

SPANISH REFERENCES IN *THE CANTERBURY TALES*

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, a strong continental influence on Chaucer's works, mainly Italian and French has been widely accepted. Some leading scholars (among them Professor Boitani's and Professor Muscatine's works can be cited as excellent samples) have devoted time and effort to demonstrate this foreign influence.

But we are not accustomed to hearing of any relationship between the great British genius and any Spanish influence.¹ It would be of extraordinary importance for us, Spaniards and followers or students of Chaucer to realize that there indeed exists such a relationship. It is our endeavour in this article to pose the question of this possibility and to try to show a rational, fair foundation of our argumentation in favour of this relationship.

We shall limit our enquiry to *The Canterbury Tales* only for reasons of space and time. The title of the article is indicative of our claim as we believe that through these textual references we have been able to track down this supposed influence.

¹.- See, however, Patricia Shaw: "The Presence of Spain in Middle English Literature." A paper read at the ESSE Inaugural Conference, Norwich, Sept. 1991, and to be published in Heft 1, Band 229 of the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 1992.

Our starting point lies parallel with the Chaucerian assumption that many readers can interpret the same text in different ways as is explicitly suggested in *Troilus and Criseyde*, Book III, lines 1331-1336; Book V, lines 1793-1798, i.e., we shall try to make this underlying relationship transparent and relevant.

Following our hypothesis this article is divided into three parts. First, a list of quotations pointing out those words, by means of bold letters, which refer explicitly to Spanish persons, subjects, topics or circumstances. This list includes a total number of 62 quotations given per tale and each is accompanied by the line in which they occur in the *Riverside Chaucer* edition of 1991 as well as the corresponding page. The second part consists of an attempt to search for this Spanish influence in Chaucer while explaining most of the textual references quoted. Apart from a brief introduction, the commentary is split up into three headings: **Spanish historical events**, **Spanish geographical places** and **Spanish Authorities**. This last heading includes subject matters such as medicine, religion, classical literature and moral philosophy. The third and last part is dedicated to a brief summary of our hypothesis suggesting that the reader should be aware of any possible Spanish influence in Chaucer.

I.- QUOTATIONS

A.- *Prologue*

1.- " In **Gernade** at the seege eek hadde he be
Of **Algezir**, and riden in Belmarye."¹

2.- "Ther nas noon swich from Hulle to **Cartage**."

¹.- *The Riverside Chaucer*, edited by Larry D. Benson. 3rd edition. Oxford: O.U.P., 1991. V. 56-57. (P. 24). All the following quotations are from the same edition of *The Riverside Chaucer*.

Hardy he was and wys to undertake;
With many a tempest hadde his berd been shake.
He knew alle the havenes, as they were,
Fro Gootlond to the cape of **Fynystere**,
And every cryke in Britaigne and in **Spayne**.
His barge was the Maudelayne." V.404-410.(p. 30)

3.- "Wel knew he the olde Esculapius,
And Deyscorides, and eek Rufus,
Olde Ypocras, Haly, and Galyen
Serapion, Razis, and **Avycen**,
Averrois, Damascien, and Constantyn,
Bernard, and Gatesden, and Gilbertyn."
V.429-434.(p. 30)

4.- "She hadde passed many a straunge strem;
At Rome she hadde been, and at Boloigne,
in **Galicia at Seint-Jame**, and at Coloigne." V.464-466.(p.31)

5.- "With hym ther rood a gentil PARDONER
Of **Rouncivale**, his freen and his compeer,
That streight was comen fro the court of Rome."

V. 669-671. (p. 34)

B.- *The Reeve's Tale*

6.- "For by that lord that called is **Seint Jame**,
As I have thries in this shorte nyght
Swyvved the milleres doghter bolt upright,
Whil thow hast, as a coward, been agast." V. 4264-4266. (p. 83)

C.- Introduction to the Man of Law's Tale

7.- "Wel kan **Senec** and many a philosophre
Biwaillen tyme moore than gold in cofre;
For 'Los of catel may recovered be,
But los of tyme shendeth us,'quod he." V. 25-28. (p. 87)

D.- The Man of Law's Tale

8.- "Noght trowe I the triumphe of Julius,
Of which that **Lucan** maketh swich a boost,
Was roialler ne moore curius
Than was th'assembled of this blisful hoost." V. 400-403. (p. 93)

9.- "Yeres and dayes fleet this creature
Thurghout the See of Grece unto the **Strayte**
Of Marrok, as it was hire aventure." V. 463-465. (p. 94)

10.- "Forth gooth hir ship thurghout the narwe mouth
Of **Jubaltare and Septe**, dryvyng ay
Somtyme est, ful many a wery day,
Til Cristes mooder -blessed be she ay!
Hath shapen, thurgh hir endelces goodnesse,
To make an ende of al hir hevynesse." V. 944-952. (p. 100)

E.- The Wife of Bath's Prologue

11.- "Now by that lord that called is **Seint Jame**,
Thou shalt nat bothe, thogh that thou were wood,
Be maister of my body and of my good;
That oon thou shalt forgo, maugree thyne yen."
V. 412-415. (p. 109)

F.- *The Wife of Bath's Tale*

12.- "Reedeth **Senek**, and redeth ekk Boece;
Ther shul ye seen expres that it no drede is
That he is gentil that dooth gentil dedis." V. 1168-1170. (p. 120)

13.- "Glad poverte is an honest thyng, certeyn;
This wole **Senec** and othere clerkes seyn." V. 1183-1184. (p. 121)

G.- *The Friar's Tale*

14.- "Wel be we met, by God and by **Seint Jame!**"
V. 1443. (p. 125)

H.- *The Summoner's Tale*

15.- "Whilom ther wa an irous potestat,
As seith **Senek**, that durynge his estaat," V. 2017-2018. (p. 133)

I.- *The Merchant's Tale*

16.- "Ther nys no thyng in gree superlatyf,
As seith **Senek**, above an humble wyf." V. 1375-1376. (p. 155)

17.- "**Senek**, amonges othere wordes wyse,
Seith that a man oghte hym right wel avyse
To whom he yeveth his lond or his catel." V. 1523-1525. (p. 157)

18.- "Straw for thy **Senek**, and for thy proverbes!")
V. 1567. (p. 158)

J.- *The Franklin's Tale*

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19.- "His **tables Tolletanes** forth he brought,
Ful wel corrected, ne ther lakked nought,
Neither his collect ne his expans yeeris,
Ne his ootes, ne his othere geeris,
As been his centris and his argumentz
And his proporcioneles convenientz
For his equacions in every thyng." V. 1273-1279. (p. 185)

K.- The Pardoner's Tale

20.- "**Senec** seith a good word doutelees;
He seith he kan no difference fynde
Bitwix a man that is out of his mynde
And a man which that is dronkelewe,
But that woodnesse, yfallen in a shrewe,
Persevereth lenger than doth dronkenesse." V. 492-97. (p. 198)

21.- "Now kepe yow fro the white and fro the rede,
And namely fro the white wyn of **Lepe**
That is to selle in Fysshstrete or in Chepe.
This wyn of **Spaigne** crepeth sbtilly
In othere wynes, growynge faste by,
Of which ther ryseth swich fumositee
That whan a man hath dronken draughtes thre,
And weneth that he be at hoom in Chepe,
He is in **Spaigne**, right at the toune of **Lepe**-
Nat at the Rochele, ne at Burdeux toun -
And thanne wol he seye "Sampsoun, Sampsoun!"
V. 562-72. (p. 197)

22.- "But certes, I suppose that **Avycen**
Wrooth nevere in no canon, ne in no fen,

Mo wonder signes of empoisonyng
Than hadde these wrecches two, er hir endyng."
V. 889-92. (p. 201)

L.- *The Shipman's Tale*

23.- "I thanke yow, by God and by **Seint Jame!**" V. 355. (p. 207)

M.- *Sir Thopas*

24.- "His heer, his berd was lyk saffroun,
That to his girdel raughte adoun;
His shoon of **cordewane.**" V. 730-32. (p. 213)

N.- *The Tale of Melibee*

25.- "... for hir deeth, yourself to destroye./ **Senek**
seith: "The wise man shal nat take to agreet dis-
confort for the deeth of his children,/ but,
certes, he sholde suffren it in pacience as wel
as he abideth the deeth of his owene
propre persone." V. 984-85. (p. 217)

26.- "Measure of wepyng sholde be consid-
ered after the loore that techeth us **Senek:**/
'Whan that thy frend is deed,' quod he, 'lat
nat thyne eyen to moyste been of teeris, ne
to mucche drye; although the teeris como to
thyne eyen, lat hem nat falle;/ and whan thou
hast forgoon thy freen, do diligence to gete
another freend; and this is moore wysdom than
for to wepe for thy freend which that thou hast
lorn, for therinne is no boote.'/" V. 991-93. (p. 217)

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27.- "yeveth me audience./ For **Piers Alfonc** seith,
Whoso that dooth to thee oother good or harm
haste thee nat to quiten it, for in this wise thy
freend wole abyde and thyn enemy shal the
lenger lyve in drede.'" V. 1053. (p. 219-220)

28.- ".../Apres, le philosopere dit, en mauvais
conseil les femmes vainquet les hommes; et
par ces raisons je ne dois point user de ton conseil.]'"
V. 1062. (p. 220)

29.- ".../ For the book
seith that 'the wise man maketh no lesyng
whan he turneth his corage to the bettre.'" V. 1067. (p. 220)

30.- ".../ And **Senec** seith that 'whoso
wole have sapience shal no man dis -
preyse, but he shal gladly techen the science
that he kan withouten presumpcion or pride;/
and swiche thynges as he noght ne kan, he
shal nat been ashamed to lerne hem, and en-
quere of lasse folk than hymself.'/" V. 1071-72. (p. 220)

31.- ".../ The thridde is this, that he that is
irous and wrooth, as seith **Senec**, ne may nat speke but blameful
thynges,/" V. 1127. (p. 222)

32.- ".../ The book seith, 'Whil that thou
kepest thy conseil in thyn herte, thou kepest
it in thy prisoun,/ and whan thou biwreyest
thy conseil to any wight, he holdeth

thee in his snare.'/..." V. 1143-144. (p. 222)

33.- ".../ For **Seneca** seith: 'If so be that thou ne mayst nat thyn owene conseil hyde, how darstou prayen any oother wight thy conseil secrely to kepe?'/..." V. 1147. (p. 222)

34.- ".../ And **Seneca** telleth the cause why: 'It may nat be,' seith he, 'that where greet fyr hath longe tyme endured, that ther ne dwelleth som vapour of warmnesse.'/..." V. 1185. (p. 223)

35.- ".../ And **Peter Alfonse** seith, 'Make no felawshipe with thyne olde enemys, for if thou do hem bountee, they wol perverten it into wikkednesse.'/..." V. 1189. (p. 223-224)

36.- ".../ And **Piers Alfonse** seith, 'If thou hast myght to doon a thyng of which thou most repente, it is bettre "nay" than "ye"/..." V. 1218. (p. 224)

37.- ".../ And **Senec** seith, 'If thy conseil is comen to the ceris of thyn enemy, chaunge thy conseil.'/..." V. 1226. (p. 225)

38.- "**Piers Alfonse** seith, 'Ne taak no compaignye by the weye of a straunge man, but if so be that thou have knowe hym of a lenger tyme./ And if so be that he falle into thy compaignye paraventure, withouten thyn assent,/ enquere thanne as subtilly as thou mayst of

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his conversacion, and of his lyf bifore, and feyne
thy wey; seye that thou [wolt] thider as thou
wolt nat go;/ and if he bereth a spere, hoold
thee on the right syde, and if he bered a swerd,
holdd thee on the lift syde.'/" V. 1309. (p. 227)

39.- "For **Senec** seith that 'the wise man that
dredeth harmes, eschueth harmes,/ ne
he ne falletth into perils that perils eschueth.'/"..."
V. 1319-320. (p. 227)

40.- ".../ **Senec** seith, 'A man
that is well avysed, he dredeth his leste enemy.'/"..."
V. 1324. (p. 227)

41.- ".../ The
book seith that 'somme folk han greet lust to
deceyve, but yet they dreden hem to be deceyved.'/"
V. 1328. (p. 227)

42.- ".../For
Senec seith thus: 'That maister,' he seith, is
good that proveth shrewes.'/"... V. 1437. (p. 230)

43.- "Certes," quod Prudence, "if ye wol werke
by my conseil, ye shul nat assaye Fortune by
no wey,/ ne ye shul nat lene or bowe unto
hire, after hte word of **Senec**;/ for 'thynges that
been folily doon, and that been in hope of
Fortune, Shullen nevere come to good ende.'/
And, as the same **Senec** seith, 'The moore cleer

and the moore shynyng that Fortune is, the
moore brotil and the sonner broken is, she is.'/..."

V. 1446-449. (p. 230)

44.- ".../ For **Senec** seith, 'What man that is
norissaed by Fortune, she maketh hym
a greet fool'/ ..." V. 1455. (p. 230)

45.- "after the comune sawe, 'it is a woodnesse a
man to stryve with a strengre or a moore
myghty man than he is hymself,/ and for to
stryve with a man of evene strengthe - that is
to seyn, with as strong a man as he is - it is
peril,/ and for to stryve with a weyker man, it
is a folie.'/" V. 1481-483. (p. 231)

46.- ".../ For **Senec** seith that 'he putteth hym in
greet peril that stryveth with a greeter man
than he is hymself.'/..." V. 1488. (p. 231)

47.- ".../ And therefore seith **Senec**
that 'a man shal nevere vengen shrewednesse by shrewed-
nesse.'/..." V. 1531. (p. 232)

48.- "And yet seith this Pamphilles
moreover that 'they that been thralle and
bonde of lynage shullen been maad worthy and
noble by the riches.'/" V. 1561. (p. 233)

49.- "**Piers Alfonse**, 'Oon of the gretteste ad-
versitees of this world is/ whan a free man by

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kynde or of burthe is constreyned by poverté
to eten the almesse of his enemy.'/..." V. 1566. (p. 233)

50.- ".../ For Seint Jame
seith in his Epistles that 'by concord and
pees the smale richesses wexen grete,/ and by
debaat and discord the grete richesses fallen
doun.'/..." V. 1676-77. (p. 235)

51.- ".../For
Senec seith, 'The is the remissioun and
foryifnesse, where as the confessioun is.'/... V. 1775. (p. 237)

52.- ".../For **Senec** seith
that 'he taht overcometh his herte overcometh twies.'/...
V. 1857. (p. 239)

53.- "For **Senec** seith, 'He overcometh in an
yvel manere that repenteth hym of his victorie.'/...
V. 1866. (p. 239)

O.- *The Monk's Tale*

54.- "*De Petro Rege Ispannie*
O noble, O worthy **Petro**, glorie of **Spayne**,
Whom Fortune heeld so hye in magestee,
Wel oghten men thy pitous deeth compalyne
Out of thy land thy brother made thee flee,
And after, at a seege, by subtiltee,
Thou were bitraysed and lad unto his tente,
Where as he with his owene hand slow thee,
Succedyng in thy regne and in thy rente.

Antonio León & Jesús Serrano

The feeld of snow, with th'egle of black therinne,
Caught with the lymrod coloured as the gleede,
He brew this cursednesse and al this synne.
The wikked nest was werker of this nede.
Noght Charles Olyver, that took ay heede
Of trouthe and honour, but of Armorike
Genylon-Olyver, corrupt for meede,
Brogthe this worthy kyng in swich a brike."

V. 2375-390. (p. 246-247)

55.- " In yowthe a maister hadde this emperour
To teche hym letteture and curteisye,
For of moralitee he was the flour,
As his tyme, but if bookes lye;
And whil this maister haddde of hym mais-tryr,
He maked hym so knnoyng and so sowple
That longe tyme it was er tirannye
Or any vice doste on hym uncowple.

This **Seneca**, of which that devyse,
By cause Nero hadde of hym swich drede,
For he fro vices wolde hymay chastise
Discreetly, as by word and nat by dede-
"Sire," wolde he seyn, "an emperour moot nede
Be vertuos and hate tirannye-"
For which he in a bath made hym to blede
On bothe his armes, til he moste dye.

This Nero hadde eek of acostumaunce
In youthe agayns his maister for to ryse,
Which afterward hym thoughte a greet grev-aunce;

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Therefore he made hym dyen in this wisw.
But natheless this **Seneca** the wise
Chees in a bath to dye in this manere
Rather than another tormentise;
And thus hath Nero slayn his maister deere."

V. 2495-2518. (p. 248)

56.- "**Lucan**, to thee this storie I recomende,
And to Swetoun, and to Valerius also," V. 2719-720. (p. 251)

P.- *The Manciple's Tale*

57.- "Reed Salomon, so wys and honourable;
Reed David in his psalmes; reed **Senekke**." V. 344-45. (p. 286)

Q.- *The Parson's Tale*

58.- "For, as seith **Seint Ysidre**, "He is a japere and
a gabbere and no verray repentant that eft-
soone dooth thyng for which hym oghte repente."/" V. 88. (p. 288)

59.- ".../ And lo, what seith **Seneca** in this
matere? He seith thus: "Though I wiste that
neither God ne man ne sholde nevere knowe
it, yet wolde I have desdayn for to do synne."/

And the same **Seneca** also seith, "I am born
to gretter thynges than to be thral to my body,
or than for to makes of my body a thral."/" V. 143-44. (p. 290)

60.- ".../ Another is to be benigne to his goode
subgetis; wherfore seith **Senek**, "Ther is no
thing moore covenable to a man of heigh es -

taat than debonairetee and pitee./ And therefore these flies that men clepen bees, whan they maken hir kyng, they chesen oon that hath no prikke wherwith he may styngge." /" V. 466-67. (p. 302)

61.- ".../ Ther is a maner norice, as seith **Seint Ysidre**, That whan men maken fir of thilke tree and covere the coles of it with asshen, soothly the fir of it wol lasten al a yeer or moore./" V. 550. (p. 305)

62.- ".../ And therefore seith **Seneca**, "Thy prudence sholde lyve benignely with thy thralles." /" V. 759. (p. 314)

II.- COMMENTARY

Chaucer's knowledge of some Spanish geographical places, some historical events, some merchandise made in Spain and some important Spanish authorities in Astronomy, Literature, Philosophy and Religion does not need any proof, the best way of confirming it lies in reading his *Canterbury Tales*. It is true that the attitude of the reader is also very important in order to discover in the text all this Spanish world that we are seeking.

The quotations, made in our first part, are for us real evidence of the presence of this Spanish atmosphere that had an influence in a certain way on our beloved author. Certainly we can affirm that Chaucer was strongly influenced by Séneca and that he had a sound knowledge of Pero Alfonso and St. James and slighter knowledge of Lucan, St. Isidore of Seville, Averroes and Avycena.

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We can easily guess that he was aware of fourteenth century news from Spain related with political-historical events and with Spanish merchandise familiar to his contemporaries. Thus, he knew about the siege of Algeciras in 1343, which was a famous event all over Europe, in which some English knights fought. His *A Treatise on the Astrolabe* and the references to astrological and astronomical knowledge in *The Canterbury Tales* had a basic foundation in that time which was the Alphonsine Tables known by Chaucer.

All this background about Spain in the fourteenth century may have been acquired in two ways: indirect knowledge and direct knowledge. The first method involves two elements: news and means of communication through which news can travel. Chaucer may have had three means: pilgrimage, books and the English intervention in the Spanish events of that time. The three most important shrines of pilgrimage then were Jerusalem, Rome and St. James of Compostela in Galicia. Many English pilgrims went along the pilgrims' road to St. James of Compostela following the French routes. It is important to remember that part of Western France (it should be borne in mind that the Black Prince was also the Prince of Aquitaine) was English in the period when the English took part in the Spanish fratricide fighting (Pedro I against Enrique II). Knowing Chaucer's sensitivity and capacity for absorbing the events of his time, as can be seen in *The Canterbury Tales*, it goes without saying that this event brought Chaucer in touch with the Spanish scene.

Books were another means of learning about Spain and the Spaniards. Possessing a book at that time depended on the social class to which a person belonged. Chaucer's status fitted into the right category.

International relationship was possible for commercial, political and religious motivations. The third mechanism to obtain information in an

indirect way was the English contribution to Spanish life of that time. The Black Prince helped Pedro I "The Cruel" in the war against his bastard brother Enrique "The Fratricide". The Duke of Lancaster married Constanza, one of Pedro's daughters and claimed the crown of Castille and Leon. Chaucer was at their service. This is enough to understand the possible ways through which Chaucer may have had an acquaintance of Spanish affairs.

The direct way to acquire a kind of Spanish background may have been by means of Chaucer's own experience. A safe-conduct was issued by the king of Navarre from February 22nd to May 24th 1366 to allow Chaucer and some of his servants to go through the territory of Navarre.¹ Neither Spanish nor English scholars recognize any Spanish influence in Chaucer's works, although everybody agrees with a community of ideas and mutual intellectual overlapping in Europe recognizing a French and Italian but not a Spanish influence. Why? The answer is not only because Chaucer visited Italy and France several times but also because some authors have devoted their time and energy to bring to the fore these foreign debts. If it is true that he came to Spain too, our effort only rests on showing this Spanish influence. This is our purpose, so let us consider these Spanish references in *The Canterbury Tales* thinking not only about their number and frequency but of what is implied by them.

1.- SPANISH HISTORICAL EVENTS

1.1.- *The siege of Algeciras in Granada.*(Quotation 1)

¹.- HONORE-DUVERGE, Suzanne, "Chaucer en Espagne? 1366", *Recueil de Travaux offert a M. Clovis Brunel*. Paris: 1955, 9-13.

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Henry of Lancaster, the Count of Salisbury and other English knights took part in the siege of Algeciras, helping Alphonso XI,¹ who had gathered troops from Germany, Italy, Navarre and France, against the Arabian invaders. The siege lasted from August of 1342 to March of 1344. This historical event was well known all over Europe. Chaucer and his family were directly connected to the English royal family who took part in this event. His Knowledge was indirect as he had just been born.

This area of Spain was a polemical area at that time for political and economic reasons, the Straits of Gibraltar being an important commercial route: many kingdoms were interested in holding power in them.

We think that it is significant that Chaucer mentions nearly all the places in this area: Gibraltar, Algeciras, Granada and Ceuta. He was well informed because he was a man with diplomatic and commercial missions.

This allusion takes place in the introduction of the Knight. This character is so important to Chaucer (the knight belongs to the first stage, the nobility), from a social point of view, that he has the honour of opening his *Tales*.

The fact that this character had fought in Granada at the siege of Algeciras seems an important feature of his personality and it implies that this Spanish reference has a positive connotation for Chaucer himself. So we can deduce that our poet did not maintain any prejudice against Spanish affairs.

¹.- Alphonso XI (Salamanca 1311-Gibraltar 1350) was king of Castile and León from 1312 to 1350. He led the siege of Algeciras and not Alfonso IX as is written in *The Riverside Chaucer*, "Explanatory Notes", v. 57, p. 801. Alfonso IX (Zamora 1171-Villanueva de Sarria 1230) was king of León from 1188 to 1230. Obviously he could not take part in the siege of Algeciras from 1342 to 1344.

As the Prologue is meant to appear as a kind of introductory preparation for the reader/hearer, we can logically assume that this Spanish mention, with which any of Chaucer's contemporaries were familiar, held a positive value.

Nothing particularly interesting in reference to this point is mentioned by the four translations into Spanish we have consulted. Two of these are by Prof. Guardia Masso, bilingual edition Bosch, 1978 and Ed. Cátedra, 1987; two by Juan G. de Luaces, one in ed. Iberia in two volumes, 1973 and the other in ed. Planeta, 1984.

1.2.- *The Tragedy of Pedro I* (Quotation 54)

Chaucer is one of the few writers who refers to this Spanish king by praising him. Most historians and chroniclers refer to him in recognizing his atrocities. Not in vain was his nickname Pedro el Cruel. Although the Black Prince was aligned with King Pedro at the battle of Najera they were not always in agreement with each other. Pero López de Ayala says: "...siempre ovo entre el rey don Pedro e el principe poca avenencia"¹ Further on, he narrates how the king, called "the Cruel", wrongly killed his prisoners after the battle of Najera (1367) and the Black Prince answered: "Señor pariente, a mi parescer que nos tenede maneras mas fuertes agora para cobrar vuestro regno, e le registes en tal guisa que le ovistes a perder. E yo vos consejaría de cesar de facer estas muertes, e que buscásedes manera de cobrar las voluntades de los señores, e caballeros, e fijosdalgo, e cibdades e pueblos de este vuestro regno; e si de otra manera vos gobernásedes segund primero lo faciades, estades en gran peligro de perder el vuestro regno, e vuestra persona, e llegarlo a tal estado, que mi señor e padre el rey de Inglaterra, nin yo aunque quisiéramos nos vos po-

¹.- LOPEZ DE AYALA, Pero, *Crónicas*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1991, p. 365.

driamos valer."¹ The Black Prince calls Pedro a "relative". This can be relevant in order to understand how Chaucer refers to this Spanish king with praise. But there is another important reason for understanding Chaucer's point of view: the marriage of the Duke of Lancaster to Constanza of Castille, Pedro's daughter in 1371 and the Duke of Lancaster's claim to the crown of Castilla and León after his father in law's death.

López de Ayala writes about this event of 1374: "Ca el rey don Enrique se rescelaba del duque de Alencastre, porque casara con doña Constanza, fija del rey don Pedro e de doña María de Padilla, allabase el dicho duque de Alencastre rey de Castilla e de León, e traía armas de castillos e leones..."²

The Spanish reference in the Monk's Tale: "De Petro Rege Ispanie" gives a clue to dating the tale. Pedro I was murdered by the bastard Enrique II in 1369. The tale may have been written in the period from 1371 to 1388, when the Duke of Lancaster married Costanza and began to claim the crown of Castilla and León. Chaucer had to defend his lord's claim. It was impossible to express the point of view of recognizing Pedro I as "the Cruel" and not as "the Just" as his few admirers called him. Chaucer could not write against his lord's father in law.

The year 1388 appears to be a key date because Chaucer could not say Pedro I was a victim and his brother Enrique was the murderer as Chaucer refers to them in the *Monk's tale* because of a decisive and curious historical episode narrated by López de Ayala: "Otrosí que los dichos rey de Castilla e duque de alencastre e la duquesa doña Constanza, su mujer, farían sin ningún engaño que se

¹.- LOPEZ DE AYALA, Pero, op. ct. p. 367.

².- LOPEZ DE AYALA, Pero, op. ct., p. 475.

ficiese casamiento por palabras de presente del infante don Enrique, fijo promogénito del rey don Juan de Castilla, con doña Catalina, fija de los dichos duque e duquesa; e que del día quel trato fuese jurado e firmado, fasta dos meses publicamente señelizarían el dicho casamiento en faz de la Iglesia e que se consumaría lo más aina que ser pudiese.." And further on: "Otrosí, que fasta dos meses primeros siguientes del dicho trato ficiesses el rey Cortes e jurara en ellos a los dichos infante don Enrique su fijo, e doña Catalina, así como su mujer, por herederos suyos de Castilla e de León."¹

So Pedro's I granddaughter, Catalina, and Enrique's II grandson got married. All the fighting and claims were finished and sealed by a blood tie. Taking into consideration this event it does not seem probable to us that Chaucer wrote this Spanish reference, as with this marriage bond neither was Pedro I "the Cruel" nor was Enrique II "the Fratricide". Obviously this period of time from 1371 to 1388 implies the date of the Monk's Tale. We believe that the most suitable circumstances for writing this Tale were after the wedding and a claim to the crown of Castilla and León: 1371 or the following years.

Chaucer writes this catalogue of short stories, as he himself establishes in line 110, in order to learn. Our story "De Petro Rege Ispanie" comes after Zenobia's and it mainly consists of high praise of king Pedro.

2.- SPANISH GEOGRAPHICAL PLACES

Quotation number 1: Granada and Algeciras.

Quotation number 2: Cartagena and Finisterre.

Quotation number 4: St. James of Compostela

Quotation number 5: Roncesval.

¹.- LOPEZ DE AYALA, Pero, op. ct., p. 634-635.

Spanish References in The Canterbury Tales

Quotation number 9: Straits of Morocco.

Quotation number 10: Gibraltar and Ceuta.

Quotation number 19: Alphonsine Tables.

Quotation number 21: Lepe.

Quotation number 24: Shoes made in Córdoba.

There are nine references to twelve Spanish locations and, we think, they are highly relevant. All the places can be classified depending on the reason why they are mentioned.

Four reasons seem to be the general explanation of these references: political-economical reasons, trade between Spain and England, the shrine of St. James and the astronomical scientific importance of the Alphonsine Tables.

2.1.- The **Political-economical reasons** have already been pointed out above when explaining the Algeciras siege. Thus Gibraltar, Ceuta belong to this conflictive area.

2.2.- **Trade between England and Spain.** Chaucer's knowledge of wines is obvious. References to wine appear in nearly all the tales.

Chaucer refers to the wine of Lepe and the shoes made in Córdoba. Many Spanish products were imported to England in the Middle Ages, especially oil, cereals and wine.

Wine from Lepe was imported from early 1304. Wendy Childs writes about it: "Southern Shipping on the channel routes was even rarer but not missing altogether: ships from Seville called at England as early as 1304 and a few continued to come in the fourteenth and

fifteenth centuries, supported in the latter half of the fifteenth by odd vessels from Sanlúcar, Cádiz and Lepe"¹

Andalusian ships went directly to England and "Buques ingleses que van a Andalucía: mucho más numerosos, llevan paños como producto de exportación casi único, y vino como cargamento de retorno."²

Leather products made in Córdoba were famous from the Moorish invasion of Spain. "Andalucía era uno de los centros productores de cueros más importantes de España."³ In the translations into modern Spanish consulted we see that while professor Guardia translates our quotation number 24 as "sus botas eran de cuero español", J. G. de Luances says "usaba zapatos de cordobán".

Chaucer's allusions can be explained by remembering two factors: his family connection with the wine trade and because in 1374 he was made Controller of the Customs and Subsidies on Wool for the port of London. In this sense Robinson says: "Furthermore the Customs seems to have offered opportunities to enrichment beyond the actual salary. He may have received income from the flees, and sum as the value of a shipment of wool that had been confiscated when its handlers tried to dispose of it without acquiring a license or paying the duty."⁴

¹.- CHILDS, Wendy, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages*. Manchester: 1978.

².- FERREIRA PRIEGUE, Elisa M^a, "El papel de Galicia en la redistribución de productos andaluces visto a través de los archivos ingleses", *Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza. Hacienda y Comercio*. Sevilla: Exma. Diputación de Sevilla, 1982, p. 243.

³.- OTTE, Enrique, "El comercio exterior andaluz a fines de la Edad Media", *Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza. Hacienda y Comercio*. Sevilla: Exma. Diputación de Sevilla, 1982, p. 224.

⁴.- *The Works of Chaucer*, edited by Robinson. P. 1024.

So it is clear that Chaucer knew the swindles mentioned in quotation number 21 about the wine from Lepe which was mixed with others, because of his occupation at that time trying to prevent such swindles.

In the case of quotation number 21, it is worth noting the strikingly contradictory versions in Spanish. Thus while Guardia Masso renders

"Por lo que manteneos apartados del vino, blanco o tinto, no importa, y muy especialmente alejaos del vino blanco de Lepe que se vende en Fish Street y en Cheapside. Pues de un modo misterioso este vino español parece contaminar los vinos que se crian cerca de él y de la mezcla se desprenden vapores de tal fuerza que después de beber tres vasos un hombre que se cree en su casa de Cheapside se encuentra en España (no en la Rochela o en Burdeos, sino en la mismísima villa de Lepe) repitiendo "Sansón,Sansón"

Luaces says

"Así, guardaos del vino, blanco y del tinto, y en particular del blanco de Lepe, que venden en Chepe y en Fish-Street. Porque este vino de España deslizanlo sutilmente en otros vinos que crecen aquí cerca, y de ellos emana tal aroma que basta que un hombre beba tres tragos para que, cuando piensa estar en su casa de Chepe, se halle en España y en el mismo Lepe, que no en la Rochela o en Burdeos. Y entonces es cuando la nariz rurunea: "Sansón, Sansón".

Comparing these two versions we are delighted with the excellency and the misery of that difficult and exciting task of translation.

2.3.- *The shrine of St. James of Compostela in Galicia*

Pilgrimages must be considered one of the most important occupations in the Middle Ages, not only from a religious but a cultural, economical and political point of view. The shrine of St. James was the nearest one for English people, except, of course, Canterbury. Chaucer's Spanish references about: Finisterre, St. James of Compostela, Galicia and Roncesval imply that the pilgrims' road to St. James of Compostela was one of the main meeting centres. This argument is strengthened by a continual invocation to St. James in *The Canterbury Tales* for swearing. Nevertheless, Galicia was an important focus for merchants and pirates at that time. Chaucer, by citing all the natural bays given in quotation number two, shows himself to be familiar with this fact.

Another important quotation is number five where Roncesval is mentioned. Once again Spain and England are linked not only by the royal blood bond, trade and political relationships but by a religious organization. St. Mary Roncesval at Charing Cross in London, depended on the Agustinian Hospital of Our Lady of Roncesval in Spain on the pilgrims' road to Compostela. Spanish and English connections are not few and not a coincidence. Chaucer as a good observer of his time knew this and Spanish references are necessarily present in his work.

On the other hand, the tradition of St. James was known early by English people. In the eighth century St. Adhelmo, abbot of Malmesbury (a municipal borough in Wiltshire, by the river Avon) and later on bishop of Sherbourne (in the County of Dorset, by the river Yed) wrote these verses: "Hic quoque Jacobus, cretus quitore vetusto/
Delebrum sancto defendet tegmine celsum;/qui clamante pio ponti de
margine Crhisto/ Linquebat propium panda cum pupe parentem/
Primitus Hispanias convertit dogmate gentes, / Barbara divinis con-
vertents agmina dictis/ Quae priscos duodum ritus et lunda facia,/
Daemonis horrendi deceptae fande, colebant;/ Plurima hic praesul pa-

travit signa stupends/ Quae nunc in Chartis scribuntur rite quadratis/"¹
The cult of St. James had grown in England a long time before Chaucer.

2.4.- **The astronomical scientific importance of the Alphonsine Tables** was known by Chaucer. He liked Astronomy and Astrology. His *A Treatise on Astrolabe* and the abundant references in *The Canterbury Tales*, including the Canon's Yeoman's Tale are good evidence to make us think so.

Quotation number 19 about the Alphonsine Tables made in Toledo ("tables Tolletanes") reveals Chaucer's knowledge of them. Alphonso X, king of Castile and León (1221-1284) gathered to gether Christian and Arabian wise men and commanded them to make the famous Tables. They were finished in Toledo in 1252 and were adapted to the Oxford meridian and latitude in the fourteenth century.

This book and *Libros del Saber de Astronomía*, whose contents: "Libro del Astrolabio redondo y del Libro del Astrolabio llano" in the fourth book, were the foundation for everyone who was interested in learning these sciences.

Again the two versions into Spanish consulted differ. As Pedro Guardia says: "Sacó sus recién corregidas tabulas toledanas de astronomía y todo lo que necesitaba..." Luances says: "Trajo sus Tablas Toledanas muy bien corregidas, sin que en ellas faltase nada..."

So Spanish scientific works in the Middle Ages were another contribution linking Spain to England and Europe although it seems hard for people to recognize it.

3.- SPANISH AUTHORITIES

¹.- *Enciclopedia Universal*. Madrid: Espasa y Calpe, 1973. Tomo LIV, p. 246.

Chaucer, as an educated man of his time, knew all the most important Spanish authorities who were basic intellectual foundations of Western civilization. These Spanish authorities known by Chaucer were so important that they represented outstanding sources for the European civilization.

3.1- *Medicine*

3.1.1.- *Avycena* (Quotations 3, 22)

Avicenna was a philosopher and a physician, (980-1037). Although he was not born in Spain, Al Andalus was the most important place to spread his doctrine all over Europe. He was called "The Prince of the Physicians" at that time. Although his fundamental work was *Book of the Canon of Medicine*, he also wrote excellent treatises on Mathematics, Astronomy, and other subjects.

Avycena is mentioned by Chaucer as a basic reference to an intellectual man, with not only a knowledge of Literature but also of other Sciences. His mention corresponds to the same reason for quoting our next authority who happens to be a Spaniard from Córdoba.

3.1.2.- *Averroes* (Quotation 3)

Averroes was a Spanish Moslem philosopher, astronomer and physician who was born in Córdoba in 1126. He was more famous as a philosopher than as a physician. Nevertheless, his medical works were spread widely from his time to the Renaissance. His most famous work was the *Kitab alKulliyat al.Tibb (A Treatise of the Universal Medicine)*. " Esta obra sería traducida al latín a mediados del siglo XIII por Bonacossa (1255) con el título de *Colliget* y editada en Venecia en 1482."¹ Antonio Arjona says that there are three uncom-

¹.- ARJONA CASTRO, Antonio, "La Medicina Andaluza durante los Reinos de Taifas y las Invasiones Africanas. Apogeo de la Medicina Árábigo-Andaluza", Axerquia. *Revista de*

pleted manuscripts of the Hebrew translations, made in the fourteenth century, in Paris, Florence and Oxford. Probably Chaucer's knowledge of Averroes was not by reading his work but from oral information. One way or another, the source was a translation in Latin. Medicine is a science and diseases are not caused by divine will. This is in Chaucer's text: "He knew the cause of everich maladye."¹ Notice that "everich" is said which means that there are no possibilities for divine causes. And on the same page: "His studie was but litel on the Bible". So God has nothing to do with the causes of illness. Corroborating this text Antonio Arjona says: "Una respuesta ingenua e insuficiente, dice Averroes, sería decir " que los días del hombre están contados" y que una vida larga y breve no guardan relación con regímenes buenos y malos. Pero no es así, es preciso conocer las causas."² Further on Dr. Arjona says that Averroes followed Aristoteles' theory about the four "elemental qualities": hot, moist, cold and dry as we can find in Chaucer's Prologue: "hoot or coold, or moyste, or drye."³

3.2.- RELIGION

3.2.1.- **St. Isidore of Seville** (Quotations 58, 61)

St. Isidore was archbishop of Seville, a scholar and the "Second Apostle of Spain". He lived during the V and VI centuries and died in

Estudios Cordobeses. Córdoba: Exma. Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, 1989. Nº 19, p. 206

¹.- *The Riverside Chaucer*, edited by Larry D. Benson. 3rd edition. Oxford: O.U.P: 1991. V. 419. (P. 30).

².- ARJONA CASTRO, Antonio, op. ct., p. 209.

³.- Op. ct. V. 420. (P. 30).

636. He was not only a compiler of the Greek and Roman civilizations but an original and productive writer like St. Bede in England.

There are two catalogues of his works: *Prenotatio Librorum Divi Isidori* by a contemporaneous friend called St. Braulius and *De Viris Illustribus* by St. Ildefonso.

Among the dogmatic works the best one is *Sententiarum Libri Tres* which was highly appreciated during the Middle Ages. Chaucer might have read it according to the quotations about penance (quotation 56) and resentment (quotation 60).

Chronica Mundi, a historical work, in which he narrated the history of the world from the beginning to 615. It was a source for the Venerable Bede's most important work.

His most outstanding work is *Etimologias*. St. Isidore starting from an etymologic point of view goes on dealing with all the wisdom about God, man, arts and the universe. Over one thousand manuscripts exist of this work.

Chaucer must have known St. Isidore's works, at least, *Etimologias* and *Sententiarum Libri Tres*. That is why he mentioned St. Isidore as an authority when he refers to resentment and penance. It is relevant that Chaucer knew the first Apostle of Spain, St. James, and St. Isidore who is considered the "Second Apostle", in spite of not being one of the twelve apostles.

3.2.2.- **St. James** (Quotations 4, 6, 11, 14, 23)

When Chaucer mentions St. James he refers to three different aspects: the shrine of St. James of Compostela in Galicia, " St. James" as a swearword and St. James as an apostle who wrote an epistle of the Christian doctrine. This ample range of possible references were common ground in the Middle Ages.

We have already referred to the first aspect about **the shrine of St. James of Compostela** at 2.3. Let us see the second possibility.

"St. James" as a swearword implies an analysis of human speech. Through this we can discover the importance of Chaucer's reference.¹ Swearing is a suitable act for speaking and not for writing. Chaucer was very concerned about the accuracy and impartiality of the text that he wrote. Apart from any possible irony here we have his own words: " Whoso shal felle a tale after a man,/ He moot reherce as ny as evere he kan/ Everich a word, if it be in his charge, / Al speke he never so rudeliche and large, / Or ellis he moot telle his tale untrewre,/ Or feyne thyng, or fynde wordes newe."²

So Chaucer is merely a recorder of talk. He's a truthful witness. Swearing is a habit, a repetitive action, almost carefree. It is related to feelings and passion. Most of the time it is a reflex action of speech. Therefore, swearwords (quotations 6, 11, 14, 23) imply a close relation between the person and the meaning of the swearword, although sometimes it is mainly in the speaker's mind and not in the act of speaking itself. For example, if we say :*"For God's sake"*, the meaning is not in the words but in the expression, the attitude to which the speaker and the listener are involved. Swearwords correspond much more to a functional, attitudinal message of language than to realistic semantic sense. These words are full of meaning in our minds but we say them not for the meaning but to show our feelings and attitude.

Chaucer's speech, among others, contained Spanish swearwords or, at least, people of his time used them and he, as a good social notary, shows them to us in his works. Usually, swearwords are not ex-

¹.- We do not agree with the following opinion from *The Riverside Chaucer*: "... but there seems no special significance in mentioning him here", in the "Explanatory Notes", v. 4264, p. 852.

².- OP. ct. V. 731-736. (P. 35)

clusive to one person but to a social group or to more than one person. We have a record of "St. James" as a swearword. But the people who swore were not English, they were Spanish fighting against the English and Spanish in the battle of Nájera (1363). Pero López de Ayala narrated this episode: "E tan recio se juntaron los unos con los otros, que a los de la una parte e a los de la otra cayeron las lanzas en tierra: e juntarónse cuerpos con cuerpos, e luego se comenzaron a ferir de las espadas e hachas e dados, llamando los de la parte del rey don Pedro e del príncipe de Gales por su apellido, **Guiana, Sant Jorge**; e los de la parte del rey don Enrique, **Castilla, Santiago.**"¹

In *The Canterbury Tales* we find English people swearing by St. James: Chaucer himself or the wife of Bath (a temperamental character); the summoner (another temperamental character) in the *Friar's Tale*; Alan (another one) in the *Reeve's Tale* or the monk (a perfect rascal) in the *Shipman's Tale*.

St. James as an apostle has nothing to do with Spain. He may be confused with St. James called "the Greater", St. John's (the Evangelist) brother, who is considered the patron saint of Spain. The one who wrote the epistle was called "The Minor" and was St. Judas' brother.

3.3. *Classical Literature*

3.3.1. **Lucan** (Quotation 8, 56)

He was born in Córdoba in 39 a. C. and was Seneca's nephew. They had common characteristics as writers and as Nero's "servants". Both were accused of Pison's conspiracy and both were ordered to commit suicide by the same method. Both were masters

¹.- PEREZ DE AYALA, Pero, op. ct., p. 352.

treating human tragedy in literature. Lucan was under his uncle's influence, mainly in those episodes of his *Pharsalia* in which human horror is pathetic. The descriptions of the battle of Pharsalia and the Thesalian wizard's spell are horrifying scenes which might have been imitated from his uncle. A relevant factor is the positive treatment for Lucan when Chaucer wrote about Caesar's triumph "Of which that Lucan maketh swich a boost,"¹ Chaucer considered Lucan as a good "photographer" of the reality who knew how to emphasize that majestic moment. This idea is corroborated in *The Monk's Tale* considering Lucan as a historian "That of this storie written word and ende."²

Chaucer's importance is based on the fact that he is the first writer who mentioned the word "tragedy" at that time in English. Italian influence in the early 1370's may be an explanation to his contribution but Seneca's and Lucan's influences must be taken into account because they were very important authors dealing with tragedy in literature. Let us not forget the fact that both were Spaniards and Chaucer was quite familiar with them.

3.4. Moral Philosophy

3.4.1. **Pero Alfonso** (Quotations 27, 32, 35, 36, 38, 48, 49)

He was a converted Jew, born in Huesca whose famous book *Disciplina Clericalis* was widely distributed in French, Italian, English and German. It was a typical work in the Middle Ages like the "exempla" books. It was the first collection of these books compiled in Spain.

¹.- Op. ct. V. 401. (P. 93).

².- Op. ct. V.2721 (P. 251).

This Spanish author "pasó algún tiempo en Inglaterra donde llegó a ser médico de Enrique I".(1.110)¹ --another link between Spain and England--. Chaucer may have read this book in latin. Its appearance in *The Canterbury Tales* only corresponds to *Melibee's Tale*. Seneca and Pero Alfonso are the two Spanish authorities whom Chaucer mentioned repeatedly. There are references to Seneca in many tales. The fact that Pero Alfonso is cited only in this tale can be explained by the special characteristics of *Melibee's Tale*: the need for moral examples and the plot where two persons are involved: the adviser (Prudence) and the one who is advised (Melibee). *Disciplina Clericalis* contents "sententiae" and "examples", structured by a narrative thread based on a dialogue: a father who is the adviser and his son who is advised. Pero Alfonso's work is a suitable source for this tale. All the quotations show the same themes, except the one misattributed to Pamphilus in *The Riverside Chaucer*'Explanatory Notes"² and quotation 32.

The themes are: enemies, friendship and advice, i.e., the nuclear basis of the tale.

3.4.2. **Seneca** (Quotations 7, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62)

Seneca was, without any doubt, one of the most important classical authors who served as a source for many writers in the Middle Ages. There were many misattributions when writers quoted Seneca: they sometimes quoted Seneca where he was not the author and they sometimes did not quote Seneca when he was. This meant that

¹.- DEYERMOND, A.D., *Historia de la literatura española*. Tomo I. Barcelona: Ariel, 1979, p. 177.

².- Op. ct., v. 1561. (P. 927).

Seneca was considered a great philosopher, an important source of wisdom. That greatness itself made someone unable to know Seneca's works as well as being able to quote accurately. Besides when someone has not read Seneca's original works but translations or mere compilations it is easy to make mistakes.

Seneca's moral philosophy was a continuous source for Chaucer. Although those misattributed quotations¹ exist, Seneca's name is mentioned in them. It implies a recognition of the Spanish author's relevance.

The recognition of this importance for Chaucer is easy to find in *The Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer told a Senecan tale in the *Summoner's Tale* and Chaucer told more about Seneca than about Nero when he is writing about Nero in *The Monk's tale*.

All the misattributed quotations are found in *Melibee's Tale* as in this tale there are more than a hundred and sixty four quotations.

Seneca has been an inspiration for many great English authors. We agree with Luis Astrana's words : "Advirtamos el influjo decisivo que poco a poco ha ido ejerciendo nuestro Lucio Anneo Séneca sobre Shakespeare. Este influjo, patente desde las dos citas de *Phedra* en *Tito Andrónico* (II,i, 133-5 y IV, i, 82-3) ha seguido manifestándose en infinitas semejanzas (situaciones, frases, pensamiento, metáforas) de diferentes comedias, singularmente en *El mercader de Venecia* (IV, i, 189-90 y IV, i, 196-97), que rememora dos pasajes del tratado *De Clementia* (I, iii, 3 y I, ix, 9), y se intensifica en las grandes tragedias. La mención del inmortal filósofo y poeta trágico en *Hamlet*, por

¹.- These misattributed quotations are: 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 53. The quotation 37 is not identified in Seneca. And the quotation 50 is not from St. James but from Seneca (*Epistolae* 94.46).

boca de Polonio: "Seneca cannot be too heavy nor Plautus too light", indica lo muy presente de su lectura."¹

In any case, and important as it is, a more detailed study of the vast Chaucerian debt to Seneca would exceed the space of this article. Therefore, we prefer to leave it for a future publication.

III.- CONCLUSIONS

Spain and England have been linked by many bonds, mainly in the Middle Ages. Chaucer's work is a mirror in which we can easily find all these links interwoven in a real network of influences.

Traditionally there have never been a clear declaration about what is an evident fact: a Spanish and English mutual bond. Nobody, as far as we know up to now, has tied up all these Spanish and English connections and relationships. And this is within anyone's reach: just reading Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

Obviously all these bonds are not explicitly narrated by Chaucer because it was not his intention. But we think they are not difficult to discover for a good reader if he wants to do so.

Ties between Spain and England in *The Canterbury Tales* can be elicited from the already mentioned quotations:

* **A royal blood bond:** quotation number 54 about "De Petro Rege Ispannie" implies a historical background. Before Chaucer's time, Edward I was married to Leonor de Castilla. After Chaucer's time, Henry VIII was married to Catherine of Aragon. In Chaucer's time, Chaucer's patron, John of Gaunt, married Constanza of Castile,

¹.- SHAKESPEARE, William, *Hamlet*. Introducción de Luis Astrana Marín. Madrid: Afrodísio Aguado, 1957, p. 11-12.

"Petro's" daughter. Later on, Enrique's (Trastámara) grandson married the Duke of Lancaster's daughter. Aren't these links enough?

* **Trade bonds**: quotations 21 and 24 show the commercial relations (wine and leather) which were usual and common at that time. Chaucer's occupation as a Controller of Customs and Subsidies on Wool is historical relevant data. In fact, Chaucer himself told us about these bonds.

* **Political bonds**: quotations 1, 9 and 54 reveal an intense political relationship at that time. They were mainly based on war treaties. English intervention in Spanish affairs affected Chaucer. The safe-conduct (see note 2) shows Chaucer's involvement in these political relations. We may think he was a pilgrim or a diplomat but in any case it seems to us evident that he was a beneficiary of the good Spanish and English political relationship.

* **Religious bonds**: quotations 4, 5, 6, 11, 14 and 23 show two kind of bonds: the Spanish knowledge through the pilgrims road to St. James of Compostela and the Spanish religious organization, Augustinian Hospital of Our Lady of Roncesval, which had a branch in London, St. Mary Rouncival at Charing Cross. Pilgrimage was a commercial, political, human, cultural and religious basis of relationship. St. James of Compostela was the nearest and the most important shrine for English pilgrims excepting Canterbury.

* **Cultural bonds**: quotations 3, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25 and the following quotations from 26 to 62. Chaucer as a genius and as a scholar showed us the importance of the cultural relationship. Hence the numerous quotations. Not only Séneca who influenced many other English writers like Shakespeare but Pero Alfonso maintained strong links between Spain and England. Pero Alfonso was in England as a scholar in the English royal court (see page 27). Even sciences like Astronomy or Medicine were bonds for both countries.

Antonio León & Jesús Serrano

All the human aspects in the western European civilization were present: political, economic, cultural, religious and royal consanguineous bonds. And links imply relationship. Relationship can imply reciprocal influence.

Let us hope that these reflections may have sparked off an interest in a possible Spanish influence on Chaucer's works in you, friendly reader.

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