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Estatutos

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Por norma, a revista é composta por um **"Dossier Temático"** (podendo ter para o efeito um **Editor Convidado**), uma secção de **"Ensaios"** e uma secção de **"Tradução Literária"** (Inglês/Português).

Editorial

Teresa Louro

This issue reflects an interdisciplinary approach to the study of Anglo-American literature and culture, advances critical debate in the field, and showcases high-calibre research conducted by national and international scholars.

Nathalie Zimpfer (École Normale Supérieure, Lyon, France) presents a forceful reading focusing on religious anti-Catholicism in England after the Glorious Revolution. Zimpfer's balanced and well-structured analysis aims at challenging a number of assumptions concerning post-1688 anti-Catholicism. Jorge Silva (Universidade do Porto, Portugal) offers a brilliant study of Queen Elizabeth I by focussing on the representation of the monarch, first, in the opera «*Gloriana*, com partitura de Benjamin Britten e libreto de William Plomer, estreada em Londres, no Covent Garden, em 1953» and, second, on the more recent film *Elizabeth* by Kapur. Gabriela Gândara Terenas (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal) well-sustained analysis of the advancement of Catholicism in Britain via nineteenth-century Portuguese press traces «the cultural state of the nation» to Victorian Britain and concludes that «contrary to the impression which is given by the images of Great Britain published in the periodical press [...] the question of Catholicism in Britain was portrayed neither in the series of texts which offer a model vision of British society, nor in those which convey an image of Great Britain as a dominating and oppressive nation.» Maria Zulmira Castanheira (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal) presents a brilliant article which reassesses Robert Southey's centrality to British literature and culture in the Romantic age. Jorge Pinho (Universidade do Porto, Portugal) looks at his own translation (and the problems encountered) of Ann Bridge's and Susan Lowndes's *The Selective Traveller in Portugal.* Jenny Luco (Utrecht University, the Netherlands) considers Shakespeare's work through an analysis of Neil Gaiman's contemporary series of short stories *The Sandman.* Nuno Ribeiro (Universidade do Porto, Portugal) presents a thought-provoking analysis of Early Modern English culture by providing examples which range from Thomas

More to the Reformation to Henry VIII. Nuno Ribeiro closes with a fascinating re-reading of Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot. Biagio D'Angelo (Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, Brazil) argues convincingly that contemporary science fiction allows us to rethink political, economic, ecologic, and ethical questions and moves on to a careful analysis of Stanislaw Lem (*Solaris*, 1961), Ursula K. Le Guin, *(The Dispossessed: an Ambiguous Utopia*, 1974), Doris Lessing and Andrei Tarkovski (*Stalker*, 1979). David Vichnar's forceful reading of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* concludes the present volume.

The articles on this volume span a wide range of texts but they all revolve around the same central problem and they are all shaped by the same broad objective. The aim is to offer a collection of essays which reflect *Via Panorâmica*'s dissemination of British and North American literature and culture in Portugal as well as presenting new and challenging perspectives on literature and cultural analysis.

Apresentação

Publicado pelo CETAPS, Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies) e pelo Departamento de Estudos Anglo-Americanos da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, a revista *Via Panorâmica* assume a forma electrónica após a publicação em papel de dois números. A mudança de formato prende-se com a vontade, por parte da Comissão Editorial, de atingir um público mais vasto, dando assim a conhecer o trabalho que docentes, investigadores seniores e investigadores juniores vêm desenvolvendo no âmbito dos Estudos Anglo-Americanos em Portugal e, mais particularmente, na FLUP.

Gualter Cunha

Ficha Técnica

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Ecclesiastic anti-Catholicism in Britain after the Glorious Revolution

Nathalie Zimpfer | **École Normale Supérieure Lyons, France**

This essay focuses on religious anti-Catholicism in England after the Glorious Revolution and aims at challenging a number of assumptions concerning post-1688 anti-Catholicism. The critical consensus on the topic revolves around three points, the main one being that anti-Catholicism declined after the 'Bloodless' Revolution because it had become obsolete:

> After the Glorious Revolution, the debates cut off, suddenly irrelevant. . . One state could not have two established churches. Each side needed to be absolutely right to justify its claim to truth and therefore to power. Once James left, Catholic liberty to print and plausibility as a theological threat to the Church of England left with him, so that one party could not make its case and the other had no continuing need to do so. (Tumbleson 104-105)

Besides, whatever was left of it – and this is the second point – is supposed to have taken place outside England, mostly in Scotland. Finally, it is assumed that the function of what remained of anti-Catholicism was essentially social rather than religious:

> The establishment of God's kingdom on earth had ceased to be the politicians' goal. Men were busy with public concerns, and religious belief was increasingly a private matter. . . Insofar as religion was a matter of public concern, it was as a means of improving the behaviour of the masses (Crawford 177).

After 1688, the argument goes, anti-Catholicism was a merely social phenomenon whose main function was that of bonding Protestant Britain together.

Such assumptions need qualifying, and this study offers tentative rather than conclusive evidence to argue this point, showing that anti-Catholicism did persist, although one should be cautious to make a distinction between actual persecution and anti-Catholic *feeling*, that is to say, "the anti-popery long sheltered in the national psyche" (Mullett 1996). That anti-Catholicism was not only social, but also religious, or rather, ecclesiastic, is the second point that is worth addressing. Though Catholics were technically no longer a danger for the Church – the *Toleration Act* of 1689 included Protestant Dissenters but excluded Catholics, and the *Test Act* of 1673 remained in force until 1829 – strong evidence of anti-Catholicism is to be found in Anglican homiletics and pamphleteering. The first part of this study is therefore devoted to a brief overview of anti-Catholicism at large as a prerequisite to a better understanding of its ecclesiastic dimension, while the second one analyzes the function that anti-Catholicism fullfilled as regards the Church of England. Finally, the last section explores the various strategies Anglicans polemicists implemented to de-legitimize Catholicism.

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The general background of anti-Catholicism in England has already been well researched, notably by Colin Haydon's seminal work (Haydon 1993). This first part therefore merely aims at providing a brief overview of that background so as to grasp the specificities of *religious* anti-Catholicism in the eighteenth century. British anti-Catholicism manifested itself mostly in three ways, the first one being political distrust. Especially after 1688, Catholics were reproached with paying allegiance to a foreign monarch in the person of the Pope. John Locke's first *Letter on Toleration* (1689), in which he maintained that British Papists could *not* be granted proper toleration since their Church "[was] so constituted that all who enter it *ipso facto* pass into the allegiance and service of another prince" (Locke 133), summarized the prevailing feeling on the topic and was taken up in countless tracts and sermons throughout the eighteenth century. Tolerating the Roman Church in England, Locke argued, would lead to an *imperium in imperio*, a foreign

jurisdiction in the kingdom. Far from being arguments that only the intelligentsia resorted to in polemical debates, these were feelings harboured by the general polulation, whose fears had been further exacerbated by the reign of James II, however short, as well as by the increased circulation of the Catholic press that had ensued. Anti-Catholicism also manifested itself through theological disputes. Popery was seen as antithetical to true Christianity inasmuch as the Pope rather than Christ was said to be at the centre of Catholic faith, and because tradition superseded the Bible: belief in Papal infallibility "[D]estroys the obligation to Faith which ariseth from the rational evidence of Christian Doctrine" (Stillingfleet 131). Besides, central Catholic tenets, notably justification by works rather than by faith, and transubstantiation, were deemed heretical. Finally, the clergy wielded a political power which Englishmen viewed as worrying and denounced as the evil-doing of 'priescraft'.

But the most subtle, albeit efficient, form of anti-Catholicism was the strong emphasis that Anglican theologians and pamphleteers laid on the *Test Act*. Indeed, the power of Catholics, real or imagined, was all the more threatening as the Church was "in a state of institutional anxiety" (Tumbleson 153). The so-called "Glorious Revolution" had shattered one of the fundamental assumptions that the Church of England was based on, namely that an unbreakable bond existed between Church and State. This was a notion that preachers had been very keen to emphasize, using the Latitudinarian *topos* of the "Great Chain of Being" and drawing a parallel between the manner in which servants should obey their masters and the obedience that nations are required to show Kings. The somewhat tendentious argument put forward by Anglicans after 1688 – paying their due to the *de facto* monarch did not prevent them from being faithful to the *de jure* king – did little to hide their embarrassment. The Revolution also forced the Church to reflect on something that had so far been an unquestioned assumption, that is to say its role and position in the English society. No longer secure in its centrality in society, the Church strongly resisted all suggestions of "toleration," lest it lead to "comprehension" and a further weakening of its position. Indeed, "Churchgoing remained the sole test of what Catholics polemicists dubbed 'Parlimentarie Religion'" (Hill 12), since conscience was "internall, invisible, and not in the power of the greatest monarch in the world, in no lymittes to be streightened, in no bondes to be conteyned.[1] Though Anglicans eventually

[1] The phrases are Edward Aglionby's, in a speech delivered in response to a proposed bill of 1571 'for coming to common prayer and for receavinge of the communion' (Crawford 12).

had to accept the 1689 *Toleration Act*, they repeatedly fought against the repeal of the *Test Act* – whose full name, it is worth remembering, was "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants." Fighting against the repeal of the *Test Act* therefore actually meant fighting against Catholicism. Indeed, the 'Sacramental Test' remained the last *de facto* link between Church and State, which, should it be abolished, would inexorably lead to the disappearance of Christianity itself: "the great Objection we have against repealing [the] *Sacramental Test* […] is, that we are verily perswaded the Consequence will be an entire Alteration of Religion among us, in a no great Compass of Years" (Swift II, 116). Conforming in *deeds*, which overrode the question of personal *feelings*, was the only safeguard to ensure that the Anglican religion survived.

Beyond the political vicissitudes of the time, the need for anti-Catholicism can be partly accounted for by the emergence of what has come to be known as 'the public sphere'. Even if the limits of the 'public sphere' as defined by Jürgen Habermas (Habermas 1988) are being debated (Goodman 2-20), the fact itself is not to be questioned. From the second half of the seventeenth century onward, a shift occurred from a monolithic order to an uncomfortable plurality. The hitherto unquestioned political and religious institutions now had to be submitted to public enquiry thanks to "argumentation" (Habermas 38-70). The Church therefore found itself in a position where it had to justify its ways, since the source of authority underwent a drastic change – no longer a transcendent origin accepted by everybody without discussion, but deriving from *opinion*, that is to say, the result of open debate and discussion. Significantly, the noun "public" gradually replaced its former equivalents, *i.e.*, "world" or "mankind." In this new society, Jonathan Swift lamented, "Authority is very much founded on Opinion" (Swift III, 150), thus aptly expressing the shift from a humanist conception of society to one based on the subjectivity of opinion. Anglican polemicists as a whole were keenly aware of this fact and repeatedly expressed their distrust of public groupings which are not only "composed of Men with all their Infirmity about them," but also have "the ill Fortune to be generally led and influenced by the worst among themselves; I mean, *Popular Orators, Tribunes*, or, as they are now stiled, *Great Speakers, Leading Men* and the like" (Swift I, 227). In this new 'public sphere', the structural fragility of the Church made the question of its legitimacy somewhat problematic. Indeed, as is well-known, the Church of England proceeded first and foremost from an institutional rather than a theological questioning. As a consequence, the texts most central to Anglican

apologetics, namely those of Richard Hooker and Lancelot Andrewes, were published about fifty years after the emergence of what was to become the Church of England and were but a retrospective justification both of the rupture with the Catholic Church, and of the comparatively small amount of reforms introduced in the new Church. When confronted to the question of its legitimacy, the Church claimed to be 'established' and recognized by the State *because* it was the secular embodiment of the divine truth; *mutatis mutandis*, the Church was the best guarantor of the stability of the State. The two were therefore in a relationship of "mutual dependence," as the phrase would have it at the time, a concept which Anglican theologians took to its limit: "And I think it clear, that any great Separation from the established Worship, although to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an Occasion of endangering the publick Peace" (Swift II, 11).

Anti-Catholicism was therefore for the Church of England a convenient means of deflecting unwanted attention from its own doctrine. It prided itself on its silence with respect to intricate doctrinal matters, thus claiming to avoid the pitfalls of either dogmatism or scepticism. The Anglican divine William Chillingworth theorized at the time what the critic Richard Popkin later defined as "skeptic fideism"(Popkin 1973):

> So that those places, which contain things necessary, and wherein errors were dangerous, need no infallible interpreter, because they are plain; and those that are obscure need none, because they contain not things necessary, neither is error in them dangerous. (Chillingworth I, 211)

Only the Church of England had found the right balance, the *via media* between what Anglicanism defined as two extremes, that is, the undue emphasis that Catholics laid on works on the one hand, and the excessive importance that Dissenters gave to 'inner feelings' and to subjective spiritual experiences. Its irenicism was "that virtuous mediocrity which our Church observes between the meretricious gaudiness of the Church of Rome and the squalid sluttery of fanatic conventicles" (Patrick 7).

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It has been contended that "the 'long eighteenth century' finds in 1688 its date of foundation;" "[1688] is a foundational myth (or re-foundational myth). It is the birth certificate of modern England" (Bony 25).[2] It might be argued that the same goes for the Church and that "the overwhelming Catholicism of large parts of Continental Europe, and especially France and Spain" provided not only "a newly-invented Britain," but also a newly re-invented Church of England "with a formidable 'other' against which it could usefully define itself" (Colley 16). That is how anti-Catholicism came to play a major role in the foundational myth of the Church of England.

What characterizes a myth among other things is its ability to turn chance occurrences into coherent discourse. While Protestantism had always provided such an interpretative framework for most British citizens, the Church now needed to defend and strengthen its position in English society. Rewriting the story of its origins in order to appear in direct apostolic succession was one of the ways the Church found of legitimizing its status as established Church. The stakes were high, since the Catholic Church, *not* the Anglican one, was naturally the one to be traditionally regarded as part and parcel of the apostolic succession. Jonathan Swift's *Tale of a Tub* is one of a handful of texts that boldly address the issue in a direct manner, a most striking example of such rewriting under the guise of fiction in the well-known embedded story of the three brothers and the so-called 'allegory of the coats'.[3] While Peter (the Catholic) and Jack (the Puritan) both use the coat (*ie*, the sacred text) to their own advantage, Martin (the Anglican) manages to remain faithful to the Father's testament, thanks to his right reason which, unlike his brothers', is not perverted by pride. The interesting point is that the two occurrences of the word "rupture" that appear in the allegory are mentioned in relation *not* to the Church of England, but to Catholicism as embodied by Peter, who is thus described: "We left *Lord Peter* in open Rupture with his two Brethren" (Guthkelch 133). On the other hand, Martin

[2] My translation.
[3] A father bequeaths his three sons Peter, Jack, and Martin, a precious coat, standing for his religious legacy, recommending that they by no means alter it in any way. After seven years of harmony – a direct reference to the first seven centuries of Christianity – the three brothers meet three women, respectively embodying greed, ambition, and pride, an encounter which sets them at loggerheads, since they each try in their own way to make their father's testament compatible with the ways of the world.

appears as the one respecting the father's legacy and preserving the coat at all costs:

> But Martin, who at this Time happened to be extremely phlegmatick and sedate, begged his Brother, of all love, not to damage his Coat by any Means; for he never would get such another: Desired him to consider, that it was not their Business to form their Actions by any Reflection upon Peter's, but by observing the Rules prescribed in their Father's Will. (*ibid*.139)

Such examples, however, are the exception rather than the rule. Another, more common, manifestation of this hankering after a foundational myth was the strengthening of the long-standing equation between religious and national identities. Such an attitude was presented by Anglican ministers as no less than a providential role: as the foremost Protestant power, it was the duty of England, and therefore of the Church, to rescue true religion from Popery, which was first and foremost a 'foreign' religion. In order to secure its position as national religion, the Church of England increasingly came to rely on the figurehead of Charles I, and from 1662 until 1859, there was annexed to the Book of Common Prayer an order of service for use on January 30, the anniversary of the death of Charles I.

Anti-Catholicism was thus gradually institutionalized and 'Charity Schools' turned into weapons in the fight against 'Popery'. While the aim of these schools was not to eradicate poverty – something which was inconceivable in a world where natural catastrophes, famines, and epidemics were but the devastating manifestations of the Almighty's boundless power – they nevertheless played a social and economic role. The latter, however, was only

ancillary to their self-assigned religious purpose, which was that children should be raised as "good Christians:"

> The Children are not so educated as to be *above* low Business, but fitted *for* it, by Religion and other Knowledge. They are not bred *Scholars* but *Christians*; which must have a good Influence upon Persons of all stations, and Conditions, from the highest to the lowest. It has been said, I have heard, that the *Charity-Children* make the *worst Servants* in the World. There may have been *some* Instances of this; but it cannot be true in the general. (Trapp 22-23)

If what is meant by the phrase "good Christians" remains implicit in this sermon, it is overtly stated in others: being a "good Christian" means fighting against Catholicism, and children should therefore be become "little garrisons against Popery" (Jones 14). Charity-Schools were assisted in their task by both the *Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge* and the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*.

But sermons were evidently the most efficient form of propaganda. Archbishops gave instructions to their clergy and some ministers claimed to have preached against 'Popery' every single Sunday in September, others boasting that they "design[ed] to sound Popery in the People's Ears till they [were] sick of it's [*sic*] very name" (in Haydon 134-135). Sermons were all the more powerful as they were more often than not published, either as such, or in a slightly modified form as pamphlets or prints. The sermons preached and/or written in the North of England, where the fear of the Catholic threat was obviously more acute than in the rest of the country, are expecially significant. Not only did the vast majority of preachers choose the same Biblical text as a basis for their homily, but they used the same version of that text, that is, 2 Corinthians 32: 1-24. This version of the text is the one in which the political and military interpretation of events most overrides the religious

agenda behind the text, unlike the versions to be found in 2 Kings 18: 13 or Isaiah 36-38, which both emphasize Isaiah's role as a prophet. The text from Corinthians enabled preachers to draw a parallel between contemporary England and Biblical times: just as Sennacherib, the idolatrous king of Assyria, had tried to intimidate Hezekiah, the French (Catholic) king was now threatening the King of England. As one minister put it: "Thus are the opposite Characters of those Monarchs drawn in Scripture, and their History bears so strong a Resemblance to the Present Times, that it might almost seem to allude to 'em" (in Deconinck 171). Others went even futher, as when Isaac Watts compiled his best-selling translation of the psalms in 1719, and did not balk at replacing all mentions of "Israel" from the original text with "Great-Britain" (Colley 30).

Such practices were but one manifestation of the polemical war that took place at the time and which was an extremely potent form of anti-Catholicism. As has been pointed out, the question of the theological legitimacy of the Church of England was problematic. Besides, one of the consequences of the advent of the 'public sphere' was the increasingly important role of polemical debate. *Rhetorical* anti-Catholicism thus became a powerful weapon that Anglican polemicists wielded freely.

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It is essential to understand that the term "Catholicism" was often used less as an objective than a subjective sign, and gradually became the rhetorical equivalent of aberrant behaviour. Besides, it was not rare for eighteenth-century Anglican homiletics to instrumentalize the Scriptures in such a way that legitimized Anglicanism and de-legitimized Catholicism. Stock criticisms pertaining to the theological sphere were repeatedly used by preachers.

> Confessions, Absolutions, Penances, Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Prayers in an unknown Tongue to Angels, Saints, a Virgin, with the Adoration of Reliques, Images, a Cross, a Wafer, and other Articles, all imposed under the Pain of eternal Damnation. (in Deconinck 182)

Other traditional objections to Catholicism were the worshipping of Mary, arguing that she was the mother of Jesus and not of *God*, the use of Latin, which fostered ignorance among the laity, as well as the fact that lay people were not allowed to read the Bible themselves, which made it possible for the Catholic hierarchy to stay in power. Jonathan Swift's sermon "On the Trinity" is most representative in that respect. Addressing the question of mysteries, the preacher explains that "It is impossible for us to determine for what Reasons God thought fit to communicate some Things to us in Part, and leave some Part a Mystery. But so it is in Fact, and so the Holy Scripture tells us in several Places." A mystery can however come "under Suspicion" if it "turns to the Advantage of those who preach it to others." It soon becomes clear that this remark is but an excuse for a self-righteous reassertion of the Anglican faith ("we [never] preach Mysteries without Warrant from Holy Scripture") to the detriment of Roman Catholicism:

> It is true indeed, the *Roman* Church hath very much enriched herself by trading in Mysteries, for which they have not the least Authority from Scripture, and were fitted only to advance their own temporal Wealth and Grandeur; such as *Transubstantiation*, *Worshipping of Images*, *Indulgences* for *Sins*, *Purgatory*, and *Masses* for the *Dead*; with many more. (Swift IX 162-163)

Transubstantiation was indeed a favourite target, and it is worth bearing in mind that it was also the crux of the oath for the *Test Act*, which said: "*I do declare that I do believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of the bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsovever*." But typically, preachers did not refute the doctrine by opposing it to another (Anglican) doctrine, but by showing the internal contradictions of the Catholic dogma and presenting it as contrary to the traditional definition of sacraments.

But the most powerful delegitimizating strategy was yet another one: describing the Catholic faith as irrational. Presenting Catholicism as such had many an advantage. It became a convenient argument for Anglican preachers when it was no longer possible to define Catholicism as exclusively foreign,

and increasingly difficult to pass it off as tyrannical. Then, quite obviously, it was yet another efficient, albeit somewhat facile, strategy to discredit Roman Catholicism, an easy way of dismissing it as idolatrous ; "idolatry," "Popish Superstitions" (Brooke 13), and "bigotry" were terms repeatedly used by Anglican preachers in the polemical war that they were fighting. Roman Catholic doctrine could thus be blamed for its irrationality and complexity, and Anglicanism *a contrario* appear as the very embodiment of a rationality and plainness that suited the age in its creed as well as in its preaching, which "ought to be plain, practical, methodical, affectionate." Indeed, "He that affects hard [words], speaks in an unknown tongue, and is a *Barbarian* to his Auditors; they hear the sound, but are not edified." On the other hand, plainness is "a Character of great latitude, and stands in opposition, First to *hard words*. Secondly, to *deep* and *mysterious* notions. Thirdly, to affected *Rhetorications*, and Fourthly, to *Phantastical Phrases*" (Glanvill 11-12).

Much more fundamentally, such emphasis on reason enabled the Church to monopolize rational discourse and exclude Catholicism from it by presenting it as antithetical to reason. In the face of growing rationalism, it was indeed of paramount importance to bear as little resemblance to the 'superstitious' Catholic faith as possible. Appearing as a rational faith was a role that the Church eased into comfortably, given that reason had always been at the core of its creed, a fact that cannot be properly apprehended without referring to Latitudinarianism. While the term has been used in a variety of contexts which can seem to discourage any attempt at a clear definition — "from a synonym for religious moderation […] to a derisive sobriquet in the hands of embittered Nonconformists, High Churchmen, and Non-Jurors, to a convenient but indeterminate historical description of the entire eighteenth-century Anglican establishment" (Spellman 1) — it is however possible to uncover the meaning the word had in the eighteenth century on the basis of Simon Patrick's pamphlet, entitled *A Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude-Men* (1662). A theologian and scholar from Cambridge, Patrick made the term popular and gave it its most common meaning. The theology of these 'men of latitude', most of whom had studied in Cambridge in the second half of the seventeenth century, derived from mediaeval Augustinianism. Besides, they strongly opposed the idea of persecution of any kind, believing that the Church's mission was to emulate the spirit of peace that characterizes God's Holy City. Hence the emphasis on reason; only a rational religion would make it possible to avoid both theological ratiocinations and dogmatism: "[There is no point in divinity] where that which is most ancient doth not prove the most

rational, and the most rational the ancientest; for there is an eternal consanguinity between all verity" (Patrick 10-11). Nothing could be more wrong than to oppose reason and revelation, since reason itself is of divine origin:

> And now let no man accuse them [the Anglicans] of hearkening too much to their own reason [...]. For Reason is that faculty whereby a man must judge of everything, nor can a man beleve [*sic*] any thing except he have some reason for it, whether that reason be a deduction from the light of nature, and those principles which are the candle of the Lord, set up in the soul of every man that hath not wilfully extinguished it; or a branch of Divine revelation in the oracles of holy Scripture. […] For he that will rightly make use of his Reason, must take all that is reasonable into consideration. (*ibid*., 10)

This defence of a rational religion, which aimed at avoiding the double pitfall of atheism, as exemplified by Hobbes, on the one hand, and socinianism[4] on the other, was not without its dangers. Should Anglicanism insist too much on man's nature as *animal rationale*, it would turn him into an intrinsically good creature, and therefore render Redemption supererogatory. Arguments putting forward the role of reason in religion were nevertheless unceasingly taken up in various forms by eighteenth-century theologians and preachers, as shown by the following example, taken from a sermon that John Sharp:

[4] Named after Socinus, Socinianism rejects both the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus. This doctrine lays the emphasis on the prophetic function of Jesus's life to the detriment of his divine attributes.

> Nothing can be an article of Faith that is contrary to Reason. The Deity himself tho' omnipotent cannot work contradictions, forasmuch as he is a Being of Infinite Perfection. But it does not follow that a thing is contrary to Reason because it is contrary to the ordinary Laws of Nature. Faith & Reason though they have their distinct Provinces, are by no means incompatible, but when properly directed mutually assist each other; And add light to & strengthen the Christian Cause, & conspire together in the Advancement of Religion & Virtue. (in Deconinck 425)

Among these theologians, Richard Hooker occupies a central position. His *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593) were meant to give intellectual and theological import to the notion of a rational faith. The 'laws' mentioned in Hooker's title refer both to God's divine law and to human law, namely, reason, and according to Hooker, man's fallen nature makes it impossible for him to have anything else than a partial and imperfect view of the divine law. Man must nevertheless make sure he follows this law to the best of his abilities, that is, by abiding by human laws which are the human equivalent of divine law.

To the risk of "turn[ing] the Grace of God into a wanton Notion of Morality […] making Reason, Reason, Reason, [the] only Trinity, and sole Standard, whereby to measure both the Principles and Conclusions of Faith" (Standish 24-25), the notion of 'reasonable belief', or 'reasonable faith', came to assume a central role in Anglicanism, which established a distinction that was to become famous: "It is an old and true Distinction, that Things may be above our Reason without being contrary to it" (Swift IX,164). Anglican divines could thus pride themselves on enlisting reason to explain Revelation to their congregations.

Such a stance was always, explicitly or implicitly, in opposition to the positioning of Roman Catholicism as regards reason. Unlike 'Papists', Anglicans had nothing to hide and could justify everything they proclaimed.

> We of the Reformed Religion are not like the Roman Catholicks afraid to have our Principles examined into, but submit them to the Test of Reason. In those passages, w^{ch} are above our comprehension though at the same time not contradictory to Reason, there Faith has its full Scope; but all the other Parts w^{ch} come within the reach of human capacity, we prove & judge of by the Rational Powers w^{ch} God has been pleased to give us; So that Our Religion is a System of Morality made perfect by the Scriptures, And Our FAITH, a REASONABLE BELIEF. (*ibid*., 440)

By laying increasing emphasis on reason, Anglican theologians gradually redefined the very notion of religion in a manner that made it possible for them to repeatedly use Catholicism as a counter-example of what true religion should be.

From this monopolizing of rational discourse to the appropriation of empiricism, there was then only one step. Managing to combine scientific and religious ideologies was the real *tour de force* of post-1688 Anglicanism, inasmuch as it was what really enabled the latter to reassert the centrality of its position in a now plural society, to the exclusion of Catholicism.

How intertwined the histories of Latitudinarianism and of the kind of natural philosophy practised at the Royal Society are, is a fact that can hardly be overemphasized. Quite a few high-ranking Anglican divines, such as Thomas Sprat, Joseph Glanvill, and John Wilkins, were also among the better-known members of the Royal Society. Bishop John Wilkins gave Anglicanism its best theory of homiletics with *An Essay towards a Real*

Character and a Philosophical Language (1668) and a treatise, *Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching as it falls under the Rules of Art* (1646), which epitomizes the Anglican spirit of the time in these matters: "the principal Scope of a Divine Orator is to teach clearly, convince strongly, and persuade powerfully" (Wilkins 2). Beyond this biographical evidence, there was a clear link between Anglicanism and science on both an ideological and epistemological level. Indeed, Anglicans divines strove to prove that the emerging paradigm, far from questioning theologically-based assumptions about the world, only confirmed them. Both science and Anglicanism could benefit from such an alliance: the former would avoid being associated with Puritan anarchy or Catholic irrationality, while the latter might draw on the authority of science when necessary. From the epistemological point of view, Anglicans resorted to the centuries-old metaphor of the 'two Books' to present theological and scientific discourses as complementary in their interpretation of God's works, that is, the Book of Nature on the one hand, the Book of God (*i.e*., Scripture) on the other hand. Provided one be guided by 'right reason,' deciphering God's intention as it was inscribed in both books was an easy and natural task: "The natural philosophers were providing for the book of nature what Martin Luther had accomplished long ago for the Bible: the "right" method of interpreting it" (Affentranger 117).

Interestingly, the scientific authority Anglican apologetics drew from Empiricism was mostly *discursive*. In this polemical age, speaking the language of rigorous precision, and thus appearing as being above factions, was a non-negligible asset. This accounts for the influence that the Royal Society had on Anglican homiletics. For the former indeed, rigour was essential in all areas in order to separate the wheat of truth from the chaff of illusion – "to separate the Knowledge of Nature, from the colours of Rhetorick, the devices of Fancy, or the delightful deceit of Fables," – and a proper attitude toward language was therefore necessary:

> They [the Members of the Royal Society] have therefore been most vigorous in putting in execution the only Remedy, that can be found for this *extravagance* [the constant use of figures of speech], and that has been, a constant Resolution to reject all Amplifications,

> digressions, and swellings of style; to return back to the primitive purity and shortness, when men deliver'd so many *Things* almost in an equal number of *words*. They have exacted from all their members a close, naked, natural way of speaking, positive expressions, clear senses, a native easiness, bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness as they can, and preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that of Wits and Scholars. (Sprat 113)

Reading Edward Stillingfleet, one realizes how pervasive the discourse of science had become in Anglican homiletics. The readability of God's design is strikingly expressed thanks to a scientific metaphor rather than a biblical one:

> The word [as revealed in the Bible] is a *Telescope* to discover the great *Luminaries* of the world, the truths of highest concernment to the *souls* of *men*, and it is such a *Microscope* as discovers to us the smallest *Atome* of our *thoughts*, and discerns the most secret *intent* of our *heart*. And as far as this *Light* reacheth, it comes with *power* and *authority*, as it comes armed with the *Majesty* of *God* who reveals it. (in Affentranger 114)

Starting from the epistemological isomorphism of nature and Scripture, Anglicans gradually came to regard empirical evidence as on a par with Biblical evidence. The laws of Empiricism therefore applied to religious matters as elsewhere, and what was known was only what was manifest to sense. From there, it became easy to devalue Roman Catholicism for not abiding by these rules and in that respect, Anglican attacks on transubstantiation were always loaded with ulterior motives: not only did the central Catholic dogma come to epitomize Catholic irrationality, but mostly, it was used to prove that the Catholics' claim to truth could not possibly be legitimate, as this dogma contradicted experimentally verifiable facts.

It was thanks to this appropriation of Empiricism that Anglicanism dealt Catholicism the final, most definite blow. Experimental natural philosophy had indeed the invaluable advantage of providing a *native* alternative to *foreign* scholasticism with which to refute Catholic school-theology. It is certainly no coincidence that Catholics were hardly ever called precisely that, and were instead dismissively dubbed "Papists," believers in Popery: the Pope rather than Christ was at the centre of their faith. As Sterne puts it, Catholics "must believe in the *Pope*" (Sterne IV, 260) and even worship him:

> Would one think that a church, which thrusts itself under this apostle's patronage [St Peter], and claims her power under him, would presume to exceed the degrees of it which he acknowledged to possess himself. – But how ill your expectations are answered, when instead of the humble declaration in the text – Ye men of Israel, marvel not at us, as if our own power and holiness had wrought this; – you hear a language and behaviour from the Romish court, as opposite to it as insolent words and actions can frame. –
>
> So that instead of, Ye men of Israel, marvel not at us, – Ye men of Israel, *do* marvel at us, – hold us in admiration: Approach our sacred pontiff, – (who is not only holy – but holiness itself) – approach his person with reverence, and deem it the greatest honour and happiness of your lives to fall down before his chair, and be admitted to kiss his feet. – (Sterne IV, 302)

It is no coincidence either that the adjective most commonly applied to Catholics should have been 'outlandish', which is to be understood quite literally, since to the modern meaning of 'bizarre' was added the more literal sense of 'foreign'. Catholics therefore appeared not merely as different, but as citizens that did not really belong. This point the Anglican Church drove home repeatedly, and in doing so, asserted for good its role in English society.

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Describing anti-Catholicism as "the chief ideological commitment of the nation [between 1714 and 1780], a set of generally held attitudes, not the obsession of 'ultra-Protestants'," and even as "part of England's general culture, one facet of the collective mentalité [which] was ever-present to some degree in most men's consciousness" (Haydon 18 ; 51) may at first sight seem somewhat overstated. This was not, after all, Jacobean England; the *Toleration Act* had been passed and one might have thought that Catholics "during the century after 1688 were not on any reasonable judgement an oppressed minority," since there were numerous "beneficient effects of the Revolution on English Catholics." (Bossy 370 ; 376) Yet, one has to realize that the root of anti-Catholicism lay elsewhere, that the intolerance toward Catholicism was mostly rooted in fear, as well as "in the way Britons chose to remember and interpret their own past. For large numbers of them. . . , time past was a soap opera written by God, a succession of warning disasters and providential escapes which they acted out afresh every year as a way of reminding themselves who they were" (Colley 19). Thus, religious anti-Catholicism during 'the Long Eighteenth Century' cannot be accounted for in purely rational terms. After 1688, the fear of Roman Catholicism took "absurd proportions" precisely *because* Catholicism was less overtly present, thus fuelling paranoid feelings about its power. To this was added the fact that the status and position of the Church of England after 1688 were far more complex than before. It both remained a central social institution and was regarded by the new regime with some suspicion. The Church therefore had to (re)assert its status as the best ally to the state, which it did in two different ways. It first drew on time-old references to the indestructible links between Church and state. Thus, during the coronation ceremony of William and Mary in 1689, a copy of the English Bible, the key text of the Reformation, was for the first time carried in the procession to Westminster Abbey. Unlike their predecessors, the monarchs had to swear that they would rule according to the 'true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law'. Once crowned, they each received a copy of the Bible, 'to put [them] in mind of this rule and that [they] may follow it' (in Colley 47). The Church also played endlessly on the well-ingrained fear of Catholicism: Anti-Catholicism was thus as necessary in the eighteenth century as it had been before, since it had become part and parcel of England's "ecclesiastical patriotism" (Bossy 288). Without (anti-)Catholicism, English Protestantism could not "fulfill the proto-nationalistic function of supplying a mystification underwriting the inauguration of modernity and imperialism, 'justify[ing] the ways of God to men'" (Tumbleson 97).

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Das Representações de Isabel I de Inglaterra na Ópera e no Cinema

Ensaio

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1. É conhecido o apelo excepcional que a figura de Isabel Tudor tem exercido sobre os indivíduos de épocas sucessivas. No seu tempo, a sua exaltação era efectuada na poesia e no teatro – com *The Faerie Queene* de Spenser e *King Henry VIII* de Shakespeare, entre outros textos –, em pinturas e medalhões, em sermões e nos rituais de Estado, servindo propósitos mitificadores que tinham, em parte, um valor compensatório da imagem menorizadora e mesmo ofensiva que de Isabel cultivavam os católicos e outros adversários.[1] Prolongando-se através dos séculos o interesse por essa figura maior da memória histórica da Europa, não surpreende que suscitasse abordagens no âmbito de formas artísticas novas, como sejam o romance, a ópera e o cinema.

No domínio da ópera – e reportamo-nos apenas à ópera clássica, isto é, a uma tradição específica de teatro cantado que ganhou foros de distinção entre as artes no século XVIII –, cabe mencionar duas obras em que a rainha Tudor é a personagem protagonista: *Elisabetta, Regina d'Inghilterra*, do compositor Gioacchino Rossini, com libreto de Giovanni Schmidt, estreada em Nápoles em 1815 (um drama de amor, ciúme e intriga envolvendo Isabel, o conde de Leicester e o duque de Norfolk); e *Gloriana*, com partitura de Benjamin Britten e libreto de William Plomer, estreada em Londres, no Covent Garden, em 1953.[2] Será esta segunda ópera aquela que mais nos interessará neste estudo.

Por outro lado, a figura de Isabel I tem tido aparições fugazes, mas muitas vezes funcional e simbolicamente determinantes, em dezenas de filmes, entre eles o não muito longínquo *Shakespeare in Love*, realizado por John Madden (E.U.A., 1998, com guião de Marc Norman e Tom Stoppard), em que o papel é assumido por Judi Dench. Aliás, vale dizer que Isabel tem tido a boa fortuna de ser encarnada na tela por algumas actrizes de grande craveira, entre as quais se contam Sarah Bernhardt e Bette Davis. Como figura central, e numa enumeração que não pretende ser exaustiva, a rainha surge em *Elisabeth, Reine d'Angleterre* (real. Louis Mercanton e Henri Desfontaines, França, 1912; em francês, mas também com versão inglesa: *The Loves of Queen Elizabeth* ou *Queen Elizabeth*), em *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and*

Essex (real. Michael Curtiz, E.U.A., 1939)[3] e em *Elizabeth* (real. Shekhar Kapur, Reino Unido, 1998), de que falaremos detidamente adiante.[4]

Numa das suas notáveis sínteses da fortuna literária-imaginativa de temas e figuras, Elisabeth Frenzel observa que foram sobretudo três os momentos críticos da vida de Isabel que se cristalizaram em temas literários: a juventude penosa sob o reinado da sua meia-irmã Maria; o seu conflito com Maria, rainha dos Escoceses; e a quebra de relações com o seu favorito Essex (193).[5] Perante isto, há lugar à constatação de que o tratamento dado na ópera e no cinema à figura da última Tudor se inscreve na continuidade imaginativa dos elementos-chave da caracterização de Isabel na literatura. Em particular, é de sublinhar que a relação da soberana com o conde de Essex, já abordada em 1600 por Ben Jonson em *Cynthia's Revels* (publicado em 1601), é tema de várias das obras que acabamos de mencionar.

2. Na sua origem, isto é, tanto na génese como na estreia, a ópera *Gloriana* (op. 53) ficou indelevelmente marcada por duas ordens de circunstâncias, de difícil conciliação.[6] Em primeiro lugar, o facto de ter tido patrocínio estatal e se apresentar no âmbito das celebrações oficiais da coroação de Isabel II. Em segundo lugar, o facto de Britten ser uma figura controversa: um pacifista e objector de consciência, que fora viver para os Estados Unidos para não ter que combater na Segunda Grande Guerra,[7] e homossexual com conhecimento de muita gente, numa altura em que a homossexualidade era crime. De resto, homossexual era ainda Peter Pears, seu colaborador, intérprete preferido (o papel de Essex em *Gloriana* foi escrito para ele e interpretado por ele nas récitas de 1953) e companheiro; como era William Plomer, o libretista. Ao tempo, um grupo de compositores rivais, e respectivos sectários, agitavam o fantasma de uma ". . . homosexual conspiracy in music, led by Britten and Pears . . .", nas palavras de Michael Tippett, músico e amigo (*apud* Carpenter 313). E há que referir ainda o teor e a atmosfera da ópera anterior de Britten, *Billy Budd*, concebida para um elenco integralmente masculino, envolvendo a vida na marinha e com laivos de sensibilidade homoerótica mais ou menos difusa, e estreada em 1951, no *Festival of Britain* – um precedente de *Gloriana* no que esta tinha de participação provocatória em ocasiões oficiais.[8]

A história de *Gloriana* decorre na última década ou década e meia do reinado de Isabel I e centra-se na problemática relação da rainha com Robert Devereux, conde de Essex. Temos, assim, um confronto de personalidades e de condições, não só por Isabel ser rainha e Essex ser seu súbdito, aliás de obediência cada vez menor; não só por ela ter decidido permanecer "casada" com o seu povo e por Essex, até, ser casado; mas também por Isabel ser já idosa, sem por isso ter perdido a noção dos imperativos de Estado, e Essex, jovem e ambicioso, pretender manipulá-la para ganhar preponderância no reino e, em última instância, apoderar-se do trono.

É mesmo com as aspirações de Essex que a história começa, diferindo-se o aparecimento de Isabel para um segundo momento, o que cria expectativa e permite que a rainha, logo na sua primeira entrada em cena, surja como uma figura de concórdia amada pelo seu povo. Essex mostra-se invejoso da glória alcançada em jogos de cavalaria por outro nobre, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, e de que toma conhecimento, juntamente com o público, pelo eco das aclamações populares e pelo relato que lhe vai fazendo outra personagem, Henry Cuffe (uma vez que os jogos têm lugar fora do palco). Quando Mountjoy aparece, vitorioso, Essex tem um comportamento ofensivo e provoca um duelo a que Isabel vem pôr termo, salientando a necessidade de união contra os inimigos e exortando os opositores a reconciliarem-se: "Anger would be too strong / against this youthful sparring: / my ruling hear ye both: / forbear from braver warring! // God's death, we need your arms! / Pray you, good lords, defend us, / our kingdom and our people / against the foes would end us. // Fail not to come to court / in fine or dirty weather, / I'll not neglect you – / but see you come together!" (Britten 88).

Nesta sua primeira aparição, vem a rainha acompanhada de fanfarra e cortejo, como figura de autoridade, de sabedoria e de conciliação. Se daí resulta a sua caracterização como figura de Estado, como Gloriana, sucede também, ironicamente, que no curso do drama Essex e Mountjoy se irão aliar, não para defenderem o reino dos inimigos mas para abalarem a estabilidade da sua coroa. "The wisdom of our Queen / hath made us brothers, / who this day were foes" (90), diz Essex, e o coro, satisfeito, retomará esta ideia com entusiasmo. Mas eles serão irmãos contra Isabel, não ao seu serviço. De resto, isso já aqui fica prenunciado, na medida em que o próprio Essex reformula o valor da sua afirmação anterior, acrescentando-lhe uma condição: "The wisdom of our Queen / hath made us brothers. / If Gloriana gives me armies to command, / my banner will emblazon lasting love" (*ibidem*). Ora, a imposição de uma condição é algo de insustentável. A presunção de Essex determinará o seu destino. Isabel há-de ser, como dirá próximo do final do drama, soberana sem restrições: "It is I who have to rule!" (186). Essex terá um preço a pagar pelas suas ambições – Isabel também, demasiado humana, pelas suas fraquezas.

Por outro lado, importa realçar o modo como, logo na cena de abertura, é introduzida a ideia de que Isabel tem com o seu povo uma espécie de unidade orgânica, sendo ela como que o culminar e o ornamento da nação. É o que diz o coro, que representa a população indiferenciada: "Green leaves are we, / red rose our golden Queen, / o crownèd rose among the leaves so green!" (76). O texto desta intervenção do coro repetir-se-á em momentos posteriores da obra; a melodia ecoará também por diversas vezes, distinguível com clareza ou fugazmente

combinada com outras melodias dominantes. Estamos perante aquilo que T. S. Eliot designou de *correlato objectivo*: quando soa este trecho, é evocada uma certa ideia da importância e do significado de Isabel, ideia que aliás, nas circunstâncias mais penosas que se seguem, é sujeita a ironia ou desconstrução na própria tessitura da ópera.[9]

Numa primeira realização da alternância que é característica da disposição dos quadros que formam *Gloriana*, na passagem para a II Cena do I Acto o espaço aberto da corte dá lugar aos aposentos privados da rainha, onde ela se encontra reunida com Sir Robert Cecil, secretário do seu Conselho. Contrastando com o ambiente de pompa festiva e com a ideia de concórdia que dominaram o final da cena anterior, assistimos a uma discussão de assuntos de Estado em que vêm ao de cima as mais sérias inquietações – não tanto com a revolta de Tyrone na Irlanda, a que já fora feita alusão, mas com o comportamento e as ambições do conde de Essex. Que há um conflito entre Essex e os principais agentes do governo isabelino (que é também um conflito de gerações) percebe-se na cena anterior, quando Sir Walter Raleigh, num tom *buffo* que a música sublinha, põe a ridículo a disputa daquele com Mountjoy, assemelhando-os a uma mosca e a uma abelha ciosas do ascendente que uma ou outra podem ganhar (86). Agora, é Cecil quem adverte para os riscos que comporta Essex. A reacção da rainha é cheia de ambiguidades. Por um lado, quase premonitoriamente, compreende a ameaça que Essex constitui: " 'Twas right someone should take / our Essex down, / or he might grow unruly, / and unruled" (96). Por outro, não consegue lidar com o problema sem revelar o conflito que existe entre a esfera política e a esfera privada. "The Earl will not be schooled, / will never learn restraint", adverte Cecil – ao que ela replica, com mal disfarçada ternura: "My pigmy elf, ah! 'tis for that / I love the lordly boy!" (98). Se é essa a razão do seu desvelo, é também por isso que terá que dar a ordem de execução do conde.

O que se segue é uma interessante discussão da arte da política, suscitada pelo aviso de Cecil, que julga perceber uma confusão dos sentimentos da rainha, para que Isabel reflicta na sua posição. A rainha é firme na sua resposta: "Hark, sir! This ring I had at my crowning: / with it I wedded myself to the realm. / My comfort hath been / that my people are happy: / happiness theirs / because you are discreet" (*ibidem*) – uma valorização do papel dos conselheiros que é interessante. Dentro de poucos minutos, na mesma cena, Raleigh surgirá, em forma de silhueta na janela, a perturbar a intimidade de Isabel com Essex, como se Isabel precisasse de vigilância apertada para não se deixar cair irremediavelmente na tentação de ser mulher, descurando os deveres de rainha. Em todo o caso, perante Cecil ela mostra-se capaz de afirmar a prudência política que informa a sua conduta para com o favorito: "I seek no husband: / but good Master Ascham / in my infancy taught me / love's better than fear" (*ibidem*). Há um pequeno sofisma neste argumento, claro está. Estaria em causa o amor dos súbditos ao soberano, de forma a poderem votar-lhe uma mais completa e feliz obediência, não o soberano amar indecorosamente um súbdito.

Perante este equívoco, Cecil replica aconselhando cautela, numa pequena lição de política que no curso da obra veremos Isabel seguir, a despeito das suas naturais inclinações: "The art of government / is in procrastination and / in silence and delay: / blazing bonfires left to burn / will soon consume themselves away. / Of evils choose the least: / great foes will tumble down in time, / or wither, one by one. / He that rules must hear and see / what's openly or darkly done. / All that is not enough: / there comes a moment when to rule / is to be swift and bold: / know at last the time to strike – / it may be when the iron is cold!" (98, 100). Não só a Isabel de *Gloriana* se verá obrigada a seguir estes ensinamentos, também a Isabel de *Elizabeth*, posta perante uma situação análoga, usará de paciência, urdirá a sua teia e, chegado o momento, será fulminante na eliminação dos adversários políticos.

Dentro da II Cena do I Acto de *Gloriana*, ainda, verifica-se uma mudança de registo significativa, com a entrada de Essex e a saída de Cecil, que Isabel manda imediatamente retirar-se. A prudência política que Cecil recomendara, se existia, desvanece-se, agora que, a pedido da rainha, "Robin"[10] pega no alaúde, toca e canta para aliviar a sua senhora dos cuidados da governação. A segunda canção é especialmente interessante: primeiro, porque se trata de um poema da autoria do próprio Essex que o libretista inseriu no seu texto; depois, porque Britten o musicou num estilo reminiscente dos compositores isabelinos, nomeadamente de John Dowland (que aliás compôs uma galharda figurativa da pessoa do conde de Essex); depois ainda, pelo que contém de jogo de dissimulação entre Essex e Isabel (o poema retoma o *locus classicus* do retiro para a obscuridade como uma oportunidade de viver feliz, ideal em nada condizente com as ambições de poder da personagem); finalmente, porque constitui o segundo correlato objectivo importante da ópera, presente em diversos momentos. O texto é o seguinte: "Happy were he could finish forth his fate / in some unhaunted desert, where, obscure / from all society, from love and hate / of worldly folk, there might he sleep secure; / then wake again, and give God ever praise, / content with hips and haws and brambleberry; / in contemplation spending all his days, / and change of holy thoughts / to make him merry: where, when he dies, / his tomb might be a bush / where harmless robin dwells / with gentle thrush; / happy were he!" (106).[11] Que Essex quer ser percebido como estando a falar de si mesmo como que a um espelho, na terceira pessoa, é evidente. Mas é igualmente claro que apresenta uma máscara retórica, uma ficção de si, em última análise uma mentira. E isso não escapa à argúcia de Isabel, afinal não tão cega como temia o secretário ao perigo que comporta o favorito: " 'Tis a conceit, it is not you", diz ela (*ibidem*). Aliás, a sua dupla condição de rainha e de mulher não está ausente das consciências, nem dela, nem dele. Ele serve-se da intimidade concedida para solicitar, com veemência algo soberba, um posto de comando na Irlanda, querendo encarregar-se de esmagar a revolta de Tyrone. E professa ser ". . . a subject, who declares / a more than subject heart" (112). Ela, por seu turno, diz: "I am a woman, though I be a Queen, / and still a woman, though I be a Prince!" (110).

É mesmo em nome dos seus deveres de monarca que Isabel acaba por mandar Essex retirar-se. Dramaticamente, isso dá azo a que ela, num solilóquio com que termina o I Acto, reflicta terminantemente sobre a sua condição, o seu mandato, os seus deveres – e é assim uma mulher determinada, mau grado as suas inclinações pessoais, aquela que assoma neste trecho: "If life were love and love were true, / then could I love thee through and through! / But God gave me a sceptre, / the burden and the glory – / I must not lay them down: / I live and reign a virgin, / will die in honour, / leave a refulgent crown!" (114, 116). Dentro dos limites deste mandato divino, desta consagração, o Acto encerra com uma prece, como que a prece e a afirmação de alguém que, tendo acabado de retirar-se o conde de Essex, sobreviveu à tentação e nessa sobrevivência se fortalece ou busca fortalecimento: "O God, *my King*, sole ruler of the world, / that pulled me from a prison to a palace / to be a sovereign Princess / and to rule the people of England: / thou hast placed me high, / but my flesh is frail: / without Thee my throne is unstable, / my kingdom tottering, my life uncertain: / o maintain in this weak woman / the heart of a man!" (116; itálico nosso).

É de notar que em *Gloriana* a experiência religiosa tem pouca expressão, nomeadamente se compararmos com a sua presença em *Elizabeth*. O transcendente aparece mencionado como instância de onde emanam o castigo e o benefício, em última análise, até, como a dimensão legitimadora da autoridade de Isabel (naquele trecho, mas é mais frequente que se deixe inferir essa legitimidade do facto de ela ser a rosa da planta que é a nação, numa metáfora que já sabemos recorrente) e como destino ou fatalidade que os humanos não controlam. Por outras palavras, é uma presença que se coloca ao nível da consciência. Em *Elizabeth*, pelo contrário, só muito raramente a questão da consciência é equacionada. Quando presa na Torre, por ordem de sua meia-irmã, sob suspeita de alta traição, Isabel chega a perguntar aos seus acusadores se faz sentido tanta animosidade por divergências em matéria de credo, mas isto pesa muito pouco no contexto global do filme. O que prevalece, aí, é antes a religião como pretexto ou justificação para a acção política: perseguição e repressão dos protestantes no tempo de Maria, inimizade dos países católicos e atentados contra a vida de Isabel depois. De resto, é de assinalar que a violência religiosa é cometida sempre contra Isabel e contra os protestantes, nunca por estes contra os católicos – um branqueamento da História sobre cujo sentido nos debruçaremos.

A I Cena do II Acto de *Gloriana* leva-nos de volta a um ambiente público, de cerimonial de poder festivo e vistoso. Sai-se da corte para a cidade, concretamente para Norwich, mais uma maneira de se afirmar o quanto Isabel é querida do seu povo (no III Acto desceremos ainda mais na escala social, onde já não os cortesãos nem os burgueses mas sim uma mulher do povo manifestará o seu apego à ordem social vigente ao despejar o pote da casa sobre os revoltosos afectos a Essex). Isabel recebe homenagem dos magistrados da cidade, sendo agora a tónica posta, já não na

sua sabedoria, mas no amor que ela nutre pelos súbditos. Segue-se aquele que é o momento mais animado de toda a ópera, uma mascarada representada em sua honra.

Mas aquilo que pretende celebrar a figura da rainha, a despeito do seu belo acabamento espectacular, resulta subtilmente irónico. Dominam a mascarada duas figuras alegóricas, o Tempo, que é alegorizado em homem, e a Concórdia, que é alegorizada em mulher. Ora, o desenvolvimento da peça tem muito de desadequado em relação a Isabel. Os actores, ao aparecimento do Tempo, proclamam: "Time is at his apogee! / Young and strong, in his prime: / behold the sower of the seed!" (124). Isabel já não é nova nem forte. Quem é novo e forte é Essex, que poderia semear no corpo da rainha, que ainda no final do I Acto se confessara virgem. Mas Essex não é politicamente recomendável, e além disso é casado. No que a ele respeita, Isabel está condenada a ficar só e infecunda. Na deixa para a entrada da Concórdia, também ela jovem, aliás, mantém-se a incidência nesta questão. Canta o Espírito da Mascarada: "Time could not sow unless / he had a spouse to bless / his work, and give it life – / Concord, his loving wife!" (*ibidem*). Na realidade, se o Tempo pode ser identificado com Essex, deve lembrar-se que Essex tem uma mulher, e que será mesmo Lady Essex a dar-lhe filhos e a figura de concórdia que se oporá à revolta do marido contra Isabel e irá depois pedir a esta que poupe a vida dele. Mas, regressando aos termos explícitos da mascarada, o coro entoa: "Concord is here / our days to bless / and this our land to endue / with plenty, peace and happiness. // Concord and Time / each needeth each: / the ripest fruit hangs where / not one, but only two / can reach" (126). Mas Isabel está só, não tem o seu par. E foi mesmo um coração de homem que pediu a Deus, na oração com que termina o I Acto. Nos termos da mascarada, a rainha, que a nação tanto adora, não tem ao seu alcance o fruto mais maduro. O Espírito da Mascarada dá mesmo a entender que os Ingleses esperam que Isabel escolha um rei: "Now Time and Concord dances / this island doth rejoice: / and woods and waves and waters / make echo to our voice" (*ibidem*). Por mais que pretenda ser uma celebração da bênção que Isabel constitui para o seu povo, a mascarada é também, nas entrelinhas, uma singela afirmação indirecta dos limites dela como mulher, porque só, e como rainha, porque mulher só. Mas como no horizonte do drama não se oferece outro pretendente além de Essex, e como este é indesejável, a rainha vê-se enclausurada na fatalidade da sua solidão irremissível.[12]

Entretanto, enquanto a mascarada decorre, versando o tema da concórdia, Essex vai sussurrando o seu descontentamento, em contraponto. Este tema passa para a cena seguinte, na qual, de novo em ambiente privado, no jardim da casa de Essex, assistimos às expressões de ressentimento desta personagem e vemos de que modo, com sua irmã Lady Rich e com Mountjoy, apaixonado desta, ele decide fazer face à rainha, ambicionando o trono, a despeito da prudência e da lealdade que lhe recomenda a sua esposa. Inflamado, diz Essex: "In time! In time I'll break her will! / I'll have my way!" (140). E, já em coro com sua irmã e com Mountjoy: "The Queen is

old, and time will steal / sceptre and orb from out her hand. / Ours to decide / what other head / shall wear the crown; ours to maintain / our hold upon the helm of State" (144).[13] Os dados estão lançados. O espírito da subversão está assumido. E a rainha não se mostrará tão débil e incapaz como os conspiradores a julgam.

Porém, haverá ainda um momento de protelação antes do desencadear do conflito, e trata-se de um episódio – a III Cena do II Acto – em que Isabel, provavelmente amargurada pela intangibilidade de Essex e pela sua velhice (as alusões ao avançar da sua idade vão-se adensando com o avançar da acção), dá mostras de grande mesquinhez no trato com Lady Essex. A acção decorre na corte, onde tem lugar um baile (ocasião para, mais uma vez, Britten efectuar interessantes exercícios de recriação do ambiente musical renascentista, nomeadamente pela introdução de danças de diversos tipos). A pedido expresso do seu marido, Lady Essex apresenta-se com um vestido resplandecente, o que suscita o ressentimento da rainha, que a procurará humilhar num gesto miserável. Isabel ordena que se dance uma *volta*, dança animada que faz transpirar. De seguida, ordena que as damas vão mudar de roupa interior, e manda secretamente roubar o vestido de Lady Essex. É depois Isabel que o enverga, mas ele dá-lhe um aspecto grotesco por ser pequeno de mais. Assim, da intenção de apoucar Lady Essex resulta que a rainha se expõe igualmente ao ridículo (nada de semelhante se apontará à protagonista de *Elizabeth*, que pode pecar por imaturidade, pessoal e política, mas não por indignidade). Acresce que a situação ainda mais inflama o despeito do próprio Essex e também de Mountjoy, que se referem à rainha em termos pouco respeitosos – ambos a dizem ". . . a king in a farthingale!"; Essex declara que "Her conditions are as crooked as her carcass!" (156, 158). A sua ira, porém, é acalmada quando a rainha concede a Essex o muito aspirado desejo de comandar tropas na Irlanda, com a missão de acabar com a sublevação de Tyrone (a inconstância da conduta de Isabel far-se-á seguidamente notar no facto de a cena terminar com ela a conceder a Essex a graça de uma dança). Não se trata de um apaziguamento, porém, apenas do adiamento de um conflito inevitável. Os apartes são reveladores, do lado dos descontentes: "**Lady Rich** *(aside)*: Returning soon, oh soon, / he will hold the kingdom in his hand. / **Mountjoy** *(aside)*: Returning soon, oh soon, / with armies at his back, / he then will hold / the kingdom in his hand" (162). E também do outro lado, do partido da ordem, o clima de intriga de corte permanece: Cecil e Raleigh esperam que Essex suba muito alto para que a sua queda seja maior (cf. 164).

E a queda será, de facto, grande e fatal. O III Acto abre com rumores de que Essex não teve sucesso na sua campanha além-mar. São as damas de companhia da rainha que o referem, para logo se sentir alvoroço no palácio e se assistir à entrada de Essex, de rompante. Num ímpeto, que é de frustração e de temor ao mesmo tempo, irrompe nos aposentos da rainha, encontrando-a sentada ao toucador, ainda por vestir. A didascália descreve-a da seguinte maneira: "*Her red-gold wig is on a stand before her, among the paraphernalia of the toilet. Without it, she looks old and*

pathetic, with wisps of grey hair hanging round her face. She has a looking-glass in her hand which she puts down directly she sees Essex" (170; em itálico no original). É uma intrusão violenta e embaraçosa do político no privado – a última intrusão desse tipo no drama. É uma quebra de decoro em várias frentes, como aponta a rainha: "Oh pray, be brief: the day's not yet begun. / Because you're here / when larks alone have right of audience: / because you stand / besprent with mud and hollow-eyed: / because you're here / you must have need to speak" (174). E Essex falará, para dizer que celebrou tréguas com Tyrone. Para Isabel, isso é um desrespeito da missão que lhe fora confiada, que exigia o esmagamento da revolta. Da parte dela, quer no plano político, quer no plano pessoal, passam a dominar o desencanto e a amargura. Por um lado, vinca-se a consciência do próprio envelhecimento: "Because you catch / an ageing woman unadorned, / you can be called unkind. / But the years pursue us, / and the rose must feel the frost; / and nothing can renew us / when the flame in the rose is lost!" (172). Por outro lado, é parafraseado o *Leitmotiv* da rainha como rosa, agora irremediavelmente condenada pela geada da idade. Ela mesma reconhece que nada nos pode renovar, que a juventude, o tempo não é algo que se possa tornar disponível de novo, reencontrar, reconquistar, que nada nem ninguém no-lo pode dar ou restituir. No plano figurativo como no plano psicológico, Essex tornou-se dispensável. E o reconhecimento daquela irrevogabilidade coincide com um (re)conhecimento e um desvelamento de si: "*(with a tragic gesture, indicating her appearance)* You see me as I am" (*ibidem*; itálicos do original). A par disto, o outro motivo-chave da ópera, que se alicerça na segunda canção de alaúde de Essex, reencontra-se, ainda na voz da rainha, sob a forma de paráfrase amarga: "Dear name I have loved, / o use it no more! / The time and the name / now belong to the past: / they belong to the young, / and the echoes are mute. / Happy were we!" (178). Que *os ecos sejam mudos* aponta já para o apagamento progressivo da voz da rainha, para o silenciamento final de Isabel.

À saída de Essex segue-se a chegada de Cecil, que faz a rainha admitir o fracasso da campanha irlandesa e o perigo que constitui o conde. Isabel ordena a sua prisão, desabafando com Cecil: "I have failed to tame my thoroughbred. / He is still too proud; / I must break his will / and pull down his great heart. / It is I who have to rule!" (186). É também esta a conclusão implícita do filme *Elizabeth*.

Na agitada II Cena do III Acto temos os sectários de Essex, nas ruas de Londres, a tentar aliciar para a sua causa a gente do povo, com o argumento de que "The Queen is old, / her power fails. / Essex must guard the crown" (196; palavras de Cuffe). Parte da acção é narrada por um tipo popular, um cego cantor de baladas, e é comentada por ele e por coros de anciãos; parte é presente em palco, com o surgimento de um grupo de revoltosos, que andam a pôr as ruas em tumulto, e de uma mulher do povo, a que já aludimos, que da janela de sua casa alterca com os insurrectos, insultando-os, despejando sobre eles o seu vaso de noite ("I'll damp your courage!", diz) e assumindo a incumbência de anular a sedição pela arma do ridículo:

"**Housewife, Old Men:** It is my (her) lot / to keel the pot / and mock the hero home again" (198).

Frustrada a sublevação nas ruas, a cena derradeira dita o destino de Essex e explicita o destino de Isabel que a acção do drama fora deixando prenunciado. Com Essex preso na Torre, Raleigh, Cecil e outros membros do Conselho régio pronunciam a sentença de culpado. Temem que Isabel protele a execução da sentença, ou mesmo que conceda a Essex o seu perdão – do que se infere que não é uma rainha cruel. E, de facto, nesta altura ela não está ainda decidida, denotando-a dividida e contrariada os versos: "I grieve, / yet dare not show my discontent; / I love, / and yet am forced to seem to hate; / I am, and am not; / freeze, and yet I burn; / Since from myself my other self I turn" (208) – que são da autoria da própria Isabel I.[14] Aliás, na mesma cena, é também com palavras documentadas da figura histórica que a rainha assume a sua soberania: "Hearken, it is a Prince who speaks. / A Prince is set upon a stage / alone, in sight of all the world; / alone, and must not fail" (210).

O que vai decidir o dilema é a audiência concedida a Lady Essex, Lady Rich e Mountjoy, que vêm pedir clemência para o conde. Isabel trata Lady Essex com candura, garantindo a sua segurança e a de seus filhos. Com a irmã do conde, porém, enfurece-se, por ela sugerir que Isabel precisa de Essex para defendê-la. A arrogância de Penelope dita que Isabel assine a sentença de morte.

A partir daqui, a obra muda radicalmente de feição. Raleigh sai com a sentença assinada e Isabel fica sozinha. Nas palavras da didascália, "*As Mountjoy leads Lady Rich and Lady Essex away, the room becomes dark and the Queen is seen standing alone in a strong light against an indeterminate background. Time and place are becoming less and less important to her*" (216; em itálico no original). Neste ponto é abandonado todo o naturalismo – se existe naturalismo possível num meio tão artificioso como é a ópera – e entra-se plenamente no simbólico. Expõe-se o esgotamento da rainha, num ambiente de solenidade pesada e arrastada da música, como que em tom de *requiem*. Predominantemente em prosa e quase todo declamado, como se falecessem a Isabel as forças para cantar, o texto exprime o desencanto da protagonista com o seu próprio triunfo sobre as coisas dos homens – e sobre as suas coisas de mulher: "I have now obtained the victory over two things which the greatest princes cannot at their will subdue: the one is over fame; the other is over a great mind. Surely the world is now, I hope, reasonably satisfied. / In some unhaunted desert –" (*ibidem*). O eco, interrompido, da segunda canção de alaúde representa a saudade de Essex, ou a nostalgia pela felicidade pessoal que, noutras circunstâncias, Isabel, a mulher, poderia ter encontrado com ele, ou ainda amargura por o dever de monarca ter ditado a sua decapitação. Aliás, a voz do conde é ouvida, a queixar-se do seu estado. E quando volta a ressoar a canção do alaúde ("There might he sleep secure...", 218), de novo pela voz da rainha, a impressão que

dela resulta é a de pesar pela situação em que o destino colocou Essex – e, por implicação, a própria Isabel.

Cecil surge ainda, a solicitar a atenção da rainha para assuntos de Estado, mas ela dá mostras de uma obstinação defensiva, caduca, politicamente irracional – já não quer saber de tais coisas, mesmo tratando-se de um assunto tão grave como informar o rei da Escócia do que pensa em matéria de sucessão. Depois de ver passar o fantasma de si mesma e depois de Cecil a mandar para a cama (num tom imperativo e invocando o desejo do povo: "To content the people, Madam, / you *must* go to bed"; 220),[15] Isabel fica, finalmente, só. Só para se apagar. O coro volta a cantar, longe da vista do espectador: "Green leaves are we...". É uma celebração final, de despedida, cuja autenticidade é minada pelo que Cecil acaba de dizer sobre os desejos do povo. O som vai-se escoando, as luzes vão esmorecendo, Isabel desaparece no silêncio e na escuridão.[16]

3. Dados de ordem diversa, como correspondência e o testemunho de vários envolvidos, convergem na ideia de que a fonte primeira de *Gloriana* foi o ensaio histórico-biográfico de Lytton Strachey *Elizabeth and Essex: A Tragic History*, publicado em 1928.[17] Com efeito, importa notar que uma série de elementos cruciais para a composição da história dramatizada por Britten e Plomer são originários, no imediato, do texto de Strachey. Entre outros, são transpostos do livro para a ópera os seguintes elementos: a rivalidade pela influência junto da rainha entre Essex, de um lado, e Raleigh e Robert Cecil, do outro, oposição que, de acordo com o estudo de Strachey, constituía ". . . the essence of the political situation till the close of the century . . ." (Strachey 46) e que era um jogo de morte; episódios como a rixa entre Essex e Mountjoy (que Strachey precisa ainda não ter, na altura, esse título), sendo de considerar pormenores vários de construção do incidente, que são aproveitados com rigor na ópera (cf. Strachey 35), e a irrupção de Essex nos aposentos da rainha (cf. Strachey 212-213); a ameaça de invasão por Espanha, repetidamente planeada e tentada por Filipe II; e a problemática da Irlanda.

Merecem destaque os elementos documentais que Strachey apresenta, por citação, e que por essa via entram no libreto. É o caso do poema "Happy were he...", cuja escrita o livro situa após a vitória de Cádiz (cf. 105), e palavras da própria rainha Isabel, em diferentes circunstâncias – por exemplo: " 'I shall break him of his will,' she exclaimed, 'and pull down his great heart!' " (128), que corresponde a um trecho que encontrámos no libreto.

É também interessante – se não mais interessante ainda – verificar que na passagem do livro à ópera há omissões, alterações e modulações da matéria temática que não poderão ser tidas por casuais ou inconsequentes. Nessa passagem, perde-se a desafortunada história do judeu converso português Rui (ou Rodrigo)

Lopes, médico da rainha, suspeito de conspirar contra a sua vida, como se perdem as intervenções de Lord Burghley e de Francis Bacon, que são personagens maiores do texto de Strachey. Em parte, são cortes que derivam dos constrangimentos formais da construção operística, deles resultando um sensível estreitamento da perspectiva histórica – um estreitamento que talvez não tenha sido de todo lamentado por Britten e Plomer, que podemos supor interessados em fazer incidir a sua obra mais concentradamente, e com alta carga de problematização, sobre a figura da rainha.

De modo similar, a ópera também não dá conta da maior zanga, na corte, entre Isabel e o seu favorito, o incidente em que este vira costas à rainha e ela lhe desfere uma pancada na orelha (cf. 168-169). A propósito deste episódio, Strachey escreve que, considerações relativas ao orgulho de linhagem à parte, o que aconteceu foi: "Simply this, he had been rude to an old lady, who was also a Queen, and had had his ears boxed. There were no principles involved, and there was no oppression. It was merely a matter of bad temper and personal pique" (178). Mas se o episódio não consta da ópera – e este é um caso em que a omissão não parece dever atribuir-se às limitações ou imposições do meio –, talvez uma das ilações que dele resultam, acerca do carácter de Essex, se encontre transposta no facto de ele aí, a espaços, parecer uma espécie de criança mimada, omitida que é a ideia de que era figura de Estado relevante ("Dominating the Council table, he shouldered the duties and responsibilities of high office with vigour and assurance . . .", lê-se na obra de Strachey; 115).[18]

Por outro lado, entre as alterações efectuadas na matéria temática, verifica-se que o episódio do vestido não envolvia originalmente Lady Essex mas sim uma outra senhora, embora seja comum às duas versões a revelação dos ciúmes da rainha (cf. 163-164).

Também muito sensível é a diferença de tratamento dada ao episódio do toucador. Em *Gloriana*, tem grande importância dramática e enorme significado, como vimos. No livro, ocupa pouco mais de duas meias páginas (cf. 212-213). A rainha vacila um pouco, hesitante quanto ao significado político da surpresa que é ver chegar o conde daquela forma, mas depressa recupera a segurança da sua superioridade e o controle da situação. Calmamente, fará regressar tudo à normalidade. É flagrante o contraste com a cena correspondente de *Gloriana*, que assinala em definitivo o carácter indecoroso da relação de Essex com a rainha, a ruptura pessoal e política entre os dois, ao mesmo tempo que põe a nu o inverosímil, o artificioso, o ridículo, quando não o grotesco, da cena anterior que esta espelha: Essex nos aposentos da rainha, no submisso papel de trovador de amor cortês (quer dizer, de amor proibido), a cantar nostalgicamente a uma mulher com idade para ser sua mãe.

Conjugadas, as mais significativas de entre estas diferenças têm uma consequência curiosa: enquanto a rainha faz figura de mesquinha e de pueril, na cena do vestido, o que é cortado por Britten e Plomer relativo a Essex, o episódio que Strachey caracterizara como de má-criação para com uma senhora idosa, é justamente algo que o fazia aparecer como mesquinho e pueril. Ao deixar de fora este incidente, ao destacar o episódio do vestido, ao investir de significados novos a cena do toucador – e ao introduzir a mascarada, que provém de fonte alheia ao estudo de Strachey –, a ópera deixa de ter por tema "Elizabeth and Essex" para se tornar, de facto, uma representação – e uma interrogação – do conceito de "Gloriana".[19]

Nesta linha de análise, é de registar que uma das facetas mais notórias de *Gloriana* no confronto com o estudo de Strachey é a simplificação, ali, da densa caracterização psicológica – fulcral na composição do livro como retrato de pessoas e situações, ainda que por vezes fruste e extravagantemente especulativa –, por exemplo a caracterização de Isabel que ocupa o Capítulo II (7-28).[20] Verifica-se assim um aparente descaso por parte do libretista e do compositor, a quem não terá aparecido como pertinente o desafio de transpor para forma dramática a matéria deste *retrato*, que na sua obra, praticamente, não se reflecte. Tal diferença de opções, no que não deriva da especificidade e da limitação de meios da comunicação operística, poderá ter-se ficado a dever, justamente, a alguma estranheza provocada pelos arrojos de indagação psicológica de Strachey. Qualquer que tenha sido a razão, em todo o caso – e a leitura da correspondência trocada por Britten e Plomer não a esclarece, como não a esclarece o testemunho de outras pessoas que acompanharam o processo criativo –, cumpre reconhecer que a ópera não apresenta grande densidade de caracterização psicológica.

De resto, é interessante notar que, enquanto Strachey procura explorar a psicologia das suas personagens a fundo, por recurso a estratégias de composição do discurso que se aproximam da técnica do monólogo interior (cf., *e.g.*, 255-259),[21] dando, portanto, realce às motivações e às opções da vontade, nomeadamente, da rainha, na ópera Isabel tem apenas um monólogo-prece e o monólogo epilogal, em que objectiva a sua psicologia, cabendo por demais a outros ou às circunstâncias revelá-la e qualificá-la: pense-se nos conselheiros e nos opositores; pense-se ainda nos vários coros, na mascarada, no cego baladeiro – no modo como fazem de Isabel sede ou repositório de sentidos, em muito contribuindo para a interpelação do signo "Gloriana" que a ópera constitui. Aliás, o papel essencial que aqui desempenham o povo e a cidade é uma realização dramática em larga medida estranha a Strachey, cuja ênfase é outra.

4. *Elizabeth* é um filme de produção britânica com uma ficha técnica notavelmente internacional. [22] O realizador, Shekhar Kapur, é indiano, o argumentista, Michael Hirst, é britânico, a actriz protagonista, Cate Blanchett, australiana, não falando, claro está, de vários actores que têm a cargo papéis de personagens estrangeiras e que são estrangeiros. Em contraste, não há personagens estrangeiras em *Gloriana*.

A acção do filme tem início em 1554, no segundo ano de reinado de Maria Tudor, cuja fama de *Bloody Mary* o filme se encarrega de deixar bem vincada. Preenche a sequência de abertura uma visão do martírio, na fogueira, de três "hereges" protestantes. Ao mesmo tempo, representa-se a obsessão verdadeiramente patológica de Maria com a produção de um herdeiro. Maria surge como uma mulher profundamente desequilibrada e de presença antipática, tendo aliás um comportamento de tipo paranóico. O seu encerramento num ambiente de escuridão concorre para essa falta de empatia, que é promovida ainda por outros elementos compositivos. A existência de conspirações protestantes contra ela (alude-se à de Sir Thomas Wyatt) faz parte do clima de perturbação e de horror em que se vive. Isabel, beneficiária putativa das conjuras, vive sob o anátema da bastardia (Ana Bolena é vilipendiada pela própria filha de Catarina de Aragão) e a ameaça do patíbulo.[23]

A par das filhas de Henrique VIII, já nesta fase da narrativa vão sendo apresentadas as principais figuras do drama: o católico Thomas Howard, duque de Norfolk, figura dominante da corte de Maria, depois pretendente ao trono, mestre de intrigas, co-responsável por atentados; na facção contrária, Sir William Cecil, depois Lord Burghley, político prudente, que prepara a ascensão de Isabel e vem a ser seu ministro destacado, conduzindo negociações com Espanha e França no sentido de forjar uma aliança e estabelecer um casamento para Isabel; Robert Dudley, mais tarde conde de Leicester, companhia da jovem princesa, de quem há-de ser amante, pretendente e traidor, em passos sucessivos; e Sir Francis Walsingham, que é chamado do exílio por Cecil para zelar pela segurança de Isabel e se torna seu conselheiro indispensável. Walsingham revelar-se-á, com efeito, a figura-chave na preservação da vida e da coroa de Isabel, como que assumindo, no reino, o lugar que Maria Tudor deixara Norfolk ocupar; será o homem de mão na eliminação de Marie de Guise e dos adversários políticos internos; será, simultaneamente, o vulto de negro do reinado de Isabel e a experimentada voz de uma sabedoria córica.[24]

Logo desde os primeiros minutos do filme é estabelecida uma oposição plástica ou figurativa entre Maria e Isabel. Aquela aparece vestida de negro, enquanto na caracterização de Isabel predominam as cores vivas: o

cabelo ruivo ora se combina com vestidos amarelos, ora com vermelhos. No final, é sobretudo o branco que está presente, em contraste extremo com a aparência soturna de Maria. Por outro lado, Maria encerra-se em espaços fechados e muito escuros, que os movimentos horizontais e aparentemente desconexos das câmaras nos fazem perceber como desequilibrados, virtualmente caóticos, sem ordem nem inteligibilidade espacial, produzindo mesmo uma forte impressão de instabilidade que é sintomática – manifesta-se uma espécie de câmara desorientada e nervosa, que hesita ou não sabe que enquadramento adoptar, como delimitar e ordenar a percepção que dá ao espectador da situação representada. Contrapõe-se uma Isabel associada à luz, ao riso, ao ar livre, ao cortejar. É a dançar no campo e no meio de risos que ela primeiro aparece, para se enredar de imediato numa dança com Robert, cheia de desejo físico de parte a parte (Filipe II de Espanha aperece fugazmente, espécie de títere apático ao lado de Maria, cujo leito se diz não partilhar); são interrompidos pela chegada de cavaleiros que vêm prender a princesa por suspeita de traição.

Na Torre de Londres, perante o conde de Arundel e outros que a acusam, buscando extrair-lhe uma confissão de culpa, Isabel diz: "I ask you – why we must tear ourselves apart for this small question of religion?" Com algum escândalo, é-lhe convictamente respondido que só existe uma verdadeira crença e que a outra é heresia – significativo do clima de intolerância que se vive. (De resto, a acção desta parte do filme é acompanhada de uma partitura de grande violência.) Nisto se distinguirá Isabel de sua meia-irmã: não fará perseguições em nome do credo. Mas nem por isso deixa de perceber a oposição essencial às potências católicas. Dito de outro modo, Isabel adoptará uma perspectiva política, não confessional.

Da Torre, Isabel é levada a uma audiência privada com Maria. Diz-lhe esta, já aparentemente convicta de que não terá descendência: "You will promise me something? When I am gone, you will do everything in your power to uphold the Catholic faith. Do not take away from the people the consolations of the Blessed Virgin, their holy mother". Esta instância é feita sob a ameaça de uma sentença de morte. Com coragem, Isabel responde que agirá de acordo com a sua consciência. Na verdade, esta (com a ajuda de Walsingham) ditar-lhe-á que restitua ao povo as consolações do culto mariano, só que em moldes que pouco têm a ver com as intenções de sua meia-irmã, como veremos.

De novo no campo, sob vigilância apertada, Isabel mantém a corte com Robert Dudley. O seu estado de espírito juvenil e apaixonado, que passará, exprime-se na sua reacção à ideia, avançada pelo próprio Robert, de que quando for rainha

deixará de pensar nele: "How could you ever be nothing to me? Robert, you know you are everything to me". Isto será ulteriormente negado.

Segue-se que Maria morre e o anel real é confiado ao conde de Sussex – que fora quem prendera Isabel anteriormente e que na Torre a interrogara com especial insolência, em contraste com Arundel – para que o entregue a Isabel. Significativamente, o momento da entrega do anel faz-se com a rainha no seu elemento, ao ar livre, postada debaixo de um carvalho frondoso, ao dobrar dos sinos, com a interposição inteiramente alegórica de dois *slides* de intensa luz branca. Aí tem lugar a aclamação "The queen is dead! Long live the queen!", e Isabel profere as palavras que a História registou: "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes".

Providencialmente ordenada ou não, a subida de Isabel ao trono apresenta-se marcada por um conjunto de dificuldades. É Norfolk, a grande ameaça interna, quem a contra-gosto lhe envia Sussex com o anel, e é ele ainda quem desempenha um dos mais destacados papéis na cerimónia de coroação – patentemente, espreita uma oportunidade. Noutro plano, a segurança do estado encontra-se ameaçada por França e por Espanha, sendo que Marie de Guise se encontra na Escócia, à cabeça de um exército invasor; o reino está militarmente debilitado e o Tesouro depauperado; sabe-se que não apenas Norfolk mas também Maria, rainha dos Escoceses, ambiciona o trono; os católicos, em geral, opõem-se e aguardam a sua hora. No total, Isabel enfrentará no filme três atentados à sua vida. Para Cecil, neste como em momentos posteriores, a solução é simples: "Madam, until you marry you will find no security". Isabel rejeitará esta doutrina mais adiante.

Entretanto, na sua vivacidade espontânea e juvenil, a nova rainha quebra o decoro da corte, não negando mesmo a Robert noites de paixão. E aqui ganha acuidade o conflito entre a esfera privada e a esfera pública. Ao embaixador francês, que requesta Isabel para o duque de Anjou e não vê com bons olhos a intimidade da rainha com Robert, explica Cecil que "The marriage of a queen, excellency, is born of politics, not of childish passion". E, em conformidade com as razões de Estado, Cecil quer examinar todas as manhãs os lençóis da rainha, para saber das suas *proper functions*. "Her Majesty's body and person are no longer her own property. They belong to the state", explica às aias da rainha, o que lhes suscita risos mas é, de facto, assunto de grande gravidade. Num episódio posterior, sob ameaça de Marie de Guise, que controla parte do território a norte, Cecil insta de novo Isabel a aceitar a corte do sobrinho daquela, o duque de Anjou: "In marriage and in the production of an heir lies your own assurance". Isabel acede, mas corre logo atrás de Robert, que lhe faz uma cena de ciúmes. (A perspectiva de casamento com o duque de Anjou desvanecer-se-á após a constatação de certas extravagâncias da parte dele.)[25]

Sinal da sua arrogância e da pressão que pretende fazer recair sobre Isabel, Norfolk (de certo modo como Essex em *Gloriana*) irrompe nos aposentos da rainha, está ela ainda a dormir, para lhe comunicar a gravidade da situação na Escócia, onde triunfam as tropas francesas. Ele mesmo precipita uma resposta de Isabel no Conselho, resposta que se mostrará mal-avisada e mal-sucedida (Walsingham tratará depois de seduzir e eliminar Marie de Guise, sob vários pontos de vista um contraponto de Isabel). Correndo o palácio em desespero, Isabel acaba por, acidentalmente, defrontar-se com o majestoso retrato de seu pai (a célebre pintura da autoria de Hans Holbein), modelo, a seu ver, de um soberano forte. "I have been proved unfit to rule. That is what you all think", desabafa a Walsingham. No entanto, este, recusando-se a criticá-la, será sempre o principal esteio da sua governação, e é ele que, por meio de um estratagema, consegue impedir seis prelados de votar (contra) o *Act of Uniformity*, que de outro modo não seria aprovado.

É significativa a argumentação de Isabel em defesa daquela lei, no Parlamento: "I ask you to pass this Act of Uniformity, not for myself but for my people, who are my only care". Significativa porque colhida em documentos, e portanto verdadeira, num certo sentido. Significativa, também, porque de acordo com um dos traços centrais do mito de Isabel, que, por exemplo, *Gloriana* não esquece, de que era uma rainha unida ao seu povo por amor recíproco. Mas falsa no contexto do filme. De facto, enquanto *Gloriana* envolve significativamente figuras do povo e mesmo a ideia de povo como instância na qual a rainha pode colher certa espécie de legitimação, *Elizabeth* é um drama palaciano (nisto se assemelhando ao livro de Strachey), em que o povo figura muito escassamente e sempre associado à violência: assiste-se ao martírio público de protestantes no início, para gáudio de vários; quando Isabel é levada da Torre a uma audiência privada com Maria, entrevê-se a opressão da populaça por soldados; e vê-se homens (também crianças) mortos e moribundos no campo de batalha. De resto, a acção processa-se entre nobres de diversos países, embaixadores, bispos, e envolve mesmo o papa. O próprio argumento político que se desenvolve refere o povo, quer do lado dos protestantes, quer do lado dos católicos, mas ele não é uma força viva do filme. Parece ter interessado relativamente pouco ao realizador e ao argumentista. E por isso as invocações do povo e do seu benefício soam a falso, para mais quando pretendem, como é o caso, operar como justificações para a aprovação de uma lei que objectivamente fere a sensibilidade religiosa e política de uma parte importante da nação (nem é preciso lembrar em abstracto que a medida repugnava aos católicos ingleses, pois o próprio debate encenado o mostra).

De seguida, volta a ganhar proeminência a problemática da relação Isabel-Leicester. Por um lado, descobre-se que Robert já é casado, sem que Isabel o soubesse. É Cecil quem lho revela, de lágrimas nos olhos, ciente do desgosto que lhe causa. Apesar disso, ainda Robert supõe ter com ela uma ligação particular. Isabel desengana-o, furiosa com a sua presunção: "I am not your Elizabeth. I am no man's Elizabeth. And if you think to rule you are mistaken". E, para toda a corte: "I will have one mistress here – and no master".

Por outro lado, Robert é tentado pelo embaixador de Espanha a aliar-se com ele, contra as pretensões do duque de Anjou, pela mão de Isabel, sob a condição de se converter ao Catolicismo – mas a isso ele não acede. (Será que, próximo do final do filme, a ideia de que o amor de uma rainha corrompe a alma de um homem, alegada como justificação para a sua cumplicidade numa conjura, significa que ele acabou por se converter?) O argumento que mais tarde o decide é a segurança de Isabel, que deveras ama. É em nome desse amor que vai agora recomendar-lhe que aceite a mão do rei de Espanha. A monarca fica ferida e chocada: "Lord Robert, you may make whores of my ladies but you shall not make one of me". Parte do choque advém do paradoxo de Robert dizer amá-la e querer *por isso* entregá-la a outro. Há na conduta de Robert uma irracionalidade, a partir de certa altura, que torna verosímil a ideia de que a alma se corrompe na difícil situação do mais impossível dos amores.

Apesar de ter ouvido Isabel declarar que não aceitará tomar marido, Cecil volta a insistir na necessidade de uma contemporização. Considerando que aquela política acarretaria a submissão da Inglaterra à tutela de uma potência estrangeira (e a presença de Cecil na tela é composta como uma figura de grande subserviência e pouca coragem, de facto), Isabel dispensa-o do governo. Os termos da entrevista são sem dúvida penosos, carregados de uma emoção que tanto a rainha como o seu servidor controlam o melhor que podem, e são, ao mesmo tempo, significativos de duas concepções políticas em confronto. Diz Isabel: "From this moment I am going to follow my own opinion and see if I do any better". Cecil: "Forgive me, Madam, but you're only a woman". Isabel: "I may be a woman, Sir William, but if I choose I have the heart of a man. I am my father's daughter. I am not afraid of anything". E com isto emancipa-se da influência de Cecil – mas não de Walsingham, que, curiosamente, de entre os seus conselheiros é aquele cuja ascensão mais se ficou a dever ao medo.

E, justamente, é graças à eficácia do sistema de espionagem concebido por Walsingham que Isabel poderá dar o golpe final (no âmbito de referência desta narrativa) nos seus adversários – e, ao mesmo tempo, nas esperanças de uma certa felicidade pessoal que porventura ainda acalentasse. Walsingham descobre uma conspiração que alia o papa, Norfolk, pretendente ao trono, a sua esposa contratada, Maria Stuart, o embaixador espanhol e outros, entre eles o próprio Robert Dudley. Só

a vida deste é poupada, para, no dizer de Isabel, ficar como lição ou lembrança do quanto ela estivera exposta ao perigo. Entretanto, repare-se que Robert parece ser o menos digno dos conjurados. Dos outros, mesmo de Norfolk, fica uma impressão final de convicção, de que agem em nome de uma fé em que acreditam genuinamente, o que de alguma forma os remirá da imagem de traição que desde o início do filme sobre eles vinha sendo projectada (em particular sobre Norfolk). Mas Robert é agora um decadente, um amargurado, uma sombra desesperada de si mesmo.

Já, de certo modo, fora do tempo linear da narrativa, tal como o epílogo de *Gloriana* é mais alegórico do que mimético, dá-se o momento culminar do drama. Uma vez controlada a sedição é possível olhar para o futuro. A sós com Walsingham, Isabel depara com uma estátua da Virgem Maria, que contempla concentradamente. "All men need something greater than themselves to look up to and worship. They must be able to touch the divine – here on earth", diz Walsingham. A rainha: "She had such power over men's hearts. They died for her". Ele: "They have found nothing to replace her." O mote está dado para a adopção da chamada *máscara de juventude* de Isabel I – mais: para um entendimento da máscara como artifício da mais séria consequência espiritual e política, não como manifestação ociosa de vaidade pessoal.[26]

É uma transformação sofrida, com a aia em pranto, numa cena construída com uma intensidade dramática portentosa, povoada de reminiscências da vida que se abandona, e cujos sentidos pessoal e público se explicitam, sob forma condensada, em dois enunciados. O primeiro, dirigido à aia que de há muito a acompanha: "I have become a virgin". O segundo, já na sala do trono, dirigido ao antigo ministro que tanto insistiu para que ela se casasse: "Observe, Lord Burghley, I am married to England". Quem mais se atreve a fitar Isabel, todavia, sem precisar de ordem para tal, é Walsingham: sabendo ter-lhe inspirado aquela metamorfose, contempla ainda assim com assombro a sua Galateia – aqui, no percurso inverso do mito grego, mulher convertida em estátua.

Deste modo, a dança que sempre acompanhou Isabel dá lugar a um estatismo; o riso dá lugar a um rosto de cera, estilizado, fixado numa imobilidade de ícone, recoberto de um branco que indica o definitivo afastamento do negro de sua irmã Maria; sob a peruca, o cabelo curto representa a desfeminização de Isabel, ao mesmo tempo que evoca as cabeças rapadas (e ensanguentadas) dos mártires do início do filme, como que justificando-os; a presença anacrónica do *Requiem* de Mozart conota toda esta transformação com a morte – que será, por outro lado, um renascimento das próprias cinzas. Complementarmente, o plano quase picado que domina a própria figuração da estátua da Virgem Maria cede lugar ao seu inverso, ficando o espectador colocado como que a par dos cortesãos que contemplam, com

espanto, a transformação da sua rainha. A assunção de Isabel exprime-se assim pela posição da câmara, pelo enquadramento.

5. Ao longo de *Elizabeth*, significativamente exceptuadas as sequências conotadas com Maria Tudor, é notória a predilecção do realizador por perspectivas verticais e planos picados acentuados, filmados de grande altura, planos que quase esmagam os indivíduos no próprio espaço em que se movem; planos que sublinham a distância (figurativamente vertical) que os separa da transcendência e lhes dão o aspecto de viver numa azáfama mesquinha, virtualmente destituída de sentido, mas a que a própria vigilância do alto, desse modo sugerida, promete assegurar uma coerência e uma finalidade.

Na sua relação com a pintura e a estatuária, que já examinámos, este filme demonstra bem como o cinema é, em essência, uma arte que lida com a representação do espaço e de realidades no espaço. Nesta linha, o privilégio dos planos acabados de descrever pode ser tomado por uma tentativa de construir uma visualidade plasmada na experiência e no conceito da arquitectura característica da Inglaterra quinhentista, repetidamente evocada na obra, uma mimese plástica da incidência vertical do estilo gótico, incidência que será sintomática de um carácter orgânico da arte inglesa, na leitura de fundo que desta faz Nikolaus Pevsner. Aponta este erudito a ênfase na perspectiva perpendicular como característica da arte inglesa, nomeadamente da arquitectura (cf. 90-127). [27] A preferência pelo alongamento vertical da perspectiva encontra-se também em *Elizabeth*, só que invertida: em vez da contemplação de um horizonte vertical orientada de baixo para cima – por exemplo, a fachada de uma igreja gótica –, em vários momentos do filme a acção é percepcionada de cima para baixo, num ângulo picado acentuado, longo e distante, com a câmara como que posicionada junto ao tecto de uma daquelas igrejas.

A representação de Maria, pelo contrário, denota uma horizontalidade fechada e sem nexo, desprovida de relação com o transcendente, sem hipótese de ascese ou salvação – em contraste com os mártires protestantes, que sobem às alturas de Deus na vertigem das chamas, as almas sugadas para o alto. Para Maria não se entrevê remissão: ela está tão presa na sua corte como Isabel quando a encerram na Torre, e a angústia autista da sua morte é espiritualmente muito pouco auspiciosa. Também, no fim, Norfolk diz, ao ser preso, que o povo o recordará como mártir, mas Walsingham retorque: "No, they will forget" (onde se vê que a função córica de Walsingham é assumida não apenas perante a rainha mas também em função da representação de um povo que o filme escassamente admite), e essa ficará sendo a palavra final

sobre o assunto (a despeito de ser afirmado o altruísmo ou a autenticidade das intenções de Norfolk, que ao longo da acção é fundamentalmente percepcionado como um traidor ardiloso). Assim, poder-se-á dizer que o filme assume uma atitude claramente partidária, subscrevendo o lado ou o ponto de vista protestante, para o qual pretende suscitar empatia e que qualifica sistematicamente com sugestões de superioridade moral face ao elemento católico (nisto, aliás, contrariando a ideia de tolerância avançada pela própria Isabel). E esta maneira de construção da história coincide naturalmente com uma interpretação da História que valoriza o papel de Isabel, terminando o filme com legendas que sublinham esse valor e essa importância.

Aliás, há como que um determinismo omnipresente no filme, que representa um enclausuramento das personagens. No caso de Maria, isso é tornado física e visualmente evidente, nos moldes que foram apontados. Mas também Isabel não é uma figura livre – como aliás vem a aprender no decurso da acção –, focada como é, em momentos cruciais, de um alto (um transcendente *protestante*) que claramente a determina, que contempla e constrange – ainda que possa, em última instância, proteger e salvar. Acima de tudo, *Elizabeth* é uma obra sem horizonte natural ou humano: é uma obra sem paisagem, onde apenas se vê Londres e o Tamisa por duas vezes – numa, à luz do dia, Isabel recebe o duque de Anjou, seu pretendente, que se vai revelar um ridículo beco sem saída; na outra, de noite, o que parece ser um momento em que a rainha perspectiva opções para o seu futuro pessoal e político (casar com Anjou, com Leicester, etc.) acaba brutalmente interrompido por um atentado. A livre escolha é assim negada pela evidência de circunstâncias que Isabel não consegue dominar. Ela está fechada num destino ao qual tem de se conformar. E assim a atitude final de automitificação é também uma atitude de automutilação, de renúncia.[28]

Também em *Gloriana* há uma noção de imponderabilidade, de inelutabilidade no doloroso processo que culmina com a morte de Essex: esta é uma necessidade, que deriva do carácter indómito dele, da incapacidade da rainha (que a mesma explicitamente reconhece) para o vergar, de imperativos políticos. Não havia outra coisa a fazer, portanto, e aqui não há a ideia, presente em outras elaborações desta história (cf. Dobson e Watson 89-98), de que o desenlace poderia ser outro se não houvesse intrigas nem manipulações. Isto torna-se tanto mais notório quanto em *Elizabeth* abundam os enredos e as tentativas, por parte de várias personagens, de influenciar ou manipular as decisões da rainha. Na ópera, a culpa de Essex é como que objectiva e as medidas a tomar não poderiam ser outras.

Em paralelo, ainda, com os aspectos formais de *Elizabeth* que relacionámos com as investigações de Nikolaus Pevsner pode ser colocado o método e a deliberação com que *Gloriana* remete para uma identidade musical inglesa, articulando com o tema inglês do libreto um conjunto significativo de alusões ao

nível da partitura. Destacam-se os microtextos que constituem as canções de alaúde de Essex, a mascarada, as danças na corte, o cantar do cego. Na unidade global de *música-como-drama* que é a ópera são insertos pontos de *música-como-música*, no dizer de Peter Evans, que explica: "It is these pieces, performed by or for the historical characters, which bear the chief responsibility for creating a sound-picture which will in some way suggest to us the Elizabethan period. Britten . . . pointedly draws on models as diverse in their origins as fifteenth-century parallel chant (in Elizabeth's prayer), Tudor and Jacobean consort and keyboard idioms (in the court dances), Purcellian declamation (Spirit of the Masque) and a street-ballad style nearer the eighteenth century (though accompanied by the gittern) . . ." (Evans, "Britten's Celebration of Musical Englishness" 20-21). Aspecto fundamental é que as texturas musicais aludidas podem ser reconhecidas como inglesas, mesmo que nem todas se reportem ao Período Isabelino. Aliás, além do retumbante efeito da declamação no final da peça, é também pelo carácter distintamente inglês dos microtextos que Britten evita a redundância estrutural face aos paradigmas da tradição operática.[29]

6. Tanto a ópera como o cinema são formas de discurso ficcional eminentemente dramáticas; são, para além disso, compósitas, de autoria e execução necessariamente partilhadas.[30] Mas, sobre estes pontos em comum, a vocação performativa das duas artes exprime-se através do privilégio, de entre as linguagens que não podem deixar de intervir, da música (onde é de incluir a voz), no caso da ópera, e da imagem, no caso do cinema. Daqui derivam diferenças da própria construção das duas histórias e das duas figuras de Isabel I, em *Gloriana* e *Elizabeth*. Nas respectivas gramáticas de reconstituição histórica articulam-se as alusões à música isabelina em Britten e o aproveitamento da iconografia em Kapur. Em ambos as obras, a presença da linguagem verbal admite a integração de trechos de discursos, poemas, preces, ditos soltos, fixados em manuscritos autógrafos, nuns casos, noutros preservados na tradição.[31]

No que respeita à protagonista da ópera, foi já salientado, e bem, que "Throughout *Gloriana* her presence creates music, not just the narrative music of the opera but specific performances of songs, dances, fanfares and other occasional pieces, and it is these which give the opera its particular flavour" (Carpenter 322). Ora, é justamente perante esta constatação que ganha acuidade o silêncio mortal em que, no fim, a rainha surge envolta.

Sendo o cinema uma arte fundamentalmente visual, em *Elizabeth* caminha-se no sentido de uma iconografia: aparece o retrato de Henrique VIII, já mencionado, perante o qual uma Isabel ajoelhada e em pranto desespera da situação política e militar em que os exércitos de Marie de Guise a colocaram; aparece uma estátua que

representa a Virgem Maria, num momento em que Isabel, rainha e mulher, acabou de fazer face à conspiração urdida, entre outros, pelo seu favorito Robert Dudley e que visava colocar no trono o duque de Norfolk; logo de seguida, e finalmente, assiste-se à assunção pela protagonista da chamada *máscara de juventude* (que realmente só surgiria mais tarde na vida da monarca Tudor). Neste sentido, o final é triunfante, embora subtilmente pontuado por um sentimento de perda que é infundido pelo choro da aia e pela música de Mozart. Para nascer uma Isabel madura, autoconfiante como rainha e auto-suficiente como mulher, morreu a jovem Isabel da vida alegre, sensual e espontânea que tanto agradara após o negro reinado de sua meia-irmã.

Ao nível dos elementos plásticos mais relevantes, deste modo, encontra-se no filme um *percurso* figurativo, quer dizer, um movimento de sentido único, aliás associado a questões e símbolos religiosos e que implica ou induz o espectador em juízos específicos de valoração dos dois grandes momentos da história: o reinado de Maria, sanguinolento, fanático, desvairado, *escuro*; o de Isabel, alegre, sensualista, sedutor, *luminoso*. O ponto de cesura, na diegese, é naturalmente o momento em que se dá a morte de Maria e o anúncio a Isabel de que é a nova rainha. Formalmente, essa passagem é indicada pelo momentâneo abandono do naturalismo, com a introdução de dois *slides* de pura luz, acompanhados de palavras que terão sido realmente ditas por Isabel I na circunstância representada e que, caracteristicamente, remetem para a esfera do transcendente. A sintaxe visual do filme, as suas grandes linhas temáticas e a referência ao passado histórico documentado articulam-se assim de forma perfeita neste momento fulcral. Como leitura da História, confirmam a tendência, que vem da época isabelina, de condenar Maria como figura tremenda e de cortejar Isabel em nome do seu encanto pessoal e de uma hipotética sacralidade.

Diferentemente, na ópera britteniana, em vez de uma evolução figurativa num sentido único encontra-se uma estratégia de *recorrência*, sendo que os elementos composicionais fulcrais – "Green leaves..." e "Happy were he..." –, uma vez estabelecido o seu significado primeiro, adquirem modulações de valor à medida que voltam a ocorrer ou ecoam noutras circunstâncias. Em parte, aliás, é a itinerância desses correlatos objectivos, verdadeiros pilares de coesão estrutural, que assegura a integridade da obra, oscilando esta entre o público e o privado, o festivo e o reflexivo, o íntimo e o político, o renascentista e o (nosso) contemporâneo.

7. *Gloriana* e *Elizabeth* apresentam ainda um outro traço em comum, aliás muito ao gosto do nosso tempo, que é a sua condição de metatextos, assumida em regime de desestabilização. Ambas as obras tematizam, em grande extensão e de forma significativa, a problemática da dissimulação. Ambas, em momentos fulcrais,

ostentam ou explicitam a sua natureza de dramas e geram o envolvimento do *lugar* do público, em cumplicidade mas também em desconstrução das convenções de ilusão dramática que são constitutivas dos seus próprios discursos como ópera e como filme.

Analisámos acima o modo como a cena de Norwich gera sentidos que são ora consentâneos, ora problemáticos face ao desenho geral dos caracteres, no ponto de desenvolvimento de *Gloriana* em que ocorre. Vimos, designadamente, como a rainha e Essex são representados pela Concórdia e pelo Tempo, figuras alegóricas do espelho irónico que é a mascarada. Podemos agora assinalar o efeito de desconstrução que a cena acarreta, não já no que respeita aos conteúdos temáticos da ópera centrados na figura da protagonista mas no que concerne à própria natureza dramática do seu discurso e à experiência dramática da sua percepção. O drama dentro do drama denuncia o carácter artificioso da obra. Por um efeito de duplicação, há actores que representam para outros actores; estes passam a ser público (da mascarada), como o espectador sentado na plateia. E o texto de segunda instância, o texto subordinado, aparece minado na sua intenção de celebrar Gloriana, não só porque os seus sentidos não condizem com a situação que se apercebe nesse público-outro (os apartes de Essex), mas mais ainda por causa de se tornar manifesto o seu carácter artificioso, que por metonímia quebra a relação de ilusão voluntária, de uma ingenuidade cultivada, do espectador com a ópera como um todo e portanto mina as possibilidades de esta se instaurar em discurso *verdadeiro* de elogio a Isabel I.

Por seu turno, a sequência final de *Elizabeth* assume também um carácter paradoxal face à natureza do seu meio de expressão. O cinema é, histórica se não constitutivamente, imagem (fotografia) animada de movimento. *Elizabeth* culmina num regresso ao icónico puro, na escolha, por parte da protagonista, de uma vida reduzida a retrato. Elemento fundador da técnica cinematográfica, o movimento constitui uma aproximação à realidade empírica semelhante à proporcionada pela introdução da perspectiva no campo da pintura.[32] A Isabel de Kapur escolhe contrariar o próprio carácter da arte e sublimar-se na imobilidade, na irrealidade. Aliás, e de novo à semelhança do que sucede em *Gloriana*, nessa sequência final encontra-se uma duplicação de planos: Isabel torna-se espectáculo, a sua corte um conjunto de espectadores. E a câmara, filmando-a de baixo, em ângulo inclinado, coloca o espectador real do filme no mesmo plano que os cortesãos, que ajoelham à passagem da soberana. O artifício, tornando-se ostensivo, resulta paradoxal: os cortesãos são como *nós*, na contemplação da protagonista, porque lhes somos assimilados e assim parece vingar a vocação realista dessa poderosa arte ou arma de ilusão que é o cinema; mas não podem ser como *nós*, porque não existem senão na tela, e tal como nós não estamos dentro da história, por mais que a carga emocional do desfecho e o enquadramento da acção nos assimile aos cortesãos isabelinos,

então eles também não existem na realidade que é a nossa e toda a retórica se desfaz.[33]

8. Em ambas as obras, cujas histórias, em todo o caso, se reportam a fases distintas da vida de Isabel I, estão em causa conflitos entre a vivência íntima e a responsabilidade política, com favoritos que se tornam perigos para a governação e para o próprio trono, e com a necessidade, por parte da rainha, de anular os movimentos subversivos. Em ambos os casos, pois, é dever da rainha sacrificar os sentimentos da mulher. Mas pelo menos uma diferença há que é importante: se *Elizabeth* termina com a adopção de uma máscara, *Gloriana* termina com a exposição cruel da fragilidade pessoal da rainha. Irrompendo nos aposentos de Isabel, que está sentada ao toucador, ainda mal vestida e sem a peruca, Essex surpreende-a na realidade de uma decadência que não pode deixar de embaraçá-la: "You see me as I am", diz ela, com amargura (Britten 172), e como a vê é velha e feia e vulnerável.

Forma-se assim uma espécie de quiasmo, em que as obras se cruzam no curioso processo de serem, cada uma, a desconstrução do próprio título. Em *Gloriana*, a rainha desvanece-se para dar lugar a Isabel: no final, cai a máscara e fica só a mulher em palco, não majestosa mas decrépita. Em *Elizabeth*, a bastarda Isabel torna-se Gloriana: no final, assume a máscara.[34] Fica, nos dois casos, a ideia de que Isabel e Gloriana são identidades virtualmente incompatíveis, que uma tem que ser sacrificada no altar da outra. A ópera e o filme desenvolvem processos simétricos de desmistificação. A sublimação da protagonista de *Elizabeth* é porventura tão desfiguradora e tão desumanizadora como a morte da rainha em *Gloriana*. Neste sentido, podemos dizer que os finais das duas obras se equivalem. Ou talvez não, se considerarmos que a conotação de Isabel com a ideia de martírio, no filme, sugere que o seu sacrifício comporta salvação, que equivale ao suplício dos justos, assim se completando o círculo aberto no início da narrativa.

9. Neste ponto da nossa análise, haverá interesse em ensaiar uma caracterização tipológica das duas obras, num plano mais vasto das estruturas imaginativas e discursivas, caracterização que designe a qualidade e os sentidos dominantes dos textos, em complemento dos aspectos que obviamente decorrem do facto de estarmos perante uma ópera e uma realização cinematográfica.

No caso de *Elizabeth*, oferece-se-nos uma solução óbvia. Estamos claramente perante uma história de formação, em que a impreparação e a imaturidade iniciais da protagonista, por um conjunto de sucessos que a própria não domina ou cujo alcance não compreende na maior parte dos momentos, através de erros, tentações e desenganos, e com o auxílio de conselheiros mais ou menos avisados, dá lugar a

uma Isabel que está, aparentemente, preparada para tudo. E o processo culmina com uma catarse extremamente sofrida.

Quanto a *Gloriana*, pode dizer-se que o pouco sucesso das suas primeiras récitas derivou, justamente, de um equívoco em torno do seu carácter tipológico. O público e a crítica estariam à espera de uma simples apologia de Isabel I e da sua época, que revertesse mais ou menos directamente a favor da rainha de hoje e dos tempos de hoje. Britten terá porventura avaliado mal a situação moral e cultural coeva (ou então foi deliberadamente provocatório), em que se anunciava com exaltação uma "nova época isabelina", após a subida ao trono da jovem homónima da rainha Tudor, em 1952 (cf. Dobson e Watson 227-251). Sob a tutela da segunda Isabel, gerava-se grande expectativa e confiança, num momento em que se vislumbrava (ou se queria vislumbrar) o fim da recessão do após-guerra: "To aspire to New Elizabethanism was broadly to hope for a new era of adventure, exploration, and expansion . . ., coupled with brilliant intellectual achievement, and, above all, with modernity nurtured by a long-lasting peace" (*idem* 233). Neste contexto, e dado o seu conteúdo problemático, *Gloriana* só podia ser mal compreendida e mal recebida. Lord Harewood, que era primo da rainha e esteve ligado à génese e à estreia da peça, sendo, ao tempo, um dos responsáveis pela Royal Opera House, recordou numa entrevista, em 1991, que "It never occurred to me that it would be other than a salutation on the part of the arts to their sovereign" (*apud* Hewison 14).[35] A muitos outros terá também surpreendido – e desagradado – a densidade que assume na obra a problemática íntima e política da filha mais nova de Henrique VIII. Longe de ser um mero exercício celebratório, *Gloriana* tinha, de facto, os condimentos necessários para despertar reservas e mesmo alguma hostilidade aquando da sua estreia, em noite de gala, na presença de Isabel II e do duque de Edimburgo. Valia quase como uma invectiva a Isabel II, uma apóstrofe incómoda à novel monarca.[36]

E, no entanto, cremos que é possível dar à obra um sentido genérico, ou encontrar-lhe o sentido e a tradição próprios e relevantes, recuperando o conceito de *panegírico*, tal como o expõe e analisa James D. Garrison. Reporta-se este estudioso da literatura a uma tradição de elogio de um governante temperado por avisos e recomendações, tradição iniciada na Antiguidade Clássica e encarada com seriedade ainda no Renascimento, onde recebeu contributos de autores como Erasmo, Thomas More e Thomas Elyot, para sugerir que, mais do que simples discurso encomiástico, o panegírico é ". . . a hybrid kind of oratory, at once demonstrative (laudatory) and deliberative (advisory)" (60). Assim, será vocação do panegírico instruir, quer o povo, quer o soberano. Esta dupla vocação depende da apresentação de um modelo ideal de monarca, pelo qual o monarca real paute a sua conduta e perante cuja realização na sua pessoa o povo preste as devidas lealdade e homenagem: "In the *laus regis* . . . the demonstrative and deliberative purposes of

panegyric coincide. The portrayal of the perfect prince functions both as popular propaganda and as royal instruction" (*idem* 63).

Não há razão para que não se estenda o conceito de panegírico a outras classes de produções que não a oratória e a poesia, como a pintura e a estatuária, que igualmente desempenharam, através dos tempos, funções públicas e que tantas vezes, na representação de reis e heróis, se apresentam carregadas de elementos figurativos que indicam a condição e o carácter dos retratados – ou que os retratados deveriam ter, digamos que em exaltação condicional.[37] Ora, entre outros aspectos de *Gloriana*, os amores (?) de Isabel e Essex, como história de exemplo, a exposição de doutrina política feita por Cecil e a referência ao amor dos súbditos no final – "I count it the glory of my crown that I have reigned with your love, and there is no jewel that I prefer before that jewel" (Britten 218), palavras que são respigadas de um conhecido discurso da rainha – enquadram-se perfeitamente na lógica do panegírico.

10. Tal como entre *Elizabeth and Essex* e *Gloriana* não há uma simples solução de continuidade, também a não há entre *Gloriana* e *Elizabeth* – como não há, ainda, entre as formas de expressão artística que respectivamente realizam, a ópera e o cinema. Há, todavia, a possibilidade de realçar que tanto no caso da ópera como no caso do cinema estamos perante artes eminentemente dramáticas e performativas, que têm certos recursos expressivos em comum, do mesmo modo que se pode dizer que entre a Isabel protagonista de Britten e a Isabel protagonista de Kapur há nexos que, se dependem, por um lado, de determinados escrúpulos de respeito pela veracidade histórica (de resto, em nenhuma das obras impecavelmente preservada), procedem também, por outro lado, de processos técnicos e compositivos postos em prática, com alguma convergência, pelos *autores* – conceito que usamos sem rebuço e sem aspas, não esquecendo embora o modelo de autoria (digamos) cooperativa que caracteriza estas formas de arte. Pensamos, designadamente, no uso que é feito de linguagens não-verbais para marcar valorativamente certos elementos: em Britten, a evocação da época na própria tessitura musical, os correlatos objectivos identificados (que são palavra e são também melodia), a simbolização da morte da rainha; em Kapur, as trevas que caracterizam Maria, a luz associada a Isabel, os enquadramentos. Pensamos, ainda, no modo como em ambas as obras são questões centrais a solidão da protagonista, o passar do tempo e a equação privado-público, ou sentimento-dever, ou mulher-rainha.

Aliás, igualmente sugestiva pode ser a detecção das facetas da tradição que *Gloriana* e *Elizabeth* optam por descurar. Especialmente notória, nestes dois produtos do após-Segunda Guerra Mundial, é a omissão quase completa da tradicional associação de Isabel à origem do Império Britânico. Se a ideia aí está, é

pela negativa: Tyrone é uma ameaça que paira sobre a Isabel moribunda de Britten (a sua derrota por Mountjoy consta de *Elizabeth and Essex* mas não entrou no libreto); em Kapur, a questão escocesa não fica propriamente resolvida, antes parece esquecer-se sem resolução. O contraste é flagrante com o filme de Michael Curtiz *The Sea Hawk* (E.U.A., 1940), produzido durante a Guerra, em que, obedecendo a ordens expressas – mas secretas – da rainha, o corsário Geoffrey Thorpe atormenta os navios de carga espanhóis que atravessam o Atlântico carregados de riquezas. A película conta com o desempenho de Errol Flynn (de marcado perfil romântico-aventureiro), que faz de Thorpe, e com uma Flora Robson que, no papel de rainha, aparece triunfante sobre a Armada de Filipe II. Passada a tormenta, para Britten e para Kapur, tal ênfase não parece ter-se revelado pertinente.

Mudam-se os tempos, mudam-se as verdades...

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[1] *Vd.* as obras de Strong e de Walker – dois estudos sobre dados de sinal contrário, de entre as numerosas referências disponíveis.

[2] A ópera *Eliza* (1754), de Thomas Augustine Arne, com libreto de Richard Rolt, é uma alegoria patriótica – produzida entre a Guerra da Sucessão da Áustria e a Guerra dos Sete Anos – entre cujas personagens Isabel não figura. Não obstante, é significativa a sua evocação no título, a par da presença de uma personagem denominada *Britannia* (cf. Parkinson). Arne foi autor da música de "Rule Britannia".

No século XIX, Isabel figurou ainda em óperas de Pavesi, Carafa, Donizetti e Giacometti; no século XX, em óperas de Klenau, Walter e Fortner. Consulte-se Warrack e West 218.

[3] A título de curiosidade, pois não cabe aqui efectuar a respectiva análise, refira-se que, "inspirado" (como vem dito no rosto) nesse filme, foi publicado entre nós um romance, intitulado *Isabel de Inglaterra*, da autoria de Amilcar Celta (1943).

[4] Na sequência deste filme, o mesmo realizador lançou em 2007 *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*, que se debruça sobre os inícios da exploração e da colonização da América do Norte e sobre a derrota da Armada Invencível. É fácil depreender que o realizador terá intenções de formar uma trilogia, dedicando outra obra ao período final do reinado e da vida de Isabel I.

[5] De acordo com os dados recenseados por Michael Dobson e Nicola J. Watson, à síntese de Frenzel deve ser acrescentada a relação de Isabel com o conde de Leicester, proeminente no filme *Elizabeth* e num romance como *Kenilworth*, de Walter Scott, e a relação de Isabel com Shakespeare. Por outro lado, a associação temática da monarca Tudor ao poder naval britânico e ao império revela-se igualmente importante.

Em comparação com o estudo de Frenzel, o escopo da análise de Dobson e Watson é simultaneamente mais restrito – concentra-se sobre produções britânicas – e mais vasto – não se debruça apenas sobre literatura, atendendo também às artes plásticas, à historiografia, à ópera e ao cinema.

[6] Sobre a génese da ópera, ver a biografia de Britten da autoria de Humphrey Carpenter (305-312, 317-318), a análise de Antonia Malloy-Chirgwin (115-126) e os dados compilados por Paul Banks com Rosamund Strode (104-122 e *passim*). Ressalta no relacionamento de Britten com Plomer – como denotam a correspondência trocada, os manuscritos do libreto, o rumo das sugestões, também o diário da assistente do trabalho de composição – que aquele orientou o próprio processo de concepção e elaboração do libreto, tendo sempre a última palavra (cf. Mitchell e Reed; Reed 19-41; Alexander).

Sobre a recepção no ano da estreia, ver ainda Carpenter (325-328) e Wiebe (144, 156-157); e também os estudos de Antonia Malloy ("Britten's Major Set-Back" e "*Gloriana*: A Bibliography" 173-177) e Donald Mitchell ("Fit for a Queen?").

Entretanto, a ópera foi sujeita a revisão, significativa, sobretudo, no que respeita ao epílogo, com vista a nova apresentação em 1966 (cf. Malloy, "Britten's Major Set-Back" 63-64; Banks e Strode 104-105, 149-150). Malloy-Chirgwin (123, 128) sugere que foi pela falta de tempo tida para a composição, e portanto sem intenção de alterar ou prescindir do seu conceito original, que Britten reviu o epílogo – não em resposta às críticas desfavoráveis. O autor estaria insatisfeito com o acabamento da sua obra mas teria mantido a concepção.

[7] Sobre o pacifismo como convicção pessoal com consequências na vida de Britten e na sua arte, ver Mitchell, "Violent Climates".

[8] *Billy Budd* tem libreto de E. M. Forster e Eric Crozier. Encontram-se sugestões de atracção homoerótica entre Billy e o capitão Vere e ainda entre aquele e o perverso Claggart (cf. Hindley 147-154).

Heather Wiebe, que sublinha a desadequação de *Gloriana* ao contexto de certo "neo-isabelismo" militante no período em que a Inglaterra começava a libertar-se de algumas das restrições sentidas no quotidiano do após-guerra, estabelece a seguinte ligação entre as circunstâncias de 1951 e as de 1953: "The Coronation was a ritual invocation of optimism, making palpable otherwise foggy ideas about the shape of British society and its role in the world, and about British vitality in the face of hardship and change. In this sense it followed on the 1951 Festival of Britain, organised by the Labour government as a statement of post-war recovery. The Coronation, in many ways, was a Tory response. It articulated an optimistic

British modernity in self-consciously different terms, emphasising social hierarchy and individual achievement rather than egalitarianism, and reinvoking Empire (in the new form of the Commonwealth) rather than focusing more exclusively on Britain as an island nation" (146-147).

[9] Sobre o tema "Green leaves", cf. Wiebe 163-165. A ideia de *correlato objectivo* é enunciada por Eliot num ensaio de 1919, nos termos seguintes: "The only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an 'objective correlative'; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that *particular* emotion; such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked" (145).

Cremos que na música se encontram bons exemplos ilustrativos deste conceito: em *Pedro e o Lobo* (1936), de Sergei Prokofiev, Pedro associa-se às cordas, o lobo à trompa, o pássaro à flauta, o gato ao clarinete, etc. Dado o carácter superiormente abstracto da linguagem musical, em que a distância do enunciado ao referente (o efeito? o significado?) é muito acentuada, torna-se necessário apostar e confiar na capacidade evocativa de alguns segmentos recorrentes (um acorde, uma frase – quer dizer, uma melodia ou parte dela –, um instrumento, um contraponto) para criar o efeito ou o sentido desejado.

Pode ser assinalado que Britten compôs *The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra*, em 1946, com intenções didácticas análogas às que levaram Prokofiev a escrever *Pedro e o Lobo*. Por outro lado, à semelhança do que se verifica nesta última obra, no seu *Billy Budd* "Ogni interprete viene caratterizzato da uno segmento o da una sonorità particolare" (Bassi 84).

É também oportuno recordar que já Helen Gardner sugeriu que uma aproximação à música é decisiva para compreender a concepção estrutural da própria poesia eliotiana (cf. 36-56 e *passim*). Um ano antes do estudo de Gardner, num ensaio de 1948, também Wallace Stevens qualificou Eliot de *poeta musical* (cf. 124-125).

[10] Assim trata a rainha Essex na intimidade (cf. Britten 104), e ainda tão tarde quanto na cena do toucador (cf. *idem* 180).

[11] Em relação ao original, transcrito por Lytton Strachey (105), verifica-se que a versificação foi arbitrariamente alterada; mais importante, nota-se um propósito de redução da alteridade histórica do texto, pela substituição de vocabulário desusado.

[12] Esta conclusão, porém, não parece ser tirada pela própria Isabel, na medida em que não há aprofundamento psicológico nesta fase da obra. Digamos que as inferências irónicas que retiramos do conteúdo desta cena são disponibilizadas ao espectador mas não interiorizadas ou consciencializadas dentro do universo do drama, pelas personagens.

A propósito desta cena, cabe discordar do que escreve Malloy-Chirgwin, querendo defender *Gloriana* dos seus detractores: "Those who complained that the decorative and narrative strands hung rather loosely together had missed the whole point of Britten's carefully planned form: it is obvious from his first stated vision of the work that pageantry and drama constituted two quite distinct types of material which were never intended for close integration" (127). Cremos ter tornado óbvio o modo como na mascarada o cerimonial público e o drama pessoal se articulam engenhosamente. (A III Cena deste mesmo Acto constitui novo momento exemplificativo dessa integração de planos.) Não invalida esta refutação da tese de Malloy-Chirgwin o facto de a mascarada ser um bom exemplo de como o virtuosismo musical pode corresponder a um menosprezo do libreto, cuja inteligibilidade imediata sofre com a exploração de efeitos auditivos complexos – atente-se no desdobramento do coro.

[13] Repare-se na subtil coerência figurativa, que dá ao espectador sugestões de que as personagens se não apercebem: diz-se que o tempo tirará a Isabel os seus *regalia* – e o Tempo é, na mascarada, uma *figura* de Essex.

[14] Cf. Marcus, Mueller, e Rose 302-303, onde se verifica que o texto teve origem noutra circunstância.

[15] Isabel, já muito fraca, replica então a Sir Robert Cecil: "The word 'must' is not to be used to Princes!" (Britten 42). Em *Elizabeth*, quando Sir William Cecil (historicamente, o pai daquele) insta Isabel a que tenha gestos conciliatórios para com a França e a Espanha, em certo momento de dificuldade política, Isabel diz: "The word *must* is not used to a princess" (todas as citações são por nós transcritas directamente do filme). Indicará a coincidência que a frase

provém de uma fonte histórica comum (*e.g.*, Strachey 279; Dobson e Watson 14) ou que o argumentista do filme se apropriou, com certa liberdade criativa, do trecho da obra britteniana?

[16] É discutível que a rainha fique reconciliada com a (sua) morte, como pretende Arnold Whittall (452). No que esse crítico tem razão, a nosso ver, é em apontar que se trata de ". . . a conclusion of true pathos, worlds away from a conventional operatic death scene and providing a striking counterweight to the opera's earlier emphasis on public ceremonial" (*ibidem*).

Dobson e Watson (29-30) parecem ver o epílogo da ópera como uma espécie de após-drama, em que a exploração ficcional da psicologia da protagonista cede lugar a uma simples conformidade com os documentos históricos – como se a personagem deixasse de ser o centro focalizador da análise psicológica e perdesse densidade dramática, reduzindo-se a ser uma mera portadora de citações da Isabel histórica; como se houvesse separação ou oposição entre essas duas dimensões e o "regresso à História" não tivesse, ele próprio, carga dramática ou psicológica significativa.

[17] Apesar desse amplo consenso, parece-nos de ter em mente a reserva de Peter Evans, desde logo tendo em conta as diferenças que detectaremos de seguida entre o livro e a ópera: "It remains debatable how much Plomer and Britten drew upon Lytton Strachey's *Elizabeth and Essex* in designing a plot for their opera, though the particular cross-section they chose to treat, from a long and intricately compounded reign, was obviously comparable to that which Strachey had made his central theme" (Evans, "Number Principle and Dramatic Momentum" 77-78).

Fonte secundária terá sido a biografia da autoria de J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I*, publicada em 1934, que Plomer enviou a Britten como ". . . a sort of corrective to Lytton Strachey" (palavras da correspondência; *apud* Reed 19; também em Carpenter 307). Aí terá sido colhida a cena de Norwich (cf. Malloy-Chirgwin 118). Não nos foi possível consultar essa obra.

[18] De modo semelhante, na ópera não é Essex quem se vê correr as ruas, o que o poupa à humilhação do despejo do bacio. Mas o que é sobretudo significativo é que a rebelião nas ruas de Londres encontra, na ópera, reacção patente de várias figuras do povo (há um grande envolvimento popular – adverso – na situação), enquanto no livro se retrata uma espécie de alheamento cauteloso que deixa os agentes como que sós em cena: "By noon Essex and his band were at St. Paul's, and there was no sign of any popular movement. He walked onward, crying aloud as he went that there was a plot to murder him, and that the Crown had been sold to the Spanish Infanta. But it was useless; there was no response; not a creature joined him. Those who were in the street stood still and silent, while perplexed and frightened faces peered out at him from doors and windows on either side. He had hoped to make a speech at Paul's Cross, but in such an atmosphere a set oration was clearly impossible; and besides, his self-confidence had now utterly gone. As he walked on down Cheapside, all men could see that he was in desperation; the sweat poured from his face, which was contorted in horror; he knew it at last – he was ruined – his whole life had crashed to pieces in this hideous fiasco" (Strachey 239-240).

[19] Alguns dados mais no mesmo sentido: Strachey refere o modo como, após a pronúncia da sentença de morte, preso na Torre, Essex sucumbe à angústia da condenação infernal e, vilmente, denuncia todos os que o apoiaram; e relata ainda, com certo detalhe, o decurso da execução (cf. 253-254, 261-263). Nada disto consta da ópera. Aqui, as atenções concentram-se na rainha. Este não é (também) o drama de Essex.

Parece-nos inverosímil a interpretação da ópera como reflexão britteniana sobre a arte e a condição do artista, interpretação que é proposta por um biógrafo do compositor (cf. Carpenter 322-324).

[20] Dobson e Watson escrevem da metodologia de Strachey que "His study reinvents Elizabeth as a post-Freudian textbook hysteric, the guilty sexual obsessions and incapabilities of the old woman traced to childhood and adolescence" (222). Todavia, é caso para duvidar de que mesmo Freud ou os "pós-freudianos" subscrevessem certos lances mais arrojados de intuição – ou de invenção, de ficção – psicológica, até porque se trata de um diagnóstico feito *post-mortem*, quando já não é possível sentar a paciente no divã. Mas, valha a verdade, nem sempre isso é sentido como obstáculo intransponível pelos praticantes da crítica psicanalítica.

[21] Pode lembrar-se que o autor se encontrava ligado ao Bloomsbury Group e que acompanhou a elaboração de *Orlando* por Virginia Woolf, publicado no mesmo ano que o seu próprio livro.
[22] Jack C. Ellis (467-470) aponta a internacionalização de certas produções cinematográficas marcantes como característica dos anos mais recentes.
[23] Repare-se que esta situação é elidida da memória de *Gloriana*. Aí, Isabel é uma figura praticamente sem passado. Não se fala no pai, na mãe, na meia-irmã. Só a oração do final do I Acto, em todo o caso tornada quase inócua pela ausência de referências à Reforma, deixa vislumbrar alguma coisa dessa problemática. A heroína de *Elizabeth*, pelo contrário, equaciona a sua acção com reminiscências várias: recusa casar com Filipe de Espanha, o que representaria tomar o lugar de sua meia-irmã – ou deixar Filipe retomar o lugar que com ela tivera em Inglaterra; ambiciona combater eficazmente os inimigos, como Henrique VIII; quer representar o divino junto dos mortais, inspirando-se no culto mariano que a Reforma quisera erradicar.
[24] Diga-se que não se sabe muito bem em que data termina a acção e que há mesmo aspectos de correspondência difícil com o horizonte histórico. Condensados no último quarto de hora do filme, como se fossem factos concatenados, assistimos à outorga do baronato a Sir William Cecil (que, contudo, não foi dispensado da Corte, antes continuou a desempenhar cargos importantes), favor concedido em 1571, e a um conluio – que deve ser a chamada *conspiração de Ridolfi* – cuja descoberta redundou na execução de Norfolk, ocorrida em 1572, bem como de Arundel. Mas este, na realidade, foi apenas preso, vindo a morrer, já livre, oito anos depois. Acresce que Robert Dudley não parece ter estado implicado nessa conjura. A ideia da sua cumplicidade faz até pouco sentido em face das altas responsabilidades que lhe seriam ainda confiadas. De resto, as legendas do final dizem que Isabel tinha quarenta anos de reinado pela frente, o que situa os últimos acontecimentos em 1563.

Por outro lado, é de notar que, neste encadeamento, é omitido que Maria Stuart era prisioneira em Inglaterra à data da conspiração de Ridolfi, talvez para não manchar a apoteose de Isabel com a evocação da morte da rainha escocesa (um acontecimento que figura em *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*). Ao delineamento da acção e das personagens colocam-se, pois, problemas de veracidade ou de fidelidade histórica.
[25] Que Isabel demora a assimilar a especificidade (e os limites) da sua posição evidencia-se ainda depois, já com o duque de Anjou em Inglaterra, quando, passeando no rio com Robert (que tem melhor consciência do que ela dos problemas envolvidos), pergunta: "Does not a queen sit under the same stars as any other woman?" É claro que sim, mas é igualmente óbvio que a questão não é essa. Tanto assim é que ela – e não outra mulher qualquer – é logo de seguida alvo de um misterioso ataque com flechas, que se percebe ter Norfolk por responsável.
[26] Não podemos subscrever a miopia reducionista de Dobson e Watson, que de maneira nenhuma dão conta da complexidade de concepção nem da intensidade dramática desta sequência: "The film culminates with a vision of the young and sexually active Elizabeth . . . turning herself into Elizabeth I as a career decision. . . . Sexual renunciation is here conceived as women's magazine makeover . . ." (257).
[27] Sobre o entendimento pevsneriano da arte e do carácter dos Ingleses, não totalmente livre de controvérsia, ver Buruma (257-266, 271-282).
[28] Deve ser sublinhado que a representação do Protestantismo no filme não é isenta de ambiguidades. A oposição entre Catolicismo e Anglicanismo é visualmente figurada através de simbologia religiosa convencional: o predomínio da cruz (no genérico inicial vemos cruzes sobre fundo movente de vermelho e negro, prenunciando o martírio de protestantes na fogueira com que abre a acção do filme, e aparecem ainda as janelas da Torre de Londres em forma de cruz) dá lugar à imagem da Virgem, inspiradora de uma serenidade que contrasta com a dor e a violência – mas só aparentemente (se quisermos, na aparência espectacular com a qual Isabel se dá a conhecer à corte como Gloriana), pois aqui também há, paradoxalmente, uma violentação pessoal (e sexual-emocional) para se voltar a ser – e não para se deixar de ser – "uma virgem". Isto mesmo encontra expressão formal através do processo de montagem, que, em ritmo acelerado, integra na sequência final uma série de reminiscências, alusivas quer à superação da violência (à sobrevivência) quer à perda do amor.
[29] Para um contexto para a ideia do carácter britânico da música de Britten, ver Howkins (89-98).

[30] Ou *quase* necessariamente. Numa figura como Richard Wagner unem-se o compositor e o libretista, mas mesmo Wagner precisava de cantores, instrumentistas, cenógrafos... Quanto ao cinema, não é inconcebível uma obra em que a mesma pessoa se encarregue singularmente da realização, da escrita do guião, da filmagem, da representação, da montagem, etc. – mas é, no mínimo, inusitado.

[31] Para uma apreciação global destas estratégias, afigura-se produtivo o cotejo sistemático de *Gloriana* e *Elizabeth* com os escritos de Isabel I (ver Marcus, Mueller, e Rose), e bem assim com estudos biográficos cuja metodologia radique no uso ostensivo de documentação, por processos citacionais (*e.g.*, Perry).

[32] Como sugeriu Yuri Lotman: "O cinema, enquanto invenção técnica que ainda não se tornara uma arte, foi antes de mais fotografia em movimento. A possibilidade de fixar o movimento aumentou ainda mais a confiança na autenticidade dos filmes como documentos. Os dados da psicologia mostram que a passagem da fotografia fixa ao filme animado representa para o espírito a introdução do volume na imagem. A exactidão com que a vida era reproduzida tinha atingido, ao que parecia, o seu máximo" (27; nesta linha de raciocínio, sobre a introdução do som sincronizado, cf. 56).

[33] É, aliás, curiosa a recorrência no cinema de uma visão do Período Isabelino como época teatral, em efeito de desconstrução da ilusão dramática-cinematográfica – do *Henry V* de Laurence Olivier (Reino Unido, 1944, sobre a peça de Shakespeare) ao já aqui mencionado *Shakespeare in Love*, para darmos apenas dois exemplos.

A propósito da primeira dessas obras, refira-se que Anthony Davies escreveu que "All Olivier's films are remarkable for their constant oscillation between the cinematic and the theatrical, and their fusion of the two distinctly different dramatic languages. Not only does this arise from the unconscious instincts of Olivier the film maker, an indication of his claim to be an *auteur*, but there is, too, a conscious shifting between the elements of the two media" (163). E vale a pena notar, a par disto, que o filme de Olivier teve um impacto significativo, a vários níveis, na história do cinema, e não apenas do cinema de filiação shakespeariana.

[34] Por outro lado, a Isabel do final de *Elizabeth* é uma mulher cuja vulnerabilidade, subitamente disfarçada, ninguém dentro do filme conhece tão bem como o espectador; a Isabel de *Gloriana*, na crua lucidez do final, já nem a si mesma consegue esconder a sua fragilidade. O espelho que pousa à entrada de Essex nos seus aposentos corresponde, pela negativa, ao artifício especular da mascarada: agora já não há hipótese de ilusão.

[35] Num livro de memórias, o mesmo aristocrata qualificou a récita da estreia como "one of the great disasters of operatic history" (*apud* Hewison 1). Harewood teve um papel importante nos anos de 1952 e 1953. Foi numa conversa entre ele, Britten e Pears que surgiu a ideia de produzir uma ópera *nacional* e que foi decidido que o tema seria Isabel I. Foi também ele quem sugeriu *Elizabeth and Essex* como texto de referência e quem garantiu o patrocínio régio (cf. *idem* 11-12; Wiebe 143).

[36] A rainha e o príncipe Filipe tinham tomado conhecimento prévio da ópera, em audiência privada com Britten e Plomer. No total, a ópera teria dez récitas em 1953, incluindo duas transmissões radiofónicas em directo.

[37] Encontram-se numerosos exemplos no estudo de Nicola Smith *The Royal Image and the English People*.

The Advancement of Catholicism in Britain as seen by the Nineteenth-Century Portuguese Press

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1. Images of Britain in the Portuguese Catholic Press

The period covered by this paper, which was dominated in Portugal by the acid wit and revolutionary spirit of the members of the so-called "Geração de 70", was profoundly marked by the spread of several currents of thought advocating different attitudes towards society, politics, science and, in consequence, religion. Foremost amongst the movements traversing the period were Socialism, Republicanism, Positivism and Evolutionism, all of which questioned religious thought and not infrequently provoked frontal opposition to the Catholic Church and its representatives.

Many of the periodicals which appeared at this time were vehicles for the new ideas issuing from the so-called "civilized" Europe, basing their approach to the real world on Positivist thinking and the concept of Evolution.[i] They strove, simultaneously, to combat the decadence of the institutions and the laws whilst blatantly and ironically denouncing the pettiness and the corruption of Portuguese Society and pointing the way towards the reform of customs and behaviour in politics, education and religion.[ii]

Over this period, the number of Portuguese periodicals increased substantially[iii] and a whole generation took an interest in what went on abroad, always a direct or indirect indication of the cultural state of the nation. Although 'foreign' was usually synonymous with French culture, there were also echoes in the Portuguese periodical press of a Great Britain which was experiencing the economic and cultural apogee of the Victorian era.

The press, as a form of communication, expresses the anxieties of the times and conveys an awareness of how society will evolve through a discourse which is, in itself, a writing of mediation. By not restricting to being a mere reflection of the concerns of its readership, the press creates new interests amongst its readers and gains the power to clarify, change, mystify or even cloud events, as well as the ability to exercise ideological pressure according to predefined objectives. It is clear, therefore, that rather than merely reflecting reality, journalism (which was, by far, the principal form of mass communication in the nineteenth century) portrays events in accordance with a system of variable conventions and interests which influences the selection, presentation, and analysis of the facts.

In this context, the interests of the readers of the religious periodicals, the ones which will be dealt with in this paper, and the mediating role exercised by their contributors, are both of the utmost relevance. When conveying a message, writers reconstruct and retransmit the information at their disposal, often with the aim of achieving a measure of empathy with their readers. In this way, the standards, values and preferences of the readership exert an influence over the production of the texts appearing in the press, in general terms, and more specifically, in the case in point, the press of a religious nature. In this way, the orientation of the articles under study was influenced *a priori* by an implicit or anticipated readership, clearly demonstrating that the authors were well aware of the characteristics, habits and tastes of their readers. Thus it can be said that the receptive instance plays a significant part in

defining what image of the foreign country is primarily conveyed, whilst, at the same time, the latter efficiently discloses the problems inherent to the receptive culture.

As personal perception and the values and training of the contributors are manifest in the portrayal of events in these Catholic periodicals, it would be a mistake to underestimate the role of the author as a mediator of a cultural image. Although the vast majority of the articles under study were anonymous it should be kept in mind that the contributors were obviously Catholics, had some mastery of the English language and probably did not diverge greatly in profile from Silva Ramos, the founder of several Catholic periodicals and one of the few authors who signed the published articles.

A priest, university lecturer and an author, Luis Maria da Silva Ramos (1841-1921) was awarded a doctorate in Theology by Coimbra University, and was appointed Professor there in 1874. He lectured at the Seminaries of Braga and Coimbra, occupied the Chair of the Faculty of Theology at Coimbra University and was a member of the Philosophical Academy of St Thomas Aquinus, in Bologna, the Philosophical-Scholastic Society of St Thomas Aquinus, in Barcelona and also the Society of St Paul for the Dissemination of the Catholic Press, in Rome. Luis da Silva Ramos was the founder and director of several Catholic periodicals, including *A Civilização Católica* (Porto, 1878-1888) which is distinguished by the number of articles signed by Silva Ramos himself with references to the progress of Catholicism in Anglican Great Britain.[iv]

The main sources used by authors of the articles were British periodicals with a considerable readership such as *The Times*, *The Morning Chronicle* or *The Illustrated London News*, which were relatively widely read in Portugal.[v]

The intentionality of the author(s), the horizon(s) of expectation of the reader(s) and the auto-identitary projection which occurs in the acts of production and reception, are aspects which require reassessment in the case of any text which has been previously translated, such as the articles under analysis, most of which were very probably translated from English periodicals. In his work, the translator is obliged to come to terms with his multifaceted role as reader, interpreter, receptor, transmitter, co-author or re-creator. Consequently the act of translation is not merely a question of representation but also the reinterpretation of the 'Other'.

The religious periodicals chosen for analysis in this paper were mostly weeklies, fortnightlies or monthlies and can be broadly classified as being cultural and literary rather than predominantly topical or political in character.

Although the daily newspapers, the majority of which were of a topical and political nature, were the most widely read and are therefore fundamental to the study of history of the press and Portuguese culture in the nineteenth century, they are not necessarily the most important for the study of the image of Great Britain disseminated by Portuguese journalists in the second half of the century. This justifies our choice of publications of a simultaneously instructive and recreational vocation, intended for less well-educated and informed readers, which included titles such as *Leituras Populares* (Lisboa, 1865-1880) *O Ramalhete do Cristão* (Lisboa, 1871-1877), *A Família* (Lisboa, 1878) *O Mensageiro_Popular* (Porto, 1885-1889) or *A Civilização Cristã* (Lisboa, 1889-1890).

The principal characteristic of these Catholic publications was their educational purpose, not infrequently alleviated by a measure of leisure content. Allied to the strategy of educating through amusement, there was the desire to provide moral support to the family, intimately linked to the Christian ideals and values of the

family and work. The example of the introduction to the first issue of *A Civilização Cristã* is particularly revealing:

"Another champion is born, a peaceful champion, a fighter for Good and the Faith, which will present itself in an easy and pleasant way (…). This is a religious and moralising journal. Whatever diverges from these two principles will have no place in its pages. Its aim is to offer healthy reading matter for the family, as reading is indispensable. Read but do not allow the imagination and the heart to lose their way and let virtue remain unharmed." (Figueira 2)

The tone of moral struggle and mission which emanates from the previous extract underlines the fact that the main concern of these religious publications was to teach the lesson of the Catholic faith, particularly to the great mass of the population, as a form of combat against the voices of agnosticism and atheism. The dissemination of Socialist and /or Republican ideas, the publicising of new scientific discoveries (especially Evolutionism) and the defence of a secular culture which was hostile towards theological ideas led many to question Christian doctrine and the teachings of the Gospels. These periodicals therefore were designed to spread the Catholic faith and religious principles, in an attempt to fight agnosticism and atheism which were feared to be growing. The following extract from the programme of *O Mensageiro Popular* is illustrative of this point:

"Its main aim is (…) to correct the many errors which are broadcast daily against the Catholic Doctrine, without which neither the individual, nor the family, nor indeed nations can be at peace (…) Down with the priests, many say today: We want freedom (…). How can you have Freedom without priests? Without Religion it is impossible to have freedom, and without priests it is impossible to have Religion (…) Neither Napoleon nor Bismarck, these two great Statesmen (…) wanted freedom like the Socialists intend to offer (…).

Science is not against it, nor can it be; because true science and true Religion are two rivers running side by side and springing from the same source, which is God." ("Programa do Mensageiro Popular" 785-786)

2. "The Century of the Great Catholic Restoration": The Progress of Catholicism in the British Isles

It is precisely within the scope of this evangelical and moralising function that there are constant references to the progress of Catholicism in the British Isles. An apparently surprising fact, it was, however, considered paradigmatic in a nation whose History was marked by religious conflicts, whose official religion was Anglicanism, but at the same time it was considered one of the most highly developed countries of the world, not only in technological and scientific matters, but also as far as the defence of personal freedom is concerned. It will be recalled that in 1833, a few years before the coronation of Queen Victoria, the new Parliament included Irish Catholics and members of Nonconformist Churches, in a manifestation of a certain tolerance towards different religious convictions. The periodicals under study refer to the variety of religious confessions with the purpose of showing that the British people who decided to embrace Catholicism had done it due to true conviction and not because there were not many other alternatives to the established Church.[vi] In 1886, for example the situation in Great Britain had changed substantially to the advantage of Catholicism, as the periodicals noted:

"The recently held parliamentary elections represent a new step forward for Catholicism in that country. The former House included sixty Catholic members, all of whom were Irish with the lone exception of one English member. The present House includes eighty three Catholic members of whom seventy-nine are Irish, three English and one Scot. It is the first time after the so called reform of Henry VIII, that a

Catholic member was elected in Scotland." ("Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra" 512)

The revocation of the Text and Corporation Act (1828), the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829) and above all the Oxford Movement, to be dealt with later in this paper, which occurred at this University in the beginning of the eighteen-thirties, doubtlessly contributed towards greater tolerance in society regarding different religious beliefs, particularly Catholicism. Whereas in the middle of the nineteenth century there had still been much popular agitation against the Catholic Church in England, in the period under study there appears to have greater tolerance towards other religious confessions on the part of the established Church. It will be recalled, for example, that tests of a religious character for admission to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were abolished in 1871.

It is within this framework that the constant news items concerning the growth of Catholicism in Great Britain can be explained. The aspects which were most frequently mentioned in the articles were as follows: conversions to Catholicism; the foundation of new churches, convents and monasteries; the re-establishment of religious orders; ceremonies carried out in accordance with Catholic rites; appointments of Catholics to political posts of responsibility; relations between the Vatican and the British Government; and constantly updated information of a statistical nature regarding the growing number of members of the Catholic Church and Catholic practices, both in Great Britain and in parts of the British Empire.

As far as the conversion to Catholicism of Anglicans or members of other confessions are concerned, the articles paid special attention to the cases of the upper echelons of the Clergy, the aristocracy, political figures and/or their families, members of Parliament and the Diplomatic Corps and also academics or intellectuals. The following passage is just one of the many examples it would be possible to offer:

"The conversions of many distinguished personages who move in High Society have been announced in recent times. Lord South, Lord Granard, the Countess of Portalington have embraced Catholicism. There is also talk of a student of Oxford University who was preparing to be ordained in the Anglican Church, a vicar of a parish in the West of England and the superior of a community of ladies (…). In an English Catholic newspaper there are revelations which terrify the established Church, the conversions of the following dignitaries being noted, amongst others:

The Earl of Granville, former Prime Minister in the Russell Cabinet is the brother of the famous Lady Georgina Fullerton who is considered to be one of the most eminent Catholic writers.

The mother of the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal, is a catholic.

Mr. Gladstone's sister is also a Catholic.

Sir George Grey, former Minister of the Realm, has many Catholics amongst his relatives and amongst them there is a sister-in-law who is a nun.

Mr. Monsell, the former deputy chairman of the Board of Trade, was recently converted to Catholicism

Sir Rounfiell Palmer has a brother who is a Catholic. The aunt of Sir Robert Collier is a catholic, too.

Mr. Coleridge, a lawyer, who is expected to become the future attorney-general in a Liberal Cabinet, has a brother who is a Jesuit priest.

In the present Ministry, the Duke of Marlborough has a Catholic sister-in-law, Lady Portalington.

The sister of Lord Stanley, Lady Emma Talbot, has a brother who is a priest and many other Catholic relatives (…).

The same newspaper relates that not a week passes without Catholicism making recruits in the English aristocracy (…).

All this is marvellous!!" ("Progresso do Catolicismo em Inglaterra" 242-243)[vii]

The writers also provide evidence of conversions to Catholicism occurring in the different dominions of the British Empire, such as Malta, Hong- Kong and Australia.[viii]

The foundation of new churches, convents and monasteries, as well as the re-establishment of the religious orders in Great Britain were also announced with jubilation in the periodicals, which wasted no opportunity to damage with these news items those who raised their voices against the Church in Portugal:

"In England Catholicism advances in an extraordinary fashion.[ix] This is what we read in a magazine from abroad: This is the century of the great Catholic restoration in England. A few weeks ago Msgr. Coffin, the Bishop of Southwork [sic] (…) consecrated the Convent of Parkminster in the County of Sussex. (…) The Church of the Dominicans on Haverstoch- Hill [sic] was opened for worship.

On 14th July, the Poignton Marists inaugurated the Church of Saint Mary. Another is being built, with a monastery for the Premonstratensians expelled from France. The Duke of Norfolk is taking great interest in this work. At Belworth a Gothic temple dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi has been inaugurated. Finally a vast church dedicated to Mary Star of the Sea has been erected at Hastings due to the generosity of the poet Patmore. (…) This church was solemnly consecrated on the day of the Visitation by Msgr. Coffin assisted by several other distinguished ecclesiastics.

It can be seen that in England, a Protestant country, monks are free because they are allowed to build churches and convents. Here in Portugal the day is rare when the 'Conimbricense' does not cry out against the religious orders which it imagines contrary to freedom and even against the development of education! Credite Posteri!" ("Crónica" 350)[x]

Ceremonies carried out according to Catholic rites were frequently reported in the articles under study: masses, christenings, processions and pilgrimages, amongst others. *A Família* (Lisboa, 1878) went as far as to publish the timetables of Catholic religious services in several English parishes, in an attempt to demonstrate the extreme zeal of the parish clergy in a Protestant country, but where the advancement of Catholicism was constant.

Also worthy of note are news items concerning the cult of the image of Saints abolished by the Reformation), amongst which there was special mention of an image of St. Peter in one of London's churches, a copy of one in the Vatican, and also the figure of the Virgin Mary in St. Paul's Cathedral:

"Catholicism makes greater and greater advances in England. In the great Cathedral of St. Paul, in London, (…) the administrators have decided to place the image of the Holy Virgin with a halo in the Cathedral.

We will have the rare and consoling satisfaction of seeing one of most moving and interesting symbols of our Faith in the famous cathedral of the Reformation. If this comes about, in an obvious contradiction to Protestant doctrine, which does not allow the cult of images, it will undoubtedly be the prognosis of one of the most brilliant victories of the She whom the Church hails as triumphant against all heresies (…)." ("Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra" 22)[xi]

As far as the appointment of Catholics to political office was concerned, and recording the importance of the approval of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), the authors considered that the responsibilities exercised by the English Catholics since then, had been no more than the just reward for their loyalty and dedication to the country's institutions and their respect for the British Crown. Nevertheless any appointment of a Catholic to public office was reported with jubilation by the periodicals, which saw it as yet another proof of the vitality and advancement of the

Church of Rome in Great Britain. In this political and religious context, the efforts to restore diplomatic relations between the British Government and the Holy See were of crucial importance to Catholics. Special emphasis was given to the Duke of Norfolk's visit to Rome in the winter of 1888 and, above all, to the position of the British Government regarding the crisis between the Italian Government and the Pope in 1889. Quoting excerpts from the most important London daily newspapers, the writers expressed confidence regarding the British Government's defence of the Pontiff, manifested in the attitudes and words of its leading representatives.

The statistical data regarding the number of Catholic churchgoers, institutions and practises in Great Britain and its Colonies around the World was presented as documentation of an almost official and scientifically irrefutable character, providing proof of the extraordinary progress of Catholicism in British dominions. The following is a case in point:

"England moves little by little towards the truth, and the moment can almost be calculated when all of it will convert and join the Catholic brotherhood. The firm progress of Catholicism in this realm is the evidence of the work that is being carried out in its midst, well shown by the following facts:

The Catholics, whom Anglican Protestantism had thought to have annihilated for ever in England, busy themselves in multiplying religious buildings, decorating temples, endowing monasteries. They educate, preach, convert and create a following of many of those who are outside the Church, by their example. At the end of three centuries and despite persecution 1,500,000 are part of the population of England and their Church grows year by year.

And the proof is that [since] a year ago the number of members of the clergy, churches, chapels, convents and monasteries has increased at a rate which clearly shows this significant progress. At the beginning of 1867 there were 1608 priests, today there are 1639; the number of churches and chapels, which was at that time

1207 now totals 1283; there were 220 nunneries, now there are 227; there were 63 monasteries whilst today there are 67. So there is an increase of 31 priests, 76 churches and chapels, 7 nunneries and 4 monasteries. (…) To demonstrate even further the advancement of Catholicism, we can compare these statistics with those of 1843." ("Progresso do Catolicismo em Inglaterra" 241)[xii]

3. Manning and Newman and the Oxford Movement

Within the scope of the articles covering the progress of Catholicism in Great Britain the activities of Cardinal Manning and John Henry Newman received particular attention.

Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892) was Newman's successor as one of the principal mentors of the Oxford Movement and when converted to Catholicism Manning succeeded Wiseman[xiii] as Archbishop of Westminster, in 1865. Ten years later he was created Cardinal. In addition to publishing a number of controversial works of a religious nature, Manning was also a great preacher, a tireless defender of the Irish Cause and also carried out charitable and social works in a true crusade against the vice and poverty which flourished in the underprivileged classes. His participation in the working class struggle for better wages and working conditions was a determining factor, for example, in the case of the agreement which was reached with the owners during the London Dock Strike of 1889.[xiv]

In a caption of an engraving published in *Os Dois Mundos* (Paris/Lisboa, 1877-1881), which showed a portrait of Manning a few years after being appointed Cardinal, the writer presented a character sketch of the prelate which began by underlining his conversion to the Catholicism despite occupying high office at the time in the hierarchy of the Anglican Church:

"The present Archbishop of Westminster is the son of William Manning, a London tradesman, and was born at Totteridge (…) on the 15 July 1808. Educated in the Protestant religion at Oxford, he was, in 1834, one of the leading preachers at the celebrated University. (…) After having been one of the leading members of the Church of England for some time (a number of the ultra High Church party), in 1851 he resigned from all his offices of responsibility and converted to Roman Apostolic Catholicism. (…) On the death of Cardinal Wiseman, Manning was appointed Archbishop of Westminster, in 1865.

(…) He is a man of great sincerity and energy. (…) He works with heart and soul to raise the moral and social level of his flock. He has been a strenuous advocate of temperance, and many of the faithful of the Catholic Church in London are recruited amongst the Irish poor. The upper classes in England respect him greatly however, for his wisdom and strength of character.

(…) Cardinal Manning (…) is a sincere man, a true friend of the Church and a true Roman Apostolic Catholic. He works in favour of the temporal power of the Pope and believes deeply in his Infallibility, as it is a dogma approved in the Ecumenical Council, which is the same as saying by the Supreme Court of the Church, of which there is no appeal." ("O Cardeal Mannig" 118-119) [xv]

In addition to the social work that Manning carried out in favour of the underprivileged classes, the periodicals also reported on his speeches in support of freedom and the abolition of slavery, on the events he promoted to foster relations between English-speaking Catholics and their demonstrations of affection towards the distinguished prelate. Also noteworthy are the translations of excerpts of his letters, or his pastoral sermons published in the periodicals, as well as a certain identification between the political and social proposals put forward by Manning and the convictions of the writers of the articles regarding the social responsibility of the Church and the definition of its role and that of the State in improving the living and working conditions of factory workers:

"Cardinal Manning, the Archbishop of Westminster, the advocate of Papal infallibility, comments, in conciliatory and convincing terms, on the different phases of the labour question, which at present is causing unrest all round Europe. (…) The Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster (…) wants the limitation and in certain conditions, the prohibition of work for women and children, Sunday as a legal rest day, arbitration in the event of failure of State intervention, and even the legislative fixing of salaries and their review every three or five years. He has the merit of defining the issue with great clarity. He is a supporter of the welfare state and places that state under the moral authority of the Church." ("A Igreja e a Sociedade" 340)[xvi]

It is a well known fact that John Henry Newman (1801-1890), a leading figure of the Oxford Movement, moved away from the Anglicanism in 1843, and was ordained as a priest in Rome, in 1846. Towards the end of 1847 he instituted a congregation of priests at Birmingham, affiliated to the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Between 1854 and 1858 he was Dean of the Catholic University of Dublin and in 1879 he was created a Cardinal. When reported in the periodicals under study the latter event provided the pretext for the publication of articles concerning Newman's life and work, as well as a series of reflections on the Oxford Movement. *A Civilização Católica* (Porto, 1878-1883) described the elevation of John Henry Newman in the following way:

"The Catholic members of the House of Commons are preparing to send an expressive congratulatory message to Dr. Newman, on the occasion of his elevation to the Cardinalate. In this document Dr. Newman's efforts to promote education in Ireland and the establishment of the Catholic University are remembered and due thanks are given for the understanding he has always shown towards the Catholics of that country. (…)

On receiving the Pontifical emissary who had come to deliver the official notification of the high office he had been granted, the illustrious Cardinal Newman delivered a memorable speech which caused a profound sensation in Great Britain." ("Varia" 228 and "Crónica Contemporânea. Inglaterra" 283)

The same periodical had already published a biographical sketch of Newman by Luís Maria da Silva Ramos, who emphasised from the outset that this appointment had been one of the greatest triumphs in the history of Catholicism. In this article the author praised the priest's oratorical, intellectual and moral attributes, his tireless solitary quest for the truth (achieved through lengthy study and with the help of Divine grace), his natural vocation for religious life and the crucial moment of his conversion to Catholicism:

"On 9 October 1845 Newman was received into the true Church of Jesus Christ (…), Divine Grace triumphed, Catholic truth won a new victory and the Church welcomed another worthy son, whose example would be the motive for new and magnificent conquests. Newman's conversion was a real event in the Catholic world: Anglicanism keenly felt the loss of what was perhaps its most brilliant ornament, and such was Newman's reputation that there was no one amongst the Protestants who spoke ill of his conversion to Catholicism. A superb orator, an illustrious literate and theologist, Newman, by converting to Catholicism, found the truth he was searching for, delivered a profound blow to the Anglican High Church and inaugurated an era of glory and triumph for the immaculate Spouse of Jesus Christ. (…) The ancient Isle of Saints is growing ever closer to the centre of Catholic Unity.

(…) Newman's conversion is thus a great argument in favour of the divine institution of the Catholic Church and a terrible disappointment for Protestantism. It is no wonder then that the conversion of this famous man should have caused the extraordinary sensation that it did in the waning ranks of Protestantism." (Ramos 200-201)

Newman's literary gifts were also much praised by the writers of the articles under study, who provided a thorough list of his most important published works, including his autobiography, *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1846).

The evaluation of the Oxford Movement in the periodicals presented a view which was somewhat distorted by lack of impartiality towards events of a religious character. Although it is true that Newman ended up by converting to Catholicism, it is no less true that the Oxford Movement was not a Catholic movement. Indeed, it arose in the heart of the Anglican Church, mainly as a reaction towards a certain religious rationalism which then flourished, and also against the inefficiency of its practices, particularly in support of the underprivileged classes. The struggle against poverty, commented in the writings of several of the contributors to the periodicals was, alongside the defence of the Holy Scriptures, one of the great objectives of this movement. The aim was therefore for the members of the Anglican clergy not merely to devote themselves to theological reflection in theoretical terms, but rather to comply with their religious, social and charitable duties in a stricter manner, whilst endeavouring to resist the influence of liberalism in theological thinking. Newman would refer to the latter in the address he gave on being raised to the Cardinalate, as the excerpts from the articles showed:

"It is necessary to resist the spirit of Liberalism which is invading the religious camp, and is spreading out over the earth like a wide snare. Liberalism in religion is equal to indifference and the final result of this error is the negation of all religious life which will inevitably lead towards social dissolution. Society rejects Christianity and Governments attempt to solve social and religious problems without Christianity. Everywhere social apostasy exists, taking on different guises according to the country. In England apostasy threatens to achieve a rowdy triumph. England's present constitution contributes powerfully towards the success of religious Liberalism. (…) the Church will come out of the struggle triumphant although how it will succeed, is still unknown (…)." ("Crónica Contemporânea. Inglaterra" 283-284)

The Oxford Movement is generally accepted to have begun in 1833 when John Keble gave a sermon "On National Apostasy". The controversy it caused, which became

known as the Tractarian Controversy, began to gain many supporters, especially through the influence of the action of Pusey and John Henry Newman. Criticism of the Anglican Church reached its peak precisely with an essay by Newman entitled XC Tract, published in 1841. In this text Newman basically defended the idea that the Church was an autonomous body, instituted by God. Thus, as the State had been dechristianised, although Newman did not demand separation between the two institutions, he sought greater independence for the Church and stricter doctrinal obedience.

For the writers of the articles, the Oxford Movement had been, above all, the great driving force behind the Catholic movement in Great Britain, preparing hearts and minds for the great religious transformation which would take place in that nation. Like the Phoenix, England would be reborn for Catholicism. As proof there were the words of Newman himself published in the quarterly *British Critic*:

"In 1841 the 'Anglo-Catholic' Newman wrote (…) the following memorable words which were the prelude to his conversation: 'Our natural affections lead us to unite with Rome: it is she who is our elder sister in the faith, and our mother still; it is she to whom we owe, through the Grace of God, what we are today. In our spiritual infancy it was Rome which protected us: she is the Church from which we separated with such violence. How happy we would be if we could erase the memory of our ingratitude towards her, so that we could reach accord on the causes of our misunderstanding. Then we would renew the precious ties which bound us to her so long ago when the missionaries of the Holy of Holies and first of its Gregories administered the sacred mysteries to our grandfathers the Saxons.' These words reveal a soul deeply immersed in the History of Catholicism and possessed with the sacred desire to search for the truth. His famous XC Tract, which caused an extraordinary sensation in England, was another step forward for the Catholic Church." (Ramos 198-199)

4. 'Returning to Catholicism': Final Observations

Seen as a whole, the articles on the advancement of Catholicism in Great Britain were intended to demonstrate the progress of the Catholic movement and the supposed decline of the Anglican Church. The image they conveyed, mediated by a foundation of tradition and faith was that the events they reported — conversions, re-establishment of religious orders, appointment of Catholics to high office, etc. — were the prelude to the return of the whole British nation to Catholicism. Thus Great Britain was seen by the writers of the articles as a nation chosen by God to inscribe pages of great glory into the annals of the Church. The image of Great Britain in the periodicals is that of a nation which was more promising for the blossoming of Catholicism in a near future than other European nations which were officially Roman Catholic, such as Portugal:

"God's blessings are showering down upon England (…).

Long and cruel was the tempest; much blood was shed at the hands of Protestant heretics; one might have said that the Catholic Religion would never be seen again in the Isle of Saints; God was watching, however, and from one or other spark he brought forth flames, which now give light and warmth to the whole island, even as far as the northern regions which are the most stubborn and obstinate in their errors.

Who could imagine, fifty or so years ago, that England would be considered the nation most devoted to the faith, at the end of that time, and the greatest protector of the Catholic religion? Who could imagine that in the space of half a century, the British crown would protect, in its vast dominions, a greater number of Diocesan Prelates than any other Catholic people?

Who would dare to affirm that in the capital itself, there would be a seminary for foreign Missions, when none used to be tolerated there to the interior?

Who would venture to believe or say that, in just half a century, convents of monks and nuns would be so numerous around the country, many of which were imported from abroad?

In a nutshell: who could say, as everyone says and recognises today, that England would be the Nation of the World where more than any other, the Catholic Church has the greatest hopes, although the Government is Protestant and others Catholic, or designated as such? No one." ("Deus e a Inglaterra" 55)[xvii]

This image was obviously marked by the not unbiased views of the contributors to the periodicals in which the articles were published, who were writing for a clearly Roman Catholic audience.

Contrary to the impression which is given by the images of Great Britain published in the periodical press in the second half of the nineteenth century, the question of Catholicism in Britain was portrayed neither in the series of texts which offer a model vision of British society, nor in those which convey an image of Great Britain as a dominating and oppressive nation. In fact, the news items or articles of opinion concerning the advancement of Catholicism in the British Isles convey a far more complex image. On the one hand, there is a clearly negative vision of a non-Catholic country whose rupture with Rome took place as the consequence of a political and economic decision, and, as such, was unjustifiable, from a theological viewpoint. On the other hand, there is the vision of a tolerant nation where multiple conversions to Catholicism provided irrefutable proof of the strength of the Roman Catholic Church, even in a country where the State religion was a different one.

Thus, the advancement of Catholicism in Britain should be understood as an example to be followed in Portugal, a country in which the official religion was Catholicism, but where the constant attacks against it, in this context, had to become obsolete.

NOTES

[i] Amongst these publications we should mention the following titles: *O Positivismo* (Porto, 1878-1882) and *Revista de Estudos Livres* (Lisboa, 1883-1887).

[ii] In this context, we should remember the following periodicals: *As Farpas* (Lisboa, 1871-1883) and *Os Gatos* (Porto, 1889-1894).

4 On this matter see Tengarrinha 248 and Terenas 49-205.

5 The following is a list of publications to which Silva Ramos contributed which were not included within the scope of this study: *União Católica* (Braga, 1866-1873), *Estrela de Alva* (Braga, 1870-1873), *O Consultor do Clero* (Porto, 1883-1885), *A Ciência Católica* (Coimbra, 1884-1889), *A Caridade* (Porto, 1886-1890) e *A Nação* (Lisboa, 1847-1928).

6 It should be noted that improvements in transport and communications, which was one of the primary concerns of the ministries of the Regenerative party, enabled the newspapers to obtain faster and more up-to-date news. The telegraph, which was first installed in Lisbon in 1857, soon became firmly established as a modern vehicle of communication and played a fundamental role in speeding up the news, particularly the reception and publication of news from abroad. The advent of the big news agencies such as the French agency Havas and the German agencies Reuter and Wolf also made international news more up to date.

7 On the same subject see also “Unidade Protestante” 74-75 and “Mais Triunfos para o Catolicismo” 48.

8 On the same subject see also "Conversão da Inglaterra" 134, "Continuação do Movimento Católico em Inglaterra" 20, "Mais Triunfos para o Catolicismo" 48, Ramos 155, "Crónica Contemporânea. Inglaterra" 283, "Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra" 141, "Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra" 334-335, " Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra" 383, "Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra" 512, "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra" 175-176, "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra" 463, "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Conversão Ditosa" 448, "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Triunfo Católico" 703, "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. As Conversões em Inglaterra" 768, "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Conversões Notáveis" 831 and "Notícias do Mundo Católico. Triunfos da Igreja em Inglaterra" 542.

9 On this subject see "Conversão Notável" 175-176, "Noticiário. Conversão ao Catolicismo" 352 and "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra" 287-288.

10 The underlining in the quotations is the exclusive responsibility of the author of this paper.

11 On the same subject see also "Progressos do Catolicismo em Inglaterra" 376, "Conventos, Frades e Freiras" 62-64, "Nova Igreja em Londres" 326, Ramos 123, "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra" 159-160 and "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Os Salesianos na Inglaterra" 558.

12 On the same subject see also "Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra" 28, "Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra" 32, "Zelo do

Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra" 36, "Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra" 44 and "Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra" 51-52.

13 On the same subject see also "Noticiário. A Igreja Católica na Inglaterra" 224, "Noticiário. Progresso da Igreja Católica na Inglaterra" 304, "A Igreja Católica na Inglaterra" 48, "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo em Inglaterra" 463 and "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. A Religião em Inglaterra" 544.

14 Curiously, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman (1802-1865) was one of the contemporary Britsh authors who was most translated during the period in question, so that the periodicals under study carry several articles devoted to this figure. (Cf. Terenas 83, 965-968)

15 On the life and work of Cardinal Manning see Strachey 11-121.

16 On the same subject see also "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra" 31-32.

17 On the same subject see also "Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. O Catolicismo em Inglaterra" 839.

18 On the same subject see also "Gigantomaquia. Quarto Centenário de Martinho Lutero Patriarca de Todos os Gigantes que Têm Combatido a Igreja Católica Prostrado aos Pés de Jesus Cristo Leão da Tribo de Judá. A Sua Vida, as Suas Obras e a Sua Meléfica Influência na Europa. Traduzido da Primeira Edição Italiana" 724-726.

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"The best laid schemes sometimes turn out the worst": Robert Southey's success and failure[1]

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In recent years there has been a renewal of interest in the poet, historian and polemicist Robert Southey (1774-1843), as is demonstrated by several publications, namely two biographies, Mark Storey's *Robert Southey, A Life* (1997) and W. A. Speck's *Robert Southey: Entire Man of Letters* (2006), a new five-volume edition of Southey's *Poetical Works, 1793-1810* (2004), a volume of essays edited by Lynda Pratt entitled *Robert Southey and the Contexts of English Romanticism* (2006), Carol Bolton's study *Writing the Empire: Robert Southey and Romantic Colonialism* (2007) and David M. Craig's book *Robert Southey and Romantic Apostasy: Political Argument in Britain, 1780-1840* (2007). Furthermore, the first collected edition of Southey's vast correspondence, co-directed by Lynda Pratt and Tim Fulford, is under way. After a long period of neglect, a concerted effort is being made to reassess Southey's work, rehabilitate it, analyse the development of his political and social ideas and recognise his centrality to British literature and culture in the Romantic age.

Southey was a major figure on the literary scene of his day, though a controversial one for having moved from being an enthusiast of the French

[1] This paper was presented at the 29th Annual Conference of The Portuguese Association for Anglo-American Studies (APEAA): "Success and Failure", University of Aveiro, Portugal, 17–19 April 2008.

Revolution to a supporter of the Tories. In 1807 the government gave him a yearly pension of £160, later increased to £300 in 1835 by the prime minister Sir Robert Peel; he was appointed Poet Laureate in 1813 (though he would have preferred the position of Historiographer Royal), when Sir Walter Scott declined the post in his favour, a sign that by that time he had become well-known and respected;[2] and his most famous enemy, Lord Byron, who vilified him, was forced to admit that he was "the only existing entire man of letters" (quoted in Madden, 1972: 157).

However, the prestigious reputation Southey enjoyed during his lifetime did not long survive him. Overshadowed by his canonical friends Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth, Southey became the least read of the three authors and was relegated to the margins of the history of English Romanticism as a lesser poet. Later generations of literary historians, critics and readers lost interest in his voluminous and diverse work, and the celebrity of the once popular and leading writer waned, to the point of his renown resting chiefly on a biography of Admiral Horatio Nelson (*The Life of Nelson*, 1813) and the classic children's tale *The Story of the Three Bears*.[3] For a man who had a high, even exaggerated, sense of the importance of his work and who, all his life, was concerned about his own posterity and dreamed of conquering a prominent place in literary history, this posthumous obscurity is extremely ironical. Even his name has often been mispronounced. In the Preface to his study of Robert Southey's life, Mark Storey reminds us that, according to Byron's joke, Southey rhymed with 'mouthy'; [4] yet, most people call him "Suthey".

[2] On the death of Robert Southey, William Wordsworth succeeded him as Poet Laureate.

[3] "The Story of the Three Bears" was included in the fourth volume of Southey's work *The Doctor* (1834-1847).

[4] *Don Juan*, Canto I, stanza CCV.

Born in Bristol on 12 August 1774, Robert Southey was educated at Westminster School, London, and Balliol College, Oxford, but never obtained a degree. He published his first poems in the 1790s and soon established his reputation as a poet for several epic poems. In August 1817, in the Whig periodical *The Edinburgh Review*, the critic Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850) called him a «Lake Poet», a derogatory designation that also included William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge and which was intended to attack a new group of poets whose practice opposed the rules and the decorum of neoclassicism. However, over the years, Southey's writings increasingly turned from poetry to prose and he devoted himself mainly to history and biography, believing that his historical works would guarantee him a firm reputation. Posterity, in fact, would regard him more for his prose style than for his poems.

Determined to live by his pen and having to support his and Coleridge's family by his writing, Southey became a prolific author and an industrious researcher,[5] a man intensely dedicated to his work and his library.[6] His copious output includes poems, histories, biographies, essays, travel books, letters, reviews, translations and editions, thus encompassing many of the most important genres of Romantic period culture. For nearly forty years he contributed extensively to periodicals such as the *Monthly Magazine*, the *Critical Review*, the *Annual Review*, the *Foreign Review* and, especially, the Tory *Quarterly Review* (founded in 1809 by John Murray as a rival to the *Edinburgh Review*), and that activity was not only financially rewarding but a means of making his ideas known to the British people and gaining public

[5] In 1805 Southey adopted as his motto «In Labore Quies», «Rest in Labour» in his own translation. See Speck, 2006: 109.

[6] According to Thomas De Quincey's description, Southey's library of over 14,000 volumes was chiefly composed of "English, Spanish, and Portuguese [books]; well selected, being the great cardinal classics of the three literatures." (De Quincey, 1980: 237). In fact, Southey's collection of Portuguese books and manuscripts was then probably unique in England. See: "Catalogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Portion of the Library of the Late Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D., Poet Laureate", *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, vol. 178, Janeiro-Março 1943: 91-155.

visibility. The scores of articles he wrote on topics of a literary, social and political nature prove him to be a writer always engaged in the great political debates and controversies of his time (the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, Parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, the Corn Laws, Free Trade, slavery, industrialisation, human rights, among others).

When Southey died in 1843, after some years of mental illness, he was considered an equal of his fellow poets Coleridge and Wordsworth. The latter even wrote the inscription of the monument that was erected to his memory in Crosthwaite Church, Keswick, where his funeral took place. But he had also become a renowned Hispanist and an expert on Portuguese history and literature, and in 1961 the Brazilian government paid for the restoration of his grave, as a tribute to Southey's *History of Brazil* (1810-1819).

At a time when Robert Southey's work and relationships with his contemporaries are being reappraised in order to restore him to his proper position among the major and more influential English writers of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, academics and critics involved in this on-going process of rehabilitation have also been providing several explanations for such a great fall from favour. Namely, they stress that:

- Southey's trajectory from early political radicalism towards conservatism, much attacked by some of his contemporaries (Shelley, Lord Byron, Hazlitt, among others) who saw him as the supreme apostate (the revolutionary who betrayed his principles for money and respectability), seriously conditioned critical reception of his work;
- Southey's reputation was particularly destroyed by Lord Byron, who had no respect for his literary talents and held him up to ridicule in some of his famous poems (*English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, *Don Juan*, *The Vision of Judgement*);
- Southey's second marriage to the writer Caroline Bowles was also damaging to his later reputation, for it gave rise to family disputes between his wife and children concerning the division and publication

of his literary estate, which led to a number of rival and disorganized posthumous editions (thus affecting the way his works were received and not contributing to the preservation of Southey's name as a major writer of his time);[7]

- After Southey's death his works were increasingly subject to neglect, being considered of inferior quality and significance when compared to those of his fellow poets Wordsworth and Coleridge;
- Southey's poetry is so intimately related to contemporary politics, interests and trends that it inevitably lost its appeal as time elapsed;
- Southey wrote abundantly, perhaps too much, and the extent, diversity and dispersed nature of his literary production, which is not necessarily synonymous with inspiration and excellence, contributed to the eclipse of his name, or, as Mark Storey puts it, "to be so prolific can lead, paradoxically, to writing yourself out of the history books" (Storey, 1997: IX).

Southey's output is indeed voluminous and the present revived interest in his life and work aims at reintroducing him into the canon of English Romantic writers. But the significance of Southey's literary production far exceeds the domestic sphere. A considerable number of his writings reflect that attraction for the Other, the foreign, the exotic that characterised his age. Portugal, in particular, was one of Southey's lifelong interests and preoccupations, and his pioneering efforts to make known to the British reading public its history and literature and to construct a positive image of this country, England's old ally, also assures him a prominent position in the history of Anglo-Portuguese relations.

Southey visited Portugal for the first time in 1796 and again in 1800-1801 and wrote accounts of both journeys (*Letters Written During a Short*

[7] See: Lynda Pratt, "Family Misfortunes? The posthumous editing of Robert Southey", in Pratt, 2006: 219-238.

Residence in Spain and Portugal. With some account of Spanish and Portugueze Poetry, 1797;[8] *Journals of a Residence in Portugal 1800-1801 and a Visit to France 1838*, 1960[9]). Staying with his maternal uncle, the Reverend Herbert Hill (1749-1828), who was Chaplain to the British Factory in Lisbon from 1782 to 1807 and who possessed a rich collection of Spanish and Portuguese books in his well-stocked library which his nephew would inherit years later, proved to be a turning point in his literary career. His sentimental attachment to Portugal and his dedication to the study of the Portuguese historical past and literary heritage began right at this time. In a letter to the editor of *The New Monthly Magazine* dated 5 June 1814, Southey sums up his life in a way that clearly shows how strong his connection with Portugal was:

> […] it is sufficient to state that I was born at Bristol 1774, was of Westminster School, and of Balliol College Oxford; and that the occasion which directed my studies particularly to the literature and history of Portugal and Spain was that my maternal Uncle was for very many years Chaplain of the British Factory at Lisbon. [10]

[8] Published in 1797, Southey's *Letters Written During a Short residence in Spain and Portugal. With some account of Spanish and Portugueze Poetry* proved so popular that the book went through a second edition in 1799 (*Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*), and a third one in 1808 (*Letters Written During a Journey in Spain and a Short Residence in Portugal*), though not without important changes. As Southey's knowledge of matters Portuguese deepened, he became aware that his first impressions of the country and his evaluation of Portuguese literature had been hasty and rash. Accordingly, when he prepared the second and third editions, he corrected and amended the original *Letters*, omitted some parts, added new poems, anecdotes and details, eliminated some derogatory comments, substituted some harsh words for milder ones, thus reconstructing his vision of Portugal and making it more moderate and positive. He tried, too, to include in the second edition of *Letters* some views of Portugal which his uncle had sent him, but he had to abandon the idea on the grounds of cost.

[9] Although Southey planned to publish his Portuguese journal of 1800-1801, he never did, and for a long time it was thought to have been lost. Fortunately, Adolfo Cabral, at the time Senior Lecturer at the Faculdade de Letras, Lisbon, discovered it in Bristol, in the summer of 1949, together with another one, of Southey's trip to France in 1838, and published both in 1960, under the title *Journals of a residence in Portugal 1800-1801 and a Visit to France 1838*.

[10] Quoted in Cabral, 1959: 371.

Sixteen years later, on 23 April 1830, he wrote in a letter to John Wood Warter (1806-1878), his soon-to-be son-in-law: "My voyage was to Portugal, and you know how much it has influenced the direction of my studies." (Southey, Vol. VI, 1850: 98).

By this time Southey had already published two of the three volumes of his *History of the Peninsular War* (1823-1832) and the equally monumental three-volume *History of Brazil* (1810-1819), for which the Portuguese queen D. Maria II made him a Cavaleiro da Ordem da Torre e Espada (Knight of the Order of the Tower and Sword).[11] Two impressive products of Southey's historical labours, the latter was originally conceived as just a part of his most ambitious literary plan, the writing of a History of Portugal.[12] Had it been completed, the work Southey hoped would greatly contribute to his posthumous reputation as a renowned English authority on Portugal would have comprised about twelve quarto volumes.[13]

Southey left Portugal in June 1801, never to return. His voluminous correspondence, however, bears testimony to his desire of revisiting this country, staying there for long periods of time and even settling there for the rest of his life. As he confessed in one of his many letters to relatives and friends where references to Portugal can be found, dated 1803: "there [Portugal] if possible I will willingly fix my final abode, and spend my life speaking Portuguese and writing English." (quoted in Speck, 2006: 96).

[11] On this decoration see Cabral, 1957: 10.

[12] "As an historian I shall come nearer my mark. For thorough research, indeed, and range of materials, I do not believe that the History of Portugal will ever have been surpassed": letter to Wynn, 26 May 1815, in Southey, Vol. IV, 1850: 111.

[13] In a letter to his brother Thomas, 12 September 1804, he outlined the plan: "My whole historical labours will then consist of three separate works. 1. History of Portugal, — the European part, 3 vols. 2. Hist. of the Portuguese Empire in Asia, 2 or 3 vols. 3. Hist. of Brazil. 4. Hist. of the Jesuits in Japan. 5. Literary History of Spain and Portugal, 2. Vols. 6. Hist. of Monachism. In all, ten, eleven, or twelve quarto volumes": in Southey, Vol. II, 1850, 305-306.

He intended to go back to do some more research, he hoped to find a position in Portugal (the Lisbon consulship, an embassy secretaryship), he even contemplated the possibility of accompanying British troops dispatched to Portugal during the Napoleonic Wars, but his dreams of returning one day were never fulfilled; however, that did not prevent him from dedicating much of his time and energy to the study of Portuguese or Portugal-related subjects, to the point of feeling half-Portuguese, intellectually speaking: "[…] the long attention which I have given to their history and the whole of their literature has given me a sort of intellectual naturalization among them" (Leão, 1943: 46).

In fact, his two visits to Portugal played a crucial role in his future professional life, suggesting to him a whole programme of writings on Portuguese history and literature on which he embarked with enthusiasm. Southey considered himself the best qualified Englishman to write about Portuguese matters, and his historiographical works, as well as the vast number of his essays and reviews scattered throughout several contemporary periodicals, are proof enough that he took his mission seriously.

His knowledge of the Portuguese and Spanish languages and culture made him an expert on the Iberian Peninsula, and consequently he often wrote about Spain and Portugal, both on past and contemporary events. He contributed a number of articles on Iberian literature to the *Quarterly Review*, which reached wide audiences, thus strengthening his position as the leading transmitter of the literature of Portugal and Spain to England. His 1809 review of *Extractos em Portuguez e em Inglez; com as palavras Portuguezas propriamente accentuadas, para facilitar o Estudo d'aquella Lingoa (London, 1808)*[14] is of particular importance, since it surprisingly offers a general sketch of the history of Portuguese literature, from its medieval origins until his day. Johann Wilhelm Christian Müller (1752-1814) translated it into Portuguese

[14] *Quarterly Review*, vol. I, 2, May 1809: 268-292.

soon afterwards (*Memoria sobre a literatura portugueza*. *Traduzida do inglez. Com notas ilustradoras do texto*), a clear sign that Southey's views were held in high regard. Another interesting piece is his review of John Adamson's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Luis de Camoens* (1820),[15] because he had the opportunity to write about the famous Portuguese poet, much admired by Southey for his sonnets but not so much for his epic *The Lusiad*.

In addition to reviewing, Southey also devoted time to editing and translating. His achievements in these two domains again show him to be a lover of Portuguese and Spanish literature. He translated many short poems by authors from Portugal and Spain, which are scattered in his letters, reviews and other types of writing, and, most importantly, he translated *Amadis of Gaul* (4 volumes, 1803), *Palmerin of England* (4 volumes, 1807) — two chivalry romances whose Portuguese authorship Southey supported enthusiastically — and *Chronicle of the Cid* (1808), although, in the second case, it is not an original work but rather a revision and correction of Anthony Munday's translation, dated 1588.

Besides his already mentioned writings, Southey conceived other literary plans on things Portuguese which he was unable to bring to fruition, namely: a second travel book about Portugal, a volume of poems on Spanish and Portuguese history, another one on his travels around Portugal and Spain, a translation of Fernão Lopes's chronicles, much admired by him, a book of his translations of Camões's sonnets, a history of Portuguese literature, in which he hoped "to be one day adopted", as he confessed to Charles Bedford in a letter dated 5 May 1807 (Southey, Vol. III, 1850: 89), an account of all the books which had been written on Portugal and of their respective authors, [16] and tragedies on Portuguese historical characters such as King Sebastian, D. Pedro and D. Inês de Castro. All these literary projects he failed to accomplish

[15] *Quarterly Review*, vol. XXVII, 53, April 1822: 1-39.

[16] See letter to Mary Barker, dated 26 January 1805, in Warter, Vol. I, 1856: 313.

testify to the fact that Portugal remained, throughout his life, a constant source of inspiration, even though Southey's Portuguese and Spanish works were poorly paid.

Always anxious about his posthumous fame and convinced of the importance and worth of his undertakings, Southey wished to be remembered as a major Portuguese and Spanish scholar and an unrivalled authoritative historian of Portugal. Accordingly, he laboured arduously to achieve that goal, becoming, by his own definition, "a Portuguese student among the mountains" (Southey, Vol. II, 1850: 281).[17] It is only fair to his memory, then, that his role as the first English Lusophile is put centre stage. Ironically, however, such a great and absorbing effort may well have been another factor that contributed to the decrease of his celebrity in Britain, as a critic writing for *The Quarterly Review* in 1856 pointed out:

> What he [Southey] considered the principal advantages of his Peninsular residence, the acquaintance with the language, literature, and localities of Spain and Portugal, was, we are persuaded, an unpropitious event, which has been detrimental to his fame. His attention became directed to those countries in an especial degree, and he was led to make them the subject of the voluminous works upon which he relied for the larger part of his reputation with posterity […] The best-laid schemes sometimes turn out the worst; and the journey to Lisbon was, we believe, in its permanent consequences, the most unfortunate step in Southey's life.[18]

For the anonymous contributor to the influential *Quarterly Review*, Southey's decision to make the Iberian Peninsula a chief subject of his research and written work was obviously a wrong choice, a wasted effort, for it compromised his chances of success. Had he consecrated all his talents and energies to the study of British themes, he would have conquered enduring fame; instead, his expertise on the cultures and peoples of Iberia, of which he was so proud and self-confident, cost him the interest of later generations of readers.

[17] Letter to his friend Grosvenor Charles Bedford, 23 April 1804.
[18] *Quarterly Review*, Vol. XCVIII, March 1856: 477-478.

Southey was well aware of the whims of literary history; he knew, as he wrote in a letter to John Rickman, one of his closest friends, that "In literature, as in the playthings of schoolboys and the frippery of women, there are the ins and outs of fashion." (Southey, Vol. II, 1850: 121-122). After his death the recognition he enjoyed during his lifetime faded, and for much of the twentieth century his poems and prose works, most of them no longer read, went effectively out of fashion, only to attract critical attention again in the past decade. Such changing fortunes, such a combination of success and failure, make Robert Southey a particularly eloquent example of one of the issues addressed by this conference of the Portuguese Anglo-American Studies Association: the rise and fall of reputations.

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‘The Selective Traveller in Portugal’: Anacronismos e Peculiaridades de um Olhar sobre Portugal

Ensaio

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O artigo que aqui se apresenta visa analisar os desafios que teve de enfrentar o autor na sua tarefa de tradução de um texto de viagens sobre o Portugal da década de 1940, tal como fora escrito por duas viajantes inglesas. Os desafios serão criticamente analisados a partir de diferentes ângulos – técnicos, pragmáticos e interculturais – sempre ancorados na relação entre o tradutor e a casa editora responsável pela edição da obra *The Selective Traveller in Portugal*.

1. Introdução

Regra geral, para responder à solicitação de tradução de uma obra por parte de uma casa editora, o tradutor procura socorrer-se dos materiais mais actualizados e completos sobre a temática abordada, rodeando-se de informações sobre o texto e os seus contextos que consolidem os seus conhecimentos e lhe permitam corresponder às exigências do universo de referência da obra, tal como terá sido criado e apresentado pelo autor. É frequente, contudo, o tradutor aperceber-se de que sabe muito pouco e que, apesar de todo o aprofundamento que possa desenvolver sobre o tema em causa, nunca conseguirá aproximar-se dos conhecimentos de que o auto dispôs. Ainda assim, procura servir-se dos meios e fontes conhecidos e de outros, tantas vezes desconhecidos até essa data.

É natural, portanto, que um dos primeiros recursos do tradutor seja a própria casa editora, supostamente conhecedora da obra em causa, tanto mais porque terá decidido publicá-la. Assim sendo, o tradutor faz perguntas sobre outras obras do autor, indaga sobre os públicos a quem se dirige a obra,

questiona sobre os critérios que presidem à publicação e intenções da mesma, levanta, enfim, uma série de questões que considera pertinentes para ultrapassar os obstáculos iniciais.

Curiosamente, é por essa altura que o tradutor se apercebe muitas vezes da inexistência de razões superiores aos meros critérios comerciais e de lucro, mais ou menos imediato, por parte da editora, e que enfrenta um muro de silêncios e incompreensões. É nessas ocasiões que sente, afinal, que a sua situação é muito semelhante à do próprio autor perante a "página em branco". A única diferença é que a ordem mental que determina as acções do tradutor deixou de ser o apelo interior de "Cria!", do autor, e passou a ser antes "Traduz!"

2. Abordagem translatória inicial

O caso apresentado é um exemplo positivo do apoio fornecido por uma editora que conhece a obra e as autoras, e que tem ainda noções muito claras sobre as intenções de publicação e divulgação que presidiram à selecção e futura publicação deste livro.

De tal modo assim é que, ao longo do processo de recolha inicial dos dados para que o tradutor obtivesse o necessário enquadramento sobre a obra em causa, quase foi possível respeitar um modelo com as exigências de uma Ficha de Encomenda de Tradução Técnica, nomeadamente aquela que é proposta pela Norma Europeia de Serviços de Tradução EN 15038 no seu Anexo A, sobre os Pormenores de Registo de um Projecto.

Assim, foi possível ao tradutor definir alguns factores essenciais, nomeadamente:

1 - A identificação única do projecto: "The Selective Traveller in Portugal" (com o respectivo título em Português a ser definido posteriormente por acordo/negociação com a editora);

2 - A identificação da entidade para quem é realizado o trabalho e a pessoa a contactar no caso de serem necessárias explicações e/ou

ajuda: Casa editora e a coordenadora editorial responsável por esta obra;

3 - As condições contratuais e comerciais;

4 - As datas de recepção, entrega e até mesmo os formatos de entrega;

5 - O objectivo e uso previsível da tradução: Dar a conhecer aos leitores portugueses uma obra ainda não traduzida para Português, de finais da década de 1940, preservando sempre as referências nela presentes à época descrita e respeitando sempre as eventuais e naturais dissonâncias/anacronismos relativamente ao que se passa na actualidade;

6 - Respeito de um guia de estilo: Ainda que não fornecido pela casa editora num formato escrito, tal guia de estilo contempla opções e consagra regras básicas de formatação gráfica, mas também opções editoriais próprias e que já foram aplicadas em trabalhos anteriores.

Face às condições acima identificadas, tornou-se também relativamente fácil esclarecer as questões levantadas por uma apreciação prévia, ainda que simples, das primeiras páginas do texto de partida, seguindo, também aqui, um método de análise de factores intra- e extra-textuais, de macroestrutura e de microestrutura do texto de partida, conforme indicados no Anexo C, da Norma Europeia EN 15038, dedicado à Análise do Texto de Partida.

3. Autoras e obra

Procedeu-se então à identificação de factores extra-textuais, como sejam os que diziam respeito à identidade das autoras e ao contexto de publicação da obra. Para esse efeito, foram solicitadas à casa editora informações mais detalhadas sobre as autoras e também sobre o livro em causa. As curtas notas fornecidas pela coordenadora editorial foram devidamente complementadas e resultaram nos seguintes dados sobre as autoras.

3.1 As Autoras

Ann Bridge (pseudónimo de *Lady* Mary Dolling Saunders O'Malley)

Nasceu em Porter's Park, no Hertfordshire, em 1889, filha de Marie Louise Day e de James Harris Sanders. Passou a infância no Surrey, onde foi submetida a um intensivo currículo educativo, que incluiu Francês aos cinco anos e Alemão aos oito, seguidos de Latim e Grego. Ela compensava as aulas com momentos de equitação, natação e canoagem no rio Tamisa. Mais tarde, viria a estudar Italiano e História Italiana, e obteria um diploma em Ciências Sociais e Administração, na London School of Economics. As idas frequentes ao estrangeiro permitiram-lhe desenvolver o gosto pelas viagens e quando se casou, em 1913, com um jovem diplomata inglês, Owen O'Malley, passou a ter ainda mais oportunidades para desenvolver este interesse.

As suas viagens levaram-na até à China, França, Espanha, Hungria, Rússia, Estados Unidos da América e muitos outros locais em todo o mundo. Para todos os países onde viajava dedicava-se a aprender um pouco da língua, chegando mesmo a dominar algum Chinês. Além disso, Ann Bridge sempre foi uma apaixonada pela Botânica e pela Arqueologia, tendo sido, inclusivamente, Membro da Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Durante o período em que o marido ocupou o cargo de Embaixador da Grã-Bretanha, viria a viajar com frequência por todo o território de Portugal, estudando a grande variedade de belezas arquitectónicas, arqueológicas e as flores silvestres, que são descritas de forma tão vívida neste livro *The Selective Traveller in Portugal*.

Ann Bridge viria a falecer em 1974, depois de ter publicado um grande número de obras variadas, entre as quais:

Série Julia Probyn

The Lighthearted Quest (1956)

The Portuguese Escape (1958)

Julia Involved: Three Julia Probyn Novels (1960)

The Numbered Account (1960)

The Dangerous Islands (1963)

Emergency in the Pyrenees (1965)

Episode at Toledo (1967)

The Malady in Madeira (1970)

Julia in Ireland (1973)

Romances

Peking Picnic (1932)

The Ginger Griffin (1934)

Illyrian Spring (1936)

Enchanter's Nightshade (1937)

Four-Part Setting (1938)

A Place to Stand (1940)

Frontier Passage (1942)

And Then You Came (1948)

The House at Kilmartin (1951)

The Dark Moment (1952)

A Family of Two Worlds: A Portrait of Her Mother (1955)

The Tightening String (1962)

Singing Waters (1971)

Permission to Resign (1971)

Não-ficção

Portrait of My Mother (1955)

The Selective Traveller in Portugal (1949)

Facts and Fictions: Some Literary Recollections (1968)

Moments of Knowing (1970)

Antologias com histórias de Ann Bridge

A Second Century of Creepy Stories (1930)

When Churchyards Yawn (1931)

A Century of Creepy Stories (1934)

Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery and Horror 3rd Series (1934)

A Century of Ghost Stories (1936)

The 4th Fontana Book of Great Ghost Stories (1967)

The 9th Fontana Book of Great Ghost Stories (1973)

The Penguin Book of Ghost Stories (1984)

Contos

The Buick Saloon (1930)

The Song in the House (1933)

The Accident

Susan Lowndes

Susan Lowndes nasceu em Londres, a 15 de Fevereiro de 1907, o seu pai era Frederick Lowndes, jornalista do *The Times* e a sua mãe, Mary Belloc Lowndes, foi uma das escritoras mais notáveis da sua época. Susan Lowndes foi educada no St. Mary's Convent, em South Ascot.

Veio pela primeira vez a Portugal, mais precisamente ao Estoril, em Agosto de 1938, em férias, na companhia dos pais, altura em que conheceu Luiz Marques, já na época jornalista com alguns anos de carreira, com quem se casou. Luiz Marques era um reconhecido escritor e correspondente em Portugal de muitos e importantes jornais americanos e ingleses. Ao contrário de Ann Bridge, Susan Lowndes confessava-se pouco hábil com as línguas, mas após vários anos em Lisboa tinha um conhecimento já muito bom do

Português. Além do jornalismo, desenvolveu inúmeras actividades de carácter social.

Membro do Lisbon Ladies Club e da Sociedade de Autores, residiria com a sua família em Portugal e seria condecorada, em 1975, pela Rainha Isabel II, de Inglaterra, com a Ordem do Império Britânico, pelos serviços prestados à comunidade inglesa em Portugal. Faleceu a 3 de Fevereiro de 1993.

Entre as suas obras contam-se:

The Selective Traveller in Portugal (juntamente com Ann Bridge), 1949;

Good Food from Spain and Portugal, 1956;

Foi ainda editora de:

Diaries and Letters of Marie Belloc Lowndes 1911-1947, 1971.

3.2 A obra – *The Selective Traveller in Portugal*

Relativamente aos dados sobre a obra, foi possível saber que, segundo as autoras, logo que Ann Bridge chegou a Portugal como esposa do recém-nomeado Embaixador da Grã-Bretanha, o primeiro telefonema que fez foi a Susan Lowndes, uma antiga e estimada amiga. A história comum e a aproximação de gostos fortaleceu a amizade entre ambas, e assim que germinou a ideia de criação de um novo guia de viagens para Portugal, Ann Bridge empenhou-se seriamente numa parceria com uma pessoa cuja experiência íntima do país, além do grande conhecimento da arte barroca e da história e arquitectura de Portugal a transformavam na colaboradora ideal.

Num pequeno carro, as duas amigas percorreram as zonas mais remotas do país, em busca de locais raramente visitados por estrangeiros, tomando notas, tirando fotografias, analisando e verificando o que outros antes delas já haviam escrito: por vezes com resultados surpreendentes. Nas suas viagens, descobriram várias igrejas com tectos fabulosos, esculturas e

outras características interessantes que nem sequer eram mencionadas no vasto *Guia de Portugal*, em três volumes (de 1924, 1927 e 1944).

Ann Bridge interessou-se particularmente pela riqueza e variedade de flores silvestres (desde a grande esteva que cobre os áridos montes rochosos com uma nuvem de flores brancas, à elegante perfeição em miniatura do narciso silvestre), pois era uma fervorosa botânica amadora, além de arqueóloga. Mais de cinquenta fotografias foram especialmente tiradas e incluídas neste livro, e os mapas apresentados procuravam ser rigorosos para os leitores poderem chegar aos locais descritos na obra.

The Selective Traveller in Portugal enquadra-se, efectivamente, na longa tradição inglesa dos relatos de viagens, que se terá iniciado com o *Grand Tour*, a viagem iniciática pela Europa dos jovens das classes superiores inglesas, e que se desenvolveu e floresceu sobretudo a partir de 1660, até ao momento da chegada do caminho-de-ferro, mais particularmente na década de 1840 (*Cf.* Wilton-Ely 137-164). Essa grande viagem, que visava fornecer aos jovens os apetrechos intelectuais, sociais, éticos e estéticos que poderiam recolher de tudo aquilo que viam e passavam a conhecer, era uma espécie de rito de passagem para os jovens do sexo masculino, nobres ou de famílias abastadas, e podia durar meses ou mesmo anos, sendo os jovens normalmente acompanhados por um guia experiente e conhecedor.

Representava, afinal, uma demonstração clara do poder cultural, mais do que económico ou físico, de que desfrutavam as classes dominantes. A tradução da viagem formativa reflectia também, porventura, perspectivas próprias do empirismo inglês: se, como John Locke expusera, em 1690, no *Ensaio sobre o Entendimento Humano*, o conhecimento era adquirido pelos sentidos externos, sendo gerado pelos estímulos físicos a que eram expostos os seres humanos, então as viagens podiam ser entendidas quase como uma obrigação para o desenvolvimento do intelecto.

O advento dos meios de transporte de massas, por volta de 1825, não impediu a continuação do *Grand Tour*, mas originou grandes diferenças qualitativas. Passou a significar viagens mais fáceis, seguras e abertas a todos, incluiu novos países nos mapas das viagens e abriu ainda a possibilidade de tais viagens serem feitas por jovens do sexo feminino.[i]

Contudo, a intenção das autoras segue o modelo da colecção *Windows on the World*, em que esta obra se insere, e no qual foram publicadas as seguintes obras:

Windows on the World – Travel Series

Australian Setting, George Farwell (1953)

Caucasian Journey, Negley Farson (1952)

Italian Pageant, Derek Patmore (1949)

Mediterranean Blue, Sisley Huddleston (1948)

Swiss Enchantment, Monk Gibbon (1950)

The Beauty of Morocco, Rom Landau (1953)

The Dalmation Coast, Anthony Rhodes (1955)

The Emerald Isle, Geoffrey Taylor (1952)

The Sunlit Caribbean, Alec Waugh (1953)

Nesta colecção de livros de viagens procurava oferecer-se aos turistas, sobretudo os britânicos, sensações novas e uma perspectiva diferente de paragens algo remotas. Recém-saídos da Segunda Guerra Mundial e ávidos de distracções e aventuras em recantos paradisíacos ou ainda pouco explorados do planeta, os novos turistas poderiam desfrutar de momentos de libertação e de escape da terrível realidade recente nos locais retratados. Além disso, pretendia-se que o desejo despertado nos potenciais turistas resultasse de um olhar mais próximo e mais conhecedor das realidades locais, já que os autores seleccionados estavam imersos na cultura descrita, habitando mesmo, em alguns casos, como no das nossas autoras, os referidos países, ou sendo viajantes regulares por essas paragens.

A somar a tudo isso, a ascendência britânica comum a todos os autores indicados conferia um traço de unidade importante a todas as obras. As referências evocadas eram familiares aos leitores, as situações descritas eram igualmente interessantes para eles e a escolha dos trajectos

possibilitava-lhes uma espécie de novo *Grand Tour,* desta vez por rotas mais inusitadas e ao gosto da curiosidade suscitada pela descoberta do diferente.

Mas deve realçar-se que estas obras assumiam também características muito próximas de uma nova espécie de *Grand Tour* em finais do século XX. Mais democrático e aberto a viajantes de diferentes classes sociais, com interesses mais diversificados e não apenas de carácter cultural. Além disso, este turista é alguém que viaja sozinho, ou com um único companheiro, sem uma grande *entourage.* Essencialmente, não tem a seu lado um guia erudito, pelo que necessita do apoio destes relatos de viagem instruídos e que lhe indicam pormenores essenciais sobre a história do país e dos lugares que visita. Aliás, as autoras de *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* fazem questão de afirmar desde o início essa diferença de objectivos e as intenções claras desta obra:

> But in the hurried days of modern travel – so unlike the spacious maunderings, in one's private coach, of the 18th century – it is not easy for anyone but the specialist to extract from the never-sufficiently-to-be-admired completeness of Baedeker or the *Guides Blues* what he will most want to see, what will chiefly interest him; the wealth of detail in these compendious (and quite indispensable) works is in itself baffling. If not a need, there is at least a place, to-day for the selective guide-book, an anthology rather than an omnibus volume. And the aim and purpose of the present book is precisely to provide such an "anthology" of the varied, unusual and beautiful things to be seen in Portugal. (Bridge & Lowndes, 1949: 1)

4. Especificações editoriais

As dificuldades e algumas dúvidas, inerentes à leitura e análise prévia da obra por parte do tradutor, resultaram então numa lista de pontos a esclarecer, sob a forma de exemplos concretos retirados do texto a traduzir. Pretendia-se, assim, que a sua identificação e apresentação à casa editora pudesse originar um conjunto de indicações e decisões que, depois de

comunicadas ao tradutor, assumissem o carácter de "especificações do cliente".

Verificaram-se então algumas situações de anacronismo ou de simples peculiaridade, reportando-se a problemas muito diversos, cuja aglomeração em diferentes classes foi essencialmente prática, ainda que os aspectos de macroestrutura, relacionados com o público-alvo previsto tanto para o texto de partida como para o texto de chegada fossem determinantes. Contudo, é possível detectar nos casos apresentados aspectos relacionados com a microestrutura, ao nível do discurso, nomeadamente questões de conhecimentos pressupostos, de léxico usado e até mesmo de gramática e sintaxe do texto.

Para facilitar a exposição dos dados, os casos foram enquadrados em quatro grandes categorias:

4.1 Incorrecções várias

Grande parte destes casos configurava situações de erro ortográfico ou aparente desconhecimento da língua portuguesa, por parte das autoras, e a consequente apresentação errada de uma palavra. Contudo, é de notar que alguns destes casos poderiam, também, reflectir uma norma gráfica anterior. Vejam-se os seguintes casos:

- Antonio	António
- Belem	Belém
- brõa	broa
- chàve	chave
- esfolhada	desfolhada
- espada (para preparar o linho)	espadela
- espigo-rei	milho-rei
- filarmonicas	filarmónicas

- mata (conjunto de vegetação rasteira constituída por urze e tojo)
  mato

- Sacavem Sacavém

- sedare sedar

- varinhas varinas

A dúvida que se colocava ao tradutor nesta situação de incorrecção lexical, seja por causa de um erro ortográfico, da eventual distracção das autoras, ou mesmo de respeito por uma norma gráfica vigente na época em que a obra fora escrita, implicava saber qual o grau de autonomia que teria para efectuar a respectiva correcção, introduzindo as versões que considerava correctas.

Tratava-se aqui, em parte, de recordar a excelente panorâmica sobre o assunto que Brian Mossop faz em *Revising and Editing for Translators* (2001), em especial as indicações que dizem respeito às correcções de ortografia (2001: 23-4). Ou seja, procurava-se evitar que os eventuais erros cometidos pelas autoras dessem uma impressão errada de desleixo por parte de tradutor e casa editora. A correcção dos desvios permitiria, assim, que o leitor não perdesse confiança no conteúdo efectivo da obra e aceitasse como mais definitivo o valor do texto escrito sobre a matéria em causa.

No entanto, por vezes, os erros são de tal ordem que podem assumir foros de incorrecção histórica ou factual, levantando novamente ao tradutor os problemas de introdução, ou não, das necessárias correcções (Mossop 2001: 64-7), como se pode ver nos seguintes casos:

Pág. 9

The fifth great landmark in Portuguese history was its becoming an independent kingdom in the first part of the 12th century. In 1095 King Léon of Castile handed over the government of the coastal duchy of Portugal, then still a dependency of the kingdom of Castile, to his son-in-law, Count Henry of Burgundy.

Pág. 33

And what and enchanting and happy friendliness they show. If you pass the time of day with one of these family parties, gathered to eat in the shade, you are sure to be asked to sit down with them and share their picnic; whether you do so or not, you will be introduced to everyone, and the son home from the Americas will show off his Yankified English. The food alone makes it a temptation to accept: cold roast chickens or turkeys, whole hams, sucking-pigs boned and stuffed, fried salted herrings, piles of lettuces, vast loaves, country cheeses, and seven-litre wicker-covered *garrafões* of wine! – the mouth waters while he heart is warmed by such a spontaneous kindliness and courtesy.

Nestes casos, e por maioria de razão, conforme salientado pela casa editora, seria desejável que o trabalho de correcção, por parte do tradutor, fosse feito. Por um lado, a nacionalidade das autoras e o provável desconhecimento da ortografia correcta, ou mesmo a eventual confusão entre ambas na recolha dos inúmeros dados apresentados, poderia ter provocado os erros.

Acresce a isso que o leitor português, na língua de chegada, seria muito provavelmente conhecedor da forma lexical correcta e também das situações descritas, pelo que as incorrecções provocariam desconfiança: relativamente aos elementos descritos pelas autoras e relativamente aos seus próprios conhecimentos. É uma situação em que o receptor é também objecto de análise e, reconhecendo-se como tal, assume uma atitude mais crítica e, porventura, mais interventiva, seguramente menos permissiva de quaisquer desvios.

Contudo, e voltando à perspectiva do tradutor, é de notar que o leitor final em língua portuguesa teria uma percepção completamente alterada do papel e dos conhecimentos das autoras, que foram tornadas mais competentes devido às modificações introduzidas pelo tradutor. Saliente-se ainda, por outro lado, que não seria valorizada, nem sequer reconhecida, essa intervenção do tradutor, que, apesar de ter permissão para alterar, não pode indicar as situações em que produziu correcções editoriais sobre o texto

original – até porque este não surgirá a par do texto traduzido, como tantas vezes vemos na tradução de textos poéticos.

Note-se, finalmente, a possibilidade de actualização linguística inerente a tal permissão, que poderia mesmo desvirtuar o léxico, bem como a toponímia e antroponímia da época da obra original, trazendo palavras de hoje para um discurso de 1950.

4.2 Explicitação

O conceito de explicitação para a tradução, tal como primeiramente definido por Vinay e Darbelnet (1958: 8) é "o processo de introduzir informações na língua de chegada que estão presentes apenas implicitamente na língua de partida, mas que podem ser inferidas a partir do contexto ou situação". Não se apresentam aqui outras afirmações sobre este conceito, nomeadamente de Eugene Nida (1964) ou Shoshana Blum-Kulka (1986), que ampliam e classificam esta noção, sugerindo-se apenas que a explicitação é uma técnica usada para tornar claras, no texto de chegada, informações que estavam implícitas no texto de partida.

No entanto, deve referir-se que a explicitação na obra original sugeria frequentemente funções de carácter interlinguístico ou, na definição de Roman Jakobson (1959: 114), "An interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language". Ou seja, a intenção das autoras era permitir ao leitor inglês, na língua de partida, um conhecimento mais aprofundado da situação indicada, com a respectiva tradução para Inglês a funcionar como explicação, deixando na obra original a "cor" local, com a palavra tal como os leitores a ouviriam ou veriam, caso estivessem em Portugal.

É significativo verificar que a identificação imediata das palavras estrangeiras é feita em itálico na obra original e que, em algumas situações, as autoras consideraram a palavra usada em Português como sendo a única verdadeiramente representativa de uma realidade cultural marcadamente diferente, tendo passado mesmo a usar tal palavra ao longo de todo o texto, como no caso de *azulejo*.

- *azulejos*, or tiles

- *cestos*, or baskets

- *eira*, or threshing-floor

- *esfolhar*, to de-leaf

- *Festa Brava*, a "wild" festa

- *quinta*, or farm

Em casos como estes, o termo inglês serviu para as autoras traduzirem o termo português, tornando mais claro para os seus leitores, na cultura alvo do texto de partida original, o termo inglês correspondente ao que reconheceriam na sua própria cultura. Naturalmente que no texto traduzido agora para Português esta espécie de glossário, que perpassa todo o texto inglês, seria desnecessário e redundante, tendo sido decidido em conjunto por tradutor e casa editora que deveria permanecer apenas a forma gráfica actual do termo português em causa.

Ainda nesta categoria da explicitação encontraram-se alguns casos ligeiramente diferentes, de cariz intralinguístico, ou, na definição de Roman Jakobson (1959: 114), "An interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language". Ou seja, em que a explicação usada pelas autoras visava essencialmente contextualizar, para os leitores em língua inglesa, a realidade apresentada, comparando-a ou assemelhando-a a algo que seria conhecido dos seus leitores e, portanto, mais próxima deles, como se pode ver nos casos seguintes:

Pág. 10

To this period belong most of the great castles of northern Portugal; obviously to defend its newly-won freedom the little kingdom needed what the Border Scots called "strengths" in key positions, and many were built, including the one at Guimarães before referred to, with its toothed battlements.

Pág. 11

He spent two arduous years fighting the Spaniards, hampered by the intrigues of the Queen-Mother, but in 1385 the invaders were finally defeated at the great battle of Aljubarrota, the Portuguese Crécy, when bowmen on foot routed the cavalry of Spain.

Pág. 16

And within the churches, one is amazed by the glorious warmth and richness of gilt and carved retables behind and around the altars, by panelled and painted ceilings, by delicious and delicate polychrome sculptures – a form of art in which Portugal is peculiarly rich – by splendid choir-stalls, whose decoration is derived from any and every source, from Chinese lacquer to Hepplewhite; by magnificent *ambones* (twin pulpits) and splendid silver lamps or glass chandeliers.

Pág. 30

Mass is devoutly attended; the music is tuneful and lively – fiddles, double-bass and clarinet; as in the English country churches described by Thomas Hardy; and the sermon is usually of the powerful camp-meeting kind – so country tradition demands.

Numa espécie de subcategoria desta ideia de explicitação, encontraram-se ainda referências elogiosas à cultura britânica em Portugal e à sua influência positiva sobre o carácter do povo, dos objectos ou das situações históricas portuguesas. Era claramente um apelo interessante para os leitores em língua inglesa, mas que poderia activar respostas negativas nos leitores de outras línguas, sobretudo pelas eventuais imagens menos positivas associadas a tais referências.

Págs. 11-12

He [Prince Henry the Navigator] made maps, he collated evidence – from as far afield as Abyssinia; he employed renowned sea-captains; when a new

island or territory was discovered, true to his English blood he occupied and colonised it.

Pág. 18

To English people, one of the most amusing episodes in Portuguese history is its Victorian Age. For though few people realise it, Portugal had one, complete with Prince Consort! – and at about the same time as our own. On the death of Pedro IV in 1834 his daughter Dona Maria II became Queen. She married a Saxe-Coburg cousin of our Prince Albert, with the result that Queen Victoria wrote constantly and copiously to her Portuguese Royal Cousins by marriage. Many of these effusions may be read by the curious in the first three volumes of her letters. What is more, the same sort of architectural and decorative extravagances marked the period in the two countries. London has its Albert Hall, Lisbon the Palace of Ajuda; at Mafra there is a room whose furniture is entirely composed of the horns and skins of deer, in the best Balmoral tradition, and the 19th-century portion sof the Palace of Pena near Sintra recall Balmoral at every turn.

Pág. 30

One of the enchantments of the Portuguese countryside is that there one can see life as it was lived in England when England was still merry, say in the 17th or early 18th centuries.

Pág. 50

In the Rua de S. Marçal, almost opposite, the British Institute has an excellent library of English books and a Reading Room with all the English papers and magazines.

Tendo em conta as sucessivas e frequentes explicitações intralinguais das autoras e a relação constante que procuravam estabelecer com o público original da obra – falantes e turistas de língua inglesa – é notório que tais

elementos foram úteis para esses leitores. Mas na tradução para Português seria legítimo mantê-los? E, nesse caso, de que forma?

Para o conjunto de palavras existentes em língua portuguesa, com posterior explicação em língua inglesa, foi tomada a decisão de eliminar todas essas explicitações em língua inglesa, dada a sua redundância.

Contudo, nos restantes casos, entendeu-se conservar esse olhar estrangeiro sobre Portugal. De facto, seria estranho que estas autoras inglesas, com as suas idiossincrasias, tivessem um outro olhar. Assim como seria estranho que as referências e aproximações culturais ao povo inglês, próprias do original, fossem subtraídas da obra.

Colocou-se, todavia, em causa, o reconhecimento imediato de tais situações no tempo de hoje e, sobretudo, pelos leitores portugueses. Tal dúvida deu origem à necessidade de introdução das notas de rodapé, essa concessão de carácter comunicativo, como lhes chamaram Hatim & Mason (1990: 18), que pretendem estabelecer elos de compreensão entre o que o tradutor terá interpretado e sentido implícito no texto de partida e aquilo que o leitor na língua de chegada acaba por encontrar.

Torna-se evidente que esta intromissão do tradutor desvirtua significativamente o trabalho das autoras, conferindo ao tradutor o papel de aferidor de conhecimentos dos previsíveis leitores e complementador das informações existentes na obra, introduzindo aleatoriamente dados no texto que será lido na Língua de Chegada e decidindo aquilo que entende como sendo do conhecimento prévio, ou não, do leitor!

Ressalve-se, todavia e neste caso, que tradutor e editora comprometeram-se a usar as notas de tradução em função das exigências ou dificuldades que percepcionariam para os leitores portugueses, e não como sinais de afirmação da presença do tradutor. Tais notas serviriam essencialmente propósitos informativos e funcionais, apesar das reservas que também neste caso suscitaram, devido ao facto de se saber que as notas quebram o fio de leitura e assinalam a presença de "terceiros" – o tradutor.

Como nota final desta secção, realce-se que o exercício de subtracção de alguns elementos ao texto original resulta, efectivamente, num empobrecimento qualitativo da panóplia de conhecimentos disponibilizados pelas autoras. Repare-se que elas demonstram conhecer as duas realidades e o léxico que as descreve, e que tal facto é amputado na versão traduzida.

Além disso, o acrescento de elementos, através das notas de rodapé, ainda que comprovadamente necessário, num tempo e cultura bem diferentes, denota claramente a intervenção de tradutor e editor em prol dos leitores portugueses.

4.3 Anacronismos

Os anacronismos de variada ordem presentes na obra reflectem olhares enviesados sobre a realidade portuguesa da época retratada. Surgiam referências positivas ao trabalho do governo português da altura (1949) e aos seus investimentos, mas também era possível perceber desajustes temporais significativos relativamente ao momento actual. A datação destas referências dispensa grandes comentários e é propícia mesmo a eventuais observações desagradáveis, especialmente por parte de leitores mais sensíveis aos aspectos políticos e sociais da época.

Pág. 8

The extent to which the laws and social structure of Portugal still retain and reflect the Mahomedan influence will probably not be noticed by the casual visitor, but it is very marked. Portuguese women, even among the powerful families of upper classes, as a rule, have few of the political interests, exert little of the political influence which have been common for three or four centuries among their counterparts in England or Hungary or France; except for learning one or two foreign languages, they do not receive much education. The legal position of women is inferior; few may vote, and on her marriage the administration of a woman's property passes to her husband; she cannot get a passport without his written permission. The *Code Napoléon*, which was adopted by Portugal about 1840, after the Liberal wars, is probably responsible to some extent for this state of affairs – the Code, notoriously, rated women's rights rather low. And much of this, it is true, was the case in England up to the third quarter of the 19th century; but though *de jure* an Englishwoman may have had few rights, *de facto* she was often a power in the family and beyond, consulted and deferred to by sons or husbands. This is seldom so in Portugal – nor do the women on the whole appear to seek such a position. They have little ambition and few outside interests except charity; the wife who paints, plays, or studies birds or archaeology or botany on her

own account is very much the exception. They are good thou over-indulgent mothers and competent housekeepers, but they really lead enclosed lives, seeing chiefly their relations and a few female friends; for a married woman of good social position, let alone a girl, to have her own men friends, and eat with them in restaurants, or go about with them, is practically inconceivable.

Pág. 18

Portugal joined the Allies in the 1914-18 War, but her government suffered constant changes till the military *coup d'état* in 1926, which resulted, two years later, in Dr. Salazar being brought into the government. Since then the financial position of the country has been restored, and great improvements effected in many directions.

Pág. 22

Portugal is still, thank goodness, mainly an agricultural country: something like three-quarters of its population of nearly seven and three-quarter million people are engaged in agriculture of one sort of another. Cork is one of the major products; few people realise that little Portugal, with roughly the same area as Scotland, supplies the whole world with about half its cork.

Pág. 28

One of the striking things about Portugal in the 20th century is the contrast between these extremely primitive, though efficient, methods of agriculture and the highly up-to-date and scientific research into all the agricultural matters undertaken by the Government. About all this the Portuguese show great wisdom. They do not mechanise for the sake of mechanisation, in a blind worship of the machine; if a method, primitive or not, suits the local conditions and *works*, they leave it alone; if a more modern method is clearly better than the old, they apply it.

Pág. 51

Lisbon is one of the cleanest cities of the world. Lorries empty the dustbins daily, even in the poorest quarters; and this matter of drying the washing in the sun and sweet air at all levels is symptomatic of the innate wisdom of a nation which loves cleanliness.

No que concerne a estes anacronismos, claramente resultantes daquele que era um retrato de época, e aos desfasamentos de tal retrato face à actualidade, ficou desde o início acordado entre tradutor e editora que não haveria qualquer tipo de comentário explicativo. A razão para tal residia, por um lado, na elaboração e apresentação de um Prefácio, da autoria da filha de uma das autoras, alertando e precavendo o leitor actual precisamente para tais situações. Por outro lado, foi entendimento de ambas as partes, desde a primeira hora, que um exercício de adaptação temporal da totalidade da obra seria espúrio e totalmente desadequado.

A representação que esse novo texto faria do antigo significaria seguramente a anulação do texto de partida, dada a grande variedade de modificações implícitas. Acrescente-se, ainda, que tal exercício não se justificava tendo em conta as intenções iniciais de publicação e até as expectativas dos leitores para a obra em causa e para o momento em que fora produzida.

A estranheza na leitura e compreensão das situações descritas deste modo seria, assim, um factor inerente à inevitável datação da obra. O tempo actual significa mesmo outros lugares. Os portugueses em *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* eram o mesmo povo, tinham a mesma língua, mas eram outros. O leitor actual, em língua portuguesa, ficará com a noção clara de que, apesar de ser o mesmo país, aconteceram grandes mudanças. O relato do ontem servirá seguramente para encarar o hoje com a percepção dessas mudanças.

4.4 Imagem externa de Portugal

Sendo característicos de uma apreciação feita de passagem, os comentários sobre a imagem externa de Portugal, apesar de curiosos, revelam, por vezes, generalizações associadas a uma imagem comum que as autoras tinham do povo português e que nem sempre era positiva. Eram, por

vezes, imagens de uma identidade nacional reconhecida além-fronteiras e pelas próprias autoras como "*typical*" do que era ser-se português.

Págs. 24-25

The Portuguese as a race have many charming characteristics, but none is more delightful or more admirable than their attitude to work, especially to work in connection with the kindly fruits of the earth. They make a festival, a gay and social occasion, of all the principal operations by which crops are secured to man's use. Beating the trees and gathering the olives becomes a family picnic – babies sprawl in the shade while laughing youths and elders, gaily clad, collect the precious source of the useful and beloved oil; nothing is prettier, in a really ballet-esque way, than an olive-yard at harvest-time, in the soft December sunshine.

Pág. 30

Conditions are leisurely, since the country has not yet been organised on and industrial basis, and if the villagers are often illiterate, their standard of communal enjoyment is exceptionally high. (And if that is not a desirable "standard of living", what is?) No only is work itself turned into an occasion for festivity and jollification, but jollification pure and simple are freely undertaken.

Pág. 36

Such a scene is typical of Portugal. They are an easy-going race, with a great naturalness and simplicity. The peasants work extremely hard, but there is no violent display of energy by anyone else, and absolutely none of the Anglo-Saxon idea of doing things to time. Time means nothing.

An on the whole the Portuguese are an honest race. They will very rarely actually steal. True, one must scrutinise one's bill in hotels, even in the Government-owned *pousadas*, unless one wishes to be violently over-charged; and in even the best shops, if one has chosen, say, a pair of pure silk stockings, and asks for five more pairs of the same quality and size, it is fatal not to examine each pair minutely, as the Portuguese themselves do, or one

may find oneself landed with the same colour, indeed, but in any size, and with cotton feet and tops. But that is less wilful dishonesty than because, in the second case, the shop-girl is too lazy to see what she is giving you – and in the first because the hotel clerk was talking to someone while he made out your bill, or gave you someone else's bill – as he will tell you, blandly, when challenged.

Pág. 38

Many visitors to Portugal get something of a shock on first seeing a prison in a country town, with the inmates looking through the barred windows and holding out their hands for money. But although this fact may affect foreign susceptibilities, a little reflection shows that it must be very much more pleasant, if one is a prisoner, to be able to look out of a window onto the busy street, talk to one's friends, and receive money and ever-precious cigarettes from kind persons. In certain prisons, a lively trade is carried on in brushes, boxes and such-like, made by the prisoners, and much chaffering and bargaining can be seen going on between the house-wife in the street and the maker of the goods behind the bars. It is all very cheerful and matey, and thoroughly Portuguese.

Plenty of small change should be carried; silver to give the child or crone who actually brings the key, copper for the beggars and the swarm of children who assemble to see the fun. It is actually rather discourteous and unkind *not* to give to those who beg in Portugal, where voluntary Christian charity is more highly esteemed than governmentally organised relief. But it is not easy to carry enough coppers! In the case of children, a good plan is to still their clamour and drill them into a row, making all brothers and sisters stand together, and then give a coin to the youngest member of each family; this amuses them highly, and prevents the noisest [sic] and most active from getting tipped over and over again, as will certainly happen otherwise.

Se o surgimento destes elementos não foi propriamente uma surpresa, também não se pode dizer que se previsse o seu aparecimento em tão grande número… A sua existência enquadrava-se no espaço criativo e opinativo das

autoras e representava, de facto, as opiniões delas sobre tais matérias. Enquanto, para o tradutor, pôr em causa a sua inclusão, seria questionar a liberdade de expressão das autoras, para a editora, tal opção nem sequer foi considerada.

Deve notar-se que tais noções nos remetem para a área dos "Estudos de Imagem" e respectiva racionalização discursiva, tal como está enraizada nas diferenças culturais próprias de cada nação. A este propósito, devem assinalar-se os valores por defeito que parecemos assumir quando falamos do contacto entre seres humanos de culturas diferentes. Joep Leersen (2000: 280) refere-se precisamente a essa questão quando afirma,

> National characterizations, like other stereotypes, function as commonplaces – utterances that have obtained a ring of familiarity through frequent reiteration. Their strongest rhetorical effect lies in this familiarity and recognition value rather than in their empirical truth value.

Deve notar-se ainda que esses estereótipos de identidade nacional são apresentados partindo claramente de alegadas qualidades intrínsecas, embora dependam na verdade da relação diferencial e de oposição com a cultura materna de quem propõe esses mesmos estereótipos, ou seja, neste caso, os valores culturais das duas autoras inglesas, que sucessivamente põem em confronto os valores e situações portugueses com que se deparam com os referentes ingleses que tão bem conhecem, normalmente desvalorizando os primeiros e sobrevalorizando os segundos.

Em *The Selective Traveller in Portugal*, o cenário de observações, por parte das autoras, elogiando a presença e influência britânica já foi aqui referido. Ainda assim, é com alguma estranheza que se repara num exercício de crítica incisiva em alguns casos. Os estereótipos étnicos ou nacionais associados à imagem externa do que era ser-se Português assumiram, nesta obra e para estas autoras, características cáusticas, mas certamente reconhecíveis enquanto exercícios de auto- e hetero-análise da imagem de Portugal e dos portugueses.

Ver o "outro", entenda-se o estrangeiro, como uma anomalia ou singularidade, porque desviado dos nossos padrões, é efectivamente a norma. Reconhecer que as peculiaridades específicas de cada nação são registadas como comportamentos alargados de todo um povo tem sido afinal uma prática comum na literatura ao longo dos tempos. É uma matéria interessante e que convirá aprofundar em pormenor, sendo esta obra fértil em exemplos.

5. Considerações finais

Para finalizar, deve reconhecer-se que a atitude do tradutor, face às questões de ordem cultural e temporal resultantes deste conjunto de dúvidas e questões, é muito fortemente determinada pela casa editora que encomenda a tradução. Pelo que a consulta prévia e permanente junto da editora é fundamental.

A sistematização dos dados, com eventual recurso às Fichas de Registo de Projecto e de Análise do Texto de Partida da Norma EN 15038 é extremamente útil. Mas esgotam-se aí as aproximações à Tradução Técnica…

A tradução de *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* não permite a simples anulação de elementos do texto, nem a adequação de certos aspectos ou perspectivas, como poderá acontecer na Tradução Técnica ou na Localização de software, só porque os tempos, as culturas, as perspectivas, e sobretudo as directivas nacionais ou europeias, também são outras.

O respeito pela diferença, pelas peculiaridades de uma outra cultura e até por alguns anacronismos, especialmente à luz da percepção que o leitor actual poderá ter sobre o período em causa – e o tradutor actua aqui como primeiro leitor na Língua de Chegada –, são características bem vincadas na actuação do tradutor ao transpor para Português *The Selective Traveller in Portugal*. Ainda assim, a conservação de todas as marcas distintivas do texto "estrangeiro" – e em especial das características evidenciadas por estas autoras "estrangeiras" – no texto traduzido torna-se impossível nesta obra em concreto.

Enfatizar a posição do tradutor e reter marcas de diversidade, usando uma estratégia translatória "estrangeirizante", conforme a sugerida, por exemplo, por Lawrence Venuti (1995), é uma posição desde logo rejeitada

pela editora face a estratégias de leitura baseadas em critérios de fluidez e facilidade de comunicação para a comunidade receptora.

Contudo, em alguns casos presentes no livro, e claramente identificados ao longo deste trabalho, as seis décadas de distância produziram naturalmente as marcas da diferença. Os anacronismos assumem afinal formas de afirmação vincadas. E o texto valerá por si próprio como guia de viagem no tempo e no espaço… Até ao Portugal da década de 1940!

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[i] Diga-se, a propósito desta matéria, que foram desenvolvidos inicialmente no CEAP (Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses) na Universidade Nova de Lisboa, tendo agora continuidade no CETAPS (Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies), vários estudos sobre tais relatos, mas também sobre as influências exercidas pelos britânicos sobre Portugal, nomeadamente com diversas obras e teses já publicadas de Mestrado (seis) e de Doutoramento (duas), estando em curso mais duas de Doutoramento e seis de Mestrado (ver em http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/ceap/).

Shakespeare in *The Sandman*: Two Worlds Colliding

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Whereas comics have always been regarded as some kind of pulp, the kind of work that attracts male adolescent fan boys of spandex-clad superheroes and their scantily dressed female counterparts, the winds have been changing. A major factor in this change has been Neil Gaiman's series of short stories *The Sandman*. This series features stories of a more psychological and literary kind, and its popularity caused the establishment of a new brand of comic, a branch of the famous DC Comics which goes under the name Vertigo. Vertigo imprint produces comics that are meant to also attract an audience unfamiliar with comic books, opening up the genre and showing its virtues to the outside world. *The Sandman*'s popularity reached its summit with the acquiring of the World Fantasy Award for best short story in 1991, which was the first time ever for a comic to win a prize in the category of prose fiction. The boundaries between high and low culture appear to be fading. Interestingly, the story which won Gaiman the prize, was the one that goes by the name of "A Midsummer Night's Dream", and is actually a rendering of Shakespeare's play, including both Shakespeare himself, as a character, and *The Sandman*'s main character, Dream (also known as Morpheus and by several other names). Shakespeare features in three of the short stories. The first is "Men of Good Fortune", in which Gaiman introduces his Shakespeare character. The other two are explicitly about him and his work: "A Midsummer Night's Dream", aforementioned award winning comic, and "The Tempest", which also happens to be the last short story of the entire series. In these stories, Gaiman plays with several popular notions that have been attached to Shakespeare and his work over the years, such as the notion of Shakespeare as a character and how he may or may not be found in his own works, the authenticity of his work, the elitist nature his works have acquired and the universality of his narratives. The focus of this paper will lay on Gaiman's use of the medium of the comic book, and his play with the questions of authenticity and reality.

About *The Sandman*

First of all it is a good idea to briefly summarize what the series *The Sandman* is all about. The main character is, as stated before, Dream, who is one of the Endless. The

Endless are Dream, Death, Delirium, Destiny, Desire, Despair and Destruction – they are eternal forces, or as Analisa Castaldo says it in her essay on *The Sandman*, the "embodiments of essential characteristics of life" (Castaldo, 2004: 98). At the beginning of the series, Dream has been captured by means of some kind of occult ritual and finally escapes after seventy years. His imprisonment changed him though – he has to try and set things right that have gone awry during his long absence, but he also has to look at himself, what he has done in the past and must do in the future. The series goes back and forth in time by means of short stories, showing bits of Dream's past and things he has done, and through it all there is a main storyline of how the Dreamlord finally passes away and is succeeded by a new Dream of the Endless.

When Dream first meets Shakespeare, Shakespeare is a rather unsuccessful playwright who exclaims to Kit Marlowe: "I would give anything to have your gifts. Or more than anything to give men dreams that would live on long after I am dead. I'd bargain, like your Faustus, for that boon" (Gaiman, *The Doll's House*, 1995: 126), after which Dream asks him whether he truly wishes this, and then leads Shakespeare away. It turns out the two made a deal that day: Dream would help Will to write, and Will in turn would write two plays for the Dreamlord. The first one is *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which Shakespeare performs in the story by that name, for an audience of fairies (Auberon – Gaiman uses the old spelling of the name – and Titania amongst them). The second is *The Tempest*. Gaiman gives his reader bits and pieces from the original plays and intermingles it with his own narratives, thus giving his own alternative interpretation (or, perhaps better said, story) about what these two plays are all about.

The Medium

As mentioned above, the medium of the comic book or graphic novel if you will, is generally thought of as being 'low culture', in the sense that it is amusement for the masses without much of a message. While one might well argue that *The Sandman* is already more literary than most other comics, it is also safe to state that Gaiman could well be playing with the high culture versus low culture issue by having Shakespeare walk around in the Sandman's universe. We see two worlds colliding and then merging successfully into a grand narrative that has a message which is entirely its own. Gaiman also uses his medium quite cleverly in several ways. First of all, he is a master of the genre. As Kurt Lancaster tells us: "According to writer Joe Straczynski […], Gaiman […] 'does things with words, simple yet elegant tricks that can explain an entire character in a few carefully selected words' " (Straczynski in Lancaster, 2000: 72). For example, Gaiman's 'comic relief fairies' in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" just have a few lines of text, but with these lines they are made to display their character. Some credit must certainly also go to the illustrators, whose images cooperate with Gaiman's words to bring his message across. The composition of words and images creates an interesting new view on Shakespeare's work. For

example, also in "A Midsummer Night's Dream", when the play makes mention of 'the pale companion', we see not the moon, but the pale face of Dream himself. Another such playing with the original text in the comic book setting can be noted with the end of "A Midsummer Night's Dream", where the real Puck (not Shakespeare's actor, but a fairy who came with Auberon and Titania) gives his epilogue, which starts: "If we shadows have offended, think but this, and all is mended: that you have but slumber'd here, While these visions did appear" (Gaiman, *Dream Country*, 1995: 85). These lines gain a triple meaning. First, it is Shakespeare's written text, only just performed in the comic. Second, the Dreamlord has made all the actors fall asleep so they can perform in their dreams, for his fairy companions. If they are offended by his use of them, this epilogue could be some sort of pardon. Third, there are tons of Shakespeare-lovers who would be offended by the use of Shakespeare in a comic book. This pardon could be directed at those in favour of the high culture / low culture divide, although it is clear that by giving the word to the mischievous Puck, no one is truly sorry at all.

Shakespeare: the Man, the Talent

The Sandman comics give their own response to the matter of Shakespeare's originality. It has often been debated that the 'genius' Shakespeare 'stole' quite a lot of ideas from existing narratives, and the question would be whether that diminishes his status as an excellent author. Gaiman is obviously aware of the debate, seeing as he has Shakespeare himself make a remark about this in "The Tempest": "There's some of me in it. Some of Judith. Things I saw, things I thought. I stole a speech from one of Montaigne's essays. And closed with an unequivocally cheap and happy ending" (Gaiman, *The Wake*, 1997: 181). One might say then, that Shakespeare was a master-adaptor. But there is more to this in Gaiman's text – there is Dream. Dream aids Shakespeare in his writing, so he can become the author who gained worldwide fame. But how much of Shakespeare's art would have been Dream's, and how much of it would have been Shakespeare's own talent at work? According to Dream himself, Shakespeare already had the talent, which was one of the reasons why he chose him to write his two plays. When Shakespeare fears for his immortal soul for trafficking with the unworldly lord of dreams, Dream answers: "There is no witchcraft, Will, no magic. I opened a door within you, that was all" (Gaiman, *The Wake*, 1997: 181). Other instances in the stories suggest that this is not the only way in which Dream aids Shakespeare. While Shakespeare's men perform for Dream and the fairy company, Titania remarks to Dream: "It seems to me that I heard this tale sung once, in old Greece, by a boy with a lyre", to which Dream answers: "Indeed, my lady?" She continues: "You are a deep one. I would I could fathom your motives…?" He answers: "Later my lady. Watch the play" (Gaiman, *Dream Country*, 1995: 72). The same sort of thing is the case with "The Tempest": Shakespeare has a conversation with a religious man, and asks him what to do about this magician he has walking around in his play – he says this magician is a good man, not a man whom he would

want to see damned for dabbling in magic. The religious man then says he should let the magician "break his staff, and burn his books, and renounce all magics" (Gaiman, *The Wake*, 1997: 171). At the end of the story, Shakespeare asks Dream why he wanted a play like The Tempest, and not some lofty tragedy. Dream answers: "I wanted a tale of graceful ends. I wanted a play about a king who drowns his books, and breaks his staff, and leaves his kingdom. About a magician who becomes a man. About a man who turns his back on magic" (Gaiman, *The Wake*, 1997: 181). These two instances in both short stories would make one suspect Dream inspires Shakespeare on a higher level than just by opening his creative channels. It makes one wonder how much of the story is truly Shakespeare's and how much of it is Dream's. It makes one wonder about how stories in general work in the world of *The Sandman* – are they all part and parcel of Dream's imagination, does he fashion them, one and all? It also gives an interesting perspective on the character of Ariel, from *The Tempest*. It is easy to note, that in Shakespeare's 'real' text (meaning: outside the universe created by Gaiman), one never truly sees Prospero performing his magic. He always sends Ariel to do his bidding, so it is Ariel who performs the magic. How much of the magic is truly Prospero's, then? This is the exact same question we find in The Sandman: the question of 'authorship', of who may claim credit for acts performed. Is it the one who inspires or the one who acts upon this inspiration? How much inspiration does the actor need to start working? Another interesting question: is Shakespeare Prospero, or is Dream? And who then, is Ariel? Dream inspires Shakespeare, yes, but is he not also a supernatural being, lending his magic to Shakespeare's cause? They are both Prospero, and both are they Ariel. Dream and Shakespeare reflect on this themselves at some point as well. Dream asks: "So tell me, Will: do you see yourself reflected in your tale?" To which Shakespeare replies:

I would be a fool if I denied it. I am Prosper, certainly, and I trust I shall. But I am also Ariel – A flaming, firing spirit, crackling like lightning in the sky. And I am dull Caliban. I am dark Antonio, brooding and planning, and old Gonzalo, counselling silly wisdom. And I am Trinculo, the jester, and Stephano the butler, for they are clowns and fools, and I am also a clown and a fool, and on occasion, drunkards. (Gaiman, *The Wake*, 1997: 175-176)

What Shakespeare basically says here, is that his stories are inspired by life as he experiences it, by people he knows (I mentioned earlier that he also claimed Judith could be found in his *The Tempest*), and the person you know best, is yourself.

This view on Shakespeare's 'inspiration' for his plays also gives an interesting view on the epilogue to *The Tempest*, which Gaiman also has Shakespeare write after Dream has ended his bargain with him: "Now my charms are all o'erthrown, and what strength I have's mine own, which is most faint" (Gaiman, *The Wake*, 1997: 183).

The Reality of Dreams

The matter discussed above concerning 'authorship' ties in well with what will be discussed next: the matter of reality, and the questioning of this. It has already been said that *The Sandman* can be regarded as a psychological comic, and the question of what is real and what is not is a recurring one throughout the series. In the stories featuring Shakespeare this is also the case. In "A Midsummer Night's Dream", reality and the dream world collide and mingle, having fairies (who happen to be old acquaintances of Dream and hence perhaps creatures of the dream world more than the real world) as spectators to Shakespeare's play. The 'real' Titania who watches the play, is quite taken with Shakespeare's son Hamnet, and tries to charm him by telling him of the marvels of her world. At the end of the short story, it says Hamnet died at a very young age. This reminds one of the changeling boy Titania has with her in Shakespeare's play, the boy she quarrels over with Oberon. Folklore tells us changelings were human children who were taken away by fairies, leaving an elderly or disfigured fairy in its place – or a wooden doll, shaped like the infant's dead body. Is this story then, or is it truth? Did Titania steal the boy, like in Shakespeare's play, or do we just assume this because we know Shakespeare's story, and the stories concerning changelings?

In "The Tempest" there is also an intermingling of the real world with that of dreams. First of all because the real world can be seen reflected in Shakespeare's tale (like the courting of Judith by a rather uncharming fellow, which can be seen as Caliban's attempt to rape Miranda), but it is also the composition of the events which plays with the intermingling of stories and the real. When Shakespeare just wrote the beginning of the play, with the storm, Judith comes in and tells him: "Father? There is a storm brewing", to which Shakespeare replies: "What's that, Judith? A storm? Yes… There would be a storm" (Gaiman, *The Wake*, 1997: 147), almost as if he knows (or has gotten used to) seeing his writing reflect upon the real, and the other way around.

To conclude, it is safe to state that *The Sandman* plays with many recurring topics in Shakespearean studies, and does this in a way which fits its own comic book universe like a glove. The question of authenticity and mirror-characters (Dream as Ariel or Prospero, Shakespeare as all characters) is played with on so many levels that it leaves one wondering what Gaiman is truly suggesting. The world of dreams is both real and unreal, and the divide between the two is very vague indeed.

The point is: no one will ever know whether Shakespeare truly wrote his own plays, not for certain. Also, no one will ever know what he intended, or what drove him to write about certain topics while letting others be. Gaiman uses this gap in our knowledge to his advantage, creating his own wondrous answer to these questions, and creating new gaps, new questions, in the process. Why diminish the mystery if you can enrich it

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Loops and Knots in a Long Rope: Scenes from the Equivocation Theme in Early Modern England

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Think thou not that I come to send peace on earth:

I came not to send peace, but a sword.

1. Matthew 11. 34[1]

I

Tradition, especially in times of doubt and trouble, calls for objects of popular cherishing and homage, and commemoration is supposed to revive the common ground of memory and national identity, and exorcize ghosts of scepticism and decline. Britain has always been culturally multiform, the field of permanent intercourse between natives and immigrants, settlers and travellers, conquerors and traders, and the attempt at spotting a *stratum* with solid qualifications to typify origins or genuine sources would certainly collapse. The conspicuousness of the living faces of the Empire, after all the visible witnesses of a very recent historical experience providing, however, marks of irreversible import, joins the reductive label of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic cultural matrix. To conjure a sense of Commonwealth and the pride grounded on the royal throne of kings and earth of majesty has always seemed an appropriate gesture to pour new life into founding moments and to challenge the dissolving invasion of newcomers, hostile or indifferent to the respectful voices of the past and the most decent and basic feelings of the

present. Some years ago, many can certainly remember, a speech of queen Elizabeth, our contemporary, went hand in hand with the imposing and watchful image of another Elizabeth whose picture, framing the scene in the background, gave authority and legitimacy to the composed attitude of the Windsor monarch that urged her loyal subjects to renew the patriotic quest of the happy few of olden times (then the phrase 'Kill all the Argies', making the jesting headlines of the so-called quality press, replicated in more sinister reverberations in the jingoistic popular papers). The famous proclamation of Tyburn, on the eve of the episode of the Invincible Armada, returned like old wine poured into new bottles. Sometimes you don't even need to think, you just have to believe, even if a suitable refashioning, tinged with the wayward paths and crooked ways that once led Bolingbroke to power and greeted the victor of Agincourt, would not resist a more critical scrutiny. In our time the persuasive force of authorized versions reenacts its effects in a larger scale: bombing and invading a foreign country with the poor claim of a sheer supposition (the existence of hidden weapons of immense power of destruction) and the stronger one (an indefectible fidelity to allies and to essential values of Western civilization) may rig common sense and judgment on the nature of things, but such an adventure certainly returns to the little island a bracing scent of the power and glory of the good olden times.

Past and present in the web of paradox and controversy: celebrating the failure of those obscure conspirators that in 1605 set an audacious plot against King and Parliament is not a consensual reference in its historical meaning. Nor 1588 and the defeat of the Armada, 1660 and the Restoration, 1688 and the 'Glorious Revolution', facts of much higher import, are univocal sources of national inspiration: the plight of the Catholic subjects of the Virgin Queen, torn between political loyalty and religious convictions, the persecution of Catholics in England or the instability of the status granted to the old faith, the massacre of the Irish or the repression of Jacobean followers, not to mention the fierce crushing of Republicans and 'enthusiasts'.

Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot may evoke much more than an ancillary episode in the long rope of loops and knots that swerves deviously along Tudor and Stuart England, now food for merrymaking and bonfires, full of the sound and fury of Halloween and appropriately served by the same business panoply. An observer from abroad without inclination for mass enthusiasm or populist fervour can see in the national festivity just an unruly and boisterous commemoration at variance with a proper attitude of joyous celebration. A biased perspective and a simple matter of taste? Of bad taste anyway: let alone the ethnic conscience of minorities claiming to be the victims of an outrageous discrimination symbolically expressed in their erasure from the British Flag, or those living on the fringe of any official religious confession (independently of its relevance in a secular society), one can guess that Catholic writers – Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, Anthony Burgess, Peter Ackroyd or David Lodge – would most probably not share what is no more a distinctive badge of national character.

In the Middle Ages subordination to the Crown was already an established practice of the Church of England. Consent was the rule even in delicate issues such as royal claims or decisions concerning the nomination of bishops, which so often had on the Continent a most drastic expression. Moreover, Church and universities supplied the increasing needs of state bureaucracy with the obedient expertise of their scholars. Such a functional unity of efforts in the preservation and reproduction of basic ideological and religious representations hardly discriminates *bellatores* and *oratores* – monasteries and landlords shared their role as sources of authority over villains and peasants. Kings and nobility lived according to old consensual bonds that granted both duties of loyalty to the monarch and respect of traditional rights to local potentates. Not that stability was not sometimes shaken, as the rise of Sir John Oldcastle in 1414 or, before that, in the late fourteenth century, the insurgency of John Ball and their followers, or the heresy of John Wycliff and

the Lollards generously document; but medieval political, economic and ideological structures were, broadly speaking, part of the even landscape of the feudal system.

Long before Reformation, clergymen and English humanists were well aware of the crucial organizational, moral, and even theological drawbacks that affected the venerable institution founded by Peter. Erasmus had already exposed pride and arrogance and a blind and obsolete attachment to dogma in Church and society; now simony and nepotism, pluralism and non-residence, theological ignorance and cultural deprivation, erotic incontinence or unjustifiable immunities and privileges of priests (*v. g. benefit of clergy*) made part of a wide range of vices that could not be ignored any more. John Colet, the dean of Saint Paul's, and Thomas More, Lawyer, and chancellor to be, were not sectarians and remained in the ranks of the universal *Ecclesia* , trying to reform it from inside (more audacious the former, more restrained the latter). Many faces has dissent and non-conformity, and the fortunes, good or bad, of iconoclasts, rebels with or without a cause, ambitious aristocrats or heterodox scholars and thinkers cannot unfortunately be here a target of rewarding scrutiny and debate. Catholics in England during the period under consideration will be entitled enough, I hope, to guide us through the knotty and tortuous design that crosses a long time of achievements and suffering, certainly fascinating in the distance (as fascinating are certain restored urban areas, that only residents do not find attractive in their typical and picturesque outlines) and under the voyeuristic eyes of those who have never lived in it. In this very short excursion Guy Fawkes will never be very too far. I suppose he can wait for a little while, and the case may be that he does not seek to be remembered at all and would rather rest in peace.

When Thomas More came to the world, most probably in 1478, under the encouraging prospects of those born in an affluent and influent family, an era

of social unrest was about to die; when he left it, in 1535, on the scaffold of Tower Hill, ironically erected near Milk Street, the place where he first had seen the light, free reign had been given to the fittest, the unscrupulous servants of a voluble King desperately engaged in the consolidation of a new dynasty still groping its way in the tricky web of home affairs and the precariousness of international alliances. However, everything seemed to be new under the sun when the lawyer, businessman and humanist scholar rejected the strenuous scepticism of Raphael Hythloday and responded to the challenge of a little concrete utopia in the service of Henry VIII, the acclaimed *defensor fidei* in times of discord and heresy. The just may live by faith, but faith can also kill: the dialogic quest for truth, inscribed in *Utopia* , gave way to repression and intolerance, and the ashes of William Tyndale, the English Luther, proclaimed the triumph of orthodoxy, the erasure of the generous openness of the philosophic *doxa* and the failure of the humanist rhetoric of persuasion. Toleration is nefarious and nonsensical when dissolving ideas and dangerous engagements are liable to jeopardize religious conformity and promote unruly factions in the kingdom – translating the Bible into vernacular languages is a malicious and treacherous move, understanding *Ecclesia* as the community of believers is a poisonous and odious proposition that degrades the mission and credentials of the visible Church, and denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation craves urgent annihilation of the heretic and his heresy. The austere Carthusian now extends his discipline and values to the Commonwealth and expels from the utopia of his lord and master the spots of dissidence and heterodoxy. 'Heresies breed disorders, and fear of this have been the causes that princes and peoples have been constrained to punish heretics by terrible death, whereas more easy ways had been taken with them' [2]: collapse is promised to dialogue and compromise when faith and order are at the stake. And had not the wise thinker and reliable Chancellor of the realm, after all, joined the Tudor myth in the convenient depiction of the last York monarch, overthrown in the fields of Bosworth in the providential

year of 1485, as a deformed monster and bloodthirsty tyrant (was not the *The History of King Richard III*, with purpose and meaning, written in Latin, the *lingua franca* of humanistic intellectual communication, but in the language of the loyal subjects of His Majesty)?. [3]

More sinned against than sinned? When Thomas More resigned, in 1532, the way was paved for Thomas Cromwell and his cronies: "*Are you threatening me, Cromwell"*, asks the enraged Lord in his reluctance to betray More and to respond to a dubious information that would force him to cooperate against the former Chancellor; *The King particularly wishes you to be active in the matter. My dear Norfolk…this is not Spain",* replies in a cynical voice the new man in charge. [4] The reference exposes in the language of dramatic fiction both the pervasive atmosphere of intimidation and fear that goes along with the ruthless centralization of power and the new paradigm of compulsory involvement of members of the commonwealth in matters of state and politics. If intimate convictions cannot be touched and scrutinized by authority, at least strict observance of official rituals is a visible manifestation of loyalty. Is not worth while mentioning at this juncture that the impressive royal progresses and visits to distinguished Tudor Houses, or the Lord Mayor solemn annual excursion in the streets of London came to efface popular festivals and celebrations? One renounces liberating energy of folk culture and shared experience among equals and looks in awe and respect at the magic circle of his betters. The prisoner in the Tower took refuge and fortitude in the correspondence with his daughter, in the examination of his conscience in a context that transcends his individual fortune, and in the example of Christ, the way of suffering, not the way of violent resistance - "The general subject of his dialogue letter and *A Dialogue of Comfort* is the same: how should the Christian behave when persecutors test his strength to endure for what he believes, in his conscience, to be the true faith?"[5]His trial was basically a sordid hunt of a defenseless victim and a savage exercise in

sadism. The recent execution of John Fisher, his supposed accomplice in crime, projected its ominous shadow on what could be appropriately labeled the corridor of death. Before infuriated magistrates and an intimidated jury, More claimed his innocence and rejected the insidious allegations based on the principle *Qui tacet consentire videtur*. Individual conscience is a sacred garden that should be preserved from profanation, nothing had been specifically designed to produce any expressed opinion concerning the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, and recantation would be absurd. Silence does not therefore reverberate the sounds of treason. There was no equivocation or double-talk. But there was no escape either. Doctrinal controversy could not be avoided: the accused discarded *in limine* the legal status and authority of the court, and in the expansion of the argument came to surface the allegiance of the culprit to the See of Rome. Convicting is also convincing, but when execution followed, the grandiose pageant of Death had to cope with the dignified resistance of the actor against his preordained role and , therefore, did not fully respond to the expectations of its mentor and directors. The same would later happen, under Elizabeth and on the eve of the Armada episode, with the performance of Mary Stuart, the dearest hope of Catholic Europe, also willing to dictate her own terms to a ceremony of crime and punishment devised as an awe-striking example of the triumph of Truth over dangers of Error and devilish conspiracy. Thomas More is now also remembered as a saint and a martyr by the Church of Rome, the Queen of Scots is still celebrated by her defiant courage in tribulation. But Guy Fawkes, a minor character in the play of Treason, is bound to live a thousand deaths as a poor scarecrow in flames.

Dilemmas and quandaries of a religion of love were also to haunt inflexions in politics and faith dictated by the inheritors of Henry VIII. Repression and intolerance informed the aggressive initiatives of the new order during the brief rule of the young Edward, and the ambitions and opportunism of the

rival earls of Somerset and Northumberland, and afterwards the immolation of the naïve Lady Jane Gray, a mere scapegoat dragged into a suicidal adventure that she could not understand entirely, opened the gates to the restoration of old loyalties and allegiances. The bloody Mary, as the Protestant tradition with some success branded the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, knew well the anxieties of persecution, and her pious devotion to a sacred cause now urged her to take harsh and inflexible measures against heretics. The popular and spicy *Book of Martyrs,* or *Acts and Monuments*, published in 1563 and written by John Fox, a famous Marian exile, is a formidable arraignment of that female Anti-Christ, impious and cruel in the appalling sacrifice and death of the just and the humiliating recantation of the virtuous nation, forced to kneel down before the power of Rome, seditious and perverse in the calling to the country of the arch-enemy of England through her marriage to Philip of Spain. A reliable version? Or simply the populist emphasis given to the militant angry voice of resentment? Protestant agitators in their crude resilience played certainly a decisive role in the context – unrelenting provocation and abusive invective are liable to infuriate authorities and excite violence, and it is without saying that extreme violence was a pervasive way to crush enemies or eliminate differences. [6]Be as it may, not everyone would be prepared to sugar the pill and listen, let alone give full credit, to a milder perspective of the nature of that abhorred regime:

> No one has made a detailed critical study of the Marian persecution. All the accounts of it we possesss are heavy with the worst failings of the hagiographer and the apologist. And the distortions of the legend have done much to provoke exaggerated skepticism about the facts that are its foundation. There is, of course, no need to postulate any personal bloodthirstiness whether in the ecclesiastics who tried the accused or in the executive that initiated the policy and kept the ecclesiastics to their task. The terrible penalty of death was the usual

> penalty for serious offences of every kind, and as for the death for burning, it was in England regularly inflicted on women, in lieu of a hanging, for two hundred years and more after Mary Tudor's reign, until wellnigh the close of the eighteenth century.
>
> By the standards of any country and any time before the French Revolution, there was nothing unusual in the severity of the punishment. Those who enacted such a penalty cannot, historically, be regarded as monstrous for that alone, nor can they be said to have been anything other than typical of their time because the offense for which they decreed the penalty was the offense of heresy./…/.[7]

Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves:
Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.
Matthew 1o. 16

II

The Age of Elizabeth is commonly seen as a redeeming time based on a prudent religious and political settlement. Catholic past had to be overcome by rupture and innovation, but the new faith could not simply be imposed by law or crude expediency upon old habits and traditional forms of worship and mental representations. Fresh memories of the widespread radicalism and unbearable insecurity of the two previous reigns were for sure an invaluable support to legitimacy and a precious caution to social transformation. Even among brethren of common persuasion controversy emerged with its new challenges and its potential eroding effects. The militant nation, aware of a providential role to play in times of tribulation - successful abroad in the brutal energy of merchant adventurers and pirates (one keeps in mind some

famous names, enthusiasts about discoveries and colonial expansion, like Richard Hakluyt, soldiers of fortune, like John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake or Sir Martin Frobisher, even the courtier and poet Sir Walter Ralegh, all men of quality in the informal service of the Queen) – was nevertheless pervaded by a feeling of uneasiness that paved the way to the suppression, by cunning and violence, of real or imaginary plots. The strange case of Roderigo Lopez, the old physician of Queen Elizabeth, would illustrate the web of operations of secrecy, suspicion and extorted confessions that sacrificed any intruder that happened to step, no matter how innocently that might happen, on the nook where angels fear to tread – the Portuguese Jew, not the confirmed conspirator attempting at poisoning her sovereign or the silent link to the Spanish connection, was simply the victim of his imprudence and the tremendous risks his greed made him to run. [8] And that of Christopher Marlowe, the talented dramatist and spy in the service of the crown, ironically bound to the form and meaning of the myth in the popular emotions aroused by the both tragic and ludicrous *The Jew of Malta* , that savage farce that capitalized popular emotions in London – he had also to pay the reckoning and was promptly dispatched, almost certainly the prey of the voracious struggle between factions (the Earl of Essex and the Cecils) under the sinister eye of Sir Francis Walsingham, the pragmatic head of the secret service of Her Majesty. [9]

A vivid sense of urgency came to the surface when domestic politics and events abroad coalesced into a terrible shadow projected over the nation - old fears and anxieties revived. The rise to the throne of the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn in 1558 had affected the unstable web of confederacy of interests and power structures established among European countries. Reactions were soon to be felt: the Portuguese bishop and scholar D. Jerónimo Osório, just to refer to an example well known to us, responding to the appeal of the Cardinal D. Henrique, sends a letter to Elizabeth. He praises

the Queen, stresses her wisdom and culture, exhorts her to listen to the word of good counsel, exposes the impiety of Luther and their followers, and proclaims his allegiance to the lessons of famous doctors and divines.[10] The Irish had to be kept at bay, France was a permanent menace hovering ominously above the chosen people of England – the "Auld Alliance" of 1295 that associated traditional enemies of the kingdom, reenacted through the prospective marriage of Mary Stuart to the heir of the French throne (1548), [11]an overt manoeuvre to besiege the militant nation, while Spain threatened to crush the defenders of true religion in the Netherlands (where England was to be involved in an informal war). But this was the price to pay for a daring and unwavering choice. Time was ready for subversion.

The execution of Mary Queen of the Scots, the half-sister of Elizabeth and the most illustrious prisoner in the Tower, the continuous ravaging raids perpetrated by subjects of Her Majesty, supposedly acting on their own, in fact obeying the interests of the kingdom and the vital accumulation of capital in the early stages of English imperial expansion, against Spanish galleons that crossed the Atlantic with their round flanks full of rich spoils of colonial exploitation, the harassing intervention in the Netherlands, as cloaked and devious as the strokes of pirates, were provocations that could not be ignored. And later on, defeat on the seas and deadlock in the battlefield called for an insidious feedback. In some colleges on the Continent – Valladolid, Rheims, Rome, … - scholars were taking orders and sent to England secretly: to give assistance to their brethren in faith or, in a different version, to fuel disobedience and, *Deo juvante*, to eliminate the English heretic queen by dagger or poison. Had not the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (1590) excommunicated her and liberate her subjects from loyalty and submission ? Followers of Ignatio de Loyola, the indefectible servants of Spanish policy according to a deliberate simplification, activated their powers of corruption and began to orchestrate a complex set of underground moves. Edmund

Campion (under excruciating torture and then executed, in 1581), Robert Southwell (also arrested, tormented and executed in 1595), Thomas Cotton (also crushed in agony and savagely executed in 1582), Robert Southwell (also quartered and disemboweled, in 1595), and the famous Robert Parsons (died in Rome, in 1610). Heroes, saints and martyrs, or malignant traitors and equivocators, according to the sides taken, are protagonists in an untangling sequence of plots and knots. Means and ends meet, truth cannot always be obeyed in forced confessions, above all when tenors of a sacred mission are in the fangs of Death. *Wise as serpents, and harmless as doves*. /…/.

But stability requires determination and obstinate search for compromise, a solid state machinery and strong administrative structures, and a careful and patient exercise of power. The divine rule of kings would depend above all on the qualities of the sovereign and on the public image she or he managed to create. The reduction of the ecclesiastical institution to an ideological department of the Crown – the Queen became the Supreme Governor of the Church of England by means of the Act of Supremacy (a significant modulation, her father had been Supreme Head of the Church of England) – was to be operative as a source of indoctrination. Elizabeth had to face the resistance of feudal potentates firmly attached to ancient privileges (see the rebellious lords of the North, those Percys and Northumberlands that Shakespeare summons to the dramatic action of the two parts of *Henry IV*) , and the sense of urgency depicted in *An Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion* (1570) is an impressive instance of that upsetting resilience of vested interests of the past. And the massive work of Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiasticall Politie*, documents a conspicuous feeling of restlessness in a tyranny by consent. Problems of another sort were also requiring instant and tactful examination.

In a visual and oral culture, images and speech are the flavor of daily routine. Pulpits were, at least before the triumph and institution of the austerity of the Reformed Church, scenes of histrionic and sensational homilies, and the vibrant exuberance and colour of pageants and popular rites and ceremonies gave to the invigorating sense of community a local habitation and a name. Now the cold nude walls of temples, deprived of their propitious icons, favoured anxieties of a piety that had expelled from churches those consolations once granted by the intercession of the Virgin, saints or angels or relief given by sacraments and consecrated formulae of devotion. Sins could once be pardoned, penitence and good works could purify the soul, and the believer used to join his prayers to the confident voices of the congregation. But now, poor orphan trembling before his God and His mysterious ways, he had to pray alone, and feverishly search in his conscience and in the ways of the world the visible signs of his unpredictable election. However, image, speech, movement and excitement were soon to be generously provided by popular and commercial theatre, and the Holy Virgin would return to the yearning imagination of believers in the form of another Virgin.

Elizabeth knew that in this field she and her Privy Council had to ponder and negotiate as well. Although doctrine was suggestively Calvinistic, the articles of faith were elusive enough to respond both to radical and moderate views, and liturgy kept some features of the more exuberant Catholic legacy. One the other hand, some patriarchal disquiet arising from the precarious female authority could be successfully appeased by the gentle veneration of the distant lady, the owner of everlasting youth and the object of dedicated and hopeless lovers. The Virgin Queen had no children, but she was above all that most singular woman that had the heart and resolution of a man and had married her nation, as she proclaimed in Tyburn in the providential year of 1588, among the enthusiastic applause of her subjects. And then unity of the kingdom had to be preserved at all costs, even if dynastic fortunes had to be

sacrificed, and so prospects of marriage were to be in succession postponed or rejected. Prominence awarded to one of the obdurate rival factions that struggled for power and influence would affect drastically the delicate balance sustained by a shrewd policy of allocation of titles and privileges and regulation of lobbies and alliances.

Please to remember
The Fifth of November,
Gunpowder, treason and plot;
I see no reason
Why gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot.[12]

IV

Fawkes, Fox, Fakes: names are fertile in connotations, mainly when they inhabit the world of allegorical insinuation and encoded presence: *Make –evil* was not only an innocent play on words but the branded mark of the Florentine counselor and diplomat, Niccolò Machiavelli, and of his secret practices, more common in early Jacobean politics than the virtuous nation would ever be prepared to admit. Spying or denigration, torture and barbarous execution, as piracy or plunder, were reasonable enough provided that the right target were hit to the benefit and glory of Her Majesty; even if abhorrence could in this frame of things not be easily discarded: unlike the praiseworthy knight-errands on the sea, those God's instruments and ministers only called for despise, as one can read in Ben Jonson's "On Spies": "Spies, you are light in state, but of base stuffe, / Who, when you´have burnt yourself down to the snuffe, / Stinke, and are thrown away. End fair enough".[13]What could be accepted from above had a perfect correspondence from below: the same approach was vindicated by the Catholic faction, and Philip of Spain himself only vacillated to approve of actions of *desperados* and

devastating plots, such as the one devised by Robert Catesby and his cronies in 1604, when considerations on their political impact were at stake. The human factor – the awful massacre of the royal family and a considerable numbers of members of Parliament, let alone the fate of brave conspirators, Guy (alias Guido)[14] Fawkes among them, would be just the collateral effects of a pious venture. Any unsuccessful Gunpowder Plot was liable to intensify repression against Catholics, confirming the exclusion of those great expectations to which promises made by the new King, himself a pacifist aiming at a definite peace settlement with the archenemy of England, had given some substance.

James Stuart was not a controversialist beyond endurance, but his claims to absolute authority would never deserve downright enforcement in spite of the insistent assertiveness of his demands. Succession, meticulously prepared by William Cecil (who, by the way, would extend dynastic titles of bureocracy to his son, Robert Cecil) had been as consensual as possible, and the mythic matriarch figure of Elizabeth was not to generate at first any traumatic feelings of loss or painful nostalgia. The Scottish King himself had been victim of a tremendous chain of plots, which included kidnapping, attempted murder, with narrow escape in the middle; it would be only natural that he sought among his new subjects a new confidence. But reconciliation in doctrine could not be achieved – the Hampton Court Conference (1604) was to be a failure, at least in the eyes of his contemporaries,[15]mistrust between his English and Scottish subjects could not be overcome, and full institutional unity between the kingdoms of Scotland and England collapsed before the more realistic, but pale and somewhat unsubstantial, dual monarchy of Great Britain, a label never consecrated by use or general persuasion, and English Parliament, a stronghold of vested interests, would never warrant the Great Contract idealized by the monarch as the instrument to grant the Crown the financial resources needed to face growing expenses, growing opulence, and

the growing number of dependants and favourites (rude Scottish followers were supposedly a qualified part of that outrageous sharers of spoils, and a source of discrimination against English vassals). Titles were for sale, expenses in extravagant shows and performances at the Court were a permanent argument of dispute in the time when even lofty exhibition had a tinge of Catholicism in its nature and intention. Meanwhile repression of Catholics joined, in a disappointing policy of club and carrot, peace with Spain (actually there was in the treaty not a single article devoted to toleration of the old faith), which paved the way to the prominence of the former enemies in the making of political decisions: the fate of Sir Walter Ralegh, or the denial of armed assistance to the Protestant cause on the Continent when war broke out in 1618 would soon illustrate this inclination[16], and an increasing feeling of unease heralded feats of regeneration, the strive of the chosen seed for another country, "Tomorrow to fresh woods, and pastures new", as John Milton would claim in 1637, in the last verses of *Lycidas*. [17]At this crossroads of violence and persecution, the militant nation would crush heretics and stifle their wiles – was not equivocation a cryptic denial of Christ, and the Gunpowder Plot its malicious activation? [18]And was not *A Treatise of Equivocation*, a *pièce de résistance* found among the papers of one of the conspirators, the insidious "guide to the dismantling of royal government in England", its author, the abhorred Father Garnet, "a kind of priest of Satan"? A peculiar ontological territory supported the idea that perjury, irrespective of its context, was treason to the nature of words, and to deceive or equivocate in confession was a crime without remission:

> "The view of language as natural, not artificial, was still held in the sixteenth century. God had *named* creatures as he made them. Either he named them himself ("And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night," Genesis 1.5) or he delegated the naming to Adam ("and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was

> the name thereof, " Genesis 2.9). To give false names, to pervert language, was a sin against nature. Abusing words was abusing things – that was one source of the potency of abused language in magic and witchcraft. It explains why it was so easy for controversialists to equate Jesuits with witches."[19]

ªPlease to remember the Fifth of November,
Gunpowder Freedom and Plot.
We know no reason why Gunpowder
Freedom
Should ever be forgot"[20]

V

England at the time of the first Stuart was indeed pervaded by strange images of death, and symmetries in trickery and deviousness join absolute horror to make it difficult to take sides and commemorate along the lines of what is in fact an invented tradition, as Justian Champion suggests.[21]A vexed question, like the one that more than half a century later would divide supporters of the Restoration and the survivors of the good old cause, obstinate in their convictions in times of vileness and trouble, fit audience, but few, of Milton's great argument[22]; or the controversy that puts apart revels exalting the great achievements of the Glorious Revolution and memories revisiting the misfortunes of Boyne and regretting it. And should one recall the biased attitude of the revered herald of the new establishment, John Locke, not so generous after all in the supposed universal significance generally attached to his purposes: religious freedom excludes non-believers, and the political liberty he advocates in his major work *Two Treatises of Government*

> "…was a liberty for Protestants within the British state. There is no reason to believe that he would have been reluctant to extend it to the foreign Catholics in foreign Catholic States. What it emphatically was not intended to be was a liberty for Irish Catholics from the British Crown".[23]

The past is a unquiet presence, the mansion of dissenting voices suffocated in their differences by the reductive consensus of a plain national identity. Scotland and Ireland give the tune to this intricate music of time.

The Act of Union (1707) and the definite collapse of the Old Pretender´s cause in Culloden (1746) may illustrate the triumph of Scottish expectations: a share in the spoils of imperial achievement, reconciliation with the powerful southern rival and, more at home, the suppression of the obsolete power of clans and traditional castrating values and structures of authority, seemed rewarding enough; development and progress were finally in view. Let alone populist revival of Bannockburn (1314), a preposterous manifestation of obsessive nostalgia,[24] the founding of the new age put an end to turbulent protests in Edinburgh and elsewhere,[25]and the facts and their meaning and import do not find a common reading.[26]Ireland in the past and the present has also been the field of dispute, and the temptation to make it simple has authorized the biased version that conflict opposed two established communities divided on a single issue. And, be as it may, even if the Belfast Agreement of 1998 has not yet achieved full enforcement, [27]the impossible moment when the Reverend Ian Paisley Gerry Adams finally shook hands should be more cherished than decades of violence interpreted by fervid claims to national affiliations and identities.

Guy Fox is not the bad guy for everyone, and if a first reason why the Gunpowder Plot still haunts British collective memory is to be found in the massive and indiscriminate violence it counted upon, a second one is more embarrassing in its resilience and reconfigurations:

> "Perhaps the second reason why the commemoration survived was simply that the story was so chillingly dramatic. More recently it has come to speak to our ambiguous times. We are all too familiar with terrorism, and there is no doubt that, even though the word was not known in 1605, Protestant contemporaries (and many Catholics) regarded the plotters with all the horror reserved for murderous fanatics. Yet they were also tragic figures, remarably brave and deeply religious men drawn into a doubtful cause. Led by the charismatic figure of Robert Catesby, they were driven by sustained state persecution to see themselves as heroes freeing their oppressed people. The final straw was the deliberately exploitative way in which King James first raised English Catholic hopes and then dashed them. To men like Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, Guy Fawkes and Tom Wintour, by spring 1604 it was clear that they must either content themselves with idle talk, or take some action. The rest is history".[28]

"Only we die in earnest, that's no jest."[29]: a single known truth, coming to light in the turmoil that ravaged great expectations and turned life into an elusive "play of passion", was duly claimed by Sir Walter Ralegh, a victim of the elusive political calculations of his time. Guy Fawkes was hanged, drawn and quartered, and his body exposed like the remains of a devilish prey, then unburied by the madding crowd to be ritualistically burned in bonfires. It's perhaps time we had left him alone. Let him rest in peace.

[1] Quotations from the Bible refer to the King James' Bible, also known as Authorized Version (1611).
[2] *Apud* Prescott 174. Similarities between the plight of reformers under Mary and the one Thomas More had in store for them is the context of the passage quoted.
[3] *The History of King Richard the Third* , first published in 1557, is significantly one of the main sources of Shakespeare's play. Extracts of More's text, in an adapted modernized version, join context materials in Thomas Cartelli's Norton edition of *Richard III* (Cartelli 117-149).
[4] Act Two, (Bolt 61).
[5] Martz 63. It is also this sympathetic author who mentions, when reading *De Tristitia – Last Address to the World and to the Self* , the "terrible irony" inscribed in Thomas More's course of life: "Then all the disciples abandoned him and fled, …", Martz 99.
[6] Prescott 371 ff.
[7] Hughes 101.
[8] The fascinating biography of this circumspect figure made sensational by a time in need of scapegoats can be found in the study of Green.
[9] Critical tradition generally stresses that Marlowe was eliminated in a plot engendered by the Elizabethan secret service, but one of the player´s most recent biographers, Park Honan, is not so categorical when interpreting the fatal events that took place in Deptford at the very beginning of June 1593 :reasons for Marlowe's death are still blurred and inconclusive (Honan 321-360).
[10]Jerónimo Osório. In strict articulation with the doctrinal whole of the controversy, dismisses in this short religious and diplomatic treaty the rule *sola scriptura*, or the exclusive authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith and doctrine, and urges the Queen to follow the examples of saints, the teachings of tradition, and to preserve unity in Church (Osório *passim*).
[11] See Bonner, Elizabeth, "The Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots." *history Scotland* Vol. 9 Nº 3 May/June (2009):19-22.
[12] Anonymous, reproduced *inter alia*, in Baker 158, and Buchanan *et alii* 1.
[13] See Ben Jonson's poem 'On Spies', in Thom Gunn, ed. , 65
[14] Fawkes took the name Guido while fighting in the service of Spain.
[15] The Authorised Version, 1611 was, with Shakespearean drama, one of the most decisive marks of the history of English language. King's James Bible is a name to which a flavour of irony is attached: 'The designation 'Authorized Version' is the first of many versions about it. Why King James did not give his name to the work he had so enthusiastically. fathered in 1604 is unknown: but he cannot have failed to notice its dependence on Geneva'. (David Daniell, "The Authorized Version of the Bible", in Ford, 49.
[16] On the troubled relationship between Raleigh and Gondomar, with the stress on the shrewd moves of the Spanish ambassador and foolhardiness and rashness that generally informed Raleigh´´s attitudes and disposition, see Fernández; idealism and courage of the English poet, courtesan and explorer are conspicuous in Nicholl's study.
[17] Milton 254.
[18] One can find in Willis a generous account of this demonization, especially aiming at the Jesuit connection, emphasizing dramatic references, with *Macbeth* in the centre (the *porter scene* is a case in point). *King Lear* could be also summoned for discussion. A ludicrous example would certainly be found in Marlowe's *Edward II* – the sly textual configuration of the instructions given by Mortimer and disposing of the fate of the unfortunate king are ambivalent (the ambitious plotter, in a preventing manouevre of possible charges againt his deed, plays with the distortions and equivocal meanings of '*Edwardum occidere nolite timere, bonum est´´* and *'Edwardum occidere nolite, timere bonum est'* (Act v. scene iv. vv.). A broader context is explored by Cawthorne.
[19] Willis 95.

[20] Antonia Fraser, subverting the popular verses quoted above in the text, and ironically exploring alternative historical developments ("The gunpowder Plot Succeeds". Buchanan *et alii* 48).
[21] Anglican prejudice, that still today includes the exclusion of Catholics from the accession to the throne or forbids British monarchs to marry Catholics, explains the survival of old established conventions - "Contrary to popular belief, effigies of Guy Fawkes only started to be burned on bonfires in the eighteenth century.", Champion, "Popes and Guys and Anti-Catholicism", *idem* 89. In a famous book, many times reissued, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger examine a set of such national "truths" tending to confirm habits and values allegedly informing national identity but, as a matter of fact, depending on the political moment and on reasons of sheer convenience.
[22] Paradise Lost, Book VII, v. 31.
[23] John Dunn 22.
[24] Distortions in the Scottish school system are vigorously exposed by Helen E. Matthewes in *hiistory Scotland: Scotland & Australia* , Vol. 9 No. 4, July/August 2009, under the item *Letters:*11.
[25]This issue has deserved controversial judgment (see, for example, *history Scotland, Special issue: The Scottish Parliaments 1235-1707,* Vol. 8 Nº 3, Mary/June 2008: 52.
[26] An illuminating example among many of an alternative voice can be found in *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil*, London, Methuen, 1991, an engaged play by John McGrath.
[27] Dualistic perspectives rule out a complex web of protagonists performing on the stage of the Irish Question, as Willey Maley, Chris Morash and Shaun Richards convincingly discuss "The Triple Play of Irish History", in Kevin Barry, Tom Dunne, Edna Longley, and Brian Walker, eds. , *The Irish Review. Ideas of Nationhood,* The Queen's University of Belfast, The Institute of Irish Studies, Nº20, Winter/Spring 1997: 23-46.
[28] Pauline Croft, "The Gunpowder Plot fails", in Buchanan *et alii*, 33.
[29] Hammond, ed. , 55.

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“Brave Son Versus Braver Daughter” – Invisible Relatives in Prospero’s “Present Business”

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> I am the husband, and the whole island is my lawful wife; I am the head, and it is my body.
>
> [King James’s speech in Parliament, 1603]

The word business in Shakespeare is a word “rich and strange.” King Claudius defines himself in his agony as “a man to double business bound” [Hamlet, III.iii.], meaning both to his “strong intent” to pray and also to the burden of his “stronger guilt” of having committed his “rank offense.” When Edmund hears that the Duke of Cornwall is staying tonight at Gloucester’s, he exclaims: “The duke be here to-night? The better! best! / This weaves itself perforce into my business” [King Lear, I.ii.], referring to the devilish treacherous plot against his brother Edgar. Iago agrees to give Cassio “access” to Desdemona and even promises “to draw the Moor / out of the way, that your converse and business / may be more free.” Once the seeds of a terrible misconception as to the nature of this business have been implanted in his master’s mind, he swears that “to obey shall be in me remorse / what bloody business ever.” [Othello, III.iii.] Seeing her husband waive in his “dark intent,” Lady Macbeth demands that he “put this night's great business into my dispatch,” [Macbeth, I.v.] and the last instance of his resistance is expressed in his resolution “we will proceed no further in this business.” [Macbeth, I.vii.] For the final restoration of Hermione to be possible, her faithful maid Paulina encourages the spectators to “awake their faith,” and demands that “those that think it is unlawful business / I am about, let them depart.” [The Winter’s Tale, V.v.]

In all of these few examples, the connotation of the word “business” is highly suspicious, denoting some exceedingly dark, impertinent, deceptive, if not utterly villainous and criminal undertaking. In all its aforementioned uses it is marked by a certain elusiveness obfuscating its factional reference. It is this elusiveness that connects all of these examples with Prospero’s own “present business” [I.ii.136], the execution and accomplishment of which The Tempest might be seen as a whole. This essay is a close reading of two crucial scenes of the play: of scene two of act one,

during which his "present business" is embarked on, and of act five, scene one, where his "present business" achieves its strange fulfillment.

It is worth keeping in mind the obvious, if somewhat puzzling fact that The Tempest, on the formal level, observes the three dramatic unities as proponed by the late Renaissance Italian and early Classicist French theory of theater. It follows that The Tempest is one of Shakespeare's least actional and most narrative, reflective, plays, moreover – its total immersion in the past, in "the dark backward and abysm of time," is quite unparalleled in any other Shakespeare's comedy or tragedy.1 Here, just as in a Sophocles tragedy, the entire present situation, action, is utterly meaningless and irredeemable without deep knowledge, and indeed the correct interpretation, of the past myth, narrative, "without the which this story / were most impertinent." [I.ii.137-8]

Act one, scene two, opens with a conversation between Prospero and Miranda, father and daughter, a would-be duke and a duchess-to-be. For, here, Prospero is not a sorcerer – his "art is lying" on the ground in the mantel he takes off. Miranda is still awe-struck at the horrid spectacle of the tempest of the previous scene: "If by your art, my dearest father, you have / Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them." [I.ii.1-2] Prospero's "art," in its first mention in the play, is in the conditional. Throughout this scene, Prospero's art seems to consist in telling the others (be it Miranda, Ariel, Caliban, or Ferdinand) what "thou art:" "I have done nothing but in care of thee, / Of thee, my dear one, thee, my daughter, who / Art ignorant of what thou art." [I. ii. 16-18]

Now the time has come for Prospero to narrate the "his-story" of who he and his daughter are. Miranda "must now know farther" her father, and, by knowing him, know herself. One of the most noteworthy passages in the whole scene is the following:

PROSPERO Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since,
Thy father was the Duke of Milan and
A prince of power.
MIRANDA Sir, are not you my father?
PROSPERO Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and
She said thou wast my daughter; and thy father
Was Duke of Milan; and thou his only heir
And princess no worse issued.
MIRANDA O the heavens!
What foul play had we, that we came from thence?
Or blessed was't we did?
PROSPERO Both, both, my girl:

By foul play, as thou say'st, were we heaved thence,
But blessedly holp hither.
MIRANDA O, my heart bleeds
To think o' the teen that I have turn'd you to,
Which is from my remembrance! Please you, farther.
PROSPERO My brother and thy uncle, call'd Antonio –
I pray thee, mark me – that a brother should
Be so perfidious! – he whom next thyself
Of all the world I loved and to him put
The manage of my state; as at that time
Through all the signories it was the first
And Prospero the prime duke, being so reputed
In dignity, and for the liberal arts
Without a parallel; those being all my study,
The government I cast upon my brother
And to my state grew stranger, being transported
And rapt in secret studies. Thy false uncle—
Dost thou attend me? [I.ii.53-78]

Prospero divulges to his daughter "who he was" and is immediately questioned as to who he is. However, he defers for his fatherhood to Miranda's mother, a "piece of virtue," who said Miranda was his daughter, his only heir. Fatherhood here is indirect, referential, anchored in the utterance of the mother. So is, for we are dealing with nobility, Miranda's legitimacy as a "princess no worse issued." Were it not for her mother's word, Miranda's daughterhood to Prospero would be in question. The crucial familial (and political) relationship of the play's two key characters hinges on a statement of a third one who remains absent throughout the play. This is Prospero's wife's only "appearance."

When spurred by the curious Miranda to proceed "farther," Prospero starts his narrative – and stumbles. His sentence, laden with parentheses and accumulated clauses, never completes the subject "My brother and thy uncle" with a verb; Prospero actually supplants his brother as the subject of the sentence, becoming the agent: "The government … I cast on my brother." This anacoluthon is enhanced by Prospero's self-interruption: "Dost thou attend me?" As if there were indeed the slightest reason for Miranda not to listen to her father telling her the story of "who she is"! What follows even deepens the already palpable ambiguity:

PROSPERO I, thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated
To closeness and the bettering of my mind
With that which, but by being so retired,
O'er-prized all popular rate, in my false brother

Awaked an evil nature; and my trust,
Like a good parent, did beget of him
A falsehood in its contrary as great
As my trust was, which had indeed no limit,
A confidence sans bound. He being thus lorded,
Not only with what my revenue yielded,
But what my power might else exact, like one
Who having into truth, by telling of it,
Made such a sinner of his memory,
To credit his own lie, he did believe
He was indeed the duke; out o' the substitution
And executing the outward face of royalty,
With all prerogative: hence his ambition growing—
Dost thou hear?
[I.ii.88-106]

The sentence construction is based on participial subordination – from "neglecting," "bettering," "being retired," to "telling," "executing," "growing," the argument unfolds in a simple juxtaposition of participial clauses. What is ambivalent about the use of this construction is that it obscures causative sequence – no "because," no "therefore" or "hence" appear in Prospero's account. What it does not manage to obscure, however, is the fact that "I … in my false brother awaked an evil nature," inadvertently pointing to Prospero's complicity in his own downfall. And, once again, feeling he might be losing the attention of his audience, he interrupts himself, having to reassure himself that he is listened to.

PROSPERO Mark his condition and the event; then tell me
If this might be a brother.
MIRANDA I should sin
To think but nobly of my grandmother:
Good wombs have borne bad sons.
[I.ii.117-120]

In the strangely irreverent conception both Prospero and his daughter have of familial relations, Miranda translates Prospero's denunciation of his brother into an attack on his mother – again, same as her father's art, she veils it under the potentiality of the conditional mood; to defend his mother's reputation is not worth Prospero's single word. Indeed, in the vivid imagery by means of which he narrates the ur-his-story of the play, he seeks to supplant his wife and mothers Miranda:

PROSPERO I have deck'd the sea with drops full salt,
Under my burthen groan'd; which raised in me

An undergoing stomach, to bear up
Against what should ensue.
[I.ii.155-158]

Then, at last, the point of the present business emerges:
PROSPERO Know thus far forth.
By accident most strange, bountiful Fortune,
Now my dear lady, hath mine enemies
Brought to this shore;
[I.ii.177-180]

Not the tempest he has so pompously raised, not divine providence or higher sense of justice, but "accident most strange," an unaccountable, purely accidental stroke of luck has taken the ship with the two Dukes off its course from Tunis to Naples and made the whole of The Tempest possible. The interference of the merely fortuitous with Prospero's present business undermines his superhuman, or indeed human, agency.

Another "strange" inversion comes in his exchange with Ariel – having repeatedly reassured Miranda that "there's no harm done" [I.ii.15], it is only now that Prospero inquires whether Ariel has "performed to point" [I.ii.194] the tempest and whether "they are safe." [I.ii.217] Prospero's utter dependence on Ariel, one based on past favor and present serfdom, is revealed in what is one of his first bouts of anger:

PROSPERO Thou liest, malignant thing! Hast thou forgot
The foul witch Sycorax, who with age and envy
Was grown into a hoop? hast thou forgot her?
[…] Thou, my slave,
As thou report'st thyself, wast then her servant;
[I.ii.257-9, 270-1]

This violent outburst comes after Ariel's matter-of-fact objection to "more toil" in the sense that the time (with which Prospero is tragicomically obsessed) agreed on as the time of his service is simply up – what Prospero does is throw his past in Ariel's face (again, his "what-thou-art" rhetoric) and resort to emotional exploitation:

PROSPERO I must
Once in a month recount what thou hast been,
Which thou forget'st.
[…] It was mine art,
When I arrived and heard thee, that made gape
The pine and let thee out.

[…] If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak
And peg thee in his knotty entrails till
Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters.
[I.ii.261-3, 291-3, 294-6]

In addition to the spitefulness and sadistic traits of his character Prospero unconsciously provides a nice illustration of the "roughness" of his art, consisting in his capability of cleaving a pine and rending an oak. With Sycorax, whose servant (now Prospero's slave – note the difference!) Ariel was, the only maternal character "enters" the stage – again, as absent, present only through her offspring Caliban, the other slave Prospero is dependent on – for, he "cannot miss him: he does make our fire." [I.ii.311].

An utterly pointless rancorous skirmish (only corroborating the somewhat unsavory sadistic trait in Prospero's character) though it seems, the exchange with Caliban points to the cornerstone theme of the play, usurpation, and in an indirect, yet conspicuous way, to some of the play's contemporary concerns. Caliban asserts: "This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother, / Which thou takest from me." [I.ii.331-2]. The usurped becomes the usurper, treading upon laws of inheritance.

What I mean by "contemporary concerns" is not the conquest of the New World or Montaignesque confrontation with "the other," but something far more imminent – the historical awareness of the not-too-distant past of England. Both of the reign of Elizabeth I., whose hereditary claim to the English throne, at least for Roman Catholics, was invalid because of her father's divorce from Katherine of Aragon and whose illegitimacy was legally declared after her mother had been executed on charge of adultery and incest;2 and of James I., for whom to derive authority, or indeed any claim for the English throne, from either of his parents (his disreputable father, the Earl of Darnley, or his mother, the beheaded and "treacherous" Mary, Queen of Scots) was highly problematic – hence his rather cagey definition of himself as "the husband to the island" in the motto of this essay. I am not suggesting a reading of The Tempest as an allegory of English history; I am merely trying to show that the archetypical vision Shakespeare presents us with here contains a high-voltage power-struggle interpretable on a highly contemporary level. The last encounter with Ferdinand multiplies the central theme of usurpation:

PROSPERO One word more; I charge thee
That thou attend me: thou dost here usurp
The name thou owest not; and hast put thyself
Upon this island as a spy, to win it
From me, the lord on't.
[I.ii.450-4]

For, as a consequence of the somewhat too easily accepted death of his father, Ferdinand has just proclaimed himself the King of Naples, making "not what he is" out of himself. Moreover, in his account of the tempest, another character enters the stage, again, in absentia:

FERDINAND Yes, faith, and all his lords; the Duke of Milan
And his brave son being twain.
PROSPERO [Aside] The Duke of Milan
And his more braver daughter could control thee,
If now 'twere fit to do't.
[I.ii. 435–8]

In yet another bizarre omission, this is the only mention in the play of Antonio's son – never missed, never sought after, never grieved for. One would almost feel prone to consider this a blunder on Shakespeare's part, were it not for an interesting hypothesis it lays bare. For it to surface, we now need to take a look at act five, scene one, where Prospero's "project gathers to a head." [V.i.1]

The scene opens with Prospero's renouncing his "magic" ("Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves..." [V.i.33]) – in a meta-textual twist, Shakespeare, at this point (and only this) becomes Prospero, renouncing his art in what is a mere paraphrase of Ovid's Medea, the infamous filicide, incorporating her strange reincarnation Sycorax, obliterating the division line between her black and his white "magic." If we demand, in a somewhat more legitimate way than Othello, "an ocular proof thereof" and ask what his magic be, the answer is not so easy to provide – it is Ariel who orchestrates the tempest in I.i. and carefully disperses the King's troupe all over the island, it is he who is given credit for Ferdinand and Miranda becoming "infected," enamored of each other at the end of I.ii., he who puts everyone except Sebastian and Antonio to sleep and wakes up Gonzalo just in time to save Alonzo from assassination in II.i., he who tells Prospero of the scheme plotted against him by Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo in III.ii., and who directs the fairy masque in IV.i. (featuring, quite tellingly for the play's misogynistic overtone, the bereft Ceres, the cheated-on Juno, and mother Venus only in absentia).

What is it, then, that Prospero renounces? The power to manipulate, to orchestrate? And, furthermore, why should he do so? Because, as most commentators say, he no longer "needs" it? What did he need it for, then? For his dukedom to be restored? Can one use the same means to restore by which one had lost? How come he no longer needs it? Has he achieved what he has set out to?

He himself tells Ariel the following: "They being penitent, / The sole drift of my purpose doth extend / Not a frown further." [V.i.28-30] Another conditional clause,

another participial construction, another failure: Prospero's desired conditions are far from met. Alonso may be described as reverent and awe-struck, however, there is not a vestige of penitence from Antonio, who remains obdurately silent almost throughout the whole of act five. Prospero's interaction with Antonio is, not surprisingly, very harsh. He does seem to forgive him: "You, brother mine, that entertain ambition…I do forgive thee," [V.i.75-8] only to blackmail him and Sebastian with the threat that "I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you / And justify you traitors," [V.i.127-8] and effectively renounce him as a brother: "most wicked sir, whom to call brother / Would even infect my mouth." [V.i.130-1] Antonio's relinquishment of the dukedom is then taken for granted: "I do…require / My dukedom of thee, which perforce, I know / Thou must restore." [V.i.131-4] The striking point is not that Antonio does not repent, but that he is not even allowed to – there is no room, in the dramatic "project" Prospero has so carefully and self-consciously directed, for Antonio's free will.

His "project," as we have seen, has also involved Ferdinand falling in love with Miranda, as well as Antonio and Sebastian being abetted to murder Alonso – schemes utterly inconsequential were his sole motivation the restoration of his dukedom. However, his motivation stretches "farther." For, what he essentially does once having regained his dukedom is he renounces it by marrying his daughter to the son of his chief enemy. Here I am getting to my foreshadowed hypothesis: Prospero's "project" involves restoration of power, and thus is aimed against the younger brother Antonio, just as establishment of succession, thus aimed against the absent son of Antonio, the absent son Prospero has never had. One of the main charges against Antonio, in the political sense, was that he

PROSPERO confederates
[…] with the King of Naples
To give him annual tribute, do him homage,
Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend
The dukedom yet unbowed (alas, poor Milan)
To most ignoble stooping.
[I.ii.111-116]

In one respect, Antonio's treacherous plotting with Sebastian, villainous and deplorable though it might be on the moral level, seems substantiated as a political decision of ridding Milan of its unwelcome supervisor. The usurping blood-thirsty Antonio stands condemned and discredited (together with whatever posterity he may have), but the effects of his usurpation, the subjection to Naples, are given full credit and legitimized; moreover, by the marriage of Miranda and Ferdinand, this fiefdom shall be given over to posterity. In the light of the above, Prospero's bewildering remark that in his dear Milan, "every third thought shall be my grave"

[V.i.311], appears not a humble acknowledgement of his own mortality, but, given that he has called Miranda “a third of my life” [IV.i.3], a statement of his power over his brother which lies exactly in his “grave:” in his succeeding posterity.

And then, at the end, there he stands, a talking epilogue, “his charms all o’erthrown,” asking the audience for pardon, waiting for the tempest raised by their hands to send him to – Naples, not Milan. Business most strange.

ENDNOTES

1 The play´s narrated time spans some fifteen years and narrated space contains places as remote from each other as Milan from Tunis, Naples from Bermudas.

2 Here, the absence of the mother in the relationship between Prospero and Miranda gains ominous momentum.

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Ex: At the conclusion of *Lord of the Flies*, Ralph and the other boys realize the horror of their actions:

> The tears began to flow and sobs shook him. He gave himself up to them now for the first time on the island; great, shuddering spasms of grief that seemed to wrench his whole body. His voice rose under the black smoke before the burning wreckage of the island; and infected by that emotion, the other little boys began to shake and sob too. (186)

5. Interpolações - identificadas por meio de parênteses rectos: [ ].

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Ex: Shakespeare's *King Lear* has been called a "comedy of grotesque" (Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* 85).

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Ex: Shakespeare's *King Lear* has been called a "comedy of grotesque" (Frye, *Anatomy* 85).

O título pode também ser abreviado. Neste caso, deve indicar-se, entre parênteses, a abreviatura a usar logo na primeira ocorrência do título:

Ex: In *As You Like It (AYL)*, Shakespeare . . . "

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No caso de o nome do autor ter sido já referido na frase, indicar apenas título e página:

According to Frye, the play is a "comedy of grotesque" (*Anatomy* 85).

Em todos estes casos, na lista de "Obras Citadas" deverá aparecer:

Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957.

Shakespeare, William. *As You Like It.* Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 1993.

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---, ed. *Wallace Stevens: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice, 1963.

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Scholes, Robert, and Robert Kellog. *The Nature of Narrative*. New York: Oxford, 1966.

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Saraiva, António José, e Óscar Lopes. *História da Literatura Portuguesa*. 14ª ed. Porto: Porto Editora, 1987.

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Gilman, Sander, et al. *Hysteria beyond Freud.* Berkeley: U of Califórnia P, 1993.

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Peter Demetz et al., eds. *The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History*. New Haven: Yale UP.

Kepner, Susan Fulop, ed. and trans. *The Lioness in Bloom: Modern Thai Fiction about Women.* Berkeley: U of Berkeley P, 1996.

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Crane, Stephen. *The Red Badge of Courage: An Episode of the American Civil War.* 1895. Ed. Fredson Bowers. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1975.

3. Artigos em revistas

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Piper, Andrew. "Rethinking the Print Object: Goethe and the Book of Everything." *PMLA* 121.1 (2006): 124-38.

3.1. Artigos em jornais

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Mckay, Peter A. "Stocks Feel the Dollar's Weight." *Wall Street Journal* 4 Dec. 2006: C1.

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Greene, Thomas. "The Flexibility of the Self in Renaissance Literature." *The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and*

History. Ed. Peter Demetz and William L. Vance. New Haven: Yale UP, 1969. 40-67.

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"The Decade of the Spy." *Newsweek* 7 Mar. 1994: 26-27.

3.3. Um editorial

"It's Subpoena Time." Editorial. *New York Times* 8 June 2007, late ed.: A28.

3.4. Prefácios, introduções e pósfácios

Borges, Jorge Luis. Preface. *Selected Poems, 1923-1967*. By Borges. Ed. Norman Thomas Di Giovanni. New York: Delta-Dell, 1973. xv-xvi.

Drabble, Margaret. Introduction. *Middlemarch*. By George Elliot. New York: Bantam, 1985. vii-xvii.

4. Dissertações não publicadas

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American Studies 1 (2008): 3-12. Web. 10 Jan. 2009. <http://www.ler.letras.up.pt>

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