and reality.*

Othello kills Desdemona in act V, scene II and it is only then that she realizes what has happened. We can decompose Desdemona's last apparition in five different stages or moments; her *suspicion*, her defense ("No, by my life and soul! Send for the man and ask him" -V, ii, 49-50), the *confirmation* ("Alas, He's betrayed and I undone" -V, ii, 77), *desperation* ("Kill me tomorrow, let me live tonight" -V, ii, 81) and, eventually, her *forgiveness* expressed by her willing attempt to take any responsibility from Othello's head. In connection with this we can analyze Desdemona's last words from different points of view; is she blindly trying to save Othello? Or is she, at last, half realizing what she has done, realizing her thoughtless behaviour, whose consequences are her own death?

Emilia.- O, who hath done this deed?
Desdem.- Nobody -I myself- farewell.
Commend me to my kind lord - O farewell.
(V, ii, 124-6)

Desdemona's relation to *Iago* culminates this process of false assumptions and bewildered behaviours that shape the play. Iago's success lies, in a great part, in his ability to cheat everyone and be thanked for it. Desdemona is, of course, far to suspect that Iago is the filter through which all her actions are re-interpreted so as to fit into his plan, composing a frame that will be filled by Othello's suppositions. As Alan Sinfield suggests: "Iago is the great story-maker. His whole strategy is to make things happen by telling stories; rediscribing, and hence reorienting even what has just happened";[1] but although she cannot know this, we would like to stress her, at least, unorthodox behaviour with this character; in connection with this, it is very interesting the first scene of the second act. Desdemona's attitude with Iago, having into account that they are not even alone, her procacity and the nature of their conversation suits better Iago's opinion on Venetian ladies that the emblem of purity she has been too frequently taken for:

Iago.- Come on, come on: you are pictures out of doors
Bells in your parlours, wild-cats in your kitchens, saints
Injuries, devils being offended, players in your

[1] Sinfield, Alan "Othello and the Politics of Character" in *In Mortal Shakespeare* p. 56

House-wifery, and house-wives in your beds.
Desdem.- O, fie upon thee, slanderer!
Iago.- Nie, it is true, or else I am a Turk:
You rise to play and go to bed to work. (II, i, 108-114)

Desdemona's next line is certainly daring:

What wouldst thou write of me, if thou shouldst praise me?
(II, i, 115)

But even more daring is Iago's allusion to foolish husbands and handsome lovers, with its more than probable obscene connotations:

She that in wisdom never was so frail
To change the cod's head for the salmon's tail.
(II, i, 131-2)

Desdemona's lack of knowledge of Iago shouldn't, on the other hand, surprise us if we consider two elements: (a) she has proved how she can be deceived about her impressions on reality and her concept of loyalty and (b) Iago cheats everybody in the play (with the possible exception of Roderigo just at the end). There is explicit evidence of this in the play, showing how her *confidence* in the Ancient leads her to a degree of intimacy that she never reaches with her husband. This can be seen in Act III, scene iii, and in the following quotation from the next act:

(...) Prithee tonight,
Lay on my bed my wedding sheets, remember,
And call thy husband hither. (IV, ii, 103-5)

Just some lines later Desdemona tells of her worries to Iago as if he were a close friend, showing a greater degree of companionship to him than to Othello,

Desdem.- Am I that name, Iago?
Iago.- What name, fair lady?
Desdem.- Such as she said my lord did say I was.
(IV, ii, 117-8)

In our opinion, all the elements that we have analysed in the previous lines, point towards one and the same direction. Desdemona's behaviour reflects the complex personality of a character in an increasing conflict. Obviously, this is what provides her with a tragic stature, and it adds an element of interest to a play in which woman's attitude is of an extreme importance, since it completes the net of relations created by *honour*. Desdemona's *conflict*, and we think that this idea has permeated this essay, is one established between *will* and *reason.*[1] It is her will which from the beginning imposes its laws over her reason when she decides to leave her father, breaking the bonds of duty (obedience to her father) and of education and class (by marrying a Moor). It is also her will that leads her to help Cassio beyond any reasonable limits, ignoring the necessity to act with prudence, as her reason should have ordered her. *Desdemona's sin* is that she trivializes a serious matter, a state affair, for the sake of her will to help her friend, sacrificing her marriage and her life; the fact that her will ignores her reason for too long will be of fatal consequences to both, Othello and herself.

The consequences of this situation will be not only tragical but *inevitable.* Desdemona has ignored Othello's concept of honour and Iago's "wife for wife" mentality, she hasn't been able to understand any of them, and she ultimately pays for it. Desdemona will die to redeem herself for her transgression of certain rules, for having married a Moor, for dishonouring her father, for being incapable of acquiring a reasonable degree of communication with her husband and, finally, for dismissing reason for the sake of will. Othello's concept of honour and Iago's use and perversion of this will be the means that will lead to Desdemona's atonement, her terrible death, which in a sense, only she brought about:

> Emilia.- O, who hath done this deed?
> Desdem.- Nobody -I myself -farewell. (V, ii, 24-5)

* * *

[1] These terms were suggested to me by Dr. Dañobeitia during one of our many conversations on this subject.

FALLEN FRUIT, FALLEN MEN AND A FALLEN STATE: IMAGES IN MARVELL'S PASTORAL POETRY

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> God Almighty first planted a garden. And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man, without which buildings and palaces are but gross handyworks.
>
> (Francis Bacon)

In this paper, I would like to approach the poetry and poetics of Marvell by examining the way he uses images of fruit as symbols, metaphors and emblems. After an examination of the subject, I would then like to move on to discussing the green background, in other words, the garden and landscapes in which Marvellian fruit is to be found. Finally, I hope to be able to demonstrate how such an approach can help us understand both this enigmatic figure and some of the reasons for the sour disagreement between Marvell scholars engaged on the study of a sweet subject.

I am sure that for most readers of seventeenth century poetry the most significant fruit of the century, if not in the whole literary canon, is the one "whose mortal taste/ Brought death into our world" *(Paradise Lost* 1.2-3). Milton's apple has had rather more drastic results than the one Snow White half-swallowed. We have not been brought back to bliss by the kiss of a fair prince - or a Republican - instead, as Milton so graphically

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demonstrates to us in the closing books of his epic poem, apple-induced kisses, or perhaps simply apple-induced disobedience, have turned human history into a neverending series of battles interrupted by brief periods of peace; paradise regained is still a long way off. Penelope Fitgerald does not agree either with Christopher Hill or Michael Wilding or Graham Turner, all three of whom try to persuade us that Milton is liberal if not revolutionary in his politics and marital affairs, and neither will she consent to the idea that an apple is at the centre of our first parents' downfall: it is not an apple, but a fig. Logical enough: figs and fig leaves. Whether or not we believe Milton to be a crabbed old Puritan, it is clear that as far as fruit is concerned, he has a rather short menu, and looking through a concordance for myriad legions of exotic items would be a fruitless task. If Milton took so long to describe the events leading up to the first bite of the first fruit and the terrible consequences which followed thereafter, we might think it just as well that he did not turn his attention to the countless other varieties. What we should try and bear in mind, throughout our investigation into Marvell's use of fruit, is precisely the width of meaning and implication that Milton achieves by his use of *fruit* in the second line of poem. We might immediately think of fruit as the apple itself as well as the consequence of the mortal bite, but we should not forget other connotations which might universalise the poem's reach, at least this is what Milton supporters would have us believe; a few examples would be: fruits of the earth, the fruits of reason (Chaucer), the fruits of victory, fruits of the body, loins or womb and so on.

Even though Marvell's use of fruit might not be nearly so wide and extensive as his references to trees, flowers and other plants, they occupy a special place in his affections. Pierre Legouis tells us that "He enthuses as a gourmet, the company of apples, 'the luxurious clusters of vine', nectarines, peaches, and melons." (Legouis, 1968: 45) He might have added strawberries as well. However, this lifelong Marvellian admirer has some words of caution which advise against this particular paper. Legouis adds:

> Of fruit he has not named ten kinds, but since the renumeration of them, almost complete, is found in one famous stanza of *The Garden,* and *The Horatian Ode* contains the fairly technical term 'Bergamot', hasty admirers have made of him, at little cost, an expert in pomology. (Legouis, 1968: 54)

We cannot agree with this statement for two reasons. In the first place, fruity images can also be found in *Bermudas,* and secondly, when they appear, as, for example, the 'gelid strawberries' in *Upon Appleton House,* they are rather striking occurences, as bizarre as those of his human grasshoppers or that of man as an inverted tree. This might sound a little impressionistic, but Shakespeare makes two references to strawberries which are surely equally memorable to both fruit followers and ordinary citizens alike. The Duke of Gloucester's request for the strawberries which he had seen in the Bishop of Ely's Holbourn garden becomes part of Richard's decision to execute Hastings; we know that he will not crush the red pulp between his teeth until the traitor's head has been cut off. The megalomaniac Gloucester enjoying his strawberries, satisfied with the bloody execution, becomes a powerful off-the-stage scene. Did he have cream, sugar and sweet wine ? George Peele, a contemporary of Shakespeare's, in his *The Old Wives' Tale* (1581) includes cream and eroticism in the following juicy lines:

> When as the rye reach to the chin,
> And chopcherry, chopcherry ripe within,
> Strawberries swimming in the cream,
> And schoolboys playing in the stream,
> Then O, then O, then O, my true love said,
> Till that time come again,
> She could not live a maid.

Whether her desires are ignited more by fruit than (naked?) lads playing in the stream is debatable, but clearly the drawing together of red and white and strawberries and eroticism has been made. What really made Othello mad with anger and rage ? We now realise that it was not suspicions of what his young gallant subordinates were up to which riled him, but the fact that the handkerchief which Cassio supposedly wiped his beard with was the one **spotted with strawberries**! We will never know the precise details of what the gift meant to Othello and Desdemona, but it is surely suggestive of something very personal and intimate, the sort of secret we do not want to share with outsiders, thus its being made known to another comes to signify the greatest betrayal of all. Art students and historians know of a Flemish strawberry, that painted by Hieronymous Bosch:

> The center of the triptych portrays *The Garden of Delights,* a crowded canvas of nudes, both male and female, of giant fruits, birds

> and fish, of strange surrealistic forms both animate and inanimate. All inhabit a *locus amoenus* landscape where sun and shade, meadow, grove and stream are pleasingly if fantastically portrayed. The many interpretations of this central panel rival in number and variety the interprations of Marvell's *The Garden.* Two suggestive parallels with Marvell's are worthy of note. One is the use of fruit - gorgeous, huge, brilliantly coloured strawberries, grapes and cherries - in an obvious sexual sense, in repeated and intimate juxtaposition with the nude female forms in various attitudes all over the panel. The effect is lush but disquieting. (Spencer, 1973: 96-7)

Although we will refer to some other of Jeffrey Spencer's observations later, we can already see the clear associations of blood and passion with strawberries. We must try and consider their emblematic importance within, in this case, *Upon Appleton House.* With this sort of sexy strawberries around, it is now difficult to sustain that the poem is a hymn of praise to the Puritan qualities of Fairfax and daughter and their England. What has the Puritan garden state come to if it might alternatively be a garden of earthly delights? What have we been made to believe about Marvell ?

This particular use of an emblem or image might be one of the parts of the poem which sticks in our mind, but perhaps the clearest indication that Marvell is an odd fruit comes from his much commented ecstatic encounter with fruit in *The Garden*, the tactile quality of which demonstrates that Keats is of a different vintage but of a similar growth:

> What wondrous life is this I lead!
> Ripple apples drop about my head;
> The luscious clusters of the vine
> Upon my mouth do crush their wine;
> The nectarene, and curious peach,
> Into my hands themselves do reach;
> Stumbling on melons, as I pass,
> Ensnared with flowers, I fall on grass. (33-40)

For Legoius, though it is not exclusively his opinion, this is the central 'gourmet' stanza describing the pleasure of sensual contact with soft, pliant, sweet-smelling substances. We might have difficulties in describing

the exact nature of the sensations involved, but there are clearly erotic. We just have to think back to the *Song of Solomon*, a text which Marvellian scholars, by frequent omission, believe that the their Puritan MP and poet did not read very much. Just for the record, we should remember that after praising the beloved, we are reminded 'our couch is green'. (1.16). We may best remember the references to milk, honey, pomegranates(apples yet again!) and spices, but there are others which are closer to the Marvellian lexicon. For example, in the bride's reverie we are told "With great delight I sat in his shadow, and his fruit was sweet to my taste.(2.3). Sustain me with raisins, and refresh with me with apples, for I am sick with love.(2.5)." After many references to the brides' breasts' colour and softness, the writer of the song cannot finish his description of the queenly maiden without reverting to fruit:

> How fair and pleasant you are,
> O loved one, delectable maiden!
> You are stately as a palm tree,
> and your breasts are like its clusters.
> I say I will climb the palm tree
> and lay hold of its branches.
> Oh, may your breasts be like clusters of the vine,
> and the scent of of your breath like apples,
> and your kisses like the best wine
> that goes down smoothly
> gliding over lips and teeth. (2.6-9)

Marvell would have undoubtedly approved of the idea that if words begin to fail you, the best way to communicate intense feeling is through fruit. However, it is quite common, and understandable, as *The Garden* was first written in Latin, to try and draw parallels between Marvell and Ovid, and/or Marvell and medieval garden conventions, without paying sufficient attention to the Bible. This is possibly the result of the endeavour to make Marvell less provincial and less of a typified Puritan, which is probably a necessary and praiseworthy manoeuvre. Of course, we could maintain that the *Song of Solomon* tells us of the love of the faithful for the church, whereas we have seen that is about a poet who had a passion for fruit.

Is Marvell, therefore open to erotic interpretations in spite of his insistence that "Two paradises 'twere in one/ To live in paradise alone?

(The Garden 64/5) Such readings must first consider the bizarre battle of the books over the fruity fifth stanza. William Empson started it all off:

> *Melon*, again, is the Greek for apple. (Empson, 1935: 132)

More was to come:

> Although it has been more than once noted that 'melon of Marvell's fifth stanza is derived from the Greek 'malum' meaning 'apple', it is doubtful that there has been any comment on the noun 'peach', which, elliptical for 'Persicum malum', Persian apple, is another reference to the apple of Eden. The apple, named four times in the stanza, since the nectarine is 'a variety of the common peach', is the evil fruit of the Garden of Eden which drops upon the poet's head and causes him, ensnared in the flowers of pleasure, to fall" . (ed. Carey, 1969: 247-8)

In other words, out of melons, peaches, nectarines, apples and grapes, only grapes are not apples. If this is beginning to appear nonsensical, we might be relieved to hear that

> ... the apple is not 'named' four times in the stanza. The apple is named once, the peach once the nectarine once, and the melon once. It may be that Marvell was aware of etymological reflections among the words and intended his readers to be aware of them. I think it pretty unlikely. (ed. Carey, 1969: 238)

Although it might be received as a return to common sense, this comment does not take us any nearer to understanding the significance of the fruity items, nor does it consider the perplexing question of apple madness. What pithy subtext can be found at an apple's core? Apples can hardly universalise fruit simply because apples are not an exotic fruit for a northern European, whereas peaches, grapes, melons and nectarines belong to that catalogue of southern pleasures that the nightingale's song evoked for Keats. Furthermore, for people with dental problems, apples could be painfully associated with bleeding gums and pain, whereas peaches are soft, yielding and pleasurable. It is perfectly true that a peach is a Persian apple and that nectarine is a kind of peach; is also true, and equally useful to remember, that melon is an anagram of lemon.

I would now like to outline some of the pleasurable associations of peaches and melons, with a little help from the *Oxford English Dictionary*. *The Boorde Dietary* (1542) tells us that "Peaches do mollify the belly, and be colde." Sylvester Du Bartas(1591) mentions "the velvet Peach" (1591), **velvet** being an adjective that often alternates with **downy**, as in Thomson's *The Seasons - Autumn* (1776) "The downy peach, the shining plum, The ruddy, fragrant nectarine". Autumnal ripeness often becomes a figure for the sexually attractive female, as in this description from Miss Braddon's *Ishmael* (1884): "A gray velvet bodice that fitted the plump, supple figue, as the rind fits the peach." We could not create the same effect with a mundane apple. Its powers of suggestion clarify Prufrock's reference to the same fruit, which, superficially concerned with dexterity with cutlery, actually deals with several kinds of appetite. Although the nectarine is a variety of peach, etymoligically they are not related, the origin of the word being obscure, it is, through its nectareous connotations, a fruit for the gods. As we saw a moment ago, Thomson had a high opinion of this fruit. Etheredge must have thought it had strong powers of evocation, as we can see from *Man of Mode* (V.i)." A strange desire I had to eat some fresh Nectaren's". There is no room for doubt, it is not an ordinary fruit. The melon, or the Greek apple, if we need reminding of the fact, has been used generically for various kinds of gourds, and so does not appear to have such a clear set of erotic associations as do the abovementioned peaches, or apples, though we are surely right in thinking that if it does carry with it connotations of fullness and ripeness then the man in *The Garden* who accidentally falls on top of the melons which have caused him to stumble will cause the fruit to explode in a moment of Onanistic splendour. The writers or compilers of *The Broode Dyetary* were not thinking along the same lines: they somberly declare that "Mylons doth engender euyl humours". *The London Gazette* of 1691 (2742/2) contains a curious phrase that tells of "A piece of pure Gold in the form of Melon." And finally, what would Marvell have said to Tennyson about the hidden vices of the Victorians on reading the conclusion to *The Princess:*

> No lily-handed Baronet he,
> A great broad-shoulder'd Englishman,
> A lord of fat prize-oxen and of sheep,
> A raiser of huge melons and of pine,
> A patron of some thirty charities,
> A pamphleteer on guano and on grain. (84-89)

We would like to be able to believe that we have convinced some people that by reducing fruit to apple, we are missing out on a whole series of wonderful sensual experiences. There are several objections to this. Defenders of pippins can accuse us of simplifying our definition of their fruit by not taking into account its own multipilicity; there is surely something sensous in the custard apple and exotic, if not threatening, in the spikey pineapple. Secondly, although it is arguable that there are numerous varieties of fruit in *The Garden,* it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the crucial stanza's emphasis falls on **falling**, in other words sin and damnation, as first fruit and then man, plummet to the ground.

No one doubts that *Upon Appleton House* has strong political links with Fairfax's refusal to join the fight against the Scots. Readings of all sorts suggest that both the story about the rescue of Isabel Thwaites and the tour of the estate indicate to Fairfax either that he was wrong to withdraw from public life or that he was acting correctly to do so. Whatever the verdict, the political context is generally recognised as being there. With *The Garden,* opinion is divided. Frank Kermode's use of double negatives in his comment " .. it is comforting to reflect that the date of *The Garden* is quite unknown, so that it cannot be positively stated to be the direct record of some personal experience at Nun Appleton(ed. Carey 1969: 251) is representative of doubt about the affair whereas the reason why this lack of knowledge should be *comforting* (sic) gives some indication of what he considered critical practice to be. The varieties of fruit we have been considering are also found in another poem, *The Bermudas:*

> He gave us this eternal spring,
> Which here enamels everything,
> And sends the fowl to us in care,
> On daily visits through the air.
> He hangs in shades the orange bright,
> And does in the pom'granates close,
> Jewels more rich than Ormus shows,
> He makes the figs our mouth to meet,
> And throws the melons at our feet,
> But apple plants of such a price,
> No tree could ever bear them twice. (31-24)

Elizabeth Donno states that Marvell had read or had had access to Waller's *The Battle of the Summer Islands* (1645) and Captain John Smith's *The*

General History of Virginia, New England and Summer Isles (1624), so we can assume that Marvell perceives *The Bermudas* as something and somewhere exotic and distant. At the same time, we should not forget that on several occasions Marvell's equates Nunappleton estate with both perfection and England:

> O thou, that dear and happy isle
> The garden of the world ere while,
> Thou paradise of four seas,
> Which heaven planted us to please,
> But, to exclude the world, did guard
> With watery if not flaming sword;
> What luckless apple did we taste,
> To make us mortal, and thee waste? (321-328)

Now, apparently, the promised land is not the Bermudas with its profit-making pineapples, nor that peculiar garden where birds Platonically become souls but England at some moment during the Republic when some luckless apple was tasted in unkown circumstances by a mysterious "we". Sceptics will some see their fears confirmed: there seems to be no way of making coherent sense of Marvell's fruit, nor his poetry.

To reach a satisfactory conclusion, it is necessary to contextualise our fruit: that is to try and achieve a coherent idea as to the nature of the garden in which it is to be plucked. Consequently, we have to define our terms of reference. Let us return to Jeffrey Spencer's remarks about *The Garden of Earthly Delights.* His emphasis on the juxtaposition of nude female forms and suggestive fruits does seem to be a long way from our common conception of England's green and pleasant land and the habits, climate and customs of poets and their readers in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is conceivable to argue that Marvell might have harboured a secret passion for Mary Fairfax which he had to supress, hence '*gelid* strawberries', but we are still a long way from being able to view matters comprehensively; to say simply that it is fruitless to look for consistency or that everything can be put down to unmentionable desires is unsatisfactory.

In *Tintern Abbey*, Wordsworth reprimands himself for the way he became drunk with nature while young and congratulates himself for the sombre maturity which has enabled him to see its real value. Throughout

his and Coleridge's poetry runs the belief that nature is the place for bodily and mental health, whereas if we are pent up in the city, we are likely to suffer. The moment has come to emphasise that nature and gardens are two completely different things. Both cities and gardens are constructs, outside whose walls lies benovolent or malignant nature. Let us now consider some of the major characteristics of Renaissance gardens in order to clear up this and other points. A garden is not simply a place to escape to, nor is it planned for pleasure alone, it is designed for the restoration of the body and soul, as well as moral improvement. It is the highest form of horticulture, black tulips and wonderful exotic fruit show man's genius rather than his abuse of nature(Damon take good note). Shaping and reshaping landscape obeys the same logic: when the Francisican friar Bernadino Caimi transforms a mountain top "into a model of Palestine with several 'stations' providing a 'via Crucis' for people who were unable to travel to the Holy Land" (Coffin 1972: 33) this is not a case of overreaching or vanity but an act of service on behalf of God. Gardens can induce pleasure, but also "feelings of fear and confusion" (Coffin 1972: 44). They can contain caves, grottoes and mazes, which became one of Borges' favourite emblems, stressing, as he does, that many labyrinths have no ways out. Gardens can contain earthly delights, whether they be strawberries or naked men or women, or both, or all three items, but gardens can also be terrible places, for example Circe's enchanted garden. We can now appreciate that Marvell's concept of the garden has a lot in common with these Renaissance ideas. The flooding of the meadow and the mock-fortresses of Nunappleton estate, the exotic fruits(at least for English gardens), the peaches, melons and nectarines of *The Garden* are surely compatible with this model. Once we have rejected the idea that gardens must be related to momentary pleasures and the punishment meted out to mankind in Genesis, Marvell's use of fruit emblems makes more sense.

If it is useful to plant Marvell's fruit trees in a Renaissance garden, it is also useful to reconsider the notion of genre. Marvell's garden poetry is often referred to as pastoral or neopastoral. In an article published in 1986, Alistair Fowler combines an attack on the coupling of Marvell to the pastoral tradition with an attack on Raymond Williams and his approach.

> Pastoral knows nothing of buildings, or gardens, or estates. All the topics of the so-called estate poems are georgic, the mode for representing cultivated nature. The seasonal cycle: abundance of produce, the contentment with a sufficient estate idealized in terms of

> the Golden Age: renunciation of grandeur, moral virtue. (Fowler 1986: 4-5)

Alistair Fowler believes that by reading these poems as Georgic, we give them "coherence in generic terms" and, we are meant to assume, a much wider coherence. How can we use this approach to the small group of poems we have been considering? We again avoid the pitfall of considering Marvell's fruit as exclusively theological or doctrinal in origin; we do not have to go on a wild apple hunt. We can understand the themes of contentment which lie at the heart of *Upon Appleton House* and *The Garden.* It might appear odd that such a large estate or such a rich fruitful garden can be made to represent sufficiency for one man, either for Fairfax or for the narrator who loves laurel. Alistair Fowler argues that we should not forget the emphasis on good husbandry or the fact that in later estate poems, those written in other decades or centuries, the emphasis shifts onto the grandeur of house and ground as a reflection of the grandeur of their owner. It is particularly noteworthy that Marvell, at the beginning of *Upon Appleton House* stresses the modesty of the building and questions grandeur: the "unproportioned dwellings". Perhaps the most useful result of the Georgic approach is that it now allows us to pull together many threads and thus conclude. I have tried to argue that Marvell's use of fruit images should not be restricted to creating an apple monopoly, as this in turns leads to an obsession with original sin. A return to Renaissance garden thinking is more rewarding. The latter approach would seem to be at odds with an historical approach, whether new or traditional, as we would place Marvell in another age, an age that precedes his Puritanism. However, Marvell's rejection of ostentation in favour of contentment satisfies both readings. He can be seen as rejecting establishment views and/or harking back to a Golden Age, which might refer to early days of the Commonwealth or something ahistorical and sensual which belongs to the genre he has written in. My major conclusion is that Marvell is much more of a Renaissance man than the contextualisation within Puritanism would initially allow. Once this step has been taken, we are justified in rejecting the parameters of this paper, and simply replace them by fruit, men and genre. I will finish by adding that the Georgic analysis Alistair Fowler has used must at some time be fruitfully employed in an analysis of *Paradise Lost.* Contentment, natural abundance ... it all begins to make more sense.

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LOVE AND CHASTITY IN TWO EARLY ENGLISH VERSIONS OF *LA CELESTINA*

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La Celestina was first published as a comedy in 1499 and as a tragicomedy in 1500[1] and had a very fast and fruitful translation into other languages. It was well known and much quoted, either as an inmoral or as a great book. In this movement of fervour for the work of Fernando the Rojas, a play that merges several tendencies (the moralist of the interlude and that of the Humanist Comedy) appears in England in about 1525: *Calisto and Melebea* printed by John Rastell.[2]

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[1] The first known edition of the comedia was published in Burgos in 1499 as an anonymous work under the title *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*. The work was reedited and subject to modification (ed. of Salamanca, Toledo, Sevilla ...) until it reached its definitive form as a tragicomedy in 1502. This final redaction consisted of twenty-one acts, five more than the comedia. These new five acts are interpolated between acts fourteen and fifteen and it is here that the meeting between Calisto and Melibea, which brings about the tragedy, takes place.

[2] John Rastell combined his law career (he was an utter barrister) with a printing business. In about 1525 he published three plays: *Calisto and Melebea, Gentlenesss and Nobility* and *Four Elements* in one volume entitled *The Nature of the Four Elements*. It was thought that the anonymous interlude *Calisto and Melebea* was translated from Italian (Menéndez Pelayo, Underhills, Chambers) and also that the translator worked with an early English version (Reed). W. Allen was the first scholar who said that the interlude was an adaptation from Spanish. This hypothesis is held by G. Ungerer (1972), who compares the English to the French and Italian versions and finds many different passages in the former that follow the original closely. A new theory was put forward by W.

Calisto and Melebea maintains the attitude of glorifying life and earthy pleasures of the Spanish original, taken from the Humanistic Comedy; therefore, the "Carpe Diem" or "Colligo virgo rosas" topics are present along with the moralistic and didactic current of the interlude and the unhappy ending turns into a merry one. The idea of translating was different in the sixteenth century, the translator was not bound to the original; moreover, he could improve on it. In addition to this, the change in the way of translating the tragicomedy is not surprising, since most early Tudor plays state that they are interludes or written in the "manner of an interlude" and the theme was not new in English literature either, for the love clerk, the pretended virtuous girl and the bawd were stereotypes in the English interlude.[1]

The other version we are going to deal with is *The Bawd of Madrid*, rendered by Captain John Stevens[2] and published in 1707. Despite proclaiming so in The Preface of the book, Stevens was not the first to translate *La Celestina* -J. Mabbe had already translated it in 1631-.

Both Rastell and Stevens' works, as many other pieces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are a recreation rather than a translation as both adapted the Spanish Tragicomedy to the English reader of their respective times. *La Celestina* shows a world in crisis, that of the Spain of the late fifteenth Century, and faithfully reflects the Spanish society of the epoch: there was the problem of the three castes (Christian, Jewish and Converts) living together and by no means peacefully, the convention of Courtly love and the presence of witches and witchcraft. All this material should have been adapted to help its introduction in England.

Fehse, who proved that the English and Italian versions had to do with the same Spanish original. Thus, concludes Ungerer, Rastell worked on a Spanish copy that was surely brought to England from Italy.

[1] See R. Axton (1979): *Three Rastell Plays: Four Elements, Calisto and Melibea, Gentleness and Nobility*, D. S. Brewer, Rowman & Littlefield.

[2] Captain John Stevens (d. 1725) was an important translator of the epoch. He translated mainly from Spanish and Portuguese, but also from Italian, French, Latin ... In 1707 he issued a collection of four works: *The Spanish Jilt, The Bawd of Madrid, The Comical Scoundrel or Estevanillo Gonzalez* and An Evening's Intrigue, all of them translated from Spanish under the general title of *The Spanish Libertines*.

The Bawd of Madrid, says the translator in the Preface, " ... goes in Spanish by the Name Celestina (...) being in the nature of a play, and therefore call'd a tragicomedy but has too many Acts, so that it would never appear in its Natural Dress, which prevail'd me to alter the method, retaining still the wole intrigue (...) but only making a Tale of it".[1] Captain Stevens's main objective is to delight the reader because it is a piece "full of Diversion, being a continual Interchange of Variety, and surprising accidents".

These Stories, whether true or false, may well deserve the same use to be made of them, since they have a far Greater Share of Wit in them, and must afford much more Satisfaction. (Preface, p. 2)

There are two characteristics is Stevens' process of translation of the four works that come under the title *The Spanish Libertines:* first, the selection of the merry matter in the work rendered and, second, the fact that Stevens englishes and embellishes the work by means of addition and change in order to attract the readers' attention. Therefore, although following the horatian principle, Stevens seems to put special emphasis on the "delectare" and consequently turns the tragicomedy into a tale, leading his readers to the intrigues and surprising accidents by stressing certain aspects (i.e. meanness, sexual features ...) and situations. On the contrary, the Interlude emphasizes the "prodesse" and *Calisto and Melebea* is

> A new commodye in Englysh in maner of an enterlude. Al ryght elygant and full of craft of rethoryk, wherein is shewd and dyscrybyd as well the bewte and good propertes of women, as their vycys and evyll condicions, with a morall conclusion and exhortacyon to vertew .[2]

and accordingly, it centres on the character of Melibea, her passion, her love and her repentance of that passion and love.

In both works Rojas' structure in twenty-one acts disappears completely. *The Bawd of Madrid* is structured in nine chapters, preceded by

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[1] J. Stevens (1707), *The Bawd of Madrid*, in *The Spanish Libertines*, S. Bunchley, London: 67-160. The Preface, pp. 3-4.

[2] J. Rastell, *Calisto and Melebea*, in R. Axton, *Three Rastell Plays*, op. cit.: 69-96, p. 70. From now on the quotations will be referred to by their verse number.

as many other brief summaries and the Interlude has not any structure at all; it consists of a series of 1087 verses without divisions, and only follows acts I, II and IV of the original providing a new "happy" ending. Rastell is interested in the layout of the action and the characters (Acts I and II) and in act IV, because Melebea should fall into Celestina's net, it is a structural element. After that, he chooses a new ending in accordance with his moral intentions.

LOVE AND CHASTITY

The Spanish tragicomedy starts "in media res" with the meeting between Calisto and Melibea. Calisto is too forward in his proposals provoking Melibea's anger. In such a situation, Calisto hires the services of a bawd to help him conquer Melibea. Both English versions, the Interlude and the Tale, add a passage before this meeting by way of an introduction. In the Interlude we can see a Melebea aware of her beauty and sanguineous complexion, which makes her have a special disposition towards love:

> I know that nature hath gyvyn me bewte,
> With sanguynyous compleccyon, favour and fayrenes;
> (vv. 15-16)

She is also conscious of Calisto's merits and intentions and wonders whether to consent or not:

> I deny not but Calisto is of grete worthynes, (...)
> Shall I accomplysh hys carnal desyre?
> (vv. 19, 27)

which is a considerable advance over the tragicomedy, for not only makes it clear there has been a previous contact between Calisto and Melebea, but she reveals her thoughts about Calisto as well:

> O, his saynges and sutes so importune (...)
> O, hys lamentacyons and exclamacyons on Fortune
> With similytude maner as one that shuld dy!.
> (vv. 22, 24-25)

Thus, through her speech, we can imagine an upsetting love-begging Calisto pursuing an increasingly-tiring Melebea. But Melebea has made up her mind and resolved not to consent to his desire:

> Nay, nay, he sall never that day see
> Hys voluptuous appetyte consentyd by me.
> (vv. 35-36)

In Captain Stevens' version, Chapter II begins by introducing the "nobleman Calisto", the "beautiful and modest Melibea" and Calisto's falling in love, giving a close account of it that is not in the original:

> Calisto (...) fell desperately in Love with the Beautiful Melibea (...) Melibea was Modest and so closely observ'd of her Parents, that there was little hope of making any Amorous Overtures to her (...) Calisto (...) frequently Walk'd her Street by Day, and Serenaded her Windows by Night (..) He had spent some Months in this Exercise without being ever able to compass the signifying of his passion to her ... (p. 73)

As in the interlude, Calisto behaves as the lover he is and seeks to communicate with his lady, either striving after a meeting during the day or by means of a song at night.

Here we have two different and new introductory approaches to the very first meeting of the Tragicomedy: in the Interlude we learn about Melibea's attitude and intentions and Calisto's wooing; in Captain Stevens' version, about Calisto's wooing and the difficulty in contacting Melibea. Both are a step forward regarding the Spanish Tragicomedy which omits the lover's courting and, after the first meeting, he directly hires the services of a bawd.

As a narrator, Stevens provides another introduction to this first meeting:

> "Seeking to divert his Melancholly thoughts, he left the Town one Evening to Walk in the many Delightful Gardens there are about it. In one of these, when he least expected it, he met the Charming Melibea, whom Fortune had conducted thither to pass away some few Hours in those Solitary Pleasant Walks. The unexpected sight of the Object on

> which he had fix'd his Heart, had such a violent Effect upon him that it ty'd up his Tongue for a while, and he was forc'd to withdraw a few Steps to recover himself from the Surprize. Violent were the Strugglings in his Breast between Fear or Joy; Fear left his first Adressess should be Scornfully rejected, and Joy that he had now the Opportunity, at least of making his Passsion known. Having settled the Storm that distracted his Mind, and Submissively approaching the Lady, after the usual first Salutes, he began to Praise the Power and Goodness of God (...). (pp. 73-74)

We can see a disturbed Calisto at the sole sight of Melibea in this first meeting that Stevens, like in the Interlude, places in a garden of the town. In the Tragicomedy, we read in Act II,[1] the meeting occurs in Melibea's vegetable garden of her house. In the Interlude, Melebea is certain that Calisto will go to the garden -such is his pursuit- should he know Melibea was there:

> Wyst he know that I were present here,
> I assure you shortely he wold seke me,
> And without dout he doth now inquere
> Wether I am gone or where I shuld be.
> (vv. 36-39)

and gets disturbed when Calisto enters:

> Se! is he not now come? I report me!
> Alas, of thys man I can never be ryd!
> Wold to Cryst I wyst where I myght be hyd.
> (vv. 40-42)

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[1] "Señor, porque perderse el otro día el neblí fue causa de tu entrada en la huerta de Melibea a le buscar." F. de Rojas, (1980) *La Celestina*, (ed. Bruno Mario Damiani), Ed. Cátedra, Madrid, p. 96. M. de Riquer places this first meeting not in Melibea's garden but in the church. See M. de Riquer (1957) "Fernando de Rojas y el primer acto de 'La Celestina'", *RFE*, 41: 373-395. The unchained and out-of control hawks makes us think of an also out-of-control lover. On the other hand, the fact that Calisto lost his hawk ("neblí") simbolizes he is a bad hunter and therefore a bad lover and it is, at the same time, an omen of the unhappy ending of the story.

After these introductions, both translators render the very beginning of the Spanish tragicomedy closely: Rastell is faithful to the dialogues and Stevens renders it in free indirect speech:

> Calisto: En esto veo, Melibea, la grandeza de Dios.
> Melibea: ¿En qué, Calisto?
> Calisto: En dar poder a natura que de tan perfecta hermosura te dotase, y hacer
> a mi inmérito (...) (p. 53)
> Calisto: By you feyre Melebea may be sene
> The grace, the gyftes, the gretnes of God.
> Melebea: Where in?
> Calisto: In takyng effect of dame Naturys strene,
> Nor yerthly, but angellyke of lykelyhode,
> In bewte so passyng the kinde of womanhood.
> O God, I myght in your presens be able
> To manyfest my dolours incomperable!
> (vv. 43-49)

> After the usual first Salutes, he began to Praise the Power and Goodness of God. Melibea, not conceiving what Motive induc'd him to fall into that sudden Rapture, desir'd to know what he had seen that might produce such Flights of seeming Zeal and Devotion. Madam, answer'd Calisto, what greater Sign of inmense Power than that he has made Nature capable of forming a Creature so Bright, so Beautiful, and so absolutely Perfect as your self; and what greater Token of Goodness than to grant (...) (p. 74)

But by praising only Melibea's beauty when he was supposed to also praise her character and virtue, Calisto, writes M. June Hall (1972, p. 76), "slips easily into the character of Andreas' (Capellanus) simple lover who is, Andreas implies, something of a fool". Calisto has showed his intentions and clearly bypassed the period of fenhedor, the first of the four stages of courtly love.[1] Melibea gets angry with her clumsy lover and her furious

[1] I. e. Fenhedor or silent adorer; precador or beseecher (the interview or coloquy with the lady takes place at this step, but the lover should keep himself within the limits of discretion); entendedor or lover accepted (interchanging of pledges) and finally, Drutz or lover accepted in bed.

reaction ranges between the moral point of view of the Interlude, where she is offended because Calisto induces her to sin, to the misuse of the courtly love code in Stevens' Tale, like the Tragicomedy:[1]

> I have foule skorn of the, I tell the trew,
> Or any humayn creature with me shuld begyn
> Any communycacyon perteynyng to syn.
> (vv. 68-70)

> ... for the return I shall make will be suitable to the base Presumption of your Designs, manifested by your Audacious Expressions (...) I shall ever Blush to think that I could enter into your thoughts to make known so Vile a Passion to me. (p. 75)

In this desperate situation, Calisto, induced by his servant Sempronio, will hire the services of a bawd but "it was a mortal sin if the lover sought out bawds or sorcerers in order to satisfy his lustful desires",[2] as well as contravening the courtly love code.

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[1] Calisto does not address Melibea as the lady she is and he fails to praise her gentleness and virtue. According to Andreas Capellanus (1987, *De amore. Tratado sobre el Amor*, Festín de Esopo. Quaderns Crema, Barcelona), a noble man should address a noble woman in the following way: ... *Tanta deprehenditur in vobis nobilitas tantaque vos curialitas exornare dignoscitur, quod omnia, quae meo resident cordi dicenda, vestrae probitatis aspectu credo mihi licere sine reprehensionis timore narrare (...) Quantum igitur fidelis vobis exsistam quantaque vobis devotione astringar, sermone narrare non possem.* (p. 133) ... = Tanta nobleza se desprende de vos y tanta cortesía se digna a realzaros que creo poder, en vista de vuestra integridad moral, revelaros sin temor a ser censurado todo lo que guardo en mi corazón (...) No puedo expresar con palabras hasta qué punto os soy fiel y con cuánta devoción estoy unido a vos. (p. 134) For further reading on this theme see O. H. Green (1953) "La furia de Melibea" in *Clavileño*, 4, XX: 1-3; A. D. Deyermond (1961) "The Text-Book mishanded: Andreas Capellanus and the Opening Scene of 'La Celestina'" in *Neophilologus*, 45: 218-221; M. June Hall (1972): Love's Fools: Aucassin, Troilus, Calisto and the Parody of the Courtly Lover, Tamesis Books Ltd, London.

[2] M. de Azpilcueta (1567): *Manual de confesores y penitentes*, ed. Barcelona, p. 167. Cited by O. H. Green (1963): *Spain and the Western Tradition. The Castilian Mind in the Literature from 'El Cid' to Calderon*, Vol. 1, the University of Wisconsin press, Madison, p. 116.

By means of the bawd Celestina, more meetings took place, although none of them is rendered in the Interlude. In Captain Stevens' version, following the Tragicomedy, the two lovers had physical contact at their third meeting, although Melibea begs Calisto to be content with external contact, but

> The way not to be deny'd, had been to put it out of his Power to refuse. To deliver herself up; to say she was his own; to give an opportunity; to fire his Blood; and then to sue for Moderation; for Abstinence; for Modesty; was like laying Meat before the Hungry; Drink before the Thirsty; and Treasure before the Covetous; and then bidding them not to Eat; not to Drink; not to Touch; or not to Covet. (p. 145)

in translation of

> Calisto: ¿Para qué, señora? ¿Para que no esté queda mi pasión? ¿Para penar de nuevo? ¿Para tornar el juego de comienzo? Perdona, señora, a mis desvergonzadas manos (...) (p. 243)

Stevens is more explicit than the original and the images he provides are much clearer than Calisto's rhetorical questions. At the end, she consented and

> ... receiv'd him with all the Tenderness of a Passionate Lover, and he flew to her Embraces with all the Eagerness of a Lustful Ravisher. It was then no time for Dalliance; the long Sigh'd for Opportunity was come, Nature prompted, and the opposition was small. Vertue was before fled, and only a little seeming Bashfulness remain'd in her Place. (p. 145)

In the Tragicomedy there are two lovers, Melibea and Calisto; they love each other and want to satisfy their desire, but they are on equal terms of sharing both love and desire as love and sex go together.[1] In Stevens'

[1] Melibea is not an innocent woman in a conventional way; on the contrary, she is a resolute and passionate one who knows what love is and is eager to try it. By welcoming Celestina, despite her reputation, Melibea knows about Calisto's dishonest intentions. Celestina does not seduce an innocent Melibea, she simply

version, love and desire have been split apart and love is portrayed by Melibea, who offers "the tenderness of a passionate lover", and desire by Calisto, who has "all the eagerness of a lustful ravisher". In Rojas' work, "When enjoyment was over", Melibea, after complaining for the loss of her chastity, asks Calisto to leave her for the moment and to return the following day. By contrast, the English translation always emphasizes Calisto's desire:

> When Enjoyment was over, and the Fire of Love allay'd (...) Calisto, on his side, having, for the present, satisfy'd his Appetite, observ'd the Night was far advanc'd, and took his Leave, promising to return the next Night. (p. 146)

When they say good-bye, their thoughts are also different, as the following lines show:

> Melibea retir'd to her Chamber, and Calisto return'd Home, full of Joy and Rapture, for having Enjoy'd so Delicate a Creature; and being now in a Method of possessing her as often as he pleas'd. (p. 146)

In this English version of *La Celestina*, Calisto seems much more interested in enjoying Melibea than in her love; he is a lustful and lecherous man who only wants to satisfy his desire, and as A. Capellanus said, he who has such an excessive passion cannot love truly.[1]

Accordingly, Calisto is far from being the courtly or the virtuous lover Melibea demands; he is full of passion instead of love and that is what he confesses to Melibea:

> ... in this Happy Place, where I have the opportunity of acquainting you with that Passion which has so long consum'd and wasted me without hope of Relief. (p. 74)

"passion" is in translation of "secreto dolor" (hidden pain)

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makes things easier for her. See I. T. Snow (1988): "Estado actual de los estudios celestinescos", *Insula*, 497: 18; J. L. Alborg (1979): *Historia de la Literatura Española*, Vol. 1, Ed. Gredos, Madrid, p. 575.

[1] "Non solet amare quem nimia voluptatis abundatia vexat." (A. Capellanus, *op. cit.* p. 116.)

> ... y en tan conveniente lugar, que mi secreto dolor manifestarte pudiese. (p. 54)

Calisto, we can see, shows himself to be eager to satisfy his sexual lust rather than fulfil Melibea's desires. Captain Stevens' translation provides several examples of this attitude:

> ... Calisto, tho' he saw no prospect of obtaining his desire, lost no Heart ... (p. 73)

> Calisto, pleas'd with his past Nights Reception by Melibea, and the hopes of a better that Night (...) Slept undisturb'd. (p. 142)

> ... the eagerness of a Lustful Ravisher ... (p. 145)

> ... having, for the present, satisfy'd his Appetite ... (p. 146)

> ... and being now in a Method of possessing her as often as he pleas'd
>
> (p. 146)

as June Hall (1972, p. 101) says, "his love lacks the power to ennoble him. And desire, rather than being refined as it grows stronger, tends to become coarser".

Melibea's attitude towards love is also different in the Tale, the Interlude and the Tragicomedy. In Captain Stevens' translation, Melibea is a little sceptical and surprised at Calisto's love utterance:

> Do you place so great a Happiness, reply'd Melibea, in this Accident of meeting me here? (p. 74)

stressing the idea that their first meeting is just by chance and that she does not know about Calisto's love. On the contrary, in the interlude Melibea is tired of Calisto and his love chase:

> Alas, of thys man I can never be ryd! (v. 41)

The first Melibea would like a courtly lover; the other is afraid of this kind of love and fears for her virtue. The former puts special emphasis

on love; the latter, on chastity.[1] This Melebea is so worried about her chastity and virtue that she never lets herself really fall in love with Calisto; She hesitates and fights an inner battle:

> Shall I accomplysh hys carnall desyre? (v. 27)

Both of them promise a great reward if their lover acts in terms of love and chastity respectively; love is seen as an art or as the origin of virtue; but Calisto breaks both courtly love and chastity codes and Melibea categorically rejects him. Melebea's virtue prevails this time in the Interlude; nevertheless, we should keep in mind that Melebea has a sanguineous complexion and a tendency towards love, which means that her virtue is menaced when Celestina visits her. It is her father, Danio, that will save her from the perils of love by telling a dream[2] that will deter her from falling into the pleasures of love and will make her preserve her chastity.

Danio's speech therefore arrives on time in the Interlude:

> O dere fader, that lesson I have kept trew
> Whych preservyd me. For though I dyd consent
> In mynd, yet had he never hys intent.
> (vv. 1008-1010)

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[1] "Since the force of sexuality was so compelling for both man and woman, it would be hard for chaste love to be just a bit carnal (...) What preserved friendly love was virtue, aided by God's grace". J. F. Benton, "Clio and Venus: An Historical View of Medieval Love", in F. X. Benton (1972): *The Meaning of Courtly Love. Papers of the 1st annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, State University of NY at Binghamton, (March 17-18 1967), Albani: 19-42, p. 33.

[2] The dream is as follows: Danio is walking along a garden and sees two different places: "a hote bath, holsome and pleasyng" (v. 943) and "a pyt of foule stynkyng water" (v. 946). Danio keeps walking along the good way of "grace and virtue" and meets a "a foule rough bych" on his way. When he is on the verge of falling into the "stynkyng water", he wakes up. Melibea understands and interprets the dream: she was on the way of grace and virtue when she met Celestina and turned to the evil way. When she was on the point of falling into the pit of crazy love and desire, her father told her the dream that would save her from those perils.

not Melibea's mother in the Spanish Tragicomedy and Stevens' version, as this latter work states:

> When her Mother came in (...) Charging Melibea ever to avoid her (Celestina) for the future as the most dangerous Plague (...) The Mischief was now done, and it was Locking the Stable Door when the Steed was stolen. (p. 123)

In Stevens' translation, Melibea, through love, falls into desire as the narrator emphasizes:

> This was the sly Discourse the Deceitful Old Bawd us'd to ensnare the Innocent Melibea, whose Natural Modesty, and Vertuous Education, at first blew her into a Flame; but we see how soon it was quell'd by the False Arts of that Insinuating Procurer. (p. 90).
>
> ... Melibea, who was full of Anguish and Trouble; Vertue making its last Efforts, and Love driving it from all its Intrenchments one after another. (p. 119)
>
> Love had now taken Possession of her Heart. (p. 119)
>
> ... So ready is Innocence it self to find Excuses, when love begins to take Place. (p. 132)

Despite this, Melibea never speaks freely about love pleasures as she does in the tragicomedy, up to her final speech, where she changes abstract for concrete terms:

> ... y así contentarle he en la muerte, pues no tuve tiempo en la vida. (p. 292)
>
> ... so I may accompany him in the Grave, since I could not in the Marriage-Bed. (p. 159)

In conclusion, the character of Melibea holds three different attitudes towards love: in the Spanish Tragicomedy Melibea and Calisto are on equal terms of sharing both love and desire; in the Interlude, Melebea retorts with chastity to Calisto's desire, chastity prevails over love and its pleasures; and in Stevens' Tale, Melibea, through love, falls into desire.

These three different attitudes are in line with their respective authors' main objective: Rojas warns noble young lovers against the perils of crazy love and bad servants; the poet of the Interlude makes an exhortation to young ladies to virtue and Captain Stevens seeks to delight and enjoy the reader.

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The inmediate occasion of the Anglican quarrel was an attempt to annul the royal marriage. So long as marriage remained a sacrament of the Church, and so long as the authority of the Church was not rejected, ecclesiastical jurisdiction at this point could not be denied. Apparently the problem of Henry VIII was not as much passion as succession, although it is difficult to judge the influence of these two factors on his historical decision.He fell in love with Anne Boleyn, a lady of the Court who possessed not only considerable personal charm but a number of intriguing ambitious relatives. On the other hand, Catherine, his wife, was ageing before her time; she was forty, but too bleak to content the bounding energy of the King, who was seven years younger. He could have satisfied his physical desires with a mistress; in fact, he had already had an illegitimate son and had been living with Anne Boleyn for several months, to the extent of her being pregnant before marriage. But the unlawful situation would be embarrassing and of no use as far as the succession was concerned. For it was a very religious age, and nobody was so devout as the King or so punctilious in the performance of his religious duties. Having a mistress was not exactly a religious duty; but his conscience was elastic enough, his power of self-justification was superb and could easily be found to support his own interest even when pretending to observe a religious commandment. Divorce in the proper sense of the term was inadmissible, and so was an illegitimate son as heir to the throne.

Five of Catherine's children had arrived stillborn or had died within a few months. The only survivor was princess Mary, and, therefore, the only legitimate heiress, as it was becoming obvious that the chances of a male heir were very slight in the circumstances.

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Princess Mary was regarded as no solution by an England whose only previous queen had occasioned wars of succession among other calamities. Henry was in love with Anne, and the new marriage could be the solution of all the anxieties about the succession. As divorce was unthinkable, the only way left was a papal indult declaring the previous marriage null and void, and Henry would be at liberty to marry Anne and, hopefully, give an heir to England.

We should always bear in mind that, in a religious society, where there is no independent law regulating marriage as a civil institution, every marriage falls under ecclesiastical laws, and, therefore, there is an essential distinction to be made between divorce and annulment. The former presupposes the existence of a real bond, which is now broken, and this procedure is strictly forbidden by virtue of its indissoluble property. The latter declares that, because of the presence of a serious impediment (and there are different kinds of impediments), the bond never existed, and, therefore, there is no such a thing as husband and wife, but two single people who may get married to the one they choose. It was a question of discovering an impediment that invalidated the marriage from the outset. And that is where the whole process started.

Catherine had previously been the wife of Henry's elder brother Arthur, who had died in 1502. Henry would not, in the normal course of events, have been allowed to marry his deceased brother's wife, as there was the so called impediment of "affinity", which runs parallel to that of "consanguinity", embodying thus all those who have been married to brothers or sisters and relatives within the prohibited degrees. On such a union, the book of Leviticus pronounces a curse: "if a man shall take his brother's wife it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless".[1] The impediment had been recognized at the time of the union of Henry and Catherine, as it was, and it is, contemplated in the Canon Law, but a papal dispensation was secured to cover the impediment. It was Pope Julius II who was persuaded to grant a special dispensation.

Then disaster succeeded disaster, and the king was not the only one who began to wonder whether the whole thing had been a mistake. And

[1] Lev. 20, 21.

there arose two main question marks: Had the Pope any power to override the laws of God? Had not the sequel of heirlessness demonstrated that the Pope had overstepped himsel in setting aside the curse of God? In any case, the way out could be this: Let the present Pope, Clement VII, reverse his predecessor by setting aside the dispensation and declaring the marriage invalid from the outset. In normal circumstances this could have been done. Nullity decrees for distinguished and powerful people were often granted by the Pope, and Henry, apart from being distinguished and powerful, had a strong case. But two major difficulties presented themselves: a Pope could not declare that the act of a predecessor was invalid without thereby enfeebling his own authority; and the armies of the Emperor Charles V, who was nephew to Catherine of Aragón, sacked Rome (1527) and captured the Pope; obviously, Clement VII could not gratify Henry VIII by offending Charles V.[1]

Henry set to work by a series of calculated tactics. He knew that he would not meet with any serious popular opposition as long as he toppled merely the papal tiara and not the established dogma, for the England of that day was marked by a coincidence of personal piety and anti-clericalism; there were no heretical tendencies, but resentment against clericalism and papalism.

Henry, himself, had helped to create that popular opinion by loading Thomas Wolsey with preferment. Wolsey became rapidly Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of York and a Cardinal; further more, he was created "legatus a latere", in order that he might override the whole bench of English bishops. The immense power of Wolsey had two main effects, which were both lessons nos lost in the mind of the king: it showed how the control of the State and the Church in a country could be in the hands of one man, and also it fostered anti-papalism and anti-clericalism. But on the grounds of doctrine, the king, as well as Wolsey were very much for Rome and against Lutheran teachings, which were coming across the North Sea from Germany and were being discussed at Cambridge. This firm stand earned for him the title of "Defender of the Faith", which the English sovereign still bears.[2]

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[1] Moorman, J. R. H. (1980): *A History of the Church of England*. A. and C. Black, London, 1980: 164, 165. Also: Chadwick, O. (1986): *The Reformation*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1986: 99.

[2] Moorman, J. R. H., op. cit., pp. 162, 163.

Henry understood the discipline of the Church was much another thing, and so he ordered Wolsey to make arrangements for the annulment of his marriage. The Pope played for time; he commissioned Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio to try the case and ordered them to go as slowly as possible. Time might cast light on the matter: political fortunes might change, Henry might tire of Anne, even a bigamy might be thinkable. Campeggio proposed to Catherine that she should take the veil, but she refused to, (vows set husband or wife free to get married again), and the proposal still worsened the matter as Catherine declared then that her marriage with Arthur had never been consummated and that, therefore, no impediment would ever have existed provided that "dispensatio super ratum et non consummatum" had been granted.

Henry could not afford to waste his time and was now desperate. He decided to get rid of Wolsey, whom he now regarded as a block to all progress. And then he undertook to have in readiness an ecclesiastical machinery with which to supplement Rome when the foreseen breach came. The Archbishop of Canterbury was the appropriate person to serve as the primate of an English National Church. The choice fell on Thomas Cranmer, who had suggested that in the matter of the divorce, not the canon lawyers, but the universities should be invited to render judgment, and he, himself, favoured annulment. At the same time, Wolsey's place in the king's council was taken by Thomas Cromwell. Then several steps followed, in form of statutes, acts, or decrees, to set up the Church of England.

First of all, he started dealing with the clergy and accused them of violating the statute of "Praemunire", (almost two hundred years old), which was a privilege of restriction in law upon papal intervention in the English Church; but they had administered Roman Canon Law in their Parishes and had accepted Wolsey as papal legate. They would be forgiven provided they paid a sum of money and recognized the king as the Head of the Church, special protector, supreme Lord, and, as far as the law or Christ allows, even Supreme Head. The formula "as far as the Law of Christ allows" could cover some limitation, but only for a short time.[1] Henry had done very well: he had made the clergy responsible for a kind of crime and had pesuaded them to accept the Crown as an essential part of the English

[1] Chadwick, O., op. cit., p. 100.

Church. He would turn now to the question of divorce by means of a series of Acts published on the matter.

The Act in Restraint of Appeals. The final appeal in ecclesiastical causes had been to Rome. This Act forbids the clergy to appeal to Rome and requires them to defy papal anathemas and to continue to administer the sacraments despite possible excomunication.

The Act of Dispensations, which transferred the power of granting dispensations and licences from the Pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and also abolished the ancient payment of "Peter's Pence".

The Act of Succession, which declared the marriage of Henry and Catherine annulled. Anne will be the king's wife and their daughter Elisabeth heiress. A girl after all!

The Act of Supremacy, finally, declared: "the king's majesty justly and rightly is and ought to be and shall be reputed the only Supreme Head in the earth of the Church of England called *Anglicana Ecclesia*". (November, 1534).[1]

It was done. But the breach with Rome was a constitutional change. The reformation in England was still to come. And the main pillars of the early reformation were two most outstanding books: The English Bible and The Book of Common Prayer. We are dealing, partly, with the former, as the later was published a few years later, under Edward VI.

Henry ordered that an English Bible should be installed in the churches. It is well known that the official language of the Roman Church, at that time and until recently, was Latin. The Latin Vulgate was currently read in churches. It is not that Rome objected in principle to versions in the native tongues, provided they were orthodox and authorized. "Orthodox" means the opposite of "heretic". Wycliffe's Bible was rejected as heretic and so was Tyndale's. "Authorized" means under control and authority of the Roman Church, which will decide which translations are allowed to be published and who are entitled to use them, normally the clergy, who will

[1] Bainton, R. H. (1965):*The Reformation in the Sixteenth Century*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1965: 191.

explain the contents to the public using their own words. In the circumstances, a translation taken directly from the Hebrew and the Greek was bound to offend the Church of Rome, which would have termed it as unauthorized, because certain renderings of the Latin version commonly adduced in support of crucial doctrines had been expunged.[1]

The whole thing is that the new versions of the Bible into English were considered by the king as a weapon against Rome, not only because of the general principle that the Bible should be accessible to every man in a form that he could understand, directly, with neither interpretation nor explanation, but also because these versions were to be taken from the original Hebrew and Greek; and, above all, because the king stripped Rome of its traditional right to authorize a version, to declare it orthodox or not, and to interpret the whole Bible. On top of that, the new versions will be dedicated to the Monarch in such a way that he will take the opportunity of striking on the Pope and, consequently, reaffirm his possition as Supreme Head of the Church of England.

Myles Coverdale was commissioned to produce a version of the Bible in English, which was printed in October, 1535. He availed himself of Tyndale's, which became the basis for subsequent versions. It was printed on the Continent, but it was quickly imported into England, and a dedication to Henry VIII was inserted in those imported copies. The dedication speaks in severely critical terms of the Pope, while it highly praises the king. The Pope is compared to Caiaphas, who "rent his clothes saying, He hath spoken blasphemy", when Jesus was asked to "tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God".[2] Yet even as Caiaphas spoke better than he knew when he prophesied that Jesus would die for the people, for the nation: "consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not; and this spake he not of himself, but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation",[3] so the Pope did better than he knew when he conferred the title "Defender of the Faith" on king Henry, for the king has proved himself a worthier Defender of the Faith than the Pope envisaged.

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[1] Bainton, R. H., op. cit., p. 195.
[2] Mt. 26, 63-66.
[3] Jn. 11, 49-52.

Then, towards the end, the dedication makes some very illustrative antithetic comparisons, in which the Pope is associated with the Pharaoh, the Church with the people of Israel in slavery, and the king with "our Moses who brought us out of this old Egypt from the cruel hands of our spiritual Pharaoh"; much in the same way, the Pope is Goliath and "Your Grace is King David delivering us out of our old Babylonical captivity". The dedication proceeds considering "Your Imperial Majesty" my natural "liege Lord", an expression from the feudal times, which means absolute power: sovereign ruler, landowner, entitled to receive, service, homage ... and, at the same time, "Head of the Church of England", and also "the true defender and maintainer of God's laws". Consequently, it is up to the king "to correct it, to amend it, to improve it, to reject it".[1]

To our present-day taste the flattering language of the dedication to the king may appear over-fulsome; but it, no doubt helped towards the desirable issue of widening and consolidating the breach with Rome. Nevertheless, the king's approval of the version was given only by word of mouth, and no formal royal permission was recorded. Probably, it was due to Coverdale's indebtedness to Tyndale, and, it was believed, to Luther; this being the reason why Tyndale himself had been condemned. King Henry, so energetic an opponent of Lutheranism, was tolerant with it because Anne Boleyn manifested a keen interest in Coverdale's version; but with her fall and death in 1536, this edition of the Bible ceased to play any part in English life.

In 1537 there appeared the so called Matthew's Bible, which bears the words at the bottom of its title page: "set forth with the kinges most gracyous lycence". On examination, it is seen to be substantially Tyndale's translation, as far as Tyndale had reached.[2] It was an act of justice that the first English Bible to be published under royal licence should be Tyndale's Bible, even if it was not yet advisable to associate Tyndale's name with it publicly; and we say of the "royal licence" and act of justice, because their breach with Rome had already been consummated and Pope's authority rejected.

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[1] Bruce, F. F. (1979): *History of the Bible in English*. Lutter-worth, London, 1979: 56, 57.

[2] Cf. Olivera, M. (1991) "The birth of the Bible in English", *Actas del I Congreso de SEDERI*, Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza.

It was decided that a revision of Matthew's Bible should be undertaken to render it more generally acceptable, as the most conservative bishops and clergy could still notice some signs of outspoken Protestantism, mainly on its notes. The work of revision was entrusted to Coverdale, and the new book was to be known as the *Great Bible*, published in April, 1539, and which, according to the title, "was translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke texts by the dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men; prynted by Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch; cum privilegio at imprimendum solum".

This title is surrounded by a woodcut in which king Henry from his throne delivers the Word of God with his right hand to Cranmer and with his left to Cromwell, while Cranmer and Cromwell in their term deliver it to the clergy and laity respectively, representing the two main powers: the ecclesiastical power by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the secular power by the Lord Chancellor; and the king is above both of them as their source; he is in the place of God, or rather the Son of God, as the picture also shows a crowd of men, women and children crying: "God save the King" (a prayer that has become familiar among the British), while the Almighty Father looks down approvingly on the whole scene and says: "my word that goeth forth out of my mouth shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please";[1] and also, "I have found a man after my own heart, who shall perform all my desire".[2] Let's remark that the "man" in the picture is, obviously, king Henry VIII, but the "man" in the Book of Acts, where the quotation comes from, is king David, chosen by God to lead the people of Israel.

The woodcut around the title continued to be reproduced in the following editions of the Great Bible, but when Thomas Cromwell fell from favour in 1540 his arms were cut off, as a clear sign of him not been worthy to receive and handle the Word of God. And the title was rewritten so as to introduce the formula of the whole power: "our moost redoubted Prynce and soveraygne Lorde Kynge Henry the VIII, supreme heade of this churche and realme of Englande".[3]

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[1] Is. 55, 11.
[2] Act. 13, 22.
[3] Bruce, F. F., op. cit., p. 71.

Schism without heresy. So things stood at the end of his reign. Henry died in 1547, and was succeeded by the only son born to him by any of his six wives, Edward VI. Henry's program of schism without heresy provoked division: some went to the block for refusal to take the oath to the king as the Supreme Head of the Church, among them were Cardinal Fisher and Sir Thomas More; but many others who took the oath were no doubt honest. And this raises the crucial question: whether conscience can be relative and yet binding; or, in other words, whether it is posible for men to take opposite courses of action and yet be equally sincere.

Thomas More took his stand squarelly for the absolute obligation of a relative conscience, and so he said: "The high judge might exalt others to heaven who swore in good conscience, and yet for the same consign him to the devil because he did not think as they thought".[1] The two concepts "absolute" and "relative" seem contradictory in the same clause; but we understand "relative" in the sense that you should respect what the others honestly think is right, and "absolute" in the sense that you should follow what you honestly think is right.

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[1] Bainton, R. H., op. cit., p. 198.

SOME EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS IN ENGLAND IN THE 16th CENTURY

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It is well known that the term Renaissance refers to a new age in the history of western civilization supposed to separate the Middle Ages and the Modern times or, as Aldo Agazzi puts it, Scholasticism, medieval society is followed by Humanism, the socio-cultural movement which started the Modern Age.

The concept of the Renaissance is no longer as clear-cut as it was to the Renaissance Humanists themselves. It did not emerge suddenly out of the medieval darkness but out of the urban setting and sophisticated intellectual environment of medieval society. The idea of a revival of culture began with the Italian writers and scholars of the XIV, XV and XVI centuries who were called humanists because they occupied themselves with the "studia humanitatis".

The XIV century Italian poet Petrarch introduced the myths that antiquity was a perfect age, the middle ages was a period of darkness and that a revival of culture and an improvement of society were dependent upon a revival of classical learning. This rebirth was both an imitation of ancient models and a recovery of the ability to observe and imitate nature. Although there seems to be an inherent contradiction between the imitation of antiquity and the spontaneous revival of creative impulses, evolution of Humanism from the earlier stages seems to have solved the problem.

At the end of the middle ages, society had changed profoundly. Commerce had expanded and life in the cities had been modified. Economic and political power, which had been in the hands of the

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hierarchy and feudal lords, was taken over by the city burghers. The use of vernacular languages was spreading. Higher education was still largely based on Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas who tried to reconciliate Aristotle with medieval christianity. But scholasticism was crumbling before the XV century and new tendencies broke the unity of its abstract reasoning. A pragmatic outlook and the ideal of self-development through action were favoured by the new conditions.

With all these changes undergone by society it was clear that a new kind of education was needed as well as new educational structures and institutions. These did not develop suddenly, in a similar way to what had happened to humanistic thought. It is clear, for example that the educational institutions originated in the schools set up in the free cities at the end of the XIII and XIV centuries as an answer to the needs of the newly "important" population.

The pedagogists of Humanism took into account all the transformations experimented by society and worked out new theories that often went back to the classical world. In the early days of Humanism, education was elitist. It was mainly princes and rich men and women who had to be educated. The masses were despised.

The aim of education was to develop a complete and harmonious personality. As man is made up of soul and body, this second element has to be looked after as well and that is why physical education and games are important also, "mens sana in corpore sana". The student has to develop his physical, intellectual and moral attitudes.

To reach that goal it was necessary to follow more than one road. Individualism, present everywhere is also present in the varieties of schools and teachers, each of whom had their own educational systen which was based on their own didactic experience. The contrast with the methodological uniformity in the middle ages is clear. But above that variety mentioned there is one principle in common: man, the individual, with all his activities is taken as the centre of the educational interest.

Whereas in the middle ages the most important factor when teaching was the doctrine to be transmitted and which was passively absorbed by the students, now the educator had a great confidence in the students' personal

resources and he helped them to achieve those values and skills for the benefit of the spirit and the body.

The humanists thought that education was a continuous process and it was neither completed at school nor limited to the time when one is young. Knowledge meant the possibility of penetrating the thought of the ancients. The reconstruction of the past enabled a better understanding of themselves and of their own time.

Laicization of culture made secular schools spread out. Secular people received a christian education but they lived in circumstances different to those of the ecclesiasticals.

Humanism started in Italy but humanists from other countries were anxious to demonstrate that the Italians did not have a monopoly of eloquence, belles lettres and some other aspects. Let's remember Erasmus of Rotterdam who was one of the intellectual leaders of the XVI century. He emphasized the European wide scope of the movement. At first those who wanted a humanist education had to go to Italy and many foreigners could be found in the Italian universities and schools. Among the Italian humanists who visited England in the XV century we can find Poggio Bracciolini, among the English visiting or studing in Italy, (Padua, Vercelli, Vicenza and Bolonia mainly) we can mention: John Tiptoft, William Grey, John Free, Robert Flemmyng and John Gunthorpe (Oxford). All of them studied with Guarino in Verona.

Following this first wave of humanists there was another one in the following generation, that is, at the end of the XV century: William Selling, who studied in Padua and Bolonia and translated one of Juan Crisostomo's works into Latin and he influenced his disciple Thomas Linacre. This. Together with William Grocin and William Latimer he reestablished the study of Greek in England and ensured the definite establishment of Humanism in this country from 1500 approximately.

Thomas Linacre (ca. 1460-1524) from "All Souls College" in Oxford, accompanied Selling to Rome in 1485. He dedicated his time to the study of the humanities. He studied with Poliziano for some time as well. In Venice, he translated from Greek for Aldo Manucio. He had a special interest for the criticism of the bible and for medicine and also translated three of Galeno's works from Greek for Aldo. When he came back from

Italy in 1494 he started teaching Greek in Oxford and he also contributed to the foundation of the " Royal College of Physicians" in London.

About William Grocin (ca. 1446-1519), we can say that he was also very influencial in the reimplantation of the studies of Greek in Oxford. He legated all the books from his library to Oxford many of which went to the different colleges. As James Bowen says, the list of Grocin's books received by Merton College is in itself, for example, a testimony of the cultural change experimented in Oxford, if we take Merton as a representative institution. Grocin's books show part of the literature in fashion; at the end of the XVcentury books about the most varied topics, either in Greek or Latin were in circulation

The flowering of both humanistic studies and educational institutions taking place at the end of the century in England favours a rapid transition from the middle ages to the renaissance and it was due in part to the development of printing, but there were many other factors which have a socio political character. It is clear that the economic and social conditions behind the intellectual and cultural revolution of humanism in Italy were also present in other parts of Europe, even though they took different forms. In some European states political power was being concentrated, so humanism and educational reforms developed around the courts. In other countries it was the burghers who concentrated the economic and political power. The educational reforms in northern and western Europe developed slowly, but they were lasting as they affected a greater number of people than in Italy.

According to James Bowen, the new movement had a much more profane character in Italy than in England but some other authors do not agree with this, they think thaat the programme of christian humanism had been laid out by Italian humanists such as Lorenzo Valla, who showed how the critical methods used to study the classics ought to be applied to problems of biblical exegesis and translation and to church history. He was one of the founders of classical philology. The only thing was that his programme started to be carried out in the XVI century. During all the time that humanism flourished one constant feature it showed was his constant preocupation for educational aspects. Theywrote about school management, teaching methods, curricula and students behaviour.

As we previously mentioned the aim of education was to develop a complete and harmonious personality and many teachers -to reach that goal- tried to promote educational reforms by teaching themselves using their own methodologies or writing their own textbooks. Of all Europe, it was in England where these reforms were more efficiently taken into practice. Three outstanding figures: Colet, Erasmus and More helped powerfully to apply humanism to the christian religion and to the progress of education.

The English humanists wrote excellent texts for studing the classical languages. Linacre was the author of *The Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis Libri Six*. It was very popular the grammar outlined by Erasmus but written by John Colet and William Lily to be used in the school established by Colet sometime after 1508 in St. Paul. Lily was the first director of this school (1512) and this grammar was the one used there becoming the standard textbook for two centuries and its use was nearly made compulsory by Parliament. In 1758 after some amendments it became the Eton Latin grammar. Its popularity was due in part to the fact of being made a compulsory textbook. Henry VIII decided to adopt a single textbook for all the schools in the country (and he chose Lily's), introducing (in1542) some prayers of the new Anglican Church and an introduction to the grammar written by the king himself. Lily had previously written (in 1515) a Latin Syntax: *Absolutissimus de Octo Orationis Partium Constructione Libellus.*

John Colet influenced the generation that made the Renaissance the instrument of Reformation. He had a typically English mind, conservative and practical, the value of the classical learning for him being the use it could be put to in effecting spiritual reform. The aim of a true interpretation of Scriptures was to discover the personal message which the individual writer meant to give. He was the first to introduce the historical method of interpreting Scripture. Dean of St. Paul, he tried to translate christian humanism. into practice. The foundation of the new school in the London cathedral had a very important role as the old one was languishing. It was meant for the education of 153 children with no money.

In the *Statuta Paulinae Scholae* in the section entitled "Capitulum Primum de magistro primario" he tells us that the teacher must be saintly, virtuous honest and versed in the Latin literature and also in Greek, if possible. Nevertheless from the point of view of education. the most

important sections are the ones dealing with "The children" and "What Shalbe Taught". The curriculum was in harmony with the humanistic theories and true christianity: the students should be instructed in the good Latin and Greek literature and in the good authors specially those christian authors who wrote wise things in clear and chaste Latin. His purpose was: to increase the knowledge and veneration of God and Jesus Christ and the good life and christian behaviour in the children. Colet is well remembered now for his educational work and as the founder of St. Paul School.

Thomas More (1478-1535) graduated in Oxford in1492 having Grocin and Linacre as teachers, then he went to Lincoln's Inn in London to study Law. He succeeded Wolsey as Lord Chancellor in1529 resigning in 1532. It is interesting to remember that Henry VIII repudiated Roman authority making the Church of England independent from it after a very long and conflictive process in which More was very deeply involved.

Apart from his work as a statesman, he was very interested in Pedagogy to which he dedicated part of his work *On the Highest State of a Republic and on the New Island Utopia* (1516). In it More saw the connection between educational, social and political problems and the influence that society therefore has on education. He discusses many of the problems, interests and activities of his time (voyages of discovery, political speculation, the iniquitous wars and leagues of rulers scrambling for extention of dominion in Europe, royal indifference to social injustice, the growth of crime due to unemployment and the possibilities of a policy in which wealth and well-being for all are sought, in which national service is applied to construction instead of being applied to destruction). It is possible to see modern social development in More's imaginative island. According to N. Abbagnano and A. Visalberghi, among the Utopians, culture, apart from the practical objectives has to give pleasure to the spirit during the leisure time, for in Utopia no one works more than six hours a day, but they have the maximum well-being, as everybody works.

Utopia's theme had his locus classicus in Plato's *The Republic* and in many things this works depends on that classical idea of an ideal society. It deals with the activities required by a just and balanced society and its success depends on its learned mass of citizens. *Utopia* is more realistic than *The Republic* and the eductional theories expressed by Erasmus are those manifested by Plato's The Laws. In his alegory More breaks with many of the educational practices which were in current use in Europe at

that time. More considers basic for social progress and instruction the role attributed to personal merits and the importance of each individual's nature. He seems to be conscious of his own personal rise and Erasmus, from a relative anonimity.

He preferred vernacular languages as a vehicle for instruction during childhood and probably during adolescence. Vernacular adolescence seems to be the perfect time to start learning the classical languages. This means a radical contrast with scholasticism and his contemporaries as children started learning Latin when they were seven or even before that age. The idea behind that was to give children an education in vernacular language enough to make them fit for future professions or works. As for the education of young girls More gave his daughters a classical education by means of preceptors.

Utopia is a transcendental work as it clearly reflects the expansion of a new social conscience at the begining of the XVI century. It was published in a moment of very deep religious feelings and growing conflicts in this field, let's remember that Erasmus, Luther and Pomponazzi published their works practically at the same time and life and the whole society in Europe was suffering a profound revision according to some new values.

The XVI century in general was a period very concious of the value of education. The most outstanding figures of the time dedicated much of their time to this field. But theirs was not an isolated work, they only expressed, perhaps with more clarity and in front of a more numerous audience that which had been told and written by many others. Many thinkers occupied themselves with the different stages of the educational process and tried to widen its range of concepts. Many men of letters either directly connected with educational activities or institutions or indirectly connected with them when reflecting a public consciousness, wrote about schools, colleges and universities. On the other hand the typical scholar of the XVI century used to be an European rather than a national figure - Erasmus is be the best example. There were some cases, for example in Germany, where Luther and Melanchthon tried to make the schools serve as an instrument of a determined religious doctrine, but in general, most reformers of education intended to improve schools and their curriculums independently from any specific doctrine.

The last aim of education was to lead man towards God but, as it has been previously said, there were many roads to be followed and no unanimity in points of view as far as education is concerned. Erasmus and Luther are idealists and both have a certain impracticality in what they defend. Their thoughts reflect the circumstances of the period dominated by both the events after the different protestant schisms and also the deep changes which were taking place in the economic political and social life. Apart from Erasmus and Luther there were some other intellectuals who, working within the limits established by tradition, when they tried to make improvements in the schools and teaching institutions where they were working they went further than the limits of what was then considered the concept of education. Among such men were the aforementioned More and Elyot.

Thomas Elyot (ca. 1490-1546), wrote the first treatise in English that dealt with education: *The Book Named the Governour*. It was widely read and used in the whole country especially by the low nobility in the provinces. Up to then all treatises intending to reform education had been written in Latin and it was dubious that influenced many teachers and educators who, due to their persistent ignorance, did not probably read Erasmus, Sadoleto or Vives. *The Governour* analyses the existing discontinuity between the ideal thought of the time and the common practice of education and it is probable that it was written in vernacular language because Elyot wanted to reach the ordinary school teacher. Then the author goes on to deal with the decadence of education in general although his expressed intention was to deal with the theme of superior education of those who would have the future economic and political power in their hands. They had to study the classics but that study had to be supplemented by the needs of the new mercantile class: the English language, manual arts, drawing, music and sports.

Roger Ascham (ca. 1515-1568) was perhaps the best Greek scholar in England. In 1570, in *The School Master,* he wrote about the importance of the English language, even though he was a professor of Greek. He cared very much about style and stated that the way to gain it was to read widely and exactly. He believed that physical training was important in education, but not only for the nobility and the leisured classes but also for the students and teachers.

Richard Mulcaster was an experienced educator at St. Paul's School and at the Merchant Taylor School, a Latin secondary School maintained by the taylors' guild in London and the most famous of all the "guild schools". His many ideas were about education for the best. Mulcaster saw the possibilities of efficient training and enrichment of the mind in and through English, and maintained that teachers should be paid more adequately. As the lutheran reformers, he thought that education should be open to all, even women, who should have the opportunitiy of higher education.

The religious transformation of Luther and Calvin had a fundamental contribution to the formation of the modern mentality. Its influence was also decisive in the pedagogical aspect, among other reasons because the extension of education at the elementary level was seriously taken into account. As a consequence, the new pedagogy had to take into consideration the realities of the situation, that is to say that the new schools combined the learning of a practical trade with traditional studies, which meant less time was spent on unpractical books and the vernacular language took on a new importance. Public education was necessary as all christians had to know how to read the holy Bible. In some aspects, the protestant reform was in consonance with the humanistic and Renaissance attitudes but in others, it violently opposed them.

The Renaissance, as we have said has already posed the problem of the renovation of religious life but the religion of the platonic Renaissance people was exclusive to scholars, more than a religion it was a theological philosophy which could not be extended to the popular masses and it could not be taken as a principle of religious renovation.

Reform of religious life could only be the result of a turning back to the origin of Christianity, that is, not to the classical theologians but to Christ's teaching as it was shown in the Bible. This turning back to the origins of christian tradition was intertwined with the philologic movement developing in connection with the classical texts, but in the northern humanists it was biased as well towards the study of the Old and the New Testament.

Erasmus himself is the one who fuses the humanistic attitude and the aspiration to an authentic religious renovation. In *The Praise of Folie*, he criticises the religiousness of his time. Erasmus knows how to present his

ideas with gentle humour or biting satire depending on the occasion. He and his colleagues had the typical humanist belief that an eloquent appeal would help to convince people of the truth of their message and they relied on education as a means of reforming Christendom. As moralists, they were interested in dogmatic differences and were early symbols of religious toleration. In this aspect they were not in tune with the times for the Reformation polarized European society along confessional lines and thre result was paradoxical, as Christian humanists had done so much to lay the groundwork for religious reform. They ended up being suspected by both sides. Radicalism was in fashion whereas toleration was not.

The principle of free will met drastic limitations among the reformers who elaborated new dogmas. It was not only a matter of dogmatic diversity but of different socio-political movements at play.

The religious reforms brought about by Luther, Calvin, Zwingly and the English ruling family were both the cause and effect of transformations. In those European countries that broke away from the Church of Rome in the XVI century, new political and social systems developed and although there are some essential differences separating the two principal Reforming branches, there is a substantial identity and from the point of view of education, they share certain characteristics in common. They are:

i.) The principle of instruction for all was reinforced.

ii.) Schools intended for the low classes spread out and they were completely different from the classical schools (which were meant for the rich classes).

iii.) The almost total control of instruction on the part of the lay authorities.

iv.) A growing national physiognomy of education in the different countries.

Luther encourages the establishment of new popular schools with an eminently practical character where vernacular language is used but at the same time he tends to reform the Humanistic school, so well spread out by then, giving a more serious content to it. There is no connection between

both kinds of school but he tries hard to create a deep cultural and effective link among all believers encouraging sacred music and religious chanting in chorus.

An important aspect from Luther's pedagogical point of view is his absolute rejection of violent methods. He believed it was necessary that children found study, if not more pleasurable, then equally as pleasurable as play.

The separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome under Henry VIII in the XVI century did not have the repercussions in the scholastic field that were experienced by the continental Reformations. In the period preceding the Reform, the Renaissance had strongly influenced the secondary school system existing in England and there were about three hundred grammar schools in existence. But due to political reasons, the situation became precarious.

Henry VIII in his policy of concentration and consolidation of power in the hands of the state, included the schools. In 1548 the Chantries Act was passed, confiscating the estates of the church expressly for use in education. But the funds allocated to education were diverted from that end after Henry VIII's death and the turmoil of the times. Primary schools and grammar schools retrenched their operations for lack of funds and many of them disappeared.

But the religious and political problems previously mentioned were alse reflected in the development of Oxford and Cambridge Universities which had become, as George Sampsom says, part of English life and thought and the teachers who did not agree with the successive varieties of theological opinion came into trouble.

In 1558 Elizabeth I succeded to the throne and brought more tranquil times and during her reign the universities were restored to their formal function. Requirements for degrees determined the lines of scholastic classical disciplines. The accepted subjects were: Rhetoric, philosophy, both ethical and natural, and logic. The objective of every master was to lay the foundations of prose style. English style was very much cared for and the study of Latin developed taste in words and a sense of the logical texture of speech.

After the strictly historical and literary humanism was over, society provided new solutions and perspectives to educational problems. In the modern states money changed from one social class to another giving way to an internal transformation. Outside, the universalist ideal of the Roman Sacred Empire collapsed and, as we previously saw each country concentrated its strength towards a strictly national policy. We could also see some pedagogical innovations:

a.) the preference of the mother tongue instead of the classical languages.

b.) the wish to learn modern languages (there were clear economical reasons)

c.) contraposition, in general, of a diffuse cultural ideal which is utilitarian and specializes to a humanistic culture which is "altruist", aristocratic and aesthetic.

d.) the inclusion in their curriculum, in these more numerous schools, of natural sciences and mathematics, taken as the most useful disciplines for the modern man.

These general tendencies, which were beginning to emerge in previous centuries, were much more emphasized now and they found their philosophical justification in the Renaissance Naturalism and later on in the Empiricism spread by Bacon in the XVII century.

The inductive experimental method was thought of as fundamental to the knowledge of nature, which we had to obey in order to control. As Bacon said: "Naturae parendo imperator", pedagogy had to follow this principle also and he tried to extract from nature and its laws the necessary inspiration to apply its norms in order to carry out an efficient job in education.

When applying the experimental method in the schools they gave more importance to the intuition of the things and phenomena rather than to books. Observe the psychological human reality and take into account the gradual spiritual process of man according to his age. Physical education, practiced in the open was very important and the purpose behind it was to

have a direct contact with nature. It was important as well to study the physical and familiar milieu in which education developed in order to determine its influence in the students' temperament and character. The number of professional schools grew. Schools in which mechanical arts, drawing, physics and arithmetics were taught. The state took part in helping private enterprises. These are some of the general characteristics of what is called Pedagogic Realism. Due to the limit of space, we can not study the Pedagogic Realism in more detail.

From what we have said before, we can conclude that:

1.) All the changes experimented by society are taken into account by pedagogists, who try to "modify" the kind of education, the educational structures and institutions, according to the new needs.

2.) The changes in education do not happen suddenly, but they develop from something which comes before. Pedagogical Realism comes after Renaissance Naturalism as an evolution from Humanism itself.

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THE SPANISH MATCH THROUGH THE TEXTS: JONSON, MIDDLETON AND HOWELL

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This is the story of one of the most romantic episodes, when, in March 1623, Prince Charles, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, made the dangerous journey across France to Madrid to meet the Infanta. Made precipitously and with the king's reluctant permission, the journey must be interpreted with attention to the English effort to restore the Palatinate to Frederick. The earl of Bristol (Digby), in Madrid as a special ambassador, had been sending reports to James of Philip's willingness to proceed with the royal marriage and to assist the English in procuring the restitution of Frederick's territories. Yet, events in Germany, where catholic troops were consolidating their conquest of the Palatinate, seemed to belie the Spanish promises. Both James and Charles, the latter influenced by his desire to marry the Infanta, wanted to believe Bristol's reports. In fact, however, Charles and Buckingham arrived in Madrid in pursuit of impossible objectives. Olivares ruled the seventeen-year-old Philip IV as well as the nation, and he brought the king to his own opinion: that there should be no change in Spanish policy and no marriage. And Buckinham played the same part.

The negotiations for the Spanish Match lasted for too many years and found too many enemies to have a happy end. This time, the efforts to settle peace and friendship between Spain and England did not get a positive result. Religious and political interests were involved in this Match. If we add the traditional enmity between the two countries we shall be able to understand the feasts and the jubilation of the English people

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when they saw their Prince again back in England and without a Spanish bride. It found expression in drama. So also did popular resentment of King James's inability to give effective aid to his son-in-law in the Palatinate. For a time Parliament and leading members of the Court were allied in distrust and resentment of Spain. This process has been studied by Loftis.[1] James Howell, an exceptional contemporary witness, makes a different approach in his *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*.

To this period of unity belongs *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*, a masque prepared by Jonson and Inigo Jones, celebrating Charles's safe return, and intending it for performance at court on Twelfth Night, 1623/24. Attention to *Neptune's Triumph* reveals that Jonson was well informed about Prince Charles's journey to Madrid. The Poet, speaking the argument in the opening scene, explains that Neptune - King James in Jonson's allegory - recently sent Albion (Charles), with Hippius and Proteus (Buckingham and Cottington) as companions on a journey of "discovery" through Celtiberia (that is, through France to Spain). Jonson refers to the Spaniard's efforts to prolong Charles's residence in Madrid and to convert him to Catholicism:

> … what the arts were, used to make him stay,
> And how the *Syrens* woo'd him, by the way,
> What Monsters he encountered on the coast,
> How neare our generally Joy was to be lost,
> Is not our subject now.[2]

The mythological reference to sirens tempting Charles gains force when we recall that marriage to the infanta María would have been his reward for becoming a Catholic.

In February 1626 Jonson referred again to Charles's courtship of the Infanta in his *Staple of News*. It is a moral allegory about the power of money to corrupt individuals and institutions.

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[1] LOFTIS, J. (1987): *Renaissance Drama in England and Spain. Topical Allusion and History Plays*. Princeton University Press, Princeton. See Chapter Five: "Prince Charles's Spanish Courtship and the Palatinate." Different passages are taken from here. It has a complete bibliography on the theme of the Spanish Match.

[2] *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford, P. and E. Simpson, 7: 686. In LOFTIS, p. 164.

A character in the play is identified in the *dramatis personæ* as "Pecunia, *Infanta of the Mynes*". She is described as "*Cornish* Gentlewoman" and hence ostensibly infanta of the tin mines of Cornwall. And she is called Aurelia Clara Pecunia, names which resemble not those of María but her aunt, Isabel Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II and, at the time of the play, governess of the Spanish Netherlands.

Thomas Middleton, in one play at least, was even more audacious than Ben Jonson. His *A Game at Chess* (August 1624) is the boldest political play that appeared on the London stage before 1642, and perhaps the only play of the era that caused a foreign ambassador to threaten to leave the country. It was so successful that, as we are told in the title of the Quartos, *"it was acted nine days together at the Globe on the Bankside"*. Undoubtedly the play could have continued much longer if it had not been suppressed by the authorities. *"There were more than three thousand persons there on the day that the audience was smallest"*, according to the indignant testimony of the Spanish Ambassador, who added: *"There was such merriment, hubbub and applause that even if I had been many leagues away it would not have been possible for me no to have taken notice of it."*[1]. And John Chamberlain wrote that the play was *"frequented by all sorts of people old and young, rich and poor, masters and servants, papists and puritans, wise men etc., churchmen and statesmen …"*[2]

These quotations say of the extraordinary popular success Middleton had with this political allegory. The Spanish monarchy and especially its ambassador were held up to ridicule, the Roman Catholic Church savagely satirized and in the final scene the whole Spanish nation was consigned to hell.

This play was even more offensive than its sources. Some parts of it are drawn almost to the words from anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish pamphlets such as Thomas Scott's *Vox Populi* (1620), Thomas Robinson's *The Anatomie of the English Nunnerie at Lisbon* (1622), John Gee's *The Foote Out of the Snare* (1624). Middleton took over anecdotes, allusions,

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[1] WILSON E. M. and O. TURNER (1949): "The Spanish Protest Against *A Game at Chess*." *Modern Language Review*, 44: 480.

[2] *The Letters of John Chamberlaine* (1939), ed. N. E. McClure. Philadelphia, 1939, II, 578.

and whole passages from these tracts and brought them to life in the speeches of the characters in his living chess game.

Harper, in his edition of *A Game at Chess*, points out at another source:

> The second principal source of this play is the historical visit of the Prince of Wales to Madrid. Middleton took advantage of the great popular outburst of relief and rejoicing when the Prince returned without a Spanish Bride, and it was easy for him to represent the frustrated end of the negotiations as a "checkmate by discovery" by the White Knight (Charles) and the White Duke (Buckingham), i.e., a discovery of the perfidious design behind the Spanish negotiations, the intention of converting the future King of England to Roman Catholicism.[1]

In the confused state of popular feeling about Spain and Rome, two of the most notorious public figures of the day were vaguely associated with the visit to Madrid as important players in the great Catholic chess game. The focus of Middleton's satirical attack was on the Count of Gondomar (the Black Knight), Spanish Ambassador in England until 1622 and one of Spain's most skilled diplomatists. Gondomar's personal peculiarities made him an easily identifiable figure. His famous fistula is cruelly mocked throughout the play and the players actually managed to acquire his well known litter and "chair of ease" and thus "they counterfeited his person to the life". Middleton's character-sketch is, of course, almost pure caricature, but the verve and ebullience of the Black Knight do capture what was apparently a true characteristic of the man whom the public regarded as "the mightiest Machiavel-politician". Gondomar's successor as ambassador in England, Don Carlos Coloma, wrote a detailed report of *A Game at Chess*, August 10, to Olivares. Coloma's letter reveals his indignation over the play, which he saw in performance; the letter provides as well a contemporary's account of what passed on the stage. The King's Men continue to act a play so popular that at least 3.000 persons have attended each performance:

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[1] HARPER, J. W. (1966): *Thomas Middleton: A Game at Chess*. Ernest Benn Limited, London: 13.

> The subject of the play is a game of chess, with white houses and black houses, their kings and other pieces, acted by the players, and the king of the blacks has easily been taken for our lord the King, because of his youth, dress and other details. The first act, or rather game, was played by their ministers, impersonated by the white pieces, and the Jesuits, by the black ones.

Coloma mistakenly thought that a new game of chess began in each act and that, like Spanish plays, this one had only three acts:

> … the Count of Gondomar … [was] brought on the stage in his little litter almost to the life, and seated on his chair with with a hole in it (they said), confessed all the treacherous actions with which he had deceived and soothed the king of the whites, and, when he discussed the matter of confession with the Jesuits, the actor disguised as the Count took out a book in which were rated all the prices for which henceforth sins were to be forgiven. … In these two acts and in the third … they hardly shewed anything but the cruelty of Spain and the treachery of Spaniards. … The last act ended with a long, obstinate struggle between all the whites and the blacks, and in it he who acted the Prince of Wales heartily beat and kicked the "Count of Gondomar" into Hell, which consisted of a great hole and hideous figures.[1]

Coloma's summary account of the play may be supplemented by attention to Middleton's climax: the representation of Prince Charles's and Buckingham's sojourn in Spain. Here it becomes apparent that the Black Knight's primary objective has been the entrapment of the White Knight (cf. 3.1.247-8) The former boasts to his king of what he regards as the master stroke of his embassy: his negotiations for the White Knight and the White Duke to make the journey to Madrid (4.3.137-39). He expects to achieve his objective, the re-conversion of England to Catholicism, through the conversion of the White Knight. By their "discovery" of the Black House's intentions, the White Knight and Duke win the game of chess.

And they feign very successfully, leading the Black House to attempt openly to convert the White Knight. In doing so, the Black Knight reveals their territorial ambition, the goal to be reached by their master

[1] Loftis, 177.

plan. In his temptation of the White Knight, he refers to the "universal monarchy":

… Your ambition, sir,
Can fetch no farder compass than the world?
WHITE KNIGHT: That's certain, sir.
BLACK KNIGHT: We're about that already;
And in the large feast of our vast ambition
We count but the White Kingdom whence you came from
The garden for our cook to pick his salads;
The food's lean France larded with Germany,
Before which comes the grave chaste signiory
Of Venice, served in capon-like in whitebroth;
From our chief oven, Italy, the bake-meats,
Savoy, the salt, Geneva, the chipped manchet;
Below the salt the Netherlands are placed,
A common dish at lower end a' the table
For meaner pride to fall to; … (5.3.80-93)

All this, before he describes the second course. The White Knight and Duke lead him to acknowledge the heinous crimes long attributed to Catholics by their Protestant foes. Believing that he has succeeded in converting the White Knight, the Black Knight overreaches himself:

Now y'are a brother to us; what we have done
Has been dissemblance ever.
WHITE KNIGHT: There you lie then
And the game's ours - we give thee checkmate by
Discovery, King, the noblest mate of all. (5.3.158-61)

Middleton follows Scot in the Black Knight's soliloquy about collecting naval inteligence:

BLACK KNIGHT:
But more to inform my knowledge in the state
And strength of the White Kingdom! No fortification,
Haven, creek, landing-place 'bout the White coast
But I got draught and platform, learned the depth
Of all their channels, knowledge of all sands,

> Shelves, rocks, and rivers for invasion proper'st;
> A catalogue of all the navy royal,
> The burden of the ships, the brassy murderers,
> The number of the men, to what cape bound. (4.2.60-68)

But neither Gondomar nor anyone employed by him collected the kind of naval intelligence the Black Knight refers to. Gondomar had English informants who told him what he wanted to know.

Spanish hopes for a successful invasion turned largely on the expectation that the invaders would receive major assistance from English Catholics and Catholic sympathizers. Middleton's Black Knight has sounded the political temper of Englishmen throughout the island:

> Again, for the discovery of the inlands,
> Never a shire but the state better known
> To me than to the best inhabitants,
> What power of men and horse, gentry's revenues,
> Who well affected to our side, who ill,
> Who neither well nor ill, all the neutrality. (4.2.69-74)

As an after-thought Middleton combined his satire of Gondomar with other amusing caricatures.

James Howell belongs to the group of English who lamented the breaking of the Match. He was an exceptional witness because he was in Madrid at that time, negotiating with the Spanish Court the devolution of a ship taken by the Viceroy of Sardinia. He writes about all this in his *Epistolæ Ho-E•lianæ*. I have selected the most interesting parts of it.

When he arrives, he discovers the different attitudes of the two countries and gives an exceptional account of the different interests involved in the negotiations:

> The English Nation is better look'd on now in Spain than ordinary, because of the hopes there are of a Match, which the Merchants and Commonalty much desire, tho' the Nobility and Gentry be not so forward for it: So that in this point the pulse of Spain beats quite

> contrary to that of England, where the People are averse to this Match, and the Nobility with most part of the Gentry inclinable.[1]

Jonson's "Pecunia, Infanta of the Mines" is depicted in a different way by Howell:

> She is a comely Lady, rather of a Flemish complexion than Spanish, fair-hair'd, and carrieth a most pure mixture of red and white in her face: She is full and big-lipp'd; which is held a Beauty rather than a Blemish, or any Excess, in the Austrian Family; it being a thing incident to most of that Race; she goes now upon sixteen, and is of a tallness agreeable to those years.[2]

At the same time, Howell observes how Rome's protagonism was always obscure:

> You write that there came Dispatches lately from Rome, wherein the Pope seems to endeavour to insinuate himself into a direct Treaty with England, and to negotiate immediately with our King touching the Dispensation, which he not only labours to evade, but utterly disclaims, it being by Article the task of this King to procure all Dispatches thence.[3]

As *"the Spaniard is a rational Man, and will be satisfy'd with Reason,"*[4] Howell points out, all affairs went on fairly in Spain, especially that of the Match:

> … Touching the two points in the Treaty wherein the two Kings differ'd most, viz., about the education of the Children, and the exemption of the Infanta's ecclesiastic servants from secular Jurisdiction; both these Points are clear'd; for the Spaniard is come from fourteen years to ten, and for so long time the Infant Princes shall

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[1] JACOBS, J. (1890-2): *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ. The Familiar Letters of James Howell*… Published by David Nutt in the Strand, London: 154. From now on we shall refer to them as *Epistolæ*.

[2] *Epistolæ*, 155.

[3] *Epistolæ*, 161.

[4] *Epistolæ*, 157.

> remain under the Mother's Government. And for the other Point, the ecclesiastical Superior shall first take notice of the offence that shall be committed by any spiritual person belonging to the Infanta's family, and according to the merit thereof, either deliver him by degradation to the secular Justice, or banish him the Kingdom, according to the quality of the delict: and it is the same that is practis'd in this Kingdom, and other parts that adhere to Rome.[1]

Howell reports about the dangerous journey undertaken by the Prince of Wales and the reactions at the Spanish Court:

> The great business of the Match was tending to a period, the Articles reflecting both upon Church and State being capitulated, and interchangeably accorded on both sides; and there wanted nothing to consummate all Things, when, to the wonderment of the World, the Prince and the Marquis of Buckingham arriv'd at this Court on Friday last, upon the close of the Evening. … His journey was like to be spoil'd in France, for if he had staid but a little longer at Bayonne, the last Town of that Kingdom hitherwards, he had been discovr'd; for Mons. Gramond, the Governor, had notice of him not long after he had taken Post… They alighted at my Lord of Bristol's House, and the Marquis (Mr. *Thomas Smith*) came first with a Portmanteau under his Arm; then (Mr. *John Smith*) the Prince was sent for, who stay'd a while on t'other side of the Street in the dark. My Lord of Bristol, in a kind of Astonishment, brought him up to his Bed-chamber, where he presently call'd for Pen and Ink, and dispatch'd a Post that night to England, to acquaint His Majesty how in less than sixteen days he was come safely to the Court of Spain.[2]

There are some changes with the Prince being in Spain:

> We daily hope for the Pope's Breve or Dispensation to perfect the business, tho' there be dark whispers abroad that it is come already; but that upon this unexpected coming of the Prince, it was sent back to Rome, and some new Clauses thrust in for their further advantage. Till

[1] *Epistolæ*, 161-2.
[2] *Epistolæ*, 164.

> this dispatch come, matters are at a kind of stand; yet His Highness makes account to be back in England about the latter end of May. God Almighty turn all to the best, and to what shall be most conducible to His Glory.[1]

Meanwhile the Prince is attended in the Spanish way, which included comedians and the baiting of bulls, and longs for meeting the Infanta in a quiet place:

> Among other Grandezas which the King of Spain conferr'd upon our Prince, one was the releasement of Prisoners, and that all Petitions of Grace should come to him for the first month; but he hath been wonderfully sparing in receiving any, especially from any English, Irish, or Scot. There is all industry used to give the Prince and his Servants all possible contentment; and some of the King's own Servants wait upon them at Table in the Palace, where, I am sorry to hear, some of them jeer at the Spanish fare, and use other slighting speeches and demeanor. There are many excellent Poems made here since the Prince's arrival, (and as an example listen to this stanza by Lope de Vega):
>
> Carlos Estuardo Soy
> Que siendo Amor mi guia,
> Al cielo d'España voy
> Por ver mi Estrella Maria.
>
> There are Comedians once a week come to the Palace, where, under a great Canopy, the Queen and the Infanta sit in the middle, our Prince and Don Carlos on the Queen's right hand, the King and the little Cardinal on the Infanta's left hand. I have seen the Prince have his Eyes immoveably fix'd upon the Infanta half an hour together in a thoughtful speculative posture, which sure would needs be tedious, unless affection did sweeten it: it was no handsome comparison of Olivares, that he watch'd her as a cat doth a Mouse.
>
> Not long since the Prince, understanding that the Infanta was used to go some mornings to the Casa de Campo, a Summer-house the King Hath on t'other side the River, to gather May-dew, he rose betimes and

[1] *Epistolæ*, 166.

> went thither, taking your Brother with him; they were let into the House, and into the Garden, but the Infanta was in the Orchard: and there being a high partition-wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the Prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her; but she spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek, and ran back: the old Marquis that was then her Guardian came towards the Prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring His Highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his Head if he admitted any to her company; so the door was open'd, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in.
>
> I have seen him watch a long hour together in a close Coach, in the open street, to see her as she went abroad: I cannot say that the Prince did ever talk with her privatly, yet publickly often, my Lord of Bristol being Interpreter; but the King always sat hard by to overhear all.
>
> The Spaniards generally desire it (the Match); they are much taken with our Prince, with the bravery of his journey, and his discreet comportment since; and they confess there was never Princess courted with more gallantry.
>
> There was a great Show lately here of baiting of Bulls with Men, for the entertainment of the Prince; it is the chiefest of all Spanish Sports; commonly there are Men kill'd at it, therefore there are Priests appointed to be there ready to confess them. It hath happenn'd oftentimes that a Bull hath taken up two men upon his horns with their guts dangling about them; the horsemen run with lances and swords, the foot with goads. As I am told, the Pope hath sent divers Bulls against this sport of Bulling, yet it will not be left, the Nation hath taken such an habitual delight in it.[1]

Rome, always Rome. More difficulties were added when Pope Gregory, a great friend to the Match, was dead and they could not proceed further till the Dispensation were ratified by the new Pope Urban:

> The long-look'd-for Dispensation is come from Rome, but I hear it is clogg'd with new Clauses; and one / is that the Pope, who allegeth that the only aim of the Apostolicall see in granting this Dispensation was the advantage and ease of the Catholics in the King of Great Britain's Dominions, therefore he desired a valuable Caution for the

[1] *Epistolæ*, 167-170.

> performance of those Articles which were stipulated in their favour; this hath puzzled the business, and sir Francis Cottington comes now over about it.[1]

As the Dispensation does not arrive, the Prince prepares for his journey back to England, while the Infanta receives her first classes of English:

> I shall to it again closely when he is gone, or make a shaft or a bolt of it. The Pope's death hath retarded the proceedings of the Match, but we are so far from despairing of it, that one may have wagers 30 to 1 it will take effect still. He that deals with this Nation must have a great deal of phlegm; and if this grand business of State, the Match, suffer such protractions and puttings off, you need not wonder that private Negotiations, as mine is, should be subject to the same inconveniences.[2]
>
> … Since our Prince's departure hence the Lady Infanta studieth English apace, and one Mr. Wadsworth and Father Boniface, two Englishmen, are appointed her Teachers, and have Access to her every Day.[3]

Howell points out the different attitudes and behaviour the English showed in Madrid:

> Besides, there is some distaste taken at the Duke of Buckingham here, and I heard this King should say he would treat no more with him, but with the Ambassadors, who, he saith, have a more plenary Commission, and understand the business better. As there is some darkness happen'd 'twixt the two Favourites, so matters stand not right 'twixt the Duke and the Earl of Bristol; but God forbid that a business of so high a consequence as this, which is likely to tend so much to the universal good of Christendom, to the restitution of the Palatinate and the composing those broils in Germany, should be ranvers'd by differences 'twixt a few private Subjects, though now public Ministers.
>
> Mr. Washington, the Prince his Page, is lately dead of a Calenture, and I was at his burial under a Fig-tree behind my Lord of Bristol's

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[1] *Epistolæ*, 171-2.
[2] *Epistolæ*, 182-3.
[3] *Epistolæ*, 184.

> House. A little before his death one Ballard, an English Priest, went to tamper with him; and Sir Edmund Varney meeting him coming down the stairs, out of Washington's Chamber, they fell from words to blows, but they were parted. The business was like to gather very ill blood, and to come to a great height, had not Count Gondomar quash'd it, which I believe he could not have done, unless the times had been favourable; for such is the reverence they bear to the Church here, and so holy a conceit they have of all Ecclesiastics, that the greatest Don in Spain will tremble to offer the meanest of them any outrage or affront. Count Gondomar hath also help'd to free some English that were in the Inquisition in Toledo and Sevill; and I could allege many instances how ready and chearful he is to assist any Englishman whatsoever, notwithstanding the base affronts he hath often received of the *London Buys*, as he calls them. … And I am sorry to hear how other Nations do much tax the English of their incivility to public Ministers of State, and what Ballads and Pasquils, and Fopperies and Plays, were made against Gondomar for doing his Master's business.[1]
>
> … There was an ill-favour'd accident like to have happen'd lately at the King's House, in that part where my Lord of Carlisle and my Lord Denbigh were lodg'd; for my Lord Denbigh late at night taking a pipe of Tobacco in a Balcony, which hung over the King's Garden, he blew down the ashes, which falling upon some parch'd combustible matter, began to flame and spread: but Mr. Davis, my Lord of Carlisle's Barber, leap'd down a great height and quench'd it.[2]

And Howell suspects that there is no interest in achieving and agreement:

> Yet there is one Mr. Clerk (with the lame Arm) that came hither from the Sea-side as soon as the Prince was gone; he is one of the D. of Buckingham's Creatures, yet he lies at the E. of Bristol's House, which we wonder at, considering the darkness that happen'd 'twixt the Duke and the Earl; We fear that this Clerk hath brought something that may puzzle the business. Besides, having occasion to make my Address lately to the Venetian Ambassador, who is interested in some part of that great Business for which I am here, he told me confidently it would

[1] *Epistolæ*, 172-3.
[2] *Epistolæ*, 175.

> be no Match, nor did he think it was ever intended. But I want faith to beleive him yet, for I know St. Mark is no friend to it, nor France, nor any other Prince or State besides the King of Denmark, whose Grandmother was of the House of Austria, being sister to Charles the Emperor.[1]

The Lord of Bristol leaves the negotiations of the Match and new obstacles appeared until an end almost everybody desired, the rupture of the negotiations. Howell reports of rumours about an agreement with France:

> Touching the procedure of matters here, you shall understand, that my Lord Aston had special audience lately of the King of Spain, and afterwards presented a Memorial, wherein there was a high complaint against the miscarriage of the two Spanish Ambassadors now in England, the Marquis of Inojosa and Don Carlos Coloma; the substance of it was, That the said Ambassadors, in a private audience His majesty of Great Britain had given them, inform'd him of a pernicious Plot against his person and Royal Authority, which was, That at the beginning of your now Parliament the Duke of Buckingham, with other complices, often met and consulted in a clandestine way, how to break the Treaty both of Match and Palatinate; and in case His majesty was unwilling thereunto, he should have a Country-house or two to retire unto for his recreation and health, in regard the Prince is now of years and judgment fit to govern. His Majesty so resented this, that the next day he sent them many thanks for the care they had of him, and desir'd them to perfect the work, and now that they had detected the Treason, to discover also the Traitors; but they were shy in that point. The King sent again, desiring them to send the names of the Conspirators in a paper sealed up by one of their own Confidents, which he should receive with his own hands and no soul should see it else; advising them withal, that they should not prefer this discovery before their own honours, to be accounted false accusers: they reply'd, That they had done enough already by instancing in the Duke of Buckingham, and it might easily be guess'd who were his Confidents and Creatures. Hereupon His Majesty put those whom he had any grounds to suspect to their Oaths: And

[1] *Epistolæ*, 185.

afterwards sent my Lord Conway and Sir Francis Cottington to tell the Ambassadors that he had left no means unessay'd to discover the Conspiration; that he had found upon Oath such a clearness of ingenuity in the Duke of Buckingham, that satisfy'd him of his innocency: Therefore he had just cause to conceive that this information of theirs proceeded rather from malice, and some political ends, than from truth; and in regard they would not produce the Authors of so dangerous a Treason, they made themselves to be justly thought the Authors of it: And therefore, tho' he might by his own Royal Justice and the Law of Nations, punish this excess and insolence of theirs, and high wrong they had done to his best Servants, yea to the Prince his Son, for thro' the sides of the Duke they wounded him, in regard it was impossible that such design should be attempted without his privity, yet he would not be his own judge herein, but would refer them to the King their Master, whom he conceiv'd to be so just, that he doubted not but he would see him satisfy'd; and therefore he would send an Express to him thereabouts, to demand Justice and Reparation.

This business is now in agitation, but we know not what will become of it. We are all here in a sad disconsolate condition, and the Merchants shake their heads up and down out of an apprehension of some fearful War to follow.[1]

… You have had knowledge (Sir Kenelme Digby) (none better) of the progression and growings of the Spanish Match from time to time; I must acquaint you now with the Rupture and utter Dissolution of it, which was not long a doing: for it was done in one Audience that my Lord of Bristol had lately at Court, whence it may be inferr'd, that 'tis far more easy to pull down that rear up; for the Structure which was so many years a rearing was dash'd, as it were, in a trice: Dissolution goeth a faster pace than Composition. And it may be said, that the civil actions of men, 'specially great affairs of Monarchs (as this was) have much analogy, in degrees of progression, with the natural production of man.[2]

… There is a buzz here of a Match 'twixt England and France; I pray God send it a speedier Formation and Animation than this had, and that it may not prove an abortive.[3]

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[1] *Epistolæ*, 190-1.
[2] *Epistolæ*, 191-2.
[3] *Epistolæ*, 193.

Buckingham in London. Howell accuses both Buckingham and the Spaniards of being responsible for the breaking of the Match:

> I am now casting about for another Fortune, and some hopes I have of employment about the D. of Buckingham. He sways more than ever; for whereas he was before a Favourite to the King, he is now a Favourite to Parliament, People, and City, for breaking the Match with Spain. Touching his own Interest, he had reason to do it, for the Spaniards love him not: But whether the public Interest of the State will suffer in it or no, I dare not determine; for my part, I hold the Spanish Match to be better than their Powder, and their Wares better than their Wars; and I shall be ever of that mind, That no Country is able to do England less hurt, and more good than Spain, considering the large Trafic and Treasure that is to be got thereby.[1]
>
> … Among other Nations, the Spaniards is observ'd to have much phlegm, and to be most dilatory in his proceedings, yet they who have pried narrowly into the sequel and success of his actions, do find that this gravity, reservedness, and tergiversation of his have turn'd rather to his prejudice than advantage, take one time with another. The two last matrimonial Treaties we had with him continu'd long; the first, 'twixt Ferdinand and Henry VII. for Catherine of Arragon seven years; that 'twixt King James and the now Philip IV. for Mary of Austria lasted eleven years, (and seven and eleven's eighteen); the first took effect for Pr. Arthur, the late miscarry'd for Pr. Charles, and the Spaniard may than himself and his own slow pace for it; for had he mended his pace to perfect the work, I believe his Monarchy had not receiv'd so many ill-favoured shocks since…[2]

I would like to finish my essay with a quotation taken from Loftis:

> Prejudice and fear combined to distort Englishmen's perceptions of Spain; pride, ambition, intolerance, and prejudice distorted Spaniards' perceptions of England. Other forces as well conditioned the history portrayed in Spanish and English drama.[3]

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[1] *Epistolæ*, 213.
[2] *Epistolæ*, 407.
[3] Loftis, 221.

As we have seen, other Englishmen lamented the rupture of the negotiations. But they did not have the same influence upon the popular feeling as drama did.

* * *

THE FIRST CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE: ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA'S 1542 *LA RELACION*

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In this paper, I will discuss the development of one type of Western captivity narrative, a Spanish one that in the context of expanding Western conquest brought (1) the need for the European conqueror to defend himself from the accusation of cultural betrayal and (2) the need to redeem a failed conqueror. For this I focus on Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 *La Relacion.*

Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca was a survivor of the failed Narvaez expedition that attempted to conquer part of the mainland of North America in 1527. The Spanish crown had authorized Governor Pamfilo Narvaez to take the territory from the cape of Florida to the Rio de las Palmas (which is now known as the Rio Grande in Texas). Part of the expedition, a force of around 300 men, entered into the interior of Florida, but only four survived the ordeals and eventually reconnected to Spanish civilization in 1536 near the Sinaloa River. These survivors [Cabeza de Vaca, Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, and the slave Estevanico] had trekked, mostly on foot, from Florida to almost to the Pacific ocean, near Culiacan.

Cabeza de Vaca's *La Relacion* presents the tale of the failed Narvaez Expedition, which set out on 17 June 1527 to conquer another Tenochtitlan, another golden city -a city they never doubted existed. For just as the English and later the Anglo-Americans imposed their "virgin land" perspective on the Americas, so to the Spanish conquerors fitted the Americas into a narrative grid that made the land and its inhabitants known;

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for the Spanish conqueror, the Americas were set in the conceptual mold of the story of the "golden city." This particular expedition sought the golden city in the region known as Apalachen -but failed.

In the Americas, the early Spanish conqueror sought a City of Gold (e.g., Cortes, Guzman, Narvaez). In his own eyes, he was the knight who battled dark, evil forces, and sought a kingdom to cleanse with the all important crown's blessing. His sense of moral superiority and what he accepted as his right for material profit motivated his imperial enterprise. Medieval legends and chronicles encouraged the notion that golden kingdoms existed in the Americas. They gave rise to a conceptualization of the sort that Columbus made concerning gold as a restorer, as a metaphor for renewed vigor. Lyle N. McAlister comments: "In Renaissance Hispania these fantasies [medieval tales] acquired a new vehicle in romances of chivalry whose contents, if not read by all, drifted into popular culture. Such tales had a common theme -the exploits of brave and virtuous hidalgos in fabulous lands- and a stereotypical outcome. The hero returned covered with glory and his fortune gained or restored."[1] Thomas D. Hall notes about the growth of the Spanish Empire: "[T]he lure of riches, the lack of alternative paths to glory and military hubris would have led them *(conquistadors)* to proceed undaunted. This kind of closed-mindedness combined with a particular balance of class forces and conflicts made subsequent policies all but inevitable."[2]

The Spanish conqueror sought kingdoms of gold: the Amazons' kingdom, *El Dorado,* Quivira, the Seven Cities of Cibola, the "land of the Caesars," and others. The conquering experience, it was assumed, would not change the conqueror, just test a finished product -the conqueror, a morally superior being. There is no doubt that an important element in the conqueror's discourse was the kingdom of gold, which many times was thought to be ruled by Amazonian women. Columbus made references to Amazon-like natives in the Caribbean islands. Cortes searched for Amazons and ordered a mission to find them: "I am informed that along the coast adjacent to the town of Colima there are numerous well-populated provinces where it is believed that there is much treasure; also, that in those

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[1] Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World 1492-1700.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 89.

[2] Thomas D. Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880.* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), p. 51.

parts there is a district inhabited by women without men. It is said that, in the matter of reproduction, these women follow the practices of the Amazons described in the *istorias antiguas.* To ascertain the truth of this and the rest related to that coast will be a great service to God, our Lord and their Majesties."[1] Nuño de Guzman sought the Amazons also. In a letter dated 8 July 1530, he states: "From thence ten days further I shall go to finde the Amazons, which some say dwell in the Sea, and some in an arme of the Sea, and that they are rich and accounted of the people for Goddesses, and whiter than other women."[2] Garcia de Pilar first came with Cortes, then later became Nuño de Guzman's interpreter (for he was fluent in Nahuatl). He mentions that the Guzman expedition, which entered the Michoacan and nothwest area, reached Cihuatlan, a city of women, which they had hoped to be a city of gold.[3] Peter Martyr, a councilor of the Indies, wrote that Juan Rivera (a trusted servant of Cortes) had heard of a region in the northern mountains inhabited by women. "What might argue in favour of the truth of the truth of this story," he states, "is that the land is called Yguatlan; for *ygua* in their language menas women, and *lan* means master. Hence it is believed to be the country of women."[4] Whether his language analysis was correct or not, his conclusion was that this proved the existence of an Amazon kingdom which meant a city of gold.

In 1539, Fray Marcos de Niza was sent by the viceroy of New Spain on a reconnoitering expedition to the northern land, reaching the area known today as the United States' state of New Mexico. The next year (1540), the Coronado expedition followed. Fray Niza was in search of the Seven Cities of Gold, and he reported seeing a grand city, larger than Mexico City with decorations of turquoise. It was called Cibola, and was thought to contain many people and some very large houses. When the Coronado expedition entered the region, Fray Marcos' fiction was exposed. But on hearing rumors of kingdoms, Coronado continued to search; he in turn sought Quivira, a place supposedly overflowing with gold, a place that even became established on European maps without its existence ever

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[1] Irving A. Leonard, *Book of the Brave.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 49.

[2] Leonard, p. 51.

[3] John H. Parry & Robert G. Keith, eds. *Central America and Mexico,* vol. III of *New Iberian World.* (New York: Time Books & Hector & Rose, 1984), p. 554.

[4] Parry & Keith, eds., *Central America and Mexico,* vol. III, p. 210.

being confirmed. In the Argentinean area, Ruy Diaz de Guzman reports what the Francisco Cesar expedition (1529-30) claimed was "a province with a large number of people that were very rich in silver and gold," which became known as the "land of the Caesars."[1] The search for the kingdom of *El Dorado* (the gilded king) was undertaken by Gonzalo Pizzarro (brother of Francisco Pizarro) in 1541. The province was supposedly located where cinnamon grew and was purported to be a very populous and rich land. He wrote to his "Sacred Cesarean Catholic Majesty": "I decided to go and conquer it and explore it, both in order to serve our Majesty and in order to broaden and increase Your Majesty's realms and royal patrimony, and because I had been made to believe that from these provinces would be obtained great treasures whereby Your Majesty would be served and aided in meeting the great expenses with which Your Majesty is faced every day in his realms."[2]

Cabeza de Vaca first came to the Americas as treasurer of the Narvaez expedition; his job was to make sure that His Majesty got the *quinto real*. That expedition sought the golden kingdom of Apalachen, a province that supposedly contained much gold.[3] Then later as *adelantado* and governor of the province of Rio de la Plata, Cabeza de Vaca learned about the Xarayes, a people who acquired silver and gold from natives who were "further on."[4] He set out to conquer this kingdom that lay beyond the territory of the Xarayes.

The Kingdoms of gold -of wealth- were tied to the themes of regeneration and redemption. Although silver, in both volume and value became the predominant metal being exploited in the Americas, the term "gold" held the mythical power. Gold became a metaphor for the promise of renewed vigor, power, and fortune. "Gold," wrote Columbus, "constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it has all the needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from Purgatory, and restoring

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[1] Parry & Keith, eds., *Coastlines, Rivers, and Forests.* vol. V, p. 424.

[2] Parry & Keith, eds., *Coastlines, Rivers, and Forests.* vol. V, p. 182.

[3] Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* (Zamora: Agustín de Paz & Juan Picardo, 1542), sig. Avii(a).

[4] Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios y Comentarios.* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1906), p. 294.

them to the enjoyment of Paradise."[1] Cortes once asked Teudilli, Moctezuma's agent, if Moctezuma possessed gold. Teudilli responded **yes**, and Cortes stated, "send me of it (gold), for me and my companions have an illness of the heart that only gold can heal."[2] Cortes like Columbus saw gold as the means for redemption -as did many Spanish conquerors who set foot on the Americas.

The textual Cabeza de Vaca begins as a Spanish conqueror, the Emperor's treasurer ready to guarantee the *quinto real.* He sets out with the expedition to spread the Christian faith, enlarge the empire, and -in the process- acquire wealth: the mythical model for this conqueror is the knight in the tales of Amadis, who is aristocratic, supporter of the monarchy, and destined by fate to conquer and cleanse a kingdom. Succinctly, Amadis was a prince who upheld the king's authority, a man with a sword who sought and expected to find a kingdom to cleanse, a process that would allow personal and monarchical vitality, political strength, and fortune. Earlier romances had supported and mirrored a feudal society. But *Amadis* reflected the monarchical world view as the natural order: the *Amadis,* novel of the monarchical spirit that inculcated the duties of the good vassal.[3] These Amadis tales were given flesh by Cortes' conquest of Tenochtitlan, a place described by Bernal Diaz as "an enchanted vision from the tale of Amadis ... It was all so wonderful that I do not know how to describe this first R. glimpse of things never heard of or seen before."[4] The exception to the rule, one may say, was taken to confirm the mythical idea of the existence of cities of gold and of the validity of the Amdis-type conqueror.

But the failure of the Narvaez expedition made the conqueror's narrative unworkable, mainly because the Amadis-type conqueror could not function in the setting of failure. Due to the failure, Cabeza de Vaca was

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[1] R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.* (New York: A Mentor Book, 1926), p. 80.

[2] Fracisco López de Gómara, *Conquista de México.* tomo I. (Barcelona: Daniel Cortezo y Vía, 1887), p. 67.

[3] *Amadís de Gaula,* tomo I. (Buenos Aires: Editorial C.O.P., 1940), p. xi. [Translation by writer of the article]

[4] Bernal Díaz, *The Conquest of New Spain,* trans. J. M. Cohen. (New York: Viking Penguin, 1963), p. 214.

forced to reinterpret the type of being who symbolized regeneration and redemption. This was imperative, for without such reinterpretation Cabeza de Vaca could not fit into the Spanish Imperial environment. *La Relacion* ends up presenting the reader with two models, then; one was Pamfilo de Narvaez (the warrior/knight), the other Cabeza de Vaca (the ascetic/gentleman, which ends up being favored in the narrative.

One very important thing that occurs in Cabeza de Vaca's narrative is that the Spaniards come to be at the mercy of different Native American tribes. The theme of captivity arises and with it the question of possible betrayal.

The Puritans developed captivity narratives, which were edited to give a didactic interpretation that showed the demonic forces seeking the destruction of God's chosen.[1] So the pattern showed the faithful (generally a woman) tested, taken into the wilderness by demons (Native Americans), tempted to betray her faith and culture by such things as the offer to join the tribe or the offer to eat human flesh -which if accepted by the captive would mean that she would cease to be God's creature; then, following this narrative's development, at the last moment the captive accepted without question the will of God and was rescued by the grace of God. Thus, the former captive, having experienced grace, returns to her community with faith and acceptance of her place in God's plan. The former captive demonstrates she did not betray her culture.

In Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, there are examples of Spaniards deserting the expedition (such as Theodoro who by doing that also abandoned his people, his culture, and joined the natives), examples of Spaniards who became cannibals (such as what occurred on Malhado Island), of the Spaniard Oviedo refusing to get away from a Native American tribe.[2] All of these incidents reveal acts of cultural betrayal. These Spaniards ceased to have legitimacy in the Spanish Imperial context.

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[1] Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: the Mythology of the American Frontier 1600-1860.* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), pp. 95, 100, 101.

[2] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* sigs. Cii(a0, Cii(b), Cvii(b), Cviii(a), Diiii(b).

As for Cabeza de Vaca, there comes a point in *La Relacion* when he asks a Native American tribe to take in the barely surviving Spaniards, which they do. At that point, there is no doubt that the image and power of a conqueror are gone. In fact, the model of the Amadis-style conqueror in *La Relacion* -as represented by Panfilo de Narvaez- was bankrupted by that point. This occurred when the expeditionaries were at sea on barges. Cabeza de Vaca asked from his barge what were Narvaez's orders. To which Narvaez replied, "Each man should do what he thought best in order to save his life."[1] In other words, **it's every man for himself**. With this statement, Narvaez -who had the strongest men on his barge- relinquished his authority as the men struggled at sea on their makeshift boats.[2] The expeditionaries had embarked on these boats in Florida and had set off in the direction of Panuco -a distance they thought was short. Instead, most ended up shipwrecked on the coast of what many people believe is present day Texas.

It is after this shipwreck that from the Spaniards' point of view the captivity begins, for now they were in danger of being absorbed by the environment and/or the Native Americans. For Cabeza de Vaca, his narrative not only had to somehow explain or -rather convince- his readers that the failed expedition had not been a failure, but that (1) he did not betray his culture, meaning basically not betray monarch and Christian faith, and (2) that he was redeemed.

The question was how could Cabeza de Vaca do this narratively, especially with the specter of the renegade up and about. The renegade was the ultimate evil which led to the deadliest of betrayals; he was the one who became the "other," one who had allowed himself to be absorbed by a foreign environment from which he repudiated his monarch and Christian faith and for whom there could be no redemption.

An example of the renegade was the Spaniard Gonzalo Guerrero, who like Cabeza de Vaca set out to conquer and like Cabeza de Vaca ended up shipwrecked -Guerrero though in Yucatan (1511). Guerrero, like Cabeza de Vaca, had been a slave of the natives and then ceased to be one. But

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[1] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* sig. Ciiii. [All translations from Cabeza de Vaca's *La Relación* are by the writer of this article]

[2] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* sig. Ciii(b).

unlike Cabeza de Vaca, Guerrero became a leader, a man "free and accepted by his captors as a member of the native community."[1] Unlike Cabeza de Vaca, Guerrero rejected the Spanish imperial endeavor. When the *adelantado,* don Francisco de Montejo, heard that Guerrero was among the natives, he wrote to him: "to remind you that you are a Christian, redeemed with the blood of Jesus Christ, our Savior, to whom and for whom I, and you, should and do give infinite thanks. And particularly you, you who are in such a special position and capacity to serve God and our Emperor, our Lord, in this the pacification and baptism of these people."[2] But at that moment, Guerrero had a native name, Nachancan, spoke the tribal language, had tattooed his body, cut his ears and tongue as was customary in the tribe, and made their sacrifices: he had become the "other." Unlike Cabeza de Vaca, Gonzalo Guerrero led natives against the crown, married a native woman, and begot half-castes. During a battle in 1528, Guerrero (the "bad Christian sailor") was said to be killed by Alonso de Avila.[3]

Consequently, Cabeza de Vaca in his narrative constantly reassured the reader that he had *not* abandoned his monarch, his faith, his culture. The reader of *La Relacion* is identified as the Emperor; the appeals were made to His Majesty, to Caesar, to Emperor. Cabeza de Vaca pointed out that the ordeal he went through was God's judgement; therefore, it was not his fault the expedition failed.[4] He stated that he roamed the wilderness and traveled with the barbarous tribes because he had no choice -yet, he added, that he took advantage of this to acquire information that would assist His Majesty in conquering the land; he, in fact, even gave advice on how to conquer.[5]

During the period Cabeza de Vaca called his captivity, he lost his European trappings, became a slave, a merchant, and a healer. However, Cabeza de Vaca maintained he continued to be a Christian and loyal to the Emperor. As slave, he does not give up hope that his captivity will end and

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[1] Grant D. Jones, *Maya resistance to Spanish Rule: Time and History on a Colonial frontier*. (Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), p. 27.

[2] Parry & Keith, eds., *Central America and Mexico,* vol. III, p. 504.

[3] Parry & Keith, eds., *Central America and Mexico,* vol. III, p. 505.

[4] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sig. Ai(b).

[5] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sigs Aii(a), Fiii(b), Hi(b).

attempts to escape; as merchant he explored and sought routes to the Christian lands. He even remained in the Malhado area with the local tribe longer than he had to in order to rescue a Spaniard who in the end decided to remain with the Native Americans. But the most difficult role Cabeza de Vaca had to explain was that of healer.

Cabeza de Vaca made it clear in the narrative that he and his companions were forced to become healers: either they became shamans or they would starve.[1] At this point, a Native American voice is heard when he chastises them for their refusal to become shamans: **the stones and other things** -he tells them- **that spring from the fields have virtue** ... **men surely had greater virtue and power**.[2] Still, although Cabeza de Vaca insisted hunger forced him and his companions to become healer, the role of healer created an ambiguous stituation for him and his Spanish companions (not for Estevanico, the black). In the role of shaman, Cabeza de Vaca faced the threat of being classified in a category considered abnormal by the Spanish Imperial authorities. Cabeza de Vaca's justification for the role was to show it as a desperate attempt to survive without becoming cultural traitor.

When healing, Cabeza de Vaca used along with the native techniques Christian ones, such as calling on the Lord and making the sign of the cross and reciting the *Pater Noster* y *Ave Maria.*[3] Cabeza de Vaca called attention to this, for not only was he attempting to do away with the possible accusation that he was a renegade but also the accusation that he was a backslider -giving up and failing to fulfill the cultural goals. Consequently, in order not to be accused of using native magic as healer, he attributed all cures - including a Lazarus-like one- to the Christian God; he explained he took on the role of *(fisico)* shaman in order to reach the Christian lands.[4] Cabeza de Vaca reassured the Emperor (his reader) that he did not give up his culture and did not intend to become the "other" as a Guerrero-type renegade.

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[1] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sig. Di(b).
[2] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sig. Di(b).
[3] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sig. Dii(a).
[4] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sigs. Eiiii(a), Hiiii(a).

There is an important point of comparison between Cabeza de Vaca and Guerrero that demonstrates their divergent paths. When Francisco de Montejo was conquering Yucatan, he asked Guerrero's help to pacify the natives; Guerrero refused. Once Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were back in Christian lands, the *alcalde major* Melchior Diaz requested that they remain long enough to restore things and serve God and Emperor; he requested they recall the frighten natives in the name of God and Emperor so the natives would populate and till the land.[1] This request was the same type that the *adelantado* don Francisco de Montejo made to Guerrero: serve God and Emperor in pacification and baptism of the natives. Cabeza de Vaca agreed.

For Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, their captivity ended when a naked and weather-beaten Cabeza de Vaca made contact near the Sinaloa River with Spanish slave raiders. After many years in the "wilderness," Cabeza de Vaca finally made contact with his cultural cohorts and silence was his reward. When Cabeza de Vaca spoke to them in Spanish, they were stunned, were speechless, could not even ask him questions.[2] They were unable to believe that Spanish was coming from a being that to them looked like the "other." In his wanderings, Cabeza de Vaca had ceased to look Spanish. Appearing before the horsemen naked and in the company of natives and Estevanico the black, Cabeza de Vaca inadvertently presented a situation that challenged the slave raider's preconceived notions of the land and its inhabitants. The Spanish slave raiders could not at that moment categorize the man who stood before them. But once they recovered and realized that up to 600 natives were following Cabeza de Vaca and his companions (shamans to the natives) there occurred an important incident that has been sentimentalized.

An argument took place between the slave raiders and Cabeza de Vaca's group over the natives who had followed the shamans. The slave raiders wanted to enslave the natives. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were against this. This episode in the narrative can be misunderstood; taken in a very sentimental manner, a reader may be tempted to attribute to Cabeza de Vaca the title of "defender of Indians" or the motive of wanting to liberate the Native Americans. These are misreadings of what actually

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[1] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sig. Hv(b).

[2] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sig. Hii(b).

happened. Although the issue of enslavement of the natives sparked the argument between the two Spanish groups, neither the slave raiders or Cabeza de Vaca's group questioned the right to conquer. What the two Spanish groups argued about was not native rights but, instead, which group had the authority of the Emperor and therefore authority over the Native Americans. It focused on Spanish authority: who was serving the monarch, who was being the **good vassal**. And they fought over the term *christiano.*[1] There was no question that the natives have to submit; the point was to which party.

The authority issue was important in Cabeza de Vaca's captivity narrative, for Imperial authority was connected to the notion of redemption. In Cabeza de Vaca's captivity tale, the warrior ceased to be a viable role; the ascetic role -the healer- surfaced and ended up being favored. Asceticism provided Cabeza de Vaca with the condition that affirmed his success in this faraway land. Emphasizing the ascetic/healer did not lead him to merge with the native. The reverse, in fact, is pictured in the narrative by Cabeza de Vaca, who identified himself with his culture completely by proclaiming his religious mission: God willed he go through hardship so he could lead them out of captivity.[2] Falling back on the Christian tradition of the suffering holy ascetic, Cabeza de Vaca presented a man who remained loyal and therefore legitmate, unlike Narvaez. In addition, the ascetic was associated with some chivalrous expectations which had been part of the warrior. The ascetic Cabeza de Vaca suffered hardships but did not stray nor renege on his culture or his Emperor. He demonstrated his fidelity, valor, and faithfulness, even though he failed to conquer new lands.

Saint Augustin's *City of God*, with its pilgrimage through a hostile world on his way to the holy city, echoed in Cabeza de Vaca's narrative. As an ascetic, Cabeza de Vaca also echoed back to the New Testament idea of Christian life as estrangement from the world. St. Augustine in *The City of God* describes a person's earthly journey as being that of a pilgrimage: the journey of a stranger in the midst of the ungodly. And in Christianity pilgrimage was endorsed as a worthy form of asceticism. So the ascetic Cabeza de Vaca wandered among the barbarous tribes in a strange country

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[1] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sigs. Hiii(b), Hiiii(a)

[2] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sig. Dv(b).

seeking the land of the Christians. The conqueror Cabeza de Vaca who sought the golden city changed for a time into the ascetic seeking the holy city in the Christian lands, the former Tenochtitlan now the Spanish city of Mexico.

In *La Relacion,* we read about a faithful man falling into captivity in a far distant land, a hostile and non-Christian land where he is tempted to abandon his Christian faith and his loyalty to his Emperor by the offer to become a tribal member. At the beginning of *La Relacion,* Cabeza de Vaca is the Spanish conqueror. But later, after being shipwrecked, he interacts with the Native American (the "other") differently. He becomes a slave, a trader, a healer and, therefore, has to deal with the native intimately. But because the conqueror comes to know the native, does not mean he will become the native. The conqueror rejects identification with the native at the same time that he seeks information about him that will aid in exploiting the land. Although Cabeza de Vaca comes to know the native, even participates in the native's culture, all his acts are justified as European. For instance, Franciscan monks -who came to the Americas and dressed poorly, went about bare foot, and ate what the natives ate- did so not to become the native but rather to change him. Their acts were justified as those which promote European civilization. Likewise, Cabeza de Vaca does not reject the Imperial endeavor of submitting the Americas to the crown.

Cabeza de Vaca avoided being absorbed by the wilderness; he did not become a cannibal. He accepted God's will; he went through a trial during which he gathered information on the inhabitants that would assist the Emperor in conquering them -and Cabeza de Vaca gathered information about where golden cities lay. For instance, he mentioned in *La Relacion* one to the south and another to the north. (The latter one spurred the Fray Niza reconnaissance and the Coronado expedition.)

Here was Cabeza de Vaca's redemption. Cabeza de Vaca bought himself back by offering the locations of golden cities to the Monarch. In the narrative, God had led him out of captivity, and Cabeza de Vaca demonstrated he did not betray his culture by offering information about the unconquered land and advice on how to conquer the natives.

Upon his return to Christian lands, Cabeza de Vaca requested the patent for Florida, convinced that a golden city was there. De Soto got

Florida. It is important to note that many members of different failed expeditions -despite their hazardous experiences- sought to return to the Americas and continue their search for wealth. They started out believing in the golden city and after the ordeal still believed in it. Governor Narvaez, who did not survive the endeavor, exemplifies the pre-ordeal position. In *La Relacion,* he declared the conqueror's duty and embraced the myth of the golden city. In his reply to the prophecy of the *mora de Hornachos,* Narvaez stated that all who marched with him would battle and conquer many lands and very strange people, and it was certain that many would die conquering them; but he insisted that those who survived would be rich, for he knew the land.[1]

Of the men of the Narvaez expedition (with the exception of the slave Estevanico, whose voice in the text was virtually silenced), who survived -eventually wandering about naked- experienced hardships but never gave up their previous conception of the Americas as being the land of the golden city. Not only, for instance, did Cabeza de Vaca on his return to Spanish civilization seek the patent for Florida but also the right to explore the "northern lands" for the golden city which Viceroy Mendoza undertook with the Coronado expedition.[2] As for his companions, Andres Dorantes, after the ordeal, turned his slave Estevanico over to the viceroy, served in the conquest of Jalisco, and awaited a joint command with Cabeza de Vaca.[3] Estevanico was used by the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in an attempt to acquire the wealth of the city of gold. Estevanico encouraged Fray Marcos' reconnoitering expedition by fueling the myth of the golden city.[4] Alonso del Castillo married a wealthy widow and was granted half the rents of the Indian town of Tehuacan.[5] Cabeza de Vaca was sent to South America to the Rio de la Plata area where he sought "El Dorado."

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[1] Cabeza de Vaca, *La Relación.* Sigs. Ii(b), Iii(a).

[2] Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794.* (Alburquerque: The Quivira Society, 1937), pp. 43, 44.

[3] Cyclone Covey, trans., *Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America.* (Alburquerque: University of New Mexico, 1961), p. 141.

[4] A. Curtis Wilgus, *Latin America 1492-1942.* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Reprint Corp. , 1973), p. 116.

[5] Covey, p. 141.

The European expansion into the Americas fueled the Western Renaissance. From the conflict between the Europeans and the Native Americans, from the European struggle to not only conquer the land but to justify this conquest, there developed several different types of narratives. The captivity narrative was one. The English, specifically through the Puritans, developed one -which influenced the development of what later became the New Adam myth in the United States. Cabeza de Vaca's captivity tale offered a narrative model for other failed Spanish conquerors, who turned out to be many (e.g., Oñate, Coronado), and later in the popular culture of the United States, it influenced the romantic image of the Spanish conqueror.

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LEWKENOR / LUCANOR (1555?-1627?): FRAGMENTOS BIO-BIBLIOGRÁFICOS DE UN TRADUCTOR OLVIDADO

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Hubo un hombre en Inglaterra que en los años finales del siglo XVI y primeros del XVII aparentaba ya mediana edad, un hombre de cultura también mediana, porque nunca cursó estudios universitarios, ni viajó tampoco extensamente, ni escribió obra alguna de leyes, religión, ciencia o geografía; un provinciano, hijo de un comerciante curtidor, que sólo sabía un poco de latín y algo de francés leído, que no hablado. Pero un provinciano inquieto, muy curioso, muy leído, por cuyas manos podía pasar cada semana un libro y dejar huellas profundas. Un hombre acaso de aspecto anónimo, pero de rápido cerebro y posiblemente una de las memorias más prodigiosas que haya habido. Imagino que ustedes ya le habrán adjudicado el nombre de William y el apellido Shakespeare. Ese hombre, valga la simpleza, escribió teatro. Tampoco demasiado. No admite comparación, por ejemplo, con la producción dramática de su contemporáneo Lope de Vega. Digamos que escribió *algunas* comedias, *algunas* tragedias y *algunas* piezas de carácter histórico. Pues bien: hay pruebas fehacientes (en tanto en cuanto la crítica literaria puede dar su última palabra) de que este autor, de la manera y como quiera que fuese, dejó en sus obras testimonios suficientes de haber conocido el *Lazarillo,* el *Espejo de Príncipes y Caballeros* de Ortúñez de Calahorra, las tres *Dianas* de Montemayor, Gil Polo y Alonso Pérez, la *Historia general de las Indias* del cronista López de Gómara, la *Celestina,* varios títulos distintos de la serie del *Amadís, La desdichada Estefanía* de Lope de Vega, la primera parte del *Quijote,* la *Silva de varia lección* de Pedro de Mejía ... Les ahorro

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a ustedes la lista completa, porque supera el centenar de títulos. ¿Cómo pudo ser esto si Shakespeare no sabía español?

Sólo hay una posible respuesta: porque en vida de Shakespeare los libros españoles estaban en la primera línea de la inquietud cultural inglesa del momento. Estaban un poco *en el ambiente*, y se leían, copiaban, resumían, repetían, comentaban, plagiaban y sobre todo se traducían de una forma que hoy nos es difícil incluso imaginar, al tiempo que no llegamos a abarcar por entero, dada su gran profundidad y extensión, toda la influencia de las letras españolas en la literatura británica contemporánea, influencia que actuó tanto en el plano de la *deep structure* como en el de la *surface structure*, por utilizar una terminología de todos conocida. Hasta el punto que cabe decir sin error que no hay obra de este período, de cualquier naturaleza que sea, en la que no hallemos un toque y una huella españoles.

No fueron muchos, sin embargo, los escritores hispanos directamente traducidos desde nuestro idioma al inglés a lo largo de todo el siglo XVI: un repaso exhaustivo tan sólo nos da la cifra de 110 (muchísimos más, qué duda cabe, lo fueron a través de versiones intermedias, generalmente francesas o italianas).

Es posible que la cifra de 110 autores (poco más de uno por año) no nos diga mucho, e incluso que nos parezca mínima, y hasta ridícula, sobre todo si la comparamos con los cuatrocientos títulos ingleses que cada mes se publican ahora en España. No obstante, los números, y mucho más las estadísticas, dependen de un contexto histórico preciso: frente a ese centenar de autores españoles traducidos hay que decir también, por ejemplo, que en ese mismo período de cien años sólo se tradujeron seis libros, seis, del inglés al castellano, y desde luego ninguno de ellos de primera o segunda categoría literaria. Y que dos de ellos a su vez fueron impresos en Inglaterra. Y que las seis traducciones al español, las seis, las hicieron traductores de lengua y nacionalidad inglesa, lo que resulta, cuando menos, paradógico. Ante ese número tan reducido de seis títulos ingleses vertidos al castellano en todo un siglo, la cifra de 110 versiones inglesas de títulos españoles se agranda considerablemente y adquiere una nueva dimensión. Pero no es sólo la cifra, sino la misma calidad; porque si apenas pueden mencionarse los seis autores traducidos al castellano, ya que nadie los conoce en el mundo de las letras, sí pueden en cambio enumerarse algunas de las firmas españolas traducidas y editadas en Inglaterra, en varios casos con más de diez y doce ediciones a lo largo de la centuria.

Garcilaso fue traducido, y Fernando de Rojas, y Antonio de Guevara, y el marqués de Santillana en sus famosos *Proverbios* (completos, por cierto), el *Lazarillo*, fray Luis de Granada, Antonio de Nebrija, Jorge de Montemayor y Gil Polo, los historiadores Esteban de Garibay y Jerónimo Zurita, y los cronistas de Indias López de Gómara, Agustín de Zárate y Fernández de Oviedo, además de Diego de San Pedro, Diego Ortúñez de Calahorrra o Pedro de Mejía. Después, durante los veinticinco primeros años del siglo XVII, vendrían las versiones de Cervantes, Mateo Alemán, Sta. Teresa, Lope de Vega, Ribadeneira, el Inca Garcilaso ... Entre otros. Un verdadero aluvión, como puede verse, de literatura española en lengua inglesa, para lo que era preciso contar en primer lugar con originales españoles, después con el esfuerzo de traductores que conocieran el idioma, más tarde con editores y libreros interesados en el tema, y sobre todo con lectores, que en muchos casos agotaban pronto las ediciones y solicitaban nuevas reimpresiones. Las *Epístolas familiares* de Antonio de Guevara, por ejemplo, se imprimieron nueve veces en tan sólo dieciocho años: de 1567 a 1584. Del *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* se tiraron quince ediciones inglesas en el siglo XVI.

Lo sorprendente, sin embargo, es que ninguno de los traductores de estas obras fueron profesionales de la traducción. De hecho, ni siquiera fueron *hombres de letras*, en la habitual acepción restringida del término. Fueron, por lo general, personas que han entrado casi anónimas en la historia, sin apenas biografía, muchas de condición social modesta y mínima influencia en las esferas literarias, culturales, políticas, religiosas o económicas de la nación. En un buen número de casos poco más llegamos a saber de ellos que el nombre con el que firman sus versiones. Casi todos, eso sí, tuvieron relaciones directas bien con España, bien con los Países Bajos, en los que nuestro idioma era entonces, por razones históricas bien conocidas, moneda muy corriente. Así Richard Arnold, el primero de todos estos traductores, un tendero que en 1502 vendía en Londres artículos importados de Flandes; así John Frampton, que tradujo a Monardes, Enciso, Santaella, Escalante y Pedro de Medina, y que aprendió su español comerciando en las Canarias y prisionero durante años en la cárcel de la Inquisición sevillana; así David Rowland, maestro de letras griegas y latinas en Londres, que tradujo el *Lazarillo* ... Cuando al término de su excelente bibliografía *(English Translations from the Spanish and Portuguese)*, Allison recorre las biografías de los traductores de español en los siglos XVI y XVII, su frase más repetida es: "*nothing appears to be*

known about him", o bien su variante: *"next to nothing is known about his life"*.

Y, sin embargo, estos seres casi anónimos llevaron a cabo una tarea sin la cual la cultura isabelina habría sido muy otra. Se ha dicho, y estoy de acuerdo con la afirmación, porque es una teoría altamente probable, que la traducción es el fenómeno cultural más característico de la Inglaterra isabelina: sin la sed de traducciones que dominó a la dilatada élite intelectual de la época ningún aspecto cultural del momento habría sido lo que fue, y desde luego habría sido diferente. Por lo que a nosotros respecta, ni la cultura ni la literatura inglesa del período llegan a entenderse completamente sin hacer alusión inmediata a tanto libro español como la clase intelectual británica leyó y consultó en estos años. Llegaron a formar parte tan consustancial de la cultura inglesa de la época que sin ellos esa misma cultura --vuelvo a repetirlos-- habría sido en gran medida distinta. Alison Peers dejó escrito que, a excepción de la *Biblia,* el *Quijote* es la obra extranjera que más profundas huellas ha dejado en la tradición literaria británica. No creo que debamos hacer extensivo este comentario a la influencia general española sobre la cultura inglesa del período que estamos considerando, pero sí es evidente, en cambio, que sin tal influencia muchas de las obras maestras de esta época serían bien distintas de lo que de hecho llegaron a ser. E incluyo aquí el teatro de Shakespeare, Middleton, Ben Jonson, Fletcher y Beaumont, buena parte de los sermones de John Donne, la poesía de Googe, Sidney, Spenser, Thomas Deloney, la prosa de Sidney y de John Lyly, las tragedias de Thomas Kyd, todos los tratados militares ingleses sin excepción ninguna, las narraciones de Henry Chettle y de Richard Head ... Sólo en el área teatral Allison ha podido escribir (sin que nadie le contradiga):

> In the 17th century English playwrights dipped freely, and almost always without acknowledgment, into the riches of the Spanish drama of the Golden Age, borrowing and adapting situations, plots, sub-plots, characters and even passages of dialogue that took their fancy (1974: 8).

¿Cuántos nombres, títulos y citas más habría que enunciar para convencer al escéptico? Porque el escéptico piensa que la cultura inglesa de este período giró exclusivamente en torno a las influencias francesa e italiana. Y es cierto que giró en torno a ellas. Pero no es menos cierto, como lo demuestra el análisis detallado, que la influencia española, transmitida

sobre todo a través de las traducciones, viene en un inmediato e importante tercer lugar ...

Uno de los traductores que contribuyeron a esta tarea de trasvase internacional, uno de esos traductores casi anónimos, de silueta cada vez más desdibujada por el paso del tiempo, es Lewis Lewkenor, al que los españoles de la época conocieron a veces, hispanizando su nombre, como *Luis Lucanor*. Lewkenor ejemplifica como nadie el caso del traductor-tipo de este período, y a su biografía y bibliografía desaría dedicarles, por paradigmáticas, los minutos que siguen. No existe, en efecto, un estudio, breve o extenso, de este personaje. Ni siquiera una mínima biografía que satisfaga nuestra curiosidad. O al menos yo he sido incapaz de hallarla. Si uno acude al *Dictionary of National Biography* se topa con la sorpresa de que esta obra monumental no registra entrada alguna bajo el nombre de Lewkenor. Allison tan sólo logra recoger (1974: 204) unas mínimas noticias, por cierto bastante nebulosas, además de desalentadoras para quien desea seguir las primeras pistas de investigación:

> He came of a well-known Sussex family. Many of the Lewkenors went to Cambridge, but Lewis's name does not appear in the printed University records. He was knighted in 1603. In 1605 he was made Master of the Ceremonies to James I and from then on his name occurs frequently in the State Papers Domestic until 1626.

Ningún dato más. Lo que ciertamente no es mucho. ¿Qué puede añadirse hoy a las escuetas frases de Allison?

Lewis Lewkenor era natural de Sussex, y de su vida y actividades se ignoran en este momento (es cierto) casi todos los datos, incluida su fecha de nacimiento, que debemos situar en torno a los años 1555 o 1560.

La *'well-known Sussex family'*, católica en su mayoría, a que alude Allison incluye ciertamente entre sus miembros a:

* Sir Edward Lewkenor (1543?-1605), cuya muerte se conmemoró con una obra titulada *Threnodia in obitum D. Edouardi Lewkenor equitis: Funerall verses* (1606);

* Samuel Lewkenor, M. P. y autor a finales de 1600 de *A discourse ... for such as are desirous to know of forraine cities: Containing a discourse of cities wherein flourish at this day privileged universities (being in number 74)* (London: J. Windet for H. Hooper); [definida como " a work ... for such as are desirous to know the situation and customs of foreign universities without travelling to see them"];

* Thomas Lewkenor, esquire, comisionado real (1592-3) en Sussex;

* Richard Lewkenor, *esquire* y *'recorder'* de Chichester en mayo de 1580 (Neale 1976: 252);

* George Lewkenor, doctor en medicina exiliado en Italia; y finalmente

* Edmund Lewkenor (Edmundus Leucknerus), natural también de Sussex y bachiller en el St John's College de Cambridge; llegó como exiliado a Reims el 7 de junio de 1579 y se ordenó sacerdote en Soissons el 28 de mayo de 1580; residió y enseñó hasta finales de siglo en los colegios ingleses de Douai y Reims.

Indudablemente Lewis Lewkenor adquirió sus conocimientos de español durante su estancia en los Países Bajos al servicio de España. Albert L. Loomie comenta en su obra *The Spanish Elizabethans* (1963: 10) cómo en torno al año 1580 este traductor se trasladó secretamente a Flandes, donde permaneció aproximadamente diez años. Tras casarse en Amberes con la heredera de un comerciante de Brabante, Lewkenor se enroló en el ejército del duque de Parma, mandó como capitán una compañía y fue herido de consideración en un brazo, incidente que le obligó a retirarse del servicio activo en las filas españolas.

> He had new troubles to face. There was a law suit over his wife's dowry, and he lost his pension. By 1587 he had been reduced to the sorry expedient of begging an exemption from a tax on beer and bread in order to live (Loomie 1963: 10).

No fue éste, desde luego, un período feliz de su vida, y a él parece aludir Lewkenor años más tarde, cuando escribe: *"My education hath been in wars"* [palabras 'al lector' en su versión del italiano, 1599]. Sin embargo, este es el momento, según es muy probable, en que Lewkenor, sumergido

en la babel de las tropas mercenarias de España en Flandes, adquirió los conocimientos lingüísticos para sus traducciones posteriores. El mismo admitiría años después: *"They with whom I conferred were Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germains, Polonians, yea or Italians"* [palabras 'al lector' en su traducción del italiano, 1599].

Por fin, el 4 de junio de 1590 *("wishing to return to my country")*, Lewkenor solicitó desde Bruselas a sir Robert Sidney, gobernador inglés de la plaza de Flushing, un salvoconducto para regresar a Inglaterra (Calendar 1872: 307). Toda su experiencia en el continente no dejó en Lewkenor recuerdos demasiado agradables. Hablando de Venecia, Lewkenor alude a este período en términos no muy elogiosos: "*During the time of my travell* [típico *understatement* para designar este decenio] (*destinate to more vnhappy courses) I was not so fortunate as to be a beholder of the glorie thereof*" [palabras 'al lector' en su traducción del italiano].

Dos meses después de su regreso lo hallamos ya intentando borrar su pasado al servicio del rey de España: en efecto, el 7 de agosto de 1590 proporcionó a William Cecil, lord Burghley, información particularizada de los ingleses exiliados o prisioneros en Flandes y otros lugares del continente, entre ellos de lord Paget, de quien dijo que había recibido del rey de España 100 coronas al mes hasta el momento de su muerte en Bruselas, y de la condesa de Northumberland, que según Lewkenor, estaba *"furiously mad" (Calendar* 1865: 683-684). Al día siguiente firmó, también con destino a la 'inteligencia' británica, una lista de aquellos ingleses, irlandeses y escoceses que recibían pensiones de Felipe II, la cuantía de las mismas y detalles relativos a las amistades y contactos de estos expatriados *(Calendar* 1865: 684). A la misma época debe corresponder su 'conversión' al anglicanismo, considerada como 'apostasía' por los católicos.

Deseoso quizá de que se olvidara su pasado más inmediato, Lewkenor se hunde a continuación en el silencio biográfico y nada volvemos a saber de su vida pública desde este momento, agosto de 1590, hasta los años iniciales del siglo XVII. Tan sólo un dato aislado rompe esta oscuridad informativa: el 9 de enero de 1597, casado de nuevo con Beatrice, y con un hijo, de nombre William, recibe el arriendo vitalicio de la granja de Selsey Isle, en el condado de Sussex, de donde era natural,

> with proviso that if the grange be burnt or spoiled by incursion of the enemy, by lightning, or otherwise, without fault of the lessees, on testimony of the same by four honest men, they be acquitted of the reparation thereof (*Calendar* 1869: 345).

Selsey Isle parece haber sido su lugar habitual de residencia, al menos durante algún tiempo: en esta localidad firmó Lewkenor, el 13 de agosto del año siguiente, 1598, la dedicatoria a lady Anne, condesa de Warwick de su traducción de una obra italiana del cardenal Gasparo Contarini.

La carencia de datos biográficos externos durante este período de trece años (de 1590 a 1603, es decir, hasta la muerte de la reina Isabel I y acceso al trono de Jacobo I) se ve en cambio compensada por el hecho de que es precisamente en este período cuando Lewkenor dedica a las letras lo que parecen haber sido tan sólo 'sus ocios': *"this I onely doe to beguile time"*, confiesa en 1599 [palabras 'al lector' en la traducción del italiano]. Efectivamente, son cuatro las obras que llevan su firma entre 1594 y 1600, y tres de ellas traducciones:

1594 - la traducción de *El caballero determinado,* de Hernando de Acuña,
1595 - su único texto original conocido, *The State of the English Fugitive under the King of Spain,*
1599 - la traducción de una obra italiana de Gasparo Contarini,
1600 - la traducción del *Jardín de Flores Curiosas,* de Antonio de Torquemada

Ciertamente, los cuatro títulos - aunque muy distintos, y por distintos motivos - parecen ser consecuencia directa de su aprendizaje lingüístico y de sus experiencias personales en el Continente.

El original del primero de ellos, *El caballero determinado,* no era, de hecho, un 'original' español: escrito inicialmente en francés en 1483 por Olivier de la Marche (1426-1502), cronista del duque de Borgoña Carlos el Temerario, llevaba allí el título primero de *Le Chevalier Délibéré,* y su tema era la vida caballeresca medieval, cuya vigencia comenzaba entonces a declinar (Harrison 1974: 336). El emperador Carlos V tradujo la obra del francés al castellano y, disgustado acaso por su propia prosa, pidió a un soldado y poeta vallisoletano, Hernando de Acuña, que versificara su traducción, tarea que, según Díaz-Plaja, Acuña hizo *"trasladando la regia versión a dobles quintillas de verso castellano con toda felicidad"* (1951:

526). Esta versificación de Acuña se publicó en Amberes en 1553, con reedición en 1555 [Bibl. Británica, sign. C.38.b. 19; Bibl. Nacional de Madrid, sign. R-10359]:

EL CAVALLERO
DETERMINADO TRA-
DVZIDO DE LENGVA FRANCE-
sa en Castellano por Don Hernando
de Acuña, y dirigido al Empe-
rador Don Carlos Quin-
to Maximo Rey de
España nuestro
Señor

Con Gracia y Priuilegio dela Imperial Maiestad,
y d'el Serenissimo Rey de Portugal.

En Anuers en Casa de Iuan Steelsio,
Año de M.D.LV.

Esta de 1555 fue probablemente la edición que Lewkenor conoció durante su estancia en la propia Amberes en el decenio 1580-90, y que incluso pudo haber llevado consigo de vuelta a Inglaterra en 1590. Traducida en prosa, la obra fue impresa en Londres por Richard Watkins en los días finales de 1594. El permiso de impresión lleva fecha de 2 de diciembre de ese año: "*Master watkins. Entred for his copie in full court The Resolued gentleman translated out of Spanishe into Englishe by LEWES LEWKENOR Esquier* ... vid" (Arber 1875: 666). La portada de la edición inglesa reza así [Bibl. Británica, sign. C.57.c.7]:

THE
RESOLVED
Gentleman.
Translated out of
Spanishe into
Englyshe, by
Lewes Lewkenor

Lewkenor / Lucanor (1555?-1627?)

Esquier

Nel piu bel vedere, Cieco.

Imprinted at London, by
Richard Watkins.
1594.

Consta el volumen de 73 folios (= 146 páginas) precedidos por doce páginas que incluyen la portada, varios poemas, dedicatoria, palabras al lector y traducción de la dedicatoria de Acuña a Carlos V. El libro está dedicado en su traducción inglesa *'a la muy honorable y virtuosa Lady Anne, duquesa de Warwick'*, a quien Lewkenor ofrece *"the patronage of this my poore translation"*. En las palabras que dirige al lector, Lewkenor habla de cómo *"este tratado fue escrito primeramente en francés por un anciano caballero de Borgoña, llamado Olivier de la Marche ... ";* y añade: *"Este tratado ha sido traducido a varias lenguas, entre ellas al castellano, por don Hernando de Acuña, que lo hizo en verso, y lo dedicó al Emperador Carlos V. Yo sigo aquí esta traducción española, porque nunca he podido ver ninguno de los originales franceses ...*

Se queja Lewkenor de que Acuña alteró mucho en algunos pasajes las palabras de De la Marche (no en vano era una adaptación poética de una traducción previa), quitando o añadiendo lo que le parecía bien, *"como se deja notar* -dice- *en la Epístola al Emperador que también he incluido en esta traducción"*. El comentario no procede, pues, de una comparación con la edición francesa, sino de las propias palabras de Acuña.

Lewkenor prosigue contra posibles detractores:

> Algunos tal vez me acusen no sólo de utilizar una traducción intermedia, sino de verter los excelentes conceptos expresados en esta última con hermosos versos heroicos a una prosa desnuda y carente de expresividad; unos versos acompañados además de muchos grabados y retratos de considerable belleza, que con su variedad y perfección deleitaban maravillosamente la vista del lector, al tiempo que sus oídos disfrutaban con la música de los poemas. Confieso mi falta y admito que es cierto, pues tratándose de tema en su mayor parte alegórico,

> hubiera sido en verdad mucho mejor haberlo traducido también en versos ingleses (...)

Mejor o no, nunca podremos saberlo: no podemos sino comparar 'original' y traducción y deducir del cotejo los valores y aciertos de uno y otra. Véanse las líneas iniciales:

EL CAVALLERO DETERMINADO	THE RESOLVED GENTLEMAN.
En la postrera sazon D'el año, y aû de mi vida Vna subita Occassion Fue causa de mi partida De mi casa, y mi nacion.	In the declining season both of the yeere and of my age, trauailing farre from my natiue home & coun trie,
Yendo solo mi jornada A mi Memoria oluidada, Despertô mi Pensamiento, Renouado el tiempo, y cuento Dela mi Niñez passada.	solitarie & sorowfull all alone, my thoughtfulnes did of a sodayne waken & reuiue my slumbring memo rie, by renewing into her the time and historie of my passed youth,
Y como quien desseaua Mi bien, y lo procuraua, Determinô de hablar me Cuerdamente, y auisar me De lo que mas me importaua.	and, quickning my senses with a fresh and vnusuall vigor, forcibly recalling my mynde to the conside ration of my present state, by sug gesting therevnto, infinite and con fused discourses of my many variable and dangerous forepassed fortunes,
Assi por bien de mi vida Tomô intento verdadero, Y me dixo, El que se oluida, Huye de honrra lo primero, y ver, la ha disminuyda.	did begin at length to argue with me in this sort, First, quoth she, Whosoeuer is forgetfull, or care less of himselfe and his estate, flyeth not the pitch of the true ho nor, neyther shall at any time see himselfe beautified with the glo rious bryghtnesse of her perfection:
Y si dura en tal oluido,	in which miserable lethargie yf he

Iuzgo le por despedido De auér salud y consuelo: Y aun de esperar el d'el cielo, Que es de pocos merecido.	perseuere, then is his case most lamentable, and vtterly desperate, as not only depriued of this worldes honor, but also of that euerlasting glorie and eternall health, to which, blessed myndes with the winges of a vertuous industrie do aspire.

Hay una clara tendencia en esta primera versión de Lewkenor a la traducción perifrástica, que aparece como su rasgo estilístico más destacado y cobra cuerpo por un lado en la constante geminación semántica (solo equivale a *solitarie & sorowfull*, despertó es *did ... waken & reuiue*, etc.) y por otro en la creciente ampulosidad verbal requerida por el autor para transmitir la misma idea que en castellano aparece escueta y austera. En la cuarta estrofa, por ejemplo, frente a la frase económica de Acuña *("El que se oluida, huye de honrra lo primero, y ver, la ha disminuyda")*, que tan sólo cuenta catorce palabras, Lewkenor va a rizar el rizo, traduciéndola por: *"Whosoeuer is forgetfull, or careless of himselfe and his estate, flyeth not the pitch of the true honor, neyther shall at any time see himselfe beautified with the glorious bryghtnesse of her perfection"*. Treinta y tres palabras.

Nada de esto ha de extrañar a la crítica actual. Esta era una de la varias formas de traducción habituales en la época. Lo recordaba Allison hace ya más de quince años, al mencionar las dificultades de 'censar' bibliográficamente una traducción de época:

> A problem that faces anyone who sets out to catalogue early translations is to know where to draw the line between translation and imitation. In the 16th and 17th centuries a translator seldom kept close to the original text. Sometimes this was because his knowledge of the language was inadequate, but sometimes -and perhaps more often- it was because he wanted to adapt the text to the understanding and taste of a public very different from that for which the original was written (1974: 8).

Pocos meses después de la edición de este primer volumen traducido, el 23 de enero de 1595, el impresor T. Scarlet y librero John

Drawater obtenían autorización para imprimir el único original de Lewis Lewkenor que nos resta: una obra que en este momento apareció anónima, sin permiso del propio autor, y con esta portada:

A
DISCOVRSE
OF THE VSAGE OF
the English Fugitiues, by
the Spaniard.

LODON [sic],
Printed by Thomas Scarlet for Iohn Drawater, and
are to be solde at his shop in Pater noster
row, at the signe of the Swan.
1595.

Volvió a haber ese mismo año de 1595 una segunda edición pirata de la obra, y luego una tercera, esta vez ya plenamente autorizada (aunque siguió anónima) y de tamaño y contenidos considerarablemente mayores que la primera y segunda; también la portada era esta vez distinta:

THE
ESTATE
OF ENGLISH
FVGITIVES VNDER
the king of Spaine and
his ministers.
Containing, besides, a Discourse of the sayd Kings man
ner of gouernment, and the iniustice of many late dis
honorable practises by him contriued.

LONDON,
Printed for Iohn Drawater, and are to be
solde at his shop in Canon lane
neere Powles.
1595.

La obra conoció una cuarta edición a principios del año siguiente, 1596, con la coletilla en portada de *"newly corrected and amended"*.

¿A qué se debía el éxito de este único libro original de Lewkenor, que llegó a ver, de forma bastante inusual para la época, cuatro ediciones en poco más de doce meses? La respuesta está, probablemente, en la propia oportunidad política de la publicación, que William S. Maltby enmarca así:

> Por su numerosa y disidente población católica, Inglaterra estaba segura de que perdería un buen número de sus ciudadanos, atraídos por promesas del enemigo. Como los católicos ingleses se veían sujetos a graves castigos y se les impedía ejercer todo cargo público, los más ambiciosos entre ellos tenían que buscar su fortuna en el extranjero; en la práctica 'el extranjero' sólo significaba España o los Países Bajos. Se dirá que esta migración fue insignificante, y que los propios españoles veían con malos ojos a los exiliados. No obstante, se consideró necesario publicar, impresa, una advertencia sobre las condiciones en que los expatriados ingleses tenían que vivir (1982: 117-118).

Esta 'advertencia' constituye la esencia y razón de la obra de Lewkenor, cuyo objetivo era, en palabras de Susana Onega,

> la creación de un estado de opinión tendente a la disuasión de aquellos jóvenes ingleses que habían pensado alguna vez en huir de Inglaterra para engrosar las filas españolas o para estudiar teología en los colegios ingleses de España o de Flandes (1986: 70).

Nada mejor para ello que hablar de la propia experiencia, y en primera persona. *The Estate of English Fugitives* se presenta así al lector como una carta personal dirigida por el autor a un joven pariente que desea ir a servir al rey de España, en la que se detallan las confesiones de un inglés enrolado como mercenario en los tercios de Flandes y el relato de las desdichas propias y ajenas en aquellas tierras no sólo por ser inglés, sino sobre todo por estar al servicio de los españoles, definidos por Lewkenor como *"the most base, wicked, proude and cruellest nation that liueth"*. Al término de muchos ejemplos desastrados y 'casos' miserables de ingleses enrolados en los tercios, Lewkenor recuerda a su pariente el proverbio holandés que dice: *"When a Spaniard sleepes, the diuel rockes the Cradle"*.

Cinco años después de esta obra, el 4 de marzo de 1600, el librero Edward Mattes solicitó permiso de impresión para una nueva traducción de Lewis Lewkenor: *"Edmund Mattes. Entred for his copye vnder the handes of the wardens A booke Called the Spanishe mandeuile of miracles* ... vid" (Arber 1876: 157). Se trataba ahora del *Jardín de flores curiosas* (1570), del astorgano Antonio de Torquemada, cuya portada inglesa es como sigue [Bibl. Británica, sign. C.32.b.32]:

THE
SPANISH MANDE-
uile of Miracles.
OR
The Garden of curious
Flowers.
Wherin are handled sundry points
of Humanity, Philosophy, Diuinitie, and
Geography, beautified with many strange
and pleasant Histories. First written in Spanish, by
Anthonio de Torquemada, and out of that tongue
translated into English.

It was dedicated by the author, to the Right
honourable and reuerent Prelate, Don Diego
Sarmento de soto Maior, Bishop of
Astorga, &c.
It is deuided into sixe Treatises, composed in
manner of a Dialogue, as in the next page
shall appeare.

AT LONDON,
Printed by I. R. for Edmund Matts,
and are to be solde at his shop, at the signe
of the hand and Plow in Fleet-
streete. 1600.

El original castellano, definido por A. F. Allison (1974: 174) como *"a treasury of popular knowledge on geography, history, philosophy and other subjects"*, había salido treinta años antes de la imprenta con portada (en su segunda edición) casi al pie de la letra transcrita en la versión inglesa [Bibl. Británica, sign. 721.b.16]:

IARDIN
DE FLORES
curiosas, en que se trata
algunas materias de Humanidad, Phi
losophia, Theologia, y Geographia,
con otras cosas curiosas, y apazibles.
Compuesto por Antonio de
Torquemada.

DIRIGIDO AL MUY
Illustre e Reuerendissimo señor Don Diego Sar-
miento de Soto Mayor, Obispo de
Astorga, &c.
Va hecho en seis tratados, como parecera en
la sexta pagina de esta obra.

Con Priuilegio.
En Salamanca, en casa de Alonso de
Terranoua y Neyla.
1577.

La traducción inglesa, paginada a lo largo de 158 folios (= 316 páginas) viene dedicada *"to the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Sackuile, Knight, Baron of Backhurst, Lorde high Treasurer of Englande, Lieuetenaunt of her Highnes within the County of Sussex, most worthy Chauncelor of the Universitie of Oxenford, Knight of the noble order of the Garter, and one of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsell"*.

Erróneamente se ha atribuido a veces esta traducción a Ferdinand Walker (o Valker), acaso porque este último personaje aparece como firmante de las dos introducciones dedicatorias, la segunda destinada a *"my worthy and esteemed Friende, Lewes Lewkenor, Esquire"*. George Ticknor, por ejemplo, el historiador de la literatura española, escribió que esta era *"a translation into good old English by Ferdinand Walker"*. Pero Walker no fue el traductor. En las líneas iniciales de la dedicatoria a sir Thomas Sackville, fechada en Londres a 23 de abril de 1600, Walker le ruega su perdón por presentarle esta obra, *"por ser yo, aunque ligado a este floreciente reino, un extranjero de nacimiento y un completo desconocido para vuestra señoría"*. Y añade a renglón seguido:

> Esta obra fue el primer trabajo de un ilustre caballero, de la misma región que vuestra señoría, el condado de Sussex ... ; él la tradujo como ejercicio en su estudio de la lengua castellana, y la guardó durante muchos años, considerando que era del todo indigna de su propio nombre; hasta que hace poco me la entregó con engargo expreso de que, fuera cual fuese mi modo de disponer de ella, evitara toda mención suya. No hay duda de que, si le hubiese obedecido, le habría perjudicado a él y me habría perjudicado a mí mismo: a él, por privarle del honor merecido por una obra tan importante; y en cuanto a mí, por arrogarme la gloria de este trabajo, para cuya excelente traducción (pues ha sido realizada de un modo exquisito) yo sé que mis propias fuerzas, débiles y por completo insuficientes, no hubieran bastado.

El *"ilustre caballero de Sussex"* no es otro que Lewis Lewkenor y a él dirige Walker la segunda dedicatoria, con palabras que aclaran con precisión la paternidad de esta versión inglesa:

> Reciba, pues, ahora con mayor comprensión, amable maestro Lewkenor --*le dice*--, este pequeño tratado, que ha pasado tantos y tan largos años entre vuestros borradores, condenado últimamente por vuestra cruel sentencia al fuego; porque aunque lo crea indigno de salir a la luz del mundo por haber sido el fruto y ejercicio de sus años de juventud, le aseguro, no obstante, que ha pasado por la censura de hombres graves y entendidos, y que ha recibido de ellos excelentes juicios; por cuya opinión yo me me atrevido a darle vida y a no seguir privando al público de un tema tan digno de ser conocido y publicado ...

La tarea de Walker se redujo, pues, a ordenar y poner en limpio, preparándola para la imprenta, la traducción, desordenada o acaso incompleta en algunas partes, que Lewkenor hiciera años atrás.

A pesar del conocimiento, o incluso amistad, que parece unir a Lewkenor y Walker, la dedicatoria tampoco nos aporta en este caso datos biográficos de interés, si se exceptúa el hecho de que a Lewkenor se le denomina *"one of the honorable band of her Maiesties Gentlemen Pensioners in ordinarie"*. Por lo demás, tan sólo aparecen algunas generalizaciones, que, eso sí, incluyen sus conocimientos de varios idiomas:

As for your selfe --*escribe Walker*--, your own worthinesse of desert, your great learning, your excellent skill in languages, your many times approued valour, your long experience in martiall affaires, and generally the great worth wherein the worlde holdes you both abroade and at home, will be for you a strong and sufficient warrant and Bulwarke against any whatsoeuer calumnation.

El texto de la versión comienza:

Tratado primero, en el qual se contienen muchas cosas dignas de admiracion, que la naturale za ha hecho, y haze en los hom bres, fuera de la orden comun y natural, con que suele obrar en ellos, con otras curiosidades gustosas, y apazibles	*The first treatise: In the which are contained manie thinges worthy of admiration, which Nature hath wrought and daily worketh in men, contrary to her common & ordinary course of operation. With other curiosities strange and delightfull.*
Interlocutores	*Interlocutores.*
Antonio. Luys. Bernardo.	*LVDOVICO. ANTHONIO. BERNARDO*
LUYS. Muy grande ha sido el ca lor que oy ha hecho: y en ver dad que me ha dado fatiga, de manera q me hizo poner a pêsar, qual es mas trabajoso de passar, y sufrir, el inuierno por los grandes frios, o el verano por causa de los grâdes calores.	LVD. This dayes exceeding heate hath distempered mee in such sort, that it causeth mee to doubt with my selfe, whether of the two extremities were easier to bee endured, the violent sharpnes of the colde Winter, or the fierie raging of the hote Sommer.
Bernar. Son tâtas y tan varias las opiniones q sobre esso ay, y tantas las razones por cada parte, q no osaria yo poner me	BER. On this question there are so many and sundry opinions, & of each side so manie reasons, that I dare not vndertake to

en determinar essa question: aunque a mi parecer, por la ma yor dezimos, quando estamos en la furia del inuierno, que el frio que haze es incomportable, y quando en medio del verano, o estio que el calor es muy peor de suffrirse: y ver lo que cada vno dize, y alega para lo que sustenta, y defiende, parece q côcluye, hasta oyr las razones côtrarias: y lo mejor es dexar los sentir lo q les paresciere, y que nosotros no dexemos de gozar la frescura de la tarde, que ha buelto a hazer muy bue na: porq ha venido vn ayre tan têplado y saludable, q da grâ dissimo contêtamiento. Y pues q agora estamos ociosos, bien sera q nos vamos vn poco por la ribera del rio, q no faltara en q passar el tiêpo, entretenien donos cô la buena côuersacion.

determine thereof, though in my slender iudgement, the cold (how sharpe soeuer in the deepest fu rie of the Winter) is far easier to be suffred, then these fer uent and contagious heates of the Doggedayes in the Sommer. But to heare this of both sides debated with reasons and proofes that may be alledged, it is doubtfull to whether to incline. Leauing therfore euery man to thinke herein what pleaseth him, let vs in the meane time not lose the freshnes of this pleas ant euening, which after the great heate, is now turned into an ayre most sweete and comfort able, and seeing wee haue no thing to doe, let vs whalke a while by the streames of this running Riuer, & passe our time in some honest conuersation.

Luys. Mejor se nos apareja de lo q pensauamos, q veis alli viene Antonio, el qual es tan auisado, y tiene tan buenos cuentos q jamas os câsareys de oyrle.

LVD. It happeneth better then we looked, for see where Anthonio commeth, whose wisedome, beha uiour and discrete discourse is such, that you could neuer be weary of his company.

Ber. Ya yo se q es hôbre curio so, y muy leydo, y holgare mu cho de q le metamos en alguna buena platica, para q le oyamos.

BER. It is true indeede, I know him well to be a man both cur tious, learned and wise, I would we could set him in some good vaine, to the ende wee might heare him discourse.

Luys. Pues yo procurare q se va

LV. I will doe my best to make

ya con nosotros.	him walke along with vs.
Anto. Guarde Dios a vrâs merce des.	AN. God saue you Gentlemen.
Luys. Y v.m. sea muy biê llega do, que en verdad ha sido el me jor tiêpo del mûdo, sino ay al gun impedimento q nos estorue, para q no podamos gozar de la buena côuersacion, q podremos tener passeandonos vn poco deba xo de estos arboles, gozando del frescor del ayre, y del rio: q bien es menester para la grâ cal ma y calor q esta tarde ha pas sado.	LV. And you Sir are most welcom, & in the fittest time that may be, vnlesse you haue some busi nes which may hinder vs from en ioying your company vnder this tuffet of trees, where if it please you now after this ex cessiue heate, we may awhile re fresh our selues with the mild nes of thys fresh riuer.

El cotejo textual demuestra en esta segunda traducción mucho mayor apego a la letra del original. La geminación, tan abundante la primera vez, ha desaparecido aquí casi por completo, y tan sólo aparece como reflejo de la propia geminación léxica del original (‘comun y natural’, *‘common & ordinary’;* ‘gustosas y apazibles’, *‘strange and delightfull’;* ‘tâtas y tan varias’, *‘so many and sundry’,* etc.). Ha desaparecido igualmente casi por completo la marcada tendencia perifrástica, y el glosador de 1594 se muestra ahora, en 1600, como traductor de pluma considerablemente constreñida: la más somera aproximación visual a ambos textos ya demuestra que, mientras en el primero la versión inglesa se dilataba y rebosaba en abundancia los márgenes cuantitativos del castellano hasta deribar en un texto dos veces más extenso en inglés que en español, en cambio en esta segunda traducción el equilibrio es casi absoluto, porque también han sido muy atinados los medios léxicos y sintácticos elegidos en la búsqueda de la equivalencia.

Lewkenor parece haber sido, por otra parte, un hombre de considerables recursos culturales, sobre todo en el campo de las lenguas modernas. Ya se ha visto anteriormente cómo él mismo comenta que había hablado con *“ingleses, franceses, españoles, alemanes, polacos e italianos”,* y acaso esta sea una buena indicación de las lenguas que

conocía. Su mismo nombramiento como 'Master of Ceremonies' puede haber sido una consecuencia obvia de su dominio de diversos idiomas.

Cabe señalar en este sentido, como ya he indicado antes, que Lewkenor tradujo también una obra del italiano, que llevaba por página titular:

THE
COMMON-
WEALTH AND
Gouernment of VENICE.
WRITTEN BY THE
Cardinall Gasper Contareno, and tran-
slated out of Italian into English, by
Lewes Lewkenor, Esquire.

Nel piu bel vedere cieco.

With sundry other Collections, an
nexed by the Translator for the more cleere and
exact satisfaction of the Reader. With a short
Chronicle in the end, of the liues and
raignes of the Venetian Dukes, from
the very beginninges of
their Citie.
LONDON.
Imprinted by Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes, and
are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of the
Hand and Plow in Fleetstreet. 1599.

La dedicatoria del volumen va destinada a Lady Anne, condesa de Warwick, y aparece fechada en Selsey, a 13 de agosto de 1598. A la misma condesa había dedicado Lewkenor cuatro años antes su traducción de Hernando de Acuña. También la portada repite ahora el mismo lema *('Nel piu bel vedere cieco')* que campeaba en aquella traducción *('Nel piu bel vedere, Cieco').*

La versión no recibió permiso de impresión hasta el 6 de diciembre de 1598, según consta en el siguiente asiento (Arber 1876: 132):

> Edmond Mattes - Entred for his copie vnder the handes of master Harsnett and master Ponsonby A booke called the common wealthe and gouernement of Venice. written by the Cardinal GASPAR CONTANERO and translated out of Italian into Englishe by LEWIS LEWKENOUR Esquire - vjd

Esta traducción del italiano incluye un poema inicial en alabanza de la obra y su traductor, poema firmado nada menos que por Edmund Spenser, lo que parece implicar cierta relación de conocimiento, y quizá amistad, entre traductor y poeta. El soneto, porque de un soneto se trata, presenta un problema cronológico complejo: según el *Dictionary of National Biography* (1973, vol. XVIII, p 800), el *Prothalamion* es *"the latest, and one of the most fascinating of his poems"*, y fue publicado por William Ponsonby en 1596, tres años antes de la muerte de Spenser. No obstante, la traducción de Lewkenor lleva dedicatoria fechada a 13 de agosto de 1598, permiso de impresión de 6 de diciembre de 1598 y pie de imprenta de 1599. Ahora bien, como entre las semanas iniciales de 1597 y su muerte el 13 de enero de 1599 Spenser sólo pasó en Inglaterra los últimos veinte días de su vida, es de suponer que el poema que elogia la traducción de Lewkenor pertenece precisamente a este último período y es también, por lo tanto, el último de su cronología poética.

El 23 de agosto de 1603 se renuevan las actividades 'públicas' de Lewkenor, ya que en esta fecha se encuentra en Dover, encargado de recibir en su puerto a don Juan de Taxis, conde de Villamediana, el recién nombrado embajador español. No hay duda de que la designación para tal misión estaba directamente relacionada con sus conocimientos de idiomas, y en particular del castellano. Con esta fecha escribe a lord Cecil, informándole del desembarco del embajador, de su pensión, títulos y acompañamiento, solicitando al mismo tiempo detalles sobre el modo con que anteriormente se ha recibido a estos embajadores *(Calendar* 1857: 34). Este dato, que denota inexperiencia, parece apuntar al hecho de que se trataba de la primera actividad de Lewkenor en estos menesteres.

Poco más tarde Lewkenor volvía a dirigirse a Lord Cecil para darle cuenta, desde la población de Kingston-upon-Thames, de los preparativos llevados a cabo para presentar al embajador español a Jacobo I en Oxford *(Calendar* 1857: 35). Retrasada esta entrevista inicial con el monarca inglés, Lewkenor aparece de nuevo junto al embajador español en el mes de septiembre, esta vez en el puerto de Southampton, donde en aquel

momento se encontraba Jacobo I, y a la espera de ser recibidos por él *(Calendar* 1857: 40).

Sabemos que exactamente dos años después, el 7 de septiembre de 1605, su mujer se encontraba gravemente enferma de viruela, y que acaso por este motivo, o por sus actividades políticas, Lewkenor solicitó que se nombrara a una persona para que regentara como mayordomo la granja de Selsey. En la misma carta Lewkenor informaba de cierta conversación suya con el conde de Villamediana relativa a sir John Roper *(Calendar* 1857: 233).

Finalmente, el 7 de noviembre de este año, 1605, ya con el tratamiento de 'sir', recibió el nombramiento vitalicio de *Maestro de Ceremonias de la Corte (Master of Ceremonies),* con salario anual de 200 libras esterlinas *(Calendar* 1857: 244). Aunque Lewkenor no recibiera el nombramiento hasta esta fecha, E. K. Chambers (1967: 53) considera que había venido desempeñando el cargo desde 1603, y así parece deducirse, en efecto, de su actividad junto al embajador español. Chambers comenta igualmente que era deber de tal empleo "*to look after the lodgings and the general well-being of ambassadors, and to grapple the knotty problems entailed by their inveterate stickling for precedence and etiquette*". Añade que Lewkenor contaba entre su personal auxiliar con sir William Button, *"who was employed by 1607 and obtained a reversion of the post on 10th Sept. 1612,"* y con John Finett, "*who ultimately himself became Master, and published a record of his service from 1612 in his Philoxenis (1656)"* (Chambers 1967: 53).

Del 23 de marzo de 1606 se conserva una carta de John Chamberlain a David Carleton en la que le da cuenta de que el embajador español había regalado a sir Lewis Lewkenor una cadena en agradecimiento por haberle traído la buena noticia " of the king's safety" (Calendar 1857: 305).

El 27 de febrero de 1608 aparece citado como Luys Lucanor en una carta cifrada de Pedro de Zúñiga (embajador sucesor de Villamediana) a Felipe III, remitida desde Londres (Loomie 1973: 108-109). Comienza Zúñiga su misiva con estas palabras:

Señor:

> Despues que llego Riuas no auia podido hablar con los confidentes por la ocassion que he dicho a Vuestra Magestad, el Domingo a 23 conçertamos de vernos Roldán [la condesa de Suffolk], el Cid [el conde de Southampton] y yo, y no pudo venir el Cid porque estando para hazerlo le llama el Rey que se ardia en yra de auerle dado el Dean de Guismeter [Westminster] unas coplas que se hizieron en Seuilla con un retrato de la paja del Padre Garnet[;] al punto mando a Luys Lucanor que me las traxesse [;] contenia el recado que en sus reynos no consentiria hazer tales coplas como se hazian en los de Vuestra Magestad contra el y su Justicia de que estaua con muy gran quexa ...

El 13 de septiembre de 1609 lo hallamos en compañía del embajador del Florencia *(Calendar* 1857: 543).

Cuando el nuevo embajador de España, conde de Gondomar, desembarcó en Inglaterra en agosto de 1613, Lewkenor fue quien le dio la primera bienvenida:

> Esta misma tarde, tres de agosto, llegó a la dicha villa de Porsemua [Portsmouth] el cauallero Lucanor, maestro de ceremonias del Rey de la Gran Bretaña, que venia por su horden para ir guiando y acompañando a don Diego [Sarmiento de Acuña] hasta Londres, cosa no vista en Inglaterra, porque solo con los embajadores extraordinarios se acostumbra a hazer semejante demostracion (Relación 1944: 79).

Desde Portsmouth Lewkenor acompañó a Gondomar hasta Kingston y luego Salisbury, a donde llegaron el 14 de agosto. Al día siguiente, 15 de agosto, tuvo lugar la primera entrevista entre Gondomar y Jacobo I, que se hallaba de caza por aquella zona.

Castroviejo recuerda en su biografía del embajador español que

> el día 15 de abril *[de 1614]* le concedió a Gondomar el rey Jacobo como favor especialísimo el asistir a la sesión del Parlamento, teniéndole a su lado oculto tras una cortina de tafetán carmesí que con unos orificios convenientemente dispuestos le permitían ver todo, y ocurrió que el 'caballero Lucanor' -Lewis Lewkenor-, introductor de embajadores, comisionado para llevar a don Diego al Parlamento, se retrasó, por equivocación de la hora, y al pasar por delante del Palacio

> Real para ir a Westminster, estaba el Rey esperando hacía más de media hora con todo su acompañamiento a que pasara don Diego (1967: 101).

De 1618 se conservan dos breves cartas de Lewkenor, redactadas ambas en español y ambas dirigidas a fray Diego de la Fuente, confesor de Gondomar. La primera, del 17 de abril, y fechada en Londres con la firma *Luys Leucuenor* (Loomie 1978: 104), termina con la fórmula:

> Todo el consuelo que tengo en este mundo esta puesto en el fauor del Señor Conde y vuestra Paternidad. Dios de a entrambos todo el bien que se puede dessear en esta vida y la vida vendera. Bezo muy deuotamente las manos de vuestra Paternidad y encomiendo mi y los mios a sus orationes.

La segunda misiva, del domingo 9 de junio de 1618, bajo la firma esta vez de *Luys Leuquenor*, es una invitación a fray Diego para que le visite en su casa de Hackney, con posteridad, al parecer, a un período de enfermedad del propio Lewkenor en el que éste se sintió particularmente bien tratado por parte del religioso español (Loomie 1978: 105). Comienza:

> Muy reverendo Padre:
>
> La suya singular piedad vsada con migo quando estaua malo, me ha dado atreuimiento de supplicalle que sea seruido de tomar el trabajo de venir mañana despues de comer a mi casa de Hackney ...

Este año de 1618, mientras Lewkenor veía salir de imprenta la segunda edición de su *Spanish Mandeuile of Miracles*, el conde de Gondomar regresaba a España, para volver a la capital inglesa dos años más tarde con el intento de concluir la alianza matrimonial entre los dos países. Llegó a Londres en esta segunda ocasión a primeros de marzo de 1620. El 11 de ese mes Chamberlain ya anotaba, según recoge Patricia Shaw (1979: 123) en su artículo sobre Gondomar: *"El embajador español llegó a la ciudad [Londres] el miércoles pasado y fue acompañado desde Dover por Sir Lewis Lewkenor, con muchos coches, entre ellos uno de los mejores del Rey ... "*

Lewkenor falleció en 1626, año en el que cesa de ser mencionado en relación con la actividad cortesana, o bien, más probablemente, como se ha sugerido, en 1627. Pero desconozco todos los detalles al respecto.

* * *

Nada más cabe añadir sobre la vida y obra de Lewis Lewkenor. Después de mucho espigar y rebuscar, el investigador llega a la conclusión de que tampoco la cosecha particular de datos nuevos que añadir a los pocos que Allison ofrece es tan abundante como para llenarle a uno de satisfacción. Un objetivo sí se ha logrado, o al menos esa es mi esperanza: los perfiles humanos de este traductor se han aclarado un tanto y su personalidad comienza ahora a emerger de la niebla. Quede la tarea posterior para manos más libres de tiempo y quizá también más jóvenes.

El investigador ha aprendido además otra lección en el curso de los meses que ha dedicado a este trabajo: la tarea que resta por hacer es ingente, si de verdad pretendemos llegar a conocer en profundidad crítica, biográfica e histórica el mundo de la traducción español-inglés durante los siglos XVI y XVII, que en definitiva es el mundo de la cultura compartida por ambos países. El cuadro completo que debe representar este puente de unión entre dos pueblos sólo lo apreciamos ahora a retazos y nunca en su compleja totalidad. Queda aún por contestar mucho *dónde,* mucho *quién,* mucho *cuándo,* mucho *por qué,* mucho *cómo.* Algo se ha comenzado a hacer en los últimos años, y ahí están, por ejemplo, las tesis doctorales de José Luis Chamosa, Mª Pilar Navarro y Carmelo Cunchillos, que han aclarado puntos hasta hace poco oscuros de las *Dianas,* del *Buscón* y del *Quijote* en sus respectivas versiones inglesas. Pero 'algo' no es todavía 'todo'.

Mientras sigamos careciendo de respuestas para la casi totalidad de nuestras preguntas sobre el mundo de la traducción en este período, una asociación como SEDERI seguirá teniendo sentido, porque seguirá habiendo metas que alcanzar y zonas del conocimiento humano que enriquecer.

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PHILIP II AND SEDUCTION *A LA ESPAÑOLA* IN AN ELIZABETHAN *ROMAN A CLEF*

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The year 1594 saw the publication in London of what has been variously described as "a strange anonymous poem",[1] "an extremely curious work"[2] and "a cryptic little work ... which has been immensely popular".[3] The text in question, *Willobie His Avisa,* is indeed an intriguing piece of writing, which has been a source of curiosity for scholars since its first modern edition by A. B. Grosart in 1880 up to our own days, not least because, although the main corpus of the work is written in verse -and very pedestrian verse at that- a passage in prose is intercalated into Canto XLIIII, probably by a different hand, introducing a lovesick young man, H. W., and an "old player", W. S. If we add to this the fact that the work was prefaced by a set of commendatory verses[4] which contain the first literary allusion to Shakespeare by name, as author of *The Rape of Lucrece,*[5] it is hardly surprizing that Shakespeare scholars should have had, and still are

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[1] Anthony Burgess: *Shakespeare,* London, 1970, pp. 131-32.

[2] Peter Quennell: *Shakespeare and his Background,* London, 1963, p. 137.

[3] M. C. Bradbrook: *Shakespeare the Poet in his world,* London, 1978, p. 85.

[4] By one *Vigilantius: Dormitanus* who L. Hotson in *I, Shakespeare,* London, 1937, Ch. III, identifies as two Oxford students, Robert Wakeman and John Napper.

[5] "Yet Tarquyne pluckt his glistering grape, and Shakespeare, paints poore Lucrece rape". All references to the text, etc., of *Willobie His Avisa,* are taken from: B. N. de Luna: *The Queen Declined, an Interpretation of Willobie His Avisa with the Text of the Original Edition,* Oxford, 1970. This quotation, p. 128.

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having, a field day with this late Elizabethan text. It is not, however, the possible Shakespearean connection with which I am here concerned, but rather with the possible Spanish connection.

Willobie His Avisa is a narrative poem in 3139 lines (plus one long and some shorter passages in prose), divided into seventy-four Cantos, and followed by the author's "Conclusion". The sub-title of the poem is: "The true picture of a modest Maide, and of a chast and constant wife". The work was published, supposedly, by a University friend of the Willoughby of the title, called Hadrian Dorrell who, as he informs us in the preface to the reader, found it among the papers left in the former's chambers in Oxford. Of Hadrian Dorrell, if he really existed -it may well be a pseudonym- nothing is known, but there certainly did exist a Henry Willoughby, who was matriculated in St. John's College in December 1591, who may have become acquainted with Shakespeare when the Lord Chamberlain's Men visited Oxford in 1592, who later served with the army abroad, and who, apparently, died in 1596.[1]

To all appearances and purposes the poem tells us how the heroine, Avisa, first as a "modest maide" and then as a "chast and constant wife", rejects the amorous advances of five different suitors of varying ages and personalities, and as such, might well be written off as a one more piece of characteristic Elizabethan didacticism. However, the fact that the work, as was mentioned, was so very popular, running into six editions between 1594 and 1635, and more significantly, the fact that in June 1599, it was included in the list of books in the Stationers' Register "to be called in",[2] that is, taken out of circulation, and that no copies of what was, presumably, the third edition of 1599 have survived, would seem to suggest that the work was less innocent than would at first appear, or, in the words of G. B. Harrison, in his 1926 edition:

> *Willobie His Avisa*, in short, is not what it pretends to be. The initials of Avisa's suitors covered, or rather revealed to contemporaries,

[1] *The Dictionary of National Biography*, under *Willoughby, Henry*.

[2] G. B. Harrison: *Willobie His Avisa 1594, With an Essay on Willobie His Avisa*, Elizabethan and Jacobean Quartos, Edinburgh, 1926; 1966, p. 185.

> persons of great importance; so great, in fact, that the scandals about them were still commercially worth retailing forty years later." [1]

In other words, we have here an Elizabethan *roman à clef*, a fact, which if nothing else, would account for its otherwise inexplicable popularity.

Apart from the identification by a series of Shakespeare scholars of the initials W. S. as corresponding to William Shakespeare, and those of H. W. to Henry Wriothesley (rather than to Henry Willoughby), the two most detailed and stimulating attempts at interpreting the clues scattered throughout the poem have been made by G. B. Harrison[2] and B. M. de Luna.[3] It would not be germane to our purpose to comment here on the often very complex *minutiae* of their analyses: suffice it to say that Harrison continued to accept the traditional view that Avisa is the pseudonym of a Dorsetshire innkeeper's wife, whom a series of more or less illustrious gentlemen, including the Earl of Southampton, unsuccessfully attempt to seduce. Since, according to Harrison, the covert intention of the work was to attack the Essex-Southampton clique, he attributes the authorship of the poem to one of Sir Walter Raleigh's group, possibly, for stylistic reasons, Matthew Roydon.[4] More fascinating and more thought-provoking, it seems to me, is de Luna's well-reasoned hypothesis, according to which Avisa is no less a personage than Queen Elizabeth herself, the five suitors constituting portraits, or in two cases, composite portraits, of the different wooers who at one time or another sought to *seduce* her into marriage. Two points here need explaining: the apparent incongruity between the identification on the part of two serious scholars of Avisa, on the one hand, as an innkeeper's wife, and, on the other, as the Queen of England, arises from the probably intentional ambiguousness of the lines in Canto I and Canto XLVI which describe Avisa as dwelling in the "public eye", in " ... yonder howse, where hanges the badge Of England's Saint" and which, therefore, Harrison interprets as referring to the George Inn in Sherborne, Dorsetshire,[5] whilst de Luna points out that:

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[1] Ibid., p. 186.
[2] Op. cit.
[3] Op. cit.
[4] Harrison: op. cit., p. 229.
[5] Ibid.,pp. 196-7.

> "Elizabeth's palaces customarily flew banners bearing the Cross of St. George, particularly when the Queen was in residence".[1]

The second point which needs to be cleared up if de Luna's interpretation is to be understood is that both Elizabeth and Mary Tudor considered themselves as "wedded to England, and, in fact, wore appropriate wedding, i. e. coronation, rings.

Mary, indeed, told the Spanish Ambassador, Count Egmont, when he proposed a marriage between herself and the Prince of Asturias (the future Phillip II) that "her realm was her first husband",[2] and the young Elizabeth, in 1559, when urged to marry, declared herself to be already " ... ioyned ... in marriage to an husband, namely, the Kingdome of England". According to this interpretation, therefore, Avisa, as "a modest maide" would be Princess Elizabeth, and as a "chast and modest wife" would be Elizabeth as Queen.

Now it is interesting to note that Spain, or rather, the Spanish, have a fairly important rôle to play both at the surface and the submerged levels of this intriguing work, for, on the one hand, the amorous customs of the Spaniard in love are both analysed and then, ostensibly, exemplified in the text, and on the other, if de Luna's iterpretation is correct, Philip II himself is here portrayed in the person of Avisa's second suitor.

Let us consider the generic Spanish lover first. As was mentioned, the so-called editor of Willoughby's(?) text, wrote an introduction to the work, in which the circumstances of its coming into his hands are explained, the name Avisa is glossed and what would appear to be a kind of smoke-screen justification for the work is offered, in order, on the surface at least, to endow it with an air of innocence which it evidently did not really possess. Not only, Dorrell tells us, did he find Willoughby's poem in his room, but also "other odd papers":

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 8-9.

[2] William H. Prescott: *History of the Reign of Philip II King of Spain, New and Revised Edition* ... by John Foster Kirk, London, 1887, p. 39.

> " ... wherein he had, as I take it, out of Cornelius Agrippa, drawen the several dispositions of the Italian, the Spanyard, the Frenchman, the German, and the English man, and how they were affected in love".[1]

Elizabethan and Jacobean essayists were fond of this kind of European comparisons, as witness, for example, James Howell's gleeful affirmation that, according to the Spaniards, the ideal is:

> "a Frenchwoman in a dance, a Dutchwoman in the kitchen, an Italian in a window, an Englishwoman at board, and the Spanish a-bed".[2]

The name of Henricus Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, scholar and student of the occult sciences, and chronicler of Charles V, was well known in sixteenth century literary circles: Rabelais ridiculized him as Her Trippa in the third book of *Pantagruel*,[3] and Jack Wilton meets him in Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller*. His *De Vanitate Scientarum*, published in Latin in 1530, was translated into English in 1575, and his name reappears in *Willobie His Avisa* in a marginal note. According to Agrippa, then, affirms Dorrell:

> "The Spanyard is unpatient in burning love, very mad with troubled lasciviousnesse, hee runneth furiously, and with pittyful complaintes, bewailing his fervent desire, doth call upon his Lady, and worshippeth her, but having obtained his purpose maketh her common to all men."[4]

Having thus sketched in the amorous behaviour characteristic of the five nationalities, Dorrell then tries to convince the reader that Willoughby's sole intention in composing the poem was to illustrate this behaviour in action by means of the different suitors for Avisa's favours. The device, however, is clumsy and unconvincing, giving credence, therefore, to the impression that the book "is not what it pretends to be",

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[1] De Luna: op. cit., p. 122.

[2] James Howell: letter addressed to the Lord Viscount Colchester, from Madrid, Feb. 1st.,1623. See James Howell: *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, Boston and New York, 1907, Vol. I.

[3] Chapter XXV.

[4] De Luna: op. cit., p. 122.

since, although Avisa does have five suitors, only the last three are identified with a given nationality: D. B. is a Frenchman, D. H. is *Anglo-Germanus*, and the last, H. W., or as the text specifies, *Henrico Willobego*, is *Italo-Hispalensis*, that is, a composite portrait of the Mediterranean lover. The courting customs of this latter, says Dorrell, are described by Willoughby in the last section of the poem, Cantos XLIIII-LXXIIII. In his preface, Dorrell adds no more information about the other nationalities, but he does insist that the Spaniard and the Italian:

> "more furiously invadeth his love, & more pathetically indureth than all the rest" [1]

and winds up the paragraph with a typically ambiguous statement:

> "It seemes that in this last example the author names himselfe, and so describeth his owne love, I know not, and I will not be curious" [2]

The reader, however, was undoubtedly meant to be very curious indeed!

Taking Dorrell's affirmations at their face value, however, to what extent does the behaviour of young H. W. as described in these Cantos, bear out convincingly Cornelius Agrippa's contention that the Spaniard is "unpatient in burning love", etc., or, in other words, what impression of the Spaniard in love would the unenlightened Elizabethan derive from reading this text?

"Unpatient in burning love" H. W. certainly is: "sodenly infected with the contagion of a fantasticall fit, at the first sight of A(visa)",[3] we learn that he is "not able any longer to indure the burning heate of so feruent a humour", and we are left in no doubt as to the sexual nature, i. e., "the troubled lasciviousness", of his complaint: thus, H. W. is presented as physically consumed by his passion: "I burne within, consume without", he asserts, mentioning the "restless rain of (his) desire", and adding:

> "My humours all are out of frame,

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Op. cit., p. 190.

I frize amid'st the burning flame".

Avisa is even more down to earth when it comes to diagnosing his condition: he is suffering, she says in several speeches, from "raging lust", and he intends his courtship to lead to "filthy folly", "filthy pleasure" and "foul desire". Although H. W. insists that this is not so, that he has put his feelings to the proof by "quenching his lust" with another woman -"Yet this ... could not suffise"-, he continues to lament not having "enioyd" her, and even suggests that his "limmes might please (her)".

Agrippa's allusion to the Spaniard running "furiously", that is, impetuously or madly, or both,[1] to his lady, is amply exemplified in the text which abounds in words and expressions such as: "fantasticall fit", "raging flood", "fury", "folly" (repeatedly), "madness", "phantasticall fury", "wandering rages" or "breathless runne", not forgetting allusions to "loving fools" whose "wits" and "senses" are overcome by "raging love". Insofar as his reference to the "bewailing of feruent desire" is concerned, there is no lack of illustrative examples of this tendency either: in H. W.'s addresses to Avisa, "deepest mones" and "grievous grones", sighs, sobs and "trickling tears" running "like rivers" down his "slobered face" are the outward signs of inward "despair" and "griping griefs" which are consuming the "melancholik" and "luckless wretch" who curses the eyes that ever let him behold the lady's beauty. Nor are "pathetic" and "pittyful complaintes" wanting in this discourse: his "wounded hart" and "pyning plight", his "flood of woe" and "fruitless payne" will lead to his saying farewell to life, and embracing "sweet death" as the only solution for his "doleful days", after which:

"When I am gon, I hope my ghost shall shew you plaine,
That I did truly loue, and that I did not faine".

H. W. 's last missive to Avisa is riddled with woe, pain, griefs, sighs, tears, weeping and wringing of hands!

It will be remembered that Agrippa likewise presented his generic Spaniard as given to worshipping the lady of his desires, a most suitable trait, incidentally, if Avisa really does represent the Queen. This tendency,

[1] It may be remembered that the massacre by the Spaniards at Antwerp in 1576 was known as *The Spanish Fury!*

however, is not greatly emphasized in the text, although at the beginning, H. W. does assure his friend, W. S., that he loves "the seat where she did sit" and kisses "the grasse where she did tread", and later hails Avisa as a "cheiftain" to whom he "surrenders", because:

> " ... now I know you are the She,
> That was ordaind to vanquish me".

As regards the final and least attractive characteristic attributed by Agrippa to the Spanish lover -that of making his mistress "common to all men" once she has surrendered, there is no place in the text for the illustration of this tendency, since, of course, Avisa firmly rejects all H. W.'s advances.

However, something of this lamentable attitude is reflected in Cantos LIII and LV, in H. W. 's taking for granted that she will be unfaithful to her husband at his request, and in his assumption that women "made of flesh and blood" "will yeeld, if they be tride". To encourage his young friend, W. S. likewise affirms that:

> "She is no Saynt, She is no Nonne,
> I thinke in tyme she may be wonne".

an observation, as scholars have been quick to point out, very reminiscent of Shakespeare's:

> "She is a woman, therefore may be wooed;
> She is a woman, therefore may be won".

in *Titus Andronicus*,[1] It is, in fact, Avisa herself, with her characteristic outspokenness who voices most clearly mens' attitude in this respect: if, she says, as a married woman I accept your love:

> "Then may you say with open voice,
> This is her use, this is her vaine,
> She yeelds to all, ... "

[1] See Peter Quennell: op. cit., p. 138.

Summarizing, then, it may be said that the picture of the Italo-Hispalensis in love painted by Willoughby, coincides quite closely with Agrippa's definition of the "Spanyard ... in love", and were it not for the complexities of the rest of the book, might well be accepted at its face value as a conventional portrait of the Southern European lover and would-be seducer. If, however, de Luna is to be believed, this is not so, and this apparently Mediterranean conduct in affairs of the heart would have been equally applicable, on the testimony of contemporary records, to that of Elizabeth's two most distinguished English favourites, Leicester and his step-son, Essex, in what can only be described as their continual courtship of their relatively susceptible sovereign.

Thus far, then, the overt description in the *Avisa* of the wooing tactics of the generic Spaniard: let us now look at what, if de Luna is right, may be considered as the covert description of the seduction strategies of a specific Spaniard -Philip II. Avisa, after her marriage, the text informs us, is "tempted" by "Ruffians, Roysters, young Gentlemen and lusty Captaines",[1] all of whom are, however, then synthesized into one suitor denominated, simply, *Caveileiro,* and then *Caveileiro,* which is certainly significant, it being the only Spanish word introduced into the text, and one obviously familiar to English readers by the end of the 16th. century.

The Queen's godson, Sir John Harington, in his *Apology,* 1596, apparently referred to the Spanish King as " ... a beggerly, thridbare Kavalliero, like to Lazorelloes maister",[2] and Shakespeare, in 1597, in *Henry IV,* Part II, has Shallow observe:

> "I'll drink to Master Bardolph and to all his cavaleiroes about London".[3]

Philip, of course, etymologically means "a lover of horses", and as the American historian, William Prescott, points out, Philip, on arriving in 1554 in England for his marriage to Mary Tudor, had been provided, on her orders, with "a spirited Andalusian jennet, which the prince instantly mounted":

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[1] De Luna: op. cit., p. 153.

[2] Ibid., p. 56n.

[3] V, iii, 1. 60.

> "He was a good rider, and pleased the people by his courteous bearing and the graceful manner in which he managed his horse".[1]

For de Luna then, this second section of the *Avisa* refers to Philip II's courtship, through the Spanish Ambassador, Count Feria, of his sister-in-law, Elizabeth, when by Mary's death in 1558, he became a widower and she became a Queen. It must be remembered, however, that this real-life episode was being recounted in 1594, thirty six years later, and six years after the hostilities culminating in the Armada expedition, and at a time when the Queen was assuring her Parliament:

> "I fear not all (the King of Spain's) threatenings, his great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me. For though he come against me with a greater power than ever was his Invincible Navy, I doubt not but, God assisting me upon whom I always trust, I shall be able to defeat him and overthrow him. For my cause is just".[2]

It is hardly to be expected, therefore, that the portrait of Caveleiro come a-courting should be other than pejorative!

Caveleiro approaches Avisa in a bluff, hearty fashion, taking for granted, in a rather *machista* way that she will find him as attractive as he finds her, suggesting that she has encouraged him with her "side-cast glance", and offering to come to her when and where she wishes (from Spain, presumably), whilst assuring her that she cannot "fare so well at home" (i. e. with an English suitor). Although a "stranger" "seldome seene, before this day" (Elizabeth and Philip had apparently met only once in 1557), he can offer her great "store of wealth", similar, one supposes, to the wagonloads of bullion paraded through London on the occasion of his previous marriage.[3] He ends his blunt, forthright speech urging her not to miss this opportunity, for he has little time to spare,[4] and rounding off his proposal with a gaming metaphor containing a frankly sexual innuendo.

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[1] Prescott: op. cit., p. 45.

[2] J. E. Neale: *Queen Elizabeth I,* Pelican Books, 1960, p. 338.

[3] Prescott, op. cit., p. 50.

[4] As de Luna points out: " ... when Philip actually brought himself to make the formal proposal ... ", he instructed Feria to make it understood that he could

Avisa, in the following two Cantos, as forthrightly rejects these offers, supporting, I think, de Luna's thesis, by her opening lines:

> "What now? what newes? new warres in hand?
> More trumpets blowne of fond conceits?"

and later referring to him sarcastically as "your worship". As in the case of H. W., she accuses Caveleiro of "thoughts ... uncleane", of "lust", of "filthy love" and "wanton will", and in six extremely vituperative verses refers to Philip's reputation -possibly fomented by the malice of Antonio Pérez and the foreign Ambassadors at his court -as an inveterate womaniser.[1] Spend your money, she says punningly, on "your queanes", for, of course, by 1594 Philip had been married four times, and "quean", of course, is a synonym of harlot. She adds significantly:

> Your wannie cheekes, your shaggy lockes,
> Would rather moue my mind to grudge,
> To feare the piles, or else the pockes:"[2]

She then shows him the door, capping his final gaming metaphor with one of her own.

There is a marginal note beside the beginning of Caveleiro's incredulous reaction to this rejection, commenting cryptically: "A right Caueleiro", which I take to mean that this is a typical Spanish reaction, like that of H. W. as well.

Using martial metaphors related to the siege, Caveleiro insists that, wise as he is in experience (another reference perhaps to Philip's reputation as a Don Juan), and successful too:

> "I never have that woman tri'd
> Of whom as yet I was deni'd".

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spend very little time with her "whether he left her pregnant or not". Op. cit., p. 56.

[1] Sir Charles Petrie: *Philip II of Spain*, London, 1963, p. 45.

[2] De Luna, op. cit., p. 59, suggests that venereal disease may have been the cause of the "suppurating sores" (see Neale: op. cit., p. 355) whose "stench" overcame his doctor at the time of his death in 1958.

he knows she is not really as chaste as she is making out to be, although her very pretence of "godly zeale" pleases him:

> "For they are often found the worst,
> That of their conscience make such a store,"

an allusion, probably, to conscience-laden Protestantism.

The reference to God arouses Avisa's indignation even more, and she quotes St. Paul at him to suggest that as a a fornicating "brother" (or brother-in-law), it is forbidden her by Holy Writ to sit down and eat with him. The idea of fornication then triggers off one of the most interesting allusions in this Canto, and one of the most supportive of de Luna's thesis: a cautionary tale, concerning "A brain-sick youth" who was "striken blind", for looking, says the marginal gloss, "dishonestly upon a godly woman". This might well be a clear reference to Don Carlos' famous fall in Alcalá de Henares, which caused him to go temporarily blind; the fall, says the historian, Martin Hume, was due to his descending a dark stair "to keep an assignation (with the grounds-keeper's daughter)".[1]

Avisa insists on her unswerving chastity, rebuking Caveleiro for his taking for granted that:

> " ... others have possest
> The place that you so lewdly craue".

and comparing herself to a "rose unblusht" without a stain, the rose, it will be remembered, being one of the Queen Elizabeth's principal heraldic emblems. Plainly unnerved by her preaching and her insults, Caveleiro takes up a gaming metaphor again to suggest that what she is really interested in is a discreet, secret affair which he will willingly concede, even pretending to be rejected by her to increase her good name. But, he insists finally, resorting again to a martial metaphor, he must have her:

> "Then you say yea, or say you no,
> I'll scale your wals, before I go".

[1] Quoted by de Luna, op. cit., p. 58.

Avisa congratulates him on his cunning, which probably explains his success (amorous success, we are to understand), but assures him that he had best retire from this particular siege, for:

> "No Captaine did, nor ever shall,
> Set ladder here, to skale the wall".

Like all Don Juans, Caveleiro is genuinely flabbergasted at Avisa's continued rejection of his suit: in a very modern sounding couplet, he admits:

> "I little thought to find you so:
> I never dreamt, you would say no."

but is resigned to giving up the attempt against her virtue, provided that she will swear -a typical *machista* trait this- that she has known no other man but her husband "In carnal act", a condition which she is willing to accept, assuring him that:

> "From others yet I am as free,
> As they this night, that boren bee."

and the whole episode finally ends on a good-tempered, conciliatory note- as Philip's real-life suit apparently did[1] -with Caveleiro saying:

> "Well giue me then a cup of wine,
> As thou art his, would thou be mine".

one of the few allusions in the text, as de Luna points out, that might contribute to the notion that Avisa was a barmaid! The wine here is

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[1] Maria Perry: *Elizabeth I, the Word of a Prince, a Life from Contemporary Documents*, the Folio Society, London, 1990, p. 149: "He never once questioned his ability to achieve the proposed ends, simply assuming that as Elizabeth was younger than her sister and would obviously produce an heir to keep England safely within the Hapsburg dominions, marriage would cure all the rest. Such matters were in the hands of God. When she refused him he was not offended. He wrote on 23 March that he was very sorry such a marriage could not be arranged, as he had greatly desired it, and "the public weal demanded it". The same objects, however, could be achieved by good friendship".

probably significant: at the time of Philip's marriage to Mary, the French Ambassador, Noailles, noted that he encouraged his Spanish followers to acquire English habits:

> " ... a quoy ill voulloit bien commancer et leur monstrer le chemin, puis se fist apporter de la bière de laquelle il beut" .[1]

his calling for a farewell cup of *wine*, may well symbolize his renunciation of all things English, including the Queen.

They, presumably, then drink amicably together, Avisa saying:

> " Have t'ye good lucke, tell them that gaue
> You this aduice, what speede you haue.
> Farewell."

thus emphasizing the success of her rejection and having, as it were, the last word! Indeed, it shoul be said that Philip II comes out of the episode in a far from unattractive light, whereas Avisa, both here and in the other four similar episodes, leaves an unfortunate impression of excessive sanctimoniousness and self-complacency -this portrait of Elizabeth is hardly flattering, and almost certainly most unlike her. Nor, it should be added, do his forthright, down-to-earth and rather expeditious tactics of seduction resemble those adopted by the plaintive, self-indulgent so-called exponent of Spanish courtship Italo-Hispalensis, H. W!

In fine, *Willobie His Avisa* can hardly be considered a great work of art, nor are its contents in any way trascendental, but it does, certainly, offer some intriguing and sometimes amusing insights into the contemporary and, therefore, probably jaundiced, English view of seduction Spanish style as practised both generally and individually.

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[1] Prescott, op. cit., p. 46.

SHAKESPEARE'S HENRY V: PERSON AND PERSONA

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In this same interlude it doth befall,
That I, one Snout by name, present a wall:
And such a wall, as I would have you think,
That had in it a cranny'd hole, or chink.[1]

With the Pyramus and Thisbe 'play within the play' of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* V.i, Shakespeare had parodied the age-old device of scene setting quite mercilessly. It is most surprising, then, to see him make such extensive use of the same device in *Henry V* some five years later. At the beginning of each of the five acts the Prologue apologizes, *ad nauseam*, for the limitations of the Elizabethan stage, its lack of props. When the purpose of a dramatic work is to re-enact the grandeur and majesty of Good King Harry, the epic sweep of his victories on French soil, the best efforts of the set designers of the day are found wanting:

can this cockpit hold
The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?[1]

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[1] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Sylvan Barnet (1963; rpt. London: The new English Library Ltd., 1965), V.i. 133-6.

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Directors have always felt sorry for the poor old Prologue; have done their level best to supply him with the finest backdrops money could buy. Over the past two hundred years especially, no expense has been spared to keep him happy: moving 'dioramas', even cinematic projections of twentieth century warfare,[2] have been employed in an attempt to make the settings more realistic. And what is the result? Simply that this 'character', whose job it was to draw attention to the artifice of the play, has been made redundant. This is bad enough in itself: your humble patience, pray, 'to behold a swelling scene' in which the king is borne 'Towards Calais: grant him there' *(Henry V,* Prologue to Act V, vii) while a videoclip of a French seaport flickers across the back-cloth.

My real point, however, is that such Spielbergian touches, in ridding the audience of the need for a Prologue, destroy the whole essence of the play. A piece of dramatic artifice himself, he introduces acts (and the action contained therein) which are also, by his own admission, nothing more or less than crafted, preconceived. But who has preconceived them? The dramatist, obviously: yet the character he creates, King Henry, is himself a manipulator - of the other characters, of a whole country's fate. What I wish to show, in fact, is that the Prologue acts as symbol for what happens - or rather is made to happen - in the main body of the drama, where individuals are used as mere puppets to serve the Kings's political aims.

It is my contention that, in every last scene of this play in which he 'appears' King Henry is acting out the starring rôle of kingship. He has usually written his own script (most especially in I.ii where he has, in all probability, suggested the scenario to those attributed with 'authorship', the Archbishops of Canterbury and Ely) but occasionally is required to extemporize. In such situations he fares rather badly, and must result to bombast and histrionics to pull off a respectable performance. I refer to scene IV.i especially, where a confrontation with the soldier Williams forces the King-as-actor to try to come to terms with what little he remembers of Henry the man. There is also the small matter of the 'indifferent or uncomprehending audience' of minor characters. These listen to Henry's nationalistic and political speechmongering but then

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[1] William Shakespeare, *Henry V,* ed. Sylvan Barnet (1963; rpt. London: The New English Library Ltd. 1965), Prologue to Act I. 10-14. All quotations taken from this play refer to this edition and will appear in the text in brackets.

[2] John Russell Brown, "Introduction", in *Henry V,* op. cit., p. xxiii.

blithely ignore it; Henry's sophisms are undercut by the harsh realities of war and partisanship (I am thinking particularly of the Fluellen-Macmorris quarrel in III.ii) Note my use of words here: 'undercut' as opposed to 'undermine': 'small matter'. The point is that while the actions and (in the case of Bardolph) fate of these characters make us, the audience of *theatre-goers*, question the King's policies, hardly anyone in the play itself dares to do so. Williams is the exception, but as a common soldier he poses no real threat to royal decree: Henry has no foil -in other words, no secondary figure strong enough to rubbish his pretensions; 'for Falstaff he is dead'.*(Henry V* II.iii. 5). By killing him off Shakespeare effectively burnt his boats as far as dramatic tension was concerned. He meant to. This was never intended to be a play in which authority is seen to be questioned; rather, it is a study of the damage that such authority can do (to a whole people, to one individual's soul) when it is given free rein.

Let us analyze each of the scenes mentioned above. In I.ii Henry insists upon discussing certain proposals made (according to *him)* by Canterbury and Ely. These proposals relate to the King's demand for possession of French lands, even for the kingship itself. Edward III, his great-grandfather, had considered himself in line to the French throne by right of his mother Isabella, daughter of Philip IV; this in spite of the Salic Law which debarred females from the succession. The bishops (so it seems) have analyzed all the technicalities, and Henry wants a report of their findings before he decides what to say to the French ambassador, who awaits an audience:

> We would be resolved
> Before we hear him, of some things of weight
> That task our thoughts concerning us and France.
> *(Henry V* I.ii. 4-6)

The problem here is the word 'our'. Is it a simple case of the 'royal we', or is Henry referring to a previous meeting between himself and church leaders? If we take this scene literally then it is obvious that even if such a meeting had taken place, no firm decision had been reached in it. This, however, is simply not the case, as is made abundantly clear in I.i. There Canterbury tells Ely that the king, by wielding the threat of confiscation, has forced the church to give him its support in a war against France. That this would take place was already a foregone conclusion:

> If it [Henry's bill] pass against us,
> We lose the better half of our possession;
> *(Henry V* I.i. 7-8)

but

> ... I have made an offer to his Majesty -
> upon our spiritual Convocation,
> And in regard of causes now in hand,
> Which I have opened to his Grace at large,
> As touching France - to give a greater sum
> Than ever in one time the clergy yet
> Did to his predecessors part withal.
> *(Henry V,* I.i. 75-81)

Which is as good as saying 'if we do not contribute willingly, the king will bleed us dry. Better not the latter.' What the king has engineered by such threats, however, is a situation in which the Church, not he, appears to be at the forefront of the 'war effort'. He knows full well what the consequences of such a war may be for England, and is very careful, before the court as 'audience', to place the responsibility for it on Canterbury's shoulders;

> For God doth know how many now in health
> shall drop their blood in approbation
> of what your reverence shall incite us to
> *(Henry V,* I.ii. 19-20)

It is wondrous to behold, though, how easily Henry is convinced - or convinces himself - that the Lord's representative in Canterbury can only be as guilty as his Heavenly Master, whose poor vessel he is. God has spoken to his worthy Archbishop, the latter has taken the message to His Majesty. All three have given their blessing to the French campaign. Since God is never wrong, then, by definition, neither are the other two shareholders in this particular Holy Trinity. The following is only one amongst a multitude of references to the Divine Right of Kings:

> For we have now no thought in us but France,
> Save those of God, that run before our business.
> *(Henry V,* I.ii. 302-3)

But what does Henry hope to gain by flinging England into such hostilities? Foreign possessions, granted, but there are far higher stakes involved. One should always bear in mind that it is not so much his right to the French as to the English throne that is in question here. Henry IV, who usurped the kingship from Richard II and suffered all the consequences (civil war, in a word) had, with his dying breath, given his son some very good advice as to how to skip out of the way of the same pitfall; 'Keep the Yorkist factions so occupied with foreign wars that they will forget about you. And more; make sure that you turn your war into a Holy Crusade, so that anyone who refuses to join you will become, by definition, a religious dissenter':

> To lead out many to the Holy Land
> Lest rest and lying still might make them look
> Too near unto my state. Therefore, my Henry,
> Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
> With foreign quarrels.[1]

And this is *precisely* what Henry is trying to do here. The French are his infidels, Paris his Palestine. But what are the consequences of his playing the part of the righteous Christian king?

Possession of the crown has turned Henry into the soulless shell of a man. This fact is thrown most sharply into relief by his cynical disregard for human life. In actual fact, as Shakespeare is at pains to emphasize (IV.viii. 105-8) British losses at Agincourt were small, but this is beside the point. The French army was far superior in number to the English king's, and what turned out to be a victory might easily have been a bloody rout. When Henry reads the list of war dead he cannot believe his luck, and does not forego the opportunity to point out that, yes, this proves his decision to open hostilities has been approved by God all the time:

> O God, thy arm was here!
> And not to us, but to thy arm alone,
> Ascribe we all! *(Henry V,* IV.viii. 108-10)

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[1] William Shakespeare, *2 Henry V,* ed. Sylvan Barnet (1963; rpt. London: The New English Library Ltd., 1965), IV.v. 210-14.

The problem is that one of his main arguments for declaring war on a common enemy ('in the midst of the fray, any British subject who ever had a bad word to say against a kinsman will become that kinsman's friend') is the purest hokum:

> Once more into the breach, dear friends, once more;
> Or close the wall up with our English dead.
> *(Henry V,* III.i. 1-2)

One of the best known exhortations to patriotism in world literature: but before we accept it at face value, let us analyze what these words 'friends' and 'English' actually come to mean, beginning with the latter.

After the Owen Glendower revolt (1045), Henry was very well aware that the Welsh were a force to be reckoned with; the Scots and Irish also posed a threat. In III ii we see that the Welsh and Irish contingents (represented by Fluellen and MacMorris) may fight under the British flag, but have no intention of forgetting their ancestral differences. When Fluellen implies that MacMorris is the Shakespearean equivalent of a stupid Kerryman, the latter retorts that Ireland is far superior to the other parts of the United Kingdom;

> Fluellen: -Captain MacMorris, I think, look you , under your correction, there is not many of your nation -
> MacMorris: -Of my nation? What ish my nation? Ish a villain and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal. What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?
> *(Henry V.* III.ii. 122-6)

The war, then, creates only makebelieve Englishmen, draftees who only fight together because they have no other choice. If these squabble during battle, what will happen when the battle is over?

And as for 'friends'; who was Bardolph if not a friend, a personal friend, of Hal/ Henry? And how anxious Henry is to rid himself of former acquaintances! Falstaff with his heart killed, Bardolph strung up for stealing a holy relic. Pleas for clemency have been made, via Fluellen, by Pistol, the pseudo-Falstaff, another old drinking companion. All Henry has

to say is: 'We would have all offenders so cut off.' (Henry V, III.vi. 1-12) This would be all very well (the Good King sacrificing personal interests for the sake of Justice) were it not for what happens in IV i. Here Henry states categorically that war is acceptable because it rids England of such scum as are enlisted as soldiery;

> Now, if these men have defeated the law and outrun
> native punishment, though they can outstrip men, they have
> no wings to fly from God. War is his beadle, war is
> his vengeance: so that here men are punished for before -
> breach of the King's laws is now the Kings's quarrel.
> *(Henry V,* IV.i. 170-4)

The point is this; if Bardolph were one of those who had 'before gored the gentle bosom of peace with pillage and robbery' *(Henry V,* IV.i. 169-70) he should at least have been sent to the French equivalent of the Russian Front to die in battle and thus atone for his sins. Henry, however, did not allow him to get even that far: this particular reminder of a misspent youth was best disposed of as quickly as possible. Henry has no real friends any more, only subjects; these, by noble-sounding but empty words and the shock tactics of summary execution, are manipulated into doing his dirty work for him.

The lines just quoted are taken from one of the most crucial scenes in the play. The king, disguised as the common soldier Harry le Roy, goes out amongst the English army on the night before Agincourt. He wants to see for himself what shape his men are in, physically, mentally, and spiritually. One should note that our old friend the Prologue has given a false impression of what is to occur here:

> For forth he goes and visits all his host,
> Bids them good morrow with a modest smile,
> And calls them brothers, friends, and countrymen ...
> ... With cheerful semblance and sweet majesty! ...
> *(Henry V,* Prologue to Act IV, 32-34, 40)

Henry may well be putting on a show, a semblance, but it is hardly a cheerful one. Far from wishing to inspire courage his aim is to test it, and to

do so he appears not in person, but persona. Not that he is really concerned as to whether his theoretical attribution of the qualities of courage, comradeship and loyalty to his 'fellow Englishmen' will be shot down in flames. Like many a politician who has preached his ideas to an apparently uncritical public from the safety of the rostrum, Henry has convinced himself that his policies are beyond reproach; he is only slightly ill at ease. What a shock to his system (physical and political) when the soldier Williams questions absolutely everything he has done! Henry is not prepared for this. An actor from the outset, he suddenly finds that the double rôle of King Henry / Harry le Roy is too much for him. He had always worked with a prepared script (the final, memorized, draft of political speeches) and is now required to improvise. Ambition has overstretched itself and he falls flat on his mask. Williams on the justification for war:

> But if the cause be not good, the King himself hath a heavy reckoning to make, when all those legs and arms and heads, chopped off in a battle, shall join together in the latter day and cry all "We died at such a place." *(Henry V,* IV.i. 136-40)

The only reply that Henry can think to make to this is the 'war cleanses us of criminals' speech already quoted. Doubtless, given time, he would have concocted a nicer answer, but here, he has no time. What did he mean by starting this conflict? What justification did he think he could plead to the widows and orphans of the fallen? Despite all pretensions to the contrary (as demonstrated by his 'confrontation' with Canterbury) it is obvious that he has never really wanted to consider these questions seriously.

After this shock rebuff, he feels obliged to make at least the token attempt to do so. Unfortunately, though, 'token' is the only suitable word to describe what follows, the soliloquy of lines 235-289. If such 'soul searching' proves anything it is only that there is enough of Henry the Man left intact to realize that he has become nothing more than a soul*less* political machine. Far from lamenting such a decline, however, (any tears shed here are for himself, not for others) he does everything in his power to justify it.

The dominant tone is one of petulance: 'So, there's a war. And of course, everyone blames poor little me for the consequences'. Here, Good King Harry parodies what, to him, are the mere whinings of his detractors:

> " Upon the King! Let us our lives, our souls,
> Our debts, our careful wives,
> Our children, and our sins, lay on the King!"
> *(Henry V,* Iv.i. 235-7)

"My foreign policy has created warwidows and orphans, and they blame *me* for it!" Even the Bardolphs, the criminals who have 'outrun native punishment' are granted a mention. Henry is attempting to justify the improvised rubbish he has just tried to make Williams swallow. It is as if Bardolph has actually been granted the right to die nobly and atone for his sins on the battlefield, but has then turned in his grave and given a vampirish bite to the hand that fed him.

Henry, rational enough to pinpoint the nonsequiturs in this emotional outburst, quickly changes tack. Realizing that he cannot hope to justify war on moral grounds, he concentrates upon the political necessities behind it. His line of reasoning in this; the ruler of a nation has to be so conscious of his image (that of the All-powerful, Omniscient King) that he has no time to relax and allow himself the luxury of self blame. There will always be commoners aplenty who *do* have the time to criticize him, however, and since every one of these is a potential rebel who will flatter and pay homage before stabbing him in the back, he can have no friends. Any loyalty shown him will be pledged out of fear, not fellow feeling. If peace is to be maintained within the realm, this is the price he must pay.

Cynical, Machiavellian, thoroughly realistic; little here that one could, in all honesty, blame the son of an usurper for. In this resumé, however, we have not touched upon the driving force behind, the subtext of, the speech, and it is this that makes it horrific. Who is it that will try to oust Henry? Men of wealth and political influence, obviously; but it is not so much these as the mindless rabble of peasant armies they will organize that terrify him, fill him with an almost psychotic loathing and disgust. Well can they afford the luxury of criticism, of an easy conscience, of a good night's rest! The brainless, manipulated multitudes will throw the country into civil war, go on the rampage and then, presumably, drink

themselves into unconsciousness of the damage they have done. He starts by speaking of the simple peasant who, after a day's work in the fields,

> ... with a body filled, and vacant mind,
> bets him to rest, filled with distressful bread: ...
> *(Henry V,* IV.i. 274-5)

Yet it is the same labourer who will take advantage of any lowering of Henry's guard, who

> ... in gross brain little wots
> What watch the King keeps to maintain the peace,
> Whose hours the peasant best advantages.
> *(Henry V,* IV.i. 287-9)

The king has learnt a valuable lesson from the Wat Tyler revolt of 1381 - the masses are not to be trusted. Now it becomes clear that the speech addressed to Williams is no simplification of his own thinking after all: 'those low and stupid enough to fight in private armies are dangerous; let us rid ourselves of peasant scum'. What Henry will *not* admit, however is that *he himself* has instigated a useless war to do so, that *he himself* has been a manipulator of those commoners he chooses to class as peasants.

This is because he thinks like these commoners; knows full well how best to manipulate them; has taught himself to do so during years of acquaintance with Falstaff and his gang. He has also learnt how to think like a peasant mercenary. As Hal, member of Falstaff's robber band, he thoroughly enjoyed freedom from scruples. But now that this particular rôle is played out, what is left? Its twin brother, Ceremony: the act that a peasant, a peasant manipulator, must put on when he wants to play King for a change. And rôleplay here is seen as a cancerous disease, one which eats the actor away until nothing remains but the mask. A few choice words in the right quarter will, in turn, blow this mask off to reveal the soullessness, the nothing, that lies beneath it:

> O hard condition,
> Twin-born with greatness, subject to the breath
> Of every fool, whose sense no more can feel
> But his own wringing. *(Henry V,* IV.i. 238-41)

At very least the Prologue, in admitting that the show he puts on for the assembled masses is just that -*a show*-, is telling nothing more or less than the truth. Henry would never dare admit as much.

* * *

BLOOD, LOVE AND TEARS: RENAISSANCE ENTERTAINMENT

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All the pathos and dramatism implied in Winston Churchill's much-quoted sentence seems to have been the current fare throughout the history of popular literature. In times of national or personal crisis this terrible promise seems to give life some tinge of glory and sense of catharsis to the point of making the situation more bearable. Sixteenth century Europe was experiencing a commotion of physical borders and class definition intense enough to reverberate into the realms of literature: "blood, sweat and tears" becomes the symbolic battleground of the thirst for power in Shakespeare's tragedies or in other great themes of the moment, such as the Faustian myth. Michel Foucault has argued in his work how power and knowledge develope together, since "the exercise of power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge (and) knowledge induces effects of power".[1] Thus, the process of accomplishing either goal is cluttered with symbols of blood, sweat or tears.

But Faustus or Macbeth mark the end of the transcendental notions of knowledge and power in literature, and, as Julia Kristeva puts it, "the serenity of the symbol was replaced by the strained ambivalence of the sign's connection, which lays claim to resemblance and identification of the elements it holds together, while first postulating their radical difference. (...) the sign refers back to entities both of lesser scope and more concretized than those of the symbol".[2] The transcendence of the literary

[1] Madan Sarup: *Post-Structuralism and Postmodernism*, Harvester 1988 (p. 82).
[2] Julia Kristeva: *Desire in Language*, Basil Blackwell 1987 (pp. 39-40).

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message in tragedies and historical plays is, then, replaced by a poignant touch of humour or satire which creates an effect of exaggeration or caricature that displaces the center of the actual problem out of the focus of the perceptive audience.

The negative aspects embodied in the acquisition of power are going to be "mediated upon", an unconfortable present is going to be exorcised by the force of language through the prerrogative of literature, taking advantage of the fact that "there is no direct access to that real which would be unmediated by the structure of our various discourses about it".[1] Therefore, the contemporary discourse will forget that "during the whole of Shakespeare's lifetime there was not a single year when Europe was not engaged in war. (That) there could have been no period during Shakespeare's adult life when he would not see broken men returning from battle",[2] that there were inflation, underemployment, penury and the constant threats of famine and plague.

If reality is the site of darkness and strife, as Northrop Frye would put it, reality must be reified in terms of romance and melodrama, and "sweat" substituted by "love" as an easier vehicle for the reification and a more comprehensible subject matter to identify with. The measure of the intensity of that love is solved by Frye's words: "If literature is didactic, it tends to injure its own integrity; if it ceases wholly to be didactic, it tends to injure its own seriousness. (...) Irony preserves the seriousness of literature by demanding an expanded perspective on the action it presents, but it preserves the integrity of literature by not limiting or prescribing for that perspective".[3] Peter Ure also expands on the same aspect while analyzing Ben Jonson and fellow satirists and points out the successful combination of ingredients: archetypally vicious characters commented

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[1] Linda Hutcheon: "History and/as Intertext", *Future Indicative,* John Moss (ed.), U. of Ottawa Press 1986 (p. 173).

[2] Joel Hurstfield: "The Historical and Social Background", *A New Companion to Shakespearean Studies,* K. Muir and S. Schoenbaum (eds), Cambridge U. P. 1971 (p. 173).

[3] Northrop Frye: *The Stubborn Structure,* Methuen 1970 (p. 169).

upon by similarly affected individuals, all of them responding to their own peculiar internal logic.[1]

The world, or underworld, of criminal types, plus the still slippery boundaries between science and superstition and the need to displace political fears and social inequalities multiply the manifestations of popular literature, even within the parameters established above. The popular taste goes not only for romance and melodrama, but also for stories of marvels and portents, strange happenings, crime stories and accounts about witches and the devil. Insofar blood is taken and tears shed, morbidness exacted and local colour assured, the audience is guaranteed and so is readership. Still, themes and preferences are not new, they go back to broadsides and oral literature and will stretch forward to contemporary serials and soap operas, since there will always be some twarthed desire to sublimate.

Victor Nueburg[2] records some pieces and titles popular in England in the sixteenth century: "A description of a monstrous Chylde borne at Chychester in Sussex, 1562", "A Proper Newe Sonet Declaring the Lamentation of Beckless (a Market Towne in) Suffolke, which was in the Great Winde Upon S. Andrewes Eve Last Past Most Pittifully Burned with Fire, to the Losse by Estimation of Twentie Thousande Pound and Upwarde, and to the Number of Foure Score Dwelling Houses, 1586", "The arraignement and burning of Margaret Ferne-seede, for the Murder of her late Husband Anthony Ferne-seede, found dead in Packham Field neere Lambeth, having once before attempted to poyson him with broth, being executed in S. Georges-fields the last of Februarie ... " published in 1608. These are just a few examples of the kind of discourse admitted as entertainment in Elizabethan times and which provide a background to the common understanding and enjoyment of literature. As long as we remain by theme and taste and leave aside style and articulation, we can quote Neuburg in that "at this period it would be difficult to make a clear division between popular literature and some overspill from serious literature, for each borrowed from the other" (p. 25).

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[1] Peter Ure: "Shakespeare and the Drama of his Time", *A New Companion to Shakespearean Studies*, op. cit. p. 217.

[2] Victor Neuburg: *Popular Literature*, Penguin Books 1977.

In "A Newe Ballade of a Lover Extolling His Ladye", dated 1563, the poet borrows freely from the semantic fields of blood and tears to express his love in heart-rending terms. He invokes the anger of the universe (gods, stars, the sun, fowls, animals and fish) upon his body to prove his love for her. Some of the tortures he imagines fall within the purest gothic tradition:

> to slaye / my corpes with cruell panges of death (line 19)
> mine eyes / should send forth bloudy streames (l. 28)
> a serpent / my corps to flay with bloudy wounds (l. 43)
> the lyon / my fleshe to teare and gnawe (l. 52)

The tirade, that started with an allusion to the gods, ends accordingly and with a feeling for effect by completing the cycle in hell. Yet, the poet dares all, endures all in this mythical journey of pain and chastisement - only with the absence of her love is death finally effected.

Michael Drayton abounds in the same idea and in similar terms a few years later. His sonnet "An Evil Spirit" (1599) considers beauty and love as a curse that "haunts", "possesses", "tempts to each ill", "torments" and "tortures" the unwary poet, brought to "sighs", "tears", "despair" and "sudden death" - in short, love proves to be the Evil Spirit of the title. But the couplet twists the tail indeed by reconciling opposites and, therefore, subverting all the negative connotations of the poem into pleasurable and piercing feelings. The loved one is both a "good sweet angel" and a "wicked evil spirit":

> Thus am I still provoked to every evil
> By this good wicked spirit, sweet angel-devil.

This ambivalence pertaining women is extended throughout most literary pieces. Women are either good or wicked, angels to husband and family or pure devils. This simplification is carried out with some reserve, with ample written evidence to testify that women are fundamentally good but easy prey to the temptations of the world. The treatise "Hic Mulier; or, The Man-Woman" (1620) refers all evils to woman following wicked new fashions, such as modifying her dress, till then "fit for her modesty" or having her hair cut when "the long hair of a woman is the ornament of her

sex".[1] Similarly, the theatre was considered an occasion of sin for women, as quoted by another anonimous moralist: "muchas esposas pecadoras confesaban en su lecho de muerte que era el inicial error de asistir al teatro el que había apartado sus mentes de la contemplación de la virtud, precipitándolas a la resbaladiza senda de la perdición".[2] The shadows and masks integrating the theatrical atmosphere have always been the ideal setting for illicit looks, clandestine dates and, eventually, perdition.

One of the most common and compelling female archetype is the innocent adolescent or faithful wife acting unawares as a seductress, attracting the lust of the villain through her mere pasive presence, victorious over the wordy turmoil going on on stage. This peaceful lamb is capable of the most atrocious crimes once she falls in love with the seducer (should we say, with the seduced?) or is convinced of a cause. Lady Macbeth is the most famous resolute woman in English literature but, by no means, the only one. Alice Arden is such another doubtful Renaissance heroine, of *Arden of Feversham,* play written in 1591 out of the account given in Holinshed's *Chronicles* of a murder committed in 1551. The title page summarizes all we need to remember:

> The lamentable and true tragedy of Master Arden of Feversham in Kent. Who was most wickedly murdered by the means of his disloyal and wanton wife, who, for the love she bare to one Mosbie, hired two desperate ruffians, Black Will and Shakebag, to kill him. Wherein is showed the great malice and dissimulation of a wicked woman, the unsatiable desire of filthy lust, and the shameful end of all murderers.

T. W. Craig, in his introduction to *Minor Elizabethan Tragedies,* lists the evident attractions of the play: realism, moralism, sensationalism, suspense and intrigue. Alice was a contented wife till Mosbie came her way, when she became most anxious to dispense with her husband, loathing every minute she remained married to him. She scolded her lover:

> For if thou beest as resolute as I,

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[1] Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara F. McManus: *Half Humankind* (Contexts and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England, 1540-1640), Univ. of Illinois Press 1985 (p. 270).

[2] Héctor Tizón: *Shakespeare,* Ediciones Urbión 1984 (p. 45).

We'll have him murder'd as he walks the streets. (Sc. I, ll. 443-444)

In spite of so much cruelty and blood, men do share part of the guilt; they admit to lust for power and flesh, and to deceit. While Alice Arden follows an irrational notion of love, Mosbie calculates the pros and cons of courting her:

I have neglected matters of import
That would have stated me above thy state (...)
I left the marriage of an honest maid,
Whose dowry would have weigh'd down all thy wealth,
Whose beauty and demeanour far exceeded thee.
(Sc. VIII, ll. 83-84, 88-90)

"State", "wealth" and "beauty" are, then, the false pillars of love, word much used and abused in popular literature, but void of any transcendental sense. *Arden of Feversham* contains very good examples of its playful possibilities, such as:

It is not love that loves to anger love. (Mosbie)
It is not love that loves to murder love. (Alice) (Sc. VIII, ll. 58-59)

Alice: Nay, he must leave to live that we may love,
May love, may live; for what is life but love?
And love shall last as long as life remains,
And life shall end before my love depart. (Sc. X, ll. 86-89)

Love and women are simplified to the point of becoming mere literary functions, not to be dismissed but not to be taken in full consideration either. Thomas Arden, characteristically, exalts his wife to heights difficult to reach and to contest and purports to live happily and without care ever after: For dear I hold her love, as dear as heaven" (Scene I, line 39).

Religion is the haven of male arguments to keep women safely in their proper place "lower than men's in the hierarchies of the world, but placed at the very heart of Christianity".[1] The argument is convenient to

[1] Elaine Beilin: *Redeeming Eve* (Women Writers of the English Renaissance), Princeton U. P. 1987 (p. xv).

deal even with the Queen, as Edmund Spenser wisely put it in *The Fairie Queene:*

> But virtuous women wisely understand
> That they were born to base humility,
> Unless the heavens them lift to lawful sovereignty. (B. 5, c. 5, stz. 25)

National and domestic politics are thus solved to everybody's contentment: Queen Elizabeth's power emanates directly from God, and no common woman can be so pretentious as to compete with the Queen in that respect, but they can model themselves on such an elated example while exercising the virtue of modesty.

A pamphlet written in 1616 warns women, though, of the perils of given themselves over to religious theories, while abounding on the frailty of women and their proneness to excess. The writer also takes advantage of the opportunity to make a political statement and capitalizes on the morbidity of the people who enjoy a tragic story and bloody details all the best if they know they are well out of it. The pamphlet tells the story of "A pitiless Mother that most unnaturally at one time murdered two of her own Children at Acton, within six miles of London, upon holy thursday last, 1616, the ninth of May, being a Gentlewoman named Margaret Vincent, wife of Mr Jarvis Vincent of the same Town, With her Examination, Confession, and true discovery of all the proceedings in the said bloody accident".

The details of name, date and place in the title entice the prospective reader with the first requirement for popular success: the pretence to reality. Once this is established, the gruesome description of the actual murder and the ravishing fit of madness of Margaret become facts that everybody should rightfully know - were it all fiction, the reader might feel the force of his macabre curiosity and forbear the knowledge. But, as it is presented, people, specially women, must learn it in order to be forewarned, since, the aforesaid Margaret "Twelve or Fourteen Years had she lived in marriage with her husband well beloved, having for their comforts divers pretty children between them, with all other things in plenty (as health, riches, and suchlike) to increase concord, and no necessity that might be hindrance to

contentment".[1] This time it is no light infatuation that induces the faulty logic of crime and murder, but a more powerful enemy that sores above the social and political crisis of England at the time: frail Margaret Vincent falls prey "into the hands of Roman Wolves (who had) the sweet Lamb, her soul, thus entangled by their persuasions" that, to preserve her children's innocence of sin, decides to kill them before their time.

There is more to popular literature than mere entertainment, there is a morality well disguised and much enforced by the factual powers: that crime is appropiate for literature but it doesn't pay, that it is much more rewarding to remain within lawful binds and boundaries and that an incontrollable pursuit of pleasure or knowledge always brings madness and death in the end. Those who must satisfy such inmoderate compulsions will fare much better by indulging in the entertaining vice of literature.

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[1] *Half Humankind*, op. cit. p. 362.

‘CALIBAN’S’ CHOICE IN THE ‘IRISH TEMPEST’

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> They say their kingdom belongs to Your Majesty for it is of Spanish origin, the first founders being part from Galicia, part from Vizcaya. I replied I understood it to be so.[1]

Philip II read these words in 1574 in Madrid and he probably felt happiness in doing so, the same, perhaps, that his father had felt back in 1529 when an Irish nobleman, a Galfididus, appeared in the Spanish court to tell him that the Irish catholics under the banner of the Earl of Desmond were ready to fight in the imperial side against an English king who was by, then, beginning to forget the duties his title of “Fidei Defensor” carried along with it so as to be able to wink an eye both to a Lutheran reformation, then fastly growing, and to a new mistress, Anne Boleyn, whose beauty no doubt surpassed that of an old growing Catherine of Aragon, incapable of giving a male heir to the future Head of the Church of England.[2]

The author of the lines mentioned above was a Spanish captain, a Basque, Diego Ortiz de Urizar, who in the year given visited Ireland in order to obtain as much information as possible, no matter of what kind,

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[1] “Dizen ellos que aquel reyno toca a V. Magd. por ser su origen y antiguedad de españa, parte de galizia y parte de bizcaya. Yo les dezia q bien entendido se tenia en españa”. Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 828.

[2] British Library, Vespasian ms.

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and who certainly found it, as we see from the memorandum the Spanish king received form his hands. The 'Green Island', populated by 'savages' who attacked the Spanish officer the moment he set foot on it, began, thus, to be well known in the court of Madrid: "I was immediately attacked and robbed by the English and savages of that land, as one can see in the information I have procured."[1]

The Spanish officer, however, lived to tell not only the ordeal but various other things, among which we must include that legendary piece concerning the Spanish origin of Ireland that medieval writers like Giraldus Cambrensis or Elizabethan ones, like Edmund Campion, to mention but just a few, also dealt with in their respective works. The Irish 'Caliban' had by then, obviously, changed his attitude towards the Spanish visitor. In the lapse of a few days Urizar, therefore, had gained a new status in the island. He no longer was a 'foreigner' but had become the living symbol of a prince who, given time,-who could know in 1574?-might perhaps become master of the island bringing to it all that the native population ardently wished:

> They all have their hopes set on Your Majesty. They thoroughly believe that you will protect them so that they can live as Christians saving, thus, their souls.[2]

Caliban, thus, blesses the day in which this Spanish 'visit' has taken place, an episode that fills his heart with joy and that makes him forget the despair caused by a, till then, lost fight: "Heiday, Freedom. Caliban has a new master!". He, however, ignores that his new lord does not see in him a subject in need of help but an invaluable tool to dethrone the 'female Prospero of the place', Elizabeth I, and enjoy the benefits and advantages that the island may procure. An island, by the way, that, following Urizar's words, "would produce anything in great abundance, except olive oil and

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[1] "al momento fui saqueado por los yngleses y saluages de aquella tierra como se be por la ynformaçion que tengo hecho dello". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 828.

[2] "toda su esperança tienen en V. Mgd que tienen por muy çierto que les a de tomar debaxo de su protection real para poder ser cristianos y saluar sus almas". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 828.

oranges",[1] without forgetting, of course, the mineral resources which, in the captain's opinion, are also considerable. As one can well see, the pragmatism of this 'Spanish Stephano' is not by an inch smaller to that of Shakespeare's character.

The tragic element in Caliban's choice, however, does not lie in the choice itself but, on the one hand, in the firmness with which it is made, something that will lead the native population to a great degree of suffering and frustration, and on the other, in the revenge of the English master, who cannot understand this lack of appreciation towards his system of government and his language, as Edmund Spenser will show in his *A View of the State of Ireland;* a man for whom, in the true fashion of the age, writing *The Faerie Queene* and cutting heads are two perfectly compatible things. In other words, the Catholic Ireland of the sixteenth century makes its choice without considering the consequences. It jumps into an abysm of misery pursuing a dream which will never come true. Caliban sees in Stephano 'the man in the moon' and not the drunkard.

Ireland, its O'Donnells, O'Neills, Desmonds, see in Philip II, in the Spain of the sixteenth century, not the giant with trembling feet but the empire of reason and true faith. Idealism and reality clash to let the former win the day, probably because the atmosphere of the island is still impregnated with the magic taste of medieval chronicles that tell the supernatural deeds of heroes like Cuchulainn who exceed human dimensions.

Caliban's faith, however, is worth praising. It comes alive on top of a thousand and one disasters. In 1593, therefore years after the disaster of the Spanish Armada (1588), the tragic episode of Smerwick in which Sir Walter Ralegh had his baptism of blood in a not very well studied butchery(1580), years after the body of Desmond were exhibited in Cork's gallows, or, to end a long list, years after Munster and Ulster had already known the bitter taste of revenge, he has still vigour enough to say: "[the strongest and most powerful catholic lords in Ireland] willingly risk all their fortunes and lives to serve God and Your Majesty [Philip II]. We plead before you, for the love of God, with all our strength, that you may take

[1] "daria qualquera cosa en abundançia ecepto azeyte y naranjas". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 828.

pity on us"[1] The figure thus writing is Maurice Geraldine who still has hopes, despite a thousand drawbacks, of fulfilling his dream. Needless to say, of course, that Caliban illustrates his plead with powerful arguments: "[England] will have, no doubt, to withdraw its help from the Low Countries and France. Therefore the English won't be able to attack the Spanish coasts"[2]

O'Donnell himself will repeat practically the same argument in his letter to all the Irish nobles living in Spain: "Gentlemen, let us all come here to fight in the service of God and to defend and recover our lands. To this effect it is important that we understand and help eachother as I will do till the end of my life with the help I hope to get from His Majesty [Philip II]"[3]

Caliban's cry echoes, once again, in Madrid: "This island is mine!". Once again blind faith in a symbol and closed eyes to sad reality: Spain could not procure the help she had been asked for, sunk as it was in very serious economic difficulties and immobilised by the lack of trust in the Irish, because it never indeed fully trusted the vehement words of the 'savage', as the Irish is described in many a document of the age. It is enough, to this effect, to remember that mixture of cynicism, arrogance and superiority that this piece of information from the intriguing Spanish ambassador In London, de la Quadra, conveys: "O'Neill has arrived to this

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[1] [los señores catolicos mas fuertes y poderosos que ay en Irlanda] boluntariamente ponen a riesgo sus estados y vidas por seruir a Dios y a V. Mgd. Somos de pareçer de suplicar a Md. por amor de dios y con el encareçimiento que podemos se sirua de hazernos a todos md de dolerse de su neçesidad". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 839.

[2] "por fuerza [Inglaterra] ha de retirar el socorro que suele imbiar a flandes y a Françia y no habra tanto acorrimiento de ingleses en las costas de españa" Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 839.

[3] "señores, procuremos todos assistir aqui y pelear y combatir por el seruiçio de dios y para defender y ganar nras tierras porque conuiene que nos entendemos bien y que ayudemos unos a otros para el dicho efecto lo qual hare yo de mi parte hasta la muerte mediante el socorro q espero de su Md". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 839.

court. He is indeed a savage in his looks, though I don't think that he is that savage when it comes to thinking" [1]

The truth is that official Spain never appreciated, never wanted probably, Irish favours: the death of Ireland's nobility in an unfair fight; the courage of O'Rourke, executed in Tyburn after having helped certain survivors of the Spanish Armada; the protection, indeed, of some of the few survivors of that same Armada by different clans, and a long etcetera. It is only natural that Mateo de Oviedo, 'Ireland's greatest friend of all times', archbishop of a city he never saw, Dublin, inquisitor, theologian, spy and, above all, lover of anything Irish, went mad on occasions before the lack of energy showed by a court, like the Spanish one, that in theory, but only in theory, should have been able to carry out the highest enterprises.

Caliban's choice of a Spanish catholic master, however, bears also some other characteristics worth pointing out, as they explain, in a very special way, the development of other countries' histories. In other words, Caliban turns on a mechanism that makes events reach extremes he could never have foreseen. It has been said, and probably with a great degree of reason, that the English fight in Ireland, the way it was carried out, the solution to the 'Irish Question' of the sixteenth century, is essential to understand the future development of English colonies in America and the treatment there of the native population. That is, that the English settlements of Ulster and Munster were but the first steps of a long imperial march.[2]

The question, however, is generally analysed as the problem of two sides, the Irish and the English one, forgetting, thus, the role of the Spanish

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[1] "ha llegado a esta corte O'Neill, el qual aunque es muy saluage en los cabellos no me pareçe que lo es tanto en el seso". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 816.

[2] D.B. Queen, "Ireland and sixteenth century European expansion", *Historical Studies:I. Papers read before the second Irish Conference of historians,* London, 1958. D.B. Queen, "Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577) and the beginnings of English Colonial Theory", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* Vol. 89, N 4, 1945. N.P. Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America", *William and Mary Quarterly,* 30, 1973. K.S. Bottigheimer, "Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the westward enterprise, 1536-1660", *The Western Enterprise,* 1979.

agent. Our approach is somewhat different, triangular and not double-sided; that is, we must count on three, and not two, protagonists. After all, it was Queen Elizabeth I in person who in 1571 wrote to the Spanish monarch to say, in what regards the Irish problem, "Your Highness mustn't be surprised if we wake up and stand on our guard, as the storm comes from the side we least expected".[1] The 'English female Prospero' is ready to defend her island, not only against Caliban's uprisings, but against anyone who may become his 'partner in crime'. An island, by the way, that the Queen defines as the land that "our parents and grandparents possessed".[2]

The letter we have just mentioned, apart from being a magnificent example of diplomatic abilities on the part of Elizabeth, is also the key that opens new possibilities for the understanding of the 'Irish Question' in the sixteenth century: basically that the English crown acted in part as an answer to deeds generated by a third protagonist, Spain, suffocating thus a growing fear of a Spanish successful intervention. Caliban, simply, had to be 'subdued, brought into submission', as Spenser says, for he had become a real threat. In order to do so, all the weapons were welcome, including a whole range of arguments and reasons that can be summarised in the following way: the Irish, that inferior being who lacks knowledge, who despises work, must be given precisely what he lacks ... whether he likes it or not. He is the 'masterless man' Terence Hawkes mentions in his essay "Playhouse-Workhouse"[3] "who haunted the margins of that society and (supposedly) the suburbs of its cities, ungoverned, unrestrained, challenging from the periphery the central ligature on which social order rested; such figure offered fertile ground for the seeds of moral panic".

The panic, however, that Caliban generates in England does not come from his own figure but from the acquaintances he possesses. They were, actually, the ones that sought the destruction of an order they considered 'heretical'. It so happens, then, that Caliban becomes a useful tool for both contenders, though, of course, he is not an equal for any of the

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[1] "no se deue marauillar V. Ser. si nos despertamos y velamos, leuantandose contra Nos la tempestad de donde menos esperauamos". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 823. Letter of Queen Elizabeth, written in Latin and later translated into Spanish.

[2] "el reyno que nros padres y abuelos han tenido". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 823.

[3] Hawkes, T., *That Shakespeherian Rag*, London, 1986.

two. The treatment he is given is, therefore, basically the same one: he is used, though, obviously, with different aims in mind. He is the precious piece two arms tear apart in two opposite directions.

Traditionally, Catholic Ireland has taken joy in believing that Spain was a faithful ally in the past. Reality, however, might have been somewhat different; Spain could well have used the argument of the defence of the catholic faith, something Ireland obviously wanted to hear at that given moment, as a shield to hide a different aim: the destruction, as Protestant England was, of a very dangerous and uncomfortable adversary. Philip II never spoke clear to the catholic clans. He played the game, though he did not trick Caliban, of promising the defence of Irish interests in order to obtain England's destruction. Caliban, however, as we have said, managed to see through the watchful eyes of El Escorial, though he accepted the bet which, in the end, would be very painful to pay, as the episode of the 'Flight of the Wild Geese' clearly demonstrates.

Even today, the primitive machiavelism of the 'Spanish Prospero' still shocks the audience when this hears, for example, the instructions given to 'Ariel' in a mission carried out in 1596. Two captains, Medinilla and Cisneros, are to go to Ireland and analyse the situation of the island. The instructions they are given come straight from Philip II, though it is an intermediate hand, that of El Conde de Portalegre, the one that transmits them. The king is worried, above anything else, with causing a good impression. That is precisely why the first point of the given instructions is the following:

> Tell them and assure them that His Majesty's will is totally in their favour due to their quality and deeds and very especially to their defence of the Catholic faith in that realm; a faith His Majesty has defended all over Christendom.[1]

[1] "Direiles ... que se asseguren de q su Mgd. les tiene la buena voluntad q mereçen por su gran calidad y por sus hechos y especialmente por defensores de la causa catholica de aquel Reyno, de la qual su Mgd. ha professado siempre ser verdadero protector en toda la cristiandad". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 839.

In the same vein, the captains are ordered also to transmit the catholic leaders the joy of the Spanish king for the victories obtained in the past and the courage shown, but also:

> Tell them to persevere in what they have started so well adding that they have obtained so much glory that all princes in the world will feel jealousy. Persuade them and talk them into telling you the means they have now to carry on war against the heretics. His Majesty has also ordered me to tell you that if they don't raise any objection, Medinilla can remain there with a couple of soldiers who are experienced and talk well, while you, Cisneros, can come back to make an account of the subjects treated with them.[1]

As can already be seen, Caliban's image in Madrid begins to deteriorate, something that actually increases in the following point:

> According to all the things mentioned so far, discuss with them the help they need and what they pretend. You will have to make a deduction of the amount of truth they supply you with, their firmness, morale and possibilities of success. Make them see softly the difficulties you may find so as to hear the solutions they give to them, but do it so that the trust they show on us be not broken.[2]

The Spanish official view of the Irish is still, however, incomplete. There are some strokes missing in the portrait; not very agreeable actually for the portrayed. In the first place one must bear in mind, of course, that

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[1] "que persistan en lo que han començado con tan buen suçeso y tanto loor suyo que todos los Principes del mundo les pueden hauer inuidia, y que apersuadirles esto y platicar los medios que pueden tener para proseguir la guerra contra los hereges. Me mando su Mgd. que os embiasse y que gustando q uno de los dos quede a seruirlos y assistirlos. Quedara el capitan Hernando de Medinilla con un par de compañeros soldados todos de mucha platica y experiencia y vos tornareis a dar cuenta a su Mgd. de lo que con ellos haueis tratado". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 839.

[2] "en conformidad de lo q aqui se os dize platicareis la materia del socorro q pretenden sacando de ellos todo lo que se pudiere conjecturar de su verdad y firmeza y animo y possibilidad, apuntandoles blandamente las difficultades que se os offreçieren para ver como satisfazen a ellas sin procurar vençerlos de manera q se desconfien". Archivo General de Simancas, estado, Legajo 839.

the Spanish court feels it is dealing with an ignorant who may not know very well the seriousness of war. It so appears, when one reads the following lines, that the almost total destruction of Munster, to give but only one example, may not have been a sufficient lesson for the Irish:

> Tell them with great care that they must maintain the secrecy of all this because it is very important that the enemy doesn't know. Encourage them to get ready.[1]

In the second place, of course, one has to bear in mind archtypes: the Irish character towards the same Irish. After all, captain Urizar had already said in 1574 that "the people were quarrelsome" and that "that who stole more considered himself to be the better man'.[2] That is the reason probably why in the instructions 'Ariel' is asked to "try to understand whether they have real friendship among themselves, whether Tyrone is respected and, finally, whether during a war he commands with energy or rather he begs favours".[3]

Medinilla and Cisneros do as they are ordered and bring back answers. Positive ones, indeed, for Spain, though not Philip II (he had already died in 1598), sent in 1601 troops to the port of Kinsale 'to help' the Irish catholic clans. The result is well known to everyone: death, humiliation, misery and a sad return home. Mateo de Oviedo, who was present in the campaign, must have felt tremendous despair. Once in his country he will start a legal plea so as to hold Don Juan del Aguila, the commander in chief of the tragic operation, responsible for the failure. In Ireland, however, the story was different. The main heads had, by force, to begin making plans of exile. For the humble even that alternative, sad as it was, was closed. They inevitably had to prepare for, and let's use a beautiful sentence, the winter of Ireland's discontent.

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1 "Haueisles de encargar mucho el secreto por lo que importa que no lo entiendan los enemigos y se preparen contra ellos". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 839.

2 "es gente armijera"; "el que mas roba al vezino se tiene por mas hombre". Archivo General de Simancas. Estado, Legajo 828.

3 "primeramente procurareis entender si tienen entre si aquellos señores verdadera amistad y conformidad y en que manera reconoçen al de Tiron, y si en la guerra es obedeçido y manda con imperio o con ruegos". Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajo 839.

Lavs Deo

in die Sancti Dominici

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