

2019 Seminar Abstracts: Jacobean Hispanophilia and English Drama
Eric Griffin, Millsaps College
Alexander Samson, University College London

This seminar seeks papers that explore what the drama of the Jacobean period reveals about 17th century England's fascination with things Spanish, whether in the literary sphere or in other cultural fields. We are particularly interested in papers that work comparatively, between English dramas and their Spanish sources, or between Jacobean views of Spain and earlier Elizabethan constructions of Spain by Shakespeare and other playwrighting contemporaries.

Rena Bood and Sabine Waasdorp, The University of Amsterdam.

“For the Honor of Knighthood: hoe English and Dutch knights on stage represent Spanish honour in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries”

Spanish honour is an integral part of the Black Legend narrative. At the heart of their “need for vengeance” there always seems to be a quarrel about honour: a family's honour lost, a sister's honour defiled, or personal honour affronted, to name but a few examples. However, there is another depiction of Spanish honour which is not nearly as negative as the Black Legend would have us believe. Their honourable behaviour often leads to their being depicted as trustworthy, decent men on stage, even at the same time as that same honourable behaviour is ridiculed or used as evidence of their lust for vengeance. In other words, our understanding of what ‘Spanish honour’ entails is in need of renegotiation. This paper will show by ways of a case-study on satirical dramatic adaptations of Spanish chivalric romances that honour could be a becoming trait of Spaniards and those who imitated the Spanish knights of the European bestselling romances *Palmerin d'Oliva* and *Amadis de Gaula*. Although their plight of protecting their friends and maidens was presented in such a hyperbolic way that it was impossible to take these aspiring knights serious, the essence of their plights was not scrutinized, showing that Spanish honour as derived from chivalry was valued and viewed positively.

Zainab Cheema, The University of Texas, Austin

“More Bawdry in Fletcher's”?:

Fletcher and Massinger's Cervantine Borrowings in *The Custom of the Country*”

The influence of Cervantes upon playwrights John Fletcher and Philip Massinger has long been recognized. For instance, in Fletcher's *oeuvre*, the majority of his tragicomedies based upon Spanish sources are derived from Cervantes. This paper examines Fletcher and Massinger's ca. 1619-1620 play, *The Custom of the Country*, which adapts a number of plots from Cervantes' posthumously published romance, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*. Scholarship on *The Custom of the Country* has highlighted Fletcher and Massinger's interest in Cervantes' representations of marriage and sexuality. In analyses of Fletcher and Massinger's adaptation, recent scholarship has argued against Restoration-era readings of the play as bawdy and pornographic, instead foregrounding the fidelity with which the Jacobean playwrights adapted Cervantes' humanistic representation of marriage in the *Persiles*. However, this paper focuses on the

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significance of the myriad sexual alliances represented in the Jacobean play, particularly in context to the cultural influence of the Spanish match at the Jacobean court. The performative transposition of gendered constructions from Cervantine contexts onto the Jacobean stage enabled English theatrical circles to comment upon domestic concerns, political contexts, foreign policies, and courtly personalities. This included James I's pursuit of Anglo-Spanish dynastic marriage, which came to be perceived as symptomatic of Spain's cultural influence in Jacobean England. In reading the ambivalence encoded in marital and sexual transactions in Fletcher and Massinger's tragicomic adaptation of the *Persiles*, this paper explores the entanglements of Jacobean theatre's Hispanophilia at a time of intensifying political and social conflict with Habsburg Spain.

José Manuel Gonzáles. University of Alicante

**“Beyond rivalries:
 Anthony Munday's contribution to early modern culture”**

Modern English culture would have been very different without Anthony Munday's contribution. What should matter in his case is not only the artistic quality of his writings, which should no longer be in dispute, but mainly his capability to create and translate new cultural forms within the turmoil of religious controversies and literary debates. As a commercial writer, Munday was sensitive to the needs and demands of Londoners, and had a far more diverse career than Shakespeare and other contemporaries. Aside from his ambivalent position on religion and on Spain, he knew how to engage with a productive cultural environment that facilitated his access to different networks which were transforming English printing and writing in many and varied ways, using marketing strategies to satisfy the demands of a heterogeneous readership, providing them with enough material for entertainment, and revealing the complicated workings of the London book trade as borne out by his translations of the *Amadis* and *Palmerin* cycles.

Accordingly, my essay will focus on the complexities and contradictions of Munday's agency as literary practitioner and cultural producer through a process of rivalry and emulation that characterised Anglo-Spanish relations. It will also explore the editorial context that shaped print culture and drama in early modern London, showing how he was directly or indirectly acquainted with most of the booksellers and printers that published the English translations of Spanish chivalresque literature and particularly of *Don Quixote* which became a major source of inspiration for Jacobean dramatists with whom he had been collaborating at different times in the writing of new plays as well as in the production of London's entertainments and civil pageants.

Eder Jaramillo. University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Anglo-Spanish Imperial Rivalry and the Trope of Invasion in Post-Armada Drama”

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This essay focuses on Anglo-Spanish imperial rivalry during the 1590s when England's evasion of the Invincible Spanish Armada gave way to another form of Spanish invasion that permeated English consciousness. More specifically, this essay considers how the threat of invasion in turn spun *Spanishness* as a form of cultural invasion. As English anxieties about another Armada prevailed throughout the 1590s, several forms of *Spanishness* including texts about imperial Spain "invaded" England. This form of English Hispanophobia in post-Armada Elizabethan drama challenged Hispanophilia in the period. While English dramatists were partially receptive to this form of textual invasion, reception of *Spanishness* demanded various rhetorical methods wherein writers could prudently negotiate the encroachment of Spanish texts. In a fundamentally humanist intertextual writing structure, English occlusion of Spanish literary influences became palimpsestuous—traces of *Spanishness* referred to in recent criticism as "the Specter of Spain". Similarly, English dramatic representations of *Spanishness* must also be understood within the context of a theater community that had developed its own form of intertheatricality. Hence, in the wake of Spain's failed attempt to land on the shores of England, representations of imperial Spain on the English stage interwove to schematically challenge Spain's imperial prowess by denying its own endeavors for homogeneity in the expulsion and subsequent seclusion of Islam from the peninsula. Spain's flawed cathartic structures are most notably dramatized by Thomas Dekker and fellow collaborators in *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (1599-1600), later renamed *Lust's Dominion*. In turn, this essay will show that as English dramatists experimented with the trope of invasion, they illustrate how the prospect of imperial expansion has a double-edge; that where Spanish imperial potency reminded Elizabethan audiences of their own susceptibility to invasion, these anxieties were best mitigated through depictions of Spain's own permeability.

Sonja Kleig, Queen's University Belfast

**"Making Peace with Peace:
The Treaty of London (1604) and the English Stage"**

The Treaty of London between England and Spain was agreed in August 1604. Existing research has focused largely on the how unpopular this peace treaty was and the criticism that James I received. However, there was also war fatigue after several decades of armed conflict. This paper will, therefore, explore drama that was produced in relation to the Treaty to investigate how (part of) the English public felt relief, came to terms with the peace and began to let go of overtly anti-Spanish rhetoric.

The main case studies are both parts of *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, or, The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth*, written by Thomas Heywood, which were both first performed in 1604. The analysis explores the representation of Anglo-Dutch relations in the plays, especially in relation to the binary opposition of Catholic/Protestant often present in Hispanophobic rhetoric. This paper will demonstrate how after the Treaty there

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was room for more nuanced and positive views of Spain on the English stage, while the aim of anti-Catholic rhetoric focused more on English Catholics.

While anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish rhetoric were often linked during the war, these notions are separated in both parts of *The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth*. Philip II is characterized positively, as a competent and just ruler, unlike his usual portrayal as a tyrant, and instead, English Catholics, particular Queen Mary and Dr Parry, are considered the villains. Moreover, the second part features the Armada, and the play ends notably with Elizabeth showing clemency to the Spanish prisoners. Thus, presenting the argument that the English audience should show leniency towards Spain as well now that there is peace. This sequence was so crucial that it was later expanded in the B-text.

Monica Matei-Chesnoiu, Ovidius University of Constanta.

“La Mancha and Unstable Spatiality in *All’s Well that Ends Well*”

This essay draws on Jacobean geographic and historical narratives about the region of La Mancha, ranging from Louis Tourquet de Mayerne’s *Generall Historie of Spaine* (1612), Pierre Avity’s *The Estates, Empires, and Principalities of the World* (1615), Giovanni Botero’s *Relations* (1608), or Peter Heylin’s *Mikrokosmos* (1625), to reconstruct early modern writers’ ability to respond to change in geographic knowledge and technology, as well as politics. Performed in theatres featuring non-illusionistic scenery, Shakespeare’s plays establish location through movement, language, gesture, and costume. Spatial manipulation in *Don Quijote* opens the mind towards multifaceted inwardness. For these reasons, Shakespearean and Cervantean dramatic and narrative geographies of La Mancha are remarkably flexible. Shakespeare’s production of location in *All’s Well That Ends Well*—through the parodic and unstable configuration of an elusive La Mancha related to issues of honour and chivalry in the burlesque context of the battlefield—creates multi-layered spaces that coexist, challenge, and are in dialogue. Shakespeare and Cervantes construct imaginary worlds that generate their own disorder and cultivate mental landscapes that question interiority in relation to the external. Both Shakespeare and Cervantes invite playgoers / readers to look beyond scene and action to determine symbolic significance; geographic location can, thus, function metaphorically. I argue that Jacobean Hispanophilia acquires self-ironic and meta-theatrical tones in Shakespeare’s conflated meta-allusion to La Mancha in *All’s Well That Ends Well*, which shows the instability of historical, geographic, and dramatic constructions of space in relation to nationhood.

Victoria Muñoz, City University of New York.

**“I’ll There Begin Their Endless Tragedy”:
 Politicizing Genre in Thomas Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy*”**

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The “rediscovery” of Aristotle’s *Poetics* during the sixteenth century led to a prolific era of dramatic criticism across Europe which defined the formal and aesthetic contours of early modern drama. Nevertheless, whereas Aristotelian methods informed a majority of early modern critical thought, few Renaissance playwrights read the *Poetics* directly. Instead, they became acquainted with Aristotle’s methods for drama through secondhand sources, including the plays of the Roman poet, Lucius Anneas Seneca, also called Seneca the Younger. This paper will explore how Seneca’s plays informed the drama of Renaissance England, figuring prominently within the period’s controversies over ideology, aesthetics, and form. I will argue that the methodological issues of Senecan tragedy, informed by Aristotle’s *Poetics*, were intertwined with the political implications of the public theater; ideas of drama overlapped with emergent ideas of the nation as defined by a predominant ethnic group. In some cases, English critics conflated the constructed Spanish character of revenge tragedy with the mythologized Spanish character of Seneca himself, thereby contributing to the English perception of Senecan tragedy as anti-Aristotelian. Nevertheless, Senecan tragedy was generally well regarded, as evinced in the popular successes of such plays as Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville’s *Gorboduc* (1562) and Thomas Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy* (1587), which initiated a Senecan vogue in England. Given Spain’s established claims to Senecan heritage, the “Spanish” of Thomas Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy* may have a double meaning, referring to both the play’s Iberian characters and the play’s tragic genre. Key questions are: does awareness of Seneca’s natural and constructed Hispanism at all transform our interpretation of the play? Do the internal tragedies faced by the play’s protagonists tell us anything about early modern attitudes toward Senecanism as a species of tragedy? Were the aesthetic and theoretical controversies tending to Senecan tragedy at all racially informed, and if so, how? In other words, just how Spanish is *The Spanish Tragedy*, really?

David Nicol, Dalhousie University.

“Hispanophobia and Collaboration: Middleton, Rowley, and Dekker”

Thomas Middleton is mentioned frequently in discussions of attitudes toward Spain in English Renaissance drama, due to the Spanish settings of *The Changeling* (1622) and *The Spanish Gypsy* (1623), to the Cervantean source material of the latter, and, of course, to the overt Hispanophobia of *A Game at Chess* (1624), all of which were written during the tensions surrounding the Spanish Match. But studies of Middleton and Spain have not fully addressed the collaborative authorship of two of those works. In *The Changeling*, references to Spain appear almost entirely in the scenes written by William Rowley, while in *The Spanish Gypsy*, the most vivid and opinionated references to it are in the sections attributed to Thomas Dekker.

This paper will argue that far from being typically Middletonian, the vision of Spain in *The Changeling* originates in Rowley’s tragedy *All’s Lost by Lust* (c.1619-20). In that play, Spain is represented as besieged by demonic forces from outside, a vision that

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persists into Rowley's writing for *The Changeling* and forms that play's attitude toward the Hispanic world. Meanwhile, the particular kind of violent and aggressive imagery surrounding Spain in *The Spanish Gypsy* parallels that in Thomas Dekker's *Match Me in London* (1623) more than anything in Middleton.

Comparing these visions of Spain with that of *A Game at Chess*, which offers still another perspective, reveals the variety of Hispanophobias in these supposedly linked plays. Although this paper will propose that Middleton was a *less* prolific contributor to the discourse of Spain than has been previously understood, it will also argue that acknowledging the perspectives of his collaborators reveals nuances within Jacobean dramatic Hispanophobia, and will demonstrate that the influence of Rowley and Dekker deserves greater recognition.

Elizabeth Reinwald, University of Connecticut.

“Bodies at War: Reimagining the Political Order in Webster and Lope”

This essay examines connections between John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* and Lope de Vega's *El mayordomo de la duquesa de Amalfi* (*The Duchess of Amalfi's Steward*). The plays, written within a decade of each other, use the same historical tale, originating in Bandello's *Novellas* (Webster also used an English translation, *Palace of Pleasure*) to explore concerns about the political order and what makes a good ruler. The publication timeline renders uncertain whether Webster could have read de Vega's play before composing his own, but the plays contain striking similarities not found in the source material, raising the possibility that Webster saw a manuscript version of *El mayordomo*. We can only speculate on such a connection, but nevertheless, the similarities – and differences – are instructive in considering the way in which each play appropriates the source material to perpetuate its own specific national and political agenda. Although each play conveys different attitudes towards its central Duchess character, both re-imagine the existing political order, albeit to different degrees. *El mayordomo*, through its depiction of a system in which *honra* (inner virtue) should trump *honor de opinión* (bloodline/reputation), destabilizes the status quo of an honor system that prioritizes blood over merit, but nevertheless ends within a traditional patriarchal system mostly intact. *The Duchess of Malfi*, however, through its sympathetic portrayal of the Duchess and its final emphasis on the inheritance rights of Antonio's young son, ends with a radical re-envisioning of the transfer of power. In particular, both plays use the shadow of Elizabeth I, as portrayed in the Duchess of (A)Malfi, to further their specific, national sociopolitical concerns – but in a way that transcends national contexts. For all their differences, de Vega's and Webster's plays perform remarkably similar narratives about the tragic results of prioritizing blood over merit.

Amy L. Tigner, “The University of Texas, Arlington.”

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**“Performing Women’s Knowledge in Early Modern Iberian and English Trans-
border Culture”**

This paper investigates a confluence of early modern texts, both English and Spanish in origin, to consider women’s acquisition, exchange, practice and performance of knowledge, both on stage and in the world. In particular, this case study examines primarily the field of medicine and plant knowledge, with a short diversion into law, as a way to understand the agentic tactics of women in their intellectual and practical struggle against the aegis of patriarchy. One such tactic involves cultural exchange, in which women cross borders and cross dress to pursue and then practice their knowledge. In Tirso de Molina’s *El amor médico* or *Love the Doctor* (c. 1621), the Spanish heroine Jerónima crosses the border into Portugal and cross dresses to study at University in Coimbra eventually to become the “Doctor of the King’s Chamber” for the King and Queen of Portugal. In this way, Jerónima shows a resemblance to Helen of *All’s Well that Ends Well* (even though she does not cross dress) who does become court doctor to the King of France and also to Portia who does cross-dress to practice law and perform her winning argument at the Venetian court in *The Merchant of Venice*. If we take a step away from the theatre into the world at large, we also see women acquiring and practicing knowledge across borders when we look to the evidence in English receipt books that contain medicinal recipes of Iberian provenance, notably those owned and compiled by Ann Fanshawe (Wellcome MS 7113), who traveled to Spain and Portugal as a diplomat’s wife, and by Mary Granville (Folger MS V.a.430), whose family was attached to the consulate at Cádiz. This paper argues that these seemingly disparate and distant texts, when viewed together, demonstrate the varied and often covert cross-cultural strategies that early modern women executed in order to perform their expertise.

Sara Torres, The University of Virginia.

**“Cosmopolitan Knowledge and Confessional Secrecy in James Wadsworth, Jr.’s
The English Spanish Pilgrime”**

James Wadsworth, Jr.’s *The English Spanish Pilgrime or, A New Discoverie of Spanish Popery and Jesuitical Strategems* (1629) details the adventures of the Jesuit-educated son of a Catholic convert who spent his childhood years in Spain, only to return to England (in 1625) and denounce the “Popish” faith in general (and the Jesuits more specifically). *The English Spanish Pilgrime* articulates Wadsworth’s perspectives on his own hybrid identity, an identity that is redeemed both spiritually and politically by his return to his “proper nation” (the end-point, implicitly, of his “pilgrimage”), his recanting of Catholicism, and his incorporation into the Protestant state as a spy. The text, while conventional in its descriptions of “Spanish popery,” serves as a fascinating counterpoint to his father’s *The Contrition of a Protestant Preacher* (1625). (James Wadsworth, Sr. [c. 1572-1623] converted to Catholicism after being appointed chaplain to ambassador Sir Charles Cornwallis in 1605.)

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The English Spanish Pilgrime is an intriguingly hybrid text that draws upon the textual genres of life-writing, picaresque travelogue, captivity narrative, and confessional tract. The narrator relates his discovery of the “truths” of Protestant religion in a providential model of fall and redemption; to this devotional context is added picaresque plot elements such as pirate attacks, fanatical nuns, and servitude in North Africa, which inform but stylistically overpower the treatment of religious subjectivities. Wadsworth’s exuberant (and at times fabricated) accounts of his travels, which so roundly condemn continental Catholic cultures, should be read in tandem with his several translations, some of which focus on Spanish transatlantic material culture: *The Present State of Spayne*; Antonio Colmenero’s *On the Nature and Quality of Chocolate* (the first English-language tract on cacao and prepared chocolate); *The European Mercury*, a guide to the fairs of Europe. Despite his rhetoric of condemnation, Wadsworth becomes a conduit for the English reception of Continental texts and participates in the commodification of Hapsburg imperial knowledge. This takes its ultimate form in Wadsworth’s “espionage”—his willingness to identify and turn in companions from his earlier life for arraignment as proven Catholics, creating an eerie parallel to his earlier brushes with captivity in North Africa. The negotiation of multiple fields of knowledge—geographical, biographical, material, and textual—allows the hybrid identity of reformed recusant English subjects to find a place within the Protestant state, which, in turn, affirms that their political utility lies in the preservation, not erasure, of their apostate, cosmopolitan backgrounds.