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TAMBURLAINE, THE SCOURGE OF GOD: MEXÍA, MARLOWE AND VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

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Tamburlaine (or Timur Lang, 1336-1405) is one of those historical characters who have become a legend and a myth¹. History and literature unite in the formation (deformation?) of these characters. This is also the case of Richard II of England, his contemporary, and many others. In this paper I want to show how the figure of Tamburlaine as Scourge of God was used by three different writers.

Pedro Mexia published his *Silva de Varia Lección* in 1540 (43?). Chapter XXVIII of Part I is dedicated to Tamburlaine and has the title: "Del excelentísimo capitán y muy poderoso rey el Gran Tamorlán. De los reinos y provincias que conquistó; y su disciplina y arte militar"². The *Silva* was very well known in the Renaissance, and it was first translated into English in 1571 under the title: *The foreste or collection of histories, no less profitable then pleasant...* Dooen out of French into Englishe, by Thomas Fortescue. London, I. Kynngston for W. Jones, 1571³.

As we can see in the title, the Chapter dedicated to Tamburlaine is a description of his conquests and personality. He was often a *libertador* of oppressed peoples, an "excelente capitán que fue tan sabio y diestro en gobernar su gente que nunca hubo en ella motín ni rebelión notable"⁴. But he was also cruel. A merchant from Genoa who travelled with the army of Tamburlaine dared to ask him why he showed so much cruelty with those who humbly implored his mercy. There comes a short reference to the Scourge of God. It is reported that

1 The relevance of this medieval king is shown by the numerous embassies that visited him. See F. López Estrada: "La relation de l'ambassade d' Henry II au Grand Tamerlan". *Etudes de Lettres*, Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Lausanne. Recils et voyages hispaniques. Juillet-Septembre, 1992. 28 pgs.

2 *Silva de varia lección*. Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1933. Tomo I, pp. 413-421.

3 An extract of it was translated and published in 1565-7. The 1571 edition was followed by others in 1576, 1613-19, 1651 and 1656. See A.F. Allison: *English Translations from the Spanish and Portuguese to the Year 1700*. London: Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1974. Entry: Mexía.

4 *Silva*, op. cit. p. 415.

Tamburlaine, with much anger and alteration, his face as burning and his eyes full of fire, answered: "Tú debes de pensar que yo soy hombre como los otros. Muy engañado estás en ello, que no soy sino ira de Dios y destrucción del mundo; y no parezcas más ante mí si no quieres llevar el pago que meresce tu atrevimiento". The merchant, who knew him well, changed his route and he was not seen again⁵.

It is admitted by the critics that the *Silva* was one of the sources Marlowe used for his *Tamburlaine*. Infinite ambition, inordinate lust of dominion, and unbounded belief in his own victorious destiny are outstanding qualities in the sixteenth century conception of Tamburlaine, not products of Marlowe's invention. This is not to say that Marlowe used everything in the histories without selecting for his purpose. It is obvious that he was more interested in the spiritual consequences of this power lust, as Leslie Spence says⁶.

The title page of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (1590) presents "two Tragical Discourses" concerning a mighty monarch who "(for his tyranny, and terrour in Warre) was termed, THE SCOURGE OF GOD". It is not only a mere phrase repeated more than a dozen times in the play; it is a definitive concept which signifies a pattern of human behaviour and of divine destiny. This concept is used in different ways by Catholics and Protestants, the latter exploiting the idea more than the former. Roy W. Battenhouse wrote an extraordinary study of the concept⁷.

In the Renaissance orthodox doctrine taught that God punishes the wicked in two ways: internally, by sending maladies of the mind and perturbations of the passions; externally, by permitting the ravages of tyrants, who are thus made to serve God as his scourges. In using the second of these two means of punishment, God permits evil agents to rage for a time, to be used simply as a means of punishing the wickedness of other men. "Scourge of God", then is a concept employed in accounting for historical calamities such as wars and tyrannies, which are interpreted as social punishments inflicted under God's providence by wicked men who will quite probably suffer the same type of "scourge" themselves in the course of time.

Although an ancient notion, it was frequently invoked by Renaissance moralists who wished to make it clear that retributive justice is not confined to an after-world.

5 Idem. p. 420. See also Perondinus' *Vita Magni Tamerlanis*. Florence, 1551.

6 Leslie Spence: "Tamburlaine and Marlowe". *PMLA*, XLII, 1927. pp. 605-6.

7 Roy W. Battenhouse: "Tamburlaine, The 'Scourge of God'". *PMLA*, XX, 1941. pp. 337-348.

Plutarch, among the pagan philosophers, says Battenhouse, is the first to point towards the theory of the employment of scourges by divine providence⁸. God abandons the wicked to tyrants, whom he uses as rods for punishing sin. A century and a half later, Plotinus says that bad men hold sway because of the feebleness, folly, and sloth of their victims, that Providence permits great wrong-doers to receive ultimately an appropriate punishment. Plutarch and Plotinus were very popular with educated readers of Elizabethan England.

Battenhouse points out that the more authoritative origin of this concept, the "Scourge of God", is to be found, however, in the Old Testament prophecy of Isaiah (X: 5-16), where Assyria is described as the rod of God's anger raised against the sins of Israel. Calvin in his commentary on this passage⁹, makes much of the point that the Assyrian, though at heart ambitious, lustful, and avaricious, is nevertheless made to serve God's purpose. The Assyrian is described as furious, proud, and blasphemous. He treads his enemies under foot, "which is the uttermost of all rage, for what can men do more then with shame and contempt to stamp them *under feete* whom they haue vanquished?"¹⁰. He recites his conquests, boasts of the ease of his victories, and finally vaunts himself against God. But the Assyrian's boastings, says Calvin, are "so many belowes (as it were) to kindle the wrath of God." God's flame shall utterly consume the Assyrian's glory. And the burning shall be a light to God's faithful, exhibiting to them God's revenge. Calvin at one point applies Isaiah's doctrine to the interpretation of Renaissance history. He remarks:

So at this day there are diuers diseases in the Church which the Lord will purge and heale... Wherefore wee must not maruell if he lets loose the bridle to tyrants, and suffreth them still to exercise their crueltie against his Church: for the consolation is readie, to wit, hauing used them as his vassals to correct his people, he will visit their pride and arrogancie¹¹.

8 See also Seneca's *De ira*, and among the christians Lactancius's *De Ira Dei*.

9 *A Commentary Vpon the Prophecie of Isaiah* (1609), pp. 115-122. It appeared in Latin in 1551, in French in 1552, both editions dedicated to Edward VI. Later Latin editions appeared in 1559, 1570, and 1583; and a 1572 French translation of the 1570 Latin edition was the basis of C. Cotton's English translation, entered to Harrison and Bishop as early as 21 Jan 1577, then on 26 Jan. 1608 to Kingston, and printed by him 1609.

10 It is therefore a particularly appropriate sign of Tamburlain's rage when he treads Bajazet under foot, and when he orders his horsemen to charge (and thus to trample under foot) the virgins of Damascus. (*Tamburlaine*, 11. 1458, 1898).

11 *Commentary*, pp. 119-120.

The "Scourge of God" concept helped explain history to many others besides Calvin, continues Battenhouse. The concept was useful, for example, in accounting for the miseries suffered by Christendom at the hands of the Turks. God "suffereth the wicked and cursed seed of Hismael to be a scourge and whip us for our synnes", wrote Peter Ashton in a preface to his *Shorte Treatise Upon the Turkes Chronicles* (1546). And Richard Knolles in "The Preface to the Reader" of his *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) gives the same explanation of Christendom's suffering. The Turkish empire has had scandalous successes. One cause for this domination is "the vncertainetie of worldly things", which must be forever rising and falling. But "the first and greatest" cause, Knolles says,

is the iust and secret iudgement of the Almightye, who in iustice deliuereth into the hands of these mercilesse miscreants, nation after nation, and kingdome vpon kingdome, as vnto the most terrible executioners of his dreadful wrath, to be punished for their sinnes¹².

Philip Mornay, says Battenhouse, whose popular work of Huguenot apologetics was translated by Sidney and Golding¹³, interpreted some of the greatest heroes of history as unwitting instruments of Divine Providence. For example, Cyrus was led by his ambition to make war upon the Assyrians. But God adapted Cyrus' design to an historical purpose of His own: the deliverance of the Israelites. Titus was led by his own passion to attack Jerusalem: but God thus made Titus the executor of justice against the Jews who crucified Christ. When Judas betrayed Christ, the devil himself served God's providence. Mornay's most significant example, however, is Attila, the great robber-conqueror, much famed as God's scourge¹⁴. Mornay's Attila is like Isaiah's Assyrian and like Marlowe's Tamburlaine:

Likewise when *Attila* entered euen into the bowelles of Europe, all the Preachers of Christendom did nothing els but bewayle the wretchednesse of that tyme. Ye must thinke that when this great Robber cast lots in his Countrie of Scythia, whether he should leade the third part of that land, he had another meaning then to reforme the world. Yet not withstanding, all men acknowledge him to be a necessary scourge of GOD, and to haue come in due season. Yea, and he himselfe considering that he had

conquered much more of the Countrie, than euer he hoped at the first to haue seene, insomuch that he had ouercome euen those which were counted the strength of the World: as barbarous as he was, he fell to thinke of himself, that he was the Scurge whereby God chastised the World. Not that God is not able to chastise vs himselfe whensoever he listeth... but that as a Maister of a howshold holdeth skorne to whippe his Slaues himselfe... but causeth (peradventure) the groome of his stable to doe it, to the intent to show them the iustnesse of his displeasure: Euen so doth God punish the wicked one by another¹⁵.

As Battenhouse points out, Marlowe as a divinity student at Cambridge very probably read Protestant theologians such as Mornay. This would provide us with ample justification for examining quite precisely this theory which makes histories of warfare so piously educational. A fundamental aspect to the "Scourge of God" concept, of course, is that provides a solid justification for the existence of wars: they are paradoxically justified (they scourge sinners) and at the same time are condemned (by God, who will eventually see to it that the wagger of war is in his turn punished).

Thus, as Battenhouse shows, Elizabethan authors commonly define war as "a scourge of the wrath of God"¹⁶. Greville condemns war as "the perfect type of Hell", but also justifies war as, by Heaven's overruling power, "The sword of Justice, and of Sinne the terror". He explains that war is a form of tyranny grounded in man's sin, arising when man gives rein to the rebellion that lives in his nature. Thus, when man repeats the original sin and strives to become God, he becomes merely the Scourge of God. Greville points to Nimrod and to the Turkish empire as two notable examples of highly prosperous tyranny founded on war. He explains that Mahomet's religion is, essentially, a Religion-of-War: it prepares men for danger only; it considers virtues of peace effeminate; its discipline is not how to use but how to get; its Church is "mere collusion and deceit"¹⁷. So Mahomet's followers, boldly "climbing vp vnited staires" of diligent wickedness, have prevailed over the Christians, because the Christians are split between a doctrine of peace and a pope who stirs them up to war. The wicked Turks punish the impious Christians. War is of the devil, but the devil is under the providence of God.

¹² Quoted by Battenhouse, p. 339.

¹³ Mornay's *De la Vérité de la Religion Chrestienne* (Antwerp, 1581) is in the S.R. licensed for translation on 13 Oct., 1581, and on 7 Nov., 1586, Thomas Cadman was paid for printing the translation.

¹⁴ Véléz de Guevara has also a play called *Attila, azote de Dios*.

¹⁶ The quoted phrase is Nicholas Breton's in *Characters Upon Essays Moral and Divine* (1615). Note also in *The Good and the Bad* (1616) Breton's character of "An Unworthy King": he is "the scourge of sin... he knows no God, but makes an idol of nature..." (Cf. *Tamburlaine*, 1. 869).

¹⁷ Note that Tamburlaine in Marlowe's play exhibits just such religion as is here described.

Nimrod, whom Greville has cited as type-example of the Scourge, was a hero known to Renaissance readers in Du Bartas' popular story. The story is noteworthy, because the pattern of Nimrod's career parallels Tamburlaine's. At an early age Nimrod tyrannizes, like Tamburlaine, over shepherds.

Battenhouse goes on to show that the "Scourge of God" notion often contains within it its own undoing. The tyrant Cæsar, so Philip Mornay said, was slain miserably "To shewe vnto Tyrannes that the highest step of their greatnesse is tyed to a halter, and that they be but Gods scourges which he will cast into the fyre when he hath done with them"¹⁸. And La Primaudaye affirmed that for tyrants God has His own secret but sure stroke of revenge – "God will returne into their bosom the euill which they haue done"¹⁹. This faith sustained the important Elizabethan doctrine that men should not for private reasons take God's revenge into their own hands.

The concept of the "Scourge of God" has, therefore, two complementary pedagogical aspects: it goes someway to explaining the difficult "problem of evil": calamities are just chastisements permitted by God and tyrants should take note that their excesses will not go unpunished: they in their turn will be chastised.

There is, certainly, says Battenhouse, good reason for supposing that Marlowe was not ignorant of the meaning of the concept. The Scythian Tamburlaine is, like the Scythian Attila and like all Turks and Titans, a Scourge of God. In terms of Isaiah's philosophy of history, his rise can be seen as having a providential purpose because of the wickedness of the Persians, the Turks, and the Babylonians. He is a rod for their chastisement. The scourging which he administers is, except in the case of the virgins of Damascus, more or less deserved: Mycetes is a vain and foolish king; Cosroe is a usurper; Bajazet is proud and cruel. Tamburlaine is perhaps more wicked than they; but God uses the wicked to punish the wicked. The destruction and slaughter which Tamburlaine wreaks in his lust for power but under the mask of piety are a scandal permitted under God's providential justice.

The conqueror's religion is a Religion of War. Throughout the play Tamburlaine fulfills the action demanded by his rôle as Scourge of God. Until such time as Heaven decides to cast its Scourge into the fire, he is permitted to continue in a crescendo of pride and conquest.

Finally, we have the catastrophic spectacle of Tamburlaine's blasphemy and death. This is the point which Tamburlaine's history reaches with the Triumphal Entry into Babylon. Drawn in his chariot by slave-kings, Tamburlaine likens himself appropriately to Belus, the son of Nimrod, to Ninus, legendary Assyrian conqueror, and to Alexander. These earliest of kings (the accent on primitivism may be significant) were, for Elizabethan readers, stock examples of pride, ambition, and impiety.

The overthrow of Babylon has symbolic importance, because Babylon in Christian tradition is, as we know, the epitome of wickedness²⁰. The moment therefore is a significant one. Tamburlaine, calling himself God's scourge, has, like the Assyrian of Isaiah's prophecy, punished the world's wickedness symbolized by Babylon. His usefulness as Scourge may now be regarded as at an end. We may expect him, like the Assyrian, to vaunt himself against God. Even while his soldiers are still about the work of the destruction of Babylon, Tamburlaine calls out:

Now *Casane*, wher's the Turkish *Alcaron*
And all the heapes of superstitiousbookes,
Found in the Temples of that *Mahomet*,
Whom I haue thought a God? they shal be burnt.

.....
In vaine I see men worship Mahomet.
My sword hath sent millions of Turks to hell,
Slew all his Priests, his kinsmen, and his friends,
And yet liue vntoucht by *Mahomet*.
(II.4284-4297)²¹.

Then, as the books are burning²², Tamburlaine reveals to us that he has reached the moral stand which Greene called "atheist", and which is, to speak accurately and according to Calvin's interpretation, the epitome of blasphemy. He dares God out of heaven in a manner which recalls certain bystanders at Calvary addressing Christ. He repudiates God's laws and openly questions the existence of God. His words are:

Now *Mahomet*, if thou haue any power,
Come down thy selfe and worke a miracle,
Thou art not worthy to be worshipped,
That suffers flames of fire to burne the writ
Wherein the sum of thy religion rests.

20 Tamburlaine coincides in time with the schism of Avignon, "the Babylonian captivity".

21 C.F. Tucker Brooke (Ed.): *The works of Christopher Marlowe*. O.U.P., 1969 (1910).

22 This is not historical: he was reported to be a devout Muslim and a man of letters.

18 Mornay, op. cit., p. 196.

19 The Second Part of *The French Academie* (1594), p. 326.

Why send'st thou not a furious whyrlwind downe,
 To blow thy Alcaron vp to thy throne,
 Where men report, thou sitt'st by God himselfe,
 Orvengeance on the head of *Tamburlain*,
 That shakes his swordagainst thy maiesty,
 And spurns the Abstracts of thy foolish laws.
 Wel souldiers, *Mahomet* remains in hell,
 He cannot heare the voice of *Tamburlain*,
 Seeke out another Godhead to adore,
 The God that sits in heauen, if any God,
 For he is God alone, and none but he.

(ll. 4298-4313)

Less than twenty lines later Tamburlaine cries: "But stay, I feele my selfe distempered sudainly" (l. 4329). The average Elizabethan could be relied upon to draw the right conclusion in terms of the moral teaching of the day: "it is often said of the wicked in the Scripture, that God will return into their bosom the euill which they haue done" (*La Primaudaye*). God has cast his Scourge into the fire – a fire in Tamburlaine's own blood, kindled by the conqueror himself.

I do not know a Catholic equivalent of the Protestant concept of "Scourge of God" as seen in Marlowe's play. In Spanish drama we only have Guevara's play, where that concept is used in a different way and Tamburlaine becomes God's arm to avenge a love affair, as we will see.

Luis Vélez de Guevara (Ecija, 1570 - Madrid, 1644) was one of the few playwrights of the Spanish Golden Century who didn't care about the printing of his works. That's why they are distributed in different collections, although a lot of them appeared first as *sueltas*, and today are an authentic rarity. An example is his play

Comedia Famosa, la Nueva Ira de Dios, y Gran Tamerlan de Persia...
 En Valladolid: En la Imprenta de Alonso del Riego, en donde se hallará
 con otros distintos, Historias, Comedias, Autos, Libros, Coplas, Entre-
 meses, y Estampas. (without date)²³.

His plays, says Mesonero Romanos, "pertenecen al drama apellidado entonces de *ruido ó de cuerpo*²⁴; tratan argumentos é intervienen en ellos

23 The volume I have been using includes *the Entremès del Hijo de Vezino*. The pagination is mine.
 24 "Dos caminos tendréis por donde enderezar los pasos cómicos en materia de trazas. Al uno llaman comedias de cuerpo, al otro de ingenio ó de capa y espada. En las de cuerpo, que sin las de reyes de Hungría ó de príncipes de Transilvania, suelen ser de vidas de santos, intervienen varias tramoyas y apariencias". (Suárez de Figueroa, *El Pasajero*).

personajes históricos y elevados, vidas y hechos esforzados de los héroes y de los santos, y expresado todo con el mayor lujo de entonación y accesorios de efecto en la escena, especialmente codiciados por el público de aquella época"²⁵. I have been talking about history and histories in this paper, but we must take care when we apply it to Guevara's works. Cotarelo, a specialist on Guevara, said that "más de la mitad de sus comedias son históricas, legendarias o genealógicas"²⁶. We must not take "históricas" in a literal sense.

Alberto Lista, protagonist of the revival of the Sevillian renaissance poetry of the eighteenth century, criticized Guevara in the most absolute terms and gives an accurate description of some of his heroes:

Pocos vestigios se ven en GUEVARA de las mejoras que hizo Lope en el arte dramático. Mas bien parece imitador de las comedias de Virués, Cervántes y otros antecesores del padre de nuestro teatro, que de la gracia y fiel representacion de las pasiones humanas, que, à pesar de sus defectos, admiramos en los dramas de este. Casi todas sus fábulas son ò se fingen tomadas de la historia. Figuran en ellas Tamorlan, Escanderbech, el rey Desiderio, Atila, Roldan, Bernardo del Carpio, cuyos caracteres desfigura, dando á estos héroes el lenguaje de los rufianes y baladrones. Gusta mucho de la bambolla y del aparato teatral, como Virués, é introduce, como él, personajes alegóricos²⁷.

A cometary that was retaken by Alborg in our days:

Vélez se tomaba con los hechos y personajes históricos –lo mismo nacionales que extranjeros– idénticas libertades que todos los dramaturgos de su tiempo: la Historia era sólo un depósito generosamente colmado de acontecimientos y tipos de excepción, en donde proveer para urdir conflictos de comedia. Y esta condición es todavía más notoria en el teatro del ecijano, hasta el punto de constituir una de sus más acusadas características. Ningún otro dramaturgo llevó a las tablas, en la misma medida que Vélez, tantos reyes y reinas, apasionadas damas y audaces caballeros, siempre trazados a escala heroica. No faltan entre sus obras las piezas de más sencillo y natural enredo, pero la mayor parte de las suyas están repletas de románticos sucesos, violencias y crímenes, virtudes conducidas hasta imposible perfección o pasiones de anormal y bárbaro primitivismo²⁸.

25 R. Mesonero Romanos: *Dramáticos Contemporáneos de Lope de Vega*, Tomo Segundo. En Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo 45. Madrid: M. Rivadeneira, 1858. p. xii.

26 Emilio Cotarelo y Mori: "Luis Vélez de Guevara y sus obras dramáticas". En *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Lengua*, III, 1916. p. 622.

27 Quoted by Mesonero Romanos, op. cit. pp. xii-xiii.

28 Juan Luis Alborg: *Historia de la Literatura Española*, II. Madrid: Gredos, 1977 (1967). p. 389.

As we are going to see, the idea of Tamburlaine as Scourge of God has been transformed. The influence of Mexia and Perondinus is clear, especially in the description of our hero:

Höbre es de mediano cuerpo,
de cuya espantosa cara,
aun aqui la carne tiembla,
rizada, y negra la barva,
los ojosdesencaxados,
la nariz abierta, y ancha,
con una señalde herida:
es la mitad de su cara
de la color de la rosa,
y la otra mitad morada:
los labios gruessos, y roxos:
y la nerbiosa garganta,
como de un fiero novillo
con las venas señaladas.
Largo, y negro es el cabello,
fornido el Pecho, y la espalda,
travado de braço, y ombro,
y la mano corta, y ancha;
las piernas largas, y recias,
calçada una tosca abarca:
es coxo de la una pierna,
por esto en la lengua Persiana,
por llamarle el hierro coxo,
el gran Tamorlàn le llaman.

(p. 8-9)

In this play, Vélez de Guevara transforms the story into a love affair interrupted by Tamburlain. Bayaceto, Emperor of the Turks, is captured when he was escaping with a ladder from the rooms of Aurelia, daughter of the Emperor of Greece. Eventually, the latter agrees to the wedding of the Turk and his daughter. The erotic triangle is completed by Eleazara, former Bayaceto's mistress, who curses this mestiza union in a long speech:

Ya no puedo ser tu esposa,
quedate con tu Christiana,
y Alà os dê mestizos hijos,
de las dos leyes contrarias,
Mahoma permita, aleve,
en la primera batalla,
que tu cavallo te arrastre,
pues tu Alcoran arrastras.

(p. 5)

This is the atmosphere. Tamburlain becomes God's arm to avenge a love affair of a Christian princess and the Turk. And he is introduced with the idea that he was elected by God:

Christianos ay en Balaquia,
pero aunque Christianos son
à trueco de verse libres,
seguiran nuestra opinion.
El Tamorlàn me llamais,
que en vestra Persiana voz
quiere dezir, Hierro coxo,
porque coxo, y fuerte soy.
Esta rosa, que en mi cara
demuestra un grande arrebol
dize, que en mi nacimiento
fuì señalado de Dios.

(p. 3)

although from the beginning we have him as his scourge, the avenger against the Turk:

Tenèos, villanos honrados,
dexad vivos à estos dos,
que de en medio desta afrenta,
quedan para dârle cuenta
deste castigode Dios,
al Exercito de Turcos.

(p. 6)

"Tamorlan" against God: "la nueva ira de Dios", as he is addressed by different characters:

Yo, que soy el Tameràn,
yo soy el que fuì pastor
vil, de baxo nacimiento,
y he de ascender al asiento,
y estado superior.
Yo soy quien con tardo buelo
la tierra pienso ganar,
y si lo llegoà intentar,
he de alçarme con el Cielo.

Bay.:

Tam.: Ni Alà quiero q me ayude,
ni mahoma, ni la Luna,
y quiero, que la fortuna
sea contraria, y no se mude;

ni quiero favor del Cielo,
mientras durare la guerra,
sea en mi contra la tierra,
tengame por fuerza el suelo,
juntese todo el poder
del mundo oy en contra mia,
que antes, que se acabe el día,
te he de matar, ò prender.

(p. 10)

Tamburlain, after vaunting heaven and earth, directs his conquests towards the deep. Remember the medieval and renaissance idea of the four levels of the Universe:

Yo, q os ofreci en mi tierra?
yá sè que prometí un día,
que â todos os premiaria
en acabando la guerar;
acabese, que es temprano;
la pada no me pidais,
hasta que el cetro veais
de todo el mundo en mi mano,
y luego con pecho fiel,
que aya conquistado el mundo,
irè â ganar el profundo,
por daros Reynos en èl.

(p. 22)

As happens in Marlowe's *Tamburlain, Part II*, there is an unnatural coalition of Christians and Muslims against Tamburlain. He dies, not in peace as Mexía says, but poisoned by Aurelia:

Mas ay Alà, què es aquesto?
què fuego en el alma se entra,
que las entrañas me abrasa?
ay Cielos! mi muerte es cierta.
O Alá cruel, y embidioso,
que por està en tu esfera
seguro de mis hazañas,
oy a morir me condenas.
Aguardame Bayaceto,
que en las infernales penas,
dixiste, que me aguardabas,
y ya està mi alma en ellas.

(p. 28-29)

Velez follows Mexia in the description of the huge tomb built for Tamerlan:

Llebad esse fiero monstro;
y en essas asperas sierras,
que dividen los confines
de la Rufia, y de la Grecia,
le hazed un bello sepulcro,
por dexar memoria eterna
de su vida, y de su muerte,
y en él enterrado sea.

(p. 29)

As we have seen, very little of Battenhouse's exposition of the "Scourge of God" theory in the Renaissance is kept in Guevara's play. Only the idea is left. The figure of Tamburlaine is transformed, exaggerated, suitable for the theatrical apparatus of the Spanish drama of the 17th century. The Spanish conquistador Aguirre was also termed "la cólera de Dios", but this is another theme.

Y aquí acaba la Comedia / de la Nueva Ira de Dios / y Gran Tamorlàn de Persia.