

UNA HIGA A LOS ESPAÑOLES. UN DOCUMENTO INÉDITO DE LA PROPAGANDA ANTICATÓLICA EN LA INGLATERRA DE ISABEL I (1591)

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Resumen

Entre fines del siglo XVI y comienzos del siglo XVII se desarrolló una importante producción de literatura panfletaria y político-religiosa relacionada con los acontecimientos históricos que involucraron a España e Inglaterra. Hasta el momento esta literatura no ha sido estudiada en profundidad ni se le ha dado la atención crítica debida. El documento que aquí se presenta recoge los sucesos inmediatamente posteriores a la derrota de la Armada Invencible (1588) y se hace eco de las rebeliones de Aragón, Cataluña y Valencia por los mismos años, así como de un episodio de lucha entre ciudadanos de Portugal y España en Lisboa y de las malas cosechas de Nápoles del año 1590.

Between the last XVI th. century years and the beginnings of XVIIth. century took place a great production of pamphlet-literature, so as political and religious literature related to the historical events involving Spain and England . This literature has not been yet studied in depth, nor received the attentiot that it requires. The document here introduced attempts to record the events occurred immediatly after the defeat of the Armada Invencible (1588) and, besides, echoes not only the contemporary revolts of Aragón, Cataluña and Valencia, but also an episode of the fight that took place in Lisbon between Spanish and Portuguese citizens, and finally the bad 1590's crop in Napoles.

Palabras clave: Catolicismo; Reforma; España; Inglaterra.

Entre los documentos de más interés para la época de fines del siglo XVI y comienzos del XVII figuran los de la literatura panfletaria y político-religiosa cruzada entre España e Inglaterra. Esta literatura no ha sido estudiada en profundidad ni se le ha dado la atención crítica debida. Los sucesos históricos que sirven de telón de fondo son de sobra conocidos: el reinado de Isabel I en Inglaterra y su feroz lucha anticatólica; el desastre de la Armada Invencible durante el reinado de Felipe II; las luchas de religión en los Países Bajos; el desarrollo del puritanismo en Inglaterra y Holanda; el reinado de Jaime I en Inglaterra; la embajada del conde de Gondomar a Londres con el intento de casar a la infanta española con Carlos II, sucesor al trono inglés; la increíble peregrinación de Luisa

de Carvajal y Mendoza a Londres y su estadía en esta ciudad de más de 10 años intentando convertir Inglaterra a la fe católica.(1)

El documento que aquí presentamos, no estudiado hasta ahora, recoge los sucesos inmediatamente posteriores a la derrota de la Armada Invencible (1588) y se hace eco de las rebeliones de Aragón, Cataluña y Valencia por los mismos años, así como de un episodio de lucha entre ciudadanos de Portugal y España en Lisboa y de las malas cosechas de Nápoles del año 1590.

Su autor, anónimo, parece conocedor en profundidad de los sucesos políticos del momento. Su pequeño panfleto se escribe con el propósito de pedir la colaboración de los súbditos ingleses para la causa antiespañola. En especial parece preocupado por la presencia jesuita en aumento en las islas británicas y por las posibilidades de *recuperación* de la hidra española (Felipe II) tras sus derrotas en años precedentes y una posible nueva incursión contra las costas británicas. A todos estos miedos el autor responde con su confianza en la superioridad británica. Para lograr atraer las simpatías del público lector pinta el retrato de un rey moribundo (Felipe II) pero todavía ansioso de sangre y vitoria. Lo retrata como el monarca más poderoso del momento y a sus súbditos (léase los castellanos) como sangrientos y despiadados soldados que han atemorizado Europa y las minorías de la Península Ibérica (moros, judíos, catalanes, valencianos, aragoneses y portugueses) en lucha por defender sus derechos y privilegios. El panfleto rebosa optimismo en la victoria de Inglaterra y se apela al nacionalismo de los súbditos de la reina Isabel I a través de una pintura de lo español que rebosa maledicencia y sarcasmo. En especial se narran las desventuras de Antonio Pérez, el secretario de Felipe II, y los sucesos posteriores a su escapada de la cárcel y huida a Cataluña y Francia. Se pinta al secretario como víctima de la injusticia española y de las garras sangrientas de la Inquisición y el rey. El tono está muy acorde con el famoso *Tratado parenético* atribuido al mismo Antonio Pérez y publicado originalmente en francés.

A Fig for the Spaniard se sitúa dentro de un conjunto numerosísimo de publicaciones que colaboran a la gestación de la llamada leyenda negra. Los sucesos políticos y religiosos (expansión colonial inglesa y lucha protestante y anticatólica en Inglaterra y los Países Bajos) que sirven de telón de fondo a estos documentos hablan de una Europa en discordia religiosa y en la que diferentes potencias luchan por lograr el imperio en las colonias ultramarinas. El desastre de la Armada Invencible en 1588 ha ofrecido a los ojos ingleses el verdadero peligro de una posible invasión por mar y en los años inmediatamente posteriores lo español se caracteriza como el peligro a derrotar. En un período de unos veinte años (1590-1610) las relaciones entre las coronas española e inglesa estarán marcadas por alternativas de rivalidades y pactos (se firmará un pacto de no agresión en 1604 entre Felipe III y Jaime I), intentos de unir las dos coronas en

matrimonio y una feroz lucha antirreligiosa (anticatólica) en Inglaterra que motivará el más que peregrino viaje de Luisa de Caravajal y Mendoza a Londres para convertir las islas a la fe católica.

En este contexto el documento que presentamos es un ejemplo más de la serie numerosa de trataditos y panfletos publicados en la época, con tono simpático y arrogante en el caso de este documento, caracterizado por el *leit-motif* que se repite a lo largo de la obra, *A fig to the Spaniard (Una higa al español)*. Entre estos documentos, en su mayoría sin estudiar y editar modernamente, podemos mencionar algunos de interés especial por su visión negativa de lo español y del catolicismo y que fueron publicados en Londres en los últimos años del reinado de Felipe II o inmediatamente después de su muerte(2). También recogemos aquellos edictos de reyes británicos o ingleses que por su interés entran a formar parte de esta guerra psicológico-verbal del momento:

1. *By the Queene, by England and Wales*. London : By the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1591. ["By the Queene a proclamation to be published in Cornewall, Devonshire, Dorcetshire and Hampshire, for restitution of goods lately taken on the seas from the subiects of the king of Spayne by way of reprisall". El objeto es restituir los bienes robados de la flota española de Indias no a los españoles, sino a los ingleses que tuvieran sobre ellos *legítimos* títulos de posesión].

2. *The masque of the League and the Spanyard discovered*, by L.A.T. London: Printed by I. Charlewoode, for Richard Smyth, 1592. ["The masque of the League and the Spanyard discovered. wherein, 1. The League is painted forth in all her collours. 2. Is shown, that it is not lawfull for a subiect to arme himselfe against his king, for what pretence so ever it be. 3. That but few noblemen take part with the enemy, an advertisement to them co[n]cerning their dutie. To my Lord, the Cardinall of Burbon. Faythfully translated out of the French coppie". El francés original es la *Masque de la Ligue et de l'Hispanol decouvert*].

3. *A pageant of Spanish humours*. London : By John Wolfe, 1599. [Retrato humorístico de un señor [emblema] español: "A pageant of Spanish humours. Wherin are naturally described and lively portrayed the kinds and quallities of a signior of Spaine. Translated out of Dutche, by H. W."].

4. *A true a perfecte description of a straunge monstar borne in the city of Rome in Italy , in the yeare of our salvation 1585*, by LL. London: John Wolfe for Walter Digh, 1590. ["A true and perfecte description of a straunge monstar borne in the city of Rome in Italy in the yeare of our salvation. 1585. Under which is described both the originall and triumphant state of the Holy League, and also the sodain and desperate fall thereof in the yeare 1588. With certaine verses exhortatory to the King of Spayn, that hee would withdraw his persecuting hand from the Church of Christ . Wherein are also shewed some

of the cruelties exercised uppon our countrey-men and others in the Inquisition and gallies of Spaine"].

5. *A discourse of the usage of the English fugitives by the Spaniard*, by Lewis Lewkenor. London : Printed by Thomas Scarlet for John Drawater, 1595. [Carta en apariencia enviada desde los Países Bajos a Inglaterra, a un primo del autor que desea entrar al servicio de Felipe II, disuadiéndole de que vaya, describiéndole las crueldades de los ejércitos españoles en Europa y España, así como avisándole de los peligros de los *papistas* en Inglaterra].

6. *A briefe discourse of the Spanish state*, by Edward Daunce. London : Imprinted by Richard Field, 1590. ["Dedicado a la reina de Inglaterra por Daunce, que la ha servido 40 años, y sobre el tema de la verdadera religión y amor a los [países] vecinos, escribiendo las crueldades de Felipe II"].

7. *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cautivos de Berbería en la católica y antigua fe y religión cristiana*, by Cipriano de Valera. London: en casa de Pedro Shorto, 1594. [Complemento a los famosos *Tratado del Papa* y *Tratado de la misa*, del mismo autor. Incluye también el relato de las falsas visiones de María de la Visitación en Lisboa y de su condena y castigo en 1588. Relato de supersticiones católicas y alegato en favor del protestantismo](3).

8. *Pedaços de historia o Relaciones*, by Antonio Pérez. León [Londres]: By C. Yetsweirt, 1594. [Este documento se relaciona con nuestro *A Fig for the Spaniard*, pues narra los sucesos de la prisión y liberación de Antonio Pérez. "Pedaços de historia, o Relaciones, assý llamadas por sus auctores los peregrinos. Retrato al vivo del natural de la fortuna. La primera relación contiene el discurso de las prisiones y aventuras de Antonio Pérez, aquel secretario de estado del rey cathólico Don Phelippe deste nombre, desde su primera prisión hasta su salida de los reinos de España.

Otra relación de lo sucedido en Çaragoça de Aragón a 24 de septiembre del año de 159 por la libertad de Antonio Pérez, y de sus fueros y justiçia. Contienen de más estas relaciones la razón y verdad del hecho y del derecho del rey y reino de Aragón, y de aquella miserable confusión del poder y de la justiçia. De más de esto, el memorial que Antonio Pérez hizo del hecho de su causa, para presentar en el juizio del Tribunal del lustiçia (que llaman de Aragón), donde respondió llamado a él de su rey como parte].

9. *A treatise parumnetical, that is to say, an exhoratation*. London: Printed by Richard Field for William Ponsonby, 1598. [Se trata de un documento intereantísimo, aparentemente traducido del francés, y a su vez del castellano, [y escrito pretendidamente por un peregrino español] en la línea de *A Fig for the Spaniard*: "A treatise paremnetical, that is to say: an exhortation. Wherein is shewed by good and evident reasons, infallible arguments, most true and certaine histories, and notable

examples; the right way & true meanes to resist the violence of the Castilian king, to breake the course of his desseignes, to beat downe his pride, and to ruinate his puissance. Dedicated to the kings, princes, potentates and commonweales of Christendome, and particularly to the most Christian king: by a pilgrim Spaniard, beaten by time and persecuted by fortune. Translated out of the Castilian tongue into the French, by I.D, Dralymont Lord of Yarleme and now Englished". En francés se publicó el original: "*Traicté paraenetique, e c'est á diré exhortatoire*, by José Teixeira. [S.l.]: Imprimé nouvellement [by Eliot's Court Press], 1598. Tratado atribuido a José Teixeira y a Antonio Pérez: "Traicté paraenetique, c'est á diré exhortatoire auquel se montre par bonne & vives raisons, argumens infallibles, histoires tres-certaines & remarquables exemples le droit chemin & vrais moyens de resister á Peffort du Castilian, rompre la trace de ses desseins, abbaiser son orgueil & ruiner sa puissance: dedié aux roys, princes, potentats & republicues de l'Europe, particulièrement au roy tres- chrestien par vn pelerin Espagnol, battu du temps & persecuté de la fortune; traducte du langue Castillane en langue Frangoise par I.D. Dralymont Seigneur de Yarleme"].

10. True newe sfrom one of Sir Fraunces Veres companie, by Sir Francis Veré. London: By Edward Alde for Thomas Nelson, 1591. [True newes from one of Sir Fraunces Veres companie. Concerning Delftes-Isle and sundry other townes in the Lowe Countries, yeelded to the generall since May last. Of the great armie, nowe comminge out of Germanie for the aide of the French King and their hope for the speedye winninge of Antwerpe. With the bloody persecution and marterdome which sundry cheefe persons of account did lately suffer in Spaine for the profession of Christ Jesús. Translated out of Dutch].

11. *Declaratie van de causen moverende hare Coninglicke Maiesteit van Englandt, een vlote van schepen ter zee te afuerdigen tot defensie van hare landschappen, tegen gewelt des Conings van Spaignen*, by England and Wales. London : By the gedeputeerde van Christoffel Barker, 1596.

12. *A declaration of the causes which mooud the chiefe commanders of the navie of her most excellent Maiestie the Queene of Englandin their voyage and expedición for Portingal, to take and rrest in the mouth of the river of Lisbone certaine shippes of corne and other provisions of warre bound for the said citie*, by England and Wales. London : By the deputies of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1589.

13. *Declaratio causarum, quibus serenissimum Maiestatis Anglium classiarij adducti in expeditione sua Lusitanensi, quasdam naves frumento alioque apparatu bellico ad usus Hispaniarum regis in vicinis Baltici maris regionibus comparato, dum ab iis in Ulissiponam tenditur atque in ipsis faucibus Ulissiponum, ceperunt*, by England and Wales. Londini:

Excudebant deputati Christopheri Barkeri serenissimum reginum anglum Maiestati typographi, 1589. [Mismo texto en versión latina].

14. *The present state of Spaine. Translated out of French.* London : by P. Short for Richard Serger, 1594. [probablemente traducción del *L'estat d'Espagne avec le proces verbal de l'hommage faict par l'ayeul du roy Philippess au roy de France Loys XII*, publicado el mismo año en los Países Bajos. La traducción se suele atribuir a Richard Sergier y Sir Lewis Lewkenor].

15. *A declaration of the causes moving the Queenes Maiestie of England to prepare and send a navy to the seas for the defence of her realmes against the King of Spaines forces, by England and Wales.* London: By the deputies of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1596. [Se trata de un documento de propaganda en vísperas de la expedición de Isabel I contra Felipe II en 1596, "A declaration of the causes moving the Queenes Maiestie of England, to prepare and send a navy to the seas, for the defence of her realmes against the King of Spaines forces, to bee published by the generals of the saide navy, to the intent that it shall appeare to the world that her maiestie armeth her navy onely to defend her selfe and to offend her enemies and not to offend any other, that shall forbear to strengthen heremie, but to use them with all lawfull favours". En Londres, en el mismo año y en la misma imprenta, se publicaron traducciones del panfleto al latín, francés, italiano y español: *Declaración de las causas que han movido la Magestad de la Reyna d'Ynglaterra a embiar un 'armada real para defensa de sus reynos y señoríos contra las fuerzas del Rey d 'España].* -

16. *The Spanish masquerado*, by Robert Greene. London : By Roger Ward for Thomas Cadman, 1589. ["Wherein under a pleasant devise is discovered effectually in certaine breefe sentences and mottos the pride and insolencie of the Spanish estate: with the disgrace conceived by their losse and the dismayed confusion of their tronbled [*sic*] thoughtes. Whereunto by the author, for the better vnderstanding of his device, is added a breefe glosse". El librito incluye maravillas como esta receta compendiaría: "Twelve articles of the state of Spaine: The Cardinale sollicite all; the King grauntes all; the Nobles confirme all; the Pope determines all; the cleargie disposeth all; the duke of Medina hopes for all; Alonso receives all; the Indians minister all; the souldours eat all; the people paie all; the monkes and fries consume all; and the Devil at length wil cary away all"].

17. *The estate of English fugitives under the king of Spaine and his ministers*, by Sir Lewis Lewkenor. London : Printed [by Thomas Scarlet] for John Drawater, 1595. ["Containing besides a discourse of the sayd Kings manner of government and the iniustice of many late dishonorable practises by him contrived"].

18. *An armor of prooffe*, by Roger Cotton. London : By G. Simson and W. White, 1596. [“ An armor of prooffe brought from the tower of Daudid to fight against Spannyardes, and all enimies of the trueth”].

19 . *A briefe and true declaration ofthe sicknesse, last wordes, and death of the King of Spaine Philip the second of that name*, by Philip, II, King of Spain. London: By Edm. Bollifant for William Aspley, 1599. [“A briefe and true declaration of the sicknesse, last wordes, and death of the King of Spaine Philip the second of that name, who died in his Abbey of S. Laurence at Escuriall seven miles from Madrill the 13 of September 1598. Written from Madrill in a Spanish letter and translated into English according to the true copie”].

20. *By the Queene. A proclamation straightly commanding that no come nor other victuall, nor anyordonance nor furniture for shipping be caried into any of the king of Spaines countries, upon paine to be punished as in case of treason*, by England and Wales . London : By the deputies of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1591.

21. *A watch-woorde for warre*, by Charles Gibbon. [Cambridge]: Printed by John Legat, printer to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1596. [Muy en la línea de *A Fig for tbe Spaniard*, ante el temor de una posible segunda invasión española de las islas: “A watch-woorde for warre. Not so new as necessary: published by reason of the disperced rumors amongst us, and the suspected comming of the Spanyard against us. Wherein we may learne how to prepare our selues to repell the enemie and to behave our selves all the tyme of that trouble. Compendious for the memorie, comfortable for the matter, profitable for the matter, profitable for the tyme”].

22. *A comfort against the Spaniard*, by Thomas Nun. London : Printed by John Windet for I. O[xenbridge], 1596. [El autor, “minister of the word”, analiza asuntos pertenecientes a la Armada Invencible de 1588 y la expedición a Portugal de 1589].

23. *The coppie of the Anti-Spaniard, made at Paris by a Frenchman, a Catholique. Wherein is directly proved how the Spanish King is the onely cause of all the troubles in France . Translated out of French into English by Philip, II, King of Spain .* London: Printed by John Wolfe, 1590. [A veces atribuida a Antoine Arnauld y a Michel Hurault. Traducción posiblemente de Anthony Munday de *Coppie de l'Anti-Espagnol*].

24. *A declaration of the iust causes mooving Her Maiestie to send a navie and armie to the seas and toward Spaine*, by England and Wales . London: By the deputies of Christopher Barker, 1597. [Con traducción al francés el mismo año y en la misma imprenta y lugar: *Declaration des iustes causes qui ont meu sa Serenissime Maiesté de mettre sus une armée navalle pour envoyer vers l'Espagne*].

25. *A proclamation set out by the K. of Spain.* London : Imprinted by John Wolfe, 1592. ["A proclamation set out by the K. of Spain wherein order is taken for the use and trafficke of merchandise with those of Holland , Zealand and others, as well by water as by land, truly translated out of the Dutch copy printed at Andwerpe in February last"].

26. *The edict and decree of Phillip King of Spaine.* London : Printed by [i.e.for] John Wolfe, 1597. ["The edict and decree of Phillip King of Spaine, published and proclaimed by the said king, touching the exchaungings and levyings of moneys, by him made & passed with marchants. With a briefe discourse of the habilitie and affaires of the said king. First translated out of Spanish and now out f French into English by W.P."].

27. *A true coppie of the transportation of the Lowe Countries, Burgundie, and the countie of harrolois: doone by the King of Spayne, for the dowrie of his eldest daughter, given in marriage unto the Cardinall Albert, Duke of Austria, with tbe artides and conditions of the same, signed by the King in Madrill. Translated out of Dutch by H.W. Nouember.* 1598. London: Printed by I. Rtoberts] for Paule Linley, 1598. [Se trata uno de los numerosos documentos publicados en la época concernientes al matrimonio y traslado a los Países Bajos de Isabel Clara Eugenia].

28. *By the Queene. A proclamation publishing certaine iust causes for prohibition and stay of cariage of victual.* London : By the deputies of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1597. ["A proclamation publishing certaine iust causes for prohibition and stay of cariage of victual and other provisions of warre by seas into Spaine, for continuance of the King of Spaines purposes to invade most uniustly her Maiesties dominions with authoritie for the stay thereof by sea"].

29. *The happy entraunce ofthe high borne Queene of Spaine, the Lady Margarit of Austria .* London : By [J. Windet for] John Woolfe, 1599-["The happy entraunce of the high borne Queene of Spaine, the Lady Margarit of Austria , in the renowned city of Ferrara . With feativall ceremonies used by Pope Clement the eight, in the holy mariage of their Maiesties, as also in that of the high borne Archduke Albertus of Austria, with the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, sister to the catholique King of Spaine, Phillip the third. First translated out of Italian after the cobby printed at Ferrara , allowed by the magistrales"].

A FIG / FOR THE SPANIARD, / OR SPANISH SPIRITS. / Wherein are livelie protraihed the / damnable deeds, miserable murders, and mon / strous massacres of the cursed Spaniard./ With a true rehearsal of the late troubles and trouble / some estate of Aragon , Catalonia , Valencia / and Portingall. Whereunto are [*lacuna*] of much marveile and / *cuaílacuna*] consequence. / Magna est veris [*lacuna*] prevalet. / LONDON / Printed by John Woolfe, and are to / be folde by William Wright. / 1591.

[1] To the curteous gentlemen readers, health.

Gentlemen, though Philip of Spaine be olde and bed-redde, yet hee is not quite dead, and though his forces for the present be somewhat weakned, yet is hee not utterly conquered: in good time hee may be by divine assistance, and your worthy valors, shew your selves therefore the right inheritours of the vertues of your auncestours: that is, in peace to be mindful or warre, and in war most studious of peace, bearing.

[2] To the Reader.

Alwaies upright minds, and forward heartes, to helpe your friendly neighbors. For if our friendly neighbors fare well, then like all friends we shal fare the better, but if they faile of peaceable successe, wee can looke for nothing but warlike uproares: your wisdomes know what I mean, let it be then brieflie, pro lege , pro rege, pro grege: Macte virtute sitis.

Yours at commandement,

G. B.

[3] Haec est virgo potens, haec est Regina fidelis,

Haec est Diva latens muliebribus alma figuris,

Quae tot lustra gerens apud Anglos nobile sceptrum,

Regibus est redamata bonis, populoque, Deoque.

Lenvoy.

One thin remains thee (Reader) yet undone,

Cast up thine eyes, and see her splendent grace,

Whome Graces so adorne that she hath wonne,

From Monarkes all the first and highest place:

And raignes on Earth like Godesse sent from Jove,

In mercie, peace, prosperitie, and love.

To her for succour, kings do flie from farre,

No king (save one) but ioyes our Sabes plight,

[4] Poore strangers from their soyles expeld by warre,

For Christes sake, find favour in her fight:

From North, from South, from East, and from the West

To hir they come, and heere they finde a rest.

O happie Realme, where mercie beareth swaie,

O happie Realme, where hypocrites avaunt:

Such hypocrites, I meane, that cousayle, aye

Nought els but death, and princes braines enchant:

Such hypocrites in fryers habites lurke,

That rapines, rapes, treasons, guyles, murders worke.

Aske France, heerof, such Hypocrites they rué,

And England , when king John was poysoned:

Her maiestie hat found it soo too true,
But Jove hath vow'd, ssave his daughters head,
loue her defend from all such monsters fell,
And from the romish monster, that monstrous feend of hell.
Pro lege, pro rege, pro grege,

[5] A Fig for the Spaniard.

It hath bene seen from the beginning, and [*lacuna*] proved most true, that among the nations there hath alwaies beene one fenerall [*sic*] people, farre surpassing the other in ambitious *pri*[*lacuna*] and tyrannicall policy, not seekeing by neighbor [*lacuna*] ood to quench the flames of their unnaturall dropsie by hawty rage, the one purchasing them with deadly hatred abroad, the other continuall tumults at home, both endlesse unquiet of their resstles thoughts (4).

In the greene springs of the worlde (what time ambition thrusting out her monstrous head, began freshly to so common discord among men, and general contempt of God himselfe) Nimrod, of the seed of cursed Cahm, teamed in holy writ a strong hunter: that is, such a one as compelled men to obay, either by force, or for feare, in loftines of mind forgetting himselfe to be mortall, and faining himselfe, and fellowe Princes immortall, by overmaistring his simple neighbors, reared a tower, whose strange height might match the top of heaven and (5) [6] consequently (like God) overlooke the whole earth. But as he that sitteth above the Cherubins, and laugheth to scorne the fond devices of worldlinges, with woonderfull patience pampreth the proud a while, and suffreth them like coped Lyons to swing their short course, so when they begin to grow intollerable, never was their lift so lofty, but their fall is as low, if not lower, to the lowest nook of hell.

A present and perfect mirrour is this Nimrod who when he had tyrannized over his commons, usurped over his neighbors, foraged their countries, neglected divine rites, extinguished true religion, and, in the mount of his pride (for such is the insatiable and swelling [*lacuna*] tome of ambition) opposed himselfe against God, was suddenly thrown downe, despoiled of his crowne, his glorie rent from him, his maiestie impaired, his dominions translated, and all his flocke defaced by Assur, of whome proceeded afterward the monarchie and masterdome of the Assirrians. These gallants enjoying the empire, and his metropolis Babilon, more yeaes then Nimrod, but with no lesse price, thought it no offence with Nimrod to opresse their subjects, rob and spoile their friends, depopulate forraine countires, slaughter their neighbours usurpe over their territories, and count all lawefull pillage which their swords could wrongfully purchase (6) .

But as these cavaliers dealt with the Chaldeans, so likewise are they measured unto, and matched by the Medes, who perceiving their discipline of [7] warre, changed altogether into delicate w[*lacuna*]nesse, their wealth reapt by prowess, rapt on the

backs of strumpets, and that their riches made them rechlesse, more apt to take their present case, then to delight in their former exploits, tooke hartie grace, suddenly invaded them, speedily conquered them, and forced the woman-like man, and unmanlike king Sardanapalus, as he was fitting and spinning among his curtizans; wittingly and willfully to end his owne life, wich (as some authors affirme) was the onely deed that ever hee did to shew himselfe a man, spending the rest of his saies more like a woman. Thus were the vain glorious Chaldeans, and arrogant Assyrians the first seedmen of seditions, the stirrers up of bloody broyles, maintainers of deadly warres, and usurpers over their neighbours, though happilie not so wille, politike, and cruell sa they, yet as wife, as warlike and more religious (7).

In like violent actions succeeded the Medes, and Persians, after them the Greeks, and Romanes, so that the worlde hath hitherto never wanted some one nation sometime it hath had mo [*sic*], that have been scourges, whiippes, and terrours unto the residue. But at this present day, whether ovrage doth want one, especially beautiful Europe, in many quarters, whereof the glorious light of the Gospell, shineth most cleerely, that seeketh to bannish and blemish her spendent beautie, that vexeth the other noble princes uniuistly, disquieteth his neighbours both by sea and land inaliciously, usurpeth over crownes, kingdomes, and countires moste (8) [8] impudently, governeth his owne tyrannicallie, committeth massacres incessantly, breatheth out bitther threatates opprobriously, snatcheth at all greedily, and aymeth at all with violence, and armes, aske his owne dominions first (for hee nameth all how ever it be gotten his own) and next all the estates of christendome will answere with one consent, and readily deside the controversy. But some will say, who either know little, or heare lesse, or see least of all, for that happily, or rather unhappily, they are of purpose ignorant, deage for the nonce, and wilfully blind (as in this point a great number are): "Sir I neither know nor heare, nor see any such matters in christendome, as you mention". But to make further triall, let us examnie the attemptes and practices of all kings christened, and see who it is, that is guiltie of these most heinous crimes you object, beginning first with the moste worthie, the king catholicke, eldest in yeares, mightiest in power, richest in substance, and most devout in religion. He, for that he is a catholicke, and piller of the Churche, loveth, imbraceth, and nourisheth the Gospell. He, for that hee is by nature mude, and taught by Gods lawes not to murder, seeketh no mans bloud. He, for that his ancesters have been iust, and peaceable lovingly. He, for that he cleaveth unto the Pope, cannot erre, but is full of compassion. He, for that hee tendreth his lesuites hat learned to be humble and meeke. He is full of charitie, and therefore not covetous. He is olde and decrepit, and therefore cannot in (9) [9] vade, much lesse usurpe, or do violence, all which untruthes in a word or tow, shalbe confuted.

If he did sincerely love, imbrace, and nourishe the Gospell, would he xxxiii whole years

toghter molest the prince, envie the people, and disturbe the realme, that generally above all other loveth, inbraceth, and nourisheth the gossell. If he loved, imbraced, and nourished the Gossell, woulde hee seeke by all meanes possible to hinder the rightful possession, and orderly proceedings of a king, who these manie yeares hath impoverished himselfe by seeking to plant the Gossell, and so manie times hat, and yet daily doth fight, and hazardes his life for the Gossell? But so truly he loveth, imbraceth, and nourisheth the Gossell, as he burneth and bannisheth out of his territories, infinite swarmes of riche lewes, sworne enemies to the Gossell.

Lastly, so he loveth, imbraceth, and nourisheth the Gossell, that he maketh his Jesuites, and shavelinges forget all Gossell, and mangleth, and massacreth all true professors of the Gossell. That hee is milde by nature, and seeketh no mans blood. First aske his slaughtered sonne, and wife, aske the millions of Moores, and poore Portugales, aske thousands of Neopolitanes, and Dutchmen, aske Frenchmen, and Italians, yea and the English that have been tortured, and tormented to death by him, and they all but that he hath made them sure inough from crying, would with their wofull cries, and greivous clamorous resolve you, or at the least all christendome yet living, that have noted (10) [10] his drifts and dealins these fortie yeares, will supplie their office? How peaceable and lovingly he liveth with his neighbour princes; how full of comassion, humble and meeke hee is, and whether hee do usurpe, and offer violence, England, France, Flanders, Poland, the Venetians, each dukedome in Italie, Aragón, Portugall, Navarre and Bearne, yea, and the bookes that are daily printed in them and sent abroad from them touching our present matter doe testifie; and having so many autentique witnesses, what neede I more prooffe in an open cause? Only this leave I request to thinke that the prophesie that was found in the Universitie of Conimbua in Portugall, in the raigin of Dora Emanuell, is verified in him, that the little king of the great South, should be renowned through out the world for his pollicie, and redoubted in al chistendome for his tyranny; for whome notwithstanding he possesseth at this day more large territories and greater store of wealth, then anie of his progenitors, or any other christian ever did, and al his proud partizams thundring out whole worldes of threates; little England, the noble and victorious queene of England, the honorable nobilitie of England, the valiant gentlemen of England, the true hearted commons of England relying upon God the defender for their right, do bid a figge, in respect of anie great danger, or strange detriment, they can inflict either upon her royall person, or her loyall subjects at home, or her maiesties approved friendes abroad, which action that it is both princely, politique and discreet, 11 as also christianlike, sincere, and charitable, shall appeare by the sequell. First therefore to prove that the Spaniardes, as it is their guise, rather thundereth rigorously, threatneth terrible,

and spitteth out his spight vennemously, then meaneth (as they say) good earnest simply, howe ever he holds our iesuites in hand, to make them persist in their wicked exploits. We will be so bold, as to consider his owne domestican affaires, the late accidents, and crosse businesse that befell in Aragon , and other places, and see whether in likelihood he be able now to performe, as whilome in the eares of the world hee boasted. For who doth not heare that listeth to hearken after news, what uncouth troubles, dangerous skirmishes, daily mutinies, and pletifull effusion of bloud, have lately happened betweene the Spaniards and Aragonians, between the Castillians, and their other vassals, the tenor wherof shal briefly be touched. Antonie Teretz secretarle to the king of Spaine, upon what occasion is yet uncertaine (for that it is the Spaniardes dissembling in nature, to minde and venge one thing, but to pretend another) being committed to prison, found the meanes partly through his wife, who daily had accesse unto him, and partly by his letters directed to his firendes about the court, that he escaped, some say in the habite of a countriman, who being secretly conveied to Saragosa in Aragon amongh his friends, made known unto them, howe indirectly, or rather iniuriously the king and the inquisition proceeded against them contrarie to iustice, and the priveledges of their [12] (12) realme, to what purpose they did it, and to what effect it would insue, if it were not remedied. As of small drops, rise great flouds, and of a sparke is kindled a great fire: so of this (in mans iudgement, but a small molehill is made so great a mountaine that it may bee a secret iudgement of the Lorde, to cause to spring from thence, either so great a floud, that may crowne all Spaine for their sinnes, or so forcible a light fire, that may purge and purifie them from their dregs).

But to the matter, newes being brought until the king and inquisition of the escape of the secretarle and that he had gotten Aragon , a strong *mandamás* was sealed to the viceroy, to make all speedy and diligent search after him. Wherein the viceroy proved to painefull, that once againe the secretarle was taken and cast into prison, no doubt, but much more narrowly watched then before. The holy fathers of the Inquisition, the catercappe detuils, doctors (I should say) that like bloody butchers, continually thirst after bloud, thinking them selves sure, and all things in safety, whilst they are preparing to sit in iudgement upon the said Antonie Teretz, and dispatch him in the way, were suddenly encountered by a multitude that lay closely in ambushe for the purpose, in and about the cittie from the cuntry and mountaines there about, whereby the secretarie was redelivered, many of the holy fathers slaughtered, their couches some of them burnt, some hackt and hewed in peeces, their servants scattered, the kings and viceroyes powers discomfited, and to the number of 150 per[13]sons slaine. The king having intelligence of this great dishonour and unfortunate repulse, standing upon thornes till he were revenged, forthwith dispatched a band of 4000 against them, who knowing that the boon of a tyrant is bloud and his grace

nothing but death, resolved everie man to trie the last dice of fortune, and so die, then yeelding, bee brought into a second slaverie. In time, so well the citizens and kingdom of Aragon demeaned themselves against the kings forces, that they drew unto them the citties and kingdomes of Catalonia, and Valentia also, which three kingdomes are uppe in arms against the king, partly to revenge the deaths of those noble personages, whome most cruelly he murdered, and partly to defend their ancient rites, and privileges, and upon many and waightie considerations, have elected them (as some report) a new king. (13)

The names of the nobles, whom lately the king of Spaine hath put to death, be these strangled and burnt:

The Duke of Ossune. The Countie of Orgus.

The Duke of Ferill. The Countie of Micas,
governor of Granado.

The Archbishop of Corduba Don Francisco Lapeto,
confessor to the King. president of the Kings

The Bishop of Cadis. counsell. (14)

[14] Don Vasques secretrie to
the state, is fled with 7.

Nobles more and Anthony Teretz also, whose discourse y have heard is fledde, and save with the French king, who is his rightfull liege. These unexpected tumults, and sudden claps of war, though they have bin of short continuance, yet have they bene very combersome and bitter unto the Spaniard, and have not onely caused grreat hart-burning agaisnt him with the leiety, but also some rancour of the cleargy, as may appeare by this probabilitie.

On All Saints day last, there chanced a Iesuite (which order is most odible to all other cloysterers) to preach in Saragosa before divers men of account in the city, who among other matters began busily to handle the present mutinies, and unreverent rebellions of the land, against their soveraigne, and holy fathers of the inquisition, shewing the emolument that came by them, and inconvenieces that would ensue, if they were resisted, concluding with this corollarium, that it would be meritorious, both for their bodies and soules, peaceable to the realme, profitable to themselves, their wives, children, and kinsefolkes, yea, and available for their landes and livinges (for which they were now in contention) if they wold quietly lay down those armes, and reallie betake them to the mercy of his catholique maiestie, and favour of the holy inquisition. A frier happilie hearing him and warilie noting more then the common people, (although generally enough was noted) in his epiphonema, or shutting up of his matter, not mistru[15]sted approched the pulpit, and suddenly threwe a chain or coller of puddings about the Iesuits neck, crying out

food people heere is meete dinner for the iesuits good sermon, which deed not withstanding there were present men of authority of the citty, and questionlesse very many of the currant stamps, yet generally it was so well taken, that out of the Church, the iesuit was haled into the street, and there disguised in a fooles coat, carried uppon mens shoulders to bee scorned up and downe the citty, and wheter hee escaped with life, is not yet signified. And here by the way I wish all men, that either heere or read these truthes, truly and duly to consider, what great Don Philip of Spain hath either to pretend, or practise any invacion, upon anie prince sorraine this yeare, having so much ado at home, not onely with his temporaltie, but also with his darling and sweet nurserie his sacred and spotles spiritualtie. Thus far concerning the state and affaires of Aragon . Nowe let us see what is and hath beene done this yeare in Portingall. A Portingal gentleman walking in the Roceio of Lisbon, espied a base Castilion of such proud and presumtuos demenor, so fantastical in his attire, loftie in his looks, and slow in his pace, (as though he had bin treading of measures) could not long bear him, but bearded him, and insulted him, whereupon the mater was debated by Stafford law, the Portingall slaine, and the Spaniard escaped in the castle. Immediately certaine Portingall gentlemen of the familiars swore revenge, and not long since have had their wils. For on S. Mathews day last finding [15] [16] a crue of Castillions vevelling in a brothell house, suddenlie set upon, and flewe five of them, which caused the other Castillions of the castle to come downe in extreame heat of choller, and offer great violence through the cittie, untill the great multitudes of Portingals that were hastilie swarmed together, made them betake them to their heeles, and ever since more watchfullie, and warilie guraed their castle. The mater being brought in question before the Cardinal (who now a while keepeth warm the king of Portingals feat,) and being found that the Spaniards were chieg masters of misrule and mischiege (as they are alwaies), they were punished severelie, but all in viane: for olk rankor is not easilie forgotten, nor the ancient malice between those two mations lightlie forgiven. For it is impossible, and may passe for a paradox to thinke that those two nations, the Portingall and Spaniard will ever be fullie reconciled. For as often as either they shal remember, or their cronicles report the fraudulent feats of false Philip against his neighbour king and kingly nephew Don Sebastian so brave a yong prince and only hope of the Portingals, record the daned usurping of the spitefull Spaniards, and miserable exile of Dom Anthony lawful, and indubitant heire, now favoured and fostered by her maiestie. So often as they shal either speake, or thinke upon the sursed acts of Christophero de Moyra one of the kings favorites, as often as they shall either heere or thinke upon the heapes of the poore cuntry men, that have bin within this 13 yeares most desperatly murdered, and of their owne intollerable servitude they indure at this instant, they will have as good and fell [17] stomaks, as ever they had at the Ile of Terseres, what time the brave and wise gentleman

Don Cyprian Figureda Vasconsalus was governour there to the Spaniards cost, to rip out their hearts, and eat them with salt. Wherein I advertise all those of our Nation, that without any sufficient triall of their detestable deeds, and knowledge of their crabbed nature, are such great friendes, and stout favorites of the enemies of the world, not to bee deceived, but as they be men, and should have the spirite of reason, so to bee governed and guided by reason. Suppose the Spaniard as they wish (but God be praised he is verie far from) should make a conquest in this land, and bring all to his bay, as hee hath done in other countires over whome hee usurpeth. Would hee (tro yee) spare this more then them? No, hee will finde five hundredd times more cause to rice and ransacke our citties, to pill and pole our country, to murther and massacre our people, then theirs. For they were his neighbours, we meer strangers; they have neve sometime his friends, wee alwaies (as he counteth) sworne enemies; they are of his owne religion, wee altogeather contrary; they have the Pope to mittigate his wrath, if hee be to fierce, wee have both Pope and Popelings to incense him unto further ire, that hee may be more frowarde. So that whatsoever the Pope and hee could doe, that they would doe say they, promise they, swear they never so much to the contrarie, and whasoever they will doe, may not bee gainesaid as unlawful. Wherefore let all English hearts and true hearted English-men, say eith the poet: (16) [18] Aurea libertas gemma preciosior omni.

And whilst they have it, imbrace it, and not betray it, but hazard lands, lives, lims and all, to maintain it. Finall, let those regions, over whome the Spaniards the aireadle tyrannizeth, be examples unto us, whose cofoers are alreadie impoverished, whose people are mightily impaired, whose lives are not theyr owne, whole landes upon everie light quarrell are confiscate, whose antient rightes are contemned, peculiar priveledges infringed, wholesome lawes violated, and all in all corrupted: then may we couragiously say, God the Lord of hostes (who is, and hath alwaies been our defender) is our right, and cheerfully vaunt, a fig for the Spaniard.

We have hetherto discussed howe unlike, and unable the Spaniardes is in respect of the foresayd troubles, which as yet on no part are fully pacified, to pursue his determination. Nowe let us prie a little more narrowly into matters of no lesse consequence, and by examining them wee may easily coniecture, what he is able to effect. The scarcitie therefore of bread, and defect of all other store of victuall, wherwith Spaine, especially the sea-coasts thereof, this present yeare have beene plagued, woulde rather have beene a terrible warning to anie other prince of corrigible nature, to have humbled himself unto almightie God, and to continue in praier for the avoydance of so great a miserie, then to prepare and threaten bloody wars against his neighbour princes, better able for the present to maugre, and indure armes then he, yea [19] the flourishing kingdome of Naples, which for his woonderfull fertilitie was wont to be tearmed the garden of the world,

hath these two yeares so ill prospered, not onely in her come, and frutes, but also in her vintage, and other provision, that it is found not to yeeld the third part that it was wont, whereby the people perish most lamentably, the land is wasted pitifully, and all in all lament rufully. Onely Philip who should be more grieved, and pensive then the rest, like his great grandsier Nero, when he sawe Rome on fire, is so farre from mourning, that he rather mocketh, and triumpheth risit Sardonico. But say that neither these plagues of swelling sedition, or pinching famine, happily sent by God himselfe to non other ende, but to relent his stonie heart, and set him at peace, with other princes that seek after, and delight in peace, can quallifie his hautie humour, or quench his hot desire of revenge. Let us yet weigh if there be not occasions of as great moment to move and mollifie him, except he meane his people, shippes, artillerie, and warlike furniture should rather perish by warre, then consumed through famine. Who is ignorant of the great slaughters of Spaniards, that have beene committed within these foure yeares? Who is ignorant of the huge losse, both of men and ships he hath sustained in his last Indian voyage? Who doth not knowe that he inioyeth much, hath need of Argus eyes Mercuries braine, and Hercules strength that his storehouse of Sicilie for this (17) [20] yeare is emptie? Seegin then Spaine cannot presently sustaine, much lesse relieve, or repaire such infinite losses both of men, shippes, artillerie, and all other provision of victualles, within her owne boundes, seeing suche innumerable cares depend on their neckes, and that they cannot indure them without the assistance of other. Let us nowe reason what possibilite they have to be succoured by others, and beginne first with their owne neighbours. It is possible they may command a gew hungersterved slaves in Naples, and the partes adjoyning (whereof they have the government) but in other partes of Italie, especially Genua, Florence, and Venice, where he is loved, as the Divell loveth holy water, he may command, and go without, and intreating, obtain as manie bancs of men, and thousands of crowns, (which some suspect was the deathe of the last Pope) as a chicken can hold in hir fist. As for France and Flanders, therein his iolly bravo have such gallant counterbuffes daily, the one part by the most Christian mirroure of chyvalire, the french king, the other by the puissant and politicke prince grave Maurice, that they looke for aid of him, who is himselfe aidlesse, rather then anie way finde themselves of strength to succour their haplesse monarches. Likewise Germanie, and especially Poland, in manie corners, whereof he hath closely couched his rabbles of iesuites, and set all in uprores, are so unable, and unapt to succor him, that they are skant able to defend themselves. Finally [21] from England, wherin to dayly he sendeth whol heards, and hundreds of iesuites, seminarles, and priests to disturb our peace, although her maiestie everloving, and longing after peace, hath fought alwaies rather to gratulate him, then anie way to grieve him. Yet in anie of these attempts he is to hope for no helpe, except hee woulde employ his forces to better use, then onely to seeke

the spoyle, and the effusion of the christian bloud. Princes of former yeares living together in amitie, and linked with the sweete chaine of christian-like charitie, were woont to levie all their powers against the untamed pagons, and ennemies of christianitie, but hee hath beene lately convinced to doe quite contraire. Howe then of christians can he looke for courtesie. But some will object, and say, tush Philip is rich, he possesseth whole mines of coin, he is the golden chevallier, he needeth no mans courtesie. Let him but holde up his finger, hee shall have friendes, followers, and souldies inove. This argument is both weake, and slender, and hath partly beene reselled before, therefore in three wordes with the poet, thus briefly I confute it *Malo virum pecunia, quam pecuniam viro indigentem*. Hetherto concerning hys businesse at home, and condition with his bordering neighbours. Nowe let us looke what hope the Spaniards hath to enterprise anie ivasion, or conquest in respect of England. (18)

The first, and chiefest reasons therefore, where [22] with the partizams, and partakers use to induce him, and hale him on (whether of his owne will he is readily inough inclined) are these three in number. The first is drawne from the weakness of her maiesties Navie. The second of a supposed evill contentment of a number of people in the land to serve the queene, and hir government agaisnt her enemies. Lastly, and most principally of a great strong partie, that will be found heere in the vavour of them for religion that wil take armes against her highnesse, upon the fight of the catholique Navie on the coasts of England. All which that they are but imagined surmises, and untrue reportes, hath alreadie bene proved, Anno 1588, at what time the couragious force, and forcible courage of our Navie sufficiently appeared, when as at the first encounter with the mightie Spanish Armada, our simple fleete of fish-boates (as it pleased them to tearme it) tooke their viceadmirall, and for the space of 8 or 9 dayes togither, so scattered, slaughtered, sunk, and chased them, that they were forced to flie from the coastes of Flanders neere Calice, towards the unknowne parts of the cold North, all their hopes, all their buildings, founded but upon a conceited conquest, utterly overthrowne and (as it were) with an earthquake, all their costes, and comfortes by the omnipotent, and outstretched arme of God brought to the ground. As to the sedond branch of their hope depending upon opinion of some [23] great discontentment of manie, and sundry persons against the queenes maiestie, the prooffe of the contrarie so appeared the selfe same yeare, both of her maiesties actions to amintaine the liking of all her people, and of the generall earnest devotion shewed to her maiestie, by alle states, noble and meane, rich and poore, protestantes and papists, as I thinke no prince christened ever had greater cause of comfort in her people.(19)

Now to the last point, that ther shal be found heere in the realme a strong partie of Catholiques to ioyne against the queene, and assist the invaders, by the former relations of the generall great, and the fervent love of all the land toward her excellent maiestie, of

the great offers of servie made by the whol nobilitie of their goodly shews of brave men, and stately steedes, of their infinite costes and expences, of the universall forwarnesse of the commons in all actions, and of their prompt mindes to execute all dueties of good subjectes, even unto the losse of their lives, this their foundation is weake, feeble, and of no force, and therefore no waie to be feared.

We have already proved by manie reasons, and those substantial inough, how unlike and unable the Spaniard is, both in respect of himselfe, in respect of the helpe of his neighbors, and in respect of our own right, and might to master and molest us with anie juge hurt, or singular scathe all (20) [24] which notwithstanding are thus, for that we often see man proposeth, but God disposeth, to be understoode and restrained that they may and shall prove true, so long as we serve God truly, live in loyall service, and dutifull obedience toward our prince lovingly, honour our magistrates reverently, live together charitably, and detect and discrie wicked treasons and obstinate traytors willingly. Otherwise the Lord will renew, revive, and increase the Spaniards strength exceedingly, cause him prevaile mightely, and triumph over us spightfully, so that no man amidst all that hath beene spoken is so farre to presume that either he omit anie iote of christianlike service toward almightie God or loyall obedience toward the suprior magistrate or sincere love towardes his home borne neighbours, but as wee were seene not yet apprentice yeares sithence (at what time the minds of many were daunted with a sodaine feare of the enemye) to serve God devoutly, obey our prince cheerfully, reverence the magistrat discretly and live and love together faithfully, so to continue and (if need once againe require) to spend lands, limes, lives and all as then wee profered readilie for God and our countrey, and not to hatch treasons closely, nourish traitors covertly, succour figitives wilfullie or support shameles runnegats continually, men of no conscience, sworne enemies to God, their prince, and countrey, which that we may do to [25] the glorie of the eternall God, comfort of our dread soveraigne, ioy of our vigilant magistrals weeding out of hypocriticall rebels, wholesome preservation of mutuall charity at home and godlie consolation of our poore distressed bretheren abroad, the Lord of hosts in mercy grant for his sweet sons sake, to whom with his Christ our only peacemaker and the holy Ghost our comforter be al honour, lawd, praise and thankesgiving for all his unspeakable loving kindnesses extended on the sinfull people of England both nowe and for ever, and let all that feare his name, and wishe the blesses peace of his Church, say in devout zeale and zealous devotion of spirit, Amen.

FINIS. (21)

Notas

1. Para lo relacionado con las luchas anticatólicas en Inglaterra, ver Camm, Cortijo & Cortijo, Challoner y O'Reilly. Para lo relacionado con Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza, ver Abad, Cortijo & Cortijo y Muñoz.
2. Para el tema de la *leyenda negra* ver Juderías, Díaz Araujo (1995) y García Cárcel (1998), entre los libros más recientes.
3. Ver para un estudio de la obra de Cipriano de Valera en el contexto de las luchas antimoriscas y antiprotestantes en la Península Ibérica L. Cardaillac (1979).
4. Incluimos a continuación las *marginalia* explicativas del texto. Cuando hay varias por página se separan por el signo [/]. There hath bene alwaies from time to time a troublsome people in the world, and great rnolessters fo their neighbours, examples Solón [*sic*].
5. In the second raigne of Ori fiel sspirite of Saturne, the pride and tyranny of nicored, sprang of the sseede of Cham.
6. The effects of tyranny. / The fall of Nimrod first king of the world and emperour of the Chaldeans. / The example of the Assirians proceding of Assur. / Such measure as we meat to others, such measure shall be met to us.
7. The original of the Median monarchie, in the fal of wanton Sardanapalus. / The Chaldeans and Assirians, the first that made war in the world.
8. The Persians, Greekes, and Romanes resembled in pride and tyranny to the Caldeans, Assirians, and Meads. / At this present time the southern part of Europe affordeth a proud disturber, and iniurious molester of his neighbour princes.
9. Papistes or Neuters. / The right tearmes of Recusantes or Traytors. / The adversaries arguments to prove the innocencie of king Philip.
10. The former reasons confuted. / Meant by the queene and people of England . / The moste christian king of France . / Cuius contrarium, verum est. / The Gospell willeth us to yeele unto Caesar those thinges that are Caesars, and unto God those things that ar Gods: but he teacheth them all together treasons, rancor, and malice against their soveraigne. Among all these nations the Spaniards swordes have beene busie.
11. Each of these countries had their partes but these 33 whole yeares he hath had continually a sling at England . / A prophetic found in Portingall. / Parrius Rex Austri per singula climata mundi, Nobilis ingenii dicitur, sed tamen omni Europa fiet terrori ut rector Averni. / If England feare God, and be true within it selfe, it may boldly bid a fig for the Spaniard.
12. The Spaniards guile. / Great garboils of late between the Spaniards and the Aragonians, betweene the Portingals and Castilions. / The common rumour is for stabbing a lustie younker favoured by the king of Spaine. / The occasion of the first rising in Aragon .
13. The light fire of the gospell. / The double diligence of the Viceroy. / The rendering of the cities and kingdomes of Catalonia and Valentia.
14. The names of nobles who latelie suffered in Spaine.
15. A pleasant storie of a iesuite and a frier confirmed by certaine persons of sufficient credite, who have received the truth of all these matters. / A pudding is too good meat for a traiterous iesuite. / K. Philip if he looke about, at his time hath small cause to broch new broiles. / Roceio is an open

place where gentlemen walks for their plesure in Lisbon . / The originall of the last dissentions in Portingall.

16. But thus it is not ended, for since we have had knowledge of divers other bickerings. / A Paracos, king Philip to inioy the crown of Portingall, especially to committed these three most damnable iniquities. First he betrayed to death his own nephew, next set paking the cardinal, and lastly exiled and keepeth in exile the right heire. / Christo de Moyra sent a counterfeit cooke into France to poyson Don Antonie. This governor gave the king of Spain great battailes, and overcame in both, living now with his king in England .

17. Wonderfull great death throughout Spaine. / God punisheth the people sometime for the transgressions of the prince./ Nero, Emperor of Rome, when hee say the citie flaming with fire, laughed and sang verses containing the destruction of Troy. / In Flanders , France , and England . / The Sicilians made high plainly anseere, the had not come enough for themselves.

18. The Duke of Florence will have a saying to the Spanish Lantado for abusing his colours defeating the people of the provision of their come, and manie other iniuries. The last Pope finely, and wittily denied the king of Spaine manie requestes: these and such like dealinges have caused the deathes of 5 Popes within these 17 monethes. / Sigimund king of Poland maintaineth the tumultes of the iesuites at Orcow wher they have beaten cowne and rased the Churches of the reformed religion. / Philip mantained Iohn Marilian hys embassadour three whole years at Constantinope to intreate for peace, which at length was obtained in suche soite that niether christian nor Turke thoght it would continue, for both princes applied themselves to the time, rather then that eyther of them desired anie freindship of other.

19. Three reasons our English traytours use to urge to Philip. / A mere fable and of no likelihood. / Some say it was their viceadmirall, but how ever it was, a most huge barge.

20. The Spaniard unlike to conquer England for three reasons.

21. Si Deus nobiscum quis centra nos. The Spaniard is not yet brought so low, but that he may rise, rage, and reigne again if we be not thankfull to almightie God, pliable to our countries peace, and watchfull for his commin. Nam qui semel caepit esse hostis et iterum erit, si nactus fuerit occasionem. / Thus if we doe, then may we boldly bid a fig for the Spaniard, eyther a figge of his owne or, as they say, *una higa italiana*.

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