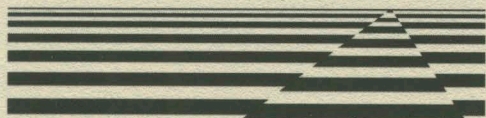


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Dedicated to

Frederick Gerson

Director

Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies

and Contributor to

Scripta Mediterranea

R. Andrew McDonald

**“FAR IS ROME FROM LOCHLONG”: Gaels and Scandinavians
on Pilgrimage and Crusade, c. 1000 - c. 1300**

The thirteenth-century Gaelic poet Muiredach Albanach Ó Dalaigh, returning from travels in the eastern Mediterranean that included a pilgrimage to Rome, is supposed to have remarked, as he sat down at the head of Loch Long in Argyll, in western Scotland:

As I sit on the hillock of Tears,
Without skin on either toe or sole;
O King! Peter and Paul!
Far is Rome from Lochlong! (Mackintosh 190-191)

Were it not for the survival of other of Muiredach’s verses in more contemporary versions, we might be inclined to regard the proverb as purely apocryphal, and relegate his Mediterranean cruise to the realm of Gaelic folklore. But the connection between a Gaelic bard of the thirteenth century and the lands ringing the Mediterranean immediately raises a host of other questions: if one Gaelic poet could undertake such an adventure, were there others, pilgrims or warriors as well as poets? To what extent was the Mediterranean *terra incognita* to the inhabitants of the fringes of northwestern Europe — Gaels and Scandinavians — in the central Middle Ages? The aim of this paper is to explore these basic questions, with particular emphasis on the centuries between A.D. 1000 and 1300, a period that coincides with the so-called “Golden Age” of pilgrimage in the eleventh century, and the era of the Crusades, that remarkable phenomenon which brought northern Europe back into close contact with the Mediterranean between 1095 and 1291.

*Background: Gaelic and Scandinavian Contacts
with the Mediterranean Before A.D.1000*

Before addressing these basic questions, however, it is appropriate to begin by considering an earlier era, in order to demonstrate that traditions of Gaelic and Scandinavian contact with the Mediterranean did not emerge from a blank slate in the eleventh century. One example serves above all others to illustrate this fact. Sometime between 679 and 683 a bishop of Merovingian Gaul named Arculf, returning from extensive travels in the eastern Mediterranean, was driven by storms into the waters off the west coast of Britain. He eventually ended up on the tiny Hebridean island of Iona, where he was received warmly by the abbot of the monastic community there, Adamnan. During what appears to have been a comfortable sojourn on Iona, Arculf narrated his experiences to his host, who, as he says, "wrote it all down on tablets" (Meehan 36-37; Shirley-Price 293-95). From these notes, Adamnán produced a fascinating work entitled *De locis sanctis*. Popular enough in the Middle Ages that some twenty-two manuscripts survive today, the text is relatively little known, perhaps because Adamnán himself went on to bigger and better things, writing a *Life* of St. Columba of Iona, and promulgating his "Law of the Innocents" at the end of the seventh century (Smyth 123-137). The connections represented by *De locis sanctis* provide a wealth of information on the horizons of a place like Iona in the early Middle Ages: a Frankish bishop, shipwrecked on this Hebridean island, narrates to the Irish abbot his account of travels in the Holy Land, Alexandria, Crete, and Constantinople, thereby drawing together the diverse early medieval worlds of Byzantium, Islam, and Northwestern Europe.

In fact, it is evident from historical, literary, and archaeological sources that there were considerable cultural, economic, and religious links between Northwestern Europe and the Mediterranean from the fifth century. Iona, as we have seen, had close contacts with the eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, it might well be more than coincidence that this tiny island was one of the very few places in the early medieval west where motifs of the Virgin and Child, in stone (on St Martin's Cross) or parchment (the Book of Kells), were produced — inspired, it is thought, by an eastern original (Smyth 126-127). Archaeological excavations at the Dalriadic hillfort of Dunadd, a sixth-

to eighth-century high status site, have yielded the largest known collection of imported pottery (known as E-ware) from the southwest of France, as well as a lump of yellow orpiment (sulphide of arsenic), a pigment obtained from Italy and Asia Minor and used in the production of illuminated manuscripts (Laing and Laing 98). Excavations on Iona have turned up E-ware as well as the rim of a bowl produced in fifth- or sixth-century North Africa; as one archaeologist has written, "There was thus clearly a far-ranging trade network available in the sixth to eighth centuries, with ships sailing through the Irish Sea to bring wine, olive oil, and other goods in exchange for fine hides, wool, and, from lay communities, slaves" (Ritchie 43). Indeed, in the fifth and sixth centuries especially, the source of most of the pottery imported into Celtic Britain was the eastern Mediterranean (Alcock 208). Scandinavian contact with the east in the early Middle Ages is probably better known: Swedish merchants sailed up Russia's rivers to trade with the east, and their ranks were swelled by Viking mercenaries eager to join the Emperor's elite bodyguard at Constantinople. About a hundred rune-stones in Sweden commemorate men who died in the east and are good contemporary evidence of Viking activity there, but they do not usually indicate the purpose of the journey (Sawyer 1982, 113-30; Jones 241-68).

Given the transmarine contacts that linked Celtic Britain to the continent and the Mediterranean from the fifth century, it is not surprising that a longstanding tradition of pilgrimage from Britain to Rome and the Holy Land was already in existence by the eighth century (Moore 82). Two of the most well-known early pilgrims were Bishop Wilfrid of Hexham (c. 633-709) and Benedict Biscop (628-89), abbot of Wearmouth, but others are known and an exhaustive list would be very long indeed. Sometimes, of course, it is difficult to separate religious, cultural, and economic aspects of contact: on his fourth trip to Rome, in circa 671, Benedict Biscop "brought back a large number of books on all branches of sacred knowledge, some bought at a favourable price, others the gifts of well-wishers" (Webb and Farmer 188). It is this phenomenon that will serve as our point of departure, for it was an upsurge of pilgrims in the eleventh century that led to some of the most immediate and direct contacts between northwestern Europe and the Mediterranean.

Northern Pilgrims in the Mediterranean

Pilgrimage, defined simply as, "a journey undertaken from religious motives to a sacred place" (Kollek and Pearlman 10), is not, of course, exclusive to Christianity. But Christian pilgrims were making the trip to the Holy Land before the end of the fourth century, and by the seventh century the journey to Rome was common among Frankish and English nobles. In the wake of the passing of the Millennium a growing number of pilgrims were taking to the roads; as one historian has put it, "Since the Second Coming had failed to transpire in 1000 A.D., 1050 was a good year to visit the Eternal City" (Cowan 128). Indeed, the eleventh century was something of a Golden Age of pilgrimage, and it is clear from a variety of sources that many of the pilgrims on the roads to Rome and the Holy Land were Gaelic speakers from the northwest of Europe.

Irish scholars have long recognized that the decades from the 1020s to the 1060s are remarkable for the number of Irish princes and kings who made the trip to Rome (Hughes 255). In 1026 the king of Cenél Conaill embarked on pilgrimage to Clonfert; from Clonfert he travelled to Iona (still an important centre of pilgrimage in the Gaelic world), and finally, from Iona to Rome (MacAirt 192-93). This example is doubly interesting because it shows us how traditional, local shrines of pilgrimage could give way in the eleventh century to new, international sites, like Rome. A few years later, in 1028, Sitric Silkenbeard, the most famous king of the Ostmen of Dublin in the eleventh century (989-1036), set off for Rome, along with his neighbour, Flannacan, king of Brega in Meath (Hennessy 1:30-31), and in 1034, Amhlaíb, Sitric's son, "was slain by Saxons in going to Rome" (Hennessy 1: 36-37). Meanwhile, in 1030, Flaithbertach Ó Néill, king of Ailech, departed for Rome, returning in 1031; in Irish tradition he is known as Flaithbertach "of the pilgrim's staff" (Hennessy and McCarthy 1: 562-63). In 1051 Laighnen, king of Gailenga in Meath, along with his queen, went on pilgrimage to Rome, where he died, showing that women as well as men could and did make the journey (Hennessy 1: 49-51). Finally, in 1064 Donnchad, the son of the famous Munster king, Brian Boru, who was slain at the Battle of Clontarf on Good Friday 1014, departed for Rome, where he, too, died; his companion on the journey was Echmarcach, king of the Isle of Man. The Irish chronicler Marianus Scottus, writing on the

continent, recorded that, "Duncan, Brian's son, king of Ireland, and Echmarcach... men not ignoble among their own people, came to Rome, and died" (Anderson 1: 592).

Taken as a group, these Irish pilgrims to Rome in the first half of the eleventh century are striking indeed. One Irish scholar has remarked that, "no parallel is known... in any other century of Irish history" for the phenomenon (Gwynn 36); moreover, it was not confined to one particular region of Ireland, for pilgrims came from almost every province, and their doings were noted by chroniclers from every region. Two important and related issues concern the causes for the sudden upsurge of Irish pilgrims in the late 1020s, and the equally sudden decline after the 1060s. The passing of the Millennium might hold part of the answer, and certainly the eleventh century in general was a time of tremendous expansion across Europe as a whole, but some of the explanation must lie in specific events related to the opening of the pilgrim routes — which I will address in a moment. The decline of Irish pilgrims following Donnchad Ó Briain in 1064 proves more baffling, especially considering that the Irish Annals are particularly full and complete for the next 70 years. At least one historian, has sought the answer in the political events of England in the latter half of the eleventh century, and suggested that the decline of Irish pilgrims after the 1060s was a result of the attempts of the Norman kings and churchmen to dominate the Irish church, including the pilgrim routes (Gwynn 38). Whatever the case may be, there is certainly a striking absence of Irish pilgrims to Rome in the decades following 1064; not until the 1130s do we encounter further Irish pilgrims: in 1134, Ímar Ua hÁedacáin, a distinguished cleric from Armagh, "died on his pilgrimage to Rome" (Hennessy 1: 134-35). His disciple, St. Malachy (Máel Máedoc Ua Morgain, 1094-1148), the famous Irish saint and reformer, made the trip in 1138/39 and set off again in 1148 (Meyer 51-53, 84-89). It seems difficult to overstate the importance of these pilgrimages in Irish history — among other things they heralded closer contact between the Irish church and the continental reform movement (Hughes 256), a fact which is aptly represented by the death of St. Malachy of Armagh at Clairvaux in 1148 (Meyer 84-89), or the writing of a "Life of Malachy" by the formidable St. Bernard.

As impressive as is this roster of Irish pilgrims to Rome in the eleventh century, it would be a mistake to think that Irish

kings and princes were the only ones making their way to the Eternal City from the northwest. They were joined by Scottish and Scandinavian pilgrims, too. One of the most famous visitors to Rome from the north was surely the Dane Cnut, king of England from 1016 and of Denmark from 1019, who ruled this northern Empire until his death in 1035. He made at least one, and possibly two visits to Rome. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states, in its brief entry for 1031, that "King Cnut went to Rome" (Garmonsway 156-57). But a letter of 26 March 1027, shows that Cnut was in Rome at that time (Whitelock 416-18), and, although the entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* might be misplaced, the most recent biographer of this formidable king does not rule out the possibility of two separate visits to the Eternal City (Lawson 100-104). In his letter, Cnut says, "I give most humble thanks to my Almighty God, who has granted me in my lifetime to visit his holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and every sacred place which I could learn of within the city of Rome and outside it, and in person to worship and adore there according to my desire" (Whitelock 416-18). Among other things, Cnut goes on to state that he complained to the pope of the heavy taxes levied on northern pilgrims by Rudolf II, king of Burgundy, and that his grievances were supported by the Emperor Conrad II, whose coronation Cnut had attended. It would thus appear that Cnut was largely responsible for opening up the pilgrim roads from northern Europe to Rome, and his negotiations might well account for the upsurge of Irish pilgrimages beginning in the late 1020s (Gwynn 36-37). Certainly Cnut has been regarded as introducing a fashion for royal pilgrimages to Rome (Marsden 194).

A king of Strathclyde in the southwest of what is now Scotland had visited Rome in 975 (Anderson 1: 480), but a more famous Scottish pilgrim was Macbeth, the king of the Scots from 1040 to 1057, who, according to a contemporary and well-informed chronicler, "scattered money like seed to the poor at Rome" in 1050 (Anderson 1: 588). Persistent doubts about the authenticity of Macbeth's pilgrimage by generations of Scottish historians seem groundless when we place Macbeth in the larger eleventh century context of royal pilgrimages from the northwest to Rome. Peter Berresford Ellis offers speculation on Macbeth's activities in Rome, including an audience with the pope at Easter (75-77). While we may be fairly certain that, like Cnut, the Scottish king visited the holy places, the fact of

the matter is that we have no information at all on what transpired beyond the single, laconic line of the chronicler already cited. It may, however, be more than just coincidence that Macbeth's pilgrimage coincides with the approximate date at which the monastery of *Sanctae Trinitatis Scottorum* (Holy Trinity of the Scots and/or Irish) in Rome appears on the record (Wilmart 218-30). Although this foundation is often considered strictly in light of Irish pilgrimage, it is important to note that the division between Irish and Scots in this period was a largely artificial one, as Ireland and Scotland formed a single cultural area into the twelfth century (Hudson 1991, 63-64), and this monastery has been regarded as an important factor in drawing Gaelic rulers to Rome (Marsden 194). It has even been suggested that Macbeth's distribution of largesse was not as general as the chronicler Marianus implies, and that his patronage of this Gaelic monastery in Rome might be one reason Macbeth enjoyed a favourable report among contemporary chroniclers — who were, of course, churchmen (Hudson 1994, 142). Whether he should be linked with this Gaelic monastery in Rome or not, Macbeth was back in Scotland by 1052, when he took into his service some of those Normans who had recently been exiled from England (Kapelle 46).

By coincidence, it was also about 1050 that one of Macbeth's northern neighbours and persistent foes, Thorfinn "the Mighty," earl of Orkney (d. 1065), also set off for Rome. The story of Thorfinn's pilgrimage is recorded in the late twelfth or early thirteenth-century *Orkneyinga Saga*, which relates the history of the Norse earls of Orkney. The saga tells how, on a visit to the King of Denmark, Thorfinn announced his intentions, visited the Eternal City, had an audience with the pope, and "received absolution from him for all his sins." Upon returning home, Thorfinn was a changed man: "By now he was finished with piracy and devoted all his time to the government of his people and country and to the making of new laws." He also "built and dedicated to Christ a fine minster, the seat of the first bishop of Orkney" (Palsson and Edwards 74-75). The exact location of this church is a contentious issue for historians and archaeologists — there are two good candidates at Birsay on Orkney — but the remains of a church, possibly of mid-eleventh-century date, near the earl's residence at the Brough of Birsay, is a strong candidate. Whether or not this church is actually the structure built by earl Thorfinn is an open

question, but it certainly remains “a fine memorial to the piety of the converted Norse earls” (Crawford 184-190).

Apart from representing a fairly impressive roster of Gaelic, Scandinavian, or Hiberno-Norse rulers who made the pilgrimage from northwestern Europe to Rome in the eleventh century, what generalizations can be made from this list? First, there is the high status of the individuals concerned, and the question arises of whether this is an exclusively royal or noble phenomenon. The problem is not one of status, however, but rather of documentation, since the annalistic genre of medieval writing paid little attention to the doings of non-royal or non-noble individuals. In fact, there are a few, scattered references that offer tantalizing glimpses of lower-status individuals who were also making the trip from northwestern Europe to the Holy Land at about this time. In 946, for example, Otto I (936-73) granted a charter in favour of “certain servants of God coming from Scotia by grace of pilgrimage”¹ who wished to follow the Rule of St. Benedict, and communities of Irish monks abroad, especially in Germany, are a well-known phenomenon of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Hughes 253; Gwynn 42-43). One of the more prominent of these Irish exiles included Marianus Scottus (Máel Brigte), who settled in Cologne in 1056 before moving to Fulda in 1059 and ending up in Mainz in 1069 where he died (Anderson 1: lxxvii-lxxviii). Marianus is notable for his chronicle (*Chronicon*), which included information on Gaels abroad — and is, incidentally, our only source of information on Macbeth’s pilgrimage. Finally, there is an interesting entry in the Irish Annals for 1095 which states enigmatically that “Eógan head of the monks of the Gaedil in Rome” died (MacAirt 254-55); this cryptic passage is illuminated by late eleventh-century documents from the small Roman monastery of Santa Maria in Palladio on the Palatine hill which include a list of names of Irish monks (Gwynn 38).

Second, we should also note that Rome is the most common pilgrimage destination (apart from the local shrines like Clonmacnoise, which were always popular). With few exceptions, Jerusalem and the Holy Land do not appear to have been popular destinations in the eleventh century, at least for Gaels,

¹ The term *Scotia* in a tenth-century context refers to Ireland; even as late as the twelfth century the term *Scoti* could refer to either Irish or Scots.

Scandinavians, and Hiberno-Norse — although a few made the journey, including a king of the Déisi who “went to Jerusalem” in 1080 (MacAirt 234-35). This would change in the twelfth century of course, in the wake of the success of the First Crusade, but Rome rather than Jerusalem seems to have captured the imagination of the eleventh century pilgrims from the northern world.

Finally, there is the question of motivation. With very few exceptions, the sources are silent on this important issue. We must therefore fit the motivation of these eleventh century travellers into the larger context of devotional or, from the eighth century, penitential pilgrimages; the desire to be healed at the shrine of a powerful saint, or else just plain curiosity, no doubt also played their parts. Cnut’s pilgrimage(s), for example, have been seen by historians as part of an attempt by the king to present himself as a thoroughly Christian ruler: it is worthwhile bearing in mind that Christianity was only a few generations old in Denmark at the time of Cnut’s succession, and although he was probably Christian at the time he took the throne of England, it would have been important for him, in the face of the ancient and well established English church, to play up his Christian image. Here is what he says in his letter of 1027:

I have accomplished this [pilgrimage] because I learned from wise men that the holy Apostle Peter had received from the Lord great power to bind and to loose, and was the keeper of the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and I considered it very profitable diligently to seek his special favour before God. (Whitelock 416-417)

As a modern biographer has stated, Cnut was shrewd enough to know that “good religion could be good politics, good politics could require good religion, and there can be no question that Cnut threw himself into certain aspects of his role with zest” (Lawson 133).

In the case of Donnchad Ó Briain, who went to Rome in 1064, the political context is particularly important: in the power struggles that followed Brian Boru’s death in 1014, Donnchad was muscled aside by his rival Diarmait mac Máel na mBó (king of Leinster, 1047-72) and eventually forced to abdicate in 1064. His pilgrimage was evidently an exile from which it was expected the ousted king would never return. In

this context it is interesting to note that Donnchad's companion on the pilgrim roads was Echmarcach, king of Man, who also had been ousted by Diarmait in 1061 (Duffy 38-39). Another northern exile who took to the pilgrim routes was Swein Godwinson, the brother of Harold Godwinson, king of England for nine months in 1066. Swein and other members of his family had fled England during a downturn in their fortunes in 1051; contemporary sources note that he had gone from Bruges to Jerusalem and died of exposure in Lycia on his way home (Garmonsway 182; Stephenson 1987, 123). It would appear that the political exiles made up some of the traffic on the pilgrim roads.

Efforts have been made to view the pilgrimage of Macbeth as an act of penance for either the slaying of King Duncan, his predecessor, in 1040, or the suppression of the revolt of Duncan's father, Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, in 1045, in the course of which Crinan, was killed (Ellis 74-75). Unfortunately not a shred of evidence in support of either theory survives, and it is just as likely that Macbeth was doing what so many of his neighbours with more or less settled kingdoms had done in the course of the eleventh century — making a devotional pilgrimage to Rome in the wake of the Millennium.

We cannot leave the eleventh century without considering one final and very formidable northern visitor to the Mediterranean: Harald Sigurdsson, also known as Hardrada (Hard Ruler), the king of Norway who was renowned as the greatest warrior in northern Europe at the time of his death at the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066. Most of our information on Harald's career comes from his saga, which forms part of Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, a series of royal biographies of the rulers of Norway from the half-mythical past up to 1177, but other corroborative information is provided by contemporary Byzantine sources.

Harald's career began at the age of 15, when he fought alongside his half-brother, King Olaf, at the battle of Stiklestad in 1030. In the wake of the defeat of the royal forces, Harald became a fugitive, fleeing first to Sweden, then to Russia, and eventually making his way to Constantinople. One of Harald's court poets captured the scene as the Viking ships arrived at the great city, illustrating something of the fascination that Byzantium held for the Scandinavians:

The great prince saw ahead
The copper roofs of Byzantium;
His swan-breasted ships swept
Towards the tall-towered city.

(Magnusson and Palsson 48)

Harald served in the Varangian guard for about nine years, fighting in campaigns against the Muslims in Sicily between 1038-40 and against the Bulgars in 1041. *Harald's Saga* tells how he campaigned in the Holy Land, swam in the River Jordan, and gave treasure generously to several sacred sites (Magnusson and Palsson 59-60). Unfortunately the saga seems to be unreliable here, and Byzantine sources, which mention the campaigns in Sicily and Bulgaria, know nothing of campaigns in Palestine (which are almost certainly entirely fictitious). Moreover, in 1036 the Emperor had renewed a treaty with the Caliph whereby the Byzantines were allowed to make repairs to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Under these circumstances it is difficult to see how Harald could have been fighting in the Holy Land, although some historians have seen his role as that of the commander of a Varangian escort for Byzantine craftsmen (Runciman 1: 47). Perhaps the saga, which is not contemporary, inflated this escort duty into full-fledged battle, but whatever the case may have been, Byzantine sources note that even after returning to the north, Harald "kept faith and friendship towards the Romans" (Davidson 209).

Harald was neither the first nor the last warrior from the North to make his presence felt in the Mediterranean, but his career reveals just what sort of an impact the Scandinavians could make in the East — and what an impact it could make on them. The Varangians had a tradition of service to the emperor stretching back to the late 980s, and Harald's employment in Imperial service was nothing unusual (Davidson 177-192). Whether we should regard Harald as moved by the same sort of motivations that inspired most pilgrims to visit Rome and the Holy Land is, however, doubtful. He was more likely interested in fame and booty — certainly the latter was foremost on his mind during his years in Byzantium. After returning to the North, he is reputed to have gathered "a hoard of wealth so immense that no one in northern Europe had ever seen the like of it in one man's possession before" (Magnusson and

Palsson 64). But whether these motives were mixed inextricably with religious ones it is difficult to tell. A foremost historian of the Crusades, Sir Steven Runciman, notes that the habit had arisen among the Varangians of spending a leave in the Holy Land (Runciman 1: 47), and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Harald Hardrada did indeed bathe in the Jordan in the custom of pilgrims. Whatever the case may be, no account of visitors to the eastern Mediterranean in the eleventh century would be complete without the figure of Harald Sigurdsson, whose career certainly demonstrates some of the complex links that existed between the Mediterranean and the North in this period (Davidson 207-229; Haywood 124-25).

Gaels and Scandinavians on Crusade

Within fifty years of the departure of Harald Hardrada from Constantinople, the Crusades reintroduced northern Europe to the eastern Mediterranean on a large scale. From 1095, when the First Crusade was launched, until the fall of the last Christian outpost in the Holy Land in 1291, the Crusading movement was a dominant theme in both European and Mediterranean history. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the causes, course, and consequences of the Crusades. In summary, the Crusading movement has its immediate origin in 1095, when the First Crusade was launched in late November at the Council of Clermont, where Pope Urban II called for the recovery of the Holy Places from the Muslims. Within four years the crusaders had attained their goal: Jerusalem fell on 15 July, 1099. From then until 1291 there was a continual Christian presence in the Holy Land, but from the mid-twelfth century the Crusader states were gradually eroded as the Muslims won back territories in piecemeal fashion. Despite numerous subsequent expeditions to the Holy Land, by 1291 Acre was the only significant Christian stronghold in Palestine, and it fell in May of that year. The Crusading ideal retained much of its appeal in the centuries after 1291, but the Christians never succeeded in recapturing the Holy Land, and the fourteenth and fifteenth century Crusades had other objectives. The fall of Acre in 1291, therefore, is a significant event in the history of the Crusades, and so provides a convenient terminus for our investigation.

With the period of the Crusades, a paradox emerges in our investigation. On the one hand, as we have seen, there were abundant contacts between the northwest of Europe and the Mediterranean in the eleventh century, so that the Mediterranean was hardly *terra incognita* to the Gaels and Scandinavians; indeed, for the Scandinavians, at least, it probably represented a land of adventure. But on the other hand, modern historians have generally had little to say of Gaelic and Scandinavian participation in the Crusading Movement, partly because it is thought that the call of Clermont came at a time when these regions were isolated from the centre of western Christendom. The Irish historian Michael Dolley has written:

On 15 July 1099, to shouts of "God wills it," a random and ragged but reasonably representative array of the chivalry of Western Europe stormed Jerusalem...We should not be surprised that there were no Irishmen among these knights, and the event was in fact ignored by contemporary chroniclers. (1)

Such a statement seems difficult to accept on two counts. First, there was the strong tradition of pilgrimage from the northwest to the Mediterranean that has already been discussed. And second, there is the fact that, to contemporaries, at least, the Crusades were seen in terms of armed pilgrimages and the Crusaders as armed pilgrims: "The crusade was a logical extension of the pilgrimage. It would never have occurred to anyone to march out to conquer the Holy Land if men had not made pilgrimages there for century after century" (Mayer 14-15). Given these facts, it is almost impossible to see how northwestern Europe could have remained uninfluenced by the Crusading movement, and, indeed, historians like MacQuarrie, McRoberts, and Riant have shown that the northwest did not stand aloof from the contemporary zeal for the Crusades.

Although Pope Urban had aimed his appeal most directly at the French nobility, and the recruiting for the First Crusade was conducted mainly in France, early chroniclers indicate that the call of Clermont in November 1095 extended throughout western Europe, and word reached the British Isles in early 1096. The early twelfth-century English chronicler William of Malmesbury described how, "The Welshman left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with vermin; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish" in order to join the crusade

(Stephenson 1989, 86). Although William is somewhat notorious for his derogatory characterizations of England's neighbours, his account is in line with many others, which all suggest that the First Crusade, if primarily a Frankish endeavour, also had an international dimension: "Enthusiasm for the crusade was most intense in France, Italy, and western Germany, but few areas of Latin Christendom were entirely unaffected" (Bull 33).

One of the more interesting accounts of the northern participants on the Crusade comes from Guibert of Nogent (c. 1053-1124), abbot of the monastery of Nogent, who wrote a history of the First Crusade (*Gesta Dei Per Francos*) in which he described some of the strange folk that could be seen passing through Europe in the early twelfth century:

You might see the soldiers of the Scots, fierce in their own country, unwarlike elsewhere, bare-legged, with their shaggy cloaks, a scrip hanging *ex humeris*, coming from their marshy homeland, and presenting the help of their faith and devotion to us, to whom their numerous arms would be ridiculous. (Migne 156: 686; trans. Duncan 211)

The remarks of Guibert are interesting on several levels. Most importantly, they suggest some Scottish participation in the First Crusade — for even though the term *Scoti* could still be used to refer to the Irish as late as the twelfth century, Guibert uses it in another context to refer to Scots (Duncan 211-12). But Guibert's comments also reveal something of how outlandish the Scots seemed to their contemporaries on the continent: he goes on to relate how uncouth their language was and how they had to indicate their intentions of participating on the Crusade by making the sign of the cross with their fingers. Part of the uncouth impression conveyed by the Scots abroad derived from their clothing, and it seems pretty clear from Guibert's observations that Scottish dress was well-known on the Continent by this time. There is, however, some dispute over whether the scrip carried *ex humeris* was hanging from the hip or the shoulder; if the former, we might have one of the earliest descriptions of that distinguishing Scottish accessory, the sporran! (Duncan 211-212; cf. MacQuarrie 1985, 10)

That Scottish dress was widely-known on the continent, probably by virtue of Scottish pilgrims or Crusaders travelling to the Holy Places, is illustrated by two other examples. In the first, the English chronicler Jocelin of Brakelond records how

abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds disguised himself as a Scot in order to pass through the territory of the anti-pope on his way to Rome: "But [abbot Samson says] I pretended that I was a Scot, and putting on Scottish garb, and bearing myself after the fashion of a Scot, I often thrust out my staff as if it were a javelin against those that mocked me, uttering threatening words after the fashion of the Scots..." (Butler 48-49). Once again we note the distinguishing Scottish garb, as well as the fact that the Scots were perceived by the Europeans to be rather uncouth. The second example sheds further light on the nature of Scottish garb. It comes from a twelfth-century Premonstratensian canon of Cambrai:

In our own times in western Scotland not all of the people wear drawers, but all the knights and townfolk do wear them; the rest make do with a general covering which is closed over at the front and back, but which underneath is open at the sides... This was related to me by certain clerics who had come from these parts...And it was clearly seen that some of these people, who were travelling through our land on pilgrimage, were not wearing drawers. (Migne 203: 730; trans. MacQuarrie 1985, 19)

If this passage represents the earliest known speculation on what the Scotsman wears under his kilt, it also provides other important information. Since the Crusaders were described by contemporaries as pilgrims, it is possible that the author was describing Scottish Crusaders making their way to the Holy Land. And since the work was written before 1183, it is likely that the author was describing Scottish participants on the Second Crusade (1145-49, and a truly international venture); some Scots are known to have taken part and joined an Anglo-Flemish fleet in early 1147. (MacQuarrie 1981, 134)

What is lacking from these rather generic accounts is a sense of exactly who these Scots and other northern participants were. The references are incidental, and it could be argued that they tell us more about Continental attitudes toward the Scots than they do about Scottish participation in the Crusade. Unlike the eleventh century, when the roster of pilgrims to Rome reads like a northern Who's Who, by the twelfth century biographical details are hard to come by. This might well be accounted for by the fact that the First Crusade was almost exclusively a noble rather than a royal venture, and also that it coincides with a period when, for the Scottish sources, at least,

our information is at a premium. In fact, only one northern participant in the First Crusade is known by name. This was Lagmann, the son of the mighty Godfrey Crovan, the king of Man and the Isles who died in 1095. Lagmann had blinded and castrated one of his brothers in a power struggle, but later, possibly in 1096, he repented of his actions, "and resigned his kingdom voluntarily: and, marked with the sign of the Lord's cross, took the road to Jerusalem; where he also died" (Anderson 2: 98). Because the chronology of the Manx chronicle, our source for this information, is so confused at this point, it is difficult to date Lagmann's journey precisely, and accordingly to know whether Lagmann went as penitential pilgrim or armed crusader. I am less sure than some historians (MacQuarrie 1985, 11) that Lagmann actually participated in the crusade, but we cannot rule out this possibility, either.

Whatever the case may have been, we do not know how Lagmann and the other northern Crusaders fared subsequently; but the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres, himself a participant in the Crusade, included Scots among his list of the various peoples trekking across Asia Minor in 1097 (Ryan 88). After this, we lose sight of the northern Crusaders; we do not know whether they endured the siege of Antioch in 1098, or whether they were among those who stormed the walls of Jerusalem in July of 1099. Tantalizing clues in the archaeological and written records suggest that some Scots, at least, participated in the climactic events of the Crusades. A North African coin bearing the date AH 491 (AD 1097) was uncovered in the churchyard at Monymusk, Aberdeenshire; it was nearly uncirculated at the time of its burial, and one possible interpretation is that it represents a souvenir brought back by a Scottish Crusader (MacQuarrie 1985, 12). Moreover, there is a most curious entry in the *Irish Annals of Inisfallen* under the year 1105: "In the above year a camel, an animal of remarkable size, was brought from the king of Alba to Muirchertach Ó Briain [king of Thomond, 1086-1119]" (MacAirt 262-63). Among other things, this entry raises the question of how the king of Alba, that is, Edgar, king of Scots from 1097 to 1107, acquired a camel, and not surprisingly some historians have seen the arrival of this exotic beast in Scotland as somehow connected to the return of Scottish Crusaders from the Holy Land in the years around 1100 (MacQuarrie 1985, 12). Once again, the timing is certainly coincidental and the explanation plausible, but other means of ac-

counting for a camel in Scotland might be found. Henry I of England (1100-1135) kept a menagerie of exotic animals including lions, leopards, lynxes, camels, and a porcupine (Poole 19), and since Henry had married Matilda, the sister of Edgar in 1101 (Anderson 2: 120-121), it seems possible that the camel came to Scotland as a gift from the English monarch rather than with a returning Scottish Crusader. These examples hardly stand as concrete proof of Scottish participation in the Crusade, but they might be interpreted as such. What they do demonstrate, however, is the fragmentary nature of the evidence and the difficulties in interpreting it.

At this point it is necessary to pause in order to consider briefly how the geographical parameters of our investigation were in flux from the twelfth century. Thus far, when the term "Gael" has been used, it has referred to the peoples of the Gaelic-speaking regions of Northwestern Europe, in particular Ireland and almost all of Scotland. But in the course of the twelfth century, the expanse of territory in which Gaelic was spoken began to recede, which means that the region under consideration in this paper was, in effect, shrinking. In Scotland this process began in about 1100, and was brought about by many factors, so that, by the fourteenth century, Gaelic had receded to the highlands while English (Scots) dominated in the lowlands (McNeill and MacQueen, 426-7). In Ireland, beginning in the second half of the twelfth century, the establishment of the English colony not only limited the areas in which Gaelic was spoken, but also provided a major crisis that would preoccupy the native Irish chieftains for centuries. Accordingly, while in the eleventh century the term Gaeldom was synonymous with virtually all of Ireland and almost all of Scotland, by about 1200-1250 this was no longer the case. From about 1200 onward, then, it was possible, and quite common, for non-Gaelic speakers to set off on pilgrimage or Crusade from both Ireland and Scotland (one example would be John, bishop of Glasgow, who set off for Rome and the Holy Land in 1122 and returned in 1123 (Anderson 2: 164-65). Our focus, however, will remain firmly fixed on the Gaidhealtacht (Gaelic-speaking areas), as well as the Scandinavian north.

The work of Alan MacQuarrie has shown that Scotland was an active participant in the crusading movement, but it is notable that after the First Crusade, Gaelic involvement became much less prominent. Almost all of the Scottish Crusaders

after about 1100 came, not from the Gaelic-speaking regions, but rather from the Anglo-Norman families who had settled in Scotland beginning in the early twelfth century. We know by name no Gaelic-speaking Scots who made the trip in the twelfth century, although, as the passages cited earlier suggest, that does not mean none went. But we do know of at least one Scottish king who was keen to go on Crusade: David I (1124-1153). David was the youngest son of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, and the brother of King Edgar who received the camel in 1105. Born in Scotland in the 1080s, he was raised at the court of the Norman kings of England, and accordingly had one foot in both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic camps — a “balance of new and old” as one historian has seen him (Barrow 1985). When, in 1144, Edessa fell to the Muslims, the news shocked western Europe and the call went out for a new Crusade, spearheaded by the formidable Cistercian saint and scholar, St. Bernard of Clairvaux (c. 1090-1153). David seems to have been moved by the appeal, and a well-informed and contemporary source relates how, “he would have resigned his throne, laid down his sceptre, and betaken himself to holy warfare on the spot where Our Lord suffered and rose again, had he not been turned back by the advice of priests and abbots...” It is further noted that, “though he was kept back in body, he was not in mind and wishes.” (Skene 234). Judging by David’s generosity to the military religious orders, this is true: he was a patron of both the Templars and Hospitallers, granting them lands and holding them in high esteem (MacQuarrie 1985, 15-17; Cowan, Mackay, and MacQuarrie xix-xx, xxviii-ix).

Moving into the heart of the Gaidhealtachd, in the Hebrides, we find a candidate for a Gaelic Crusader in the person of Ranald MacSorley, the king of the Isles who died sometime in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The evidence for Ranald’s departure on Crusade does not, at first sight, inspire a great deal of confidence, consisting as it does of seventeenth-century MacDonald tradition, where it is said that Ranald “received a cross from Jerusalem” (Cameron 157). We might be inclined to dismiss the reference altogether as fabrication, but it has been shown that these clan histories do contain kernels of historical evidence, and that they correspond remarkably well with the general outline of historical events (Sellar 137). It is known, too, that the Fourth Crusade was preached in Ireland in

1201-02, and that John de Courcy, the Lord of Ulster, departed in 1204 (Hennessy 1: 222-23, 234-35). Given Ranald's status as a sea-king and the maritime connections he maintained, it is not impossible that he heard of the Crusade and decided to take part. If we should doubt that a supposedly barbaric, piratical, sea-king on the furthest fringes of western Europe might be moved by contemporary religious impulses, we might take note of the fact that Ranald was a patron of Benedictine monks, Augustinian canonesses, and Cistercian monks, showing that he was imbued with a piety and religious sensitivity typical of the age (McDonald, 218-23). Moreover, sometimes even the doings of great men on Crusade were poorly recorded: William Marshal (1147-1219) spent two years in the Holy Land, but his biography (the only surviving biography, save one, of a layman of that time who was not a king) is silent on what he did there (Crouch 49-52).

Taken altogether, the Scottish evidence shows that, on the one hand, there was at least some Scottish involvement in the Crusades, but on the other hand, few Gaelic-speaking Scots seem to have taken part. In part this is, no doubt, an illusion created by the nature of the sources. After 1100 we possess less evidence from the highlands and Gaelic-speaking regions and an abundance from the lowland areas of the kingdom; our view is slanted toward the latter at the expense of the former (Barrow 1981, 13-16). If we look hard enough and dig deep enough, we can find a few shreds of evidence to suggest that even the inhabitants of the highlands and islands could participate in the crusading movement, and it would be wrong to view these areas as isolated backwaters divorced entirely from the rest of medieval Europe and the Mediterranean. Indeed, there is a rich body of folklore which links the Scottish Gaidhealtachd with the Crusades, and if it is impossible to seek much by way of fact behind the legends, this material reveals that the crusading movement captured the imagination of Gaelic Scotland along with the rest of western Europe (MacQuarrie 1981, 130-31).

With Ireland the problem of the "two nations" makes itself keenly felt. As one of the very few historians to inquire into Irish involvement in the Crusades has noted, and despite the comments of Dolley already cited, men from Ireland certainly participated in the Crusades, but those whose names we know are mainly Anglo-Norman or Anglo-Irish (Costello, 263-77). Of

native or Gaelic-Irish Crusaders and pilgrims there is much less evidence. No doubt the English conquest of Ireland, which began in the late 1160s and forms a major theme in Irish medieval history, deflected much of the Irish chieftains' attention away from such far-flung objectives as Jerusalem and toward more immediate ones in their own backyards. As a result, it is probably not terribly surprising that we find little in the way of native Irish involvement in the Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although there are still references in the Irish Annals to Irish pilgrims setting off on their journeys. In 1216, for example, Irish Annals record that Echdonn Mac Gilla Uidir, archbishop of Armagh (1202-16) died in Rome, while two more men with native Irish names (Gilla Croichefraich and the priest O'Celli) died after they had "crossed themselves and determined to go to the river (Jordan)" (Hennessy 1: 254-55). In 1224 Áed, the son of Conchobar Máenmaige, the king of Connacht, died while returning from Jerusalem (Hennessy 1: 270-71), possibly having taken part in the Fifth Crusade. Flaithbertach Ó Flannagáin died after taking the cross in 1231, while Ualgarg Ó Ruairc, king of Bréifne, died in pilgrimage on the way to Jerusalem in the same year (Hennessy 1: 306-09). And in 1249 Máel Muire Ó Lachnain, Archbishop of Tuam (1236-49), died; he was described in his *obit* as a "palmer from Jordan stream" (Freeman 101). It is interesting that many of those just discussed were ecclesiastics, and that there is very little direct evidence for native Irish involvement in military aspects of the Crusade. If Ireland was not totally divorced from contemporary affairs, it is also probably true to say that its turbulent history in the later Middle Ages prevented many from embarking on Crusade. With native Irish chieftains locked in struggle against the English, it would seem that older traditions of pilgrimage continued while military participation in the Crusades was limited at best.

If we know relatively little of Gaelic, and especially Irish, Crusaders from c. 1100 to 1300, more is known of Scandinavian participants in the Crusades. King Eirik of Denmark had been to Rome twice and Bari once (to visit the shrine of St. Nicholas) before setting off for Jerusalem. After stopping at Constantinople where he addressed the Varangian guard and received relics from the emperor, he departed for Jerusalem, but died at Cyprus in 1103 (Christiansen 102-104). More prominent Scandinavian Crusaders of the twelfth century were Sigurd,

the King of Norway (d. 1130) and Rognvald, earl of Orkney (d. 1158).

Sigurd was the son of Magnus Barelegs, and succeeded jointly, along with his two brothers, on the death of their formidable father in 1103. The saga of Magnus's sons, part of *Heimskringla*, relates how, soon after the succession of the three brothers, some Norse mercenaries who had been abroad in Palestine and Byzantium returned, their tales of wealth and opportunity striking a chord at the Norwegian court. These mercenaries requested that either Sigurd or his brother, Eystein, should lead an expedition to the eastern Mediterranean, and so it was that in 1107 Sigurd set out from Bergen with some sixty ships. Calling at England, Castile, Portugal, Ibiza, and Minorca on his way, Sigurd also stopped off for a visit with Duke Roger of Sicily, before finally arriving in Palestine in the early summer of 1110 (Hollander 688-94). Fulcher of Chartres mentions the arrival of "Norwegian people," "whom God had inspired to make the pilgrimage from the Western Sea to Jerusalem," at Joppa with fifty-five ships (Ryan 199). The saga proudly relates that, "King Sigurth [sic] crossed the Greek Sea on his way to Palestine, then marched up to Jerusalem and there met Balduin [sic], the king of Jerusalem. King Balduin received Sigurth most graciously, and with him rode to the River Jordan." (Hollander 695-96). During his stay in the Holy Land, Sigurd was entertained by Baldwin, received a splinter of the True Cross, and assisted with the siege and capture of Sidon in December. On the return trip, Sigurd stopped off at Byzantium, where he was treated to the spectacle of games at the hippodrome as the emperor's guest. It is interesting to note that, because Sigurd had presented his ships to the emperor as a gift, the return journey was made overland. The saga sums up its account of Sigurd's adventure with the comment that, "It was thought that no more honourable expedition had ever sailed from Norway than this one" (Hollander 696-98). Indeed, Sigurd's career became the stuff of legend and emulation: he has gone down in Scandinavian history as Sigurd "Jorsalafarer" or Jerusalem-farer.

The deeds of Rognvald, earl of Orkney (and the grandson of earl Thorfinn), are equally heroic; in fact, at many points they mirror those of King Sigurd. Whether this is because Rognvald set out to deliberately emulate the Jerusalem-farer or whether it is because the *Orkneyinga Saga* was used as a source by Snorri

Sturluson, the author of *Heimskringla*, is not entirely clear; but Rognvald's Crusade, dated by historians to 1151-53, is certainly not in doubt. Rognvald was the last Scandinavian leader to visit Constantinople and the Holy Land. His adventure began in similar fashion to that of Sigurd, with mercenaries from Byzantium returning to tell their (by now familiar) tale of wealth and opportunity. One of these adventurers, Eindridi, urged Rognvald to take up the challenge: "Men of ability like you are just the kind who ought to go there [the Holy Land]. It would bring you great respect if you were to mix with people from the noblest families." It was about two years before the expedition finally got underway, and included in Rognvald's company was the Paris-educated bishop William of Orkney, invited, we are told, because the Earl wanted him as an interpreter — an interesting sidelight on what must have been a common problem for the northern crusaders. This was, evidently, a large-scale expedition. It included no less than fifteen ships, specially made in Norway, and the Earl's ship was magnificently decked out with gold inlay. The journey was an exciting one, with fighting and plunder on the way. Once through the straits of Gibraltar, Eindridi parted company with the earl; Rognvald and his ships sailed to Africa, where, just off the coast, there was a memorable battle with a giant Muslim merchant ship called a dromond, which yielded still more booty. After a brief stop at a Muslim city for trading purposes, the fleet finally reached Acre. One of Rognvald's companions made a verse as the Orkneymen waded ashore:

Now swiftly and surely
 my shield's borne
 alongside the Earl
 to ocean-sprayed Acre.

From Acre the earl and his companions made their way to Jerusalem and visited the Holy Places, including the River Jordan, where they bathed. As they approached Jerusalem, the earl himself composed a rhyme:

A cross on this bard's
 breast, on his back
 a palm branch: peacefully
 we pace the hillside.

Like Sigurd, Rognvald and his party made a stop at Byzantium as part of their return itinerary; from there they went to Rome, and then departed for home overland (Palsson and Edwards 155-182).

On the surface, at least, Eirik, Sigurd, and Rognvald appear more in the mold of pilgrims and crusaders than did their predecessor, Harald Hardrada. King Eirik of Denmark, for instance, sought entry into the city of Constantinople "for the purpose of worshipping at its holy places, stating that he was brought to the place chiefly through his love of religious exercises" (Christiansen 102). King Sigurd reverently accepted a splinter of the True Cross, while the warlike Rognvald composed some very unwarlike verses near Jerusalem. Yet perhaps, beneath the surface, little had changed after all. Fame and booty, those driving engines of pagan Scandinavian society, are as much in evidence in Sigurd's and Rognvald's expeditions as they were in Harald Hardrada's. Both Sigurd and Rognvald were motivated by the promise of fame and fortune to be had in the east. Sigurd and his followers on several occasions carried off "much booty" as they emerged victorious from various encounters on their way to the Holy Land. And Earl Rognvald and his men fretted that "they hadn't searched the dromond carefully enough for money and that all the gold and silver had melted in the fire" as they watched the Muslim ship sink, burning, beneath the waves off the North African coast (Palsson and Edwards 177). The desire for fame is deemed praiseworthy in a bragging match in which Sigurd engaged with his brother soon after returning home. Comparing their feats, Sigurd boasts, "It is people's opinion that the expedition abroad which I undertook has been a rather chieftainly one. Meanwhile, you stayed at home as though you were the daughter of your father." Later Sigurd states that "I journeyed to the River Jordan and swam across it. And beyond, on the river bank, there is a thicket, and there I tied a knot and spoke words over it to the effect that you were to undo it, brother, or else have such challenge as was laid on it" (Hollander 703-04). The swimming of the river and the tying of the knot were seen as proof that a pilgrim had kept the vow, but could also, as we see here, be turned into a boast and a challenge to those who had not undertaken the adventure. In short:

It becomes apparent that the Christian kings and jarls from the North on pilgrimage were not so different after all from earlier Vikings who sought out Constantinople as the place where they might win wealth and renown and establish their superiority over those who had remained at home. (Davidson 265)

While it may seem difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile these disparate images of the Scandinavian Crusaders, the issue may be brought into focus by considering the tremendous changes that had been wrought in Scandinavian society between 800 and 1100. In the ninth century the Vikings were outsiders, pagan raiders for whom violence was a fact of life and the Christian sanctuaries readily accessible sources of wealth. By the twelfth century, the Vikings had been assimilated into the Christian framework of western Europe, but the process, while complete, had also been syncretic, as aspects of the pagan past were grafted into the Christian framework (Brown 299-320, Fletcher 228-84, 369-416). Indeed, as one expert has put it: "The pacifying effects of Christianity may be doubted" (Sawyer 1989, 17). Hence, I think, the dualistic nature of these Scandinavian ventures, appearing at once as both plundering forays and expressions of devotion. Indeed, the Crusade, in essence a holy war fought against the enemies of Christ, may well have offered an outlet for traditional Norse activities no longer deemed acceptable within the Christian framework of western European society in the twelfth century. By embarking on Crusade, then, the Scandinavians could at once satisfy the desire for plunder and fame, while demonstrating their piety by visiting the holy places. The biggest irony of all may well be that the Vikings, who started out in the ninth century as pagan raiders of Christian sanctuaries, ended up in the twelfth century as Christian warriors taking on the Muslims!

But whatever the motivation of these Scandinavian adventures, it is important not to underestimate their contribution to the crusading movement as a whole. This is especially true for Sigurd, who was the first western European ruler to visit the Holy Land in the wake of the success of the First Crusade in 1099 and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom. One of the great problems faced by the Latin rulers of Jerusalem was a lack of manpower: many Crusaders, having embarked for the Holy Land and having reached their objective, turned around and headed home; many others, whose fortunes took a downturn on

the roads to Jerusalem, never reached their objective or left their bones in foreign lands (Riley-Smith 61-63). According to Fulcher of Chartres, King Baldwin was delighted when the Norwegians arrived, and requested their aid in the siege of Sidon. Sigurd is said to have replied that, "wherever the king wished to go with his army, there they [the Norwegians] would gladly go by sea at the same time...." Fulcher goes on to report that the Norwegians blockaded the port by sea while Baldwin's forces encircled it by land, and the Muslim inhabitants were eventually forced to capitulate (Ryan 199; Babcock and Krey 1: 486).

References to the rank and file of Crusaders and pilgrims from the north are, not surprisingly, rare. The annals and sagas were interested in the activities of high-status individuals like kings and jarls, bishops and abbots, and had little to say about the lower-status travellers from the north. Occasionally, however, there are chance references, like those of Guibert or Fulcher already cited, or that which records, under the year 1144, that "pilgrims from Wales were drowned in the Sea of Greece, going as crusaders to Jerusalem" (Jones 119). And there is the remarkable testimonial of the fraternity book of the Benedictine abbey of Reichenau, located on a little island on the western arm of Lake Constance. This lists the names of some 40 000 pilgrims who visited the abbey on their way to Rome in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: about 700 of those pilgrims had Scandinavian names; they were mostly Danish, but with a few Norwegians and Icelanders mixed in (Liebgott 110-111).

The whole topic can be drawn together and brought into focus by considering some Gaelic poems composed in the Mediterranean in the thirteenth century. These verses serve as a stark reminder of the involvement of peoples from the northwest of Europe in the Crusades, and they also take us into the world of those lower-status Crusaders. The first poem was written by Gilla Brigde Albanach, a Scottish poet who was active in the first half of the thirteenth century. The second is by Muiredach Albanach Ó Dailaig, an Irish poet who ended up in Scotland and was active at about the same time. Both seem to have set off on the Fifth Crusade, which captured Damietta in 1219; it is possible that the Irish king Áed mac Conchobar Máenmaige, who died in 1224, also participated (MacQuarrie 1985, 37). Both poets reveal the human side of the Crusades, providing a valuable human perspective that stands in stark contrast to the

laconic chronicles and warlike sagas that have been cited throughout this essay.

Gilla Brigde captured the anxiety of the Crusaders as they sailed from Acre to Damietta in poor weather:

Let us make a hard decision;
these clouds are from the northeast;
let us leave the bases of the rough mountains of Greece;
let us strive to make Damietta.

These clouds from the east are dark
as they drive us from Acre;
come, Mary Magdalen,
and wholly clear the air. (Murphy 72)

Muiredach seemed to be in a melancholy, homesick mood as he composed his verses off Monte Gargano in the Adriatic:

Help from Cruachain is far off
across the wave-bordered Mediterranean sea;
the journeying of spring separates us
from those green-branched glens.

I give God thanks...
up against Monte Gargano;
Between Monte Gargano and the fair-ditched land of
Cruachain
the distance is not small.

It would be as the reward of heaven tonight,
to touch Scotland of the lofty manors;
that we might see the haven...
Or whiff the air of Ireland. (Murphy 76)

How common these sentiments must have been among all Crusaders, not just Gaels and Scandinavians, we can, perhaps, only imagine.

The remark of Muiredach Albanach Ó Dailigh that, "Far is Rome from Lochlong," might well represent the view of generations of historians who have held that the northwestern periphery of Medieval Europe was too remote to share fully in contemporary trends like the Crusade, or to have much impact on events thousands of miles away in the Holy Land. Yet the very fact that the words are attributed to a Gaelic bard who had just returned from the Mediterranean — and who left behind the verses to prove it — shows just how unsteady are the

foundations of that particular interpretation. Whether embarking as penitential pilgrims or seeking employment with the Byzantine emperor, and whether joining the other peoples of Western Europe in the armies converging on Jerusalem at the end of the eleventh century or embarking on more individual adventures not directly associated with any particular Crusade, it is clear from scattered references in contemporary sources that the Mediterranean was not *terra incognita* to the Gaels and Scandinavians. Indeed, contemporary chroniclers betray, by their remarks on the outlandish nature of Scottish dress and speech, the fact that Gaelic pilgrims and Crusaders, if not ubiquitous, were at least not an uncommon sight on the continent in the twelfth century. Yet more important, perhaps, than simply compiling a prosopography of Gaelic and Scandinavian pilgrims and Crusaders of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, is an appreciation that, by participating in these movements, the Gaels and Scandinavians were entering fully into the mainstream of western European politics and society. And it is precisely in this light that we should see Muiredach's comment: the Mediterranean (Rome) was, indeed, a long way from northwestern Europe (Lochlong) in the thirteenth century (linguistically and culturally as well as geographically), but it would be wrong to overemphasize the extent to which the latter was isolated from the former. Professor Duncan's assessment of the Scottish situation seems applicable in the broader context of our examination: "...It seems clear that the call to the Holy War, going out from the Council of Clermont, must have reached Scotland, in no ineffective manner, at a time when its church was, as has hitherto been thought, divorced from the rest of Europe. It may be that...we shall have to reconsider the verdict of isolation...." (212). It is, then, difficult to sustain the thesis that the Gaelic and Scandinavian periphery of western Europe was a land apart in the Middle Ages. Indeed, such a sentiment might well have surprised a man like Muiredach Albanach Ó Dailigh, who boasted in a poem written shortly after his return to Ireland in about 1228:

I come..
From over the bright-surfaced Mediterranean;
I am going round the world. (Bergin, 261)

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** *Note on Irish names.* Forms for Irish names follow those utilized in A. Cosgrove, ed., *A New History of Ireland Volume 2. Medieval Ireland 1169-1534* (Oxford, 1987).

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José Simón Palmer

THE LIFE OF ST. SABAS THE YOUNGER AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE CATALAN GRAND COMPANY

The *Life and Conduct of Our Holy and God-Bearing Father St. Sabas the Younger* [henceforth, *Life of St. Sabas the Younger* or *Life*,¹ written by Philotheos Kokkinos, patriarch of Constantinople (1353-1354/5; 1364-1376), is a piece of Byzantine hagiography from the fourteenth century which, in spite of its religious character, is a valuable source for the history of the Catalan Grand Company, Roger de Flor's famous band of Spanish mercenaries hired by the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328) to fight the Turks in Anatolia. However, this aspect of the *Life* has usually been neglected by historians who have studied the Catalan presence in Byzantium and Greece during the fourteenth century. A remarkable exception is Angeliki E. Laiou, who uses this testimony for her study of the Catalan campaigns against Mount Athos (in the Chalkidike peninsula) and Thessaloniki in a book which is the standard reference for Andronikos II's period (220—223). Nevertheless, being the Byzantine emperor's foreign policy — and not the adventures of the Catalan Company — the aim of her research, she does not fully exploit the evidence found in the *Life*. This is also the case of Mirjana Zhivojinovic' in her study on the life of Archbishop Daniel II, abbot of the Serbian monastery of Chilandar in Athos during the Catalan campaigns of 1307-1309 (254, 258). As for Antoni Rubió i Lluch and R. M. Dawkins, they seem to ignore the existence of Philotheos Kokkinos' work.² A revision of the *Life of St. Sabas*

¹ References to the *Life of St. Sabas the Younger* are by page and line of the Papadopoulos-Kerameus' edition, listed in Works Cited.

² See A. Rubió i Lluch's and R. M. Dawkin's articles, listed in Works Cited.

the Younger as a source for the history of the Catalan Grand Company is therefore necessary.

St. Sabas, born in Thessaloniki around 1283, entered the Holy Mountain of Athos, which from the late tenth century had been the most important center of Eastern monasticism, approximately at the age of 18 (199, 1.18). Seven years later, his life changed because of the "Italians who had come from Sicily" (210, 1.16), as the *Life* calls the soldiers of the Catalan Company because they had been fighting until the Peace of Caltabellotta (1302) for Frederick III of Sicily against Charles II of Anjou.

After the assassination of their leader Roger de Flor near Adrianople in 1305, the Catalans, who laid the blame for this murder on the Byzantines, raided the surrounding countryside of the Kallipolis peninsula — their base of operations — for two years (1305-1307). In 1307 they moved west and, as the *Life* says, "they destroyed Thrace without mercy, like a hurricane" (210, 11.17-18). After this, the Catalans "hurried up to overrun immediately the Macedonians, having Thessaly itself already in their minds" (210, 11.28-29).

As A. Laiou remarks, "the Catalan campaign in Macedonia had two related main objectives: the conquest of Thessaloniki and the creation of a kingdom of Macedonia, with its capital at Thessaloniki. At the same time, the Catalans planned to attack and plunder the monasteries of Mount Athos, which were famous for their wealth" (220). They occupied Kassandreia, in Chalkidike, at the neck of the Kassandra peninsula, and put their operational base there.¹ From this city they made incursions into the west on Thessaloniki and into the east on the Holy Mountain. Their first attack on a monastery in Athos — the Serbian cloister of Chilandar — took place in the early summer of 1307 (Laiou 221).

According to the *Life*, Andronikos' first concern was to protect the Holy Mountain, since he thought that the salvation of the Empire depended on the "choir of saints" living there. Being unable to defend the monks with the help of an army, "he wrote a letter to them at once in his own hand" (210, 11.4-5), probably in 1307 (Laiou 220). He was worried not only about the

¹ On the demographic consequences which the Catalan campaign, had in the population of the Chalkidike peninsula, see P. Karlin-Hayter's article in Works Cited.

anchorites, who practised ascetism alone or in pairs in the Holy Mountain, but also about many monks who lived together in various communities. Some monasteries were not fortified at all, while others could be taken easily by the enemy "because of the ruinous state of their walls and the scarce number of their inhabitants." In order to prepare the defense of Mount Athos, the emperor ordered all these monks either to move into the well fortified monasteries or to take refuge in the closest cities if they wished (211, ll.5-11). According to the *Life*, some monks preferred "to remain [in their huts and their monasteries] and die" rather than "get away and save their lives." But others left their fellows in tears and sought refuge in the nearby fortified cities and islands (211, l.13-212, l.2). One of these monks was, in fact, Sabas' spiritual father. Being old and ill, he went to the monastery of the Mother of God in Thessaloniki (212, ll. 3-9).

Sabas did not return "to his native city of Thessaloniki for the duration of the Catalan attack on Mount Athos," (Laiou 352), but remained in the monastery of Vatopedi, at the mid-point of the northeast coast of the Mount Athos peninsula (212, ll.11-12; 215, ll.10-11). He missed his spiritual father very much and wished to join him in Thessaloniki, but he was afraid at the thought of seeing his parents and his friends from childhood again (212, l.11-213, l.27). His doubts vanished when he heard that the "Achaemenids" (i.e., the Catalans, compared to Darius and Xerxes) had ravaged Macedonia and were already plundering the neighbourhood of Thessaloniki (213, l.32-214, l.5). Land communications between this city and Mount Athos had been cut by the enemies and there was no possibility for Sabas to visit his spiritual father. A voice coming from the bottom of his heart told him to go to Jerusalem and he set sail immediately (page 215.25-31). He went to Cyprus across the Aegean sea and for a long time — about twenty years, according to A.-J. Festugière (237) — he wandered around Palestine, Sinai, Syria, Egypt, the Aegean islands, the Peloponese and Hellas, always admired for his extreme ascetic practices. But on his way back to the monastery of Vatopedi in Athos he met the Catalans again.

After two years in the Peloponese, "Sabas," — Philotheos Kokkinos says — "visited Athens, which was admired in Antiquity because of its wisdom. However, he could not see the much celebrated wonders of this city — on the contrary, only a

barbarian language and way of life instead of the old glory of the past and the golden generation of wise men" (290, l.30-291, l.2). This is a reference to the Catalan rule over Athens. After the battle of Halmyros in 1311, the Frankish domination of this city came to an end and the Catalan Grand Company settled in the Duchy of Athens for almost eight decades, until 1388. When Sabas visited Athens in the last years before Andronikos II's fall (1328) the *lingua franca* had been already replaced by the *bell catalanesch* of Ramon Muntaner. But, as the *Life* shows, the Catalans could not change neither the poverty of the city nor the ignorance of the inhabitants (Setton 216-260).

We can thus conclude that the interest of the *Life of St. Sabas the Younger* as a source for the history of the Catalan Grand Company in the Eastern Mediterranean is double: On one hand, it provides information about the beginning of the Catalan campaign against Mount Athos and Thessaloniki and about the preparation of the Byzantine defense (1307-1308), thus completing the evidence of the best source for the Catalan attacks on the Holy Mountain, the Serbian *Life of Archbishop Danilo*. On the other hand, it clearly brings out the cultural decline of Athens under the Catalan rule almost twenty years after the departure of Saint Sabas from Athos in 1308. Whereas the first piece of information is relatively well known, the second seems to have been neglected by historians of the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras to the best of my knowledge.

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Mario D'Alessandro

**LUIGI TANSILLO'S *IL VENDEMMIATORE*:
A MOCK-DIDACTIC POEM OF LOVE**

That *Il Vendemmiatore* was an immediate success for the young Neapolitan poet Luigi Tansillo is demonstrated by the poem's wide diffusion, first in manuscript form, and then by the several editions printed between 1537 and 1549¹. Among its many sources, the most obvious is Pietro Bembo's *Stanze*.² Written for *carnevale* 1507 in honour of Elisabetta Gonzaga and Emilia Pia, the *Stanze* are rich in Neoplatonic (Stanzas 18-20) and Stilnovistic (Stanza 25) ideas about love, and contain a "history" of lyric poetry from Catullus to Petrarch (Stanzas 21-22). Like *Il Vendemmiatore*, Bembo's *Stanze* invite women to become lovers. Yet the arguments Bembo makes in favour of love are far different from Tansillo's. Ranging from the positive political consequences of obeying Love's law (Stanzas 1-15), its ennobling qualities (Stanza 17), and its importance in inspiring poetic creation (Stanza 21), to its role as a fundamental procreative force (Stanza 39), and the pleasures and emotional security it can offer to lovers (Stanzas 43-44), Bembo's arguments move from the ideal, the transcendent and the collective, to the natural, the material and the particular.

¹ For an account of the early success of *Il Vendemmiatore* and for a brief history of its many and various editions, cfr. Francesco Flamini's introduction to his *L'Egloga e i poemetti di Luigi Tansillo*, xxxiv-xlvii.

² Flamini gives an accurate account of the Bembian sources of *Il Vendemmiatore* in his introduction to *L'Egloga e i poemetti* (l-iv). He argues that the poem is principally an imitation of Bembo and that Tansillo must have had "sott'occhio" Bembo's "poesie latine e volgari" when writing his *poemetto* (xlx), and that in the first part of the *Vendemmiatore* he had followed "le... Stanze del Bembo" (l). All references to Bembo's *Stanze* are from Pietro Bembo, *Prose della volgar lingua. Gli Asolani. Rime*. Ed. Carlo Dionosotti. Torino: UTET, 1966.

There are nevertheless specific points of contact between the *Stanze* and Tansillo's *Il Vendemmiatore* which interest us. These occur at Stanzas 30, 31 and 32 of Bembo's poem:

E per bocca di lui [Amore] chiaro vi dico:
 non chiudete l'entrata ai piaceri suoi;
 se 'l ciel vi si girò largo et amico,
 non vi gite nemiche e scarse voi.
 Non basta il campo aver lieto et aprico,
 se non s'ara e sementa e miete poi:
 giardin non colto in breve divien selva,
 e fassi lustro ad ogni augello e belva. (30)

È la vostra bellezza quasi un orto,
 gli anni teneri vostri aprile e maggio:
 alor vi va per gioia e per diporto
 il signor, quando può, sed egli è saggio.
 Ma poi ché 'l sole ogni fioretto ha morto,
 o 'l ghiaccio a le campagne ha fatto oltraggio,
 no 'l cura, e stando in qualche fresco loco
 passa il gran caldo, o temprà il verno al foco. (31)

Ahi poco degno è ben d'alta fortuna,
 chi ha gran doni e cari, e schifa usarli.
 A che spalmar i legni, se la bruna
 onda del porto dee poi macerarli?
 Questo sol, che riluce, o questa luna
 lucesse in van, non si devria pregiarli.
 Giovinezza e beltà, che non s'adopra,
 val quanto gemma, che s'asconda e copra. (32)

(And through his mouth [of Amor] I will tell you clearly: do not close the entrance way to your pleasures; if heaven has been generous and friendly to you, do not behave parsimoniously, or like an enemy. It is not enough to possess a happy and sunny field if then you do not plough and plant and sow: an uncultivated garden soon turns into a forest, and becomes attractive to every sort of bird or beast.)

(Your beauty is almost a garden, your tender years are your April and May: that is when your lord goes there for joy and recreation, when he can, if he is wise. But when the sun has killed every small flower, or ice has ravaged the countryside, he no longer looks after it, and staying in some cool place passes away the hot summer, or tempers winter's cold by the fire.)

(Alas, the person who has great and costly gifts and is loath to use them is hardly worthy of great fortune. Why oil the ships if the dark waves of the port must then chew them up? This sun which radiates, or this moon, would shine in vain, nor would we value them. Youth and beauty which is not used is worth as much as a gem which is hidden and covered.)

If Bembo's *Stanze* treat a wide range of subject matter, Tansillo's *Il Vendemmiatore* concentrates above all on those images of the garden, of spring, and of youth contained here.¹ This difference is highly significant: if Bembo's *Stanze* read almost like an exhaustive treatise covering all of love's benefits, Tansillo's poem clearly rejects such an elevated objective and concentrates instead on the naturalistic elements of these stanzas.² *Il Vendemmiatore* is, in fact, a rich and subtle mock-didactic poem which, much like an Aristophanic comedy, inverts many of the traditional moral and philosophical values which Bembo's *Stanze* affirm.³ Indeed, the poet-*vendemia-*

¹ Tansillo stresses the human body. He will not, for example, celebrate love as the Neoplatonic meeting of minds or souls as in Bembo's *Stanze* (43ff.); rather, through the "allegories" of the garden and the *menta* above all, he celebrates, in Bakhtinian terms, those parts of the human body open to the outside world and to the regenerative powers of nature: the genital organs. Cfr. *Rabelais and his World* 26.

² Tansillo is doing more than simply exercising his poetic talent by writing in a lyrical genre in which the master Petrarchan poet had also written. The fact that he had sent *Il Vendemmiatore* to Giacomo Carafa means that he thought highly of it. The claim that it be read "senza gli occhiali del riggido Catone" (without the glasses of the strict Cato) during the days consecrated to "Bacco" (Bacchus), and that it not be thrown into the fire but preserved so that it may be enjoyed when recalled in future by "la medesima stagione" (the same season — the grape harvest) (Letter to Giacomo Carafa, *L'Egloga e i poemetti* 50), clearly indicates that Tansillo saw *Il Vendemmiatore* as a significant poetic achievement.

³ As Pietro Mazzamuto points out, Tansillo was influenced by the Neapolitan Humanism of Agostino Nifo, a humanism grounded in Aristotelian principles: "Nell'alvo stesso dell'Umanesimo napoletano operò la tradizione pontaniana di un epicureismo etico, che, sistemato in schemi aristotelici, avrebbe avuto in Agostino Nifo, maestro del Tansillo, una valorizzazione integrale della voluttà che nasce dalla bellezza" (1262) (At work at the very centre of Neapolitan humanism was the Pontanian tradition of ethical epicureanism, which, organized

tore, using a slyly sophisticated rhetoric, seemingly creates his own morally charged yet consciously fictitious "cosmic order" intended to lend weight to his comic enterprise: to persuade his young and beautiful female listeners to love him and him alone.

Through the fictitious narrator of the poet-*vendemmiatore* Tansillo distances himself immediately from the poetic tradition which Bembo praises: Tansillo's poet is not inspired by the Muses or the waters of the Castalian font, but by *Bacco* and *Amore*:

Gran meraviglia avrete, com'io sia
fatto di rustico uom culto poeta,
senza ber di quell'acqua, che solía
far l'uom repente diventar profeta. (2.1-4)¹

(You will marvel greatly at how, from a rustic man, I was made a cultivated poet, without drinking that water which used to turn a man suddenly into a prophet.)

His poetry, moreover, is "senz'arte" (3.1) (artless) and gives more profit and pleasure to his listeners than "tutte le carte / che ornando scrisser mai Grecia et Egitto" (3.3-4) (all the pages which Greece and Egypt ever ornately wrote). His *furor poeticus* is inspired by "altro licor" (2.5) (another liquor), by wine, a product of the earth. And like wine his poetry has the power to transform torment into pleasure:

togliendo del mio dir la minor parte,
terrete della vita il cammin dritto,
e voi stesse cangiando, in un momento
cangerete in piacer vostro tormento. (3.5-8)

according to Aristotelian schemes, would have had, through Agostino Nifo, the teacher of Tansillo, an integral valorization of the pleasure that is born from beauty). Thus, as we shall see, a serious anti-Neoplatonic philosophical vein, one grounded in a belief in the priority of experience over the *a priori* rationalism of Neoplatonism, also runs through Tansillo's comic and indeed parodic poetic enterprise. As such, the openness of the human body to regeneration also implies a subtle parallel with the openness of the mind to new thought. On Tansillo's *Vendemmiatore* cfr. also Bonora 133-4, Cremante 240, Scotti 143ff.

¹ All references to Tansillo's *Vendemmiatore* are from *L'Egloga e i poemetti di Luigi Tansillo*. Ed. Francesco Flamini. Napoli: Vecchi, 1893.

(Taking from my speech even the least part, you will keep to life's straight path, and, changing yourselves, you will in a moment turn your torment into pleasure.)

Yet, as the passage just cited indicates, the poetry of the *vendemmiatore* pretends also to be instructive: through it, the poet promises to teach his ladies "il cammin dritto" (the straight path). Thus, for example, the contrast between the "donne superbe" (haughty women) of Stanza 4 and the "donne che son grate al cielo" (women who are pleasing to heaven) of Stanza 5 provides a highly instructive "lesson":

Ché troppo (e con ragion, s'io ben discerno)
s'adira il Ciel con voi, donne superbe,
che negli orti ond'ei diede a voi 'l governo
languir lasciate i fiori e morir l'erbe!
Non vi doveste lamentar del verno,
quando voi stesse a voi siete sí acerbe;
non si doglia d'altrui, né si lamenti
chi dà cagione ei stesso a' suoi tormenti. (4)

Tutte le donne che son grato al Cielo,
e non hanno qual voi rigidi i cuori,
vivon contente; e poi che neve e gelo
copron la terra in vece d'erbe e fiori,
ancor che col piacer cangino il pelo,
nuovo pensier non han che l'addolori:
non ha l'agricultor di che si doglia,
pur ch'al debito tempo il frutto coglia. (5)

(Because heaven too often gets angry with you, haughty women, and, if I understand well, with good reason: because in the gardens over which it gave you rule, you leave the flowers to languish and the grass to die! You should not complain about winter when you are so harsh to yourselves; one should not complain of others, nor should one complain if he is the cause of his own torment.)

(All the women who are pleasing to heaven and do not, like you, have rigid hearts, live happily; and when snow and frost cover the earth instead of grass and flowers, although with pleasure they see their hair turn to grey, they have no new thought to pain them: the farmer has nothing to upset him, provided he picks his fruit in due course.)

The "donne superbe" govern badly "negli orti", which the heavens gave them to cultivate; conversely, the grateful ladies live happily and contented. The poet thus paints an image of contrasting possibilities which provides his female listeners with a fundamental moral and perhaps even theological-existential lesson: those women who refuse love, who lead their days "sterilmente tutti" (6.2) (all sterilely), are "del proprio ben nemica altiera" (6.1) (the haughty enemy of their own good). Their greatest torment, indeed their greatest punishment, is regret or "pentimento":

Credete a chi n'ha fatto esperimento,
che fra tutti i martir, donne mie care,
nessun ve n'è maggior che 'l pentimento,
poi che 'l passato non si può disfare:
e ben che ogni pentir porti tormento,
quel che piú fiera piaga ne suol fare,
ove rimedio alcun sperar non lece,
è quando un potea molto e nulla fece. (7)

(Give credence, my dear ladies, to one who has had experience: of all suffering, there is none greater than regret, since the past can never be undone: and, although each regret brings torment, the fiercest of all wounds, and one for which it is useless to hope for a remedy, occurs when one could have done much and did nothing.)

Moreover, the poet strengthens his claims to wisdom in matters of love by establishing his own experience as a sort of comic-ironic epistemological standard: "credete chi n'ha fatto esperimento" (give credence to one who has had experience), he claims. Later he will reaffirm the supreme epistemological status of material experience over books and *a priori* speculation when he comes to talk about his "arte del vendemmiare" (the art of harvesting grapes). Thus he feels qualified to state unequivocally that the way to error "è l'empia ingratitudine" (9.5) (impious ingratitude) toward heaven and its natural gifts: "O quanto spiace al donator gentile [il Cielo], /quanto vede i suoi don tener a vile!" (10.7-8) (oh how it displeases heaven, that noble donor, when he sees his gifts despised). Those women who refuse love thus threaten the vitality of the earth, the natural element which is theirs to govern:

La terra, che a far frutto il Ciel vi diede
con la pioggia del nostro dolce umore,
per vostra colpa secca, arida siede,
e nel suo seno ogn'erba, ogni fior more. (10.3-6)

(The earth, which heaven gave you to fructify with the rain of our sweet humour, is dry and sits arid by your fault, and in its bosom all the grass, all the flowers die.)

By refusing love they refuse "la pioggia" (rain), the masculine element that fertilizes the earth. Their sin is thus one against cyclical nature:

Il candido ligustro, il bel iacinto,
e tanti vaghi fior cari tra noi
come aprile ornerian, s'a l'uno estinto
non succedesse l'altro? (11.1-4)

(The candid privet and the beautiful hyacinth, and the many pretty flowers dear among us, how will they decorate April if the one that goes extinct is not replaced by another?)

It is no surprise, furthermore, that female beauty is identified with that of the flowers and the grass, the most delicate and ephemeral products of nature: men are inspired to love them only when the time is most ripe ("primavera" or springtime). If erotic desire is in harmony with nature, then nature provides an example to the women to love when their natural beauty is at its peak. The poet thus intensifies the anxiety of not loving, of missing out on the most significant aspect of life:

Erbe son dunque e fior vostre bellezze,
e primavera gli anni che menate;
voi siete gli orti, che le lor vaghezze
ne' dolci grembi vostri riserbate,
accìò ch'ogn'uom vi brami, ogn'uom vi apprezze;
e perché ne l'autunno e nella state
suo convenevol frutto ogni fior porti,
noi semo gli ortolan, voi sete gli orti. (13)

(Grass and flowers, thus is your beauty, and the years which you carry are your springtime; you are gardens which hold their beauty in their sweet wombs, so that every man desires you, every man prizes you; and, in order that in autumn and in summer each flower brings forth its appropriate fruit, we are the gardeners and you are the gardens.)

The myth of the Hesperides is perhaps the most significant rhetorical element in the poet's arguments in favour of love. Refusing to narrate the many examples of women who have suffered the painful regrets of chastity, the poet prefers to narrate a myth in mock-allegorical language — "ombrando il vero" (14.2) (disguising the truth) — that lends a comically theological-mythological dimension to his argument. The story of Hercules who defeats the dragon of the Hesperides contains not a hidden sense difficult to reconstruct but a sense that is wholly univocal. The poet, glossing his own verses, reveals the following truth behind the words:

Le poma d'or son le bellezze care,
 donne, che avete, il drago è la fierezza,
 che dentro a' vostri cuor chiusa dimora,
 et ogni bel piacer caccia o divora. (15)

(The golden apples are the precious beauties, ladies, which you possess; the dragon is pride, which lives closed within your hearts, and chases away or devours every lovely pleasure.)

The pagan myth of the Hesperides serves to turn on its head the myth of the fall from Eden.¹ It is indeed a counter-myth to the sinfulness attributed to sexual love by the Biblical tradition. According to the poet-narrator of *Il vendemmiatore*, the human condition had been a "fallen" one until Hercules freed humankind from the tyranny of the dragon "fierezza" (pride). Only when men and women are allowed to love freely do they achieve their fullest potential. The myth thus teaches two fundamental lessons: that to refuse love means to betray the fruits of Hercules' tremendous labour, and that the refusal to love means a return to a sub-human or barbaric state.

The poet-*vendemmiatore* thus builds his "case" for love upon strong philosophical and moral foundations: experience provides the epistemological ground (the poet, as we have seen, has wisdom about the painfulness of regret); the obligation of women to rule well that which nature has allotted to them, the earth, provides a moral ground; finally, the myth of the Hesperides provides a theological and mythical

¹ Cfr. Bakhtin's notion of the world of carnival as "a parody of the extracarnival life, a 'world turned inside out'" (11).

"tradition" that views acceptance of erotic love as the foundation for an elevated, humanized existential condition.

The rhetorical strategies thus far employed by the poet reach their climax in his considerations on time. Indeed, it seems that the true meaning of the myth of the Hesperides is that time and time alone is the enemy of man:

Prima che 'l tempo, vie piú d'Ercol forte,
uccida i pensier vostri, e la beltade
ne porti via per farne dono a Morte,
cogliete i frutti de la verde etade;
aprite ai bei desir le chiuse porte,
cacciandone di fuor la crudeltade,
che le vostre bellezze in guardia tiene,
e non vi fa gioir di tanto bene! (16)

(Before Time, much more powerful than Hercules, kills your thoughts and carries beauty away as a gift for Death, pluck the fruits of the verdant age; open your closed doors to the lovely desires, thus exiling that cruelty which keeps guard over your beauty and does not allow you to rejoice over such riches!)

By exiling "crudeltade," the women who had once refused to love now exile time as well. The death of the dragon means that humankind recovers an existential condition in which time symbolically is put to death. The achievement of a one-dimensional notion of time is central to the poet's rhetoric, his art of persuasion. The "Quel paradiso" of Stanza 17 refers to future time, the ontological status of which the poet seeks to undermine, together with any notion of a "geographically" located paradise or utopia — "a che loco cercar da voi diviso?" (17.7) (why go searching [for paradise] in a place outside your bodies?) — that promises more delight than the human body naturally offers. If the notion of a future time is undercut, then a return to the Biblical Eden is neither possible nor desirable. The *Vendemmiatore* makes the realities of cyclical time its own ontological ideal, while the true Eden is contained within the human body itself:

Quel paradiso, che bramar solete,
che pensate che sia, altro che un orto?
E se quest'orto in grembo vel tenete,
perché non vi pigliate indi diporto?
A che loco cercar da voi diviso,
se in voi stesse trovate il paradiso? (17.3-8)

(That paradise which you desire, what do you think it is but a garden? And if you have this garden in your womb, why then do you not take pleasure in it? If paradise is to be found in yourselves, why go searching for it in a place outside your bodies?)

In the famous Stanza 19,¹ the poet-*vendemmiatore* furthermore urges:

Lassate l'ombre, et abbracciate il vero,
 non cangiate il presente pel futuro:
 anch'io d'andare in ciel già non dispero,
 ma per viver piú lieto e piú sicuro,
 godo il presente, e del futuro spero,
 cosí doppia dolcezza mi procuro;
 ch'avviso non saria d'uom saggio e scaltro
 perdere un ben per aspettarne un altro. (19)

(Leave behind the shadows and embrace the truth, do not exchange the present for the future: even I do not despair of going to heaven, but, in order to live more happily and securely, I enjoy the present and hope for the future; thus I procure a double sweetness. It would not, I will have you know, be characteristic of the wise and shrewd man to lose one good in order to await another.)

The Platonic notion of the material or temporal realm as mere shadow and the ideal realm as the true and eternal one is here reversed, much as was the myth of the fall. Within the context of the rhetorically functional cosmic order created by the *vendemmiatore*, the supreme ontological status of the material and temporal realm is reaffirmed. Its highest expression is sexual love: only by giving in to erotic desire do we meet our highest moral obligations, do justice to our ennobled condition, and succeed in transcending time. Only by loving, finally, do we

¹ Flamini points out that there was some controversy as to the significance of this and the following stanza. Whereas Tommaso Stigliani "rimase scandalizzato" (was left scandalized), Giordano Bruno "sembrò di scorgervi sensi riposti" (seemed to notice hidden meanings). According to Flamini, Bruno "esaltò il pregio e l'importanza" (exalted the worth and importance) of these stanzas "oltre la misura" (lv-lvi) (beyond measure). For Flamini, these stanzas are an attempt "di conciliare col sentimento religioso l'ideale epicureo" (lvi) (to reconcile the Epicurean ideal with religious sentiment).

achieve that supreme existential state, that "vera gioia" (true joy) which surpasses all others.

In the first part of the poem the *vendemmiatore* claims that personal experience is his source of wisdom in matters of love in order to establish the epistemological grounds for his argument. In the second part of the poem (Stanzas 28-49) he argues that experience — "per prova" (by proof) — is the best teacher of his art and not books: "per voltar le carte" (by the turning of pages). This is an invitation to the women to "learn" the art of love directly from him, a literal invitation which parodies Bembo's didactic role as interpreter of the messengers of Venus (*Stanze* 14):¹

Et io, come un di quei che di quest'arte
 da che nacqui fui vago, e sono ognora,
 e come usar si debba, a parte a parte,
 a qual guisa, a qual loco et a qual ora,
 per prova so, non per voltar di carte,
 e che per vostro amor contento fora
 andar, s'uopo vi fusse, al regno stigio;
 a voi m'offerò sempre a tal servizio. (28)

(And I, as one who since birth have been desirous of this art, and still am now, know it from experience, and not from the turning of pages: how it must be used, step by step, in what way and what place, and in what time; and, if it would help, I would be happy to go to the stygian realms for your love, and I will always offer my services to you.)

If Tansillo here portrays himself as an "auto-didact" who has been "expert" in love from birth, then Bembo portrays himself

¹ The *vendemmiatore's* direct invitation reflects the fact that the *vendemmia* or grape harvest is a popular festive occasion in which all distinctions between poet and audience are broken down: "Carnival... does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators.... Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people. While carnival lasts, there is no life outside it" (Bakhtin 7). If, moreover, carnival is a festival in which all participate, then there is no identifiable recipient of the poetic message. Bembo's *Stanze* are addressed specifically to Elisabetta Gonzaga and Emilia Pia, whereas Tansillo's poem has no identifiable addressee.

as a translator of the arcane language of love sent down to earth from Venus by her messengers:

E perch'essi [i messaggieri di Venere] non sanno il parlar nostro,
per interprete lor seco ne vegno,
e 'n lor vece dirò, come che al vostro
divin cospetto uom sia di dire indegno; (*Stanze* 14.3-6)

(And because they [Venus's messengers] do not understand our speech, I come as their interpreter, and in their stead I will speak, although in your divine presence man is unworthy of speech.)

Again at Stanza 34 the poet-*vendemmiatore* reaffirms his materialistic, empirically grounded "philosophy" in opposition to the idealistic Neoplatonism of Bembo:

Di queste e d'altre cose s'io abbondo,
non credete a mia lingua, ma a vostr'occhi;
e se 'l veder non basta, i' vi rispondo,
che m'offro a far che 'l ver con man si tocchi.
E cose troverrete rare al mondo;
non facciate l'error, che fan gli sciocchi,
in rimaner contente del pensiero!
L'esperienza è il paragon del vero. (34)

(If I abound in these and other matters, do not believe my tongue but your eyes; and if seeing is not sufficient, I say to you that I offer myself so that you may touch the truth with your hands. And things rare to the world you will find; do not make the same mistake as those foolish people who remain content with the thought alone! Experience is the paragon of truth.)

The poet's description of his "arte" is, purposely, an overt metaphor of the pleasures of sex meant to inflame the minds and hearts of his female listeners. If in the first twenty-seven stanzas the poet's rhetoric is directed at the mind or reason as well as at the moral and religious conscience, then here his comically transparent "allegory" attacks the appetites by suggesting facile images meant obviously to arouse sexual desire. Significantly, these images effectively convey the notion of degradation important to Bakhtin's treatment of the grotesque,

a notion in which degradation implies contact with the earth as a preliminary to rebirth:¹

Con tanta agevolezza il palo adopro,
che un tal sospir di bocca non esalo.
Pria, con la falce in man, la terra scopro,
indi nel grembo suo lieto mi calo,
e col mio corpo tutta la ricuopro,
piantando nel bel sen tutto il buon palo;
cava, né mai dal suo cavar si tolle,
fin che col suo sudor fo il fosso molle. (36)

Rigido, acuto, grosso, duro e tondo
è, donne, il pal ch'ì' pianto nella terra,
e di tanta lungezza e di tal pondo,
quanto par si richieda a simil guerra:
finché la punta sua non preme il fondo
mai non s'arresta di passar sotterra;
e mentre in su e 'n giù cade e risorge,
quanto piú fiere, piú dolcezza porge. (38)²

(With so much ease I employ the rod that I exhale not so much as a sigh. First, with sickle in hand, I uncover the earth, then into her womb happily I descend, and with my body I cover all of

¹ In discussing degradation Bakhtin points out that "earth is an element that devours, swallows up (the grave, the womb) and at the same time an element of birth, of renascence (the maternal breasts)... Degradation. .. means coming down to earth, the contact with the earth as an element that swallows up and gives birth at the same time" (21).

² These stanzas may be seen as a play on the rhetorical notion of *obscuritas*. Cfr. Lausberg who points out that "*obscuritas* come licenza richiede dal pubblico...una certa misura di collaborazione all'opera dell'artista: l'artista lascia alla sua opera certe oscurità e consente al pubblico di completare lo stadio finale dell'opera: la chiarezza dell'opera che così ne risulta è il frutto del lavoro del pubblico" (81) (*obscuritas* as licence requires from the audience...a certain degree of collaboration with the artist's work: the artist grants his work certain obscure qualities, and allows his audience to complete the final stage of the work: the clarity that results is thus the fruit of the work of the audience). As collaborators in the poet's discourse the women are obviously more than capable of reconstructing his sexual meaning. Yet that same facile sexual imagery may also be seen as pointing to deeper philosophical and intertextual implications unimportant to the fictitious audience of women.

her, planting my good pole into her beautiful bosom; it digs, and does not stop digging until with its sweat it makes the hole damp.)

(The rod I plant in the earth, ladies, is rigid sharp, thick, hard and round, and is of such length and weight as would appear necessary for this type of war: until its tip touches the bottom, it never stops piercing underground; and as it rises and falls, up and down, the harder it strikes, the more sweetness it offers.)

That this sexual imagery is to some degree effective is suggested at stanza 49, verses 5-6: "Voi del mio dir tutte ridete; anc'ora / ne brameresti far l'esperienza?" (you all laugh at what I say; do you even now desire to try it?).

The moral and philosophical dimensions of the second part of the poem culminate in a *vituperatio* in which the poet attacks the opinions of those impious and profane "vecchi" (old folks) who claim that the garden should be "watered" only once weekly. Such arguments in favour of moderation and temperance are not only fallacious and misleading, but sinful. He who fails to water his garden at least three times during the night, the *vendemmiatore* argues, "iniquamente pecca, / e puossi dir ministro del suo danno" (47.1-2) (unjustly sins, and can be called the minister of his injury). The supreme moral imperative here is total satiety and the full celebration of erotic desire, vitality and fecundity: excess is definitely a virtue. This imperative is given religious sanction by the god Priapus:

Se così pie, religiose e sante
a questo dolce dio [Priapo] vi mostrerete,
oh che bell'erbe, oh che leggiadre piante
ne' ben colti terren surger vedrete,
che nascer già non vi poteano innante!
Così, cangiando stil donne, farete,
acciò ch'uom mai di voi non si lamenti,
gli orti fecondi e gli ortolan contenti. (58)

(If you show yourselves pious, religious and holy to this god [Priapus], oh what beautiful grass, oh what lovely plants you will see spring forth in your well-cultivated lands, things that could never have been born there before! Thus, changing your style, ladies, you will make your gardens fecund and your gardeners happy, so that no man can complain about you.)

The final part of the poem is an "allegory" of plants in which the poet-*vendemmiatore* seeks to instruct an imaginary "pura verginella / che senza prova ad ascoltar ne vegna" (59.1-2) (pure young virgin, who without experience comes to listen) about that plant "ch'a gli orti vostri meglio si convegno" (59.4) (which is most suitable to your gardens). The plant that is praised above all others is "la menta":¹

Quella non mi sovien come si chiama
dagli ortolan di Roma, a un certo modo
che vuol dir menta piccola tra noi,
è l'erba, donne mie, degna di voi. (69.5-8)

(I do not recall how she is called by the gardeners of Rome; among us she is called by a certain name that means "small mint": this is the plant, my ladies, worthy of you.)

An allegory of the phallus, this plant or "erba" contains properties which are miraculous and life-giving:

ma il sugo, che premendola ne scorre,
potria quasi dar vita a corpo morto;
sanar vid'io sovente con quest'erba
donne ch'eron già presso a morte acerba. (62.5-8)

(But the juice that issues forth when you press it is almost able to restore life to a dead body; I have often seen women who were very close to bitter death healed by this plant.)

Of course the poet, in keeping with the "Aristotelian" tone of his rhetorical strategy, invites the women to experience its miraculous properties directly: "orsú, sciogliasi il laccio / di quella tasca ove si suol serbare!" (72.2-3) (come on, undo the strings of the pocket where it is usually kept). This invitation is followed by a final invective against Shame ("Vergogna"):

Vergognar tu, Vergogna, ti dovresti
d'apparir qui tra noi nel tempo quando
le parole e i pensier gravi et onesti
son da noi rilegati e posti in bando. (76.1-4)

¹ On the *menta* and its principal source for Tansillo in the latin poetry of Bembo, cfr. Flamini (liv-iv).

(You should, Shame, be ashamed to appear here among us at the time when grave words and honest thoughts have been bound up and banished by us.)

Having created a comic-moral cosmos in which sexual pleasure is "la vera gioia" (the true joy) of human existence, the poet seeks finally to undermine the last stronghold of natural restraint by attempting to banish Shame. Significantly, Shame is deaf to those who would otherwise banish her; ironically, her ears, her only "opening" to the outside world, are closed to the poet's message: "Dovevi udir, se non sei sorda, questi, / che ti van con lor grida discacciando" (76.5-6) (you should have listened to these [women], if you are not deaf, who go about with their shouts attempting to banish you). Yet if the women refuse the poet's invitation, if their ears remain "closed" to his message, he nonetheless hopes that Amor will place ("riponga") those pleasures which he has just celebrated in their beds ("ai vostri letti" [79.4]), and that their bodies will be "open" to them.

In the last stanza of the *poemetto*, finally, the poet refers to the aurora, the morning which the sky ("il ciel") opens ("aprirà"). If the sky is male and the aurora female, if the one will soon penetrate or be penetrated by the other, then the last stanza celebrates at one and the same time both the body's openness to regeneration and cyclical change as well as the openness of the mind to the poetic message:

Tosto ch'aprirà il ciel la bella Aurora,
qualunque trae dolcezza de' miei detti
di sfacciata prontezza il petto s'armi,
e torni un'altra volta ad ascoltarmi. (79.5-8)

(Whoever draws sweetness from my words, let her, as soon as the beautiful Aurora opens up the sky, arm her breast with shameless readiness, and let her return another time to hear me.)

If the "dolcezza" (sweetness) of the poet's "detti" (teachings) have any effect at all, then at least some of the women will return with the newly reborn day to hear his message. Yet it should be noted that it is not altogether clear here whether the male element penetrates or "opens" the female element or vice-versa. The inversion of roles nevertheless appears to remain a possibility, one which echoes the poet's own philosophical inversion of ideal and real, of higher and lower. The *Vendem-*

miatore thus remains a subtle response to Bembo's Neoplatonic *Stanze*: while celebrating or expanding the imagery of the garden and of nature, Tansillo provides a more radical carnivalesque poem while also championing an anti-Neoplatonic version of erotic love as well as of the cosmos.

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Monica Leoni

**TIRSO'S *DON GIL DE LAS CALZAS VERDES*:
THE FLUIDITY OF GENDER AND THE MARGINALIZED
GRACIOSO**

Critical discussion of comedy generally includes references to character types: the young lovers, the older father figure who offers opposition to the desired union, the buffoon who enters periodically to provide comic relief or to make some critical commentary on a dramatic situation. Since the theatre of antiquity, these stock figures have repeatedly appeared on the stage, admittedly in different situations, but ultimately functioning to a large degree in the same capacity. Nonetheless, the classification of characters according to "types" can over-simplify the study of a given text, significantly limiting the possibilities that a specific character may possess. Walter Sorrell recognizes this difficulty: "we often refer derisively to a character as a type when a playwright fails to give life to one of his figures, when he fails to draw a profile that lifts the type into a personalized human sphere" (29).

Northrop Frye points out that the structure of comedy calls for the use of types. At the end of the comic plot a new society will form that will comply with the expectations of the audience and all will live happily ever after. This resolution implies that the true life of the comic characters begins after the performance has ended and that there is therefore no need for significant character development in the creation of the hero and heroine. Frye does comment, however, that the term "type" is not pejorative, but one which the structure of comedy demands:

Hence when we speak of typical characters, we are not trying to reduce lifelike characters to stock types... all lifelike characters, whether in dream or fiction, owe their consistency to the

appropriateness of the stock type which belongs to their dramatic function. That stock type is not the character but it is as necessary to the character as a skeleton is to the actor who plays it. (172)

Despite this explanation, I am not certain that such consideration is given to the clown figure. The comic type is not usually seen to possess more possibilities than his stock skeleton allows. His character tends not to be considered from any other angle which might shed new light on his complexity and strength. The scheming clown is included to serve his function — to provide comic relief — no more, no less. While it is true that the typical buffoon type affects the progression of the plot to a certain extent — revealing secret information to the wrong person, losing important letters or finding lost letters and delivering them to the wrong person — these foibles all belong to his repertoire. He is still very much playing his role, with his personal character and the other functions that he potentially serves receiving little attention.

The essence of theatre and of the theatrical experience relies on the presence and participation of the audience. There is a dependent and reciprocal relationship between actor and spectator. For one to fulfil his/her function, the other must also exist. A mutual recognition is therefore implied and expected. The members of the audience validate the presence of the actors on the stage merely by witnessing the performance and, the actor, in turn, acknowledges the role of the audience in bringing to life the dramatic text.

The relationship between the clown figure and the audience has always been strong. The theatrical comic type evolved from a long history of folkloric celebrations, ancient theatre and the medieval theatre of the people.¹ The consistent element in these various manifestations is the presence of the comic figure who controls, deceives, and disrupts the accepted order, while constantly engaging the audience in his manipulations. Whether he is a cunning slave, a stupid booby, or a

¹ For more information regarding the evolution of the comic type, please see Richard Lawrence Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge UP, 1985), F. H. Sandbach, *The Comic Theatre of Greece & Rome* (Chatto & Windus, 1977), Joseph Spencer Kennard, *The Italian Theatre: From its Beginnings to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Benjamin Bloom Inc., 1932).

scheming side-kick, I believe it would be difficult to encounter a work where the spectators do not relate sympathetically to the comic figure's endeavours.

Despite the many theories which have been presented throughout the centuries, comedy and laughter are ultimately about receiving pleasure and achieving a state of well-being.¹ Whether such pleasure is viewed from a theory of superiority, inconsistency or relief is almost insignificant: the preferred theoretical position may define the effect differently, but it does not change the nature of that effect. For this reason, I will try to argue here that the *gracioso* is much more than simply the most comical of the characters on the stage. He is, rather, someone with whom the audience easily identifies, a character whose position as outsider intrigues the spectator who is also somewhat excluded from the proceedings on the stage. At times, the *gracioso* is the go-between who informs the spectators of the progress of events, but mostly the clown type appeals specifically to the audience's desire for merriment and gaiety and through him its participation in the performance becomes significantly more active.

In many *comedias* the *gracioso* is able to realize a certain status in characterization, transcending the boundaries of the conventional *dramatis personae*. Indeed, the issue of transcendence is very much tied to the figure of the fool. The existence of class structure and social divisions are themes which surface time and again in the *comedia*, but these same issues are not confined to theatre history alone:

Culture draws various boundaries between classes (or even castes) of people, for example, those between different kinship, occupational, and ceremonial groups. The cultural whole made by all of these people often (at least when the group lives settled in one place) corresponds to a geographical area with a boundary that demarcates it from a no-man's land...or from the area of others who do not belong to the group and are hence in one way or another not fully human...Many fools have strong connections with these cultural and social boundaries, which they are felt to transgress, though the transgression is allowed. (Willeford 132)

¹ For a summary of the main theoretical perspectives on humour and laughter, see John Morreall, *Taking Laughter Seriously*, (University of New York Press, 1983).

If we agree that such a transgression is allowed, the affiliation between theatrical fool and audience can be better understood. In a structured, orderly world, the fool occupies a marginalized position. His role is to remain peripheral, even if at times individual *gracioso* characters are granted a somewhat more central position. Ironically, however, it is this position of marginality which permits the *gracioso* to move freely between various types of existences. He may be the simple-minded clown whose failure to understand the most straightforward situations elicits laughter from the audience, or he may be the scheming type whose confusions and deceits help to construct and manipulate a complicated plot, the intricacies of which the audience, and not the other protagonists, is fully aware.

The clown type therefore enjoys a fluid existence which resists easy classification. In the Spanish tradition the *gracioso* is often the confidant, entrusted with crucial information or duties; the manipulator, whose calculating ways control the behaviour of those around him; and the clownish figure whose word plays and confusing ways undoubtedly serve to entertain and delight many members of the audience, relating to the audience's need for gaiety and temporary disruption. Through him the spectators are able to take delight in the subverted reality, only to take comfort in the final recovery of the anticipated one. In *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, Tirso de Molina presents us with a foolish type whose function may be difficult to define due to his individuality and the resistance he offers to being limited to a stock figure's existence.

Curiously, in this play we are presented with two servant characters: the first, Quintana, will function principally as the sophisticated side-kick whose behaviour and intellect raise the character above the typical clownish level, while the second *gracioso*, Caramanchel, plays exactly that — the fool whose presence is purely based on inciting the laughter of his audience. Why Tirso would choose to include two types of clowns merits consideration. I propose that he understood the relationship between the outsider figure and the audience, acknowledging that the dynamic existing between the spectators and the marginalized character is a unifying one which completes the people's theatrical experience.

Before considering this *gracioso*'s role in the play, it is necessary to "set the stage". Doña Juana has arrived in Madrid

dressed as a man in order to keep her presence a secret from the man who betrayed her in Segovia, don Martín.

When first we meet Quintana, he is pleading with his mistress, doña Juana, to enlighten him as to their eventual destination, the reasons for their voyage and for Juana's masculine disguise. He has faithfully followed Juana because he wishes to protect her, since he does not think it fitting for a woman to travel alone:

Aclara mi confusión,
si es lástima te he movido;
que si contigo he venido,
fue tu determinación
de suerte que, temeroso
de que si sola salías,
a riesgo tu honor ponías,
tuve por más provechoso
seguirte, y ser de tu honor
guardajoyas... (I, 45-53)

Once Juana reveals her story of betrayal, Quintana leaves her, having agreed that she will be the first to establish contact with him.¹

In the following scene Caramanchel appears, quickly introducing a touch of comic relief. Immediately, in fact, Caramanchel informs Juana that he needs a master for he is alone and he is hungry. So miserable is his luck, he tells her, that "si el cielo los lloviera [los amos], / y las chinches se tornaran/ amos, si amos pregonaran / por las calles, si estuviera / Madrid de amos empedrado, / y ciego yo los pisara, / nunca en uno tropezara,/ según soy de desdichado" (I, 263-270).² This hu-

¹ While Quintana proves himself to be a trustworthy confidant and accomplice for doña Juana, he also demonstrates an intellectual capacity which surpasses that of the typical clown figure. In convincing don Martín of doña Juana's great distress and desperation at having lost him, Quintana helps by telling Martín that the woman he betrayed is with child. His vivid and elaborate description of her tragic state and of her eventual death is quite convincing and is a wonderful display of this character's varied ability. See II, 427-456 and III, 1-152).

² It is interesting to note that at this point Caramanchel goes on to list the various masters he has had the misfortune to serve. His account recalls the tragically comical plight of the picaresque character Lazarrillo.

morous account of his pathetic existence identifies him to the audience as the one who will introduce comic relief in the rest of the *comedia*.

Caramanchel provides several moments of foolery, as he repeatedly expresses his uncertainty and confusion regarding the sex of his master.¹ Again, Doña Juana has arrived in Madrid disguised as a man in order to keep her presence a secret from don Martín, the man who had betrayed her in Segovia. Not only has she assumed a man's identity, she has also taken on the very name that her estranged lover has adopted — don Gil. Caramanchel's preoccupation with her ambiguous sex becomes the issue from which his foolery will stem, as he repeatedly conjures up the androgyne image throughout the rest of the play. Indeed, as we shall see here, this clown figure's presence does not merely introduce moments of foolery and gibberish, although at first glance this may appear to be the case. Doña Juana's decision to disguise herself as don Gil is a disturbing element for this comic servant and the anxiety he feels brings to the forefront the problematic issue of female identity.

The common convention of a woman dressing as a man in order to right a wrong done to her is used to great effect in Tirso's work. The assumption of a new identity is certainly not unique to Spanish drama nor is it exclusive to theatre.² Indeed, it was a typical practice of medieval popular festivals which continues in our own society during Halloween and Mardi Gras celebrations. Regardless of the historical period in which these new identities are adopted, the spirit which surrounds the "re-birth" is one of joy and merriment. The reincarnation of the self does not necessarily represent a rejection or a hiding of the former self, but rather a temporary new identity which permits the individual to go beyond the boundaries to which society and chance have confined him/her:

¹ Although Caramanchel is a typically foolish character, it should be pointed out that he does manage to complicate the progression of the plot. He is the one who mistakenly gives the letters addressed to don Gil (don Martín) to doña Juana, giving her the opportunity to discover what plans don Martín has made in his pursuit of another woman (II, 692-730).

² For an extensive treatment of the use of disguise, see Carmen Bravo-Villasante, *La mujer vestida de hombre en el teatro español: siglos XVI-XVII* (Sociedad General Española de Librería, S. A., 1976).

The mask is related to transition, metamorphoses, the violation of natural boundaries, to mockery and familiar nicknames. It contains the playful element of life; it is based on a peculiar interrelation of reality and image, characteristic of the most ancient rituals and spectacles. (Bakhtin 40)

Doña Juana's decision to take on the identity of a man therefore recalls not only the plots of several other works, but also the various carnival celebrations outlined by Bakhtin and Julio Caro Baroja.¹ Despite the popularity of this theme, its treatment in this play raises interesting questions in terms of the fluidity of gender identity. However, in my analysis of doña Juana's new situation and the resulting gender confusion which perplexes no one but Caramanchel, I turn now to the work done by some feminist theorists and their discussions of female identity.

In *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Judith Butler poses some telling questions; "Can we refer to a 'given' sex or a 'given' gender without first inquiring into how sex and/or gender is given, through what means? And what is 'sex' anyway?" (6). The issue of gender and the acquisition of gender identity is a perplexing one which feminist critics have pondered for years from various perspectives. Simone de Beauvoir's famous statement "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (267) makes clear her belief that the society in which a woman lives determines and constructs her fate. The views and beliefs held by that society will confine the woman to a certain sphere and will not allow her much opportunity to change or challenge that station. Luce Irigaray writes that women are sentenced to a silent and powerless existence due to their status as "products" and "commodities" to be owned, used and exchanged by men (*This Sex* 84).

The positions held by various thinkers are numerous, and Butler questions this inundation of criticism. Every attempt to define gender and sex establishes as its base a polarity between male and female. To grant an object or person a definition or a label implies that there is an *other* from which that object or person differs. Butler challenges this "necessary" binary sys-

¹ Caro Baroja's book provides a thorough historical and cultural study of various carnival celebrations held throughout the calendar year in various areas of Spain. See *El Carnaval: análisis histórico-cultural* (Taurus, 1965).

tem of identification, suggesting that opposing terms and conceptions exist primarily because not to have them would result in unintelligible genders which fail to abide by the laws that have created them:

The cultural matrix through which gender identity has become intelligible requires that certain kinds of "identities" cannot "exist" -- that is, those in which gender does not follow from sex and those in which the practices of desire do not "follow" from either sex or gender. (*Gender* 17)

Not to conform to the injunctions set out by society is to introduce an element of instability into a system predicated on definite, structured and compulsory codes of behaviour and appearance.

Caramanchel calls attention to this element of instability in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*. While no one else is suspicious of doña Juana's assumed identity, Caramanchel is never completely convinced that the person he has been hired to serve is definitely male or female despite the breeches "he" wears and the love "he" seeks from doña Elvira. On the contrary, Caramanchel is preoccupied with the ambiguity of his master/mistress and voices his confusion on various occasions:

Ninguno ha habido
de los amos que he tenido
ni poeta ni capón;
pareceisme lo postrero... (I, 504-507)
¡Qué bonito
que es el tiple moscatel! (I, 535-536)

While at first this *gracioso* is intrigued by his master's ambiguous appearance, his feelings progress from amusement and curiosity to uneasiness and fear:

Aquí dijo mi amo hermafrodita
que me esperaba; y vive Dios, que pienso
que es algún familiar, que en traje de hombre
ha venido a sacarme de juicio,
y en siéndolo, doy cuenta al santo oficio. (I,724-728)

Amo, o ama,
despídome: hagamos cuenta.
No quiero señor con saya
y calzas, hombre y mujer;

que querréis en mí tener
 juntos lacayo y lacaya.
 No más amo hermafrodita;
 que comer carne y pescado
 a un tiempo, no es aprobado.
 Despachad con la visita,
 y adiós.

(III, 655-664)

Doña Juana's skill in shifting between several identities calls into question the social construction of gender. As Butler writes, "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender...identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (*Gender* 25). Doña Juana's manipulation of her behaviour and appearance therefore suggests that gender is not necessarily fixed but can be rather subject to personal expressions and interpretations.

With her disguise the scorned young woman has blurred the lines which separate male and female identity. She has temporarily liberated herself of the restrictions to which her physical form has enslaved her. Butler suggests that the fabrication and appropriation of a new gender identity, as done by transsexuals and drag queens, should not be viewed as a mockery of one's identity, but rather as a mockery of the confinement that the concept of identity imposes: "this perpetual displacement constitutes a fluidity of identities that suggests an openness to resignification and recontextualization..." (*Gender* 138). However, in the case presented by Tirso, doña Juana's manipulation of her identity is not done with the intent of liberating herself in Butler's sense. Her goal in donning men's clothing is not to gain power or access to prohibited levels of society, but to entrap the man who has dishonoured her and to force him to live up to his promises. We should recall that at the end of the play, when her goal has been achieved, "don Gil" happily puts away her green breeches and accepts once more the dress and life of doña Juana, thus complying with the existence permitted to her by the dominant culture.

Regardless of the motive behind her actions, what interests us is the constant attention given throughout the play to the issue of her appearance. Although Caramanchel's almost obsessive preoccupation with his master's true sex was undoubtedly included with the intent of providing comic relief, his commentaries can be seen to offer much more. It is my suggestion

that with his apparent nonsense, the *gracioso* proves himself to be the most insightful of the characters.

The other characters involved in this comedy have all been fooled by doña Juana's multiple roles. When dressed as don Gil, she is the gallant and gentle man whose delicate ways enchant the women and men around him/her (I, 936-943 ; II, 917- 921; III, 316-324). When dressed as doña Elvira, she is once more successful in gaining her company's confidence and admiration (II, 247-254). There is a critical point in the third act when doña Juana realizes that her scheme is beginning to fall apart. Doña Inés, to whom "don Gil" has professed his love, has just read a letter written by her supposed suitor that doña Juana has written to herself, as doña Elvira. Enraged at this apparent betrayal, Inés threatens to have "him" punished when suddenly doña Juana brilliantly changes identity before Inés' very eyes. Doña Juana, dressed as don Gil, now claims to be doña Elvira. S/he explains the reason for the masquerade:

Por probarte,
y ver si tienes amor
a don Miguel, pudo el arte
disfrazarme; y es así,
que una sospecha cruel
me dio recelos de ti.
Creyendo que a don Miguel
amabas, yo me escribí
el papel que aquel criado
te enseñó, creyendo que era
don Gil quien se lo había dado... (III, 527-537)

Doña Inés has a difficult time believing this tale and asks Juana/Elvira/Gil to change into a dress so as to put to rest her doubts (III, 557-564).

Doña Juana's costume/identity changes are consistently successful. Although on certain occasions her various "audiences" express some confusion or doubt about who she really is, ultimately, they all accept her/him as being either Elvira or Gil. The clothing she wears is the pivotal issue which defines her identity. When she wears breeches, she is a man. When she wears a dress, she is a woman.¹ Her success can be attributed to

¹ With respect to the issue of identity, Matthew Stroud presents a psychoanalytic study of *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, writing: "Mascu-

the need, in a binary society, to fit everyone into a certain slot. We all must be either male or female. Any attempt to mix the two identities makes people anxious and this new "hybrid" is usually shunned in some way because it does not follow the "Law". Butler writes that "in effect, the possibility of multiple identifications (which are not finally reducible to primary or founding identifications that are fixed within masculine and feminine positions) suggests that the Law is not deterministic and that 'the' law may not even be singular" (*Gender* 67). Following this principle, every person with whom doña Juana comes into contact allots her the sexual identity which best corresponds to the reality they themselves wish to live. For the women who have been smitten by "his" ways, she is a man. For the men who admire "his" astute behaviour, she is also a man. And for the women who need a friend in whom to confide, she is doña Elvira.

While it is necessary for the characters of *Don Gil* to grant doña Juana/Elvira/don Gil a specific identity at every moment, Caramanchel appears to be the only person who is capable of accepting the fact that this man/woman figure may possess qualities deemed natural in both sexes. There is no doubt that this comic servant finds his master's ambiguity confusing and somewhat disturbing, but unlike the others, he at no moment asks for proof of her sexual persona. He merely accepts that his don Gil may have a combination of various attributes. For example, because Juana doesn't have a beard, he wonders, "capón y con cosquillas?" and, making reference to the fact that don Gil does not have a patronym, Caramanchel observes, "Capón sois hasta en el nombre" (I, 519). With respect to this, Matthew Stroud points out that "he is perfectly willing to accept that there is more than one kind of male or female" (69). Instead of defining her existence in any determinate manner, Caramanchel is content with seeing her as a sexless figure (I, 806-808).

Doña Juana's skilful gender manipulation destabilizes the patriarchal norms with which her society identifies. That is to

linity and femininity, then, are functions of the Symbolic; they are one's response to the Law, the Name-of-the-Father... Sexuality is strictly an ordering, a legislative contract that all human beings are required to enter into if they are to become participating members of human society" (*The Perception of Women* 67).

say, she manages to disempower the phallic stability of her surroundings. She is capable of being both male and female and is extremely convincing in each of her roles. This crossing of the limitations of gender introduces an instability and yet it is done with ease, and as Butler contends, this instability is not only acceptable but natural, for the identification process is always an ambivalent one, capable of being subverted at any time:

This "being a man" and this "being a woman" are internally unstable affairs. They are always beset by ambivalence precisely because there is a cost in every identification, the loss of some other set of identifications, the forcible approximation of a norm one never chooses, a norm that chooses us, but which we occupy, reverse, resignify to the extent that the norm fails to determine us completely. (*Bodies* 126)

Caramanchel allows himself to see more than one person in his don Gil. While expressing a typical anxiety toward his ambiguous master, he is willing to accept the hybrid identity with which he is faced and incites laughter with every reference he makes to it. Only he takes note of the inconsistencies in his new master but he appears to be capable of accepting that his don Gil may possess a combination of characteristics that are usually allotted to either one of the two sexes. Although his comedy is rooted in the anxiety he feels about don Gil's true identity, he, unlike the other characters, never assigns a persona which best suits his reality. His own fluid nature and existence allow him to see and accept more than one possibility in any given instance. With his silly puns and word plays, therefore, this clown figure proves himself to be the most insightful protagonist on the stage. As a character whose existence is dictated by the role he must perform, this *gracioso* does not truly form a part of the society which he serves. He is excluded, like most *graciosos*, from the final proceedings and is left aside in the shadows while the others join in the typical concluding festive celebrations. But as the least "human" of the characters he curiously exhibits a sensibility lacking in the others. Is he merely a stock type included to incite laughter? Perhaps, but according to this analysis he represents a type who acts against the typification of others, therefore violating and revealing the arbitrariness of what people label as "natural".

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**POETIC MYSTERY IN GARCÍA LORCA'S
DRAWINGS AND VISUAL POETRY**

In their recent study, *Painting on the Page: Interartistic Approaches to Modern Hispanic Texts*, Rosemary Geisdorfer Feal and Carlos Feal have examined the relationship between Hispanic literature and painting in light of recent critical theory. Taking into account numerous previous studies on the question of interartistic comparisons, they write: "... we may well ask on what basis ekphrastic correspondences have traditionally been established: on a model of intrinsic differences between the arts, or on one of inherent similarities?" (12). Beneath this rhetorical inquiry lies the centuries-old polemic of Lessing's treatise in which painting is confined to space, and poetry is confined to time. Recently, the bibliography relating to interartistic studies has been multiplying exponentially. This article is part of a longer, forthcoming study on Lorca's visual poetry and poetic drawings. In this abbreviated format we attempt to disclose certain elements of the relationship between Lorca's drawings and poetry.

In their book *Only Mystery: Federico García Lorca's Poetry in Word and Image*, Sandra Forman and Allen Josephs write:

Joan Miró once remarked that Lorca's drawings seemed to him the work of a poet, which was, he said, the highest praise he could render any graphic expression ("*Dibujos*"). Lorca would surely have been pleased with the remark since in his own words the drawings were "simultaneously pure poetry or pure plastic expression" (*OC*, III, Madrid: Aguilar, 1970). For him the two were virtually inseparable.¹

¹ Sandra Forman and Allen Josephs, *Only Mystery: Federico García Lorca's Poetry in Word and Image* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1992), p. 7. Note: We use the same edition of Lorca's *Obras completas*, that is, the Aguilar edition of 1989.

The very successful Barcelona premiere of Federico García Lorca's play *Mariana Pineda* on June 24, 1927 coincided with Lorca's decision to show some of his colorful drawings to the well-known art critic Sebastián Gasch, who immediately arranged to have twenty-four of the drawings exhibited at the prestigious Galerías Dalmau in the Catalan capital. Gasch wrote a seemingly uncomplicated critique of the drawings, with several comments worthy of note:

(...) Lorca's drawings are directed exclusively at the pure, the simple, those who are capable of feeling without understanding. To those who delight in the infinite poetry of allusive objects, anti-artistic and anti-transcendental, in the illustrated postcard, culminating in the pathetic intensity of the bistro placard. (...) Products of pure intuition, it is inspiration that guides the hand of their author. A hand that abandons itself. A hand that lets itself go, that offers no resistance, that does not know or wish to know where it is being led. (Oppenheimer, 64)

The phrases "capable of feeling without understanding" and "products of pure intuition" are keys to the study not only of Lorca's drawings but also of his poetry since often the poetic verses defy direct semantic transference or translation, and their meaning must be intuited or inferred. The example that comes to mind, because of the numerous semantic possibilities for the word *green*, is "Verde que te quiero verde." Several scholars have translated Lorca's poetry into English, among them Carl W. Cobb, Carlos Bauer and Christopher Maurer;¹ but without a sense of the intertextuality of Lorca's poems, of the interior world of the artist, of his artistic sensibility and of his intellectual and creative genius, the reader will gain only a

¹ Among the fine translations of Lorca's verse we must include: *Deep Song and Other Prose*, edited and translated by Christopher Maurer (New York: New Directions, 1980); Cobb, Carl W., *Lorca's Romancero gitano*, a bilingual edition in verse (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1983); *Poem of the Deep Song/Poema del cante jondo*, translated by Carlos Bauer (San Francisco: City Lights, 1987); *Poems*, translated by Stephen Spender and J. L. Gili (London: Dolphin, 1939); *Poet in New York*, translated by Ben Belitt (New York: Grove Press, 1955); *Selected Poems*, translated by Donald M. Allen (Norfolk, Conn.: New Direction, 1961); *Songs*, translated by Philip Cummings (Pittsburgh: Duquesne U. Press, 1976).

superficial appreciation for the works. Lorca's poetry is rife with enigmatic expression. But, as with Gasch's comment on the artist's hand ("a hand that abandons itself..."), one has the sense that in the poetry, particularly in the *Romancero gitano* and the *Cante jondo*, Lorca's expression was almost automatic, as if the poetry were simply part of his inner world that needed to be expressed verbally. Carmen Hernández Valcárcel, in her book *La expresión sensorial en 5 poetas del 27*, writes:

...todas las sensaciones lorquianas tienen su razón de ser, su origen y su fin en la metáfora. (...) En la conferencia "Imaginación, inspiración, evasión" define su origen: La hija directa de la imaginación es la 'metáfora,' nacida a veces al golpe rápido de la intuición, alumbrada por la lenta angustia del presentimiento.' (197)

[..all the feelings in Lorca have their *raison d'être*, their beginning and their end in metaphor. (...) In his speech "Imagination, Inspiration, Evasion" he defines their origin: "The offspring of the imagination is the 'metaphor,' born at times out of the sudden reaction of intuition, enlightened by the slow anguish of premonition".]

A thorough reading of the two collections, however, suggests that if, in fact, the metaphors themselves were the spontaneous product of his creative inner world, the lines and the verses were, nevertheless, most carefully crafted.

The same is true of Lorca's drawings. As both an intellectual and creative genius, he seemed attracted by what was beyond his comprehension. Perhaps that is why there are so many religious symbols in his drawings, so much reference to death, and so much enigma in both his poetry and visual art. In the corner of the drawing of a sailor, for example, Lorca wrote, "Sólo el misterio nos hace vivir, sólo el misterio." And in discussing his *Romancero gitano*, Lorca referred to poetic mystery:

Yo quise fundir el romance narrativo con el lírico sin que perdieran ninguna calidad y este esfuerzo se ve conseguido en algunos poemas del *Romancero* como el llamado 'Romance sonámbulo', donde hay una gran sensación de anécdota, un agudo ambiente dramático y nadie sabe lo que pasa ni aun yo, porque el misterio poético es también misterio para el poeta que lo comunica, pero que muchas veces lo ignora. (OC, III, 341)

[I tried to fuse the narrative ballad with the lyrical without losing any of the quality of either, and this is achieved in some of the poems of the *Gypsy Ballads*, for example, the 'Sleepwalk Ballad,' in which there is a great sense of anecdote, a sharp dramatic atmosphere and no one knows what is happening, not even I, for poetic mystery is also mysterious to the poet who conveys it, often unknowingly.]

Andrew Debicki, in his *Spanish Poetry of the Twentieth Century*, states that "combining metaphor and metonymy, Lorca created visions of exceptional power that attest to his goal of making poetry magnify and preserve the most worthwhile elements of human life" (26). The "Romance de la pena negra" merits mention here because Lorca once said of the *Romancero gitano*:

... no hay más que un solo personaje grande y oscuro como un cielo de estío, un solo personaje que es la Pena que se filtra en el tuétano de los huesos y en la savia de los árboles, y que no tiene nada que ver con la melancolía ni con la nostalgia ni con ninguna aflicción o dolencia del ánimo, que es un sentimiento más celeste que terrestre; pena andaluza que es una lucha de la inteligencia amorosa con el misterio que la rodea y no puede comprender. (OC, III, 340)

[...there is only one character as big and dark as a summer sky, a single character which is the Pain, the Sorrow that penetrates into the marrow of bones and the sap of trees, and which has nothing to do with melancholy or nostalgia or any illness or spiritual agony, which is a heavenly rather than an earthly feeling; Andalusian sorrow, a struggle between loving intelligence and the mystery that surrounds it but cannot comprehend it.]

Lorca calls Soledad Montoya:

concreción de la Pena sin remedio, de la pena negra de la cual no se puede salir más que abriendo con un cuchillo un ojal bien hondo en el costado siniestro. La pena de Soledad Montoya es la raíz del pueblo andaluz. No es angustia porque con pena se puede reír, ni es un dolor que ciega puesto que jamás produce llanto; es un ansia sin objeto, es un amor agudo a nada, con una seguridad de que la muerte (preocupación perenne de Andalucía) está respirando detrás de la puerta." (OC, III, 343-4)

[the embodiment of unending Sorrow, of the black pain from which one can escape only by using a knife to open a deep wound in the left side. The Pain of Soledad Montoya is the root of the Andalusian people. It is not anguish because with this pain one can laugh; nor is it a blinding sorrow since it never produces weeping; rather it is a longing without object, a pronounced love for nothing, with the certainty that death (the endless concern of Andalusia) is breathing on the other side of the door.]

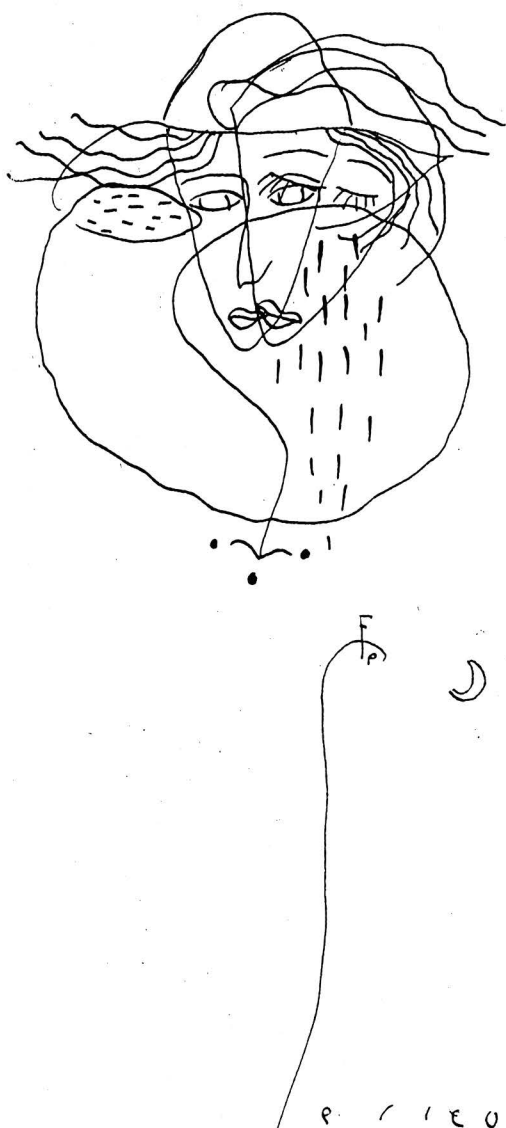
In their edition of the *Poema del cante jondo/Romancero gitano*, Allen Josephs and Juan Caballero assert that Soledad does not experience the *pena negra*; she is the *pena negra* (251). Lorca insisted that reality is poetic; Soledad Montoya is not a real gypsy but a metaphor for sorrow and heartache, but this *pena* is real and thus Lorca is true to his artistic ideal. Also real is his involvement in and personal knowledge of, his subject: when he says that the *pena* is the root of the Andalusian people, he includes himself in this assessment, and thus Lorca, too, is the *pena andaluza*.

The splitting (*desdoblamiento*) in Lorca's drawings, usually of masks, clowns and sailors, has a tripartite effect on the viewer: visual, in its communication of the immediacy of the object (that is, two perspectives of a single object); secondly, the lyrical element in which the emotions are assaulted by the depiction of the usually hidden soul or interior self. The unknown, the Other half of the person, the inner self, is normally private, hidden from view, and is shown by Lorca to have eyes that are closed, crying or with empty sockets. Thus, the sad or mysterious quality of the Other speaks to our emotions, and we are reminded of the words of Sebastián Gasch, "the infinite poetry of allusive objects." Yet, there is a third, narrative element in the work: the viewer will wonder as to the intention of the artist, and may project a story to accompany the drawing. For example, the "Payaso de rostro desdoblado" ["Clown with Split Face"] (no. 102)¹ might easily symbolize the exterior self versus the interior self or the soul; there is no dramatic difference in the psychic quality of the two faces, although the face tilted to the right shows eyes closed. However, the partial su-

¹ Mario Hernández, *Libro de los Dibujos de Federico García Lorca* (Madrid: Ediciones Tabapress, 1990), p. 102. Note: all numbered drawings in this article refer to Hernández' catalog.

perimposition of eyes and of lips in "Payaso de rostro que se desdobra" ["Clown with Face that Splits"] (no. 198) could symbolize the inseparableness of the psychic and physical selves. While it may imply a mouth with two voices — a public voice and a private one, an interpretation for the masses and another for Lorca himself or for a select few — this, in turn, implies mystery and the multiple possibilities for interpretation of Lorca's poems. In the same way, one eye may be open and one closed and crying — one looking out and the other looking in and suffering. The "Payaso de rostro desdoblado y cáliz" ["Clown with Split Face and Chalice"] (no. 135) shows the tears of the inner self to be blood that falls into a chalice. The clown may be a symbol for sacrifice since he must deny his inner self for the pleasure of others.





1936

The narrative element in the drawings, while not the most salient, cannot be ignored. In a drawing of 1927, "Leyenda de Jerez" ["Legend of Jerez"] (no. 106), a young man with a doubled face stands in front of, but faces away from, a tavern, arms reaching out in front. Dotted lines on the head of the "Other self" suggest hair, and give a somewhat feminine aspect to this Other; another dotted line outlines part of the rest of the Other, and though the eyes are empty sockets, the face reveals a certain expression of anguish. Above the tavern, more dotted lines seem to outline both a bedroom and bottle of wine, implying, perhaps, that entering the tavern could lead to an adventure not only with the wine but with a woman working within. The arm of the Other seems to be pulling the youth back, but whether it is back toward the tavern or not is unknown. Three crosses on the outside of the tavern, which are reflected upside down in dotted lines on the ground, also symbolize perhaps the greatest of Christian mysteries; thus, the composite is enigmatic, totally open for interpretation and debate as much of Lorca's work tends to be. Mario Hernández, in his *Libro de los dibujos de Federico García Lorca*, asserts: "La 'Leyenda' queda convertida en un misterio narrativo irresuelto al fin, como un enigma más literario que plástico" (68). ["The 'Legend' is converted into a narrative mystery that is unresolved at the end, more like a literary enigma than a plastic one."] Curiously, another drawing from the previous year (1926) entitled "El joven y su alma" ["The Young Man and His Soul"] (no. 94) shows similar figures: a young man, probably a sailor, with hands reaching out in front of him, and the "soul," a split figure, holding onto him, in this case with both arms around him and without any apparent angst. This drawing includes none of the background elements of "Leyenda de Jerez." In addition, the eyes of the "soul" are closed, and its attitude seems calm and protective. Nevertheless, as in many of Lorca's drawings, what is really happening in "El joven y su alma" is decided by the viewer.

Hernández asserts that the drawings done by Lorca in the thirties show:

el dominio de su peculiar trazo, tembloroso y firme a la vez, línea que vivifica apuntes de decorado, figurines, cartas, manuscritos, páginas de libros y dibujos sueltos hasta el fin de su vida en 1936. Sobre la mayoría de estos dibujos una luna

cambiante, emblema de su poesía, influye en el juego de sombras y colores, al tiempo que sugiere el misterio de la noche y de la existencia humana. (28)

[the command of his peculiar line, shaky and steady at the same time, a line that enlivens the backgrounds, sketches, letters, manuscripts, pages of books and loose drawings until the end of his life in 1936. Above most of these drawings, a changing moon, leitmotif of his poetry, creates an important effect on the interplay of shadows and colors, at the same time that it suggests the mystery of the night and of human existence.]



Payaso de rostro desdoblado y cáliz (Catálogo. núm. 135)



Leyenda de Jerez (Catálogo núm. 106)

Once again, the element of mystery pervades the drawings — the mystery of the night and of human existence. Critics of Lorca often sense in his work an obsession with death, but on examining the drawings one sees an obsession with life; the primary subjects of his drawings are people: gypsies, sailors, clowns, saints, women; his still lifes are of animate objects, and even his "Busto de hombre muerto" is full of living plants, plants that feed off the death of the man and, thus, symbolize the cycle of life. One cannot help but remember the "Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías", in which "Ya los musgos y la hierba / abren con dedos seguros / la flor de su calavera" ["Now the mosses and the grass / open with confident fingers / the flower of his skull"] (OC, I, 555). Death is a serious concern to Lorca, but this is because it is both an integral part of life and beyond his total comprehension.

Critics often do not agree on interpretations of Lorca's poetry, and the drawings, though they have only recently been examined by scholars, will likely share this critical fate. Oppenheimer, for example, sees in "Busto de hombre muerto" ["Bust of a dead man"] "the verbal imagery in these lines from 'Paisaje de la multitud que orina' ['Landscape of the Multitude that Urinates']" (from the collection *Poet in New York*):

It will be necessary to travel through the eyes of idiots, open fields where tame cobras hiss, landscapes covered in tombs where fresh apples grow, so that the dazzling light may shine feared by the rich behind their magnifying glasses...

(OC, I, 476 translated by Oppenheimer)

Oppenheimer explains that:

Although there is no explicit reference anywhere in Lorca's work to suggest that the drawing illustrates the poem, they seem to have many images in common. The man's head would be the 'idiot', set against a desolate landscape of withered plants and box-like 'tombs' rooted to the ground. The plants emerging from these tombs enter the man's ears like telephone wires: in an industrialized society we are not only destroying the countryside but people's senses are being taken over by telephones and machines and these are ultimately connected with death. (93)

Lorca's drawings are states of mind, an emotion, a lyrical, sensual, poetical form of reality. His numerous drawings of lemons call to mind the citrus-growing regions of southern and

eastern Spain, as well as such poems of the *Romancero gitano* as "Prendimiento de Antoñito el Camborio en el camino de Sevilla" ["The Arrest of Antoñito el Camborio on the Way to Seville"]:



El joven y su alma. (Poema de Baudelaire) (Catalogo. núm. 94)

A la mitad del camino
 cortó limones redondos,
 y los fue tirando al agua
 hasta que la puso de oro.

[Halfway to town
 he started cutting round lemons
 and throwing them into the water
 until he turned it to gold.]

(OC, I, 417)

Lorca's drawings of a guitar and of musical instruments held by other figures recall numerous poems, including "La guitarra" and "Las seis cuerdas" ["The Six Strings"]. Conversely, the poems, in which the guitar is personified, create in the mind of the reader the image of a guitar. The subject of these two poems is a real object, more than tangible since in order to carry out its intended function it must be held, embraced, stroked, caressed. Debicki states: "The guitar's song embodies the expression of otherwise hidden feelings. Personified, it becomes the agent for their release and for their conversion into artistic form. By stylizing the scene, hiding the guitar player, and transforming the guitarist's hand into a tarantula, Lorca takes focus off any anecdote and places stress on this larger theme" (25).

Lorca's subjects may be people and objects representative of everyday life, pieces of reality that he finds poetic because they speak to the senses and evoke a certain mystery. The ability to discern and express poetic elements in simple things, and to portray them visually, is a rare talent, especially when the principal vehicle for this expression is metaphor. Through his poetic images Lorca is capable of bringing us closer to what is for him *duende*, revealing to us the poetic mystery within the poem.

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Brian J. Dendle

**RICHARD ENGLAND, POET OF MALTA
AND THE MIDDLE SEA**

*To Richard England and
Peter Serracino Inglott,
in homage and friendship*

Richard England, the son of the Maltese architect Edwin England Sant Fournier, was born in Sliema, Malta, 3 October 1937. He was educated at St. Edward's College (Cottonera, Malta), studied architecture at the (then) Royal University of Malta (1954-61) and at the Milan Polytechnic, and worked as a student-architect in the studio of Gio Ponti in Milan (1960-62). Richard England's Maltese works include designs of numerous hotels (Ramla Bay Hotel, Paradise Bay Hotel, 1964; Dolmen Hotel, 1966; Cavalieri Hotel, 1968; Salina Bay Hotel, 1970), tourist villages, apartment complexes, bank buildings (Central Bank of Malta, Valletta, 1993), and the University of Malta campus extension (1990-1995). Richard England has also designed residential and office complexes in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Sardinia, and Argentina. His work has won numerous international prizes and merited his inclusion among the 585 leading international architects treated in *Contemporary Architects* (London, 1994) and in the anthology of the 581 outstanding world architects published in Japan in 1995.

Richard England's architecture is characterized by simplicity and a respect for the "vernacular" tradition of Malta. His hotels, "low-lying, terraced structures built of concrete and local stone" (Abel, *Manikata Church* 39), disturb the landscape as little as possible. Michael Spens stresses "England's regionalism," with its roots in Maltese culture and pre-history

(Spens 286). Chris Abel points out the sculptural aspect of England's buildings, "more Greek than Roman in spirit," "an architecture of shadow to create an architecture of light" (*Transformations* 10). For Abel, a turning-point in England's career came with "A Garden for Myriam," with its archetypal forms from a classical past, its "Memory Wall" and "Memory Screen."

Consistently, as in "A Garden for Myriam" and in the "Aquasun Lido," the images conjured up are those of antiquity, not the ancient temples this time, which are unique to Malta, but those classical forms which are universal to the whole Mediterranean region, and to Western culture in general (*Transformations* 146).

Charles Nevitt places England's architecture in the Humanist tradition and stresses the social and emotional impact of his work: "As a poet and dreamer he uses the medium of architecture to elicit and mould an emotional response in others" (*Connections* 29).

Richard England has also made a notable contribution to the sacred architecture of Malta. His first commission was the Church of St. Joseph, Manikata (1962-74), remarkable for its anticipation of the reforms of the Second Vatican Council in its reuniting priest and congregation and for its simplicity of form, which contrasts strongly with the neo-Baroque splendor of much contemporary Maltese church design. Architecturally rooted in Maltese pre-history — England was influenced not only by Le Corbusier's Chapel at Ronchamp but also by the "womb-like forms of the half-sunken temples" of Hagar Qim, Mnajdra, Hal Saflieni, Tarxien and Ggantija (Abel 27) —, Manikata Church offered "a place of communal assembly and worship, yet also a place for personal dialogue and solitary meditation" (Abel 45). Other churches designed by Richard England are two chapels at the Addolorata Cemetery (1974), the Church of St. Andrew, Pembroke (1989), and the cathedral-sized Church of St. Francis, Qawra (under construction). The Dar il-Hanin Samaritan home for the elderly at Santa Venera (1996) combines a breath-taking simplicity and respect for the local tradition. His private and meditation chapels — the M.U.S.E.U.M. chapels at Naxxar (1982) and Blata L-Bajda (1991); Cave Chapel, Mgarr (1993); his own residence's meditation space (1994); the chapel of the Franciscan Minor Conventuals, Burmarrad (1995) — impose, as the present writer can attest, an overwhelming sensation of religious awe.

Richard England wrote in the catalogue for the exhibition "In Search of Sacred Spaces" (Mdina, Malta, 1994):

In his creation of sacred architecture
an architect must seek to achieve

places of silence
in spaces of solitude
enclosed by walls of mysticism.

The silence attained
should be one of communion
and not loneliness.

While the mysticism endorsed
must extend beyond man's mortal senses
to reach his inner eternal spirit.

Then, and only then
will the manifest religious architecture become the threshold
between the realm of the materialistic and the spiritual
the doorway to establish a dialogue of prayer
between the ordinariness of man
and the infinity of God.¹

Richard England's interests extend far beyond architecture. He is also a sculptor, photographer, and film producer ("Malta-mour"); he is deeply interested in opera and tenor voice recordings and has designed theatrical sets and costumes for the operas *The Maltese Cross* and *Compostella* (both with music by Charles Camilleri and libretto by Peter Serracino Inglott). Richard England seeks an essential harmony behind different art forms, the interpretation of one art in terms of another. Important to the development of his aesthetic vision were travels to the island of Mykonos (1962) and to Japan (1979). England sought the philosophy behind Japanese art: the "silence," "purity, simplicity, clarity and void" exemplified in Japanese floral composition (Richard England's wife Myriam is an expert in Sogetsu Ikebana); the stillness and simplicity of the minimalist Kara-Senzui dry gardens.

¹ This text and others in the article have no page numbers.

The Non-Poetic Works of Richard England

Walls of Malta (1971) ("photo-prose poem") is a collection of uncaptioned black and white photographs of Malta illustrating themes of silhouette, townscape, streetscape, façade, and texture. The introductory text is strongly literary. *Walls of Malta* is introduced by a poem ("The walls of worship: grey millennial stones...") by David Cremona and a foreword by A. C. Sewter, evoking his first experience of Hagar Qim and Mnajdra. Richard England quotes P. D. Ouspensky, Ken Smith, Kahlil Gibran, and Ladislaus Boros to stress the relationship of feeling, art, and seeing. For Richard England, *Walls of Malta* is a "book about *seeing*," "a quest for an outward pleasure which can lead the sensitive observer towards the experience of an inner joy; a search for a moment of visual poetic enchantment." Words are used to guide the reader to "seeing," to "feeling" (tactile as well as emotional). The text includes fragments of verse (including quotes from Paul Valéry, Jaludin Rumi, John Cage, Jean Cocteau, and Bob Kaufman), and references to contemporary concrete poetry, music, and the art of Rauschenberg, Warhol, and Lichtenstein. The overly-florid poetic prose, with its recondite vocabulary, alliteration, and dense adjectival clusters, exemplifies an occasional baroque element in England's writing: "the saffron yellow-brown barrenness of stark summer light"; "virile spring fertility of jade viridescence"; "the sober oyster weeping clouds of winter"; "the albescent white canescence of a Mahler symphony." England appeals to the words of Jean Cocteau to demonstrate the power of art to lead us to a "complete new world that is more profound, real and fertile than actual reality itself":

this is the role of poetry. It unveils in all the strength of its meaning, it shows naked, under a light that shakes away sleeplessness, the extraordinary things that surround us, and that were registered as matter of fact by our senses.

Carrier-Citadel Metamorphosis. H.M.S. Illustrious-Citadel Gozo. A Study in Formal Affinity (1973) was inspired by and dedicated to the Scottish concrete poet Ian Hamilton Finlay, who had invited Richard England to design "an aircraft-carrier bird-bath." *Carrier-Citadel Metamorphosis* imaginatively establishes by photographs and drawings symbolic, historical,

and formal analogies between the aircraft-carrier *Illustrious* and the citadel of Gozo. Ultimately, by visual metamorphosis and through the passage of time, the war-machines are transformed into elements of peace.

Uncaged Reflections (selected writings 1965-80) are reprints of essays on cultural topics, for the most part first published in *The Sunday Times of Malta*. The essays on architecture protest the architectural degradation of the Maltese environment which followed Independence (1964), the consequence of an ill-conceived "progress." England praises the primitive vernacular tradition of Malta, exemplified in the farmhouse, with its simple cubic elements; England emphasizes that buildings be related to landscape and fit the Maltese heritage and "spirit of place." Other essays offer sensitive criticism of the Maltese artists Mary de Piro and Emvin Cremona, the sculptor Gabriel Caruana, the Welsh-Maltese artist Manuel Chetcuti, and the graphic artist Norbert Attard. Two essays interpret the Japanese arts of floral arrangement (Ikebana) and Kara-Senzui gardens. The essays are thoughtful, written for the most part in a lucid, measured prose. There are occasional examples, as in the reprint of selections from *Walls of Malta*, of an over-emphatic style (the use of upper-case letters), alliterative, arcane in its vocabulary. In his *Foreword*, Peter Serracino Inglott explains this verbal excess: "If the surface of Richard England's prose is occasionally broken by the sudden outcrop of a rugged Maltese rhetorical rhythm or baroque *trompe l'oeil* or somewhat noisy pyrotechnic device, these 'faults' can be taken as indices to the deep, emotional roots out of which the rational discourse grows" (p. viii).

In Search of Silent Spaces (1983) ("Quiescent dreams in borrowed time") combines black and white photographs of places — desert sands, sacrificial altars, "lambent moonlit tides", etc. — which represent silence and of "A Garden for Myriam," created by Richard England for his wife at their home in St. Julians, interspersed with texts exploring man's yearning for a lost Paradise. Richard England, eschewing the International Style and freed by New-Wave philosophy to seek an architecture of emotion, is "lured and obsessed by the contrasting limpid simplicity and expressive austerity" found in "Silent Spaces." His Garden for Myriam, attained by "the gradual elimination

of the non-essential," is based on concepts of "silence" and "memory," as well as "desire" and "transcendence."¹

Silence
 in silent spaces
 to quieten the mind
 to calm the body
 to compose the spirit
 dialogues of silence
 bridges of communication
 conversations of contact
 silence
 silence
 silence
 not seen with the eye
 felt only by the heart
 yet heard by the soul
 in hushed reflection
 in centred thought
 man meets self
 in silent spaces
 silence

Octaves of Reflection (1987) ("Stone, Space and Silence") was written jointly by the Maltese composer Charles Camilleri and Richard England. Camilleri offers aphorisms and sample passages from his music. Richard England's text ("Castles of Contemplation") combines epigrams of an often Zen-like simplicity ("From the sound of stone comes the silence of space"; "What lies beyond beyond?"; "To understand a place one must know its memories"; "The sound of all beginnings is silence"; "Two people can meet in space but not in time, / for one belongs to one time and the other to another"), black and white sketches of building silhouettes, and photographs of geometrically-patterned building projects.

Sacri Luoghi (1994) contains 93 black and white pen sketches of "sacred spaces," 32 worldwide (Stonehenge, Teotihuacan, the Acropolis, etc.), 18 of Malta, and 43 of buildings

¹ In his lecture for the III Bienal for Architecture and Urbanism, held in Costa Rica, England described "A Garden for Myriam" as "an attempt to create dream-like metaphysical arrangements of fragments of memory."

and meditation spaces designed by Richard England. Mario Pisani, in his introduction, stresses the importance of England's minimalist architectural treatment of small sacred spaces, "an architecture of absence or void," to be ranked among "the finest examples of religious architecture in history." "To know a place one must know its memories" (Richard England).

Mdina Citadel of Memory (1995), text by Conrad Thake, consists of Richard England's black and white sketches of the buildings of Mdina, the Renaissance-Baroque city so greatly admired by England and in which his sister-in-law possessed a palace. *Fraxions* (1995) (Italian text by the architectural critic and historian Mario Pisani) offers dazzling color photographs of geometrical shapes, details, and silhouettes of buildings designed by Richard England, identifiable, in the words of Charles Kneivitt, as "icons of Malta" or reminiscent of "Barragan's playful inventiveness," "de Chirico's haunting Surrealist enigmas," or "Calvino's invisible cities."¹

Contemporary Maltese Poetry in English

The preferred language of Maltese poets of the generation immediately preceding and following Independence was Maltese; an excellent anthology of their works, with biographical notes, was published by Peter Serracino Inglott in 1989 (*Ilhna mkisra: antologija ta Poezija*). The leading Maltese poet writing in the English language is the former Chief Justice, John Cremona (1918-). Cremona's pre-war poems were written in Italian and were also published in French and Greek translations. His first book of verse in English, *Songbook of the South*, was published in 1940. His later poems have appeared in numerous anthologies and poetry magazines throughout the English-speaking world. The poems in his recent anthology, *Malta, Malta* (1992), treat the neolithic past of Malta, the Mediterranean of classical mythology, his Gozo boyhood, the sea, his foreign travels, Malta under siege in the Second World War. In style —its Maltese combination of simplicity and the baroque (alliteration, the sometimes lavish use of adjectives)

¹ Richard England has declared that the writings of Italo Calvino and the paintings of Giorgio de Chirico in part inspired "A Garden for Myriam"; see "The Mediterranean House."

— and theme (the references to neolithic ancestors), Cremona anticipates the poetry of Richard England.

Works by Maltese poets have appeared in English translation. The poetry of Anton Buttigieg (1912-83), President of Malta (1976-83), was translated by the Maltese novelist-dramatist Francis Ebejer (1925-93): the gently ironic Wordsworthian poems of *The Lamplighter* (1977) reveal Buttigieg's feeling for nature, religious compassion, concern for social justice, and affection for simple people. A bilingual collection of Buttigieg's haiku and tanka, *Il-muza bil-kimono* (*The Muse in Kimono*), with English translation by Gilbert Yates, appeared in 1968. Far different are the poems of Mario Azzopardi (1944-), the "enfant terrible of contemporary Maltese poetry" (Grazio Falzon), translated into English by Grazio Falzon in *Only the Birds Protest* (1980) and *Naked as Water* (1996). Azzopardi's poems, of loneliness, despair, and anger, reveal a morbid Baudelairian sensitivity expressed, at times self-dramatizingly, with the imagery and juxtapositions of the American Beat poets and the surrealists. (For a study of Azzopardi's verse, see Falzon's "Afterword" to *Naked as Water*.)

The Poetry of Richard England

White is White (1972) is Richard England's first book of poetry. With several blank pages and few lines to the page, printed in pale ochre (which will not reproduce in a photocopier), the 58 pages of *White is White* have the sparse compression of the haiku.¹ Peter Serracino Inglott has referred to its "Buddhist-inspired" imagery ("Foreword," *Uncaged Reflections*, p. xv). I shall quote a few lines of *White is White*, although the poem should be read in its entirety for a true appreciation of his hauntingly evocative quality, suggestive at times of Mallarmé:

whisper white secrets
 absence is white
 paint the wind white
 white casts no shadows. (p. 14)

¹ *White is White* coincided with England's creation of a series of white marble sculptures, "White Cities." See the essay by Frank Jenkins, *Contemporary Art in Malta*, p. 77.

white is a sound coming from the unknown (p. 16)

what is white if not the silent music
each one of us hears in his heart

white is the sound of a lost poem
echoing through the corridors of time
the white wind of a musical tear
echoes the grey lament of a silent fountain (p. 21)

long shadows of silence
cast by a frozen sun
mark time in white eternity

man is lonely for the white silence
he lost when he emerged
from the containment of his mother's womb (p. 22)

the colour of love is white
offered a choice from the colours of the rainbow
i chose the lot
white
white is the colour of fairy tales (p. 27)

take a white painting
paint over it in white
alternatively erase it

white is the frozen moment
of one's glimpse
into the memory of the future (p. 36)

if after tomorrow you will no longer be mine
the world will no longer contain white for me (p. 44)

white is the light in a lover's eyes
in the darkness of night

in the cold evening of your departure
my frozen tears turned into the fragrance of whiteness (p. 45)

cemeteries of death infected corpses
send out pulsations of white mortality (p. 46)

The first edition of *Island. A Poem for Seeing* (1980) is accompanied by numerous black and white photographs of Filfla, an islet south of and easily visible from the neolithic

temples of Hagar Qim and Mnajdra. (In a personal communication to the author, Richard England suggests that Filfla may have served as a focal alignment or “sacred hill” or “horned mountain altar” for the builders of Mnajdra and Hagar Qim.) For many years used for — and partly destroyed by — the target practice of the Royal Navy, the island is now a nature preserve. The photographs are presented in sections: “Echo of Solitudes—Delineations”; “Citadel of Death-Penumbras of Darkness”; “Moods of an Island—Tempered Emotions”; “Paragon of Vanity—Island Dreams”; “Altar of Sacrifice—Target”; “Ark of Tranquillity—Sanctuary”; “Icon of Fertility—Temple Elements;” “Siren of Atlantis—Myth-maker”; “Iceberg of Stone—The Island Revealed.” The last page of the photographic section reads:

Xenophile of fecundity
daughter of the heavens
vagabond of the middle sea
rest in peace

The final page of this edition of *Island* refers us to the local legend of the origin of Filfla, a legend which provides the underlying imagery for England’s poem:

There is a legend in Malta which tells of the creation of this isle. The inhabitants of a local village were so sinful that God caused an earthquake to destroy it, however the village was too evil even for the devil, who, in refusing it, hurled it skywards leaving the void circular depression known as “Il-Maqluba” on the outskirts of the village of Qrendi. Landing in the sea it formed the islet of Filfla.

Island begins with a dedication (I eliminate the upper-case type of the first edition):

This book is dedicated
To a mystical island
born of the wedlock of moon and stars
caressed by the sea
eternally earthbound
an ochre withered rock of emptiness
under a muted sky of sorrow
contemplating the passage of time

The text (“Island of Promise —Poetry of Transcendence”) combines a dense association of imagery: an ancestral search,

the physical nature of the island, its role in myth (galactic, Mediterranean, ancient), fertility, local legend, Atlantis, space ship, ancient worship, target and bird refuge, eternity, solitude, dream, time, the sea, death, lunar myth, the stars, bodily decay. Mentions of spirals ("spiral patterns in the wind," "island carved in spiral dreams") direct us to the makers of neolithic temples. Allusions to perversion ("Sealed forever in depraved echoes of lost perverted memories") and the striking connection of the past (Atlantis) and the starkly contemporary (galactic space ship) refer us to the legend of the origins of Filfla.

Richard England's hauntingly evocative association of geological and cosmic time, Mediterranean myth, the sea, the earth, fertility, and religious adoration, the assimilation of the island to the human body, the extended metaphor of the lover reaching across the ages, the attempt — through imagination and memory — to escape the barriers of historical time, the descent into Hades followed by an ascent into the heavens (possibility of Christian redemption?), plunge us into a universe of dream, of archetype. Despite its brevity, *Island*, with its sense of mystery, eternity, and unrequited longing, should be considered a major poem of the Mediterranean.

Limitations of space prevent my quoting more than a few lines of the poem:

In the middle sea
under an eternity of stars
two continents meet
oscillating
between remembrance and desire

island cast in my prayers
island shaped in my fantasy
island fashioned in my thoughts

glacial waters fill your mind
earth's blood flows in your veins
limestone marrow sets your bones

....

stranger on earth
moonbound in a soundless sea
menstrual tides from sleeping goddesses

stain sterile waiting waters
 in a trance of death
 a dormant island dreams
 its cracks and fissures
 cradle fertile seeds of ancient gods
 undetonated ecstasies of illicit love

....

yesterday
 we walked hand in hand
 where once a temple stood
 of lines curving into secret circles
 and man knelt in prayer
 your hands and mine
 reached across the waters
 to caress an outcast rock
 icon of solitude
 altar of sacrifice
 crucified against the sky
 in a sea devoid of logic
 an island burned but not consumed

....

come descend with me
 down saline stairs of oscillating moon-lit tides
 through corridors embalmed with sadnesses unborn
 deep into the petrified bowels of a subterranean sea
 where avenues of vultures await our death
 and poisoned webs of ancestral spectral doom
 coagulate the cryptic crystals of our merging blood
 here the ardent pillars of fire burn no more
 in the no-time long unending slumber
 of a citadel of the dead

come rise with me
 on sibilant waters of quiescent memories
 through perfumed cascades of burnt galactic legends
 to wash the sea with molten love
 to nail our bodies to the clouds
 to reach the heaven of our skies
 and cast an endless ectoplasmic spell
 illuminating the lost dark side of the moon
 with an unquenchable white light of radiant hope
 in an eternal incantation of our unconsummated love

Selections from *Island*, arranged in a slightly different order, were reprinted in *Uncaged Reflections*. A truncated version, with minor textual variants and in lower-case type, was published in *Eye to I* (1994). Some stanzas of *Island*, together with poems from the later collection *Eye to I*, were set to music by Charles Camilleri and issued on compact disc, "Standing Stones" (1992) (also previously available, in a different version, on an L.P. as "Stone Island within..."). The French writer René Bégouen is preparing a French translation of *Island*.

Eye to I (for which the working title was *Borrowed Dreams in Borrowed Time*) (1994) is a selection of thirty of Richard England's poems, followed by translations into Italian by Gaetano Gangi. John Cremona, in his foreword, indicates the centrality of Malta in England's verse, the dominant and connected themes of "time (and timeliness) and woman," and England's attraction towards "mystery and legend."

Nine of the poems are taken from *Island*. Others repeat — in haunting, musical rhythm — themes of *Island*: dream, solitude, the grief of aging, the longing for love outside of time. As in *Island*, Richard England's Malta is that of ancient, prehistoric dreams and worship:

ON THE ISLAND OF SOLITARY GIANTS

On this island of solitary giants
from the darkness of the Earth
subterranean cults of wisdom
mould curves compressed in masonry
singing stones dancing in the solstices
litanies forged in numerical harmony.

The people of this clairvoyant isle
in allegiance to their land
cast amalgams human and divine
metaphysical symbols of unity
umbilical dyads of fertility and sterility
where death meets birth in an eternal cycle of return.

ENCHANTED ISLE

Enchanted isle
a travelling pilgrim's shrine
at the crossroads of the Middle Sea

temple for the Goddess of the Earth
 oracle of the mantic moon
 where sarsen stones of silence
 mark thresholds of land and sky
 necropolis of hope
 lifegiver to the dead.

In the fertile currents of this rock
 as woman's mysteries flow in blood
 altars of double spirals
 carve symbols of time returned
 channels of ritual healing
 in clairvoyant slumber
 a priestess sleeps in trance
 in this land of the Cosmic Mother
 wisdom comes in dreams.

England's vision — fundamentally Christian — is one of rebirth
 and love:

IN DREAM I FEARED THE END

Yet while in dream I feared the end
 now open-eyed I know it's but a dawn
 and I launch myself convinced
 that death is not man's final act
 but a natal threshold and a birth
 to an unfading richer life beyond
 in a transcendent never-ending world
 far richer than our own. [Extract]

STONES STANDING IN SILENCE

I ask you goddess of this land
 where has all this latent knowledge gone
 denuded in the choreographic dance of time
 buried in the squandered sands of lost oblivion.

I pray you Mother of this isle
 from your cosmic tomb of never ending curves
 washed in the primeval blood of sacrificial earth
 exalted by the mystic knowledge in your veins.

Awake these stones once more today
 from their tranquil sleep of death

restore the secret of their cults
and embrace again their vast galactic plan.

Ask them that they return anew to man
his harmonious presence in this World
that he may find once more his peace
and learn to love again. [Extract]

Richard England's most recent work, *Gozo Island of Oblivion* (1997) ("A graphic-literary itinerary"), contains England's lush prose evocations of Gozo, numerous black and white drawings by England of island scenes, accompanied by quotations which illustrate the working of the artist's mind, the "Gozo Eclogues" of John Cremona, and nine poems by Richard England. The poems, of an elegiac quality befitting England's poetic maturity, represent a Housmanesque sense of vanished youth and also a deeply-felt Christian belief in Redemption:

A lost traveller on life's mapless road
Offspring of lamented yesterdays
Chants the pains of distance
In orphaned companionship of loneliness
Silent incantations set to twilight texts
Atonal music scored in absent tones.

A tear rolls down and cleans away the dust
Decodes these ancient marks in stone
Revealing relics of remembrance

And as the hour glass of life
Further sheds its grains of sand
This wandering pilgrim
Once more is made aware
That the winter of this life
Descends too soon ahead of time.

(p. 80) [Extract]

Through empty silent streets
In the shadowed light of dawn
The sound of hurried steps
Disturb the village sleep
A black clad priest
Stole round collared neck
From church to house
Transports the Eucharistic Host.

Through open door
 Up winding steps
 To dim-lit attic walls
 A near-death prayful corpse
 On tarnished sheets of white
 Receives the Blessed Bread
 Then exhausted but fulfilled
 Departs this life in peace.

Convinced that as he tracks his path beyond this gate
 The Lord is there to take his hand. (p. 90)

One poem, religious in inspiration, offers a litany of Gozo village names:

Through Mgarr
 Ghajnsielem
 Qala
 And Nadur

To Xaghra
 Rabat
 Kercem
 And Munxar

Past Gharb
 Ghasri
 Xewkija
 And Sannat

From all of these bulbous church dome breasts arise
 Nourishment of a peoples' creed
 Testimony to an Island's faith. (p. 36)

Summary

Richard England, world-renowned as a brilliantly-original architect and theoretician of architecture, is also one of Malta's leading poets. His haunting verses — alliterative, musical, flowing, dignified — refer us to a sacred world of Mediterranean and cosmic space. England's poetry poses a universe in which the individual is caught between a series of polarities: between the archetypal memory of a lost past (the Garden of Eden, neolithic Malta, Greek myth) and the hope of

future Paradise; between the local (his deep love of the Maltese islands) and the universal (his wide readings, exploration of other cultures, his questing, intellectual curiosity); between silence (sacred space, *White is White*) and an occasional over-exuberance (the lush prose of *Walls of Malta*); between the keenness of his intellect and the lyric intensity of his feeling. Impressive also is the range of England's verse, from the dignified spanning of eons of cosmic time (*Island*) to the simple, elegiac note of his lament for lost youth in the poems of Gozo.

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