Early Modern Spanish and Portuguese Material Culture in the Works of James Shirley (1596-1666)

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Abstract: The international dominance of the Habsburg Empire (which from 1581 until 1640 included Spain and Portugal) fostered the expansion of both the material and symbolic culture of the Iberian Peninsula in Europe and more specifically in England. This article sets out to broach the nature and extent of the presence of that material culture in the work of James Shirley, whose literary debt to Spain is one of the most conspicuous of the Jacobean-Caroline period and constituted a touchstone for the penetration of Spanish literature and Iberian culture into Early Modern English society. Moreover, since the socio-textual relationships concerning material culture in literary texts between Early Modern Spain and England have not been analysed extensively, except in the case of Shakespeare (Duque 1981 and 1991), the analysis of the Shirleian opus presents a privileged vantage point from which to obtain an overview of how diverse material elements of Spanish culture had penetrated into English life and how this was reflected in the literary works of the time.

Keywords: James Shirley, Early Modern Spain and England, material culture, Spanish and Portuguese cultural influence.

Cultura material española y portuguesa del periodo moderno temprano en las obras de James Shirley (1596-1666)

Resumen: El dominio en el tablero internacional del Imperio Habsburgo (que desde 1581 hasta 1640 incluyó a España y Portugal) fomentó la expansión de la cultura tanto material como simbólica de la Península Ibérica en Europa y más específicamente en Inglaterra. Este artículo se propone abordar la naturaleza y el alcance de la presencia de esa cultura material en la obra de James Shirley, cuya deuda literaria española es una de las más conspicuas del período jacobeo-carolino y piedra de toque de la penetración de la literatura y cultura ibéricas en la Inglaterra del periodo moderno temprano. Además, dado que las relaciones socio-textuales relativas a la cultura material en los textos literarios entre la España e Inglaterra de esa época no han sido analizadas extensamente, excepto en el caso de Shakespeare (Duque 1981 y 1991), el análisis de la obra shirleiana presenta un punto de vista privilegiado desde el que obtener una visión general de la penetración de estos elementos materiales en la vida inglesa plasmada en las obras literarias de la época.

Palabras clave: James Shirley, Periodo Moderno Temprano en España e Inglaterra; cultura material, influencia cultural española y portuguesa.

1. Introduction

The Habsburg Empire's international influence, encompassing Spain and Portugal from 1581 to 1640, greatly contributed to the spread of Iberian culture across Europe, notably impacting England. In this country the Spanish influence was transmitted through a remarkable

number of translators, pamphleteers, Hispanists, and Hispanophiles who kept England in contact with Spanish politics, society, art and literature (Underhill; Forsythe, 10-11; Ungerer, Anglo-Spanish Relations, and "Printing of Spanish Books"; García García, Presencia textual de España 99-151). In this context, the work of James Shirley, who has been aptly called "the last of a great race" (Lamb 207) and "the last legitimate descendant of Shakspeare (sic)" (Anonymous 48-49), stands out as a key figure in the textual presence of Spain. Chronologically speaking, he follows but greatly surpasses Beaumont and Fletcher in his Spanish affiliation and he precedes and overshadows the Restoration playwrights among whom the Spanish presence is noticeable to a greater or lesser extent: John Dryden, George Digby, William Wycherley, Aphra Behn, Thomas St. Serf, John Crowne, Sir Samuel Tuke, John Leanerd, John Davies, and Colley Cibber. Moreover, Shirley himself offers a privileged position from which to determine the influence of Spain in England due to his crucial historical, sociological, and literary presence coinciding with the rise and decline of the power of the Habsburg Empire in Europe. Therefore, this study aims to explore the presence of Spanish and Portuguese cultural artifacts in the works of James Shirley, whose indebtedness to Spain is the most prominent one during the Jacobean-Caroline era. Shirley's writings serve thus as a key reference point for understanding the integration of Spanish literature and Iberian culture into English society at a critical time in history. What is more, given the limited analysis lent by contemporary criticism to socio-textual relationships regarding material culture in Early Modern English literature, except for Shakespeare, examining Shirley's works provides a unique opportunity to grasp how various aspects of Spanish culture influenced English life and literature during this period.

Finally, it is necessary to add that we are aware that the distinction between material and spiritual culture is often unclear and frequently overlaps.[1] Therefore, we have considered material culture as "the sum or inventory of the technology and material artefacts of a human group, including those elements related to subsistence activities as well as those which are produced for ornamental, artistic or ritual purposes" (Seymour-Smith 183). This analysis will consequently include the presence of such products and artifacts which pertain to culinary culture, coins, fashion, and the military and urban space.

2. Culinary culture

Spanish produce and goods aided in the renewal of English culinary culture which took place during the mid-sixteenth century onwards (Thirks 97-125), contributing not only to the Epicurean delights mentioned below but to other recipes and ingredients such as confectionery, sugar, sauces, potatoes, vegetables, fruits, and chocolate (though the latter rather belatedly in the seventeenth century). Shirley's appreciation of Spanish food is patent in his references to Spanish wines and several kinds of dishes which are always presented in a positive way (except for the Spanish figs), whether he was dealing with such *regallias* (*regalias*) as an *olla podrida*, a *carbonado*, or an *oringado,* as will be explained.

2.1. Wine: sack, canary and malmsey

The Elizabethans' fondness for wine was proverbial. "Holinshed, writing in the 1570s thought the English had the greatest array of any country even though they produced none themselves" (Thirsk 310). Continental wines such as *Madeira*, *Rhenish*, *Alicant* and *Gascon* were common. Spanish wines, however, won hands down. Pedro Duque in his 1981 article "Shakespeare y el vino español" reveals up to five kinds of Spanish wines mentioned by Shakespeare: *charneco*, *malvasia*, *bastard*, *canary* and *sack*. Campillo Arnaiz (2017) clarifies that the most popular of them, *sack*, comprised a great variety of white wines coming from the Iberian Peninsula (according to Gervase Markham, from places as dissimilar as Galicia, Portugal, or Málaga) or off the peninsula, from the Canary Islands, and presenting diverse degrees of quality, the best of them being the sack coming from Jerez de la Frontera, sometimes specified as sherry sack.[2] The second in importance was Canary (sometimes equalled to *sack*), which was clearly produced in the Canary Islands. As regards non-Spanish wines, James Shirley mentions only the French *claret*, the Mediterranean *malmsey* and a general "Greek wine" (twice). In comparison, Shirley is much more assiduous in mentioning three types of Spanish wines.

Sack is the wine that appears most frequently in Shirley's work. Up to 35 times. It is impossible to present here all the shades of meaning with which the wine is endowed, but apparently, as inferred from

The Witty Fair One (III,iv,319) and from *Changes or Love in a Maze* (2,II,ii,298), it appears to be an excellent antidepressant against love's melancholy or against suicidal impulses in *Cupid and Death* (scene 6, p. 354, appearing twice).[3]

Canary appears five times in three plays (*The Witty Fair One*, *1*,ll,ii,297, *The Wedding*, *1*,II,iii,392, and *Love's Cruelty*, *2*,I,ii.208) and twice in the poem "Upon the Princes Birth," celebrating the birth of the royal heir, the future James II (*6*,425). The word is also mentioned twice in *The Ball* (*3*,III.iii.46 and *3*,III.iv.54). It is interesting to notice that it appears as *canary sack* in *The Witty Fair One*, *The Wedding* and the aforementioned poem "Upon the Princes Birth", which proves, as Campillo Arnaiz has advanced, that sack, except when pre-modified, was a general term for white wine coming from any part of the Iberian Peninsula or the Canary Islands. However, experts in nutrition had detected as early as 1620 that to take Canary for sack was a common error of laymen. Thus, Tobias Venner wrote in *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam*:

> Canary wine, which beareth the name of the Island from whence it is brought, is of some termed a Sacke, with the adiunct, sweete, but yet very improperly, for it differeth not only from Sacke in sweetnesse and pleasantnesse of taste, but also in colour and consistence; for it is not so white in colour as Sacke, not so thin in substance. (Venner 24)

As was customary at the time, Shirley makes a pun with the alternative meaning of the term *Canary* as a kind of lively dance:

> *Loddam.* They say that canary sack must dance again to the apothecaries, and be sold for physic in hum-glasses and thimbles; that the Spar-water / must be transported hither and be drunk instead of French wine... (*The Wedding*, *1*,II,iii.392-393)[4]

As can be seen, the healthy qualities of Canary sack are highly praised by the fat gentleman called Loddam to the detriment of French wines.

Besides, our playwright also relates sack to the Canary Islands as both the wine and the islands are suggestive of warmth and good cheer:

> *Clariana*. Excuse me, sir. I would not have my name be the toast for every cup of sack you drink; you wild gallants have no mercy upon gentlewomen, when you are warm i' the Canaries. (*Love's Cruelty*, 2,I,ii.208)
>
> *Lacy*. No remedy; here's a lady longs for one vagary.— Fill a bowl of sack, and then to the Canaries. (*Hyde Park*, 2,II,ii,478)

In the poem "Upon the Princes Birth", Shirley mentions Málaga (*Malago*) as a place from which wine is imported, and refers to another kind of wine, the *Charnico*. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (*OED*), this wine, which appears, among others, in the works of Shakespeare (*2 Henry VI*), is defined as a kind of wine. Robinson (162) adds that it was a white wine probably fortified and popular in England during the 16th and 17th centuries. It was possibly the ancestor of the modern Portuguese protected designation of origin Bucellas. During Elizabethan times this wine was denominated *Charnico* or *Charnaco* on account of Charneco, a local village in the Bucelas region (Robinson 112 and 162).

There is only one mention of malmsey. It appears as *malmesey* in *The Witty Fair One* (*1,*II.ii.297). For Leal Cruz *malmsey* or *malvasía* is, for the most part, Canary. He thinks the same about sack, but here we agree more with Campillo Arnaiz and consider that sack was a generic term for an imported white wine coming from either the peninsula or the Canaries. As for malmsey, the general definition in the *OED* states that it was:

> A strong sweet wine, originally the product of the district of Monemvasia (Napoli di Malvasia) in the Peloponnese, Greece, later also from other parts of the Mediterranean, the Azores, the Canaries, Madeira, and elsewhere. Now esp.: a similar fortified wine from these places (esp. Madeira).

Shirley does not seem to appreciate the smell of this wine much, as we see when he says through one of his characters in *The Witty Fair One*:

> *Brain.* I was never yet cozened in my life, and if I pawn my brains for a bottle of sack or claret, may my nose, as a brand for my negligence, carry everlasting malmsey in it. (*1,*II.ii.297)

Finally, the superiority of the Spanish wines is confirmed in a brief passage in *Honoria and Mammon*:

> *2 Serjeant.* This is Spanish. [*Drinks*]
> *Serjeant.* Draw home your arrow to the head, my centaur.
> *1 Soldier.* Mine is French wine.
> *3 Soldier.* You must take your chance;
> The yeoman of the wine-cellar did not
> Provide them for our palate.
> *2 Soldier. Supernaculum*! See there lies Spain already; now would I fight—
> *Serjeant.* Drink, thou mean'st
> *2 Soldier.* With any king in Europe. (*6*,V.i.68)

Moreover Canary seems to be a delicacy fit for a present, as implied in the following passage in *The Ball*:

> *Freshwater.* Not an Englishman, I warrant you,
> One that can please the ladies every way;
> You shall not sit with him all day for shadows.
> He has *regallias*, and can present you with
> Suckets of fourteen-pence a pound, *Canary*,
> Prunellas, Venice glasses, Parmesan
> Sugars, Bologna sausages, all from Antwerp;
> But he will make *ollepodredos* most incomparably.
> (*3*.III,iii,45-46)

Regallias is the early edition spelling for *regalios*. According to the *OED*, *regalio* is a word "[o]f multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from Italian. Partly a borrowing from Spanish." It means "[a] present, esp. of choice food or drink; a lavish meal or entertainment. Also figurative." It is possibly an indication of the proverbial lavishness of the Spaniards. The connection between *Canary* and *olla podrida* points to the consideration of Canary as a real luxury.

2.2. Ollepodredos, olio

Olla podrida was an undoubtedly Spanish meal, possibly the much richer ancestor of the modern *cocido*. It appears in several cookbooks of the period and in literary works sometimes with the name *olio*. The book

of recipes by Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife* (1615), lists this dish with a lengthy list of ingredients, including "potato roots," which shows that about 1615 this tuber was known to Spanish and English kitchens.

As shown in the excerpt above, this dish was considered a *regalia*. We find the word for this dish again in *The Royal Master* under its shorter denomination:

> *Bombo.* If there be a superfluous pheasant, it
> Will quell my hunger for a time. I hear
> Intelligence of an *olio* [...] (*4*,II.i.122)

2.3. Fico, Spanish figs

Shirley mentions both *fico* and *Spanish fig*. According to the OED, the term *fico* is a borrowing from Italian and its earliest extant apparition dates back to 1577; *fig*, however, stems from French and is documented as early as 1225 (*OED*). Both *fico* and *fig* have two meanings as related to Shirley. On the one hand, it stands for "anything small, valueless, or contemptible" and commonly appears in the locution *(a) fig for*. Shirley used *fico* twice in this sense in *Honoria and Mammon* ("a *sico* [sic] for the devil," *6*,II.i.25 and *6*,IV.iii.64, "fico for Writs and mouse-traps"). Undoubtedly, he was following the widespread and naturalized use of the terms recorded in the *OED* as many other Elizabethan authors did. In *The Maid's Revenge* (*1*,I.ii.114, "I care not a Spanish fig what you count me"), the word, although completely anglicized, clearly reveals a connection with the mental representation of figs as something characteristically Spanish. A possible conclusion is that Shirley is perhaps conflating the sense of "anything valueless" with the second meaning which will now be explained.

Indeed, on the other hand, the mental representation of figs may well be xenophobically related to the stock representation of the Mediterranean villain. As defined in the *OED*, a fig was used to mean "[a] poisoned fig used as a secret way of destroying an obnoxious person. Often *fig of Spain, Spanish fig, Italian fig.*" There are indeed in the *OED* several instances of collocations with *Spanish* and less frequently with *Italian*. So, as often Italian and Spanish terms can sometimes be mixed up and undistinguishable in Early Modern English texts, we can presume

with some degree of confidence that the ideational representation goes back mostly to the Iberian Peninsula, especially since there is evidence that the English consumed figs, most likely dried and as an exotic fruit, imported from Portugal as early as the fourteenth century (Thirsk 10 and 21). However, there is no reference at all to the culinary value of figs in Shirley's works.

Not surprisingly therefore, this second ominous sense is the one employed in the Spanish setting of *The Brothers* in which Alberto momentarily muses on the idea of poisoning Count Don Pedro:

> *Alberto.* There, there's the mischief; I must poison him;
> One *fig* sends him [Don Pedro] to Erebus.
> (*1*,III.ii.231)

The same happens, this time in a Portuguese setting, in *The Court Secret*, where Duke Mendoza speculates on getting rid of a problematic servant:

> *Mendoza.* [...] This servant, whom
> I dare not much displease, is all the witness
> Survives, sworn with the rest to secrecy;
> [...] yet I am
> Not safe to be at his devotion:
> I could soon purge him with a *fig*; but that's
> Not honest. (*5*,I.i.437)

In the same play, when Pedro suggests that his master allow him to seduce his daughter to put his master's loyalty to the test, the latter draws a dagger to punish Pedro's audacity and the servant ironically reminds him that he already knows of his intentions of getting rid of him more than once with the infamous Italian salad or the Spanish fig:

> *Pedro.* I told you this afore; but do not do't, sir, now
> I rather look for it in the next sallad,
> Or in my morning's draught: there's spice in your
> closet;
> Or we have Spanish *figs*. (*5*,IV.i.483)

Furthermore, in *The Maid's Revenge* (again in Portugal), Signior Sharkino, a kind of apothecary, puts "the Spanish fig" at the same

level of poisonous efficiency as Italian salads. Here he is responding to Catalina's maid, Ansilva, whom her mistress has sent to buy poison to supposedly kill a rat:

> *Sharkino.* A rat, give him his bane, would you destroy a
> City, I have *probatums* of Italian sallads, and our own
> country figs shall do it rarely.—
> (*1*,III.ii.141)

2.4. Carbonado

Another term appearing in Shirley's works is *carbonado*. This is an English word of Spanish origin and probably applied to a dish similar to what in Spanish is called *carbonada*. The *OED* defines it as "[a] piece of fish, flesh, or fowl, scored across and grilled or broiled upon the coals". Its first record appears in 1586 in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, where it was used as a verb, meaning "to make a carbonado." In *Love Tricks*, Orlando Furioso, a madman who takes part in the passage "The School of Complement," characteristically repeats the phrase "I will *carbonado* thee" (III,v.47, 52), and this is later echoed by another character, Bubulcus (III,v.59).

2.5 Oringado

Finally, we find a delicacy of the time: the *oringado* or *orangeado*, which the *OED* etymologically explains as "Formed within English, by derivation" *orange* plus *-ado* suffix. It is defined as "candied orange-peel." To our mind the suffix *-ado* betrays its Spanish origin and must be related to the influence of Spanish confectionery and the considerable import of oranges, such as the bitter ones from Seville which "continue to be indispensable in our marmalade to this day" (Thirsk 298).

Precisely one of the quotes that the English dictionary gives is the one that we have found in *The Lady of Pleasure*:

> *Steward.* What an unlucky memory I have!
> The gallant that still danceth in the street,
> And wears a gross of ribbon in his hat;
> That carries *oringado* in his pocket [...]. (*4*,I.i.12)

3. Coins

As is well known, the preponderance of Spanish currency, particularly silver coins, played a pivotal role in shaping global trade and finance of the Western World. As a major colonial power which exploited precious metals in the Americas, Spain minted a mass of coins which were greedily ambitioned by merchants and bankers all around Europe. Thus, it is only natural that the following coins found ample mention not only in Shirley but in any of his contemporaries.

3.1. Doblon

Naturally, in any list of Spanish items that circulated in foreign lands, the allusion to coins cannot be missing. The mythical gold doubloon appears in *The Brothers*:

> *Luys.* [*to his sister Jacinta*] [...] You are my father's darling,
> and command
> His yellow ingots; t'other *doblon d'oro*. (*1*,II.i.209)

3.2. Maravides, marvedie, ducats / duckets

The *maravedí* and the *ducado* ("ducat") were also well-known coins in England and with a defined exchange value:

> *Carlos.* [...] Yet were Albero's state ten *maravides*
> Above Ramyres, I should prefer him first.
> Fame is an empty noise, virtue a word
> There's not a Jew will lend two ducats on—
> (*The Brothers*, *1*,I.i.200)

An annual pension of six thousand ducats, together with an inheritance from his grandmother, constitute the attractive fortune which Luys wishes to assert when talking about the engagement between his sister Jacinta and his friend Alberto:

> *Luys.* Six thousand *ducats*, sir, per annum, clear
> In his possession, beside
> The legacy of a grannam when she dies. (*1*,I.i.197)

Ducats and *marvedies* also appear six times in another work with an Iberian setting: *The Court Secret* (*ducats*: *5*,I.i.432 and 438; *5*,II.ii.452; *5*,IV.i.482; *5*,V.iii.509; *ducats* and *marvedie* on *5*,I.i.439). Fifteen thousand *duckets* is the amount that Roderigo, the scheming brother of the king of Spain, demands from Piracquo as payment for his intercession to obtain a royal pardon. The *marvedies* appear twice in the context of rhetorical bets: in the first occurrence, Piracquo challenges Roderigo that he will not pay him in any way, neither the ducats he asks for, nor a single *marvedie*:

> *Piracquo.* And will wager, if your grace please,
> The t'other fifty thousand ducats, sir,
> That I'll not pay you a *marvedie*. (*5*,I.i.439)

In the second occurrence, Pedro puts his master, Duke Mendoza, to the test, pretending that he wants to marry his daughter in return for not revealing the terrible secret he knows about him. The servant, when his master wants to know what he is asking for in return to keeping the secret, begins by betting a pistol against a *maravide* that he will enrage him upon hearing the mere proposal:

> *Pedro.* All? a pistole to a *maravide* you draw
> Your rapier presently upon me; and
> If I name but the party, will not have
> The patience to foin, but tilt it at me. (*5*,IV.i.482)

4. Spanish Fashion

Spanish fashion enjoyed a high reputation at the time and was frequently imitated in the rest of Europe, especially by the elite, although for Shirley's time it was on the decline.[5]

4.1. Spanish garbe

In *The Humorous Courtier*, Depazzi allegedly praises the good taste of the pedant Volterre for dressing in the Spanish fashion:

> *Depazzi.* […] Signiour, I must doe you justice; the Court
> Speakes you most accurate, ith' *Spanish garbe*.
> (Morillo ed. IV.ii.152, ll. 39-40; see also *4*,I.ii.587)

4.2. Spanish cape

As for the suggestion that the wearing of a cape in an elegant way was patrimony of the Spaniards, there is a humorous reference in *The Witty Fair One* when the tutor of the young girl Treedle tries to convince her of the advisability of visiting other countries to learn the elegant manners of the moment:

> *Treedle.* [...] let your judgment reflect, upon a serious consideration, who teaches you the mimic posture of your body […] Are not Italian heads, Spanish shoulders, Dutch bellies, and French legs, the only notions of your reformed English gentlemen? (1.II.i. 294)

In *The Lady of Pleasure* we can witness Littleworth's instruction to Frederick, Lady Aretina's nephew, on fashionable French dressing to the detriment of the declining Spanish fashion concerning capes:[6]

> Your doublet and your breeches must be allow'd
> No private meeting here, your cloak's too long,
> It reaches to your buttock, and doth smell
> Too much of *Spanish gravity*, the fashion
> Is to wear nothing but a *cape*, a coat
> May be allow'd a covering for one elbow,
> And some to avoid the trouble, choose to walk
> *In quirpo* thus. (*4,*IV.ii.67)

4.3. In quirpo

As shown in the preceding quote, going out *in cuerpo* or *in querpo*, i.e., "without a cape, overcoat or other outer coat" (in the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española [*DRAE*]: "sin prenda de abrigo exterior") was common for Spaniards. We have found examples of the Spanish expression in various scenic annotations in Tirso de Molina's *La república al revés*, I,xii and *Escarmiento para el cuerdo* I,i and also in Lope de Vega's *El villano en su rincón*, II.148 ("Sale el REY, en cuerpo"). In England, Minshew in *The Guide into Tongues* (1617) already mentions the phrase "andar en cuerpo", anglicized as "to go in hose and doublet without a cloake" (*OED*). For Gosse (1888, 323), in his edition of *The Lady of*

Pleasure, it is synonymous with walking "stripped of the upper garment." Another instance is found in *The Opportunity* when two servants are conversing:

> *Ascanio.* Your grace will be a Hercules.
> *Pimponio.* I will, and thou shalt be captain of the pigmies under me. This room's too narrow, beat down the walls on both sides, advance your lights, and call the country in; if there be a tailor amongst them he shall first take measure of my highness, for I must not longer [sic] walk *in quirpo*. (3.II.i.392)

In *The Gamester* we find *in quirpo* once more:

> *Mistress Wilding.* 'Cause I have met him with a turban once
> If I mistake not, (but his linen was not
> So handsome altogether as the Turk's)
> *In quirpo*, with a crab-tree cudgel too,
> Walking, and canting broken Dutch for farthings.
> (*3,*III.iii.236)

As can be seen, the serious and ornate Spanish fashion was giving way to a lighter French one while the Spanish phrase *in cuerpo* was still in use.

4.4. Quellios (cuellos)

According to the OED, a *quellio* is a Spanish ruff. It seems to refer to the so-called *cuellos a la valona* or *golilla* which Philip IV had imposed to replace the popular *lechugilla* or *gorguera* (Aileen Ribeiro II.331 and Guarino I.243) and which, consequently, also became popular in England. Thus, the word *quellios* (or *quellio ruff*, see Massinger, *The City Madam* IV.iv) made its way into *The Triumph of Peace*. Opportunity, a character, true to its allegorical meaning, says of the vacuous courtiers:

> I ha[ve] seen
> Dainty devices in this kind, baboons
> In *quellios*, and so forth. (*6,* page 271)

4.5. Chopinoes

Spanish *chapines* were well-known in England from the time of the arrival of Catherine of Aragon in England in 1501 (Hayward 18-19, Earenfight 293-302, and Kipling 32). This word, today normalized in the *OED* as *chopine* or *chopin*, appears with the spellings indicated above. The writers of the early seventeenth century insistently treat the origin of these shoes as Italian, even writing *cioppino* and *cioppini*, and associate it with Venice, where they may have been fashionable, despite the fact that there is no documented evidence of the term's use in Italian dictionaries. It also appears related to Spain (*EEBO*). The truth is that the shoes and word originated in Spain, though they were adopted first by Venetian and then by French women (De Mello 11, 66, 75, 107-113; Classe). Shakespeare uses *chopine* in *Hamlet*, II.ii.423. As for Shirley, he uses it in *The Ball* in a very interesting passage where Freshwater, the presumptuous traveller who has made the "grand tour" of the continent, is informing the dance master Monsieur Le Frisk about Venetian fashions:

> *Freshwater.* That's all
> I can inform you of their dance in Italy;
> Marry, that very morning I left Venice,
> I had intelligence of a new device.
>
> *Monsieur Le Frisk.* For the dance, monsieur?
>
> *Freshwater.* Si, signor. I know not
> What countryman invented ['em], but they say
> There be *chopinoes* made with such rare art
> That, worn by a lady when she means to dance,
> Shall, with their very motion, sound forth music,
> And by a secret sympathy, with their tread
> Strike any tune that, without other instrument,
> Their feet doth dance and play. (*3*,I.10-11)

Indeed, this passage supports the connection of the term with Venice, the spelling it uses ("chopino") is halfway between Italian and Spanish and the allusion "What countryman invented ['em]" evince the mixed genealogy of the shoes.

4.6. Spanish gloves

Scented gloves were a common and widespread article of clothing in Early Modern Europe. Although the fashion started in Italy and they were produced both in Spain and Portugal, as well as in France and Italy, the Spaniards elevated this fashion to new heights. Indeed, their finely perfumed gloves were an object highly appreciated by the rich and the nobility not only for their usefulness but also for accomplishing social and symbolic functions.[7]

There is an allusion to the preference for Spanish perfume to scented gloves in *Hyde Park*. When Julietta, Carol and Mistress Bonavent bet on the horse races to be held in Hyde Park, Mistress Carol pits a pair of silk stockings against a pair of scented gloves offered by Julietta. Mrs. Carol is careful to insist that the perfume be Spanish, and Julietta that the stockings be scarlet:

> *Julietta.* Shall we venture nothing o' the horses?
> What odds against my lord!
> *Mis. Carol.* Silk stockings.
> *Julietta.* To a pair of perfumed gloves? I take it.
> *Mis. Carol.* Done!
> *Mis. Bonavent.* And I as much.
> *Julietta.* Done, with you both!
> *Mis. Carol.* I'll have 'em *Spanish sent*.
> *Julietta.* The stockings shall be scarlete; if you choose
> Your scent, I'll choose my colour. (*2*,IV.iii.518)

4.7. Calli-mancho and perpetuana

In *The Wedding* we find a hodgepodge of commonplace expressions, fabric names and pseudo-words derived from French, Spanish and Welsh. When Justice Landby questions the insane Loddam about his alleged knowledge of various modern languages, Loddam answers as follows:

> *Loddam.* Troth, I have such a confusion of languages in
> my head, you must even take them as they come.

> *Justice Landby.* You may speak that more exactly— *Hablar spagnol, senor*?
> Loddam. *Serge-dubois*, *Calli-mancho*, *et Perpetuana*.
>
> *Justice Landby.* There's stuff, indeed;[8] since you are so perfect, I'll trust you for the rest. (1.III,ii.407-408)

The sequence "Serge-dubois, Calli-mancho, et Perpetuana," is a juxtaposition of different types of fabrics. No doubt *serge-dubois* (literal meaning: "fabric of the forest") reveals a French etymology, but *calli-mancho* and *perpetuana* may well come from the Spanish and Portuguese, respectively. The first term, today normalized as *calamanco* or *calimanco*, is tagged in the *OED* as of uncertain origin. The cognate words in other languages (Spanish and Portuguese are ignored) show little similarity in their spelling and pronunciation and, though the burgeoning textile industry during the period had moved to the Netherlands, Germany and England to the detriment of Spain or Portugal (Guarinos 242, Phillips "Spanish Wool Trade" 202-206, and *Spain's Golden Fleece* 775-776 and 789) and though the form suggests connection with the medieval Latin *camelaucus*, the English dictionary recognizes that evidence of connection is wanting. For us a more likely connection would be the derivation in *-anco,* which is a typical calque from Spanish suffixes. Furthermore, the article for the *Wikipedia* in English states that "[the] name comes from a Spanish term for worsted wool" (though unfortunately there are no further references) and the Spanish definition of *calamaco* as "[t]ela de lana delgada y angosta, que viene de Portugal y otras partes, la qual tiene un torcidillo como gerga, y es a modo de droguete o especie de él," appeared in *the Diccionario de Autoridades* in 1726.

As regards *perpetuana*, the OED states that it is "[a]pparently formed within English, by derivation." However, the Spanish *perpetuán* and most likely the Portuguese *perpetuana* (17th century) seem more convincing derivatives, above all taking into account that the *OED* itself gives us the clue when inviting the reader to compare "French *perpétuane* thick, durable cloth made in Portugal and England (1694)." We must also take into account that Portugal was still an important textile centre, although a waning one due to Dutch and English competition.

4.8. Muger umbrada

In a passage of *The Humorous Courtier*, Volterre gives his own explanation to the Duchess as to what the cause of Orseollo's (apparent) misogyny is. He shows himself as a pedant in languages when discussing women of different nationalities:

> *Volterre.* Ile shew your highness the reall cause, why
> He hates all women [...]
> He nere converst with an Italian
> Bona Roba, a plumpe Lady, that fils
> Her gowne, or with a French Brunette,
> A Spanish Muger umbrada, or a
> Germane Yefrow, the Dutch. --
> (Morillo ed. II,ii.123. ll. 281-291;
> see also *4,*II.ii.557 Underlying by Morillo)

In this catalogue of female types of Europe *Muger umbrada* stands out as the Spanish expression to characterize Spanish ladies. There is a clear stereotypical sartorial implication of the locution. Thus, Morillo suggests that *Muger umbrada* stands for "shady woman" or perhaps "worldly woman." To us the correct interpretation is most likely the first one. The cliché of veiled Spanish ladies was already much of a commonplace at the time and continued to be well into the Restoration. It would refer to the *tapadas* or veiled Spanish ladies, as known from Spanish *comedias* and the reports of foreign travellers to the Peninsula.

4.9. Mustachios

An allusion to the masculine attire is given by the term *mustachios*, which, as the *OED* reminds us, stems from "multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from Spanish. Partly a borrowing from Italian", its etymology, according to the *OED*, being Spanish *mostazo* and Italian *mostaccio*. In its plural form the word means either "1.a. A visible growth of hair on a man's upper lip; a moustache, (now) esp. one which is large and luxuriant" or "[a] growth of hair on either side of a man's upper lip, forming one half of a moustache" (*OED*). It differentiates itself from the *moustache*, the etymological ancestor of the modern English word,[9] which, admittedly, is a borrowing from French. The word appears in *The Gamester,* when

Mistress Wilding's page, disguised as Ancient Petarre, brags at Young Barnacles' expense. The spelling and the swaggering tone reminds us clearly of the Spanish braggart, although the passage is obscure and may perhaps be a figurative reference to some kind of firearm:

> *Page.* [...] vanish immediately! or I will shoot death
> from my *Mustachios*, and kill thee like a porcupine.
> (*3*,IV.i.247)

4.10. Tooth-picks

The excerpt from the *Humorous Courtier* (Shirley-Morillo IV.ii.152) that we have quoted above continues with the reply of Volterre as follows:

> *Volterre.* The Spaniard (signiour) reserves all passion,
> To express his feeling in occurences
> Of state, when in discourse, *his Tooth-picke* still
> *Reaches out a Tooth-picke.*
> Is his parinthasis: which he doth manage
> Subtly thus - [10]
> (Shirley-Morillo IV.ii.152, ll. 41-44; see also *4*,I.ii.587)

It seems from this quote that the toothpick was at the time "the 'statesman's' staff of office" (Morillo, 190),[11] a status symbol of judicious or influential personages, a sign of serious reflection on capital matters, especially as attributed to the Spaniards or perhaps more truly to the Portuguese, since toothpicks were being mass produced since the sixteenth century by the nuns of the Mosteiro de Lorvão in Coimbra, Portugal, considered at the time as the world's capital of the toothpick industry (Petrosky 42-46).

5. The Military

Shirley was appreciative of the figure of the soldier. Furthermore, the domain of the military being one of the most active fields of translation activity by which the English tried to catch up with Spain,[12] it is not surprising that lexical elements having to do with this field of human activity appear in Shirley's work with a certain assiduity.

5.1. Soldade

This is the spelling in Shirley. It is an anglicized form of *soldado*, derived from Spanish or Portuguese, which, however, appears mostly in this spelling in the English texts of the time as recorded in *EBOO*. Again, the only examples listed in the *OED* come from Shirley's *The Example* (*3*,III.i.321) and *The Doubtful Heir* (*4*,V,iii.347: *soldades*). We have found several more examples in *The Politician* (*5*,III.i.124) and in the original Spanish spelling in *The Young Admiral* (*3*,V.iv.180).

5.2. Hand granado

"An explosive missile, smaller than a bombshell, thrown by hand" (*OED*). This term can be read in *Honoria and Mammon*:

> *Dash.* […] Heaven protect *my pia mater*!
> I did but peep out of the garret, and
> One solder swore a huge *granado* at me. (*6*,IV.iii.63)
>
> *Serjeant.* [*pointing at a bottle of wine*] Are not these
> pretty *hand granado's*, gentlemen? (*6*,V.i.68)

Although the modern orthography is *hand grenade* and the etymology is no doubt French, the endings *-o*, *-oes* and the fact that many contemporary spellings of the city of Granada and of Fray Luis de Granada's surname was Granado(es) hints at a Spanish cognate which was frequent at the time as a consequence of the influx of Spanish texts on military art.

5.3. Murrian (morrión)

An allusion to a Spanish soldier's helmet is made by the fool Didimo (*The Young Admiral*) in his excitement, when he has been tricked into believing that he is invulnerable to bullets:

> *Didimo.* Thy whole body, triumphant, my Rosicleer, and
> live to make nations stand a tiptoe to hear thy brave
> adventures; thy head shall be enchanted, and have a
> proof beyond thy musty *murrian* [...] (*3*,III.i.128).

5.4. Toledos and bilbos

Two types of swords are mentioned in Shirley's dramatic work: *toledos* and *bilbos*. They refer to the excellent steel and manufacturing with which the swords of these two cities were made. *Toledo* appears in two works:

> *Sforza. Safe, armies, guard!*— Berinthia, you're a lady, but
> I mean not to court you.— Guard, quotha! here is a
> *Toledo* and an old arm,...
> (*The Maid's Revenge*, *1*,IV.i.157)
> *Re-enter don Pedro*]
> *Pedro.* The storm is over, sure; I hear no noise.
> *Toledos* are asleep.—Jacinta! I found my love [here]?
> (*The Brothers* (*1*,V.iii.269)

In *A Contention for Honour and Riches* an allusion is made to a sword from Bilbao, which though less widespread than *toledoes,* was also a metonymy of an excellent sword:

> *Riches*. [...] you wear a gown,
> Emblem of peace; will you defile your gravity
> With basket-hilt and *bilboe*. (*6*,iii.309)

6. Urban Space: *Plassa* (plaça, plaza)

As regards the landscape, only a very popular element of the urban space appears, specifically concerning Shirley's most Spanish play, *The Brothers*:

> *Carlos.* [...] and the free access you've had to
> My house (which still is open to wise guests),
> Betray me, or my daughter, to the mirth
> And talk of men i' the *plassa*. (*1*,I.i.194)

The concept and the word were known from as early as 1599 in travelogues (Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*) and translations (James Mabbe's *The Rogue: or The Life of Guzman de Alfarache*) to refer to specific squares either in the Peninsula or in America, but its first literary appearance with a general

meaning of the word and with the present standardized spelling with *-ss-* is Shirley's.

7. Conclusion

James Shirley is undoubtedly the pre-Restauration author most clearly bound to Spain. This can be seen from both a literary perspective as the textual proof by the trickle of critical works starting with Stiefel in 1890 show, and from a cultural one through the many elements of symbolic culture present in his dramatic and poetical output. His biography is also bound to the circle of Hispanophiles and Catholics frequenting the Court and Queen Henrietta Maria's French entourage, including Endymion Porter, Thomas Stanley, Sir Kenelm Digby, and the Earl of Newcastle, among others. It is probably from them that Shirley took notice of Spanish things, pieces of language and plots. It has even been suggested that he may have visited the Continent for a short while. As for his knowledge of Spanish, it is inferior to his French, with which he mixed it up.[13]

Considering all the above, the present analysis suggests that, through the items presented here, Shirley does prove to be particularly distinctive or knowledgeable about Spanish material culture in comparison to other contemporary authors. Thus, most of the items included in this article can also be found in works by Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, or Beaumont-Fletcher, as a cursory but careful search in the EEBO shows.[14] Indeed, Shirley's knowledge of the items analysed was average or even under average in comparison with Shakespeare, Beaumont-Fletcher, Jonson, and unspecific texts which mention *sack*,[15] *canary* (8-4-3-489 mentions in EBBO respectively), *malmsey* (1-1-2-10-349), *fico* (2-0-1-5-61), *ollepodredos / olio* (2-2-2-0-30), *carbonado* (1-4-1-1-93), *ducats* (7-1-2-45-570), *in quirpo* (3-9-6-0-52), *chopinoes* (1-0-1-1-33), *Spanish gloves* (1-1-1-3-23), *mustachios* (1-0-2-2-39), *tooth-pick* (3-0-2-3-42), *murrian* (1-0-0-2-92), *toledos* (2-0-7-3-20), and *bilbos* (1-0-1-5-60). He was, however, slightly above average in his comprehension of the words *soldade(s)* (4-1-2-0-42), *perpetuana* (1-0-1-0-29); and overtly above average in his understanding of the terms *regallias* (1-0-0-0-13), *oringado* (1-0-0-0-3), *doblon* (*d'oro*) (1-0-0-0-4), *maravides / marvedie* (2-0-0-0-13), *Spanish garbe* (1-0-0-0-6), *Spanish cape* (2-0-0-0-10), *quellios* (1-0-0-0-2), *calli-mancho* (1-0-0-0-1), *muger umbrada* (1-0-0-0-1), *hand granado(es)* (2-0-

0-0-18), and *plassa* (1-0-0-0-10), considering that there are no examples of their use by all the other playwrights. Especially conspicuous terms are *calli-mancho* and *muger umbrada*, since Shirley's appear to be the only instance recorded in the whole search.

The association of certain rarely occurring terms with plays set in the Iberian Peninsula (*doblon* in *The Brothers* and *The Court Secret*; *plassa* in *The Brothers*) may account for the singularity of these items as well as their belated production. But this is not a general rule, since the plays with these last two more exceptional terms, *The Wedding* for *calli-mancho* and *The Humorous Courtier* for *muger umbrada,* are dated 1627 and 1631, respectively. However, whilst there are clear precedents and later use of the term *calli-mancho*, *muger umbrada* is the only case possibly registered in the English language of this Spanish phrase and hints at an early connection of Shirley with Iberian culture.

As regards the attitude of Shirley towards Spanish material culture, we can say that it is ambivalent depending on its dramatic use. Thus, the items of Spanish fashion are used both to reflect outmodedness to the advantage of the new French one and as an index of the ridiculous pedantry of Shirley's fops. These fops are likewise ridiculed through their affected use of both French and Spanish. Toothpicks are also used to present the prototype of the Spaniards as reserved and Machiavellian. Wine and food, however, are contemplated in a positive view underscoring their excellence and daintiness, the only exception being the occasional submission to the cliché of the Spanish or Italian figs. Coins, of course, reflect the strength of the Spanish currency (sometimes supplemented with references to America or Peru) in the European monetary system. And as for the military, it is linked to the still high reputation of Spanish arms and the aristocratic bias of Shirley.

Our final conclusion is that, if individually considered, these elements of Spanish material culture do not make of Shirley a distinct Hispanophile. However, their joint use in his works set him apart as clearly connected to Spanish culture, as shown through a consistent ampleness of symbolic elements, the proven influence of Spanish sources in his work and his otherwise general, though nuanced, empathy towards all things Spanish.

Notes

[1] As stated by Tilley, "[s]uch an intellectual field of study is inevitably eclectic: relatively unbounded and unconstrained, fluid, dispersed and anarchic rather than constricted" (Tilley 1). For further definitions, and an extensive summary of the concept and problems concerning material culture, see Tilley et al. (1-4), Morphy (453-456), Parezo (747-752) and Ralph M. Besse Library.

[2] For the continuity of the wine trade by the English merchants, either under a false identity or as a clandestine activity, see Monterrey (135-137).

[3] The other occurrences of *sack* in Shirley's plays not mentioned above or below are *The Brothers*, 1,V,iii,264; *Changes or Love in a Maze*, 2,I,ii,283, 2,ll,ii,298, 2,III,i,308, 2,IV,ii,333; *Hyde Park*, 2,III,i,501, 2,IV,iii,516; *The Gamester*, 3,I,i,198; *The Example*, 3,ll,i,290, 3,II,i,302; *The Lady of Pleasure*, 4,I,i,15, 4,I,i,16, 4,I,ii,20, 4,II,i,29, 4,III,ii,59, 4,IV,i.66, 4,V,i,83, 4,I,i,89; *The Royal Master*, 4,III,iii,146; *The Constant Maid*, 4,II.i,462, 4,II.i,465 (twice), 4,II.i,466, 4,IV,iii,504, 4,V,ii,515; *The Court Secret*, 5,V,i,49; *A Contention for Honour and Riches*, 6, p. 295.

[4] Except when otherwise indicated, all the quotes from the works of Shirley refer to the Gifford and Dyce 1833 edition with the following nomenclature Volume, Act, Scene, Page(s). However, all the terms indicating Spanish material culture have been inserted both in headings and in the quotes with the original spelling (except for capitalization) from the earliest editions of Shirley's works.

[5] For the influence of Spanish fashion in France, Italy, The Netherlands, Central Europe, and Sweden, see the indispensable *Vestir a la española en las cortes europeas (siglos XVI y XVII)*. As far as England is concerned, see Maria Hayward (11-36), Lesley Ellis Miller (293-315), and Aileen Ribeiro (317-339) in volume II.

[6] For the subsiding Spanish fashion of black and austere dressing and its replacement in the English taste for the lighter, more colourful and easy-going French fashion, see Aileen Ribeiro (332-333), who quotes this very passage of *The Lady of Pleasure*.

[7] For a complete account see Beck (especially Chapters V and XII), Smith, and Colomer and Delgado Vols. I and II (*passim*).

[8] Justice Landby's response could not be more appropriate, as it is relevant in each of the three possible senses of the word "stuff": 1. matter of thought; 2. textile fabric; 3. worthless ideas, discourse, or

writing; nonsense, rubbish (*OED*). On the other hand, the pun on "calli-mancho" refers to sense 2a of the word *calamanco* in the *OED* as "language", providing a quote from John Lyly in *Midas* (1592): "Doest thou not understand their [huntsmen's] language? *Min*. Not I! *Pet*. Tis the best calamance in the world, as easily deciphered as the characters in a nutmeg" (*OED*). As early as 1608 the word was related with Spaniards as the famous sentence recorded in the *OED* of Thomas Dekker and John Webster, shows: "A Spaniard is a Camocho, a Callimanco, nay which is worse, a Dondego..."

[9] Some etymological dictionaries acknowledged, however, that the modern word, as introduced in the 1550s, had either the Italian *mostacchi* or the Spanish *mostacho* as their ancestor (*Online Etymology Dictionary*).

[10] Here follows a string of broken Spanish: "Par les santos sennor – / Lo conosco por cierto -- / porque es Trabajo (con licenzia di vuestra alteza) / Habla muchas palabras -- no puedo en veridad --"

[11] Shirley mentions toothpicks in three more plays with a non-Spanish connection: *The Grateful Servant*, 2.III.i.43, *The Ball*, 3.I.i.10, and *The Constant Maid*, 4.III.ii.483, all instances denoting stately countenance.

[12] For the translative interest of the English for the military lore of Spaniards and their conquest of America, see the translation of Spanish (and Portuguese) books of military treatises such as those by Francisco de la Vega, Sancho de Londoño, Gutiérrez de la Vega, Bernardino de Mendoza, Francisco de Valdés, and Lopes de Castanheda, see Brown (lxi-lxviii), Ungerer (*Anglo-Spanish Relations*, Part II, Section I, 60-67), and incidentally Fuchs (16-26).

[13] For the textual presence of Spain in the works of James Shirley, see Stiefel ("Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien" and "Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien III"), Bas (113-164), and García García (*Presencia textual de España*, "The Motif of the Reluctance," "A Caroline View," and "*The Royal Master*"). For a brief summary of Shirley's unlikely sojourn in Spain, see García García (*Presencia textual de España* 166). About Shirley's hispanophile circle, including Thomas Stanley and Endymion Porter, see Burner.

[14] This comparison among dramatists and the unspecific texts is restricted to the period between 1562-1666. Variants in spelling have been duly taken into account.

[15] There are so many references in English literature of the period of the time that it seems unnecessary to compare Shirley's occurrences (35) with other playwrights.

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Received / Recibido: 22/1/2024 *Accepted / Aceptado: 2/7/2024*