John Barclay and the history of the novel

John Barclay (born in France in 1582, served at the court of King James of England from 1603 to 1615, died 1621) was the pivotal figure in the history of the novel. You won't see that statement in many histories of literature, because most such histories concentrate on national vernaculars, ignoring post-classical Latin literature. They discuss the "novel in English" or the "novel in French". But in fact Barclay in Latin wrote the 17th century's best-selling book of fiction, his novel *Argenis*, and another work of fiction, *Euphormio's Satyricon*, which was undoubtedly in the top ten bestsellers. Both went through many editions in Latin, more than 50 each, and the *Argenis* had multiple translations into all the major European languages, seven into French, four in English, twice into Polish, once into Russian. While Barclay certainly did not invent the genre of novel, the popularity of his works at the very time when the novel was evolving established a pattern for the types of novels that were later written, an influence lasting even till today.

I want to divide this talk into three parts: the ancestry of the novel; a description of Barclay's two novels; and finally some features of the modern novel that derive from Barclay, with examples. I will mention four sources of the modern novel: the ancient novels, short fiction, histories, and medieval romances. Traces of all of these can be found in Barclay's novels.

The first and most obvious source is the ancient novels. I think we tend to overrate their importance in ancient literature, largely because of the prominence of the novel in our own lit. In Latin prose was used for histories, encyclopedias, philosophical treatises like Cicero's, but almost no long prose fiction. Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is the only real novel surviving. Petronius is a fragment, and was perhaps more a collection of short episodes than a coherent novel. Both ancient Latin novels are episodic, the plot based on a wandering individual and his adventures, with many digressions. The plot of *Euphormio* is just like this.

In Greek there are several novels, the best being Heliodorus' *Ethiopian History,* which was translated into Latin in the late 1500's and was widely read. I will have occasion to mention Heliodorus later. Most of these novels are filled with adventures based on two separated lovers who are trying to reunite but face almost insuperable obstacles. In modern terms they are romance novels. Barclay's *Argenis* resembles these romances.

The second source is short fiction, specifically the Menippean satires, now surviving in Greek in Lucian's works and in Latin in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*. Menippus (3rd century BC) was allegedly the founder of the satirical form. He attacked philosophers, among others, with ridicule. None of his works survive, but Lucian used him as a character in several dialogs. In Lucian's *Icaro-Menippus* Menippus dons wings and flies through the celestial spheres, all the inhabitants of which complain about the racket

coming from Earth, the constant uproar of philosophers contending with each other. Finally he gets to Jupiter's domain and learns the good news (εὐαγγελία): Jupiter will wipe them all out next Spring.

Menippus' works seem to have been in a mixture of prose and verse, which influenced later Latin writers. I mentioned Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, a description of the Emperor Claudius' descent into the underworld. This is a mixture of prose and verse. This sort of Menippean satire was popular in the Renaissance, and its combination of prose and verse is repeated in Barclay's novels. The vernacular novels usually do not include verse.

The third source of the novel was history, especially the story-telling variety such as Livy's *History of Rome* or Xenophon's *Cyropedia*. The four Gospels in the New Testament also fall into this category. Included in Livy are short episodes such as the story of Lucretia and Tarquin at the end of Book I or the story of Verginia and the wicked Appius Claudius in Book III. Xenophon's *Cyropedia* (*The Education of Cyrus,* the Persian ruler) is supposed to be a historical description of Cyrus's life, but is in fact a fictional portrayal of the ideal ruler. The work includes dialogs about topics important to a military ruler: how to deal with difficult superior officers, how to select loyal governors for your provinces, and so on. Also included in *Cyropedia* is a love story. Panthea, the most beautiful woman in Asia, is captured by Cyrus's army while her husband is away on a mission. The husband returns, joins Cyrus's forces, attacks the enemy bravely and is killed in action. In order to join her husband in death Panthea then stabs herself. Cyrus erects a great monument to both of them. This sounds like something from a romance novel. This combination of problem-solving dialog and romance describes Barclay's *Argenis*.

The fourth source was medieval romance, originally epic tales like the *Song of Roland*. These were originally in verse, like *Roland,* but changed to prose in the 14th century. Later prose works include Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur,* one of the first books to be printed in English. The heroes are, of course, knights who go on a quest and meet various adventures and various noble ladies. There are fairy tale motifs, dragons, magic swords, and the like. By the 16th and 17th century the old romances had lost some of their popularity and were satirized in *Don Quixote* (1605).

Those were the sources. The first Renaissance novels appeared in the 16th century and were in the vernacular, not in Latin, and did not incorporate these four strands that I have described. The first picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes,* appeared in Spain in 1554 and was popular throughout Europe. A translation into English appeared in 1578, into Latin in 1623. It is realistic, not a romance at all. A pastoral romance, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, appeared in English about 1590. (It has a complicated publishing history.) In Latin there were shorter fictions in addition to the Menippean satires, the best known being *Historia de duobus amantibus* by Aeneas Silvius, later to be Pope Pius II. It is realistic, partially told in letters. There is a 2001 edition of this short story. There was

also Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* of 1518, which is certainly novel-like in its plot and length. Barclay's two long novels are something new not just in Latin, but in their complexity are something new in the literary history of any language. They combine all four of the sources mentioned above: they are not just romances, not just fictional histories, not just picaresque novels, although they contain themes from these genres.

The first of these novels was *Euphormio's Satyricon,* published first in 1605, with a second part added in 1607. Euphormio is a young man recently arrived in Europe from his northern homeland Lusinia. He is innocent of the world. On his first day he tours the city and is graciously invited to dinner by someone he thinks is a generous friend. After the meal he is horrified to learn that he needs to pay. In his homeland no one pays for bread. He says: "In accord with the custom of my native land, I had not weighted down my body…with gold; I had not asked the price of the food, since our genteel race never heard of selling it. …[I began to curse the mean character of that region and to mutter to myself, 'From the source down to the sea fish do not find anyone to extort a tax from them for the necessities of life. Nature has scattered fodder for beasts everywhere; and although swallows fly from pole to pole, they are never at a loss for food…. Is the sea easier on its denizens than civilized custom is on mortals born to the same lot?] …O filthy race and barbarous crime! O men more beastly than the man-like beast that [Androcles] once found!'" (Compare Petronius 100.)

Everyone laughs at him and his attempts to defend his innocence. The innkeeper seizes his coat for payment, and a rich man, Callion, pays Euphormio's bill - in return Euphormio becomes Callion's slave. The rest of the novel develops through Euphormio's tasks for Callion. He is sent on journeys where he sees a witch in a cave, he falls in love, he meets the Acignians (=Jesuits), visits royal courts, and eventually gets to Italy where he discovers more problems: the rivalry of monks, the hypocrisy of doctors, the degeneracy of scholars. He leaves there and comes to Alexandria (=Paris), where he is swindled by an alchemist and gets no help from the law, which responds only to bribes. He finally escapes from Callion. All that is Part I, and much like the plot of Petronius.

In Part II, published a few years after Part I, Euphormio is trying to make a living as a man of letters (like Barclay himself). He joins the Acignians (=Jesuits), is sent to Italy, visits Venice, where he hears of the noble King Protagon (=Henry IV of France) and decides to go to Eleutheria (=France or Paris) to establish himself. However the court is so corrupt that in disgust he goes back to the Acignians. Escaping from them again, he flees to Scolimorrhodia (=England) where he is received by King Tessaranactus (=King James). The novel finishes by eulogizing England and by comparing King James to the sun.

Like the ancient Latin novels, *Euphormio* is episodic, mainly wandering from place to place and commenting on the circumstances in which the hero finds himself. Some episodes and themes are inspired by Petronius. In Part I the hero is pursued by the curse of Venus, like the curse of Priapus in Petronius. There are diatribes about education, the

law, and so on, as in Petronius. But overall the novel does not sound like Petronius: of course it is a complete unit and has a beginning and an end; there is no obscenity; *Euphormio* has many more characters and is generally more elaborate; no characterization by language, as seems to be the case in Petronius.

One notable new feature is that this novel is a *roman a clef,* the novel with a key, and in fact founded this genre, which was wildly popular in the 17th century and still exists today. More about this later.

Barclay's second novel was his *Argenis*, a much more developed and artistic work than *Euphormio's Satyricon*. It is in five books and begins *in medias res,* unlike *Euphormio*. The plot is complicated, and the names of all the characters can be confusing. The novel is set in an imaginary ancient Sicily. The kingdom is in a mess, faced by a revolt of the nobles and torn by religious dissension. The king, Meleander, is facing certain defeat, but is unexpectedly rescued by the advent of a very capable knight from Africa and a fleet sent by the King of Sardinia. After the revolt is quelled, the main characters come in conflict with each other, a conflict which is not resolved until the end of the novel. The conflict arises from the fact that the king's daughter, Argenis, acquires three suitors: Poliarchus, the King of Gaul (deep in disguise), whom she loves; Archombrotus, the knight from Africa, who turns out in fact to be her half-brother; and the King of Sardinia, who comes to Sicily to rescue the king, her father, from the rebellion and incidentally to win the princess's hand in marriage. He is the villain of the piece, if anyone is. Sardinia is driven off, but the other two suitors, formerly friends, now almost come to blows. However, thanks to a timely revelation, they are reconciled and Argenis marries her true love. The narration is not linear, but operates with flashbacks, surprising revelations by one character to another, long-hidden secret letters which suddenly disclose essential facts. In many ways *Argenis* anticipates a mystery novel in its plot.

Several plot devices are common to *Argenis* and *Euphormio's Satyricon.*

1. Both begin with the hero landing in a foreign country, Euphormio in Europe and Archombrotus in Sicily. But in Euphormio the hero immediately gives a full explanation of why he is here. In *Argenis* we do not discover why the hero came to Sicily until the final chapter of the novel. This is in keeping with the "mystery story" aspect of *Argenis*.

2. In both the plot starts immediately. In *Euphormio*, as I mentioned, the hero is invited (as he thinks) to dine with a friend, and this mistake leads him to become a slave of Callion and have all his further adventures. In *Argenis*, as soon as the first-introduced character, Archombrotus, lands, he is implored by a noble lady to assist her companion, who is being assaulted by bandits. The help is not needed, since the companion, Poliarchus, the real hero of the novel, charges onto the beach pursuing three supposed bandits, one of whom he promptly kills. The others escape. Poliarchus, Archombrotus, and the lady all go to the lady's nearby castle where the situation in Sicily is gradually revealed, which will govern the plot of the novel. This episode on the beach owes

something to Heliodorus' *Ethiopian History,* which also starts with a beach scene: the crew of a ship and a gang of bandits lie massacred all over a beach. A few survivors are rescued and much of the first part of the novel is an explanation of how they all came to be on that beach.

3. Both novels contain dialog and commentary concerning current problems and issues. In this respect *Euphormio* is quite like parts of Petronius, only more so. In Part I a character, Lucretius, rails against modern education (like the first chapters of Petronius) and then begins reciting one of his own poems to show how poetry should be done, like Eumolpus in Petronius. Note that Barclay is not copying Petronius, whose Encolpius is criticizing the fad for declamation on ridiculous topics. Barclay's character, Lucretius, addresses quite different issues. After a review of the history of Latin from the Dark Ages, an age when no poem could "be written unless it jingled two or three times on the same syllable" (i.e. unless it rhymed, which was a non-classical usage) he goes on to criticize the mania for emendation and false "corrections" of ancient texts. He also criticizes some scholars' crabbed and difficult Latin (perhaps a reference to Justus Lipsius). Only then does he outline his methods of education. The whole passage is more than 10 times as long as the corresponding passages in Petronius and deals with contemporary, i.e. 16th and 17th century, issues.

Some passages of the *Euphormio* display Juvenal's *saeva indignatio* against crooked lawyers and rapacious judges. Other passages are humorous descriptions of the peculiarities of real people. I especially recommend to you the description of Aquilius in Part II, chapter 27 (pp. 323ff.). Our hero Euphormio has been blown by a storm to the kingdom of Aquilius, where he tours the palace. He first sees paintings of the *venustissimi vultus puellarum,* all depicted with great skill, and he learns that Aquilius himself has painted the pictures. Aquilius believes in free love (*libertas amorum)* rather than marriage, and he changes his partner every few days. He paints portraits of those women who have especially pleased him and hangs them on the wall. Euphormio then sees two globes on a table, one of the earth, the other of the heavens. The sun is of gold, the moon of silver. An attendant explains that Aquilius is devoted to astrology and has researched the science himself. At that moment another attendant then enters with a bit of liquid in a glass vial. Aquilius is delighted and rushes into his laboratory, where all kinds of equipment is at hand: ovens, glass and silver beakers, tubing. Unfortunately the glass vial slips out of his hand and crashes to the floor, spilling all the liquid. Aquilius is paralyzed with grief and has to be carried out of the lab by his attendants. He cries out, "Am I still surviving, despite the wrath of the gods?" and faints dead away. Aquilius is Rudolph II, Holy Roman Emperor from 1572-1612, who was a very peculiar character indeed. An art lover with a famous collection, including a large number of pornographic pictures, he also had a zoo, he patronized astronomers like Kepler, he was devoted to astrology, alchemy and other occult sciences. He tolerated Catholics and Protestants alike. He negotiated with the Hungarians and the Turks. This tolerance did not succeed

him; the 30-Years-War broke out shortly after his death. Barclay gives this humorous description of his court, which he had visited on missions from King James. The name Aquilius, "Eagle-like" is part of the identification. The eagle was the heraldic symbol of the Holy Roman emperors.

The other novel *Argenis* contains even more dialog and commentary about current issues. Indeed the novel refers to several contemporary scandals in England and France, the Overbury murder of 1613 in London and the murder of an advisor to Louis XIII in Paris in 1617. Dialogs discuss how to deal with rebellious noblemen, on the follies of astrologers, on religious dissidents, on lawyers. I give details of one such dialog in order to show how this type of thing is integrated into the novel. In Book 4 the King of Sardinia (the failed suitor of Argenis) attacks Mauretania in compensation. Poliarchus, the King of Gaul, happens to have been blown by a storm to Mauretania with an army and is willing to defend the kingdom. He suggests to the Queen of Mauretania that she levy some quick taxes in order to raise additional troops immediately, since the invaders are right offshore. She says she can't do that: in order to raise taxes she has to call a Parliament and present the proposal to it for approval. All this will take too long. Poliarchus is amazed; he is used to "free kingdoms" in which the ruler is "free" to levy taxes whenever necessary. The Queen replies that Mauretania is not like that; in this kingdom the Queen depends on the love and support of her subjects, and she is not willing to jeopardize that by sudden impositions. Poliarchus then shows the danger of her position - and so on. The dialog ends with the Queen's being convinced. All this was based on a real situation. The Queen is Queen Elizabeth; the Sardinian invasion is the Spanish Armada; in England Parliament did have to approve the imposition of taxes. A big source of conflict in the reign of King James, while Barclay was in England, was his constant need for money and the reluctance of Parliament to approve taxes. James himself wrote a treatise "The True Law of Free Monarchies", where "free" means that the king is free to do what he likes. Parliament did not agree and met only once between 1610 and 1621. James raised money by selling titles, trying to marry his son to the Infanta of Spain, and using other expedients. So the topic raised in the dialog between Poliarchus and the Queen was a burning issue during Barclay's lifetime. Several other such issues are discussed in an even-handed way in the novel. The dialogs are not generally used to characterize the people in the novel.

Thus far I have discussed the origins of the novel and have described Barclay's two novels. I tried to show how he combined several genres of Greco-Roman literature to write his two novels. What about their influence on later literature?

1. As mentioned, *Euphormio* started the fad for *romans a clef* in the 17th century. The urge to write these novels with a key also comes from the renewed popularity of Menippean satire in the in 16th century. Like Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* (against the Emperor Claudius) these new Menippean satires were written to attack real people and real abuses. How does one identify the real people behind the novels' characters? Seneca

used real names, but this is rare. Some authors use anagrams, as does Barclay. In the *Euphormio*, Labetrus is an anagram for Albertus, Archduke of Austria, who was governor-general of the Netherlands under the Habsburgs. Liphippus is Philippus (Philip III, King of Spain). In the novel, Labetrus is an in-law of Liphippus, just as Albert was of Philip. (He had married Philip's sister). Sometime significant names are used. Aquilius has been mentioned above. Gephyrius is the Pope, since γέφυρα (bridge) stands for pontifex. Tessaranactus (τέσσαρα, ἄναξ) is King James, since his title refers to him as king of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France. But many later *romans a clef* simply included a key with the text. One Latin example is a novel called *Peruviana* "Peruvian Matters" by Claude Morisot, in which the court of Louis XIII is hidden under the guise of a novel set in Peru. It contains a key in the preface showing who is who in the novel. Peruviana's key is 4 pages long; there are many characters in the novel. Several 17th century French novels are entirely based on real characters. The fad for these novels was so great that scholars considered all novels to be *romans a clef* and they made keys for Petronius: who is Nero? Who is Seneca? Most 17th century editions of Barclay's novels include a key, although Barclay himself had not made one. Such novels are still written today, especially political novels. *Primary Colors* by Anonymous (Joe Klein), describes Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign; *All the Kings Men,* by Robert Penn Warren, is about Governor Huey Long of Louisiana. Both of these are also movies. On the web you can easily find a key to *Primary Colors*.

Barclay's second novel *Argenis* also portrays real situations: in the novel Sicily = France, Mauretania = England, Sardinia = Spain. The novel hides real people under the guise of anagrams. In this novel Philip III is Hippophilus, not Liphippus. Cardinal Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII, is Ibburranes, an advisor to the King of Sicily and described in very complimentary terms. As Pope, Barberini made one of John Barclay's sons the abbot of Toul in France. Another Cardinal, Ubaldini, is Dunalbius, also an advisor. Most of these are minor characters. The chief characters are not so readily identifiable, although that did not stop readers from making identifications. Most of the early editions contain keys to the novel. The main hero Poliarchus was supposed to be either Henry IV or Louis XIII of France.

2. *Argenis* has several elements of a mystery novel, like the *Ethiopian History*. We do not know who the characters really are for most of the novel. Poliarchus' origins, the fact that he is King of France, are not revealed until the middle of the novel, Archombrotus' not until the very end. In addition the author shows the results, and only later the cause: Why is Archombrotus in Sicily? Why is Poliarchus, an obvious warrior knight, attacked by bandits? How did Poliarchus and Argenis fall in love with each other? Answers all come late in the text. Things are casually mentioned early in the story (these are clues), and become significant only later. For example, in Book I we learn that Argenis was rescued from abduction by the intervention of the goddess Pallas Athena. Later we learn Pallas Athena really was Poliarchus. (There is no supernatural in Barclay.) This sort of

mystery is not found in the usual classical writers, only in the Greek novels, especially in Heliodorus, who was probably Barclay's inspiration. Note that "mystery novel" does not refer only to modern detective novels. Many of Dickens' novels have a mystery at the heart of the plot: in *Great Expectations* the child meets a convict who will turn out to be the child's great benefactor; in *Nicholas Nickleby* we wonder who put the hero in Dotheboy's Hall - this is revealed at the end; in *Our Mutual Friend* the heir to a fortune disappears and is thought to have been drowned, but is found to be alive and identifies himself at the end of the novel.

3. Barclay also influenced a writing of novels in which non-literary matters come to the foreground. I might call these novels of ideas, novels which explicitly present a point of view about contemporary matters. I mentioned above the dialog between Poliarchus and the Queen about taxation. Another is a long dialog about how to treat religious minorities. In the novel Sicily is disturbed by the Hyperephanians, whose leader is Usinulca, an anagram for Calvinus, John Calvin. Two characters in the novel debate their treatment: one recommends that the Hyperephanians be attacked with fire and sword; the other that they be subdued by easy governance, provided that they do not openly revolt. The debate concerns the treatment of the Huguenots in France at the end of the 16th century. Catholics attempted to wipe out the Huguenots in the St. Bartholomew's massacre of 1572, ten years before Barclay's birth. During the following years the conflict between the Huguenots, the Catholic League, and the French state threatened national cohesion. In 1598 Henry IV promulgated the Edict of Nantes, which made the Protestants a tolerated group. After that, conflict lessened until the edict was abrogated in 1685 and many Huguenots fled the country. The same kind of debate occurred in England (officially Protestant) while Barclay was there, but less violently: Catholic laymen were tolerated as long as they took a loyalty oath; priests were expelled. Later 17th century novels continued this practice of debating contemporary issues. In the French novels there are endless dialogs about the nature of love. In one later Latin novel, *Nova Solyma* by Samuel Gott, the characters discuss in excruciating detail the best methods of educating the young. Of course if the novels portray real people in disguise, these people should talk about real contemporary issues.

Many modern novels outside the Anglo-Saxon tradition continue this practice of discussing issues which exist outside the covers of the book itself. Dostoyevsky's novels are well known examples. His characters tend to be types (humble Christians, destructive nihilists) who are driven by ideas. There are discussions about Orthodoxy, the mission of Holy Russia, and so on. In *Crime and Punishment* one character (Luzhin) argues for utilitarianism. His argument is reminiscent of Adam Smith's dictum: "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but … from their own interest." (*Wealth of Nations,* chapter 2). Now Luzhin is a villain and his argument is supposed to be bad. Later in the novel Raskolnikov and a friend debate the nature of crime: "Crime is a protest against the unnatural structure of society" (216) and

nothing more. Crime is due to "the deleterious influence of the environment." Humanity will not evolve into a non-deleterious state; it will require a "mathematician's brain" to plan a perfect society. There seems to be a belief that human reason, joined with benevolence, can plan and effect a better society.

This sort of discussion is characteristic of many Russian novels. In the novel *August 1914*, two of Solzhenitsyn's characters are about to leave Moscow to join the army. They meet an old scholar, retire to a restaurant with him, and discuss their decision to join up. One is a follower of Tolstoy and should be a pacifist. Why isn't he? He feels that he owes a duty to Russia to help put the state back on its feet. The three discuss the problems that arise if a person is motivated by "a love for the people": What do the people want? Who are the "people"? The old scholar doubts the ability of reason to govern how society should operate. (His attitude is the opposite to that of Dostoyevsky's character above.) He says, in a wonderful metaphor, "History grows like a living tree. Reason is to history what an ax is to a tree. It will not make it grow." (p. 347) This whole discussion reflects real issues facing populists and socialists, certainly in the early 20th century and probably today as well.

The obvious contemporary example of this type of novel is *Atlas Shrugged,* by Ayn Rand, who has sometimes been called a Russian novelist writing in English. In this novel national governments have become more collectivist. As a result industrialists and innovators begin to withdraw from their business and technical activities, leading to a general failure of society. For example, one character has invented a new steel alloy, the strongest and most reliable in the world, but he chooses not to make and sell it; he withdraws his talents and his products. In the novel characters discuss their philosophies with each other: a Washington lobbyist leads and defends the government's efforts in controlling all commerce and enterprise. The lobbyist intentionally destroys the common man's opportunity to build a largely successful, free market business. John Galt leads a "strike" against collectivism and delivers a long speech on enlightened self-interest and his own philosophy (and Rand's) towards the end of the novel. The speech is more than 50 pages long, depending on the edition. *Atlas Shrugged* has sometimes been called a science fiction novel because it shares with science fiction an interest in technical matters and lengthy exposition of technical and social and political matters. A realistic portrayal of people is not a prime interest. Much science fiction (like the *Dune* series) is expository, with detailed descriptions of alternative ways of doing things, of alternative universes, and has a large fan base.

This kind of novel has been called sub-literary or genre fiction. But I hope to have shown that its ancestry goes back through Barclay to ancient times. This "sub-literary fiction" is contrasted with "literary fiction" like Jane Austen's novels, *Pride and Prejudice, Sense and Sensibility,* which are set during the Napoleonic wars. Military figures appear in the plots of each novel, but one can hardly imagine any of Miss Austen's characters talking about English policy in Ireland or methods of blockading

France. Life outside the novel's plot plays no part. To take another example: Dickens portrays 19th century English life, but his characters never discuss other ways of doing things, ways to reduce the poverty pictured in the novels.

I have tried to make the point that Barclay wrote at a turning point in the history of the novel, when the genre was still amorphous: romance was dead, at least according to Cervantes in *Don Quixote;* picaresque offered a limited scope for literary development; history was becoming scientific. Barclay took the various sources of the novel and combined them into long fiction that resembles the modern version; some of the features of his novels, such as the inclusion of real people as characters and real issues as topics of discussion, still continue in many modern novels. For this reason I have called him a pivotal figure in the history of the novel.