

“A SPANIARD IS NO ENGLISHMAN THAT I KNOWE”
ANGLO-SPANIARD POLITICS IN EARLY MODERN THEATRE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department
of the School of Theatre and Dance
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

By

Alícia Hernandez Grande

May, 2014

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Abstract

Postcolonial studies of Early Modern English drama's Moorish and Jewish characters, as elaborated by scholars such as Edward Said and Daniel Vitkus, have framed the discussion as a black (Moor/Jew) versus white (Protestant English) dichotomy. This Master's thesis revises this binary to address certain "grey" characters which do not comfortably fit in either white or black camps yet occupy intriguing positions in Early Modern works. While much scholarly attention has been devoted to the cultural and racial backgrounds of Othello, Shylock, Jessica, and the Prince of Morocco, the focus on Moors and Jews in *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* has edged out another identity present in those and others of Shakespeare's works: the Spaniard. Shakespeare's Spanish characters are portrayed as debased outsiders (Iago, Roderigo) or as representatives of a threatening rival colonial power (Iago, the Prince of Aragon). All of these characters are vilified through their iconoclastic Catholic faith, as well as their mixed race heritage due to the Moorish occupation of Spain. Meanwhile, Thomas Kyd further demonizes his Spanish characters in *The Spanish Tragedy*, making a historical argument which reflects onto the entire country. From the Spanish perspective, Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *El cisma de Inglaterra* exemplifies how the Spanish perceived their English enemies. I survey how the development of Anglo-Spaniard politics in the Early Modern Period developed ideas concerning Spanish and English nationality.

Acknowledgements

This thesis marks the culmination of two years of academic and personal growth which would have been impossible without the help of my advisors, my colleagues, my friends, and my family.

My committee – Drs. Keith Byron Kirk, Robert Shimko, and Ann Christensen – and my colleagues – Pamela Guinn, Rachel Aker, and Tyrrell Woolbert – proved to be instrumental in completing these two years. They were there for me on the good days, on the great days, and most importantly, on the awful days.

My family and friends proved just as instrumental in their kindness, support, and patience. I am especially thankful to my parents who made my education a priority in their lives. It has not gone unnoticed. Estic agraída.

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Introduction

Bret: Philip is a Spaniard, and what is a Spaniard?
Clown: A Spaniard is no Englishman that I knowe.
The famous history of Sir Thomas Wyatt, IV.ii.49-50.

The Early Modern English period's many Mediterranean plays point towards a highly diverse trade and travel system that allowed for an exchange of people, goods, and ideas. Strangely, however, little attention has been paid to Spain—a major participant in Mediterranean and European trade and travel during this time—and its appearance on English stages. However, the treatment of Spanish characters by English playwrights – and the treatment of English characters by Spanish playwrights – says much about how the historical realities of the time translated to the stage. These treatments also elucidate an interesting problem within post-colonial discussions of Early Modern works – an inability to discuss people that fall between certain binaries, in this case, white and black.

Literary critics and historians have often had rather disparate understandings of what accurately reflects Early Modern culture. Many contemporary historians have embraced the scholar Peter Laslett's rejection of literature as a reflection of historical events or cultural tendencies. Laslett argues that "it is indeed hazardous to infer an institution or a habit characteristic of a whole society or whole era from the central character of a literary work" and calls instead for "a cogent argument in favor of statistical awareness."¹ In simpler terms, for Laslett, literary texts are like "looking the wrong way through the telescope."² Although Laslett maintains a strict division among text, literature, and high literature, this interpretation has been challenged by other scholars, including David Cressy, who appeals for a deeper interaction between history and literature:

Many of us have been warned away by our own disciplinary training, by our hesitation in the face of fiction, and by our sense that colleagues elsewhere in the academy have signed it 'off limits'. But the printed output of English Renaissance drama provides a huge trove of text, almost entirely neglected by historians, that calls for cautious investigation.³

The fictional text is an inherently awkward location to examine historical situations. One cannot accept *Julius Caesar* or *Macbeth* as historically accurate texts, even if the basis of these stories can be found in *Holinshed's Chronicles*. Historical plays, such as *Henry IV, Part I* or even the more contemporary *The Diary of Anne Frank*, may be based on documented historical time periods, but again, their performance on stage is fictional. The mimetic play necessary for a dramatic work inevitably draws a wall between literary text and historical fact.

It is however, reductive to simply approach the interaction between the literary and the historical with "cautious investigation."⁴ Conversely, the historical background can prove instrumental to gaining a deeper understanding of a text – both from a literary perspective and a dramaturgical perspective. Indeed many literary critics are using the historical context of literature as a critical lens. Edward Said, and his seminal book *Orientalism*, revolutionized post-colonial methodology (both positively and negatively) through such a bridging between literature and history. Said established how history is told – and who tells it – to prove how our vocabulary reflects binaries between the Western world and the Oriental world, between white and black:

Orientalism is a style of thought based upon ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident." Thus a very large mass of writers...have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, "mind," destiny, and so on. ... the phenomenon of Orientalism as I study it here deals principally, not with a correspondence between Orientalism and Orient, but with the internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the Orient . . . despite or beyond any correspondence, or lack thereof, with a "real" Orient.⁵

In other words, Europe (and, by extension, the United States) has defined itself based off the perceived differences in an “Other” – what Said identifies as the Orient. It is only in the binary that Occidental – or white – identity can be defined. The Occident does not define itself by what it is, but what the Orient is not. Yet, even Said recognizes his problematic position:

Western representation of Islam may be more complex than Orientalism characteristically assumes...Orientalism cannot be considered uniformly either as a discourse of mastery or even as the consistent and unvarying expression of the Western will to power through knowledge and representation.⁶

However, Said views this problematic position as one that improves his overall argument; he posits that “it is ambivalence rather than simply dichotomizing and essentializing attitude which more accurately characterizes the western vision of the East.”⁷ Contemporary critics have mostly refuted Said for being too reductive, arguing that the “binary opposition of colonizer and colonized, so familiar in recent scholarship informed by postcolonial identity politics, cannot be maintained.”⁸ While these academics are indebted to Said when discussing the influence that a superior Western perspective has had on literature, history, and our basic vocabulary, they shy away from a strict binary. Yet, the Said perspective on history in literature continues, especially in post-colonial approaches to dramatic texts.

This thesis will demonstrate that between the monoliths of Said and Laslett there must be a more nuanced view of the interaction between history and literature within the post-colonial paradigm. Currently, scholarship wavers between distinguishing English nationalism and European identity, resulting in an unclear depiction of precisely which nationalistic forces are at work when applying a post-colonial methodology to Early Modern plays. Identity politics in an Early Modern context have been negotiated through the Othellos, the Shylocks, and the Aarons – those whose identity falls directly in Said’s definition of Other. In discussing these Others,

empire and colonialism always seem to creep into the conversation, pitting European characters (symbols of the soon-to-be British empire) with non-European, non-white symbols of Others (the world about to be controlled by the soon-to-be British empire). In other words, in discussing the Othellos, the Shylocks, and the Aarons, the characters whose identities cannot be packaged neatly within Said's binary have been diluted, leading to a lack of critical interrogation of their national identities and its impact on the overall text. Post-colonial discourse applied to Early Modern theatre needs to consider the different identities of the colonizing Europeans. Understanding individual nationalities in texts will allow for a clearer post-colonial understanding of Othering and difference.

While the Early Modern period has various examples of Spanish characters on English stages (and vice versa), not all can be discussed in such a thesis. I am purposefully limiting my scope to focus more on the Tudor dynasty, instead of the Stuarts, thereby choosing not to discuss some works, such as Thomas Middleton's highly political play *A Game at Chess* (1624). Instead, I will focus on four major Tudor-era plays. William Shakespeare's *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*, in part because of their Spanish characters and in part because both plays have been highly used to discuss Othering – yet only in relation to the Moorish and Jewish characters. Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* is one of the few English plays of this era that deals with an all Iberian cast in Spain, without other national or religious identities to complicate such a discussion. The uniqueness of this play makes it an ideal place to apply the Othering of Spaniards that is seen in *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*. Finally, as will become apparent, while scholarly discussion of the Spanish on the English stage is not too difficult to find, any discussion of the English on the Spanish stage is rare. Recognizing that the Spanish too had an opinion and a part to play in all this history, I discuss *El cisma de Inglaterra*⁹ (*The Schism of*

England), by the Spanish Golden Age playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca, to locate a surprising perspective of the Othered.

The Position of Spain and England during the Early Modern Period

Leon Trotsky claimed that “the tragedies of Shakespeare would be entirely unthinkable without the Reformation.”¹⁰ However, Walter Cohen refutes Trotsky by asserting that “Shakespeare did not write for a Reformation theatre influenced by the Renaissance; he wrote for a Renaissance theatre influenced by the Reformation.”¹¹ In other words, the Reformation had an impact on English theatre, but English theatre was still influenced by the larger Renaissance era that affected all of Europe. England may be an island, but it does not live in isolation from Europe and European history. England, and therefore English theatre, cannot be divorced from the Anglo-Spaniard tension of the Early Modern period.

If “the internal characteristics of (say) early modern England would be built in relation to the construction of (for instance) Spain,”¹² then a proper understanding of the Anglo-Spaniard relationship in the Early Modern period would be an appropriate and powerful critical lens for examining those theatrical works. The question becomes, what are the historical, political, and economic factors that cause Spain to exist as non-English? In other words, what specific aspects locate Spain as not just an enemy to England, but, more importantly, a non-white Other? Due to geographic and historical facts, Spain has been at once central to Europe and disconnected from Europe. The Moorish invasion of Spain, which officially ended at the same time that the Spanish Empire began building in 1492,¹³ continued the perception that Spain just wasn’t European. In Edmund Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, although the Moors were “beaten out by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella his wife, yet they were not so cleansed...during [the

Moor's] large continuance there, they had left no pure drop of Spanish blood... So that, of all the nations under heaven, I suppose the Spaniard is the most mingled and most uncertain.”¹⁴ As the apocryphal story goes, Napoleon once stated while considering Spain's position within European politics that “Europe ends at the Pyrenees Mountains.” Regardless of Napoleon's opinion, however, Spain is a part of the European continent, and its continued presence in European history and organizations attests to a “true” European identity.

I propose that Spanish identity is something a bit more complicated than just a country that is a part, through a geographic coincidence, of a larger continental organization of countries. In technical terms, Spain is just another European nation with its own languages, cultures, history, and literature. Spain is also the passageway into Europe from Africa, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean. Spain's geographic position places it at a highly advantageous point vis-à-vis the Mediterranean – at its closest, Spain is a mere 8 miles (13 kilometers) from Africa. Its position at the mouth of the Mediterranean also places Spain in the middle point of any sea trade between Northern and Southern Europe – say, for example, England and Venice. In fact, the Strait of Gibraltar is not a pathway; it is a cross roads uniting the West and East, North and South. The Spanish gateway can still be seen in today's political, immigration, and trade routes. Southern Spain is the primary conduit for illegal trade and immigration for all of Europe. The ownership of Gibraltar continues to be a major diplomatic sticking point between England and Spain, where Gibraltar's tactical position makes it unlikely that England will relinquish the outpost back to Spain in the near future. Furthermore, Spain exists in a special position within an English conceptualization of Europe – especially in the Early Modern Period. Throughout the Tudor and Stuart monarchical lines, Anglo-Spaniard politics will waver between friendliness and mortal enmity. Previous peace treaties will turn into war to be negotiated back to peace treaties

and brought back to war. Spain will be both a ferocious enemy that can easily crush England and a petulant child who cannot overtake the might of the English nation. In other words, the Spanish figure within the English mind is also highly significant when considering Early Modern English theatre.

The geographic and conceptual position of Spain in European thought affords Spain an Othered identity, although differently so than Said's post-colonial understanding of Others. Since this Othered identity is crucial to understanding Early Modern texts, it is instrumental to approach textual evidence from a historical perspective. Hence, throughout this thesis, history and politics will play a part into how theatrical pieces are understood and how nationalistic characterization is analyzed. During the Early Modern period, Europeans are beginning to travel all over the world, bringing back reports of all sorts of exotic locales – including rich colonies in the New World controlled by the Spanish. The travel narratives are also full of danger coming from the travel itself and the environment found in the exotic locale (dangerous animals, violent natives, unfriendly environments). In Andrew Hadfield's *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550-1630: An Anthology*, he collects multiple different sources that, as the title suggest, discuss traveling for an audience that, most likely, will not leave England's shores. Hadfield views locations of travel as contact zones, where interactions between peoples of different races, nationalities, and religions meet without violent conflict.¹⁵ Hadfield notes that two types of Others emerge through travel narratives: the savage and uncivilized (such as the Irish, Native American, and Pacific Islanders) and the cruel and pagan expansionists (such as the Turks, Japanese, and Spanish).¹⁶ Hadfield's sampling of travel narratives place Spain squarely among the paganist Others such as the Muslim Turks. These Others do not have the excuse of lacking civilization or the true God – they have seen salvation

and have denied it in favor of their own lustful (for Spain, silver and idolatry) ways. For Hadfield, this Other binary implies that travel narratives expose much more about the anxieties back home than the countries discovered. It was a new “English consciousness of the extent of Spanish Imperial and trading ambitions” that stimulated “a political and religious rivalry which was to define English relations with the wider world.”¹⁷ For Hadfield, then, travel narratives cannot be considered without also considering religion and more generalized religious anxiety in Early Modern history. In other words, an understanding of the religious make-up of Early Modern Europe is integral to approaching English writing.

The Protestant Reformation had an extreme effect on the countries that reformed – and on the rest of modern history. In England, the Protestant Reformation deeply fractured the country – leading to a contemporary historical debate about the actual effects of this religious and political change. Eamon Duffy, in *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*, argues that the Reformation was in fact a destructive force, while other historians, including Peter Laslett, view the Reformation as having a positive effect on English society, culture, politics, and economics. Whether the effects of the Protestant Reformation are viewed as positive or negative, it undeniably altered English culture and English foreign policy. Whilst England was undergoing a religious change, Spanish Catholicism strengthened, leading to (among many things) the Spanish Inquisition, the alliance between the Hapsburgs of Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor, and the assimilation of The Netherlands in the 1550s.¹⁸ It is of little surprise that in the early 1500s, England pursued an alliance with Spain. England sought to reap the benefit of Spanish power within Europe and of the discovery of the New World; whilst Spain sought benefit from a stronger foothold in northern Europe. Most importantly, an alliance between England and Spain would deal a major blow to their mutual enemy: France. In 1501,

Catherine of Aragón, daughter of the great Ferdinand and Isabel, married Arthur, Prince of Wales, the older brother of Henry VIII, but Arthur died six months after their marriage. In 1509, England and Spain rekindled their alliance, and Catherine of Aragón married Henry VIII.¹⁹ By 1529, England and Spain were in the midst of failed divorce negotiations – and the Reformation was well on its way.²⁰

The failed marriage of Catherine of Aragón and Henry VIII began the saga of Henry VIII's six wives – a history that continues to interest (and entertain) the world to this day. Movies, TV shows, novels, and all sorts of other media have glorified and dramatized the marriages of Henry VIII, often diminishing the foreign policy aspect of the situation. The reality is, however, that England at the time was vulnerable from the inside and out. Spain was a looming threat. The New World and the rise of the Ottoman Empire were restructuring not only European power structures but also how Europeans understood the world around them. During this time period, some of England's most well-known playwrights wrote texts that are still being produced and written about (in anything from commercial and academic books to this Master's thesis). From 1585 to 1604, Spain and England would be formally at war.²¹

Keeping the historical facts at the forefront of any discussion of literary works is integral to understanding how the Anglo-Spaniard political world was being portrayed on stage. Early Modern playwrights were responding to the changing political, religious, economic, and social changes brought on by the Reformation. However, to pretend that these authors had an accurate knowledge of their own world's political and social context (let alone the hindsight to interpret it as it is seen by today's scholars) is overly optimistic. English Renaissance playwrights were not worldly scholars but instead scavengers – authors who “could contrive any kind of historical, political, literary, or ethnographic association as long as it served their dramatic purpose.”²²

Hence, a working knowledge of the historical reality of the time is highly significant to understanding these texts. At the same time, the realities of propaganda and authorial ignorance must allow for creative liberties. Whilst historical fact is important, it does not supersede the world created by the playwright. The purpose of this essay is not to reinterpret or review the historical record, but rather to illuminate the interpretation of history through the imperfect medium that is the playwright. Hence, at times, I will provide detailed historical background on historical situations (including trade routes, monarchical families, etc.) to help elucidate how Anglo-Spaniard politics were translating onto the stage.

Beyond Black: Finding Spain in William Shakespeare's *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*

During the early Sixteenth Century, while *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*²³ were being penned, England found itself in a complicated position: “the nearest and greatest empires of the day, the Spanish and the Turkish, were based in the Mediterranean world (almost dividing it in half); and Italy, at the center of the Mediterranean, was the birthplace of capitalism.”²⁴ Where would England fit within this puzzle? England was moving towards the imperialist example of Spain and the Ottomans, as well as the capitalist example of Italy. It is of little surprise, then, that Othello the Moor and Shylock the Jew, the non-white and non-European, are identified and isolated as *Othered* in the full, capitalized, Saidian way. The full title of each play announces their difference as an intrinsic part of their names and titles: *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* and *The Comical History of the Merchant of Venice, or Otherwise Called the Jew of Venice* (emphasis mine). These titles mark the characters as the *singular*, representative Other belonging *to* Venice. Each marks an instance of difference, the non-European in all of Venice's large, diverse merchant population – and the production history and literary criticism of these plays has reflected that difference. Othello's Moorish status means he can be anything from:

the Berber-Arab people of the part of North Africa than rather vaguely dominated as ‘Morocco,’ ‘Mauritania,’ or ‘Barbary’; ... could be used to embrace the inhabitants of the whole North African littoral; ... might be extended to refer to Africans generally (whether ‘white,’ ‘black,’ or ‘tawny’ Moors); or, by an even more promiscuous extension, ... might be applied (like ‘Indian’) to almost any darker-skinned peoples – even, on occasion, those of the New World.²⁵

Shylock's Jewish heritage is less ambiguous than Othello's Moorishness, however, his origins remain a primary part of his identity and how that play is interpreted. In the 2004 movie *William Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice*, Al Pacino's Shylock adopts "a guttural staccato" and "assumes an intriguing figure driven as much by contempt and pride as he is by revenge; an orthodox authoritarian drawing on wells of controlled rage" who is "also vulnerable enough" and provides a "crucial psychological explanation for the Jew's intransigence over his contracted pound of flesh,"²⁶ carrying the show and eclipsing his fellow cast members. *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* have become plays about only their central characters, the Moor and the Jew.

The consistent Othering of Othello and Shylock have led to them being de-humanized – they have been relegated deeply to the non-White side of the race spectrum, and many interpretations of either play relish in reminding the audience of how much Othello and Shylock are *not* Venetian. Articles that focus on Othello's race – what Ruth Cowhig present as the importance of Othello's Negro status as opposed to "the tawny Arab on whom Coleridge insisted with such vehemence"²⁷ – rarely mention Venice as the Italian city-state that dominated Mediterranean trading routes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. That being said, it is beyond doubt that Othello is black; that Othello is an Other. The play establishes a white/black, heaven/hell dichotomy early on – even if it falls apart as the play continues. Othello, as an individual, fluctuates between the two, eventually centering him deep in the black/hell category. While Desdemona has "whiter skin of hers than snow,"²⁸ Othello is "an old black ram,"²⁹ a "lascivious Moor,"³⁰ an "abuser of the world, a practiser/ Of arts inhibited and out of warrant,"³¹ a "lusty Moor,"³² and "begrimed and black."³³ Othello's position in the dichotomy has led to his conflation with a monstrous black devil.

Various critics have defined Othello – his characterization and basic identity – directly through his skin. Karen Newman argues that Othello’s skin color indicates him as a “monster in the Renaissance sense of the word,”³⁴ where his black skin marks Othello as non-human. James Aubrey asserts that “blacks and monsters are related, if not equated, on some level of the popular imagination” of *Othello*’s original audience.³⁵ In fact, Aubrey believed that Iago’s, Roderigo’s, and Brabantio’s insults would resonate with “Othello’s racial characteristics to establish his extreme difference from typical Europeans,” where “Othello’s character is constructed in a way that would have engaged such popular associations of blacks with monsters.”³⁶ Aubrey’s overall argument is that Othello as a character is Othered from those “typical Europeans” around him through his black skin. Finally, Cowhig stresses to “take seriously the importance of Othello’s race in our interpretation of the play.”³⁷ She sees Othello’s black skin in the same way as Hamlet’s black clothing, a direct visual representation of isolation.³⁸ Each of these critics use Othello’s skin color as a visual representation of Othello’s character. These judgments immediately emphasize “Othello’s racial characteristics to establish his extreme difference from typical Europeans,” and revealing that “Othello’s character is constructed in a way that would have engaged such popular associations of blacks with monsters.”³⁹ Certainly, Othello’s skin color marks him as very different from the typical London theatre-goer, and it would be naïve to pretend that difference wouldn’t go hand in hand with racial discrimination. Aubrey, Newman, and Cowhig emphasize the Saidian binary interpretation of *Othello*, where the European is defined by the non-European, and skin color is an irrepressible sign of Orientalism. However, I question why Aubrey, Newman, and Cowhig focus solely on Othello’s race, considering that there are various other nationalities (and ethnicities) present in *Othello*.

Although Shakespeare set twenty of his plays in various locations around the Mediterranean, *Othello* shows the clear delineation of the inherently awkward position of England between three religious, political, and economic rivals – and role models. If one approaches the play as a struggle between Spanish and Ottoman dominance over the Mediterranean (Venice), suddenly Iago’s “motiveless malignancy”⁴⁰ is much less motiveless. Iago does not machinate the Moor to murder because Iago is jealous or envious, but because, as a Spaniard, Iago cannot be anything other than manipulative, seductive, and idolatrous. Othello cannot prevent his encompassing jealousy, what some critics call his “character flaws,”⁴¹ or his blasphemous reversals to Catholicism and Islam, because he cannot be anything other than a changeable Turk. Iago and Othello are, at the end of the day, racial and national caricatures to be mediated throughout the play. However, critical analyses of Shakespeare’s Mediterranean world continue to be oddly bipolar in discussing both the diversity in the Mediterranean – the merchant world made up of Europeans, Africans, and Middle Eastern people – and a monolithic identity for the Mediterranean – Europe as one white identity, denying the chance to consider Iago’s national identity.

In Daniel Vitkus’ *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*, the “Mediterranean context” is made up of “English representations of North Africa, Turkey, Greece, Italy, or the Middle East” and allows for “cultural mixture and exchange” in “an extensive network of ‘contact zones.’”⁴² However, Vitkus quickly abandons this discussion to focus only on the Ottoman sections of the Mediterranean – while simultaneously utilizing the moniker European – and blurring the line between what is black and white, what is Ottoman and European, and what the binary even is. His clear claims to the contrary⁴³ are lost in a sea of

unclear language. For example, Vitkus claims that the English existed as both the colonizers and the colonized:

What has often been forgotten is that while Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Dutch ships sailed to the New World and beyond, beginning the exploration and conquest of foreign lands, the Ottoman Turks were rapidly colonizing European territory. Thus, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Europeans were both colonizers and colonized, and even the English felt the power of the Turkish threat to Christendom.⁴⁴

The problem, again, lies in the non-specific definition of European. Spain, Portugal, England, and The Netherlands are defined as being part of the colonizing Europe – yet the European territory being rapidly colonized by the Turks is that of the Balkans. Within one sentence, Vitkus not only establishes England – along with the rest of Europe – as both colonizers and colonized, and then immediately asserts England’s difference to Europe. Finally, to claim that Europe works as a single unit, especially during the highly volatile Early Modern period, is a grand overstep. Vitkus again condenses historical fact when he argues that “at the same time that they were developing the trade in African slaves, the English faced the problem of their own people – men, women, and children – being captured and enslaved by ‘Turkish’ privateers.”⁴⁵ However, to compare the two slave trades is illogical – the African slave trade took people to the other side of the world, with no hope of freedom or return; the prisoners of Turkish privateers could buy back their freedom or could convert to gain their freedom, and were usually kept within the Mediterranean. In both examples, Vitkus condenses two identities as comparable, and contradicts his own criticism of Said by engaging in similar reductive comparisons and imprecise language. Hence, by the time Vitkus argues that the Mediterranean becomes a synonym with the Ottoman Empire where “many tongues were spoken and many religious practices tolerated”⁴⁶ – a way to both recognize the diversity of the Mediterranean while creating a binary of European versus Islam – one is already wary of methodology utilized, and its blind spots.

This type of reductive language, so often utilized when discussing the twenty Shakespearean plays set in the Mediterranean (as well as the flurry of plays set in the Mediterranean by other Renaissance authors), has become so typical it begins to pass unnoticed. There is no opportunity to discuss Iago or Roderigo as having different national identities because a precise language has not been used to describe the realities of this world. The result is a scholarship that denies Said's binaries yet inadvertently utilizes them. Timothy Powell's call to do away with the "theoretical binaries such as Self/Other, Center/Margin, Colonizer/Colonized" and instead "to initiate a new critical epoch, a period of cultural *reconstruction* in which 'identity' is reconfigured in the midst of a multiplicity of cultural influences"⁴⁷ has been side tracked in an acknowledgement of Mediterranean diversity without delving into what this might mean to established conceptions of Shakespeare's blacks. As long as one acknowledges that the Mediterranean was highly diverse, that London had an influx of exotic "newness" during the Renaissance, that the Atlantic Slave Trade was redefining national and cultural identities (as well as what it meant to be human), then the Said binaries can still be applied. Powell's admirable call has been reduced to a consumer warning, a falsefront clarifying that the binary structure is reductive but also making no clear attempts at delineating a non-binary approach to Shakespeare. The Said binary is a useful methodological tool in post-colonial study but has a long history of poor application. In this particular case, the application of Saidian binaries in differentiating Muslim from European has caused a problematic, monolithic European identity.

A potential reason why the binary is still so prevalent in Shakespeare scholarship is that some post-colonial figures are popularly interpreted as images of ugliness, fear, and transgressiveness. In other words, the binary works because post-colonial critics deal with Othered figures. In 1997, the Shakespeare Theatre in Washington, D.C., produced a "defiantly

non-traditional”⁴⁸ *Othello*, directed by Jude Kelly, in which Patrick Stewart played Othello among an otherwise all-African-American cast. The vision, attributed to Stewart himself, attempted a shift away from the Saidian binary, and also failed. The concept was attributed to Stewart, who stated:

One of my hopes for this production is that it will continue to say what a *conventional* production of “Othello” would say about racism and prejudice... To replace the *black outsider* with a *white man* in black society will, I hope, encourage a much broader view of the fundamentals of racism.⁴⁹ (emphasis mine).

The binary is still very much in place, only inverted. Othello is still an outsider, he’s still an Other – but now his skin is white. The irony is that all The Shakespeare Theatre has achieved is turning Othello from a black Other to a white Other.

The prevalence of Shakespeare all over the world, and the prevalence of Othered figures in Shakespeare, has made Shakespearean works a primary target for post-colonial interpretations of that work within Said’s binary (even if they deny such a binary). In fact, the black binary that scholars attempt to skirt around are often fully accepted by general interpretations of *Othello*. Othello, as the “bad” black man, “helped explain why black O.J. Simpson was arrested for the murder of his white ex-wife Nicole Brown Simpson”⁵⁰ – to the public at large, it all came down to jealous black rage on a white female body. On the opposite side of the binary, Othello, as the “good” black man, has been used to defend against white injustice aimed at black bodies. During the 1991 Senate hearings, Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming quoted *Othello* to defend Clarence Thomas’ nomination of the US Supreme Court against what was “considered a character assassination by the testimony of Thomas’s former employee Anita Hill.”⁵¹ Ania Loomba delves into the black Shakespearean image by calling attention to a deeper binary, the “bad” black like *Titus Andronicus*’ Aaron and the “good” black like Othello. The “bad” black is born of “the fast

emerging slave trade” and is marked with the dark, sub-Saharan skin tone, while the “good” black, Othello’s “tawny” black, is that of “other historical tensions.”⁵² (Of course, Vitkus will claim that Othello’s conversion (turning) to Islam marks that regardless of where Othello falls on the good/bad, African/Arab, Sub-Saharan/Moor binaries; his fate is predetermined as one of violence and failure.)⁵³ And, really, even if Loomba distances Othello from the binary, calling on his cultural and religious heritage as proof of a developed background,⁵⁴ she still places Aaron deep within that binary. And, of course, she is far from the only one. The Said binary is perfectly clear in cultural understandings of *Othello*, as Othello is categorized in Loomba’s good/black paradigm depending on context.

The Said binary is reductive. If scholarship relies on Othering too much, the subtle differences between “bad” Aaron and “good” Othello, or Othello and Shylock, are lost among myriads of Othered subjects. Othering becomes a reductive mold in which to place characters and define them through the same characteristics that allow for Othering in the first place. It is a paradoxical attempt to highlight uniqueness by taking away a character’s nuance and instead stamping it as capitalized Other. Vitkus, Loomba, and others are correct in recognizing the reductivity of Said and trying to push past it. However, they, too, have fallen within the same reductive trap. In an attempt to discuss the Others with more detail, they have created their own reductive identity: Europe. Specifically, they have denied the nuanced ethnic, cultural, and racial differences in Renaissance Europe. Many critics will readily discuss England, defining what *England*, *English*, and *European* mean in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. The English are beginning to create social, ethnic, racial, and national hierarchies – and these classifications are making an appearance on the stage. What is forgotten, however, are the identities that are not discussed in post-colonial methodology – those among European whites. Our contemporary

culture is awkwardly aware of it, being unable to classify the Middle Eastern world, which dominates news cycles and our new view of the “Orient,” between Africa, Asia, and Europe. American culture is also quick to classify groups such as Irish-American, Italian-American, African-American, Indian-American, and Chinese-American (among others) – clearly understanding that there can be subsets of identity. In other words, one can be American and also be something different (Italian, African, Indian). It is curious that contemporary American and English culture is so in tune with slight variations in culture among the immigrant groups that they may identify with, while still viewing Shakespeare’s Europe as an oddly unified, coherent, *white* whole. Surely, nuanced personal identity is not just a modern phenomenon.

Othello is not the only outsider in *Othello*. The play has a short cast list, in which most of the characters are identified (by the cast list at least) as Italians. However, Italy was not Italy at the writing of *Othello*. In 1604, the presumed date of authorship, Italy was still far from unification,⁵⁵ rendering any “Italian” nationality that the other cast members have rather meaningless. Instead, one finds that Barbantio, Desdemona, Gratiano, Lodovico, and the Duke of Venice all have direct claims to Venice itself (even if Eric Griffin will claim that Brabantio and his family all have tenuous links to Venice themselves).⁵⁶ So, where are these characters from? Are they “Italians” – regardless of how tenuous that phrase might be in the Seventeenth Century? Do their nationalities impact them? The only character to be given a direct national identifier (again, other than Othello and Montano) is Cassio, “a Florentine” who is deemed similar to “the bookish theoretic,/ Wherein the togged consuls can propose/ As masterly as he. Mere prattle without practice.”⁵⁷ Cassio’s differences go further than just his Florentine nationality: he is more educated than the others in the military (the “bookish theoretic”), he cannot handle his alcohol, and he is the only Florentine among Moors, Cypriots, and Venetians (presumably). Cassio the

Florentine is just as alone as Othello the Moor. Hence, there is not just one Other. Othello is not the only outsider in Venice.

Having established that Othello is not the only non-Venetian in the mix, it should also be noted that he is not the only Other – as per post-colonial definitions at least – in the group. *Othello* establishes a clear-cut division between the men and women of the play. Desdemona, Bianca, and Emilia are out of place in a military fortress at a time of war. These women inhabit different worlds with different rules, and in so doing stress how Othered they are compared to the men of the play. However, the Othering of women in *Othello*, while highly interesting, falls outside the purview of this paper.⁵⁸ Othering also applies to the various nationalities present within *Othello*'s text. There are another two, maybe three, characters that belong to a different world. Iago, Roderigo, and potentially Emilia are Spaniards – and hence must be treated as Othered outsiders within a post-colonial interpretation of *Othello*. The most apparent hint of Iago's heritage is in his name. "Iago" originates from the Spanish name "Santiago," usually associated with Santiago Matamoros, or, in English, Saint Iago the Moor Killer. This saint lends his name to the city Santiago de Compostela, the famous end of a holy pilgrimage in honor of the Catholic saint whose iconography often depicts "his horse trampling on a decapitated Moor."⁵⁹ Considering that Spain and England shared multiple saints – the most obvious being Saint George, patron saint of all of England as well as of the city of Barcelona – the naming of Iago seems like a bit more than coincidence. Iago's name was "surely derived from Sant-Iago, the patron saint of Spain...who was shortly to become known across the globe on 'grounds Christen'd and heathen' as Saint James, the Moor-killer," while Roderigo's name is inspired by "'Ruy' Díaz de Bivar, El Cid Campeador – the epic hero of Iberian culture,"⁶⁰ more commonly known as simply El Cid. According to Griffin, the characterization of Iago and Roderigo as

lustful, traitorous, and (in the case of Roderigo, at least) stupid becomes a direct insult of Spain's biggest cultural heroes, Saint James and El Cid.⁶¹ Furthermore, the Spanish identity of Iago and Roderigo comes directly from Shakespeare; the original source of *Othello*, Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* which lacks the character of Roderigo and never names Iago as anything more than an "ancient" (meaning the military rank, not an age distinction). Furthermore, a ballad related to the *Hecatommithi* directly relates Iago to Spain:

Now while upon the Isle they stayde,
The luckelesse lotte befell,
By a false Spaniard's wicked ayde,
Which I am now to tell.
He was the Antient to the Moore,
For he so closely wrought,
He held him honest, trusty, sure,
Until he found him nought.
Iago was the monster's name.⁶²

Here, "honest Iago"⁶³ is specifically laid out as the "false Spaniard" that Othello will view as "honest, trusty, sure" until "he found him nought." This ballad establishes not only the relationship arch between Iago and Othello, but clearly states Iago's national origins. Shakespeare consciously names Iago and creates Roderigo in such a manner as to reveal "significant improvisational choices."⁶⁴ Hence, if the Spanish nationality is directly and purposely inserted by Shakespeare, such an identity needs serious consideration.

Spanish presence on the English stage is not an anomaly for the Early Modern period – or for Shakespeare himself. The European changes in religious, political, and colonial affairs caused rising tensions – and left Spain and England as allies or enemies, at times almost simultaneously. Meanwhile, the Spanish monarchy, run by the Bourbon family, had direct relatives in the most significant and powerful European families, including the Austrian kingdoms and the Vatican. When it came to a European kingdom – or a Catholic champion –

Spain was simply on top. The play's Mediterranean is similar to the historical situation at the time of the play's writing.⁶⁵ The Ottoman Empire is a powerful force whose relationship to Europe is a "tricky, constantly renegotiated issue" which had already directly challenged Europe for control of trade lines and strategic positions; "the Ottoman empire was an institution to be feared and appeased."⁶⁶ In fact, the Venetian general Othello is integral to the city-state for his ability to defeat the Turks, who "bearing with frank appearance"⁶⁷ are threatening Cyprus. Only Othello can defeat this force, as the other possibility, Marcus Luccicos is "now in Florence"⁶⁸ and unavailable, even though he is sent for "post-post-haste."⁶⁹ All that is left is Othello, faced with taking on the Turkish threat and keeping the Cypriots free from Muslim influence, much like what historically happened in 1571 at the Battle of Lepanto, when Christian Europe (including both Venice and Spain) took on the Ottoman Turks to keep Cyprus Italian.

The Battle of Lepanto was, in hindsight, insignificant, even if Don Quixote calls it "the greatest occasion which any age, past, present, or future, ever saw or can ever hope to see."⁷⁰ While the battle itself was successful for the Christian forces, the war was eventually lost, and Cyprus joined the Ottoman Empire, negating the success at Lepanto. However, for Shakespeare and other writers of the era, the Battle of Lepanto was significant. Twenty years after the battle itself, in 1591, James I published *The Lepanto*, an epic poem republished in London in 1603⁷¹ – about a year before the publication of *Othello*. Meanwhile, between *Othello*'s first and second act, a sea battle occurs between the Venetians and the Ottomans which replicates the Battle of Lepanto. In the *The Lepanto*, the battle was "Betwixt the baptiz'd race,/ And circumcised Turband Turkes,"⁷²⁷³ the same Turks who God had "inflamde their maddest mind/ With raging fire of wraith."⁷⁴ In fact, *The Lepanto* sets up a battle between the Godly, Christian, European allies and the godless Turks who are being propped up by Satan who observes that "Their Faith

is too too small,/ They striue me thinke on either part/ Who farthest backe can fall.”⁷⁵ The battle described in *Othello* echoes James I’s divine warring, where the natural world takes on its own character and changes the fate of the Turks. The wind “hath spoke aloud” and has “ruffianed so upon the sea” that no one but those protected by God could have survived,⁷⁶ destroying those without Godly passage:

News, lads: our wars are done!
The desperate tempest hath so banged up the Turks
That their designment halts. A noble ship of Venice
Hath seen a grievous wrack and sufferance
On most part of their fleet.⁷⁷

James I’s *The Lepanto* and Shakespeare’s *Othello* discuss the same battle in similar ways. They are also similar in what information they leave out of the narrative. The Battle of Lepanto was a multi-national endeavor, but it was led by Don John of Austria, Philip II’s half-brother.⁷⁸ James I’s *The Lepanto* is meant to represent “true history” so as to disprove the “forraine Papist Bastard;”⁷⁹ Shakespeare’s *Othello* places success in a dual front between the leadership of mighty Othello and a well-timed (divine) storm. However, the reality is that *Othello* creates a historical paradox, in which the Spaniard is both the villain and the victor.

In Early Modern England, including Spain or Spanish characters on stage could work as a form of propaganda. Excluding Spain could work the same way, such as James I’s exclusion of Don John in *The Lepanto* to allow England to retain pride in the victory over the Turks without having to praise the Spanish. *Othello* negotiates both types of propaganda. A battle similar to that of Lepanto is won not by the Spanish King’s half-brother, but instead by a Moor civilized by Italian (read English) gentility. In fact, while Othello is certainly not Italian, he is the Moor *of* Venice, not the Moor *in* Venice. He has been accepted into the Venetian world, he has been able

to not only join the military but also allowed to rise in military rank. While Brabantio is far from thrilled that Othello has married his daughter, no other Venetian Senator is perturbed – and the Duke of Venice chastises Brabantio for his closed-mindedness. This opens the question of where Othello is from. The definition for “Moor” is, as we have seen, broad and vague, and while Othello provides a lengthy speech about his past, he never locates where he was born or what he identifies himself as. As Emily C. Bartels points out in her book *Speaking of the Moor: From Alcazar to Othello*, Othello’s speech does not even account for his arrival in Venice; he simply jumps from his marvelous travels to wooing Desdemona. For Bartels, this narrative hole functions to make Othello’s presence in Venice unremarkable, diminishing Othello’s position as an immigrant and therefore normalizing him within Venetian society. As a Moor, Othello is “no less (if also no more) embedded on the home front than his Venetian, Florentine, or Cypriot peers.”⁸⁰ Othello continues to be marked by his skin tone, a demarcation that affects a theatre audience much more than a reader, but he is still able to travel through society openly. His appearance in Venice is nothing extraordinary.

However, the presence of Iago (and Roderigo) on stage provides physical presence of Spanish malignancy. Iago as an individual will forever be marked by Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s “motiveless malignancy.” He is terrifying:

Iago does not draw our sympathy, because he is a very wicked man; but he evokes our fear, because we know wicked men do exist, and here is a shockingly real reflection of how their twisted emotions work; and he evokes some other nameless kind of terror, a terror of recognition, for he is compounded of deep human motives that run through all of us.⁸¹

A large part of Iago’s terror comes from the fact that Iago is so good at hiding his manipulations and his true self. It’s not until the last scene of the play that Iago is truly revealed – and that

anybody expresses anything negative about him. He is “Honest Iago,”⁸² “good Iago,”⁸³ and such “An honest man he is, and hates the slime/ That sticks on filthy deeds.”⁸⁴ Iago is “not such a villain.”⁸⁵ He is everybody’s best friend, a trusted companion who can speak only the truth – that is until his betrayal becomes clear, when he suddenly becomes a “Precious”⁸⁶ villain,⁸⁷ a “viper,”⁸⁸ and a “demi-devil.”⁸⁹ Iago’s characterization also becomes apparent in his various soliloquies. At those moments “all the passions hidden behind the smooth, subordinate surface suddenly boil up.”⁹⁰ From these moments of candidness, Iago’s critics make their judgments, usually arguing that “Iago is simply a man who has been slighted and revenges himself” or that “Iago is a being who hates good simply because it is good, and loves evil purely for itself.”⁹¹ Marvin Rosenberg cites numerous different critics in his article “In Defense of Iago” who find a myriad of ways to excuse or elucidate Iago’s behavior. Carol Neely, who reads *Othello* through the lens of gender in her book *Broken Nuptials in Shakespeare’s Plays*, discusses Iago as a petulant, immature, and hateful man whose uncontrollable anger destroys all those around him and who is able to “manipulate male rivalries, verifying his friendship with each man by shared contempt towards another.”⁹²

Iago may fit many of the descriptions these critics attribute to him, but he also has another aspect of his personality – he is a Spaniard. He will inhabit the world of *Othello* in a very different way than any other character, enjoying long soliloquies that earn him a direct relationship with the audience, and knowing more about everybody else than anybody knows about him at any time. Furthermore, while Othello, Desdemona, and Emilia all have final parting speeches, opportunities to end the character-audience relationship on their own terms, Iago does not. Once his duplicity is revealed, Iago declares: “Demand me nothing. What you know, you know. From this time forth I will never speak word.”⁹³ It becomes clear that not even Gratiano’s

threat of torture will ever open Iago's lips.⁹⁴ It also means that Iago will not explain his actions, he will provide no justification for the horrors he has caused – he will purposely remain the unknown monster even if it brings him no more benefit and could, in fact, save him from painful torture. Dramatically, Iago is an ultimate villain, explaining the continued fascination with the character.

Iago's Spanish nationality establishes him as the ultimate villain, but his Catholicism also makes him the ultimate evil. *Othello*, like many of Shakespeare's plays, features a lot of Catholic symbolism (hence the conspiracy that Shakespeare was a crypto-Catholic). Iago's name harking back to Santiago is only one of the many references in the text. Iago, as a Spaniard, is also a Catholic – which means he would not only be an idolatrous blasphemer but also an enemy to England. However, Iago never directly references his Catholic faith, other than general references to God or heaven. Yet, religion is highly significant in the pivotal moment in *Othello*. If Iago is a Catholic, then what exactly is happening spiritually when Othello “converts” to Iago in Act Four? As Kenneth Burke explains:

The word “conversion” itself has a certain ambiguity. Often we think of it as the abandoning of one faith for another... But there are also converts who merely change to a more exacting attitude towards the faith they had already believed in... Insofar as an element of suspicion is indigenous to the “property structure” of monogamistic love, Othello's response to Iago's suggestion would correspond perversely to “conversion”... an intensification of motives already there.⁹⁵

So Othello converts deeper into his original perversion, his original “fatal flaw” of sorts, thanks to Iago's Catholic prodding. And the biggest blasphemy of Catholics according to Protestants is idol worship – exactly what Othello does to Desdemona. What Burke calls the “indigenous” aspect of “monogamistic love” Othello calls “one that loved not wisely, but too well.”⁹⁶ When Othello discusses his murder of Desdemona as “one whose hand,/ Like the base Indian, threw a

pearl away/ Richer than all his tribe,”⁹⁷ he is just as guilty of idolatry as Catholics who dressed saint’s statues or engaged in elaborate baptismal rituals. Othello’s failure comes at Iago’s conversion; Iago’s “intensification” of Othello’s “spiritual whoredom.”⁹⁸ Othello’s various epileptic fits “parod[y] the physical collapse that accompanies an episode of divine or demonic possession.”⁹⁹ In other words, Iago’s deepest Catholic sin is to push Othello towards a Catholic idolatry, which then forces Othello to smother Desdemona.

But Iago is not Shakespeare’s only Spanish character, hence Iago is not the only Spaniard utilized to characterize, stereotype, and define the Spaniard in relation to the English. In *The Merchant of Venice*, the Prince of Aragon, a Spanish prince, appears on stage but, instead of playing the villain like Iago, he epitomizes the buffoon. Portia’s father has left three chests of gold, silver, and lead, one of which contains Portia’s picture. Any man who comes to Portia is offered the three caskets, “whereof who chooses his meaning chooses you, will no doubt never be chosen by any rightly but one who you shall rightly love.”¹⁰⁰ In other words, pick the casket with Portia’s picture, and you prove yourself worthy of her love; should you pick incorrectly, you forfeit any future proposal to any living woman. Throughout the play, multiple suitors come to Portia – each representing a different nation, city-state, or culture – culminating with Bassiano (a Venetian) successfully picking the lead casket and winning Portia’s hand. Of the many suitors, all but Bassiano are found lacking, and most are openly mocked. Two – the Prince of Morocco and the Prince of Aragon – are seen on stage, where they become more pointedly objects of derision. What is clear, however, is that all Europeans are open to stereotyping, with the Moors and Spanish bearing the larger brunt of derision.

Portia has nine potential suitors: the Neapolitan prince,¹⁰¹ the County Palatine,¹⁰² Monsieur Le Bon,¹⁰³ Falconbridge the young baron of England, a Scottish lord, the German

Duke of Saxony's nephew, Morocco, Aragon,¹⁰⁴ and Bassanio.¹⁰⁵ Except for Bassanio, each suitor will be found lacking. Furthermore, in a quick speech in Act 1, Scene 2, Portia and Nerissa cite all the faults of the suitors – with the exception of Bassanio (who has none) and Morocco and Aragon (who will be ridiculed on stage). The Neapolitan prince “doth nothing but talk of his horse,” and it’s possible that “his mother played false with a smith.”¹⁰⁶ The County Palatine “doth nothing but frown” and philosophize.¹⁰⁷ Monsieur Le Bon is as changeable as “twenty husbands” having “a horse better than the Neapolitan’s, a better bad habit of frowning than the Count of Palatine.”¹⁰⁸ The English Falconbridge may be “a proper man’s picture” but speaks “neither Latin, French nor Italian,” and his clothing is different than the fashion in Italy.¹⁰⁹ The Scottish lord is indebted to the Englishman, having “borrowed a box of the ear of the Englishman and swore he would pay him again when he was able.”¹¹⁰ The German Duke of Saxony’s nephew is a drunk.¹¹¹ This list breaks down countries per stereotypes (braggarts, drunks, freeloaders), where no one is deemed appropriate by Portia, the “very archetype of justice.”¹¹² However, all these stereotypes are not equal. The casting of Germans as drunks is arguably a deeper insult than the joke that the Neapolitans can speak of nothing but their horses. Furthermore, the Scottish lord, who consistently borrows money from the English, may be “a possible reference to contemporary events” where during the years *The Merchant of Venice* was likely written, various proclamations commanded that “all persons vpon the Borders of England, to keepe peace towards Scotland.”¹¹³ However, while the Germans and the Scots are portrayed rather poorly, the English retreated pretty well. The biggest problem with the English is that they speak no language in common with the Italians. Portia has no problem with his looks, his behavior, or his morals – the reason she does not wish to marry him is that “he understands not me, nor I him”¹¹⁴ and has little in common with him. A rather small problem compared to

drunkenness. This scene is an obviously comic moment utilizing nationalistic jokes (a humor that is still highly popular today); however, not all countries are treated as equal.

Morocco and Aragon receive a heavier dose of ridicule than the other suitors – in large part because their ridiculous behavior can be both emphasized visually on stage¹¹⁵ and through their larger presence within the text. Morocco, with his complexion of “shadowed livery of the burnished sun,”¹¹⁶ is an alarming creature on a white stage. He asks Portia to bring “the fairest creature northward born” to “make incision for you love/ To prove whose blood is reddest, his or mine”¹¹⁷ – textual evidence of the deep visual difference on stage between black Morocco and white Portia. Although this statement can certainly be taken as a similar call for humanity as Shylock’s “Hath a Jew not...” speech, Morocco again and again returns to bloody and violent language. He swears to win Portia’s hand:

By this scimitar,
That slew the Sophy and a Persian prince,
That won three fields of Sultan Solyman,
I would o’erstare the sternest eyes that look,
Outbrave the heart most daring on the earth,
Pluck the young sucking cubs from the she-bear,
Yea, mock the lion when ‘a roars for prey¹¹⁸

Once he is asked to choose among caskets, Morocco asks for “*Some* god direct my judgment,” (*emphasis mine*)¹¹⁹ what John Drakakis points out that “Morocco’s appeal to an unspecified *god* to direct his choice confirms his alien status.”¹²⁰ Morocco ends up choosing the gold casket, earning him the rebuke “*All that glisters is not gold/ Often have you heard that told,*”¹²¹ and losing him Portia’s hand. Portia’s farewell to Morocco begins with “gentle riddance,”¹²² a play on gentle/Gentile to “indicate that the Christian Portia considers herself well rid of the infidel Morocco”¹²³ and ends with “Let all of his complexion choose me so.”¹²⁴ Furthermore, the text references the prince as Morocco – he even calls himself Morocco. This naming choice

immediately implies that the prince stands for the entire country. The result: a depiction of Moroccans as infidel, violent, and lusting for gold.

Aragorn is treated in a similar way. The name itself has deep potential meaning. Aragorn is a region in Spain, the same region to birth Ferdinand II – the father of Henry VIII’s first wife, Catherine, and grandfather to Elizabeth I’s half-sister Mary.¹²⁵ In fact, Henry VIII’s wife was known in England as Catherine of Aragón. It could be possible that the naming choice was made purely for recognition purposes – everybody in the audience would recognize the term Aragorn. However, it is also very possible that the naming choice could be purposeful – with clear subtext and implications. In this case, that Spaniards are buffoons and deeply enamored of silver. The three caskets each have an inscription; the lead one reading “Who chooseth me must give and hazard all the hath.”¹²⁶ Aragorn’s response is, in all fairness, less than kind, telling Portia “You shall look fairer e’er I give or hazard”¹²⁷ which, considering that she is being courted by every duke, prince, and king the world over, seems unlikely. Aragorn refuses the gold chest because he does not desire “what many men desire” as he “will not jump with common spirits” or be ranked “with the barbarous multitudes”;¹²⁸ Not necessarily a bad thing, but often portrayed as a highly ridiculous and braggart thought process. Having picked the silver chest – a potential reference to the massive silver mines Spain had built in the New World (primarily Peru) – Aragorn pulls out “the portrait of a blinking idiot,”¹²⁹ according the Arden “the prosthetic head of a fool” similar to a jester.¹³⁰ Having been proved a fool, Aragorn departs:

Still more fool I shall appear
 By the time I linger here.
 With one fool’s head I came to woo,
 But I go away with two.
 Sweet, adieu. I’ll keep my oath,

Patiently to bear my wrath.¹³¹

Unlike the dangerously violent infidel Morocco, Aragorn is merely an idiot. His desperation for singularity and for silver makes him a perfect stereotype of the Spaniard. At the time, the influx of Peruvian silver into Spain had resulted in “the enormous advantage provided by the precious metals of its New World empire,” allowing for “monetary access to a military machine unequaled elsewhere in Europe until well after 1600.”¹³² The Spanish silver-lust may make them the biggest adversary for Tudor England, but it also proves Aragorn an idiot. No wonder Portia happily exclaims “Thus hath the candle singed the moth”¹³³ when Aragorn finally leaves.

Both Morocco and Aragorn – along with the other six suitors that do not correctly pick the lead casket – become the butt of a joke, a national stereotype that is still the base of humor. However, the focus of post-colonial criticism of *The Merchant of Venice* focuses primarily on Morocco and Shylock, softening the presence of the various European nationals who suffer a similar treatment at the hands of Portia. For example, Salman Rushdie bases his novel *The Moor's Last Sigh* in part on *The Merchant of Venice*, being critical of Portia's rejection of Morocco and Shylock, (whose name she can only bring herself to speak twice).¹³⁴ For Rushdie, *The Merchant of Venice* establishes the terms on “which both justice and romance are developed,” demanding that Moors and Jews be “waved away”¹³⁵ – an attitude that Rushdie hopes to elucidate, criticize, and rectify through his novel. But Rushdie has blinders on; he overlooks that European Aragorn is treated in the same way as Morocco, that Aragorn and Morocco parallel each other racially. After all, “Spain was commonly regarded as the site of rampant miscegenation,”¹³⁶ a result of the long period of Moorish invasion into Spain. Since “race was never solely attached to skin colour, but also that skin colour was never too far from any articulation of race,”¹³⁷ *The Merchant of Venice* epitomizes a deep anxiety of “passing.” The

Prince of Aragorn represents the latent threat that the Prince of Morocco bears in his skin color: as a Spaniard, he has a religious/racial difference that can infect the protestant/white around him. Aragorn, as a Spaniard, is much like the Jew, who has an “insidious role as the hidden stranger, the alien whose otherness is more threatening for its guise of semblance.”¹³⁸ Aragorn is, in some ways, a deeper threat than Morocco – at least Morocco’s racial identity is clearly visible on his face.

Spain is a latent threat to all – Italian (Portia, Desdemona) and Moor (Othello) alike. However, the Spanish also seem like poor villains. Aragorn returns to Spain like a fool (and doomed to a life of celibacy) while Iago returns to Venice in irons to face torture. Neither is particularly successful. In fact, Iago’s scheme fails rather spectacularly. At the end of *Othello*, a lot of people lie dead or dying. Desdemona and Emilia have both been destroyed thanks to the mistakes of their husbands – the side effect of bad matches. Roderigo has been killed, a necessary loss for Iago’s plan to unfold – and proof of the little loyalty Spaniards have, even towards each other. Othello has stabbed himself as a way to properly punish his blasphemy and murderous rage. Even Brabantio has died of a broken heart. The two main characters who remain among the living – already an oddity in Shakespeare’s tragedies – are Iago and Cassio. Some will argue that Iago’s seeming immortality – although Othello stabs Iago, he does not die – points to a demonic power within Iago.¹³⁹ (On that same note, Iago is also unable to out rightly kill Othello, a rather big failure for Santiago the Moor Killer). However, who is left very alive, even though he is “almost slain,”¹⁴⁰ is Cassio, who “stands an excellent chance of being restored to the official position he held.”¹⁴¹ In fact, “Iago’s attempts at revenge...have in the end done no substantial harm to his hated rival Cassio, and have even potentially *helped* him by creating an open position further up in the military hierarchy.”¹⁴² In other words, by vacating Othello’s

position, Iago has placed Cassio as the next in line. Other than the small picture results – in which Italians are placed at the top of the Italian military again – it is “likely that Iago’s subversive activity will affect how the state is likely to treat converted Moors.”¹⁴³ At the end of *Othello*’s plot, the Spaniard faces judgment and condemnation, and the Muslim has been punished. But, at the end of *Othello*’s story, is it possible that Venice, as a stand-in for Italy, shakes the yoke off from Spain and the Ottomans, making them a standard for England to follow?

In both *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*, Shakespeare utilizes Spanish characters. These Spanish characters are either villains or buffoons, clearly delineating that the historical tensions between the two nations were being reflected on stage. Regardless of whether Shakespeare was trying to make a political statement through his Spanish characters or if he was merely copying James I’s *Lepanto* to please the aristocracy, the anti-Spanish sentiment extant in Early Modern England makes its way onto the stage. Loomba spends much of her book *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* determining how Europeans construct Otherness, showing that the most notable and persistent thought was that an “internal essence” was “responsible for Jewish ingratitude and Negroes’ blackness.”¹⁴⁴ I wish to add Spain to that mix. The blood-mixing with Moors made Spaniards racially Othered. Their stringent connection to Catholicism made them religiously Othered. The Othering of Spain leads them to be a spectacular threat for the Europeans – they can get close to the people who matter (*Othello* and *Portia*) and, should the play be a tragedy, destroy them. However, in both *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*, the action takes place in Italy – neutral ground. Both the individuals most affected by the Spaniards are Italians themselves. What happens when dramatic works take place in the heart of Spanish country? Does the Othering still stand? Are there any heroes in a world of buffoons and villains?

“The Yoke of English Monarchy”: History and Politics in Thomas Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy*

Critics have a tendency to classify works of literature into genres. This is nothing particularly new, nor is the application of genres to Early Modern works. For example, Shakespeare’s works become a grouping of history plays, tragedies, Roman plays, kingship plays, comedies, Italian plays, etc. The “Jewish plays” would combine Marlowe and Shakespeare, while the “Moorish plays” would combine Shakespeare, Dekker, some of Marlowe, and a handful of other authors. Ideally, grouping works together allows for some deeper understanding of the individual texts – unpacking what aspects are repeated, what tropes they hold in common, etc. However, genre grouping also has a rather obvious drawback: it focuses a critical lens onto works to the point of exclusion. *The Merchant of Venice* is one of Shakespeare’s best known works that foregrounds Jewishness – which often diminishes discussion surrounding the political backdrop (the colonial trade routes discussed in the play) and, to a lesser extent, the role of women in the play. Shakespeare’s history plays are considered differently than his Roman plays (specifically *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*), even though similar rhetorical tactics (propaganda and politics) are used in both genres. In the case of *The Spanish Tragedy*, by Thomas Kyd, the play goes further than its revenge genre. The historical and political background of *The Spanish Tragedy* adds a layer of propaganda to the play. *The Spanish Tragedy* is, at least in part, about the inherent corruption of the Spaniard.

However, Kyd’s play belongs staunchly in the Revenge Play genre, along with Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion*, Christopher Marlowe’s *The Jew of Malta*, and William Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*. *The Spanish Tragedy* is in fact often compared to *Hamlet* – and not only because of Kyd’s lost play, the *Ur-Hamlet*. *Hamlet*’s current popularity in contemporary pop

culture may rival that of *The Spanish Tragedy* during its time – it was performed 29 times between 1592 and 1597 and was still around for Ben Jonson to discuss after Shakespeare’s death.¹⁴⁵ Both texts have basic similarities. They include plays within plays. A kingdom is threatened from the inside by the corruption of its rulers and/or their heirs. A young woman is lead to madness through the abusive world around her. People are betrayed by those they trusted. There are ghostly hauntings and other supernatural phenomena. At the end of the play, in a highly theatrical scene, the majority of the characters die, and personified Revenge is appeased.

In *The Spanish Tragedy*:

Ay now my hopes have end in their effects,
When blood and sorrow finish my desires:
Horatio murdered in his father’s bower,
Vild Serberine by Pedringano slain,
False Pedringano hang’d by quaint device,
Fair Isabella by herself misdome,
Prince Balthazar by Bel-imperia stabb’d,
The Duke of Castile and his wicked son,
Both done to death by old Hieronimo,
My Bel-imperia fall’n as Dido fell,
And good Hieronimo slain by himself:
Ay these were spectacles to please my soul.¹⁴⁶

While in *Hamlet*, the natural balance of the world is reset:

And let me speak to th’ yet unknowing world
How these things cam about. So shall you hear
Of carnal, bloody and unnatural acts,
Of accidental judgements, casual slaughters,
Of deaths put on by cunning, and for no cause,
And in this upshot purposes mistook
Fall on th’ inventors’ heads.¹⁴⁷

Should the “revenge” emphasis of these plot lines be further disputed, one only needs to consider how much emphasis is placed on revenge within the texts of each play. In *The Spanish Tragedy*, the play takes 28 lines to move from the lovers meeting to Horatio’s death; however Hieronimo’s revenge speech takes about 200 lines.¹⁴⁸ Meanwhile, *Hamlet* takes various attempts at exacting

his revenge, spending a much longer portion of the play scheming than experiencing an emotional *need* for revenge. Consider that *The Spanish Tragedy* shows Horatio’s death on stage in the second act, while in *Hamlet*, King Hamlet’s death, which Hamlet must in turn revenge, occurs well before the play begins. In basic terms, both *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet* are Revenge Plays. Both function within dramatic terms to carry out a basic revenge plot with a high body count and a neatly tied up ending.

English Early Modern Revenge Plays are, unsurprisingly, written by Englishmen, yet almost always set abroad, such as *The Spanish Tragedy* set in Spain, *Hamlet* set in Denmark, and *The Revenger’s Tragedy* set in Italy. These distinct settings, however, seem to have little effect on the overall story. After all, *Hamlet* is barely affected by its Danish setting. Presumably, one could transpose *The Spanish Tragedy* to any other setting and be equally well served. However, the titular setting of *The Spanish Tragedy* significantly marks the text, and considering it as merely a Revenge Play narrows the critical scope. In this case, the nationalistic importance of the Spanish setting in *The Spanish Tragedy* is set aside when the play is considered primarily as a Revenge Play. Theatrically speaking, the nationalistic background ascribed by the playwright seems almost secondary – it simply doesn’t affect the play, plot, or story too much. Dramaturgically speaking, however, the setting of the play holds deep meaning. According to Frederick Kiefer “no revenge plays are more preoccupied with locating and seizing opportunity than those with a Mediterranean locale, especially tragedies set in Spain.”¹⁴⁹

Kyd was certainly seizing an opportunity by setting his tragedy in Spain: the political tensions between Spain and England at the time of *The Spanish Tragedy* were at a boiling point. To fully grasp the context of *The Spanish Tragedy*, an understanding of the political positions both countries were in, especially in relation to Portugal, is integral. It is also often ignored. The

colonial reality of many countries tends to reflect the 1800s, when England and France were the major colonial powers, with overwhelming control of their colonies. Meanwhile, most Spanish and Portuguese colonies were either declaring independence (as in South America) or being transferred to a more powerful rule (the Caribbean, South Africa, etc.). However, if one goes back to the 1500s (two centuries before the English Empire would define colonial history) one sees a different world. Spain rules the seas, with Portugal a distant second.

The Spanish Tragedy begins with a war. This war has claimed Don Andrea, who now exists as the Ghost necessary for the revenge plot, but who also “serve[s] for Chorus in this tragedy”¹⁵⁰ and continuously reminds personified Revenge (and ergo the spectator) that this story line has a specific and bloody end: “thou shalt see the author of thy death,/ Don Balthazar the Prince of Portingale,/ Depriv’d of life by Bel-imperia.”¹⁵¹ The war, plot-wise, only affects the storyline so far – it serves to establish a potential marriage between Don Balthazar and Bel-imperia that would be highly politically motivating, and therefore a match with high stakes. It should be mentioned that when Portugal is defeated by Spain, the immediate response is not mourning or resistance, but instead an acceptance of Portugal’s fate and the possibility of Portuguese advancement through marriage.¹⁵² This is where the playwright takes creative liberties with history – yet both how Kyd writes history and what historically occurred are significant.

Historically speaking, however, the political relationship between Portugal and Spain was more complicated than a simple match. Spain and Portugal were both involved in the development of the New World; they both had powerful fleets. Both countries were making strides in the New World – a world presumably full of gold, silver, precious elements, magical creatures, and mystical locations, including the fountain of youth. Both countries – Spain taking

the larger portion of land – have claimed control over most of the New World – a control granted by the Pope himself. In 1588, the Spanish Armada was terrifying the British.¹⁵³ From the Early Modern perspective, both Portugal and Spain are alarming rivals to the fledgling English Empire.

At the same time, around 1587,¹⁵⁴ Kyd pens *The Spanish Tragedy*, in which Spain and Portugal, in an attempt to unite under one monarchy, instead destroy each other. In *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain*, Eric Griffin argues that Kyd’s play parallels the historical unification of Portugal and Spain with an inversion of the *Aeneid*, leading to both Spain and Portugal lacking an heir, a “‘nightmarish’ political realm reminiscent of Nero’s Rome.”¹⁵⁵ Instead of dramatizing the beginning of a great Empire, Kyd charts the end. Hence, the historical background of *The Spanish Tragedy* cannot just be swept away. In fact, Kyd “‘touched a chord in Elizabethan sensibility [...] of jingoistic anti-Spanish prejudice.”¹⁵⁶ In reality, Spain assimilated Portugal in 1580¹⁵⁷ – shortly before Kyd writes and publishes *The Spanish Tragedy* – a union that Portugal wouldn’t be able to completely separate itself from until the mid-1700s. As the Portuguese royal family was left without a direct heir, Phillip II of Spain claimed the throne. Although other potential heirs were available, Phillip’s claim, which was augmented by a terrifying army and political network, stood. The Portuguese pretender to the throne, Dom António Prior do Crato, found exile in England in 1581 and again from 1585 to 1592 – where Elizabeth I greeted him as “King of Portugal in England.”¹⁵⁸ From the perspective of the English monarchy and population, Spain uniting with Portugal was an unconscionable sign of aggression. Not only were two up-and-coming empires uniting forces (even if their colonies would remain distinct political identities through colonization – an intelligent caveat for the Portuguese), but Spain was gaining strength within the European political world. Furthermore,

the Spanish/Portuguese union did not just concern the English – France and England struck up their own uneasy alliance in response to the Spanish threat to continental sovereignty.¹⁵⁹

Spain invaded The Netherlands the year after uniting with Portugal, in 1581, and seven years later, in 1588, sent the famous Spanish Armada to invade England. For England, the unification of the Spain and Portugal was an obvious threat. Portugal, although much smaller in area, had a stronger control of the Mediterranean – while Spain unloaded troops into Europe and the New World, Portugal built up an economic army, creating a strong, powerful trade network based off what would eventually become the Atlantic slave trade.¹⁶⁰ And hence, the loss of Portugal to Spanish forces took on extra meaning, beyond that of religious warfare or the geopolitical control of the European Continent. The last encompassing maritime power was that of the Romans. For Portugal to be overtaken was a scary proposition at best.

The historical events of the *The Spanish Tragedy*'s time period make the Spanish setting highly significant. Needless to say, from a contemporary perspective, Spain may seem as innocuous a setting for a revenge play as Denmark or Italy. However, in the Early Modern world, Kyd's choosing of such a setting came with a specific set of meanings: Spain was not only viewed rather unfavorably politically/religiously, but it also occupied a nightmarish position in English minds; an aggressively expanding country hell-bent on English destruction. Richard Johnson, a contemporary of Shakespeare and Kyd, writes in 1601:

The Spaniard are subtle, wrapping their drifts in close secrecie, expressing suretie in their words, but keeping their intentions dissembled under disguised assurance of amitie, betraying the innocency of their friendes, in malice infinite, and so overcarried with that passion, that for the most parte, they execute a revenge farre above the nature of the offence: not giving any suddaine appearance of it, but waiting for *opportunity* so much to redouble the blow.¹⁶¹

When considering how Elizabethan England viewed the Spanish, locating Revenge Plays in Spain adds a certain element – the revenge will be extreme and the story bloody. To some extent, “the revenge-play *The Spanish Tragedy*... describes the peninsular wars and Iberian political weddings (unions), depicting the honour and pride of the Portuguese knights fighting for national independence.”¹⁶² Locating the action in the Spanish court adds on top of the Spanish revenge stereotype a look at the inner dealings of the Spanish monarchy – and how the Spanish condition may be the only way to purge the Spanish in the first place. Personified Revenge alludes to this, promising at the beginning and end of each act that:

I'll turn their friendship into fell despite,
Their love to moral hate, their day to night,
Their hope into despair, their peace to war,
Their joys to pain, their bliss to misery.¹⁶³

The play boasts of ten deaths (about half the total cast list), the majority in a dramatic dumb-show at the end of the play. Furthermore, there are three obvious betrayals in the show, alongside with various other implicit betrayals. Even Bel-Imperia's virtue is questionable, as William Empson does when he calls her “somewhat tarnished”¹⁶⁴: Don Andrea claims that “In secret I possessed a worthy dame”¹⁶⁵ and Bel-Imperia is more than willing to secretly meet her new lover in the dead of the night. There is no “good guy” in *The Spanish Tragedy* – no one is worthy as everybody is corrupt.

If one does not disassociate *The Spanish Tragedy* from its titular location, the revenge plot becomes layered with more than just the private drama of these characters, but a larger revenge between nations. Hence, the characters vacillate between identities. Don Andrea condenses the Elizabethan imaginary of Spain: melancholy, pride, slavish commitment to honor and revenge.¹⁶⁶ After all, Don Andrea has no negative response (or even a reaction) to the impending news of his friend's or his lover's deaths, instead choosing to compare them to feasts,

banqueting, and general feasting¹⁶⁷ – a spoil enjoyed by Don Balthazar instead of Don Andrea. In other words, Don Andrea’s concern surrounding his honor trumps the well-being or benefit of the two people he should care most about in the world: the friend who risked his life to honor his death and the faithful lover back home. Furthermore, Don Andrea opens the play by seeking out Revenge’s aid, “linking the Spanish ghost with the figure of revenge *in particular*.”¹⁶⁸ Don Andrea, the “courtier in the Spanish Court,”¹⁶⁹ immediately establishes the Spaniard as a problematic figure – a heroic soldier marred by his national identity.

Meanwhile, Hieronimo, the loyal Marshal to the Spanish King and father of the heroic Horatio, becomes sympathetic – at least at first. Unlike Don Andrea, the audience sees Hieronimo’s fall. The play includes the wrongful murder of Horatio and the unwillingness of the Spanish court to seek out justice. Hieronimo’s fall from grace is methodically laid out for the audience to share Hieronimo’s grief and indignation. Hieronimo is not, like Don Andrea, seeking general revenge, nor is Hieronimo, like Don Andrea, sitting back and allowing others to enact revenge for him. Instead, Hieronimo sets up a scheme to trap Don Balthazar and Lorenzo and avenge the death of his only son. However, the more Hieronimo schemes, the more Machiavellian and calculating he becomes, and he “unwittingly emulates his son’s killer.”¹⁷⁰ Hieronimo shifts from a distraught father to a blood-thirsty manipulator – Hieronimo doesn’t need Personified Revenge as he himself becomes revenge. In so doing, Hieronimo begins to lose his humanity and fully express his Spaniard qualities:

The revenger’s premeditation, however, has the effect of alienating the playgoer. The more that Hieronimo resorts to intrigue and deception as he pursues revenge, the more his deliberate action resembles the cold calculation of his antagonist. Describing the king marshal’s hypocrisy and ruthlessness, the consequence of taking matters into his own hands, Katharine Maus speaks of Hieronimo’s “birth into Machiavellian cunning.”¹⁷¹

At the end of *The Spanish Tragedy*, the young generation of Spain (Horatio, Don Andrea, Bel-Imperia, Don Balthazar, and Lorenzo) is dead – and “the whole Spanish nation was consigned to hell,”¹⁷² as Don Andrea gleefully waits to hear what eternal damnation awaits his enemies. Meanwhile, Hieronimo, so as to not explain his actions (and further relish in his revenge) chooses to bite his tongue out. (Incidentally, Iago chooses silence as well at the end of *Othello*; however, Iago silences himself with an oath as opposed to Hieronimo’s drastic self-mutilation).

The comparison between *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet* may be overplayed, but what makes the similarities between these two plays compelling is how their counterpoints so clearly color each other. Do we agree with the Revenge (why, how, by whom) at the end of *Hamlet* and at the end of *The Spanish Tragedy*? *Hamlet* ends with most of the characters dead and the throne open for Fortinbras, while *The Spanish Tragedy* concludes with the kings of Portugal and Spain are alive, but without heirs. Hamlet is a hero, to be honored by all; Hieronimo is a deformed, bloody, and Machiavellian murderer. Hamlet has returned a natural order to Denmark; Hieronimo is revenged, but there is little balm in it. By the end of *Hamlet*, “we feel closer to Hamlet than we did at the beginning” even if “the prince’s deeds reveal that he sends others to their deaths with equanimity.”¹⁷³ Hamlet’s revenge path seems much more controlled and just than Hieronimo’s revenge. What are we to make of such a disparity? Is Hamlet’s revenge that different, after all, to Hieronimo’s?

It seems that the distinguishing aspect of Hamlet as a revenge figure is that of the constant obstacles he faces in his revenge. Hieronimo, similar to various other revengers, has a more straightforward path. Once the Spanish King has refused to seek justice for Horatio’s death, Hieronimo goes straight into scheming the play in which he will use Bel-Imperia to murder Don Balthazar and Lorenzo. Hamlet, however, has a much less straightforward path. He will first

have to prove Claudius’ guilt – Hieronimo takes Bel-Imperia at her word when she accuses her brother and her suitor in Horatio’s death. Hamlet will also find himself accidentally murdering Polonius, not taking opportunities to kill Claudius, driving Ophelia to her death, and sending Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to their hanging at the hands of the British. In other words, “instead of finding his path through opportunity, [Hamlet] finds himself repeatedly blocked,”¹⁷⁴ both externally and internally. When Hamlet asks the player to recite a speech about Pyrrhus advancing upon Priam, King of Troy, one gets a sense of the hesitation Hamlet himself feels. However, Hamlet’s hesitation is marked by the other revenger, the one who identifies more with Hieronimo’s direct and Machiavellian penchant for revenge: Laertes. In Laertes, Shakespeare establishes the revenger whose actions are inherently problematic, the revenger whose revenge is immoral. In the process, Hamlet becomes “resigned rather than angry, thoughtful rather than manipulative ... has neither the demeanor nor intent of a bloody revenger,”¹⁷⁵ and distinguishes himself completely from the likes of Laertes or Hieronimo. Hamlet’s revenge is just, thought through, and much more palatable than Hieronimo’s revenge. Let us not forget that Hieronimo’s brand of revenge does, in the end, drive the character completely insane. What I am getting at is that while *Hamlet* and *The Spanish Tragedy* may both be revenge plays, and may both be set in non-English countries, the plays also exist in clear opposition. *Hamlet* is about an individual carrying out a revenge scheme. *The Spanish Tragedy* deals instead with a poisoned kingdom where there is no future – but to understand that message within the play, one must also know about the historical world that infuses Kyd’s writing, namely the Spanish invasion of Portugal and the potential ramifications for England. Having kept the historical realities at the forefront, one can now look into the subtext concerning English nationalism present in *The Spanish Tragedy*.

However, if the Spanish and Portuguese national identities are intrinsic to understanding *The Spanish Tragedy*, so are the references to English nationality. The most apparent reference to England comes, not coincidentally, from Hieronimo, who, while regaling the King of Spain and King of Portugal with an epic poem, shares:

The first arm'd knight, that hung his scutcheon¹⁷⁶ up,
Was English Robert Earl of Gloucester,
Who when King Stephen bore sway in Albion,
Arriv'd with five and twenty thousand men,
In Portingale, and by success of war,
Enforc'd the King, then but a Saracen,
To bear the yoke of the English monarchy.

...

The second knight that hung his scutcheon up,
Was Edmund of Kent in Albion,
When English Richard wore the diadem.
He came likewise and razed Lisbon walls,
And took the King of Portingale in fight:
For which, and other such like service done,
He after was created Duke of York.

...

The third and last not least in our account,
Was as the rest a valiant Englishman,
Brave John of Gaunt the Duke of Lancaster,
As by his scutcheon plainly may appear.
He with a puissant army came to Spain,
And took our King of Castile prisoner.¹⁷⁷

This story, in with both Spain and Portugal are proven to be "yoked" (like a beast of burden) to "little England,"¹⁷⁸ is a rather obvious bit of propaganda. Not only does the poem reflect on the English conquests in the Iberian peninsula (mostly achieved during the Crusades and always returned to Iberian hands), but consistently emphasizes the might of the English *monarchy*: the Saracen King of Portingale is made to "bear the yoke of the English monarchy" while "English Richard" and his diadem is none other than famous King Richard the Lionheart. The English are not only "valiant," but they possess a "puissant army" which can raze walls and number up to

“five and twenty thousand men.” However, Hieronimo’s glorifying speech also includes more subtle coding.

Hieronimo’s speech discusses the domination of Spain and Portugal by England and how he ends his speech further emphasizes Kyd’s propagandist approach. At its most climatic moment, Hieronimo mentions the English victory over Spain, and the Portuguese ambassador responds to Hieronimo’s statement:

This is an argument for our viceroy,
That Spain may not insult for her success,
Since English warriors likewise conquer’d Spain,
And make them bow their knees to Albion.¹⁷⁹

To any Portuguese, this moment places England and Portugal as sharing a mutual enemy: Spain. The play sets up a literary parallel; a reference to the “oldest alliance in the world ... manipulating historical information in a premeditated way.”¹⁸⁰ In other words, there was no such alliance between England and Portugal, but the play arranges the story in a way to make the Portuguese appear to be natural allies of the English, both dealing with a mutual enemy. Meanwhile, for the English audience – the target audience considering Kyd is writing in England – this scene stands merely on its direct and obvious patriotism. The play itself takes place only in the Iberian Peninsula, no Englishman is introduced, and England is not mentioned except for in this scene. The English mention in this scene makes little textual sense, exposing the speech as a purely propagandistic tool – a “crowd pleaser” – and proof that *The Spanish Tragedy*’s success “was seriously due to its being a transparent political allegory fully in accord with the popular opinion of the day concerning current relations between England and Spain.”¹⁸¹

A second political message is present in Hieronimo’s speech, not meant for the Portuguese, but for the English who made up most of Kyd’s audience: Portugal has cowardly

accepted Spanish rule and stands as a warning sign to England. After all, Balthazar is in no ways a saint. Although the Spaniard Lorenzo drives most of the action in the play, it is Balthazar who is chosen by personified Revenge to receive the brunt of the punishment. Once the play ends and most of the characters are now in Hades, Don Andrea declares Balthazar’s doom:

Hang Balthazar about Chimaera’s neck,
And let him there bewail his bloody love,
Repining at our joys that are above.¹⁸²

Furthermore, Balthazar is shown throughout *The Spanish Tragedy* as a bumbling fool – it is Lorenzo who knows his way around and who organizes each of Balthazar’s moves for him. In no way does Prince Balthazar, the heir to the Portuguese crown, exemplify in any way kingly behavior. In some ways, Balthazar is similar to Shakespeare’s Aragorn, whose ridiculous demeanor also makes him unfit for rule. However, as the exposition makes clear, Balthazar is a warrior, and hence a much more dangerous enemy than Aragorn, who is simply a fool. In fact, when Hieronimo casts the play-within-a-play that will exact his revenge, he casts Balthazar as the villainous Soliman, a Muslim king who not only invades Rhodes but also wants to possess the “fair Christian nymph,” a “blessed lamp of excellence.”¹⁸³ In fact, in the play *The First Part of Hieronimo*, a prequel written in response to the success of *The Spanish Tragedy*, Balthazar and the Portuguese are further demonized to reflect “a popularly perceived opinion of the Portuguese, that they were essentially cowards in their collusion with Spain.”¹⁸⁴ The opening fight, as described by *The Spanish Tragedy*, is a one-on-one battle between Don Andrea and Balthazar, an honorable encounter between two warriors on the battlefield. In *The First Part of Hieronimo*, the battle is altered so that Don Andrea is overtaken by the entire Portuguese army, “an action which transgresses the decorum of honourable one-to-one military combat.”¹⁸⁵ Even if *The Spanish Tragedy* is not meant to be read as an anti-Portuguese message, *The First Part of*

Hieronimo (written after *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1602) has certainly updated its interpretation of Portugal into a fully-fledged conspirator to the Spanish kingdom.

Hence, *The Spanish Tragedy* is a highly politicized text that cannot be divorced from its historical and political context. For many critics, this “transparent political allegory” is visible throughout the play, even outside Hieronimo’s nationalistic speech. Jacques Derrida in *Aporias* has a specific conceptualization of culture: no culture exists without a cult of ancestors. John Joughin takes Derrida’s concept one step forward while applying it to Early Modern theatre. Theatrical performance is used as “a ritualization of mourning and sacrifice,” wherein the history of a national culture is nothing more than the history of death and ancestors within that culture.¹⁸⁶ Joughin’s example is Lady Diana, whose image has become emblematic not only of world history in the 1990s, but of English monarchical culture. For Joughin, “mourning plays” work as a type of “psycho-drama” that conceptualizes national culture and emphasizes its importance through the sacrificing of historical characters. Shakespeare’s historical plays are rife with examples, the most clear (and the one used by Joughin himself) being *Richard II*. For Joughin, national identity is created through scapegoating the other, where:

In the political memory of a culture, the scapegoat figure locates a crossing point where the political and the singular cojoin powerfully as a community negotiates its sense of collective identity according to its original exclusion of the other and its ability to make reconciliation in the political present.¹⁸⁷

Joughin echoes Said’s Othering mechanism, where one group defines its “collective identity” through making them what the other isn’t. Joughin then further develops his Saidian conceptualization by utilizing heroic figures as emblematic of the “collective identity.”

To Other through cultural means, then, one needs a cultural expression of an Other, to be the scapegoat necessary to unite the original society. *The Spanish Tragedy* – along with the plays discussed in the first section of this thesis – all do this. *The Spanish Tragedy* can be viewed in many ways, but it denigrates an entire nation as being morally corrupt, led astray by their personal ambitions so as to forget all forms of familial or honorable relationships. It turns Spain into a scapegoat – the sign of all that can be rotten in a kingdom, so as to further augment and justify England’s position in the world politically and religiously. Can we interpret Othello as the sacrificial lamb who exemplifies the evils of Hispania? Does the destruction of Don Andrea, Horatio, Bel-Imperia, and Hieronimo – all in highly violent acts – establish *The Spanish Tragedy* as a psycho-drama, where good is sacrificed to evil to rewrite English history where Spain is the enemy? Sixteenth-century propaganda had a certain “mimetic faculty,” where the process of national, social, religious, ethnic consolidation all depends on imitation of and distance from the other.¹⁸⁸ Since Kyd’s characters condense the Elizabethan imaginary of the corruption of Spanish culture, is such a “mimetic faculty”¹⁸⁹ used in *The Spanish Tragedy* to deny Spanish culture and instead create an Anglicized version of Spanish culture? After all, Kyd takes various historical liberties with his play, including the same historical liberty Shakespeare takes in *Othello*. Kyd rewrites the history behind the Battle of Lepanto.

As discussed in the previous section, the Battle of Lepanto was a decisive battle for Christian Europe against a growing Ottoman Empire which posed an economic, military, and religious threat. Unfortunately for England, the Battle of Lepanto was won in large part thanks to Spanish soldiers and leaders favorably connected to Spain. In 1591, James I himself wrote an epic poem concerning the battle, rewriting the Spanish out of the story so as to provide a “true history” and disprove the “forraine Papist Bastard”¹⁹⁰ who had actually lead the Christian forces

into battle. To rehash this information in relation to *The Spanish Tragedy* is not as useful as in *Othello*, where the play replicates a major sea battle. Furthermore, James I wrote and published *The Lepanto* after Thomas Kyd publishes *The Spanish Tragedy*. However, what *The Lepanto* does show in relation to Kyd's play is that rewriting of history for propaganda purposes was common practice. In fact, "the poem becomes crucial evidence in the subterranean battle played out between those who feared and those who wished that James's accession would mean the end of the strained relations between the Elizabethan and the Philippine monarchies."¹⁹¹ Since every document published by the royalty or concerning Spain at the end of the Sixteenth Century comes with a fair amount of subtext, to tie *The Spanish Tragedy* to England's internal negotiations concerning the Spanish Empire (and its allegiance to it) fits. In other words, Spain carries a referent where "Spain and the Spanish are coded as anti-English, that is, politically and militarily dangerous, and religiously 'evil' because always Catholic."¹⁹² The setting of a revenge tragedy in Spain – and the English propaganda that comes along with it – is not a coincidence, it is integral to the development of this text.

Mutual Exorcism:

Reflections of England in Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *El cisma de Inglaterra*

There is much post-colonial criticism describing how the English portrayed blacks, Muslims, Jews, Indians, and all sorts of different identities. There is much post-colonial criticism about how English texts have been used in modern times by colonized people to discuss their colonizers. How do non-English playwrights view England during the Early Modern Period? Overall, the use of Spanish characters in English plays is not too common, but when they are found, they are major villains. In Spanish plays, however, English characters are relatively common, and are not used solely as villains. Even when they are cast as villains, English characters typically have “the same noble qualities as his Spanish counterparts.”¹⁹³ It appears that in Spanish Golden Age theatre, being English is not an immediate sign of villainy, and “the fact is that the Spanish dislike of the English seems never to have been as sweeping as English dislike of the Spaniards.”¹⁹⁴ It is clear from Spanish language plays written by Lope de Vega, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, and other Spanish Golden Age dramatists that while the British are certainly enemies, they are not vilified. In fact, the Spanish Golden Age reveals a multitude of English characters and settings which are in no way utilized to vilify the English people or government. To find a potentially damnable portrayal of the English, one must go to Calderón's *El cisma de Inglaterra*, which deals directly with the divorce of Henry VIII from Katherine of Aragón – the catalyst for growing tensions between England and Spain. Yet, even in Calderón's play, the portrayal of the English is not comparable with the national stereotyping visible in Shakespeare and Kyd.

The most iconic writer of the Spanish Golden Age is, without question, Lope de Vega, the most prolific author of Golden Age theatre. Many plays among Lope's impressive collection

deal with Englishmen or even English settings (for a full breakdown, see Appendix E). However, none of Lope's plays "show the least animosity towards England or the English," and "there is not trace, in any of these plays of Lope's, of Spanish government attitudes or policy, which for so long saw England as an enemy of the faith and Ireland as a potential ally."¹⁹⁵ Lope's *El gallardo catalán* "sets out to glorify a Spanish victory and to show that Spanish troops were superior in fighting qualities," yet the "hostile English officer" had "the same noble qualities as his Spanish counterparts."¹⁹⁶ It may seem odd that England would be treated so well in Spanish Golden Age drama – one would almost expect the type of propagandist characterization typified by the Russian James Bond villains. Instead, "noble English men behave like gentlemen, noble English women like ladies, with never so much as a hint that any of them might be suspect in religious terms."¹⁹⁷ This contrasts strongly with the treatment that Spain receives in English plays, where not even the pleasant characters are treated with much respect. The closest Lope gets to a stinging interpretation of the English would be through punning "inglés" (English) and "ingles" (groin) in *El gallardo catalán*.¹⁹⁸ Lope, the representative playwright of the Spanish Golden Age, shows little concern with demonizing the English or reflecting the complicated history between the two countries.

However much the British may have manipulated history on-stage to suit their own propagandist purposes, it did not mean the Spanish shared in the practice. In fact, "if one looks in Lope's plays for an interpretation of English history or for a portrayal of historical English figures, one would be disappointed,"¹⁹⁹ even though Spanish history was quickly changing. Since dynastic marriages played such a crucial role in the development of Anglo-Spaniard relationships, a brief historical overview will further elucidate how little the Spanish utilized the rife dramatic elements on stage. When Katherine of Aragón was married to Arthur, Prince of

Wales and heir to the throne, the hope was to create a strong alliance in Europe. Katherine's family already controlled the Austrian Kingdom and had a strong influence over the Vatican. Katherine's country was making strides in mercantile sailing, having discovered the New World in 1492 and having come to a favorable agreement in the papal bull the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494.²⁰⁰ Meanwhile, England was, although still a fledgling country, showing much promise. Its geographic position in relation to France was especially attractive to the Spanish. When Arthur died shortly after their wedding, relations between Spain and England cooled; Spain had more promising allies in Eastern Europe, and Henry VIII was still too young for anybody to realize his future importance. However, by 1509, the powerful reign of Ferdinand and Isabel la Católica was coming to a close, and the Spanish monarchy was looking for a way to assure Spanish dominance of Continental Europe. In other words, Spain was looking for an alliance to work against France. Meanwhile, Henry VII had died, leaving a young Henry VIII to rule over England and take on the juggernauts of France and Spain. Henry VIII offered to marry Katherine of Aragon – regardless of legitimacy questions considering that she was previously married to Henry's brother – and placing himself strictly in line with the Spanish Empire.²⁰¹ The purpose of the wedding was to forge a strong alliance between two Catholic countries, which would take on the French kingdom for dominance over Western Europe.

Of course, history took a different path. By 1529, Katherine and Henry were divorced, with Henry then marrying Anne Boleyn, who would be executed in 1536, the same year Katherine would die of natural causes.²⁰² Henry's reign would last until 1547, bringing the Protestant Reformation, and changing the social landscape of England forever. After Henry's long reign (and Edward's short reign), Katherine's daughter Mary would take the throne in 1554. However, Mary's attempts to reverse her father's Reformation made her unpopular among the

British, earning her the moniker Bloody Mary for the many Reformers she had burned at the stake. Her marriage to Philip II, King of Spain, made her an even larger threat, as the relations between the two countries continued on their highly variable path.²⁰³ When Elizabeth took the throne in 1558, she reversed Mary's work, restoring Protestantism to England in 1559, which led to Elizabeth's excommunication by Pope Pius V in 1570.²⁰⁴ Although Spain had tried to have another royal wedding between Elizabeth and a Spanish prince, by her excommunication, the two countries would reassess each other as deep enemies.²⁰⁵ After Elizabeth's death, James I attempted to thaw the relationship between the two countries, ending the war between them in 1604. The situation was looking so favorable that James sent his son Charles (eventually King himself) to Spain to woo Philip IV's sister – although the match never took and Charles returned to England without a wife. James opted not to act upon this insult, although Charles was less willing to forget it, and when he became King in 1625, he was sure to start a war with Spain again, only to have it be as fruitless as Elizabeth's war. When the monarchy was restored in 1660, Charles II bypassed any attempts at a Spanish alliance, choosing to marry the Portuguese princess Catharine of Braganza, recognizing Portugal as an independent state in the process.²⁰⁶ From the 1500s to the 1700s, the relations between England and Spain were bipolar at best. During the course of the Spanish Golden Age, England was, most of the time, openly at war with Spain.

The highest point of relations between England and Spain during these two centuries, however, was in the early years of Katherine and Henry. After their divorce, though, Katherine did not return to Spain. In fact, she spent the rest of her life arguing that her marriage was absolutely binding, and stayed in England. The figure of martyred Katherine is popular in artwork, literature, and even film – the Showtime show *The Tudors* cast Maria Doyle Kennedy

as Katherine opposite Jonathan Rhys Meyers as Henry on purpose to emphasize Katherine as an older, devoted, and helpless wife—an exaggeration of their age difference and their relationship. This interpretation of Katherine dates back to c.1529, when “Henry VIII’s treatment of Katherine of Aragorn was not popular with his subjects.”²⁰⁷ In fact, the staunch anti-Spanish sentiment that would characterize British writing would hit its high points with Mary Tudor’s marriage to Philip II, and with the Spanish Armada in 1588.²⁰⁸ By 1661, Spanish animosity would again dissipate, and Samuel Pepys would write in his famous diary, “we do naturally all love the Spanish and hate the French.”²⁰⁹ However, I am again falling into the same trap: a focus on how the British view the Spanish, without thinking too much about how the Spanish would react to the British, the treatment of Katherine of Aragón, the reign of Mary and Philip, and the excommunication of Elizabeth I. There is no question that Henry VIII and Elizabeth were less than popular among the Spaniards – along with “the two great bogeymen” Francis Drake in the Sixteenth Century and Oliver Cromwell in the Seventeenth Century.²¹⁰

Calderón, much like Lope, engages somewhat with English history and the monarchies – and treats them just as mildly. His play *Amor, honor y poder* (*Love, Honor, and Power*) deals with Edward III and his alleged affair with the Countess of Salisbury. Although the play deals with a rather salacious topic – especially in the hands of a Spanish scribe – Calderón characters are not stereotyped or unfairly represented, but instead are “typically Spanish characters concerned with typically Spanish themes,” even if these characters are actually supposed to be English.²¹¹ Calderón’s next play, *El sitio de Breda* (*The Siege of Breda*), written in approximately 1625, depicts a highly contentious battle for England, but again gives a rounded perspective of the British soldiers – in part because it reflected well on the Spanish. Such an attitude can be seen in more than just theatre, such as in Velázquez’s 1635 painting *Las lanzas, o*

la rendición de Breda, which depicts the surrender after the siege of Breda (see Appendix E for a copy of the painting). The siege occurred during the Spanish occupation of The Netherlands, in 1590. The siege was primarily against the Dutch concerning the Spanish occupation of The Netherlands, but England had a strong interest in routing Spain out of that area (which was geographically too close to England for comfort) and to restore The Netherlands to an independent, Protestant state. Hence, English soldiers and military advisors joined with Dutch troops – including at Breda where they were all forced to surrender to Spain.²¹² Velázquez’s painting has “the clear aim of political propaganda” while focusing “on the concept of clemency from the Spanish monarchy.”²¹³ Meanwhile, Calderón discussion of the siege of Breda:

sets out to glorify a Spanish victory and to show that Spanish troops were superior in fighting qualities and in magnanimity. It also shows, however, even after the fiasco of the Charles Stuart marriage and resulting ill feeling, that a Spanish author could present on stage a hostile English officer who had the same noble qualities as his Spanish counterparts.²¹⁴

Instead, the Englishman Colonel Morgan is an “intelligent and proud” man who “encourages and inspires the resistance to the besieged,” is “reluctant to surrender,” and “can be charming and gallant to a lady” being “no different from the Spanish officers in this respect.”²¹⁵ It seems that not only do the Spanish not vilify the English, but they can also depict them favorably.

From a propaganda perspective, the Spanish attitude towards the English is calculated. If one considers how the Spanish are dealt with by the English, one sees such a deep unfavorable opinion that the Spaniards are almost not human – Iago certainly exhibits few human qualities, specifically, he lacks the defining characteristic of honor. What exactly does one gain through the defeat of a dishonorable villain? The Spanish Golden Age plays depict the British as “normal” people – that is, as people with the same preoccupations as Spaniards. In the case of *El*

sitio de Breda (The Siege of Breda), a successful military defeat against humanized (and even likeable) Englishmen certainly drives the point home that Spain is worthy enough to defeat England at their own game. In the case of *Amor, honor, y poder (Love, Honor, and Power)*, there is no political or military defeat to be won. However, there is the moral victory. Edward III may be depicted as a good man, but in the case of a royal, is being depicted as a good man enough? Then, of course, there is Calderón's *El cisma de Inglaterra* which deals not only with the English monarchy but also a deep moral and religious issue – the Protestant Reformation.

El cisma de Inglaterra condenses Henry VIII's divorce from Katherine of Aragón and marriage to Anne Boleyn into three days. It is, in many ways a surprising play, in large part for how it continues the trend in Spanish Golden Age Theatre to not vilify the English. However, it is impossible to prove a negative. What I can show is that the general propagandist attitudes exhibited by the Spanish focus on personifying England rather than vilifying England. Instead of falling onto villainous stereotypes, the Spanish Golden Age tended more towards realistic humans. While England would rewrite history to ignore Spanish achievements (with *The Lepanto* being the primary example), Spain utilized Spanish exploits to further humanize Spain. In simple terms, the Spanish Golden Age shows Spain much more interested in what is human than in Othering England into a monstrous figure.

In the case of *El cisma de Inglaterra*, Calderón focuses his play on what makes a King's soul rather than the slights of protestant Henry VIII and Anny Boleyn against the Spanish Katherine of Aragón and Mary I. The play chooses to focus on “the dramatic exploration of the monarch as exemplary individual”²¹⁶ more so than villainize and Other an entire nation. The King's soul is a matter much discussed by classical, medieval, Renaissance, and any other philosophers who lived under a monarchy (along with a fair few who didn't). The king's soul

stands in as a symbol of the *corpus mysticum* of kingship (the “mystical body”), which encapsulates the divine right of kings.²¹⁷ In other words, the king’s soul, which is ordained by God, lives in a mystical body that represents the whole of his country. However, as has always been clear, kings are often flawed – whether they have a physical ailment, make unfortunate political decisions, or suffer from a range of mental illness. In many ways, Calderón attempts to get at this basic fact about kings, “obscuring any sense of universal truth on historical, political, and spiritual levels.”²¹⁸

Calderón’s Henry VIII is clearly tormented, torn between his bodily wants to be assuaged through Anne and his spiritual needs that Katherine represents. He opens the play sleep-talking, with Anne already proving to be a dangerous woman:

Rey Tente, sombra divina, imagen bella,
sol eclipsado, deslucida estrella;
mira que al sol ofendes,
cuando borrar tanto esplendor pretendes.
¿Por qué contra mi pecho airada vives?

Ana Yo tengo de borrar cuanto tu escribes.

Rey [*entre sueños*] Aguarda, escucha, espera,
no desvanezcas en veloz esfera
es deidad tan presto,
oye...

King Stay, divine spirit, beautiful image,
Eclipsed sun, lusterless star;
Look at the sun you offend,
When you erase the splendor you imitate.
Why wrath you against my heart?

Anne I must erase all that you write.

King [*while sleeping*] Wait, listen, wait,
Do not fade this deity in this swift
Sphere so quickly,
Listen...²¹⁹

Once awake, Henry is the Catholic champion. Katherine is “la más hermosa/ y más católica/ que tuvieron los ingleses” (“the most beautiful/ and the most catholic Queen/ the English have”), Pope Julius is all powerful as “todo es posible a quien/ es Vice-Dios en su Iglesia” (“all is possible for whom/ is viceroy in the Church of God”), and Mary is “un rayo de aquella luz,/ y de aquel cielo una estrella” (“a ray of that light,/ and of that sky of heaven”).²²⁰ Meanwhile, Anne Boleyn is characterized as a terrifying monster who arrives to Henry as if in a dream and makes his body move outside of his control. Anne historically is not a part of the English court, and the play will not formally introduce her to Henry until the very end of Act I. For Joachim Küpper, this tormented king is similar to the common man in the *autos sacramentales*, or the allegorical religious dramas of Spain. For Küpper, Henry’s torment becomes allegorical for a larger issue every human must face: the choice between good and evil.²²¹ In other words, Calderón’s Henry may hold royal office, but he is subject to the same divine doubts and obstacles as other men.

In many ways, Calderón’s Henry is a victim of seduction. When he first meets Anne, he recognizes her from his dreams – and finds himself both enthralled and repulsed:

¿Quién eres? ¿Cómo te nombras,
 mujer, que deidad pareces,
 y con beldad me enterneces,
 si con agüeros me asombras?
 entre luces, entre sombras,
 causas gusto y das horror,
 entre piedad y rigor
 me enamoras y me espantas;
 y, al fin, entre dichas tantas
 te tengo miedo y amor.

Who are you? What is your name,
 Lady who appears a goddess
 And with your beauty enthalls me,
 Although you are an omen of terror?
 As with light and shadow,
 You cause pleasure and horror,

Merciful and cruel,
 You make me love you and you make me fear you,
 And, at the end, after all is said and done,
 I feel both fear and love for you.²²²

Henry's rhetoric is one of dualities. He recognizes the monster in front of him, yet he is enamored by it; he even recognizes that Anne *appears* as a goddess, she is not one. In many ways, Henry's language mirrors that of the Old Testament – especially in the Bible's description of the devil, the serpent who can hide among humans to tempt us. However, Anne does not prove to be the devil in disguise; instead, she “is revealed as a woman so worldly and outspoken as to be denounced by Henry as an ‘airado tigre’ (‘enraged tigress’).”²²³ The rhetorical language here also matches with the general thematics of religious disruption. The title, which accurately translated stands as *The Schism of England*, establishes from the beginning what this play will deal with – a total division (schism) that is unique (and belongs) to England and all her people. Henry may be a stand-in, but Calderón allegorically places all of the English on stage. When Henry “allows his rational soul to be overcome by the mystique of a commoner,”²²⁴ it is all of England who finds herself being led astray by a creature that mimics the devil in her descriptions and her supernatural abilities.

However, Henry is not a demon. While Anne is a conniving character with unexplained supernatural abilities, Calderón does not ask for the audience to hate Henry. In fact, “Henry's self-examination becomes exemplary” and he makes clear that “he fully understands the implications of his decisions and actions”:²²⁵

Confieso que estoy loco y estoy ciego,
 pues la verdad que adoro es la que niego;
 pero si un hombre el daño no alcanzara,
 aunque errara, parece que no errara
 que en tan confusa guerra,
 solo errará el que sabe cuándo yerra.

Bien sé que me ha engañado
 volseo, y que he quedado
 de su falso argumento satisfecho;
 y es que el fuego infernal que está en el pecho
 hace que, ciega mi turbada idea,
 niegue verdades y mentiras crea.

I confess my madness and blindness,
 As the Truth that I worship I also deny,
 But if a man who won't be damaged
 Is the one who sins but doesn't know he sins,
 That in such a confusing battle
 Only the man who knows his sin will be sinning.
 I am well aware that Wolsey has hoodwinked me,
 And I've been satisfied by his false argument;
 And that this hellish fire which is in my heart
 Causes that, blinded by my confusion,
 I deny truths and believe lies.²²⁶

Suddenly, the possessive titling (*The Schism of England*) becomes verbalized on stage. This play is not about civil war, dissent, and the historical reality of the early days of the Protestant Reformation told from a Spanish perspective. Instead, Calderón deals with Henry's soul, who itself is split, and who in a "consciously demonic inversion of the Catholic sacrament...throws off the mystery of kingship."²²⁷

The play takes place over the course of three days, which begins with a supernatural Anne erasing his words at night and ends with Princess Mary seated on a throne "*a cuyos pies, en lugar de almohada, ha de estar el cueropo de Ana Bolena*" ("at whose feet, instead of a rug, is the body of Anne Boleyn"). Henry is left to face Mary, "the lone survivor of a family he has destroyed."²²⁸ From a Spanish perspective, Mary is the hopeful restorer of Catholicism to England, as she is the wife of Philip II. Calderón, however, flaws Mary, so that she "like many children in Claderonian tragedy" is revealed to be an "embittered and traumatized princess" who "inherited her parents' psychological turmoil" and must now "live out the consequences of their

sin in a realm with no longer accepts the Catholic principles she was brought up to follow.”²²⁹

On the last page of the play, in a public setting, Henry establishes these two Marys:

Ella es cuerda, y sabrá bien
 Moderarse,
 ...
 y si, cuando llegue a Reina,
 No fuere del reino a gusto,
 Depóngala Inglaterra
 [a la Infanta]
 Callad y disimulad,
 Que tiempo vendrá en que pueda
 Ese celo ejecutarse
 Ser incendio esa centella.

She is prudent, and will show moderation

 And if, when she becomes Queen
 Should the realm not be pleased,
 They can depose her.
 [to the Princess]
 Be quiet and dissimulate,
 The time will come when you can
 Carry out your zeal
 And make this spark into a fire.²³⁰

Calderón foreshadows Mary’s failed attempts at restoring Catholicism to England, and although Mary died in 1558 of natural causes, the closing words imply that England itself rejects Mary. Although *El cisma de Inglaterra* ends with the threat to Catholicism (Anne) dead and the heir to Henry (Mary) Catholic, the play’s end is anything but buoyant. Henry began the play as a faithful man and ends it with his soul deeply split, purposefully choosing the wrong path and dooming his daughter’s reign.

Interestingly enough, *La cisma de Inglaterra* is not the only play written about the divorce between Katherine of Aragón and Henry VIII. Shakespeare himself (with the help of John Fletcher) writes his own, little-read play, *Henry VIII*, in which the divorce from Katherine

of Aragón and the marriage to Anne Boleyn are depicted from the English perspective. As the play was published in 1623, well after Elizabeth's death, *Henry VIII* was less about appeasing the current monarch and instead presented a way for England to synthesize its own bloody history. The two plays differ in their presentations of Henry – Calderón's Henry is humanized; Shakespeare/Fletcher's Henry is deified – which leads to a significant shift at the end. *Henry VIII* ends with “an apparent triumph of this display of power, focusing on a healthy, newborn baby rather than on a traumatized young woman and a broken corpse.”²³¹ Instead of Calderón's traumatized princess, “Shakespeare and Fletcher's Elizabeth will embody and extend her father's mysterious power, conferring a degree of immortality on his soul.”²³² *Henry VII* is not about a soul-searching monarch, but rather a further emphasizing of the *corpus mysticum* of the King, and, in the process, the king's infallibility.

This, of course, does create an interesting conundrum. Calderón could write a highly pejorative play about the English monarchy. In 1625, when *El cisma de Inglaterra* was first published, James I has just recently passed away, leaving the throne to the capricious Charles I who would be eventually deposed in the English Civil War. To portray Henry VIII as immoral, especially considering his treatment of Katherine of Aragón, would not be a stretch. Considering that Lope de Vega had written several epic poems (specifically *Dragontea* and *La corona trágica*) that skewered the English monarchy, Calderón could have written a Henry that matches the villainous Iago, Lorenzo, or Don Balthazar. Instead, Calderón writes a fleshed out, confused man who chooses one of two paths and in the process affects his entire country. In many ways, Calderón's Henry is more humanized than Shakespeare/Fletcher's deified Henry. Not only do the Spanish playwrights not vilify English characters, but they humanize them – sometimes more than the English playwrights humanize their own people.

Conclusion

What has been purposefully downplayed throughout this paper is audience response and materialist theory – partly due to the limited scope of my thesis. However, the next step in this investigation is just that. Plays were written in both countries about the other – even if they had distinct characterizations and purposes. Who was asking for these plays? Who was paying for them? Walter Cohen's *Drama of a Nation* engaged theatre from an economic perspective, following the money, so to speak. The English theatres had lower admission rates and more available "seating," while the Spanish theatres had higher admission rates and less seating.²³³ Who was paying for these shows in each country? Where are these profits going? How does the development of capitalism affect theatrical development? At the most basic level, each of these questions ask: Who were the audience members in these countries, and what did they think of what they were seeing on stage? Cohen, however, warns against assuming too much about audience responses to theatre. If a scholar assumes too much of the audience response, then two large issues arise:

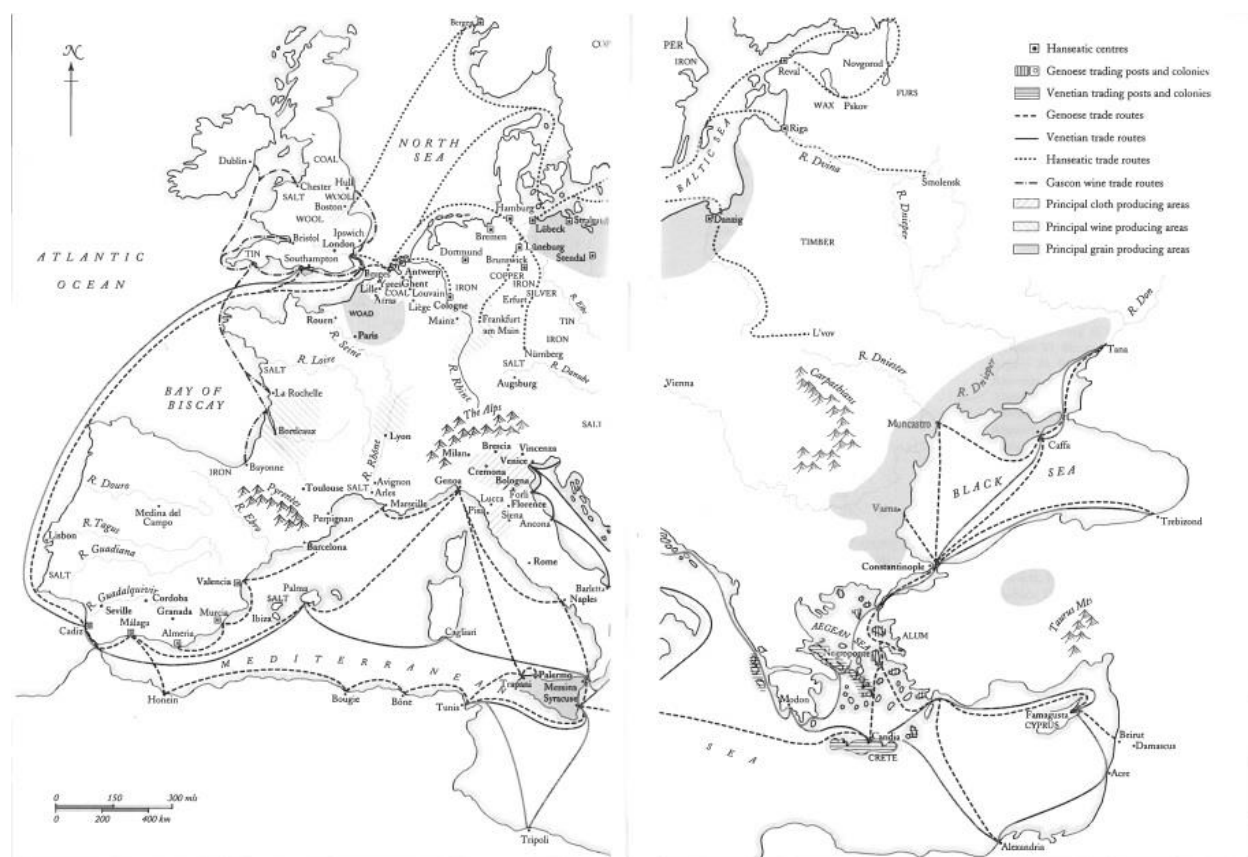
1. A reduction of the audience to ideological passivity and victimization.
2. Falsification of the experience of theatre by selecting only one thematic, emotion, or conclusion and diminishing the complexity of performance.²³⁴

The plays discussed in this paper – along with many other plays from the Early Modern Period – all get at the basic fact that the Early Modern Period was a time of defining. Vocabulary concerning differences and similarities was being determined. Racial differences – and the hierarchies associated with them – were being defined. National identity was beginning to take

shapes, and boundaries began to solidify. Plays, and their audiences, became a site where concepts such as nationality and identity could be placed on display and negotiated.

However, it also becomes clear that discussions of the Early Modern Period have become muddled. That England became a powerful empire that would greatly affect the world – only twenty-two countries today have never been colonized by England – is without question, but that England was not England when Shakespeare was writing. That anthropology and sociology would use social definitions forced onto biological ones to create race, ethnicity, and eventually eugenics occurs well after Shakespeare places Moorish characters on stage. There is an unfortunate tendency to look back onto literary texts with so much context that one assumes that playwrights enjoy as much hindsight as the scholars who write about them. Hence, I have set out to provide the appropriate historical context concerning each play. I have approached the literary text from both historical and literary perspectives, allowing neither to obfuscate the other. In this manner, the nationalism and identity politics present in each play become clear within its text and within its historical context. Critics of *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* have a tendency to focus on the obvious Other, but both plays have a variety of identities represented, including that of the Spanish, that deserve some attention. Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* is remembered for starting the Revenge Play genre, but its depiction of the Spanish allows for both a definition of Spanish cruelty and a propagandist view of English identity. Finally, as Calderón's *El cisma de Inglaterra* proves, the Spanish perspective on the English was not necessarily negative – the play is more concerned with the humanity of kings than the denigration of an entire people. All four plays, however different, are excellent examples of the development of national identities.

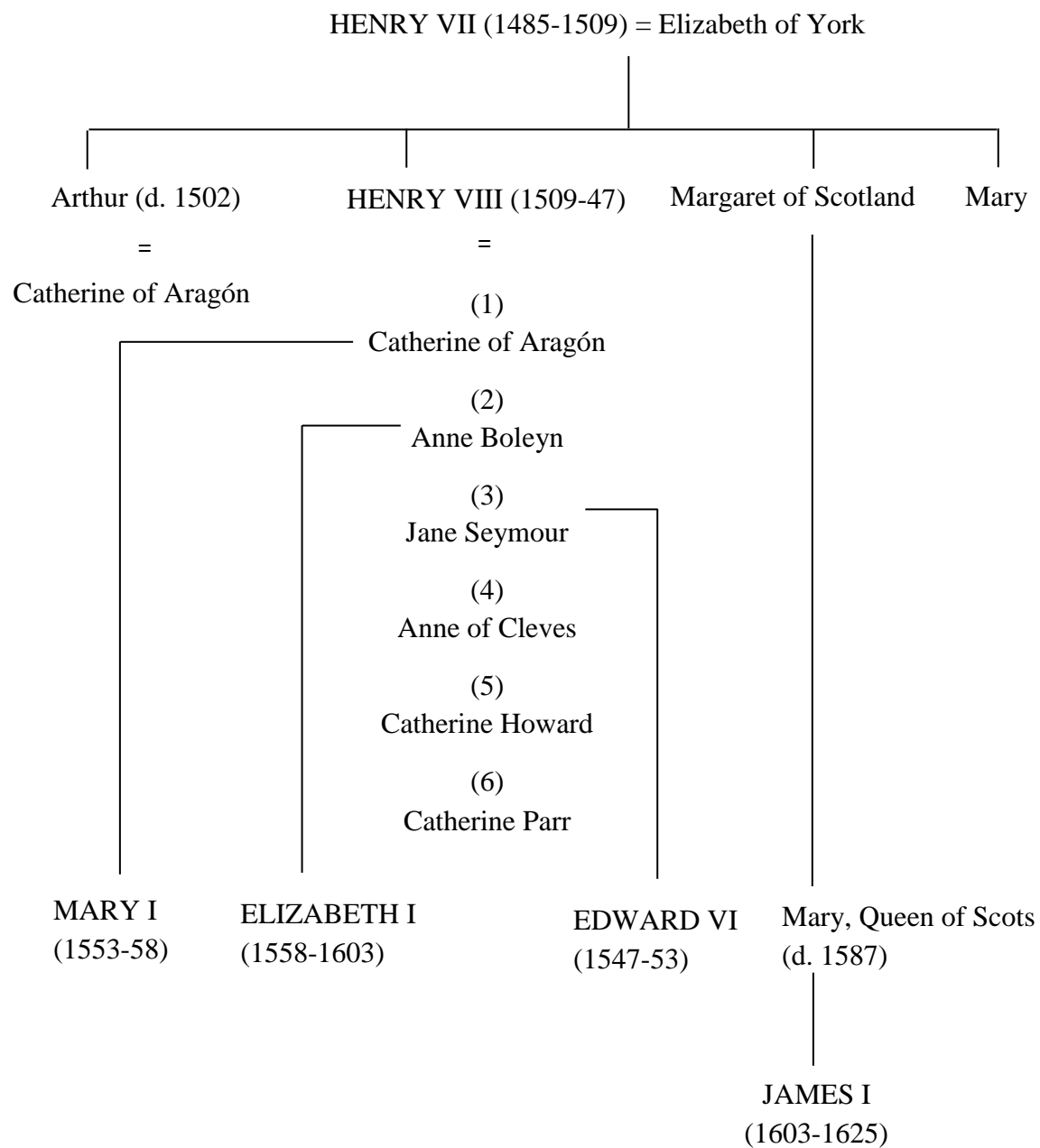
Appendix A: Trade Routes in Early Modern Europe.



Note trade routes that connect the Mediterranean with the North Sea.

From *The Longman Handbook of Early Modern Europe, 1453-1763*, 368-369.

Appendix B: Genealogy of the English Royal Family.



Appendix C: Visualizing Morocco and Aragón in *The Merchant of Venice* (2004).

The Prince of Morocco, played by David Harewood:



The Prince of Aragón, played by Antonio Gil Martinez:



Appendix D: English Representation in Lope De Vega's Plays.

Title	Date	Date Published	Setting	English Characters
<i>El amor desatinado</i>	1597	Unpublished (?)	(?)	1
<i>La imperial de Otón</i>	1598	1617	Germany	1
<i>El gallardo catalán</i>	1597-1603	1609	England, etc	4
<i>Los Ramírez de Arellano</i>	1597-1603	1641	Spain	1
<i>Los pleitos de Inglaterra</i>	1598-1603	1638	England	12
<i>La condesa Matilde</i>	1599-1603	1609	France	3
<i>Los tres diamantes</i>	1599-1603	1609	Italy, etc.	1
<i>La corona merecida</i>	1603	1620	Spain	1
<i>Don Juan de Castro I</i>	1604-1608	1623	Spain, England	10
<i>Don Juan de Castro II</i>	1608?	1623	England, Spain	6
<i>El animal de Hungría</i>	1611-1612	1617	Hungary	3

Found in Don W Cruickshank's "Lisping and Wearing Strange Suits: English Characters on the Spanish Stage and Spanish Characters on the English Stage, 1580-1680" on page 198 in *Parallel Lives: Spanish and English National Drama 1580-1680*, edited by Louise and Peter Fothergill-Payne.

Appendix E: *Las lanzas, o La rendición de Breda* (1635) by Velázquez



Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez, *Las lanzas, o la rendición de Breda*, 1635. Oil on canvas, 307 cm x 367 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado.

According to the Prado website (translated from Spanish):

Ambrosio Spínola, Genovese general in charge of the Flanders regiments, receives from the Dutch governor, Justino de Nassau, the keys of the city of Breda, won after a long siege. The feat, which took place on June 5th, 1625, was considered in its time a key point of the long war waged by the Spanish against Dutch independence.

The painting, with the clear aim of political propaganda, focuses on the concept of clemency from the Spanish monarchy. In contrast with other historical paintings, Velázquez does not spend time painting the victory, as the battle is barely present in the smoky background. The painter centers the attention on the front plane, where the action shows not the end of a war but instead the beginning of peace.

The painting is an excellent example of the painter's command of all the pictorial strategies: ability to introduce ambience, the light and the landscape in his canvases, his mastery of figure painting and deep understanding of areal perspective.

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- ¹ Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*, 88.
- ² Laslett, "The Wrong Way Through the Telescope", 319
- ³ Cressy, *Agnes Bowker's Cat*, 104
- ⁴ Ibid., *ibid.*
- ⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 5.
- ⁶ Ibid., 61.
- ⁷ Ibid., *ibid.*
- ⁸ Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*, 3.
- ⁹ It should be noted that most English publications about *El cisma de Inglaterra* (as well as publications of the play itself), alter the name to *La cisma de Inglaterra*. Although it may be a small difference, the grammar behind the change is incorrect. Generally speaking, Spanish is derived from Latin, in which most words that end with "a" are feminine. However, some words that end with "a" are derived from Greek and are gender neutral. In those cases, even though the word ends in "a," the word is masculine. For more information on this specific case in the Spanish grammar, see *Grammar of Modern Spanish: A New Reference*, 2nd edition, edited by John Butt and Carmen Benjamin, page 10-11. "Cisma" is one such word, and is masculine in Spanish. The correct titling is therefore *El cisma de Inglaterra*, which translates to *The Schism of England*.
- ¹⁰ Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution*, 242.
- ¹¹ Cohen, *Drama of a Nation: Public Theatre in Renaissance England and Spain*, 144.
- ¹² Lezra, "'A Spaniard is No Englishman': The Ghost of Spain and the British Imaginary", 120.
- ¹³ Cook, *The Longman Handbook of Early Modern Europe, 1453-1763*, 98.
- ¹⁴ Spenser, "A View of the Present State of Ireland".
- ¹⁵ Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550-1630: An Anthology*, 1.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 2.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., 8.
- ¹⁸ Cook, *The Longman Handbook of Early Modern Europe, 1453.-1763*, 97-102.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., 99.
- ²⁰ Ibid., 177.
- ²¹ Esche, "Challenges of Interpretation in *The First Part of Hieronimo*: Reading Iberian Referents," 181.
- ²² Matei-Chesnoiu, "Spain from Court to Country", 139.
- ²³ *The Merchant of Venice* was written 1596-1597 while *Othello* was written somewhere in 1603-1604.
- ²⁴ Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*, 29.
- ²⁵ Neil, "'Mulattos,' 'Blacks,' and 'Indian Moors': Othello and Early Modern Construction of Difference," 364.
- ²⁶ Hammond, "The Merchant of Venice."
- ²⁷ Cowhig, "The Importance of Othello's Race," 153.
- ²⁸ *Othello*, V.ii.4.
- ²⁹ Ibid., I.i.87.
- ³⁰ Ibid., I.i.124.
- ³¹ Ibid., I.ii.78-79.
- ³² Ibid., II.i.293.
- ³³ Ibid., III.iii.390.
- ³⁴ Newman, "'And wash the Ethiop white': Femininity and the Monstrous in Othello," 153.
- ³⁵ Aubrey, "Race and the Spectacle of the Monstrous in Othello," 223.
- ³⁶ Ibid., 222.
- ³⁷ Cowhig, "The Importance of Othello's Race," 154.
- ³⁸ Ibid., *ibid.*
- ³⁹ Aubrey, "Race and the Spectacle of the Monstrous in Othello." 222.
- ⁴⁰ Coleridge quoted in Campbell, *The Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare*, 605.
- ⁴¹ Fitzpatrick, "Venetian Ideology or Transversal Power? Iago's Motives and the Means by Which Othello Falls," 63.
- ⁴² Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*, 7.

⁴³ Vitkus does establish the “Mediterranean marketplace” (2008, 16) as including an “Islamic and Ottoman component” (2008, 8). He clearly states that “we do not find the complex historical reality of the Mediterranean neatly ‘reflected’ on the London stage” and that there is no coherent group of Mediterranean plays (2008, 37). However, outside of these disclaimers, the overall language morphs the Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire into one thing, confusing his attempts at clarity.

⁴⁴ Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*, 78.

⁴⁵ Ibid., *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁴⁷ Powell, *Beyond the Binary: Reconstructing Cultural Identity in a Multicultural Context*, 1.

⁴⁸ Lefkowitz, “Patrick Stewart Stars in Race-Reversed *Othello* in D.C.”.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ MacDonald, “Black Ram, White Ewe: Shakespeare, Race, and Women,” 189.

⁵¹ Ibid., *ibid.*

⁵² Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, 81.

⁵³ Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*, 90.

⁵⁴ Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, 107.

⁵⁵ Historians widely vary as far as when unification itself occurred. Some cite the end of Napoleonic rule in 1815 while others claim 1871 or 1918 as the definite date of unification. The point here is that Shakespeare is writing at least 200 years, if not 300 years, before Italian unification.

⁵⁶ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empires*, 171.

⁵⁷ *Othello*, I.i.19-25

⁵⁸ For more information on the treatment of women in *Othello*, see *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, edited by Dymphna Callaghan (2000) (especially Kay Staton’s “Use of the Word ‘Whore’ in Shakespeare’s Canon”) and Carol Thomas Neely’s *Broken Nuptials in Shakespeare’s Plays* (1985).

⁵⁹ Moore, “Shakespeare’s Iago and Santiago Matamoros,” 163.

⁶⁰ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire*, 179.

⁶¹ Ibid., 186.

⁶² Ibid., 178.

⁶³ *Othello*, I.iii.294.

⁶⁴ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire*, 176.

⁶⁵ Most likely 1604.

⁶⁶ Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*, 30.

⁶⁷ *Othello*, I.iii.39.

⁶⁸ Ibid., I.iii.46.

⁶⁹ Ibid., I.iii.47.

⁷⁰ Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, book 2, 467.

⁷¹ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire*, 174.

⁷² James I, *The Lepanto*, 9-10.

⁷³ The “circumsised Turbaned Turkes” imagery will be repeated in *Othello*’s death speech:

And say besides that in Aleppo once,
Where a malignant and a turbaned Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
I took by th’ throat the circumcised dog
And smote him thus. (V.ii.361-365)

⁷⁴ James I, *The Lepanto*, 52-53.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 61-63.

⁷⁶ *Othello*, II.i.5, 7.

⁷⁷ Ibid., II.i.20-24.

⁷⁸ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire*, 175.

⁷⁹ James I, *The Lepanto*, iii.

⁸⁰ Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From Alcatraz to Othello*, 172.

⁸¹ Rosenberg, “In Defense of Iago,” 123.

⁸² *Othello*, I.iii.295.

⁸³ Ibid., II.i.97.

⁸⁴ Ibid., V.ii.144-145.

- ⁸⁵ Ibid., V.ii.170.
- ⁸⁶ The Arden Edition of *Othello*, “precious” is defined as “(intensive) egregious.” The Oxford Edition of *Othello* states “notorious villain.” The First Folio has the line “Precious Villaine.”
- ⁸⁷ *Othello*, V.ii.246.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., V.ii.282.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., V.ii.298.
- ⁹⁰ Rosenberg, “In Defense of Iago,” 118.
- ⁹¹ Bradley, “Othello,” 82.
- ⁹² Neely, *Broken Nuptials in Shakespeare’s Plays*, 119.
- ⁹³ *Othello*, V.ii.300-301.
- ⁹⁴ Bradley, “Othello,” 87.
- ⁹⁵ Burke, *The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology*, 104.
- ⁹⁶ *Othello*, V.ii.342.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid., V.ii.344-345.
- ⁹⁸ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empires*, 203.
- ⁹⁹ Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*, 85.
- ¹⁰⁰ *The Merchant of Venice*, I.ii.29-31.
- ¹⁰¹ The Prince of Napoli.
- ¹⁰² According to Drakakis, the “County Palatine” is “someone who has the status of a count and who possesses regal privileges that elsewhere belong only to the sovereign” (192).
- ¹⁰³ Drakakis notes that “Monsieur Le Bon is “characteristic French name that has potential sexual resonances elsewhere in Shakespeare’s plays” (193).
- ¹⁰⁴ Aragón being a region in Spain, the Prince of Aragorn is similar to the British The Prince of Whales – he is a potential heir to the Spanish throne.
- ¹⁰⁵ *The Merchant of Venice*, I.ii.37, I.ii.43, I.ii.51-52, I.ii.62, I.ii.79-80, I.ii.120, II.ix.2, I.ii.110.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., I.ii.39-42.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., I.ii.44-50.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., I.ii.53-61.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid., I.ii.64-71.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid., I.ii.74-78.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid., I.ii.81-86.
- ¹¹² Rushdie, *The Moor’s Last Sigh*, 114-115.
- ¹¹³ *The Merchant of Venice*, Arden notes, 196.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid., I.ii.64-65.
- ¹¹⁵ See Appendix C for how these characters were visually represented in Michael Radford’s 2004 movie *The Merchant of Venice*, featuring Al Pacino as Shylock, Jeremy Irons as Antonio, Joseph Fiennes as Bassiano, and Lynn Collins as Portia.
- ¹¹⁶ *The Merchant of Venice*, II.i.2.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid., II.i.4, II.i.6-7.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid., II.i.24-30.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid., II.vii.13.
- ¹²⁰ Arden, 236.
- ¹²¹ *The Merchant of Venice*, II.viii.65-66.
- ¹²² Ibid., II.viii.78.
- ¹²³ Arden, 268.
- ¹²⁴ *The Merchant of Venice*, II.vii.79.
- ¹²⁵ For genealogies of the Spanish royal family, the English royal family, and how they intersect, see Appendix B.
- ¹²⁶ *The Merchant of Venice*, II.ix.20.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid., II.ix.21.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid., II.ix.31, II.ix.32.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid., II.ix.58.
- ¹³⁰ Arden, 276.
- ¹³¹ *The Merchant of Venice*, II.ix.73-78.
- ¹³² Cohen, *Drama of a Nation*, 122.
- ¹³³ *The Merchant of Venice*, II.ix.78.

- ¹³⁴ Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, 135.
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 136.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 160.
- ¹³⁸ Niell, "'Mulattos,' 'Blacks,' and 'Indian Moors': Othello and Early Modern Constructions of Difference," 363.
- ¹³⁹ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empires*, 93.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Othello*, V.i.114.
- ¹⁴¹ Fitzpatrick, "Venetian Ideology or Transversal Power? Iago's Motives and the Means by Which Othello Falls," 63.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁴ Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, 68.
- ¹⁴⁵ Jakacki, "'Canst paint a doleful cry?': Promotion and Performance in *The Spanish Tragedy* Title-Page Illustration," 13.
- ¹⁴⁶ *The Spanish Tragedy*, IV.v.1-12.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Hamlet*, V.ii.363-369.
- ¹⁴⁸ Jakacki, "'Canst paint a doleful cry?': Promotion and Performance in *The Spanish Tragedy* Title-Page Illustration," 18
- ¹⁴⁹ Kiefer, "Creating a Christian Revenger: *The Spanish Tragedy* and its Progeny vs. *Hamlet*," 159.
- ¹⁵⁰ *The Spanish Tragedy*, I.i.91.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I.i.87-89.
- ¹⁵² Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empires*, 93.
- ¹⁵³ It should be noted that there were three Spanish Armadas, one in 1588, 1596, and 1597. The 1588 Armada is, however, the most commonly cited historically, artistically, and in literature (Cook, 103).
- ¹⁵⁴ The exact year that *The Spanish Tragedy* was written remains a bit of a puzzle. Most sources agree that it was penned and published between 1582 and 1592. As multiple sources agree on 1587, I will utilize this date as when it is written and published. However, I acknowledge that the exact date of writing is unknown.
- ¹⁵⁵ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empires*, 71.
- ¹⁵⁶ Mulryne, "Nationality and Language in Kyd's 'The Spanish Tragedy,'" 88.
- ¹⁵⁷ Cook, *The Longman Handbook of Early Modern Europe, 1453.-1763*, 102.
- ¹⁵⁸ Puga, "The 'Lusiads' at Sea and the Spaniards at War in Elizabethan Drama: Shakespeare and the Portuguese Discoveries," 92.
- ¹⁵⁹ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empires*, 93.
- ¹⁶⁰ Blumenthal, *Enemies & Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia*, 7.
- ¹⁶¹ Johnson, *Essaies, or Rather Imperfect Offers*.
- ¹⁶² Puga, "The 'Lusiads' at Sea and the Spaniards at War in Elizabethan Drama: Shakespeare and the Portuguese Discoveries," 93.
- ¹⁶³ *The Spanish Tragedy*, I.v.6-9.
- ¹⁶⁴ As quoted in Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empires*, 71.
- ¹⁶⁵ *The Spanish Tragedy*, I.i.10.
- ¹⁶⁶ Lezra, "'A Spaniard is No Englishman': The Ghost of Spain and the British Imaginary," 126.
- ¹⁶⁷ *The Spanish Tragedy*, I.v.2-4.
- ¹⁶⁸ Lezra, "'A Spaniard is No Englishman': The Ghost of Spain and the British Imaginary," 127.
- ¹⁶⁹ *The Spanish Tragedy*, I.i.4.
- ¹⁷⁰ Kiefer, "Creating a Christian Revenger: *The Spanish Tragedy* and its Progeny vs. *Hamlet*," 162.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ¹⁷² Harper, introduction to *Tamburlaine, Parts 1 & 2*, xii.
- ¹⁷³ Kiefer, "Creating a Christian Revenger: *The Spanish Tragedy* and its Progeny vs. *Hamlet*," 171.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 172.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 173
- ¹⁷⁶ A scutcheon is an ornamental shield that would display the family or national crest. To hang up one's scutcheon on the walls or bridge of a rival is to declare all dominion over that rival.
- ¹⁷⁷ *The Spanish Tragedy*, I.v.140-167.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, I.v.160.
- ¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, I.v.168-171.

- ¹⁸⁰ Puga, "The 'Lusiads' at Sea and the Spaniards at War in Elizabethan Drama: Shakespeare and the Portuguese Discoveries," 94.
- ¹⁸¹ Harper, introduction to *Tamburlaine, Parts 1 & 2*, xii.
- ¹⁸² *The Spanish Tragedy*, IV.v.36-38.
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, IV.iv.15, IV.iv.16.
- ¹⁸⁴ Esche, "Challenges of Interpretation in *The First Part of Hieronimo*: Reading Iberian Referents," 187.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ¹⁸⁶ Joughin, "Shakespeare's Memorial Aesthetics," 61.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 45-46.
- ¹⁸⁸ Lezra, "'A Spaniard is no Englishman': The Ghost of Spain and the British Imaginary," 120.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ¹⁹⁰ James I, *The Lepanto*, iii.
- ¹⁹¹ Lezra, "'A Spaniard is no Englishman': The Ghost of Spain and the British Imaginary," 130.
- ¹⁹² Esche, "Challenges of Interpretation in *The First Part of Hieronimo*: Reading Iberian Referents," 183.
- ¹⁹³ Cruickshank, "Lisping and Wearing Strange Suits: English Characters on the Spanish Stage and Spanish Characters on the English Stage, 1580-1680," 200.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 196.
- ¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 198.
- ¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 200.
- ¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 198.
- ¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 197.
- ²⁰⁰ Cook, *The Longman Handbook of Early Modern Europe, 1453-1763*, 142.
- ²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 99.
- ²⁰² *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ²⁰³ Cruickshank, "Lisping and Wearing Strange Suits: English Characters on the Spanish Stage and Spanish Characters on the English Stage, 1580-1680," 195.
- ²⁰⁴ Longman, *The Longman Handbook of Early Modern Europe, 1453-1763*, 178.
- ²⁰⁵ In the Working Title Film *Elizabeth* (1998), a major part of the plot are the various wooing attempts by the King of France and the King of Spain, both hopeful to make an alliance with England to place the other at a disadvantage.
- ²⁰⁶ Cruickshank, "Lisping and Wearing Strange Suits: English Characters on the Spanish Stage and Spanish Characters on the English Stage, 1580-1680," 196.
- ²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ²⁰⁹ Gyford, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*.
- ²¹⁰ Cruickshank, "Lisping and Wearing Strange Suits: English Characters on the Spanish Stage and Spanish Characters on the English Stage, 1580-1680," 196.
- ²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 200.
- ²¹² This is an overly simplified description of the situation in The Netherlands, which was a series of wars and occupations from 1568-1648. For a deeper discussion of the Spanish occupation of The Netherlands, turn to page 123 of *The Longman Handbook of Early Modern Europe, 1453-1763*.
- ²¹³ Velázquez painting discussion.
- ²¹⁴ Cruickshank, "Lisping and Wearing Strange Suits: English Characters on the Spanish Stage and Spanish Characters on the English Stage, 1580-1680," 200.
- ²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 199.
- ²¹⁶ Howard, "'The King's Soul': The Reformed Subject in Shakespeare/Fletcher, *Henry VIII* and Calderón de la Barca, *La cisma de Inglaterra*," 129.
- ²¹⁷ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, 14-15.
- ²¹⁸ Howard, "'The King's Soul': The Reformed Subject in Shakespeare/Fletcher, *Henry VIII* and Calderón de la Barca, *La cisma de Inglaterra*," 130.
- ²¹⁹ *El cisma de Inglaterra*, I.i.1-9. Translation by Alicia Hernandez Grande.
- ²²⁰ *Ibid.*, I.i.28-30, I.i.55-56, I.i.59-60. Translation by Alicia Hernandez Grande.
- ²²¹ Küpper, "*La cisma de Inglaterra* y la concepción calderoniana de la historia," 198.
- ²²² *El cisma de Inglaterra*, I.i.859-869. Translation by Alicia Hernandez Grande.

²²³ Howard, “‘The King’s Soul’: The Reformed Subject in Shakespeare/Fletcher, *Henry VIII* and Calderón de la Barca, *La cisma de Inglaterra*,” 134.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 133.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 134.

²²⁶ *El cisma de Inglaterra*, II.i.1623-1634. Translation by Alicia Hernandez Grande.

²²⁷ Howard, “‘The King’s Soul’: The Reformed Subject in Shakespeare/Fletcher, *Henry VIII* and Calderón de la Barca, *La cisma de Inglaterra*,” 135.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 136.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 137.

²³⁰ *El cisma de Inglaterra*, III.i.2874-2883. Translation by Alicia Hernandez Grande.

²³¹ Howard, “‘The King’s Soul’: The Reformed Subject in Shakespeare/Fletcher, *Henry VIII* and Calderón de la Barca, *La cisma de Inglaterra*,” 137.

²³² *Ibid.*, 137.

²³³ Cohen, *Drama of a Nation: Public Theatre in Renaissance England and Spain*, 169.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*