

# Inês de Castro in Theatre and Film: A Feminist Exhumation of the Dead Queen

by

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The Centre for Drama, Theatre and Performance Studies  
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## Abstract

Since the fourteenth century when Inês de Castro was laid to rest in her magnificent tomb in the Monastery of Alcobaça, artists worldwide have told the tragic story of the Galician noblewoman who was assassinated for political reasons and became Queen of Portugal after death. Inês embodies beauty, love, innocence, and *saudade*, and, for the Portuguese, she figures prominently in the national cultural imaginary. This inquiry is a comparative, intertextual, and intermedial study of the representation of Inês de Castro across the centuries, as seen through a feminist lens. Thus, it begins with analyses of Garcia de Resende's 1516 performative poem "Trovas à morte de D. Inês de Castro" ("Ballad to the Death of Dona Inês de Castro"), and two foundational Iberian plays, *Castro* (1587) by tragedian António Ferreira, and *Reinar después de morir* (*To Reign after Death*) (1652) by the popular Luis Vélez de Guevara. These three dramatic texts, built on the Inesian narratives of oral tradition and royal chronicles, establish figurations of Inês that surface in twentieth- and twenty-first-century film, video and performance. The 1945 classic film by José Leitão de Barros, *Inês de Castro*, with a heroine who is both tragic and romantic, has elements of both Ferreira and Vélez; José Carlos de Oliveira's 1997 *Inês de Portugal* plays

up Inês's sexuality and evokes Resende's courtesan; and YouTube videos by Brazilian and Portuguese students are veritable pastiches of the palimpsest Inês has become. In performance, Whetstone Theatre's 2001 production of John Clifford's *Inés de Castro* revives the tragic heroine originated by Ferreira in a tragedy for our days, while Teatro O Bando's 2011 *Pedro e Inês* echoes Vélez's hunted protagonist and the crowned corpse, and O Projecto's community theatre play of the same year focuses on Ferreirian *saudade*. Finally, my 2008 performance of Resende's ballad, with a feminist direction that foregrounds Inês's authority, closes this circle of representation and opens up a reading of the Dead Queen. In this inquiry, each case study is interrogated to uncover the masculinist discourse of Inesian texts and give Inês a new and fluid identity in the Luso cultural imaginary and beyond.

Dedication

*In loving memory of my wondrous parents,  
Edilia and Manuel Jordão,  
who, by example,  
inspired me to read and write  
for pleasure and politics.*

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My dearly departed mother and father, Edilia and Manuel Jordão, and my sister, Clara.

The loyal Benji and Salsa.

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# Chapter 1

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Inês de Castro as Palimpsest

Since the fourteenth century when Inês de Castro was laid to rest in her magnificent tomb in the Monastery of Alcobaça, poets, playwrights, novelists, painters, musicians, and filmmakers worldwide<sup>1</sup> have told the tragic story of the Galician noblewoman who was assassinated for political reasons and became Queen of Portugal after death. With few verifiable historical details available, artists have imagined Inês and collectively made of her a palimpsest that embodies beauty, love, innocence, and *saudade*.<sup>2</sup> For the Portuguese, especially, Inês de Castro symbolizes these weighty qualities and figures prominently in the national cultural imaginary. Therefore, how she is represented in literature, the visual arts and performance is the concern of artists and scholars alike. Through a feminist lens, this inquiry interrogates the figuration of the Dead Queen and her venerable status as a foundational myth of Portugal (despite her bicultural identity), and specifically explores the impact of influential sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iberian drama on twentieth- and twenty-first-century film and theatre about Inês de Castro. Looking back from 2014, it is clear that the print culture<sup>3</sup> constructing the Inesian myth has circulated the popular narrative of the doomed love affair of Inês and Pedro I of Portugal, gaining authority and changing over time, at times privileging the female protagonist, at times the male. Because of the

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<sup>1</sup> See Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa's comprehensive bibliography in *Inês de Castro: Um Tema Português na Europa*, Adrien Roig's *Inesiana, ou Bibliografia Geral sobre Inês de Castro*, and José Pereira da Costa's *Inês de Castro, Musa de Tantas Paixões*. Each lists hundreds of Inesian texts of diverse literary genres and media. For an English-language overview, see Martin Nozick's "The Inez de Castro Theme in European Literature," *Comparative Literature*, Vol 3, No. 4, Autumn 1951, University of Oregon, pp. 330-341.

<sup>2</sup> *Saudade* is a bittersweet longing predicated on a complex relationship between presence and absence. It has been associated with Portugueseness since the fifteenth century and is discussed in relation to the representation of Inês de Castro throughout this inquiry.

<sup>3</sup> I am in mind of Benedict Anderson's concept of print-capitalism where national newspapers enable the imagined community of nation; see "The Origins of National Consciousness", 37-46.

centrality of Inês de Castro as an image for and of Portugal, and because she is a woman, it is enticing to conduct a feminist reading of Inesian texts and the representation of Inês to probe the ideological underpinnings of the iconic image and understand how this female role model and symbol may, or may not, have efficacy for feminists. Predominantly, what is the degree of agency or subjectivity that the character possesses and gives her autonomy? While Inês can never avoid the death sentence that determines her fate, what “capacity for self-determination” does her textual self have to overcome her oppression (Bowden and Mummery 123)? Is Inês’s agency performative as, after Judith Butler, it effectively “draws attention to – or deconstructs – the social processes that produce (oppressive) normative expectations of individuals” (Bowden and Mummery 140-41)? If so, how is she manifested on a masculine/feminine spectrum? Does she conform to a prescribed femininity or contest it? Or, as a woman, how is her relationship to the nation negotiated? How is she figured as the consummate lover, mother, martyr, and queen for Portugal or the diaspora?

The texts examined in this inquiry are written over other extant texts and construct the heroine to serve an ideological or social purpose in their particular society. The ballad of Garcia de Resende, “Trovas à morte de Dona Inês de Castro” (“Ballad to the Death of Dona Inês de Castro”),<sup>4</sup> composed at the court of Manuel I of Portugal, is an overt appeal to the Ladies to love as Inês loved, i.e. as a courtesan, with the dead Inês appearing as the voice of authority. António Ferreira’s *Castro* is the first Portuguese tragedy of the Renaissance, written in Portuguese with a Portuguese theme, and Inês becomes the nation’s tragic heroine, inciting the national sentiment of *saudade*.<sup>5</sup> Seventeenth-century Spaniard Luis Vélez de Guevara depicts Inês in a bucolic setting as both the hunter and hunted, and as the Dead Queen by staging the coronation of the corpse and literally allowing Inês to *Reinar después de morir* (*To Reign after Death*). These three dramatic texts, built on the Inesian narratives of oral tradition and royal chronicles, establish iconic images of Inês de Castro that surface in twentieth-century film and twenty-first-century performance. The 1945 black and white classic feature by José Leitão de Barros, *Inês de Castro*, has elements of both Ferreira and Vélez, while José Carlos de Oliveira’s 1997 *Inês de Portugal*

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<sup>4</sup> Translations of Portuguese and Spanish, unless otherwise indicated, are my own.

<sup>5</sup> *Saudade* as a uniquely Portuguese affect is an embryonic concept in Ferreira’s lifetime as discussed in Chapter 2.3.

plays up Inês's sexuality and evokes Resende's courtesan. Whetstone Theatre's 2001 production of John Clifford's *Inês de Castro* revives the tragic heroine originated by Ferreira in a tragedy for our days, while Teatro O Bando's 2011 *Pedro e Inês* echoes Vélez's hunted protagonist and the crowned corpse, and O Projecto's community theatre play of the same year focuses on the Ferreirian *saudade*. Finally, my 2008 performance of Resende's ballad, with a feminist direction that foregrounds Inês's authority, closes this circle of representation and opens up a reading of the Dead Queen, five hundred years after the ballad was first embodied by the minstrels of medieval Portugal.

### 1.1.1 The Legend

The palimpsest that is Inês de Castro is part of the legend of Inês and Pedro that perpetuates the myth<sup>6</sup> of this great Portuguese love story. Pedro I's passionate relationship with the illegitimate daughter of the Galician noble Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro and the Portuguese Dona Aldonça Valadares,<sup>7</sup> and his obsession with her beyond death is woven into the nation's cultural fabric. With some variations, this is the tale as it has been told for centuries. The beautiful Galician noblewoman Inês de Castro arrives in Portugal in 1340 as the lady-in-waiting of Constança of Castile, the betrothed of Dom Pedro, the Crown Prince of Portugal. Inês and Pedro fall in love and have an adulterous affair that is denounced by Pedro's father Afonso IV; the King sends Inês into exile. However, when Princess Constança dies in childbirth (or of the black plague), Inês returns to live with Pedro; some say they have secretly married. They have four children.<sup>8</sup> Many years later there is a revolt in Castile led by Inês's 'brother'.<sup>9</sup> Afonso IV,

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<sup>6</sup> Much debate exists around the definitions of myth and legend; for the purposes of this study I have found the ruminations of Manuel Sito Alba to be most helpful. Alba names the legend of Inês and Pedro as one story within the "esquema esencial del conjunto de relatos que se refieren al *eterno retorno*" ("the essential outline of the collection of accounts that refer to the *eternal return*"; 28). The legend is thus integrated in the myth. With this categorization, the myth could be, also, eternal love or doomed love, with the legend of Inês and Pedro as one of the accounts that satisfy the general theme.

<sup>7</sup> Little is known about Inês's mother (Vázquez 26). Information about Inês's genealogy is in a sixteenth-century *Nobiliário de Portugal* available at the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, cited in Sousa, *Tema Português*, 34-35. N.B. I use the Portuguese spelling for most of the names associated with Inês as they are used in the Portuguese-language plays in this study. Therefore: Aldonça, not Aldonza; Constança, not Constanza; João Afonso Albuquerque; not Juan, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Afonso dies in infancy; Dinis, João and Beatriz live to adulthood and figure prominently in events regarding royal succession.

wanting to avoid Portugal's involvement in Castile's civil war is advised to eliminate Inês. In 1355, when Pedro is away hunting, the King and his courtiers go to Coimbra and, despite a moving plea for mercy from Inês, they decapitate her; she is buried in the Monastery of Santa Clara. Pedro swears to avenge her murder. First, he turns against his father, resulting in civil war in Portugal. Then, when Afonso IV dies and Pedro is crowned King of Portugal, he tracks down Inês's assassins and tortures and kills them by ripping out their hearts, one from the chest, the other through the back. It is said that he bites into each heart before throwing it to the dogs. Insisting that he has married Inês secretly, Pedro orders two magnificently sculpted royal tombs, one for himself and one for Inês, to be built in the Monastery of Alcobaça. He exhumes Inês and leads a magnificent procession from Coimbra to Alcobaça to transfer her body to the Royal tomb. Some say Inês is dressed in royal robes and crowned; her skeletal hand is kissed by the King's subjects (the infamous *beija-mão*).<sup>10</sup> They cry, "Salve, Inês, Rainha de Portugal!" ("Hail, Inês, Queen of Portugal!").<sup>11</sup> Inês's remains are then laid to rest in her marble coffin. When Dom Pedro I dies in 1367, after reigning as a cruel "Justiceiro",<sup>12</sup> he is laid to rest in his tomb, next to his beloved, Inês de Castro.

The tale of Inês and Pedro is a spectacular account that conflates historical fact and fiction and is frequently retold to consolidate the myth, which, like the mystery of Dom Sebastião, the

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<sup>9</sup> João Afonso Albuquerque is the son of Dona Teresa de Albuquerque who raised Inês (J. H. Saraiva, *História* 102).

<sup>10</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the historical veracity of these events, see Machado de Sousa, "História e Lenda", *Tema Português*, 13-70. For example, while the marriage of Inês and Pedro may have occurred, it is highly unlikely that the corpse (or decapitated head) of Inês was ever crowned; neither was the ceremony of the *beija-mão* documented.

<sup>11</sup> The significance of this declaration cannot be understated in Inesian lore; it is regularly cited in popular media. E.g.: On Portugal Day, June 10, 2013, a U.K. website listed "Top 10 facts about Portugal" and the second was: "When Pedro I was crowned King of Portugal in 1357, he proclaimed his lover, Ines de Castro, Queen despite the fact that she had died in 1355." The proclamation was actually made in 1360 when the tombs of Alcobaça were commissioned (J. H. Saraiva *História* 103), but the point is well taken. Web. June 10, 2013. <<http://www.express.co.uk/fun/top10facts/406402/Top-10-facts-about-Portugal>>.

<sup>12</sup> Pedro I is known by the epithets "Cruel" and "Justiceiro" ("Justice-maker" or "Chastiser").

disappeared King of the sixteenth century, is a cornerstone of Portuguese culture.<sup>13</sup> Children are first introduced to the Inesian love story in the fourth or fifth grade as part of a general survey of the history of Portugal.<sup>14</sup> Significantly, they learn that Inês was Pedro I's Queen (not Blanca or Constança, his legitimate wives, or the mistress Teresa Lourenço who was the mother of Dom João I), and that the sculpted tombs in the Monastery of Alcobaça stand as monuments to their great love. This is reinforced in secondary school when romanticized historical accounts or classics of Portuguese literature, like Luís Vaz de Camões's epic national poem *Os Lusíadas*, feature Inesian lore. With the complementary study of Romeo and Juliet, Tristan and Isolde, or Abélard and Heloise, students will rank the loves of Inês and Pedro, with its adultery, bloody revenge and necrophilia, firmly alongside the other legends of tragic lovers. By their late teens the Portuguese have interiorized the myth as a national signifier and a marker of identity, and understood that the protagonists hold a place in the cultural imaginary.<sup>15</sup> Pedro the "Cruel" is such a great contrast to the innocent lamb that is Inês de Castro, however, that *she* is foregrounded as a tender lover and, as Inesian scholar Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa claims, "...pelas circunstâncias de sua vida e morte se [torna] o símbolo do amor português..." ("through the circumstances of her life and death she [becomes] the symbol of Portuguese love"; *Tema Português* 477). Of course, Inês's life and death are, as Machado de Sousa's comprehensive study of the centuries-long development of Inesian literature proves, just the beginning. It is the writers and artists who embellished the story that have made Inês a national icon and have created 'truths' that compete with historical and biographical documents.

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<sup>13</sup> Dom Sebastião (1554-78), attempting to conquer Africa, fought and was allegedly killed at Alcácer-Quibir in 1578; because his body was never found, however, he was expected to return and oust the Spaniards (the Phillipine Dominion lasted from 1580-1640); Sebastianism, a messianic movement of hope emerged (J.H. Saraiva, *Portugal* 61-64). Jorge de Sena observes that only King Sebastian can compete with Inês de Castro as a historical figure with "status" in Portuguese literature (1: 128).

<sup>14</sup> Prior to 1974 the history curriculum was biographical in intent, glorifying the lives of royal and noble figures; after the Revolution that introduced democracy to Portugal, the focus shifted to documenting major historical moments. The story of Inês and Pedro is a remnant of the pre-revolutionary curriculum. See, "História", *Currículo Nacional do Ensino Básico: Competências Essenciais*, Ministério da Educação, Portugal, 96, 99. Web. July 29, 2013. < <http://www.dgidec.min-edu.pt/ensinobasico/index.php?s=directorio&pid=2>>. My own nephew was in a play about Pedro and Inês when he was in the third grade; he played the assassin.

<sup>15</sup> This extends to the Portuguese diaspora where hyphenated Lusophones "own" the story of Inês and Pedro, talk and write about it passionately and often confuse what little fact there is with fiction. My experience teaching "Portuguese Culture" at York University in Toronto has confirmed this.

### 1.1.2 The History

The contemporary texts which prove that Inês de Castro was decapitated are the *Breve chronicon alcobacence* and the *Livro da Noa de Santa Cruz de Coimbra* which register, respectively, her death: “*Era m.<sup>a</sup> ccc.<sup>a</sup> lxxx.<sup>a</sup> iii. <sup>a</sup> vii. dies Ianuarii occidit rex alfonsus domnan agnetem conimbrie*” (“1393,<sup>16</sup> January 7, King Afonso killed Agnes in Coimbra”) and “*Era m.ccc. nonagesima tertia vii dies Ianuarii decolata fuit Doña Enes per mandatum domini Regis Alfonsi iiiij*” (“1393, January 7, Dona Inês was decapitated by order of Afonso IV”; Sousa, *Tema Português* 15). There seem to be no other extant texts directly related to Inês and produced during her lifetime, save for the documents that lead up to her assassination. According to Portuguese historian José Hermano Saraiva, Inês’s death is connected to Afonso IV’s refusal to allow Portugal to get involved in Castile’s civil wars and her relationship to the men leading the charge against Pedro I (or Pedro the Cruel) of Castile (*História* 102-3). In 1351, Afonso writes to the archbishop of Braga to ensure papal dispensation is not given to Pedro and Inês to marry because of their close kinship (they are cousins, both descended from Sancho IV of Castile); in the letter he mentions Inês’s adopted brother, João de Albuquerque, and his illicit actions against the King of Castile. It is here that Afonso begins to be wary of Inês’s connections to the leaders of the civil war in Castile. Then in 1354, Inês’s sister Joana de Castro marries Pedro the Cruel but is repudiated because he finds out about a new insurrection led by Albuquerque. This is not appreciated by the Castro brothers, Álvaro and Fernando, who try to convince the Crown Prince of Portugal, Pedro, to take his rightful place as King of Castile (since he is the grandson of Sancho IV). Afonso IV’s fears intensify and, because of her presumed influence over Pedro, he assassinates Inês to prevent Portugal from participating in Castile’s civil war. Already in J. H. Saraiva’s account, though he is known for his historical rigour, there are many speculations since the only document he cites here is the letter to the Archbishop, second-hand via the testament of jurist João das Regras in Coimbra three decades later (102). We might expect that there is a record of the insurrections and the marriage of Joana de Castro to Pedro of Castile, but the intentions of the players remain the invention of chroniclers and historians. Significantly, Jorge

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<sup>16</sup> Portugal used the Spanish calendar, with year one at our 38 BC, until 1422. Thus, in our calendar 1393 is 1355.

de Sena speculates that Inês was killed in 1355 because Afonso IV wanted to abort the common-law union of Inês and Pedro before it became legally binding (1: 200).<sup>17</sup>

The other ‘texts’ created within ten years of Inês’s death are the marble tombs in the Monastery of Alcobaça which Pedro had built as proof of his eternal love and which depict Inês as Queen. Their lives, her death, and his revenge are allegedly told in the side niches and decorated ends of the tombs. Scholars have interpreted the intricately sculpted faces, friezes, and wheel of fortune as representing crucial events, like the decapitation of Inês, Pedro’s torture of her assassins, and the couple’s ascent to Heaven on the Day of Judgment.<sup>18</sup> The figuration of Inês herself lying atop her marble sarcophagus has been the subject of intense speculation and, because she is crowned, has led to passionate arguments for the veracity of the coronation of her corpse. The peaceful repose of the youthful but expressionless face, the head and lithe body held up by angels, the simple dress adorned with a string of pearls, one hand holding a pair of gloves, the draped fabric which wraps her lower body, and the little lap dog at her feet have all inspired the Royal chronicles, the poetry and plays of the next few centuries and fictional creations to this day.<sup>19</sup>

There is much speculation as to when the tombs were built and the year that Inês’s body was exhumed from the Monastery of Santa Clara in Coimbra to be entombed in Alcobaça, but it is probable that it was between 1360 and 1367 (Silva 68). If the ceremony of re-entombing Inês happened, as it is believed, in April of 1361, then she would have been dead for six years, and Pedro would have been King for four years (Sena 1: 204). Significantly, Pedro’s son by Teresa

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<sup>17</sup> The law instated by Pedro’s grandfather, D. Dinis, in 1311 requires a co-habitation of seven years for a couple to be considered legally married. This law was in effect in Portugal until the 1970’s; the length of co-habitation required today for *união de facto* (a legal union without a marriage ceremony) is two years.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Vieira M. Natividade’s groundbreaking *Ignez de Castro e Pedro o Cru: Perante a Iconographia dos seus túmulos*, Lisboa:[Typ. "A Editora"], 1910; António de Vasconcelos’s *Inês de Castro: Estudo para uma Série de Lições no Curso de História de Portugal*, Porto: Edições Marques Abreu, 1928; Serafím Moralejo’s, “El ‘Texto’ Alcobacense sobre los Amores de D. Pedro y D<sup>a</sup> Inês”, in *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, Vol. I, Sessões Plenárias, Lisboa:Edições Cosmos, 1991; and José Custódio Vieira da Silva’s *O Panteão Régio do Mosteiro de Alcobaça*, Lisboa: IPPAR, Ministério da Cultura, 2003.

<sup>19</sup> As recently as 2004 and 2012 respectively, Mário Cláudio has written a short story where Inês runs naked through the halls of the Palace of Santa Clara wearing only a string of pearls, and a children’s book telling the tale from the point of view of the dogs (Pedro’s stone effigy has a mastiff at his feet): “Dom Pedro I e Inês de Castro”, in *Triunfo do Amor Português*, Lisboa:Dom Quixote, 2004, 42-57; and *Nero e Nina*, Lisboa:Clube do Autor, 2012.

Lourenço, a second Galician mistress who is often ignored in Inesian tales, would have been four years old at this time. Pedro never re-married and there is little extant information about his relationship with Lourenço but she is the mother of Dom João I, of the Dynasty of Avis, King of Portugal from 1385 to 1433, and she cannot be erased from Portuguese history. It is probable, though, that she played a minor role in Pedro I's life once he became King since he worked so hard to ensure that Inês de Castro was his true love and Queen.<sup>20</sup> Apart from avenging Inês's death with the torture and murder of the Counsellors Pêro Coelho and Álvaro Gonçalves, Pedro built the tombs of Alcobaça as a reification of his love and proof of his alleged marriage to Inês.

### 1.1.3 The Chronicles

In the absence of extant and relevant documents, chroniclers, biographers and historians have nevertheless imagined a profile of Inês de Castro that includes her origins, her young life, her life at court, her relationship with Pedro, her motherhood and her death. Both Machado de Sousa and literary critic Jorge de Sena have written extensively of the veracity of certain details,<sup>21</sup> and while it is not the objective of this inquiry to debate the truth of the marriage to Pedro, Inês's interview with Afonso IV, the fate of the counsellors, and the exhumation and coronation of Inês's body, for example, it is crucial to contextualize the (hi)story of Inês to trace the origins of her representation in the plays and films selected for this study. The chronicles, based largely on oral tradition and romances of the time<sup>22</sup> establish Inês as a figure of beauty, innocence and

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<sup>20</sup> Even fictional accounts of Teresa Lourenço's affair with Pedro are not overly optimistic; María Pilar Queralt del Hierro's novel, for example, depicts the conception of Dom João as an unfortunate consequence of Pedro in his grief mistaking Teresa, a former nun who is minding his children, for Inês and raping her (129). The exceptions are Cândido Franco's *Memória de Inês de Castro* discussed in 1.2.1, and Teatro O Bando's Inesian play, one of the case studies of Chapter 4.

<sup>21</sup> See Sousa, *Tema Português* 13-70, and multiple chapters in Jorge de Sena's extensive work. António de Vasconcelos also wrote an early twentieth century account of the historical origins of the Inesian tale, *Inês de Castro: Estudo para uma serie de lições no curso de história de Portugal*, Porto: Edições Marques Abreu, 1928.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, the ballad of Isabel de Liar, "Yo me estando en Giromena" ("Being in Giromena"), in the *Cancionero de romances*, Amberes, s.a., c. 1547 but believed to have existed in the fifteenth century (Chicote 56); Machado de Sousa lists eight *romances* that are believed to originate in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; all were published in later *Cancioneiros* or *Romanceiros*: "A la Reina de los cielos" ("To the Queen of the heavens"), "Don Pedro a quien los crueles" ("Don Pedro to whom the cruel"), "Dos ricos paços de Coimbra" ("From the rich courts of Coimbra"), "Romance de Dona Inês", "Yo me estando en Tordesillas", "Yo me estando en Giromena," "Romance de la venganza de Doña Isabel" ("Romance of the vengeance of Doña Isabel"), and "En Ceuta estaba el buen Rey" ("In Ceuta was the good King") (*Tema Português* 503-504).

*saudade*, traits prevalent in later accounts of the story. Except for the Castilian Pedro López de Ayala who wrote during Inês's lifetime (Sousa, *Tema Português* 29), fifteenth-century Portuguese Royal chroniclers, like Fernão Lopes, Gomes Eanes de Azurara, and Rui de Pina, and chronicler Christovão Acenheiro and the anonymous author of the Manizola chronicle, did not write at the time of the events or worked for different Kings, which gave their accounts a somewhat skewed perspective.<sup>23</sup> They have, nonetheless, provided many details of the reigns of Afonso IV and Pedro I, and the role of Inês de Castro in political matters of the time. Each one is credited with different aspects of the story and an attitude towards Inês that has trickled down into the Inesian works of the most influential Portuguese poets and playwrights (Sousa, *Tema Português* 29-38). The two chroniclers on whom the others mostly base their accounts are Fernão Lopes and Rui de Pina.

Fernão Lopes was named Royal Chronicler in 1434 and the *Crónica del Rei D. Pedro* is believed to have been written circa 1440, or eighty-five years after the death of Inês de Castro, but his 'testimony' is respected because Lopes knew Dom João I, the son of Pedro and Teresa Lourenço, and had the means to gather information about Inês and Pedro "cuja memória era recente no seu tempo" ("the memory of whom was recent in his time"; A. Vasconcelos 28). Lopes named the Inesian episode of Portuguese history as "o grande desvairo" ("the great madness"; Ch XXVII 125), testified to the great and true love of Pedro and Inês, "Por que semelhante amor, qual elRei Dom Pedro ouve a Dona Enes, raramente he achado em alguuma pessoa" ("Because such love that King Pedro had for Dona Inês is rarely found in any person"; Ch XLIV 199), and wrote a vividly descriptive account of the transfer of Inês's body from Coimbra to Alcobaça (200-201).<sup>24</sup> Rui de Pina was Chronicler beginning in 1490, which dates his chronicles to at least one hundred and thirty five years following Inês's death, and he is credited, significantly, with first

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<sup>23</sup> As regards the marriage, for example, Lopes's *Crónica de D. Pedro I* includes a long account of how Dom Pedro I secretly married Inês while he was Crown Prince but the witnesses summoned could not recollect dates or times. Lopes uses this to deny that the marriage ever took place (Chapters XXVII to XXIX, 126-139). These chronicles were written for Dom Duarte (about 75 years after Inês's death) with the specific objective of legitimizing the ascension to the throne of Dom João I, and casting doubt on the legitimacy of Inês's sons, João and Dínis.

<sup>24</sup> Lopes also made the brief but infamous observation that Pedro's squire Afonso Madeira was much loved by the King, "mais que se deve aqui de dizer" ("more than should be said here"; Ch VIII 39), which has spawned tales of the bisexuality of Pedro. It inspired the secondary plot line of José Carlos de Oliveira's 1997 film, *Inês de Portugal*, analysed in Chapter 3.3.

documenting Inês's mercy speech to Afonso IV, and how she used her children as shields to protect her from the King's murder sentence (A. Vasconcelos 31).

Dona Ines...com o rosto trãfigurado, e por escudo de sua vida, e pera sua innocencia achar na ira de elRey alguma mais piedade, trouxe ante si os tres innocentes Infantes seus filhos netos delRey, com cuja apresentação, e com tantas lágrimas, e com palavras assi piedozas pedio misericórdia, e perdão a elRey que elle vencido della se dis que se volvia, e a leyxava ja pera ño morrer como levava determinado. (Ch LXIV)

Dona Inês...with her countenance altered, and as a shield for her life and innocence that she might find in the King more pity, brought before her the three innocent Princes, her children, grandchildren of the King, that with this presentation and many tears and pitiful words asked for mercy and pardon of the King, that he, won over by her, said he would return and leave her not to die as he had determined.

Pina's account of Inês's alleged interview with Afonso IV, with few alterations, has been reproduced again and again in other chronicles, history books, poetry, plays, paintings, and films. It establishes Inês as the figure of innocence that would dominate the texts of Garcia de Resende, António Ferreira and Luis Vélez de Guevara, examined in the following chapter. As Jorge de Sena notes, Pina gives Inês character status in the narrative as she defends her right to love – previously invoked by Fernão Lopes – and this is how she will thereafter be represented (1: 266). Cristovão Rodrigues Acenheiro in his *Chronicas dos senhores reis de Portugal*, allegedly written in the 1530's (Sena 1: 328), elaborated on Pina's account by adding dialogue, which may also have been influenced by Resende's ballad published in 1516. In Acenheiro, Inês pleads,

Senhor, porque me querês matar sem causa? vosso filho he Príncipe a quem eu não podia, nem poso registir; havê piedade de mym, que sam molher; não me matês sem causa: e senão avê pydade de mym, havê piedade destes vosos netos, samge vosso. (109)

My lord, why do you want to kill me without cause? your son is a Prince whom I wouldn't, or couldn't resist; have pity on me, a

woman; don't kill me without cause: and if you don't have pity for me, have pity for these your grandchildren, your blood.

Notably, Inês names herself as “woman”, gendering her position and the power relations within which she is supplicant. This rhetoric would be employed by Ferreira in the mid-sixteenth century (see Chapter 2.3) and in the famed Inesian verses of Camões published in 1572.

#### 1.1.4 Camões

José Hermano Saraiva probes the importance of the Inesian event in Portuguese history: “porque alcançou esse doloroso episódio tão ampla repercussão na memória dos portugueses?” (“why did that painful episode have such great repercussions in the memory of the Portuguese?”), and attributes the longevity and significance of the episode to four factors: the civil war that followed Inês’s assassination, the magnificent tombs in Alcobaça, the adoption of the Inesian theme by European Romantics,<sup>25</sup> and Canto III, stanzas 118 to 137 of Luís de Camões’s epic national poem, *Os Lusíadas* (*Lugares* 262-63). The last, the incomparable lyric poetry about Inês in Camões’s *magnum opus*, is studied by Portuguese-speaking students worldwide and the several images conveyed by the poetry are engraved in the cultural imaginary of Lusophones.<sup>26</sup> First, Camões introduces Inês de Castro as “[a] mísera e mesquinha que depois de ser morta foi Rainha” (“the unhappy wretch who was Queen after death”), a paradoxical phrase that marries wretchedness and death to sovereignty (III 118).<sup>27</sup> The association of “morta” and “Rainha”, especially, is vital for it is what has given Inês de Castro enduring fame.<sup>28</sup> Second, her mercy

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<sup>25</sup> Saraiva does not mention Romantic works by name but it is possible that he had in mind Lucien Arnault’s play *Pierre de Portugal* (1823), Anna Eliza Bray’s novel, *The Talba, or the Moor of Portugal* (1830), and/or Giuseppe Persiani’s opera *Ines de Castro* (1835).

<sup>26</sup> YouTube videos created as school assignments based on the Inesian stanzas are numerous. Some are analysed in Chapter 3.4.

<sup>27</sup> *Os Lusíadas*, Canto III, stanza 118; English translators have struggled with this iconic phrase: Atkinson’s clumsy prose translation is “the forlorn and hapless queen who only after death was raised to the throne” (97); Landeg White sidesteps the two nouns, “...da mísera e mesquinha” with “...in a pitiful and macabre scene,/ Only after her death was enthroned as queen” (71). I opted for “unhappy wretch”, an adjective and noun that refer to one caught in unfortunate circumstances. This is so famous a phrase that it is readily cited by Portuguese speakers who have studied Camões in school; unfortunately, owing to the contemporary meaning of the poet’s words, it is often misunderstood as the “miserable” and “insignificant” Queen.

<sup>28</sup> See Chapter 2.2 for a discussion of Garcia de Resende’s ballad and his assertion that Inês would have been no more than a courtesan if she hadn’t been assassinated and re-interred in a Royal tomb.

speech echoes Pina, Acenheiro, Resende, and Ferreira,<sup>29</sup> reinforcing the figuration of a lovelorn, weak woman who is innocent, and, notably, the youthful mother of small children.

Ó tu, que tens de humano o gesto e o peito  
 (Se de humano é matar uma donzela,  
 Fraca e sem força, só por ter sujeito  
 O coração a quem soube vencê-la),  
 A estas criancinhas tem respeito,  
 Pois o não tens à morte escura dela;  
 Mova-te a piedade sua e minha,  
 Pois te não move a culpa que não tinha. (III stanza 127)

Then you, with your human face and heart/ (If it can be human to  
 slaughter/ A defenceless woman solely for yielding/ Her heart to  
 the prince who won her),/ You must feel for these tiny children/ If  
 not for my unmerited death;/ Pity their plight and pity my anguish,  
 since/ You are not troubled by my innocence. (White 73)

What contradicts this “defenceless” attitude, like the rhetorical skill demonstrated in *Castro*, is the erudite quality of Inês’s speech that, in the neo-classical mode, references mythological characters and places. These words, in the mouth of “uma donzela fraca” (“a weak maiden”), have elicited misogynist criticism, notably in the Romantic era when Inês was represented most sentimentally.<sup>30</sup> Third, with a stanza comparing Inês to Polyxena, Camões evokes the sacrificial “mansa ovelha” (“tame lamb”; III st. 131) who appears in *Castro* and condemns the unjust killing of Inês to satisfy men’s games of power and war (III 131). Fourth, the epithet for Inês, *colo de garça* (“heron’s neck”),<sup>31</sup> is rendered as “colo de alabastro” (“neck of alabaster”), suggesting both purity and beauty (III 132). Camões’s assassins do not decapitate Inês, but, as in Resende’s ballad, plunge their swords into her snowy-white nape. Finally, the symbol of

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<sup>29</sup> Ferreira’s *Castro* was published after *Os Lusíadas* but it is believed to have been performed in the 1550’s; see Chapter 2.3.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 2.2, footnote 87.

<sup>31</sup> See Chapter 2.4 for the analysis of Vélez de Guevara’s use of *cuello de garza* in *Reinar después de morir* and 2.5 for a discussion of Inês’s beauty.

Portuguese love and *saudade* is reified: in the fountain next to which she was killed, tears are shed eternally for the “amores de Inês” (“loves of Inês”; III 133). This fountain, a popular place for lovers’ trysts in Coimbra’s Quinta das Lágrimas (Villa of Tears), weeps perpetually for Inês.

### 1.1.5 *Saudade*

Indeed, Inês de Castro’s association with *saudade* is so vital to her representation in Portuguese narratives that it is not surprising that Camões would have followed in the footsteps of Garcia de Resende and António Ferreira (discussed at length in Chapter Two of this inquiry) to implicitly associate the Dead Queen with the national sentiment. In *Mitologia da Saudade*, Eduardo Lourenço discusses *saudade* as an expression of national identity with its roots in the epic poetry of Camões and its modern manifestation in Fernando Pessoa. The word *saudade* defines a feeling that is simultaneously painful and pleasurable, and, as Lourenço suggests, is neither melancholic nor nostalgic – where melancholia sees the past as definitively past but nostalgia is fixated on an object or moment in a specific point in the past, something out of reach but recuperable – but contains elements of both so paradoxically “que...se tornou um labirinto e um enigma para aqueles que a experimentam, como o mais misterioso e o mais precioso dos sentimentos” (“that...it has become a labyrinth and an enigma for those who experience it, as the most mysterious and precious of sentiments”; 92). Neither Lourenço nor literary critic António José Saraiva<sup>32</sup> claims that *saudade* is unique to the Portuguese but they agree that the sentiment is strongly associated with Portuguese-ness. Lourenço observes that “...*todos os portugueses partilham, essa inexplicável mistura de sofrimento e de doçura a que chamam saudade*” (“... *all Portuguese people share, that mixture of suffering and sweetness which they call saudade*”); 149, italics mine) and A. J. Saraiva notes that “[é] improvável que se trate de um sentimento exclusivamente português; mas é certo que tem na nossa língua e na nossa literatura uma presença saliente e quase obsessiva” (“[it is] improbable that it is an exclusively Portuguese sentiment; but it is certain that it has a salient, almost obsessive, presence in our language and literature”; *Cultura* 1981 87). It is beyond the scope of this inquiry to discuss the alleged

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<sup>32</sup> António José Saraiva is a Marxist literary historian best known for *História da Literatura Portuguesa*, co-authored with Óscar Lopes, Porto Editora, [1955], 17<sup>th</sup> edition, 2010; he is the brother of historian José Hermano Saraiva, also cited in this inquiry.

untranslatableability of *saudade* or debate the exclusivity of the sentiment as Portuguese,<sup>33</sup> but the affective association with Inês de Castro and the nation is an insistent conviction. In *Inês de Castro: Um Tema Português na Europa*, Machado de Sousa clearly distinguishes between the Portuguese and Spanish traditions in Inesian literature:

Na verdade, o episódio, na versão acabada que a Península Ibérica deu a conhecer à Europa através de Camões e Guevara, resultou de tendências características dos dois povos de que provieram tais impulsos – a saudade portuguesa e o gosto espanhol pelo espectacular. Os portugueses pensam na Castro como a linda Inês que receava a morte pelas saudades que teria do seu príncipe e filhos; para os espanhóis, ela foi sempre aquela que reinou depois de morta. (65)

In truth, the episode, in the finished version that the Iberian Peninsula made known to Europe through the verses of Camões and Guevara, resulted from characteristic tendencies of the two peoples from whom such impulses stemmed – the Portuguese *saudade* and the Spanish taste for the spectacular. The Portuguese think of Castro as the beautiful Inês who feared death for the *saudades* she would have for her Prince and children; for the Spanish, she was always the one who reigned after death.<sup>34</sup>

### 1.1.6 The need for Inês de Castro

By the end of the sixteenth century, the print culture of Portugal and neighbouring Spain, in chronicles, poetry and plays, had created a palimpsest of Inês de Castro that would continue to develop through the following centuries. The figuration of Inês as lover, mother, martyr, and

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<sup>33</sup> For more on *saudade* and its significance in a Portuguese context, see also Lourenço's *O Labirinto da Saudade: Psicanálise Mítica do Destino Português*, Lisboa:Dom Quixote, 1978, Maria das Graças Moreira Sá, *Estética da Saudade em Teixeira de Pascoaes*, Lisboa:ICALP, 1992, and the conference proceedings *Actas do I Colóquio Luso-Galaico sobre a Saudade*, Instituto de Filosofia Luso-Brasileira, Viana do Castelo:Câmara Municipal, 1996.

<sup>34</sup> It is ironic, then, that Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos would base her discussion of *saudade* on a “cantar velho” (“old ballad”) about Inês in Vélez de Guevara's *Reinar después de morir* (see Chapter 2.4). As discussed later, the national traditions are not as rigid as they are sometimes perceived.

Dead Queen incarnated the motifs of love, beauty, innocence, and *saudade* that the Portuguese have found so necessary to write and re-write their identity to the present day. In August of 2012, the cover of *Sábado* (a Portuguese weekly news magazine) featured a reproduction of Karl Briullov's 1834 painting, "The Death of Inessa de Castro".<sup>35</sup> It shows Inês on her knees in a diaphanous white nightgown that exposes her lovely nape and breasts and titillates with what is seen and not seen of her body; a pleading expression is on her face. Two toddlers, also in gauzy cream gowns that reveal their plump legs and buttocks, cherub-like, cling to her. Inês's outstretched arms are held by two men in dark attire wielding daggers and fierce looks. In front of her is the King in ermine robes (with a third man with a dagger and a crazed look) under a caption that reads, "O Rei Mais Cruel da História de Portugal" ("The Most Cruel King of the History of Portugal"). It is how the poets who focus on Inês – unlike the chroniclers who protagonize Pedro – frequently treat the Dead Queen: with sympathy for Inês and repulsion for the political crime that made her a scapegoat (Sena 1: 182). Inês is the motherly but sexy young woman who is the victim of the unjust actions of men, and her alleged protector, Dom Pedro, is absent when she is in danger. The prevalent Inesian theme, or *topos*, of Love vs. Reason of State is invoked with Afonso IV as the personification of a cruel state and Inês as the symbol of love.

As the *exposé* in *Sábado* illustrates, the myth of the Dead Queen still fascinates the Portuguese, and sells magazines. As the programme for Teatro O Bando's 2011 production of *Pedro e Inês* claims, "Só no mito conhecemos o que se esconde da História. Só no mito vemos a paixão crescer para lá deste mundo. Só no mito sentimos a culpa e a vingança dos que vivem e morrem..." ("Only in myth do we know what is hidden in History. Only in myth do we see passion grow beyond this world. Only in myth do we feel the guilt and revenge of those who live

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<sup>35</sup> Briullov's is one of several famed paintings of Inês's mercy speech to Afonso IV. Eugénie Servières's 1822 "Inês de Castro se jetant avec ses enfants aux pieds d'Alphonse IV roi, pour obtenir la grace de don Pedro, son mari. 1335" is printed with the article (33). The title of the painting found on the internet on several sites, stating she is pleading for Dom Pedro in 1335, is odd. (*Sábado* did not provide illustration captions.) Two other paintings frequently reproduced are Vieira Portuense's 1802 "Súplica de Inês de Castro" and Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro's 1901 "The Death of Inês de Castro". Máximo Paulino dos Reis's lithograph of 1861, "The Judgement of Inês de Castro," is also very popular. There is, moreover, a nineteenth-century engraving showing Inês from the waist up that is reproduced *ad nauseum* though it bears little resemblance to a medieval woman. Machado de Sousa has dubbed it "o infeliz retrato" ("the unfortunate portrait"); an 1817 book with a reproduction of the portrait reads "delineada" ("delineated") by José da Cunha Taborda and engraved by António José Quinto (*Tema Português* 152-3). Many contemporary visual artists, among them Paula Rego, have depicted the Inesian theme; see, for example, the colour plates in Machado de Sousa's *Inês de Castro, um Tema Português na Europa*.

and die...”). The Inesian myth in some way satisfies these cravings but also asks for more probing, more discovery of who Inês was and what led to her death. Through Inês we are forced to examine the darker side of justice and to question sacrifice. We see how the private becomes public, how the personal becomes political, and how the individual is positioned against the collective. This is why the myth, and the representation of Inês herself, is continuously recreated, explicated and interrogated by artists and scholars. In the following section, key academic analyses of Ines’s figuration and function are discussed.

## 1.2 Inesian Criticism

The impact and direction of recent Inesian scholarship can be measured by the significant academic interest in the Dead Queen since the turn of the century. In 1999 a new collection of essays in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French and English, *Inês de Castro: Studi. Estudos. Estudios*, was edited by Patrizia Botta; Marta González Vázquez published a biography of Inês de Castro in Galician in 2003; Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa’s comprehensive *Inês de Castro, um Tema Português na Europa*, originally published in 1987, had a revised and updated second edition in 2004; the 650<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Inês de Castro commemorated in Coimbra in 2005, was followed by the University of Paris-Nanterre’s 2006 conference, “Inês de Castro: du personnage au mythe. Échos dans la culture portugaise et européenne,” and the publication of the conference proceedings in 2008; in the same year a Brazilian anthology of Inesian criticism, *Inês de Castro: A Época e a Memória*, edited by Ana Paula Torres Megiani and Jorge Pereira Sampaio, appeared; and since 2008 King’s College, London has offered the course “Inês de Castro: The Construction of a Literary Myth”. Finally, in 2012, the Congresso Internacional “Pedro e Inês: o Futuro do Passado” (“Pedro and Inês: the Future of the Past”) was held at Casa da Escrita in Coimbra to close the commemorations of the 650<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Inês de Castro. This ongoing academic interest in Inês de Castro is frequently concerned with the mythic status of Inês in royal chronicles, poetry, drama and novels throughout the centuries. The essays in Botta’s collection and the Paris-Nanterre conference proceedings are, for the most part, literary analyses, and the work of the preeminent Inesian scholar, Machado de Sousa, is also firmly ensconced in comparative literature with the books, *D. Inês e D. Sebastião na Literatura Inglesa* (1980), *Inês de Castro na Literatura Portuguesa* (1984), and *Mito e Criação Literária*

(1985).<sup>36</sup> Key precedents for literary studies are the doctoral theses of Thomas Heinnermann and Suzanne Cornil,<sup>37</sup> both focusing on the Inesian myth in Romance languages, and the incomparable, comprehensive Inesian criticism of Jorge de Sena originally written in installments for *Revista Ocidente* and later published in two lengthy volumes. The focus on literature in *Estudos Inesianos* (Inesian Studies) wasn't always the case, however, as a seminal collection of early twentieth-century works attest: Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos's study of *saudade* in an Inesian "cantar velho" ("old ballad"), the meticulous analyses of the sculptures on the tombs of Pedro and Inês by Vieira de Natividade and António de Vasconcelos, and the fictionalized history of Antero de Figueiredo.

The diverse inquiries on the narratives of Inês and Pedro situate the Dead Queen in her story and in history in a variety of ways, and often draw intriguing conclusions. However, with a few exceptions,<sup>38</sup> the analyses do not contest the masculinist discourse in which most of the narratives are embedded and fail to consider Inês beyond the binary gender oppositions of male/female, masculine/feminine and active/passive. Also, the extensive accounts of Pedro I's feats and behaviour in the Royal chronicles contrast with the scant information about Inês's personality or deeds, leading researchers like Machado de Sousa, whose literary analysis is rigorous but conservative, to declare that Inês is a poor historical figure (*Tema Português* 65). In the absence of concrete evidence and bypassing a feminist reading of fictional texts, criticism or historical accounts protagonize Pedro and identify Inês as the mere receiver of his actions. Machado de Sousa introduces Inês as,

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<sup>36</sup> In addition there are focused studies of single texts, like Ferreira's *Castro* (Benedito, Castilho, Earle, Frêches, Marques, Martyn, Roig and Soares) and Vélez's *Reinar después de morir* (Larson, Manson, Peale, Sullivan, and Varey), referenced in Chapter Two.

<sup>37</sup> Respectively, *Ignez de Castro: Die dramatischen Behandlungen der Sage in den romanischen Literaturen* 1914, and *Inês de Castro: contribucion à l'étude du développement littéraire du thème dans les littératures romanes: de l'histoire à la légende et de la légende à la littérature*, 1952.

<sup>38</sup> Significant for this inquiry are the gendered analyses of Melveena McKendrick and Donald Larson of *Reinar después de morir* (see Chapter 2.4). Other examples are: Kathryn Kendall's feminist analysis of the English female-authored plays of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, "From Lesbian Heroine to Devoted Wife: Or, What the Stage Would Allow," in *Journal of Homosexuality*, Volume 12, Issue 3 & 4, August 1986, 9-22; Beauvoirian criticism which deconstructs Henry de Montherlant's 1942 *La Reine Morte*; and Elizabeth Ferreira's "Irigaray, Myth, and 'l'entre-elles' (or How Montherlant's *Reine Morte* Could Have Saved Herself)," in *Murder, Massacre, Mayhem: The Poetics of Violence in French Literature and Society, Paroles gelées*, Volume 18, Issue 2, UCLA French Studies, 2000, 78-86.

uma figura que só chegou até nós em atitudes passivas: foi trazida no séquito de uma princesa, foi exilada por um rei, mandada regressar por um príncipe e por ele aposentada sucessivamente em diversas povoações...A entrevista com o Rei, que poetas e cronistas relataram e que teria sido a sua primeira iniciativa, parece a alguns comentadores não ser logicamente admissível... (11)

a figure that has only come down to us in passive attitudes: she was brought [to Portugal] in a princess's retinue, she was exiled by a king, she was ordered to return by a prince and "kept" by him in several towns...The interview with the King, which poets and chroniclers relate and would have been her first and last initiative, is, to some commentators, not logically admissible...

The binary and oppositional perspective of active/passive measured by physical actions is a limited way to view Inês and *a priori* defeats the possibility of determining a subject position for a female character who does not instigate plot turns. Machado de Sousa, although she writes of Garcia de Resende's virtuous heroine and of the dignity António Ferreira gives Inês, nonetheless concludes that at the end of the sixteenth century the figure of Inês is not particularly rich, with mere stereotypical traits of beauty and passion (65). This reading can be challenged if the representation of Inês de Castro is viewed through a feminist lens, as exemplified in the following chapter. Or perhaps masculinist, or even misogynist, approaches to the characterization of Inês simply need to be uncovered and documented.

For example, a fictionalized but "authoritative" history like Antero de Figueiredo's popular<sup>39</sup> 1913 *D. Pedro e D. Inês 1320-1367*, must be understood as the product of a sort of Victorian attitude to the sexes. Though it is not an academic text, it prides itself on relating only historical facts as "um trecho de história posto em arte" ("a piece of history made into art"; 9) and has copious notes (over fifty pages) that authenticate the fiction. It is a case in point of the masculinization of Pedro and the feminizing of Inês guided by the bias of the author and masquerading as fact. The dates of the title, the birth and death of Pedro, clearly show that it is

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<sup>39</sup> Machado de Sousa notes that it has had eleven editions, has been translated into Spanish, French and German, and inspired Elizabeth Younger's 1954 novel, *Heron's Neck* (*Tema Português* 397-398).

based on the life of the King and the epigraph “O grande desvayro!” from Fernão Lopes’s chronicle, indicates that the love of Pedro for Inês will be treated as madness. It is no surprise then, that how they love is described as, “Inês ama, contemplando; Pedro, gozando. Num o amor é um suspiro; noutra um ronco de bárbara sensualidade” (“Inês loves, contemplating; Pedro, enjoying. In one, love is a sigh; in the other, a grunt of barbaric sensuality”; 91). Moreover, Figueiredo objectifies Inês by inventorying her features in a blazon-like florid description,

...ombros de ave, o busto curto, as pernas altas...Tinha as mãos  
leves, e brancas como a farinha; os cabelos de fiados de oiro  
velho...as sobranceiras, como as linhas do nariz, dos lábios e do  
mento, eram afiadas; os olhos verdes e tímidos...a bôca,  
entreaberta, em sombra, perguntava sorrindo a mêdo; e a pele da  
testa, da face, da garganta, do colo, era da côr das pérolas... (59-60)  
...shoulders of a bird, short upper body, long legs...She had light  
hands, white as flour; her hair of antique gold thread...the  
eyebrows, like the lines of her nose, her lips and her chin were  
sharp; the eyes green and timid...the mouth, slightly open, in  
shadow, asked, smiling fearfully; and the skin of the forehead, the  
face, the throat, the neck, was of the colour of pearls...

The use of words like “timid”, “asked”, and “fearfully”, moreover, suggest a submissive figure who is cautious in looking and speaking. Inês is also firmly confined to the feminine space of the house, described as a sort of chatelaine who delights in domestic affairs, “...gastava os dias no arranjo dos seus linhos, das suas pratas, no meneio da casa” (“...she spent her days caring for her linens, her silver, managing the household”; 93). Finally, Figueiredo sums up what he thinks of Inês de Castro in his description of her tomb as, “o comentário gentil e discreto às dores de um feminino coração sem ventura” (“the gentle and discreet commentary to the pain of a feminine heart without happiness”; 200). His representation of Inês is admittedly one of feminine passivity and may seem turgid and dated but is it unlike Machado de Sousa’s introduction in her scholarly tome, written almost one hundred years later? Machado de Sousa’s critique of this novel ignores the character of Inês because she is “subjacente a todos os acontecimentos de que D. Pedro é causa e o heroi activo” (“subjacent to all the events of which D. Pedro is the cause and the active hero”; 395) and does not engage in a discussion of how the heroine is constructed.

In studies of individual plays also, some scholars seem unable to read beyond the active/passive dichotomy even when it is related to emotion. Silvério Benedito, in his analysis of António Ferreira's *Castro*, like Figueiredo above, identifies Pedro as the active lover and concludes that he is "sujeito" ("subject") while Inês is "objecto" ("object"), summarily dismissing the three lines of active manifestations of love by Inês (27-8). Sena also notes how Inês only declares her love twice while Pedro's passion is a throughline in the play, but gives Ferreira credit for creating a heroine who decidedly loves and is not just a recipient of another's affections (1: 517-18). From his narrow viewpoint, Benedito concludes that Inês is a "mulher indefesa e necessita da ajuda de cavaleiros" ("defenceless woman who needs the help of knights"), and describes her as "mulher-serva" ("woman-serf"; 63). Francisco Induráin, on Vélez de Guevara's heroine in *Reinar después de morir*, similarly associates femininity with defencelessness, saying of spectatorial reaction to Inês that, "su pasión amorosa, su debilidad y entereza tan femininas, su inocencia y los auguros trágicos que progresivamente se van adensando hasta descargar sobre la indefensa víctima, emociona y despierta complejos sentimientos de piedad y de simpatía acongojante" ("her passionate love, her so feminine weakness and integrity, her innocence and the tragic omens that progressively deepen until they fall on the helpless victim, move and awaken complex sentiments of anguishing pity and compassion"; 28-9). In this reading where is Vélez's "firme e altiva" ("firm and proud") woman who Machado de Sousa compares to the Portuguese representation of Inês de Castro as "terna e frágil" ("tender and fragile"; *Tema Português* 116)? From the outset, Machado de Sousa suggests that, apart from having an incontestable beauty that inspired a mad passion in Dom Pedro, Inês may have resembled the many portraits historians and artists have drawn of her: a fragile and ingenuous girl, a false and ambitious schemer, a passive victim or a woman who fought to the last against her fate (11). We can add, and my inquiry is not exempt from this, that academic criticism will also provide diverse interpretations of the character of Inês in any one particular work.

When Jorge de Sena insists on understanding the historic, social and literary conditions that surround an Inesian poem or play, as much as the structure of the text itself (1: 124), he encourages a similar contextualization of the critic's work, himself included. For while it is clear

that Sena is a Marxist<sup>40</sup> who proposes auto-criticism (126) and is overtly critical of class issues in the writings about Inês de Castro, he does not consider gender as a category of analysis, and glosses over the relevance of a woman's situation<sup>41</sup> in medieval times or during the era in which the plays or poems are created. For example, in his initial biographical introduction of Inês, Sena does not mention her mother's name (though it is noted in 2: 62, 121 and perhaps elsewhere), but calls her a woman of Pedro Fernandes de Castro (Inês's father), as one names a belonging. Moreover, he explains the paternal lineage of Inês, and why Castro and other noblemen gave their name to their illegitimate children, not as the absolute inferiority of women but as "orgulho genealógico" ("genealogical pride"; 1: 83), or proof of male virility. This is a patriarchal assumption that avoids a rigorous interrogation of Inês's maternal ancestry.<sup>42</sup> Because Sena is a consummate researcher whose footnotes at times exceed the length of his main text, this inattention to the question of gender is conspicuous. His masculinist viewpoint informs this conclusion. Likewise, regarding Inês's prophetic dream in *Castro*, Sena provides an explication based on dream interpretation of the 1950s, and centered on female sexual repression, that is uncharacteristic of his other analyses grounded in a signification of the time the text was written (he warns against projecting our present frustrations on the past) (126). That is, Sena's claim that Inês's paralysis when confronted with a lion and wolves symbolizes frustration and psycho-sexual guilt brought about by her erotic desire (545), suggests a post-Freudian, pre-1960's attitude towards female sexuality that is at odds with António Ferreira's Renaissance position. Granted, Sena's otherwise brilliant and comprehensive analysis that frequently exalts the person and character of Inês de Castro (see especially Chapter Two of this inquiry), suffers little from

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<sup>40</sup> Sena is a self-proclaimed Marxist socialist; see for example, *Sophia de Mello Breyner e Jorge de Sena: Correspondência 1959-1978*, Guerra e Paz Editores, 2006, p. 131.

<sup>41</sup> After Simone de Beauvoir: if for Sartre a situation is the relationship between our (human beings') projects and the world, then Beauvoir's existentialist feminism suggests that a situation is the relationship between our (women's) freedom and our bodies. Thus, "the body is a situation" can be explained as a woman's body in relation to how she uses her freedom (65).

<sup>42</sup> Biographer Marta Vázquez agrees that little is known of Inês's mother, Aldonça Lourenço de Valadares, but considers her as relevant as the father, Pedro Fernández de Castro. Vázquez claims Aldonça is Portuguese, the daughter of Lourenço Soares de Valadares, the *fronteiro-mor* (border governor) of Entre Douro e Minho in the early fourteenth century, who was the guardian of Inês's young father. Inês may have been born in her maternal grandfather's home of Monção (on the border of Portugal and Galicia, near Vigo) or in the Castro home in Monforte de Lemos (northeast of Ourense) (26-7).

these lapses, but it is indicative of the male-dominated discourse within which the Dead Queen is often perceived in Inesian criticism.

A further aspect within which scholars consider the figure of Inês is her relationship to nation, or her myth in relation to nation. Indeed, Sena's inquiry is built on the importance of Inês as a literary figure for Portugal. Through the structural analysis of Inesian texts, beginning with a study of the social situation in which the texts are produced, he aspires to a "consciencialização nacional, porque estético-cultural" ("national conscientization, because aesthetic-cultural"; 1: 128).

Porque, se passou o tempo de vangloriarmo-nos dos nossos feitos, igualmente passou o de atentarmos mais em nós do que neles. Que, nos limites deste estudo, Inês, tendo servido em seis séculos para tanta coisa, nos sirva também para isso. (1: 128)

Because, if the time is past to pride ourselves on our feats,<sup>43</sup> it is also past for feeling more pride in ourselves than in them. That, within the limits of this study, Inês, having served in six centuries for so much, will serve us in that as well.

In a letter to philosopher Eduardo Lourenço, Sena calls his immense serialized study in *Ocidente* "talvez das reivindicações mais sérias da autonomia da cultura portuguesa e das origens dela e do país" ("perhaps one of the most serious reivindications of the autonomy of Portuguese culture, its origins and the origins of the nation"; qtd. in Alcides 190). Machado de Sousa likewise gives Inês a national function, in its way as significant as Sena's, by naming her as a symbol of Portuguese love and *saudade*. As noted above, Machado de Sousa identifies national literary trends established by the end of the seventeenth century in Iberia, and exported to Europe through the verses of Camões and the *Siglo de Oro comedia* (Golden Age play) of Vélez de Guevara (64-5). In the Portuguese tradition Inês de Castro is rendered as a figure of *saudade* because she fears she will long interminably for her children and Pedro in the afterlife and wishes to spare them the grief and suffering her absence will cause; following her death, she

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<sup>43</sup> Sena is most likely referring to the epoch of the "Discoveries" when Portugal dominated the oceans and had colonies on three continents; notwithstanding the pillage and exploitation of native peoples during this time, Portugal insists on celebrating and glorifying the fifteenth century.

incarnates *saudade* as Pedro's eternal absent lover. Spanish playwrights, in a theatrical tradition that the Portuguese will only adopt in the nineteenth century,<sup>44</sup> represent Inês as “Queen after death” and stage the unfounded but spectacular scene where her corpse is crowned. (Jerónimo Bermúdez is the first known playwright to include the coronation of the decomposing skeleton of Inês in his 1577 tragedy *Nise Laureada*, but it is Vélez's *Reinar después de morir* that, following the Jacobean tradition, truly exploits the macabre nature of the story.) Of course, Camões also famously rendered Inês as the Dead Queen (“...a mísera e mesquinha que depois de ser morta foi Rainha” discussed above), and Vélez builds a scene around a “cantar velho” (“old ballad”) about *saudade*,<sup>45</sup> so the crossover of Inesian symbols and intertextuality of “traditions” on the Peninsula are not as categorical as Machado de Sousa suggests. Nonetheless, the Inesian myth repeatedly engages with the discourse of nation, even in texts where Inês is absent, sometimes with surprising results.

### 1.2.1 Inês as absence

In an analysis of representative modern Inesian literature, Juliet Perkins begins with the commonly held notion that, “Inês de Castro is woven into Portugal's national canvas as strongly as any patron saint, warrior hero, or seafarer” (43) and introduces a conceptualization of woman and the Portuguese nation that is lacking in Sena and Machado de Sousa. Perkins's case studies are texts where, “no longer centre stage, [Inês] functions elliptically, as one of a group, or even through her absence” (46). The first, a study of Eugénio de Castro's long poem of 1913, *Constança*, includes Raymond Bernard's gendered comment that the poem was, “inspired by ‘l'inépuisable fonds de la bonté et de tendresse d'un coeur de femme’, and which conveys the individual and collective spirit of Portugal” (55). Bernard feminized the traits of goodness and tenderness exhibited by the nurturing and self-abnegating Constança, her kindness, like Inês's innocence, becoming a standard of the nation. Perkins's analysis of António Cândido Franco's novel, *Memória de Inês de Castro* (1990), again points up the “linking of Inês' story with the question of Portugal's national identity and soul”, this time through the character of Fátima,

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<sup>44</sup> In João Baptista Gomes's *Nova Castro* (1803), for example.

<sup>45</sup> The subject of Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *A Saudade Portuguesa*, noted above and discussed in 2.4.

Inês's Moorish slave,<sup>46</sup> who the Portuguese call Teresa (61, 63). Fátima/Teresa becomes Pedro's lover after Inês's death<sup>47</sup> and gives birth to the first king of the House of Avis, Dom João I. Franco, who has made the distinction between the national attributes of Constança and Inês vis-a-vis Pedro – he favours the Galician noblewoman because she is a spiritual invocation of the sea, whereas his wife is “a symbol of the Castilian interior” (62) – now endows Fátima/Teresa with the extraordinary power of uniting the nation, in contrast to Inês as a threat to the integrity and peace of the kingdom. Franco goes so far as to attribute Portugal's autonomy to Fátima/Teresa because she, in Perkins's words,

...represents Portugal looking outwards from Europe to the dark-skinned races of her colonies; she is the *necessary* figure, the phoenix, to complete Portugal's and Inês' story and to give birth to a new dynasty and a new destiny. (64, italics in the original)

These are heady accolades for a Moorish slave who may never have existed and, even more so, for a woman whose historical prominence has been heretofore ignored.<sup>48</sup> What is of relevance to this inquiry, though, is the association of woman and nation in both Eugénio de Castro and Cândido Franco, and the relegation of Inês de Castro to the periphery in this discussion. Perkins foregrounds how Inês represents or threatens the nation in relation to other female characters, a discussion absent from other scholarship.

## 1.2.2 Inesian film and performance scholarship

The abundance of Inesian literary criticism is inversely proportional to the scholarship on film and performance about Inês de Castro and, to the best of my knowledge, no gender-specific study of the representation of Inês exists. In Chapter Three, Portuguese film history chapters,

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<sup>46</sup> There is no historical evidence to support the existence of a Moorish slave in the Palace of Santa Clara but it is not the first time in Inesian fiction that a Moorish character working for Inês has a lead role in the story. A gothic novel by Anna Eliza Bray, *The Talba, or the Moor of Portugal* (1831), tells of a faithful Moorish servant who discovers the plot to kill his beloved mistress Inês de Castro but, alas, arrives too late to save her.

<sup>47</sup> This character resurfaces in Miguel Jesus's *Inês Morre* and the corresponding Teatro O Bando production *Pedro e Inês*, discussed at length in Chapter 4.2.

<sup>48</sup> Franco, who denounced this novel and in 2003 wrote a new Inesian fiction, *A Rainha Morta e o Rei Saudade*, continued to privilege Teresa Lourenço as the only woman who made Pedro happy (Sousa, *Tema Português* 402).

reviews and a very few scholarly papers<sup>49</sup> are drawn on to discuss the figuration of Inês in Leitão de Barros's *Inês de Castro* and José Carlos de Oliveira's *Inês de Portugal*. In Chapter Four, theatre histories, actor biographies, production notes in literary analyses – for example, Machado de Sousa's summary of twentieth-century productions of António Ferreira's *Castro* (*Tema Português* 405-412) – and reviews are used to support the close readings. However, unlike the criticism discussed above, this documentation/research is not comprehensive enough to contest except in very particular instances of overtly masculinist readings. As in the literary analyses of the following chapter, a bedrock of feminist theory and the application of specific concepts from feminist theatre and film scholarship support the alternative readings of Inês in this inquiry. Gender as a category of analysis, a feminist approach to medieval-based texts, the construction of the female subject, and woman and nation, for example, are the conceptual tools used for complicating the gendered aspect and probing the mythic status of Inês de Castro.

### 1.3 A Feminist Reading

A revisionist reading of Inesian texts focusing on the gendered construction of the Dead Queen has few precedents<sup>50</sup> and presents many challenges. At the time of this writing a vast number of feminist theories and counter-theories<sup>51</sup> offer a panoply of approaches to explore the representation of Inês in drama, theatre performance and film, and gauge the agency or subjectivity of the character, probe femininity, and question the ideological underpinnings of the iconic heroine and her relationship to the nation of Portugal and its diaspora. In her figurations as lover, mother, martyr, and dead queen does Inês have any efficacy for feminists? How does gender as a category of analysis and a woman's situation determine Inês de Castro's symbolic

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<sup>49</sup> At the time of this writing, Glória Ferreira has completed a PhD thesis on Inesian film in which she defends that Pedro is at the centre of the narratives. Until its publication I only have access to a brief paper, "A Deriva do Mito Inesiano no Cinema Português," presented at the Congresso Internacional "Pedro e Inês: o futuro do passado", Casa da Escrita, Coimbra, Março, 2012.

<sup>50</sup> See footnote 38.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, Ann Brooks's *Postfeminisms: Feminism, Cultural Theory and Cultural Forms*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997, and Peta Bowden and Jane Mummery's *Understanding Feminism*, Stocksfield [U.K.]: Acumen, 2009.

valence for beauty, love, innocence, and *saudade*? Joan Scott's groundbreaking, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," looks at how gender works in social relationships and how it gives "meaning to the organization and perception of historical knowledge" (1055). For feminists, who refuse "the hierarchical construction of the relationship between male and female...[and] attempt to reverse or displace its operations" (1066), gender must be understood as an unfixed construction and binary oppositions of male/female as an outdated way of perceiving the relations between the sexes. What Scott suggests is a deconstructive process that considers gender – an element of social relationships based on the differences and power relationships between the sexes – to be constituted by four interrelated parts: culturally available symbols, normative concepts that interpret these symbols, politics and social institutions, and subjective identity (1067-68). Thus, the analysis of Inês de Castro as a symbol must interrogate the institutional norms that give it meaning and "disrupt the notion of fixity" of binary representations, go beyond the use of gender to study only kinship systems, and relate subjective identity to cultural representation (1067-68). Second, in Scott's formulation of gender to signify relationships of power, Inês's fate can be seen as "[p]olitical history [...] enacted on the field of gender [...] a field that seems fixed and yet whose meaning is contested and in flux" (1074).

Inês de Castro is at first glance a female character constructed in opposition to men who have power over her – for example, the "moça menina" ("noble maiden") vs. the "cavaleiros irosos" ("furious knights") in Garcia de Resende's ballad, the (female) lamb set upon by (male) wolves in Ferreira's prophetic dream in *Castro*, or the doe-like prey killed by male hunters in Vêlez's *comedia*, Leitão de Barros's film and Teatro o Bando's play – but an alternative reading through a feminist lens uncovers nuances that transform the masculinist relationships between the sexes into a site for negotiation and resistance. Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa's observation that Inês is "uma figura que só chegou até nós em atitudes passivas" ("a figure that has only come down to us in passive attitudes"; *Tema Português* 11), and her conclusion that at the end of the sixteenth century the fictional figure of the Dead Queen was not much richer than her "pobre" ("poor") historical model (65), can be reassessed with a feminist analysis. Challenging the legitimating authority of a male-dominated history, a basic tenet of feminist scholarship, validates female activity and allows us to consider the historical woman, and fictional constructs of the same, as social subjects. I suggest that the social contextualization on which Jorge de Sena

insists for a comprehensive analysis of Inesian literature begins with an understanding of the milieu of the historical events from a feminist perspective.

The historiographical ideologies proposed by Scott underlie and support the case study analyses in the following chapters and complement the medium-specific theory that necessarily serves as background for this inquiry. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to deeply engage with the debates in feminist or poststructuralist theory, or even directly apply all of the concepts discussed here, the interdisciplinarity of this inquiry requires a familiarity with key foundational texts of feminist theatre and film theory and their development through the decades. Particularly relevant are the reformulations of theory that reflect changes in other disciplines and in the women's movement. Twenty-first-century publications provide fresh insights into the debates about essentialism and binary gender opposition that inform my analysis of *Inês* and *Pedro*. For what is at the core of each new play or film is the figuration of *Inês de Castro* as a heroine unable to free herself from the political machinations of powerful men, and *Pedro's* collusion in the male games of war that doom his female lover. Despite a consideration of gender fluidity we cannot ignore the reification of male-female oppositions. That is why a materialist-feminist approach that considers the social subject can work in tandem with "beyond gender" theories. In *Gender Trouble*, Butler states "[t]he juridical structure of language and politics constitute the contemporary field of power; hence there is no position outside this field", and "...the political task is not to refuse representational politics – as if we could...the task is to formulate within this constituted frame a critique of the categories of identity that contemporary juridical structures engender, naturalize and immobilize" (5). Working within a masculinist order or structure to subvert and critique the terms of representation of women in history and their respective fictional characterizations is the challenge for this inquiry. This section considers foundational theories and works in medieval, theatre and cinema studies that underpin my analyses and facilitate a feminist reading of the case study texts.

### 1.3.1 Feminist medievalists

Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski's 1988 collection *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* made inroads in this field by challenging the conventional view of power as equated with public authority and thus attributing a partial agency to the medieval woman in her roles within the family and within networks of women. The essays trace how and when women wielded power

through a study of wills, property transactions, seals, illuminations, legal codes, civic records and literary texts. Thus, conditions that may empower women are explored and a flexible approach to the public/private dichotomy, enables a broader understanding of what can be considered influential and brings complexity (not simple bipolarity) to the argument. The authors' 2003 update, *Gendering the Master Narrative*, addresses the polemical claims of women's power made in 1988 and updates the approaches to the study of medieval women by considering the changes in feminist theory (e.g. the term agency is used instead of power). The poststructuralist ideas of Michel Foucault and Judith Butler figure prominently in this study even though the deconstruction of the historical subject is problematic for feminist medievalists who work to recover that reality (3). Foucault's work on power and the shaping of the subject through practices of identity formation are foundational texts, as are Butler's ideas of the performative nature of gender and the move away from the essentialist idea of "woman". The contributors use these theoretical tools to question and challenge the tenets of the master narrative: a reliance on political or institutional themes, a periodization that privileges changes in public authority and the inattention to gender as a category of analysis (9).

Inês de Castro was born in Galicia circa 1320 to a noble family and in her years as lady-in-waiting to Dona Constança, as Pedro's mistress, then wife, and in exile, she reportedly lived in several Portuguese and Castilian towns, among them Lisboa, Coimbra, Braga, Bragança, and Peñafiel. The spatial and temporal settings in the Inesian plays and films which are actually set in the Middle Ages situate Inês in a social milieu where the roles of men and women, notions of femininity and masculinity, class distinctions, professional and leisure occupations and the behaviour of sovereigns and their consorts, affect the representation of Inês. Thus, this inquiry also engages feminist scholarship about Iberian medieval women, queenship in the Middle Ages, and the embodiment of women in the medieval text that examines sectarian and religious documents, chronicles, literary texts, and accompanying illuminations to determine the legal and social possibilities of women of diverse classes. Settlement charters (*carta puebla*), codes of customary law (*fueros*), the Galician-Portuguese lyric, and texts about the High Middle Ages, all provide a context for the life of Inês de Castro. The highly influential statutory code of Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, and Iberian legislation on matrimony, inheritance laws, women's property rights, adultery, abduction and rape, are coupled with actual court documents (they are scant, but concern actual, not legislated behaviour) to shed light on the lives of actual women and allow for

an analysis of feminine and masculine constructs. In *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300*, for example, Heath Dillard traces the importance of women's roles in the formation of Castilian towns during the Reconquest, concluding that matrimony and inheritance laws privileged women but, because of women's value for male citizens, paradoxically caused them to be treated as possessions: women were forced to adopt the dual role of *having* property and *being* property. In addition, Dillard examines other more nuanced positions which women held in medieval Iberia. Inês could have been considered *una barragana*, a domiciled mistress, or *una mujer jurada*, a woman who had married clandestinely (19-20). Inês's potential aspirations to queenship, the threat posed by her influence over Dom Pedro, and her symbolic "reign after death", call, also, for a perspective on gender and sovereignty that explores -- and re-reads from a feminist perspective -- the royal familial context, consortship and the queen's maternal role. Louise Fradenburg's collection of essays, *Women and Sovereignty*, consider the "plasticity" of gender in sovereignty and its relation to the *inclusivity* (being accepted by all), or the *exclusivity* (being different from her subjects) of queens, as well as sovereign love, queenly rituals and their relationship to power. Under these circumstances, we may consider how the power attributed to Inês de Castro as Pedro's mistress or wife, masculinized her and increased the threat she posed to the state. Finally, Joan Cadden's comprehensive *Sex Differences in the Middle Ages*, provides a study of sex-gender associations based on medical and natural philosophy documents that suggest a far broader understanding of male/female masculine/feminine dichotomies than medieval masculinist research has deemed possible (210). Both a feminine man and a masculine woman could exist and either sex might possess a combination of masculine and feminine traits. In this inquiry, I examine how the media of stage and screen construct woman in Inesian texts to explore how the female heroine is gendered and how it influences her iconicity in the popular imagination. By reading dramatic and cinematic texts about Inês with an eye to recasting a "feminine" mythology with a fluid gender approach (i.e., an open interpretation of the masculine and feminine traits in the character of Inês), she can be revisioned and re-presented.

### 1.3.2 Feminism and theatre

For the theatrical case studies examined in this inquiry, both the literary and performance analyses, it is crucial to consider the feminist theatre theory that changed the way women's stage roles are perceived and discussed. Although questions of the centrality and subjectivity of female

characters in drama were broached prior to the prolific writing of second wave feminists – for example, Simone de Beauvoir’s caustic criticism of Henry de Montherlant’s plays with their infantilized women, like Inês in *La Reine Morte* (199-214) – it was the watershed work of scholars like Sue Ellen Case and Elaine Aston that created and developed academic fields of study in theatre and feminism. Considering the potential subject position of Inês de Castro in male-authored dramatic texts cannot be undertaken without a look back to the theories that shaped this discourse.

A feminist interrogation of theatre and performance rests on Sue-Ellen Case’s 1988 theory of a feminist Poetics, a manifesto for both scholars and theatremakers. *Feminism and Theatre* was a radical revisioning of theatre analysis and creation that encouraged a feminist deconstruction of existing male-authored works, and their female characters, and the celebration of plays by women.

For theatre, the basic theoretical project for feminism could be termed a ‘new poetics’, borrowing the notion from Aristotle’s Poetics. New feminist theory would abandon the traditional patriarchal values embedded in prior notions of form, practice and audience response in order to construct new critical models and methodologies for the drama that would accommodate the presence of women in the art, support their liberation from the cultural fictions of the female gender and deconstruct the valorisation of the male gender. In pursuit of these objectives, feminist dramatic theory would borrow freely: new discoveries about gender and culture from the disciplines of anthropology, sociology and political science; feminist strategies for reading texts from the new work in English studies; psychosemiotic analyses of performance and representation from recent film theory; new theories of ‘the subject’ from psychosemiotics, postmodern criticism and post-structuralism; and certain strategies from the project called ‘deconstruction’. This ‘new poetics’ would deconstruct the traditional systems of representation and

perception of women and posit women in the position of the subject. (114-5)

This call-to-arms, written in the fertile environment of the Western feminist movement of the 1980s on the cusp of the third wave,<sup>52</sup> builds on existing feminist and gender scholarship from a diversity of areas, and extols the burgeoning U.S. feminist theatre culture of the 1970's and 1980's. A new edition appeared in 2008 with a foreword by the U.K.'s Elaine Aston<sup>53</sup> contextualizing Case's early work in today's field of theatre and performance studies and clearly concluding that the work still addresses the needs of feminist theatremakers and scholars.

Aston and Geraldine Harris had edited a collection of essays, *Feminist Futures? Theatre, Performance, Theory*, that placed theatre theory and practice in the context of the polemical 'postfeminist' period. In such a climate, where the danger for second and third wave feminists of longing nostalgically for an idealized feminist past is ever present, the writers stress the need to engage with current directions in feminism (3). This, not surprisingly, encourages a re-engagement with the notion of a feminist "we", not as a hegemonic or essentialist definition of woman by Western feminists decried by postmodern critics, but as an affective community that affirms the continued need for feminism in theatre and in theatre scholarship (14). This inquiry is written in that spirit. As discussed above, there is a continuous need for representations of Inês de Castro. As a feminist scholar I urge the equal need for a feminist reading of the reiterations of the character in drama and on stage.

### 1.3.3 Feminism and film

For a deconstruction of Inesian cinema – and the numerous video images of Inês de Castro that proliferate on the internet today – an understanding of feminist film scholarship that rests on groundbreaking theories is as necessary as Sue-Ellen Case's 'new poetics' is to theatre. Laura Mulvey's theory of 'the male gaze', for example, informs the interrogation of woman's place in

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<sup>52</sup> It is generally accepted that the third wave of Western feminism of the late 1980's and early 1990's aimed to integrate gender, race, class and sexuality, and shift from identifying oppression to celebrating resistance (i.e. to naming women as survivors, not victims of gender-based oppression).

<sup>53</sup> In 1995, Aston published *Introduction to Feminism and Theatre* and discussed representation, French feminist theory, and the performance of gender in the context of its development in feminist studies and its effects on feminist theatre theory.

film, formally and in the diegesis. The figure of Inês as she is represented in mainstream Portuguese cinema can only be scrutinized by dismantling the apparatus that puts the female character in the object position.

Theresa de Lauretis's watershed *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* grapples with the male-centered narratives of cinema and the insidious workings of the cinematic apparatus that construct woman, femininity and the female spectator-subject of cinema who is "complicit in the production of (her) woman-ness" (15). The female spectator (presumably including the *feminist* female spectator) unconsciously consents to the male heterosexual "aim of desire" when viewing classical narrative cinema (134). In "Through the Looking Glass," de Lauretis posits a materialist theory of subjectivity:

...the questions of signification, representation and subject processes in cinema must be reformulated from a less rigid view of meaning than is fixed by Lacanian psychoanalysis; and that a materialist theory of subjectivity cannot start out from the given notion of the subject but must approach the subject through the apparatus, the social technologies in which it is constructed. (31)

De Lauretis suggests that there is a surplus of pleasure created by identifying with both positionalities of desire, a double identification with the subject and the movement of the narrative discourse (143) and calls, after Mulvey, for a "new language of desire" where the contradiction of female desire and of women as social subjects "in the terms of narrative" is enacted (156). De Lauretis follows this study with *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction*, where she identifies the social conditioning that renders femininity as a semiotic construct between a "rhetoric of violence and a violence of rhetoric" (32). By unmasking and deconstructing the masculinist technologies that create woman in film, de Lauretis provides theoretical tools that facilitate the "de-re-construction" of gender (24). Significantly, also, de Lauretis names what is at the heart of this inquiry: what is missing from the representation of Inês de Castro that would give the character some efficacy for feminists?

[T]he movement in and out of gender as ideological representation, which I propose characterizes the subject of feminism, is a movement back and forth between the representation of gender (in

its male-centered frame of reference) and what that representation leaves out or, more pointedly makes unrepresentable. (26)

De Lauretis suggests that this back and forth movement is not oppositional but the site of contradiction and multiplicity. This ambiguous space where a new identity may be created, is what I attempt to find in my feminist readings of Inesian texts.

Robyn Blaetz's *Visions of the Maid: Joan of Arc in American Film and Culture*, (2001) is a precedent for a study of a famed medieval woman: it considers how a heroine of the Middle Ages is portrayed in film and how her representation and degree of femininity differ alongside changing attitudes to medievalism *and* femininity. The focus on Joan in North America, and the societal mores regarding women, war and femininity, is analogous to the impact of Inês de Castro in a European context, and the discourse of woman in the twentieth century. Blaetz claims that, "[t]he historic Joan of Arc serves the cultures in which she appears to the degree that her story can mask or resolve social conflicts" (3) and likewise Inês in the films of 1945 and 1997 functions, in the first, to enable a Portuguese-Spanish friendship pact and, in the second, to incorporate the fears and anxieties of a small nation joining the European Community. Second, Blaetz's contention that,

[t]he fact that Joan of Arc actually lived only adds to the authority of the romance, an authority that empowers each new construction of her life and, in turn, the ideological position that motivates the new representations (3)

can equally be applied to Inês de Castro. The diverse characterizations of Inês are connected to the times in which they were created, from Garcia de Resende's sixteenth-century ill-fated courtesan employed to convince the ladies of Dom Manuel's court to serve their masters, to John Clifford's 1990 anti-war heroine used to comment on Britain's and the U.S.'s involvement in the oil wars of the Middle East. Also, like Joan's death by fire, the details surrounding the death of Inês de Castro, her decapitation, exhumation and Queenly status after death, are well known. Moreover, Blaetz's case studies, which involve cinematic representation and femininity, are of great interest. The analysis of the casting, production and reception of specific films clearly identifies the many challenges of representing a mythical/historical woman like Joan of Arc on the screen. More than a historical account, novel, or painting, a play or film role must necessarily be embodied by a flesh and blood woman who is not easily separated from her own historical,

social and cultural experience. Often, she is only the idealized Joan of the director and has to contend with the expectations of spectators who have constructed their own “visions of the maid”. Similarly, the palimpsest of Inês de Castro is presented to the viewers of Inesian national (Portuguese) cinema through actors who have absorbed the many centuries-old imaginings of the Dead Queen. The influential poetry and plays of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iberia are the foundation for this cinematic image that will become part of the pedagogy of the nation.

## 1.4 Case Studies: Inês in Portugal and the Diaspora

The seeds for this inquiry were sown when Whetstone Theatre in Toronto produced John Clifford’s *Inês de Castro* and the tender plant grew in a Portuguese Culture class that I taught at York University. The substantial difference in the representation of Inês de Castro by the Anglo-Canadian theatre artists and the students of the Portuguese diaspora raised many questions about the mythic love story of Inês and Pedro and how it has travelled through the centuries. In these two examples, there appeared to be two dominant strains: one tragic and the other sentimental, one that centered on a dignified Inês and another that focused on romantic love. I screened the two mainstream Portuguese films about Inês and found that they included both themes but, in terms of screen time, privileged Pedro’s vengeful deeds after Inês’s death. Because of the numerous versions of the legend in poetry, plays, and novels published since the fifteenth century, the onerous work of tracing the origins of the Inesian tale as it is told in the twentieth- and twenty-first century began. It quickly became clear that certain texts were foundational and influenced subsequent narratives and the figuration of Inês. For this inquiry, I chose the three Iberian dramatic literary texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that, apart from Camões’s incomparable poetry, have been studied, produced, adapted and celebrated most frequently for their power to move readers and spectators: Garcia de Resende’s “Trovas à morte de Dona Inês de Castro,” António Ferreira’s *Castro*, and Luis Veléz de Guevara’s *Reinar después de morir*. As Jorge de Sena claims, these texts maintained a historicity that stressed Inês’s genealogical importance to Portugal – though the Spanish Vélez admittedly slips from historical to sentimental – and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced only the “romanesco” (romanesque or appertaining to romance or fable) tales that had little literary merit (2: 351-3). The Portuguese high medieval and Renaissance texts established the *topos* of Love

versus Reason of State and the Spanish Golden Age play added the morbid coronation of the corpse to reify Ines's genealogical importance for both Portugal and Spain at a time when the peninsula was united.<sup>54</sup> Three centuries later, Leitão de Barros's co-production with Spain, *Inês de Castro*, would bring these two themes together for a national cinema concerned with uniting Iberia, this time in diplomatic friendship. Yet another film made on the uncertain eve of the millennium restored the historic-genealogical importance of Inês with the pointed title of *Inês de Portugal*. In the twenty-first century, theatre performances in Toronto and Portugal bring the latest representations of Inês de Castro to Portuguese and English-speaking audiences, including my feminist staging of Resende's early sixteenth-century ballad to close the circle of this inquiry. This is evidently a selective, not exhaustive, study and it does not pretend to prove how the early texts influence these films and plays of the last hundred years, but examines how the figuration of Inês is sustained or contested across centuries and continents in representative works of Portugal/Spain and the Portuguese diaspora.

In Chapter Two, the comparative, intertextual and intermedial analysis of this inquiry begins with a feminist reading of Garcia de Resende's 1516, "Trovas à morte de Dona Inês de Castro" ("Ballad to the death of Dona Inês de Castro").<sup>55</sup> In the "Trovas" Dona Inês's voice is heard from the afterlife articulating her desires and parodying her male enemies, giving the character control of her story. Through the publication of the *Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende*, the ballad, built on the romances of oral tradition, brought the court poetry/song about the loves of Inês and Pedro to print. As I demonstrate, its representation of Inês as an innocent woman condemned by State powers is reproduced in later dramatic works and carries the burden of *saudade* into the next few centuries. The formal conceit of the "Trovas", a long monologue spoken by Dona Inês and framed by the Poet's introduction and summary, endorses its inclusion in this inquiry as a dramatic sketch that may have been performed circa 1500. The particularity of Dona Inês also voicing her male assassins complicates the gender traits of the character and

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<sup>54</sup> The Phillipine rule of Portugal lasted from 1580-1640.

<sup>55</sup> 1516 is the date of publication of the *Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende* but Sena argues the "Trovas" were written circa 1501 (1: 272-277).

invites a reading of multiple identities and subjectivities. Second, António Ferreira's 1587<sup>56</sup> *Castro*, the first tragedy written in Portuguese with a Portuguese theme, is a neo-classical landmark of dramatic literature and is widely studied in Lusophone countries. It presents Inês as a tragic heroine whose rhetorical skill during a heart-rending scene convinces King Afonso to reverse his decision to have her assassinated. With her children at her feet (as in the paintings described above), she softens the monarch's resolution but, as in Resende, fails to persuade the King's Counsellors who pursue her and kill her. It is devastating because Ferreira's Inês is a heroine who assumes responsibility for her adulterous actions but claims innocence in the name of Love. When she dies, Love dies, and readers and spectators mourn. This Inês's integrity and passion elevate the tragic heroine from victimhood to the symbol of love and *saudade*. Third, Luis Vélez de Guevara's 1652<sup>57</sup> *Reinar después de morir*, tells a tale of love, jealousy and revenge that leads to Inês's demise. The ahistorical aspect of this Spanish Golden Age *comedia*, introduces a bride for Pedro who vies with Inês's affections. The showdown between the two women, playing with the archetypes of the hunter and the hunted, is the climax of the play. Vélez's Inês is proud and, because she declares her rightful place as Pedro's wife (unlike the Ferreirian heroine who keeps the marriage secret), she is beyond reproach. The King and Counsellors, with their calculating political manoeuvring, however, find fault in the union and Inês is killed. Pedro, who has failed to protect her, rallies to place Inês on the throne and she is staged as the Dead Queen, her corpse crowned. It is an enduring image and further complicates the representation of the iconic figure as she moves from demanding lover to powerful sovereign.

Chapter Three explores how Inês is embodied in two Portuguese mainstream films and very recent YouTube videos by students of Portuguese history and literature. The Portuguese/Spanish black and white classic by José Leitão de Barros, *Inês de Castro* (1944-5),<sup>58</sup> combines the two narrative traditions established by Ferreira and Vélez de Guevara by presenting an Inês that

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<sup>56</sup> This is the publication date of an anonymous version that has been attributed to Ferreira. See Chapter 2.3, footnote 99 for details of composition and publication.

<sup>57</sup> The play was published posthumously by Paulo Craesbeek in Lisbon in 1652 in *Comedias de los mejores y más insignes ingenios de España*. See Chapter 2.4 for details of performance and publication.

<sup>58</sup> Released in Spain in December, 1944 and in Portugal in April, 1945 (Costa 91).

attracts as a tender figure of *saudade* but also repulses as the macabre crowned corpse. This paradox is accompanied by another where Inês is described as dangerously seductive, a veritable *femme fatale*, but visualized as timid and innocent. I suggest this conflicting image is due to the nature of the co-production that cannot demonize the Galician maiden nor deny the Portuguese Queenship. In Barros's film Inês becomes a complex symbol of nation, played by a Spanish actress but always associated with the Portuguese realm. José Carlos de Oliveira's *Inês de Portugal* (1997), based on fifteenth-century chronicles, also links Inês to the nation, taking ownership of the Galician mistress of the Prince. A passionate, haughty and ambitious Inês is Oliveira's addition to the visual construction of Inês de Castro in the twentieth century. In her direct actions and looks, she replaces the submissive model of the 1945 classic and, in regards to the Inesian myth, alters the pedagogy of the nation. Moreover, *Inês de Portugal* sees Inês's sexuality through a twentieth-century lens, allowing her to reciprocate the Prince's attraction without the inhibitions imagined of medieval times; here, Inês's agency is enacted in guiltless sexual love. Finally, this chapter reviews a selection of YouTube videos that tell the story of Inês and Pedro in short films made for school assignments in Brazil and Portugal. While the Portuguese tend to present a reverential image of Inês to glorify the historical figure, the Brazilians visualize Inês in a diversity of roles and identities that challenge the canonized idea of the Dead Queen.<sup>59</sup> The Inesian films and videos are particularly relevant as purveyors of Inês because of the easy access and international reach made possible by the internet. What may have been an insular endeavor – the Inesian mainstream films originally had limited distribution in Portugal, Spain and a few European countries – now has the potential of reaching a wide audience.

Chapter Four focuses on theatrical performance and, along with the film selections, adds a performative Inesian identity to this inquiry. The choice of performance texts has been limited by the production of Inesian plays since 2000, the accessibility to these geographically and linguistically, and the relevance of the genre. Still, it has been possible to analyse four distinct revisions of Inês de Castro: Whetstone Theatre's 2001 production of John Clifford's *Inês de*

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<sup>59</sup> This is not surprising as the Brazilians have long been fascinated by the figure of Inês, making the first silent film about her and passionately rendering her in plays, novels and scholarship of the past hundred years. See "Anexo I: Brasil" in Sousa, *Tema Português*, 455-460.

*Castro*, my 2008 adaptation of Resende's ballad *On the Death of Inês de Castro* and monologue "How She Dies", Teatro O Bando's 2011 mainstage production of *Pedro e Inês*, and a Portuguese-Canadian community theatre play by O Projecto, *Pedro e Inês de Castro*. Clifford's *Inês de Castro* contests masculinist narratives that depict Inês as a pawn in men's games of power and war, giving her a distinct subject position. I argue, however, that Whetstone's embodiment of the character does not meet Clifford's challenge. I discuss the casting, costuming, voice and movement of the actor playing Inês to interrogate the distance between text and performance and consider how the Portuguese Inês de Castro is trans-figured by the Scottish Clifford and Toronto theatre artists. Teatro O Bando's 2011 play *Pedro e Inês*, a production of Miguel Jesus's commissioned play *Inês Morre*, interrogates Inês in terms of gender, identity and theatre. It is a crucial text for this inquiry on several fronts: it was produced by a major professional Portuguese theatre company; it featured an intercultural creative team (a Portuguese playwright, a Russian director and a German dramaturg); it manifested a radical view of the Middle Ages and its populace; and, it demonstrated a strong contrast between the living Inês – wild, animalistic, highly sexual and sensual – and the madonna-like corpse of the second act. In direct contrast, O Projecto's community play gave us an Inês that is innocent and timid but embodies *saudade*. (Coincidentally, Russians also played a large part in bringing the Dead Queen to life: several of the actors emigrated from Russia to Portugal, and then to Canada; the young woman playing Inês was Portuguese-Russian.) This play, a teaching version downloaded from the internet, includes snippets of the classics, mainly Camões and Ferreira, and several scenes among the people in colloquial Portuguese; it also has an excerpt of António Patrício's *Pedro O Cru*<sup>60</sup> to stress the symbolism of Inês as a figure of *saudade*. Finally, *On the Death of Inês de Castro* is a site for the analysis of the performance of male and female characters by a female performer, the blurring of feminine and the masculine traits, and (because the piece was performed in English and Portuguese at the University of Toronto and the Consulate General of Portugal, respectively), a culturally specific reception of gender. My monologue, "How She Dies," was likewise presented in two languages and represented Inês as a middle-aged woman, a far cry from the idealized, youthful, *colo de garça* of legend. Both these performance texts

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<sup>60</sup> Written in 1913, published in 1918 but not performed until 1982 (Sousa, *Tema Português* 326).

created a feminist aesthetic by interrogating the master narrative and subverting clichéd representations of Inês de Castro.

Through a feminist reading of all the case studies, this inquiry proposes to uncover the masculinist discourse of Inesian texts and criticism and give Inês a new and fluid identity in the cultural imaginary. A concluding chapter will draw connections between the diverse media explored here and trace the development of Inês as the iconic symbol of love, beauty, *saudade* and innocence. The representational conditions and contradictions of Inês's incarnations as lover (mistress/wife), mother, or martyr – or *how* she is represented – affect *what* she represents. In the palimpsest of Inês de Castro, there are a significant number of layers to examine to determine such a relationship. This inquiry begins by digging deeply into the sixteenth and seventeenth century to probe three literary texts that are cornerstones of the Inesian legend and reveal how these dramatic etchings gender the Dead Queen.

## Chapter 2

# 2 The Character of Inês in Iberian Golden Age Plays

## 2.1 Inesian Drama

The literary incarnations of Inês de Castro listed by Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa in her magnum opus, *Inês de Castro: Um Tema Português na Europa*, total several hundred; among these, a few dozen are plays (504-533, 545-46). In her earlier *Inês de Castro na Literatura Portuguesa*, Machado de Sousa had documented sixteen complete Portuguese tragedies and about thirty other European and Brazilian Inesian plays, operas and parodies (*Literatura* 41, 149-151). A similar number appear in both Antero de Figueiredo's bibliography of *D. Pedro e D. Ines*, "O grande desvayro!..." 1320-1367 (312-323) and Adrien Roig's *Inesiana* (with 2,318 entries, Roig's comprehensive list includes royal chronicles, poetry, drama, criticism, novels, and graphic arts; two score or so are dramatic works). More recently, José Pereira Costa lists 168 "dramaturgias" among his 5,531 titles (as he points out, a palindrome of 1355, the year Inês was assassinated).<sup>61</sup> Acknowledging *a priori* that the tombs in the Mosteiro de Alcobaça and the Camonian episode about Inês de Castro in *Os Lusíadas* are greatly responsible for the fame of the Dead Queen,<sup>62</sup> the relevance of plays, and the attention they claim once they're produced, is significant. Roig notes that a renewed interest in Inesian themes in recent decades is evidenced by the number of theatre productions about Inês and Pedro in Lisboa and other Portuguese cities

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<sup>61</sup> In all bibliographies, the count is inexact because in some cases it is not clear if the works listed are plays, dramatic poems or tragic novels. Roig's 1986 bibliography is organized generically; the Theatre section, entries #1121 to 1748, lists plays as well as criticism and numerous editorial duplications. Likewise, Costa's tome is divided thematically and the "Dramaturgia" section has 1140 titles, including school performances that were never literary plays ("estatística" unpaginated).

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, Sousa's "O episódio camoniano" (*Tema Português* 223-280), Sena's "Os túmulos de Alcobaça" and "Camões, Inês de Castro e *Os Lusíadas*" (1: 204-219, 570-79), and José Hermano Saraiva (*História* 103-04). On the internet this is evidenced by the number of travel blogs and sites that tell the story in connection with the tombs, and the student videos posted on YouTube with filmic or dramatic adaptations of Camões's Canto III (see Chapter 3.4).

(xxi). Costa draws special attention to the numerous editions and productions of António Ferreira's *Castro* ("estatística" unpaginated). As my final chapter on the performance of Inês in the twenty-first century attests, the Dead Queen is alive and well on the contemporary stage, and the numerous play titles in the Inesian bibliographies cited here are a firm indication of a repeated and lasting interest in dramatizing Inês throughout the centuries. While it is not the objective of this inquiry to analyse a comprehensive number of Inesian dramatic works,<sup>63</sup> the existence of this corpus is inspiring.

What this chapter purports to do, then, is to examine the character of Inês in the most influential early modern dramatic literary texts from Portugal and Spain, so as to trace the origins of the representation of the heroine in twentieth century film and performance. For this, it is crucial to begin with the "embrião dramático" ("dramatic embryo"; Rocha 57)<sup>64</sup> "Trovas que Garcia de Resende fez à morte de Dona Inês de Castro", for it is the first extant poetic text with a monologue by Inês pleading with Afonso IV for her life. Published in 1516<sup>65</sup> in the *Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende*, an anthology of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century poetry, it is a probable source for the same scene in António Ferreira's *Castro* and Luis Vélez de Guevara's *Reinar después de morir*.<sup>66</sup> In his turn, Ferreira introduced the plot line that favoured the politicized theme of Love versus Reason of State so prevalent in later national Inesian dramas. Vélez de Guevara is credited for romanticizing the story and popularizing the macabre crowning of the corpse beyond Iberia. The character of Inês de Castro as imagined by these three authors becomes a composite model for subsequent literary, dramatic and cinematic embodiments of the Dead Queen, contributing to the palimpsest that is Inês.

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<sup>63</sup> This has been admirably accomplished by Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa and Jorge de Sena.

<sup>64</sup> Jorge de Sena stresses the "intensa teatralidade" ("intense theatricality") of the ballad (1: 282).

<sup>65</sup> Sena claims that the date of composition of the "Trovas" is 1501 (1: 272-77).

<sup>66</sup> Machado de Sousa places the "Trovas" alongside Ferreira's tragedy (and Camões's poetry) in terms of its historic-literary value, classifying it as the first biographic monologue in Portuguese literature (*Tema Português* 42); Resende scholar José Camões claims it is the poet's most interesting work and believes it inspired *all* other literary works about Inês (14). The intertextuality of Resende's poem and other poetry and plays about Inês has been frequently analysed; see especially Jorge de Sena's comprehensive "Inês de Castro" in *Estudos de História e de Cultura*.

The formal qualities of each text offer distinct possibilities of analysis and the discussion of Garcia de Resende's 280-line ballad necessarily differs from that of the five-act and three-act plays of António Ferreira and Luis Vélez de Guevara respectively. The shorter "Trovas" allows for a deeper examination of language and its potential use by the character of Inês. In contrast, the neo-classical structure of *Castro* and the particular characteristics of Vélez's Spanish Golden Age *comedia* guide the formal approach to these texts. This is not to say that the poetry of the plays is not considered, but my reading of these is decidedly more straightforward, based on narrative and content rather than on linguistic strategies. In this chapter, the generic shifts from ballad to neo-classic tragedy to Spanish *comedia* influence the analytical approach and guide the arguments in each section.

Thematically, however, there are points of unity and continuity in the three texts that, in effect, form the bedrock of Inesian lore and are woven throughout this inquiry: the primary theme of Reason of State vs Love, the innocence of Inês, the reification of *saudade*, and the trope of the Dead Queen. Both Machado de Sousa and Sena discuss these aspects of Inesian literature comprehensively but, as noted above, with a masculinist focus. My feminist reading differs in that it engages a discourse that privileges the character of Inês and, within these broader themes, searches for sites of autonomy in the representation of the character. In Resende's "Trovas", Dona Inês<sup>67</sup> first demonstrates her rhetorical skill in arguing for Love over Reason of State with the added peculiarity that she voices the responses of her male accusers, in a sense embodying all viewpoints and performing as subject throughout her long monologue. Ferreira's *Castro* also employs admirable rhetoric in her mercy speech and dominates the stage as Portugal's first tragic heroine. Curiously, in this play we also find *Castro* voicing a male character, this time the Prince, enacting the only scene between the lovers. Both Resende and Ferreira create an Inês that holds the authoritative voice and exhibits masculine and feminine traits by playing characters of both genders. This aspect of the character trickles down to Vélez in two senses: the mercy speech again allows Inês to command centre stage and her appearance as a *bella cazadora* (beautiful huntress) suggests masculine vigour that will re-surface when she confronts her enemy for the prince's love, Doña Blanca.

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<sup>67</sup> In this chapter, the character representing Inês de Castro will be named as the playwrights deem: as Dona Inês in Resende's "Trovas", as *Castro* in Ferreira's *Castro*, and as Inês in Vélez's *Reinar después de morir*.

In all three texts the innocence of the heroine is proclaimed though there are nuances to each that center on the legitimacy, or not, of Inês's union with the Prince. Resende's Dona Inês is definitively not married to the Prince and thus rues the courtesan role that leads to her demise. Ferreira's more complex Castro admits her guilt in the affair with the Prince and maintains her illicit position by not disclosing their secret marriage in her plea to Afonso IV. Ironically in Vélez's play, the discovery of the marriage further endangers Inês as her legitimate civil status threatens the royal succession.

Inês as the reification of *saudade* and her representation as the Dead Queen are interconnected and most affecting in Resende where Dona Inês returns from the Dead and recounts her tale with the omniscience of one who has experienced the story from beginning to end. She is the Dead Queen but very much alive as a character, evoking *saudade* in its most complex form: the absent past as present future. Dona Inês establishes sentiment as active and endows the character with an emotional agency that refutes her allegedly inactive historical persona and is manifested in later incarnations. Ferreira follows Resende's lead when he has Castro begging the King to spare her life so that her children will not be orphans and the Prince will not be a widower forever missing her. Then, the tragic playwright ups the ante of *saudade* with a grieving Prince and Vélez follows this precedent with Pedro demented by loss and crowning the corpse of Inês in desperation.

The feminist lens through which I view these early representations of Inês de Castro takes us some way towards an understanding of the iconicity of this Portuguese medieval woman and the palimpsest that she has become. It is here, in High Medieval and Renaissance Iberia, that Inês de Castro first negotiates her identity, challenging the binary oppositions of masculine/feminine, reason/passion, and victim/hero. In this chapter, I examine how a male-authored text produces female subjectivity, how a tragic heroine defies victimhood, and how a lovelorn woman reasonably argues for her life.

## 2.2 Garcia de Resende's "Trovas": Giving Voice to the Dead Queen

In their analysis of female characters in the Old French *chanson de femme*, Burns, Kay, Krueger and Solterer problematize the question of female subjectivity in a male-authored text in an attempt to find a different way of reading the constructed female subject in medieval literature. They are particularly concerned with the speaking female character who exists “*subject* to different forms of male subjective hegemony,” and acknowledge that “female agency in speech does not exist unproblematically for either real women or fictive constructions of them” (240, italics in the original). The voice of a female character, and by extension the speaking subject, allegedly belongs to the male poet’s literary imagination, but, once the text is presented to the reader, can our (feminist) imagination also construct the subject? Since the “male” voice (of the author) is processed through a “female” body (of the character), can it not occupy a speaking position that reveals a female subject? Far from considering the female voice as only issuing “from the rhetorical bodies of fictive protagonists situated at a far remove from the mouths of historical women”, the feminist reader moves beyond the polarization of male poet/female character and “[reads] the female subject as she exists in a partial and fragmentary way within the medieval textual tradition” (239, 242). One way to achieve this is to consider not just “who is speaking” but “how [do] women speak” in medieval texts (242). Burns et al use the example of a “floating voice” in the refrain of a *chanson de toile* to suggest that the voice can pass from male to female and effect a “*mouvance* of gender identity”, defying “absolute categorization as either masculine or feminine” (242). From here, it is a short step to considering a different subjectivity for the medieval female character:

In what varied, muted and partial ways do their voices enter into the relational dynamic that structures subjectivity in medieval literary texts? We might ask who can occupy the different subject positions, under what circumstances and to what effect? Or consider how the female voices inscribed in the written text change in relation to different reader/performers (male and female). *In these ways we could begin to conceive of “voice” neither as an embodied essence that communicates the personalized and*

*individual entity of a historical female nor as the depersonalized voice of literature or poetic craft.* (242-3, italics mine)

This is how I examine Garcia de Resende's "Trovas to the death of Dona Inês de Castro",<sup>68</sup> with its protagonist, a documented historical woman, and its complexity of voices that suggest an ambiguous subjectivity for the character of Dona Inês. For example, when she speaks as the King or her (male) murderer, is the voice issuing from her female body constructing a simultaneously male and female subjectivity? I argue that the various voices produced in the "Trovas" – Dona Inês's multi-character speech is additionally framed by the poet's voice – and the representation of Inês's body complicate the notion of subjectivity and open up the ballad<sup>69</sup> to a complex reading of gender.

Although a feminist analysis or a cohesive discussion of the female voice and body as it appears in the "Trovas" is, to my knowledge, not to be found in Inesian scholarship, the singularity of Dona Inês's voice and how it is rendered in the poem is discussed. Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu places the "Trovas" among key classical texts that thematically evoke the dead, noting that the enunciating subject is central to the work (193). Also, by issuing from the past, "Eu era moça menina..." ("I was a noble maiden..."; line 31), it makes the events irreversible and the poem exceptionally pathetic: Dona Inês *speaks* in a lamenting tone that befits the dead who are remembering life; cruelly murdered but innocent she asks for compassion from the living (193, italics mine). Machado de Sousa writes of the heroine *breaking the silence* of the dead to *tell* the ladies of the court about the unhappy "reward" – death – that she received for loving so loyally (*Literatura* 11, italics mine). Although Buescu and Machado de Sousa do not elaborate on the significance of the speech emanating from a (dead) female body, they do conflate the

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<sup>68</sup> The full title is "Trovas que Garcia de Resende fez à morte de dona Inês de Castro que el rei dom Afonso o quarto de Portugal matou em Coimbra por o príncipe dom Pedro seu filho a ter como mulher e polo bem que lhe queria não queria casar, enderençadas às damas" ("Trovas that Garcia de Resende made on the death of dona Inês de Castro that the king dom Afonso the fourth of Portugal killed in Coimbra because the Prince dom Pedro his son had her as his wife and for the love he had for her didn't want to marry, addressed to the ladies").

<sup>69</sup> A *trova* is a medieval ballad, lay or song, usually with a narrative, sung by a *trovador*. Since the sixteenth century, *trova* has been used to describe a four-line self-contained verse, i.e. not part of a longer poem, and not necessarily sung (Massaud Moisés, *Dicionário de Termos Literários*, São Paul: Cultrix, 2004, 454). The plural use in Resende's poem is indicative of a period of transition, conflating the idea of a longer ballad or song with that of shorter verses meant to be spoken; the "Trovas" are actually composed of 28 ten-line verses. Here, I will refer to the poem as the "Trovas" or the ballad.

author/poet/narrator/female-protagonist voices when referring to the poem. That is, the prologue and conclusion of the “Trovas” addressing the ladies of the court is attributed to the author: the final verses of the ballad are preceded by an indented note, “Garcia de Resende às damas” (“Garcia de Resende to the ladies”), indicating that the reader is to accept the convention that the poet-character and poet-author are one and the same. Thus, “*o poeta* ‘endereça’ às damas o seu poema” (“*the poet* addresses the poem to the ladies”) but “*Inês* morta apela para a piedade...” (“*Inês*, dead, appeals to our pity”; Buescu 193, italics mine). Or, “*a heroína* quebra o silêncio” (“the heroine breaks the silence”) but “O efeito negativo...é contrariado pelo *autor*” (“the negative effect...is contradicted by the author”; Sousa, *Literatura* 11, italics mine). The narrator/protagonist distinction is initially introduced by Buescu but it is not clear if she is referring to the poet as narrator or Inês as narrator since the female character does become the narrator of the story. The “poeta” is then invoked as the speaker in the framing verses, but not as the speaker in the Dona Inês section. Machado de Sousa omits naming the author when referring to Dona Inês’s speech. This conflation of (male) author and (female) character as enunciating subjects confounds the binary opposition of masculine and feminine, opening up the ballad to an ambivalent gendered reading and a portico to the female as speaking subject.

This is not to say that privileging the voice of a female protagonist confers upon her the status of female authorship – as Jorge de Sena expresses it, 220 of the ballad’s 280 lines are “postos na boca de Inês” (“put in the mouth of Inês”)<sup>70</sup> ostensibly by the author – but examining a female character within a masculinist discourse (even when the author is female) requires an approach that accepts a fragmented, pluralistic and, at times, tenuous subjectivity. As E. Jane Burns encourages in her bold work *Bodytalk*, we may look for a “double positioning” or a “split subject”, and create “a profile of the textualized medieval woman as both a construction of male discourse and a site of resistance to its conventions” (xii, 15). Resende’s ballad, with its frequent shifts in authorial voice and a heroine who overtly thwarts the poet’s stated intentions, can contribute to a construction of female subjectivity that subverts the conventions of a male-dominant ideology. The voice of Dona Inês in the “Trovas”, a female voice issuing from a

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<sup>70</sup> Regarding the *chanson de femmes*, Pierre Bec similarly states that it is but “un monologue lyrique a connotation douloureuse, placé dans la bouche d’une femme” (*La lyrique française au moyen âge. 1. Études*, Paris:Picard, 1977, 57 and cited in Burns et al, 238, italics mine).

female body, but rendered as dually gendered, provides a “locus of revision” where we may “dismantle the male imaginary” (4). As Burns reminds us,

A man’s words spoken through a woman’s body, however fictive  
and fabricated are not perceived or received as thoroughly male;  
their valence changes in accordance with the gender of the speaker  
articulating them. (16)

That is, though Resende remains the author and we *know* Dona Inês is a fictional construct, we *feel* that the female character occupies the place of the subject. She seemingly has more agency than the chronicled historical woman who was the object of men’s power games.<sup>71</sup> As Jorge Sena astutely observes, Resende’s creation is a case of the character “historiando-se” (“narrating herself”; 1: 282).

In the first *décima* of the ballad, the poet, quickly passes the word to Dona Inês:

Senhoras s'algum senhor  
vos quiser bem ou servir  
quem tomar tal servidor  
eu lhe quero descobrir  
o galardão do amor.  
Por sua mercê saber  
o que deve de fazer  
vej'o que fez esta dama  
que de si vos dará fama  
s'estas trovas quereis ler. (lines 1-10)

*Fala dona Inês.* (unnumbered line)

Ladies, if any gentleman/ loves you or wishes to serve you/ for  
whomsoever should take such a servant/ I want to show you/ the  
reward of love./ For your grace to know/ what you should do/ see

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<sup>71</sup> Here I am referring to the royal chronicles. It is probable that in the pre-Resende oral tradition Inesian “romances” featured a heroine who was a speaking subject. This is the case of the ballad of Isabel de Liar, “Yo me estando en Giromena”, related in the first person and first documented in the *Cancionero de romances*, Amberes, s.a., c. 1547 but believed to have existed in the fifteenth century (Chicote 56).

what this lady did/ for she will tell you about herself/ if you should  
read this ballad/ *Dona Inês speaks*.

The poet, or narrator, begins by saying that he will show the ladies the “reward of love”, but rescinds his authority by introducing a sub-narrator who has an epistemological advantage, a voice which carries more authority than his character of court poet could ever command.<sup>72</sup> Inês de Castro is summoned from the Dead and given the privileged position of omniscient narrator: because she is dead, she is able to look back at her story knowing its tragic outcome. By stressing “que de si vos dará fama” (line 9), the poet/narrator simulates calling forth an eye-witness who will speak for herself about the great rewards of loving faithfully. But to his surprise, Dona Inês complains of suffering an innocent death and has a bitter appraisal of the “reward” for her love of Pedro: she was murdered without being allowed confession and is perishing in the flames of Hell.<sup>73</sup> To make good his advice to the ladies Resende must step in and conduct some hasty damage control. After Dona Inês’s testimony, he attempts to annul her speech by naming the rewards as he sees them: being crowned Queen of Portugal and being famous. Discrediting the words of Dona Inês herself, he then belittles her despair by making her death by assassination seem worthier than her life,

Não torvem vosso sentido  
as cousa qu’haveis ouvido...<sup>74</sup> (lines 226-7)  
Don’t be confused/ by what you’ve heard...

Não perdeu senão a vida  
que pudera ser perdida  
sem na ninguém conhecer  
e ganhou por bem querer

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<sup>72</sup> Sena speculates that Resende’s predilection for organizing *momos* (a type of pantomime) at court may have resulted in a performance of the “Trovas” where a woman incarnated the role of Inês (1: 273). A lady addressing the ladies would have had a rhetorical function.

<sup>73</sup> Resende’s Dona Inês clearly subverts the literary tradition and theology of female martyrdom; this may be a veiled criticism of the ecclesiastical politics of near-Renaissance Portugal.

<sup>74</sup> The lapse in using “ouvido” (“heard”) instead of “lido” (“read”) – Resende begins with “s’estas trovas quereis ler” (“if you should read this ballad”) – reflects the transition from orality to literacy in Southern Europe.

ser sua morte tão sentida. (lines 236-240)

She lost but her life/ that could've been lost/ with no one knowing  
of her/ and won, for loving/ a well-remembered death.

As a rhetorical device this is effective: a female voice speaks against the poet's presumed intention and a male voice representing the author provides a corrective and has the last word. But a feminist reading can produce altogether contrary results, dignifying Dona Inês's testimony and making the poet a jocular fool.<sup>75</sup> The male poet begins by advising the ladies to think of Dona Inês as an example of how they themselves should behave, and is thwarted by a female character who speaks independently and against him. Because of the confusion of Resende/poet character, the feminist reader sees a female character who seemingly resists the author's message by presenting her own version of the story and a male author who has lost control of his discourse. The poet must then work hard to deflect Dona Inês's passionate lament and urge the ladies to love as well as she did. If they should be assassinated in the process, so be it; they will be rewarded with fame and a royal title.

[C]omo o príncipe foi rei  
sem tardar mas mui asinha  
a fez alçar por rainha  
sendo morta o fez por lei. (lines 247-250)

[W]hen the Prince became King/ without delay, quickly/ he made  
her his Queen/ though she was dead, only by law.

But having built up and torn down Dona Inês's testimony, Resende now needs to reconfer her authority to make his poem ultimately compelling. For this he glorifies the Dead Queen by naming all the (male) leaders who are her descendants.<sup>76</sup>

Os principais reis d'Espanha  
de Portugal e Castela

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<sup>75</sup> See Chapter 4.5 for my staging of the "Trovas" and the feminist direction of the monologue.

<sup>76</sup> Jorge de Sena, in dating the writing of the ballad, concludes that it is this stanza that proves it was written before Naples ceased to be a dynasty, or 1501. Sena defends the historical rigour of the descendency of Inês de Castro cited by Resende, providing names and kinship: Afonso V of Aragon and John II of Navarre were Inês's great-grandchildren, Henry IV and Ferdinand (the Catholic) of Castile, Afonso V of Portugal and Fradique of Naples were her great-great-grandchildren, Manuel I and John II of Portugal and Maximilian of Austria, her third-great-grandchildren, and the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Handsome (or Philip I of Castile) her fourth-great-grandchild (1: 274-5)

e emperador d'Alemanha  
 olhai que honra tamanha  
 que todos descendem dela.  
 Rei de Nápole também  
 duque de Bregonha a quem  
 todo França medo havia  
 e em campo el rei vencia  
 todos estes dela vem. (lines 251-260)

The main Kings of Spain/ of Portugal and Castela/ and the emperor  
 of Germany/ look what great honour/ that all descend from  
 her./Also the King of Naples/ the Duke of Burgundy of whom/ all  
 of France was afraid/ and who defeated the King in battle/ all of  
 these come from her.

By naming Dona Inês as a direct ancestral mother of important men, Resende not only exalts his heroine but echoes her self-identification as a mother when she pleads for her life. Even as he replaces Dona Inês's *voice* as the narrator of the poem, the poet once again draws attention to her *body* and its reproductive, fertile aspect. This opening up of the body ensures that Dona Inês will be remembered as a founding mother of the nation, her body an authoritative and historically legitimate archive. As Sena notes, the "Trovas" may have been presented to Dom Manuel I when he returned to Lisboa with his second wife, Dona Maria (daughter of the Castilian Catholic King and Queen, Ferdinand and Isabel), since they both descended from Inês de Castro. Resende conjured "o espectro daquela que era, então, matriarca para todo o mundo, e exemplo máximo dos prémios e triunfos do amor" ("the spectre of she who was, then, matriarch of all the world, and utmost example of the rewards and victories of love"; Sena 1: 275).<sup>77</sup> I will return to the representation of Inês as matriarchal and the significance of her maternal body as the core of the poem and its plurality of voices is further examined.

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<sup>77</sup> Granted, this genealogical strategy could confine Inês to a patriarchal tradition that supports a nationalist ideology of origins but the emphasis on the illicit love that spawned a succession of Kings and Emperors suggests that Inês de Castro represents an alternative model. Genealogical trees of the Afonsine dynasty show Pedro's relationship with Inês off to one side of the chart, refusing the vertical, unilateral standard.

The fictive protagonist's voice is a locus for a multiplicity of readings: those that play with temporal and spatial realms, and those that dally with sex and gender. The Dantesque,<sup>78</sup> and medieval, trope of love as remembered and lived through visions from beyond the grave is the overriding style of the poem (Barreiros 168) and it enables a doubled subjectivity of the female character: the dead Inês voicing the living Inês in the dramatic final moments of her life. The other notable conceit of the "Trovas" is the frequent first-person male/female switches: the first of the male poet/narrator passing the word to the female protagonist after the opening verse and reclaiming it in the final verses (as discussed above), and the second of the expression of female and male voices by the female character in the central 21 verses of the poem. But what elements of this convention cause the *mouvance* of gender identity proposed by Burns et al? What genders Inês's voice as feminine and what masculine traits ensue when this same character "plays" men? What happens when the female character voices a dominant male discourse? And, how are a female and male subjectivity potentially simultaneously constructed when Dona Inês speaks as the King and her assassin? A historical consideration of the construction of gender is critical here and, as per Joan Cadden's comprehensive study, *Sex Differences in the Middle Ages*, can provide a more optimistic view of sex-gender associations than those charted in recent feminist analyses. That is, stereotypical masculine and feminine characteristics of a binary nature used by psychologists in the 1990's – they are listed by Mary Anne Case as, for example, the masculine being "aggressive", "ambitious", and "analytical" and the feminine "gentle" "yielding", and "emotional" (12-13) – are less flexible than some conceits of the later Middle Ages which consider the behaviour of feminine males and masculine females.<sup>79</sup> Cadden examines a number of medical and natural philosophical medieval documents and observes that,

[o]ccasionally the sources are explicit in associating character and behavior as well as physical traits with individuals of one sex or the other. More revealing, however, is the identification of masculine and feminine characteristics embedded in allusions to

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<sup>78</sup> Compositions like the "Trovas" were known as *infernos de namorados* ('lovers' infernos) after Dante (Macedo 7).

<sup>79</sup> Case also argues for a more flexible approach to sex-gender behavioural association in legal jurisdiction. See "Disaggregating Gender from Sex and Sexual Orientation: The Effeminate Man in the Law and Feminist Jurisprudence", *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 105, No. 1 (Oct., 1995), 1-105.

masculine females and feminine males. Cumulatively these references suggest what “feminine” and “masculine” meant and disclose the values associated with the terms. But they do more. First, they demonstrate the extent to which those gender constructs had been abstracted in the later Middle Ages, creating the explicit possibility of dividing and speaking of the world in terms of gender. Second, to the extent that these references are accompanied by naturalistic explanations, they show a certain cultural discomfort with that same process of abstraction – a desire to anchor properties, whether physical or behavioral in ordinary natural processes. The eclectic, flexible, and ambiguous approaches available at the confluence of medical and natural philosophical traditions gave writers of the later Middle Ages room to apply gender terms and constructs broadly while sustaining links to the workings of nature. (201)

It seems that while attributing clear feminine and masculine traits to individuals, these medieval scholars were less likely to attribute them based solely on sex-gender agreement. That is, the feminine man, one identified by his straight eyebrows, for example, would be described as “tender-hearted, envious, easily giving in to the passions, intolerant of physical work, bitter, deceitful and timid” (204). It follows that a masculine woman, one with facial hair, perhaps, might possess a masculine soul: “active, not easily subdued when roused to anger, generous, studious and controlled by virtue” (204).<sup>80</sup> What is crucial here is the suggestion that either sex might possess a combination of masculine and feminine traits – far more progressive than what the psychologists of the 1990’s prescribed – and, for the purposes of this study, that a “manly” woman might be considered in a positive light and *honoured* with the title of “virago” (205, italics mine).

Resende’s “Trovas”, then, if analysed in light of the masculine and feminine traits potentially shared by males and females in the later Middle Ages, uncover behaviours that give Dona Inês a

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<sup>80</sup> These traits were also determined by the humoral make-up of the individual, grounded in the body.

fluid gender constitution and the possibility of being an active (or conventionally male) agent or subject. She self-identifies as being schooled, “eu era...de tal doutrina...” (“I was...of such schooling”; line 34) and virtuous, “...e vertudes” (“and virtues”; 35) and takes an active role in pleading for her life but also uses tears, or gives in to the passions, to persuade the King, “...com grão choro e cortesia/ lhe fiz ua triste fala” (“with much crying and courtesy/ I made him a sad speech”; lines 84-5). The King, as seen and voiced by Inês, possesses feminine traits – not the least of which are evidenced by his change of mind – and sheds tears,

Com seu rosto lagrimoso  
 c’o propósito mudado  
 muito triste mui cuidadoso  
 como rei mui piadoso... (lines 151-4)  
 With a teary face/ with his purpose changed/ very sad very  
 thoughtful/ like a merciful King...

For this, he is severely criticized by his counsellor who accuses him of being tricked by the wiles of a woman, “mudaram vossa vontade/lágrimas d’ua molher” (“changed your will/the tears of a woman”; lines 164-5). Curiously, the behaviour of Dona Inês or the King is not limited by feminine and masculine conceptions, but the counsellor/assassin is truly macho in his disdain of the King and his actions. Nevertheless when he and the other assassin are described by Dona Inês as “[d]ous cavalheiros irosos” (“two angry knights”; line 211) who cannot control their anger and stab her to death they are exhibiting the feminine trait of “giving in to passion”. As Cadden stresses, moral and physical strength or weakness respectively were positively connected to the male and pejoratively to the female but deviations from this dichotomy were frequent and more nuanced traits were less rigidly understood and employed (208). Add to this the complex layering of narration in the poem – Dona Inês tells her story playing her part as well as the King and assassin – and we may conclude that there is not a single gendered subjectivity in Dona Inês’s speech. As her tongue trips back and forth between female and male roles, she performs masculinity and femininity, enacting what Judith Butler famously termed gender performativity: a deliberate performance of male characters, or drag, which foregrounds gender and its construction. There is an activity here, and a potential subjectivity even within the (male) discourse of Resende. Furthermore, and eroding the hierarchized definitions of masculine and

feminine,<sup>81</sup> the female protagonist subverts the authority of the male characters by having them speak through her. It is ultimately empowering to speak from the position of the tormentors, and to judge each one according to her viewpoint.

Seen through the lens of Homi K. Bhabha's postcolonial theory and the concepts of hybridity and mimicry, Inês both inhabits the Third Space and mimics her oppressors to transcend her womanly situation. In his seminal work, *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha proposes that a Third Space of enunciation where cultural hybridity can exist discovers the ambivalence of traditional authoritarian discourse and creates a space of ambiguity and even contradiction. The discourse itself becomes hybrid and the process of domination may be reversed. The Third or in-between space shifts between the new and the old, the subject and the other; hybridized peoples can negotiate or deny claims of 'purity':

It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew. (*Location* 55)

Where no true or pure originals, or symbols, are permitted, identity can be constructed through a negotiation of difference and can contest conventional sites of knowledge and power.

Notwithstanding the critiques Bhabha has sustained from feminist scholars because he sidesteps gender politics,<sup>82</sup> the concept of the Third Space can be used by women who refuse a "pure" gender and negotiate a fluid masculine-feminine identity, and women who aspire to transcend their situation, or location, as cultural or mythic symbols. The Third Space, with its liberating ambivalence, enables a strategy of self-rule beyond the restrictions of gender and a masculinist discourse. Resende's Dona Inês, by embodying her male enemies and inhabiting the in-between

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<sup>81</sup> As early as Aristotle, woman was seen as inferior to man; see, for example, *Politics* 2., 3., and 12.

<sup>82</sup> Anne McClintock criticizes Bhabha's introduction to Franz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Mask* where "women are thus effectively deferred to a nowhere land, beyond time and place, outside theory" (267).

spaces of masculine or feminine constraints, temporarily finds the freedom of the Beauvoirian transcendent subject.<sup>83</sup>

Bhabha's deconstruction of mimicry – the colonized subject's adoption of the manners and dress of the colonizer – likewise serves Inês's subjectivization. By performing her male oppressors, Inês at once parodies and subverts the symbols of power that control her destiny, gaining some agency in the process. The (assassin) Counsellor's and the King's poses and ruses are exposed when a female body and voice is attached to them. As Bhabha contends,

colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other,  
*as a subject of difference that is almost the same but not quite.*

Which is to say that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference. The authority of that mode of colonial discourse that I have called mimicry is therefore stricken by an indeterminacy: mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal. Mimicry is, thus the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which appropriates the Other as it visualizes power. (*Location* 122, italics in the original)

The artificiality with which Dona Inês renders the speeches of the Counsellor and the King uncovers the flimsy foundations on which their power rests, creating an ambivalent discourse where a direct challenge can be read. Even as her assassin erroneously predicts that Inês's death will bring a peace of two centuries to the Kingdom,

Com sua morte escusareis  
muitas mortes, muitos danos

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<sup>83</sup> Central to Beauvoir's thesis of women's sexual oppression is the relegation of woman to Other which prevents her from reaching transcendence: "Now, what peculiarly signalizes the situation of woman is that she – a free and autonomous being like all human creatures – nevertheless finds herself living in a world where men compel her to assume the status of the Other. They propose to stabilize her as object and to doom her to immanence since her transcendence is to be overshadowed and forever transcended by another ego (*conscience*) which is essential and sovereign. The drama of woman lies in this conflict between the fundamental aspirations of every subject (ego) – who always regards the self as essential – and the compulsion of a situation in which she is the inessential." (xxxv)

vós senhor descansareis  
 e a vós e a nós dareis  
 paz para duzentos anos. (lines 181-185)

With her death you'll avoid/ many deaths, much harm/ You sir will  
 rest/ and to yourself and us will give/ peace for two hundred years.

with the voice of Dona Inês behind it, it sounds plainly like the false promise it is. The male Counsellor's abstract "*muitas mortes, muitos danos*" and the arbitrary "duzentos anos" spoken by a woman is a mimicry of masculine reason. Moreover, with Dona Inês performing phrases like, "Com sua morte" ("with her death"), or the preceding, "Se a logo não matais" ("if you don't kill her right away"; line 171), she enacts Bhabha's "double articulation" as a victim playing the man who sentences her. When voicing the male characters, the textual Inês appears to the reader as "*almost the same but not quite*", revealing the fissures in the discourse of domination that constantly threatens her identity.

The act of multiple ventriloquism practiced by Garcia de Resende which enables the poet to pass the word to Dona Inês and permits a subaltern character to mimic the men who hold her life in their hands, can also be analysed through a feminist lens such as the one scoped by Elizabeth Harvey in the fascinating *Ventriloquized Voices*. Like Bhabha, Harvey invokes difference in the appropriation of a feminine voice by a male author, "An author's speaking through the voice of the other gender opens up what I argue is a discrepancy in the etymological sense of 'sounding differently'" (2), and, after Butler, challenges the notion of an original model that the transvestite voice allegedly copies:

I am particularly interested in what happens to a male-authored text when its intertexts are authored by a woman (such as Ovid's allusions to Sappho), spoken in the feminine voice (Erasmus's references to Virgil's *Sibyl*), or spoken in a cross-dressed or transvestite voice. In these cases, not only are authorial and textual autonomies transgressed by subtexts, but the stability of gender itself is revealed to be what Judith Butler has recently termed a structure of impersonation (Butler 1991:21). Just as intertextuality suggests a kind of infinite regress in which there is no original, so too does this transvestism of voice imply that "gender is a kind of

imitation for which there is no original” (Butler 1991:21, italics removed). In other words, what ventriloquistic cross-dressing makes clear is that, while transvestism is seen as a copy of an original (a man dressed as, or speaking as, a woman), when we examine the original, it too turns out not to be original, but a copy of itself. (10-11)

When the character of Inês commandeers and contradicts the authorial voice, the stability of authorial gender and its presumed authority is called into question. Just as the Councillor names her as a threat to the peace of the Kingdom, Dona Inês, by donning his persona and voice, threatens the authority of the male Court figures. It is as if the character is constructing a new gender identity based on pre-existing constructions of gender. Note how she describes the King, “...mui piadoso mui cristão e esforçado” (“very merciful very Christian and valiant”; lines 154-5) and the Councillor who will assassinate her, “...cavaleiro desalmado...mui irado” (“a soulless knight...very angry”; lines 167-8). This contrasts greatly with her own description of herself, “...triste de mim inocente” (“unfortunate and innocent”; line 16), which she will forego to play the other sex. By appropriating and exaggerating masculine gender traits, Inês stresses their artificiality, copying, as Harvey suggests above, a “copy” of sex-role models of Resende’s time.

The question of who owns the text is manifest throughout the ballad and played up by the motif of ventriloquism which “is most often invoked in and around issues of authorial property, especially as property intersects with history in the recreation— and often enshrinement— of the past, in the animation of the dead by the living, or in the way the living are “possessed”<sup>84</sup> by the historical figures they study” (Harvey 12). In Resende’s ballad, the living author’s discourse via the poet character is destabilized when the dead Inês directly addresses the living ladies of the Court and the author’s authority must be wrested back (as discussed above). The push and pull between male poet, female heroine and intended female listeners or readers of the ballad is in constant play, dynamically foregrounding gender and authority.

A further aspect of the feminine voice in early modern texts that is suggested by Harvey, is its issuance from a female body and the resulting sexual currency it manifests. “Examined within

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<sup>84</sup> The quotes reference the subject of Harvey’s analysis, A. S. Byatt’s *Possession*.

the cultural discourses of the period, woman's voice or tongue... is seen to be imbricated with female sexuality, just as silence is 'bound up' with sexual continence" (4). Dona Inês speaks from a place of comfort and security made possible by her sexualized role as mistress of the Prince,

Estava mui acatada  
 como princesa servida  
 em meus paços muito honrada  
 de tudo mui abastada  
 de meu senhor mui querida. (lines 61-5)

I was very respected/served like a Princess/ honoured in my  
 palace/ well-provided for/ loved by my Lord.

But when this relationship is threatened by the arrival of the King at the Paço de Santa Clara, a figurative sexual continence is suggested by her silence.

e tanto que perguntei  
 soube logo qu'era el rei  
 quando o vi tão apressado  
 meu coração trespassado  
 foi que nunca mais falei. (lines 78-80)

And as soon as I asked/ I knew it was the King/ when I saw him in  
 such haste/ my heart was pierced through/ and I talked no more.

Dona Inês's life as a lover is at an end but she finds her voice when she pleads for her life stressing her identity as a mother, a more honourable facet of her sexualized being. As discussed above, Resende eulogizes Inês de Castro maternally as an ancestral genetic source. The powerful image of a woman giving birth to a line of male rulers is suggested by "todos estes dela vem" ("all of these come from her"; line 260), and echoes Inês's own construction of herself as a mother, and her insistence on the importance of patrilineal lineage to sway the King. She is thus doubly represented as ancestral mother and a fertile female with children. In her plea for clemency, the children's agnate (through the male line) relationship to the King, as well as the King's to Pedro, and their need of a mother, are central.

*Meus filhos pus de redor  
 de mim com grã homildade...* (lines 86-7 my italics)

My children I gathered round me/ with great humility...

...por ser *mãe dos inocentes*  
 qu'ante vós estão presentes,  
 os quais *vossos netos são*.

E que tem tão pouca idade  
 que *se não forem criados*  
*de mim só* com saudade  
 e sua grã orfindade  
 morrerão desamparados.  
 Olhe bem quanta crueza  
 fará nisto voss'alteza:  
 e também senhor olhai,  
*pois do príncipe sois pai,*  
 não lhe deis tanta tristeza. (98-110, my italics)

...as I am the mother of the innocents/ who are present before you/  
 who are your grandchildren./ And they are so young/ that if they  
 are not brought up/ only by me, with *saudade*/ and its great  
 ‘orphaning’/ they will die forsaken./ See how much cruelty/ you  
 will cause, your Highness/ and also my Lord see/ since you are the  
 father of the Prince/ don’t cause him such sadness.

She had named herself as maiden, “Eu era moça, menina” (“I was a maiden, a noble maiden”; line 31) before meeting the Prince, harkening back to a more sexually innocent time when she was a virgin.<sup>85</sup> But now to plead her case, no longer innocent because she has loved the Prince, she must summon forth the children as the innocent ones, “por ser mãe dos inocentes” (“as mother of the innocents”; line 98).

This aspect of the “Trovas” is crucial to later representations of Inês de Castro, especially António Ferreira’s *Castro* where the children are present and pushed forward to plead with the King but for their tender age are unable to articulate anything in favour of their mother. Like

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<sup>85</sup> This is first love and, as Sena notes, gives Inês “prioridade” (“priority”; 1: 515); moreover, Pedro’s historical brides, Branca and Constança are never mentioned making Inês’s “como princesa servida” (“served like a Princess”; line 62) true – for Resende, she is the only princess.

Resende's Dona Inês, Castro uses the (silent) children as props for her rhetorical speech and this will be reproduced in both of the twentieth-century films analysed in the next chapter. Inês's meeting with Afonso IV, gathering her children around her to give credence to her plea for mercy, is frequently exploited in Inesian literature and art and noted for its gratuitous sentimentality (Sousa, *Tema Português* 48).<sup>86</sup> Resende has been criticized for creating an easy narrative where Inês “apenas joga com a inocência dos filhos...para fazer deles um argumento contra as leis do Estado e da Moral” (“simply plays with the innocence of the children...to make a case against State and Morality”; Pinto de Castro 48). According to Machado de Sousa, the use of the children is manipulative because it increases the “violência emotiva” (“emotional violence”) felt by the reader/spectator upon perceiving “...o drama humano das crianças orfãs, vítimas de uma arbitrariedade sem sentido, o desespero de uma separação irremediável que poderia ter sido evitada” (“the human drama of the orphaned children, victims of a senseless arbitrariness, the despair of an irreparable separation that could have been avoided”; *Tema Português* 48).

If the opening up of the woman's body through motherhood or implied lineage is a trope of the “Trovas”, then the aspect of martyrdom that the poem strongly evokes can also open up Inês's body in a spiritual sense. When Dona Inês begins to speak following the introductory *décima* of the poet/narrator, it is with a fervent appeal to the reader/spectator to feel compassion for her tragic fate.

Qual será o coração  
tão cru e sem piedade,  
que lhe não cause paixão  
ua tão grão crueldade  
e morte tão sem razão?  
Triste de mim inocente,  
que por ter muito fervente  
lealdade, fé, amor

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<sup>86</sup> As noted above, Rui de Pina, in *Crónica de D. Afonso IV* published circa 1490, first shows Inês using the children as shields (Vasconcelos 31).

ó príncepe, meu senhor,  
me mataram cruamente. (lines 11-20)

What heart is there/ so cruel and without pity/ that won't be  
moved/ by such a great cruelty/ and death without reason?/  
Unhappy me innocent/ who for having such fervent/ loyalty, faith,  
love/ for the Prince, my lord/ was cruelly killed.

From the outset, love and martyrdom are conflated, echoing the accounts of medieval saints where young Christian women were sacrificed for the religious love that they had for their Lord Jesus Christ. In contrast to the virgin martyrs who willingly welcomed death because they longed to be united with the Lord, however, Dona Inês subverts the traditional martyr narratives because she does not wish to die (and from the afterlife, rues her sacrifice). In her mercy speech she is afraid, "...com grã homildade/ mui cortada de temor..." ("...with great humility/ rent with fear...; lines 87-8), and repeatedly justifies her innocence:

sem porquê matar molher (95)  
to kill a woman without reason

mas pois eu nunca errei (121)  
but I have never erred

pois que nunca fiz maldade (130)  
since I never did any evil

qu'ue a ele não errava  
nem fizera traição (134-5)  
I had not done him any wrong/ or betrayed him

por lhe não ter merecida  
a morte nem nenhum mal (199-200)  
for I didn't deserve/ death or any harm.

But though Dona Inês refuses to accept martyrdom, her reference to her lover as Prince and Lord evokes the image of God or Christ and the general direction of the monologue with its allusions to bodily suffering, echoes female saints' *vitae*. Moreover, her rhetoric is convincing and she is

so articulate as to remind us of the mythical Katherine of Alexandria who was “endowed with the verbal skills to overthrow the wise” (Savage and Watson 260).<sup>87</sup> The manner of Inês’s execution in the “Trovas”, like the deaths of sacrificial virgins,<sup>88</sup> also evokes sexual imagery that confuses and complicates an “innocent” death.

Dous cavaleiros irosos  
 que tais palavras lh'ouviram  
 mui crus e não piadosos  
 perversos, desamorosos  
 contra mim rijo se viram.  
 Com as espadas na mão  
 m'atravessam o coração  
 a confissão me tolheram  
 este é o galardão  
 que meus amores me deram. (lines 211-220)

Two angry knights/ on hearing such words/ very cruel and without  
 mercy/ perverse, unloving/ turn ‘hard’ towards me./ With swords  
 in hand/ they pierce my heart/ they did not allow me confession/  
 this is the reward/ that my love has given me.

In this attack by phallic instruments, a simulation of sexual penetration is further suggested by the use of the word “rijo” (hard), “contra mim *rijo* se viram/ com as espadas na mão/ m'atravessam o coração”. Erect penises reach Dona Inês’s “coração”, or the heart of her sex, her

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<sup>87</sup> Indeed, this aspect of the speech in *Os Lusíadas* elicited harsh criticism from English and Portuguese scholars of Camões. In a review of Mickle’s translation (1797), Robert Southey declares that “it is absurd to represent a woman agitated with such agonizing terror as Inez making a long speech”; likewise, José Agostinho de Macedo (1820) asked incredulously, “e pode huma fraca mulher neste estado, neste transe tão fatal, pronunciar hum discurso tão erudito e tão concertado?” (“and can a weak woman in this state, in this fatal trance, pronounce such an erudite and sensible speech?”; qtd. in Sousa, *Tema Português* 46-47). Inês’s plea for clemency as imagined by Camões has mythological allusions that inspired the attack of “erudito” but Resende’s poetry does not seem any less “concertado”. The astonishment of these two (male) scholars at the articulate nature of the female character is akin to the story of Saint Catherine of Alexandria where the men cannot accept a woman whose verbal skills surpass their own.

<sup>88</sup> Roman hymns to virgin saints established the innocent but sexualized martyr narrative. Prudentius’ story of Inês’s namesake, St. Agnes, is a case in point. Agnes, “warm with the love of Christ” welcomes the “naked sword” of her executioner: “I shall meet his eager steps half-way and not put off his hot desires. I shall welcome the whole length of his blade into my bosom, drawing the sword-blow to the depths of my breast” (trans. Thompson 339, 343).

vagina. The violence inflicted on the female character's body represents the struggle for power in which the male characters, the King and his Counsellors, are engaged. As Jill Ross suggests in her absorbing analysis of the Cid's daughters' assault in the *Poema de Mio Cid*,

The location of this violent clash between speech and writing on the bodies of women is significant since it emphasizes the parallel binarism of voice/writing and that of the masculine/the feminine, thereby transforming the tension between voice and letter into a gendered struggle over the control of language, and consequently of power. (82)

As Resende regains the word following Inês's account of her death, the written (male) word trumps the (female) utterance. The Counsellors and the Poet "reassert the dominance and power of their phallic sword-pens" (87) by penetrating the body/text of Inês de Castro.

Ironically, the enduring image of the heroine is one of her body set in stone, for Resende ends the "Trovas" with a description of the Royal tombs. They are a reification of the *saudade* and spiritual love that have made Inês de Castro more powerful than the men who condemned her.

[D]ous ricos moimentos  
em qu'ambos vereis jazer:  
rei, rainha coroados  
mui juntos não apartados  
no cruzeiro d'Alcobaça  
quem puder bem faça  
pois por bem se dão tais grados. (lines 274-280)

[T]wo rich monuments/ where both lie/ King, Queen, crowned/  
very close, not apart/ in the transept of Alcobaça/ whoever can love  
do so/ since for love such honour is given.

Resende reminds his listeners/readers that the tombs are a memorial to the eternal love of Pedro and Inês just as his "Trovas" have immortalized the Dead Queen, as I argue, as a subject of her tragedy. With a feminist reading, it has been the objective of this section to bring "the rhetorical bod[y] of [a] fictive protagonis[t] situated at a far remove from the mout[h] of [a] historical wom[a]n" (Burns et al 239) closer to her feminist descendants. In the following section, we shall

see how a Portuguese Renaissance tragedy succeeds in immortalizing its Inesian protagonist as a national heroine.

### 2.3 António Ferreira's *Castro*: The Tragic Heroine

In the decades between Garcia de Resende's publication of the *Cancioneiro Geral* in 1501 and the composition and performance of António Ferreira's *Castro* in the 1550's, the brilliant plays of Gil Vicente entertained and challenged the Portuguese Court. To our detriment, Vicente, the canonized playwright of Portugal's Golden Age, did not wield his pen to interpret the Inesian legend. If he had done so with his clever brand of social satire,<sup>89</sup> Inesian literature may have developed in quite another direction. Alas, there are but brief allusions to Inês in two of his 1527 plays, one with verses which echo the "Trovas" (Sena 1: 312) and another which was performed in the room in which Inês was believed to have lost her life.<sup>90</sup> The first, *Farsa dos Almocreves* (*Farce of the Muleteers*), is a burlesque farce which parodies the moment when Inês sees the Counsellors and King approaching; the latter, *Comédia Sobre a Divisa da Cidade de Coimbra* (*Comedy about the Emblem of the City of Coimbra*), makes a direct reference to Inês by listing traits of "pouca fala, formosas e firmes" ("not talkative, beautiful and firm"; 163) as the characteristics of the "Crasto" women from whom the speaker, Belicrasta, descends. One can only speculate on the form a Vincentian play about Inês and Pedro would have taken, but it is certain it would have been an irreverent representation, as was the playwright's wont. As it stands, the first Portuguese Inesian full-length play<sup>91</sup> was penned by a student of classical literature, António Ferreira (1528/9-1569) in the mode of a Senecan tragedy (Sena vol. 1,

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<sup>89</sup> Vicente applied the Latin maxim *ridendo castigat mores* ("through laughter, we criticize or punish our customs") to ensure popular success (Abilio 79, Gomes 104).

<sup>90</sup> With only a few lines with which to work in both plays, Jorge de Sena provides an erudite analysis of Vicente's mention of the Inesian story in these plays (1: 302-322).

<sup>91</sup> While Resende's "dramatic embryo" has the potential to be performed as a short play it is first and foremost a ballad. Anrique da Mota's "Visão de Inês de Castro", with its blend of descriptive prose and verse in direct speech is considered to be a dramatic sketch, though also quite brief; it is dated circa 1528 (see Eugenio Asensio's "Inês de Castro de la Crónica al Mito", *Boletim de Filologia, Tomo XXI*, 1962-63, pp 349-50). Both poetic works are potential sources for Ferreira.

Earle).<sup>92</sup> It is the earliest extant Portuguese tragedy,<sup>93</sup> written in the vernacular and focusing on a Portuguese subject. Ferreira is lauded for this particular accomplishment and is also considered a great poet of the Portuguese Renaissance; if Vicente is the Luso Shakespeare, Ferreira is its Horace.<sup>94</sup>

Like Garcia de Resende, Ferreira places Inês at the center of his text. She is the titular heroine, named as Castro in the character list,<sup>95</sup> has the privileged opening scene of the play<sup>96</sup> and lengthy rhetorical monologues in her plea for mercy to the King. She protagonizes five scenes (out of thirteen) and is on stage longer than any other single character; when she is offstage, she is the subject of the other characters' heated debates about her happiness, her survival, and her assassination. Unlike the nineteenth- and twentieth-century tendency to continue the story with Pedro's revenge and the crowning of the corpse, *Castro* ends when Castro is killed. As Luciana Stegagno Picchio notes, the play is focused on the character, not her story, "o drama é todo, e tão-só, o de Inês" ("the drama is all, and only, of Inês"; 147, 154). It should hardly be necessary to defend the subject position of the female protagonist in Ferreira's tragedy were it not for the existence of masculinist analyses that insist on discussing Castro in relation to the male hero.

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<sup>92</sup> Ferreira scholar Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares argues that while the 1587 version of *Castro* manifests Senecan influence, the 1598 edition conforms to the Greek mode of tragedy (*Leitura* 28). However, Seneca emulated Euripidean tragedy, thus Ferreira's source could still be the Roman tragedy. Jorge de Sena conducts a lengthy comparison of Seneca's *Octavia* and *Castro* to prove the influence of Roman drama (1: 472-480).

<sup>93</sup> Theatre historian Luciana Stegagno Picchio names Ferreira as the "creator" or "inventor" of the Portuguese tragedy (87, 118). Claude-Henri Fréches claims Ferreira wrote the *only* sixteenth-century tragedy in Portuguese (*Neo-Latin* 69).

<sup>94</sup> This comparison is made across the centuries; see, for example, the introduction to the 1771 edition of *Poemas Lusitanos*, Júlio de Castilho's 1875 three-volume study of the poet that includes the chapter "Ferreira Horaciano" (Vol. I, Livro II, Capítulo VI), John R. C. Martyn's 1987 English translation of *Castro* (4), and Silvério Augusto Benedito's 1989 compilation of Ferreira's poetry. Ferreira's comedies in the manner of Plautus (*Bristo*) and Terence (*Cioso*) were less successful than *Castro* or his poetry because of the Inquisitorial censorship of bawdy comedy. Like his predecessor Sá de Miranda's *Vilhalpandos*, Ferreira's comedies were timid and yawn-inducing (Picchio 120-22).

<sup>95</sup> In this section, I shall refer to Ferreira's character as Castro, as she is named in the 1598 edition's *Pessoas da Tragedia* (*dramatis personae*), and to the historical figure as Inês.

<sup>96</sup> The text used in this analysis is F. Costa Marques's 1974 publication of the play based on Marques Braga's and Sousa da Silveira's editions which are themselves based on the 1598 *Castro* published in *Poemas Lusitanos*. Marques also consults the latter and the edition established by Roig in 1971 (71). It is of scholarly opinion (Roig, Sena, Castro Soares, Machado de Sousa, Earle) that the 1598 version is more developed than the 1587 "anonymous" script first used for performance in the 1550's. In the latter, Inês does not open the play but appears for the first time in Act III.

Claude-Henri Frèches, for example, refuses to grant autonomy to Castro, naming her as “double et miroir de son amant” (“Personnage” 256). Undoubtedly, the passion that Castro feels for Pedro is at the center of her life but this is fully reciprocated and the text indicates that the reverse, that she is at the center of Pedro’s life, is just as true. Pedro is said to have “Castro na boca, Castro n’alma, Castro/ Em toda a parte ante si presente” (“Ines is on his lips, Ines in his heart/ Everywhere she appears to him”; I line 88, Martyn 247),<sup>97</sup> and himself states, “Não cuidem que me posso apartar donde/ Estou todo, onde vivo...” (“Let them not believe that I can separate myself/ From the soul where I am complete, where is my life”; I 392-3, Martyn 260). As I encounter phrases such as Frèches’s cited above or Suzanne Cornil’s contention that Afonso IV is the “fond psychologique” of Castro (67-8), I consider that the ‘new poetics’ of Sue-Ellen Case which “deconstruct the traditional systems of representation and perception of women and posit women in the position of the subject” continue to be relevant for a feminist analysis (114-5).

The feminist reader of *The Oresteia* discovers that she must read against the text, resisting not only its internal sense of pathos and conclusion, but also the historical and cultural codes which surround it, including its treatment within theatre history. The pathos the feminist reader feels may be for Iphigenia and Clytemnestra rather than for Agamemnon (15).

I will read *Castro* and its criticism as Case re-reads Attic tragedy. Like Resende’s Dona Inês, Ferreira’s Castro adroitly commands the sympathies of the reader/spectator so the strategy of reading “against the text”<sup>98</sup> can sometimes be put aside but challenging masculinist criticism of the play is an ongoing endeavor in situating the character in the position of protagonist.

Ferreira’s dominant theme is Love versus Reason of State, with Castro as the embodiment of love battling with the King and Counsellors who personify the State. We have seen a similar stance in Resende when Dona Inês fights for her innocence by evoking Love,

tive amor e lealdade

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<sup>97</sup> Here and elsewhere I use the 1987 English translation of *Castro, The Tragedy of Ines de Castro*, by John R. C. Martyn.

<sup>98</sup> See Judith Fetterley’s classic feminist study *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*, Bloomington:Indiana University Press, c1978.

ò príncepe... (137-8)

I had love and loyalty/ for the prince...

but the Counsellors remind the King of the illicit nature of her relationship with Pedro,

E quereis qu'abarregado,

com filhos como casado,

estê senhor vosso filho? (lines 166-8)

Do you want your son in concubinage, with children as though he

were married, my lord?

to convince him that Dona Inês is a threat to the State. Ferreira's further politicization of the romance would influence texts from Camões's Canto III of *Os Lusíadas* to the twentieth-century mainstream Portuguese films studied in the Third Chapter of this dissertation. As Machado de Sousa notes,

Os conselheiros ecoam os clamores do povo, que em última análise são a razão de Estado, que transforma a injustiça numa virtude libertadora. A *Castro* é sobretudo uma tragédia política, que valoriza a força dos princípios e sacrifica o individuo ao bem comum. (*Literatura* 13)

The counsellors echo the clamouring of the people, which in the final analysis is the Reason of State that transforms injustice into a liberating virtue. *Castro* is above all a political tragedy which values principle and sacrifices the individual to the common good.

This perspective would affect the characterization of Inês in several ways: how she is positioned vis-a-vis the nation, and by extension how she functions as the tragic heroine of a national tragedy, how she is thrust into the public sphere on account of her private act of love, how she is represented as a lover and mother, and how she becomes the enduring figure of *saudade* so dear to the Portuguese for centuries afterwards. Moreover, the skilled rhetorician that Resende creates, a woman who manages to change the King's will by reasonably justifying her innocence,

El-rei, vendo como estava,

houve de mim compaixam

e viu o que nam oulhava:

qu'eu a ele nam errava

nem fizera traiçam. (lines 131-135)

The King, seeing how I was/ had compassion for me/ and saw  
 what he had not seen before/ that I had not done him any wrong or  
 betrayed him.

is beautifully developed in Ferreira with Castro dominating the third act with 153 lines (out of 211) in her mercy speech to the King (Sena 1: 550).

Although it was first published anonymously in 1587 as the *Tragedia muy sentida e elegante de Dona Inês de Castro* (*Very sad and fine tragedy of Dona Inês de Castro*) and only under António Ferreira's name in his son's, Miguel Leite Ferreira's, 1598 edition of *Poemas Lusitanos*, it is believed that *Castro* was composed and possibly performed between 1550 and 1557.<sup>99</sup> Ferreira's tragedy was part of a resurrection of classic dramaturgy by masters of the Colégio das Artes of the University of Coimbra like George Buchanan and Diogo de Teive, Ferreira's teachers, who composed tragedies based on biblical stories or Greek subjects in Latin (Sena 1: 434). Teive also wrote of the unexpected death of young Prince João (who would have succeeded Dom João III), and predicted the ensuing Phillipine reign of Portugal, but his *Ioannes Princeps*, an accepted source for *Castro*,<sup>100</sup> was penned in Latin. Thus, Ferreira holds the title of pioneering the Portuguese tragedy, and choosing a subject that demonstrates how much the nation suffered for the actions of its monarchs. For just as Thebes bent to the crimes of Oedipus and his forebears, or Argos to the felony of the House of Atreus, so did Portugal to the actions of a weak King and

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<sup>99</sup> Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos dates the composition of *Castro* at 1557 and Adrien Roig between 1553 and 1556 (Soares, *Teatro* 14, Benedito 13) but Jorge de Sena speculates that 1550 is a more likely date because Ferreira was later immersed in his doctoral work (completed in 1554), the Inquisition was not yet in full force and the patron King of the literary renaissance, Dom João III, was still alive (Sena 1:433-8). The dates of composition and publication of *Castro* have been of great relevance since the authorship of the play was challenged in 1975. Roger Bismut alleged that Jerónimo Bermúdez's quasi-identical *Nise Lastimosa* preceded Ferreira's *Castro*, which prompted immediate and unwavering arguments for Ferreira's originality. See, for example, Mitchell Trewedi's 1975 edition of Bermúdez's plays in *Primeras Tragedias Españolas*, Madrid, 1975, Paul Teyssier's "La *Castro* est bien d'Antonio Ferreira" A.d.C.C.P. x, 1976, 695-733, and Aníbal Pinto Castro's 1977, "António Ferreira, Autor da *Castro*: Algumas Considerações a Propósito de Dois Artigos do Prof. Roger Bismut" (António Ferreira, Author of *Castro*: Some Considerations Regarding Two Articles by Prof. Roger Bismut). Bismut published further proof for his theory in his 1986 paper, "Sur l'influence des "Trovas à Morte de D. Inês de Castro" de Resende dans la *Castro* de Ferreira" arguing that the material from the "Trovas" in both Bermúdez and Ferreira support his contestation that Bermúdez is the original author. Eventually Bismut published *António Ferreira: le plagiaire malgré lui* (1989). However, Ferreira specialist Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares responded with her 1996 publication, *Teatro clássico no século XVI: A Castro de António Ferreira, Fontes – Originalidade*, which argues that Diogo de Teive's *Ioannes Princeps tragoedia* is in fact the source for *Castro* and proves Ferreira's authorship.

<sup>100</sup> See Castro Soares above.

vengeful Prince. The enmity between the Crown Prince and Afonso IV, and the threat of the devastating civil war that followed Inês's death, is emphasized in *Castro's* final Act, in violent verses uttered by the raging Pedro.

Eu te persiguierei, Rei meu imigo.  
 Lavrará muito cedo bravo fogo  
 Nos teus, na tua terra; destruídos  
 Verão os teus amigos, outros mortos,  
 De cujo sangue se encherão os campos,  
 De cujo sangue correrão os rios,  
 Em vingança daquele... (V 155-161)  
 My King, my enemy, I will persecute you./ A terrible fire will  
 consume all/ Yours and your Kingdom; men will see/ Your friends  
 destroyed, and still more dead./ Whose blood will drench the  
 fields,/ With whose blood the rivers will run,/ Avenging that of  
 Ines. (Martyn 327)

In his critical introduction to the 1990 edition of *Castro*, T. F. Earle brilliantly argues that the cause of Castro's execution lies in the generational tribulations that curse the Luso monarchy (31). Afonso III's rejection of his French bride in favour of his Castilian mistress encourages like behaviour in Pedro, and the battles fought between Dom Dinis and Afonso IV compromise the moral authority and weaken the power of the latter (31) According to Earle's interpretation of Ferreira, this is why the Counsellors are able to coerce the King into killing Castro. In effect, the homosocial genealogy that in abstract terms erases Inês leads to her physical erasure. Thus, the story of Inês and Pedro becomes the tragic denouement of decades of royal immoral behaviour and conflict; and, as evidenced in Pedro's warmongering speech, it is the people who will pay for it. A national tragedy indeed!

Moreover, Ferreira's defence of Castro's innocence and her resistance to an unjust condemnation by the abstract but powerful Reason of State perpetrates a national narrative that, as Homi K Bhabha suggests,

contests the traditional authority of those national objects of  
 knowledge – Tradition, People, Reason of State, High Culture, for  
 instance – whose pedagogical value often relies on their

representation as holistic concepts located within an evolutionary narrative of historical continuity...To study the nation through its narrative address does not merely draw attention to its language and rhetoric; it also attempts to alter the conceptual object itself.

(*Nation 3*)

How Ferreira chose to ‘write’ the nation through the story of Inês and Pedro as a neo-classicist tragedy in the vernacular is significant in itself, but what he chose to write, a challenge to both monarchical authority and the “clamour of the People”, and the construction of Inês de Castro as a national heroine is vital to this chapter of Portuguese history.<sup>101</sup> Ferreira debunks the “objects of knowledge” listed by Bhabha – including the High Culture of Latin verse – to present a passionate rendition of an innocent woman’s fate at the hands of the powerful. Whether Ferreira was successful in “alter[ing] the conceptual object itself” with his production of *Castro* is uncertain<sup>102</sup> but by choosing theatre as a vehicle for his ideas he is sure to have incited debate around a moment of crisis in the nation’s history (Holdsworth 6-7). As Nadine Holdsworth posits, “theatre is deeply implicated in constructing the nation through the imaginative realm and provides a site where the nation can be put under the microscope” (6). In the mid-sixteenth century, with Portugal’s Golden Age waning, the Inquisition powerfully instated,<sup>103</sup> and the

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<sup>101</sup> I acknowledge Nadine Holdsworth’s mention of Bhabha’s *Nation and Narration* in her monograph *Theatre and Nation* (1).

<sup>102</sup> Although it is believed that the scholars from Bordeaux, like George Buchanan, brought to Coimbra their experience of writing and producing neo-classicist plays, and this greatly influenced Portuguese scholar-playwrights (Soares, *Leitura* 27), there are few records of actual performances in Coimbra. Mendes de Remédios supports this belief in calling Coimbra the “Atenas lusitana” and speculating that Ferreira, like Sá de Miranda, composed his plays in Coimbra where, “naturally”, they were presented (xlii). For *Castro*, the document that is ‘proof’ of staging is the frontispiece of the 1587 edition printed by Manuel de Lira which says the play was performed in Coimbra, *Tragedia muy sentida e elegante de Dona Ines de Castro; aqual foy representada na cidade de Coimbra. Agora novamente acrescentada* (*Very sad and fine tragedy of Dona Inês de Castro; which was performed in the city of Coimbra. Now with new additions*) (my stress), but even this document appeared more than thirty years after the play was allegedly first performed. Nonetheless, Jorge de Sena suggests the play may have been performed several times in Coimbra and other places since the middle of the sixteenth century (435). It is possible that *Castro*’s production history merited a publication.

<sup>103</sup> Dom João III introduced the Inquisition in 1531; *Castro* could be read as a harsh criticism of a King who is unjust, assassinating innocent people for Reasons of State, as Afonso IV did when he sentenced Inês de Castro.

threat of Spanish rule closer than ever,<sup>104</sup> *Castro* would have provided a forum for reflection on the nation and its future, a precursor to Camões' highly influential neo-classical epic poem, *Os Lusíadas*. In subsequent centuries, the play's canonization, along with Camões's Canto III, which glorifies "a mísera e mesquinha que depois de ser morta foi rainha" ("the unhappy wretch who was queen after death"; stanza 118), would consolidate Inês de Castro's position as a national icon.<sup>105</sup>

In Ferreira's representation, Inês de Castro's position vis-a-vis the nation is directly related to her role as a tragic heroine. As Jorge de Sena observes, Ferreira does not portray Castro as a young girl blinded by passion, but as a woman who is fully aware of the dangers she faces and has the qualities that, had she not been killed, would have made her Queen of Portugal: "Inês, como toda a heroína trágica que se preza, é muitíssimo lúcida...e essa mesma lucidez é a de uma mulher madura<sup>106</sup> que poderia ser...uma Rainha" ("Inês, like all who pride themselves as tragic heroines, is terribly lucid...and that same lucidity is of a mature woman who could be...Queen"; 1: 491). Thus, as a tragic heroine in a national tragedy both historically and narratively, and if we allow that the Aristotelian principles of tragedy respected by Seneca were followed by the Portuguese neo-classicists,<sup>107</sup> how is Ferreira's Castro constructed according to precepts for tragic heroes and heroines? And, at the heart of this inquiry regarding the tragic figure of Inês de Castro

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<sup>104</sup> When Dom Sebastião disappeared while battling the Moroccan King in 1576, the succession of the throne was destabilized and Felipe II of Spain quickly took advantage of this. The subsequent rule of the three Felipes, II, III and IV, lasted from 1580-1640.

<sup>105</sup> As Holdworth reminds us, though, "the meanings associated with national iconography do not stand still" and, just to take one example, Teatro O Bando's production of *Pedro and Inês* in 2011, while keeping much that was suggested by Ferreira, represents Inês in a radically different manner. See Chapter 4.2.

<sup>106</sup> Sena previously explains that in 1355 Inês and Pedro would have been thirty-five years old with four children from a decade-old union (490), thus his assertion that Ferreira's Castro is mature. However, Ferreira gives Castro children who are infants and cannot yet talk, "Mas não te falarão, Senhor, com língua,/ Que inda não podem..." ("But they will not speak, Sire, with their tongues, for they are not yet able to..."; IV 52-3, Martyn 304), and lines where she calls herself an innocent maiden "moça inocente" (IV 46) and in the flower of her youth, "Inda que estes meus dias corta/ Na sua flor..." ("Although it thus cuts off my life/ In its flower..."; IV 174-5, Martyn 309). In associating lucidity with maturity, and privileging historical data, Sena overlooks Ferreira's actual age-characterization of Castro.

<sup>107</sup> In her introduction to the 1996 edition of *Castro*, Castro Soares argues that the major difference between the 1587 and 1598 editions of *Castro* is the shift from a Senecan to a Greek model of tragedy. Thus, the later definitive edition published in *Poemas Lusitanos* aims to include most of the elements of Aristotelian tragedy: protagonists of regal standing, unity of action, three actors and a chorus, *peripeteia*, *agnorisis* and *katharsis*, violence offstage, etc.

herself, is Castro's fate determined by her own behaviour or actions – the Aristotelian hero's *hubris* and *hamartia* – or by the decisions of those in power, or even by divine intervention? As in my analysis of Resende's "Trovas", here I explore how Castro's subjectivity is facilitated or challenged by her role as a tragic heroine and how power is complicated by gender and voice. Inês de Castro's death, central to Resende's figuration of Dona Inês speaking from the afterlife, has as much relevance in *Castro*, a play that foregrounds a complex web of culpability leading to the heroine's demise.

Ferreira does not present a sole cause for Castro's death but apportions blame to mythological figures and humans alike. When Chorus I cries, "Já morreu Dona Inês! Matou-a Amor" ("Lady Ines is dead! She has been killed by Love"; IV 312 Martyn 317), she<sup>108</sup> blames Cupid for Inês's death. This indirectly supports Castro's admission of guilt before God for loving Pedro while Constança lived, which she admits in her speech of clemency to the King, "Se contra Deus pequei, contra ti não" ("I may have sinned before God, but not before you"; IV 154 Martyn 309). Nevertheless, Castro, Pedro and the King all make decisions that ultimately lead to Castro's death. As evidenced by the King's repentant cry, "Afronta-se minha alma. Oh! Quem pudera/ Desfazer o que é feito." ("My soul is overwhelmed! Oh, if only/ I could undo what has been done!"; IV 310-11 Martyn 316), and Pedro's anguished remorse in his final speech, "Eu te matei, Senhora, eu te matei. Com morte te paguei o teu amor" ("I have killed you Inês I have slain you! Your love I have repaid with death"; V 146-7 Martyn 327), Castro's death comes about through a series of actions and behaviours perpetrated by the main characters, each taking a share of self-blame. Even Coelho, speaking on behalf of the Counsellors, admits their wrongdoing in demanding Castro's death (IV 131-135). As Stegagno Picchio notes, "*a Castro* não é um drama do destino, mas sim da opção" ("*Castro* is not a drama of fate but of choice"; 155).

Consequently, adding to her part in the affair with Pedro to which she willingly submits and admits, Castro makes further decisions that endanger her life. As Adrian Poole reminds us, the tragic hero or heroine is "passionate, purposive, resolute, rigorous, indomitable, [and] difficult", commanding admiration "but not necessarily approval, moral or otherwise" (37-8). As the King

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<sup>108</sup> The chorus is made up of the maidens of Coimbra; this edition indicates if it is the individual Chorus I or II who speak or the Chorus in unison.

exclaims at the end of Castro's plea for mercy, "Ó molher forte!/ Venceste-me, abrandaste-me!" ("O brave woman!/ You have convinced me, calmed me down"; IV 208-09, Martyn 310), he, exasperated, as much as says, "O brazen woman!" or "O obstinate woman!", if we are to understand the meaning of "forte" in the medieval sense, not as "strong" (or "brave" as Martyn translates it) as it signifies today. Castro certainly fits the mold of tragic heroine as she indomitably claims her innocence and works purposively to influence the King. She is also admirable for resolutely loving Pedro in an illicit carnal relationship, but, as is made clear by the Counsellors' objections and her early fears, "Mas o espirito inquieto cos clamores/ Do povo..." ("But my spirit remains anxious; the clamours/ of the people..."; I 111-12 Martyn 248), she does not merit approval. Her *hubris* is clear, she is proud and certainly considered arrogant by the Counsellors for confronting the King so daringly, and this, coupled with her *hamartia*, the 'error' that brings her downfall, gives occasion to her death. If Inês de Castro is killed fundamentally because of her past insistence in staying with Pedro while he is married to Constança, and as his common-law wife when he is widowed and free to marry another, then Ferreira's Castro, who carries the burden of this history as she explains in Act I, is directly killed because she does not flee her assassins. By insisting on staying at Santa Clara and facing the King, determined that she will persuade him to reverse her death sentence, Castro provides occasion for the tragedy's catastrophe, her own death. Like Antigone, she does not heed cautionary words. The Chorus warns her that the King is on his way and urges her to flee, (III 181-185), but Castro instead implores the Nurse to flee; she herself chooses to remain and defend her innocence.

Eu fico, fico só, mas inocente.

não quero mais ajudas, venha a morte.

Moura eu, mas inocente. (III 202-204)

I remain, I alone remain; but innocent./ I desire no more help; let  
death come. (Martyn 298)

As Sena notes, Castro awaits death alone, that is, without Pedro, to prove that his absence is not blameworthy but becomes a "orgulhoso desespero" ("proud despair") from which love will survive (547). In these lines her *hubris* and *hamartia* conspire to seal her fate: she is too proud to flee and be thought guilty, or assign guilt to Pedro, and because she makes the mistake of staying, as she has done for years, she is killed.

She does not, however, accept death resignedly; as the horror of her situation dawns on her she cries to God, to the Chorus, and to the people, to save her,

Socorra-me só Deus, e socorrei-me

Vós, moças de Coimbra! Homens que vedes

Esta inocência minha, socorrei-me! (III 209-211)

Let God alone help me! But you, help me,/You, young girls of  
Coimbra! Men, you who see/ My innocence, help me! (Martyn  
298)

The irony of this will not be lost on those who have heard repeatedly that the cause for Castro's death is the clamouring of the people. As Machado de Sousa notes, Ferreira was the first to introduce this element of the legend – absent in the royal chronicles which keep the clamouring within the Court – but he undermines the Counsellors' justification for killing Castro when he has her pleading with the people to protect her (*Tema Português* 52-3). Castro's need to prove her innocence, because of which she refuses to flee, is her main action in the play and results in the eloquent speech that persuades the King, and the reader/spectator, to forgive her. As T. F. Earle notes, Castro's refusal to passively accept an unjust condemnation, her heroic resistance, is what “empolga o espectador e confere à cena a sua poderosa força dramática” (“thrills the spectator and gives the scene its powerful dramatic force”; 44). The rhetorical mercy speech,<sup>109</sup> effective as it may be in reversing the King's death sentence, nonetheless reveals the complexity of Castro's situation. With the words, “Se contra Deus pequei...” (“I may have sinned before God...”; IV 154, Martyn 309), she admits the personal fault, her *hamartia*, which she knows, in her heart of hearts, will ultimately send her to her doom. If she believes she is innocent of a human crime, a crime against King and State, Castro is plagued by her carnal sin and her fears are manifested in earlier scenes with her Nurse: first, when she bemoans her fate because the people protest her union with the Prince, and second, in the famous prophetic dream of her death.

In Castro's long monologue in the first scene, she tells her story, foregrounding the greatness of Pedro's ancestors in opposition to the smallness of her love for him, “Meu doce amor, minha esperança e honra” (“My sweet love, my hope and my honour”; I 50, Martyn 246), but also

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<sup>109</sup> T. F. Earle provides a close analysis of the elements of the speech that follow a number of Cicero's sixteen topics for pleading mercy in his *De Inventione* (21-25).

stresses how she made him love her, “Cos olhos lhe acendi no peito fogo” (“I lit a flame in his heart with my eyes”; I 54, Martyn 246), with a love that equalled her own, “Nos meus olhos os seus o descobriam” (“In my eyes, his own revealed [love]”; I 76-79, Martyn 247).<sup>110</sup> And though Ferreira is clear that the lovers met before Pedro married Constança,<sup>111</sup> giving Castro, as Sena notes, chronological priority (1: 515), and continued to love after the Princess’s death (I 106-07), Castro admits she is uneasy about the people’s “clamour” to end her union with the Prince, and fears Fortune’s fickle nature (I 115-16). This moves her to question the Prince about the “constância” (“constancy”) of his love, and, in direct speech, she plays out the exchange for the Nurse, in what Sena calls “um acidente teatral” (“a theatrical accident”; 1: 514). It is significant because it is the only conversation between Castro and the Prince,<sup>112</sup> and it allows Castro to voice both genders. She takes control of a male character’s voice (as does Dona Inês in Resende’s “Trovas” and Inês in Teatro O Bando’s *Pedro e Inês*) and by so doing inverts the masculine-feminine power dynamics that will play a great part in her interview with the King. The crux of this early dialogue, however, is Castro’s fear that Pedro will abandon her when the King comes for her,

(Castro voicing herself) ‘Meu Senhor,  
Soam-me as cruéis vozes deste povo;  
Vejo d’El-Rei a força e império grave

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<sup>110</sup> It is significant that Ferreira mentions Castro’s passion as in several Inesian accounts love is but foisted upon her. See, for example, the scene described in *Reinar después de morir* where Pedro, unseen, falls for Inês at the fountain (Act I 508-09).

<sup>111</sup> As in Resende’s ballad where Inês is a young maiden when she meets Pedro, “eu era moça menina” (line 31), Castro’s expository tale mentions her tender age, “Sabes como, em saindo dos teus braços/ Ama, na viva flor da minha idade...” (“You know how, Nurse, scarcely had I left your arms,/ In the brilliant flower of my youth...”; I 51-2, Martyn 246). Presumably to exaggerate Inês’s innocence, both Resende and Ferreira ignore the historical fact that Inês de Castro was one of Constança Manuel’s ladies; Inês and Pedro’s love began as an adulterous affair.

<sup>112</sup> According to Jorge de Sena, Pedro and Inês do not share any scenes in *Castro* because there were no precedents in Ferreira’s sources (the chronicles or Resende, for example), they could not do so without breaking the Aristotelian Unity of Action, Castro’s death depended on Pedro’s absence, and a love scene between a couple who had been together for ten years with four children would have been “ridiculous” (490). T. F. Earle, however, believes Castro and the Prince could have met in Act I but didn’t because the rhetorical style of the play required “duas tiradas réticas contrastantes, uma branda, feminina, outra repleta da truculência masculina” (“two contrasting rhetorical tirades, one gentle, feminine, another full of masculine truculence”; 19-20). This alleged flaw in Ferreira’s play has prompted playwrights throughout the centuries to add a scene between the lovers in their versions of the Inesian tale. Unfortunately, these have resulted in maudlin and banal dialogue, as in Domingos dos Reis Quita’s *A Castro* (1766), or João Baptista Gomes’s *Nova Castro* (1803), for example, or, as Sena predicted, ridiculous sighing and mooning at odds with Ferreira’s dignified and beautiful poetry, as in Júlio Dantas’s unhappy 1920 adaptation.

Armado contra mim, contra a constância  
 Que em meu amor t'ègora tens mostrado...’ (I 128-132)  
 My Lord,/ I hear the cruel clamours of the people,/ I see the force,  
 the heavy power of the King/ Mounted against me, against the  
 constancy/ Which you have till now shown in your love. (Martyn  
 249)

She summons faith (line 133) and duty (line 140) to exact a promise of the Prince’s loyal and constant love. He does more, promising that she will be Queen when he ascends the throne.

(Castro voicing the Prince:)

Nesta tua mão te ponho, firme e fixa,  
 Minh’alma; por infante te nomeio,  
 Do meu amor senhora, e do alto estado  
 Que me espera e teu nome me faz doce...’ (I 166-172)<sup>113</sup>

In your hand I place again my heart,/ Firm and constant. I name  
 you Princess,/ Mistress of my love, and of the high office/ Which  
 awaits me, and which your name makes sweet for me. (Martyn  
 250)

Regrettably, the passionate promise is unfulfilled as the Prince is indeed absent when Castro’s life is in danger and he will only see her in “high office”, that is, as his Queen, when she is dead.

In Act III, in a haunting *peripeteia*, Castro tells her Nurse about the terrifying nightmare where, while in a dark forest holding her children near, a lion sprang towards her but turned tail only to give way to two wolves who tore at her breast,<sup>114</sup>

Nisto um bravo lião a mim se vinha  
 Co a catadura fera, e logo manso

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<sup>113</sup> In the following scene with his elderly Secretary, Pedro bombastically adds to this promise declaring that not even the reversal of earthly elements, the sea aflame, the fire cold, the Sun dark and the Moon giving light, will separate him from Castro (I 392-401).

<sup>114</sup> The retreating “bravo lião” (“wild lion”) is the forgiving King while the “bravos lobos” (“wild wolves”) who attack Castro -- as wolves predictably attack defenceless prey like lambs, Inês’s namesakes -- represent the Counsellors who stab Castro to death in Act IV. See, especially, Adrien Roig’s “Le rêve d’Inês dans la tragédie *Castro* de António Ferreira,” 145-6, and Jorge de Sena’s amusingly anachronistic explication of the sexual significance of the nightmare using dream interpretation of the 1950’s (see above Chapter 1.2).

Para trás se tornava; mas, em s'indo,  
 Não sei donde saíam uns bravos lobos,  
 Que, remetendo a mim com suas unhas,  
 Os peitos me rasgavam. Então alçava  
 Vozes aos Céus, chamava meu Senhor;  
 Ouvia-me e tardava; e eu morria  
 Com tanta saudade,<sup>115</sup> que inda' agora  
 Parece que a cá tenho. (III 54-63)

At this point, a ferocious lion came towards me,/ With a wild  
 appearance; then, immediately tamed,/ It retraced its steps. But as  
 it left,/ Some ferocious wolves came out from somewhere,/ Which,  
 leaping upon me, with their claws/ Were tearing at my breast. So I  
 implored/ The Gods with loud cries, I called on my Lord;/ He  
 heard me, and was too late. I was dying/ Of such intense, sad  
 longing that it seems I am still/ Oppressed by it. (Martyn 289)

This anguished account augurs the Prince's absence and Castro's death so vividly that the Nurse's comforting words are in vain and, finally, Castro rues her illicit love with the Prince (III 109-110).<sup>116</sup> Knowing how she is judged and how harshly she judges herself, Castro shows great courage, and rhetorical skill, in confronting the sentence of the King and persisting in her innocence. As the lion in her dream is tamed and retraces his steps, so is the King's intention weakened and Castro's final moments on stage are victorious; she exits thinking she is saved, and that the "wolves" will not attack her. As Earle notes, Castro transitions from being the victim of tyrannical machinations to a victor who, through clever and moving rhetoric, imposes her will (42-3). She maintains the dignity of a tragic heroine, and demonstrates the lucidity Sena so astutely observed in the character, becoming what Soares refers to as the Euripidian "mulher-presença" ("woman-presence"; *Leitura* 7). Machado de Sousa concurs that Ferreira brought more

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<sup>115</sup> This intense *saudade* anticipates the desperation Castro will show in her mercy speech to the King (Act IV).

<sup>116</sup> In addition to the *anagnorisis* (recognition) and the *peripeteia* (reversal) of Castro's fortune that occurs here, Soares notes that Act III is the *catástasis* that propels the plot towards *catástrophe*, even if the dramatic action only transpires in Castro's soul (*Leitura* 60-61).

than just beauty and passion to the character of Castro, giving her “uma nova dignidade” (“a new dignity”; *Tema Português* 65).

The mercy speech, originating in Rui de Pina’s chronicles and so beautifully poeticized by Resende, becomes for Ferreira’s *Castro* (and for many Inesian tragedies that followed),<sup>117</sup> the lynchpin of the play. It is the site where Castro’s private life is irrefutably made public with the final battle between Love and Reason of State, where her figuration as both “terna namorada e mãe extremosa” (“tender lover and loving mother”; Soares *Leitura* 8) is conclusive, and where she is reified as the symbol of Portuguese *saudade*. In “Mujeres públicas/malas mujeres. Mujeres honradas/mujeres privadas”, Cristina Segura Graiño poses three questions regarding the judgement passed on medieval women who inhabit the public sphere, all of which can be asked of Castro’s situation.

¿Sólo las mujeres que permanecen en el ámbito de lo privado, que cumplen el papel asignado a su género son buenas y honradas? Por el contrario, ¿aquellas mujeres que rebasan este ámbito de lo privado y tienen una proyección pública son todas malas mujeres? Y tercera pregunta ¿cuándo abandonan las mujeres lo privado y pasa a lo público? (54)

Are only women who remain in the private space, who fulfill the role conventionally assigned to their gender, good and honoured? On the contrary, are those women who surpass the private and have a public profile, bad women? And, third, when do women abandon the private sphere and pass into the public one?

Of the women who are “públicas”, like queens, saints, widows (or other women who needed to support their families), prostitutes and writers, Segura notes that those who are “forced” into the public sphere are not considered “malas mujeres” but those who choose to be public physically or intellectually are condemned as such. Writers who make their thoughts public and “iluminadas” (“visionaries”) who speak out in public, for example, are branded as “malas mujeres”. Castro, speaking in her defense to the King in the presence of knights and soldiers

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<sup>117</sup> See, for example, Domingos dos Reis Quita’s *A Castro* (1766), João Baptista Gomes’s *Nova Castro* (1803), Henry de Montherlant’s *La Reine Morte* (1942) and Alejandro Casona’s *Corona de Amor y Muerte* (1955).

could be perceived negatively even though she objects to the public nature of the King's visit, "Escusaras, Senhor, todo este estrondo/ D'armas e cavaleiros..." ("You could have avoided, Sire, all this tumult/ Of army and knights..."; IV lines 26-27 Martyn 303). The "public" situation has been forced upon her, and throughout her speech it is clear that she wants to be judged as a "private" case and as a woman, wife and mother who traditionally occupies that space.

For the heroine to appear as female/feminine, a most effective convention is to place her children at her side; throughout the speech to the King, as in Resende, Ferreira portrays Castro as mother to evoke the spectator or reader's compassion. She begins her speech by entreating the chorus of maidens from Coimbra to weep for her soon-to-be orphaned children, (IV 11-12),<sup>118</sup> and then speaks to the children, indirectly addressing the King.

*Castro:* Filhos tristes,  
Vedes aqui o pai de vosso pai.  
Eis aqui vosso avô, nosso Senhor.  
Beijai-lhe a mão, pedi-lhe piedade  
De vós, desta mãe vossa, cuja vida  
Vos vem, filhos, roubar. (IV 13-18)

*Castro:* Unfortunate children, Here is your father's father./ Here is your grandfather, our sovereign Lord./ Kiss his hand, ask for pity from him/ For you, and for your mother, whose life/ He comes to take by force from you, my boys. (Martyn 303)

By stressing the agnate relationship with "filhos" (children), "pai" (father) and "avô" (grandfather), and her crucial part in the procreation as "mãe" (mother), Castro weaves herself into the Royal lineage, elevating her social status as she establishes her moral standing before the King. As in Resende's ballad, a masculine genealogy is invoked by the protagonist to manipulate the men who will decide her fate. She adds also, in case her "public" outcry is perceived as

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<sup>118</sup> The similarity of Resende's verses make it abundantly clear that the "Trovas" were one of Ferreira's sources. Compare, "Chorai o desamparo destes filhos/ Tão tenros e inocentes" ("Weep for the abandonment of my children./ So young and innocent"; IV 11-12 Martyn 303) with "...por ser mãe dos inocentes/ qu'ante vós estão presentes./ os quais vossos netos são./ E que tem tão pouca idade/ que se não forem criados/ de mim só com saudade/ e sua grã orfindade/ morrerão desamparados" ("...as I am the mother of the innocents/ who are present before you/ who are your grandchildren./ And they are so young/ that if they are not brought up/ only by me, with *saudade*/ and its great 'orphaning'/ they will die forsaken"; Resende lines 98-105).

breaking away from the “private” womanly stereotype and she appear as masculine,<sup>119</sup> “Esta é aquela coitada, mulher fraca...” (“I am that poor, feeble woman”; IV 21 Martyn 303). As María del Carmen Pallares Méndez observes in her study of women in medieval Galicia, the thirteenth-century works of Afonso X<sup>120</sup> clearly classify women as inferior to men due to two characteristics attributed to the female, deceitfulness and weakness; these were consequently used to justify laws which limited the rights and powers of women (16). Castro, however, uses her feminine condition of weakness rhetorically and, as Claude-Henri Frèches posits, Castro is “[e]n verité puissante et victorieuse par sa faiblesse même” (259). Mendes de Remédios, also, suggests that it is Castro’s fragility, docility, and submissiveness that dominate the King (li). When she utters “mulher fraca”, she subverts the phrase as it was used by the Secretary admonishing Pedro (I 433-435). She refers to herself as a “woman”, displaying appropriately submissive behaviour before the King,

Eu tremo, Senhor, tremo  
De me ver ante ti, como me vejo,  
Mulher, moça, inocente, serva tua,  
Tão só, sem por mim ter quem me defenda. (IV 44-47)  
I tremble, Sire, I tremble/ To see myself before you, as at present,  
A woman young, innocent, your servant,/ Quite alone, with  
nobody to defend me. (Martyn 304)

The only feminine label Castro does not resort to is that of “wife”, though her constant love for the Prince has led scholars like Júlio de Castilho to affirm that “Aquella paixão não é a dominação da concubina, é o casto imperio da esposa christã” (“That passion is not the domination of the concubine, it is the chaste empire of the Christian spouse”; 1: I 212).<sup>121</sup> In later Inesian tragedies the secret wedding is revealed to the King, as in Vélez de Guevara’s

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<sup>119</sup> As Sarah Pomeroy points out, in Greek tragedy, heroines who defy the law adopt dominant traits associated with the male but this is not condoned (98). Aristotle considered it “inappropriate for a female character to be clever or ‘manly’”, but Attic heroines, like Medea and Antigone, nevertheless challenged the stereotypes of women in society and acted ‘masculine’.

<sup>120</sup> Pallares Méndez cites from *Las Siete Partidas*, *El Fuero Real* and *El Espéculo, o Espejo de todos los derechos*.

<sup>121</sup> Castilho infers from this wifely status that Castro shows a vassal’s timidity towards the Prince but I have not found such evidence in *Castro*.

*Reinar después de morir* where it has disastrous consequences (see 2.3), or used to corroborate Inês's and the children's legitimacy in the mercy speech.<sup>122</sup> Ferreira omits this, as he does much information about the alleged marriage of Pedro and Inês, leading to speculations that it may have been a "mariage théâtrale, sans doute..." (Frèches, "Personnage" 256).<sup>123</sup> Jorge de Sena explains that, based on the testimony of the Bishop of Guarda in Fernão Lopes's *Crónica de D. João I*, the union of Pedro and Inês must have been "por juras" ("by oath"), that is, without a church blessing, but because of the length of time the couple co-habited, the marriage could have developed into one of "fama pública" ("public fame") (1: 197-200). Before Inês de Castro's death the seven-year requirement for the marriage to be recognized by law had not yet passed and Ferreira contends the marriage is still clandestine. Thus, Castro must declare that God has forgiven her sin without stating the reason (IV 69-74) and insist most assiduously on the love she and the Prince share.

It is ironic that Love is Castro's strongest defense when it is the public nature of this most private of sentiments that has doomed her. (Vélez de Guevara would take this further making the disclosure of the secret marriage Inês's undoing.) Loving, and being loved by the Crown Prince, a figure of State, has forced Castro onto the public stage but once she is there she uses the authority and power it endows to command attention. In their seminal study of medieval women and power, Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski challenge the conventional view that power is equated with public authority and attribute agency to woman in her roles within the family and within networks of women (1988). Conditions that empower women are explored and a flexible, non-binary, approach to the public/private dichotomy urges a broader understanding of what is

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<sup>122</sup> Again, see Quita's, Baptista Gomes's, Montherlant's and Casona's plays.

<sup>123</sup> The 1997 film *Inês de Portugal* illustrates this very notion as Inês and Pedro "marry" before God alone in her Galician chambers; see Chapter 3.3. In the 1587 edition of *Castro*, the wedding and its secrecy is mentioned in both the dialogues between the Prince and his Secretary, and Castro and her Nurse, but the 1598 edition alludes to the marriage but briefly. The Prince tells his Secretary that he will not reveal that he is married to Inês while the King and Queen live, presumably to avoid further conflict, but the Secretary urges him to tell the truth because the Kingdom wants him to be legally married; time will ease the present strife if he and Castro are no longer living in sin (I lines 260-290). The Nurse, in consoling Castro after her nightmare and soul-searching, assures her that since her blessed marriage to Pedro, she is no longer a sinner, "Se pecado houve, já está purgado/ Com esse ânimo firme com que ambos/ Estais confederados santamente" ("If there was a sin, it has already been purged/ By this firm spirit with which/ You have been joined in sacred union"; III lines 118-120, Martyn 292). Soares believes the later omissions were made to respect the neo-classical precept of verisimilitude on a matter that was not proven (*Leitura* 32).

influential. In the scenes with her Nurse and the Chorus of Maidens of Coimbra, Castro proves that she is the dominant figure in her household and her community. This emboldens her to transfer her authority-wielding strategies to a male-dominant situation and she argues her case to great effect.

... Se por amor me matas,  
 Que farás ao imigo? Amei teu filho,  
 Não o matei. Amor amor merece.  
 Estas são minhas culpas. Estas queres  
 Com morte castigar? Em que a mereço? (IV 88-92)  
 ... If you kill me because of love,/ What will you do to an enemy? I  
 have loved your son,/ I have not killed him. Love deserves love./  
 Behold, these are my crimes. Are they what you seek/ To punish  
 with death? How have I deserved it? (Martyn 306)

The King rather lamely echoes the Counsellors' complaints about the discontent of the people and their demand that Castro be killed,<sup>124</sup> but Castro entreats the King to assuage his fury (IV 82-85) and listen to her "razão" ("reason"), which is "amor" ("love"). Using the word reason to argue passion is clever and cleverer still is the alliterative use of "amor", "morte" ("death") and "merece" ("deserve"). Castro, in defending her innocent love for the Prince, self-identifies as a consummate lover, giving herself completely to him, "dei-me toda" (IV 155), and to no one else. As in Resende's "Trovas", she stresses that she never betrayed the King or sinned against him and he ultimately sees that this is true.<sup>125</sup> Finally, Castro argues that, through love, she is inextricably connected to the Prince and their children, arguing that her death will be his death and theirs.

...Não vês como parecem

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<sup>124</sup> As mentioned above, the people's "clamour" is absent from the chronicles; Inês as a threat to the State was a courtly preoccupation (Sousa, *Tema Português* 52-3). Consequently, Ferreira is vague about the popular animosity though the 1587 edition includes lines about Castro's illegitimate status and the negative influence of her Galician family. Soares believes this was removed from the 1598 version to give the heroine greater dignity and a more noble standing as tragic figure (*Leitura* 31-2). By removing details that would blemish her reputation, the playwright ensured the reader/spectator would sympathize with Castro.

<sup>125</sup> "El-rei, vendo como estava/ houve de mim compaixão/ e viu o que não oulha/ qu'eu a ele não errava/ nem fizera traição" ("The King, seeing how I was/ felt compassion/ and saw what he hadn't seen/ that I did him no wrong/ or betrayed him"; lines 131-135).

Aquele filho teu? Senhor meu, matas  
 Todos, a mim matando; todos morrem. (IV 169-171)  
 ...Do you not see how they look like/ Your own son? My King,  
 you kill us/ All, in killing me; all will die. (Martyn 309)

Soares' description of Castro as "terna namorada and mãe estremeosa" is confirmed as the heroine now pleads for the lives of those she loves most. She desperately negotiates with the King to let her go into exile with the children if that is how she, and the Prince, may be kept alive (IV 179-183), but the King does not answer.<sup>126</sup>

The harrowing goodbye to the children, a sequence that is a crescendo of the entire 140 line speech,<sup>127</sup> is emotionally charged and with a clear image of spilled blood<sup>128</sup> that she predicts will shock the Prince. As she began her speech with a plea to the Chorus to cry over the abandonment of the children (IV 11-12), so she ends it with the same words, conjuring the intense *saudade* the children and Pedro will feel if she dies.

Que achará vosso pai, quando vier?  
 Achar-vos-á tão sós, sem vossa mãe!  
 Não verá quem buscava: verá cheias  
 As casas e paredes de meu sangue.  
 Ah! vejo-te morrer, Senhor, por mim! (IV 184-198)  
 What will your father find, on his return?/ He will find you so  
 lonely, without your mother!/ He will not see her whom he seeks:  
 he will see/ The walls of this house covered with my blood./ Ah! I  
 see you dying, Lord, for me! (Martyn 309-10)

Following the example set by the royal chronicles, the "Trovas" of Garcia de Resende, and oral tradition, Ferreira thus establishes Inês de Castro as an icon of *saudade*, a cultural construction that will endure. Here, it suggests two intriguing aspects: how love is entangled with *saudade*

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<sup>126</sup> The verse here is uninterrupted and there is no opportunity for the King to speak. Or it may be that Castro has read denial in his face and continues desperately to provide other reasons why she may be kept alive.

<sup>127</sup> The interruptions by the King and Counsellors are brief, except for Coelho's longer speech (IV 104-139) needed to rebut Castro's complex rhetorical strategies (Earle, 43).

<sup>128</sup> Earle notes how the sparse use of strong images or metaphors is strategically effective in a rhetorical speech (24).

and Portugueseness, and how Castro's agency can be considered within the affective space of *saudade*. António José Saraiva posits that *saudade* is felt when we remember dear people, places and times that are distant, and Portuguese love as characterized by this distance (*Cultura* 1994 84). We love more, though painfully, when we long for our object(s) of desire. Second, as Saraiva claims in his discussion of how the Portuguese interact with other peoples, the cultural identity of a Portuguese person dwells within her affections, she *feels* her identity. While "intelligence" knows where subjectivity, mine and yours, begins and ends, feeling is more fluid and doesn't impose limitations (105-106). Saraiva as much as suggests that *saudade* and love, and their combination, are the guiding emotions of the Portuguese and create a subjectivity with very blurry edges. This is significant for Castro. Her feelings become her actions as the mercy speech demonstrates. Her final heart-rending lines,

Rei, Senhor,  
 Pois podes socorrer a tantos males,  
 Socorre-me, perdoa-me. Não posso  
 Falar mais. Não me mates, não me mates!  
 Senhor, não to mereço! (IV 203-207)  
 My Lord King,/ You can remedy so many evils,/ Help me, pardon  
 me. I cannot speak/ Anymore. Do not kill me, do not kill me!/ Sire,  
 I have not deserved your punishment! (Martyn 310)

are efficacious for she earns the King's pardon and exits victorious. The reader/spectator who has identified with the heroine and suffered her pains, exults in this moment. The shock is all the greater, therefore, when she is assassinated in the next scene<sup>129</sup> and when the Prince gains knowledge of the vile act.

Like *saudade*, Castro's offstage death and absence from the epilogue are made present by the descriptions of her body in both the Messenger's speech and Pedro's lament. The Messenger describes how the King's counsellors thrust their swords through Castro's breast, spraying the children in her arms with their mother's blood (V 64-70). This echoes Dona Inês's account in

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<sup>129</sup> Immediately after Castro exits triumphant, Coelho and Pacheco convince the King to reverse his decision claiming that Pedro's only legitimate heir, Fernando, depends on Castro's death to live (IV 274-277). This appears to be their strongest rhetorical rebuttal and the King lets them decide Castro's fate; Coelho quickly accepts this "Essa licença basta" ("This permission suffices"; IV 287 Martyn 315) and exits to assassinate Castro.

Resende's "Trovas" with the added gruesome detail of the children's witnessing of their mother's murder. As Pedro weeps, the Messenger pragmatically advises him to hasten to *see the body* and honour it as it deserves (V 112-115). Pedro, however, cannot bear to gaze upon his lover's lifeless form. Castro's beauty, lauded by the chorus in Act III as "seus fermosos olhos", "seu formoso rosto", "seu formoso corpo", "peitos de marfim, ou de neve", "faces de lírios e de rosas", "alva garganta de cristal ou de prata", "a cabeça tão alva e dourada", ("her beautiful eyes", "her beautiful face", "her beautiful body", "breasts of ivory, or snow", "cheeks of lilies and roses", "immaculate neck of crystal, of silver", "the head with its golden hair, its snow-white face"; III 272-296, Martyn 300-301) are morbidly echoed in Pedro's words as he describes what he imagines he will see.

Como poderei ver aqueles olhos  
 Cerrados pera sempre? Como aqueles  
 Cabelos, já não de ouro, mas de sangue?  
 Aquelas mãos tão frias e tão negras,  
 Que antes via tão alvas e fermosas?  
 Aqueles brancos peitos trespassados  
 De golpes tão cruéis? Aquele corpo  
 Que tantas vezes tive nos meus braços,  
 Vivo e formoso, como morto agora,  
 E frio, o posso ver? (V 122-131)

How shall I be able to look at those eyes,/ Shut forever? How see  
 that hair/ Which is no longer golden, but red with blood?/ Those  
 hands so cold and so black,/ Which I saw but lately fair and  
 beautiful?/ The white breast, pierced through/ With blows so cruel?  
 That body,/ Which I clasped so often in my arms,/ Living and  
 beautiful, how could I see it now,/ Dead and cold? (Martyn 326)

The reversal of the Chorus's blazon-like itemization of Castro's features is significant because the former objectifies the beloved in true Petrarchan fashion,<sup>130</sup> while the latter evokes the

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<sup>130</sup> See Nancy Vickers's groundbreaking paper about the fragmentation of the beautiful woman's body in Petrarch, "Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme" in *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 8, No. 2, *Writing and Sexual Difference* (Winter, 1981), pp. 265-279. More recently, Vickers's reading of this Petrarchan conceit has been

veneration of her (dead) body parts in the custom of medieval saintly relics. As Caroline Bynum notes in her discussion of the medieval body in relation to identity, matter and desire, “holy bodies were revered as relics, as places where supernatural power was *especially present*; they were deliberately divided in order to produce more such objects for veneration” (23, italics mine). Pedro’s repulsion at imagining Castro’s corpse dissipates as he swears, in the final lines of the play, that her innocent body will be placed in royal estate until his own joins hers, and their souls are forever united (V 168-174). Thus, while we do not have a final scene with Pedro weeping over the body of Castro,<sup>131</sup> the images evoked by the male characters foreground the materiality of her body and the cruel violence inflicted upon it. As in Resende’s “Trovas” where Inês’s martyrdom drives the narrative, Castro’s sacrificial love and innocence are acclaimed by the Prince as he implores, “Aqueela ovelha mansa,<sup>132</sup>/ Inocente, fermosa, simples, casta,/ Que mal vos merecia?” (“But this sweet lamb,/ Innocent, beautiful, simple, chaste,/ What hatred did she merit?”; V 102-104, Martyn 325). The word “chaste”, in spite of its utterance by her carnal lover, raises Castro’s love to a spiritual level, as does the invocation of her saint name, Agnes, a virgin martyr who is traditionally pictured holding a lamb.

While it is true that Castro’s agency, or ability to decide on her life choices, will always be thwarted by her inevitable death, her plea for mercy shows courage, determination, intelligence, and a powerful rationality that is not undermined by her passion. As a tragic heroine, Castro is able to surpass the gender restrictions of her sex by figuring as a dominant character in the play. Moreover, she is clever in fighting the matrices of domination<sup>133</sup> that attempt to overpower her

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contested by Sara Morrison who proposes “possibilities for the blazoned body other than silenced partition” in her thesis, “Agency in Dismemberment: Revisioning the Blazon in Early Modern English Literature” (*ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*; 2002); Morrison argues that blazons “create relics of represented body parts” after Caroline Bynum’s work on the medieval relic.

<sup>131</sup> This is rare even in later plays where the coronation of the corpse is added. Júlio Danta’s 1920 adaptation of *Castro* has Inês stumbling onstage after she is stabbed and perishing in view of the spectators but Pedro is in a tavern far away and does not see the corpse.

<sup>132</sup> Inês is Agnes or *agnus*, “lamb”.

<sup>133</sup> Issues of oppression based on race, class and gender as per the integrative feminism of the third wave; see, for example, Patricia Hills Collins *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, New York, London:Routledge, 2009.

in her several identities of Galician, noblewoman, mother, mistress, wife and Christian woman. As Sharon Farmer and Carol Pasternak show in their study of the fluidity and multiplicity of gendered identities in the Middle Ages, Castro's gender is an aspect that intersects with her ethnicity, social status, religion and sexuality (xi). Ferreira's text reveals how Castro is "oppressed" in multiple ways and how she lucidly understands and works against the dominant forces of state institutions. Unjustly accused by the people and the court, Castro's claims of innocence belittle her accusers and challenge paradigms of nationality and sexuality.

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*Coda:* It is interesting to note that following its likely performance(s) in the sixteenth century,<sup>134</sup> Ferreira's tragedy languished on library shelves for three hundred years until striking a chord with twentieth-century theatre directors and actors. The recovery of Inês de Castro as a national tragic heroine resonated with female actors who wished to play a classic role rooted in their own history and artists who saw the contemporary relevance of the tragic love story.<sup>135</sup> The most significant mid-twentieth-century productions were the project of Amélia Rey Colaço, the then first lady of Portuguese classical theatre.<sup>136</sup> After an early ill-received attempt at Castro as an ingenue,<sup>137</sup> Rey Colaço played the mature heroine that Ferreira created in 1934-5 when she herself was in her thirties. In her photobiography, she is shown resting languorously against a stage pillar, with a thirties softwave perm and dark lips, wearing a sensuous satin dress and cape trimmed with velvet (Barros 12); her noble stature contrasts with the modest chorus maidens

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<sup>134</sup> Martyn speculates that the first performance of *Castro* may have had a similar audience as Luís da Cruz's *Tragoedia Sedecias* (1570) with the King, cardinal, princes and the academic community in attendance; the actors were students of the Royal College of Arts and there may have been a chorus of young girls as in Teive's *David* (1550) (121-122).

<sup>135</sup> In a preview article for the 1983 production of *Castro* by Comuna Teatro de Pesquisa in Lisbon, director João Mota speaks of the anguish and loneliness the play evokes (Figueira 15).

<sup>136</sup> Rey Colaço and husband Manuel Robles-Monteiro managed the National Theatre from 1921 to 1974 (solely under Rey Colaço's direction following Robles Monteiro's death in 1958), during which time Rey Colaço and daughter Mariana Rey Monteiro played the classical heroines of the Western dramatic canon.

<sup>137</sup> Reviews praise Rey Colaço's emotional skill, elegance and voice, but one critic laments her inexperience (Barros 56). This *Castro* was adapted by Júlio Dantas in 1920 for the Teatro Nacional Almeida Garrett with modern language, melodramatic love scenes and a Prince absent while drinking in a tavern; the playwright was severely criticized for cutting the beautiful poetry of the chorus (Sousa, *Tema Português* 407).

dressed in flowing but simple long-sleeved white dresses (Rebello *História* photo insert 32-33). Reviews lauded Rey Colaço's "alta concepção poética" ("high poetic conception"; Sousa *Tema Português* 409) but mocked her "tragico-mania infantil" ("infantile tragic-mania"; Armando Ferreira 19). She re-mounted *Castro* in 1941, and in 1957 directed it again with her daughter, Mariana Rey Monteiro, then in her thirties, as the heroine. Clearly a non-ingenue was preferred to play Ferreira's mature character; film star Maria de Medeiros was cast as Castro in the Teatro São João (Porto) 2003 production and was likewise in her late thirties.

The revival of *Castro* in mid-twentieth-century Portugal served the national-historic agenda of the fascist regime (Barros 110) and it continued to be popular with at least one major production each decade.<sup>138</sup> However, it also proved to entrance a post-revolutionary<sup>139</sup> audience unnostalgic about the past or patriotism, with an incontestably successful one-year run in 1983 by Comuna Teatro de Pesquisa in Lisbon. A 2010 blog has the inspiring testimonial of a female spectator who vividly remembers the production as,

...[uma] encenação completamente inesperada, surreal mesmo — ainda hoje lembro o fortíssimo cheiro a rosas, que se nos colou à pele, cabelos e roupa — uma mulher que deambulava em silêncio e em círculo sobre uma pérgola que nos rodeava e, claro, o texto, transformado em algo de muito mais interessante e estimulante que aquela chumbada que andávamos a ler nas aulas. (Web. Jan. 18, 2013)<sup>140</sup>

a completely unexpected staging, surreal even – today I still remember the very strong smell of roses which clung to our skin,

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<sup>138</sup> Machado de Sousa lists a national tour of an outdoor production by Teatro do Povo in 1952 with Idalina Guimarães as Castro, and a modern-dress 1963 staging by Carlos Avilez with Eugenia Bettencourt as the protagonist (*Tema Português* 405 409). In addition, three television productions of *Castro* were broadcast in 1961, 1970 and 1992 (406); the second, a modern dance and declaimed masked drama directed by Herlander Peyroteo can be seen on RTP Memória. Web. June 27, 2013. <<http://www.rtp.pt/rtpmemoria/?t=A-Castro.rtp&article=1444&visual=2&layout=5&tm=8>>.

<sup>139</sup> The Carnation Revolution on the 25th of April, 1974 was a bloodless military coup which hailed a democratic era for Portugal.

<sup>140</sup> <<http://www.etudogentemorta.com/2010/09/regresso-as-aulas-2/>>

hair, clothing – a woman who wandered silently in circles on a terrace that surrounded us and, of course, the text, transformed into something much more interesting and stimulating than that leaden tome that we were reading in school.

Director João Mota’s production, with Inês and Pedro doubled to represent the “fragile and the tragic” (Figueira 15), featured twenty-five-year-old Luzia Paramés as the fragile Castro, a figure with whom the young woman would surely have identified, in spite of the criticism levelled at her. The young actress was infantilized (much like Amélia Rey Colaço above) and criticized for her flawed diction<sup>141</sup> (Listopad 26-R). But, as in the literary work, Mota placed Castro physically at the centre of the text and ever-present. The play was staged in the round, and one Castro is discovered centrestage on an altar-like riser while the other (played by Carmen Marques) walks in circles on a platform that surrounds the audience. Reviewer José Manuel da Nóbrega described the play as “extremamente emocionante” and urged his readers to, “Vejam a *Castro* – a lágrima que há 628 anos guardamos no nosso universo português e mítico. E hoje, por milagre da Comuna, se liberta...” (“ See *Castro* – the tear that we have kept for 628 years in our Portuguese and mythic universe. And today, by a miracle of the Comuna theatre, is set free...; vii). The national ends of *Castro* could also resonate with the changing political environment. For Maria de Medeiros, protagonizing the classic heroine meant making the play relevant for the twenty-first century; she believed that Ferreira’s vague reasons for Castro’s death pointed to an unidentified social and political malaise that perhaps still existed in Portugal in 2003 (Cruz 27).

## 2.4 Luis Vélez de Guevara’s *Reinar después de morir*: The Romantic Heroine

The final section of this chapter discusses the characterization of Inês de Castro in Luis Vélez de Guevara’s *Reinar después de morir*, the most popular Inesian play of the Spanish Golden Age and one that would influence playwrights and filmmakers for centuries to come. Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa claims that most of the elements of the legend of Inês and Pedro as we know

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<sup>141</sup> The young, inexperienced actress who played Inês in Whetstone Theatre’s production of John Clifford’s *Inês de Castro* prompted a similar reaction from a Toronto critic (see Chapter 4.3).

it today were established in Portugal and Spain by 1577, the year Jerónimo Bermúdez's *Nise Laureada* was published (*Tema Português* 64),<sup>142</sup> but it was Vélez's play – capping the triad of Spanish plays of which Mexía de la Cerda's 1612 *Tragedia famosa de Doña Inés de Castro, reina de Portugal*, was second – that perpetuated the staging of the posthumous coronation of Inês and the morbid ceremonial *beija-mão*. Bermúdez's and Mexía's tragedies currently remain of interest mainly to Inesian scholars, but Vélez's *comedia*,<sup>143</sup> which was performed and published regularly in seventeenth-century Spain and adapted by European playwrights for the next three centuries, is now studied and performed as a significant work of Spanish dramatic literature.<sup>144</sup> The exact date of composition of *Reinar después de morir* is unknown, but at least two scholars have attempted to identify it: Sena speculates it was circa 1627-28 in the context of the dates of other Portuguese-themed plays by Vélez, because of his gratitude to the Portuguese-related Counts of Lemos<sup>145</sup> who made his desired position of *ujier* (porter) at court possible, and the use of the *romance* meter which dominates *Reinar* and was becoming popular at that time (2: 230-1, 235-7, 239); Henry Sullivan conjectures that the play dates from 1636-40 because it postdates the stylistic use of *silvas pareadas* and Gongoristic imagery, follows a Lopian example of staging from 1634, and shows the Portuguese in a favourable light since the entire peninsula was under Phillipine rule until 1640 (148-50). However, performances during Vélez's lifetime have been recorded at least as early as 1635 in Valencia (Bolaños qtd. in Larson 20) so the earlier date seems more plausible. The play was published posthumously by Paulo Craesbeek, in

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<sup>142</sup> *Nise Laureada* is the sequel to *Nise Lastimosa*, the alleged translation of Ferreira's *Castro*; see footnote 99 of the previous section.

<sup>143</sup> I use the term *comedia* to mean "play" in the sense used for Golden Age dramatic works; of course, Vélez's Inesian drama is a tragedy. See, for example, Henry Sullivan's useful discussion of *comedia*, *tragicomedia* and *tragedia* in "Vélez de Guevara's *Reinar después de morir* as a Model of Classical Spanish Tragedy", pp. 144-7.

<sup>144</sup> Machado de Sousa affirms that *Reinar* is the most enduring and influential of the Inesian Golden Age plays (and lists the many playwrights, composers and writers who adapted it) but cannot recognize why it merits this status (*Tema Português* 49, 121-2); twentieth-century editors and scholars of Vélez, like Cortés, Induráin, Manson, Peale, and Larson may disagree but, as Jorge de Sena notes, Spencer and Schevill also muse on the academic and popular success of *Reinar*: it does not have the playwright's "peculiar stamp" but is remembered because it was embraced by German Romantic critics and is in the repertoire of the Teatro Español de Madrid (qtd. in Sena 2: 228).

<sup>145</sup> Sena goes as far as to say that Inês de Castro was for Vélez "uma divindade guardiã" ("a guardian angel") because his various protectors descended from her (2: 236).

Lisbon in 1652<sup>146</sup> in *Comedias de los mejores y más insignes ingenios de España*, but Manson and Peale speculate this text was based on an earlier Madrid publication; in their excellent 2008 edition of *Reinar*, they document the textual changes from undated Sevillian and Madridian *sueltas* (like *quartos* in Elizabethan theatre) (41-42).<sup>147</sup>

The popularity and accessibility of *Reinar después de morir* changed the reception of the story of Inês and Pedro significantly in at least three ways: it was the culmination of the process of “castelhanização” (Castilianization) of Inês (Sena 2: 228); it facilitated the transition of the legend from neoclassical tragedy to an Elizabethan-like revenge tragedy which disregarded the Aristotelian unities,<sup>148</sup> verisimilitude and decorum by introducing a jealous princess bride for Pedro, and decidedly shifting the thematic focus from political to romantic intrigue;<sup>149</sup> and, for the purposes of this inquiry, it altered the representation of Inês as she confronts a female rival for Pedro’s love and wears the Royal crown in death. Her first entrance, carrying an *escopeta* (a blunderbuss),<sup>150</sup> introduces an Inês that we have not seen thus far: the *bella cazadora* of Spanish

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<sup>146</sup> This was during the War of the Restoration that followed the *coup* that ended the Spanish domination (1580-1640); the *guerra da Restauração* was a series of battles between Portugal and Spain that culminated in the Treaty of Spain 1668 declaring Portugal’s full independence. Sena posits that during this time Inês would have been considered Castilian by the Portuguese and Portuguese by the Spaniards; her Luso-Castilian genealogy, which favoured her during the Spanish domination, would have made her less interesting to a disunited Iberia (2: 351). Vélez’s play was presumably performed in Portugal until 1740 when Silvestre Silvêrio da Silveira e Silva [Manuel José de Paival]’s tragedy, *Só o amor faz impossíveis* (*Only Love Creates the Impossible*), took its place (Sena 2: 351, 354). Twenty years later, another adaptation of *Reinar*, Nicolau Luís’s c. 1760 (pub. 1772) *Tragedia de Dona Inez de Castro* proved Vélez’s importance in reviving interest in Inês de Castro as a dramatic heroine in Portugal in the eighteenth century (Sousa *Literatura* 42). Luís’s version of Vélez was subsequently translated by John Adamson for the English stage as *A Tragedy, from the Portuguese of Nicolau Luís, with Remarks on the History of that Unfortunate Lady*, Newcastle: Printed and sold by D. Akenhead and Sons, 1808.

<sup>147</sup> It is odd though that the Craesbeek listed is the 1697 German re-edition of the collected plays, *Doze comedias las mas grandiosas que hasta aora han salido de los mejores y más insignes poetas* (Manson and Peale 42).

<sup>148</sup> See Sullivan’s intriguing analysis of *Reinar* as an example of Spanish tragedy with the proposed Unities of Theme, Structure and Imagery in “Vélez de Guevara’s *Reinar después de morir* as a Model of Classical Spanish Tragedy”, pp. 144-7.

<sup>149</sup> Jorge de Sena notes that Vélez “*despolitiza*” (“depoliticizes”) the tragedy using little of what Bermúdez and even Mexía de la Cerda, adopted from António Ferreira. As we have seen in the previous section, Bermúdez wrote a virtual translation of *Castro* with the prevalent theme of Love vs. Reason of State; Mexía, however, wrote a romantic tragedy with Inês being killed by a spurned suitor, Rodrigo, and he in turn being murdered by Inês’s son. Neither play achieved the popularity of Vélez’s *comedia*.

<sup>150</sup> The current translation of *escopeta* is shotgun. Line citations and stage directions are from the Manson and Peale 2008 edition of the play. This stage direction is between lines 622 and 623; the editors note that since the eighteenth century the direction reads: “*en traje de caza, con una escopeta*” (“*in hunting attire, with a blunderbuss*”; 90).

Golden Age plays, a potential *mujer varonil*,<sup>151</sup> with attitudes and activities beyond the conventional role of devoted mother and passionate mistress. Disregarding the evident anachronism of a fourteenth-century woman hunting with a blunderbuss,<sup>152</sup> we are eager to meet and follow this Inês.

Luis Vélez de Guevara y Dueñas (1579-1644), a contemporary of great dramatists like Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina and Calderón de la Barca, was a prolific playwright and a popular figure at the *corrales* and the court of Madrid but he has only recently received critical attention as his plays were long criticized for deriving from Lope's *comedias* and were not ascribed a merit of their own (Cortés viii).<sup>153</sup> We cannot ascertain if this is the case with *Reinar después de morir* because Lope de Vega's play on the same subject, *Doña Ynés de Castro*, has been lost,<sup>154</sup> but we can speculate that the story of Inês and Pedro held a similar interest for both playwrights for its dramatic potential. A recent Inesian novel by María Pilar Queralt de Hierro imagines Vélez de Guevara envying the success of Master Lope, but meeting him amicably in a tavern where a Portuguese nobleman, who turns out to be the ghost of Dom Afonso IV, recounts the tale of Inês and Pedro. The playwrights hang on his every word and presumably rush to pen their respective Inesian plays when the mysterious gentleman ends his story. At the end of the novel Lope and

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<sup>151</sup> *La mujer varonil* and *la bella cazadora* will be discussed later as per Melveena McKendrick's study of female characters in Spanish Golden Age plays, *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: a Study of the Mujer Varonil*. McKendrick avoids the literal translation of *mujer varonil* as "manly woman", and suggests "the woman who departs in any significant way from the feminine norm of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (*Woman* ix); *la bella cazadora* (the beautiful huntress) is one prototype of this character.

<sup>152</sup> This is not unusual for Golden Age theatre where sixteenth- and seventeenth-century dress and objects were commonly used regardless of the period in which the *comedia* was set (McKendrick *Theatre* 194-5). Claude-Henri Frèches humourously describes Inês's entrance as "en costume d'amazone chasseresse, sportive et à la mode" ("in the costume of an Amazon huntress, sporty and in style"; "Personnage" 262). Inês was most certainly played by a female actor. The contemporary document by Lope de Vega, "El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo" ("New Art of Making Comedies at the Present Time"), circa 1608, includes a prescriptive point advising how actresses should handle transvestism: "Do not let ladies be unworthy the name and if they switch [from female] attire, let it be in a way that is excusable, for masculine disguise is usually very pleasing" (189). In 1644, Isabel de Bourbon issued a decree forbidding unmarried women or widows to appear on the stage (McKendrick, *Woman* 34). These indicate that women worked as actors in the *corrales*.

<sup>153</sup> Melveena McKendrick notes, for example, that while *La Luna de la Sierra* is similar in outline to Lope's *Peribáñez*, "it is a very different work...with no hint of tragedy or disaster" (*Woman* 131). Revalorizing and re-establishing Vélez as an important figure in Spanish theatre history is the objective of, for example, C. George Peale's 1983 collection of essays *Antigüedad y actualidad de Luis Vélez de Guevara* (ix-x).

<sup>154</sup> The play is listed in the 1618 edition of *El peregrino y su patria* (Larson 20n12).

Vélez meet again some years later and talk about the lukewarm reaction to Lope's Inesian drama and the resounding success of *Reinar después de morir*. Notwithstanding the novelist's fancy regarding the source of Vélez's play, the point is made that his is the one that is extant and has been remembered, adapted and performed since the seventeenth century. Oddly enough, Queralt de Hierro does not reproduce Vélez's plot but tells the story of Inês's friendship with Princess Constança and follows a similar historical line to Leitão de Barros's 1945 film (see Chapter 3.2) consequently, no new light is shed on the source of Vélez's revenge tragedy plot.

*Reinar después de morir* was composed and performed more than a century after Garcia de Resende's *Cancioneiro Geral*, and several decades after the publication of António Ferreira's *Castro*, Bermúdez's two *Nises*, Luís de Camões's *Os Lusíadas* and Mexía de la Cerda's *Tragedia* but not all of these works would have been accessible to him. Because of details in *Reinar* omitted in these works, some scholars suggest that the royal chronicles of the fifteenth century inspired by popular Castilian romances of oral tradition would have been sources for the play.<sup>155</sup> Still it is relevant to note the qualities and words of Inês that are similar in Resende and Ferreira, and how these contribute to the character. A close reading shows that the characterization of Inês is rather haphazard owing perhaps to the *mélange* of sources used by Vélez.<sup>156</sup> From the first scene when Brito<sup>157</sup> describes the beautiful Inês lying asleep flanked by her children<sup>158</sup> and ardently missing Pedro on awakening, we see the devoted lover and mother

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<sup>155</sup> One example is the apostolic dispensation Inês and Pedro obtained to be able to marry, though they were cousins (Act III lines 1977-1983), that is mentioned in the chronicles and Faria and Sousa's history but not in the plays (Cortés liii); Jorge de Sena confirms that Vélez had access to Rui de Pina's *Chronica d'el Rey don Affonso IV* and *A Primeira Parte das Crónicas dos Reis de Portugal* by Duarte Nunes de Leão published in 1600 but dismisses Cortés's speculation about Faria and Sousa, whom, he alleges, re-wrote their history *Europa Portuguesa* based on Vélez's treatment of Inês de Castro (2: 233, 238, 276).

<sup>156</sup> This includes, of course, the two *Nises* by Bermudéz and Mexía's *Tragedia* that are beyond the scope of this inquiry. Jorge de Sena provides a detailed comparison of *Reinar* with Vélez's Spanish forerunners (2: 243-282).

<sup>157</sup> Brito is the *gracioso*, a stock comic character of Spanish Golden Age *comedias*. His role has been cut from adaptations of *Reinar* (Nicolau Luís, Montherlant, Casona) as it would be formally out of context in Portugal, France and Argentina, respectively.

<sup>158</sup> The children in *Reinar* are named and have lines. What was unclear in Resende and Ferreira, how many children and what sex – though Castro's wish to see her grown children galloping across fields and fording rivers (Ferreira III 18-34) indicates they may be male – is clear in Vélez's play. The choice of the names Alonso and Dionis, is historically correct except that Alfonso died early, João is missing and so is Inês and Pedro's daughter, Beatriz. As Sena notes, the female child, through whom Inês became "mother" of Kings and Emperors, is forgotten (2: 254).

that Resende, Ferreira and even Camões, penned. In certain passages little distinction can be made between Vélez's Inés and those of the Portuguese poets: the woman who shudders at the prophetic Ferreirian dream of her demise is here (Act I lines 730-51),<sup>159</sup> as is the desperate Camonian heroine who begs to be exiled to the wilds (II 1617-32), the trembling protagonist of Resende's "Trovas" who sees danger approaching across the fields of the Mondego (III 1882-93), and the clever rhetorician who pleads for mercy with the King (III 1959-2179) portrayed in all three Lusophone texts. However, these traits at times vie disconcertingly with the Inés that Vélez paints elsewhere, namely in the scenes with the Crown Prince (of which only an encounter reported by Castro in Ferreira's play is a Portuguese dramatic precedent)<sup>160</sup> and in the confrontation with the Prince's bride-to-be, the Infanta de Navarra. Machado de Sousa credits Vélez with establishing the tradition of a different, more active Inês<sup>161</sup> who has the combined traits of "ternura e altivez" (tenderness and pride; *Tema Português* 125).

The principal change in the character of Inés ultimately stems from the confidence engendered by her status as wife and the open declaration of the marriage, demonstrated in her bold encounters with the Infanta and Rey Alonso.<sup>162</sup> However, this is a precarious confidence – hence the contradictory characterization<sup>163</sup> – because the marriage is not consistently acknowledged by the Prince and it proves to be a dangerous double-edged sword in Inés's dealings with the King. Like the irony of Inés's portrayal as a hunter when she will later be the hunted, her legitimate married status also becomes the very reason why she must be put to death, as discussed below. Nevertheless, the marriage is key to the plot development and the representation of Inés. Long

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<sup>159</sup> I use Act instead of Jornada and the continuous line numbering in the Manson/Peale edition.

<sup>160</sup> See Ferreira's *Castro*, Act I scene 1 and the discussion of Inês's account of her meeting with the Prince in 2.3.

<sup>161</sup> I use Inês to refer to the historical woman and Inés to Vélez's character.

<sup>162</sup> Vélez names the King and one of Inés and Pedro's sons Alonso; Manson and Peale differentiate between the grandfather as Alonso and the grandson as Alfonso (66-67).

<sup>163</sup> It should be noted that this is not unique to Inés as all of Vélez's main characters contradict themselves and behave rather erratically. It is a dramaturgical flaw that causes the Infanta to stay when she has decided to leave, the Prince to irresponsibly break his promise to protect Inés, and the King to wash his hands of Inés's assassination and then take responsibility for it.

before she appears on stage,<sup>164</sup> the Prince, alone following a meeting with the King, and surprised that he is betrothed to the Infanta de Navarra,<sup>165</sup> swears loyalty to Inés in a *cantarillo* (little song), using familiar verse to recruit allies for his love with Inés (Act I lines 411-14). Subsequently, his direct admission to the Infanta of his marriage to Inés, predisposes spectators and readers to accept the legitimacy of the heroine's claim to her royal partner, and, as Sena noted about Castro, gives her chronological priority. Moreover, Pedro is careful to stress that there was no love affair until he was widowed of his first wife, the Infanta de Castilla,<sup>166</sup>

... ni un instante  
 me atrevi, señora, a verla  
 con pensamientos de amante,  
 que a sola mi esposa entonces  
 rendi de amor vasallaje... (I 463-68)  
 ... never for an instant/ did I dare, my lady, to see her/ with a  
 lover's thoughts/ for only to my wife/ did I surrender my love...

In this way, the sinful state that tormented Castro in Ferreira's play is eliminated. Pedro tells Blanca of his present union to Inés, "vivo en ella tan unido/ debajo de la palabra/ y fe de esposo" ("I live in her so united/ under the word/ and faith of husband"; I 559-61) and of the children they are raising. The Prince's speech, as in *Castro*, teems with turgid declarations of love but it is these few words about their marriage that sanctify his relationship with Inés and lead him to encourage the Infanta to find another Prince to wed. Blanca is naturally enraged and vows vengeance on Inés (I 609-22). This is significant because, although the Infanta will not fulfill the expectations of Merveena McKendrick's "avenger" prototype of the *mujer varonil* by killing Inés

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<sup>164</sup> Unlike in *Castro*, Inés first speaks well into Act I at line 624.

<sup>165</sup> It appears that the union between Blanca and Pedro was conducted without his approval and entirely in his absence. It is unclear if they are merely engaged or officially married. If they are married, the Prince, who is already married to Inés, is unwittingly a bigamist. When Blanca plans to return to Navarra there is no mention of annulment. Sena attributes the lack of information about Pedro's knowledge of the marriage to its inclusion in Mexía's play with which spectators would have been familiar. However, in *Reinar*, Pedro clearly says he was not consulted by the King (I 471-476).

<sup>166</sup> Constança is not named by Vélez but his alleged sources would have indicated that it was she who married Dom Pedro and brought her lady-in-waiting, Inês de Castro, with her to Portugal. Before he married Constança, the Crown Prince was in fact married to a princess named Blanca (Dona Branca in Portuguese), daughter of the King of Castile, in 1328 but the marriage was annulled in 1336.

or Pedro, she overtly exhibits the fury of a woman scorned and urges others to avenge her honour (*Woman* 261, 303). As the King's Counsellors stress at the end of Act One, Inés is an impediment to Blanca's desire to wed in Portugal (I 885-891). Ensuring that the Infanta will marry the Prince will become the principal reason for killing Inés.<sup>167</sup>

Even before she is directly threatened, Inés knows that her marriage to the Prince is at stake. In her first scene,<sup>168</sup> Inés appears with her maid Violante and in spite of her anxiety about Pedro's absence and her envy of the Princess Blanca she does not fail to mention that the Prince is her spouse, "Su padre quiere casarle/ aunque casado se ve" ("His father wants to marry him [off]/ but he sees himself as married [to me]"; I 659-60). A melancholic sadness, however, prevails because Inés's doubts about the Prince's constancy are – unlike in the politically guided *Castro* – rooted in her fear that Pedro will leave her for another woman. The romantic intrigue woven by Vélez is enhanced by a duet which laments the loved one's absence,

Saudade miña  
 ¿cuando vos vería?  
 Diga el pensamiento,  
 pues solo él lo siente,  
 adorado ausente,  
 lo que de vos siento.  
 Mi pena y tormento  
 se trueque en contento  
 con dulce porfia. (I 679-687)

My *saudade!* when will I see you? Sayeth my thought/ for only it  
 feels/ adored absent one/ what I feel for you./ May my sadness and  
 torment become happiness/ with sweet persistence.

Inés sings this first verse in Spanish, and Violante continues partly in Portuguese that, as Jorge de Sena notes, accentuates the *saudade* felt by Inés immersed as she is in "Portuguese" love (2:

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<sup>167</sup> Because it is the Infanta who informs Pedro of Inés's death in the final scene of the play, Frèches calls her "la mort masquée" ("death masked"; "Personnage" 265).

<sup>168</sup> The acts are not formally divided into scenes but I follow Larson's "cuadros" as per the introductory notes of this edition.

265), echoing A. J. Saraiva's imbrication of *saudade* and love (see 2.3 above). Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos writes extensively of this "cantar velho" and its significance for *saudade* as a national sentiment in *A Saudade Portuguesa: Divagações Filológicas e Literárias históricas em volta de Inês de Castro e do Cantar Velho "Saudade minha-Quando te veria?"* (*Portuguese Saudade: Philological and Literary-historical Rambles around Inês de Castro and the Old Ballad "My saudade – when shall I see you?"*). She maintains that this "cantar" is a hybrid composed of verses in Castilian written by Véllez himself and those in Portuguese extracted from Camões's poetry.<sup>169</sup> The association with Camões and Inês de Castro vindicates the Portugueseness of *saudade*.

Inés is lulled to sleep by the song but has a nightmare which increases her feeling of abandonment: the same Ferreirian prophetic dream of being killed by a "león coronado" ("crowned lion"). When she awakens and tells the Prince of her fears, he reacts by saying she is more beautiful when she's frightened, "si bien estás más hermosa/ con el susto y el temor" ("even so you are more beautiful/ with the fright"; I 765-77),<sup>170</sup> which does little to comfort her. Inés's continuing preoccupation is whether the Prince is still hers, "¿Eres mío?" ("Are you mine?"; I 767). Inés then tells the Prince of seeing a lovebird abandoned by its mate, "...vi una tortolilla<sup>171</sup>/ que entre los chopos lloraba/ su amante esposo perdido" ("I saw a lovebird/ who cried among the poplars/ for her lost lover-husband"; I 777-79), another prophetic sign. Inés's doubts and complaints induce the prince to bombastic phrases of love, not dissimilar to how Ferreira's Pedro comforts Castro (I i 166-172) and, when they see that the King and his retinue are approaching, the Prince, emboldened, urges Inés to stay as she has nothing to fear while he is with her (I 838-842).

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<sup>169</sup> Jorge de Sena writes extensively of the Camonian origins of the second verse (2: 257-265). The Manson-Peale edition used for this inquiry mixes Portuguese and Spanish lines but the Muñoz Cortés 1948 edition follows Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos's advice and includes the poem as Camões wrote it.

<sup>170</sup> The infantilizing remark "you're more beautiful when you're scared" is common in the gothic genre; see, for example, Edna Stumpf's "You're Beautiful When You're Scared," Metropolitan, 1974 (cited in Carol Pearson, Katherine Pope, *The female hero in American and British literature*, Bowker, 1981, 20).

<sup>171</sup> The enamoured or widowed female lovebird is often found in medieval and Renaissance lyricism (Pidal cited in note to line 777, 166).

Inés's submissive hankering for Pedro's presence and love enhance his masculine posturing; in the 200 or so lines since she has been onstage, the conventional binary opposition of female/male and feminine/masculine is seemingly established as Inés remains (passively) waiting while the Prince moves (actively) to be with her, and as Inés seeks protection and Pedro promises to give it. It is a temporary gendered division, however, because ultimately it is Inés who will take steps to get rid of the Infanta, and who will confront the King with her and the Prince's legitimate married status. Pedro, afraid to be seen, hides away in a farmhouse near the Mondego (line 1825) while his children are taken away and Inés is killed; his now-passive attitude culminates in a fainting fit when he is told of Inés death (2309-10).<sup>172</sup> He rallies to wreak vengeance on the assassins,<sup>173</sup> and crown Inés's corpse but, in the abrupt denouement following the heroine's death, this does not vindicate his passivity or give him heroic status. The character who has undergone a major change, who has discarded the image of victim and incorporated the tragic heroine or protagonist of a romantic tragedy, is Inés. In the following, I will examine how she transitions from a needy, loving maiden to a woman who fights for her love and her life.

In his introductory notes to the Manson/Peale edition, Donald Larson critiques scholars who have argued that Inés cannot be the tragic heroine because she does not have an evident *hamartia* – focusing instead on the Prince or the King who do – and erroneously ignore her as the emotional centre of the play (20-23).<sup>174</sup> To the contrary, Larson defends that Inés is akin to innocent tragic protagonists who lack a clear *hamartia* like Euripides' Iphigenia, the Duchess of Malfi, Racine's Hippolytus, or the more recent example of Willy in *Death of a Salesman* who is crushed by social conditions (23). Larson further suggests that a tragedy can take different forms, and consequently its protagonists do not necessarily ascribe to the classic Greek model.

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<sup>172</sup> See Chapter 2.2 for a discussion of traits of femininity and masculinity as per Joan Cadden's study. Pedro further exhibits his loss of control, giving over to the passions, when he cries upon being told he of his imprisonment. Brito admonishes him, "No te entenezcas, señor/ Mira que llorando estás" ("Don't break down, sir/You're crying"; 1233-34).

<sup>173</sup> Donald Larson, who suggests the binary opposition of Court/Mondego = masculine/feminine, attributes feminine qualities to the Prince when he is at the Mondego villa and notes that his ferocious orders to torture and kill Inés's assassins by ripping out their hearts is an identification with the masculine principles of the Court (36).

<sup>174</sup> Larson discusses the analyses of Alison Weber, William M. Whitby and Henry W. Sullivan. Melveena McKendrick also dismisses Inés as "an innocent, passive victim" but I will argue below that Inés is, as McKendrick puts it, one of Vélez's "energetic, stout-hearted female characters" (*Theatre* 131-2).

Entre otras cuestiones, la tragedia enseña que la inocencia y la virtud no nos salvaguardan necesariamente de la mala fortuna, porque hay límites claros con respecto a la acción y la volición humana. (23)

Among other issues, tragedy shows that innocence and virtue don't necessarily save us from bad fortune, because there are clear limits with respect to human action and volition.

In the case of *Reinar después de morir*, which clearly falls under the rubric of love tragedy, the death of Inés is the death of love, family, compassion, forgiveness, equality, and constancy; it is these values incarnated by Inés, and her bravery before she is assassinated, which remain with us when the play is over (38). As María Rosa Álvarez Sellers observes, the play is

...una tragedia amorosa en donde, como en otras, un valor positivo como el amor debe ser anulado para que prevalezca otro igualmente positivo en sí mismo, la razón de Estado. De nuevo un conflicto que responde a la dialéctica hegeliana entre dos fuerzas en igualdad de condiciones y cualidades pero irreconciliables, que deben enfrentarse, cuyo resultado será excluyente, acarreado al héroe, activo, sufrimiento. (712)

...a romantic tragedy where, as in others, a positive value such as love must be eliminated so that another equally positive value, the reason of State, can prevail. Once again a conflict that speaks to the Hegelian dialectic between two forces equal in conditions and qualities but irreconcilable, that must confront each other, and whose result will bring the active hero suffering.

Unlike Larson, Sellers argues that all of Vélez's players are responsible for their actions and are not innocent. She suggests that Inés's *hamartia* is her haughty defiance of the Infanta (as discussed below) and her belief that politics cannot affect the constancy of the love she shares with Pedro (710). Clearly, this Inés is not the passive victim of legend and, like Ferreira's Castro, earns her place as a tragic heroine and protagonist<sup>175</sup> of *Reinar después de morir*.

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<sup>175</sup> Jorge de Sena, in his rigorous structural analysis of the play, argues that Inés is at the center of Vélez's tragedy because of her subtly timed entrance in each act. In the first she enters at line 623, in the second at line 329, and in

Inés's emancipation begins with her bold behaviour with the King on their first meeting and the feisty confrontation with her rival, the Princess of Navarra. Inés, while observing the etiquette required of a Royal subject, nonetheless finds a way of affirming her own right to a regal position (as the Prince's legitimate wife) in her conversations with her superiors. Act One ends with the King, the Infanta, Counsellors Egas Coello and Alvar González, and their entourage appearing at Inés's door, and each character uttering an aside that reveals their feelings about this portentous meeting. The King is angrily determined, the Infanta is vengeful, Egas wishes peace for the Kingdom, and the Prince is tormented (I 845-53). The aside that Inés exclaims, "(Ap.: ¡Agora empieza mis celos!)" ("Now begin my fears/jealousies"; I 846) is ambiguous. While "celos" may be interpreted by literary critics as "recelos" (fears) because the line is an irregular nine syllables (Notes, p 166), a reader or spectator can also infer that it is "celos" (jealousy) that may guide her actions from hereon in.<sup>176</sup> Her next aside as she kneels before the King, shows her fear and courage at boldly speaking before being addressed, "(Ap.: ¡Cielos,/ temiendo estoy su rigor,/ pero, con todo, yo llego)" ("Heavens! I fear his severity/ but still I approach"; 860-862). The King is bewitched by Inés's beauty, charmed by her good graces, and enchanted to meet his "gracioso" ("charming") grandson. He swoons in his affection for this newfound family and the Infanta is flabbergasted at the turn events have taken (883-84). This brief scene, as Larson notes, is the first incursion of the aggressive Court into the life of the bucolic Mondego villa (see footnote 173), and while it seemingly ends well for Inés, she is nevertheless distressed when the Prince departs with the others.<sup>177</sup>

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the third at line 152. By decreasing the waiting time for the heroine by half for each act, Vélez ensures that she is the center of the drama and that the intrigue is intensified (2: 267-68). Sena also discusses Inés's connection to the songs and poems that appear in lyrical moments and are akin to Inés's personality (268-270).

<sup>176</sup> "Celos" or jealousy was a common convention in the *comedia*, be it in a *comedia de capa y espada*, or a more serious tragic play. See, for example, Ignacio Arellano's *Convención y recepción: estudios sobre el teatro del Siglo de Oro*, Gredos, 1999.

<sup>177</sup> The Infanta, too, shows her anguish and the reader's or spectator's sympathies are divided,

INFANTA: (Ap.: ¡Muerta estoy!)

INÉS: (Ap.: ¡Yo voy sin alma!)

INFANTA: (Ap.: ¡Que desdicha!)

Act Two begins with the Infanta swearing to avenge her wounded pride (II 913-936), but in the ensuing interview with the King, her long expositional monologue tells of her hopeful journey to Portugal, her dismay at finding an uninterested husband-to-be, and her plans to leave, giving Inés the prized Prince.

Con mi partida, señor,  
pongo fin a mis pesares,  
principio al gusto de Inés,  
y medio para que trate  
don Pedro su casamiento  
sin que yo pueda estorbarle,  
que, aunque ya lo está en secreto,  
como llegó a declararme,  
parece que aumenta el gusto  
saber que todos lo saben... (II 1101-10)

With my departure, my Lord/ I put an end to my remorse/ a  
beginning to Inés's desire/ and give a means for Don Pedro to take  
care of his wedding/ without my interference/ for, though he is  
already wed in secret/ as he has told me/ it seems that the pleasure  
is increased/ knowing that everyone knows...

The King, however, reacts by imprisoning the Prince for the disobedience that has caused such ills (II 1147-54) and while the Infanta waits to be sent for by her brother she goes hunting and pursues a “garza” (“heron”), and also Inés, Coello de Garza (Heron’s Neck). The confrontation

INÉS: (*Ap.*: ¡Que tormento!) (I 911-14)

INF: I’m dead/ INÉS: I go without my soul/ INF: What misery/ INÉS: What torment!

The fate of the two women who want the same man is as yet unresolved and their confrontation in Act II will intensify the conflict that overrides the underlying unease about the fate of the Kingdom. It is not that the Reason of State vs. Love theme is absent from Vélez’s play – as Alvar warns the King, Inés is an impediment to Blanca’s marriage to Pedro (I 887-91) and the future alliance between Portugal and Navarre is threatened – but the love triangle takes precedence. It is such an alluring addition to the Inesian legend that eighteenth-century Portuguese playwrights Nicolau Luís, Reis Quita and Baptista Gomes would reproduce it in some way, and both Henry de Montherlant’s *La Reine Morte* and Alejandro Casona’s *Corona de Amor y Muerte* feature pivotal scenes where the two women vying for Pedro’s love meet.

between Inés and Blanca is the climax of the second act and the place where Inés shows her eloquence and determination prior to demanding protection from the Prince and pleading with the King to spare her life in Act Three. Brito warns Inés that the Infanta is near and has shot down a white heron; he urges her to hide her lovely face (II 1301-15) but Inés determinedly stays put and listens to the Infanta's proud claim to become Pedro's wife when he is released from prison (II 1393-98) and her unveiled threats that she will destroy Inés just as her falcon tore apart the heron (II 1403-18). The reader/spectator will notice that the Infanta's resolve to win Pedro contradicts her decision to leave (II 1101-10) and the feminist reader/spectator will discern a masculinist ploy to pit one woman against the other, with the titillating prospect of a theatrical catfight<sup>178</sup> between the two *bellas cazadoras* who want the same man. The confrontation between Inés and the Infanta is described by Larson as a moment of great dramatic tension where the two huntresses, "Inés, bucólica, pero elegante, armada con una escopeta; Blanca, soberana, acompañada por su cortejo, con halcones cetreros" ("Inés, bucolic but elegant, armed with a blunderbuss; Blanca, sovereign, accompanied by her retinue with hunting falcons"), vie for Pedro's affections (31).

In their hunting attire, we have not one but two female characters, who, having been presented as *bellas cazadoras*, are expected to exhibit a high degree of *varonilidad*, departing, as Melveena McKendrick suggests, "from the feminine norm of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (*Woman* ix, 242). McKendrick documents significant Golden Age plays with a *bella cazadora* character, among them Vélez de Guevara's Gila in *La serrana de la Vera* (1595-8) and María de Céspedes in *El Herculés de Ocaña* (date unknown),<sup>179</sup> both pre-dating *Reinar*. Unfortunately, while creating female characters who are,

allowed a physical freedom not normally associated with female upbringing and who have consequently developed a temperament which by conventional standards is not wholly 'feminine', together with skills which are decidedly masculine, (242)

Vélez does not condone the aggressive masculinity of the first (who is also a *bandolera* or bandit who wrestles, shouts, and swears), and limits the masculinized acts of the second (like shooting

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<sup>178</sup> I am in mind of Helena and Hermia's confrontation in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

<sup>179</sup> Some believe the play pre-dates 1612, others that it was written after 1626 (McKendrick, *Woman* 249).

the Governor) to narrative description (115, 246, 251-2). In *Reinar*, the depiction of Inés and the Infanta as hunters is contrary to the “instant characterization” that promises a heroine who may reveal other signs of *varonilidad*, such as *esquivez*, an aversion to the idea of love and marriage (242, 142). Indeed, love and marriage are at the center of the conflict between our two *bellas cazadoras* and one suspects that Vélez may have used the huntress convention because, as McKendrick posits, “if a play was felt to need a little female spice and vigour its author had only to put a gun, a bow or a sling in the heroine’s hand” (245). Alas, the expectations produced upon first seeing Inés with a blunderbuss are seriously diminished when she does not exhibit masculine prowess or a conventionally unfeminine temperament. How, then, does she rise to the challenge of confronting the Infanta, a *bella cazadora* who boasts of her falcon’s victory over the *garza*?

Inés is undaunted by the Infanta’s threats seeing that her prowess as a predator is attributable to her retinue of hunters and birds of prey, and she retorts haughtily,

Yo soy doña Inés de Castro  
 Coello de Garza, y me veo,  
 si vos de Navarra infanta,  
 reina de aqueste hemisferio  
 de Portugal, y casada  
 con el príncipe Don Pedro  
 estoy primero que vos.  
 Mirad si mi casamiento  
 será, Infanta, preferido,  
 siendo conmigo hoy primero. (II 1429-38)

I am doña Inés de Castro/ Heron’s Neck, and I see myself/ if you  
 are Princess of Navarre,/ queen of this hemisphere/ of Portugal and  
 married/ to Prince Pedro/ I am before you./See if my marriage/ will  
 be, Princess, preferred,/ being with me first today.

Sounding as clichéd to our twenty-first century ears as “you’re beautiful when you’re scared” (see above), “I saw him first” is also predictable but shows Inés to advantage; some of the fiery spirit she exhibits here is what must have attracted Pedro for, though she is not the typical *bella cazadora* of Golden Age *comedias*, neither is she the simpering, needy wife of the first scene.

This brazenness is not to last, however: the King appears and Inés is duly regretful of having disrespected the Infanta, especially when she insinuates that Blanca was the victim in the *garza-halcón* tussle because the heron was “blanca” (“white”; II 1449-52). She exits “temerosa y afligida” (“frightened and distressed”; II 1463).

Realizing that her life is indeed in danger, at the end of Act II Inés tries desperately to communicate this to the Prince, and offers to leave so that she may live.

Con tus hijos viviré  
 en lo áspero de los montes,  
 compañera de las fieras,  
 que con gemidos feroces  
 pediré justicia al Cielo,  
 pues que no la hallé en los hombres,  
 de quien de tan dulce lazo  
 aparta dos corazones. (II 1609-24)<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> This proposition of self-exile in barren mountains among fierce beasts is very similar to Inês’s supplication to Afonso IV in Camões’s Canto III of *Os Lusíadas*,

...Põe-me em perpétuo e mísero desterro,  
 Na Cítia fria ou lá na Líbia ardente,  
 Onde em lágrimas viva eternamente.

Põe-me onde se use toda a feridade,  
 Entre leões e tigres, e verei  
 Se neles achar posso a piedade  
 Que entre peitos humanos não achei.  
 Ali, co amor intrínseco e vontade  
 Naquele por quem mouro, criarei  
 Estas relíquias suas que aqui viste,  
 Que refrigério sejam da mãe triste. (vv 128-29)

...Put me in sad, perpetual exile,/ In the glaciers of Scythia, or placed/ Endlessly weeping in Libya’s burning waste;// Send me where ferocity belongs/ Among lions and tigers; and I will see/ If there exists among them that mercy/ Absent from the hearts of men./ There, yearning with my whole soul/ For the one I truly love, these/ Whom you see before you, his creation,/ Will be their sad mother’s consolation; White 72.

Similar lines would be reproduced in Francisco Luis de Retes 1868 drama *Inês de Castro* (cited in Sousa, *Tema Português* 250).

Ferreira is more modest but also mentions exile with the children,

Não viverá teu filho; dá-lhe vida,  
 Senhor, dando-ma a mim, que eu me irei logo  
 Onde nunca apareça, mas levando  
 Estes penhores seus, que não conhecem  
 Outros mimos e tetas senão estas... (III 179-183)

Your son will not live; give him life,/ Sire, by allowing me mine, and I will go/ To a place where no one will see me again,/ But taking his children, who know no other/ Caresses, no other breasts but mine...

With your children I will live/ in the harsh mountains,/ companion  
to the beasts,/ and with wild moans/ I will ask justice of the  
Heavens,/ for I didn't find it among men/ whose justice separates  
two hearts from such a sweet bond.

Finally, Inés begs Pedro to intervene and prevent the King from taking her life. Even if she dies, she wants to know that Pedro has protected her “por mujer, por esposa y por amante” (“as woman, as wife and as lover”; II 1648). These intentions and demands are not in accord with her earlier submissive and plaintive tone or with her doubts that he will abandon her. Machado de Sousa also notes that this is an unprecedented attitude in Inesian drama and in the Portuguese tradition Inês would never speak in this manner: Nicolau Luís’s adaptation of 1772 reduced this speech to three lines (Sousa, *Tema Português* 120). Inés insists Pedro return to prison before they find that he’s fled (II 1681-4) and the act ends with drawn-out, sorrowful goodbyes (II 1684-1708). After the earlier desperate entreaties by Inés that he save her, this is not an efficacious move for Pedro but it satisfies the dramaturgical need to render him absent when Inés is killed.<sup>181</sup> Vélez has allowed the Prince to leave the prison temporarily to see Inés,<sup>182</sup> but needs a pretext to keep him at bay while Inés is being killed, hence the Prince’s inexplicable decision to travel only part way the next day and send Brito to Inés with a letter.

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All effectively ignore the historical place to which Inês de Castro was allegedly exiled circa 1345-6 when Constança was still alive, the comfortable Albuquerque castle of her step-family in Castile (José Timoteo Montalvão Machado, *Amores de D. Pedro e D. Inês em Terras da Lourinhã, de Gaia e de Coimbra*, Depositária, Livraria Portugal, 1966, 35.)

<sup>181</sup> This is often the weakest point in dramatizations of the story and shows a Prince who is unwilling to accept that his lover is in real danger. In Ferreira, Pedro’s absence is not explained at all, and when Júlio Dantas adapted *Castro* he imagined Pedro carousing in a tavern, further belittling his resolve to protect Inês; in the Portuguese films he goes hunting in spite of his lover’s pleas; and John Clifford’s 1990 Inesian tragedy sends him off to war with Spain against Inés’s wishes. The playwrights who keep Pedro in jail where he is physically unable to save Inês, like Henry de Montherlant whose *La Reine Morte* is based on Vélez’s *Reinar*, are the most successful dramaturgically, though their Princes must ultimately be unsuccessful in saving Inês.

<sup>182</sup> Sena suggests this is permitted because of the romanesque (romantic) structure of the play (2: 267).

In Act III, Pedro waits far from Inés's Mondego *quinta* so as not to be seen by his father's Counsellors even when he imagines that Inés is being pursued by hunters,<sup>183</sup> and Brito warns him that it is an ill omen (III 1715-28). Pedro's refusal to heed this sign that Inés is in real danger, make his declarations of love and courage ring hollow.

PRÍNCIPE No temas, pues que te anima  
mi valor.

BRITO ¡Qué linda flema!  
Si estoy ahorcado por dicha  
una vez, ¿de qué provecho  
lo que me ofreces sería  
para mí? ¿Podrá valerme  
tu valor en la otra vida? (II 1786-1792)

PRIN: Don't be afraid, be cheered/ by my valour. BRITO: How  
lame! If I'm doomed anyway/ how can what you offer be of use to  
me?/ Can your valour be worth something in the next life?

Brito's mockery of the inexcusable behaviour of the Prince shows that Vélez is fully aware that Pedro is a contradictory character (Sena 2: 273) and that his refusal to go to Inés's Mondego villa will be seen as evasive and cowardly compared to the bravery demonstrated by Inés when she, alone and unprotected, confronts her death squad.

Forced to step out of the role of romantic heroine, she performs her last scene much like Ferreira's tragic heroine who uses strategy and rhetoric to prove her innocence and save herself. At first evoking Resende's lyrical character upon seeing the King and his men approaching, "Por los campos de Mondego/ cavalleros vi assomar..." (Along the fields of the Mondego/ I saw horsemen approaching..."; III 1882-85),<sup>184</sup> she then adopts a Ferreirian stance by questioning the presence of an armed retinue, "...para una mujer,/ muchas armas las que traen" ("...for a woman/

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<sup>183</sup> This brief scene became the thrilling intercut chase scene of Leitão de Barros's 1945 film where Pedro hunts a doe while Inés is pursued by the King's Counsellors (Chapter 3.2).

<sup>184</sup> Castro does not have these lines in Ferreira's tragedy but a version is uttered by the chorus (II 185ss). Extensive research has been done on these verses thought to have originated in the old *romance* (ballad) *Doña Isabel de Liar*; they are used by Resende, Mexía, and Vélez, (see Manson and Peale notes, pp 172-3) and parodied in Gil Vicente's *Farsa dos Almocreves* (1527). See, for example, Chicote's " 'Yo me estando en Giromena': un processo de descontextualización inconcluso."

you bring many weapons”; III 1892-3), urging her children to plead with their grandfather, “¡Dionís, Alfonso, llegad!/ Suplicad a vuestro abuelo/ que me quiera perdonar” (“Dionís, Alfonso come! Plead with your grandfather/ to pardon me”; III 2025-27), and, like Castro, insisting that he will kill his son if he kills her, “...en viendo mi muerte/ y mi desdichada suerte,/ morirá también mi esposo...” (“...and seeing my death/ and my miserable fate,/ my husband too will die...”; III 2051-53). What is different in Inés’s interview with the King in Vélez’s play is her mention of the legitimate marriage to the prince with the papal dispensation<sup>185</sup> for being his cousin, which, as Alonso ironically exclaims, is her malediction.

REY Inés, no os turbéis, que es cierto.

Vos no os pudistes casar,  
siendo mi deuda, con Pedro  
sin dispensación.

INÉS Verdad  
es, señor, lo que decís,  
mas antes de efetuar  
el matrimonio, se trajo  
la dispensación.

REY ¡Callad!  
¡Noramala para vos,  
doña Inés, que os despeñáis,  
pues si es como vos decís,  
será fuerza que muráis! (III 1976-87)

REY: Inés, don’t get upset, this is correct./ Being my relative you could not have married Pedro, without dispensation. INÉS: It’s true/ my lord, what you say/ but before we carried out/ the wedding, the dispensation was brought. REY: Quiet! You are lost, doña Inés,/ you’ve been imprudent,/ for if it is as you say/ you will have to die!

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<sup>185</sup> Jorge de Sena suggests Vélez gleaned this information from the *Primeira Parte das Crónicas dos Reis de Portugal* by Duarte Nunes de Leão published in 1600 (2: 276).

Inés, in a moment of *anagnorisis*, (Larson 34) realizes that her efforts to avoid living in sin with the Prince have condemned her and protests against such an injustice, “¿Luego el haber sido buena/ queréis, señor, castigar?” (“Then, having been good,/ would you, my lord, punish?”; III 1998-99). This differs greatly from Ferreira’s Castro who is remorseful about her adulterous relationship with Pedro while Constança was alive and cannot reveal her secret marriage to the Prince. Vélez’s Inés claims her rightful place in the royal family and, notwithstanding the King’s violent reaction to the papal dispensation which enabled it, pleads for her life as a “wife” as well as mother, “...por mujer de vuestro hijo,/ por madre de vuestros nietos” (“...as wife of your son/ as mother of your grandchildren”; III 2078-9). But the King is ultimately not moved; he has blamed Inés for being beautiful, “Vos nacisteis muy hermosa/ esa culpa tenéis más” (“You were born very beautiful/ one more thing against you”; III 2006-07) (ostensibly his attraction to her being the reason that he has wavered at all in his determination to do away with her<sup>186</sup>), and he now states his intent to take her children while Egas and Alvar stay to kill her. Like Ferreira’s Castro, Inés desperately cries out for the Prince,

Pedro mio ¿dónde estás  
que así te olvidas de mi?  
¿Posible es que en tanto mal  
me falte tu vista, esposo? (III 2161-62)  
My Pedro, where are you/ that you have forgotten me?/ Is it  
possible that at such a terrible time/ you are absent, my husband?

Her final words, however, are an appeal to the Heavens to judge the King<sup>187</sup> for his unjust act (III 2175-79). The reader/spectator sees an Inés who rallies angrily to defend her innocence even knowing she is about to lose her life.

The rest of the Act condenses the historical action of several years into a few days and adds the decidedly unhistorical *coroação e beija-mão* (coronation of the corpse of Inés and the ceremonial hand-kissing by the royal subjects): the King dies, the Infanta gives Pedro the news

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<sup>186</sup> Sullivan posits an Oedipal conflict between the King and Pedro because of Inés as an illicit object of love and the King’s sexual attraction to her (151-3).

<sup>187</sup> Since Vélez has subjugated the theme of Reason of State as the cause for Inés’s death to the threat she poses as the Infanta’s rival (Sena 2: 278), the Counsellors’ roles have been reduced substantially. It is Alvar González who has the idea of killing Inés, but the blame rests on the King’s shoulders.

of Inés's death and flees to Navarra, Alvar and Egas flee, are captured and assassinated, and Inés is made Queen. What is significant here, and according to Francisco Induráin the reason for accelerating the action, is the simple, dramatic line that fuses the death and coronation of Inés (28). This dramaturgical choice is markedly different from its Spanish precedents: in Bermúdez's *Nise Laureada*, Inés's body is exhumed years after she has died and Pedro marries her and crowns her publicly (Act III); in Mexía de la Cerda's Inesian play, the heroine is also unburied, but shortly after her death, and there is a double coronation of King Pedro and Queen Inés in the final act. In Vélez, Inés's body is discovered "muerta, sobre unas almohadas" ("dead, lying on some pillows"; III 2400) which echoes the first description of the heroine by Brito "sobre las almohadas se incorpora" ("on the pillows lies her body"; I 202) and Pedro immediately orders Nuño to bring a crown and orders a funeral, "a Alcobaza con gran pompa" ("to Alcobaza with great pomp"; III 2439). Once Inés is crowned, all are ordered to "besad la difunta mano" ("kiss the deceased hand"; III 2455). The representation of the dead Inés is not of a decomposing corpse whose smell causes bishops to faint, as in Leitão de Barros's 1945 film, *Inês de Castro*, (see Chapter 3.2) but of a recently deceased and still beautiful woman. Nonetheless, it is a visually spectacular ending which was a popular success in eighteenth-century Portuguese theatre, inspired Romantic painters,<sup>188</sup> and is true to the Spanish tradition of representing Inês de Castro as the Queen who reigned after death (Sousa *Tema Português* 63, 65, 125). A determined Prince declaims,

¡Silencio, silencio! Oíd:  
 Esta es la Inés laureada,  
 esta la reina infeliz  
 que mereció en Portugal  
 reinar después de morir. (III 2458-62)  
 Silence, silence! hear ye:/ This is Inés crowned/ this is the unhappy  
 queen/ who deserved in Portugal/ to reign after death.

This verse, of which a self-referential version is repeated by the Condestable ten lines later,<sup>189</sup> draws attention to the unusual title of the play and the blatant contradiction of *reinar* (to reign)

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<sup>188</sup> See, for example, Gillot St. Eure's 1829 and Pierre-Charles Comte's 1849 "Le couronnement d'Inès de Castro".

<sup>189</sup> "Esta es la Inés laureada,/ con que el poeta dio fin/ a su tragedia, en que pudo/ reinar después de morir" ("This is Inés crowned/ with which the poet ended/ his tragedy in which he could/ reign after death"; III 2473-76). Manson

and *morir* (to die). Vélez breaks with tradition by omitting Inês's name (or an anagram like Nise) in the title of his Inesian tragedy (Sito Alba qtd. in Hauer 287). Playwrights Bermúdez, Mexía and Vélez certainly establish the Spanish dramatic tradition of staging Inês de Castro as the Dead Queen but it is Vélez who, like Camões before him with his famous verse, “da mísera e mesquinha que depois de morta foi rainha” (“the unhappy wretched who was queen after death”; Canto III 118), emphasizes the impossibility and morbidity of Inês reigning after death.<sup>190</sup>

Just as this Spanish tradition has its roots in Camões's evocative description of Inês de Castro, it also exemplifies the Portuguese tradition of *saudade* so pervasive in Resende's and Ferreira's texts and a running theme through *Reinar*. If the word itself is only used in the song sung by Inés and Violante (see above), the sentiment is heavily present in many of Inés's and the Prince's speeches. They both suffer in the absence of the other and glory in each other's presence. In her mercy speech to the King, as in Resende and Ferreira, Inés says that the Prince will die without her (III 2051-3) and taking her children is taking her life (III 2109-12). Henry Sullivan, who considers “mourning” as one of the three sustained images in *Reinar*,<sup>191</sup> notes that it is combined with “grieving in general (*llanto*) and with the nostalgic pain traditionally said to characterize the Portuguese temperament and songs (*saudade*)” (157). While a Spanish play cannot use Inés, the Dead Queen of Portugal, as a symbol of nation,<sup>192</sup> it will reproduce the national sentiment as a

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and Peale suggest “el poeta” evokes both Bermúdez who titled his second Inesian tragedy *Nise Laureada* and Mexía who ended his tragedy with these words (176).

<sup>190</sup> The 1988 translation by Joseph R. Jones and Kenneth Muir is titled *Inés Reigned in Death*, this time directly linking Inês with the contradictory words “reign” and “death” and, by the use of the past tense, announcing that it is over. This suggests that though she is still dead, she no longer reigns, and that her queenship came to an end when King Pedro died.

<sup>191</sup> The other two are “the sun in Heaven” and “the forest creature at bay” (Sullivan 155).

<sup>192</sup> The nationality of the play is evident in lines that are meant for a Spanish audience. Egas mentions “mi lealtad muy de español” (“my very Spanish loyalty”; II 1172) and even the Prince lets slip a fervent nationalistic cry, “¡Aunque se perdiera España!” (“Even if we were to lose Spain!”; II 1693). When Brito says, “¡Qué amor tan de Portugal!” (“Such Portuguese love!”), meaning a passion known among the Spanish as sudden and violent (note 1859, 172), the Prince replies “¡Qué verdad tan de Castilla!” (“What Castilian truth”; III 1859-60); some editions have *beldad* (beauty) instead of *verdad* (truth). Nonetheless, the play was first published in Lisboa and Spanish players very likely performed it in the Pátio das Arcadas (Sousa *Tema Português* 125).

constant of the love between Inés and Pedro. The penultimate verse of Vélez's tragedy is uttered by the Prince (now King), on beholding his dead Queen,

¡Ay, bella Inés!,  
ya no hay gusto para mí,  
que faltándome tu sol  
¿cómo es posible vivir? (III 2467-70)  
Oh, beautiful Inés/ there is no desire in me/ for missing my sun/  
how is it possible to live?

In a framing mode, this verse echoes the first song of the play, where Inés's eyes are likened to suns that bathe he who lives under them.<sup>193</sup> As the first scene of Act I describes Inés asleep on her pillows and the temporary absence of her luminous eyes, the last scene of Act Three depicts her lifeless body on pillows and her extinguished eyes, now an eternal absence. *Saudade* is reified poignantly and expertly here.

## 2.5 Conclusion: *Colo de Garça*

Inês de Castro's beauty is legendary, existing in a cultural imaginary, augmented and embellished by poets and playwrights throughout the centuries and across continents. The Brazilian writer Júlio de Castilho dismisses most of the characters in *Castro* as "cruamente pintados" ("crudely drawn") but asks hopefully if Ferreira was able to create an Inês that approximated his schoolboy fantasies, "E por ventura aquella Ignez a formosa *collo de garça*, a apaixonada hespanhola que todos entrevimos nos nossos estudiosos sonhos de adolescencia?" ("And what of that Ignez the beautiful *collo de garça*, the passionate Spanish woman that we all glimpsed in our adolescent student dreams?"; 1: 212). He concludes that the Luso tragedian adorned the character with sentiment, passion and the necessary timidity to make her attractive to

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*Soles, pues sois tan hermosos,  
no arrojéis rayos soberbios  
a quien vive en vuestra luz,  
contento en tan alto empleo.* (I 1-4)

Suns, you are so beautiful/ don't throw proud rays/ to he who lives in your light/ happy in such love.

the Prince, and presumably to other “formoso e altivo mancebo[s]” (“handsome and noble young men”; Castilho 1: 212) like himself.

As we have seen in *Castro* and *Reinar después de morir*, the characters who surround Castro/Inés acclaim this beauty, itemizing her assets as one would appraise a precious item: Ferreira’s chorus lauds her eyes, face, body, breasts, cheeks, neck and hair (III 272-296, see above) and Brito, describing the “sleeping beauty”<sup>194</sup> to his Prince, likewise inventories Inés’s features,

...los ojos en estrellas,  
 en nieve y nácar las mejillas bellas,  
 en claveles la boca,  
 la frente y manos en cristal de roca,  
 en rayos los cabellos... (177-181)<sup>195</sup>  
 ...the eyes as stars/ as snow and mother-of-pearl the beautiful  
 cheeks/ as carnations the mouth/ the forehead and hands as rock  
 crystal/ as rays of sun the hair...

When Castro/Inés is assassinated, both Ferreira’s and Vélez’s Princes decry the death of her corporeal beauty. Witness Ferreira’s Pedro who fears the sight of his loved one’s lifeless eyes, bloodied golden tresses, cold hands and maimed white nape (V ii 122-131, see above) and the Prince’s cries in Vélez as he gazes upon Inés’s corpse:

¡Ay, doña Inés, quién pudiera  
 detener ese raudal,  
 dar vida a ese hermoso sol,  
 dar aliento a ese arrebol,  
 y soldar ese cristal!  
 ¡Ay mano, ya sin recelo  
 ser alabastro pudieras,

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<sup>194</sup> As Claude-Henri Frèches observes, before Inés appears as an “amazone chasserresse” (“Amazon huntress”) she is described by Pedro and Brito in terms of “tendre féminité” as “la dame à la fontaine, rêveuse ou belle endormie” (“the lady by the fountain, the dreamer or the sleeping beauty”; “Personnage” 262).

<sup>195</sup> Here, since Brito is speaking to the Prince about his beloved in the blazon tradition, Inés’s beauty (and person) is objectified as if she were Pedro’s possession.

que hasta ahora no lo eras  
 porque te faltaba el hielo! (2412-2420)  
 O, doña Inés, who could have/ stopped that torrent,/ given life to  
 that lovely sun/ given breath to that dawn/ and soldered that  
 crystal!/ O, hand, no longer fearing/ you could be alabaster/ for till  
 now you were not/ because you lacked the ice!

In both plays, the heroine is associated with celestial bodies and nature,<sup>196</sup> with Vélez taking the epithet *colo de garça*, with its suggestion that Inés is an elegant bird, to a metaphorical level unseen in Inesian literature thus far.<sup>197</sup> While Ferreira refers only once to the “...alva garganta/ De cristal, ou de prata...” (“...immaculate neck of crystal, or of silver...”; III 293-4), Vélez pays homage to Camões by using “colo de alabastro” (“nape of alabaster”)<sup>198</sup> and deftly rhyming it with Castro, “al cuello de alabastro,/deidad admiro [sic] a doña Inés de Castro” (“to the nape of alabaster/ the deity admired doña Inés de Castro”; lines 185-87). He then develops the plot line between Inés and the Infanta around the hunted white *garza*, rendering Inés as, in Sena’s words, “uma bela ave sobre a qual impende a fúria humana de matar e destruir” (“a beautiful bird over which looms the human fury to kill and destroy”; 2: 272) as discussed above.

Garcia de Resende, however, does not exalt the beauty of Inês or make any mention of the singular heron’s neck. In fact, he downplays her beauty, likening it to that of other “lovely ladies” at Court. When Inês is remembering the early days of her affair with Pedro, she is blunt about her situation,

Dei-lhe minha liberdade  
 não senti perda de fama

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<sup>196</sup> See, for example, Soares’s description of the *locus amoenus* setting which opens *Castro* (*Leitura* 49), Henry W. Sullivan’s discussion of Vélez’s base images (155-163) and J. E. Varey on the natural setting and heavenly bodies in *Reinar después de morir* (169-172).

<sup>197</sup> See Mitchell Triwedi’s “D. Inés de Castro, 'cuello de garza': Una nota sobre el *Reinar después de morir* de Luis Vélez de Guevara” and Jorge de Sena’s detailed musings on the origins of the term *colo de garça* in association with Inês (2: 17n242). Frêches reminds us that Lafontaine depicted the heron as a ridiculous bird, but Vélez uses it to symbolize the victim (“Personnage” 260).

<sup>198</sup> “Tais como Inês os brutos matadores,/No colo de alabastro, que sustinha/ As obras com que Amor matou de amores/ Aquele que depois a fez Rainha...” (“So confronting Inês, the brute killers,/ In that neck of alabaster, which sustained/ the very features which transfixed/ The prince who afterwards made her queen...”; *Os Lusíadas* Canto III v 132, White 74).

pus nele minha verdade  
 quis fazer sua vontade  
 sendo mui *fremosa dama*. (lines 51-55, italics mine)

I gave him my freedom/I didn't risk my reputation/ I trusted him/ I  
 wanted to please him/ being *a lovely lady*.

As Jorge de Sena observes, Resende's Inês is but one of the Court's "fremosas damas" and her story dignifies the love dalliances between unmarried noblemen and ladies; in the poet's final verses of glorification of Inês, he raises her above the others to a sort of princely concubinage (1: 286, 297-99),

Ganhou mais que sendo dantes  
 nom mais que *fermosa dama*  
 serem seus filhos ifantes  
 seus amores abastantes  
 de deixarem tanta fama. (lines 241-245, italics mine).

She gained more than what she was before/ no more than a *lovely lady*/ her children became princes/ her love enough/ to make her famous.

This, as discussed above, was the poet's rhetorical strategy to convince the ladies he is addressing in the "Trovas" to love as Inês loved, i.e. out of wedlock, and hope for such fame as she achieved. Thus, in the "Trovas" Inês is not objectified through her extraordinary beauty, but she is clearly identified as a kept mistress, still the Prince's possession. By the Renaissance it became important to legitimize the marriage between the lovers, and though Ferreira's Inês admits to her adulterous relationship with the Prince while his wife Constança was alive, the secret matrimony sanctifies the illicit love. Castilho stresses that in *Castro* Inês's passion is not "a dominação da concubina, é o casto imperio da esposa christã" ("the dominion of the concubine, it is the chaste empire of the Christian spouse"; 1: 212). By the time Véllez penned his Inesian tragedy, as we have seen, there is no affair until Pedro is widowed, and his marriage to Inês becomes crucial to the plot.

In the following chapter, we shall see how these three seminal texts written and performed four to five centuries ago have influenced the representation of Inês de Castro in Portuguese cinema

and the most recent filmic figuring of the Dead Queen in YouTube videos from Lusophone countries.

## Chapter 3

### 3 The Figuration of Inês de Castro in National Films

#### 3.1 Woman and Nation: an Inesian Filmography

Unlike the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts examined in the previous chapter, the Portuguese films about Inês de Castro produced in the twentieth century attempt a reconstitution of the canonized history of Pedro and Inês. This history, lacking contemporary documents, rests on the embellished accounts of the Royal chroniclers and the ensuing historical fictions – including the texts of Garcia de Resende, António Ferreira and Luis Vélez de Guevara – with the themes of innocence, love, *saudade*, and vengeance predominating. The portrayal of past events in any biopic is fraught with challenges of accuracy and the discussion of historical fidelity is often at the centre of critical discourse surrounding the film. An Inesian film, produced seven centuries after the historical events, with scant contemporary testimony and an abundance of fictionalized accounts imprinted in the cultural imaginary, presents a unique problem of loyalty to the source which is complicated by the weight of the story as a national myth. The case studies for this chapter, José Leitão de Barros's *Inês de Castro* (1944/45) and José Carlos de Oliveira's *Inês de Portugal* (1997), are cultural products that celebrate the famed episode in the nation's past by meeting the requisite spatial and temporal conditions of a historical biopic – both are set in medieval Iberia where the principal characters lived – and by embracing a political agenda of showcasing and supporting national(istic) themes. The latter, by ensuring that Inês de Castro is represented as a national icon and privileging her status as a titular national heroine, genders the national project. It is my objective in this chapter to explore Inês's cinematic identity through the perspective of gender and nation, to consider how “gender disrupts the imagined community of nation” (Armatage et al 12) and to interrogate how the character is represented. In Barros's and Oliveira's versions of the tragedy, what nationalist tropes are negotiated through the figure of Inês and what is her relationship to Portugal? And central to this iconic identity, how are the feminine/masculine traits and the subjectivity/agency of the character constructed and historicized in the representation of the famous Dead Queen?

The latter, as discussed in the previous chapters, is a thorny endeavor and when coupled with a national discourse presents additional complications. As Alarcón, Kaplan and Moallen observe in their introduction to *Between Woman and Nation*, women as excentric subjects have “a problematic relationship to the modern nation state and its construction of subjectivity” because the nation state is rooted in the Enlightenment’s “Rights of Man” and is the central site of what Robert Connell calls a “hegemonic masculinity” (1). This exclusion of women, within the crisis of postmodernity,<sup>199</sup> posits the feminine as “a figure of resistance in the fraternal struggles for control of the nation-state and the national project” (6, after Maniello 1992, McClintock, 1992, Alarcón, 1989, APA citation in original). Alarcón et al posit “between woman and nation” as a performative space where gendered (and racial) difference can be negotiated, or create the Derridean interval of *différance*, theorized by Bhabha as “a spatiotemporal performative that interrupts the ‘pedagogy’ of the nation state” (6-7). While I cannot endorse the cultural production of the Portuguese film industry and its visualization of Inês de Castro as anything approximating the disruptive feminist space of “between woman and nation”, I consider Alarcón et al’s theory to identify moments in *Inês de Castro* and *Inês de Portugal* where the character of Inês interrupts the national pedagogy.<sup>200</sup> The affective power of Inês’s corpse as a conduit for her ascension to Queenhood in Leitão de Barros’s film, or Oliveira’s reversal of sex/gender norms in Inês’s first carnal encounter with Pedro, for example, come to mind. It is also crucial to envision Inês as a figure of resistance to fraternal nation-building, as she is surely seen when her innocence is thematically foregrounded (as in Resende, Ferreira, and Vélez).

In her discussion of gender and nationhood, Joanne Sharp observes that the gendered construction of nationalism is often absent from theories of nation where a male or masculine identity is accepted as the national norm (98-99). She notes that even the seminal theorization of Benedict Anderson’s “imagined communities” assumes a fraternity where men, identifying with the Unknown Soldier, for example, are “incorporated into the nation metonymically” (99).

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<sup>199</sup> The crisis of postmodernity is generally understood as an anxious reaction to the proposal that existence is a construct. Alarcón et al, however, stress that “the simultaneous denial *and* universalization of difference” in the “modern political community”, a contradiction and a paradox, plagues any discussion of the nation-state and the identity of its members (1-3).

<sup>200</sup> This is significant because of the centrality of the (hi)story of Inês and Pedro in the primary school curriculum (see Chapter 1.1.2).

Women are scripted into the national imaginary in a different manner. Women are not equal to the nation but symbolic of it. Many nations are figuratively female – Brittania, Marianne and Mother Russia come immediately to mind. In the national imaginary, women are the mothers of the nation or vulnerable citizens to be protected. Anne McClintock has observed that in this symbolic role women ‘are typically construed as symbolic bearers of the nation but are denied any direct relation to national agency’ (McClintock 1993:62) [The Unknown Soldier] is the metonymic bond of male citizens who must act to save or promote the female nation (99).

Although Inês de Castro is not figuratively *the* nation, she is a national symbol who is denied a “direct relation to national agency,” often constructed as the passive receiver of actions of powerful men (or masculinized women).<sup>201</sup> Even the strongly evocative title of *Inês de/of Portugal* that creates a bond between Inês, woman, and the nation of Portugal, cannot be reified without the actions of Pedro after her death. Inês is a vulnerable citizen to be protected (by Pedro) but when this fails, and she is assassinated, he ‘protects’ her posthumous wifely rights, as it were, by making her Queen by law and their children legitimate potential heirs to the throne; Inês consequently becomes a mother of the nation. As Garcia de Resende’s ballad illustrates, she is venerated as the genealogical mother of generations of Portuguese (and European) statesmen: “...todos descendem dela...todos estes dela vêm” (“they all descend from her...all of these come from her”; lines 255, 260).

The relationship of Inês de Castro to the nation is developed in part through her representation in national cinema and this is analogous to the relationship of national film to the national project. Susan Hayward suggests that the notion of a national cinema is problematized by the very nature of the nation as myth (again, after Anderson’s “imagined community”) (1-2), and I would add that when the myths of a nation (like Inês) are the subject of “national” cinema, the nationalistic

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<sup>201</sup> In *Reinar después de morir*, Pedro’s intended consort, Blanca, discovers he is already married to Inés and instigates the plot to murder her; Blanca is one of Vélez’s famous *mujeres varoniles* (see analysis in Chapter 2.4). In Houdar de La Motte’s popular 1723 tragedy, *Inès de Castro*, the Reine (Pedro’s stepmother) poisons Inês so Pedro will be free to marry her daughter.

discourse is doubly vexed. If, as Hayward contends, the national is enunciated through cinema and contributes to the construction of nation (8), then the early silent film about Inês de Castro, made in Portugal at a time of profound nationalistic narcissism (5),<sup>202</sup> serviced the national project.

The cultural specificity of the narrative of the loves of Pedro and Inês was in fact popular with filmmakers in Portugal, Spain and Brazil, who did not wait long after the advent of cinema to adapt Inesian plays and novels from previous centuries to the screen. The first was *Dona Inês de Castro*, a ‘film d’art’ produced in Brazil in 1909, based on the eponymous 1875 play by Portuguese writer Júlio de Castilho and directed by Eduardo Leite.<sup>203</sup> Portugal followed with its first historical film, *Rainha Depois de Morta (Queen After Death)* in 1910 with a script by journalist Rafael Ferreira and directed by Carlos Santos, who also played Dom Pedro. The following year Spain produced *Don Pedro el Cruel*, loosely based on Bermúdez’s two-part drama, *Nise Lastimosa* and *Nise Laureada* (the ill-famed adaptation of António Ferreira’s *Castro*) (Sousa *Tema Português* 426).<sup>204</sup>

As Hayward suggests, the national is enunciated through a country’s narratives and the filmic narrative can be a literary adaptation of an indigenous text producing a “double-nation narration”, or a film that explicitly reinforces a dominant myth and “sets out to signify the nation” (9). In the case of the Brazilian film there is the added (postcolonial) complexity of

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<sup>202</sup> Portugal became a republic in 1910.

<sup>203</sup> This first Inesian silent film is described as a “drama histórico em 12 quadros, na categoria do film d’art” (“historical drama in 12 scenes, in the category of ‘film d’art’”) in an Inesian filmography compiled by José de Matos-Cruz. This suggests that the Inesian films belonged to the circa 1908 ‘film d’art’ movement which promoted serious subject matter. The other silent films listed here are also noted in this filmography (“Miseria” 17). The IMDB lists another 1909 Brazilian film, *Inês de Castro*, directed by António Leal but I have not found another source for this. Glória Ferreira claims this film was produced in 1901 but cites only IMDB (1). Leal is mentioned as a documentary filmmaker in *Enciclopédia do Cinema Brasileiro*, p. 250.

<sup>204</sup> It is unfortunate that these films are not available for screening as they would have made a fine foundation for this chapter; a “secondary enunciation” – after Hayward, an analysis of scripts, press clippings and publicity photos – is also beyond the scope of the research for this inquiry. Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa must have encountered similar difficulties for in an otherwise comprehensive analysis of Inesian texts, the film section is perfunctory (426-27). Nonetheless, the actresses who played Inês in the Brazilian and Portuguese silent films are named as Isolina Monclair and Amélia Vieira, respectively which, if still photos are available, may give us an idea of how Inês de Castro was embodied in film in the early twentieth century. We do know that both actresses were middle-aged. Isolina Monclair (sic) is listed in *Teatro no Brasil* with a birthdate of 1863, which would make her forty-six in 1909 (Galante de Sousa 361). Amélia Vieira was the mother of the actor who played Dom Pedro, Carlos Santos; she must have been about forty (J. B. Costa 18).

adopting the former colonizer's myth and working with a Portuguese play as the basis of the film. For Portugal, the appropriation of the Inesian story by the Brazilians may have urged the production of its own explicitly national film, *Rainha Depois de Morta*, the following year. According to film historian João Bénard da Costa, *Rainha* was awaited with some "irony" as an imitation of the French 'film d'art', but no mention is made of its Brazilian predecessor (18). In his Portuguese film history, Luís de Pina enthuses that *Rainha* opened to great acclaim at the Salão Central in Lisbon<sup>205</sup> and was sold out for a week (17-18). But it is Félix Ribeiro, author of a history of the first fifty years of Portuguese cinema, who stresses the national importance of *Rainha Depois de Morta* by giving this section of his second chapter the sub-title, "Um filme de reconstituição histórica: o primeiro do cinema português" ("A film of historical reconstruction: the first of the Portuguese cinema"; 49). Moreover, he cites a contemporary review which names *Rainha* as the first Portuguese "fita de arte" ("film d'art") and "uma fita verdadeiramente portuguesa" ("a truly Portuguese picture"), whose success depended in great part on the casting of popular and cherished Portuguese actors (50).

One of Hayward's typologies for examining the construction of nation through cinema, "cinema as mobiliser of the nation's myths and the myth of the nation," looks at how cinema "reflects the texture of society on a national level" and how these narratives reflect historical and political processes (15).<sup>206</sup> Hayward's thesis that film from the centre and the periphery will necessarily reflect nation in differentiated ways is a comparative project that cannot be undertaken with the two Inesian films under consideration, but we may stress that *Inês de Castro* and *Inês de Portugal* are mainstream films and thus "autoreflexive,<sup>207</sup> revealing the narcissistic trace of [their] heritage," and hegemonic (15). As we shall see, the decade in which each film is made will complicate the palimpsest of *Inês* according to the sociopolitical trends of the time, and the nationalist project at hand. And as the national cinema itself fluctuates, so will the visualization of mythic symbols associated with the larger mythic nation. The cinema "is simultaneously constructing a historicity of the nation in that it is reconstructing myths already mobilised by the

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<sup>205</sup> Today it is the Palácio Foz Cinemateca Junior.

<sup>206</sup> The other Haywardian typologies are: genres, codes and conventions, gesturality and morphology, the star as sign, and cinema of the centre and cinema of the periphery.

<sup>207</sup> Hayward explains cultural reflexiveness in the context of a political culture where institutions "sustain and perpetuate those myths which have been created to explain them" (x).

nation as they are inscribed in the indigenous culture” (15) As a “myth-making practice”, a national film industry will engage with previous representations of historical figures and create a new model for the current national project. For example, Leitão de Barros’s film is based on Afonso Lopes Vieira’s *A Paixão de Pedro o Cru* which demonizes Inês as the instrument of D. Pedro’s madness. But Barros treats the character as the famed symbol of national love leading film scholar Bruce Williams to read this Inês as a catalyst for social transformation – because the spectator sees her mutilated corpse as analagous to the national struggle – and nationalistic love (unpaginated).

In *Visions of the Maid: Joan of Arc in American Film and Culture*, Robyn Blaetz does not trace the cinematic embodiment of the Maid in her own nation of France but she nevertheless interrogates the visualization of Joan of Arc within a national context, that of the United States, and in this context explores the relationship between woman and nation, or more specifically, femininity and nation, and the mythic construction of a medieval heroine that changes depending on the social agenda of the time. “The historic Joan of Arc serves the cultures in which she appears to the degree that her story can mask or *resolve* social conflicts” (3, italics mine). Like Williams’s reading of Inês, Blaetz endows the Hollywood representations of Joan of Arc with the power to transform society. “The fact that Joan of Arc actually lived only adds to the authority of the romance, an authority that empowers each new construction of her life and, in turn, the ideological position that motivates the new representations” (3). Blaetz notes, however, that the U.S. mainstream press conflates these ideologically motivated cinematic representations by suggesting there is an “essential and eternal” quality that defines Joan regardless of the different interpretations or political agendas of writers and directors (125). Three *New York Times* photo essays show images of Joan of Arc in a diversity of performances but neglect to contextualize them:

The implication that there is a Joan of Arc essence to be found and that each attempt is a variation on the evanescent theme is evident in the essay. Nowhere is it suggested, here or in the many other texts surrounding Joan’s appearance in the 1950’s, that the return to Joan of Arc’s trial might have been connected to the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee (142).

Is this the case for Inês de Castro? The figurations of Inês in Portuguese mainstream film are without doubt part of a national project, and, because of the extent to which these historical films are shown with a didactic purpose, the national “pedagogy” connected to the specific time and political ambience in which they are produced. However, innocence and love are the mythic Inesian qualities that colour most fictional accounts; her essence, as it were. Even when Inês is shown to be ambitious, as in Oliveira’s film, her innocence is the enduring quality. Blaetz also considers the formal qualities of film and the embodiment of Joan of Arc by an actress who may or may not resemble the (nation’s) vision of her. Unlike in a historical account, novel, or painting, the flesh and blood woman who stars as the heroine is not easily separated from her own historical, social and cultural experience. Leitão de Barros’s Inês, for example, is a 1940’s Spanish actress originally from Cuba who does not carry the *lusogalaico* past of the historical or Portuguese-constructed Inês and is cosmetically made-up in the style of her time. Oliveira’s Inês is the niece of well-known poet and “folklorist” Pedro Homem de Mello, suggesting that she is a carrier of Portuguese culture, and a popular TV star. How do these idealized versions of the filmmakers contend with the national image of the Dead Queen? Do they capture a mythical Inesian essence that is informed by their ideological stance? Finally, how do they compare to other Portuguese or Lusophone filmic embodiments of Inês de Castro?

A comprehensive comparative study can only be possible if the films are available for viewing or if documents of a secondary enunciation are extant, a difficult task in the case of most Inesian films. The silent films mentioned above allegedly no longer exist; the only publicity photo I have found is from *Rainha Depois de Morta* but it is a long shot of Pedro and Inês in a rowboat which makes it difficult to assess the figuration of Inês (Ribeiro 46). However, photos and video excerpts of a few other films provide an idea of how Inês has been imagined filmically. For the 1924 silent film by French director Roger Lion, *La Fontaine des Amours*,<sup>208</sup> a cine-card is in the digital library of L’agence Photographique de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux et du Grand Palais des Champs-Élysées, showing Jean Murat as Ângelo Coelho/Pedro (King of Portugal) and

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<sup>208</sup> Roger Lion was brought to Portugal by Virginia de Castro e Almeida to direct *Sereia de Pedra (Mermaid of Stone)*(1923) for her new film production company Fortuna Films and then made *La Fontaine des Amours* with his wife Gil Clary in the role of Inês (L. Pina 46). After its French premiere, it opened to great acclaim at the Tivoli cinema in Lisbon on January 12, 1925 (55).

Gil Clary as Josefa Perez/Inês de Castro “debouts en costumes médiévaux dans une forêt”.<sup>209</sup> The film, with a screenplay by Gabrielle Reval, is about a female French film star who visits Coimbra and seduces the fiancé of a Portuguese woman. The film star and fiancé act the part of Inês and Pedro in a play and the ciné-card shows them in costume. Inês is a young buxom blonde with long braids reminiscent of a Dutch peasant-girl, looking apprehensive as Pedro glares at her, legs apart, with hands on hips. The Brazilian *teleteatro* produced by Bandeirantes TV, *Teatro Cacilda Becker*, features the revered actress in the stage role of Inês de Castro (in an adaptation of Montherlant’s *La Reine Morte*) (Fernandes 355); an excerpt can be seen on YouTube showing the middle-aged actress in a scene with the young Fábio Junior (who would later become a pop and TV star).<sup>210</sup> Inês speaks to the young boy about the danger she is in; even from this brief scene it is evident that the actress has a strong presence and plays Inês with intensity. Becker was known for her “fúria santa” (“saintly fury”). An excerpt of a 1987 German film, *...roten Faden für die Liebe* (red Thread for your Love) can also be found on YouTube showing F. Isabel M. de Inácio and João Grosso as Inês and Pedro.<sup>211</sup> This film, directed by Vlada Majic, is adapted from Alois Fink’s radio play *Pedro und Ines Eine portugiesische Liebesgeschichte* (Pedro and Inês, a Portuguese Love Story), and tells of a young woman who weaves a tapestry with the story of Pedro and Inês rendered in the symbolism of the colours (Sousa, *Tema Português* 420-1). This Inês is blonde and thin, in her twenties, sporting a Farrah-do hairstyle,<sup>212</sup> with corresponding 1980’s make-up.

The most important national filmic incarnation of Inês de Castro in the twenty-first century was the 13-part television series produced by Antinomia for the Portuguese radio and television station RTP (Rádio-Televisão Portuguesa) *Pedro e Inês* (2005).<sup>213</sup> Very brief excerpts are

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<sup>209</sup> Web. June 19, 2013. <<http://www.photo.rmn.fr/cf/htm/CPicZ.aspx?E=2C6NU0JWTE1Q>>.

<sup>210</sup> Web. June 19, 2013. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=euBIVqorgZg>>.

<sup>211</sup> Web. June 19, 2013. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOecuFSQ9RM>>.

<sup>212</sup> Popularized by Farah Fawcett of *Charlie’s Angels*, a U.S. television series that ran from 1976-1981.

<sup>213</sup> Written by Francisco Moita Flores and directed by João Cayate. Prior to this, three television productions of António Ferreira’s *Castro* were broadcast in 1961, 1970 and 1992 (Sousa, *Tema Português* 406); the second, a modern dance and declaimed masked drama shot with 60’s television editing (irises, multiple screen images, superimpositions, fancy fades and dissolves etc.) can be screened on RTP Memória. It is directed by Herlander Peyroteo and stars Manuela Machado as the voice (masked actor) and Magda Cardoso as the body (dancer) of Castro. (NB It is incorrectly labeled as the David Mourão Ferreira/Artur Ramos version of 1992.) Web. June 27, 2013. <<http://www.rtp.pt/rtpmemoria/?t=A-Castro.rtp&article=1444&visual=2&layout=5&tm=8>>.

available for viewing<sup>214</sup> – one on the RTP virtual archives and a few on YouTube filmed directly from a television broadcast – showing that Inês, played by intense film and theatre actor Ana Moreira, is of a similar figure and colouring to Cristina Homem de Mello of *Inês de Portugal*. Her eyes are lighter, her nose more aquiline, her hair darker and wavier, but she is slim and the same age and the physical similarities between the two actresses are greater than the differences. Although these excerpts do not provide for an integral analysis of the figuration of Inês, we may speculate on the interpretation based on some plot choices. The plot<sup>215</sup> first follows the Leitão de Barros line, with a strong friendship between Inês and Constança resulting in a guilty Inês when she and Pedro fall in love; Constança plays the kind, self-abnegating martyr who, on her deathbed, blesses their union. This televised Inês is therefore closer in interpretation, but not in physique, to Alicia Palacios of *Inês de Castro* and closer in physique, but not interpretation, to Cristina Homem de Mello of *Inês de Portugal*. Moreira is soft-spoken, and in movement and voice submits to the wishes of the Prince and the King. The series differs substantially from the 1945 classic because it includes the clandestine wedding that legitimizes Inês's national and royal status. It is significant that this was denied to Inês in both Leitão de Barros's and Oliveira's feature films. As a "historical fiction series" *Pedro e Inês* aims to represent the medieval personages as recorded in the annals of history, a canonized version of the story. But, as the actors predictably attest, the character of Inês proved much more elusive to research than Pedro I. Actor Pedro Laginha concluded that Dom Pedro was "[i]ntenso, impulsivo, lutador também porque é intenso e acredita no amor" ("[i]ntense, impulsive, a fighter also because he is intense and believes in love") but Ana Moreira commented on the good fortune of a lack of historical facts about Inês, "[v]em tudo pelo conto e pela lenda, os textos são bastante ficcionados, pelo que há muito espaço à imaginação e à liberdade de criação" ("[e]verything comes to us through the tale and the legend, the texts are very much fictionalized, so there is lots of room for imagination and creative freedom").<sup>216</sup> This reiterates the particular circumstance of Inesian canonized history as highly fictionalized.

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<sup>214</sup> Web. June 19, 2013. <[http://museu.rtp.pt/#/pt/programas\\_tv](http://museu.rtp.pt/#/pt/programas_tv)> and <[http://www.youtube.com/user/inescastro27?feature=results\\_main](http://www.youtube.com/user/inescastro27?feature=results_main)>.

<sup>215</sup> See episode synopses. Web. June 19, 2013. <<http://www.rtp.pt/programa/tv/p18117/e1>>.

<sup>216</sup> Interview in *Correio da Manhã*, October 16, 2005. Web. June 19, 2013. <<http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/detalhe/noticias/lazer/tv--media/paixao-de-pedro-e-ines-entra-em-casa-as-sextas>>.

Another significant television film, *La Reine Morte*, was aired in 2009 in France, produced by G  T  V  .<sup>217</sup> It is an adaptation of Henry de Montherlant's *La Reine Morte ou Comment on Tue les Femmes*,<sup>218</sup> by Luso-French director Pierre Boutron, and stars Ga  lle Bona as In  s. In  s is represented here as an optimistic and virtuous woman – married to Dom Pedro and pregnant – who is a foil for the cynical King Ferrante (Montherlant's Afonso IV). Dom Pedro's vengeful exploits following In  s's death do not make up the majority of the narrative (as they do in Leit  o de Barros's and Oliveira's films); instead, the hypothetical interview with the King *is* the film. The play on which the film is based was written and performed during WWII (1942) and is part of the canon of existentialist dramatic French works. The King uses In  s as a sounding board for his philosophizing on life: her death sentence is the object of his ruminations, her death a reification of his existentialist beliefs. The film, though, edits Ferrante's lengthy speeches creating a dialogic meditation on being between the King and In  s. Ga  lle Bona plays In  s as open-hearted to the point of naivet  , exhibiting an innocence and trust that lead her into the path of her killers. She is a wholesome blonde with big blue eyes contrasted greatly with the other principal female lead, the fiery brunette, Astrid Berg  s-Frisbey, who plays the Infante de Navarre. The climactic scene between the two women, where the Infante offers to take In  s to safety and the latter refuses, is a highlight of the film. In her relationship with Pedro, In  s's love is pure and immovable; it is a great contrast to the lusty sex scene in *In  s de Portugal*. Nevertheless, the lovers share a bed and have a similar conversation about fear of their enemies as do the Pedro and In  s of both Portuguese feature films; they also have a literal roll in the hay (in the grass, in a field) watched over by soldiers who have imprisoned Pedro on the order of the King. Primarily, though, In  s is represented as a loving wife and mother-to-be, nurturing the male principals, Pedro and Ferrante, throughout. In Heath Dillard's estimation of the nuanced positions women held in medieval Iberia, Boutron's In  s is *una mujer jurada*, a woman who has married clandestinely, but is seen as a domiciled mistress, *una barragana* (19-20). This is a crucial distinction, as we have seen in the Inesian plays of the sixteenth and seventeenth

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<sup>217</sup> I am thankful to C. Charret of G  T  V   who kindly sent me the DVD of *La Reine Morte* for inclusion in this dissertation.

<sup>218</sup> This is the second French television adaptation of Montherlant's play; a 1961 version starred Genevi  ve Casile as In  s. There is also a 1965 Quebec t  l  th   tre of *La Reine Morte* directed by Jean Faucher with Fran  oise Faucher as In  s but at the time of this writing I cannot confirm that it is Montherlant's script.

centuries and shall see in Leitão de Barros's' and Oliveira's films, a distinction on which Inês de Castro's survival depends.

### 3.2 Leitão de Barros's *Inês de Castro*: Portugal's Unlikely Femme Fatale

The flurry of silent films about Inês de Castro in Portugal, Spain, Brazil and France from 1909 to 1924 was followed by an interregnum of twenty years<sup>219</sup> before the first Inesian sound film was made, well into the Portuguese Second Republic (1933-1974) or Estado Novo.<sup>220</sup> José Leitão de Barros, best known for making the first talkie in Portuguese, *A Severa* (1931), directed the feature film *Inês de Castro* which opened in Madrid on December 28, 1944<sup>221</sup> and in Lisbon on April 9, 1945, in two versions dubbed in Spanish and Portuguese respectively. It was a Portuguese-Spanish co-production, encouraged and financed by both countries' ministries of propaganda.<sup>222</sup> Under the Tratado de Amizade e Não Agressão Luso-Espanhol (Portuguese-Spanish Treaty of Friendship and non-Agression) or Pacto Ibérico of 1939, Portugal and Spain maintained a peaceful relationship and remained neutral throughout World War II;<sup>223</sup> it was the start of a fascist alliance that was to continue well into the 1970's.<sup>224</sup> The film industry aimed to

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<sup>219</sup> According to Machado de Sousa there is evidence of a 1922 Portuguese screenplay by Augusto Xavier de Mello and a 1943 treatment by Spaniard Horacio de Azancot; neither was produced as a film.

<sup>220</sup> "O Estado Novo", or The New State, was the name commonly given to the fascist decades led primarily by dictator António de Oliveira Salazar.

<sup>221</sup> December 28 is cited in both Folgar de la Calle and *Objectiva* but Ribeiro claims the Madrid opening was on December 24, 1944 (516).

<sup>222</sup> These were headed by António Ferro (1895-1956), Director of the Secretariat of National Propaganda (Director do Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional) and of the National Secretariat of Information (Secretariado Nacional de Informação de Portugal) and Manuel Augusto Garcia Viñolas (1911-2008), the Director General of Cinematography and Propaganda of Spain. Curiously, film historian Luís de Pina notes that Ferro does not mention the co-productions with Spain in his speeches about cinema; Pina credits Luís Dias Amado with launching the program (109-110).

<sup>223</sup> This is the official position; in reality, the Spanish Civil War had been used as a testing ground for German artillery and a sympathetic alliance with the Nazis was presumed.

<sup>224</sup> Both António Oliveira Salazar, the Portuguese Prime Minister (1932-1968), and Francisco Franco, Spanish Head of State (1936 -1975), ruled for decades ensuring that the post-WWII democracy that spread throughout Europe did not affect Iberia.

show the harmonious relationship between the two nations, and a cinematographic collaboration constituted a “*garantia e estreitamento de fraternidade*” (“guarantee and strengthening of fraternity”; Dias, qtd. in Folgar de la Calle, 3. unpaginated). As Bruce Williams notes, *Inês de Castro*, the first of eleven collaborations between Filmes Lumiar (Portugal) and Faro Films (Spain), was “a ploy to solidify culturally the close relationship between national dictators Franco and Salazar” (unpaginated).<sup>225</sup> A co-production with Spain also guaranteed the international release of Portuguese films; *Inês de Castro* would be the second – the first being *A Severa* – to be distributed throughout Europe (J. B. Costa 91). The nationalist agenda of the cinema of Iberia was to glorify the history of the peninsula and circulate it abroad; with the financially stable Spanish film industry as a partner, Portugal was able to exalt and reconstitute its own historical episodes with “formal splendour and spectacle” (Matos-Cruz “Fala” 82). To this day, *Inês de Castro* is considered, even by the Spanish, as one of the most important Iberian historical films (84).

It is ironic that Portugal relied on the Spanish to finance a film that tells the story of a Spaniard assassinated because of political intrigues between the two countries. The historical events surrounding the tragedy and the portrayal of Inês, a Galician maiden who came to fame and met her maker in Portugal, had its particular challenges for a co-production. In a preview article, Leitão de Barros admits the collaboration with Spain is crucial for Portuguese cinema’s incursion in the international market, including Latin America,<sup>226</sup> but brings many difficulties, “umas a vencer e outras a tornejar (some to be conquered and some to be skirted)” (cited in Ribeiro 511). The two different versions of the film go some way to meeting the challenges of language and nationality, and avoiding political misunderstandings. *Inês de Castro* (97 minutes, dubbed in Portuguese)<sup>227</sup> and *Inés de Castro* (82 minutes, dubbed in Spanish) were produced to ensure that

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<sup>225</sup> Film historian João Bénard da Costa lists *Inês de Castro* and a comedy entitled *Madalena* as the first two co-productions made between 1944 and 1949 but it is unclear which was produced first (90).

<sup>226</sup> According to Ribeiro, the film premiered in Rio de Janeiro on July 22, 1946 and in Paris on February 25, 1948 (516). Williams, however, notes the French and Swiss premieres as 1945; the title used was *La reine morte* to appeal to spectators familiar with Henry de Montherlant’s eponymous play (unpaginated, 2002). The Hamburg premiere, with the title *Sangrenta Vingança Real (Bloody Royal Vengeance)* is undated (Ribeiro 516).

<sup>227</sup> For this study I screened a video of the Portuguese version produced by TVI /Lusomundo, Lisboa and distributed in North America by Henda Records and Video, Fall River, Mass. A few years ago all the parts of the film were on YouTube but were removed; today only two or three sections are available. However, at the time of

both Portugal and Spain could use the film as a vehicle of nationalist propaganda and enjoy commercial success.<sup>228</sup> The film's popularity in both countries was assured by the casting of Portuguese and Spanish stars of the forties: the handsome António Vilar (Portuguese) was D. Pedro, the beautiful Alicia Palacios (Spanish, originally from Cuba) starred as Inês, María Dolores Pradera (Spanish) was Constança, Erico Braga (Portuguese) was Afonso IV, and Martin, the jester, was played by the famous Portuguese comedian, João Villaret.<sup>229</sup> Leitão de Barros was credited as the director for both versions and Garcia Viñolas for Artistic Direction in the Spanish version, and as Artistic Advisor (Conselheiro Artístico) in the Portuguese version. Afonso Lopes Vieira is credited with revising the dialogues (Diálogos Revistos por Afonso Lopes Vieira) but is not credited in the Spanish version; instead, story and dialogues are attributed to Ricardo Mazo and José María Alonso Pesquera, screenplay to Viñolas and Leitão de Barros (Folgar de la Calle, appendix 1, unpaginated). The cast credits differ significantly also: Vilar has top billing in the Portuguese version, Palacios in the Spanish (2.3, unpaginated). The Portuguese production house is not listed in the Spanish version, and so on.

The most relevant differences, however, are in the voice-over narration and dialogue where cuts and additions were made to appeal to the governments and spectators of each nation. As Folgar de la Calle notes in his comprehensive study of the two versions, the Portuguese were interested in “la recuperación postromántica” (“the postromantic recuperation”) of Inês de Castro and gave more focus to the tombs in Alcobaça and their iconic national significance than did the Spanish (2.3, 2.4, unpaginated). The final voice-over is exemplary of this as the Portuguese version reads,

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this writing the entire film may be viewed in six parts at Paulo Borges's blog. Web. Feb. 25, 2014.  
<<http://pauloborges.bloguessoal.com/50540/VIDEO-1-DO-FILME-INES-DE-CASTRO/>>.

<sup>228</sup> The length of the videotapes produced by TVI/Lusomundo and TVE, respectively, are indicated in Folgar de la Calle, appendix 1. The shorter length of the Spanish version is significant and may be attributed to cuts made because of political content. As discussed below, anything pertaining to exchange of prisoners between the two countries or civil war was censored. Also, the Portuguese version would have kept specifically nationalist content that was irrelevant to the Spanish. Moreover, Folgar de la Calle comments on the reduced importance of the character “el bobo Martin” (“the jester Martin”) in the Spanish version which resulted in cuts of several shots (2.4.1.2, unpaginated).

<sup>229</sup> Vilar went on to star in other Portuguese historical epics like *Camões*, where he played the title role, and as Dom Dinis in *Santa Rainha*.

Botaram-nos nos túmulos, e dormem em silêncio de Deus, na régia pompa, o Pedro português e a Inês espanhola. Ele, amoroso e poeta e suave; ela carnal e bela em seu corpo. Ei-los aqui, na paz inseparável, como símbolo eterno de Portugal e Espanha. Deixemo-los dormir e sonhar de amor até ao fim do mundo. They placed them in the tombs, and they sleep in the silence of God, in regal splendour, the Portuguese Pedro and the Spanish Inês. He, lover and poet and gentle; she carnal and beautiful in her body.<sup>230</sup> Here they are, in inseparable peace, as eternal symbol of Portugal and Spain. Let them sleep and dream of love until the end of the world.

and the Spanish version,

El rey quiso quedarse también allí. A morir junto a Inés, como había vivido junto a ella. ¡Viajero!: dice la leyenda que en la noche de ánimas se oyen las voces de Pedro y Inés, que se hablan desde lo profundo de la tierra. En ella esperan Inés y Pedro el juicio final. (2.4, unpaginated)

The king wished to remain there as well. Dying with Inés, as he had lived with her. Traveller!: the legend says that in the night of souls the voices of Pedro and Inés are heard, that they talk to each other from the depths of the earth. There they await the final judgement.

The didactic tone of the Portuguese voice-over is unmistakable, appealing to the nationalist sentiment and the alliance between both countries. The Spanish, in contrast, opts for the mystical.

According to Folgar de la Calle, another area in which care was taken to differentiate the two versions was in relation to the recent Spanish Civil War (1936-39). First, it could not be

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<sup>230</sup> Note that Pedro is described spiritually and intellectually and Inês corporeally in the age-old association of male with mind and woman with body. “Postromantic reconstitution”, indeed! It is puzzling, also, that Pedro should be described as “suave” (gentle, soft or smooth), in view of his fame as a cruel “justiceiro” and his obsessive vengeful acts.

mentioned that Pedro of Portugal had made a deal with Pedro of Castile to exchange nobles who were exiled in each other's territories in order to ensure that Inês's assassins were delivered to him for execution. The agreement between Franco and Salazar during the Spanish Civil War had resulted in the Portuguese "captura y devolución de fugitivos españoles a las autoridades franquistas" ("capture and return of Spanish fugitives to the Franquist authorities"; 2.4 unpaginated). Second, mention of the Portuguese civil war that resulted from Afonso IV's decree to kill Inês, was cut from the Spanish version, as any mention of a civil war in 1944 was unthinkable (2.4 unpaginated).

Once the film opened much discussion ensued as to the nationality of the film. In an interview, António Vilar claimed that it was both Portuguese and Spanish, "Luso-espanhol", because it was filmed mostly in Spain but helmed by the Portuguese (2.4.1, unpaginated). A contemporary Portuguese review admits that the film cannot be said to be Portuguese because the Spanish collaboration was substantial and the technical staff mostly from Spain, but "na interpretação, os artistas portugueses é que valorizam a fita" ("in terms of acting, it is the Portuguese artists who give value to the picture"; *Correio do Porto* 14/04/1945, qtd. in appendix 2.1, unpaginated). The director himself makes the contradictory statement that the (hi)story of Pedro and Inês is common to the "dois povos irmãos" ("two brotherly peoples") but that the Portuguese are the authors because they have retold the tragedy for centuries based on the verses of Camões (Ribeiro 511). He does not mention that Spain also has a literary claim to Inês, being the nation that, next to Portugal, has shown the most interest in the tale (Sousa *Tema Português* 426). This omission is perplexing since Leitão de Barros gives a great nod to the literary Inesian legacy of his "brotherly peoples" with the inclusion of the coronation and *beija-mão* ceremony that occurs prior to the re-entombment of Inês. Borrowing from the distinctly Spanish tradition of Inesian spectacle, *Inês de Castro* honours Castilian playwrights Bermúdez, la Cerda and Vélez de Guevara<sup>231</sup> by placing Inês's rotting corpse on the throne, crowning her and forcing the royal subjects to kiss her skeletal hand. A letter from producer Ernesto González actually refers to the film as "INÊS DE CASTRO (Reinar después de morir)", with the title of Vélez de Guevara's play in brackets (2.1 unpaginated). Notwithstanding Barros's claims, this aspect of the legend

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<sup>231</sup> As discussed above, the corpse of Inês in Vélez's play would not be rotting since events are compressed and there is no burial and exhumation of the body; nonetheless, it is *Reinar después de morir* that made the coronation and *beija-mão* popular.

does not come from Camões and is not configured in early Portuguese texts. It is, however, very popular with the Portuguese, as Bruce Williams notes.

The unsophisticated Portuguese spectator is conditioned through his/her superficial familiarity with the historical anecdote, to anticipate the film's grotesque final scene. An educated viewer, moreover, will recognize the film's romantic excess and expressionistic atmosphere as part of a longstanding Iberian literary motif. In either case, the film's morbid depiction of the crowned corpse is expected and perhaps required by the Portuguese viewer, particularly given the cultural baggage connected with the medieval historical anecdote (unpaginated).

Williams does not comment on the alleged reception by Spanish spectators but they may have been equally pleased with the inclusion of this scene. Whether it is due to the spectacularly morbid coronation and *beija-mão* is impossible to ascertain, but Spain also claims national ownership of the film. This is evidenced by two prestigious awards: one which classifies *Inês de Castro* as a work of national interest, an honour given only to two previous films, (Ribeiro 516), and the first prize for best picture of 1944-5 (in *Filmagem*, no. 41, Oct 1945 qtd. in G. Ferreira 6).

For all the advantages of a co-production noted by Barros, the film was severely critiqued by some reviewers. One accused the director of trying to “agradar a gregos e troianos” (“please Greeks and Trojans”) in his attempt to spare the political susceptibilities of both countries, and consequently pleasing neither (unsigned article in *Objectiva*, May, 1945, 117). Others were not impressed by the results of working with Spain, feeling that it was detrimental to the national cinema and foreseeing the damage that could be done by privileging diplomatic relations above art (Folgar de la Calle 2.3 unpaginated). In retrospect, they were correct to be wary as *Inês de Castro* signalled the beginning of a national funding program that used film for propaganda and quashed independent filmmakers with differing objectives. As António Ferro, Director of the Secretariat of National Propaganda, confirmed in 1947, the regional folkloric, first, and the historical, second, were of great interest to Salazar even though they were an expensive cinema to produce, not always easy to distribute outside of Portugal and “que muitos consideram falso,

artificial. Não importa!” (“what many consider false, artificial. It doesn’t matter!”; 2.1 unpaginated).

### 3.2.1 Seductress or symbol of innocence?

To turn finally to the focus of this inquiry, what becomes of the figuration of Inês, as played by the Cuban-born Spanish actress Alicia Palacios, in this Iberian creation that aims to tell the story of Pedro and Inês as a nationalist endeavor but straddles Iberia, one foot in Portugal and the other in Spain, more a diplomatic exercise than a work of art? It is, as we shall see, a conflicted representation. *Inês de Castro* was based on Afonso Lopes Vieira’s historic novel, *A Paixão de Pedro o Cru*, (1939), where Inês’s tempting beauty is clearly identified as the cause of the Prince’s downfall. In this story of a repentant D. Pedro, Lopes Vieira portrays Inês as a woman who bewitches Pedro into an adulterous and tragic love affair.

É a história de Dom Pedro de Portugal...que, por má fortuna, veio a conhecer...aquela mulher bem-amada que serviu de formoso e danado instrumento de traição. (13-14)

It is the story of Dom Pedro of Portugal who, by ill luck, came to know that beloved woman who became the beautiful and damned instrument of betrayal.

Lopes Vieira follows in the footsteps of fifteenth-century royal chronicler Fernão Lopes who described this episode of Portuguese history as “o grande desvairo” (“the great madness”), ignoring Garcia de Resende’s, António Ferreira’s and Camões’s innocent Inês. For Vieira, Inês de Castro drove the Prince to madness. She is the siren who persuades Pedro to betray his wife, his father, and his people. And here we have a paradox: how can Inês as the innocent and pure “símbolo do amor português” (“symbol of Portuguese love”; Sousa *Tema Português* 477) be reconciled with her reputation as the irresistible seductress of the Prince? Leitão de Barros, met this challenge by staying narratively true to his literary source and describing Inês as alluring and dangerous, but also fulfilling national iconic expectations, and the cultural Iberian pact, by cinematically rendering Inês as a virtuous maiden who is horrified that she has attracted the Prince’s attention. One review describes the performance of Alicia Palacios as, “uma Inês distante, loura e calma em contraste com o temperamento exaltado de Pedro. Melhor nas cenas de amor do que nos momentos dramáticos fortes” (“a distant Inês, blonde and calm in contrast

with the exalted temperament of Pedro. Better in the love scenes than in the strong dramatic moments”; Mata qtd. in Ribeiro 514).<sup>232</sup>

The Inês of *Inês de Castro* is a woman accused of an excessive sensuality which dominates the people she meets but who appears as passive and submissive in the *mise-en-scène*; the extradiegetic narration and dialogue about Inês strongly contrasts with her demure visual representation. She has the narrative function of a Hollywood *femme fatale* but does not figure as a threatening presence. She is the adulterous other woman but is rendered as innocent and pure. This raises a few questions: how does the mythical Inês wear this body of contradictions? how is she evocative at a sensorial level and how does this affect her power to act (or not)? and, how does her grotesque embodiment in the coronation scene cancel out the hyper-femininity with which she is represented earlier in the film? The following analysis engages three lines of inquiry. First, I examine the alleged power of Inês’s gaze, voice and body and how she engages the senses of her interlocutors. I consider mainly how Inês is positioned as a *femme fatale* but constructed as angelic, and then how her idealized beauty is subverted through the spectacle of her corpse. Second, I study the synecdochal function of Inês’s hand to show how her own sensory experiences are suppressed or accentuated and to explore how a reciprocity of sensation, sometimes absent in seeing and hearing, is effected by touch. I consider also how her inability to look and speak is compensated by her ability to touch. Finally, I examine the push-pull between narrative and figuration on screen and how this plays into the construction of Inês de Castro’s national identity and iconicity.

I should add, moreover, that for a feminist reading, the representational conditions and contradictions of *Inês de Castro* – the masculinist and nationalist discourses that exclude the female subject, and the binarisms of evil and innocence – require a deconstructive analysis where

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<sup>232</sup> Francisco Mata of “O Século” enthusiastically praises the acting of António Vilar, suggesting he deserves the Academy’s grand prize (which academy is not specified), but is perfunctory regarding the rest of the cast. The brief reviews in both issues of *Objectiva* do not mention Alicia Palacios, but both laud the acting of António Vilar: “[Ele] incorpora a sua personagem com grande perfeição tanto nos momentos amorosos como nos de heroicidade e dramatismo. É de todos os que actuaram na produção o que melhor compreendeu a psicologia do personagem e da época” (“He embodies his character with great perfection, both in the romantic moments and in those of heroism and drama. Of all who acted in the production, he understood best of all the psychology of the character and of the period”; April, 1945, 77); “A interpretação, em especial a masculina, é aceitável, destacando-se António Vilar” (“The interpretation, especially of the male actors, is acceptable; we single out António Vilar”; May, 1945, 117).

the dominant form is broken down and read differently. Annette Kuhn, after Luce Irigaray's anti-Aristotelian argument, suggests that,

...Western discourse is seen as possessing the 'masculine' attributes of visibility, goal-orientation, and so on. A feminine language, *or a feminine relation to language*, would on the other hand challenge and subvert this form of discourse by posing plurality over against [sic] unity, multitudes of meanings as against single, fixed meanings, diffuseness as against instrumentality, That is to say, whereas Western discourse – the 'masculine' – tends to limit meaning by operating a linear and instrumental syntax, a feminine language would be more open, would set up multiplicities of meaning (11, my italics).

The feminine is then seen "as a subject position, a place which the user – or the subject – of language can occupy in relation to language" (11-12). As in the feminist reading of medieval texts which teases out subjectivity where it is elusive, this inquiry entertains the reading of the filmic text as a "[process] of signification or meaning production" to discover an alternative position for the female character (12). Consequently, a fixed or "preferred" meaning is skirted and an "intervention in cultural practice [is] generated elsewhere than solely in the consciousness of authors or producers" (12).

### 3.2.1.1 The sensual Inês

As legend has it, and this version of the tale condones, Inês's irresistible beauty seduces the Prince into an illicit love affair that places, if not his life,<sup>233</sup> the very Kingdom of Portugal in peril. The King's counsellors accuse Inês of causing popular unrest, "O povo fareja o perigo, por isso quer tanto mal a Dona Inês" ("The people smell danger, that is why they wish Inês ill"), and the washerwomen at the river blame Inês for bewitching the Prince and damning them, "Dona Inês embruxou o coração do Infante...a maldição de Deus cai sobre nós," ("Inês bewitched the

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<sup>233</sup> The *femme fatale* of *film noir* has the reputation of endangering the hero's life and some versions of the story do show that the Prince's life is in danger because of his love for Inês. In Houdard de La Motte's tragedy, the King imprisons Pedro and sentences him to death because he married (Inês) beneath his rank (Sousa, "...du Portugal vers l'Europe" 18). In the Queen of Puddings' 2009 chamber opera *Inês*, Pedro commits suicide after forcing his family to kiss the hand of Inês's corpse.

heart of the Prince...we are damned before God”).<sup>234</sup> In this film almost everyone names Inês as a dangerous temptress and endows her with powerful qualities that are rarely borne out in her visualization. Dom Pedro especially refers hauntingly to the power of Inês’s look, voice and body; even as Inês is silent or turns her gaze away he insists that he hears, sees and feels her everywhere. In the first scene where Pedro accosts his wife’s lady-in-waiting and remarks on her beauty, Inês clearly rejects his advances and runs away. But just as Pedro’s Great Danes chase Inês’s helpless kitten, Pedro pursues the submissive Inês and tells her that since he heard her sing, her voice has been in his head all night, “Toda a noite aos meus ouvidos a vossa voz cantou...” (“All night your voice sang in my ears”). Inês’s voice acquires an incorporeality that, it is suggested, acts on its own in haunting the Prince, since, at this first encounter, Inês is startled by the effect she unwittingly has on Pedro. However, when they have lived together for eight years following Princess Constança’s death, Inês accepts this and smiles sweetly. Pedro declares that Inês’s image, voice and touch are with him when he is away hunting, “Quando fecho os olhos continuo a ver-te...” (“When I close my eyes I continue to see you”), and “Quando me deito nesses campos parece-me que ainda te oiço e te sinto ao meu lado...” (“When I lie in those fields I still hear you and feel you at my side”). In a manner distanced from herself and clearly without agency (for, as I shall discuss in the following example, she does not look or speak decisively), Inês engages Pedro’s senses *as if* she were hyper-sensual. Her cinematic image, however, contradicts this.

The distance between how Pedro sees Inês and how she is shown is nowhere clearer than in the scene where the lovers meet secretly while Constança is convalescing after childbirth. Inês laments that their love is ill-fated and tells him she is ashamed, feels no joy, and can’t meet anyone’s eyes. Pedro dismisses her worries and declares that he is entranced by her eyes, her lips, her breasts, and her “heron’s neck”, “Estes olhos, esta boca, este peito, este colo de garça...” (“These eyes, this mouth, this chest, this heron’s neck...”).<sup>235</sup> Here, the objectification and intended possession of the beloved via a blazon echoes the itemization of Inês’s body parts in

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<sup>234</sup> The people’s notion of Inês as an adulterous temptress continued for centuries; “És uma Inês de Carasto” [sic] (“You’re an Inês de Castro”) became synonymous with “a desavergonhada” (“a shameful woman”; Lopes Vieira 90).

<sup>235</sup> Barros’s Pedro calls Inês by the epithet that was allegedly coined by the commoners who admired her beauty. As noted in the previous chapters, the term *colo de garça* first appeared in popular ballads of the fourteenth century and had its literary premiere in Vélez de Guevara’s *Reinar después de morir*.

both Ferreira (by the Chorus) and Vélez (by Brito, the *gracioso*), but because it is the Prince forcing himself on the protesting Inês, it is not ambiguous. By naming Inês's body parts, Pedro fetishizes and fragments her to assert control. This suggests what Laura Mulvey famously called a "to-be-looked-at-ness" where certain visual codes position women as object of the male gaze (19) but while it is attempted visually – with close-ups, for example – it remains largely in the narrative. The erotic impact that Mulvey discusses as being on two levels, when the female is displayed "as erotic object for the characters within the story, and as erotic object for the spectator within the auditorium with a shifting tension between the looks on either side of the screen" (20) does not happen here because Inês is figured as a sweet and wholesome blonde woman more reminiscent of a robust corn-goddess with rosy cheeks and golden braids than the sexualized *femme fatale* of conventional *film noir*. It is a paradoxical figuration; Pedro's blazon objectifies Inês but the visual codes do not. Inês's bare nape and shoulders are necessary to display the mythical *colo de garça* but otherwise she does not wear revealing clothes and is not photographed in a manner that accentuates her sexuality. In fact, Leitão de Barros's Inês rather fits the medieval female equivalent of the sanguine type that Hildegard of Bingen describes as plump, skillful and lovable (Cadden 186). She is first shown in a nurturing relationship with Constança and later showing affection with Pedro and her children. Three of her scenes are centered on activities that demonstrate her various talents: singing and playing an instrument, writing a letter, and spinning (though this last skill can have a derogatory reading as I discuss next).

When Princess Constança, weak and near death, confronts Inês about her affair with Pedro and accuses her of taking everything she had, "Entráste na minha vida e desfizeste-me de tudo" ("You came into my life and robbed me of everything"), Inês is dressed in a wimple-like headdress that covers her hair and shoulders and is photographed in a light that makes her look saintly. But she is working at a spinning wheel and once again a medieval image is invoked that complicates this representation. She might be a virtuous and chaste "spinster" keeping busy to push away idle or sinful thoughts, or she could be Eve, who when banished from Paradise and forced to work is shown spinning in medieval illustrations (Cadden 76-77). As an echo of the latter, Inês is associated with sinning and the original sinner, which is supported by the dialogue between the two women, but she is figured as innocent and pious. Kneeling at Constança's feet and looking up to her in veneration, Inês desperately begs for forgiveness, saying how much she

has suffered in deceiving her Princess. However, Constança asks her not to speak because her look and voice have changed so, “O teu olhar, a tua voz, até a tua voz mudou” (“Your look, your voice, even your voice has changed”).<sup>236</sup> Inês is silenced and she must guiltily acknowledge that her voice has changed; she is now a different Inês from the one who accompanied Princess Constança to the Castile-Portugal border. Then, her soothing voice comforted her Lady, nervous at her first meeting with her husband, the Crown Prince Pedro. Following the authoritative introduction of a male voice-over and a dialogue between men who decide on Constança’s marriage to Pedro, Inês’s is the first female voice to be heard in the film assuring Constança that all will be well. The women are in a medium shot inside a litter draped with flags, carried between two draped horses, surrounded by armed soldiers. The anxious Constança, “Só te tenho a ti, a única pessoa em quem posso amparar...” (“I only have you, the only person I can lean on...”), is calmed by Inês’s voice, “Tende confiança, senhora” (“Have trust, my lady”). The image suggests an intimate environment for the women, apart from the world of men, where the voice of Inês surrounds and soothes Constança.<sup>237</sup> Now, a year later, Constança has been betrayed and Inês’s words, “Have trust, my lady,” ring hollow; she asks Inês not to speak since her voice is no longer comforting, it is filled with deceit. But Inês shows genuine regret and insists on leaving Coimbra to spare her depressed Lady more pain: “Não faleis da morte, Senhora, quem se há-de apartar de aqui hei-de ser eu, eu” (“Don’t speak of death, my lady, I, I

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<sup>236</sup> Extradiegetically this is true of the voice as well since in the Portuguese version Alicia Palacio’s voice has been replaced with an unknown Portuguese female actor’s voice that at times is not synchronized with the actor’s lips. The Portuguese actors dubbed their own voices over their own images, creating a voice-body synchronization, but the Spanish actors had Portuguese dubbed voices. The principal female (Spanish) actors, Palacios (Inês) and Pradera (Constança), were dubbed by others while the principal male (Portuguese) actors used their own voices. Thus, the female voices appear disembodied and dissociated from their visual images suggesting an estrangement from the text. In an interview for *Objectiva*, Leitão de Barros explains that each scene was shot twice with the actors following the Spanish or Portuguese script but since the Spanish actors had a distinct accent when speaking Portuguese and the Portuguese actors a distinct accent when speaking Spanish, they had to be dubbed in post-production for each version of the film (April, 1945, 88). He adds that the synchronization worked perfectly but at least one reviewer disagreed, stating that the dubbing broke the natural quality of the expression and inflection (in *O Comércio do Porto*, qtd. in Folgar de la Calle 2.1, (unpaginated).

<sup>237</sup> António Rodrigues notes that there is an initial formal association of the two women – when they step out of the litter Pedro doesn’t know which one is Constança – which is gradually reversed in the composition in frame to give Inês her rightful place as protagonist of the love story. In later scenes, Inês appears in a medium shot in the foreground while Constança is in the background in a long shot and sometimes out of focus. Rodrigues argues that this causes an eventual dissociation of Inês and Constança but ignores that in their final scene they are in close-ups, sharing the screen (2).

am the one who will leave”). The allegedly dangerous woman who stole Pedro’s love is finally shown as a penitent, saintly figure who suffers as much as the betrayed wife.

At the climax of the film when King Afonso informs Inês that her life of sin with his son has forced him to sentence her to death, Inês pleads for mercy holding her new-born daughter. As in Resende and Ferreira, she is accused of *concubinage* but does not appear as a signifier of immorality – she is not engaged in a carnal act, scantily dressed, drinking, behaving lewdly, etc. – but is figured as innocent and maternal. It makes the King look ridiculous and excessively prudish as this allegedly powerful, seductive woman who has led the prince to adultery and a life of sin simply cannot be visually classified as a *femme fatale*. In her discussion of masquerade and spectatorship Mary Ann Doane describes this character as, “that abstraction of the woman posited as simultaneously most fascinating and most lethal to the male” (125).<sup>238</sup> Leitão de Barros’s Inês does not possess the excessive femininity/sexuality of the classic *femme fatale* of Hollywood *film noir*, which, within Doane’s concept of masquerade, creates the necessary distance that will identify her as a subject, not object, of discourse. Inês is an idealized beauty but is not overtly sexualized because she is a symbol of love that cannot be corrupted by a questionable, sexy representation; she is a site for the construction of national myth where active sexuality has little place. Inês functions as a trope and this prevents her from using her body, or her sexuality, in a manner distinct from herself. That is, the innocence of the character cannot be compromised by anything as base as using her body to advantage. Again, although the narrative demonizes Inês and her admittedly carnal power over the Prince, the patriotic machinations of the Portuguese-Spanish co-production stall her sexual agency.

What then can a feminist reading salvage from a representation that is mired in masculinist discourse? I end this section with an analysis of two instances of narrative agency and a formal manifestation of power that challenge the passivity of the character. First, Inês shows agency when she deceives and leaves Pedro following the scene with Constança discussed above. Dom Afonso had been informed by his counsellors of the adulterous behaviour of the Prince and the

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<sup>238</sup> Here Doane describes Gaby in Max Ophul’s *La Signora di tutti* (1934) as an example of a *femme fatale* who, like Barros’s Inês, is not consciously manipulative or conniving, “Gaby is apparently devoid of intention or motivation; she floats from experience to experience without awareness... Gaby simply is and it is her sheer existence which proves to be problematic” (125). Like Inês, whose image and voice impact Pedro to distraction, the beautiful Gaby is told by her lovers that they “can’t live without her” and turns away not wanting to be that woman.

suffering of the Princess. Fearing that the affair would soon become public, he ordered that Inês should be removed from the court. Pacheco meets with Inês to tell her to leave Coimbra but she insists that it is already *her* intention:

Pacheco: A vontade d'el Rei é de bem querer-vos e guardar-vos de todo o perigo, Inês.

Inês: *Dizei-lhe que antes de saber a sua ordem era já meu desejo de sair.*

Pacheco: Temo que o Infante vos não deixe apartar de Coimbra.

Inês: Não vos dê cuidado, Lopes Pacheco, porque virei convosco de própria vontade e hei-de convencê-lo. Não sofro animo de criar a discordia entre pai e filho e Constança não pode viver aqui ao meu lado. O Infante não saberá nunca a ordem que me trazeis. Para bem dele me afasto destas terras.

Pacheco: The wish of the King is to save you from all harm, Inês./

Inês: *Tell him that before I knew of his order it was my wish to*

*leave. / Pacheco: I fear that the Prince won't let you leave*

*Coimbra. / Inês: Don't worry Lopes Pacheco, because I'll come with you of my own will and I'll convince him. I don't want to cause such discord between father and son and Constança can't live with me nearby. The Prince will never know the order you have brought me. For his good I will leave these lands.*

Once she has decided to act she gains confidence and is able to look Pacheco straight in the eye. Likewise, when she lies to Pedro, eagerly agreeing to go to his cottage in the country, O Moinho Velho (The Old Mill), and live in seclusion as his mistress, her gaze is steady. For the first time, she does not look away or down in confusion. This decision, to avoid a sinful life and cause no more suffering to her Lady, persuades the viewer that, if not totally innocent in the affair, she has enough scruples to put an end to it. Indeed, she is playing the antithesis of *femme fatale* by sacrificing her love for her Lady. She leaves the Prince because of her loyalty to Constança and the Kingdom. Once she has made the decision she orders the servants, who think she is going to settle at Pedro's love-nest, to leave her luggage where it is as she is going elsewhere. Here, her voice is the strongest – no hesitation, no tremor and she is filmed from below sitting on a horse which, coupled with the reverse shot of a servant looking up at her, gives her more authority than

in previous framings. Later, when Pacheco is confronted by a furious Pedro he assures him that, “*Inês partiu de vontade sua...crede senhor que não a levámos à força. Custava-lhe muito ver Constança assim*” (“*Inês left of her own free will...believe me Sire that we did not take her by force. It was hard for her to see Constança like that*”).

Second, after Constança’s death, Inês loves Pedro as he loves her, lives with him, and bears his children. In her role as “wife” and mother, the initial fearful and quasi-passive behaviour in the adulterous love affair gives way to an assertiveness born of the confidence of her place in Pedro’s life. She is the one who stands center screen and separates the quarreling boys (Fernando and Dinis) while Pedro sits at the table eating. Inês clearly has authority in the household, as Pedro utters only a perfunctory and ineffective admonition for Fernando to “be a man” so he can be strong and go hunting. The sex-role clichés and oppositional dualities of private/public and woman/man abound in this scene – Vélez’s *bella cazadora* is nowhere to be seen – but a reading of woman’s power in the home, after Eler and Kowaleski’s non-binary approach (see Chapter 2.3 regarding Ferreira’s Inês among the maidens of Coimbra) points up the influence Inês has in domestic matters as a form of agency.

Finally, the scene of the coronation and *beija-mão*, where the decomposing corpse of Inês is staged in a macabre ceremony, subverts the image of idealized beauty that she represents in the first part of the film. Indeed, losing the “to-be-looked-at-ness” that although not erotic is pleasurable to the gaze, may afford the character some power. Indeed, this is the argument that Bruce Williams presents in the conclusion of his fascinating, “Mrs Bates, I Presume?...Or Decomposing Identification in Leitão de Barros’ Inês de Castro”:

The spectator of *Inês de Castro* eschews self-sameness and identifies instead with the *différance* implied by the mutilated corpse as part of an iconography of national struggle. This difference, at once familiar and strange, uncanny and carnivalesque, abject and affirming, facilitates a unique form of active love in which the spectator engages with history. The decomposing corpse of Inês de Castro recoups its subjectivity and becomes agent of social transformation. (unpaginated)

While I might debate the degree of subjectivity with which the corpse is endowed – in Kristevan theories of the abject it is the one who feels repulsion for the corpse who is the subject – and

critique Williams's overly optimistic conclusion about "national struggle" and "social transformation", I tend to agree that the coronation scene "refutes traditional mandates of masquerade and facilitates a reassessment of the grotesque, thereby positing new paradigms of identification" (unpaginated).

The necessary distance has been achieved to allow the image of Inês to be de-objectified. Like Mulvey's theory that fragmenting parts of the female on screen, like legs or lips, creates a flatness that denies verisimilitude (20), the body of Inês, since it is separate from the head, is a literal fragment of the body and jars the spectator from the pleasures of the visual. This is not to say that there is no pleasure or titillation provoked by the morbid spectacle, as I discuss later, but to show that the female body of Inês is beyond recuperability as an object of beauty or femininity. The fact that this body is consistently in a long-shot, though, may disprove Mulvey's argument as it is not a function of the cinematic apparatus that de-objectifies Inês but an element of the *mise-en-scène*. Likewise, the tulle wedding dress that conceals the rotting body from view – only the skeletal hand is shown – and appears as a white diaphanous mass, more opaque than the smoke that rises from the censers beside it, "confounds the relation between the visible and the knowable" (Doane 46).<sup>239</sup> Thus, while D. Pedro tells his subjects that his Queen, Inês, is seated on the throne, the cloud of chiffon that represents the former famous beauty destabilizes the gaze of the male characters and the spectators. As António Rodrigues notes, she is the lightest object in a dark room and her bride's veil makes her at once more visible and more untouchable (2). The object of idealized beauty that Inês represented when alive, is replaced by an amorphous mass that, but for the hand, conceals the truth of the scene: that the Queen is but a bunch of bones covered in rotting flesh. If not a subject, for we are in the realm of the object, this representation of Inês cannot easily be objectified in the conventional strategies of filming women. Moreover, as Doane notes, Nietzsche only attributes subjectivity to the female when she is old and has lost "her dissembling appearance, her seductive power" (59). We may extend this to the analysis of Inês's corpse and boldly conjecture that beyond aging and into death the female has partial subjectivity because, outside of a necrophiliac attraction, she no longer possesses

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<sup>239</sup> Doane is referring to the ruse of the sheer veil, which produces the effect of depth but reduces the amount of woman to surface; in *The Scarlet Empress* it allows us to see, for example, Marlene Dietrich's beautiful face but also conceals it, at one point coming into focus while her face is blurred. The tension between what is revealed and what is concealed confounds the male gaze and desire of the screen object that is woman. The opaqueness of Inês's veil and lack of close-up does not produce this effect but I have found it useful to consider Doane's ideas here.

sexual attributes that abet her objectification. Any “dissembling” that the opaque wedding veil may accomplish is erased by the stench that emanates from the corpse and disgusts the diegetic onlookers.

### 3.2.1.2 The senses of Inês

My second line of inquiry regarding the excessive sensuality attributed to Inês in Leitão de Barros’s *Inês de Castro* concerns her own sensory experiences and how they are suppressed or accentuated. Inês, as the object of Dom Pedro’s gaze and speech, is often unable to see or speak effectively herself, but if she is touched or touches another, there is a reciprocity of sensation that is intersubjective. This creates a unique relationship between self and Other and becomes a possible site for female subjectivity. As Luce Irigaray argues in *This Sex Which is Not One*, a man’s subjectivity is attached to the visible, (i.e. the penis that can be seen), while a woman’s is attached to touch, (i.e. the labia that are concealed but as two lips that touch each other): “As for woman, she touches herself in and of herself without any need for mediation and before there is any way to distinguish activity from passivity” (24). For Irigaray, touch grounds subjectivity in the female body and liberates woman from a “dominant scopic economy” which consigns her to passivity as “the beautiful object of contemplation” (26). Because so many scenes in the film focus on Inês’s hand and how her hand touches or is touched, it is useful to examine this intercorporeal sensual relationship and explore how it contrasts with the representation of her whole body and its relation to sight as discussed above. In addition, I suggest that the hand is shown as a synecdoche for the progression of the narrative and of the character’s motivation.

The first scene where we see Inês and Pedro interacting begins with Inês playing a medieval string instrument<sup>240</sup> and singing a *cantiga de amigo*<sup>241</sup> of the Galician-Portuguese tradition – presumably from her province of Galicia – to Constança, who praises her beautiful singing voice. Inês explains that it is a song that maidens sing when their lovers go out to sea. There is a slight

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<sup>240</sup> A psalterium without a sound box.

<sup>241</sup> Of the three types of medieval Galician-Portuguese lyrical songs, *cantiga de amor*, *cantiga de amigo* and *cantiga de escarnio e mal-dizer*, the *cantiga de amigo* has a first-person female narrator, a woman who is in love and missing her beau. This song may have been performed by women but this is speculative. See Denise Filios’s excellent discussion of female performance and performativity in medieval Iberia, *Performing Women in the Middle Ages: Sex, Gender and the Iberian Lyric*; also, the feminist readings of the lyrics in Anne L. Klinck and Ann Marie Rasmussen’s *Medieval Women’s Song: Cross-Cultural Approaches*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

break in the song and Pedro's voice is heard singing the next verse; Inês stops singing and playing as he enters the room, his voice silencing hers as it will do when he courts her. Pedro tells Constança that Inês sings very well and then, echoing the cliché of the music teacher who touches his pupil with the pretext of guiding her hand on the instrument, covers Inês's hand with his own, "Deixai que vos ensine...a toada é assim" ("Allow me to teach you...the tempo is like this"). The significance of this action is twofold: first, in teaching Inês how to strum in the style of Coimbra, Pedro is suppressing language and cultural expression, major signifiers of identity, to nullify her Castilian background; second, since *tocar* is the Portuguese (and Castilian) verb used for touch and for playing a musical instrument, insisting that while in Portugal she should play, *tocar*, like the Portuguese, also suggests that she should *touch* like the Portuguese, or, more pointedly, like himself. Thus, Inês must learn to touch and play in a different manner. The fact that she does not remove her hand when Pedro covers it, suggests that she accepts his proposition. This action, or inaction as it may be, is recalled at the baptism feast<sup>242</sup> where Pedro once again covers Inês's hand with his own, but, watched by the Princess Constança and guilty of having betrayed her, Inês removes her hand and walks away. (This augurs the scene described above where she deceives Pedro and leaves Portugal with Pacheco.) This first close-up of Inês's hand strumming the instrument also foreshadows the morbid coronation scene where her decaying and malodorous fingers are exposed to the court.

Throughout the film Inês's hand synecdochically signals the stages of the love affair and traces her trajectory from the private sphere to the public, figuring prominently in the rooms of the palace and the rituals of baptism and coronation. The public nature of Inês and Pedro's relationship is stressed when we see their first embrace from the point of view of Martim, the court jester, who will represent the people in the final scenes of the film. Peeking out from Constança's bedroom where she is convalescing from giving birth, Martim witnesses Pedro's seduction of Inês, apparently against her will. But, as the narrative and the image have collided before in the representation of Inês, here also her voice says, "No", but we see her right hand

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<sup>242</sup> Inês de Castro was chosen to be the godmother of the first son of Pedro and Constança so that the "compadrio" ("compaternity") would prevent the love affair between Pedro and Inês. Unfortunately, Dom Luís died in infancy and the scheme failed (Sousa, *Tema Português* 23-4). In Barros's film, there is only one child born and it is Dom Fernando, Constança and Pedro's second child and heir to the throne. Historically, Inês was not Fernando's godmother but Barros conflates the birth of the two babies presumably for simplicity.

desperately moving up Pedro's chest and clutching at his shoulder. The actual kiss is shot as a shadowed silhouette that Martim spies from his place near Constança, who does not witness the embrace. Again, Inês's hand stands in for her self, going limp to show how she is unable to resist Pedro's love and how her will to be faithful to her Lady has broken under his persuasion. The melodramatic swoon expressed by the hand is the suppression of Inês's sentient faculties and again foreshadows her death scene, where the close-up of her lifeless hand stands in for her lifeless body.

Prior to her assassination, however, Inês, begging the King for mercy, engages her senses fully in an attempt to save her own life. Although, as noted in Chapter One, this scene where Inês is seen as active is factually unsubstantiated, it has been the favourite of poets and playwrights since the sixteenth century for its dramatic potential. Leitão de Barros does not squander this rich episode and shows Inês pleading with a rigid Dom Afonso. Again, attention is drawn to her hands as she holds a handkerchief and nervously wrings and tugs on it, and then picks up and holds her infant daughter. She is touching herself, and the baby who has come from herself, invoking subjectivity, but language defeats her. She speaks and the King remains silent but unlike the erudite Inês of Camões, the heartbreaking Inês of Garcia de Resende or the dignified Inês of Ferreira, this Inês babbles incomprehensibly. Her speech here is ineffectual, the primary activity transferred to her hands that, in seeking self, are unable to save her.

This scene is followed by a cross-cutting sequence where the Prince at the hunt is chasing a doe through the forest while Inês is pursued by her murderers through the palace.<sup>243</sup> It ends in a chilling moment: the doe wanders into a clearing as Inês runs into a deserted open area of the palace; there is a moment of eerie silence and then Pedro appears to the doe and Inês's pursuers enter the room where Inês stands fear-stricken; as Pedro stabs the doe in the neck, the executioner slashes Inês's head off.<sup>244</sup> And once again, the focus is on Inês's hand. As she falls there is a close-up of her blood-splattered hand and then the camera pans slowly to show that the blood is dripping across her bosom, the famous *colo de garça*. Williams argues that the suggestion, not demonstration, of violent action in this scene evokes the neo-classical convention

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<sup>243</sup> The hunt of the female deer in the opening of Vélez's Act III is echoed here.

<sup>244</sup> This juxtaposition of scenes suggests that Pedro indirectly killed Inês; he is blamed for Inês's death, absolving her (and the King) of all guilt.

of decorum, necessary for the spectator's respect of the noble characters, "[v]iolence or vulgarity would impede the audience from feeling pity for the royal participants" (unpaginated). However, the close-up of the hand and chest are also used here to reinforce the motif that has been established. We recall Inês's hand playing the psalterium covered by the Prince's hand, drawing away from Pedro at the baptism, and going limp in the Prince's embrace. And we look forward to the famous ghastly scene of the *beija-mão*.

This denouement of the love story eerily reverses the expected passivity of death and Inês's hand is once again the focus of the scene. Inês's excessive sensuality promoted by the narrative but almost absent in the imaging of the heroine seems to finally occur as her corpse's rotting appearance and smell attract and repulse the look, voice and touch of others. All eyes are glued to her as a spectacle of morbidity<sup>245</sup> but the disgust occasioned by the smell also plays on the characters' faces. And although Inês's decomposing headless corpse is shrouded in a white tulle wedding dress, Inês's skeletal hand is fully visible. To the cinema spectator the dark and stiff bones appear as a stark contrast to the white and supple fingers that played the harp in the earlier scene with Constança and Pedro. Now the aging Dom Pedro, appearing somewhat demented, frantically entreats his subjects to accept the corpse of Inês as their Queen. He desperately insists that they were secretly married asking several witnesses to concur. But the men and women at this macabre ceremony are rendered speechless by the sight of Inês's body seated on the throne. Dom Pedro, however, spurs them to action when he demands that they kiss her hand, "Porque esperais para lhe beijares a mão?" ("Why do you wait to kiss her hand?"). His closest advisors obey but the bishop is so overcome by disgust that he faints as he approaches the corpse. Thus Inês's putrefaction acts on the congregation in a violent and shocking manner doing what her live body and idealized beauty could never achieve. Moreover, her complete inability to look and speak in death is replaced by the illusion that she is still able to touch. As the warm lips of the King's people light on her cold bones, a certain frisson occurs. Inês is now, after all, a Queen,

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<sup>245</sup> Williams cites Vanessa Schwartz on the phenomenon of corpses on view in the nineteenth century and the morgue as theatre as Zola describes it in *Thérèse Raquin* (unpaginated).

and her ability to “reign” from the Dead offsets her ontological abject reality, suggesting a transcendent subjectivity, where the corpse has the power the living Inês never had.<sup>246</sup>

### 3.2.1.3 A gendered national project

In the above, I have considered the intriguing polarities in the representation of Inês de Castro in Leitão de Barros’s 1945 film by examining how she is positioned as a *femme fatale* but constructed as saintly, how her inability to look and speak is compensated by her ability to touch and how her idealized beauty is subverted through the spectacle of her corpse. The idea of the Dead Queen possessing an excessive “sensuality” that is denied to her representation when alive, leads me to conclude that the effectiveness of this climactic scene could only be achieved if the earlier representation of Inês was one of innocence and idealized beauty. The wholesome and unflawed aspect of Inês’s body in the first part of the film is incongruous with the collapsed and leaky representation at the end. This dichotomous construction maximizes the effect of the coronation scene and of the character. The focus on Inês’s hand, a motif that visually unites the disparate parts of the film, especially serves an analysis of the character of Inês beyond the representation of her whole body. Contrary to Machado de Sousa’s observation that the style of the “representação”, especially of the protagonist, is dated and difficult to analyse objectively (*Tema Português* 427),<sup>247</sup> I would argue that it is the very figuration of Inês that compels the feminist scholar to explore Leitão de Barros’s *Inês de Castro* as a text that constructs a foundational myth and complicates the medieval heroine as the embodiment of “Portuguese love”.

My third and final line of inquiry is, then, more precisely about how the Galician maiden became an iconic Portuguese heroine and how Leitão de Barros facilitated this transition, even while trying to satisfy the national project of both Spain and Portugal. Again, there is a marked discrepancy between how Inês is described and how she is seen. The film is framed by the great doors of the cathedral of Alcobaça first opening and leading us to the tombs of Pedro and Inês and in the final shot, closing, after leading us away from the tombs. The opening speech entreats

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<sup>246</sup> This is admittedly far from De Beauvoir’s desired woman’s transcendence and confounds a feminist analysis but, as Bruce Williams notes, it is an evocative possibility.

<sup>247</sup> It must be noted that the word “representação” can mean acting as well as representation; here I use the latter meaning.

the Viajante (Traveller) to enter the cathedral and gaze upon the proof of the historical event we are about to see on film. The marble monuments and documents of the tragedy, a testament to the eternal *saudade* Pedro felt for Inês, are still on display hundreds of years later, and the images of Inês de Castro as she was seen by Pedro are the first the viewer is shown,<sup>248</sup> while the voice-over narration nationalizes the episode with phrases such as “o berço de Portugal menino” (“the cradle of young Portugal”), “o espírito pátria” (“the spirit of the motherland”), and so on. This immediately links Inês to the national and the re-telling of her story as part of the national project. But, when Inês is laid to rest in her tomb in the final sequence of the film, and there is a close-up on the marble rendering of her face, with a peaceful and innocent countenance, the voice-over text contradicts the image: “ela carnal e bela em seu corpo” (“she carnal and beautiful in her body”). Instead of registering the importance of this national monument and its significance – the former mistress of a King entombed as if she were royalty and thus made Queen – we are reminded of the flesh and blood woman and the carnal nature of the love she shared with Pedro. The image speaks national icon but the voice-over says ‘sex symbol’.

This double-edged and conflicting representation of Inês is felt throughout the film, as discussed above, and it is sometimes reflected in the dialogue where some decry or defend her right to remain in Portugal. The visual story, however, is what most complicates the relationship Inês has to the public and political intrigues that ultimately condemn her. This is demonstrated, for example, in the juxtaposition of the tribunal scene where Dom Afonso and his counsellors decide that Inês is to be killed with a scene of her domestic bliss with Pedro. In the first, a crowd of men in a public forum demand the death of Inês for the safety of the Kingdom; the lone dissenter is the Prince’s friend and godfather of his child, Diogo Lopes Pacheco. In the second, at home with Pedro and their children, Inês breaks up a fight between her son Dinis and Constança’s son Fernando, taking Fernando’s side; then the couple coo over their newborn daughter before saying goodbye at the door. In the scene that follows the public invades the private when the King’s

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<sup>248</sup> The viewer is primed for this focus on the tombs by the first shot of the credits, a dedication to the late Vieira de Natividade, “O primeiro que leu nos túmulos de Alcobaça a tragédia de amor e o adeus imortal” (“The first to read in the tombs of Alcobaça the tragedy of love and eternal goodbye”). Vieira de Natividade interpreted the sculptures of the *rosácea* and niches as a linear narrative featuring the principal players in the story, Inês, Pedro, Afonso, Constança, the Counsellors etc. See *Ignez de Castro e Pedro o Cru: Perante a Iconographia dos seus Tumulos* Lisboa : [Typ. "A Editora"], 1910.

men enter the courtyard of the Paço de Santa Clara<sup>249</sup> on horseback and pursue Inês inside the palace. It is notable that Inês does not leave the domestic space to beg the King for mercy but that he enters her sitting room. She is not so much forced into the public arena – as Cristina Segura suggests of the medieval widow woman who must enter the public sphere to survive and cannot be considered a “mala mujer” (61) – as it is forced upon her. Certainly, the push-pull between the Inês who is narratively lethal to the nation and the innocent and maternal figure that is visually presented to us complicates a moral assessment. In addition, Inês is filmed standing in front of a stained glass reproduction of the royal shield, ineluctably associated with it, and this belies the King’s accusations of the threat she poses to the Kingdom.

In fact, Inês is seen near or in front of the Royal shield or coat of arms<sup>250</sup> repeatedly, cementing her position as a national subject even if the dialogue says otherwise. The scene where she is singing the *cantiga de amigo* begins with a close-up shot of a stone sculpture of the Royal coat of arms and a travelling pan to the left and forward takes in the room, including Inês in the foreground in a medium shot; Constança and a Nurse are unfocused in the background. Because Inês is singing in Spanish, the association with the country where she resides and for whom she will become a national icon must be foregrounded. By the end of this scene, when Pedro teaches her to play in the style of Coimbra, we are witnessing her assimilation into the host country. Later, when he visits her in her rooms, the lovers sit on a bench in front of two stained glass reproductions of the royal shield and as they get closer, their heads cover these, swallowing up the nation’s symbols, equally represented. This image is echoed in the scene where Inês’s corpse is on the throne and Pedro sits by her side. Above them, the two shields stitched into the drapes behind the thrones blazon their royal and national identities, again equally represented.

The innumerable times that Inês is named as a threat to the nation is hardly borne out in her visual representation. The contrast is so great that the various attacks against Inês seem hollow and clichéd, laid bare as mere conventions that threaten the integrity of the text. Leitão de

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<sup>249</sup> This is the former palace of the saintly Queen Isabel and it is deemed scandalous that Pedro has built his love-nest here, accentuating by opposition Inês’s status as an adulterous sinner.

<sup>250</sup> The Portuguese shield is distinguished by its five *quinas* (smaller shields), each with five bezants representing the wounds of Christ, within the escutcheon and the seven castles surrounding it. The coat of arms in the scene where Inês sings has the *quinas* on the left half and the right half is of a building with a large chimney, but the stained glass reproductions look like the entire shield. In the coronation scene the shield is again split in half with the familiar small shields on the left and four indistinguishable shapes on the right hand side.

Barros's film continues the tradition of pitting Reason of State against Love with Inês as scapegoat for the political intrigues between Portugal and Castile but, unlike in Resende and Ferreira, his representation of Inês de Castro is fraught with the binary dualisms of masculinity and femininity found in its literary source, Afonso Lopes Vieira's *Pedro O Cru*, which clearly privileges the Prince, and demonizes Inês. This feminist analysis has attempted to uncover the masculinist machinations of the time by reading against the grain and finding ambivalence in Barros's representation of Inês. In the following section on *Inês de Portugal*, several of the Barros's scenes where Inês is blamed are repeated practically verbatim<sup>251</sup> but the medieval Inês of the 1990's has sexual initiative, arrogance and ambition. We shall see how she fares as a national icon, and a textual subject.

### 3.3 José Carlos de Oliveira's *Inês de Portugal*: Desiring Agency

In Inesian filmography, José Carlos de Oliveira's 1997 *Inês de Portugal* is the next feature-length nationally produced film about the loves of Inês and Pedro to follow Leitão de Barros's 1945 historical biopic. That there is a half century gap between films that recount the nation's iconic love story is significant and attests to the desire or need to produce historical films generally as purveyors of nationalism (as we have seen above with O Estado Novo's use of *Inês de Castro* as propaganda) or, of using the age-old Inesian story of *saudade*, revenge, and eternal love specifically to jog the national memory of past events which show the passionate, vital side of the Portuguese character and proudly bring spectators across the country together as a hypothetically homogenous body.<sup>252</sup> This prompts a few questions: What was happening in Portugal in the nineties that would encourage the production of a film about Inês and Pedro to ostensibly fan the flames of nationalist ardour via a glorification of the past? Were there other

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<sup>251</sup> Both films include a conversation between Inês and her brothers where they convince her to tell Pedro of their wish that he be King of Portugal, Leão and Castela; this sets the tone for Inês as a threat to the state. In both films it is said that the people are against her and she is warned of the danger she is in by Diogo Lopes Pacheco. In Leitão de Barros's film she voluntarily goes into exile, in Oliveira's she refuses. In both films Diogo Lopes Pacheco comments on the legitimate heir's weakness and the strength of Inês's son as a threat to the royal succession. Finally, when Inês is pleading for mercy both Dom Afonsos tell her that it is too late.

<sup>252</sup> After Benedict Anderson's print-capitalism in "The Origins of National Consciousness", 37-46.

nationally-themed historical films in production at the time? And, of particular relevance to this inquiry, how would this film affect the representation of the Dead Queen in the Portuguese cultural imaginary and figure woman as nation through Inês de Castro?

Two significant events took place in the nineties that threatened to fragment the nation: Macau was returned to the Chinese<sup>253</sup> and Portugal became a member state of the European Economic Community (EEC).<sup>254</sup> While the former was accepted in a resigned manner as completing the process of de-colonization of former Portuguese territories, the latter was the subject of heated debate, especially over the loss of Portuguese currency in favour of the Euro, and had weighty opposition.<sup>255</sup> In a note to his eponymous novel based on the film, co-screenwriter João Aguiar baldly states that, "Um filme e um livro sobre Pedro e Inês não me parecem de mais na época da Grande Amnésia, que é a nossa" ("A film and a book about Pedro and Inês don't seem to me to be too much in our epoch of Great Amnesia"; 1). It is possible that he is referring to a national forgetfulness of the recent times before Portugal joined Europe, or more incisively to the two-decade-old democratized nation's incomprehensible amnesia of the brutal Salazarist regime, or, more generally to a Heideggerian "forgetfulness of being" that locks us into a present devoid of an eternal understanding of being. In any case, Aguiar conjures the materialist (or socio-political) and metaphysical possibilities of engaging with the story of Inês and Pedro as the millenium approaches as a justification for the cinematic and literary re-telling of the tale. Moreover, the *fin-de siècle* of the nineteenth century which prompted what Susan Hayward discusses as a time of nationalism and narcissism, is being re-enacted in twentieth century Europe where post-colonial tensions lead to a questioning of national identity and a search for "something other than that which prevailed before" (5).

Since the Revolution of the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1974, many Portuguese feature films have been concerned with telling the story of the nation's recent history leading up to the revolution,

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<sup>253</sup> In 1999.

<sup>254</sup> Portugal joined the EEC in 1986 and full membership was attained in 1992.

<sup>255</sup> If the film was intended to counteract a loss of national identity as a result of joining Europe it is also true that joining the EEC probably made the production of *Inês de Portugal* possible as new funding for the arts was available through EEC grants and incentives. IPACA (Instituto Português de Arte Cinematográfica e Audiovisual) is credited for supporting the film and RTP (Rádio-Televisão Portuguesa) is a co-producer. Both these national institutions would have been subsidized by "European" monies in the nineties.

several through literary adaptations of novels concerned with the political repression in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>256</sup> Two of these films made in the nineties told the story of the clandestine efforts to bring down the fascist state: *Cinco Dias, Cinco Noites* (*Five Days, Five Nights*), José Fonseca e Costa's 1996 film about a Communist Party member that is taken to safety (Spain) by a smuggler and Maria de Medeiros's *Capitães de Abril* (*Captains of April*) (2000) about the days leading up to the Revolution itself. But there are two other significant films that contribute to the pedagogy of the nation by delving deep into Portugal's past to reconfigure or exhalt the glory of the Motherland. One is Manoel de Oliveira's *Non, ou a Vã Glória de Mandar* (*No, or the Vain Glory of Command*) (1990), the epic history of Portugal from its founding days to the colonial war in the seventies, and the other is José Carlos de Oliveira's *Inês de Portugal*. In both, the grandiose epoch of monarchs, the unbridled violence in name of the Motherland, and the lives of key historical figures are once again brought to the Portuguese screen. But while Manoel de Oliveira's epic diegetically critiques events from a twentieth-century perspective and escapes the label of nationalism, *Inês de Portugal* is seen as overtly patriotic. Reviewer Miguel Gomes slams the film for its "celebração fascistoide da grandeza da Pátria" ("the fascistoid celebration of the grandeur of the Motherland"; 7). The film is, however, a decidedly harsher view of history than the pedantic and pompous biopics of the forties and fifties<sup>257</sup> and the representation of the historical personages is unheroic, earthy and crude. Notably, the figuration of our mythic Inês de Castro, not seen in a national feature film since Leitão de Barros's Galician maid with golden tresses who blushing loves Dom Pedro and trembles at the adulterous possibilities of their liaison, changes dramatically.

No longer demure and guilt-ridden, Oliveira's Inês is bold and ambitious, seizing the opportunity of Pedro's love to secure her place at court. In this narrative she is not associated with Princess Constança but instead follows the directives of her scheming brothers, Álvaro and Fernando de Castro, and claims a place as Dom Pedro's mistress and, after Princess Constança's death, as his common-law wife. This Inês is ferocious in her struggle to live with Pedro, and then simply to live. Formally, she is privileged in the mise-en-scène with extreme close-ups and frequent centre

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<sup>256</sup> Two notable examples are: *Cerromaior* (1980) by Luís Filipe Rocha from Manuel da Fonseca's novel of the same name, and *Manhã Submersa* (1980) by Lauro António likewise from the eponymous novel by Vergílio Ferreira.

<sup>257</sup> For example, *Camões* (1947), *Rainha Santa* (1948) and, lamentably, Barros's *Inês de Castro*.

screen placement; she is often lit in a golden hue that makes her stand out from the brownish setting. Her voice is modulated according to her objectives in each scene, from light and seductive to hard and desperate. Her sexuality is at the core of her embodiment and Cristina Homem de Mello effectively portrays Inês as a medieval woman who desires, and desires agency. In an interview published to coincide with the commercial opening of *Inês de Portugal*, the actor stresses that she met the director's challenge to create a "determined" Inês,

não uma vítima passiva como normalmente a Inês de Castro é retratada, e sobretudo uma mulher que lutasse por aquilo em que acreditava. (Antunes 18)

not a passive victim as Inês de Castro is usually portrayed, and above all a woman who would fight for that in which she believed.

At times, however, other aspects of the *mise-en-scène* thwart the narrative Inês's assertive qualities, placing her in a visual frame that renders her as the object of the powerful men who surround her.<sup>258</sup> Moreover, she is only rendered in flashbacks; the principal temporal setting, the present, takes place several years after her death. In the tradition of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Inesian dramas, Pedro's vengeance on Inês's assassins and the exhumation of her body is the focus of the story. Thus, Inês is seen as Pedro's memory, and that of his chancellor Álvaro Pais, which foregrounds the character as a symbol of *saudade* but removes her from the main storyline. In this analysis, I explore the ambiguity of Oliveira's Inês de Castro, both narratively and formally, to determine how Inês's situation is empowering but does not consistently represent the female character as subject. I consider Inês's figuration in movement and voice, hairstyle and costume, while studying the character in the context of the film as a whole. For example, is she a fragmented being because she is the construction of other characters' memories or is she a perfect and whole embodiment of *saudade*? I defend the notion that Oliveira's creation is an intriguing development in the cinematic visualization of Inês de Castro, supplanting, in the Portuguese cultural imaginary, Leitão de Barros's innocent creature of prey with an intelligent, sexy woman who is the daring predator of Pedro's love. Even if the

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<sup>258</sup> An alternative reading is also possible: Cristina Homem de Mello was assistant director of the film and may have been part of the decision-making process as to shot composition and *mise-en-scène*; if so, she may have placed herself between the men to show that she was in control.

overall film undermines Inês's protagonism by introducing secondary stories of illicit love and punishment, narratively and formally the character has a partial agency that merits examination.

### 3.3.1 Creation and reception of a national symbol

José Carlos de Oliveira, who up until 1997 was mainly a director of television documentaries, teamed up with journalist/novelist João Aguiar, who had written for the same television series, to create *Inês de Portugal*. The producers were Imagemreal<sup>259</sup> Produção de Filmes (an independent film production company run by Oliveira), Portuguese Radio/Television (RTP), TVGaliza and Continental Producciones,<sup>260</sup> with financing by the Portuguese Institute of Cinematic and Audiovisual Art (IPACA). Neither artist had much experience in feature film-making and the product of their creative union was not critically or popularly acclaimed, though the film won the prize for Best Photography at the Festróia XIII (13<sup>th</sup> Festival of Tróia) where it premiered. Distributed by Cinemas Castello Lopes, *Inês de Portugal* opened on July 4, 1997 in Lisbon, Porto, Vila Nova de Gaia, Águeda and Figueira da Foz (J. L.Ramos *Cinema Português* 304); Coimbra is conspicuously absent from this list. Since then it has aired regularly on Portuguese television. In 1999 Costa do Castelo Filmes produced a video but a commercial DVD version did not follow; one is available, however, from a Lisbon-based internet video outlet, Blue Planet Video. At the time of this writing the entire film can be viewed on YouTube.<sup>261</sup> From these few details, we may safely guess that today the film appeals to Portuguese cinema buffs, Inesian enthusiasts and the odd history teacher who would hazard showing an R-rated film to her students.<sup>262</sup> In her tome on Inês de Castro, Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa dedicates half a page to the film, most of which is the excerpt of a (good) review<sup>263</sup> which she admits is not typical of the film's reception, but defends it as “um trabalho sério e de grande beleza” (“a

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<sup>259</sup> Imagemreal has the double meaning of “real image” and “royal image”.

<sup>260</sup> Like Leitão de Barros's film it is a co-production with Spain but not part of a national arts and propaganda program; it is filmed in Portugal with mostly Portuguese actors and technicians and only one version, Portuguese, is produced. It has been dubbed in Spanish, but that is the norm for any foreign-language film shown in Spain.

<sup>261</sup> Web. Feb. 25, 2014. <[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W2\\_fHIFltBQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W2_fHIFltBQ)>.

<sup>262</sup> *Inês de Portugal* has also been shown at Portuguese film festivals though a list of screenings is unavailable; it was at the Ibero-American Film Festival of the Boston Public Library on August 25, 2008. Web. June 19, 2013. <[http://dir.groups.yahoo.com/group/angelas\\_list/message/8253](http://dir.groups.yahoo.com/group/angelas_list/message/8253)>.

<sup>263</sup> João Antunes, *Diário de Notícias*, 4/7/1997, 16.

serious work and of great beauty”; 427). As mentioned above, Machado de Sousa lists a number of films that she hasn’t seen and two she has, Leitão de Barros’s *Inês de Castro* and *Inês de Portugal*, but there is little of substance here. Indeed, scholarly material on Inesian films is scarce and *Inês de Portugal*, though it preceded the novel, is given short shrift in papers about the literary adaptation. About the figuration of Inês, there is even less analysis.<sup>264</sup> Reviewer João Antunes predictably remarks that “Cristina Homem de Mello representa uma Inês envolta em intrigas palacianas, amando o homem errado no momento errado” (“CHM represents an Inês involved in palace intrigues, loving the wrong man at the wrong time”; 16). This is a recurring Inesian narrative theme and says little about the characterization of Inês. *Público* critic Miguel Gomes, in his scathing review of the film, however, ruthlessly observes that Cristina Homem de Mello only manages to be less pathetic than Heitor Lourenço as Pedro, “porque não se livra do cretino e afectado tom de “tia” – Inês de Cascais, dir-se-ia” (“because she can’t shake the cretinous and affected tone of “aunt” – Inês of Cascais, we could say”; 7).<sup>265</sup>

In the notes to his novel, which follows the film so closely that it is said to be cinematic,<sup>266</sup> João Aguiar claims that *Inês de Portugal* is not an attempt at historical reconstitution although it is based on the royal chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Rui de Pina (131). This suggests that, like the Renaissance poets and playwrights Garcia de Resende, António Ferreira and Camões, Aguiar would use as much testimony as was available from the chroniclers who wrote about Inês and

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<sup>264</sup> “Des(re)construção da imagem mítica de Inês de Castro em: *Inês de Portugal e Teorema*” (“De(re)construction of the mythic image of Inês de Castro in: *Inês de Portugal e Teorema*”) by Sirlene Cristóvão is a literary analysis of João Aguiar’s novel and Helberto Helder’s short story which promises a de(re)construction of Inês but does not focus on an analysis of the character herself. Similar to other Inesian studies, the name Inês de Castro is a metonym for the story and the historical and textual woman are derailed in favour of generalized criticism. Web. June 19, 2013. <[http://ceh.ilch.uminho.pt/publicacoes\\_online\\_i2.php](http://ceh.ilch.uminho.pt/publicacoes_online_i2.php)>.

<sup>265</sup> The term “tia de Cascais” (“aunt of Cascais”) is used to mock the upper middle class society matrons who live in the upscale tourist town outside of Lisbon.

<sup>266</sup> See, for example, Aldinida Medeiros’s “A saudade portuguesa e a figura mítico-saudosa de Pedro em João Aguiar e António Cândido Franco.” <<http://www2.assis.unesp.br/cilbelc/jornal/maio08/sumario.html>> and Maria Teresa Abelha Alves’s “*Inês de Portugal* Mito Tela Texto: A viagem de uma Narrativa,” *Revista Semeiar* 7. Web. June 19, 2013. <[http://www.letras.puc-rio.br/catedra/revista/7Sem\\_12.html](http://www.letras.puc-rio.br/catedra/revista/7Sem_12.html)>. Because it is based on the screenplay of the film and provides numerous dialogue “scenes”, the novel has also been adapted to the stage and produced by a Tomar theatre company, Fátias de Cá. It was performed at the monastery of Santa-Clara-a-Velha in Coimbra, where Inês and Pedro lived, as dinner theatre. Web. June 19, 2013. <<http://www.asbeiras.pt/2012/06/ines-de-portugal-regressa-ao-mosteiro-de-santa-clara-a-velha/>>.

Pedro in the fifteenth century,<sup>267</sup> privileging the details that most appealed to him. For example, Aguiar notes that he tells part of the story from the point of view of the Chancellor Álvaro Pais, not the actual King's chancellor during the temporal setting of the film, because his character was so well described in Lopes's chronicle (131). He also embellishes the homoerotic relationship between the squire Afonso Madeira and Dom Pedro, most likely based on Fernão Lopes's famous observation that Madeira was much loved by the King, "mais que se deve aqui de dizer" ("more than should be said here"; 39). Like António Patrício's *Pedro O Cru*,<sup>268</sup> also based on the Lopes chronicles, Aguiar and Oliveira's screenplay begins when Inês's assassins are captured and ends with the coronation of her corpse in the Monastery of Alcobaça.<sup>269</sup> But unlike Patrício, Aguiar and Oliveira do not tell a chronologically linear tale but intersperse the historical present with flashbacks to a further past. This is fortunate because it allows the character of Inês to be embodied in the film as more than just a rotting corpse, as Patrício presents her. In the flashback scenes that narratively represent the memories of two male characters, Dom Pedro and Álvaro Pais, we see Inês in two modes; the degree of agency conferred upon the female protagonist in each one is subsequently analysed. First, though, it will prove useful to discuss the shape of the film as a whole and the general plot.

*Inês de Portugal* begins with an extradiegetic "medieval" text image and voice-over that announces the pact Prince Pedro signed to end the war he waged against his father, Afonso IV, when the King ordered Inês's decapitation in 1355. The use of a written text with some spelling

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<sup>267</sup> It may be erroneous to call the chronicles "testimonies" since Fernão Lopes was named Royal Chronicler in 1434 and the *Crónica del Rei D. Pedro* is believed to have been written circa 1440, or eighty-five years after the death of Inês de Castro, and Rui de Pina was Chronicler beginning in 1490 which dates his chronicles to at least one hundred and thirty five years following Inês's death. However, as António de Vasconcelos writes in his influential early twentieth-century account of the historical origins of the Inesian tale, Lopes knew Dom João I, the son of Dom Pedro and Teresa Lourenço, and had the means to gather information about Inês and Pedro "cuja memória era recente no seu tempo" ("the memory of whom was recent in his time"; 28).

<sup>268</sup> First published in 1918; an excerpt appears in O Projecto's *Pedro e Inês* (see Chapter 4.4). Two other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portuguese plays that begin after Inês's death are Henrique Lopes Mendonça's *A Morta* (performed 1890, published 1891) and Marcelino Mesquita's *Pedro o Cruel* (performed in 1916, published 1918) (Sousa, *Tema Português* 322, 524-27; Roig *Inesiana* 227-8 gives 1915 as the publication date of the latter).

<sup>269</sup> It is a surprise that Patrício is not credited at all because the screenplay of *Inês de Portugal* has a host of similar scenes in a similar order and covers the exact time period chosen by Patrício for *Pedro o Cru*; the play does not include the character of Álvaro Pais, but it does begin with an expository conversation between two pages who discuss the King's affairs and his perjury regarding the pact he signed swearing to forgive Inês's killers (11-16); this scene in the film is between Álvaro Pais and João Afonso.

which is a few hundred years old, but also with wording that can be easily understood by the average twentieth-century Portuguese filmgoer, overtly indicates that this will be a serious “historical” film but accessible. As Pugh and Ramey observe, “film directors often seek to create a Middle Ages that is sufficiently medieval to set the stage for the unfolding narrative yet nonetheless recognizably modern to its intended audience” (5). A modern medievalism, a genre not unfamiliar to the Portuguese because of frequent historical re-enactments of the epoch of the “discoveries” in schools, museums, and national exhibitions, will permeate the story. This opening text is adapted from Rui de Pina’s *Chronica del Rey Dom Afonso IV*, Chapter LXV, which tells of the conflict between Pedro and his father and how it was resolved,<sup>270</sup> and is immediately followed by a flashback scene where Pedro signs the pact: a ceasefire and also a promise not to seek revenge on the executioners of Inês de Castro. This is the background for the story which takes place two or three years later when Pedro becomes King and unhesitatingly strikes a deal with Pedro the Cruel of Castile to capture the fleeing Counsellors of Afonso IV

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<sup>270</sup> This is how the text appeared on the screen accompanied by a male voice-over. It reads like an excerpt from a medieval royal chronicle, signalled by the spelling of Cristo with an h, rei and muito with a y, coisa with a u, pera for para, the archaic expression por mor, todos, elrey etc., though the capitalization is an odd choice. I have underlined the phrases from Rui de Pina’s chronicle.

NESTE ANO DE CHRISTO MIL TREZENTOS E CINQUENTA E CINCO,  
 O INFANTE DOM PEDRO PELA MORTE DE DONA INES DE CASTRO ANDAVA  
COMO DANADO E PERA TOMAR VINGANÇA SE ALEVANTOU CONTRA  
 SEU PADRE ELREY DE PORTUGAL, E COM A GENTE QUE TINHA SUA, FAZIA  
TODOLOS ROUBOS, MORTES, MALES E DANOS QUE PODIA.

E AO CABO DE MUITAS PENAS QUE O REINO E AS GENTES SOFRERAM  
 POR MOR DESTA CRUA GUERRA, SE FOI O INFANTE AO BURGO DE  
CANAVEZES, ONDE ESTAVA A RAINHA SUA MADRE, PARA CONCERTAR A PAZ,  
 MAS AQUELES QUE ESTA CONCÔRDIA VIRAM LOGO SOUBERAM  
 EM SEUS CORAÇÕES QUE MUYTO IRIA MUDAR NAS COUSAS E NAS  
 USANÇAS DESTE REINO.

In this year of Christ 1355, the Crown Prince Dom Pedro because of the death of Dona Inês de Castro was like a madman and to get revenge rose against his father the King of Portugal, and with his people, did rob, kill and do other harm that he could. And at the end of much grief that the kingdom and people suffered because of this war, the Prince went to the burg of Canavezes, where the Queen his mother was, to call a truce, but those who witnessed this pact, immediately saw and knew in their hearts that much was going to change in the things and customs of this kingdom.

responsible for Inês's assassination, Pêro Coelho, Álvaro Gonçalves and Diogo Lopes Pacheco. The second scene of the film shows Coelho and Gonçalves in chains being dragged to the dungeons of the castle of Santarém and Pedro's anger over the escape of Pacheco. Watching and commenting on the unfolding of these events, as they will do throughout the film, are the King's Chancellor, Álvaro Pais, and the Count of Barcelos, João Afonso. These two characters carry the storyline and provide historical exposition not altogether successfully; they are minor historical characters and behave rather perfunctorily as film characters, neither of which quality encourages spectator identification. The film slows down substantially when Pais and João Afonso are in dialogue but their scenes are often followed by a flashback illustrating past events where Inês is present and conflict or passion fills the screen. Pedro's scenes in the present are dynamic and his memories of Inês in flashback are intense. Thus, the film travels back and forth between present and past culminating in the juxtaposition of two violent scenes, Inês's decapitation and Afonso Madeira's castration. After this, the famous torture of Inês's assassins where, alive, their hearts are removed one through the chest and the other through the back, is almost anti-climactic. Thus, the present-day scenes begin with the capture of counsellors Coelho and Gonçalves, show the adultery and resulting castration of Pedro's squire Afonso Madeira,<sup>271</sup> continue with the brutal death of the counsellors, and end with the exhumation of Inês's corpse and her crowning and re-burial in the Monastery of Alcobaça. The flashbacks privilege key moments in the (hi)story of Inês and Pedro: Pedro signing the peace pact (as described above), Inês with her ambitious brothers who convince her to accept Pedro's advances and possess him and the throne, the court where all the players – King Afonso, Queen Beatriz, Princess Constança, the Counsellors, Pais and João Afonso, the squire Afonso Madeira – notice the looks between the two lovers, Pedro and Inês's first night together in Galiza where they perform a private marriage ceremony and Pedro is told of Constança's death, years later the Counsellors warning Inês to leave Coimbra with the illegitimate children she had with Pedro, and, finally, her audience with the King and decapitation.

Decidedly, the flashback scenes where Inês appears do not make up the majority of the film (though her love scene with Pedro is ten minutes long), and she is absent from the middle part,

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<sup>271</sup> For this and other proofs of justice, Pedro I was called O Justiceiro, (or Chastiser, as has been translated in English) and O Cruel.

the story of Afonso Madeira and his adulterous relationship with Catarina Tosse, for about twenty-five minutes (in an 87-minute film, a substantial absence). At the end of the film, even though the exhumation and crowning of Inês's corpse is the focus of the last ten minutes, we are left with the impression that we have seen, not "Inês de Portugal" but some version of "Pedro the Cruel": his vengeance, his marauding nights, his perverse enactment of "justice", and his fevered, lunatic behaviour. What then, in this masculinist representation of our Dead Queen, can we find that may endow Inês de Castro with agency? Is it her pursuit of legitimacy, for herself and her children, and desire to be Queen, to be Inês of Portugal, as the film's title proclaims, rather than of Galiza (now under Castile's power)? Narratively we can trace Inês's ambition to be Queen of Portugal from the moment the idea is suggested by her brothers, through the post-coitus marriage ritual with Pedro, to the crowning of her corpse in the final scene and Pedro's triumphant, "Haveis uma Rainha! (Thou hast a Queen!)", addressed to his people. Again, Inês de Castro's status as a (national) subject is achieved in death and beyond, the making of Dom Pedro and the filmmakers. But on her journey to Death and Queendom, Oliveira and Aguiar's character has a partial agency, both narratively and formally.

In a review published in the popular national Saturday newspaper *Expresso*, film critic Jorge Leitão Ramos argues that as a film, *Inês de Portugal* lacks a visionary director and thus adds little to the mythology of the loves of Inês and Pedro and barely elicits emotion (save for a tremor at the exhumation scene where Inês's decomposing face is shown) (10).<sup>272</sup> He goes on to say, however, that as "[um] produto audiovisual" ("an audio-visual product") it will undoubtedly attract teachers of Portuguese history and serve a didactic purpose, for it is an adequate reconstitution and presents a "possível" ("possible") Pedro and a "hipotética" ("hypothetical") Inês (10). What Ramos does not mention is that this hypothetical Inês is a sexually active woman who aggressively mounts Pedro in their steamy love scene, a choice that may deter some teachers from showing the film in the classroom.<sup>273</sup> Effectively, Ramos's strong recommendation for *Inês de Portugal* to replace the black and white classic of 1945 as a national

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<sup>272</sup> Reprinted in the 1997 programme of the Festival Internacional de Cinema da Figueira da Foz. It is curious that this lukewarm review was chosen for a festival programme and re-printed in its entirety. The text also appears in Leitão Ramos's *Dicionário do Cinema Português, 1989-2003*, pp 304-06.

<sup>273</sup> Add to this the very explicit sex scene between Afonso Madeira and Catarina Tosse, and his subsequent castration, and it is doubtful that the film will be shown in pre-university classrooms, and most certainly not in Grade 4 when the medieval story is introduced to primary school students.

document for pedagogical use and beyond<sup>274</sup> is a recommendation to accept a bolder representation of Inês de Castro. Portugal does not support a cinema industry of the magnitude of Great Britain's and cannot provide as many cinematic images of the Dead Queen as the British have of Queen Elizabeth I,<sup>275</sup> but it is clear that the use of film as a guide for imagining iconic royal figures is intended in both cases. Ramos, in suggesting that the film be aired by RTP-Internacional as “um nada desdenhável olhar sobre eventos históricos que dizem respeito ao património de todos nós” (“a not disdainful look at historical events that concern the heritage of us all”; 10), appeals to the interest it may have for the citizens of the Portuguese diaspora, or the “imagined community” that is Portugal. Exploring Oliveira's reconfiguration of Portugal's mythic symbol of love and *saudade* as a nationalist enterprise, in tandem with the narrative emphasis on Inês's ethnic identity, is a cogent project.

The pointed title, *Inês de/of Portugal*, at once claims national ownership of Inês de Castro and indicates the obsessive wish of the film's protagonist, Pedro I of Portugal.<sup>276</sup> Oliveira confirms that the title emphasizes Pedro's vengeance and is the final act of a devastating passion (qtd. in G. Ferreira 8). This act is the driving force of the film for until Inês is made Queen of Portugal, King Pedro cannot find peace and the film cannot find a resolution. Thus each scene where Inês appears interrogates and negotiates her relationship to Portugal and, for the Portuguese court, stresses her existence as a threat to the nation, resulting in her death by Royal decree. As discussed throughout this inquiry, this theme is common to much Inesian literature and is supported by recent historians,<sup>277</sup> but, more saliently than Leitão de Barros's 1945 classic film, *Inês de Portugal* privileges the nationalized Inês and situates the issue of (her) national identity

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<sup>274</sup> J.L. Ramos also suggests the film be shown to tourists who visit the tombs in Alcobaça and want to know more about the protagonists.

<sup>275</sup> For a discussion of the representation of Queen Elizabeth I in British and Hollywood cinema, see, Deborah Cartmell, I. Q. Hunter and Imelda Whelehan's *Retrovisions: Reinventing the Past in Film and Fiction*, London and Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, 2001, and Elizabeth A. Ford and Deborah C. Mitchells's *Royal Portraits in Hollywood: Filming the Lives of Queens*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009.

<sup>276</sup> It is an unusual title in the Inesian oeuvre; in Machado de Sousa's comprehensive list of novels, plays, operas and ballets from the fourteenth century to 2004, I have found only the plays *Tragedia famosa de Doña Inês de Castro*, *Reina de Portugal* (Mexia de La Cerda, 1612), *Inez or the Bride of Portugal* (Ross Neil [Isabella Harwood], 1871), the Julien Duchesne opera of 1864, *Ines de Portugal*, and *Inês de Portugal* as the Portuguese and French translations of Alejandro Casona's *Corona de amor y muerte* (*Tema Português* 503-533, 545-46).

<sup>277</sup> For a clear and detailed account of the political intrigues between Portugal and Castile that resulted in Inês de Castro's death, see José Hermano Saraiva's “Política Exterior: o Drama de Inês de Castro” in *História de Portugal*, 101-104 or my summary in Chapter 1.1.2.

at the core of its scenes *ad nauseum*. The same preoccupation with Inês's place in the Portuguese court is voiced by several characters – some for, most against, and zealously in favour by Pedro – and becomes repetitive in the mode of a didactic tool, as observed by film critic Leitão Ramos. But while this is narratively the case, the *mise-en-scène* creates shifts in the perception of Inês's status, creating a more complex and ambiguous picture than is suggested by the dialogues or plot turns. The portrayal of Inês as a national (or not) subject and the construction of her subjectivity fluctuates from scene to scene, ultimately affected by formal elements like her position on the screen and how she is framed and sized, the lighting, her costuming, and her voice.

### 3.3.2 Inês's execution (formal and narrative)

The first time Inês appears we hear her disembodied laughter over the image of her eldest brother, who is sitting arrogantly and with a fierce gaze towards screen right; the camera tracks back and to the right in a curving motion which ends in a medium shot of Inês in her younger brother's arms as he praises her beauty, her *colo de garça*, and how she is turning heads at court. To the viewer her features are not yet distinguishable, though her voice is flirtatious and her movements elegant. Inês and her brother are in profile and the focus of the image is a flaming torch in the foreground. The eldest brother approaches and at the mention of Prince Pedro as the man whose heart she has stolen, Inês turns away from them and the viewer, with a brief understanding “ah”, reminding her brothers that the Prince is married and she is godmother to their late infant<sup>278</sup> (both reasons why she should not pursue the attraction); she stands with her back to us, against the light of a large window. Again, it is the flaming torch that is the most prominent object as she moves back to her younger brother and hears his hissing whisper, “Uma coroa Inês, Rainha de Portugal” (“A crown, Inês, Queen of Portugal”), and it continues to dominate the screen space, almost obscuring the players as Inês moves and sits beside her eldest brother, the camera following her. They occupy two chairs placed with their backs to the wall commanding the room, much like the thrones of a royal couple; interpreted as such, Inês is in the consort's throne to the left of the King. Finally, she is shot in close-up and because her position reads as powerful, it anticipates her destiny. Until this moment, the dialogue is focused on her power to seduce the Prince and she is somewhat flirtatious in voice and movement but she is not

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<sup>278</sup> Dom Luís.

presented as the great beauty of legend. Her sheenless, dark blonde hair is uncoifed, oddly arranged with a chiffon band and two locks pinned up on either side of her face, obscuring her face when in profile; her costume is a drab dun-coloured dress with a rounded neckline that shows her elegant neck to advantage but with some draping that obscures her figure. The close-up reveals that Cristina Homem de Mello is a pretty young woman with clear skin, full lips and big eyes but with a snub nose and so, not strikingly beautiful. But she is strong and so is her voice; her expression when her eldest brother affirms, “Haveis de ser Rainha” (“You shall be Queen”), is calculated; she is clearly considering it, seduced by her brother’s speech until her youngest brother takes it farther, announcing that she will be, not only Queen of Portugal but also of León and Castile and “mãe de reis” (“mother of kings”). Here, Inês grows impatient and again objects because Pedro has a living male heir.<sup>279</sup> She rises and briefly stands looking out the window against the light in a medium shot, but turns as she is confronted and eventually flanked by both her brothers; they entreat her to take them to Pedro so they can convince him to defend his right to León and Castile; the camera zooms in on her in the centre as she entwines her arms in theirs and agrees.

Narratively, this scene traces the change in Inês from playfully flirtatious and flattered that she has drawn the Prince’s attention to smugly envisioning a future as Queen of Portugal, León and Castile. The brothers, as Álvaro Pais contends in the scene previous to this flashback, however, are manipulating the change, fanning her vanity and ambition and ultimately convincing her to do what they want. Formally, Inês seems to attract the camera and it follows her for most of the scene, placing her in close-up and medium shots throughout. Nonetheless, it also gives the brothers the same privilege, reminding us that they are at the helm; in the final shot they trap her between them. This is predictable because in the scene prior to this, Álvaro Pais in dialogue with João Afonso, laments that she would have been innocent, “Se não houvesse aqueles dois irmãos” (“If it were not for those two brothers”); the scene between Inês and her brothers, Álvaro and Fernando de Castro, confirms Pais’s suspicions. What is not predictable is the direction of the scene or the choices of *mise en scène* that give Inês agency and suggest a more complex and ambiguous reading of her first appearance. Her disembodied laughter and voice at the top of the

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<sup>279</sup> Dom Fernando.

scene, and then speaking with her back to us, is a rupture in the synchronization of female voice to female body. This synchronization is, after Kaja Silverman, requisite in dominant cinema because it represents the lack that is the female character (51).<sup>280</sup>

In her groundbreaking study of the female voice in Hollywood film, *The Acoustic Mirror*, Silverman argues that the engendered dissociations or associations of image and voice respectively endow the male with, and strip the female of, discursive authority: "...very high stakes are involved in the alignment of the female voice with the female image" and for the female character, deviations from synchronization are few (46-7). Silverman remarks on the change in late eighteenth-century Western men's clothing to ascetic and chaste while women's attire continued to be bright and ornamental, and concludes that the male disassociated himself from the visible to align himself with the symbolic order, in much the same way that the phallus has become disassociated from the penis (24-6). And, if the phallus is the sum of all speaking subjects that command power-knowledge, woman's "castration" in Hollywood films is effectively her exclusion from symbolic power and privilege, articulated as an "incapacity for looking, speaking or listening authoritatively, on the one hand and with what might be called a 'receptivity' to the male gaze and voice, on the other" (30-1). Specifically regarding the woman's incapacity of speaking authoritatively, Silverman develops an intricate theory of the "complex systems of displacement which locate the male voice at the point of apparent textual origin, while establishing the diegetic containment of the female voice" (45). The voice that is disembodied, as in voice-over narration, is dissociated from the visual track and appears to be metafictional, or at the point of discursive origin (51). Because this voice is almost always a male voice, it follows that the male has the authoritative voice while the female voice, on the other hand, is most often embodied, linked to her mouth and body and lacking transcendence. The use of the voice-off, the voice-over and post-dubbing are, then, three ways the female voice may appear as disembodied in film, and, especially in the case of the voice-over, because it "is left without an identifiable locus... *transcends the body*" and acquires discursive authority (49, italics in the original). Silverman does not consider the voice-off as the most effective deviation from the rule of synchronization because "its 'owner' occupies a potentially recoverable space" and

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<sup>280</sup> Silverman unpacks Michel Chion's comparison of the close-up of a woman's lips to the exposure of female genitals in a striptease "making the female body the site not only of anatomical but discursive lack...[suggesting] that to embody a voice is to feminize it" (50).

becomes “sexually differentiated in much the same way that a synchronized voice is” (48). However, I would like to suggest that the delay between hearing Inês and seeing Inês, repeated in subsequent scenes, is substantial enough to create a disembodied quality and therefore a transcendence that confers some authority upon the character. Inês’s disembodied laughter delays the visual impact of her body on screen; this is soon followed by her speaking with her back turned to the viewer, or turning her face completely away while she speaks, further suggesting a voice-off which dissociates her voice from her face and mouth; it is effectively left “without an identifiable locus.”

As to her visual appearance in the scene, the lighting is golden and favours Inês, with a flaming torch and sunlight streaming in through the castle windows. The placement of the torch is particularly relevant as it suggests the power of fire and light and is associated with Inês’s fiery temperament and the light that she represents for Pedro reflected in her eyes (see below); fire is often behind her or beside her and the camera moves to circle her and fire, visually prominent when she is in bed with Pedro, when the counsellors warn her of the danger she is in, and when she is condemned to death.

In this scene, we see how her ambition is awakened and how she agrees to help her brothers gain access to the Prince. However, the unfolding of the plot does not follow smoothly as in classical narrative film where the final line of a scene often indicates the content of an ensuing one. Surprisingly here, a close-up of Pedro rueing his loss in a present-day scene with Afonso Madeira is what we are shown. His devastation is heard in the powerful lines, “Só sombras, sombras e sonhos. O mundo em que vivo é só feito de sonho e de sombra. A luz, essa tiraram-ma quando a mataram. Afonso, a minha luz vinha dos seus olhos” (“Only shadows, shadows and dreams. The world in which I live is only made of dreams and shadows. The light, they took it from me when they killed her. Afonso, my light came from her eyes”). The close-up that intercuts the scene is of a bare shouldered Inês with her hair down and a look of love in her eyes. Pedro seems about to touch Afonso, confusing him with the memory of Inês,<sup>281</sup> but recoils and agonizingly pushes away the vision and Afonso; Pedro, now alone, remembers Inês at a court banquet in the past, when his father is King and his wife Constança is pregnant. It is vital that we

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<sup>281</sup> The homoerotic tension between Pedro and his squire weaves through the film.

see Inês through Pedro's eyes at this point, see her looking at him as she also looks directly at the camera (the spectator), to replace the first image of Inês as she is seen by Álvaro Pais. Here, there is a direct connection with the female protagonist. As we see Inês through Pedro's eyes, and experience a subsequent identificatory look, we understand his grief, his maniacal pursuit of justice, and his violent thirst for vengeance. It is Pedro's Inês whom we meet in the next two scenes: a court banquet where the major players comment on the lusty looks between Pedro and Inês, and the resultant lengthy love scene.

In the banquet scene, a close-up of Inês is the first shot and she looks fixedly at Pedro, who returns her gaze. This challenges Garcia de Resende's "foi-m'o príncepe olhar" ("the Prince looked at me"; line 39), and Mulvey's "to-be-looked-at-ness" of female figures on screen which prevent them from looking and speaking (19), but echoes Ferreira's, "Cos olhos lhe acendi no peito fogo" ("I lit a flame in his heart with my eyes"; Act I line 54) and, "Nos meus olhos os seus o descobriam" ("In my eyes, his own revealed [love]"; I 76-79). There is, nonetheless, a possible dual reading here as Inês, as subject, looks and objectifies Pedro, but is also looked at and objectified by Pedro and the others. In this scene she does not speak and we watch her as she laughs, talks and eats with other ladies of the court, always at the center of the frame and always looking back at us while looking at Pedro. The flaming torch is present, to her right. As King Afonso's counsellors discuss the alleged affair between Pedro and Inês and the threat posed to Portugal by an alliance with the powerful Castros, she is shown as Pedro sees her: a lovely, seductive woman, licking her fingers sensually as she eats, looking suggestively over the rim of her glass as she drinks. The intensity of her look makes her more attractive than in the previous scene (when she and her ambitious brothers are introduced by Álvaro Pais), and her forehead is adorned with a jewelled band; she wears a richly adorned red velvet dress on which rests her long blonde hair. But in the dialogue, it is not her look at Pedro that is commented on but his devouring look at her.

Pero Coelho: Vede como a olha.

Diogo Lopes: Olha-a como qualquer moço olha uma donzela bem talhada. Pero Coelho, por minha fé, pareceis um velho. E vós, também, eu, pois...

Álvaro Gonçalves: Vós, vós não sois o Infante de Portugal casado com uma Infanta de Castela e essa bem talhada que dizeis é uma

Castro...Mas vede-o como olha a Castro. Olha a Castro como um  
cão olha um naco de carne...

Pero Coelho: See how he looks at her./ Diogo Lopes: He looks at  
her like any young lad looks at a well-sculpted maiden./ Pero  
Coelho, by my faith you're like an old man. And you too, me,  
well.../ Álvaro Gonçalves: You, you are not the Crown Prince of  
Portugal married to a Princess of Castela and that well-sculpted  
one you speak of is a Castro...But see how he looks at Castro. He  
looks at Castro like a dog looks at a hunk of meat.

The narrative clearly objectifies Inês with references to an object that is “well-sculpted” and to the woman as “a hunk of meat.” But the formal elements of the scene suggest otherwise, again demonstrating that Oliveira’s Inês is an ambiguous subject. The conversation of the King’s Counsellors and Queen Beatrice’s remark to the King, “Haveis de falar a Pedro, isto não pode continuar” (“You must speak to Pedro, this can’t go on”), are cold and calculating and contrast greatly with the hot and sensual activities of Pedro and Inês: looking, eating and drinking, which continue figuratively and literally in the love-making scene which follows.

A brief shot of a stormy sky separates the banquet and the longest scene where Inês appears, alone with Pedro in a bedroom in a Galician castle, the only scene the lovers share. Voracious kissing in a medium shot – with the flaming torch, a recurring motif, behind Inês’s head – leads to undressing and coitus. Pedro begins to remove Inês’s dress but she completes the action baring her breasts to him; he licks them and carries her to the bed. At first he lies on her but she quickly mounts him and undoes his tunic. As Joan Cadden shows in her study of sex differences in the Middle Ages, the woman on top is a polemic and transgressive position, named by a medical author as “usurpation” and considered an unhealthy sexual practice (170). An active feminine sexuality was discouraged,

...overexertion was deemed inappropriate for women, and a passive  
role in intercourse was prescribed by canonists as well as by  
medical authorities – women were not, for example, to assume the  
superior position. (176)

As a medieval woman, then, this Inês reverses the hierarchical dualism of man/woman active/passive and, in her sexuality, in assuming the “superior position”, assumes the subject

position. The flame, which has become a motif, is now in a wall-mounted pot of fire, and gets its own close-up as a bridging shot from Inês's daring sexual position to a close-up of the lovers' faces. Next, there is a long shot of the bed and a slow track towards the couple now in the more conventional missionary position, the flame always on screen, as penetration happens. Another cut away to the exterior shot of stormy sky and castle presumably gives them time to reach orgasm and have a nap. Pedro holds up the bloodied sheet and the post-coital dialogue begins. There are several extreme close-ups that show deep love in their eyes, both Heitor Lourenço and Cristina Homem de Mello are at their strongest here, and the close-up of Inês we have seen when Pedro is remembering her appears. She says she has what she wants, him, but the spell is broken when Inês mentions the Princess Constança and others who wish to separate them and voices the ambitious motives of her brothers, that Pedro may be King of León and Castile as well as Portugal. As the political intrigues enter the bedroom, Pedro cools considerably and Inês hurriedly assures him that he is her King and, holding up the bloody sheet, "...esta é a minha bandeira" ("this is my flag"). Woman and nation are reified here as the virgin's blood becomes the standard by which Inês swears her love. For her, there is no distinction between Love and State, between Pedro and Kingship. As she claims when Pacheco warns her that her life is in danger, they (the counsellors) see political intrigue where there is only love. Pedro responds to her oath of allegiance by initiating a marriage ritual, "Dona Inês de Castro sede minha esposa diante de Deus" ("Dona Inês de Castro, be my wife before God"), and they vow eternal love to each other,<sup>282</sup> with a shared goblet of wine reminiscent of the Catholic ritual of communion. As they kneel and drink, the pot of fire is between them. With a dramatic toss of the empty goblet, more love-making is initiated; but it is interrupted by Inês's eldest brother who bears the news that Princess Constança has died in her weakened post-partum state.

What follows is the long interregnum in the present where Pedro's justice is shown and Afonso Madeira's adulterous actions cost him his testicles. The strong agency Inês shows in the bedroom and her subject position in her relationship with Pedro is suspended for almost half an hour. With Constança's death, and Pedro's promise of marriage, Inês de Castro is poised to be "Inês of Portugal" but the narrative veers away from the life she shares with Pedro for the next several years, including the birth and rearing of their children. When this thread is finally picked up, it is

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<sup>282</sup> This suggests Claude-Henri Frèche's "mariage théâtrale" in Ferreira (256).

too late to consider Inês as protagonist. Oliveira has chosen to show the sexual dalliance of Pedro's squire Afonso Madeira, and the power games and vengeance of men instead of the life of Pedro and Inês; he misses the opportunity to make his titular Inês *of* Portugal and sustain her active presence in the film. The next two scenes where Inês appears, when she is advised to leave Portugal and when she is sentenced to death and decapitated, are flashbacks intercut with the present-time denouement of the adulterous troubles of Madeira and his castration. A moment after the executioner brings down the axe on Inês's neck, a swordsman aims at Madeira's nether regions.

The decapitation of Inês and the castration of the squire are juxtaposed as the violent culmination of two stories that somewhat mirror each other. As Maria Teresa Abelha Alves notes in her analysis of Aguiar's novel based on the film, the affair of Afonso Madeira and Catarina Tosse, with its adultery, impossibility, social condemnation and fatality, duplicate the love story of Pedro and Inês and reflect the medieval myth of love-passion so often expressed in the troubadour songs (8). Regrettably, equalizing the "justice" done to Inês and Madeira by the intercutting of the two stories, reduces the import of Inês's story. The parallels created throughout the film, from the early scene where Pedro looks at Madeira and sees Inês, to the similarity of the actions of the illicit lovers – Inês commits adultery, Madeira commits adultery; Madeira is warned, Inês is warned; Madeira pleads for clemency, Inês pleads for clemency – may be effective for the narrative but do not serve the super-objective of the film to make Inês *of* Portugal. The focus of the film is split and the subject position of the Dead Queen forfeited. (The homoerotic scenes between Pedro and Madeira<sup>283</sup> also fade in significance when compared to the lusty heterosexual lovemaking of Madeira and Catarina Tosse; here I am inclined to agree with critic Miguel Gomes who sees the film as a botched *grand-guignol* of blood and sex (7).) The remaining scenes featuring Inês must necessarily be discussed in the context of Madeira's transgressions, since they are cinematically aligned. After Madeira has been caught fornicating

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<sup>283</sup> Recently, the bisexuality of Pedro I and his relationship with the squire have been privileged in more than one account of the Inesian legend. See for example, Armando Nascimento Rosa's play *O Eunuco de Inês de Castro* (Casa do Sul, 2006) which posits that Inês in the afterlife hasn't forgiven Pedro because he castrated Madeira, and a PhD thesis, *Reis que Amaram como Rainhas* (2000) by Fernando Bruquetas de Castro, which makes the case for the bisexuality of King Pedro in light of his affection for Madeira. A weekly Portuguese magazine also recently published an article about Kings in love with men, "Reis apaixonados por homens", by Sofia da Palma Rodrigues, *Sábado*, n° 331, 2 a 8 de setembro de 2010, p. 82-83.

with the magistrate's busty lusty wife, Álvaro Pais comments of Inês that "...como Afonso Madeira, também ela foi aconselhada" ("like Afonso Madeira, she was also warned"), and the scene that follows is Pais himself and Diogo Lopes Pacheco warning Inês that her life is in danger and she must flee. Because this flashback scene is on the heels of Madeira's adulterous romp, and because we have seen nothing of Inês since *her* adulterous romp with Pedro, we infer that their positions are similar notwithstanding the incoherence of comparing a squire's one-time coitus with a magistrate's wife, with seven years of common-law cohabitation between a Prince and a noblewoman with powerful family ties in enemy territory.

As the scene where Inês is advised to leave Portugal opens, her indignant "Não, não posso fazer tal cousa" ("No, I can't do such a thing"), repudiates the warnings of the King's counsellors demonstrating how here, in the palace of Santa Clara in Coimbra, Inês holds court. She is seated behind a large table, occupying the place of power in the room, and, as in the first scene with her brothers, the camera follows her as she moves from the table to the window, and towards and away from her interlocutors, owning the space. Again she speaks with her back to the camera, her voice disembodied and disassociated from her face and mouth, and she is usually close to a light source, such as a window or a candle (the flaming torch is absent for the first time). Cristina Homem de Mello looks overwrought; gone is the luminous light with which she looked at Pedro and which made her so attractive. She is in a medium shot wearing a dun coloured dress again with her hair looking darker and without sheen, pinned up in locks. Nevertheless, she is proud and assertive in objecting to the counsellors' demands. Narratively the scene aims to explain why she poses a threat to Afonso IV and the nation: the Prince will not re-marry while he is with her; she cannot be Queen because she is illegitimate and his cousin; her sons are stronger than the legitimate heir and may usurp the throne; the King is angry that the Prince tried to claim the crown of León and Castile backed by the Castros; the people are scandalized at the illicit affair; and they must act for "o bem do reino" ("for the good of the kingdom"). In other words, a large part of the scene suffers from a surfeit of historical exposition and formally it is little more than a sequence of shot-reverse-shots. It becomes interesting, however, when Inês breaks down and, in her longest speech in the film, passionately avers that she does not seek to be Queen, but only to remain with Pedro.

Nunca tal cousa pensaria. Não. É ele que eu quero, porque a minha vida sem ele acabaria e a vida dele nada seria sem mim. Ah,

Senhores, pois sois tão duros que vedes intrigas onde só há amor?  
 Bem sei eu que não seria Rainha, bem sei eu que me perdi pelo  
 Infante e que vivo em escândalo e que o povo me tem sanha e que  
 El-Rei me quer mal. D. Pedro jamais consentirá em apartar-se de  
 mim, ainda que eu fugisse não para Castela mas para o reino de  
 Aragão. E eu, eu não tenho forças para me apartar dele. Não cabe  
 pedir-me o que não posso dar.

I would never think of such a thing. No. It is he I want because my  
 life without him would end and his would be nothing without me.  
 Ah, my Lords, are you so harsh that you see intrigue where there is  
 only love? I well know that I would not be Queen, I well know that  
 I lost myself to the Prince and live in scandal and that the people  
 resent me and the King wishes me harm. And I, I do have the  
 strength to be separated from him. It is not fitting to ask for what I  
 cannot give.

Pacheco replies that she is in great danger but she insists that whoever tries to separate her from the Prince will be in great danger. She exits and the scene ends with the counsellors watching Inês's children swordfighting. They comment on the bastard boys' strength and the legitimate Fernando's weakness.

The strength of Inês, her conviction to remain with Pedro and the certainty that he will protect her from harm will be sorely tested when she is sentenced to death in *Inês de Portugal*. The viewer has by now understood that not only is Inês's national identity precarious, her legal identity is tenuous because she is stigmatized by illegitimacy. That is the ontological situation that finally determines her fate. Much more is at stake than her alleged quest to be Portuguese or to be Queen of Portugal; she is denied that most basic of human rights, a birthright. If historical records are accurate, she was born from the coupling of the powerful Galician Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro and a Portuguese woman of whom little is known, Dona Aldonça Soares de Valadares. She is given her father's name and lineage, as she reminds the counsellors, but she is fruit of an adulterous relation. Her sons are likewise bastards until Pedro becomes King and

makes her his Queen in death. For now, Inês cannot speak of legitimate rights<sup>284</sup> and we fully understand that without this she cannot hope to have a safe and enduring identity as Inês of Portugal. The scene with the counsellors clinches this. A brief scene with Madeira begging Pedro for mercy anticipates the flashback of Inês's audience with King Afonso, which follows.

Inês in close-up, with the flaming torch to her left, half whispers "A morte?" ("Death?"); cut to a medium shot of Afonso IV in silence, and then a long shot that shows the open space of a cathedral apse with its vaulted ceiling; a zoom that starts behind Inês and her sons (though they are barely perceptible) and focuses on the King seated as if on a throne surrounded by his counsellors; this is intercut with Inês's close-ups protesting the sentence, "É a vossa misericórdia senhor?...sou pecadora mas não sou criminosa" ("And your mercy, my Lord?...I am a sinner but not a criminal"). Inês's hair is down and full around her face, and her eyes blaze with anger; she is wearing a brocaded coral dress with full white sleeves. She is markedly different than in her scene with the counsellors, apparently older but more beautiful. The boys, when seen frontally in a medium shot appear to be the same age as in the previous scene. Inês squats down, entreats her sons to ask their grandfather to spare her and urges them forward. Her anger is replaced by a desperate terror and as the boys move forward they stay in focus and she is a blur behind them, already losing her corporeality. The boys are silent. Pacheco whispers to the King to have pity but Álvaro Gonçalves loudly reminds the King that it is the legitimate Fernando's future he should be considering. Pero Coelho selfishly asks that the counsellors be allowed to flee before Pedro returns but the King orders Gonçalves to read the edict of Inês's death. Her terrified face in close-up is intercut and then her cries and whimpers are heard as she, in a long shot, is dragged to a wooden block and forced to kneel with her head upon it. Someone moves her hair aside and the executioner's axe is brought down. The last shot of this scene is the basket into which her head falls rocking slightly and oozing blood. There are no reaction shots and the cut away is to Pedro in the present and his steely resolve as he watches Madeira's castration.<sup>285</sup> The

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<sup>284</sup> Presumably the seven-year cohabitation required for a common-law union to be considered the equivalent of a legal marriage had not been reached (see Chapter 1.1.2).

<sup>285</sup> The juxtaposition of the decapitation of a woman with the castration of a man is suggestive of itself, for example, that a woman's life is analogous to a man's sex-life or a woman's mind has the value of a man's testicles, but since the people in question are past and present lovers of Pedro, one can speculate also that the castrated Afonso Madeira will replace Inês as a feminized man.

torturous death of Coelho and Gonçalves, replete with pulsating hearts pulled from their live bodies, follows to complete the triad of gore. At this climactic juncture, the film brings together three stories where cries of mercy are followed by merciless violence.

Inês maintains her resolve in the audience with King Afonso, fighting for her life until the last minute even as the accusations fly at her, the most insidious that she and her brothers have threatened the peace of the kingdom. At this late date, after being with the Prince for several years and raising his children she is still not of the kingdom, not of the nation, not Inês of Portugal. Again, she is surrounded by men who decide her fate. Even her boys are two males who flank her, as did her brothers and the King's counsellors in previous scenes. The feminist viewer is acutely aware of the dearth of female characters and of the master narrative of male hegemony that the film perpetrates. Unlike in Leitão de Barro's *Inês de Castro* where scenes between Inês and Constança are at the centre of the narrative, Oliveira separates Inês from other women until the exhumation scene where the nuns and the strong-willed Abbess of Santa Clara defend her mortal remains. But in life, Inês has no female allies. There is no relationship with Constança who has but one shot at the banquet scene, a wilted, nauseous-looking pregnant woman. Queen Consort Beatrice is a beautiful, stately woman who is central to the first scene of the film, signing the peace pact with Pedro, but who does not appear at the sentencing of Inês. If she had been present would she have laid a restraining hand on her husband's arm or supported him in his merciless edict? At the banquet scene she voiced her disapproval of the adulterous affair, "Haveis de falar a Pedro, isto não pode continuar" ("You must speak to Pedro, this can't go on"), but now that Pedro is a widower and Inês is the mother of her grandchildren what is her position? We will never know.<sup>286</sup> The opinions and lives of the female characters are not privileged in the masculinist discourse of *Inês de Portugal*.<sup>287</sup> Unlike other Inesian texts, Oliveira's Inês does not have a Nurse or female friend in whom to confide or who will care for

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<sup>286</sup> The role of the Queen Consort is often eliminated from Inesian drama and fiction but at least one significant playwright has given the Queen a leading role. In Victor Hugo's 1863 *Inez de Castro*, the Queen is Inês's enemy and proves to the King that Pedro and Inês's illicit union has produced offspring. Hugo modelled his play on the popular hit of the eighteenth century where the Queen is Constance's mother and Pedro's stepmother, Houdar de la Motte's *Inès de Castro*.

<sup>287</sup> We may wonder also what has happened to the lusty Catarina Tosse as a result of the fornication with Madeira but this is not a plot line that is followed.

her, or a jealous woman who is her arch enemy (as we have seen in Vélez de Guevara's version of the tale). Throughout the film, she is narratively and formally flanked by men.

The final scene with Inês at its centre, is the exhumation of her body and her crowning and re-entombment in the Monastery of Alcobaça. Oliveira does not sensationalize the effect of a putrid, decomposing corpse on the royal subjects, as Leitão de Barros chose to do, but invests these scenes with a solemnity befitting the occasion. Despite the cries of the Abbess of Santa Clara, “Não pode vossa mercê fazer tal cousa” (“Your Highness cannot do such a thing”), Pedro orders his men to dig out Inês's coffin. He himself throws aside the rotting boards and after a brief hesitation, removes the lace that covers her face. The medium shot on the dead Inês is held for a few seconds; her head is wrapped in a white hood, her face as if petrified, more reminiscent of a well-weathered bust than a decomposing skull. The next scene is the procession that carries Inês, in her open coffin covered with rich heavy fabric, to Alcobaça and the tomb that has been built for her. All are present, including the Mother Abbess who comments loudly that Dom Pedro could never have married Dona Inês because of their close family ties. But Pedro produces a document that declares the opposite and legitimizes their union and their children. He ends with, “Dona Inês de Castro é minha mulher e Rainha de Portugal” (“Dona Inês de Castro is my wife and Queen of Portugal”). In a long shot, a bishop enters with a crown on a cushion that he waves over Inês's head in her open coffin. Pedro forces his subjects to kneel. Inês's face remains covered throughout. Then she is placed in her marble tomb and Pedro dismisses the royal cortège with the words, “Pois sois contentes, haveis uma Rainha” (“Be glad, you have a Queen”), echoing Inês's brother who early in the film predicts, “Haveis de ser Rainha” (“You shall be Queen”). Alone, Pedro rests his head peacefully against her feet – Inês's sculpted figure, so like her image in death, is not shown – and then strides down the majestic nave of the cathedral, his royal mantle flowing open like wings.

As in the final scene of Leitão de Barros's *Inês de Castro*, this conflation of marriage and funeral confers upon Inês an ambiguous status. Louise Fradenburg notes that, “through marriage the queen is anointed, set apart from other women, at once made and recognized as extraordinary”,<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> Fradenburg cites Georges Bataille's distinction of “‘heterogeneity’ (the sovereign's need to be different from his subjects, to be extraordinary, excessive, dangerous) and ‘homogeneity’ (the sovereign's need to be the same as his subjects, to be ordinary, proper, law-abiding)” (3).

and initiates a paradoxical relationship with the people (81). She is no longer a site of identification with the nation and subject because she is a sovereign, but to the king she must “be theorized both as sovereign subject and object, both capable of choice *and* bound, made captive, by consent” (81). Of course, Inês cannot technically be said to have consented to this marriage ceremony – though the private ritual with Pedro was consensual – because she is dead and this puts her subject position in question. However, the fact that she is dead also confounds her gender position as neither masculine nor feminine and blurs the lines between subject and object. Fradenburg suggests that this plasticity of gender makes the sovereign exclusive and “often takes the form of an extraordinary body or sexuality” (2). And what could be more extraordinary than a dead body that marries and becomes sovereign? As John Carmi Parsons observes in his study of ritual and symbol in medieval queenship, the queen is the focus of ritual when she marries and when she dies and “the funerary use of a queen’s wedding mantle links the beginning and end of queenship” (68-69). In the case of Oliveira’s Inês, the official wedding and funeral are simultaneously held and the changes to the status of the illegitimate noblewoman are overwhelming. “The queen’s prescribed isolation from her husband’s public authority” (ibid) could not be more keenly felt. She is to reign as a silent, but transcendent being, both subject and...abject.

### 3.4 Whence a Feminist Inês?

The representation of Inês de Castro in extant national feature films is complicated by a feminist reading which, after Irigaray and Kuhn’s “feminine relation to language”, produces meanings that challenge the dominant cinematic form and narrative. Both *Inês de Castro* and *Inês de Portugal* are firmly rooted in masculinist discourses supported by the source material and the canonized history of the eternal love of Pedro and Inês. These historical reconstitutions restrict a revisioning of the events and of the protagonists, but each one bends to political and socio-cultural demands of their times. José Leitão de Barros’s film, produced under a national propaganda program and a treaty of friendship with Spain is based on a contemporary novel that demonizes Inês as a carnal temptress but visualizes the heroine as innocent and remorseful. José Carlos de Oliveira’s feature is based on the chronicles of medieval Kings written decades after the events but creates a lively and passionate Inês and entertains a homoerotic storyline that has

been much in vogue in the late twentieth- and twenty-first-centuries.<sup>289</sup> In both films Inês has some narrative and formal agency but it is in death that she is ultimately empowered. Her tomb stands today as a testament to her Queenly status and the inscription on Pedro's tomb, "Até ao fim do mundo" ("Until the end of the world")<sup>290</sup> suggests they are waiting to be re-united, forever present in the cultural imaginary, forever hovering as metaphysical entities of the national project. Both films end in the Monastery of Alcobaça, in the nave where the tombs are found and visually declare that this is the site where Inês reigns supreme as Queen of Portugal, legitimate and Portuguese.

There is, however, an emerging cultural product where Inês appears as a moving image for popular consumption that vies with the feature films as the iconic cinematic representation of the Dead Queen: YouTube student videos about the love of Inês and Pedro. Elizabeth A. Ford and Deborah C. Mitchell's *Royal Portraits in Hollywood: Filming the Lives of Queens* details society's preoccupation with queens' lives on film and the filmic representation of the historical sovereign. Their research questions,

What slice of the life do film biographers choose to tell? Which events are treated, which deleted? Does the film chronology mirror or depart from the life's time line? Are fictional scenes added? If so, how do these affect the overall subject? We do not intend to coronate films that slavishly follow their sources, but we are interested in recognizing the spin of creative license. How far is too far from established truth? What responsibility does an auteur have to the life held up for viewer's pleasure? (6)

apply as much to a professional director's as to an amateur videographer's vision of Inês de Castro and problematize how the cinematic image replaces other imagined renderings of the historical figure.

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<sup>289</sup> See footnote 283.

<sup>290</sup> This is the popular interpretation of the phrase that is carved on the tomb but see António de Vasconcelos, *Inês de Castro: Estudo para uma serie de lições no curso de história de Portugal*, Porto: Edições Marques Abreu, 1928 and Serafím Moralejo, "El 'Texto' Alcobacense sobre los Amores de D. Pedro y D<sup>a</sup> Inês", in *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, Vol. I, Sessões Plenárias, Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1991, for alternative readings.

To complete the filmography of Inês de Castro in the introduction to this chapter, which, in listing first film then television, has organized itself in decreasing order of screen size, I now turn to the smallest of screens, the computer,<sup>291</sup> for it is on the internet that an abundance of Inesian videos exists and where a great variety of figurations of the Dead Queen may be found. In the past year alone, there were over ten blog and YouTube postings of the story of Inês and Pedro as it is imagined by students in Brazil and Portugal. Responding to homework assignments in Portuguese history or literature courses, primary and secondary school students engage with the love story, creating filmed playlets or short films. Although these are filmic texts created by amateurs and the image and sound quality is often very poor, I believe this is the area where the moving image and the visualization of Inês de Castro is having the most impact. Compare, for example, the number of views for *Inês de Portugal* in about two years, 23,834,<sup>292</sup> and a student film with shaky camerawork, teenagers in ragtag costumes and wigs, and arias from Bizet's *Carmen* as background music, 6,554 in five years.<sup>293</sup> Multiply the last figure by twenty, which is a modest estimate of school plays and films that have been posted to YouTube, and you have about 130,000 viewings of student-made Inesian videos, far surpassing the number of viewers of the feature film. Even acknowledging that this is a very informal poll and that viewings could be a one second visit to the page, the estimate is impressive and justifies a brief analysis of the various representations of Inês on internet sites. In the following, I consider a few YouTube videos made by Brazilian and Portuguese students that each tell the familiar story in a unique way, taking varying degrees of poetic license with their sources, the medieval period and the medieval woman. I will start with three Brazilian videos that are both original and irreverent.

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<sup>291</sup> This is an observation of my organization of filmic material that is ultimately hierarchical. However, at the time of this writing, such rapid changes in monitor size and viewing choices are occurring that this neat division of cinema/television/computer is quickly becoming irrelevant. Many people are watching films and television on the computer that may or may not boast a monitor the size of a television screen or even a small movie screen, not to mention the proliferation of tablets and cellphones that are used to screen films. Perhaps the real division can be ascribed to budgetary restraints though I cannot confirm that the Portuguese low budget feature film *Inês de Portugal* had more funding than the sumptuous French television film, *La Reine Morte*. Another distinction that can be drawn between the Inesian feature films and TV, and the YouTube videos that I have chosen to describe is professional/amateur.

<sup>292</sup> Web. Feb. 26, 2014. <[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W2\\_fhIFtBQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W2_fhIFtBQ)>.

<sup>293</sup> "D. Pedro and D. Inês de Castro", setting unknown but likely in Portugal. Web. Feb. 26, 2014. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TLzYX4ZmEwY&feature=fvsr>>.

The first features a teenage girl sitting in her room speaking directly to the camera in close-up, and in the first person as Inês.<sup>294</sup> She titles the video “A Minha Versão ;D” (“My Version ;D”) and in the caption states that it is an assignment in “Intertextual Relations in Portuguese Literature,” acknowledges her friends, and thanks her dog for not barking while she filmed. Her monologue is in a colloquial language, at times dismissive, and even sarcastic where Constança is mentioned, commenting on the events in a distanced way. And although she is wearing glasses and a t-shirt, making no attempt at historical reconstitution, and adopting an offhand tone, she has the same objective as Garcia de Resende’s Inês, who is resurrected to tell her story to the ladies of the court to prove her innocence. She laments her illegitimate status even though her father was “um nobre galego cheio de grana” (“a filthy rich Galician nobleman”), and defends the love she and Pedro shared as innocent, “Não creio que tenhamos cometido nenhum erro” (“I don’t think we did anything wrong”). This young woman also laments that “o povo me odiava” (“the people hated me”) once again placing Inês, and her private love for Pedro, in the public domain, and, as Cristina Segura suggests, transgressing the medieval gender role to which she has been assigned and becoming a “bad” woman (54). By incarnating Inês, this teenager at once resurrects the misogynist commonplace that honours the private woman while maligning the public one, and, by posting a video of herself in a private place, her bedroom, in a public internet forum, YouTube, challenges this very dictum. Nonetheless, her innocent remark about having done nothing wrong demonstrates Inês’s unexpected transition from the private to the public realm and its dire consequences. Like in Resende and Ferreira, “the people” clamour for Inês’s death and she is sacrificed for the good of the Kingdom. Finally though, this girl echoes Resende’s poet who glorifies Inês’s death, declaring that if she hadn’t been killed there would be no story to tell.<sup>295</sup>

The second Brazilian student video is set in the present, made by Amanda Fideles with a group of students from the Colégio Adventista of Cidade Ademar.<sup>296</sup> They have adapted the story from Canto III of *Os Lusíadas* but have set it in São Paulo, overtly calling it “Inês de Castro e D.

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<sup>294</sup> Web. Feb. 26, 2014. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjK4LmnZY3o>>.

<sup>295</sup> One wonders if the study of intertextuality in her course includes Resende’s ballad, and if this monologue is a very loose adaptation of the same.

<sup>296</sup> Web. Feb. 26, 2014. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pFU2lo0qhuA>>. Cidade Ademar is a suburb of São Paulo.

Pedro, Século 21” (“Century 21”). A poor migrant woman, Inês, who has lived in the *favela* since coming to the city, ends up working for a rich banking family;<sup>297</sup> she and the son, Pedro, who is married to Constança, fall in love. Bruno Mars’s “Talkin’ to the Moon” plays as Inês and Pedro drop their tray and newspaper respectively and realize they are in love. Constança dies in childbirth and Pedro tells his father Afonso he wants to marry Inês. Afonso is enraged, “Aquele empregada?” (“That maid?”), and sets his goons on Inês; she is holding a baby and has a young daughter who begs for mercy. The goons, played by tough ’hood girls, stab Inês and slash her daughter’s throat. The rest of the story, Pedro’s revenge and Inês’s entombment is told in intertitles with the poignant cover of “Somewhere Over the Rainbow” by the late Israel Kamakawiwo’ole playing the ukulele.<sup>298</sup> The cast, as in all the Brazilian student videos, is multi-racial, but only in this one are Inês and Pedro played by black actors, a truly postcolonial approach. Although this particular version of the story is set in the twenty-first century, one is reminded of Farmer and Pasternak’s study of the fluidity and multiplicity of gendered identities in the Middle Ages and how they intersect with social status, religion and sexuality (xi). The matrices of domination<sup>299</sup> explored by the authors as a site for the construction of gender are illustrated here with the class difference between Inês and Pedro, and the race difference between Inês and Constança. No longer a noblewoman, Inês serves Constança and the family and it is while she is literally serving Pedro a drink that he falls in love with her. He, engaged in the manly ritual of reading the newspaper, discards it as she also discards her service instruments. When Afonso learns of Pedro’s intent to marry Inês, he asks what he’ll get for it, foregrounding the materiality of their union. The masculinist posturing that follows is only challenged by the sex of the goons he employs: they are girls but sufficiently masculinized (i.e. they dress as boys and play the conventional heavies of ’hood films) to do the job of killing Inês and her children.

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<sup>297</sup> A Portuguese-Spanish short film, “Inês de Castro” (2000), directed by Grandela tells a similarly class-based tale founded on Inesian lore: The son of an industrial magnate falls in love with a female factory worker; the shareholders intervene and endanger the couple (ICAM catalogue, 1999/2000). Unfortunately, I have not been able to screen the film.

<sup>298</sup> It is intriguing that both the extradiegetic songs are by Hawaiian singers, yet another postcolonial aspect of this student project.

<sup>299</sup> Issues of oppression based on race, class and gender as per the integrative feminism of the third wave; see, for example, Patricia Hills Collins’ *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, New York, London : Routledge, 2009.

Inês's portrayal as a mother in the last scene further genders the interaction but does not erase the class-based matrix of domination through which the episode is streamed.

The third example of a video by Brazilian students narrates the story as in medieval times, with Princes and Princesses, Knights and Ladies, but the characters are in modern summer clothes with girls who play male characters wearing blazers and make-up as facial hair; the setting is a working class neighbourhood of low-rise buildings and adjoining fields.<sup>300</sup> Pedro is played by a girl and the girl who plays Inês shows a hyper femininity perhaps to emphasize the sex difference. She giggles coyly, flings her bag away in mock abandon, places a flower behind her ear, etc. But Pedro does not indulge in macho posturing; both he and Inês skip like children and dance exuberantly to the pop song "In a Perfect World" by Filipino singer Toni Gonzaga. An intercut slide of a castle reminds us we are in medieval times and when Pedro tells Inês he's married she says laughingly, "Ó Pedro, não tem problema, eu não tenho ciúmes!" ("It's not a problem, I'm not the jealous type!"). In this re-telling of the story, Pedro and Inês are white, Afonso and Constança are black. The story continues to its inevitable end with the singular variation that Pedro avenges Inês's death by killing his father, King Afonso.

All three of these Brazilian videos are extremely playful and present a great contrast to the student videos made in Portugal, which are earnest in their attempts to reconstruct medieval language, setting and behaviour. The result is a scenario of authentic castles and cathedrals (which Portugal has in abundance) and period costumes but wooden acting as the students struggle with medieval texts. They are reverent of the material but fail to engage meaningfully with the eternal love proclaimed in the texts. Nonetheless, a two-part video by Escola E.B. 2,3 of Ceira, Coimbra with commentary by two students on a rooftop basketball court has had about 8000 viewings in two years.<sup>301</sup> The story follows Barros's film with Pedro mistaking Inês for Constança in their first meeting and Inês blaming herself as a sinner and traitor and sending Pedro off to his lawful wife; still, Dom Afonso calls her demonic. How different this is from the Brazilian girl who embraces adultery because she's not the jealous type! The students are dressed

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<sup>300</sup> Posted in May 2012, it is a good example of the "historical" story; by ETEC Ângelo Cavalheiro. Web. Feb. 26, 2014. < <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aRpe9Z296eY>>.

<sup>301</sup> 8,270 views. Web. Feb. 26, 2014. < <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qQOEz-7PfvS&feature=related> > and 5,718 views. Web. Feb. 26, 2014. < <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Huf3PckHVUM&feature=plcp>>.

in rich velvets and satins, stand in front of images of gorgeous medieval architecture and speak a formal medieval Portuguese but fail to stir the emotions. It is a museumification of the tale of Inês. There is a nod to modern love with a final shot of Inês and Pedro in modern dress sitting on a bench overlooking Coimbra and with Pedro Abrunhosa's "Beijo" playing over the credits. But this alleged adaptation of María Pilar Queralt del Hierro's novel *Inês de Castro* and Ferreira's *Castro*, is pedantic and slow-moving. Another Portuguese video with almost 5000 viewings in three years is by the Escola Básica José Afonso de Alhos Vedros and it is filmed on location in the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos in Lisbon; the students again attempt medieval costumes and language.<sup>302</sup> One enthusiastic viewer praises the youth's interest in Portuguese history but questions whether the costumes are not more similar to those of Russian princesses. Again, the acting is stiff and ineffectual but the cast is multi-racial, which shows some flexibility in casting. There is also a rap song by the students on the school's YouTube page<sup>303</sup> which indicates how they want to tell the story: five female students, black and white, keep the beat with a chorus that urges Inês and Pedro to declare their passion, and a black male student raps verses that sum up the Camonian episode. This, however, is not part of the main video that remains a flat, unimpassioned representation of Inesian lore.

This small sample of student videos demonstrates two main points. First, the figuration of Inês is fluid: she is represented physically as brunette, blonde and black and her personality ranges from silly to self-blaming to dignified. The degree of femininity displayed by the character is stressed in the video where Pedro is also played by a girl and Inês is hyper feminine to compensate, though, as I observed, "he", in a masquerade of femininity, also skips and dances in an unmasculine manner. Another common feminizing trait is the long hair of the heroine, though, again, because Pedro is played by a girl or sports a medieval hairstyle, his hair is also long. In the Portuguese videos the students stand statically with their arms at their sides, so stiff and uncomfortable that their non-gesturality defies an identification of feminine/masculine traits. As for Inês's agency in these videos, the teenage girl's monologue demonstrates full control of her situation; she uses the intertextuality demanded by her course to create an original autobiography

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<sup>302</sup> 5,609 views. Web. Feb. 26, 2014.

<[http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&v=JWM6\\_KynOwM&NR=1](http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&v=JWM6_KynOwM&NR=1)>

<sup>303</sup> 1,597 views. Web. Feb. 26, 2014. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9aOSM-2siZc>>.

that she literally incorporates. She is an Inês who writes, directs and performs herself, though her words are rooted in male-authored works of the sixteenth century. The Inês and Pedro played by the girls who giggle and skip together, and are mutually active as letter writers when forced apart, show an egalitarian approach to the characters where both the protagonists are subjects. In contrast, the Portuguese videos give agency to the voice of authority which, in one, is the teacher reading out the ensuing acts and scenes, in another the canonized literary text which they have memorized; all of the participants are objectified here. This leads to my second point: that the Portuguese youth are loathe to challenge the master narrative of history and produce dry, didactic narratives while the Brazilian students are fresh and creative with their versions of the story. The nationalistic objective that drives the Portuguese students' Inesian video projects is evident in their reticence to place the story in another time and place from that in which history occurred and reflect the national feature films made about Inês and Pedro (as noted above); the first scene of the two-part video by the students from Coimbra is modelled on the Barros film. The video shot in the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos, inspired the following turgid comment.

Dá consolo e alento ver que nem tudo está mau no reino de Portugal! Continuamos a ter gente nova a aprender e a GOSTAR das estórias da nossa história! Enquanto este lume arder temos esperança!

It is consoling and encouraging to see that not all is bad in the kingdom of Portugal! We continue to have young people learning and LIKING the stories of our history! While this flame burns we have hope!<sup>304</sup>

The reference to Portugal as a kingdom, though ironic, signals the desire to maintain national borders, and the pride in youth the hope that they will guarantee this. Reconstituting, not reconstructing, history becomes the instrument of the national project, indoctrinating the participants and, presumably, the thousands of viewers reached by a YouTube posting.

The Portuguese students would do well to view the work of their Brazilian colleagues, consider the postcolonial world they also inhabit, and entertain a fluid conception of historical truth. This

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<sup>304</sup> Web. Feb. 26, 2014. <[http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&v=JWM6\\_KynOwM&NR=1](http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&v=JWM6_KynOwM&NR=1)>.

is challenging, however, when they are steeped in the pedagogy of a national project which reproduces the master narrative and promotes inflexible and hierarchical binary dualisms of man/woman, masculine/feminine, public/private, etc. It is almost certain that the Portuguese students' models for their video creations are the cultural products of a Portuguese nationalist discourse which reconstructs historical episodes, like Leitão de Barros's *Inês de Castro*, made at the height of fascist nation-building, and José Carlos de Oliveira's *Inês de Portugal*, with its millennial anxieties.

At the time of this writing a third Inesian feature film is planned<sup>305</sup> and since it is an adaptation<sup>306</sup> of Rosa Lobato Faria's *A Trança de Inês (Inês's Braid)*, the extraordinary novel that transgresses time and space to bring us three Pedros and three Inêses, we expect that it will circumvent previous historical fictions and, like some of the student videos online, irreverently "depart from the life's time line" (Ford and Mitchell 6) and the canonized history to include scenes which figure the female protagonist as subject. Faria's post-structuralist re-telling of the story places Inês and Pedro in medieval, twentieth- and twenty-second-century Portugal, probing the timelessness of passion and of existence itself. Director António Ferreira of Persona Non Grata Pictures has created a fundraising trailer that shows Catarina Wallenstein as Inês, a beautiful young woman with full lips, a clear complexion and soft eyes; she is shown as playful and loving. Her death in the fourteenth and twentieth centuries is crosscut with a medieval hunt, as in Leitão de Barros's classic. In this version, Pedro spears a boar as Inês is stabbed (fourteenth century) or shot (twentieth century). An image of the gored boar is immediately followed by Inês's medieval assassin pulling a dagger from her bleeding corpse and her lifeless body in a car. The trailer is a prototype of the film and Ferreira has made it very much Pedro's story, true to the first-person narration of Faria's Pedro(s).<sup>307</sup> This Inês will not, like Garcia de Resende's creation, usurp the narrative to tell her story.

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<sup>305</sup> I am also aware that Alice de Sousa, author and producer of Galleon Theatre's *Inês de Castro*, has created a film treatment of the play but has not granted permission for its use in this dissertation. For more information, see <http://www.galleontheatre.co.uk/images/ines%20de%20castro%20synopsis.pdf>.

<sup>306</sup> Glória Ferreira, Inesian film scholar and cousin of the director, notes it is the first adaptation of a single literary text (1).

<sup>307</sup> Other details, however, like the boar hunt, are not from the novel.

Glória Ferreira, in her brief paper on the Inesian myth in Portuguese cinema, notes that a decentralization of Inês's protagonism is indicated by the titles of the feature films, *Inês de Castro*, *Inês de Portugal* and the television series, *Pedro e Inês*, with the figure of Pedro progressively becoming the focus of the narrative, as happened in Inesian literature approaching the twentieth century (12). The degree of Inês's centrality in the feature films is debateable since, as I have shown above, it depends on a reading that conforms to or departs from the "preferred" or dominant reading, and both film titles privilege Inês's character while the narrative privileges Pedro's story after her death. Nonetheless, it is an interesting observation that leads me to comment on the title of António Ferreira's forthcoming film project, *A Trança de Inês*. No longer is Inês "de Castro", the woman, or "de Portugal", the myth, protagonized, but the *braid* of Inês becomes the metonymic representation of the Dead Queen. In the twenty-first century we apparently travel full circle to arrive at the blazon concept of medieval times. Or do we? For if the film is true to the spirit of the novel, then Inês's braid has an alternative and superior function. Pedro, instead of using the braid<sup>308</sup> to objectify or show possession of Inês, metaphorically endows it with the power to connect time and timelessness.

[E]ra a tua trança que entretecia o tempo, que ligava as eras, que atava os amantes de todas as idades da terra, que dava sentido à minha história de peregrino das paixões intemporais. A tua trança. A tua trança, Inês. (Faria 158).

[I]t was your braid that interwove time, that connected eras, that tied lovers of all ages on earth, that gave meaning to my story of pilgrim of timeless passions. Your braid. Your braid, Inês.

We await the release of *A Trança de Inês* to potentially discover Inês as subject.

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<sup>308</sup> On the symbolism of women's hair see, for example, Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger, *Off with her Head: The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion and Culture*, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1995

## Chapter 4

### 4 Inesian Stagings in the Twenty-First Century

#### 4.1 Performing Inês de Castro

In the twenty-first century, theatre artists continue to be fascinated and inspired by the tragic story of the Dead Queen and regularly produce narratives that reinvent this medieval woman for our time. The student YouTube videos discussed in the previous chapter are mostly short films shot on location, presumably without a live audience, but several others posted in the last few years are videos of live performances of the story of Inês and Pedro in classrooms or school auditoriums in Lusophone countries.<sup>309</sup> Because the Inesian episode is first studied in primary school in Portugal as part of the history class curriculum and later in literature classes (mainly in Camões' *Os Lusíadas*, Canto III), the school dramatizations of Inês's life and death are numerous.<sup>310</sup> Community theatre, university drama clubs and festivals, and professional companies likewise transpose the Inesian myth to the stage regularly and frequently; bold and startling adaptations of the legend of Inês and Pedro have emerged. In musical theatre, for example, *Inês*,<sup>311</sup> a chamber opera set in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community in the 1960's, and *Tale of Coimbra*,<sup>312</sup> a spectacularly kitsch Japanese all-woman revue with Inês and Pedro in the midst of an eighteenth-century pirate conspiracy, are unique interpretations of the story and of Inês de Castro herself: the first is a *femme fatale* and the second a wide-eyed *manga-*

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<sup>309</sup> Web. June 24, 2013. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VOg7VDmkNbo&feature=endscreen&NR=1>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&NR=1&v=sd96axN4GmQ>> or <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jP5mhrMqVWo>>.

<sup>310</sup> As mentioned in 1.1.2, my own nephew played one of Inês's assassins in an outdoor school performance when he was eight years old.

<sup>311</sup> Created in 2008 by the musical theatre company, The Queen of Puddings.

<sup>312</sup> Produced in 2010 by the Takarazuka Revue.

like Inês.<sup>313</sup> As the body of Inesian works continues to grow,<sup>314</sup> the many representations of the Dead Queen in the theatre contribute to the construction of the mythical Inês in surprising ways.

This chapter examines the embodiment of Inês de Castro in live performance in five diverse settings since the turn of the century: in Portugal on a tour by a mainstream company, and in Toronto in professional theatre, at a university drama festival, at the Portuguese Consulate and in a community centre. I have chosen these because they were produced by artists of Portuguese background (or, in the case of Whetstone, engaging with spectators of the Lusophone community), and because I was present as a spectator or actor and rely on an auto-ethnographic approach to conduct self-reflexive analyses.<sup>315</sup> They are: Teatro O Bando's *Pedro e Inês* staged in 2011, Whetstone Theatre's 2001 production of John Clifford's *Inês de Castro*, O Projecto's 2011 *Pedro e Inês de Castro*, and my own 2008 adaptation of Garcia de Resende's *On the Death of Inês de Castro* and original monologue *How She Dies*. The figuration of Inês varies greatly from one production to the next and the degree of agency manifested in each characterization fluctuates, sometimes within a single performance. For the purposes of this inquiry, I have ordered the performances as least to most efficacious for a feminist theatre. As with the analyses of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literary texts and the twentieth-century films of the previous chapters, the live performances of Inês de Castro can be read through a feminist lens, whether they are produced by feminist artists or not. The centrality of the argument here is, again, how Inês is embodied and how she functions within the performance in relation to agency,

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<sup>313</sup> I was a spectator at the first and screened a DVD of the second. I am also aware of several other Inesian theatre productions since the year 2000 but have only basic production details about each one: 2003, *Inês de Castro* by Alice de Sousa, Galleon Theatre, London, UK; 2005, *Os Assassinos de Inês de Castro*, by Núcleo 1408, Brazil, about the assassins; 2006, a monologue by Maria Estela Guedes, *A Boba*, with the story told from the point-of-view of a little person in the employ of Dona Beatriz (Pedro's mother) who believes she is responsible for the ills that befall Inês; 2009, a Russian historical play, *Molokh Liubvi* (Moloch of Love), by the Gorki Literature Institute in Moscow; 2010, *Inês de Castro, até ao fim do mundo* by Grupo Dragão7, Brasil; 2011, *Ardente, Memorial para Pedro e Inês de Portugal* by ACTA, A Companhia de Teatro do Algarve, director Leszek Mądzik. Web. June 27, 2013. <[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1sFc\\_2X9Tw](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1sFc_2X9Tw)>, <<http://nucleo1408.blogspot.ca/2008/06/os-assassinos-de-ins-de-castro.html>>, <[http://triplov.com/estela\\_guedes/Boba/prefacio.html](http://triplov.com/estela_guedes/Boba/prefacio.html)>, <<http://estudantesdemoscovo.blogspot.ca/2009/11/peca-inspirada-nos-amores-de-pedro-e.html>>, <<http://www.dragao7.com.br/Espet%C3%A1culos.php>>, and <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8DF4oMpptII>>.

<sup>314</sup> Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa's comprehensive study of 1987 had a second edition in 2004 with 38 additions to the literature section.

<sup>315</sup> I will consider the performances I have experienced as primary sources and interviews, reviews, photos or videos as secondary sources.

sexuality, feminine/masculine role-playing, nation, *saudade*, and/or the spectacle of her death. I look at possible readings of the literary text sources and explore the result of the performer as signifier within the theatrical mise-en-scène.

Considering the pioneering texts of feminist theatre history and theory as a foundation for this discussion, it is crucial to differentiate between the reading of feminist work, where the construction of the female subject is explicit, and that of male-authored work with an overt masculinist ideology, or, as is the case with Clifford, a pro-feminist outlook.<sup>316</sup> Moreover, if the feminist project is to uncover or create female agency in the theatre, then a fluid definition of “author” must also be entertained. Elaine Aston’s notion of “analysing the female performer as the author of a potentially subversive theatrical site/sight in mainstream historical stages” is particularly relevant (*Feminism and Theatre* 32). Aston spurns the doctrine of the author as authority to embrace the multi-authored possibility of theatre and position the female actor as “creator of an ‘alternative’ text to the male-authored stage picture in which she is ‘framed’” (32). She uses this primarily for reinstating the power and importance of female stage stars of centuries past whose work survives only in paintings, photos or playbills (after Bassnett, Booth and Stokes’ comprehensive studies of Sarah Bernhardt, Helen Terry and Eleonora Duse) (33).

Those sign systems which make up the ‘alternative’ text and might be historically reconstructed include: the signs which are generated by the physical attributes of the performer (facial features, height, body size, colouring, hair, ethnicity, etc.); the artifice of self-presentation according to codes of theatrical convention (e.g. costuming, make-up, etc.); the ‘star’ signs, whether professional (association with a type of role, style of performance, theatrical management, etc.) or personal (association with a particular lifestyle, lover, political cause, etc); the gestural signs (style and

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<sup>316</sup> See especially: Joan Templeton, *Ibsen’s Women*, Cambridge University Press, 1997; Tracy C. Davis, *George Bernard Shaw and the Socialist Theatre*, Greenwood Press, 1994; and Elin Diamond, ‘Brechtian theory/feminist theory: towards a gestic feminist criticism’, *The Drama Review*, 32, no. 1 (1988), pp. 82–94. I have also found useful Gay Gibson Cima’s *Performing Women: Female Characters, Male Playwrights, and the Modern Stage* on selected plays’ “potential political efficacy for feminists”(2), and Kate Smith’s “Medea Embodied” which problematizes the repositioning of female performer and spectator in late twentieth-century British productions/adaptations of Euripides’ text (306).

systems of facial and body movements, etc; the vocal signs (vocal range, techniques and conventions of delivery, patterns of intonation, etc.). (32)

Aston's methodology is especially valuable because until the 1990's there was a dearth of analyses of "performative strategies" and many investigations of theatre practice continue to defer to the literary text (S.E. Case *Performing Feminisms* 2). It is admittedly challenging to write on performance without referencing the literary source – in my case studies I have relied on the written texts for line citations and engage in lengthy comparisons between authorial and directorial themes – but one must necessarily resist privileging the playtext (with its potential canonical authority) to consider the actual woman on stage in relation to spectatorial presence. In this way, a connection may be forged between a social movement (feminism) and what Sue- Ellen Case suggests is "the pleasure of a historical moment, a material condition moving within the gestures of the stage and the dynamics of performative forms" (4).

In the overtly feminist work examined in the last section of this chapter, Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity can work in tandem to determine *how* theatrical signs carried out by the female actor construct the subject. As discussed in Chapter 2.2, a deliberate performance of transvestism, foregrounds the construction of gender and parodies the authoritarian masculinist discourse in which Inês (and the performer) is situated. If the performance of gender is a "stylized repetition of acts" then "the cultural practices of drag [and] cross-dressing" are subjective acts because they do not repeat as expected (*Gender Trouble* 140-141). In my performance of Resende's Dona Inês, the character inhabits the "bodies" of her male oppressors to challenge the dominant subject position and gain agency.

These approaches open up the possibilities of a pluralistic reading where gender is concerned and avoid rendering the performance text as fixed. Considering the theatricality of the Inesian text in a woman-centered context and its semiotic slant foregrounds the significance of the codes carried by the female body on stage and their subjectivising function, both in performance and in a socio-political milieu.

## 4.2 Teatro O Bando's Portuguese-Russian Dead Queen: The Prey

A radical representation of Inês de Castro in twenty-first-century Portuguese theatre was manifested in the 2011 Teatro O Bando production of *Pedro e Inês*,<sup>317</sup> co-produced by the prestigious Fundação Centro Cultural de Belém and part of the Commemorations of the 650th Anniversary of the Transfer of the Body of Dona Inês de Castro from Coimbra to Alcobça. This embodiment of Inês was unlike any ever seen or imagined: she was highly sexualized in action and costume, a raw animal presence that suggested her permanent status as prey; in death she was equally objectified, her corpse and face physically manipulated to give orders voiced by another woman. The promising gender-bending<sup>318</sup> script by Miguel Jesus, *Inês Morre (Inês Dies)*, was staged by Russian director Anatoly Praudin as a masculinist romp giving Inês little agency and a scant chance of appearing as subject. This recent incarnation is less efficacious for feminism than Garcia de Resende's five hundred year old ballad, but it merits close analysis for two reasons: first, the script's Inês is a strong character who shall not be thrown out with the proverbial bathwater because of the less than ideal performative transformation; second, *Pedro e Inês* is a stunning mainstream production by established artists that contributes substantially to the figuration of Inês in twenty-first century Portugal.<sup>319</sup> In this analysis, several questions arise: why retell the story of Inês and Pedro and why choose an outsider to lead a project about a domestic historical concern? how is a national (female) icon like Inês staged by a foreign (male)

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<sup>317</sup> With the following creative team and cast: director, Anatoly Praudin; artistic coordination, João Brites; musical composition, Jorge Salgueiro; set design, Rui Francisco; costume and prop design, Clara Bento; lighting design, João Cachulo; video, Artica (André Almeida e Guilherme Martins); dramaturg, Odette Bereska; Inês: Susana Blazer; Pedro: Miguel Borges; Afonso: Horácio Manuel; Pacheco: Ivo Alexandre; Coelho: Estêvão Antunes; Teresa: Sara de Castro; Chorypheus: Helena Afonso. I attended a performance on April 21, 2011 at the Estarreja Municipal Theatre during a national tour of the play.

<sup>318</sup> As I shall discuss later, characters role-play the opposite gender in imagined scenarios.

<sup>319</sup> A third reason, of a personal nature, exists: Teatro O Bando is the Portuguese theatre company where I worked as a young actor. There, I learned how to de-mythologize and demystify national heroes, thrilled to challenge reverential representations of royalty and nobility and celebrate the active contribution of the common people to history. My North American socialist-feminism, however, clashed with the Maoist politics of the group. Like the plays produced in the early eighties, in my view, *Pedro e Inês* ruthlessly questions historical truth but ignores gender politics.

director? how does this affect the premiere staging of an insider's version of the story and the figuration of Inês in the Portuguese cultural imaginary? how does the production design, and in particular the O Bando trademark 'scenic machine' with its polysemic qualities, affect the site/sight of the female characters and vie with them as a sign of power? and, finally, how can the distance between text and performance be measured through an analysis of female subjectivity?

Teatro O Bando, founded in 1974, is one of the oldest cultural cooperatives of Portugal, renowned for its unique aesthetic and intense connection with its communities. What started as a touring popular theatre company for Children and Young People<sup>320</sup> directed by artists who had been in exile prior to the Revolution of 1974, has grown into a prolific theatremaking venture with a marked international reputation: a promotional brochure issued in 2010 counts 100 productions, 4,500 performances and 1,300,000 spectators. The art of O Bando centers on nationally produced texts, be they ancient documents or contemporary poetry and novels, and on a design that incorporates an action-engendering, polysemic "scenic machine" in each play.<sup>321</sup> João Brites, director since its inception, is the preeminent artist associated with the group and responsible for its abstract visual conceptions and dense textual creations. Today, Teatro O Bando has its headquarters near Palmela, in a valley of olive trees, Vale dos Barris. It works closely with the municipal government of Palmela, coordinating festivals like Pino do Verão (The Height of Summer), and staging epic productions with the participation of hundreds of local artists, site specific creations on the hills of the castle or the meandering steep streets of the town, and mainstage shows that are co-produced with Lisbon theatres or cultural centres.<sup>322</sup>

In May 2009, Teatro O Bando conducted a series of workshops for A Escola da Noite in Coimbra and invited Anatoly Praudin, artistic director of the Experimental Stage of Baltic House, Saint Petersburg, and the German dramaturg Odette Bereska to join them with a view to

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<sup>320</sup> Teatro para a Infância e Juventude, or TYA, Theater for Young Audiences.

<sup>321</sup> See *O Bando: Máquinas de Cena/Scene Machines*, Campo das Letras, 2005 and Filipa Malva's "Theatre for All: the Scenic Contraption in the Work of O Bando", 2010. Web. July 1, 2013. <<http://coimbra.academia.edu/FilipaMalva/Papers/623859/>>. Also, <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teatro\\_o\\_Bando](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teatro_o_Bando)> and <<http://www.obando.pt/pt/o-bando/exposicao-ao-relento/>>.

<sup>322</sup> In my frequent trips to Portugal over the past twenty years, I have seen several creations by Teatro O Bando and followed its development.

their future collaboration in the international production of *Pedro e Inês* in 2011 (“Teatro: Residência”). At the time, they visited the locales of the historical events – Quinta das Lágrimas in Coimbra, Mosteiro de Alcobaça and Montemor-o-Velho – and presumably saw representations of Inês in painting, sculpture and popular artifacts that informed their interpretation. One may even speculate that the romanticized version of the story presented as tourist fare produced a counter-interpretation. For example, in shops near the tombs in Alcobaça, the calm sculpted face of Inês is replaced by fairy tale renditions of the medieval Lady on dinnerware and T-shirts, or kitsch reproductions of an eighteenth-century portrait that is anachronistic and unattractive.<sup>323</sup> Two years later, director Praudin invented his own Inês, refuting and ignoring previous artistic creations, and even, to a certain extent, the playwright’s text, as I shall discuss below. Praudin unabashedly takes ownership of the story, stating, “This Portugal myth became our myth, our European myth. It’s a very famous myth and it’s not only your story.”<sup>324</sup> His smug smile substantiates the reporter’s comment that one of Portugal’s founding myths has been appropriated by a Russian. It is crucial to note, however, that Teatro O Bando and playwright Miguel Jesus, wanted Praudin’s Russian vision to imbue their production of the Inesian tale.

Já conhecíamos o trabalho de Anatoly através de algumas redes europeias de teatro e surgiu a ideia de fazermos uma coisa muito portuguesa, mas também com um lado de tragédia épica como os textos russos, já que o Anatoly trabalha muito com textos de Brecht e Tolstoi...Queríamos ver como a lenda de Pedro e Inês era abordada por alguém que a desconhecia, de modo a trazer-nos novas interrogações e abrir novas portas sobre esse mito. (“Teatro: O Bando”)

We were familiar with Anatoly’s work via some European theatre networks and an idea emerged of doing something very Portuguese, but also with an aspect of epic tragedy like Russian

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<sup>323</sup> The oft-reproduced portrait described in footnote 35.

<sup>324</sup> Shown on SIC (Sociedade Independente de Comunicação), a private Portuguese television station, on March 15, 2011.

texts, since Anatoly works with the texts of Brecht and Tolstoy... We wanted to see how the legend of Pedro and Inês was approached by someone who was unfamiliar with it in order to bring us new queries and open new doors on that myth.

The new doors opened by Praudin, would, lamentably for the legendary innocent national icon, introduce a stringent “blame-the-victim” premise that the SIC reporter readily embraced for his brief piece on the play’s northern tour, “...e a vítima Inês, até que ponto é responsável pela própria morte?” (“...and the victim Inês, up to what point is she responsible for her own death?”; “Teatro: O Bando”). Miguel Jesus’s play *is* about blame, “de quem pensa a morte, de quem a ordena e de quem a executa” (“of who thinks of [Inês’s] death, who orders it and who executes it”); (“Teatro: O Bando”) but, crucially, his narrative *asks* who is to blame.

CORO: ... Diz-nos, diz-nos, ó cidade demente  
 Qual o sangue culpado, qual o sangue inocente  
 Diz-nos, diz-nos, ó pátria maldita  
 Quanto sangue em ti chora, quanto sangue em ti grita. (16)  
 CHORUS:... Tell us, tell us, oh demented city/ Which blood is  
 guilty, which blood is innocent/ Tell us, tell us, oh accursed  
 homeland/ How much blood cries in you, how much blood in you  
 screams.

This distance between the playwright and the director’s interpretation of the Inesian tale is but one example of how the “Portuguese” subject Inês becomes the “Russian” Other, and it is emblematic of the outsider’s failure to understand the iconic nature of Inês de Castro’s innocence. In the following, I look at the representation and subjectivization of Inês in Jesus’s script and then describe her transformation in performance through movement, voice, and costume.

#### 4.1.1 *Inês Morre*: the literary text

The ambiguous, non-linear, and metaphorical illustrations of love and death in Jesus’s poetic interrogation of the famed historical account, open up the story to many interpretations including one where Inês occupies the subject position and, from the Dead, has a hand in the revenge plot against her assassins. Inês and her lady-in-waiting Teresa are strong female characters whose metatheatrical scenes trump the men’s expositional and plot-driving dialogue. Following in the

tradition of António Ferreira, Jesus omits any scenes between Inês and Pedro thus placing her out of his sight/site and lessening her status as object of his (male) gaze and love. Instead, the subject position is inhabited by both female characters in role-playing games where Inês plays Pedro and Teresa plays Inês. In Jesus's text these scenes connote a continuum where lesbian and heterosexual sexualities playfully interact.<sup>325</sup>

*Inês, Teresa. Preparam-se para representar.*

INÊS: (*Com um pedaço de maçã na mão.*) Muito bem. Façamos como dizes. Põe-te de costas. Ficas assim. Assim. Como eu costume estar. Começas por me perguntar pela caça. E não te esqueças de...

TERESA: Sim, já sei. E a caça, como foi? (39)

*Inês, Teresa. Prepare to act. / INÊS: (Holding an apple section.)*

Alright. Let's do as you say. Turn around. Stay like this. Like this. Like I usually do. You start by asking me about the hunt. And don't forget to.../ TERESA: Yes, I know. And the hunt, how did it go?

Contrary to expectations, Inês is submissive as Pedro and Teresa dominant as Inês. To further confound sex-role types, they playact a scene where Inês ties Pedro up and threatens to slit his throat as he often does to the deer he hunts. The playacting continues after Inês is murdered and in the end, in a theatrical coup, Teresa embodies Inês to occupy her/their rightful place on the throne of Portugal.

Jesus divides his "belo poema épico" ("beautiful epic poem")<sup>326</sup> in neo-classical fashion into three acts of four or five scenes plus decasyllabic chorus speeches. This resembles Ferreira's *Castro* though with fewer acts. The characters, also, are closely matched in both plays. In addition to the main triad of Inês, Pedro and Afonso IV, Jesus's *dramatis personae* include the

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<sup>325</sup> The idea of a continuum of sexuality was first introduced by Adrienne Rich in "Compulsory Heterosexuality and the Lesbian Continuum," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1980, vol. 5 no. 4.

<sup>326</sup> In the words of João Brites, programme notes.

chorus, and the same counsellors, Coelho and Pacheco. The new character, Teresa, replaces the Ferreirian Nurse as Inês's confidant and proves to be much more:

Já Teresa, personagem que faz de dama de companhia de Inês de Castro, resulta da fusão de várias Teresas, entre as quais D. Teresa, mãe de D. João I, futuro rei de Portugal. (“Teatro: O Bando”)  
 Teresa, the character who is Inês's lady-in-waiting, is the result of the fusion of several Teresas, including Dona Teresa, the mother of Dom João I, future King of Portugal.

And it is precisely in the ambiguous, intriguing relationship between Teresa, Inês and Pedro, where Jesus surprises. For if the elements of the plot are overly familiar and bring to mind previous dramatic or cinematic treatments of the legend – Afonso's counsellors persuade him to kill Inês because they believe Pedro has married her and a union with the Spanish Castros will threaten Portugal's independence, Pedro is away hunting when Inês is killed, Inês's body is exhumed, crowned and her decomposing hand is kissed, Pedro exacts revenge on Inês's assassin Coelho by pulling his heart out from the back and biting into it, etc. – the power of Teresa's character and her manipulation of Inês and Pedro make this version of the story unique. As Jesus says, Teresa in part represents the historical Dona Teresa Lourenço – Dom Pedro I's mistress after Inês de Castro and mother to the first King of the dynasty of Avis, Dom João I – with the added twist that in the final scene with Pedro, she becomes Queen while impersonating Inês.

Jesus creates a complex relationship between the two famous mistresses of Pedro I that begins with a pseudo-bucolic scene where the women return from gathering fruit (a feminine parallel to the men's masculine hunt in the previous scene) and Teresa encourages Inês to marry Pedro, telling her the safest place is on the throne. With a symbolic gesture that suggests the original sin, Teresa urges Inês to have a bite of apple but Inês refuses. Is Teresa the serpent in Inês and Pedro's paradise? Is she a Machiavellian character with *her* future gains in mind after Inês's demise? Does she push Inês into danger hoping to take her place? Inês's refusal of the apple is her strongest action against the ambitious machinations of Teresa. The lady-in-waiting predicts that Pedro will not give up Inês's body and she herself takes control as she washes Inês and continues to persuade her to be Queen. (This is analogous to the scene in Oliveira's film where Inês's brothers prod her to seduce Pedro, and suggests that there are always others who have

vested interests in Inês's future power.) Inês agrees but her ambition seems perfunctory, uttered in one and two syllable words following Teresa's articulate speeches.

TERESA: ...Ah, não temas. Se é no trono que se dão à luz as leis,  
que lugar haverá mais seguro do que o trono? Ouve, tal como  
sonhaste, tudo isto há-de ser vosso, há-de ser para sempre teu.

INÊS: Sim, tudo isto será meu. (23)

TERESA: Ah, do not fear. If it is on the throne that laws are born,  
what place can there be safer than the throne? Listen, as you  
dreamed, all this will be yours, will be yours forever. / INÊS: Yes,  
all this will be mine.

Teresa's desire to be in Inês's place is borne out in the following scene between the two women when they role play an established game of 'let's pretend' between Inês and Pedro as the hunter and the hunted involving bondage and sado-masochism. Inês is eating the apple by now and she agrees to "do as [Teresa says]" but because she knows the lines, she directs the scene (see above). In their game, Inês ties Pedro's hands as if he were prey, threatens to slash his throat but cuts herself so Pedro can drink her blood, and finally releases him. The irony in this role swap lies in the fact that by playing Pedro, Inês remains the one who is tied up, the prey, the hunted, and Teresa, playing Inês, is the dominant figure in the sado-masochistic fantasy. Indeed, for the play's theme of predator/prey to succeed, Inês must remain in the site/sight of the passive and Teresa must utter the key phrase, "É o desejo que a besta tem de morrer que a leva ao caçador" ("It is the beast's desire to die that leads it to the hunter"; 41), almost as an incantation. Inês hears her own voice in Teresa's and sees her body in her lady's actions. This playacting between the two women confuses established roles and sets up the final scenes where Inês's corpse issues orders to Pedro to avenge her death. As the stage directions indicate, Teresa manipulates Inês's lifeless body:

*Teresa abre a arca, retira Inês nua e limpa-a.* (54)

*Teresa opens the chest, removes the naked Inês and cleans her up.*

*Teresa veste-a.* (56)

*Teresa dresses her.*

*Teresa coloca Inês à mesa.* (58).

*Teresa places her at the table.*

*Teresa ergue a mão de Inês. (62).*

*Teresa lifts Inês's hand.*

*Teresa alimenta Inês. Inês come vorazmente. (63)*

*Teresa feeds Inês. Inês eats voraciously.*

*Teresa limpa a boca de Inês. Descasca uma maçã. (64)*

*Teresa cleans Inês's mouth. Peels an apple.*

*Teresa dá-lhe pedaços de maçã à boca, Inês come. (65).*

*Teresa feeds her pieces of apple, Inês eats.*

*Retira a coroa a Inês que vai ficando inerte...Cerra os olhos de Inês. (68)*

*Removes the crown from Inês who is becoming still...Closes Inês's eyes.*

In the last scene of the play, after Inês has been re-buried, Teresa impersonates her as Pedro's Queen, and the blurring of the two characters is complete. Teresa wears the crown in an embrace with the King of Portugal as they conceive a future King. Through her psychological and physical manipulation of Inês, Pedro and the events that surround them, Teresa transforms her initially subaltern situation, where her body is enslaved within the strictures of medieval nobility, into one where, through the use of her body, her freedom is assured. But at what cost? One could argue that Inês pays the price.

The play begins with the Chorus's query, "Diz-nos, diz-nos, ó história esquecida / Quem compra com a morte o que paga com a vida" ("Tell us, tell us, o forgotten history / Who buys with death what they pay for with life"; 16, 32, 45, 52) and this line is repeated at the end of each of the chorus's songs, except for the last desperate lament after Inês's death. In Jesus's play, Teresa is but one of History's instruments to enable the tragic denouement of Inês's story. As in the Resende and Ferreira texts, state security trumps passion: Pacheco says to Afonso in a paraphrase of both playwrights, "esta morte pode evitar a de outros tantos" ("this death can prevent many others"; 49).<sup>327</sup> Jesus fully reenacts this theme, with the assassins of Inês

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<sup>327</sup> The Ferreira reads, "A aspereza dest'obra é medicina/Com que s'atalham as mortes que adiante/ Muitos é que por força te mereçam" ("The severity of this act is the remedy/ Which should avoid deaths; in the future/ There will be many who will have to commend you"; Act II lines 133-35, Martyn 277). The Resende reads, "Com sua morte

convincing Afonso IV that war with Spain and worse will be avoided if Inês is executed. But, like in Resende, Jesus's Dead Inês calls for justice.

INÊS: Mas enquanto a mão existe, deve erguer a chama da justiça.

PEDRO: Para o reino a justiça é passageira.

INÊS: Também os corpos são sempre passageiros. E a justiça é para eles justa medida.

PEDRO: Mas o reino estende-se para lá do tempo, não tem princípio nem fim. É ao reino que eu devo a voz da justiça.

INÊS: Ao reino? Quem é o reino? O que te exige esse reino para além do que te exigem as pessoas? É a todas as vozes mudas que tu deves essa voz. (57)

INÊS: But while the hand exists it should raise the flame of justice./PEDRO: For the kingdom, justice is temporary./INÊS:

Bodies are also temporary. And justice is for them a just

measure./PEDRO: But the kingdom is beyond time, It has no

beginning or end. It is to the kingdom that I owe the voice of

justice./INÊS: To the kingdom? Who is the kingdom? What does

that kingdom demand beyond what people demand? It's to all the silenced voices that you owe that voice.

In death, Inês makes as similar an appeal as John Clifford's strong heroine does in life (see next section, 4.3). She, the silenced voice, demands that Pedro protect her and others likewise without voice (or power), rather than the State. In Jesus's text the character of Inês has more authority in death than elsewhere in the play. Teresa's manipulation of her body as indicated in the stage directions seems merely a mechanical endeavor for Inês's voice is "heard" like never before as one reads the text. As stated in the preface to the published text, "Uma outra Inês...debate-se com a sombra de si mesma, com a fragilidade de ser mulher e outra mulher, corpo que foi e ainda é, e voz, uma quase inaudível..." ("Another Inês...confronts a shadow of herself, with the fragility of

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escusareis/ muitas mortes, muitos danos" ("With her death you will prevent many deaths, much damage"; lines 181-2).

being woman and other woman, a body that was and still is, and a voice, one that is almost inaudible...”; 9). “Almost”, but not entirely for the Dead Inês’s voice, identity, power, and subjectivity are manifested in the final scenes of the play.

In these, significantly, she uses the key phrase, “It is the beast’s desire to die that leads it to the hunter” not about herself<sup>328</sup> but about her assassin, Coelho. As in Leitão de Barros’s film discussed in Chapter 3.2, Inês has symbolized the gazelle that Pedro hunts but in Jesus’s text there is the added complexity, as shown repeatedly in the dialogue, that the beast is drawn to the hunter and therefore wishes for death. This notion is first uttered by Pacheco when he tells Afonso of Pedro’s hunting in Act I Scene iv.

AFONSO: E o meu filho? Continua a querer educar veados?

COELHO: Tem um grande sentido de justiça.

PACHECO: Ainda que esse sentido seja oposto à lei da natureza. Aquele que se perde ou afasta do resto do grupo, ou por ser mais fraco, ou menos rápido, ou até por vontade própria, está já aprisionado na sua condição de presa.

COELHO: E compete ao caçador cumprir com essa mesma condição.

PACHECO: Dizes bem, a vida alimenta-se da morte. *Mas é o desejo que a besta tem de morrer que a faz encontrar o fim....* (27, italics mine)

AFONSO: And my son? Is he still educating deer? /COELHO: He has a great sense of justice. / PACHECO: Even if that sense is opposed to the laws of nature. He who loses or separates from the group, for being weak or slower or by his own will, is imprisoned in his condition of prey. / COELHO: And the hunter must fulfill that condition. / PACHECO: Well said, life feeds off of death. *But it is the beast’s desire to die that makes it meet its end...*

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<sup>328</sup> Inês as prey, as she is often represented, evokes the medieval conceit of the hunt as seduction.

Then it is stressed in the playacting between Inês and Teresa in Act II Scene iii, as discussed above, where it is used in a deterministic sense. And, in a similar way the corpse of Inês repeats the motto in both Act III, Scene i,

INÊS: E não esqueças também a vingança dos culpados. A vontade dos homens só se cumpre no sangue.

PEDRO: A vontade dos homens só se cumpre no sangue.

INÊS: Mas nem só as mãos que se erguem vão à procura de sangue, *é o desejo que a besta tem de morrer que a leva ao caçador*. Não deve a justiça vingar-se também da vontade que o inocente tem de morrer? (58-9, italics mine)

INÊS: And don't forget the revenge of the guilty. The will of men is only fulfilled with blood. / PEDRO: The will of men is only fulfilled with blood. / INÊS: But it is not only raised hands that seek blood, *it is the beast's desire to die that leads it to the hunter*. Shouldn't justice revenge itself also of the wish of the innocent to die?

and in Scene iii, directly echoing Pacheco's lines to Afonso in Act I.

INÊS: Mas a besta encontra-se para sempre aprisionada na sua condição de presa e *é o desejo que tem de morrer que a leva ao caçador*. (66, italics mine).

INÊS: But the beast is always imprisoned in its condition of prey and *it is its desire to die that leads it to the hunter*.

With this repetition, sounding more and more like an incantation, Jesus brings the concept full circle: the determinist notion that the prey, Inês, seeks the predator, Pedro, is subverted when it is said by Inês. It is now applied to the men who hunted *her*, and the fact that one of them is named Coelho, rabbit in Portuguese, makes it morbidly appropriate. Carrying out the Dead Inês's orders, Pedro murders Coelho by ripping out his heart through the back. And in this way, Jesus joins the many artists who have chosen the Dead Inês or the Ghost of Inês to have voice when the live Inês is tragically silenced.

#### 4.1.2 *Pedro e Inês*: the production text

In Anatoly Praudin's direction of the play, however, the agency given to Inês in death is significantly lessened because it is Teresa who, as well as physically manipulating Inês, voices her lines. The corpse of Inês, with such a strong textual presence, is a mere puppet in performance. The body of the actress becomes but an instrument for Pedro and Teresa's ambition and eventual union. The ambiguity and nuance of the representation of Jesus's Inês disappears and her status as prey is fixed. Added scenes, her costuming, her age, the staging of her relationship with Teresa, and the 'scenic machine' that takes up centre stage physically and metaphorically, all contribute to the objectification of the character. If *Inês Morre* opened up the possibility of Inês's subjectivity, Praudin, in his theatrical interpretation of the play, worked against it. If Jesus gave Inês de Castro a chance to overcome the designation of passive in the public imaginary, Praudin thwarted it. O Bando's challenge to the Russian director to "criar um espectáculo no qual a sua visão externa pudese levantar novas inquietações sobre este mito português" ("create a show in which his external vision could 'trouble' this Portuguese myth")<sup>329</sup> was formally fulfilled, but thematically it is yet another masculinist exploration of the legend of Pedro and Inês. Praudin and Teatro O Bando's creative team all but ignored the young playwright's re-writing of the female characters as discussed above and relegated Inês to the predictable role of victim, manipulated by all who surround her, even after Death; the strongly subjectivized textual Teresa is likewise sexualized and objectified. The male characters and their intentions remain at the center of this version of Jesus's text.

The publicity and programme for the show overtly differentiate the play *Inês Morre* and the performance *Pedro e Inês* with the two titles and the note that the production is *based on* Miguel Jesus's text (italics mine). The new title privileges Pedro by naming him and naming him first. It suggests that the play is no longer about Inês dying, or the myth of Inês dying. Moreover, the company poster shows Pedro voraciously biting Inês, whose eyes are lifeless, as she holds an apple near her mouth; the photo in the Centro Cultural de Belém brochure shows Pedro holding a knife and the inert head of Inês against his shoulder. In these examples, the male character is surely the active one. When Inês is active, as in the photo on the cover of the Agenda Municipal

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<sup>329</sup> Centro Cultural de Belém brochure copy.

de Estarreja,<sup>330</sup> she is playfully biting Pedro and holding an apple while he speaks. On the CCB website she fares slightly better in a two-shot with Teresa where she is in the foreground (in addition to the two biting photos described above). On O Bando's Facebook page she only appears as a limp body, eyes closed, head held by Pedro as he crowns her. These are the images first presented to the public and they are reinforced once spectatorial activity begins.

The order of the scenes in Jesus's text is respected with a break between Act Two and Three. However, from the start there are additions to several scenes that alter the thematic intent. The most significant is the humiliation of Pacheco by both Pedro and Inês that give him a strong motivation to set Afonso against Inês. The scene where Pedro, Coelho and Pacheco return from the hunt, ends with Pacheco asking Pedro about Inês, "Mas diz-me Pedro, como está Inês?" ("But tell me Pedro, how is Inês?"; 21). In Jesus's text silence follows and the scene ends. Pacheco later reminds Coelho how Pedro reacted, "Viste como os olhos se baixaram, como a voz se tornou grave, como as pernas se apressaram para sair?" ("Did you see how he lowered his eyes, how his voice deepened, how his legs hurried to leave?"; 25). But in performance, Pedro throws a bowl of water in Pacheco's face and he and Coelho leave. Inês enters, undresses and teases Pacheco in a coquettish voice, then jumps onto the 'scenic machine' (resembling a cage at this point), snarling and clawing at him menacingly until he is forced to run out. In the following scene where Pacheco convinces Afonso that Inês is a threat to the kingdom, the decree of death issued against her to safeguard Portugal's independence and ensure that Pedro's legitimate heir gains the throne without interference, is now only a pretext for Pacheco's revenge. Coelho then carries out the execution as his lackey, not accomplice. The second major change is Inês's death onstage following Act II, Scene iii, which contradicts the playwright's intention, "Não queria que ela morresse em palco. Não é esse o auge da história" ("I didn't want her to die on stage. That is not the climax of the story").<sup>331</sup> But under Praudin's direction Inês willingly and sedately removes her boots and takes her place in the 'scenic machine' which now resembles a medieval or Inquisitorial breaking wheel. This both evokes the religious misogyny of the Middle Ages and implies self-blame and self-hatred. And unlike Catherine of Alexandria whose touch destroyed this instrument of torture, Inês is killed by it. She is not figured as saintly, but as a guilty sinner.

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<sup>330</sup> The play was performed in the CineTeatro of Estarreja on April 21, 2011 (this is the performance I attended).

<sup>331</sup> Web. July 20, 2011. <[http://www.timeout.pt/news.asp?id\\_news=7018](http://www.timeout.pt/news.asp?id_news=7018)>.

Then Teresa appears to immediately don Inês's boots, showing her Machiavellian ambition to take Inês's place.

In the programme notes, company director Brites writes of Praudin's direction and his rigorous work with the actors to explore the internal conflicts of the characters but resist mimetic realism in the application of Stanislavskian or Chekhovian techniques.

Se Anatoly Praudin invoca e exige algum registo autobiográfico no trabalho do actor é para credibilizar a assumida teatralidade da obra artística, o que resulta num discurso cénico coerente mas profundamente dilacerado.<sup>332</sup>

If Anatoly Praudin invokes and demands an autobiographical note in the work of the actor it is to give credibility to the assumed theatricality of the artistic creation, which results in a scenic discourse that is coherent but deeply distressed.

In my view, this is efficacious for the male characters, especially in showing Coelho's troubled conscience before killing Inês or the anguished reaction of Pedro to Inês's death, but less so for the female characters who enact clichés of oversexed, animalistic and devious females. This spectator at least finds it hard to accept that there are "autobiographical notes" in the women's performances, though the additions of lines and stage business were, according to Jesus,<sup>333</sup> created in rehearsal. Distressingly these additions sometimes result in a misogynistic tone that, in spite of the lack of a specific temporal setting, evoke a medieval narrative. For example, Pedro, Coelho and Pacheco tell brutal jokes that indicate how little they respect women, children and animals and seem to belong to the time of the *fabliaux*. These are not in the published script and suggest that the philosophically-minded male characters of Jesus's text are actually barbaric boors who constantly thirst for blood. Their male-bonding scene in a sauna is half an hour long (covering just five pages of original script) and firmly establishes the male environment of the

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<sup>332</sup> At the time of this writing the programme was still online. Web. Feb. 17, 2014. <<http://www.cinetatroestareja.com/evento.php?id=535#evento.php?id=535>>.

<sup>333</sup> "A peça ... foi construída na improvisação, nada ali é standardizado, obedece-se ao improvisado" ("the play...was built through improvisation, nothing is standardized, we obey the improvised)." Web. July 1, 2013. <<http://www.culturaonline.net/teatro/noticias/51851-o-bando-apresenta-pedro-e-ines-no-ccb.html>>.

play. The female characters too, exhibit a violent blood-thirsty tendency and in the playacting scene (II iii) where Inês plays Pedro and Teresa plays Inês, a large cow's heart is the central prop. Teresa bites it and then straddles the blindfolded Inês to crush the heart on her naked breasts. These scenes, embellished through improvisational explorations of character, are examples of the actors' unrestrained contribution to the performance; just one step behind we can imagine the extreme disclosure that happened in rehearsal to occasion such raw, emotional energy. When Pedro, in his grief, stalks the stage on all fours like a caged animal, ending up crouching miserably in a barred section of the scenic machine, it is powerful and moving. The visual impact and symbolic richness of the play is the signature of Teatro O Bando. The unique aesthetic of their original productions honed over three decades is reproduced here with both the sublime and the grotesque<sup>334</sup> use of spatial elements like set, costumes and lighting. Though a comprehensive analysis of the *mise-en-scène* of this production would prove fascinating, this study will be limited to the elements that affect the character of Inês. The costume design in particular has a tremendous impact on the representation of the female characters. As a programme note, designer Clara Bento simply lists the character names paired with names and photos of animals like so:

INÊSGAZELAPEDROCAVALOLUSITANOAFONSO  
 LOBOIBÉRICOTERESAEMACOELHOESCORPIÃO  
 COELHOPACHECOURSOPOLARCORODIÓGENES<sup>335</sup>  
 Inês-gazelle, Pedro-Lusitano horse, Afonso-Iberian wolf, Teresa-  
 emu, Coelho-Scorpion Rabbit, Pacheco-polar bear, Chorus-  
 Diogenes.

This continuous script suggests a world inhabited by animal types, where the distinction between animal and human is blurred, both qualities existing on a continuum. Perhaps this is the world of the rehearsal hall where character is created through the mimetic power of the actors and their

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<sup>334</sup> After Victor Hugo.

<sup>335</sup> It should be noted that Diogenes (the Cynic) is the only human animal listed alongside a character name. Also the photoshopped image of the emu has bared canine teeth suggesting Teresa's savage, voracious nature; this is a photo reproduced from Google images. Web. July 1, 2013. <<http://educomposition.blogspot.com/2010/02/emu-teeth-and-other-internet-lies.html>>.

internalization of essential qualities of animals,<sup>336</sup> or the world of Pedro and Inês where the stereotypical bestial mating of the ‘dark ages’ vies with medieval courtship rites. The character-animal connection is built into the actors’ costumes. Except for the female Chorus who wears shapeless garments that suggest an ancient Greek vagrant, the characters are dressed in gauzy see-through garments adorned with fur or animal skin: Pacheco sports a type of white fur coat, Afonso a greyish brown one, Coelho a rabbit skin hat and loincloth, Pedro black sleek leather or suede pants, Teresa red ruffles that resemble feathers and Inês, a deerskin loincloth and boots. At some point in the play, both male and female characters remove their gauzy overcoats/dresses to reveal their fur/skin underwear or more. The effect of this disrobing is gendered. The men’s full nakedness (Pedro and Coelho in the sauna) seems pedestrian as they walk about unselfconsciously in a flat-footed manner, while the women’s partial state of undress and cheesecake posturing sexualizes their nudity. Moreover, the bare-chested man does not exhibit secondary sexual characteristics while the bare-chested woman does: breasts. In addition, the touching and caressing between the half-naked Teresa and Inês connotes scenarios of lesbian sex known to be titillating to male consumers of pornography. The female characters’ skimpy costumes, high-heeled boots, and intimate physicality combine to suggest that the male gaze is upon them. And as objects of the gaze, subjectivity eludes them.

Inês’s costume in particular associates her with the gazelle and prey she initially symbolizes in Jesus’s text; this relegates her to the position of captive or victim throughout the first part of the play. Although she has no scenes with the hunter, Pedro, other predators stalk her, namely Teresa, Pacheco and Coelho, as discussed above. In each of these scenes she disrobes at the start and appears bare-breasted, with deerskin loincloth and boots, suggesting the pornographic depiction of medieval martyrdom narratives of torture.<sup>337</sup> In the first scene between the women (I iii), Teresa lays Inês down on a cradle-like rack of the scenic machine and frantically seasons

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<sup>336</sup> This is a popular practice for the creation of character in companies concerned with physicality and were part of Teatro O Bando’s methodology when I worked with them in the eighties. See, for example, Jacques Lecoq’s “Studying Animals” in *The Moving Body*, Routledge, 2001, 87-89.

<sup>337</sup> See, for example, Sarah Salih’s discussion of the pornographic reading of torture scenes in hagiographical texts in *Versions of Virginity in Late Medieval England*, Woodbridge [England]:Brewer, 2001, 83-7. Salih notes that an abstracted reading is problematic (and anachronistic) because the saint’s nakedness meant virginity not sexuality; the poses of Teatro O Bando’s Inês, however, performed in the twenty-first century, are likely to be associated with pornographic images of bondage and mutilation.

her, presumably for cooking. In the second (II iii), Inês is gagged and her hands are tied as Teresa simulates torturing her. When Inês is killed she is dressed only in her deerskin loincloth as Coelho turns the wheel, suggesting a skinned animal on a spit. It is only after death that some dignity is accorded the character: she is draped in veils and poses like a Madonna, now connoting the virgin/whore dichotomy in the imagery of women.<sup>338</sup> The gauzy brown chiffon always shows her exposed breasts. In this state we may accord her the label *nuditas virtualis* suggesting the beauty, purity and innocence of Paradise but in other scenes, alas, *nuditas criminalis*, representing luxury and depravity, is implied. Teresa, too, in her frilly red shorts and high red boots is a semi-nude purveyor of sex. Although Jesus's script calls for a certain amount of nudity as characters undress and wash, the overwrought sexuality is a creation of this production and is largely gratuitous.

In *Pedro e Inês* the 'scenic machine', a set staple for Teatro O Bando,<sup>339</sup> is a series of arc-shaped modules that resemble cages with tabletops. These modules fit together to create sauna benches, tables, a cradle, a throne, and a giant tread-wheel that Coelho raises on end to resemble an instrument of torture. As discussed above, when Inês steps into its centre to die, it is read as the breaking wheel. The 'scenic machine' modules are used by the actors to build diverse structures throughout the play and are at the centre of the action. A programme note indicates that, "[a] Máquina de Cena presente torna-se assim num dispositivo onde os actores se movem e contagiam, se equilibram e se prendem" ("[the] present Scenic Machine becomes a device where the actors move and infect each other, balance and attach themselves"). Upstage right there is a ten-foot upside down nuclear cooling tower shaped structure with a smaller similar structure within it. The chorus occupies this space as does Inês when she is dead. It replaces the ark or chest in Jesus's script. At times images of fleeing deer are projected on the larger structure. The

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<sup>338</sup> See, for example, Leah M. Wyman's *Film Vamps and Victims: The Virgin/Whore Dichotomy, Sexual Power and Theological Herstory*, San Diego:San Diego State U., 1993, 6-7. Sue-Ellen Case also comments on feminist criticism of classical play texts which lists images of women as positive (independent, intelligent, heroic) or misogynistic: "the Bitch, the Witch, the Vamp and the Virgin./Goddess" (2008 6).

<sup>339</sup> In the summer of 2011, there was an exhibit of 'scenic machines' from past productions at Vale dos Barris. In May, 2013 the *Pedro e Inês* 'scenic machine' was added to the others to be weathered and corroded on the hill. See May 29 posting. Web. July 1, 2013. <<https://www.facebook.com/bando.teatro>>.

lighting design enhances these large objects, giving them focus and dividing the stage space.<sup>340</sup> While the nuclear tower shaped smaller piece is easily manoeuvrable, the modules with their iron bars are heavy and require muscular prowess to be manipulated. The women and the older actor playing Afonso engage minimally with the pieces but the younger men transform the set by hammering and pushing and lifting. Coelho builds the tread-wheel in a powerful scene that evokes an industrial site with clanging of metal and male grunting. In the final scenes the modules are arranged as an imposing royal dinner table and a sublime picture with the corpse of Inês presiding at table with arms outstretched is created. In fact, it is Inês's spatial position in relation to the large set pieces that grant her the most subjectivity or power. Whether she is crouching on the cage top, lying on the cradle/throne, standing in the nuclear tower shaped structure or sitting majestically at the table, she draws focus. Often she occupies the coveted position of centre stage in stillness and this, among the frenetic goings-ons of the rest of the cast, is in itself a powerful position. The actress, perhaps because she is tall, young, attractive, and always semi-naked has a presence that competes with the star attraction that is the O Bando 'scenic machine'.<sup>341</sup> What has objectified her throughout the play, is an advantage in this respect.

Finally, a word about the age of the actor playing Inês. The first manuscript I received from Miguel Jesus stated that Inês and Pedro were thirty-five, Teresa thirty-two, the counsellors forty-eight and fifty-one and Afonso sixty-four. In this production however, Pedro is apparently played by an actor in his forties, Inês by an actor in her twenties, and Teresa, Coelho and Pacheco are in their thirties. The age difference between Pedro and the counsellors is the inverse of Jesus's script. Pacheco and Coelho were Pedro's tutors but in this production Pedro is the older man; this presents some problems around authority and credibility. Inês's young age is also problematic for similar reasons. While she is allegedly in a superior social position to Teresa because of her relationship with the Prince, being the younger of two noble ladies, Inês defers to her lady-in-waiting. Because she has worked primarily as a dancer, Susana Blazer's voice lacks the strength to match those of the experienced older actors, or to compete with the recorded soundscape of a

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<sup>340</sup> A pre-production lighting design showed the effects on the floor when the play is staged in a raked auditorium. Unfortunately, in the Cine-theatre where I saw the show the audience could not see the floor.

<sup>341</sup> The actor's bio in the program lists Susana Blazer as born in 1985 and trained in dance.

thirty-woman chorus of dissonant music and voices.<sup>342</sup> As discussed above, by the final act the character/actor is silenced by Pedro and Teresa. One wonders if this choice was made because Sara de Castro, the actor playing Teresa, has a more powerful, more authoritative, voice.

In a preview article, Miguel Jesus, comments on the appropriateness of the story of Inês and Pedro for director Anatoly Praudin,

[Anatoly] é mesmo muito russo, trabalha com a densidade psicológica das personagens, problemas familiares complexos, etc. Tínhamos de arranjar um projecto adequado... Quando falámos da história de Pedro e Inês, ele interessou-se logo. E interessou-se pelos aspectos mais próximos da sua identidade, pelo lado mais negro da história, pela confusão entre mito e realidade, os contornos épicos... (Timeout)

[Anatoly] is really very Russian, he works with the psychological density of the characters, complex family problems, etc. We had to find an adequate project...when we mentioned the story of Pedro and Inês he was immediately interested. And he was interested in the aspects that were closest to his identity, in the darkest side of the story, in the confusion between myth and reality, the epic contours...

that is in harmony with Teatro O Bando's tradition of demystifying history and exploring myth,

Só no mito conhecemos o que se esconde da História. Só no mito vemos a paixão crescer para lá deste mundo. Só no mito sentimos a culpa e a vingança dos que vivem e morrem. Só no mito ouvimos os coros que ecoam os sons da loucura. Só no mito bebemos o vinho escarlata que tem o gosto do sangue. Só no mito gritamos a nossa voz de povo rude e impune. (programme)

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<sup>342</sup> The soundtrack for the production was composed by Jorge Salgueiro and recorded by thirty women. It is an undercurrent of female voices that scream, chant, and sing, punctuating the most dramatic points of the play. Along with the Chorus's dissonant songs it creates a female-centered aural layer to the play that at times vies with the masculinist visuals. I would examine this at greater length but one viewing of the play has not been enough to consider this aspect in relation to Inês.

Only in myth do we know what is hidden in History. Only in myth do we see passion grow beyond this world. Only in myth do we feel the guilt and revenge of those who live and die. Only in myth do we hear the choruses that echo the sounds of madness. Only in myth do we drink the scarlet wine that tastes like blood. Only in myth do we shout our crude and unpunished people's voice.

The collaboration with Praudin, using Jesus's intriguing version of the tale, could have resulted in a play that uncovered new and radical truths about the real-life players. The plays of Teatro O Bando disturb and engage by pushing the boundaries of spectatorial identification and, when treating historical subjects, by stretching the limits of the cultural imaginary. The performance of *Pedro e Inês* on April 21, 2011 had an audience of about 70 spectators of varying ages. Judging from their vocal response, the children and adolescents in the audience were certainly surprised and amused by much of the staging and the irreverent characterization of historical characters. A bare-breasted Inês cavorting with another woman is certainly not the Inês de Castro they know from their schoolbooks. The planned talkback for that evening was cancelled because the play ended after midnight and I regret that I cannot reflect more comprehensively on the reactions of the audience. Moreover, in Portuguese media there is a dearth of theatre criticism and at the time of this writing there were no reviews of the production to support statements about spectatorship.<sup>343</sup> For this spectator, however, the design of the production, both visual and aural, and the skill of the performers, were the only enticing aspects of the show. When viewed through a feminist lens to explore the representation of woman and the site/sight of the female characters, *Pedro e Inês* is a regressive narrative that does little to trouble the gendered aspect of the myth. The failure to adopt a pro-feminist discourse and represent woman as subject has created an Inês who is a sado-masochistic coquette in life and an articulated dummy in death. This masculinist figuration is sorely behind the times for theatre and for Inesian art.

In the following section, an anglophone Canadian creative team stages a Scottish version of the Inesian tragedy with an Inês who advocates passion and truth and defies the powerful men who surround her. Again, there is a substantial difference between the textual and performed Inês.

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<sup>343</sup>Teatro O Bando's Facebook page has some responses to the show but they are merely brief congratulations.

Whetstone Theatre, with a more progressive attitude regarding gender politics, does not sexualize the heroine as does Praudin, but by casting Inês as an *ingénue*, is unable to sustain the passionate woman created by Clifford.

### 4.3 John Clifford's *Inês de Castro* by Toronto's Whetstone Theatre: The *Ingénue*<sup>344</sup>

INÉS: I don't want to be shut in by the sky.  
 I don't want it pressing down on my head like a gravestone.  
 I don't want to be imprisoned by the heat.  
 I want everything to be open. I want flowers,  
 Flowers everywhere, and wind to blow them.  
 I want them to change, and shimmer, and give off the most  
 amazing scent.  
 I want the air to feel like silk.  
 And when I open my eyes in the morning  
 I want to see these things always as if for the very first time.  
 I don't want their colours to be dulled by habit  
 Or their scent to fade with the passing of time.  
 And when I turn from this beauty  
 To the faces of the people around me  
 I want to see it all reflected in their eyes.  
 I don't want deadness, habit, vacancy. (Clifford 1)

From the opening speech of John Clifford's<sup>345</sup> late twentieth-century tragedy, *Inês de Castro*, to the final lines spoken by Inês's ghost, the title character is a woman who passionately voices her

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<sup>344</sup> This section is based on my paper, "Inês de Castro by Whetstone Theatre: How Portugal's Dead Queen is Transfigured from Coimbra to Toronto via Edinburgh", read at the Canadian Association for Theatre Research (CATR) Conference, Concordia University, Montreal, May 28-31, 2010 and the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference on Anglo-Portuguese Studies, CETAPS/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, April 18-20, 2011. Publication is forthcoming in the Conference Proceedings of the latter.

<sup>345</sup> The playwright is transgendered and is now called Jo Clifford; I use the former name John Clifford as it appears in source documents for this section.

desires. Whether she is vindicating beauty, defending her illicit love for Prince Pedro, pleading for her life, or, in death, asking to be remembered as she truly was, Inés exhibits strength and determination. So much so, that beyond suggesting Clifford's Inés represents woman as subject – which she suggests linguistically, as in the above speech, by repeatedly naming herself ‘I’,<sup>346</sup> – the character could be read (albeit anachronistically) as a medieval feminist. After all, in this tragedy Inês de Castro<sup>347</sup> is re-invented to challenge the authority of the male characters, and Clifford's play, with its chorus of working-class townspeople and its humanist anti-war argument, invites a materialist-feminist reading. Unfortunately, the fly in the ointment is, as always, Inês's inability to survive the political machinations that doom her love and her life. Even in this forward-looking creation, she remains a tragic heroine whose own attempts to determine her fate – or become a subject, if we consider subjectivity to be the agency employed to chart one's destiny – are inefficacious. Nonetheless, as we have seen with the early literary creations analysed in the second chapter, ‘tragic heroine’ does not mean passive victim and there is much in Clifford's creation that echoes the spirited Inês of Ferreira or Vélez de Guevara.

In performance, also, the pro-feminist potential of Clifford's play can be tapped to foreground the agency of the protagonist even with the unchangeable circumstance of her assassination. Since the 1989 Traverse Theatre staging, Clifford's play has had numerous productions; it has been translated into Portuguese, Spanish and Croatian, and adapted into an opera performed in Scotland and Portugal.<sup>348</sup> Inês has been embodied by a variety of actresses who, by their age, body shape, voice, and acting skill have more or less successfully given agency to the textual Inês. Video and photographic documentation show that Alison Peebles, the first Clifford Inês, brought maturity and passion to the role; an Edinburgh Fringe high school production had a wide-eyed, innocent and predictably very young Inês; the recent Shakespeare Carolina production cast an earthy, girl-next-door actress in the part; and Serbia's Teatar Verat features a

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<sup>346</sup> See Emile Benveniste's “Subjectivity in Language” [1958] where he discusses “the capacity of the speaker to posit himself as subject” by naming himself as “I” and his interlocutor as “you”. In *Problems in General Linguistics*, translated by Mary Elizabeth Meek, Coral Gables, Fla.:University of Miami Press, 1971, 224.

<sup>347</sup> In this section Inés refers to Clifford's character and Inês to the historical woman.

<sup>348</sup> The opera, with music by James MacMillan, was produced by the Scottish National Opera in 1996 and performed in Portugal for the events of Porto Capital Nacional da Cultura 2001.

beautiful, darkly sexual Inés.<sup>349</sup> Of the many embodiments of the female protagonist, Maureen Beattie's performance was praised for presenting Inés as, "a towering heroine of great courage" (Hemingway),<sup>350</sup> a label that holds great promise for a feminist analysis. In this section, I explore a performance of Clifford's Inés produced by a progressive company<sup>351</sup> in Toronto's independent theatre community, Whetstone Theatre,<sup>352</sup> and closely observed by the local Portuguese-language media. Central to this inquiry, I consider how the tragic story of Inês de Castro is transfigured by the Scottish Clifford and Canadian theatre artists to result in a revised icon for the Portuguese (-Canadian) cultural imaginary.

For Clifford, the impetus for re-inventing history, as he puts it (unpaginated), was the availability of cultural grants for a Portuguese-themed project.

*Inés* is a play that almost never happened. I had got involved for very cynical reasons: I had heard that a foundation [Gulbenkian] to promote Portuguese culture in English wanted to commission a British playwright to dramatise the story: and I thought, well, at least I'll get a holiday in Portugal.<sup>353</sup>

For director Diana Kolpak, the 100,000 Portuguese-Canadians in Toronto guaranteed a target audience, also useful for grant applications. However, Kolpak was drawn to the play first and discovered the history later; she defends the universality of the play, "Clifford's central theme is the struggle between who we are and who society wants us to be. That personal struggle is

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<sup>349</sup> Web. July, 2011 and June 27, 2013. <<http://besite-productions.com/film/moving-image-ines.html>>, <<http://www.abingdonschool.org.uk/index.cfm?fuseaction=otherhalf.content&cmid=219>>, <<http://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.10150235872817082.362151.657127081>>, and <<http://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=195441550499782&set=pu.182775681766369&type=1&theater>>.

<sup>350</sup> Beattie played Inés in the Traverse Theatre/Riverside Studio 1991 production.

<sup>351</sup> In 1994, for example, Whetstone produced *Bedtime Stories*, a feminist revisioning of popular fairy-tales.

<sup>352</sup> *Inês de Castro* was presented at Tarragon Theatre's Extra Space, June 12-30, 2001 with the following creative team and cast: director, Diana Kolpak; lighting design, Michelle Ramsay; set design, Karla Faulconbridge; costume design, Nina Okens; Inés: Elyssa Livergant; Prince Pedro: Ron Kennell; Nurse/Old Woman: Dinah Watts; King: Patrick Conner; Pacheco: Robert Tsonos; Blanca: Cheryl McNamara. Except for Livergant, each actor doubled as a Chorus member.

<sup>353</sup> Web. June 27, 2013. <<http://www.teatrodomundo.com/ines-traverse.shtml>>.

universal” (H. Ramos). Like Greek tragedies produced today, Clifford’s *Inés de Castro* didn’t require ethnic specificity and the re-visioning of a Portuguese national cultural icon was not a factor in the Whetstone production. Artists of Portuguese background were not involved in the production and the directorial approach did not consider the specific Portugueseness of the story, focusing on general themes like idealism, love, politics and religion. For Lusophones, however, the trans-figuration of Inês de Castro from her Iberian historo-mythical status, through the Scottish playwright’s sensibility and into her representation in Canadian theatre was of some concern. Anna Câmara, reviewing the play for *Sol Português*, warns that, “Anyone expecting to see an accurate representation of historic events, to be moved by patriotism or to be served up a lavish and violent production will be disappointed”. While what is an “accurate representation of historic events” in Inesian lore can be endlessly debated, the point is made that this version of the story is not in line with the legend or other (hi)stories with which a Lusophone is familiar.

And perhaps that is a good thing, for Clifford creates a heroine who does not easily conform to the national masculinist narrative, which sees her as passive. As for Whetstone’s interpretation, anglophone reviewers also speculated on the similarity between history and fiction, one stating that, “Ines De Castro [sic], the historical figure, seems like a strong-willed and powerful woman. *Ines De Castro*, the play, doesn't do her justice” (Huffa), and another contradicting this with a stereotypical observation of Mediterranean peoples, “*Ines De Castro* throbs with a drama that's true to its hot-blooded roots” (Kaplan). As I discuss below, the Whetstone staging did not always serve the text and the “towering heroine of great courage” perceived in the Traverse/Riverside version of Clifford’s play was regrettably absent but there were definitive moments in the production when Clifford’s Inés was in evidence, defying male-perpetrated power structures and insisting on the status of subject.

In the following, I discuss how Clifford challenges the masculinist narratives that traditionally depict Inés as a pawn in men’s games of power and war, and constructs a heroine who, albeit tragic and thus unable to ultimately control her fate, is a subjectivized protagonist. Then, I interrogate the embodiment of Inés by Whetstone’s Elyssa Livergant, who is haughty and cool as the living Inés, but tender and moving as her Ghost, through a discussion of certain aspects of performance: the feminine/masculine traits of the actress, her interaction with the actor playing Pedro, her age and acting experience, and her costuming as the living and dead Inés. In sum, I

probe how Inês de Castro is theatrically historicized in Toronto, via Clifford's Scottish sensibility.

Like writers throughout the centuries Clifford has brought his ideology to bear on the story of Inês and Pedro; his choice of the tragic genre reveals his humanist beliefs:

...the more I thought about the story (which every child in Portugal is taught at school) the more deeply it impressed me, and the more strongly I felt it had to be written as a tragedy. Some years before I'd read a book by George Steiner called *The Death of Tragedy*, in which he argued that it is impossible to write tragedy in this age of ours. I always felt he had to be wrong: that in this age we need tragedy more than ever. For tragedy is not simply a dwelling on pain or misery: it is about asserting, too. Asserting the meaning and the value of human life.<sup>354</sup>

To this end, while telling the tragic and ultimately hopeless story of Inês de Castro, Clifford creates a protagonist who is confident and optimistic about love, who believes in everyone's right to experience joy and fulfillment, and who exposes the cowardice of her lover and the powerful men who surround her. Clifford sends his Pedro to the front to battle the Spaniards but Inês does not stand at the gate tearfully waving him off, as does Leitão de Barros's heroine when Pedro goes hunting, but, like Vélez de Guevara's protagonist, implores him to stay and defend *her*, not his country. As the author's mouthpiece, Inês challenges Pedro's role in the war and the war itself.

INÉS: And you'll leave me here to die?

PEDRO: My father promised.

INÉS: And now you suddenly believe him.

PEDRO: I have no choice.

INÉS: There's a knife at my throat.

PEDRO: What else can I do?

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<sup>354</sup>Web. June 27, 2013. <<http://www.teatrodomundo.com/ines-traverse.shtml>>.

INÉS: Revolt against your father. Refuse to fight the Spaniards.  
Use your imagination! (19-20)

When she is dead, Inés returns to ensure her unjust death and the violence of men are not forgotten. Pedro ignores her cries from the Dead so Inés's ghost speaks to a little girl who has witnessed her reburial. The play ends with the girl placing flowers on Inés's grave.

GHOST OF INÉS: Remember me.

CHORUS 3: I won't forget.

GHOST OF INÉS: They'll lie to you. They'll say I had to die. That love is not enough. That we should not allow ourselves to dream. They're wrong. They're very wrong. They'll tell you that they have to kill. That they cannot avoid committing crimes. Don't believe them. Don't believe them for a moment. Remember there's another way.

CHORUS 3: I promise I won't forget. (37)

Clifford accuses men of warmongering and condones women who decry the bloodshed. He genders war, violence and death, and creates strong female characters who, through their courage and humanity, divest the play's powerful males of dignity, and render their violent acts as ultimately futile. But is this humanist, pro-feminist theme where women are placed in opposition to men's games of violence enough to create woman as subject? It is evident that Clifford has considered early Inesian literary texts to create a resisting heroine – he cites his reading of António Ferreira's *Castro* and Camões' *Os Lusíadas* and his re-invention of history in keeping with the "spirit of both these works" (1990 unpaginated)<sup>355</sup> – but is the masculinist discourse that dominates the story and the theatre production conditions of the West effectively revised to give Inês agency?

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<sup>355</sup> In keeping with the spirit of the Golden Age Portuguese authors also means taking poetic license with the few historical facts available. Clifford's fictionalizing includes erasing Constança Manuel from the story, murdering Inés's children, torturing Diogo Lopes Pacheco, the counsellor who escaped, and staging a war between Portugal and Spain.

Director Kolpak sees Inés as the voice of reason in the play,<sup>356</sup> which, if we adopt an age-old dictum,<sup>357</sup> associates the heroine with masculinity and therefore activity. Livergant made acting choices that resulted in a cool, dry, and rational Inés, achieving the required strength and dignity for a tragic, not suffering, heroine. But this was not director Kolpak's desired effect as Livergant created a distance that made it difficult to empathize with Inés; she was read by one reviewer as lacking passion, "Elyssa Livergant has a quiet dignity as the title character, but you can't help but wish she would blaze a bit more with the Antigone-like passion her character deserves" (Ouzounian). In her relationship with Pedro, also, Inés was seen to be too reserved. One Toronto reviewer commented that, "...despite their heartfelt characterizations, I'd like more sensual chemistry between Livergant and Kennell," (Kaplan); another was disappointed that the "romance between Inés and Pedro seem[ed] trivial" (Huffa); yet another critic observed that, "Elyssa Livergant and Ron Kennell prove[d] unable to master Clifford's literary speeches and [couldn't] raise a shadow of emotion from Ines and her prince" (Taylor). What transpires here, from the lack of passion and sensuality to the inability to adequately interpret the text, is the inexperience of the actor cast as the heroine. This is revealed most plainly during the scenes between Inés and her Nurse, played by the dynamic Dinah Watts, where the protagonist's authority or centrality is questioned. Watts was capable of delivering Clifford's text with the skill and passion it required (pointing up Livergant's lack), and with her maturity and experience, upstaged Livergant, putting the character of Inés in a position of deference.

Livergant's failure to portray Inés as dominant here, can also be attributed to the actor's youth, echoing other visual representations of Inés that portray her as the young beauty with whom

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<sup>356</sup> Interview, May 8, 2010. Since the play was staged over ten years ago, basing my analysis on my memory of the performance of Inés and the reviews of the time seemed insufficient. I met with director Diana Kolpak who generously provided me with photos of the production and indulged my queries on the embodiment of Inés and her possible agency. Web. June 27, 2013. <[http://www.whetstoneproductions.com/Whetstone\\_Productions/Ines.html](http://www.whetstoneproductions.com/Whetstone_Productions/Ines.html)>.

<sup>357</sup> The Aristotelian association of reason with the male or the masculine, and as superior, was reinforced by medieval writers like Thomas Aquinas and continued to influence the discussion of sex-gender differences for centuries. The hierarchical dualisms of mind/body, man/woman, reason/passion, active/passive are still central to feminist concerns.

Pedro first fell in love.<sup>358</sup> Making Inés an *ingénue*,<sup>359</sup> or conventionally the object of a male character's affection, puts her in a submissive position. Sue-Ellen Case observes that,

[w]hen the *ingénue* makes her entrance, the audience sees her as the male protagonist sees her. The blocking of her entrance, her costume and the lighting are designed to reveal that she is the object of his desire. In this way, the audience also perceives her as an object of desire, by identifying with his male gaze (*Feminism and Theatre* 119).

The entrance of Clifford's Inés is not preceded by a scene with Pedro watching her; the playwright clearly does not set up the convention narratively. But in this production the actor cast as Inés succumbs to the role-type and, once male characters surround her, becomes the inexperienced, unauthoritative young girl of romantic tales. A Portuguese-Canadian reviewer noted that, "... [Livergant] lacks the physical authority to be a completely convincing heroine. Her youth (the real Ines was 45 when she died) and lack of vocal strength make her longer speeches sound too much like childish complaining" (Camara). Although Inês de Castro's age at the time of her death is not certain, the point is made that being represented by a too-young actress does not confer authority on the historical woman, relegating her to a youthful phase prior to a full construction of self, and theatrically functioning as the object of Pedro's gaze (notwithstanding the lack of sexual *frisson* between the characters).

The *jeux* between Inés and Pedro was affected by the casting of Pedro with an actor who identifies with queer Toronto theatre culture. This contributed to the absence of the expected heterosexual passion between Portugal's great lovers, but it had the unexpected effect of creating an ambiguous feminine/masculine interplay that favoured Inés's subject position. The actor as

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<sup>358</sup> This began with Inês's sculpted likeness on her fourteenth century tomb in Alcobça; the most recent theatrical examples are the blonde waif in Takarazuka Theatre's *Tale of Coimbra* (Japan, 2009) and the young sex siren in Teatro O Bando's *Pedro e Inês* discussed in this chapter (Portugal, 2011).

<sup>359</sup> Patrice Pavis defines *ingénue* as a "character type of the naive, inexperienced and innocent young girl...with little experience of life" (183).

sign will be read by the spectator to signify a cultural tradition, among other things,<sup>360</sup> and in the small world of Toronto independent theatre, the work of gay men is recognized, supported and celebrated. Three self-identified queer actors played the male characters; this both complicated the heterosexual love story and created male-female power dynamics beyond binary oppositions. On the one hand, the heterosexual matrix that disallows the union of two feminine-identified bodies, i.e. Kennel, the effeminate, gay man and Livergant, the straight woman, made their carnal love unconvincing. On the other hand, if weakness is associated with effeminacy,<sup>361</sup> the male characters' undecided attitudes made the female characters stronger by comparison. In her onstage relationship with Kennel, Livergant maintained a distance that prevented Inés's objectification by her male lover, inverting her age-induced *ingénue* position.

Like the gay actor's or *ingénue*'s predetermined signification, Inés's costuming, with only one change when she dies, also 'signifies' and contributes in various ways to the degree of agency or authority projected by the character. The living Inés wears a bright red floor-length dress made of a soft, velvety material, with a bodice done up with small bows, a hem that is raised in the front to reveal flat round-toed pumps, a low neckline and short puff sleeves that at times fall off the shoulder to reveal beige satin straps.<sup>362</sup> The dress is not period specific but suggests a time in the past. The colour red ensures that Inés stands out from the brown and grey set of crumbling ruins and the rest of the cast dressed in muted colours. Visually she is made the centre of the story. The Ghost of Inés wears a creamy satin knee-length slip and a hem that is stained in red, suggesting blood. These costumes carry several meanings. The red dress has puff sleeves raised to shoulder level in the scene with the Nurse, so that Inés appears as more innocent, or youthful. When the sleeves slip off the shoulders in the scenes with Pedro, they reveal the attractive white nape true to Inês de Castro's epithet of *colo de garça*, and give Inés an alluring appearance. This,

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<sup>360</sup> Theatre semiotician Patrice Pavis notes, for example, that "[w]hen it comes to signs in theatre...there is always a certain motivation (or analogy or iconicity) between signifier and signified, simply because the sign's referent gives the illusion of being identical to the signifier, so that one naturally compares the sign with the outside world" (334).

<sup>361</sup> Again this is a belief that has persisted since medieval times. See Joan Cadden's Chapter 4, "Feminine and Masculine Types" in *Meaning of Sex Differences in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture*, 169-227.

<sup>362</sup> See [http://www.whetstoneproductions.com/Whetstone\\_Productions/Ines.html](http://www.whetstoneproductions.com/Whetstone_Productions/Ines.html) for a photo of Inés in costume. It is interesting that other productions of Clifford's play also chose to clothe Inés in red. See the websites listed in footnote 349.

and the association of the colour red with illicit love, foreground Inés's sexuality and, to the Western spectator, may identify her as an adulteress.<sup>363</sup> Like Leitão de Barros, Clifford stresses the adulterous aspect of Inés and Pedro's love by including a scene where Pedro's first wife Blanca<sup>364</sup> accuses Inés of being a homewrecker, "...You took [Pedro] away from me. You destroyed my life"(26). Once dead, Inés removes the red dress and in her creamy white satin slip, she is divested of adulterous associations. But while her virtue is signaled by the white she wears as a ghost, the red-stained hem will not allow us to forget her bloody demise. Even when Clifford's townspeople discuss the exhumation and coronation of the corpse,

CHORUS 5: I had to dig her up.

CHORUS 3: It's morbid.

CHORUS 5: And make her a set of royal robes. And make them fit.

CHORUS 3: I don't approve of it. I don't approve of it at all.

CHORUS 5: We got the boy to do the measurements. But he fainted. I told him. The customer's always right I said. But he took no notice. Young people. I had to do the measurements myself. And I had to dress her up and put her on the throne. We had to rig up a set of special wires. And make her festive. We did what we could. We tried. But, dead for years. And festive. Enough to put you off your food (33).

the presence of Livergant, the flesh and blood woman in white, onstage as Inés's Ghost, trumps the effect of the lurid description.

If Livergant's interpretation of the live Inés failed to embody Clifford's passionate heroine, her Ghost was poignant and effective. The moving final scene revealed Inés's failure to live as she

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<sup>363</sup> Western spectators will make the association of red and adultery from such classics as *The Scarlet Letter* and images of "the other woman" in popular cinema. For example, in *Gone with the Wind*, Scarlett O'Hara is forced by Rhett Butler to wear a luxurious red décolleté dress to Ashley Wilkes's birthday party to imply she is Ashley's mistress.

<sup>364</sup> Constança, Pedro's wife during his time with Inês de Castro, is elided in Clifford's text and the first wife Blanca is featured. Pedro and Blanca's brief marriage was annulled because the bride was allegedly barren. Machado de Sousa suggests that Clifford's choice follows the Spanish tradition of Inesian fictions (*Tema Português* 414) where the legitimate Princess is named Blanca (see 2.4 above).

wished and showed how her *hubris*, her obstinacy in the face of danger, led to her own death and that of her children. Pedro's pursuit and torture of her assassin, and the exhumation of her body negated what she died for: ideal love, safe from violence and the politics of power. Her pleas of "Remember me! Remember me!" finally demanded a subjective identity separate from Pedro. From the grave, Inés, as Livergant played her, gained surprising control of her actions; she showed greater agency, almost as if the dead Inés was beyond objectivity. This was also suggested by her physical distance from Pedro and her active role in watching him. Clifford does not allow Pedro to see Inés's ghost but allows her to see him. Director Kolpak has Inés turn her back on Pedro to move forward and away from him. Inés takes centre stage and leaves him in the background. The spectator is left with an image of Inés that is powerful and determined. As a ghost, Inés has an active presence that belies her passive role as a victim of men's games of war. As Kolpak affirms, Inés's early death becomes an absence that must be made present "because it is her story" (interview).<sup>365</sup> In the following section, I discuss the absence of Inês rendered as *saudade* in a Toronto community play. The push-pull of absence-presence is ideally represented here.

#### 4.4 O Projecto's Community Play: The Symbol of *Saudade*

O Projecto's *Pedro e Inês de Castro*, performed as dinner theatre in Toronto's Casa do Alentejo in October of 2010,<sup>366</sup> presents a specific case of the power of the Inesian myth to evoke *saudade*. Regarding the diaspora, Eduardo Lourenço suggests that people who have immigrated continue to live in the world they have left behind, like the characters in Fernando Pessoa's *Marinheiro*, "dedicado[s] à pura ausência como forma suprema da presença" ("dedicated to pure absence as a supreme form of presence"; 87, 91). Anthropologist Bela-Feldman-Bianco and sociologist Donna Huse, in their study of the New England Portuguese community, observe that *saudade* is

...a dynamic cultural construct that defines Portuguese identity in the context of multiple representations of space and (past)

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<sup>365</sup> Interview, May 8, 2010.

<sup>366</sup> O Projecto is the resident community theatre group of Casa do Alentejo.

time...*Saudade*, as the collective memory of Portugal, has been narrated as the basis of the Portuguese imagined community. Temporarily, this collective national imagination dates back to the discovery era and to the history of immigration; encompassing, spatially, the maritime explorations and the long separations from relatives around the world...Popular immigrant poetry, as well as philosophy and literature, often portray[s] *saudade* as central to the Portuguese collective experience” (60).

Thus, a diasporic collective witnessing of a performance with Inês de Castro as a symbol of *saudade* creates an affective connection between audience and players that compounds the feeling of *saudade* naturally experienced by immigrants. In the staging of *Pedro e Inês de Castro*, the Inesian theme evokes feelings of *saudade* in performers and spectators, and, as I have argued above in 2.3, *saudade* is a predominant affective trope that enables the agency or subjectivity of the female protagonist.

*Pedro e Inês de Castro* is a high school script posted on the internet<sup>367</sup> based on sixteenth-century texts – the Inesian episode in Canto III of Camões’s *Os Lusíadas* and Ferreira’s *Castro* – to which director Sérgio Dias added a monologue from António Patrício’s, early twentieth-century *Pedro o Cru*, a desperate outpouring of grief by Pedro I as *Rei-Saudade*.<sup>368</sup> The result was a one-hour play of short scenes interspersed with the narration of the history/story<sup>369</sup> and Camonian and Ferreirian verses read by a figure representing the tragic chorus. The language, a pastiche of medieval dialogue for the tenth grade, documentary-style narration, and literary excerpts, effectively engaged spectators who followed the story attentively, laughing at the

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<sup>367</sup> By Maria José Silva, a Portuguese teacher at Escola Secundária Ferreira de Castro. Web. October 27, 2013. <<http://www.scribd.com/doc/28818438/Guia-do-teatro-de-Ines-de-Castro>>.

<sup>368</sup> Patrício is one of several late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century playwrights who focus on Pedro rather than Inês as their protagonist and who have a morbid fascination with *saudade* (Sousa, *Tema Português* 327). After assassinating Inês, Pedro’s counsellor Pero Coelho says, “...D. Inês é morta. Isso vos permitiu serdes bom rei... Vós tendes a saudade e o reino a vida” (“...Dona Inês is dead. This allows thee to be a good King... Thou hast *saudade* and the kingdom has life”; 43; I).

<sup>369</sup> Some historical details are dubious. For example, interpretative comments about women who are jealous of Inês because of her beauty and of men because she doesn’t notice them, or Constança’s wish to walk the Camino of Santiago de Compostela to pray for protection and peace for her threatened home (unpublished manuscript 5, 8).

scenes with village people and melodramatic villains and assuming a serious countenance during the poetic excerpts, the scenes played amongst the nobility, the murder of Inês, and Pedro's mourning at her tomb. Thus, the play begins with Camões's implicit references to *saudade*,

Estavas, linda Inês, posta em sossego  
De teus anos colhendo doce fruto,  
Naquele engano da alma, ledo e cego,  
Que a Fortuna não deixa durar muito,  
Nos *saudosos* campos do Mondego,  
De teus fermosos olhos nunca enxuito,  
Aos montes ensinando e às ervinhas,  
O nome que no peito escrito tinhas. (III 120, italics mine)  
You were living safely, lovely Inês,/ Enjoying the sweet fruits of  
youth,/ In that soft deception of the soul/ That fortune never  
indulges long;/ In the Mondego's responsive<sup>370</sup> meadows/ With  
tears welling in your lovely eyes,/ To mountains and fresh lawns  
you would impart/ The one name that was written in your heart;  
White 72,

and ends with Patrício's explicit *saudosismo*<sup>371</sup> featuring a King who considers that "o meu reino é o reino da saudade" ("my kingdom is the kingdom of *saudade*"; 106; III).

In this performance by O Projecto, the representation of Inês de Castro, and consequently her subjectivity, was read emotionally within the affective space of *saudade*. As in *Castro* discussed in 2.3, Inês's identity is felt and results in a subjectivity that is open-ended (A. J. Saraiva, *Cultura* 1994 105-106). Represented as a symbol of *saudade*, she has the possibility to act or have agency in a non-physical manner. Thus, Inês's intrinsic connection to the affects of *saudade* and love facilitate a representation where, with her actions guided by her feelings, she can be represented as an active character. The great love she has for Pedro and the anticipation of

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<sup>370</sup> *Saudade* or its derivatives may not be categorically untranslatable but it evidently proves a challenge for English speakers, as noted above. Here, White translates *saudoso* as "responsive".

<sup>371</sup> Patrício, along with Teixeira de Pascoaes, Pessoa and others, established the early twentieth-century movement, or aesthetic, *saudosismo*.

*saudade* if she is condemned to die is what inspires her plea of mercy with Afonso IV. Driven by emotion, Inês shows great initiative in addressing the King and employs clever rhetoric in the mercy speech. In this truncated version of Ferreira’s sublime poetry, it is effective because the words “fraca” (“weak”) and “forte” (“strong”) are only one page apart, less than two minutes of stage time. As in *Castro*, Inês begins by calling herself “uma mulher fraca” (“a weak woman”; 17) but proves to be just the opposite in persuasive skills and soon elicits Afonso IV’s exclamation, “Ó mulher como és forte! Venceste-me e convenceste-me” (“Oh, woman, how you are strong! You’ve won me over and convinced me”; 18) Even if the meaning of “forte” in medieval Portuguese is not ‘strong’ but ‘obstinate’ or ‘brazen’, Inês uses her purported weakness to great effect. It is also in her plea for clemency, clinging to her children, that she best personifies *saudade*,

Chorai comigo, meus inocentes. Pedi clemência a vosso avô, para que não seja cruel. Ficareis sós. Abraçai-me. Despedi-vos de quem vos amamentou. Quando regressar, vosso pai vai encontrar-vos sós... (18)

Cry with me, my innocent ones. I asked clemency of your grandfather, asked him to not be cruel. You will end up alone. Hug me. Say goodbye to the one who breastfed you. When he returns, your father will find you alone...

and transfers her desperation and fear to the spectators. When she is killed in the following scene – though the actors playing the assassins made them melodramatic villains that were read comically<sup>372</sup> – the raw panic on Inês’s face was vividly felt as she backed away from her killers.

In *Ars Poetica*, Horace suggest that the very basic tenets of imitation, or *mimesis*, are in operation when an actor transmits feeling to a spectator, “When a person smiles, people’s faces smile in return; when he weeps they show concern” (67). Erin Hurley discusses the communication of affect and the satisfaction we derive from it in a more scientific manner by examining how “at the level of brain biology, theatre builds upon and then feeds back to the images of mirror neurons, neurons that allow us to experience vicariously another’s internal life”

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<sup>372</sup> Silva’s script differentiates between the Conselheiros (Counsellors) and the Carrascos (Executioners) but Dias’s staging made the Counsellors the assassins.

(36). In this community performance, featuring several inexperienced actors, it is relevant to ask if emotion was effectively transferred to the audience members. Faced with several characters simultaneously emoting with differing degrees of credibility, with whom does the spectator empathize or, more plainly, whom does she imitate? On the evening I saw *Pedro e Inês de Castro*, there were several moments where spectator focus was split and the feeling of *saudade* was tenuous. One example noted above is the melodramatic acting of Inês's assassins one of whom has been used for comic effect in previous scenes. Silva indicates in her stage directions that Pacheco "fala com ar efeminado para tornar a cena mais leve" ("speaks with an effeminate tone to lighten up the scene"; 13) and gives him lines that clearly indicate he wants Inês dead so that he can have the Prince for himself: "D. Pedro tem que ficar livre para o reino (*aparte*) e para mim!!!" ("D. Pedro has to be free for the Kingdom (*aside*) and for me"; 18). One can only speculate as to why the teacher/playwright finds performative homophobia comical or why she introduces a comical note in the scenes where Inês's death is decided but in O Projecto's performance it created a split focus that made it difficult for the actor playing Inês to maintain her dramatic throughline. Another distraction was the presence of very young actors playing Inês and Pedro's children who upstaged the principal actors with giggling and fidgeting. They were blocked downstage of Inês as she confided in the Nurse or pleaded with Afonso IV for her life, interrupting the contagion of feeling between the protagonist and the spectators.<sup>373</sup> Technical problems like faulty scenery and microphones also deterred the transmission or transference of intended feeling and regrettably this almost ruined the final scene. Pedro's monologue at Inês's tomb, "E eu vi a saudade ao pé de mim. Nunca mais me deixou: vivo com ela. Fez-se em mim carne e sangue. Fez-se Inês" ("I saw *saudade* near me. It never left me: I live with her. It became my flesh and blood. It became Inês"; Patrício 148; IV), was read by director Sérgio Dias in a staticky and barely audible disembodied offstage voice. The actor playing Pedro mock-sobbed during the speech and his shuddering body threatened to knock over the faux-marble cardboard tomb and the lit candles resting on it.

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<sup>373</sup> For an extensive discussion on the vicarious pleasure of feeling in theatre see Erin Hurley's *Theatre & Feeling*, 23-36. More generally, Anna Gibbs theorizes "contagious feelings" and the ability of affect to "leap from one body to another" in "Contagious Feelings: Pauline Hanson and the Epidemiology of Affect," *Australian Humanities Review*, December 2001. Web. May 3, 2012. <<http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-December-2001/gibbs.html>>.

But in spite of such flaws in acting and staging, the audience applauded the performance of *Pedro e Inês de Castro* enthusiastically and some dried their tears after the tragic denouement of the story. It is clear that the affective space of *saudade* was dominated by the extra-textual Portuguese-Canadian setting, notwithstanding some lapses in the transference of *saudade* from actors to spectators. In addition, I note two particularities of O Projecto's production that present intriguing aspects of *saudade*. First, a manifestation of *saudade* as an intercultural experience occurred. The principal female roles of Inês, Constança and the Nurse, were played by Russian, or Portuguese-Russian, women who had first immigrated to Portugal where they lived, worked, and learned the language. When they came to Toronto, they naturally joined the Portuguese community. This intercultural aspect of O Projecto's members raises more questions about the role of *saudade* in community theatre. Do these Russian women express their *saudades* for Portugal by acting in plays in Portuguese and in Portuguese venues? Svetlana (Russian first name) Gomes (Portuguese surname) and her daughter Mónica (bi-cultural first name), played the Nurse and Inês, respectively, and did so with self-assurance. During the moving scene between real-life mother and daughter, there was a keen understanding of *saudade*, and a consequent spectatorial identification with the players. The Nurse's love for her lady was heartfelt and the *saudade* she would eventually feel with the death of Inês was anticipated. The spectators, exposed to the inexperienced male actor's bumbling attempts at passion in the preceding Pedro-Inês love scene,<sup>374</sup> would have to latch on to the Nurse's love for Inês if *saudade* for Inês was to be felt. Here the contagion of feeling between actor and spectator was tangible. Finally, the choice of a script that includes scenes of peasants and townspeople commenting publicly on the private affair of Pedro and Inês, scenes absent from most Inesian plays,<sup>375</sup> exemplifies the public nature of the personal love of Inês and Pedro and augurs the spectacle of public mourning that would later see Inês's body exhumed and made Queen. The study of affect in the public sphere which, interrogating the popularized feminist maxim of the eighties "the personal is political", has become central to current feminist critical discourse is useful in analysing the public aspect

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<sup>374</sup> I learned that the actor who played Pedro had never trod the boards before, had a jealous wife who would not let him show any passion for Inês and was under the watchful eye of one of the children in the play, his actual son. Under the circumstances, his restrained acting is understandable.

<sup>375</sup> Of course, John Clifford's tragedy discussed in 4.3 has a chorus of townspeople but it is unlikely that the teacher who wrote *Pedro e Inês de Castro* had access to it. The scenes performed at Casa do Alentejo echo the peasant scenes in Leitão de Barros's *Inês de Castro* that may well have been a source for Maria José Silva.

of Inês and *saudade* (Gorton 334). These scenes are also self-reflexive. They draw attention to the public nature of the production of an Inesian play. In O Projecto's performance, the peasants' comments on the lives of royalty and nobility generate lively spectatorial reaction. The characters' spectatorial role mirrors our own and evokes identificatory pleasure. The lives of Inês and Pedro, and their private affective engagement, became public and ended in tragedy. That is why Pedro's *saudade* is ours, and why Inesian drama is still a meaningful proposition as theatre in Toronto. It intensifies the *saudade* naturally felt by Portuguese-Canadians and shares it with peoples of other cultures. In the next section, I analyse my own feminist manifestation of Inês and its impact on university students in Toronto, who, hearing her speaking from the dead, keenly felt the loss of the Portuguese heroine.

#### 4.5 Jordão's Performances of Inês: The Feminist Experiment<sup>376</sup>

Of the representations of Inês de Castro that challenge patriarchal or masculinist interpretations of the legend of Pedro and Inês and attempt to give the Dead Queen an active role in her (hi)story, as in John Clifford's play discussed above, my own interpretation of the character is an overt ideological experiment to place Inês in a feminist space. The monologues, *On the Death of Inês de Castro/Sobre a Morte de Inês de Castro*, and *How She Dies/Como Ela Morre*, were written and performed to apply one premise of this inquiry, representing Inês de Castro as subject, in performance. The first, a translation/adaptation of "Trovas que Garcia de Resende fez à morte de D. Inês de Castro" (see Chapter 2.2), was originally produced within an anglo-feminist context at the University of Toronto for the Festival of Original Theatre 2008, "(En)gendering Performances: Feminism(s) in Representation".<sup>377</sup> It was then adapted for a presentation in its language of origin at the Portuguese Consulate General of Toronto. The

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<sup>376</sup> This section is based on my paper "(Re)Presenting Inês de Castro: Two Audiences, Two Languages, One Feminism", first read at the Canadian Association for Theatre Research (CATR), Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Carleton University, Ottawa May 23-27, 2009, and published in *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses* (REAP), Number 18, 2009.

<sup>377</sup> The festival is produced by the Graduate Centre for Study of Drama. It is an annual event where graduate students grapple with the divide between theory and practice and meet the challenge of embodying their ideas.

second, an original text, was likewise presented in English at the Graduate Drama Centre and in Portuguese at the Consulate of Portugal.

In documenting the creation and reception of these monologues, I explore the feminist space created for Inês in two different languages and for two distinct audiences. I address the following questions: why a feminist representation of Inês? how is this representation of Inês constructed in performance? how was my irreverent interpretation of a medieval lyrical ballad received by students of the University of Toronto vs. the patrons of the Consulate? how did my own re-writing of this historical episode impact the Portuguese-Canadian spectator vs. an audience unfamiliar with the theme? By discussing how theatre constructs the historical in the popular imagination and how the historical woman is gendered on stage, I also examine how my two incarnations of Inês have created a Bhabhian Third Space (explicated in Chapter 2.2) where nation, identity and feminism intersect and overlap.

For Resende's *On the Death of Inês de Castro*,<sup>378</sup> I recast the feminine mythology of Inês with a fluid gender approach as per the feminist deconstruction of the ballad in Chapter Two of this inquiry. Applying the scholarship of feminist medieval scholars to the staging of Resende's text, I considered the male-authored work as a cultural site where the female voice, "defies absolute categorization as either masculine or feminine" and playfully entertained a *mouvance* of gender identity (Burns et al 242) in performance. Central to my project was representing Inês as subject through narrative tropes, frequent shifts in authorial voice and the visualization of her body. I concluded that the voice of Inês in the "Trovas" of Garcia de Resende, a female voice issuing from a female body, contributed to a construction of female subjectivity that subverted the conventions of a male-dominant ideology. Here, Dona Inês, the character, would occupy the place of the subject when Inês, the historical woman, had existed primarily as the object of men's power games, i.e. passive victim, in Portuguese historic-literary accounts.

The legendary interview between Inês and the King is at the heart of Garcia de Resende's text and rendered so that the character of Dona Inês, who has come from the realm of the Dead to

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<sup>378</sup> Performed in 2008 at the Robert Gill Theatre on March 1 and the Portuguese Consulate in Toronto on April 22: director, Margo Charlton; musical director and musician, Nuno Cristo; set/costume design, Kelly Wolf; The Poet, Inês, King, Assassin: Aida Jordão.

speak to the ladies of the court, performs several voices as she tells her story of innocence. In addition to supplanting the poet/narrator to give her own version of the events, Dona Inês voices her live self in the past and the male characters that are responsible for her death. My English language adaptation and the direction of the piece built on this convention to create a multi-voiced and multi-bodied character. All choices of the representation of Dona Inês strove to prove that the “Trovas” could be performed with a feminist aesthetic, i.e. a site of resistance to fixed notions of gender, identity and subjectivity.

At first, I imagined replicating a high medieval court performance as per Denise K. Filios’s speculations about “performing medieval women”. Filios suggests that constructions of gender were challenged when female performers engaged in “parodic mimicry” by performing themselves, or when male poets and *juglars* became transgendered by performing female characters (3). In Resende’s ballad, the poet/narrator introduces Dona Inês who then speaks from the dead and plays out her tragedy through the voices of her assassins, and her own voice in the past and present. It could be performed rather literally with a male actor and a female actor playing four characters as per the sex assigned to each,<sup>379</sup> but to stretch and complicate constructions of gender (as per Filios), we opted for a single performer. Now, we could either have a male actor playing the poet, the male characters and Dona Inês in drag, or a female actor playing Dona Inês and the male poet and male characters in drag. In pre-rehearsal discussions with my director, Margo Charlton, I opted for the latter as a casting that would most successfully create a feminist space. By performing “woman” in a possible medieval tradition (Filios), by subverting the male authorial (and literary) voice, and by suggesting a simultaneous male and female subjectivity when the male voices of Inês’s assassins issue from her body, we hoped to foreground a feminist ideology that would, as our host festival asked, “gender performance” in a feminist representation.

I introduced the ballad by performing myself reading a letter from the dead Inês de Castro asking me to tell the truth about her – i.e. to tell her story in a different, non-patriarchal way – using Resende’s verses because she had “guided his hand” when he composed them.

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<sup>379</sup> As noted in 2.2, Jorge de Sena speculated that Inês’s lines in the “Trovas” may have been spoken by “uma figura feminina que as encarnava” (“a feminine figure who incarnated them”; 1: 273).

...há poetas que eu consegui influenciar. Aquele gordinho do século quinze, o jovial Garcia de Resende, ficou famoso por ter escrito trovas à minha morte. Mas fui eu que guiei a sua mão, que lhe contei da minha amargura. Gostava que levasse essas trovas à cena. São um tanto dramáticas.

...there are poets whom I influenced. That chubby one from the fifteenth century, the jovial Garcia de Resende, became famous for writing a ballad about my death. But it was I who guided his hand, who told him of my sorrow. I'd like you to put this ballad on the stage. It's quite dramatic.<sup>380</sup>

This baroque style set up the self-conscious premise of the piece and further layered the voices in the monologue. In a somewhat post-modern pastiche, I now had male, female, transgendered, dead, alive, past, present, fictional and historical voices to embody. I decided to engage Nuno Cristo to play the Portuguese Guitar throughout the piece and suggest the movement of time while I concentrated on the movement of gender identity as *The Poet/ Dona Inês/ King/ Assassin*.

Finally, it was the design, human-size headless paper doll cut-outs that represented the various characters as archetypes of the poet, the lady and the knight, that determined the direction of the monologue.<sup>381</sup> It seemed that by obscuring my (female) body when I entered the world of Garcia de Resende and Inês de Castro, I was able to convey the fluidity of gender that I ascribed to my literary analysis of the text. The “parodic citation” that I engaged in to point up the materiality of the body, exposed the heterosexual matrix that Judith Butler presupposes as a foundation of the performance of gender (*Bodies* 232).<sup>382</sup> That is, the feminine and/or masculine traits of each character were confused by the obvious conflict between a costume cut-out that represented a

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<sup>380</sup> In performance, I read the letter in the original Portuguese, translating key phrases to English.

<sup>381</sup> Conceived by myself and director Margo Charlton, these set/costume pieces were designed and built by Kelly Wolf.

<sup>382</sup> Butler posits that a performance of gender is a citation of previous performances, or an iterability, be it considered masculine or feminine in a certain cultural setting. That is, masculine or feminine traits are not innate but performed or mimicked repeatedly according to accepted modes of behaviour in a patriarchy, for instance.

specific gender, and my face and voice that suggested another. Following Resende's narrative scheme, as discussed in Chapter 2.2, I foregrounded the construction of gender by performing in drag. The outlined drawings of the medieval characters were like schoolbook illustrations of the story of Inês and Pedro, minus their heads; each had a bloody neckline suggesting decapitation. The Poet was a rotund gold-coloured vest over a white shirt with cloth sleeves where I inserted my arms, a ruffle collar, balloon-shaped short pants in brown and gold stripes, red stockings and brown shoes. Inês was a long, grey, sleeveless A-line tunic with white borders at the armholes and neck, gold buttons and a matching belt. The Knight was a short blue tunic with chain mail at the neck and hem, sporting a grey belt in which a gold-hasped sword was inserted, and brown boots. The characters' two-dimensional shape remained unchanged and helped to throw focus on my head and arms; these took on masculine and/or feminine gestures, for example, aggressive or yielding respectively,<sup>383</sup> morphing into a confusion of gender as I moved from character to character in full light. I reminded spectators that they too could step behind the cut-outs as they would at a fun-fair photo booth, and embody the jocose poet, the mythological Inês, and the villains of her tragedy, and, as in this feminist theatre piece, stretch the gendered identity of each character.

Standing behind the cut-out costume of Dona Inês, I addressed the King as though he were in the place of the spectator, making the desperate plea for Dona Inês's life,

*(Aida stands behind Inês cut-out)*

Don't let passion rule what you should do, still your hand, for it is a weak heart that kills a woman without cause. Especially me, for I am blamed without reason for being the mother of these innocent children who are before you and who are your grandchildren.

They are so young that if they are not brought up by me they will feel such sorrow and abandonment they will die forsaken. See how

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<sup>383</sup> As noted in Chapter 2.2, some stereotypical masculine and feminine traits used by psychologists in the 1990's include the masculine as "aggressive", "ambitious", and "analytical" and the feminine as "gentle" "yielding", and "emotional" (M. A. Case 12-13).

much cruelty you will cause, your Highness, and look, my Lord,  
you are the father of the Prince; don't cause him such sadness.<sup>384</sup>

and a few lines later then adopted the distanced voice of the narrator to describe the King's reaction,

*(Aida behind Inês cut-out; music of hope)*

The King, seeing how I was, had compassion for me and saw what he had not seen before, that I had not done him any wrong or betrayed him. And seeing how I truly had love and loyalty for the Prince who I belong to, he felt more mercy than determination.

For if he had said that I did not love his son and that I did not obey him, then he, with reason, could order me to be put to death. But seeing that at no time, since I was born till now, he ever said this to me, when he remembered this, he went out the door; with a sorrowful face, with his purpose changed, very sad and thoughtful, like a merciful King, very Christian and courageous. *(music stops)* But, one of those who was in his company, a wicked knight, went after him angrily.<sup>385</sup>

Here, I crossed stage right to stand behind the Knight cut-out (the assassin),

*(Aida stands behind Knight cut-out; music of cruelty)*

“Sir, your mercy should be reprehended, for your will was changed unnecessarily by the tears of a woman. Sir, do you want your son to live in sin with children as though he were married? You amaze me more than the lover himself. If you don't kill her right away you will never be feared and no one will do what you order for you

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<sup>384</sup> Adapted prose translation of lines 91-110 of the “Trovas” (Jordão 2008) with stage directions from the original production.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid, lines 131-160.

have refused the advice you were given. Look at the dilemma you have, for because of the love he has for her, your son won't marry and will cause us much conflict with Castela. With her death you will save many others, much damage you will avoid, sir, and will give, to us and to yourself, peace for two hundred years. The Prince will marry, he will have blessed sons, he will no longer live in sin; though he will mourn today, tomorrow he will have forgotten her.”<sup>386</sup>

and then returned to the Dona Inês cut-out to end the story,

*(Aida stands behind Inês cut-out; music of desperation)*

And hearing what the knight said the King was confused for having two extreme choices, and forced to do he knew not what, one or the other. He wanted to give me life, because I didn't deserve death or any harm; he was pained to take sides. And seeing that he was being blamed, and that he was being pressured, he said to the one who had spoken: “I won't give you a decision; If you wish to do it, do it without telling me, for in this I give no orders and I don't see why this poor woman should die.” The two angry knights, on hearing such words, cruel and without mercy, perverse, unloving, turn harshly towards me. By their own hand, with swords, they pierce my heart; they did not allow me confession; this is the reward that my love has given me.<sup>387</sup>

The music of the Portuguese Guitar and its association with *fado*, created a soundscape that supported a Portuguese cultural imaginary and gave Dona Inês's lament a further dimension. The fate of Inês de Castro became a *fado* and the weeping strings of the Portuguese Guitar suggested the *saudade* that is emblematic of Luso creations of the story. I ended this section with an

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<sup>386</sup> Ibid, lines 161-190.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid, lines 191-220.

anguished expression and froze for a beat before crossing to the Poet cut-out to complete the story. As the music changed to suggest the court of Dom Manuel I where Resende performed his verses, I now played the jovial poet who attempts to erase the tragic note of Dona Inês's lament,

*(Aida stands behind Resende cut-out; palace music)*

Ladies, do not fear! Don't be afraid of doing good...keep your hearts calm and you will soon see what great good comes of good. Don't be worried by what you have heard because it is the law of God to love well, neither virtue nor fine qualities will ever be lost.<sup>388</sup>

Then, building on a medieval tradition where women were exalted in troubador music<sup>389</sup> we encouraged the "enaltecimento de Inês de Castro pela descendência" ("exaltation of Inês de Castro by descendancy") (J. Camões 132n), by staging the lines that glorify Inês as the ancestor of great men throughout the centuries as a lively song by the poet with the audience joining the performers for the final line.

*(Aida stands behind Poet cut-out; Musician tralalas, Poet joins in)*

The main Kings of Portugal, the main Kings of Spain,  
the King of Castela, the Emperor of Germany.  
Look what great honour, look what great honour,  
All of them descended from her.

*(tralala)*

The great King of Naples, the Duke of Burgundy,  
whom all of France was so afraid  
and whom the King defeated in battle,  
All of them descended from her.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>388</sup> Ibid, lines 221-225.

<sup>389</sup> The ennobling of the lady in courtly love poetry was rooted in the relationship between powerful women and their male vassals. See, for example, Fredric Cheyette's *Ermengard of Norbonne and the World of the Troubadours*, Cornell University Press, c2001.

<sup>390</sup> Resende, lines 251-260.

The spectators sang, “All of them descended from her / All of them descended from her...” and partook in the “enaltecimento” of Inês de Castro.

I believe this staging of the “Trovas”, with its feminist acting, directing and design elements, succeeded in giving Inês authority and bringing her voice and “truth” to a twenty-first century audience. In the absence of quantitative or qualitative spectator feedback, however, the reception of the piece must be discussed in the spirit of ‘auto-ethnography’,<sup>391</sup> with a certain amount of speculation. Susan Bennett posits that the “interpretive communities” present at a performance bring not only their linguistic and literary competence (as per Stanley Fish’s definition) but also their “political underpinnings and relationship to the dominant ideology” to the theatre (*Theatre Audiences* 42). Thus, we may surmise that the audience at the Drama Centre, assured by the theme of the festival, knew they would be witnessing a feminist performance while the Portuguese-Canadians who attended a “cultural session” at the Consulate, did not. However, this does not guarantee that the Drama Centre is a more feminist space than the Consulate. The proscenium and stage lights, which create a division between performer and audience and establish a hierarchy of artist over spectator, are conventional presentation elements rejected by theatremakers who, like feminists, seek to establish a new relationship with the public.<sup>392</sup> As Karen Laughlin makes clear, a feminist aesthetic is not a strictly definable form but,

the exploration and development of alternative philosophies of art (and, more particularly, of theatre) based not on a “feminine style” or the recuperation of a female tradition but on a radical critique of existing modes of theatre and theatrical criticism [which] can provide a significant site of intervention in artistic and social practice. (11)

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<sup>391</sup> See, for example, Amanda Coffey’s *The Ethnographic Self: Fieldwork and the Representation of Identity*, London:Sage, 1999, where auto-ethnography is described as “ethnographic writing which locates the self as central [and] gives analytic purchase to the autobiographical” (126).

<sup>392</sup> Bertolt Brecht is famously known for his *verfremdungseffekt* (literally making strange effect) that broke with realism, or the illusion of the real, in Western theatre. He showed the trappings of theatre production to keep spectators aware and ready to take action. In my feminist and popular theatre practice, the elimination of the proscenium was essential to challenge the dominant form of elitist or “high art” theatre and defy the hegemonic relationship between the artist and the public. The most radical change came with Augusto Boal’s Theatre of the Oppressed where the invisible fourth wall is destroyed so that the spectator can become a spect-actor.

Surprisingly, the Consulate's open-space and uniformly lit gallery lent itself beautifully to an alternative performance style, permitting a feminist aesthetic to emerge. Moreover, spectators who know my work or read the flyer advertising the event, "Playing with the female voice and subject in the medieval poetry of Garcia de Resende", and are aware of the Consul's interest in women's civil rights<sup>393</sup> might expect to find a feminist message in my performance of the centuries old text.

So how did my irreverent interpretation of a Portuguese foundational myth, so playfully received by the students of the University of Toronto who laughed at my transgendered characterizations and my audacity to declare that Inês was speaking through me, translate to a space where the "dominant ideology" of the interpretive community was marked by nation as well as gender? Admittedly, I made changes to the performance at the Consulate because I pre-supposed that some aspects of my English-language performance were unnecessary or too absurd for an audience familiar with the legend. Or perhaps I was nervous about proposing myself as the voice, and a feminist voice at that, of Inês de Castro. (It is evident from a Portuguese community newspaper interview that this concerned me because I am quoted as saying rather defensively, "I have as much right as other authors of portraying Inês".<sup>394</sup>)

In *Sobre a Morte de Inês de Castro*, I omitted the opening letter from Inês to myself that opened the University of Toronto performance, and instead presented literary readings that allegedly carry more authority than my unorthodox approach; four Portuguese-Canadian community actors<sup>395</sup> read brief excerpts from classic and modern published Inesian works. But despite my intention of presenting male-authored texts that did not challenge patriarchal assumptions, like a dialogue from Domingos dos Reis Quita's eighteenth-century overwrought tragedy, *A Castro*,<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> In the four years that she was Consul in Ontario (2006-2010), Dra. Maria Amélia Paiva embraced feminist literary and academic presentations; upon seeing my performance at the Drama Centre, she invited me to perform the monologue at the Consulate.

<sup>394</sup> "Inês está viva na interpretação de Aida Jordão" ("Inês is alive in Aida Jordão's performance"), J. F. V. Schuster, *Nove Ilhas*, April 29, 2008, 3.

<sup>395</sup> Carla Miguel, Catia Santos, Mário Silva and Milai Sousa.

<sup>396</sup> Machado de Sousa calls Reis Quita's text "prosaico e monótono" ("prosaic and monotonous") (*Tema Português* 290).

I also made the feminist choice of including female-authored texts: the seventeenth-century “Saudades de Inês de Castro” by Maria de Lara e Menezes, an excerpt from transgendered Jo Clifford’s play (see section 4.3 of this chapter) and a poetic reflection by feminist author Natália Correia.<sup>397</sup> The latter, especially, with its impassioned language and its bold equalizing of the position of the male and female protagonist, “Porque se digo Pedro digo Inês” (“Because if I say Pedro I say Inês”), became a bridge to my own subjectivization of Inês de Castro. Nevertheless, this form of introduction, the reading of excerpted texts to contextualize my performance, proved to be less dynamic or effective than the imaginary letter from Inês. To my surprise, spectators who had seen the English-language version of the monologue, missed the letter; they said that removing it erased my presence in the work, and the overt feminist ideology of the piece. My attempt to package the feminist message in a more palatable form for what I assumed to be a non-feminist audience – I expected resistance (or even hostility) from conservative Consulate patrons – was short-sighted. The institutionalized space of the Consulate also welcomes progressive spectators who appreciate a feminist outlook.

My next representation of Inês de Castro took shape as a stream-of-consciousness monologue at the moment of her death. This text was developed in a workshop with Canadian playwright Guillermo Verdecchia and again presented at the Drama Centre and the Portuguese Consulate in Toronto, albeit outside of feminist-themed events. As with most of my work, I approached it as a female artist working in a male-dominated culture seeking a site of resistance to masculinist discourse. When asked why I wanted to create a feminist representation of Inês, I responded that I could not identify with a female figure known only for her youth, beauty and innocence; I needed a foundational myth that spoke to me, a Portuguese-Canadian socialist-feminist. Verdecchia suggested that I “write [my] own lie” about Inês de Castro. The short monologue *How She Dies/Como Ela Morre* begins to tell this lie by imagining a truth that has to be spoken. I decided that Inês needed to own the sin, the crime, and the passion that she shared with D. Pedro. In my story, Inês, no longer the figure of innocence imagined by Garcia de Resende or António Ferreira, admits that she has willfully betrayed her Lady Constança and wished for Constança’s

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<sup>397</sup> Natália Correia’s 1984 poem “Calem-se agora todas as tubas destes amores de prata...” was first published in Machado de Sousa’s *Inês de Castro na Literatura Portuguesa*, 142-3.

death so that Pedro would be free. Significantly, she is also no longer the submissive object of Pedro's attentions but has carnal pleasure in her meetings with the Prince:

The audacity of it, the stubbornness, the urgency. It was madness that constant urge to be near each other, intertwined, the ardent and urgent gestures. Urgency...always that word, unreal and impossible.

She is no longer youthful or the idealized beauty of legend; the monologue takes place when she is the mother of three growing children, and is played by myself, a middle-aged woman. I delighted in creating an Inês I could identify with, one who had agency and, because I wore a non-period skirt and blouse, seemed inseparable from the figure of myself, a twenty-first century feminist. Paradoxically though, my Inês was inevitably built on previous representations. The monologue begins with Inês watching her children and walking in the garden, a bucolic image strongly influenced by the lyrical poetry of Camões where her life by the Mondego and her "colo de alabastro" ("neck of alabaster") are celebrated (Canto III, 120-135):

My children had gone to the river to catch butterflies and tadpoles. It was January and cool, but gloriously sunny. They ran off down the path, Dinis leading the way with his little nets for watery critters, big ones for airborne beauties. Beatriz followed with her little chubby legs showing beneath her flying skirts. João, my eldest, almost too old to play, pretended not to run. I watched them disappear among the trees, then walked about the garden with my face turned to the sun.

Indeed, "...with my face turned to the sun" was the pretext for exposing the neck of alabaster that Camões praised. Skipping a few centuries of literary influence, I based Inês's remorse at causing Princess Constança pain for having an affair with her husband on a scene from the classic 1945 Portuguese/Spanish black and white film of 1945 (discussed in Chapter 3.2):

Constança came to me. Such secrecy, such care but she knew everything. She asked me to deny him and I said, yes, I would, I

swore, I wanted her happiness, I said, Pedro loved her not me, I  
swore. I lied, for him I lied, for me I lied, for being together, I lied.

But in director Leitão de Barros's interpretation, Inês, played by Spanish actress Alicia Palacios, is typically portrayed as the blonde beauty of legend. The ghosts of ultra-feminine Inêses past haunted me.

Nevertheless, the Drama Centre students mentioned how "immediate" and "real" Inês seemed to them, though she was the Other in several ways. Through my feminist interpretation, it seemed that their identification with the character surpassed barriers of age, gender, class and nationality. Indeed, I had to ask myself if I had created this piece for a Canadian university audience to give them a picture of Inês before they encountered it elsewhere. The playwriting workshop student participants had asked, "who is she speaking to?" and I had to admit that it was them I imagined as interlocutors.

I wondered, though, how my construction of Inês might be received by a Portuguese-Canadian audience who is presumably satisfied with the image of ideal beauty that our "símbolo do amor português" ("symbol of Portuguese love") represents (Sousa, *Tema Português* 477). I was given the opportunity to once again test my construction of Inês at a cultural session of the Portuguese Consulate. This time my text would follow a visual art exhibit opening and be among three short pieces performed in the round with, coincidentally, themes from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. The first, performed by a community theatre group, was a short text by a twentieth-century author paying homage to Golden Age playwright Gil Vicente.<sup>398</sup> The third was a Galician-Portuguese *cantiga de amiga* choreographed in the aesthetic of Japanese *butoh*.<sup>399</sup> My own exploration of Portugal's greatest medieval love story was cloaked in twenty-first-century ideological and political concepts. It was clear that the popularity of revisioning centuries-old material with a contemporary twist spoke to a need to define identity; how this was positioned

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<sup>398</sup> Teatro Experimental O Projecto da Casa do Alentejo de Toronto, director Sérgio Dias (the same group and director discussed in 4.4).

<sup>399</sup> Excerpts from the *Cancioneiro Medieval Português*, conceived and directed by Lúcia Ramos, performed by the late Cristina Taborda.

within a nationalistic discourse attached to the Consulate became clear during the talkback that followed.

Spectators were “proud” of seeing Portuguese-Canadian theatre with Portuguese themes. In accordance with the Consulate mandate, they spoke of the importance of promoting Portuguese language and culture. Nary a word was said about the revisioning of the classic texts and/or characters but in some comments an understanding of a new reading was manifested. As to my Inês, they “liked” my version and the parts of the story they hadn’t heard before. The director of the Gil Vicente piece asked me to play Inês for a future production of António Patrício’s *Pedro, O Cru*, but I “would have to wear a blonde wig”.<sup>400</sup> My interpretation may have temporarily replaced the image of the youthful, ideal beauty of the mythologized Inês, but he was clearly reverting to his earlier imagined version. I hope that, upon reflection, he and other spectators might consider my representation of a more complex Inês, where being blonde, young and/or feminine is not the only imagined possibility.

This analysis of my re-presentations of Inês de Castro argues that discovering and privileging a female subjectivity in a male-authored text or creating a resistant heroine within a male-dominated discourse yields a re-gendered foundational myth that favours a feminist ideology. Nonetheless, the feminist aesthetic that may re-construct the image of Inês, also depends on how it is received. Susan Bennett stresses that,

[a]s questions of audience have become, to a certain extent, questions of identity (one of which is marked by the concept ‘gender’), this has shifted attention appropriately to the cultural contexts for production and reception (“Introduction” 268).

Thus, the cultural context of a university department or an official government office, or whatever space feminist art graces, needs to be considered when identifying the feminist aspects of a performance. I would like to add, moreover, that just as feminist theatre changes and develops to shape a relevant politics, an audience’s cultural and ideological expectations are likewise not fixed. As discussed in Chapter 2.2, Homi K. Bhabha conceives of a Third Space

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<sup>400</sup> In 2011 Sergio Dias directed the story of Inês and Pedro with his group O Projecto and cast a brunette as Inês. See Chapter 4.4.

where the hybrid subject, one who straddles two or more cultures, is in flux and can negotiate identity and refuse authoritarian codes (*Location* 55). For feminist theatre practitioners, this ambiguous space permits a repudiation of masculinist mores and a fluid approach to gender construction and performance. Moreover, the Bhabhian concept of mimicry in the postcolonial space embraces the performative to challenge authority, as Inês does when she voices her male oppressors. Through the re-imagining of Inês de Castro, I propose that this foundational myth of Portuguese culture is a subject in flux and can be “negotiated” to fit my irreverent perspective, infect the receptive spectator, and create a feminist space, anywhere.

## 4.6 Feminist Efficacy?

From Teatro O Bando’s objectifying embodiment of Inês de Castro to my own feminist representation, the four performances analysed here show how Inês is constructed as the protagonist of each text, how her performance is gendered and how that affects her ability to act, or have agency. The progressive organization of the discussion aimed to determine the feminist efficacy of each male-authored character by exploring the signs of the female actor’s performance as, after Aston, an alternative text (32). I conclude that in two productions, Teatro O Bando and Whetstone, the stage Inês lost ground to the textual Inês; that is, while Miguel Jesus’s and John Clifford’s plays created heroines who had potential to be subjects, the productions distorted or diminished, respectively, the protagonist’s strength and autonomy. Nonetheless, I have drawn out certain nuances of these representations of the Dead Queen to find conditions and conventions that contribute to the subjectivization of the character, like the positioning of Inês in relation to Teatro O Bando’s scenic machine, or Whetstone’s costuming and stage movement for Inês’s Ghost. For all the plays, I have contextualized the performance to probe extra-theatrical meaning, as in the *saudade* imbued Portuguese-Canadian venue of O Projecto’s Inês, and my Resende monologue at a festival with a feminist mandate. As Gay Gibson Cima reminds us,

...production and reception of the performance text occur simultaneously; the (absent) male playwright does, paradoxically, appear, but his presence is mediated through a precise and ever-changing interrelationship among and between actor, character,

director, and audience. It is particularly useful, then, for feminists to examine not only the structure of the male playwright's script and the female actor's style of acting but also the way these two factors intersect at specific historical moments, as well as in hypothetical contexts, as they compete to perform woman (12).

I cannot wholeheartedly negate or promote each play's efficacy for feminism but consider that a different direction, casting, design, or theatre space, for example, can change the reception of each Inês examined here, as I gauged for *On the Death of Inês de Castro* at the University of Toronto versus the Portuguese Consulate. Neither can I affirm that my feminist reading has successfully teased out all possibilities of agency for the protagonist. What I can state with some confidence is that the female actor, to embody Inês as subject, must have a director who pushes her to resist the masculinist discourse that makes Inês *only* a tragic victim of circumstances. As I have made clear above, the texts of Garcia de Resende, John Clifford and Miguel Jesus, so disparate in time and place of origin, have the potential to give us a twenty-first century Inês de Castro who can embody a pro-feminist ideology. How this succeeds or falters in performance is attributable to the intersection of the various elements that make up the theatrical event.

There is, however, one question over which I ponder: that is the age of the actor cast as Inês. An old friend, upon hearing that I was writing about Inês de Castro, didn't hesitate to comment on the erroneous romantic aspect of the legend, scoffing at how the lovers are imagined as Romeo and Juliet types, and especially at the portrayal of Inês de Castro as a naive, young maiden: "she had three grown children...even if she was only in her thirties, in the Middle Ages that would equal seventy today." If we consider the case studies in this chapter, to imagine a senior actor playing the role of Inês is not a reasonable expectation. Of the four performances, only my own ignored the popular perpetration of Inês as a woman in her early twenties at the time of her death. As I noted, Miguel Jesus's early manuscript listed both Pedro and Inês as age 35 and other productions of Clifford's play featured actresses in their thirties. The directors of the productions examined here, however, chose actors in their twenties: in the case of Whetstone, this resulted in an *ingénue*-like Inês; for Teatro O Bando, a sexualized object for the male gaze.<sup>401</sup> O Projecto's

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<sup>401</sup> In this production, the added complication of the age difference between Inês and Pedro – almost twenty years – also affected the way the heroine was perceived.

Inês was also a young, inexperienced woman, helpless to stem the villainous threats against her, and submissive when pleading for mercy.

Considering the specific historical moment of twenty-first century Western theatre, a place where roles for older women are scant and consequently middle-aged female actors are absent from the profession, it is not surprising that Inês de Castro is often cast as a youthful woman. Then, the masculinist discourse within which this casting occurs, be it with a male or female director, strips the heroine of authority or increases the possibility of her objectification. My middle-aged performance of Inês worked against the stereotype of the naive *ingénue*, intentionally putting her beyond sexual objectification by virtue of her age. From a feminist perspective to be fighting the same old stereotypes of the female actor<sup>402</sup> seems incongruous, and it is certainly problematic that the middle-aged female body is not a sexualized body. Nevertheless, *On the Death of Inês de Castro*, had the voice of an older woman whose epistemological authority guided the performance and the life-size cut-out cardboard costumes covered the female body, preventing easy assumptions of gendered behaviour. I thought spectators might scorn the unlikely representation of the iconic figure of beauty, innocence and *saudade*, but she was embraced. In a feminist space, Inês de Castro moved beyond borders and across time to complicate the relationship between the personal and the political, the private and the public, and the gendered aspect of her story.

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<sup>402</sup> In my feminist theatre practice twenty to thirty years ago, we strove to create the position of woman as subject in our plays but this hardly affected mainstream representations of woman. In the 1990's, my agent advised me to hang up my actor's hat for a couple of decades as there were few roles for women in their thirties or forties.

## Chapter 5

### 5 Conclusion

Recently, novelist Mário Cláudio has imagined a short story and a children's tale that tell the story of Inês and Pedro from distinct viewpoints with resulting contrasting representations of the Dead Queen. In the first, the affair is witnessed by Fernando, the legitimate son of Pedro and Constança, and consequently Inês is seen as a seductress who leads Fernando's father to adultery and madness. In the second, the romance is described by the dogs of Inês and Pedro with due deference to their masters. The unconditional love and loyalty of Inês's little *galguinha*<sup>403</sup> make Inês a goddess figure and, following Inês's death, the eternal grief shown by the dog once again images Inês as a symbol of *saudade*. It is notable that these two strikingly different interpretations of the story should come from the same pen as it shows the rich and diverse possibilities of the Inesian tale and the role of Inês as an artist's muse. As the title of José Pereira da Costa's new bibliography claims, Inês is "Musa de Tantas Paixões" ("Muse of So Many Passions"). It is also significant that the life of the historical woman Inês de Castro, of which so little is known, allows for such an eclectic array of interpretations and representations as this inquiry demonstrates.

As I have suggested at the onset, Inês is a palimpsest that embodies beauty, love, innocence, and *saudade* and her various representations as lover/wife /mistress, mother, martyr, and (dead) queen affect the degree to which she engages with nation, displays feminine and masculine qualities and has agency or subjectivity. The case studies examined in this inquiry make some connections between early Iberian dramatic texts and film and performance of the twentieth and twenty-first century to determine how the figure of Inês has developed across centuries and media. This in itself is not an original project, as Inesian scholars have debated similar concerns for decades, but the feminist lens through which I have analysed the representations of Inês de

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<sup>403</sup> An Italian greyhound: the smallest sighthound or gazehound, resembling a miniature greyhound.

Castro is new. Hopefully, this inquiry will inspire fellow academics to consider, first, the gendered character of Inês and, second, Inês as a fluid construction that defies the binary oppositions of male/female, masculine/feminine, active/passive, or hero/victim.

In this concluding chapter I will bring together some of the observations made throughout this study by discussing the gendered roles assigned to Inês de Castro in my selected works of Inesian literature, cinema and theatre that emphasize the heroine's incarnation as love, innocence and *saudade*. It is an inventory that deconstructs the character as seen by a diversity of authors to elicit the abstract terms with which she is collectively constructed.

## 5.1 The Lover/Mistress/Wife

Starting with Garcia de Resende's "Trovas à morte de Dona Inês de Castro", the civil status of Inês de Castro is of vital relevance to her fate and is sometimes the trump card that will win the battle between Reason of State and Love. Resende is blunt about Dona Inês's courtesan status and the King's Counsellors equally so when they say Pedro is "...abarregado, com filhos como casado..." ("in concubinage, with children as though he were married"; lines 166-7). There is no question here that Pedro and Inês have ever been married and it is a matter of national scandal that the Crown Prince should carry on with the affair and refuse to marry a deserving bride. Dona Inês stands in the way of legitimacy and the "mui crus e não piadosos/ perversos, desamorosos" ("very cruel and without mercy/ perverse, unloving"; lines 213-14) knights use it against her. It isn't until Dona Inês's body is transferred to the sumptuous tomb at Alcobaça that she is made Pedro's wife and Queen "por lei" ("by law"; line 250). António Ferreira's Castro, however, is clandestinely married to the Prince though it is a fact that is not disclosed to the King when she is pleading for her life and her rightful place in Pedro's world; Pacheco here insists the illicit affair is made possible by Inês's acquiescence, "Dá ocasião" ("She gives the occasion"; Act II line 68, Martyn 275), when arguing that she should be killed. Castro follows her Nurse's advice, "Encobre o teu segredo" ("Hide your secret"; Act I line 188, Martyn 251) and keeps the union with the Prince a secret. Vélez de Guevara's over-confident Inés does not keep the marriage a secret but ironically it is her undoing. When she tells King Alonso, he responds with,

¡Noramala para vos,  
doña Inés, que os despeñáis,

pues si es como vos decís,

será fuerza que muráis! (III 1984-87)

You are lost, doña Inés,/ you've been imprudent,/ for if it is as you  
say/ you will have to die!

and finds in the marriage more justification for Inés's death. The taint of an illegitimate union is absent from this Golden Age *comedia*, but again is seen as an impediment to the Prince's marriage to a Princess. In the two plays, the denouement of the tragedy shows Pedro after Inês's death promising to make her his Queen; in *Reinar después de morir* he famously crowns the corpse. In all three texts, a legitimizing marriage renders Inês as a symbol of innocence, if any spectator/reader should be in doubt, justifying her place in the Royal family and denouncing the Reason of State that took her life.

How these variants of married legitimacy and belated Princely acts have trickled down to modern and post-modern Inesian creations, and what they have meant for Inês as a symbol of love and innocence is aptly exemplified by the two national films that, fifty years apart, show Inês de Castro as a common-law-wife living in domestic bliss with Pedro. After several scenes that clearly show that Inês and Pedro are adulterers with the long-suffering wife Constança as witness until she dies, Leitão de Barros's *Inês de Castro* has Inês and Pedro sitting at a dining table together surrounded by their children. This is unique to narratives of the couple's union. The modest dining room, the table, plates, cutlery and food, and Inês as housewife, foreground the private nature of the relationship and negate the status of Inês as kept woman of the Prince, contradicting the washerwomen's complaints of her scandalous behaviour. José Carlos de Oliveira's *Inês de Portugal* also shows Inês in a large living room with a table but it is covered in papers, not domestic articles and foodstuffs. As she confronts the Counsellors, however, she is in a position of power behind the large desk and behaves as matron of the abode; the props suggest that she is educated and independent. The Prince is not there and her boys are outside playing; Inês is visually disassociated as a royal family member, though she speaks of Pedro's dedication and love. The Counsellors warn her that her relationship with the Prince is illicit, scandalous and dangerous – to which she agrees – and the viewers, having witnessed the private marriage ritual between Pedro and Inês that followed their lovemaking, know Inês does not have legal rights. Thus, in both national films, Love cannot conquer Reason of State because it is not sanctioned by church or state. But in a similar vein to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century dramatic texts

studied in this inquiry, both narratives end with Pedro in the Monastery of Alcobaça summoning witnesses to his marriage to Inês as her corpse sits or lies nearby. Leitão de Barros produces the truly macabre scene of the decomposing bridal corpse, her stench filling the cavernous space, being crowned Queen but Oliveira, showing uncharacteristic reserve (since he has exploited the sex and violence of the story gratuitously throughout the film), has Pedro proclaiming his marriage to Inês and announcing to the people, “Pois sois contentes, haveis uma Rainha” (“Be glad, you have a Queen”).

In the twenty-first century performances analysed in this inquiry, the marriage is absent from most except when it is mentioned or enacted in relation to Inês’s posthumous crowning and re-burial. Teatro O Bando’s *Pedro e Inês*, in the Ferreirian tradition, has no scenes between the living Inês and Pedro but Inês’s corpse, manipulated by Pedro and her lady-in-waiting Teresa, wears a crown representing the legitimacy of her union with the Prince. (It is a reminder that Inês was killed because Afonso discovered that she and the Prince were married.) Is this final image, however, strong enough to counteract the coquettish Inês we have seen traipsing about bare-breasted in fur-covered boots and loincloth and engaging in mock sex with Teresa? The living Inês represented in O Bando’s play is the farthest from a traditional wifely role and strongest in suggesting sexy mistress while her corpse reifies the obsessive love and the eternal *saudade* that Pedro has for her. Whetstone’s staging of Clifford’s play, like Barro’s film, also features Pedro’s wife<sup>404</sup> who confronts Inês with hostility. Here, Inês plays “the other woman” and her scenes with the Prince do not mention marriage, though the couple has children and co-habitation is implied. There is no possibility of a marriage after death, either, because Clifford keeps Queen Blanca alive in a nunnery and she is summoned to the feast where Inês’s exhumed body holds court and Pacheco is tortured and killed. Though Pedro urges the guests to celebrate his true queen, Inês,

...Kiss her hand.  
 You first. Treat her like a queen.  
 Like the queen she always truly was.  
 I treated her badly while she lived.

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<sup>404</sup> Inaccurately she is named Blanca, the first wife of Prince Pedro, not Constança (see footnote 355).

Now I'll make amends. (Clifford 35)

the image is contradicted by the presence of Blanca. In Whetstone's staging, the actress slips away and leaves Pedro holding her robes, signalling that it is too late to "make amends".

## 5.2 The Mother

Garcia de Resende establishes Inês as mother of Pedro's children and the maternal ancestor of great men. The latter, though a powerful image as discussed in Chapter 2.2, is rarely recreated in Inesian texts but the children surrounding Inês while she pleads for her life is a motif that is frequently reproduced. In the "Trovas", Dona Inês is clear that she is manipulating<sup>405</sup> the meeting with words that sound like a stage direction, "Meus filhos pus de redor/ de mim com grã homildade..." ("My children I gathered round me/ with great humility..."; lines 86-7) and in naming herself as mother of the innocents, "...por ser mãe dos inocentes" (line 98), she associates her innocence with that of the sinless children. This is, as discussed above, echoed in Ferreira when Castro begs the Chorus to "Chorai o desamparo destes filhos/ Tão tenros e inocentes" ("Weep for the abandonment of my children,/ So young and innocent"; IV 11-12 Martyn 303). The abandonment of the children evoking a future *saudade* is also stressed in Resende when Dona Inês cries,

E que tem tão pouca idade  
que se não forem criados  
de mim só com *saudade*  
e sua grã orfandade  
morrerão desamparados. 101-105

And they are so young/ that if they are not brought up/ only by me,  
with *saudadel* and its great 'orphaning'/ they will die forsaken.

In all three Iberian texts, the children are brought forward as an appeal to the King's pride by reminding him of Inês's role in the royal genealogy. In Resende Dona Inês simply points out the agnate relationship "os quais vossos netos são" ("who are your grandchildren"; line 100), but Ferreira's Castro, with her advanced rhetorical skill, concisely names and interweaves son, father

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<sup>405</sup> In fact, Resende is accused of using the children to manipulate emotion, see 2.2 above.

and grandfather, “Filhos tristes,/ Vedes aqui o pai de vosso pai./ Eis aqui vosso avô, nosso Senhor” (“Unfortunate children,/ Here is your father’s father./ Here is your grandfather, our sovereign Lord”; IV 13-15, Martyn 303). Vélez de Guevara also uses the children to stress Inés’s motherhood “¡Dionís, Alfonso, llegad!/ Suplicad a vuestro abuelo/ que me quiera perdonar” (“Dionís, Alfonso come! Plead with your grandfather/ to pardon me”; III 2025-27) and goes further by giving lines to the boys. Alfonso changes the King’s status with the cry “¡Abuelo mío!” (“My grandfather! III 2029). Later Inés again reminds the King of her position in the royal family, “...por mujer de vuestro hijo,/ por madre de vuestros nietos...” (“...as wife of your son/ as mother of your grandchildren...”; III 2078-9). Thus, in the dramatic texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the children of Inês de Castro have the function of, first, posing as innocents to support their mother’s claim and, second, to function as a reminder of the national patriarchal genealogy with which Inês will be forever associated.

The national films of the twentieth century and the schoolchildren’s videos analysed in Chapter 3 carry forth the tradition of using the children, and Inês is often represented holding an infant while she is sentenced to death. In Leitão de Barros’s classic, she takes her baby from the crib and holds it out to the King to soften his intent but it is to no avail; she is forced to hand the infant to the Nurse and flee for her life. The less sentimental Oliveira chooses two pre-adolescent boys to be present at Inês’s sentencing and here she too pushes them forward to plead her case with the King. Shockingly, in conjuring an image of destitution if they are left without her, Inês entreats the King to, “matai-os também que não fiquem orfãos” (“kill them also so they will not be orphans”). When she is beheaded a few minutes later they presumably see it all but their reactions are not exploited. It is, however, in the schoolchildren’s videos on YouTube that the most violence is inflicted on the children as dolls are ripped away from the student playing Inês and flung to the ground or the students playing the children are splattered with blood while clutching at their mother. Presumably they are invoking the description of Inês’s death in their study texts, namely the Messenger’s speech in Ferreira’s *Castro*.

Mas aqueles

Cruéis ministros seus [do Rei] e conselheiros,  
 Contr’aquele perdão tão merecido,  
 Arrancando as espadas, se vão a ela,  
 Traspassando-lh’os peitos cruelmente.

Abraçada cos filhos a mataram,  
 Que inda ficaram tintos do seu sangue. (V 64-70)  
 But those cruel ministers of [the King's], those counsellors,  
 Opposed to this pardon that was so justified,/ Drew their swords  
 and threw themselves on her,/ Cruelly thrusting them through her  
 breast./ They killed her while she embraced her sons, Who were  
 themselves stained with her blood. (Martyn 324)

In the twenty-first-century performances explored here, it is curious that both Teatro O Bando and Whetstone Theatre deprive Inês of her children in some way. In the former, the children are never seen and only mentioned in the scene between the Counsellors and the King; not at all between Inês and Teresa. This maintains a sexual relationship between Pedro and Inês that is not of a reproductive nature. And in the Clifford play, Inês is un-mothered, as it were, when her children are murdered and Pacheco brings her bloody sacks holding their heads. The importance of her relationship to the children is, however, stressed when the Old Woman (Death) tells her they were killed so Inês would follow. In my performance of the “Trovas” the children were mimed as I used my arms in front of the cutout of Dona Inês to draw them toward me. They were imagined, but effective; at the consulate performance one woman in the front row shed some tears when she “saw” Inês’s children clinging to her skirts. In my monologue “How She Dies”, the children are the first to be mentioned as thoughts rush through Inês’s mind as she dies but they are not mimed or staged. The children on stage are privileged, as discussed above, in O Projecto’s community performance by being blocked downstage centre during several scenes and physically clinging to Inês as she pleaded with the King. Here, the association of Inês with motherhood was as strong as in Leitão de Barros’s film as the physical proximity of mother and child is difficult to disavow.

### 5.3 The Martyr

The representation of Inês as martyr and her endurance as a symbol of innocence is present thematically in the case studies of this inquiry, as discussed at length, starting with Resende’s Dantesque “Trovas” where Dona Inês comes from the fires of Hell to plead for her innocence. The manner in which she introduces herself,

Triste de mim inocente,  
 que por ter muito fervente  
 lealdade, fé, amor  
 ó príncepe, meu senhor,  
 me mataram cruamente. (lines 16-20)

Unhappy me innocent/ who for having such fervent/ loyalty, faith,  
 love/ for the Prince, my lord/ was cruelly killed...

and throughout her argument of having done no wrong, “mas pois eu nunca errei” (“but I have never erred”; line 121) and “pois que nunca fiz maldade” (“since I never did any evil”; 130), the struggle between Reason of State and Love reveals that she has been sacrificed for political reasons. Dona Inês’s incarnation as Dead and suffering prompts later Inesian creations where she is likened to her namesake Saint Agnes as “mansa ovelha” (Camões Canto III, stanza 131) or, as Pedro pleads in *Castro*, “Aquele ovelha mansa, / Inocente, formosa, simples, casta, / Que mal vos merecia?” (“But this sweet lamb, / Innocent, beautiful, simple, chaste, / What hatred did she merit?”; V 102-104, Martyn 325). Castro herself, while acknowledging her guilt in the affair with the Prince insists that she is innocent before men, “Se contra Deus pequei, contra ti não” (“I may have sinned before God, but not before you”; IV 154 Martyn 309). In *Reinar después de morir*, Inés is, like Resende’s heroine, convinced that she has done no wrong and challenges the King’s logic in accusing her, “¿Luego el haber sido buena/ queréis, señor, castigar?” (“Then you will punish me for having been good, my lord?”; III 1998-99).

Although the films also foreground Inês’s death as a sacrifice to Reason of State, they present a different narrative because they extend the story beyond Inês’s life and it is primarily Pedro’s insistence that his lover was innocent and his atrocious acts of vengeance that make Inês a martyr-like character. The heroine’s own objections are brief and reduced to begging for pity (Barros) or perfunctorily arguing “sou pecadora mas não criminosa” (“I’m a sinner but not a criminal”) (Oliveira). Moreover, as discussed at length above, in Barros’s film *Inês de Castro* is figured as innocent but narratively described as a dangerous seductress. Perhaps the most effective scene in the black-and-white classic feature is the dialogue between Inês and Constança where, although admitting to the affair, Inês is dressed in white and shot in a bright light that suggests saintliness. Likewise, in *Inês de Portugal*, the protagonist is often bathed in a soft, yellow light and lit from behind to suggest a type of halo.

Teatro O Bando's production also uses lighting to great effect and the dead Inês is first seen as a light-emitting figure draped in veils, reminiscent of the Virgin on the altar. This play also focuses on Pedro's vengeance and the idea that Inês has been sacrificed for political ends is reiterated. What also connotes martyrdom, ironically, are the quasi-pornographic antics of Inês and Teresa as they play-act Pedro and Inês scenarios that evoke medieval martyrdom narratives of torture. In performance, the otherwise timeless script of Miguel Jesus is set in an era that suggests the stereotypical staging of the medieval with its exaggerated violence between the men; this is transferred to the women's scenes and the signs are read accordingly. The ultimate sacrifice in O Bando's play is Inês's death on the medieval torture wheel. When she next appears as saintly, it is not difficult to deduce martyrdom. Also following Pacheco's torture (ordered by Pedro) in Whetstone's *Inês de Castro*, the Ghost of Inês echoes Resende's "Trovas" when she appears to claim her innocence and make an appeal for Love,

They'll lie to you. They'll say I had to die. That love is not enough.  
That we should not allow ourselves to dream. They're wrong.  
They're very wrong. They'll tell you that they have to kill. That  
they cannot avoid committing crimes. Don't believe them. Don't  
believe them for a moment. Remember there's another way. (37)

Pedro's attempt to "make amends" for how he treated Inês in life by exhuming her body is rejected by the Ghost who wants to leave an impression of herself, one of her enduring symbolizations, Love.

## 5.4 The Dead Queen

With Resende's "Trovas" it is an overstatement to say that Inês de Castro is represented as the Dead Queen since the character comes from the afterlife to address the living but there are added references to this portrayal when the Poet reminds the audience/reader that Inês was made Queen after death,

[C]omo o príncipe foi rei  
sem tardar mas mui asinha  
a fez alçar por rainha  
*sendo morta* o fez por lei. (lines 247-250, italics mine)

[W]hen the Prince became King/ without delay, quickly/ he made  
her his Queen/ *though she was dead*, only by law.

and writes of the “ricos moimentos” (“rich monuments”) where the sovereigns lie entombed forever (lines 274-280), stressing that the crowned Queen is only so in death. In Ferreira’s *Castro*, also, Pedro promises that Inês will be queen before he knows she is dead but his strange promise of a “different” crown is ominous.

...Viviremos

Muitos anos e muitos; viviremos

Sempre ambos nest’amor tão doce e puro.

Rainha te verei deste meu Reino,

D’outra nova coroa coroada,

Diferente de quantas coroaram

Ou de homens ou mulheres as cabeças. (Act V lines 32-38)

We shall live/ For many years, for very many; we shall live/

Forever united by this love so sweet and pure./ I shall see you as

Queen of my Kingdom/ Crowned with a new crown/ Different

from all of those that crowned/ The heads of other men or women.

(Martyn 322)

The reader/spectator knows Inês has been killed and will only wear a crown as a corpse; this Pedro confirms in his final speech, “Teu inocente corpo será posto/ Em estado real” (“Your innocent body will be given a royal estate”; V 170-71, Martyn 328). The coronation is not staged in *Castro* but, as Jerónimo Bermúdez followed his translation of Ferreira’s tragedy, *Nise Lastimosa*, with a sequel where the corpse *is* crowned, *Nise Laureada*, we can speculate that the idea developed by Vélez de Guevara stemmed from the verses of António Ferreira. Nevertheless, it is the Spanish tradition, via Vélez, that popularized the scene of the crowned corpse. The final lines of the play, discussed at length in Chapter 2.4, refer to “Inês Laureada” as a possible subtitle and homage to Bermúdez.

Leitão de Barros’s co-production with Spain, as noted in Chapter 3.2, honours the tradition of the crowned corpse and shows a gleeful Pedro ‘discovering’ Inês’s decomposing body on the throne. This image, appearing long after Inês is killed, contests the incarnation of Inês de Castro by the wholesome actress Alicia Palacios rendering the Queen as very Dead indeed. Moreover, the

scene is drawn out with the ritual of the *beija-mão* and offers ample spectatorial contact with the figuration of Inês as sovereign in death only. Oliveira does not indulge in such a macabre scene but shows the placement of Inês's body in the tomb at Alcobaça and a page symbolically holding the crown over the body.

Teatro O Bando stresses the powerful aspect of the Dead Queen by having Inês's corpse manipulated and voiced by the live Teresa to give orders about the torture and murder of her assassins. The problematic nature of the oral/aural execution is discussed above in Chapter 4.2 but the visual imaging of Inês is nothing less than a corpse wearing a crown, again, during a scene where spectatorial exposition is lengthy. In Clifford's play, Pedro elects Inês as his true Queen and she sits on the throne while the King's subjects kiss her hand but, as noted above, the Whetstone staging defies the macabre Dead Queen motif by removing the actress from the scene. She returns as a Ghost but is interested in Love not sovereign power. Because O Projecto's play ends with a scene of Pedro grieving at Inês's tomb while António Patrício's *saudosista* text is read and is immediately followed by Camões's equally *saudoso* lament of Inês's death, the Dead Queen, as she is wont to do, evokes *saudade* and echoes the other representations that preceded it.

## 5.5 The Subject

As traced above, the gendered representations of Inês de Castro in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century dramatic texts have laid the foundation for the Inês that has been constructed five hundred years later. The Inesian palimpsest represents beauty, love, innocence and *saudade* through an interpretation of the archetypal roles assigned to the heroine. At first glance, these roles appear to trap the character in a fixed gender position that predetermine her behaviour and performative possibilities. But what I have learned throughout this inquiry is that the textual constructions of Inês can be read as fluid, giving the character the potential to evade the easy feminine characterizations of passivity and victimization. As the analyses in this inquiry show, a mistress or wife is not always subservient to her master or husband; a mother can use her children to save her life and be a skilled and efficacious rhetorician; a martyr can be strong, proud and dignified; and even a dead queen can give the illusion of sovereign rule.

I began this inquiry with pointed questions about the agency or self-determination of the character of Inês de Castro in specific textual constructions and I end it with the observation that considering Inês as the subject of her own story/history is a matter of reading. When feminist theory is applied to the dynamic transference of textual significance from writer to reader, screen to spectator, and page to stage, it draws out nuances and complexities that circumvent a limited interpretation based on binary oppositions. It is true that Inês de Castro has often been objectified in textual renderings in a diversity of media and a feminist reading cannot ignore the lack of autonomy this suggests. In my case studies, the elusive subjectivity of the heroine is overtly noted. But the representations of the Inesian heroine, even those that are sexist – to use an old-fashioned but meaningful word – and defy a reading outside the binary of masculine/feminine equals active/passive, can be interrogated to subvert surface appearances.

This is not only a scholarly experiment, for the artists who have created the palimpsest of Inês de Castro also looked beyond superficial characterizations provided by the meagre store of history. That is why Resende's haunting dead Inês can thwart her poet creator, why Ferreira's clever Castro can engage in brilliant discourse, why Guevara's *bella cazadora* can challenge a rival above her station, why Leitão de Barro's corn-goddess can be transformed into a repulsive corpse, why Oliveira's audacious seductress can be dignified, why Clifford's tragic heroine can fight for Love, and why Teatro O Bando's sexy siren can become a virginal apparition.

A feminist analysis facilitates a pluralistic reading of the Dead Queen and gives the character a new life (as it were). Only a feminist direction in Inesian research can interrogate the archetypes, re-imagine and re-image Inês, and give her a subject position in theatre and cinema. My inquiry is the beginning of this venture.

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### **Performances**

- How She Dies/Como Ela Morre*, Director and Performer Aida Jordão. Graduate Centre for Study of Drama, University of Toronto, September 2008 and the Consulate General of Portugal in Toronto, November 2008.
- Inês de Castro*. Director Diana Kolpak. Performers Elyssa Livergant (Inês), Ron Kennel (Pedro). Whetstone Theatre, Toronto, 2001.
- On the Death of Inês de Castro/ Sobre a Morte de Inês de Castro*, Director Margo Charlton. Performers Aida Jordão, Nuno Cristo. Festival of Original Theatre (FOOT), Graduate Centre for Study of Drama, University of Toronto, March 2008 and the Consulate General of Portugal in Toronto, April 2008.
- Pedro e Inês*. Director Anatoly Praudin. Performers Susana Blazer (Inês), Miguel Borges (Pedro), Sara de Castro (Teresa). Teatro O Bando/Centro Cultural de Belém, Portugal, 2011.
- Pedro e Inês de Castro*. Director Sérgio Dias. Performers Mónica Gomes (Inês), Carlos Carrasqueira (Pedro). O Projecto, Casa do Alentejo, October of 2010.

**Inesian Filmography:**

*Dona Inês de Castro*. Dir. Eduardo Leite. Screenplay: Eduardo Leite. Perf. Isabel Monclair (Inês), Eduardo Leite (Pedro). Photo-Cinematographica Brasileira, Brazil, 1909. (unscreened)

*Rainha Depois de Morta*. Dir. Carlos Santos. Prod. Júlio Costa. Screenplay Rafael Ferreira. Perf. Amélia Vieira (Inês), Carlos Santos (Pedro), Eduardo Brasão. Empreza Cinematographica Ideal, Portugal 1910. (unscreened)

*Don Pedro el Cruel*. Ricardo Baños, Alberto Marro and Luis Macaya (unclear what role they played). Hispano Films, Spain 1911. (unscreened)

*La fontaine des amours*. Dir. Roger Lion. Screenplay Gabrielle Reval (novel). Perf. Gil Clary (Inês), Jean Murat (Pedro). Portugal/France 1924. (unscreened)

*Inês de Castro*. Dir. José Leitão de Barros. Screenplay, Portuguese version José Leitão de Barros, Afonso Lopes Vieira. Screenplay, Spanish version Ricardo del Mazo, José María Alonso Pesquera, Garcia Viñolas. Perf. Alicia Palacios (Inês), António Vilar (Pedro), María Dolores Pradera, Erico Braga, João Villaret. Filmes Lumiar, Portugal/Faro Producciones Cinematográficas, Spain, 1944/45. VHS.

*Inês de Portugal*. Dir. José Carlos de Oliveira. Screenplay João Aguiar. Perf. Cristina Homem de Mello (Inês), Heitor Lourenço (Pedro), Ruy de Carvalho, Manuela Carona. Imagemreal, Portugal, 1997. VHS.

*La Reine Morte*. Dir. Pierre Boutron. Screenplay adapted from Henry de Montherlant's 1942 play. Perf. Gaëlle Bona (Inês), Thomas Jouannet (Pedro), Michel Aumont. GÉTÉVÉ, France, 2009. DVD.

(Excerpt) ...*roten Faden fur die Liebe* (red Thread for your Love) Dir. Vlada Majic, adapted from Alois Fink's radio play *Pedro und Ines Eine portugiesische Liebesgeschichte* (Pedro and Inês, a Portuguese Love Story). Perf. F. Isabel M. De Inacio (Inês), João Grosso (Pedro). 1987. Web. June 19, 2013. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOecuFSQ9RM>>

(Trailer) *A Trança de Inês*. Dir. António Ferreira. Screenplay Pedro Flores, based on Rosa Lobato Faria's novel. Perf. Catarina Wallenstein (Inês), Filipe Costa (Pedro), Custódia Gallego, Rui Unas, Fernando Ferrão. Persona Non Grata Pictures, Coimbra, 2011. Web.

**Inesian Television:**

*Pedro e Inês*. Dir. João Cayate. Script Francisco Moita Flores. Perf. Ana Moreira (Inês), Pedro Laginha (Pedro). RTP (Rádio-Televisão Portuguesa), 2005. Web. June 25, 2012. <[http://museu.rtp.pt/#/pt/programas\\_tv](http://museu.rtp.pt/#/pt/programas_tv)> and <[http://www.youtube.com/user/inescastro27?feature=results\\_main](http://www.youtube.com/user/inescastro27?feature=results_main)>

*Teatro Cacilda Becker*, excerpt of an adaptation of Henry de Montherlant's *La Reine Morte* by Walter George Durst, Bandeirantes TV, 1968. Web. June 19, 2013. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=euB1vqorgZg>>

**Inesian Videography (student videos on YouTube):**

“A Minha Versão ;D.” Web. Feb. 26, 2014. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjK4LmnZY3o>,

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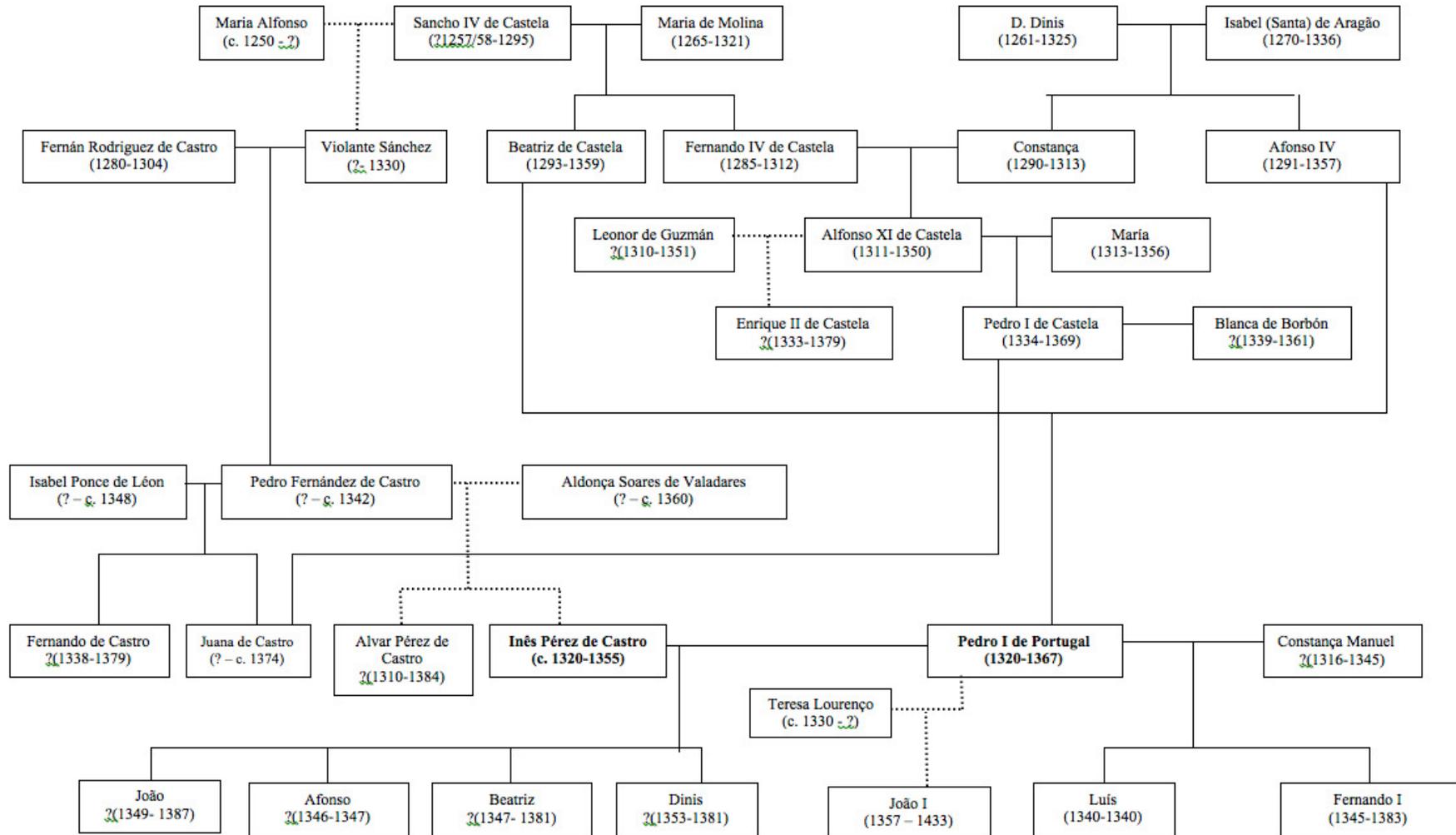
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## Genealogical Tree: Inês de Castro e Dom Pedro I



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