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SPANIARDS, MOORS AND WOMEN IN EARLY
MODERN ENGLISH DISCOURSES. A
CRITICAL EDITION OF THOMAS DEKKER'S
"LUST'S DOMINION" (c.1600)

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For Sergio, Sabrina, Fulvia and Aldo

For Jesús

SPANIARDS, MOORS AND WOMEN
IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH DISCOURSES
A Critical Edition of Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600)

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ESPAÑÓLES, MOROS Y MUJERES
EN LOS DISCURSOS INGLESES PRE-MODERNOS
Una edición crítica de *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600) de Thomas Dekker

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Outline

The purpose of the present dissertation is to analyse the representation of Spaniards, Moors and women in early modern English discourses. The main objectives of this study are to determine the rhetoric strategies employed for such representations; to establish how the presence of these individuals poses an element of anxiety in early modern England; to demonstrate that not all the discourses about these subjects were negative (since the attitude towards them depended on political and economic interests); and to support ideas about the importance of alterity in the formation of Western identities.

Our last objective will be to elaborate an original critical edition of *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600), by Thomas Dekker. With this contribution we seek to offer a relatively unexplored and seldom edited source, which shows how identities were taking shape during the early modern period together with a growing rejection of (political and “racial”) strangers.

In the present dissertation, words such as Other(s), alien(s) or stranger(s) will be employed interchangeably to describe elements which are alien to an individual or community, rather than a mere national foreign element. Particularly, the word Other will be capitalized and used as a substantive in order to distinguish it from the determiner, adjective or pronoun “other.” We will seek to separate different (intersecting) groups of strangers, including political or national Others, that is, the foreign

enemies of a given nation, such as Spain, from the English perspective; “racial” Others,¹ that is, those who, from our point of view are considered (truthfully or not) as having a different complexion, and who are rejected for this reason (especially black individuals in a white community); religious Others, those considered different for their religion (or alleged lack of religion); and domestic Others, that is, internal political enemies, such as renegades, bastards, and, from a patriarchal point of view, gendered strangers, that is, women.

Introduction

Today, we have at our disposal a limited (but growing) number of critical works that approach the study of alterity, as the characterization of subjects described as “Others,” during the early modern period (1485-1660). Such individuals were usually represented as the inhabitants of the “periphery” of those societies that consider themselves as physically and morally more “central”; that is, the “civilization.”

However, at the moment, contemporary literary criticism has been mainly limited to the study of the Ottoman Turk, the Jew, or the Spaniard, often disregarding other ex-centric or marginal minorities, especially if they embody different “alterities”: North Africans and Spaniards, or (Catholic) women, among others. Consequently, the present work will mainly focus on the connections among national (or political), ethnic,

¹ Throughout the present dissertation, the words associated with the concept of “race” will be placed within commas since we agree with the idea that human beings cannot be scientifically distinguished for their “race” or complexion in the same way that we cannot establish a clear-cut cluster of individuals on the grounds of their heights, body mass, and so on.

religious, gendered and domestic Others, and on the association of these individuals from the early modern English perspective.

We will focus on the Western perspective towards the figure of the “Moor,”¹ whose image is not only “racial,” since in this period they could be associated with national and religious “strangers” (a term popularized during the seventies by Leslie Fiedler) and even with domestic and gendered Others. Likewise, we will suggest that, among the various and relatively numerous dramatic works dealing with Muslim or Morisco topics, those in which there is a combination of these cultures with the Spanish Catholic one could be particularly relevant for the study of the formation of English (and, in a wider scope, Western) identities. In fact, this construction took shape in a historical context where the Spanish, Moroccan and Ottoman societies were the most influencing and internationally recognized economic and political forces of the period.

Finally, we will analyze how in various discourses concerning women and other domestic strangers in England (such as the so-called “renegados” or the underprivileged groups) we encounter a reproduction of the negative image of the foreign Other. In this way, we will study how, from the early-modern period, such discourses would eventually affect the image of the forigner as well as that of domestic and gendered Others in England and in the Western world.

¹ In spite of the negative connotations associated with words such as “Moor,” “black,” “renegade,” “heathen” or “bastard,” they will not be employed derogatorily, but as a way to use and analyse the early modern epithet to describe these individuals. We will employ the word Moor, in order to identify an otherwise undefined group of individuals and societies, which, as we will argue later on, were mainly associated with features such as blackness or heathenism (often, independently from their actual complexion or religion).

Since we start from the hypothesis that the early modern period will act as a liminal space (in the sense that Homi Bhabha provides) in the creation of early modern English (and eventually Western) identities, and since the idea that the role of Spain, being influenced by the muslim culture, could be pivotal in this process, the present work will seek to provide an interdisciplinary approximation to the study of otherness.

As a textual materialisation of this critical perspective, we will provide a critical edition of the dramatic work by Thomas Dekker, *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600). In this edition, accompanied by an analysis of the work, we will present an innovative study on the figure of Muley Xequé, Prince of Morocco (1566-1621), whom we will propose as the probable model for the creation of the “racial” and political Other protagonist of the play, the Moor Eleazar. Since we have no knowledge of the existence of bibliography associating both figures, we suggest that a critical analysis of the play would not only provide an innovative study, it would bring to light elements which have been unknown up to date.

Indeed, even if the play has been occasionally analysed in the last decades, we have not had a critical edition of the work for the last fifty years. The 1961 edition by Fredson Bowers, which appeared in the collection *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (vol. 4, Cambridge University Press), is probably the only recent academic edition nowadays; however, it almost exclusively provides collated notes on the text and lacks the specialised focus that we intend to provide here. Likewise, we may find earlier editions, especially the 1931 edition by J. le Gay Brereton (from the 1657 edition of *Lust's Dominion; or, The Lascivious Queen*), in the series *Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama* (Louvain). Nevertheless, a critical edition would constitute a basic study tool and a

work of reference for the research on literary and cultural topics, and for the graduate or post-graduate students of English or Spanish.

To conclude, as we will see, this work is divided into eight main sections. The present section is dedicated to the introduction, which specifies the degree of innovation that we pretend, and a second one includes the objectives, hypotheses, methodology and state of the art, which will lay the foundations of this work. A third section is devoted to a theoretical analysis of the historical context surrounding early modern literary and non-literary discourses; an examination of identities and ideologies in early modern England; and a study of the representation of otherness during this period. A fourth section presents the main conclusions of our discussion, and two more sections provide the textual and editorial notes and an introduction to Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600), as well as a critical edition of the play. Finally, we will include three more sections with appendixes, references and collated notes of the edition.

Resumen

El propósito de la presente disertación es el de analizar la representación de españoles, moros y mujeres en los discursos ingleses pre-modernos, con el objetivo principal de determinar las estrategias retóricas utilizadas en tales representaciones; establecer cómo la presencia de estos individuos plantea un elemento de ansiedad en la Inglaterra pre-moderna; demostrar que no todos los discursos sobre estos sujetos son negativos, puesto que dependen del contexto sociopolítico y económico de la época; y apoyar las hipótesis sobre la importancia de la presencia de lo ajeno en la formación de identidades occidentales.

Con estos propósitos, nuestro objetivo final será el de elaborar una edición crítica original de la obra dramática *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600), de Thomas Dekker. Con ello se pretende ofrecer una fuente relativamente inexplorada y poco editada que muestra cómo las identidades empezaron a tomar forma en el periodo pre-moderno junto con un creciente rechazo hacia el extranjero (político y “racial”).

En la presente disertación, palabras como Otro/a(s), ajeno/a(s) o extranjero/a(s) serán utilizadas indistintamente para describir elementos ajenos a un individuo o comunidad, más que a un mero elemento foráneo en una sociedad. En particular, la palabra Otro se escribirá con una “o” mayúscula y se utilizará como sustantivo para distinguirlo del modificador, adjetivo o pronombre “otro.”

Asimismo, se procurará separar diferentes grupos (interconectados) de extranjeros, incluyendo Otros políticos o nacionales, es decir, los enemigos foráneos de una nación, como España, desde la perspectiva inglesa; Otros “raciales,” es decir, aquellos que, desde nuestro punto de vista se consideran (adecuadamente o no) como individuos que tienen una

complexión distinta a la propia, y quienes son rechazados por esta razón (especialmente individuos negros en una comunidad blanca); y Otros domésticos, es decir, enemigos políticos internos, tales como renegados, bastardos y, desde un punto de vista patriarcal, los Otros de género: las mujeres.

Introducción

En la actualidad disponemos de un número limitado (aunque creciente) de obras críticas que estudian la alteridad, entendida como la caracterización de una serie de sujetos definidos como “Otros” en el mundo occidental pre-moderno (1485-1660). Tales individuos son a menudo descritos como seres que habitan la “periferia” de aquellas sociedades que se consideran a sí mismas moral y físicamente más “céntricas”; es decir, la “civilización.”

Sin embargo, la crítica literaria contemporánea se ha centrado en su mayoría en el análisis de las representaciones del turco otomano, del judío o del español, no prestando igual atención a otros grupos minoritarios, ex-céntricos o marginados, especialmente si combinan varias “alteridades”: norteafricanos y españoles, o mujeres (católicas), entre otros. Por consiguiente, el presente trabajo se centrará principalmente en la situación de contacto entre Otros nacionales (o políticos), étnicos, religiosos, de género y domésticos y en la asociación de estos desde la perspectiva inglesa pre-moderna.

Se hará además hincapié en el punto de vista occidental hacia la figura del “moro,” cuya imagen no se limita a la de Otro “racial,” sino que en esta época podía asociarse con *strangers* (uso el término popularizado en los años setenta por Leslie Fiedler) nacionales y religiosos, e incluso con Otros domésticos y de género. Asimismo, se señalará que dentro del

relativamente elevado número de obras dramáticas que contemplan temas musulmanes o moriscos, aquellas en las que aparece una combinación de esta cultura con la de la España católica pueden considerarse especialmente importantes en el estudio de la creación de la identidad británica debido a la formación de la misma en un contexto histórico donde estas sociedades gozaban de una popularidad internacional considerable.

Finalmente, analizaremos cómo en varios discursos sobre la mujer y sobre diversos Otros domésticos en Inglaterra (como los llamados “renegados” o los grupos sociales desfavorecidos) se reproduce una imagen negativa del Otro foráneo. De este modo, examinaremos cómo, a partir de la época pre-moderna, tales discursos terminarían afectando tanto a la imagen del extranjero como a la de los Otros domésticos y de género en Inglaterra y en el mundo occidental.

Puesto que partimos de la hipótesis de que el periodo moderno actuará como zona liminal (en el sentido que le da Homi Bhabha) en la creación de la identidad nacional inglesa (y, finalmente, del mundo occidental), y debido a que la idea de una España influida por la cultura musulmana pudo tener un papel fundamental en ello, este trabajo pretende proporcionar un acercamiento interdisciplinario al estudio de la otredad.

Como materialización textual de esta perspectiva crítica, ofrecemos una edición crítica de la obra de Thomas Dekker *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600). En esta edición, acompañada de un análisis de la obra, proporcionaremos un novedoso estudio sobre la figura histórica de Muley Xequé, Príncipe de Marruecos (1566-1621), al que postularemos como probable modelo para la creación del protagonista de la obra (y Otro “racial” y político), el Moro Eleazar. Puesto que no nos consta que exista bibliografía que asocie a ambos personajes, sugerimos que un análisis

crítico de la obra no sólo proporcionaría un estudio innovador, sino que también arrojaría luz sobre elementos desconocidos hasta la fecha.

A pesar de haber sido analizada ocasionalmente en las últimas décadas, no disponemos de una edición crítica de la obra en los últimos cincuenta años. La edición de 1961 de Fredson Bowers, que apareció en la colección *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (vol. 4. Cambridge University Press), es probablemente la única edición académica reciente accesible hoy día, pero carece del enfoque especializado que tenemos la intención de proporcionarle a la nuestra. Asimismo, contamos con varias ediciones anteriores, entre las que destaca la de J. le Gay Brereton (a partir de la edición de 1657 de *Lust's Dominion; or, The Lascivious Queen*), en la serie *Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama* (Louvain, 1931). Sin embargo, una edición crítica de la obra incorporaría una herramienta de trabajo básica que podría constituir un trabajo de referencia para los estudios literarios y culturales y para los alumnos de estudios ingleses o hispánicos, tanto de grado como de postgrado.

Para concluir, como veremos, este trabajo está dividido en ocho secciones principales. La presente está dedicada a la introducción, que especifica el grado de innovación que se pretende, mientras que una segunda sección incluye objetivos, hipótesis, metodología y estado de la cuestión, que constituyen las bases para el presente trabajo. Una tercera sección se destinará a un análisis teórico del contexto histórico que rodea los discursos pre-modernos literarios y no literarios; una exploración de las identidades e ideologías inglesas pre-modernas; y un estudio sobre la representación de la alteridad durante este periodo. Una cuarta sección ofrecerá unas notas textuales y una introducción a *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600), de Thomas Dekker, así como una edición crítica de la obra.

Finalmente, incluiremos tres secciones más que proporcionarán los apéndices, referencias y colaciones para el texto.

**OBJECTIVES, HYPOTHESES, METHODOLOGY
AND STATE OF THE ART**

Objectives, Hypotheses, Methodology and State of the Art

Objectives

Primary objectives:

The first objective of the present dissertation is to seek to determine how otherness –especially concerning national or political and “racial” strangers, but also women and “bastards,” among others– is represented in early modern Western discourses and the rhetoric strategies employed for this purpose. The play by the English dramatist Thomas Dekker, *Lust’s Dominion* (c. 1600), will be used for this purpose.

Second, we will try to determine how the presence of Others (in a national or international context) poses an element of anxiety in the English society, which perceives –legitimately or illegitimately– these Others as a political, economic, military, moral or religious threat.

Our third objective will be to demonstrate that not all the discourses about the Other were negative. We will focus on early modern texts that prove the existence of positive attitudes about national, religious, “racial,” gendered or domestic strangers, which were usually influenced by political, social and economic interests.

Fourth, we will seek to support ideas about the importance of the Others in the formation of Western identities. The focus will fall primarily on the English national identities whose elemental structures began their construction during the early modern period. Such identities were

nourished by the idea that England and the Englishman constituted images that stood in opposition to those of Others, and hence, the image of the self was necessarily represented as positive and placed against the negativity of the Other.

Our last objective will be to elaborate an original critical edition of *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600), by Thomas Dekker, considering the latest research and findings in the field of cultural and literary studies, and in textual criticism. An excellent play from a theatrical and poetic perspective, its edition would provide a relatively unexplored and seldom edited source that presents how Western, and particularly English, identities began to take shape during the early modern period together with the rejection of (political and “racial”) Others.

Secondary objectives:

The first of our secondary objectives will be to emphasise the arguments present in early modern English literature that affected the images of the national, “racial” and religious Others, and the ways in which any contact with these individuals was rejected. This would happen either if a white, (Protestant) Christian English or European adopted, or came too close to, a foreign culture or religion (in which case his or her situation was considered precarious), or with the inclusion of the stranger in an occidental culture, as it would plant the seed of chaos and of moral and/or economic decline (Burton, 2005).

Secondly and lastly, we will seek to participate in the discourses confronting the ideologies of difference among human beings that nowadays still assign labels to different individuals depending on their ethnicity or historical background. By exploring the underlying causes of

such attitudes, the aspiration of this work is to join forces with the fight against them, underlining the fact that this sort of rejection is primarily driven by political or economic interests and that the opinions that reject the Other lack any kind of empirical foundation.

Hypotheses

In the first place, it will be argued that there is a connection among different figures considered strangers or Others, such as foreigners, women, or bastards. These individuals embody several discourses of rejection and hatred.

Second, we will suggest that in early modern England the figures of Muslims and Catholics (especially Spanish) were not only considered alien figures, detached from the English society: they were (physically) present in this community and acquired a transcendental importance in the ideological discourses of the period.

Third, it will be considered that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England was engaged in a process of formation of national and economic identities, and hence, was in a situation of particular ideological “malleability.” We believe that in such situation the impact of alterity was particularly significant.

Fourth, we will argue that, during the early modern period, the fluctuations between rejection and inclusion (and ultimately symbiosis) present in the descriptions of the Other, oscillated according to the relationship among communities or social groups. We suggest that such descriptions could eventually produce the formation of a characteristic image associated with the stranger.

Fifth, it will be suggested that the creation of a profile representing, and frequently identifying, the individuals belonging to different extra-European cultures with those belonging to Southern Europe (basically Spain), would be used from that period onwards to diminish the latter (fostering the Black Legend).

Sixth, we will maintain that, for its description of a wide variety of Others, such as Spaniards, Muslims, women, and bastards, the play *Lust's Dominion* or *The Lascivious Queen* (c. 1600) by Thomas Dekker provides a unique point of view on the attitudes towards these strangers and in the shaping of Western identities. At the same time, we will suggest that the historical figure of Muley Xequé, Prince of Morocco (1566-1621) was the likely model chosen by the author for the construction of the protagonist of the play, the Moor Eleazar, a “racial” and political Other. Since we observed that there are no critical works which associate both figures, we suggest that a critical analysis of the play would provide not only a pioneering work, but also clarify elements which have been ignored until now.

Seventh, since the descriptions of foreign societies are frequently shifting, these feelings could corroborate the thesis that there was an epistemological transformation in early modern Europe: from a possible situation of previous marginality of some (North) European communities, there could be a fight to reach more centrality. Such movements could eventually consolidate with the attainment of that centrality and a definitive exclusion of other communities in subsequent periods. All these circumstances would affect, and be affected by, the representations of Others in early modern theatres, which could be counted among the most popular activities of the period.

Finally, it will be argued that the English dramatic production of the period, and especially the play under study, maintains a paradoxical and ambivalent relationship towards the Other: there is certain degree of affinity and a simultaneous rejection. As a result, the Others seem to constitute occasionally a tool employed to show certain subversive attitudes. This aspect, we will argue, could partially explain the changing attitudes presented in the drama of the period towards these strangers.

Methodology

From a methodological point of view, this project is based on a series of critical schools and trends that, in the last decades, have affected literary and cultural studies, and, concretely, the analysis of the intercultural encounters in the early modern period.

The present work will use the critical tools of Cultural Materialism (a term coined by Raymond Williams), a school developed in the first years of the 1980s and informed by the works of cultural and literary critics such as Jonathan Dollimore, with his seminal book *Radical Tragedy* (1984), Alan Sinfield, John Drakakis (with whom I have had the privilege of working for the last few years), or Terry Eagleton. These critics, inspired by the neo-Marxist Frankfurt school and the ideas of Herbert Marcuse, Antonio Gramsci, and Theodor Adorno, among others, defend the possibility that in every artistic expression we can find a (tacit) critique or even challenge of the established ideologies (Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy* xxi).

Like the Neo Historicist school (a North American trend), also established at the beginnings of the 1980s, Cultural Materialism highlights the historical, political and social context, besides the personal context of

the author, considering all these factors inseparable from the text. However, Neo Historicist critics such as Stephen Greenblatt, Stephen Orgel or Richard Helgerson (inspired by the works of Michael Foucault, of the structuralist Louis Althusser or of the neo-Marxists Raymond Williams and Terry Eagleton, among others), believe that early modern drama mainly supports and enhance the dominant ideology.

The notions of identity, otherness (or alterity), and “racism” are studied, among others, by Tzvetan Todorov in *La conquête de l’amérique, la question de l’autre* (*The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, 1982) or *The Fear of Barbarians* (2010). Todorov analyses Western attitudes towards societies considered alien and barbarous, arguing that such conflicts are caused, in part, by the alternation between resentment and fear. Similarly, Les Back and John Solomos in their edition *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader* (2000), analyse the impact of these questions in different societies, taking in consideration the writings of Frantz Fanon, Theodor W. Adorno, Stuart Hall, Winthrop D. Jordan, and Homi K. Bhabha, among others.

We should likewise stress the study of such topics from the point of view of Cultural Semiotics, as developed by Yuri Lotman, the founder in 1964 of the Tartu-Moscow Semiotic School, in the three-volume work generally titled *The Semiosphere*.¹ In these works Lotman addresses such questions through the notion of “semiosphere,” the space outside which semiosis (meaning by that the production and transmission of meaning) is not possible, arguing that among different cultures ideological frontiers are built. However, such barriers, in turn, “traduce” the foreign society,

¹ The Spanish edition was published by Cátedra and the Universitat de Valencia between 1996 and 2000.

inevitably incorporating some of its features in a given culture. This discipline has a deep social character, since it is a behavioural science that deals with the transmission of messages, the understanding and misunderstanding of other human beings and the self, and the forms of sociocultural codifications (Lotman, *La Semiosfera III* 57).¹

In the study of the semiotics and post-structuralists we can highlight critical works such as Anne Ubersfeld's *Lire le théâtre* (*Reading Theatre* 1977); Keir Elam's *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (1980); Yuri Lotman's *Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture* (1990) and *La Semiosfera* (3 vols. 1996, 1998, 2000); Steven Best and Douglas Kellner's *Postmodern Theory* (1991); Elaine Aston and George Savona's *Theatre as Sign-System. A Semiotics of Text and Performance* (1991); María del Carmen Bobes Naves's *Semiología de la Obra Dramática* (1997); and those by Mikhail Bakhtin, among others.

To achieve a wider comprehension of Cultural Materialism and Cultural Semiotics, the present work is impinged with the research developed in two academic stays: one at the University of Stirling (United Kingdom), where I have been working on part of the present dissertation with the assistance of Professor John Drakakis, one of the founders of Cultural Materialism; and the other at the University of Tartu (Estonia), where I further explored the theories of Cultural Semiotics with Dr. Jüri

¹ In his seminal work *Mimesis. The Representation of Reality* (1953), Erich Auerbach uses a Lotmanian idea when he suggests that in Shakespeare's work we have the impression that: "the cosmos is everywhere interdependent, so that every chord of human destiny arouses a multitude of voices to parallel or contrary motion" (323). Auerbach elaborates on this idea suggesting that "It is the conception ... of a basic fabric of the world, perpetually weaving itself, renewing itself, and connected in all its parts, from which all this arises and which makes it impossible to isolate any one event or level of style" (327).

Talvet, professor of the Department of World Literatures, and one of the most notable experts on the work of Lotman, of whom he was one of his closest disciples.

State of the art

The present study is based on two research projects working on the analysis of otherness in literary and cultural studies. The research manager of both projects was my thesis supervisor, and consequently I have intensely collaborated with the two. The first one is “La representación del Islam en la Inglaterra pre-moderna: musulmanes, conversos y renegados en los texto ingleses pre-modernos” (“The Representation of Islam in Early Modern England: Muslims, Conversos and Renegades in the Early Modern English Texts,” our translation) approved by the University of Jaén in 2008; the second is the research project “Musulmanes, españoles y judíos en los textos pre-modernos en lengua inglesa: la construcción del otro” (“Muslims, Spaniards and Jews in Early Modern English Texts: The Construction of the Other”) supported by the Ministry of Science and Innovation National Plan for Scientific Research (I+D+I 2008-2011). The purpose of this second study was to further explore the concepts proposed by the first project, with the aim of establishing in what way, and to what extent, the figure of the (foreign) Other affected the processes of formation of early modern identities.

Early modern English drama offers an important number of works where national, “racial” and religious Others interact with domestic strangers. We could mention, among others, the works of Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great, Parts 1 and 2* (1587 and 1588) and *The Jew of Malta* (c. 1589-90); Thomas Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1587) and *Soliman and Perseda* (c. 1588-89); George Peele’s *The Battle of*

Alcazar (c. 1588); Robert Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (1588), *Orlando Furioso* (1589/1594?) and *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks* (published in 1594); *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600) by Thomas Dekker; *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts 1 and 2* (c. 1600 and c. 1630) and *If You Know not Me You Know Nobody, Part 2*, by Thomas Heywood; William Shakespeare's *Othello* (1603), *The Merchant of Venice* (c.1598) and *Titus Andronicus* (c.1592); *A Christian Turned Turk* (1612) by Robert Daborne; *The Knight of Malta* (1618) by John Fletcher y Philip Massinger; *The Courageous Turk* (1618) and *The Raging Turk* (1618) by Thomas Goffe; *Philaster* (1609) and *The Island Princess* (1621) by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher; William Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* (first acted in 1619; published in 1633); *The Changeling* (1622) by Thomas Middleton and Rowley; *A Game at Chess* (1624) by Middleton; or *The Renegado* (1623) by Philip Massinger. These are just a few English works where the national, "racial" or religious Others are mentioned, as we learn in *The Moor in the English Dramatic Mirror: The Term "Moor" in the Primary Texts of Early Modern English Plays* (2011), where Professor Luciano García elaborated what is probably the most exhaustive account of early modern English plays focusing on Moorish topics (25-74).

Indeed, although the preoccupations and anxieties in most early modern English plays seem to focus on national and religious strangers, especially French, Spanish and Italian Catholics, or Jews, we can perceive an increasing presence of descriptions of Mediterranean Muslims or Moors who, after their appearance in the works of George Peele seem to multiply. This situation, as we will see, was probably stirred by the growing commercial exchanges and political interaction of these societies

with Europe and especially with Catholic communities such as Spain.¹ Some instances of this tendency can be found in the work of William Rowley, *All's Lost by Lust* (first acted in 1619), which presents a situation of contact between Catholics and the invading Muslims of North Africa in 711's Spain, or *Lust's Dominion* (1600) by Thomas Dekker, who shows the interaction between what became two cohabiting Spanish cultures, Muslim and Catholic, after the *Reconquista*, in the fifteenth century.

In spite of the variety of existing studies about the presence of Others in literary and non-literary early modern English discourses, we can observe a remarkable lack of studies on the combined contribution of Muslims and Catholic Spaniards in the construction of English national identities, which, in turn, would influence Western ideologies and their attitudes towards the foreign Others. This hypothesis constitutes our more general and ambitious objective.

In second place, we detected the absence of critical and academic editions of a literary work which is crucial in this context, the play by Thomas Dekker, *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600), which introduces a series of mechanisms (semiotic resources, characters and ideological structures) which are central in the construction of early modern English identities. This work provides a further element, presenting Muslim characters and women in a Spanish context, in what constitutes an unparalleled dramatic, semiotic and ideological exploration in the English theatre of the period,

¹ Matthew Dimmock, in *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (2005), enumerates the contributions of literary criticism concerning the representation of the foreign Other in early modern Europe. His contribution provides a detailed analysis of the events surrounding such descriptions, demonstrating in a very precise way the influence of the historical context on different discourses. This analysis is particularly interesting for any study on alterity in early modern England, since it locates very accurately the events justifying the shifting attitudes towards the foreign Others.

and of unquestionable interest for researchers of English and Hispanic studies. The work triangulates the Muslim “infidels” with Christian (but “heretic”) Catholic Spaniards for a Protestant public, and adds preoccupations such as that of “the enemy within,” gender issues or the possible expulsion of Spanish Moriscos (regarded as internal enemies). Considering such important concepts, in the present dissertation we will edit and annotate the text, providing a critical and theoretical introduction, in order to allow the scientific recognition of a work that, for the first time, will be presented in the international context of the English studies. Consequently, we will work with various primary sources, including the original manuscript of *Lust’s Dominion*, dated 1657. Moreover, given the transcendence of the early modern period in England, which delivered influencing dramatists such as William Shakespeare, and the coincidence of Muslims, Spanish Catholics, women and other strangers in the same work, this study could be helpful in the clarification of the process of shaping national identities characterized by the rejection of Others.

The increasing interest in the last three decades in the study of the construction of a specific image associated with national, “racial” and religious strangers during the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, and of their connection with English national identities, has been preceded by several studies. Louis Wann’s article “The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama” (1915) and Samuel Chew’s seminal book *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (1937), inaugurated the first studies on the presence of individuals with different cultures, ethnicities or religions and their relevance in the English discourses of the period. Considered one of the first critics noticing the fluctuating attitudes in the descriptions of Others, Chew observed how during the early modern period there was a shift in the social interests of the West, which moved from religious to

secular ones and carried a less tolerant view of the East (Blanks, “Western Views” 19). Among the works that fostered the analysis of alterity, underlining the necessity of a study on the cohesive view of “race” and religion, we may also mention seminal studies such as Eldred Jones’ *Othello’s Countrymen; The African in English Renaissance Drama* (1965) and Anthony G. Barthelemy’s *Black Face, Maligned Race* (1987).

Likewise, the present work is particularly enthused by the seminal work by Leslie A. Fiedler, *The Stranger in Shakespeare* (1972), which offered a detailed study on the representation of Others who are often interconnected in early modern ideologies: women, Jews, Moors, Spaniards and the “savages” of the New World. Fiedler suggests that the threat which encompassed the contacts with and among these Others in Christian, Eurocentric and androcentric societies, suggests that from the Occidental perspective these figures are (famously or infamously) central, since it is precisely the Other who marks the separation between “the familiar” and “the unknown or alien” (15).

In 1979, with the publication of *Orientalism*, Edward Said hypothesized that the Orient was a creation of Occidental societies. However, this position would open a long-lasting debate, and his views have been disputed by historians such as Robert Irwin, Bernard Lewis or critics such as George P. Landow, Daniel Martin Varisco or Ibn Warraq, in *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said’s Orientalism* (2007). Indeed, they would haste to establish the difference between the colonial period –where the Levant, in certain contexts, and as we know it, could be contemplated as an Occidental construction– and the periods that precede it – where, on the contrary, the Orient was very active in the construction of its own identity and often showed a greater independence and prevalence over other communities such as the European ones.

In another seminal work, the celebrated *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare* (1984), Stephen Greenblatt defends the necessity to analyse any literary work within a frame that do not limit itself to the examination of an object as something independent from its background (4). Instead, he emphasises the important roles of the author and the historical context, highlighting the social codes and the preconceptions to which the work aligns with (4). Greenblatt coins the concept of Neo Historicism (popularised also by critics such as Stephen Orgel and Richard Helgerson), inaugurating a trend within literary criticism that is inspired in works on cultural anthropology (such as those of Clifford Geertz). This trend is closely associated with our approximation to the concepts of identity and image, since it supports the necessity to consider the influence of the arts in cultural exchange and in the way in which a community characterizes or “fashions” itself by means of its adhesion to given (economic and political) social postulations. Greenblatt’s assumptions were already studied by Mikhail Bakhtin, who, with his view of history in *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* (1929), which opposed that of the Formalists, proposed the existence of a nexus between signification and context. Such nexus reflects the ideological exchange or reciprocal influence of discourses, authors, and recipients, who are, in turn, constantly under the influence of authorities and their social contexts (285-86).¹ Greenblatt also suggests the existence of a parallelism between authors and fictional characters from a self-fashioning perspective, by means of which, seventeenth-century writers begun to be

¹ In *The Dialogic Imagination* (1975), Bakhtin expands this concept by means of his theory of polyphony, or dialogics, arguing that language is like a “living being” which evolves affecting, and being affected by, culture (n. pag.).

progressively aware of their power to construct their own identity, albeit within the parameters established by the privileged social orders (1). However, one of the most interesting aspects for the present dissertation is the description that Greenblatt makes of part of the process of “self-fashioning,” suggesting that human beings usually build their own identities in correspondence with menacing and chaotic Others, and that if such individuals were not present in society, they would be conceived or shaped by society and implanted in the collective consciousness (9).

In a divergent, but related, view of the formation of early modern ideologies, in *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (1984), Jonathan Dollimore proposes a new perspective from which he intends to examine the creation of English national identities, especially when it comes to its comparison with alien cultures. Together with other critics such as Alan Sinfield, John Drakakis or Terry Eagleton, and focusing on the Cultural Materialist work of Cambridge sociologist Raymond Williams, Dollimore is the first representative of this trend in literary studies. Even if Cultural Materialism partly conforms to the premises of Neo Historicism when the former suggests that a given work and its author are inseparable from their historical context, it differs from the latter in other questions, since Cultural Materialism postulates that subversive activities promote a certain challenge of the established ideologies, even if dissidence may eventually be contained (xxi). Such impositions could emanate from multiple social spheres, counterpoising, for instance, the king and the community, the father and the family, the man and the woman. Similarly, the strangers also represent a marginal and discordant, “unknown” element versus a “known” one. In theatres, perhaps, it is their peripheral situation which provides the dramatist with a tool to present dissident ideologies and the

way life is perceived at the margins of society (Burton, *Traffic and Turning* 30).

Given the need in literary criticism to consider apparently contradictory perspectives, providing alternative views on literature, and detaching it from canonical and essentialist (systematic and/or “romantic”) studies about idealized writers, John Drakakis (a member of the research project *Muslims, Spaniards and Jews in Early Modern English Texts: The Construction of the Other*), edits a collection of essays titled *Alternative Shakespeares* (1985) where each contribution explores drama considering its historical context (Introduction 5). Drakakis’s intention is to explore the way different readings of the same work may be produced (depending on its addressees and historical context), suggesting that the objective of the ideological systems integrated within a text, on occasions, is one of exclusion and repression (Introduction 24).

With reference to national, “racial” and religious strangers, other seminal works written during the 1980s are Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin’s *The Empire Writes Back* (1989) and Anthony G. Barthelemy *Black Face, Maligned Race* (1987). Barthelemy analyses the representations of Moors in early modern plays and pageants, highlighting the early modern distinction between Blackamoors and white Moors, and suggesting that the extent of rejection of these Others often depended on the “degree” of their blackness. However, he also explains that such figures are employed to arouse certain affinity in lowest social groups, since they could be expected to feel some empathy for these marginalized individuals, often subordinated and oppressed by dominant groups (200-01).

Jack D’Amico in *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (1991) underlines the situation of the stranger in early modern England, where,

for the first time, this society begins to distinguish itself from the community of the foreign Other through the concept of “race,” and not primarily from the religious or moral point of view (as it was stated by previous works of literary criticism). The Moor becomes a kind of icon representing, on the one hand, all that the English individual is not (that is, an inversion of moral rectitude), and, on the other hand, all the dissident and negative features of society, including its most hidden desires (2).

Sinfield, like other Cultural Materialists, Alan Sinfield with his work *Faultlines* (1992) maintains that literary discourses questions dominant ideologies, and that such discourses are active and influential within society (22). He supports the need to recognize that a given text may introduce fissures (or faultlines) within its narrative; that is, it could produce different readings, and the recipients may infer attitudes that differ from those which are socially established, and that, therefore, can promote social conflict (9). The targets of such discourses are cultural and institutional mechanisms, such as the Church or the State, which interact in order to legitimate their own ideology and, in turn, to attempt a manipulation of those discourses (9). Sinfield emphasises the importance of understanding the purposes of (dissident) sympathetic attitudes about “racial,” gender, sexual or social otherness, and of observing how different ideologies deal with contradictory elements, presenting harmonious relationships among different economic, political and cultural powers, which are typically unstable and shifting (9-10).

In order to disengage from a white and androcentric perspective of the Occidental world, and to determine the contribution of women and their influence in the development of imperialistic and national ideologies, also supported by “racial” discourses, with *Women, “race” and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (1994), Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker

compile a collection of works focusing on the European context from 1492 to 1800 (1-2, 4). The aim of this collection is to analyse how from the English perspective there is an association of unlike communities such as the Irish, the Muslims and the Catholic Spaniards, suggesting that, from this moment, the concept of “race” (as lineage) begins to indicate certain physical qualities, establishing the basis of today’s “racial” segregation (2).

In *Shakespeare and the Jews* (1996), James Shapiro examines the discussions on the presence of the Jews in early modern Europe, revealing not only the anguish that entails the contact with the alien, but also the anxieties for the domestic problems provoked by social, religious and political changes never experienced in earlier stages (1). The author argues that, after the Protestant Reformations, the presence of the Jew could represent a menacing reminder of the permeability not only of the physical boundaries that delimitate “our world” from the “world of the Other,” but also of the porosity of the European (and, especially, English) identities, which are increasingly considered as being easily influenced by the presence of the Other (7). This way, there may be a growing fear provoked by the difficulty to differentiate the ethnicity of a given community, in religious, cultural and “racial” aspects (7). Indeed, to make a distinction between the English and the Jewish complexions became especially complicated and the hybridisation or adoption of the foreign customs was considered equally or even more damaging than the proximity with black individuals, precisely because of this “threatening” resemblance and potential assimilation (7-8). Shapiro examines how the presence of these Others affected the subjacent ideologies and the creation of a national identity in early modern England (11).

In a very different situation, sixteenth-century Islamic communities of the Mediterranean and North Africa were not in a position of inferiority, as Nabil Matar explains in *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (1998), challenging the arguments of Edward Said and his followers (3). Their relatively privileged situation is corroborated by multiple European documents of the period recognising their economic and military detriment, a well-known reality translated in literary and non-literary discourses of the period (3). Indeed, several Muslim communities held a power of self-representation of such a magnitude that foreign writers (from less competitive societies such as England) were obliged either to capitulate or to confront those cultures to convince themselves and others of the worth of their own community (11-12). From the eighteenth century, on the other hand, this situation of superiority would diminish, since the declining of the Ottoman Empire would indirectly legitimate the notion, popularised by Said, of an Orient represented and constituted by the West, an idea which was inconceivable before and during the early modern period (11-12). With this work Matar inaugurates an extensive and detailed study that he expands with other books such as *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (1999), *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (2005), or *Britain and the Islamic World 1588-1713* (2011) composed with Gerald MacLean.

Les Back and John Solomos, in the introduction of their 2000 edition of *Theories of Race and Racism*, remind us that “race” and “racism” “have shaped both past and contemporary societies” in different ways (1). With this objective, they draw together the main contributions of authors such as Winthrop D. Jordan, Theodor W. Adorno, Tzvetan Todorov, Stuart Hall, Frantz Fanon and Homi K. Bhabha, among others. Back and Solomos suggest that there is an active interaction between

“race,” gender and low social ranks, and that “The linkages between colonialism and racism became evident throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the form of the articulation between nationalism and patriotism in the construction of the very definition of ‘Englishness’ and ‘Britishness’” (3, 14). Finally, they argue that “By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries imperialist ideologies had developed a racial notion of national identity to refer to other European nations as well as colonial people” (15).

Concerned with geographical associations to cultural and “racial” concepts Barbara Fuchs, in *Mimesis and Empire* (2001), analyses how, from a European point of view, the mimesis with (or imitation of) extra-European cultures threatens the fragile Occidental identities (2-3). Moreover, imitators such as the English actors playing the role of foreigners are already introducing difference and change in society, staging the customs of the strangers and becoming “suspiciously” similar to the imitated subjects (3).¹ Similarly, Mary Floyd-Wilson, in *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (2003), engages in a detailed observation of the development of the regional humoral theory – which she calls geohumoral theory. Such concept, which has been discussed since 1941, when Zera Silver Fink published his article “Milton and the Theory of Climatic Theory,” indicates that, at least from the Classical

¹ If, on the contrary, the imitators are from other communities, such as New World colonies, and the imitated subjects are European colonizers, the Others temporarily and figuratively adopt the identity and the privileges of the colonizers (4). Hence, the imitators may allegedly attempt to inspire dissident attitudes and attain some of those rights, questioning the hegemony of the colonizers (4). Fuchs argues that, eventually, such ruptures could menace the balance and desire of a political and religious union in the metropolis and in the colonies, showing a weakness possibly considered an advantage for the incipient Muslim menace coming from Eastern Europe (3).

period, stereotypes about the physical and temperamental features of human beings have been associated with the environment, since they are considered to be influenced by climate, food customs and geography (Floyd-Wilson 2-4).

At the same time, as Daniel Vitkus reminds us in his book *Turning Turk* (2003), the Tudor period was a time of plunder and commerce, and not one of empires (3). From this period onwards, England introduces a self-image of proto-capitalist or mercantilist society, incorporating the conducts and practices of the Mediterranean communities (7). However, like critics such as Ania Loomba, Vitkus considers that the creation of a national image, not clearly defined until this period, was partly delimited by the fear of becoming like the Other or to “turn Turk” and by the need of assuming a self-image that could be differentiated from that of the strangers (9; Loomba, “Delicious traffick” 201). Theatre, for its part, staged the imperialist, capitalist and multiculturalist fantasies of the Mediterranean, which appealed and, at the same time, intimidated societies considered relatively marginal, such as the English, contributing to the construction of an identity characterised by those colonizing and mercantilist expectations (31). Eventually, the author suggests that the dramatic discourses, where those anxieties about exchange, hybridism, contact, imperialism or religious conversion, materialise, inevitably reflect the situation of the Mediterranean world, contributing, in turn, to the formation of the modern and contemporary image of the West (197-98).

Given the increasing number of early modern discourses presenting the image and culture of Muslims and other foreigners, in *Traffic and Turning. Islam and English Drama, 1579-1624* (2005), Jonathan Burton suggests that such communities had a considerable impact on the English

consciousness. In order to provide a “contrapuntal analysis,” he analyses Ottoman and North African texts of the period, which reveal the presence of rhetorical war between England and these communities (39-40). Nevertheless, like other critics such as Vitkus, the author argues that the descriptions of these Others were not exclusively negatives; depending on the situation and on economic, social or political interests, these could describe them either as noble, brave and powerful Muslims, or as vile and cowardly pagans, more similar to demons or beasts than to human beings. Burton argues that such associations emerge when the interests in commercial exchange mingle with the fear of being too close and to succumb to the attractiveness of the world of the foreigner; a situation that could be considered similar to that of the theatrical sphere, whose representatives were often accused of apostasy, since the personifications of the actors could be interpreted as an adoption of foreign cultures or religions (16-17, 30).

The representation of individuals of colour made by early modern performers is also studied, among others, by Virginia M. Vaughan, in *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500-1800* (2005). With this work she intends to find out how such representations contribute to the construction of racial difference, and how, in a period when England is exponentially tied to the traffic of African slaves, such images are presented in a denaturalised and contradictory way.

Other important study concerned with the construction of the foreign Other, focusing, in this case, on the formation of the so-called Black Legend of Spain, is offered by *Rereading the Black Legend. Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (2007), edited by Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo y Maureen Quilligan. In their introduction, the editors remind us that this is a concept that

originated at the beginning of the twentieth century, and that associates Spain with its alleged ignorance, superstition, religious fanaticism, and the atrocities carried out in the Americas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1). In 1914 Julián Juderías, complaining about the persistence of these beliefs in the past four centuries, popularises the concept of Black Legend and argues that it originated on account of a feeling of envy for the superiority of Catholic Spain in the sixteenth century (1).

More recent studies about “racial” Otherness include the contribution of Gustav Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (2008), whose analysis of original Spanish and English documents of the fifteenth century reveals that the first evidences on the English traffic of slaves must be dated in the 1480s. Such discovery opposes the works on race and racism of former scholars, such as Winthrop D. Jordan, who maintained that the English did not reach the East of Africa with this purpose until 1550 (33). At the same time, in *Speaking of the Moor. From “Alcazar” to “Othello”* (2008), Emily C. Bartels explored the different representations of the Moor in literary and non-literary texts,¹ concluding that the variety of representations rejecting or sympathising with such individuals (or challenging both attitudes), arouse from a series sentiments that initiate their solidification from the beginning of the Elizabethan period: the national anxiety provoked by the presence of the foreign Others; the negotiations in the creation of

¹ Especially William Shakespeare’s *Othello* (1603) and *Titus Andronicus* (c.1592); George Peele’s *The Battle of Alcazar* (c. 1588); Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion*, Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589, 1598-1600); John Pory’s translations of *The History and Description of Africa* (1600) by Leo Africano; or the letters written by Isabel I (two in 1596 and one in 1601) to deport small groups of Moors, blacks or Moriscos from England.

(national) identities; and the need to establish a separation between the “self” and the “Other.”

Among other books concerned with national, “racial” and religious otherness, we can also mention Lara Bovilsky’s *Barbarous Play* (2008) and Bernadette Andrea and Linda Mc Jannet’s *Early Modern England and the Islamic World* (2011); while other works such as Eric J. Griffin’s *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain. Ethnopoetics and Empire* (2009) and Barbara Fuchs’s *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the construction of Early Modern Spain* (2009), focus on the analysis of the presence of the Moorish culture and customs in Spain and on the attitude of other Europeans on this symbiosis. This aspect would feed the formation of the Black Legend of Spain, justifying the rejection towards this community, which is defined as an (partly exotic, and partly cruel, oppressive or ignorant) Other, less European than the other European communities (Fuchs 4).

Finally, the books *Strangers in early modern English texts* (Peter Lang, 2010), and *The construction of the other* (Winter, 2013), edited and written by members of the research team I work with, provide a further source for analysis of the representation of strangers and the formation of modern identities, considering different types of Others such as women, foreigners, bastards and “racial” or religious strangers.

IDEOLOGY, IDENTITY AND OTHERNESS

Ideology, Identity and Otherness

1. Historical contexts and early modern discourses

With the European “discovery” of the New World in 1492, for the first time in history there is a shift of focus that prompted the incorporation, in early modern discourses, of settings where an ample variety of Others interacted in not-so-far-away locations. Several literary and non-literary discourses of the period witnessed this movement, presenting how national and social interests and anxieties were shaped by the innovations and events taking place in the Western world.

International relationships: economy and “the global early modern”¹

The early modern period was a time of extreme transformations in the Western world. The newly adopted proto-capitalist system and an unprecedented economic growth opened the possibility for a relative improvement of the financial conditions of the lower social ranks. The new order was shaped by an incipient “global cultural economy” where the emerging large-scale cultural and commercial relations boosted the Western imagination (Singh, Introduction 4). In fact, even if we think that

¹ This concept has been discussed, among others, by Jonathan Burton, who highlights the global contributions to modernity, rejecting the misleading Eurocentric assumed exclusiveness in its formation (Burton, “The Shah’s Two Ambassadors” 27-28). This same phrase, “the global early modern” is part of the topic of the 2015 International Conference of SEDERI, the most important academic association studying the English Renaissance in Spain and Portugal.

globalization is a recent phenomenon, as Immanuel Wallerstein reminds us, the processes that we associate with globalization have been present during the last five centuries (251-52). Early modern societies experienced the changes of

an expanding global world, one which includes the discovery of America to the West, growing interactions and encounters with the East ranging from the Ottoman empire on Europe's borders to the far East, forays into North and sub-Saharan Africa, and even explorations to the North Seas. (Singh, Introduction 5)

From a Eurocentric perspective, Catholic communities in the South and West of the continent (mainly Habsburg Spain, Portugal, France and the Republic of Venice) and Muslim societies of the South-Eastern coasts of the Mediterranean (notably the Ottoman Empire in North Africa and the Levant, reaching almost as far as Vienna) were the leading forces of the sixteenth-century's world. This situation was an unquestionable cause of concern among other less powerful European and extra-European communities, since for countries such as England, which had been struggling to enter the economic and transatlantic enterprises from the fifteenth century, a relatively weaker political and economic situation complicated any possible open challenge to the Catholic or Muslim forces.

In search of new economic possibilities, national, religious or "racial" Others were increasingly moving from one European community to another; but, in Europe, a growing presence of immigrants from extra-European locations, such as Africa and the New World, could also be detected. Those aliens from other European or extra-European societies,

mostly merchants and craftsmen, usually found a hostile and sometimes aggressive reception in the different European communities to which they arrived, since it was believed that foreigners were the cause of local unemployment, among other evils (Hall, *Things of Darkness* 127; Marienstras 102).

Richard Marienstras, in his seminal work *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World* (1981), explains that, in England, ideological convictions and political distrust were reinforced by the menaces detected “without” society, but also “within” it (102). He suggests that, since the times of Edward VI (1547-53), local artisans threatened the life of all the foreigners of England, since they claimed that they were “responsible for the prevailing penury,” a threat that materialized in London, in 1517 on the day known as the “Evil May Day,” where the local people attacked several foreigners and burned the houses of many of them (102).

This generalized feeling is corroborated by early modern documents, such as the anonymous pamphlet known as *A Libell, fixte vpon the French Church Wall, in London. Ann^o 1593^o or The Dutch Church Libel* (1593), which was (very likely falsely) attributed to dramatists Thomas Kyd and Christopher Marlowe and subsequently found on a wall or door of a church in London (n. pag.).¹ The pamphlet read:

Ye strangers y^t doe inhabite in this lande

...

Your Machiavellian Marchant spoyles the state,

¹ The document was discovered by Arthur Freeman in the Bodleian Library. Freeman’s transcription of the pamphlet can be found in his article “Marlowe, Kyd, and the Dutch Church Libel.” *English Literary Renaissance* 3 (1973): 44-52.

Your vsery doth leave vs all for deade
 Your Artifex, & craftsman works our fate,
 And like the Jewes, you eate us vp as bread
 ...
 With Spanish gold, you all are infected
 And with y^t Gould our Nobles wink at feats
 ...
 That wound their Countries brest, for luces sake
 And wrong our gracious Queene & Subiects good
 By letting strangers make our harts to ake
 For which our swords are whet, to shedd their blood
 And for a truth let it be vnderstoode/ Fly, Flye, & never
 returne. (45)¹

In England, this attitude was not only present in discourses concerning Continental and extra-European foreigners, but also towards the Scottish, the Irish and the Welsh, among others. The treatment of the Irish was particularly detrimental after the sixteenth century's Tudor reconquest of Ireland, culminating with the 1603 nominal control of the island by James I (Marienstrass 103-04). Such events were considered, by the English, as evidence that they could colonize and enslave whole communities of alleged savage and ignorant (that is, animalized) individuals, providing them with a model for future colonisation (103-04). In fact, this attitude was the same that prompted the initial attempts of English colonisation of the New World in 1585, with the first voyages to Virginia (103).

¹ See the full transcription of *A Libell, fixte vpon the French Church Wall, in London. Ann^o 1593^o* (1593) in Appendix III.

When the New World became a source of wealth for communities such as Spain and Portugal, their ships and colonised lands soon became the target of pillage and sacking of privateers; these were frequently English pirates endorsed by monarchs such as Elizabeth I (D'Amico 14-32).¹ At the same time, as recent studies by Gustav Ungerer on previously overlooked early modern English and Spanish records have proven, the English were active in the slave trade in Andalusia (Spain) as early as the 1480s when the English merchant William de la Founte became involved with this business (17-18). The first full-scale attempts of colonisation and slave-trade instigated further the commercial disputes among different European communities for the control of sub-Saharan Africa, the Atlantic Ocean and the New World (14-32).

The early modern rejection of national and “racial” Others is further supported by the evidences of the ethnic repressions and expulsions taking place in Europe. In the year 1492, when the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon, conquered the last Muslim stronghold in Granada, the defeated Muslims were promised that their religion, language and costumes would be respected. However, only a few years later, and through the genocidal Cardinal Cisneros, these promises were not kept and they were forced to baptize, provoking Muslim revolts and eventually prompting the first war of Granada in 1501. The events taking place in Spain in that most iconic year, 1492, would also anticipate the events of 1497, when Manuel I, king of Portugal, banished the Jews from his kingdom, unwisely expelling

¹ Francis Drake (c. 1540-1596) was probably one of the most popular Elizabethan privateers committing acts of pillage against Spanish galleons. For these and other deeds he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth I in 1581 (D'Amico 14-16).

innumerable wealthy merchants, skilled workers and other taxpayers (Sider 14).¹ Finally, more than one century after the first Spanish Muslim revolts, King Philip III ordered, in 1609, the massive expulsion of all (or most) Moriscos; that is, baptized Muslims, either sincerely converted to Catholicism or not. Some 300,000 Moriscos were dispossessed of most of their wealth, and hence, this considerable portion of rightful Spanish citizens, merely accused of having Moorish “blood” or of being clandestine Muslim practitioners, were forced to leave their lands.

In England, we do not find instances of massive deportations; however, there are a few instances of conceptual resemblance. For instance, in 1292, an edict issued by King Edward I proclaimed that all the Jews should be expelled from England, and, while there is no evidence of the extent to which the edict was enforced, it could have been considered valid until the Jews were formally readmitted by Oliver Cromwell in 1655.² In addition, during the early modern period, Elizabeth I issued three proclamations, in the form of open letters, two written in 1596 to the Lord Mayor of London and one in 1601, ordering the deportations of “divers blackmoores,” meaning around forty probably sub-Saharan slaves

¹ In *Traffic and Turning. Islam and English Drama 1579-1624* (2005), Jonathan Burton reminds us that the expulsion of a community by another, usually alleging political, “racial” or cultural differences, are often as damaging for the exiled society as for the banishing one (200). Burton gives us an account by William Biddulph, who maintains that, after the 1453 conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II welcomed “an infinite multitude of Jews and Marranos, driven out of Spain, for to come and dwell there. By means whereof, in very short time the City began to increase in traffic, riches, and abundance of people” (200). Similarly, in 1492, Bajazeth II invited the expelled Jews, questioning Ferdinand’s professed outstanding intelligence: “How could he be [wise], he who impoverishes his country to enrich mine!” (200).

² See Walter Gostelo’s *Charls Stuart and Oliver Cromvvel united, or, Glad tidings of peace to all Christendom, to the Jews and heathen, conversion, to the Church of Rome, certain downfall, the Irish not to be transplanted extraordinarily declared by God* (1655).

forcibly brought to England on previous occasions (see Appendix III). These events corroborate a sustained rejection within Christianity towards the perceived otherness of these individuals, a generalised feeling that was reproduced in the early modern literary milieu.

In spite of these instances of hostility towards national, “racial” and religious Others, we should stress the circumstances surrounding Elizabeth I’s negotiations and prospects of friendship with the Ottoman Sultan Amurath III (during the 1580s) or those with Morocco (c. 1550-1603). For instance, according to the English writer Richard Hakluyt, in *Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589, 1598-1600), in 1577, the queen sent an ambassador, Edmund Hogan, to establish a commercial and political association with the Moroccan ruler, “Mully Abdelmelech,” King of Fes, who was presented by Hogan with praise and admiration (285). The opposite movement in the Anglo-Moroccan negotiations was also established during the Elizabethan period. In 1600, Sultan Ahmed el-Mansour sent a delegation led by ambassador Abd el-Ouahed (or Wahed), a historical event that nowadays is considered a significant evidence of the intermittent amiable contacts with Islam (Matar, *Britain and Barbary* 13; *Turks* 10, 32- 34; D’Amico 35-38; Bullough 207-08; Bak 201-02; López-Peláez, *Muslims and Moriscos* 128-29).¹ By the time of the embassy, the three communities, England, Morocco and the Ottoman Empire, were probably varyingly

¹ For further reading on the activities in the kingdom of Morocco and the Ottoman Empire see Edward W. Bovill’s *The Battle of Alcazar: An Account of the Defeat of Don Sebastian of Portugal at El Ksar el-Kebir* (1952) and Jonathan Burton’s *Traffic and Turning. Islam and English Drama 1579-1624* (2005), 53-91.

concerned with their common enemy, Spain, whose Armada was defeated by England about one decade earlier, in 1588.

In contrast to what has been the global perception of the East for the last two or three centuries, most early modern Oriental communities were by no means inferior or subject to Western colonisation. Quite the opposite, the East was usually the source of the deepest European fears, especially for smaller communities such as England. The Orient has been considered, by scholars such as Edward Said in his work *Orientalism* (1978), a “product” of the West; however, such belief has been dismissed in the last decades. In the article “Different Differences: Locating Moorishness in Early Modern English Culture” (1996) Greg Bak explains that:

At a time when Sir Walter Raleigh was attempting to establish an English colony at Roanoke, Virginia, the idea of planting a similar colony in north Africa, which was entirely under the dominion of either the Ottoman or the Moroccan sultan, would have been as bizarre as proposing an English colony in France. North Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries simply did not belong to that part of the world which Europeans might colonize. (200)

Similarly, Persia (which from 1502 to 1736 included most of modern-day Afghanistan and Iraq) was a further source of anxiety for Europe and a menace in the East that threatened Christianity from a not so far away land. In spite of the attempts of friendship with the Ottoman Empire, Christianity was preoccupied with the Eastern “giant” and was simultaneously attempting an approximation with Persia in order to obtain

military support in view of the relentless Ottoman advance and occupation in Europe.

As a result, the early modern period was marked by the tumultuous relationships among Europeans and, remarkably, with extra-European communities, stirring tensions that would inevitably affect the English and Continental attitudes towards national and “racial” Others. Sometimes, these aliens were associated with other strangers, such as religious or domestic Others, that were not described in better terms.¹

Religious conflicts

The early modern period was not only marked by Europe’s economic and political conflicts, but also by severe religious disputes. Even if the territories of the Papal States had almost always been limited to small portions of land in Central Italy, the Catholic Church was a wealthy institution with powerful allies such as Spain, Venice or France. Nevertheless, the Protestant Reformation, initiated by John Calvin, Jan Hus, and stirred by Martin Luther’s *Ninety-Five Theses* (1517), among others, questioned Papal hegemony, fostering a conflict that reached its climax in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²

The English hostilities with the Vatican are well-known to appear with King Henry VIII and his *Act of Supremacy* of 1534, by which he declared himself Supreme Head of the Church of England, separating this

¹ For further reading about international relations, see Lionel C. Knights’ *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (1937).

² John Wycliffe has also been counted among the initiators of the Reformation, anticipating some of its opinions and beliefs.

institution from the Roman Catholic Church, and being, as a result, excommunicated by Pope Clement. Similarly, his daughter, Queen Elizabeth I, was excommunicated in 1570 by Pope Pius V, and, therefore, to attack or assassinate a Protestant monarch was considered an acceptable case of tyrannicide by Catholics (hence the various attempts Elizabeth and James I suffered). In 1588, Elizabeth's realm was attacked by Philip of Spain, who was retaliating for the operations of English pirates and the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587, and who, under the auspices of Pope Sixtus Quintus, sent his Armada to England.¹ This time the Spanish fleet, poorly prepared, was wrecked by a storm, but the hostilities were reinforced with a second and third attack in 1597 and 1599, where Spain tried to support the Irish uprising of Tyrone (Marienstras 101). The English reaction to the attack of 1588 was the Counter Armada of 1589. In fact, the wreck of the Armada was interpreted as a signal of weakness, prompting the English naval retaliation; however, the result of this English enterprise was a blatant defeat.

The aftermath of the defeat of the Armada was also a boost of national pride which lasted for years, and fostered the subsequent rejection of the Spaniards. This enmity was transferred to other European (Catholic) foreigners, such as the Italians, the Portuguese, the Irish or the Scottish, who, "not so long before, had constituted such a threat along the northern border" (Marienstras 102). The antagonism was intensified by a series of internal conflicts:

¹ Previously, Essex had attacked Cadiz and damaged the ships being prepared there for the Armada. From the English point of view, this was a successful expedition of Essex, one that gave him huge reputation (which he later dilapidated with his failures in Ireland and the disastrous Azores expedition).

In England, to which a number of Jesuit missions had secretly been sent, a series of plots had been discovered: Throckmorton's in 1583, Babington's in 1586, Roderigo Lopez' in 1594. Lopez, who was the queen's doctor, was accused of attempting to poison her at the instigation of the king of Spain: royal propaganda took over the whole affair and exploited it. Finally, in 1605, there was the Gunpowder plot. Threats from within were thus added to threats from without and papists, puritans and foreigners were clearly execrated or suspect. (Marienstras 102)

While the relationship with Islam was frequently not described in better terms, the attempts of friendship with the Ottomans and the Moroccans prompted the occasional approximation of Protestants, who opportunistically emphasized the alleged similarities between both religions in opposition to Catholicism: "Logocentrism and iconoclasm were theological positions that Muslims and Protestants held in common," while the veneration of icons is allowed by Catholics (Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 51; Matar and MacLean, *Britain and the Islamic World* 37).

As mentioned above, with the auspices of Elizabeth I, the merchant-ambassador Edmund Hogan had a successful and lucrative trip to Morocco in 1577, which prompted the positive views of the sultanate of Mully Abdelmelech (or al-Malik) and of Islam that the businessman brought back to London. In a letter addressed to Queen Elizabeth (dated June 1577), Hogan claimed that the sultan was "a vearie earnest Protestant" (Bak 204). In addition, in a report published in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589, 1598-1600), he allegedly said about Mully Abdelmelech:

I finde him to be one that liveth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament as also in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of Idols, and the Moores called him the Christian king. (6: 289)

Indeed, probably the financial interests of the ambassador promoted this positive portrait of the sultan, making him “acceptable to his readers not by obscuring the sultan’s somatic characteristics, but by obscuring his cultural, and especially his religious, differences,” suggesting that “the greatest differences between the English queen and the Moroccan sultan were differences of religion” (Bak 204).

Finally, in spite of the occasional, politically or economically motivated, toleration of Muslims or Catholics (for instance, during the Spanish friendly relationships with James I of England), other religions would probably never be recognised as such or treated with respect. For instance, as we will analyse in brief, while the different systems of beliefs present in sub-Saharan Africa and the New World were not even regarded as religions, the Jews were typically considered the damaging intruder of the Western world par excellence.¹

¹ Further discussion concerning religious conflicts can be found in Richard H. Tawney’s seminal *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926).

Domestic concerns

External threats, like those described in the previous section, could be compared to other causes of anxiety concerning alterity during the early modern period, such as domestic otherness. In England, from 1553 until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the throne was occasionally occupied by what we might call “gendered strangers”: the Tudor and Stuart queens Mary I (1553-1558), Elizabeth I (1558-1603), Mary II (1688-1694), and Anne (1702-1714).

The most revolutionary monarch was probably Elizabeth I, whose attributed quotes convey her attitudes on the position of women in society and a sense of national belonging. The most relevant and, perhaps, popular speech attributed to the Queen addresses a national enemy, Catholic Spain, on the eve of the attack performed by the Armada. Elizabeth rallied her army with her *Speech to the Troops at Tilbury* (1588), which denotes England’s fear of foreign invasion and certain rejection of female authority. For its evident relevance we will quote it at length

My loving people: We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery. But, I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chief strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst of the heat of the battle, to live or die amongst

you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which, rather than any dishonor should grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people. (597)

This speech not only denotes the national xenophobia, but also famously “ungenders” or masculinizes the Queen, who asserts that even if she is a woman, she behaves like a King, that is, like a male. However, it also introduces a metaphorical allusion to England as a female, through an image of rape (“that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm”).

Indeed, despite the occasional presence of powerful women occupying the thrones of this and other European kingdoms, probably influencing early modern consciousness, the situation of the “weak and

feeble woman” and of other gendered or domestic Others, did not improve.¹ The occurrence of misogynous discourses suggests that the views on their inferiority were, in fact, still considerable. As Jacqueline Eales suggests in *Women in Early Modern England* (1998), male discourses described women were inferior to men not only physically, but also intellectually and morally, mainly because of the influence of biblical beliefs or Classical and contemporary medical considerations (3):

The story of Adam and Eve and the New Testament writings of St Paul were influential sources of religious arguments for the subordination of women. They were reinforced by Aristotle’s theory that a woman was physically an inferior version of the perfect male form and by the traditional belief that there was a balance of the four humours in the human body. According to humoral medicine, men were believed to be hot and dry and women were cold and moist, making them passive, intellectually unstable and lacking in courage. (3)

At the same time, the role of women in the public sphere, and their absence, for instance, in early modern theatres, depended heavily on the cultural background of the different Western communities. Playhouses were probably visited by the citizens of London and their wives, “since no

¹ For further reading on the different but interconnected concepts of sexuality and gender, see Gayle Rubin’s “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality” (1984), 267-319; Eve Sedgwick’s *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990), 27-35; and Valerie Traub’s *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama* (1992) and “Gender and sexuality in Shakespeare” (2001), 129-46.

respectable wife could easily attend a play without a male escort” (Gurr 77). However, while in countries such as Spain or Italy women were allowed to work onstage, in England female characters were interpreted by boy actors (Orgel 35-36).¹ As Alison Findlay points out

women were literally outside representation: their parts were written and performed by men and boys. Female playgoers across the social scale, from queens, noblewomen, citizens’ wives, and tradeswomen to whores and vagrants, paid to watch male representations of themselves. (“Women and Drama” 123)

However, since the Bible condemned women dressing like men and men wearing women’s attire, cross-dressing was widely disapproved or even censured (Deuteronomy 22:5; Findlay, “Gendering” 401).

Finally, gendered alterity could be linked to other types of domestic, national, “racial” or religious Others, which, in turn, could be considered as interrelated among themselves. In *Sodometries. Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (1992), Jonathan Goldberg compares the attitudes and situations of the contemporary Western world with those of the early modern period suggesting, for instance, that “Homosexuality, ... linked to bestiality and to indiscriminate, promiscuous sexual behavior,” was associated by both societies with the image of the foreigner (1-2). Goldberg points out that, occasionally, the America of his contemporaries is grudgingly represented as the home of “the foreign, the homosexual, the

¹ See Alan Sinfield’s *Shakespeare, Authority, Sexuality* (2006), 117; and Alison Findlay’s *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama* (1999), 1, 107-08, 115-16.

woman, an America, in a word, that has subscribed to cultural pluralism,” and where, the “legitimate,” white man is asked to act, making what is considered “homosexual, bestial, foreign, inhuman, feminine ... the target of a proper masculinity” (4-5). He detects, thus, a similar attitude in the early modern period:

in the “ancient civil or canonical codes” ... sodomy is equated with bestiality, as it is in the first English sodomy law, passed during the reign of Henry VIII, which punishes with death those convicted of “the detestable and abhominable vice of buggery commyttid with mankynde or beaste”; as in that formulation, the sexual act lacks specificity – it might be oral or anal sex, performed by “mankind” or with an animal. ... Fantasies that equate homosexuality with molestation are involved. Sodomy as the vice of Mediterranean/Islamic cultures, a recurring notion in English Renaissance texts, seems available too.

(3)

What is interesting here is the fact that the alignment of different types of Others such as women, foreigners, or “sodomites,” was not only common during the early modern period, but, we may conclude, is also disturbingly extant in contemporary discourses, where, for instance, certain national strangers are associated with homosexuality.

2. Identities and ideologies in early modern England

The construction of (national) identities: the dialectics East-West

For most Western communities, the early modern period may be considered as marking the beginnings of a sense of (national) belonging that in previous stages was probably still inconsistent or uneven. This drive was already noted in 1953 by Erich Auerbach, who suggested that there was a connection between the first regular contacts among the diverse European and extra-European cultures and their negotiations of the “self” with the “Other” (*Mimesis* 321). Consequently, Auerbach suggests, this movement stirred the first delineations of the different communities and ethnicities:

in the sixteenth century the effect of the great discoveries ... abruptly widened the cultural and geographic horizon and hence also men's conception of possible forms of human life. The various European peoples came to regard themselves as national entities and hence grew conscious of their distinctive characteristics. Finally the schism in the Church contributed to differentiating various groups of people. In consequence the comparatively simple contrast of Greek or Roman versus barbarian or Christian versus heathen was replaced by a much more complex picture of human society. (*Mimesis* 321)

“Identity” could be defined as the identification, or the establishment of some sort of connection, of an individual with given social groups (OED sb. 6); an affinity that provides the individual with a sense of “group membership.” This should not be confused with the concept of “subjectivity,” which is rather a definition of the individuals’ perception or consciousness for their own existences or actions (OED sb. 2.a), correspondingly negotiated with, and shaped by, formative institutions. In this sense, operating forces, such as the Church or the Government, would inevitably impinge on the subjectivity (or multiple subjectivities) of individuals who, in turn, participate in human discourses.¹ In the introduction to *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Stephen Greenblatt explains that, during the early modern period there was a “deliberate shaping in the formation and expression of identity” (1); however, he also explains that

there may well have been less autonomy in self-fashioning in the sixteenth century than before, that family, state, and religious institutions impose a more rigid and far-reaching discipline upon their middle-class and aristocratic subjects. Autonomy is an issue but not the sole or even the central issue: the power to impose a shape upon oneself is an aspect of the more general power to control identity – that of others at least as often as one’s own. (1)

Hence, according to this New Historicist assessment, it may be argued that identities are inevitably affected by different institutions; an opinion that,

¹ See John Drakakis’s introduction to *The Merchant of Venice*, 48.

on the other hand, is arguably straightforward as we will contend in the next section.

The questions surrounding the formation of identities and subjectivities are also analysed in *The Order of Things. An Archeology of Human Sciences* (1966), where Michel Foucault reminds us that each individual fights for his own version of truth and that, on occasions, those elements, marked by our time and cultures, and which we consider familiar, safe and true, can be challenged (xvi). Such destabilization could destroy

the ordered surfaces and all the planes with which we are accustomed to tame the wild profusion of existing things, and continuing long afterwards to disturb and threaten with collapse our age-old distinction between the Same and the Other. (xvi)

What is generally accepted in contemporary literary criticism is that in the early modern period we find “a change in the intellectual, social, psychological, and aesthetic structures that govern the generation of identities”; but, that this change is dialectical: that is, we encounter a double morality where, for instance, difference and innovation is admired, but also feared and rejected (Greenblatt 1-2). Such considerations justify our interest in this period, since the early modern stage witnessed the inception of the currently extant radical segregation of the known and the unknown; the Other and the Self; the foreign and the domestic.

We may consider different factors affecting, in Greenblatt’s terms, the “fashioning” of the self. The prominence of certain foreign societies was probably an influential element in a period when European

communities such as England were just beginning to be internationally competitive, and therefore, their identities were still taking shape (256). The anxieties experienced as a result of the presence of these menacing aliens would probably impinge negatively on the ideological structures that affected, in turn, the image of the Others. This spatial and temporal location, early modern England, could be considered a setting where an emergent epistemological shift established a new set of ideologies and (national) identities that would eventually achieve international relevance and prestige as a consequence of the political and economic expansion of this community from the eighteenth century onwards.

According to Mary Floyd-Wilson, in *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (2003), England struggled to achieve a central position among other powerful European (Mediterranean) communities, which, from antiquity, considered that the English were a relatively peripheral community in the known world (54). England was often described in Classical antiquity as an immoderate and extreme place, in comparison with the mild, moderate and steady Greek and Roman societies (54).

After the supremacy of Rome and Greece in Europe, during the Middle Ages, other powerful communities competed with England: Ottomans –or Turks–, French, Persians, North Africans, and Byzantines, among others, and subsequently the powerful Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians. It should be argued that, while other communities had a relatively natural relationship with aliens, the English anxieties towards the foreigner, and their resulting rejection, could eventually influence the global views on this Other. Indeed, Greenblatt considers that “Self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile,” and that “[t]his threatening Other –heretic, savage, witch,

adulteress, traitor, Antichrist— must be discovered or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed” (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 9). Similarly, in *The Dialogic Imagination* (1975), Mikhail Bakhtin suggests that:

Exoticism presupposes a deliberate opposition of what is alien to what is one’s own, the otherness of what is foreign is emphasized, savored, as it were, and elaborately depicted against an implied background of one’s own ordinary and familiar world. (101)

In England, moreover, the increasing sense of national belonging could be influenced by its previous situation of relative marginality; a sentiment mingled with a need to achieve centrality. We may argue that in a relatively modest Protestant, white and androcentric culture, such as early modern England, a response to overcome a sentiment of powerlessness or resentment could be the displacement (marginalisation or “othering”) of other more or less powerful individuals in order to enhance the “Self,” and where strangers such as foreigners, women or renegades, were probably instrumental in this process. Indeed, the early modern period witnessed the initial arrangement and conformation of today’s nations or communities in the West and the beginnings of a global ideological crystallization. As we previously mentioned, in England, this ideological structure would achieve an influential position after its economic and colonial expansion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, therefore, its opinions might inevitably affect the Western attitudes on existential questions such as the images associated with the different types of Others (Auerbach, *Mimesis* 27).

Early modern literary discourses often mirrored this situation of contact with the “unknown.” For many in Europe this was a time of encounters with different people that might occasionally behave in a way that was innovative but shocking from the perspective of an outsider. At the same time, such condition opened up the possibility, or rather, the availability, of different lifestyles and conducts that were made visible with the figure of the Other, but which, perhaps, could be found also in the remotest regions of the “Self.” We can observe a new, often spectacular and overwhelming, approach to existence, which is presented to us from “without,” with the figure of the stranger, but that is also unexpectedly already present “within.”

This notion is central in the seminal *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World* (1981), where Richard Marienstras suggests that, “[a]t a time when newly discovered lands were providing a far distant setting for the wild nature which used to be found in the forests,” early modern authors such as Shakespeare placed it “within the bounds of civilised, indeed of everyday, life,” arguing that this “opposition, between the near and the far, makes it possible to establish relationships between themes which look, at first sight, widely disparate: geographical localities, temporal sequences, ages widely distant one from another, kinship relations” (6).

Such ideas could be considered to be closely related to Yuri Lotman’s theories about the concepts of the semiosphere and the boundary. In fact, Lotman suggests that between two given cultures there may be a boundary, and in its peripheries we could find figures who act as “translators” between both communities, introducing the thoughts of one society in the “nucleus” of the other, and vice versa (*La Semiosfera I* 27-28).

The French scholar Richard Marienstras provides an outline of the main aspects in certain works by Shakespeare, who, like other early modern authors, seems to have a particular predilection for settings where the boundaries become blurred and different types of Others interact. These settings, on the other hand, occasionally create a situation where the national, “racial,” gendered or religious stranger is less damaging than the Self. As Marienstras argues,

Titus Andronicus, who offers Saturninus and Tamora a cannibal meal, turns out to be more wild in his vengeance than the Goths in theirs. The “civilisation” of Rome is under less threat from an invasion than from an ill-chosen monarch’s marriage to a foreign woman. Othello is unable to resist the solicitations of Iago but the real evil lies at the heart of the city, not in the heart of the Moor of Venice. Caliban, the offspring of a witch and an incubus, acts in conformity with his ineducable nature. But what of Sebastian and Antonio, ready to kill for power, who are the degenerate product of civilisation? In every case, the near is more dangerous than the far. Internal corruption ... shatters the fabric of the social body and reveals itself at the heart of what had been considered as the highest virtue. (6)

The interaction among strangers is explored in various ways in the works of Continental, and especially English, writers, who were often also active pamphleteers in their campaigns against national and religious (Catholic) Others. This attitude could be compared with (relatively) more open-minded communities, such as Italy or Spain, where the focus of

rejection might be directed towards the political enemies of the nation, but, perhaps, these cosmopolitan communities were not so aggressive with “racial” or social strangers.¹

Man in the centre. Individuality and the “malcontent”

While in Classical drama the fate of mankind was determined “from without and from above,” the Elizabethan tragic hero was able, to a certain extent, to shape his own destiny: “[t]he dissolution of medieval Christianity, running its course through a series of great crises, brings out a dynamic need for self-orientation, a will to trace the secret forces of life” (Auerbach, *Mimesis* 318, 323-24). Indeed, as Jonathan Dollimore reminds us in *Radical Tragedy. Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (1984), during the early modern period, “God was in trouble,” being for the first time consistently exposed to increasing scepticism and interrogation (lix). However, unexpectedly, this “decentring of God” provoked the “decentring of man,” since, even if

¹ For instance, Erich Auerbach, in *Mimesis. The Representation of Reality* (1953), argues that the Spanish literary discourses of the *Siglo de Oro* were not limited to the life of nobles or kings; it included people of any social group and sex, albeit focusing on their fellows nationals:

the Spanish national pride makes it possible for every Spaniard to be treated in the elevated style, not merely the Spaniard of noble descent; for the motif of woman’s honor, which is so important and actually central in Spanish literature, occasions tragic complications even among peasants, and in this way popular dramas of a tragic character come into existence, as for example Lope de Vega’s *Fuente Ovejuna* or Calderón’s *El Alcalde de Zalamea*. In this sense Spanish realism is more decidedly popular, more filled with the life of the people ... While in the majority of the countries of Europe, especially in France, absolutism silenced the people so that its voice was hardly heard for two centuries. (331)

the legitimacy of a “divine law” imposed in the Middle Ages was questioned, its place was soon occupied by a social law (lix, lxi). The Christian idea that “all men are equal before God” could now be compared to the notion that “all men are equal before the law;” indeed, since both concepts imply universality, both inevitably reject individuality.

The rejection of these social perceptions could produce a conflict between hero/ine and an unruly “malcontent” in literature. The latter is an antagonistic figure that owes its name in English to the Italian term for “discontented” or “dissatisfied,” and whose socially unaccepted conduct stands in clear opposition with the accepted behaviour of the hero/ine, creating a tense situation and provoking a confrontation between the two characters.

In literature, the representation of human qualities (especially the negative ones) was occasionally embodied by a character whose main feature was the one suggested by his or her own name (i.e. Avarice, Greed, Lust, Usury, etc), and whose role was to set an example for the audience. This was especially true of medieval English drama such as Morality plays; however, as Anthony Barthelemy suggests, in early modern theatre we often encounter malevolent or Vice-like characters who are associated with Others such as “racial” or political strangers (72-75).

The malcontents show a tendency to favour their own individuality, placing it before the requirements of society or even family. This typically melancholic Elizabethan or Jacobean anti-hero/ine acts as the hero/ine’s counterpart, a figure that enhances the socially accepted conduct of the latter. Such immoral character is typically a national, social, gendered, domestic, “racial” or religious Other, who is normally rejected by society. However, in literature we may find a simultaneous (often temporary) integration or understanding of the conduct of these malcontents, who, just

like other characters in drama, are not wholly natural individuals, since their subjectivity is shaped by their birth, social situation, or even predetermined by fate or “prehistory” (Auerbach, *Mimesis* 320).

These early modern anti-heroes/ines may be, among others, national, “racial” or religious strangers such as Thomas Dekker’s Eleazar in *Lust’s Dominion*, whose destructive personality was possibly triggered because his father, the King of Fez, was killed by the King of Spain, who eventually adopted Eleazar as an infant; or Shakespeare’s Othello, affected by his previous condition of “ignorant,” probably sub-Saharan “slave,” who would eventually “throw a pearl away” (*Othello* 5.2.343). Other anti-Heroes/ines could be gendered or domestic strangers, such as the adulterous Anne Frankford in Thomas Heywood’s *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (first acted in 1603), whose harmful behaviour might be explained because she was excessively restrained by society and the legal obligations or duties intrinsic to her social rank (Barker and Hinds, eds. 159); or the Goth Queen Tamora, in Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1593), a simultaneously national, gendered, and, perhaps, even “racial” Other, but whose criminal acts are partly justified by the savage treatment of his son by the Romans. Finally, domestic Others such as renegades or bastards could be treated in a similar way. A critique to the morally unrestrained life in the court, John Marston’s *The Malcontent* (1604), for instance, is a further example of how the figure of the malcontent is often a previously unjustly treated person associated with foreign cultures and with questions of illegitimacy, vengeance and individuality, among others.

The dramatic construction of ideology and otherness: “mimesis” and the influence of literature in society

In the onset of the early modern period, for the first time in England, theatres were increasingly becoming professionalized activities. According to Kathleen E. McLuskie, in *Dekker and Heywood. Professional Dramatists* (1994), authors such as Thomas Dekker and Thomas Heywood believed that drama was suitable for “both princes and ‘any bold English man’,” a statement that may betray their effort to please and entertain the widest potential audience (7). Nevertheless, in his *Apology for Actors* (1612), Heywood rejected the mere association of theatre with profit-making, emphasising the important “didactic function of drama” and its role in “furthering agreed moral and political aims” (McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood* 6):

Art thou inclined to lust? behold the falles of the Tarquins,
in the rape of Lucrecea: the gucrdon of luxury in the death
of Sardanapalus: Appius destroyed in the rauishing of
Virginia, and the destruction of Troy in the lust of Helena.
Art thou proud? our Scene presents thee with the fall of
Phaeton, Narcissus pining in the loue of his shadow,
ambitious Hamon, now calling himselfe a God, and by and
by thrust headlong among the Diuels. We present men with

the ugliness of their vices, to make them the more to abhorre them (Heywood n. pag.)¹

Indeed, any given discourse mirrors the events taking place in the world surrounding it. However, discourses are not simply “mimetic,”² that is, they do not simply and thoroughly imitate reality; they are “representational”: what is represented is not an objective picture of the world, but rather the author’s subjective point of view and interpretation of reality; an aspect that makes its didactic mission a contingent one.³ Moreover, even if discourses are shaped by their authors’ understanding of the world, this is not something external to them; they are not separated from reality. What we perceive in a given discourse is the manifestation of the authors’ (un)conscious thoughts:⁴ their interests and anxieties, and the influence of a world that, from the authors’ perspective, adopts the shape of their concerns:

the presentation, explicit though it be, is entirely subjective, for what is set before us is not ... objective reality, but ... a

¹ These principles could be associated to Lope de Vega’s prescriptions in his poetic essay *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (New Art of Writing *Comedias* in Our Time, 1609), where the dramatist suggests that drama should talk about “honour” because it is essential for society being a crucial topic both for nobles and poor (López-Peláez, *Honourable Murderers* 12-13).

² The Greek term *mimesis*, which could be translated as “imitation” or “mimicry,” was already explored by Aristotle in his *Poetics* (c. 335 BC), who probably used the term mainly in terms of “representation” (Kenny, Introduction xvi).

³ See Foucault, *The Order of Things* 4.

⁴ These concepts are borrowed from the Freudian notions of “conscious,” “preconscious” and “unconscious” thoughts, described in Sigmund Freud’s *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), 605-15.

subjective image, as it exists in the mind of the speaker, who himself, however, belongs to the circle. (Auerbach 27)

At the same time, just like contemporary mass media, early modern discourses could not only reflect the author's perceptions and the situations or social attitudes of the period, but, to some extent, they could even further or support the consolidation of a given ideology; such manipulation could be either conscious or unconscious.

In a discussion on Machiavelli and Thomas More, Stephen Greenblatt analyses the need for dissembling and manipulating present in human discourses, and tries to discover its causes. He argues that for Machiavelli manipulation is a survival technique, and that "men are so simple and so ready to obey present necessities, that one who deceives will always find those who allow themselves to be deceived" (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 15). More, in addition, asserts that "conventions serve no evident human purpose, not even deceit, yet king and bishop cannot live without them" and that such "subtle maneuver, and partial reform might well contribute to a rational amelioration of social life and a comfortable position" (15).

It can be argued that the same process of (un)conscious manipulation may be applied to the descriptions of the different types of Others, which could be negatively or positively portrayed and/or interpreted depending on the social interests of different historical stages. Among the literary and non-literary discourses dealing with alterity, and which could have participated in the formation of early modern opinions on national, gendered, "racial" or religious strangers, among others, drama may be considered to have produced a significant impression on the Western consciousness. Due to the presence in society of foreigners,

unruly women, bastards, and corrupt religious Others, plays such as George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (c. 1588) or Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600) provide an interesting outlook on the contemporary attitudes towards alterity. Other works, such as *All's Lost by Lust* (staged in 1619) by William Rowley and *A Game at Chess* (1624) by Thomas Middleton, among others, offer a similar setting where different types of strangers interact.

At the same time, just like the "leveling power of Death," which reduces the king "to the same state as the poorest beggar," literary discourses could be used to smooth differences among social groups (Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 27). Indeed, even if playwrights were probably (to some extent) compelled to hide any allusion to dissidence (either to please their audience or to avoid censorship), literature could be regarded as a means to convey a given ideological position; to challenge the legitimacy of the accepted moral principles; or even to defy the ruling members of society, which could be identified by early modern audiences with the protagonists of such discourses (Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy* 22-23). It may be argued that the drama of the period could be used to convey a particular ideology, presenting occurrences of dissidence where, for instance, the foreign Other serves as an instrument to display a desirable subversive conduct, or an attack to opulence. The side effects of such descriptions are that these might have influenced, in turn, the variable attitudes towards the Others whose unruly and immoral behaviour was used to cause the damage.

Theatre, thus, could be a particularly dangerous medium to expose the gaps and contradictions of the socio-political structure of a given community (Matar, *Islam in Britain* 20). Indeed, even if a dramatic work presented a collapse and a final restoration of the social order, in other

words, if subversion was eventually contained, the lapse of time where anarchy was on stage could be used to give to the audience a glimpse of political insubordination. Perhaps, to escape censorship or simply to avoid complications, dissidence was strategically demonised and condemned, eventually favouring the re-establishment of social stability, but, the subverting aspects could be the actual message for the audience (Auerbach, *Mimesis* 324).

In a possible attempt to convey allusions to dissidence, any desirably subversive or liberal attitude (social or commercial) was often initiated and performed, not by a Protestant English, but by Others, – such as national, “racial” or religious strangers, rebellious women, bastards, or renegades, among others (D’Amico 2-3). This tendency could reflect not only the anxieties about influence, invasion or permeation, but also the aversion felt towards the condition, culture, or religion of these Others. Such fears, possibly mingled with a conscious or unconscious rejection of an excessively strict morality, and seem to produce, thus, the image of a cruel, rebellious, but, at the same time, appealingly unrestrained stranger, corrupting the State and the Church.

In *Mimesis. The Representation of Reality* (1953), Erich Auerbach proposes that authors like Shakespeare, for instance, did not openly criticise society, but that, on occasions, they did do so in a subtle way (325). He suggests that even if dramatists like Shakespeare did not openly challenge class distinctions, giving the impression that they “had no views of social revolutionary import,” characters were often given voice to protest (325). Auerbach illustrates this estimation with Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice* (written around 1596), where the Jewish “pariah” Shylock claims that his behaviour, with his infamous request of Antonio’s

pound of flesh, is not more barbarous than that of the Christian, white, Venetians, who consent slavery:

Let your slaves live as you live; give them the same food and quarters; marry them to your children! You say your slaves are your property? Very well, just so do I answer you: this pound of flesh is mine, I bought it. (325)

3. Otherness in early modern England. Ambivalent attitudes and historically changing relationships

In early modern European discourses, the ambivalent representations of Others such as national, “racial,” religious, gendered or social strangers, may provide a significant perspective on Western consciousness. For instance, Muslims or Moors could be portrayed as powerful and wise, or cruel and greedy, and women as frail and virtuous, or lascivious and malicious, betraying a characteristic changing mood in contemporary discussions. Specifically, the drama of the period could be an influential vehicle to (re)produce the social conditions and the anxieties of occidental communities not only increasingly preoccupied with militarily and economically powerful outsiders such as the Turks, but also with the presence of gendered or domestic strangers, such as women, renegades or bastards.

An association seems to take place between the foreign and the domestic, and where an inevitable necessity for contact merged with the estrangement of such individuals, in a possible attempt to define and enhance a white, male, Western, Christian distinctiveness. The increasing presence of foreign and domestic uncanny multitudes in early modern works, is particularly representative of this ideological construction, which seems to initiate its consolidation, adopting a specific shape in Western societies.¹

¹ Here I use the Freudian term “uncanny,” which should not be employed in general terms as a synonym of “strange.” It may be defined as an unhomely and savage force that resides at the heart of something that is homely and ordered; that is, the otherness or

It should be noted, however, that the descriptions of Others, such as foreign strangers, were not always negative: in the case of England, a feeling of awe or envy, a desire for integration of, or alliance with, foreigners, or the appeal felt towards exotic customs, occasionally mingled with the broad feeling of rejection and exclusion (Hall, *Things of Darkness* 59-60; Matar, *Islam in Britain* 15). Gendered Others such as women, for instance, could be considered desired and alluring, but simultaneously menacing, individuals who may threaten the androcentric order. Similarly, domestic strangers such as the renegades, might be inspiring, on account of the reported economic and social success of some of these Others, but also menacing, since they could betray their native land, introducing foreign customs or prompting other fellows nationals to act in the same way.

Context-dependent otherness: defining the Human

“White,” “male,” “Western” and “Christian” are, and have been, usually considered the terms that better define the human in the Western world. The economic and political prominence of the West, which initiated its consolidation during the early modern period, established the premises of what would be considered “marked” or “unmarked” features of humanity. That is to say, the (rejected) Other is “marked” by physical or conceptual features which make him or her different from the Self, which is considered “unmarked” (Brekhus 34-35; López-Peláez, ““Race”” 38). For

“unknown” found within the Self or “known.” This concept could be associated with the notion of “enemy within,” explored, among others, by Richard Marienstrass, in his seminal work *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World* (1981).

instance, in early modern discourses, “fairness” was often used as synonym of “whiteness” and associated with beauty, virtue and unmarkedness; while, as we will discuss later, blackness was occasionally equated with deformity and bestiality as well as with religious and national Otherness.

One of the most important notions used to define the human in the West, present in Classical and (disturbingly) in contemporary discourses, is the regional humoral theory, or, as it has been defined by Mary Floyd-Wilson in *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (2003), the “geohumoral” theory. Such phenomenon, increasingly studied since 1941, when Zera Silver Fink published the article “Milton and the Theory of Climatic Theory,” suggests that the West has categorised the physical and temperamental features of human beings according to the environment of their community of origin. For instance, they are considered to be influenced by climate, food or the customs of their geographic region (Floyd-Wilson 2-4).

However, early modern English discourses show a series of contradictions which seem to attempt a conciliation of opposed geohumoral theories: the Classical and the early modern (3-4). Perhaps, the aim of such discourses was to reconsider the relatively marginal situation of England, picturing it in a more central position, and, as a result, displacing other (Southern and Central) European communities, conceptually blending them with those of the remotest areas of the known world (3-4). Indeed, early modern texts suggest a struggle of the English writer to secure and correct the image of the North European, which, from the Classical perspective of the Mediterranean was occasionally associated with an allegedly extreme (and equally “savage”) counterpart: the sub-Saharan African (4-5).

These discourses were notably influenced by the Greek physician Hippocrates (460-377? BC), who believed that moods, emotions and behaviours depended on body fluids, or “humors”: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. In his work *On Airs, Waters, Places* (c. 400 BC) he asserted that:

[W]ith regard to the pusillanimity and cowardice of the inhabitants, the principal reason the Asiatics are more unwarlike and of gentler disposition than the Europeans is, the nature of the seasons, which do not undergo any great changes either to heat or cold, or the like; ... It is changes of all kinds which arouse understanding of mankind, and do not allow them to get into a torpid condition. For these reasons, it appears to me, the Asiatic race is feeble, and further, owing to their laws;

...

[T]he inhabitants of Europe [are] more courageous than those of Asia; for a climate which is always the same induces indolence, but a changeable climate, laborious exertions both of body and mind.

...

[I]n general, you will find the forms and dispositions of mankind to correspond with the nature of the country. (Loomba and Burton, eds. 42-43)

Hippocrates’ ideas were furthered, among others, by another Greek physician, Galen of Pergamum (129 - c. 216), in *De temperamentis*, where he categorised the four human humours or temperaments as

“melancholic,” “sanguine,” “choleric,” and “phlegmatic,” linking them to moods and moral traits; and by the Persian philosopher Avicenna (980-1037) in his book *The Canon of Medicine*. However, these discourses were still firmly defended during the early modern period by Jean Bodin, Juan Huarte, Robert Burton, and Thomas Browne, among others. Robert Burton (1577-1640), for instance, in *The anatomy of melancholy* (1621) states that:

The clime changes not so much customs, manners, wits (as Aristotle, ... Plato, [and] Bodin, hath proved at large) as constitutions of their bodies, and temperature itself. In all particular provinces we see it confirmed by experience, as the air is, so are the inhabitants, dull, heavy, witty, subtle, neat, cleanly, clownish, sick, and sound.

...

[H]ot and southern countries are prone to lust, and far more incontinent than those that live in the north, as Bodin discourseth at large ..., so are Turks, Greeks, Spaniards, Italians, even all that latitude; (Loomba and Burton, eds. 201-03)

However, not only foreigners were associated with geohumoral theories; domestic strangers, such as women, were treated in a similar manner. In *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (1983), Ian Maclean explained that for Aristotle women were “cold and moist” and men were “hotter,” which was considered a sign of “perfection,” and hence, suggesting that the former was an “imperfect” creature (30-31). By

1600 such opinions about women were still present and were used to assign a series of features to these gendered Others, such as timidity or fragility, and hence, to justify, for instance, their need to lead a domestic existence in order to avoid anxiety (57).

Nevertheless, as discussed earlier, it may be argued that the different types of Others, are described according to a variety of situations such as the socio-economic and political interests of a particular community, or the intercultural exchange among societies. These attitudes may be relevant in order to figure the alleged “degree of otherness” of the diverse varieties of strangers that could be deemed to be interrelated among themselves. Indeed, the treatment of alterity depended on the considerations on nationality, “race,” religion or gender, among other aspects, or a combination of two or more of these features; all of them present in works such as George Peele’s *The Battle of Alcazar* (c. 1588), Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion* (c. 1600), or *All’s Lost by Lust* (first acted in 1619) by William Rowley. These social groups, belonging to different spheres, were usually considered to possess recognisable features, which justified their inclusion in each group; however, this definition is not so straightforward.

First, otherness is not merely a tangible phenomenon or quality present in the physical world, such as the negritude of “racial” Others, or “femininity” in gendered Others; rather, it is the observer’s interpretation of reality which decides “unmarkedness” from “markedness.” For instance, white national Others, can be considered black or tawny in spite of the colour of their skin; or religious Others can be perceived as national aliens in a Western community, even if they are, for instance, white nationals, such as the Moriscos in Spain or the Jews in European societies.

Second, as mentioned before, an individual can present features associated with two or more categories of otherness, which could be the case, for instance, of black, Muslim women. In fact, we believe that even if we may perceive that nowadays and during the early modern period the main object of contempt in the West was complexion (or “race”), the most rejected feature could be, in fact, that of religious or national/political otherness. That is, for instance, what seems to be despised when black individuals are introduced in a white community could be their potential political or religious alterity, rather than negritude itself. If, after the first impression, they were recognized as national or religious peers (and their accent or behaviour confirm that), black Others would be probably treated better than if they had a different nationality or religion.

Finally, it is also important to note that reality in general is “mythologized.” Different types of strangers, in fact, could be associated with each other on account of the mythologies ascribed to them: women, for instance, who have been traditionally considered physically and emotionally weak, were allegedly an easy prey for black Others, considered sexually unrestrained and bestial.¹

¹ Further reading concerning the mythologization of gendered and “racial” strangers include, among others, Anne Fausto-Sterling’s *Myths of Gender. Biological Theories about Women and Men* (1985); Celia R. Daileader’s *Racism, Misogyny and the Othello Myth* (2005); Jeanne Roberts’s *The Shakespearean Wild* (1994); Jacques Derrida’s *The Beast and the Sovereign*. (2 vols. 2011); Mikhail Bakhtin’s *Rabelais and His World* (1965); and David Dabydeen’s edition *The Black Presence in English Literature* (1985).

Varieties of Others: from brothers to Others¹**a. National or cultural Others: the political enemies of the nation**

In the Western world, since antiquity, the influence of the customs of national or political Others or the integration of foreigners in one's own culture, while appealing on the one hand, would probably be seen as provoking a difficult social situation. In fact, this presence could incite the local population to request the privileges conferred to these cultural Others in their native lands, inspiring subversive acts against the social order or accepted principles, and, therefore, potentially destabilizing the structure of society (Burton, *Traffic* 102-04).

In early modern English discourses, otherness could be represented by national strangers such as Spaniards, Italians, Portuguese or Turks, among others. These individuals were typically pictured negatively, but, occasionally, they could be depicted in a sympathetic way. The conspicuous presence in the drama of the period of Spanish, Italian or Turkish characters may reveal how the prominence of these societies was perceived by other European communities. Luciano García's analysis of early modern primary dramatic texts in English (1500-1660) identifies, for instance, 81 entries (or plays) where the term "Moor" and "Moorish" appears; the epithet "French" is mentioned in 319 plays; "Spanish" and "Spaniard" appear in 291 entries and "Italian", in 186; "Dutch(man)" in

¹ The pun "brothers and others" is Anthony Parr's, and he employs it in his edition of *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (1995), which includes a critical edition of *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers* (c. 1607) by John Day, William Rowley and George Wilkins (7).

184 (and “Holander” in 22) plays; “German” or “Almain” in 120 works; and finally, “Turk” or “Turkish” in 215 entries (27).¹

The relatively inferior economic situation and likely impressionability of a society when facing competitive foreigners, may explain the anxieties about the coexisting Mediterranean populations and their mutual relationship. Richard Marienstras explains that the English perception of the different political or national Others is clearly exemplified in Sir Edward Coke’s *The Reports of Sir Edward Coke in Thirteen Parts* (1600-59), where he provides a classification of different types of foreigners:

friendly foreigners, temporary enemies, enemies in possession of safe-conducts and perpetual enemies. The first three categories imply differences only of degree, the last a difference of nature. The perpetual enemies were Jews, Turks, heretics and pagans. They belonged not to the natural order but alongside the devil himself. (9)

Hence, we find individuals “invested with all the liberties granted to those who bear allegiance to the king” and “perpetual enemies,” usually considered individuals who lived in faraway lands, “beyond the seas, in fabled or only recently discovered lands” (9-10, 105). However,

¹ García explains that the references to these communities “is well above peripheral European nationalities at the time such as ‘Dane’ (49), ‘Swede’/‘Swedish’ (3), ‘Russian’/‘Mosco(vit)’ (37), or ‘Pole/Polish’ (5),” and comes to the conclusion that “the degree of presence of a national term in all kinds of texts may well be conditioned ... by the international political weight of the country in question and its advancement in the process of national construction (this is the case for ‘French’, ‘Spanish’, or ‘Turk’)” (27).

Marienstrass explains that these enemies could be also immoral traitors hidden within society. This is the case of Iago in Shakespeare's *Othello* (1603), while even if Othello eventually acts as an "unnatural being" and becomes a "perpetual enemy," this only happens because Iago makes him play that role (9).

Francis Bacon, in *An Advertisement Touching a Holy War* (published in 1629) suggests that communities such as those who commit human sacrifice are condemned "by the law of nature and nations, or by the immediate commandment of God" (10, 71). For this reason, he argues, "there needs no intimation or denunciation of war; there needs no request from the nation grieved: but all these formalities the law of nature supplies" (10, 35); that is, there is no need to justify a potential extermination of such individuals.

From an English perspective, in works such as *The Battle of Alcazar*, *Lust's Dominion*, *Titus Andronicus*, or *Othello* all the characters are national Others; however, if we use Coke's classification we may recognise two main types of foreigners. On the one hand, the Spaniards, Italians, French or Portuguese could be considered "temporary enemies," since, in spite of their characteristic antagonism with England, they were, nonetheless, white Christians, and might be considered allies at some point. On the other hand, even if Moors, such as the noble Othello or Eleazar, are initially accepted in European societies as "friendly foreigners," their actual nature of "perpetual enemies" is revealed once their "unnatural" condition is discovered. Like the inhabitants of the nations described by Bacon, their "nature" and their condition of "heathens" or "Devil's worshippers," hinted, for instance, when Eleazar is described as "a Moore, a Devill" (1.1.151), are often blatantly exposed in the last acts, where, for example, Othello kills Desdemona or Eleazar

openly confesses that he owns a book that was “made in hell” (5.3.66). The Moor is classified as a “perpetual enemy,” belonging to Lucifer’s unnatural kingdom, and hence, he does not fit into the “natural” sphere of God and could be executed without contemplation.

This broad classification may be useful in the analysis of the complex categorization of national or political Others in Western societies; however, a detailed scrutiny should be considered.

European Others

The English attitudes towards European foreigners varied considerably depending on the community under scrutiny. The Mediterranean or Southern European “permissiveness” or tolerance of national strangers, for instance, was probably perceived by other relatively marginal European societies, such as England, as a source of anxiety, but also of fascination.

Among the European national Others, Spain, as the chief competitor of England, is typically described negatively, particularly after the defeat of the Armada in 1588; while Portugal was just as threatening as Spain, especially considering the two military giant’s struggles in the New World. Julián Juderías, in *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica* (1914), was among the first critics to speak about a Black Legend of Spain, that is, a sentiment of hostility against the Iberian or Hispanic communities beginning in Europe, during the late medieval or early modern periods. This sentiment, probably fostered by the unprecedented Spanish political and economic success during its Golden Age, led to a grudging outbreak of anti-Iberian propaganda. Walter D. Mignolo concludes that this ideology is still present nowadays because, first, the English community struggled to separate Christianity from the Muslim spheres, and then, it

struggled to disengage from the Catholic or Mediterranean societies (313). This separation was justified, for instance, for the “Moorish blood” present in the Catholic Spanish lineage and for their reprehensible deeds in the New World, a behaviour that, on the other hand, was imitated by other European communities such as England (313).

In spite of the generalised rejection, however, a sentiment of envy and admiration betrays the overall antagonism towards these and other powerful Mediterranean communities. In fact, during the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries, Spain was probably the most powerful community in Europe and, perhaps, in the world, having established “the empire on which the sun never sets,” whose colonies and controlled territories included nowadays’ Portugal, Central America, the Netherlands, the East Indies, parts of Italy, South and North America, and small areas in France, Africa and Asia. Consequently, this and other European and extra-European communities such as the Ottoman Empire were feared and admired in the whole world by societies such as the English, whose “keen interest in the Spanish and Ottoman empires came in part out of an envy that produced both emulation and disavowal” (Burton, “The Shah’s Two Ambassadors” 27).

Plays such as Thomas Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1587) exemplify the presence in Elizabethan England of discourses where Spain and Portugal are resentfully described as centres for multicultural contact and riches.¹ The play was probably an influential work in early modern discourses, inspiring, among others, Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion*.

¹ Thomas Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1587) is also considered one of the first instances of revenge tragedy in England.

Among other works with Spanish characters, themes or settings, we should mention John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Spanish Curate* (1622), the play by William Rowley, *All's Lost by Lust* (first acted in 1619), dealing with the Islamic Umayyad Caliphate's invasion and subsequent conquest of Hispania in 711, and where the Moorish forces defeated Roderick, the last Visigothic king of Spain. Thomas Dekker's predilection for, and criticism of, Spanish settings can be noticed in his plays *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600) and *Match Me in London* (c. 1611), which, despite the title of the latter, are set in the "lecherous" Spanish court; his tragicomedy *The Noble Spanish Soldier* (pub. 1634), which describes a Spanish-Italian conflict taking place in the court of Spain; and *The Spanish Gypsy* (1623), which Dekker wrote in collaboration with John Ford, Thomas Middleton and William Rowley.

Similarly, in 1600 Italy, modern and fiercely competitive city-states such as the Duchy of Florence and the Republic of Venice were typically associated with the lust and the Machiavellianism of the greedy and treacherous merchant and with lack of moral rectitude. These societies, cosmopolitan, mercantile, open, and, in the case of Venice, non-monarchic, were probably regarded as damaging examples that represented the counter-image of England. Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1596) and *Othello* (1603), or Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (perf. c. 1605-06) are popular examples of how England perceived the Venetian community. Other Italian settings are presented in Thomas Middleton's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (first acted in 1606; published in 1607), John Webster's *The White Devil* (1612), and Philip Massinger's *The Duke of Milan* (1621-22). Italian topics are also explored both in Dekker's prose and in his dramatic production, such as *The Honest Whore, Part 1* (1604), written with Middleton, describing the Italian Duchy of Milan (at the time,

belonging to Habsburg Spain); *The Noble Spanish Soldier* (pub. 1634), which describes Florentine characters in the Spanish court; and the anti-Catholic pamphlet *The double PP. A papist im armes* (1606), where he criticises Italians and other Catholic communities.

A further menace in the South was posed by France, which, in a lesser degree, was also active in the colonial enterprises of the New World, especially after 1605. With the eleventh-century Norman Conquest of England, led by Duke William of Normandy, the invator became the first Norman King of England in 1066, holding his possessions in the Duchy of Normandy (France).¹ However, in the first half of the fourteenth century the Kingdoms of England and France fought for the French throne initiating the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), which would be a further source of hostilities between the two communities even in later stages. Examples of the antagonism with France are present, among others, in Christopher Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* (c. 1592), about the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Paris, in 1572, where the Catholics initiated a bloody persecution of the Huguenots (French Calvinist Protestants).

Even neighbouring communities, such as the Irish, the Scottish, the Germans, the Flemish and other Northern or Central Europeans were typically treated as national Others in early modern English discourses. Particularly unpleasant were the descriptions of the Scottish and, especially, the Irish, who were considered descendants of the Scythians, the feared and admired nomadic communities of the ancient world, who,

¹ Since William of Normandy occupied England he became better known as "William the Conqueror." He was also known as "William the Bastard" because he was the illegitimate son of Robert I, Duke of Normandy.

coming from the area of today's Iran, eventually settled in part of Europe and Asia. This attitude is corroborated, among others, by William Camden (1551-1623), in his *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizabetha* ("Annals of the Affairs of England and Ireland During the Reign of Elizabeth"), written between 1607 and 1617, and by Edmund Spenser (1552-1599), who, in *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1633), linked Irish and Scottish to other communities such as Spain or Africa:

[T]he Scythians ... at such time as the northern nations overflowed all Christendom came down to the seacoast ... and getting intelligence of this country of Ireland ... passed thither, and arrived in the north part thereof, which is now called Ulster; which first inhabiting, and afterwards stretching themselves forth into the land, as their numbers increased, named it all of themselves Scuttenland, which more briefly is called Scutland, or Scotland.

...

Surely very much, for Scotland and Ireland are all one and the same. ... After this people thus planted in the north or before, ... another nation, coming out of Spain, arrived in the west part of Ireland, and finding it waste, or weakly inhabited, possessed it; who whether they were native Spaniards, or Gauls or Africans, or Goths, or some other of those northern nations which did overspread all Christendom, it is impossible to affirm. (Loomba and Burton, eds. 221)

While such communities were considered inferior when compared to the Mediterranean powers, less competitive European communities, such as England, had to struggle with national Others such as the Portuguese, Spaniards or French to open a breach in their monopoly of the Mediterranean markets. Moreover, it is important to stress the transcendence acquired by the figures of the North African, the Levantine and the Southern European Others and the connection of these groups made by external observers.

As already suggested by Leslie A. Fiedler, in his seminal work *The Stranger in Shakespeare* (1972), the fluctuations between acceptance and rejection that characterise the descriptions of these subjects seem to change according to the relationships among communities and their economic interests (43-44). Eventually, this situation would initiate the formation of a characteristic (negative) image associated with them and the creation of a profile representing and often identifying the individuals belonging to different European and extra-European cultures. This would be used from this period to demean, for instance, Southern European societies, also because of their liminal position within the Continent, motivating, for instance, the inception of the Black Legend of Spain, which would be increasingly considered as Europe's (exotic) Other (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 7).¹ Spain has been ever since envisioned among the most exotic communities within Europe.

Finally, we should mention that whereas the Jews cannot be intrinsically considered national, European strangers or extra-European Others, according to Jacques Le Goff, in *Your Money or Your Life*.

¹ See Julián Juderías's *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica* (1914).

Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages (1986), from the Middle Ages, even if within Christianity Jews were not considered foreigners, they might be considered as such since they associated their enemies (in general) to foreigners (22). During the early modern period, Jews were associated with a long list of bizarre and irrational stereotypes, being typically depicted as poisoners of wells, ritual murderers, or, in the case of male Jews, characterized by their alleged womanlike qualities (Shapiro 108). However, their position in the early modern world can be better analysed with that of other religious strangers, as we will see in brief.

North Africa, the Levant and Asia

North Africa (part of modern-day Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya), both Arab and Berber, was typically called Barbaria or Barbary by early modern Europeans. From the sixteenth century, the Barbary States were independent and powerful communities whose neighbours were the potentially menacing Spanish Habsburg and Ottoman Empires in the north-west and north-east of the Mediterranean respectively. From the English perspective, we may find mixed feelings towards these communities, and while there are instances of temporary friendship or negotiation, such as those with Ahmed el-Mansour, the overall attitudes towards the Moors of the Barbary Coast were typically negative.

As revealed by the unprecedented production of literary and non-literary discourses concerning the people of Barbary, England and Continental Europe experienced a growing contact with these communities. George Peele, in *The Battle of Alcazar* (c. 1588), was probably a pioneer, introducing in his play a setting where several European communities interact with the extra-European Moors. Here the

King of Portugal is depicted as a naïve but brave monarch and Abdelmelec (or Muly Molocco), the rightful King of Morocco, is treated with relative understanding and admiration in his fight against a local usurper of the throne. In fact, the generalised contempt of the play is focused towards the monarchy of Spain and its “double face” (3.1.50).

This situation of connection among national Others can also be observed in plays such as Robert Greene’s *Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (1588), the anonymous *Captain Thomas Stukeley* (1596), Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion* (c. 1600), Thomas Middleton’s *A Game at Chess* (1624), Thomas Heywood’s *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts 1 and 2* (c. 1600 and c. 1630), or William Rowley’s *All’s Lost by Lust* (first acted in 1619). Similarly, Robert Greene’s *Orlando Furioso* (1589) goes even further, including characters from Europe, Africa and the New World.

A similarly admired and feared Moorish community was that of the Turks. The Ottoman Empire, founded in Anatolia in 1299 (and not completely dissolved until 1922), was one of the most powerful communities in the world during the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. During this period, it occupied an area that nowadays would include most of North Africa (from Algeria to Egypt); most of the Arabian Peninsula; Israel, Syria, and Iraq; and eastern European communities roughly comprising Greece, Serbia, Bosnia, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine, and finally almost reaching Vienna (Faroqhi 3).

Given this premise, it is easy to assume that Ottoman topics and figures, including those of the bloodthirsty troops of the Jannissaries or the “tyrannical” Sultan (or “Great Turk”), were source of both anxiety and awe for those societies envisioning with horror its inexorable advance in Europe and Africa. Indeed, the Turkish community was one of the most

mentioned societies in early modern discourses, and it is explored, for instance, in Richard Knolles's chronicle *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603); the poem by James I of England, *Lepanto* (published in 1691); and in plays such as Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (c. 1589-90); *Soliman and Perseda* (c. 1588-89), attributed to Thomas Kyd; Robert Greene's *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks* (published in 1594); Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1612); Thomas Gaffe's *The Courageous Turk* (1618) and *The Raging Turk* (1618); John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Knight of Malta* (1618); and Massinger's *The Renegado* (1624).

Finally, Persian and Asian communities, such as the Safavid Empire (1502-1736), the Mughal Empire (1526-1857), the Tsardom of Russia (1547-1721), or the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), were similarly considered as the home of menacing national or political Others, which could be occasionally described in friendly terms because of the European interests in a possible alliance against the Ottoman Empire. Especial attention was drawn by the Persian or Iranian dynasty ruling during the Safavid Empire, which extended its dominion in a large area in the Near East (which today would include Iran, Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Caucasus, most of Iraq, and parts of Pakistan, Syria, Turkey, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan). Hence, it posed a menace in the East that resembled, in a lesser degree, that of the Ottomans.

Like other Moorish communities, however, Persia was occasionally pictured in a positive manner in Europe. Indeed, England considered Persia a potential business and military partner planning several (mostly failed) alliances with this community (López-Peláez, "Strangers at Home" 34). Such dealings are narrated in the numerous accounts about the adventures of the three brothers Thomas, Anthony and Robert Shirley and

their dealings in Persia, Turkey, Morocco, Italy, and Spain, which circulated in Europe between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. An example of their influence in England is the play by John Day, George Wilkins and William Rowley, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607), where the authors, apparently commissioned by the Sherley family, describe a brutal Ottoman Other alongside a reasonably acceptable (for early modern Christian standards) Muslim Persia (33-34). Certainly, both Eastern communities are unfavourably compared to the benevolent Christian England, and the brothers are perceived as renegades, who run their businesses with foreign enemies, but, the brothers and their Persian partners are also considered admirable and wealthy entrepreneurs (33-34).

Finally, a further instance of the ambivalent attitudes towards the Persians, is provided by the influential plays by Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great, Parts 1 and 2* (1587 and 1588), which offer one of the best examples of how this mighty community was perceived by early modern Europeans and of how this perception could influence the descriptions of other Moorish political strangers. Marlowe's work is an account, based on the life of Timur (or Tamburlaine) during the Mongol invasion (1219-1221) and the Timurid dynasty (1370-1507), which describes the life of a Scythian shepherd, who becomes the fearful conqueror of Persia, but who is also depicted as a passionate and charismatic leader, admired for his courage and power.

Sub-Saharan Africa and the New World

The New World, sub-Saharan Africa and some peripheral areas in Asia were also considered the lands of national or political Others; however, these spaces were not regarded with fear, but as attractively threatening

and exotic locations or simply as uninhabited territories. The early modern image associated with these communities is notoriously hinted, among others, in Shakespeare's *Othello* (1603), where the protagonist of the play asserts in a popular passage that when he spoke with his beloved Desdemona about the experiences of his former life as sub-Saharan slave, she was amazed by his exotic narrative:

OTHELLO: Her father loved me, oft invited me;
 Still questioned me the story of my life
 From year to year, the battles, sieges, fortunes
 That I have passed.
 ...
 And of the Cannibals that each other eat,
 The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
 Do grow beneath their shoulders. This to hear
 Would Desdemona seriously incline;
 ...She'd come again, and with a greedy ear
 Devour up my discourse.
 ...
 She loved me for the dangers I had passed (1.3.127-66)

In this passage of *Othello*, based on John Pory's 1600 translation of the Granada-born John Leo Africanus's *A Description of Africa* (1526),¹ the representation of this political stranger is associated with a wide range of foreign figures. Here the image of the noble Moor –the soldier of Venice–,

¹ See John Pory's 1600 translation in English of Leo John Africanus' *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1526).

collides with the one of the barbarous, black, sub-Saharan African. This ambivalent approach towards this Other could be the result of the changing relations with foreign communities or the flexible attitudes provoked by the shifting socio-economic situation and the political interests of England. Such attitudes might promote, in turn, the exotic image of an appealing and excitingly threatening Orient, suitable for financial adventurers.

However, we suggest, the unbalanced descriptions in drama could also respond to the uneven arrangement within the text of socially disobedient attitudes. That is, in order to challenge the accepted conventions of the period, the strategy of early modern writers could be to include subtle vacillations where elements of resistance or eccentricity are appeased by the accepted social standards. Indeed, the exotic lands of the stranger could be described as places of freedom or wealth, but we are soon reminded that they could be sites of peril or moral perdition.

Indeed, a sentiment of attraction and fear can be perceived in the descriptions of the “savage” and rich lands of sub-Saharan Africa, whose situation during the early modern period was far from comparable to the one of North Africa and the Middle East. Undoubtedly, while most societies in these areas were economically and militarily powerful, the African territory south of the Sahara Desert was composed by discrete and modest communities, notably falling outside the scope of the prevailing Mediterranean strip.

The inhabitants of this part of the continent were not only typically underrated; Europeans were actively seizing and forcing them into slavery, inaugurating one of the most shameful chapters in human history (Ungerer 17-18). As suggested by Walter Cohen, in *Drama of a Nation: Public Theatre in Renaissance England and Spain* (1985) slavery, like racism in

general, must be linked to nascent capitalism (Cohen 201, 203; Drakakis, Introduction 59-60). In fact, before slavery was banned in countries such as England in 1833, Europeans were (usually) indifferent yet aware of the slaves' deplorable situation, which can be noticed in works such as Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596). However, criticism towards slavery was often a strategy to discredit rival communities where capitalism was incipient, such as the Republic of Venice, alleging the immorality of these societies and disregarding the domestic interest and participation in the capitalistic process of "racial" repression and exclusion.¹

In spite of such insincere morality, where the sub-Saharan African is pitied and slavery is condemned, we may find several instances in drama presenting these and other "racial" strangers ambiguously: Othello, for instance, is pitied because he was "taken by the insolent foe / And sold to slavery" (1.3.136-37), but he is also associated with "Bondslaves and pagans" (1.2.99); in *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1592), Aaron is depicted as an "unhallowed slave" (5.3.14); and Eleazar, even if clearly recognised as a Moroccan, is derogatorily defined as a "A slave of Barbary" (1.1.152).

Similarly, the inhabitants of the New World (or the West Indies), the Atlantic Ocean, and of the "remotest" parts of Asia (or the East Indies) and the Pacific were not presented in better terms. While the New World was considered "no man's land," and therefore, suitable for European colonisation, the inaccessible territories of Asia were simply considered out of reach, and hence, were probably often regarded as useless and

¹ See Bartolomé de las Casas' *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552), published in English with the title *The Spanish colonie, or Briefe chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies...* (1583).

savage wastelands. Early modern works, such as William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (c. 1611), with its portrait of the savage islander, Caliban, provide us with the Western point of view on these national Others and their faraway lands. In fact, like in Shakespeare's play, early modern Europeans typically considered that they were authorized, by worldly and divine laws, to disembark and take possession of these territories and even of their people.

Finally, we should emphasize the fact that characters such as Caliban, Othello, Aaron or Eleazar as well as the actual inhabitants of Africa, the Levant, Asia or even the New World were typically called Moors; however, the definition of this term is all but straightforward. The vagueness of its signification is documented in the Oxford English Dictionary, according to which the term Moor was already used in Old English, and dates its first known usage in Middle English in c. 1393, in the poem by John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, where we find the statement: "Ther was no grace in the visage,..Sche loketh forth as doth a More," denoting the typical association of the Moorish communities with ugliness and other negative features (*OED n.*²).¹ The term Moor is defined as follows:

1. Originally: a native or inhabitant of ancient Mauretania, a region of North Africa corresponding to parts of present-day Morocco and Algeria. Later usually: a member of a Muslim people of mixed Berber and Arab descent inhabiting north-western Africa (now mainly

¹ See complete *OED* entry for "Moor" in Appendix IV.

present-day Mauritania), who in the 8th cent. conquered Spain.

2. A Muslim; *spec.* a Muslim inhabitant of India or Sri Lanka. Now *arch.* (*OED n.*²)

Such definition of the term Moor is a further example of the amalgamation of different types of strangers. It includes Muslims, and the inhabitants of Spain, India, sub-Saharan and North Africa, who may be considered “racial” Others, but whom defining feature may not always be the colour of their skin since in all these communities we may find to a greater or lesser extent, people of any colour. Since there is no actual evidence of what types of strangers the word Moor included, we may conclude that it was used to describe national or political Others as well as “racial” and religious strangers, as we will see in the following sections.¹

b. “Racial” or ethnic Others

Even if the features of “racial” Others, such as those of Africa, the Levant, the Mediterranean, the New World and part of Asia, have been traditionally confused, they were, on the other hand, clearly recognised as pertaining to very different communities.² Yet, despite such awareness, these and other societies such as the Irish or Spanish Moriscos were often portrayed as sharing similar physical, behavioural and religious features. For instance, they were often identified as Moors or described in identical

¹ For further reading on national or political Others, see Richard Helgerson’s *Forms of Nationhood. The Elizabethan Writing of England* (1994).

² See White, *Tropics of Discourse* 165; Bak, “Different Differences” 200.

terms, and the same text could establish a clear-cut separation between them and suddenly collapse the features of these unrelated societies (Bartels, “Othello and Africa” 53; Loomba, “*Delicious Traffick*” 221; Floyd-Wilson 45). According to Greg Bak, even if in early modern English theatres there was no distinction between Northern and sub-Saharan Africans, this does not imply that they were considered equals, and that Moors were treated “racially” or as possible targets in colonialist purposes (201):

The white/black oppositions which permeate the plays of the period are best explained not in the context of “racism,” an ideological system which exploits somatic difference to systematically denigrate the “racial” other, but rather in terms of colour symbolism. The prejudice of Elizabethans were specifically against blackness – not necessarily against dark-skinned people. That stage Moors, despite accurate knowledge of the skin colour of North Africans, were presented as “pitchy black” –as had been the demons of medieval popular drama– allowed dramatists the opportunity to play between visual and textual metaphors. (201)

Therefore, Bak concludes that, in general, we cannot speak about a systematized use of “racial” difference in early modern drama (201).

On the other hand, we may also argue that, when a cross-cultural encounter with the “racial” Other takes place, from a Western perspective the “degree of Otherness” is lamentably connected to the “degree of blackness” of an individual, which ranges from the Northern white

“purity” to the swarthy and the blackness associated with the “racial” Other. Negritude has been traditionally associated with “evil,” and, since humanity is typically defined for its opposition to evil, blackness has been often associated with lack of humanity or monstrosity. To be sure, white (national/political or religious) strangers can be equally related to inhumanity, since, if they cannot not be “marked” by the colour of their skin, they may be considered as being “black on the inside”; usually because of their proximity with the “racial” Other.¹

White, “racial” Others. From national to “racial”

During the early modern period, European strangers, especially those marked by their liminal position in the southern frontiers of Europe, such as Italy, Spain or Portugal, provide an instance where national/political Others are perceived and described, either truthfully or not, in “racial” terms.²

Literary critics of the twentieth century, such as Homi K. Bhabha (who popularized concepts such as “hybridity”) have been increasingly

¹ For further reading on “racial” Others, see Anthony G. Barthelemy’s *Black Face Maligned Race* (1987); David Dabydeen’s edition *The Black Presence in English Literature* (1985); Ania Loomba’s “Outsiders in Shakespeare’s England” (2001); and Eldred Jones’ *Othello’s Countrymen* (1965).

² A “liminal” element is defined as something which is located on a boundary or threshold, mainly characterized by its “transitional or intermediate” position “between two states, situations, etc.” (*OED a. 2*). Similarly, in cultural anthropology, the concept of “liminality,” popularized by anthropologist Arnold van Gennep and later by Victor Turner, can be defined as “A transitional or indeterminate state between culturally defined stages of a person’s life” (*OED sb.*). For more information about liminality, see Arnold Van Gennep’s *The rites of passage* (1909); Victor Turner’s *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (2008); Chris N. Van der Merwe and Hein Viljoen’ edition *Beyond the Threshold. Explorations of liminality in literature* (2007), 8; and Bjørn Thomassen’s “The Uses and Meaning of Liminality” (2009), 51.

interested in the study of those (white) cultures which, because of their liminal position, or (relative) proximity to the territories of the black stranger, have been traditionally considered by other Western communities as impure (Huddart 1,4). These white, “racial” Others were simultaneously considered a protection against the extra-European, “racial” Other and the responsible for their penetration and influence, since, as Richard Marienstras suggests, “To go far away from what is close or draw near to what is distant is to reverse man’s customary relation to his social and natural environment” (8).¹

The historical coexistence of the Moors of Barbary with Spaniards and Portuguese in the Iberian Peninsula, during the Middle Ages (711-1492), or the feelings of threat towards the military and commercial superiority of foreign communities such as Spain or the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period, could contribute to a joint rejection of those Mediterranean cultures, and therefore to a possible association of the one with the other under the same notion of difference and exclusion. In the case of Spain, the early modern “racial” association is obvious, as voiced by Edmund Spenser in *A Veue of the present state of Irelande* (1633), who wrote:

[T]he Spaniards, as seeing them to be very honorable people, and next bordering unto them: But all that is most vain ... for the Spaniard that now is, is come from as rude and savage nations as they, there being, as there may be gathered by course of ages and view of their own history,

¹ This opinion takes us to the discussion on the renegade that we will explore in brief.

though they therein labored much to ennoble themselves, scarce any drop of the old Spanish blood left in them; for all Spain was first conquered by the Romans, and filled with colonies from them. ... Afterwards the Carthaginians ... subdued it wholly unto themselves ... [a]nd lastly, the Romans, having again recovered that country ... so that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was scarce a native Spaniard left ... And yet, after all these, the Moors and the Barbarians, breaking over out of Africa, did finally possess all Spain, ... The which, though afterwards they were beaten out by Ferdinand of Aragon, and Isabella his wife, yet they were not so cleansed but that, through the marriages which they had made and mixture of the people of the land during their long continuance there, they had left no pure drop of Spanish blood, no more than of Roman or Scythian. So that of all nations under heaven, I suppose the Spaniard is the most mingled and most uncertain. (Loomba and Burton, eds. 221-22).

Here, the reference to the concept of *limpieza de sangre* (“purity of blood”) is clear. This notion, popularized in Spain after the *Reconquista*, was meant to distinguish the European “Old Christians” of Spain and Portugal, whose blood was “pure,” that is, they had no Moorish ancestors, from those whose blood was “stained” by these “racial” Others.

The Spanish fear derived from the possibility of having Moorish ancestors was often used as a weapon to despise Spaniards and Southern Europeans in general. This attitude can be perceived in the anonymous treatise (attributed to Thomas Scott) *Newes From Pernassvs* (1622), which

intention was to avert the marriage of the prince of Wales with the Spanish Infanta, and its clear objective was to prejudice the English readership against the Spanish, presenting this national Other in “racial” terms (Demetriou 191). It describes the monarchy of Spain as having “a complexion very tawny, much inclining to the Moore, therefore her customes are rather proud, then graue; and in all her actions, hath more of the cruell then the severe” (*Nevves* n.pag.).

White strangers such as those from part of North Africa, the Levant or Asia are a further example of “racialized” Others, categorised by the alleged or actual colour of their skin. In fact, many of these individuals are white or just shades darker than white, a feature common even amongst the whitest inhabitants of Northern Europe; and yet, they were often pictured as black individuals. In early modern English plays, we find white or tawny “racial” Others such as Shakespeare’s Goth queen Tamora, in *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1592), Shylock, in *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596), or Cleopatra in *Antony and Cleopatra* (1606-07); Dido, in Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Nashe’s *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (published in 1594); Marlowe’s Tamburlaine, in the homonymous saga (1587 and 1588), and the Turks, Spaniards, Jews and Muslims, in *The Jew of Malta* (c. 1589-90); and the Gypsies, in John Ford, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton and William Rowley’s *The Spanish Gypsy* (c. 1623), among others.

All these playwrights probably drew on the same set of stereotypes, working on them differently, to present characters with different but related physical and psychological features. This process can be perceived in the descriptions of Moorish characters such as Aaron, in Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus*, and Eleazar, in Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion*, who resemble, for instance, the descriptions of Shakespeare’s most famous

black protagonist, Othello. Indeed, we are not told whether the black Moor Aaron is from the Levant, North Africa or sub-Saharan Africa; however, he presents both the Machiavellianism associated with the Levantine or North African stranger and the blackness of the sub-Saharan African. He is described as a “coal-black Moor,” able to plan such an elaborate plot to trick Titus Andronicus that he makes him beg for his own mutilation: “Let fools do good, and fair men call for grace, / Aaron will have his soul black like his face” (3.2.7; 83.1.205-06).

Similarly, even if Eleazar explicitly identified from the very beginning as the Prince of Fez, a Muslim from Morocco, and hence, he impersonates an individual whose skin was probably tawny or even white, he is described as “black as Jett,” comparing him to the sub-Saharan African (2.3.20). Moreover, he is described as “A Moor, / That hath damnation dy’d upon his flesh” (5.2.19-20), a statement that links national otherness not only with colour difference, but also with religious strangeness (or rather, with lack of religion), ambiguously resembling the black “heathens” of sub-Saharan Africa, as we will discuss in brief.

Black Others

The image of the noble white (or almost white) “racial” Other contrasts with that of the “barbarous” black African and the tawny or swarthy inhabitants of Asia or the New World. These groups seem to be characterized by a negative and a positive side: the white, Mediterranean “racial” stranger being honourable and wise, but malicious; and the black Other being naïvely peaceful, but ignorant, fiercely savage or even sub-human. Independently from their actual place of residence, the sympathy or aversion felt towards the foreigners belonging to these two extremes of

“racial” segregation could tend towards a positive or a negative pole, depending on the situation, the interests and the changing relations among communities.

In an interesting analysis of the white, Western psychological response towards the presence of a (perceived) black “racial” Other, Leslie Fiedler suggests that the attitudes and “nature” of these foreigners could be magnified either optimistically or disapprovingly, depending on the occasion:

Indeed, men of a particular culture seem impelled to invent myths whenever they encounter strangers on the borders of their world, that is to say, whenever they are forced to confront creatures disturbingly like themselves in certain respects, who yet do not quite fit (or worse, seem to have rejected) their definition of what it means to be human. Such creatures are defined –depending on whether the defining group conquers or is conquered by them– as superhuman or subhuman, divine or diabolic; and the confrontation with them is rendered in appropriate terms, honorific or pejorative. (*The Stranger* 43-44)

Since, during the early modern period, the New World and sub-Saharan Africa were considered attractive and exotic locations suitable for colonial adventures and profit-making, the black, swarthy or tawny Others, were associated with all sorts of negative stereotypes about their alleged savagery, ignorance and lust.

This attitude was probably partly triggered by a rearrangement of national ideologies, which seems to emerge in the West as a result of the

increasing interest in the traffic of slaves. In fact, according to literary critics such as Mary Floyd-Wilson, in *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (2003), in order to justify such an activity it was necessary to attack the Classical geohumoral theories, which strived to categorize human beings according to aspects such as geography or climate (6). In fact, sub-Saharan Africans were traditionally considered immoderate, but human, individuals; yet to defend the moral rightfulness of early modern slavery, it was necessary to initiate a campaign to dehumanize and count them among nature's anomalies, classifying them as animals (6). This process would eventually provide an English "racial" perspective of the world where the Northern Europe (and especially England) is displaced to a more central position; Central and Southern Europe are represented in an immoderate extreme, which counterpart in the North were the communities of present-day Scandinavia; and where Africa, the New World or Asia, simply fell outside the scope of what was considered humanity (6).

Similarly, Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton, in the introduction to their edition *Race in Early Modern England* (2007), suggest that, in order to justify slavery, it was necessary to separate "real" humans from sub-Saharan Africans, whose black skin was the mark of slavery (14). Indeed, slavery could be justified with the aid of myths, often shared by Jews, Muslims and Christians, such as the Myth of Ham (6). This myth is present, for instance, in the Bible (Genesis 9:18-27) and in early modern English works such as William Strachey's *For the colony in Virginea Britannia* (1612) and Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia epidemica* (1646), but also in Arabic discourses, including the Arab geographer Shams al-Din al-Dimashqî (1256-1327), who provides different explanations for blackness (Loomba and Burton, eds. 6):

The historians assert that the cause of the black complexion of the sons of Ham is that he had sexual intercourse with his wife while on the ship and Nūh (Noah) cursed him and prayed to God to modify his seed, so that she brought forth [the ancestor of] the Sudan. Another version is that Hām came upon Nūh asleep with his privy parts uncovered by the wind. He told this to his brothers Sām (Shem) and Yāfath (Japhet) and they rose and covered him, turning their face backward so that they might not see his shame. When Nūh knew of this he said: “Cursed is Hām, blessed is Sām, and may God multiply [the seed of] Yāfath.” But in truth, the fact is that the nature of their country demands that their characteristics should be as they are. Contrary to those connected with whiteness, for most of them inhabit the south and west of the earth. (6)

The myth of the savage and malevolent black male is also present in Pieter de Marees’ work *A description and historicall declaration of the golden Kingdome of Guinea...* (translated by G. Artie Dantise in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1624), who asserts that Africans,

exercise all kind of villainy and knavery, their parents not once teaching them any civility, ... they likewise have a great privy member, whereof they make great account, therein they much surpass our countrymen (Loomba and Burton, eds. 211)

This attitude confirms not only the mythology surrounding these individuals, but also the European resentment against the “macrophallic” black man’s sexual prowess.¹

In early modern English drama, it is interesting to see how an association with savageness is clearly present in the representations of African or New World characters such as Caliban, in Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (1611), but it can also be traced in the descriptions of individuals who are not black, which is probably the case of North Africans such as Muly Mahamet in George Peele’s *The Battle of Alcazar* (c. 1588); Aaron in Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1593); or Eleazar in Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion* (c. 1600). The Moors of these plays are often negatively described as a “black slaves” or “Indian savages,” associating the sometimes noble characters with the assumed savagery of sub-Saharan Africa, the New World or Asia. Once again, we find similar features associated to different types of “racial” and national Others as we learn from Robert Burton’s *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621):

hot and southern countries are prone to lust, and far more incontinent than those that live in the north, ..., so are Turks, Greeks, Spaniards, ... [and the] Muscovites, Mogors [Moguls], Xeriffs [Sharifs] of Barbary, and Persian Sophies, are no whit inferior to them in our times. ...

¹ As a number of scholars have suggested, the white, European Iago, could be a Spaniard, since his name is probably an abbreviation of the Spanish name Santiago. In fact, Iago is one of the many forms that the name Sant-iago takes, like James or Jakes; in Spanish, Santiago, Yago, Jaime and Jacobo are variations of the same name (see Barbara Everett’s article “‘Spanish’ Othello: The Making of Shakespeare’s Moor” 101-12; and López-Peláez, *Honourable Murderers* 130).

[They] have their choice of the rarest beauties their countries can afford, and yet all this cannot keep them from adultery, incest, sodomy, buggery, and such prodigious lusts. (Loomba and Burton, eds. 203)

A more positive view of these strangers, on the other hand, is present in other plays or masks such as Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) and *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (1621), where the local economic interests in Africa, probably urged the author to picture sub-Saharanans as simple and serviceable people, ready to welcome the European colonizer. Similarly, in Shakespeare's *Othello*, even if its protagonist eventually returns to his allegedly natural state of savageness, throughout the play is described as a loyal and brave general of Venice, where the actual villain is the white, European, Iago.

Finally, Edward Topsell's *The historie of foure-footed beastes* (1607), in a discourse about Africa, associates the continent's apes with the sub-Saharanans, asserting that they are:¹

a kind of apes, ... they are not men because they have no perfect use of reason, no modesty, no honesty, nor justice of government, and although they speak, yet is their language imperfect; and above all they cannot be men because they

¹ For further reading about the "macrophallic" stranger, see David M. Friedman. *A Mind of its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis* (2001), 103, 114. About black Others, see Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (1991), and primary texts such as Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (1583) and Thomas Scott's *The second part of Vox populi* (1624).

have no religion, which (Plato sayeth truly) is proper to every man.

...

They will imitate all human actions, loving wonderfully to wear garments, and of their own accord they clothe themselves in the skins of wild beasts they have killed. They are as lustful and venerous as goats, attempting to defile all sorts of women... (Loomba and Burton, eds. 166-67)

Indeed, blackness is often associated, not only with savageness and lust, but also with religious Otherness and is present in Christian discourses about the origins of humanity, as will explore in the next section.

c. Religious Others

It may be argued that a positive or negative attitude towards strangers depended on the degree of hostility perceived not only towards their societies and their “racial purity,” but also towards their menacing religions, such as that of Catholics or Muslims, who could corrupt Protestants or other Europeans tempted to commit apostasy or “take the turban.” Loomba and Burton, in the introduction to their edition, *Race in Early Modern England*, explain, for instance, that

The phrase “blue blood” is a translation of the Spanish *sangre azul*, a concept that evolved from the claims of Spanish families who declared they had never been contaminated by Moorish or Jewish blood (and were

therefore so fair that their blue veins were clearly visible). ... the fear of mass religious conversions in Reconquista Spain catalyzed the development of biological notions of race long before the eighteenth century. ... Thus, it was the anxiety about “purity of faith” that gave rise to the idea that one’s faith was also an index of one’s “purity of blood.” (16)

The early modern preoccupations with the presence of national or “racial” Others falsely converted to Christianity (or Protestantism, in the case of England) was especially directed towards Muslims and Jews, but was also present in the descriptions of sub-Saharanans, the inhabitants of the New World, or, from a Protestant perspective, of the Catholics.

Protestants versus Catholics

During the early modern period, the Vatican not only posed a religious treat: the influential Papal States were rich, powerful, and supported by political and religious alliances with other Catholic communities; mainly, Spain, Portugal, France, and other Italian states. The schism within Christianity, the excommunication of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I of England, and the internal conflicts between Catholics and Protestants in England stirred the formation of the image of corrupt Catholic clergymen, whose aim was to persuade Protestants to become Catholics, contaminating their religion and morals.

Early modern works, where the anti-Catholic attitude can be perceived are the plays by Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* (published in 1604) and *Massacre at Paris* (c. 1592), or those by

Shakespeare, *King John* (c. 1594-96) and *Henry VIII* (written in 1613). Thomas Dekker was also particularly prolific in his anti-Catholic production, since he wrote several plays addressing this topic such as *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1602), written with Webster, Heywood and other dramatists; *The Whore of Babylon* (c. 1606); and *The Virgin Martyr* (c. 1620), written with Philip Massinger; and *Lust's Dominion*, with his descriptions of the lascivious and treacherous Cardinal Mendoza, Friar Cole and Friar Crab.¹

Dekker similarly conveys his anxieties towards these religious strangers in other works, such as the anti-Catholic pamphlet *The double PP. A papist im armes* (1606), where he suggests that a Jesuit (a term that seems to be typically employed as synonymous with Spaniard or Catholic in general), just like the Devil himself, may come in different shapes and from different communities to manipulate those individuals with a “weak mind.” Dekker’s Jesuit could be Spanish, Swedish, French, or Italian, but also, remarkably, an English “traytor to the Englishman” (*The double PP* B4):²

... all those Iesuited English, that shot their Romaine darts at the Head of the late Queene of England, would fill a Muster-book. How often did they labour to sowe Sedition in her Dominions, and to sell her Crowne to the Spaniard.

¹ For further reading, see Susan E. Krantz. “Thomas Dekker’s Political Commentary in *The Whore of Babylon*” (1995) and Regina Buccola’s “Virgin Fairies and Imperial Whores” (2007), 141-60.

² See section on “Renegades and Criminals.”

To prevent which and the like mischiefs, they have bin likewise Proscribed, by our Soueraigne King Iames. (B4)

Daniel Vitkus in *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (2000) reminds us that the “Protestants often described the opposition to Roman Catholic rule and religion as a crusade against the ‘second Turk,’ the anti-Christ, or the Eastern ‘whore of Babylon’” (8). Such belief is corroborated, for instance, in Martin Luther’s *Table Talk* (a collection of his doctrines, compiled by Johannes Mathesius and published in 1566), where the Protestant German monk asserts that “Antichrist is at the same time the Pope and the Turk. A living creature consists of body and soul. The spirit of Antichrist is the Pope, his flesh the Turk. One attacks the Church physically, the other spiritually” (8). From this we may observe, not only the animosity towards the Catholics, but also their psychological connection to the non-Christian, national or even “racial” Other.

Christians versus non-Christians: Muslims, Jews and Pagans

In early modern England, the Muslims from North Africa, such as Morocco, and from the East, such as the Ottoman Empire and Persia, were considered in similar terms. Johannes Boemus, in *The Fardel of Facions conteinyng the auncient maners, customes, and Lawes, of the peoples inhabiting the two partes of the earth called Affrike and Asie* (1555), describes them as “folowers and worshippers of Mahomet and his erroneous doctrine” (A.v.iv).

Similarly, early modern English playwrights associated Muslims with sin, atheism and evil or with the devil (or anti-Christ), as suggested by Thomas Dekker in his descriptions of Eleazar, “That damned Moor,

that Devil, that Lucifer” (*Lust’s Dominion* 2.1.52); or in Fulke Greville’s closet plays *The Tragedy of Mustapha* (1609) and *Alaham* (c. 1598-1600):

ALAHAM. ... I inuoke that blacke eternity,
 As apt to put in action, as deuisse!
 Helpe me, ...
 And make men slaues, (n. pag.)

In spite of the negative views of Islam, there were some occasions where Muslims and their religion were regarded positively and as preferred partners in economic and political aspects. The opposition to Catholics, shared by Protestants and Muslims, for instance, promoted the friendly relations between the two, as documented in Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589, 1598-1600). In Hakluyt’s fiercely anti-Spanish description of Edmund Hogan’s embassy of 1577 in Morocco, the Muslim monarch, Mully Abdelmelech, allegedly favours the envoy and England, ignoring the ambassador of Catholic Spain:

he would not give him any credit or intertainment, albeit
 (said he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the
 Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of
 him nor of his religion, being so governed by the
 Inquisition that he can doe nothing of himselfe. (Hakluyt
 6:288)

In this (probably biased) passage, the animosity expressed towards a national Other, the Spaniard, seems to be furthered and justified by means

of religious and moral arguments. The Muslim seems to be almost a tool to reveal and enhance the lack of rectitude of the Spanish, since, probably, from the English point of view, the lust and inner darkness of the Catholics surpassed the alleged implicit evil of the Muslims (D'Amico 7-8).¹

However, the anxiety about the danger of an extra-European, religious Other seizing control over the State, the family and society, as a result of an immoral relationship with a Christian, never abandons the discourses on Muslim topics, such as in Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion*, where a Muslim almost conquers a Christian kingdom. In this case, while the Moorish figure plots against, and tries to corrupt religion, the promiscuity of Catholic Spain's court and Church, in turn, is presented in connection with the Moor's immorality. Indeed, his acts would not be possible without the presence of already corrupted Catholics, such as Cardinal Mendoza or the Queen Mother.²

Finally, Muslims were often described as infidels or barbarians, being derogatorily associated with the "Pagans" or "Heathens" of Africa, the Orient or the New World, and, therefore also with "racial" otherness. An example of this association can be perceived in the descriptions of George Peele in *The Battle of Alcazar* (c. 1588), where two types of characters are distinguished: the legitimate and "brave Barbarian lord Muly Molocco," who fights for his crown with the aid of "Christian

¹ Such attitude would take a turn after the deaths of Elizabeth and el-Mansour in 1603 and with James I's truce with Spain, when both communities would focus their antagonism on Morocco (D'Amico 33-34, 38; Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning* 95).

² In Europe, other literary work focusing on the Christian-Muslim conflict is the epic poem by the Italian poet Torquato Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered* (*La Gerusalemme liberata*), published in 1581, about the First Crusade.

arms,” and the usurper, “the barbarous Moor, / The negro Muly Hamet,” supported by the Ottomans (1.Prologue.6-7, 12). Even if both individuals are Muslims, the former, is an ally of the Christians, or, at least, of the “right” sorts of Christians, the Portuguese, who were temporarily tolerated by the English because of their common interests; while the latter is associated with Catholic Spain and the Turks. At the same time, the rightful king is described as “honourable and courageous,” while the usurper is depicted as a man who is “Black in his look and bloody in his deed” (1.Prologue.4, 16). Consequently, we may argue that the author uses “racial” difference to describe two types of religious Others: one who resembles the white and “civilized” Christians, and other who is closer to the Catholic enemy and the “savage” pagan of sub-Saharan Africa.

Indeed, during the early modern period, the extra-European inhabitants of sub-Saharan Africa, the New World, or even those of some parts of Asia like India or Sri Lanka (which appear in the definition of Moor) were not considered as belonging to any particular or legitimate religion. This attitude can be perceived in *Othello* (1603), where Brabantio asserts that, if the clandestine marriage between his Christian daughter and the black “heathen” is accepted by the government of Venice, “Bondslaves and pagans shall our statesmen be” (1.2.99).

However, while these religious Others were described negatively, the Christian interests in colonisation promoted ambivalent descriptions of these communities, and especially of black Africans; that is, on the one hand they were pictured as non-human and soulless individuals, in order to justify their enslavement and labour exploitation; on the other, they were described as harmless and Christian-friendly individuals to encourage English investors potentially interested in doing business in these inhospitable lands. This is the case of Ben Jonson’s characters of his mask,

The Gypsies Metamorphosed (1621), where the black Gypsies are physically and morally converted by the “purifying” presence of King James, in order to resemble the white English who have “a soule so white, and so chaste” (n. pag.).

Finally, the situation of the Jews was not better than that of other religious aliens. This historically prosecuted and exiled community, who settled, among others, in several Christian communities, was often forced to convert to the local religion, being occasionally arrested, or having to face difficulties and hindrances to run their business. The Jews were obliged to take on “liberal” professions that were typically vilified by early modern Christians, such as those of doctors (or physicians), who had to take care of other individual’s bodies and diseases; or else, making profit from the money, a practice forbidden by the *Bible* (Le Goff, *Your Money* 35-36). Consequently, the concept of usury came to be considered intimately related to the Jews (Shapiro 108). These religious Others were also frequently accused of an anti-Christian behaviour and blamed for the desecration of rites and icons, as described in the anonymous *Croxton Play of the Sacrament* (c. 1461), a medieval, miracle play where Jonathas, a wealthy, Jewish merchant, attempts to defile the miraculous nature of a host.¹

This set of prejudices are present in early modern plays such as Christopher Marlowe’s *The Jew of Malta* (c. 1589-90), where several Others interact: Spanish Catholics, Turkish Muslims and Jews. Here a Machiavellian Jewish merchant, Barabas, wronged by the Catholic government of Malta, seeks vengeance against this community, since, in

¹ The concept that foreigners violated rituals is explained, among others, by Naomi C. Liebler in *Shakespeare’s Festive Tragedy: The Ritual Foundations of Genre* (1995).

the English post-Armada period, Catholics were “hated as much as and feared more than Jews or Muslims” (Bevington et al, eds. 287, 291). Barabas poisons several friars and nuns, including his own daughter; however, he perishes boiled alive in his own trap (291-92). In this work, Barabas is associated with several anti-Semitic stereotypes, since the Jews were typically considered, for instance, sinful and immoral usurers, poisoners of wells or sordid physicians.

Similarly, Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596) presents the infamous image of a Jewish usurer, Shailock, who gives a loan to a Venetian Catholic, Antonio; but, when he cannot return the money, and the Jew claims a pledged pound of Antonio’s flesh, Shailock is the one to be penalised by the authorities. In fact, while Christianity punished the procedure (allowed by the Hebraic laws) of making profit from the money, it permitted investments on actual goods; and hence supported Antonio’s doings (Drakakis, Introduction. *The Merchant* 8-12).

Finally, while the ubiquitous attitude towards these religious strangers is one of contempt, rare cases of marginally positive attitudes may be registered, such as the one presented in the comedy by Robert Wilson, *The Three Ladies of London* (1592), a morality or allegorical play where the usurers and corrupt merchants are mainly Catholics such as, Italians, English apostates and, especially, Spaniards, rather than the Jews, such as the honest moneylender, Gerontius (Hawkes, *The Culture* 69; Demetriou and Zunino 105). Such occurrence provides a further evidence of how, occasionally, the Other is described in favourable terms, whenever local interests required it, or when, as in this case, the non-Christian communities were employed to fight a greater enemy, the Catholic.

As we have seen, so far, negative and marginally positive attitudes towards the Other could be present in the descriptions of national, “racial”

or religious strangers; however, as we will explore in the next sections, it can be perceived in discourses about domestic Others, such as women, bastards or renegades, who were occasionally considered comparable to foreign aliens.

d. Gendered and domestic Others

In discourses on alterity, a given community tends to associate Others with individuals belonging to nationalities, ethnicities or religions which are considered alien or foreign; however, the stranger can be a domestic Other, that is, an individual typically described with negative or stereotyped features by his or her own community. Domestic strangers could be, among others, women, “sodomites,” and underprivileged individuals, but they could also be those white, national men subverting accepted social principles, such as criminals or renegades; that is, apostates, individuals who adopt a foreign culture, nationality, religion, or economic/political affiliation.

Among early modern English discourses that address these questions, we could mention plays such as John Webster’s *The White Devil* (1612), which presents a “white devil,” an adulterous and murderous woman, Victoria, in a Catholic, white, Italian setting. However, we may argue, this could be an example of early modern English self-critique towards (highborn) European, Christian groups, which, in spite of their alleged outstanding nature, may act in a contemptuous manner. From the title of the play, we may infer that, on the one hand, evil not always appears in an obvious way, that is, on black faces, since “blackness” and iniquity can be found “within” white individuals. On the other hand, the

Italian setting suggests that an association among political or religious strangers with gendered and “racial” Others is still present.

In addition to the ambivalent treatment of alterity within early modern plays, from the point of view of the contemporary detractors of theatres, these institutions were the symbols or gathering points of an ample variety of undesirable Others, present on stage and in the audience. In a discourse against this type of entertainment (which for its detailed description of different types of Others we will quote at length), Philip Stubbes, in *The Anatomy of Abuses* (1583), asserts that many of his contemporaries are:

flocking and running to Theaters & curtens, ... to see Playes and Enterludes, where such wanton gestures, such bawdie speaches: such laughing and fleering: such kissing and bussing: ... and the like is vsed Than these goodly pageants being done, euery mate sorts to his mate, euery one bringes another homeward of their way verye freendly, and in their secret conclaues (couertly) they play ye Sodomits, or worse.

... you will learne falshood, ... to playe the vice, to swear, teare, and blaspleme, both Heauen and Earth ... to deflour honest Wyues ... to murther, slaie, kill, picke, steal, robbe and roue: If you will learn to rebel against Princes, to comit tresons, ... to play the whore-maister, the glutton, Drunkard, or incestuous person: if you will learn to become proude, hawtie & arrogant: and finally, if you will learne to comtemne GOD and al his lawes, to care neither for heauen nor hel, ... incurre the damage of premunire, that is, eternall

damnation For the Apostle biddeth vs beware, least wee communicat with other mens sinnes, & this their dooing, is not only to communicat with other mens sinnes, & maintain euil, to the distruction of the selues & many others, ...

Therefore I beseech all players & Founders of plaies and enterludes, in the bowels of Iesus Christe, as they tender the saluation of their soules, and others, to leaue of that cursed kind of life, ... for who wil call him a wiseman that plaieth the part of a foole and a vice? who can call him a Christian, who playeth ye part of a deuil, the sworne enemie of Christe: who can call him a iust man, that playeth the part of a dissembling hipocrite? (n. pag.)

From Stubbes's words, we may deduce that early modern playwrights were not only occasionally considered domestic Others, since they often belonged to lower (or marginal) social groups, they were also usually judged responsible for promoting the existence of other strangers, such as prostitutes or sodomites.¹ Moreover, their work could be considered reprehensible for displaying and, occasionally, even promoting national, "racial" or religious Others, which could encourage contemporary nationals to embrace the alien lifestyle, and therefore, producing more domestic Others.

¹ The relative marginal status of early modern playwrights is suggested by the habitual establishment of their residences and playhouses outside London. In fact, this was probably a way to avoid social obligations such as the payment of taxes (Archer 10).

Women

Despite the presence of influencing female monarchs in early modern England women were still treated as gendered, domestic Others (probably, like most sixteenth and seventeenth century's women everywhere). In the introduction to *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (1992), gender and the formation of a national identity are considered as mutually influencing categories and not as belonging to the two separate spheres of the public and the domestic (Parker, et al. 2).

Similarly, Jean E. Howard maintains that gender and other aspects, such as "race" are connected among themselves, and that they are, in turn, related to other questions, such as nationalism and identity:

[G]ender and sexuality could at once be mobilized in the service of emergent nationalism and could threaten to undo it; and ... a discourse of race could be used to manage that threat and give "Englishness" a properly patriarchal inflection (102).

With this statement, Howard suggests, for instance, that women could become symbols of English endurance and purity (features attributed, for instance, to Queen Elizabeth); but, the association of women and the English nation could also entail the possibility that this community was impressionable and weak, these being qualities also allegedly inherent to

women.¹ At the same time, however, discourses about supposedly misogynous “racial” Others could be used to enhance “Englishness,” providing arguments, for example, about the national superior treatment of women or the English women’s immunity to the alleged black men’s lust and magnetism.

In the discourses concerning this gendered, domestic Other, a mythology on women often applies; the myths of “female purity” or of the “uncontrollable woman” can be counted among the most popular myths of the past (and, sometimes, the present). For instance, the need for supervision of both the woman and her breeding seems common to patriarchal societies due to economic factors associated with reproduction, such as the interest in controlling how power is passed from father to son (Hawkes, *The Culture* 164-65). The commodification and lack of supervision of these gendered Others may result in the emergence of an irregular, or even “unnatural,” situation, such as illegitimate breeding (or “bastardy”) or, what is worse, “miscegenation” (or hybridity) with a “racial” Other; these elements could threaten the destabilisation of the socioeconomic situation of the family or even the State.² In such cases, the woman’s reputation is the only one considered strained or at stake; that is,

¹ Dymphna Callaghan suggests that, even though misconceptions about women were typically employed by in early modern English men, they were also used in female discourses in order to defame other women (Introduction. *A Feminist Companion* xii-xiii). However, she argues, this phenomenon could occur “because women, no less than men, inhabit and implement the social and conceptual structures of the patriarchal order” (xii-xiii).

² See Alison Findlay’s *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama* (1999).

she is considered a ruined individual, a “whore,” while the role of men in the alleged deviation are never mentioned.¹

Among other myths concerning femininity, we may highlight the image of “the silent woman” or “the Angel in the House” (a Victorian ideal of womanhood that could be applied to earlier or later stages); that is, the belief that women should neglect themselves, in favour of the (male) members of their households and that they must not complain or be heard. This notion finds its counterpart in the myth of “the uncontrolled woman” or the Victorian image of “the madwoman in the attic,” where, if this domestic Other fails to restrain, or is not properly controlled, she has to be punished or secluded.² This is, for instance, the case of several English women in early modern drama, such as Desdemona, in Shakespeare’s *Othello* (1603), who defies her father marrying a Moor, and is eventually murdered by her husband; or Eugenia in Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion* (c. 1600), who, as a response to her unrestrained sexual behaviour, is compelled to abandon public life “And flye unto some solitary residence” for her “past offences” (5.3.176, 78).

Similarly, in the comedy *The Honest Whore, Part 1* (1604) by Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, who advocate for sexual

¹ According to Dymphna Callaghan,

“Whore” is probably the worst name you can call a woman in Shakespeare’s England and its capacity to “wound” means not only the power to hurt someone’s feelings but potentially also to deprive women (who might be disowned by their kin as the result of allegations of unchastity) of all means of social and economic support. This word has accrued patriarchal power and its attendant material effects by means of its insistent reiteration in the culture. ... Thus, femininity is continually produced and reproduced in ways that may subvert conventional understandings or, more commonly, in ways that may further subjugate women (Introduction xiii)

² See Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar’s *The Madwoman in the Attic* (2000).

morality, eventually the prostitute of the title, Bellafront, gives up her occupation and gets duly married, displaying a patriarchal and moralist tone, which is also present in Dekker's *The Honest Whore, Part 2* (c. 1605). In Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* (1590-92), another Italian scenery presents the impetuous and stubborn shrew of the title, Katherina, who initially rejects her suitor, Petruchio, until he (apparently) tames her and she becomes an obedient wife.

Controversial female behaviour can be also observed in the case of Arden of Faversham, both the historical episode, recounted in an account in Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*, and the anonymous domestic tragedy, written c. 1591, where Thomas Arden is killed by his wife and her lover, both eventually executed for murder.¹ Similarly, in John Marston's *The Insatiate Countess* (published in 1613), Isabella, the Countess of Swevia (interacting with Italians and Spaniards in a Venetian setting), infringes the mourning of her late husband with a second marriage, seduces a third man, and eventually orders the murder of both to a fourth one. The popular figure of the ambitious Lady Macbeth, in Shakespeare's play *Macbeth* (1606-07), is a further instance of a strong and intelligent woman, who spurs her husband, Macbeth, into killing King Duncan of Scotland to take hold of his crown.

In literature, these noncompliant, defiant or "immoral" women are often compared to other "virtuous" and submissive ladies. For example, the lecherous Eugenia in *Lust's Dominion* is compared to the noble Isabella and Maria; and in *The Insatiate Countess*, Isabella is set apart from the virtuous Thais, Abigail and Lady Lentulus.

¹ See Catherine Belsey's *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama* (1985).

Nevertheless, apparently virtuous women could also be punished in a patriarchal society, as exemplified in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614). Here the righteous Duchess disobeys her malevolent two brothers and marries secretly with a man beneath her class; but, the punishment for not being submissive is not different from that of less virtuous women, since she is eventually murdered.

At the same time, in early modern drama, the plots that include rebellious women, often connect these gendered, domestic Others with other sinful activities, such as polygamy, cross-dressing, criminality, incest, miscegenation and bastardy, or with other undesirable strangers, such as political, "racial" and religious Others.

In Ben Jonson's *Epicoene, or The Silent Woman* (1609), where its protagonist is considered an outstandingly obedient woman, who is, in fact, a boy in disguise, women seem to be associated with other types of strangers, who revert what is accepted as the natural order. Here all the characters are associated with a different mythology and the gender roles are constantly twisted: "women are masculine and emasculating; the men are effeminate, ineffectual, or both," while the "misogyny of the characters is similarly unremitting, varied and vigorous" (Barker and Hinds, eds. 272).

Examples of how unruly white, Christian women interact with foreigners are present, among others, in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1593), where there is a romance between Tamora, the Empress of Rome, and her black servant, Aaron. Occasionally, however, the heroine may be an English woman who, unlike foreign female characters, provides an example of how national women are (or should be) superior to their alien counterparts. This is the case of Bess Bridges, in Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts 1 and 2* (c. 1600 and c. 1630), who

interacts with national, “racial” and religious strangers, but is able to resist and reject the unwanted attentions of the Moorish Others. Bess’ actions prove her courage in a work which seems to associate this heroine with Queen Elizabeth and her claimed resilience (Findlay, “Gendering” 400-01; López-Peláez, “Building” 61-62).

In other plays, the connection between women and other types of strangers is even stronger, when the gendered and domestic Other is, not only a woman, but a national, “racial” or religious alien. In Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra* (1606-07), the strong and sensual Egyptian monarch, Cleopatra, is a further example of gendered foreigner; a “tawny” woman whose life will be prematurely truncated when she defiantly commits suicide rather than submitting to the patriarchal order of the Roman invader. Similarly, in Elizabeth Tanfield Cary’s closet play *The Tragedy of Mariam, the Fair Queen of Jewry* (1602-04) (probably the first play written in English by a woman using her own name), there is a female character which is a national, religious and, perhaps, “racial” stranger. Here the virtuous (but not silent), Mariam, and her wicked sister-in-law, Salome, challenge patriarchal society and the institution of marriage (Introduction 1-2).¹

Gender problems are also present in the situation where a “racial” Other and a white individual mingle, unleashing an even greater threat, since it poses the possibility of miscegenation, or hybridity. Miscegenation is a further instance where we may find an intersection of different strangers, since the child of an interracial couple could be perceived not

¹ In Europe, other work focusing on women as alien Others is the epic poem by the Italian writer Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* (c. 1506), where the Christian protagonist falls in love with a pagan princess.

only as a “racial” Other, but also as a domestic, national/politic, religious and, depending on its sex, gendered stranger. As a result, masculinity, or the patriarchal society in general, is compromised, since an alien is allowed within the State and the domestic sphere. The threat of miscegenation is obvious in Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1593), where the Goth Queen, Tamora, married with the Emperor of Rome, and a national Other in the capital, has an affair with her Moorish servant, Aaron, and gives birth to an illegitimate, “blackamoor” child.

Such fears towards miscegenation could be linked to the anxieties towards symbolic emasculation or castration, when a foreigner is preferred by a woman who, as a result, is rejecting a potential relationship with a white, Christian man. According to Jonathan Burton in *Traffic and Turning* (2005), “the image of circumcised and converted men raises the most basic Christian fears of Islam” (73); such estimation seems to link the anxieties towards the alien with those towards the “enemy within.” As we will discuss in the following sections, white, Christian men often perceived as a threat of emasculation not only political, “racial” or religious strangers, but also domestic Others such as women, renegades, bastards, cross-dressed individuals, and so on.

At the same time, the situation where the foreigner is allowed within the State and in the domestic sphere usually takes place because a weak member of a given community makes it possible. For instance, in Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1588-93), a Roman Emperor marries a Goth Queen and hosts her multicultural entourage; and in Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion* (c. 1600) the King of Spain grants the Moor Eleazar a place within the court, while the Queen Mother even declares that she would bargain her kingdom away to satisfy her lust with the foreigner; she would “wage all Spain / To one sweet kisse” of the Moor

(1.1.32-33). Eleazar also seems to threaten the white European/Christian masculinity, where, for instance, the Queen Mother and Maria, his wife, choose Eleazar, preferring a Moor instead of a Spaniard. Such a challenge is apparent in his fight with Prince Philip, where the Spanish prince defies Eleazar with his sword and the Moor sardonically replies: “With that! what a blunt axe? ... Having these arms, be wise; go change thy weapon” (4.3.28-30). And even if the prince mutters “Come Moor, I am arm’d with more then compleat steel,” Eleazar condescendingly adds: “Fling me thy sword, there’s mine, I scorn to strike / A man disarm’d” (4.3.57-58).

Similarly, the association of unruly women with other domestic strangers, such as bastards, criminals and sodomites is a further recurrent topic in early modern English drama. For instance, *The Witch of Edmonton* (1621) by Thomas Dekker, John For and William Rowley, not only describes the tragedy of the rebellious witch, the old Elizabeth Sawyer, it depicts a sinful and decadent society where its inhabitants make pacts with the Devil and lead polygamous lives.

As David P. Barash and Judith Eve Lipton remind us in *The Myth of Monogamy* (2001), “If literature is any reflection of human concerns, then infidelity has been one of humankind’s most compelling” (2).¹ Such preoccupations are particularly frequent in discourses on women, since

¹ Indeed, monogamy itself is a condition that must be continuously secured and supervised, since it is not an innate human feature. David P. Barash and Judith Eve Lipton assert that “biologists had traditionally assumed that when a species ‘is’ socially monogamous, then it really is monogamous; that is, sexually exclusive” (10). However, they argue, “social monogamy –as opposed to genetic monogamy– is strongly correlated with parental involvement” and that, while it can be found in the societies of Homo Sapiens, it is rare among mammals; and therefore, probably not inherent to humans (4, 11).

female adultery was considered more sinful, or socially damaging, than male infidelity.¹

This lustful behaviour is analysed in plays such as Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (publ. 1607), where marriage and other social relationships are financial and contractual bonds, which can be disrupted "by the emergence of evil from the dark places inside human beings" (Wiggings xv). In Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion* adultery, is also central; in fact, throughout the whole play monogamy is almost absent, with unrepentant infidels such as the Queen of Spain, Eleazar, Cardinal Mendoza and Fernando, the King of Spain.

In other plays, such as Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (published in 1611), the female protagonist, Moll Cutpurse, is associated with additional subversive conducts, such as criminality and cross-dressing. She seems to have her "trade" inscribed in her name/identity, "Cutpurse," and her manly garments and bearing were considered to encourage lust, idolatry and sodomy: "induce whordome & vnclennes," and devour "maydenly virginie and chastitie" (Stubbes n. pag.).² Moll is a woman who belongs to the lowest strata of society: she

¹ Uxoricide (killing your wife) was punished, like other murders, by beheading, whereas killing your husband deserved the punishment reserved for treasons of State, that is, the stake (see Catherine Belsey's *The Subject of Tragedy*, 1985).

² The anonymous pamphlet *Hic Mulier, or The Man-Woman* (1620), is an instance of early modern discourses against transvestitism and of women wearing manly clothes or behaving like men, since this would imply, among other negative aspects, their possible imitation of violent or criminal attitudes, which were considered men's attributes (Kahn 722):

man in body by attire, man in behaviour by rude complement, man in nature by aptness to anger, man in action by pursuing revenge, man in wearing weapons, man in using weapons ... so much man in all things that they are neither men nor women, but just good for nothing. (722)

This pamphlet was opposed in a later work, *Haec-Vir, or The Womanish-Man* (1620), which supported the women's right to the freedom of dress (722).

wears men's apparel and intrudes in the ambience of middle to high social groups; consequently, she seems not only to challenge the social order by equating men and women, but also class difference (Kahn 721). In fact, she symbolizes the growing, menacing social mobility that was increasing in proto-capitalist Europe, since she freely moves to the exclusively manly, merchant world, without hiding her femaleness, and hence, challenging the clear-cut separation of these spheres (721, 723).

Moreover, Catherine Belsey reminds us that cross-dressing can be associated to the concept of multiple identity and ambiguous sexuality, both present, for instance, in the descriptions of Portia in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596-97), where this strong and independent woman dresses up as a man to rescue Antonio, a male character, and hence, inverting the accepted social roles of men and women ("Love in Venice" 75, 78).¹ Initially, Portia also makes a speech about how she submits herself to her husband's will; hence, she firstly seems to accept her subservient role and then she subverts it. However, the image of Portia's ring (that is, her sexuality) that is given away by Bassanio to another man (Portia in disguise), participates in that apparently tongue-in-cheek narrative of acceptance of female subordination in the play, since eventually Portia gives the ring back for the protection of Bassanio (Drakakis, Introduction 92, 95).

Finally, illegitimacy, also intimately connected to the female figure, could further the prejudiced attitudes against gendered and domestic

¹ Other instances of female transvestism in literature are presented in early modern epic poems such as Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590, 1596), with Britomart, a warrior woman, dressed as a knight, or in popular literature such as the anonymous *Long Meg of Westminster* (c. 1595)

Others. As we will explore in the next section, Catholic communities, and specially Spain, are often described as settings where aspects such as unrestrained femaleness and miscegenation are allowed, and, therefore, where national, “racial,” religious and domestic Others are free to socialize.¹

In any event, in early modern literature and in real life, independent women (described either positively, such as Thomas Heywood’s Bess, in *The Fair Maid of the West*, or negatively, such as John Marston’s Isabella, in *The Insatiate Countess*), are typically subjugated by patriarchal rule. Gender is secured, for instance, when women are eventually punished, get married or become pregnant, securing male authority over the female body (Findlay, “Gendering” 401-02, 404).

Bastards

“Bastards” or illegitimate children represent a further instance of domestic strangers associated with gendered Others, and typically described in negative terms in early modern discourses. Alison Findlay argues that they are not only typically depicted as insubordinate and malevolent villains, the mere presence of an illegitimate child is often considered as having a “power to challenge the dominant patriarchal culture,” and a sign of the uncontrollable nature of femaleness (*Illegitimate Power* vi; “Gendering” 402). In fact, the bastard was a demonised stranger and the product of a (sexually) unrestrained and unruly female, a figure often considered

¹ Further discussion on gender can be found in Kathleen McLuskie’s *Renaissance Dramatists* (1989) and *The Woman’s Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare* (1983) edited by Carolyn Lenz, Gayle Greene and Carol Neely.

damaging for religion, the State and the economy of a given community, and that was often “chosen for sacrifice to preserve the legitimate order” (46-47).

At the same time, we may find an intersection of descriptions where the bastard is also a “malcontent” figure. As explained earlier, these figures could be characterized by their inclination towards individualism rather than society. Instances where the figure of the bastard is depicted in this way are present in works such as Shakespeare’s *King Lear* (1605-06), where the Vice-like Edmond, the illegitimate son of the Earl of Gloucester, manipulates his father and is characterized by his sceptical treatment of social conventions (Halio 14, 17). Shakespeare’s *Much Ado about Nothing* (1598-99) is a further example where a bastard is also a malcontent. Here, in the Italian city of Messina, the Catholic Spaniard Don John, the illegitimate brother of Don Pedro, Prince of Aragon, is depicted as a dark figure, melancholy, envious and dissatisfied, whose only objective seems to be the destruction of happiness and morals (McEachern 17-18).

In Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1588-93), the connection among different types of Others is even more evident, since the illegitimate son of the Roman Empress, Tamora, and the Moor Aaron, is also a “racial” stranger.¹ In Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion* (c. 1600), on the other hand, we are not clearly presented with a bastard; however, as discussed in our analysis about miscegenation, the play not only suggests that the Moor Eleazar and the Queen Mother of Spain had a long term

¹ At the end of the play, Aaron’s love and defence of his child may suggest that he is not as cruel as it seems. However, as we read in the *Book of Revelations* (*New Testament, The Bible*), God sacrifices his son while the Devil, like Aaron, protects him.

relationship, but also that in the course of their affair they might have had more than one illegitimate child:

QUEEN MOTHER. ... Am I grown ugly now?

ELEAZAR. Ugly as hell.

QUEEN MOTHER. Thou lovd'st me once.

ELEAZAR. That can thy bastards tell. (1.1.65-68)

From this, we may argue that these domestic strangers is not only intimately associated with the figure of the female Other, since an illegitimate child implies a subversion of the patriarchal order, but also with other strangers. The bastard, in fact, could be coupled with national Others, as in the case of Don John in *Much Ado about Nothing*, a Spaniard in an Italian setting; with “racial” or religious strangers, as with the illegitimate son of Aaron, probably a Muslim, or Pagan, black Moor; or, as we will argue in the following section, with other domestic strangers, such as the renegade, who shares with the bastard his or her close relationship with the foreign enemy.

Renegades and Criminals

New figures appeared in English society, and were captured in early modern discourses, such as the eccentric and wealthy international merchant, but also those who dwelled at the margins of society, such as the poor or vagrants, “whose mere presence reveal a major social, economic and epistemological crisis of an unprecedented dimension” (López-Peláez, “What Good News” 135-36). Several “vagrancy laws” were issued during this period, such as the Vagabond Act of 1604, which

associated criminality with different types of Others, such as “players of interludes, fencers, bearwards, minstrels, begging scholars and sailors, palmists, fortune-tellers,” among others (Greenblatt, *Will in the World* 88). Therefore, while some strangers, such as the Gypsies, were probably associated with the outlaw “palmists” or “fortune-tellers” of the Vagabond Act, there is a similar parallelism between English criminals, extra-Europeans, and European Others, such as the Irish, as suggested in Thomas Dekker’s tract on roguery, *Lanthorn and Candlelight* (1608):

Look what difference there is between a civil citizen of Dublin & a wild Irish kern, so much difference there is between one of these counterfeit Egyptians and a true English beggar. An English rogue is just of the same livery. (Loomba and Burton 16, 169)

Hence, we may infer, criminality was especially connected to foreigners, among others, as suggested in *Lanthorn and Candlelight*, where a Devil explores the city of London to meet his followers: usurers, gypsies and gamblers that can be distinguished from the legitimate and lawful English citizens mainly on account of their national, “racial” or religious otherness (169). Indeed, according to Loomba and Burton,

These discourses indicate that normative English national identity began to coalesce via the exclusion of the poor and homeless, as well as of racial or religious outsiders, and that such exclusions were established by describing these different groups in interchangeable terms. (16)

Other examples in early modern English discourses where criminals interact with other strangers in an underprivileged setting are the plays by Thomas Middleton, *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (1606?, published in 1608) and *The Changeling* (1622); those by Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew the Fair* (1614) and *Volpone* (perf. c. 1605-06); and Thomas Dekker's pamphlet *The Seven Deadly Sins of London* (1606).

A further domestic Other associated with criminality was the renegade or *renegado*, a Spanish term, employed in English at least since 1573. It was used to designate a traitor, someone who betrayed or deserted his or her native community or principles, but also to describe an apostate, someone who gave up his or her faith, especially to embrace Islam (*OED sb.* A.1.a, A.2). According to Nabil Matar, in England, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term *renegado* was almost exclusively used in its Spanish form, suggesting that “the first converts were associated in English imagination with Spain,” and with the Catholics in general, especially in discourses about their connection with the Muslim Others (*Islam in Britain* 22-23).

The renegade usually chose this path in order to obtain economic advantages, since, in a period when the financial conditions of many in England was still uncertain, foreign societies could be considered as lands of opportunity. This was probably the case of several Mediterranean communities, considered cosmopolitan, wealthy, and powerful, from the point of view of those who would willingly adopt, for instance, the Catholic or Islamic religions or customs. In the case of conversion to Islam (much more frequent), conversion was popularly known as “taking the turban.” This attitude could be perceived in works such as the anonymous treatise *The Policie of the Turkish Empire* (1597), where the author maintains that in the Turkish Empire, after conversion,

anie Christian is thus circumcised, he is carried about al the quarters and streetes of the Cittie, with great triumph and ioy of the people, who haue drummes and trumpets sounding before them: & besides diuers gifts and rewards bestowed vpon him, he is made free for euer after from all tributes and exactions. Through the desire of which gaine & priuiledge, many of the Greeks (whom the Turkes call Vrmular) and manie Albanezes (whom they call Arnantlar) doo willingly offer themselues to be circumcised. (24)

In fact, the existence of hundreds of English or Europeans who committed apostasy is documented in early modern discourses. For instance, Samuel Purchas (1577?-1626), an English cleric and historiographer, in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1624), reproduces the writings of B. Gramaye (*Relations of the Christianitie of Africa*, 1619), suggesting that “in the kingdom of Algiers, there were 200,000 Christians most of whom were ‘Renegados or Apostatas’” (Matar, *Islam in Britain* 16; Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. ix, 268, 278, 272). Similarly, in the collection of sermons of Edward Kellet and Henry Byam, *A returne from Argier* (1628), Byam asserts:

I am informed, many hundreds are Musselmans in Turkey and Christians at home, doffing their religion as they do their clothes, and keeping a conscience for every harbour where they shall put in. And those apostates and circumcised renegadoes they have discharged their conscience wondrous well if they can return, and (the fact unknown) make profession of their first faith. These men

are cowards and flexible before the fall, careless and obstinate after it. (74)

Perhaps, the reason for the numerous conversions could be partially provoked, we suggest, because many early modern Islamic communities were probably more egalitarian than most contemporary Christian societies. To begin with, they were almost certainly more tolerant with other religions, as the multicultural nature of the Mediterranean suggests. Indeed, Daniel Goffman reminds us that, for instance, even if the Ottoman Empire has been typically considered a cruel “persecutor of Christians,” this community was, in fact, probably “a haven for runaways from a fiercely intolerant Christian Europe,” since in the Ottoman Empire “there were thousands of renegades from Christendom,” while in Christian Europe we can hardly ever encounter accounts of unconstrained Muslims, Jews or other foreigners (*The Ottoman* 6-7).

Instances of Muslim tolerance can be found in the *Qur’an*, which established that men and women were equal, claiming that “whether you are male or female, each is like the other” (*Qur’an* 49). Also, several early modern English travellers who visited the Orient, such Sir Anthony Sherley (1565-1635), spoke of harems and of Janissaries,¹ who menaced to use male travellers “to serve their sodomitical appetites” (Ross, ed., *Sir Anthony* 106). Hence, we may conclude that Islamic communities might be more tolerant or relaxed in terms of gender difference, sodomy

¹ The janissaries (sing. janizary, or janissary), were members of the Ottoman, or Turkish, infantry from the fourteenth century to 1826, (violently) taken as children from Christian families (*OED sb.* 1). They were eventually integrated, and probably treated as equals, within the Muslim society, becoming “the Sultan’s guard and the main part of the standing army” (*OED sb.* 1).

(including what nowadays is considered as homosexuality), or sexuality in general. This was probably an appealing aspect as suggested by William Rowley in *All's Lost by Lust* (first acted in 1619), where Antonio, a Spanish noble, claims that he would “turne Turk, or Moore Mahometan,” because, this way, he “may have three wives more” (2.6.42, 44).

In addition, the Quran transmits a much more classless, egalitarian view of society than that endorsed by Christianity. Indeed, Islam preaches that “Even the humblest nomad was equal to a sultan in the eyes of Allah,” and therefore, perhaps someone from the low ranks of society could reach a high position more easily than in Christian communities (Wheatcroft 47). This perspective could represent a powerful incentive for those early modern Christians who “Through the desire of which gaine & priuiledge” were eager to integrate in the new culture or to “take the turban” (convert to Islam) in order to attain prosperity and a better social position (*The Policie* 24).

Among the early modern English plays focusing on renegades in the Islamic world we could mention Robert Daborne’s *A Christian Turned Turk, or The Tragical Liues and Deaths of the two Famous Pyrates, Ward and Dansiker* (1610). The play is about the historical figure of the popular pirate John Ward, an apostate demonised by Daborne in order to censure the contemporary discourses who exalted the acts of this renegade (Matar, *Islam in Britain* 54-55; Vitkus, *Three Turk* 24). The reverse process takes place in Philip Massinger’s *The Renegado* (1623-24),¹ where Antonio

¹ *The Renegado* was based on three prose works by Miguel de Cervante: “The Captive’s Story,” from *Don Quixote, Part 1* (printed in English in 1605); “The Liberal Lover,” from the collection *Novelas ejemplares* (printed in Spanish in 1613); and *Los Baños de Argel* (printed in Spanish in 1615) (Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays* 40).

Grimaldi, the renegade of the title, gives up his newly adopted faith and returns to Christianity, and where a Venetian gentleman, Vitelli, falls for an Ottoman princess, Donusa, but resists conversion and, instead, persuades her to embrace Christianity (Matar, *Islam in Britain* 59).

To be sure, a renegade was not only an English Other or a Christian who adopted the religion or cultures of the Muslims. Among others, Catholic societies, such as Spain, France or Venice, were also alluring cosmopolitan and wealthy lands, and hence, they were often considered as encouraging others, such as the English Protestants, to commit apostasy or adopt their culture. In 1601, for instance, John Croke, a spokesperson of the English House of Commons, described the Pope as a “man of sin and Belial or Beast of Rome,” who sends Jesuits and priests abroad to seduce men that are “bewitched with that cup of the whore of Babylon” (Marienstrass 103).¹

The Christian renegades, on their part, were typically considered traitors to their community: they were usually treated as criminals, and represented as a potential threat for the Englishmen, who could be tempted to emulate them. In fact, ambivalent discourses on renegades occasionally exalted these charismatic antiheroes, which is the case of early modern English pamphlets such as: Andrew Barker’s *True and Certain Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Overthrows, and now present Estate of Captain Ward and Dansiker, the two late famous Pirates ...* (1609) or the anonymous *News from Sea, Of Two Notorious Pirates, Ward ... and*

¹ The Elizabethan fears of foreign forces creating possible domestic enemies is justified in discourses such as that of the anonymous pamphlet, published in 1678, with the title *A Bull sent by Pope Pius to encourage the traytors in England pronounced against Queen Elizabeth of ever glorious memory, shewing the wicked designs of popery*.

Dansiker (1609). These documents, despite the overall rejection of the pirates, betray the admiration of their English contemporaries (Vitkus, *Three Turk* 24). For instance, the author of *News from the Sea* confesses that Ward “hath built a very stately house, far more fit for a prince, than a pirate,” and that “[h]is respect and regard is reported to be such with the Great Turk, as he is made equal in estimate with the Bashaw” (26).

Indeed, renegades were associated with national and religious enemies; however, just like other varieties of strangers, these criminals could be linked to different types of Others. For instance, in London criminality was often associated with theatres and playwrights, since they were established in the outskirts of the city, an acknowledged gathering place for offenders and prostitutes. In fact, theatres were probably the settings where low rank citizens could briefly “escape” from their problems and see how the established social roles became ambiguous: humble men, like the renegades, became nobles; criminal women (such as Moll Cutpurse in Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton’s *The Roaring Girl*, published in 1611), interacted with powerful and rich lords; women behave like men and men behave like women.

Boys in women’s clothes. Sodomy and dress codes

Issues such as criminality, illegitimacy, miscegenation, cross-dressing or incest, could be related to the notion of sodomy, that is, “any form of sexual intercourse considered to be unnatural” (*OED sb.* 1).¹ In fact, all

¹ Richard Marienstras, in his seminal book *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World* (1985), suggests that incest, “a union between beings who are too close, can be

kinds of “sexual perversions” were banned; that is, not only what today is recognised as homosexuality, but also polygamy, bestiality, heterosexual anal sex, and probably interracial intercourse were considered perversions.

According to Richard Marienstras, in his seminal book *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World* (1985), being a renegade could be similarly deemed as an instance of sodomite behaviour, since they were supposed ravishers of their peers, and presented a conduct that implied “a manipulation of the theme of the near and the far, in terms of the family, rhetoric and time” (6-7). In this sense he quotes a passage from the anonymous play (sometimes attributed to George Peele) *The Life and Death of Jack Straw* (1594) where civil war is explicitly compared to incest (6-7):

What means these wretched miscreants,
To make a spoile of their owne country men:
... to trouble England thus
Well may I tearme it inest to the Land. (2.603-04, 607-08)

Sodomy, or an abnormal sexual activity, was, thus, often associated not only with domestic strangers (or, to use a contemporary term, with homosexuality), but also with national, “racial,” gendered or religious Others. These individuals were menacing presences, placed at the margins of society and where, for instance, lasciviousness in women, sexual freedom, cross-dressing or social mobility, were (allegedly) permitted and displayed without restraint.

considered as a symmetrically inverted homologue of the murder of one human being by another close to it.” (6).

The suggestive boy actors in women's attires were accused to arouse men sexually, and to impair the ability of the spectators to identify the biological distinction between women and men (Greenblatt, *Will in the World* 186; Findlay, "Gendering" 405). They were presented by Preachers and other Puritans, in sermons and pamphlets, in sexual terms as "ganymedes," "minions," "catamites" or "ingles," in order to attack their role in the proliferating of depravation in theatres (Hamill, "Shakespeare's Sexuality" 4).¹

As a response to the early modern attacks to the theatre and issues such as the presence of boy actors in female disguise, in *An Apology for Actors* (1612), the dramatist Thomas Heywood questions the possibility that the audience could actually fail to identify the real gender or sexuality of an actor. He suggested that their job was a mere "representation" and that, as a result, it could not be taken seriously or as an offence:

to see our youths attired in the habit of women, who knowes not what their intents be? who cannot distinguish them by their names, assuredly knowing, they are but to represent such a Lady, at such a time appoynted? (n. pag.)

¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary* reports that the term "minion" originated from the "Middle French *mignon*," a twelfth century's "term of abuse, probably with homosexual connotations" (*OED sb.*¹ A.I.1.a). *Minion* was employed in England as early as 1500 to denote "a lover," "a king's favourite," or it was used "as a term of endearment" meaning "pretty, delicate, graceful" (*OED sb.*¹ A.I.1.a). The *OED* reports that "ganymede" was in use as synonym of "catamite" in 1591 and defines "ingle," as "A boy-favourite (in bad sense)" and *catamite* as "A boy kept for homosexual practices; the passive partner in anal intercourse" providing evidences of their use in 1592 and 1601 respectively ("ganymede" *OED sb.* 2; "ingle," *OED sb.*² 1; "catamite" *OED sb.*).

Indeed, perhaps what worried his sanctimonious contemporaries was not cross-dressing itself, but rather the transgressive presence of the boy actor onstage, who, according to Marjorie Garber, was “a provoker of category crises, a destabilizer of binarisms, a transgressor of boundaries” (90).¹ Early modern English pamphlets show that the presence of boys in women’s clothes was an argument used in (Puritan) anti-theatrical discourses such as John Rainolds’ *Th’ Overthrow of Stage Playes* (1599), who argued, for instance that “the putting of wemens attire on men may kindle in uncleane affections” (Smith, *Homosexual Desire* 147). However, Stephen Orgel asks in his book *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare’s England* (1996) “Why, then, if boys in women’s dress are so threatening, did the English maintain a transvestite theatre?” (35-36); hence, he suggests that

Despite the anxiety expressed in the antitheatrical literature, despite the institutionalization of marriage and patriarchy, English Renaissance culture ... did not display a morbid fear of homoertocisim as such; the love of men for other men was both a fact of life and an essential element of the patronage system. ... Anxiety about the fidelity of women, on the other hand, does seem to have been strikingly prevalent; (35-36)

Consequently, we may argue that if female roles were interpreted by women, the result would be, perhaps, considered more shocking for its

¹ See also Edel Lamb’s “Boy’s Plays” 80.

erotic implications and for showing empowered and emancipated women, who, in patriarchal societies, were expected to be loyal, faithful, submissive and exclusively dedicated to their husbands and households. In fact, the fears about losing control over the female Other, might have been central in early modern English discourses, permeating the descriptions of other domestic or foreign strangers more pervasively.

In 1583, Philip Stubbes, in his considerations about cross-dressing and its role as a “sign distinctive to discern betwixt sex and sex,” argued that “to wear the apparel of another sex is to ... adulterate the verity of his own kind” (Kahn 723). Here Stubbes suggests that a man wearing female clothes, or “*Hermaphroditi*, that is, monsters of both kinds, half women, half men,” would physically and mentally adopt female features “as if clothing had the magical power to alter flesh and spirit” (723). Other examples of male transvestism in early modern English drama, where we are presented with cross-dressing and dissembling, are Ben Jonson’s *The New Inn* (1629), Richard Brome’s *The Damoiselle* (1638), and Ben Jonson’s play *Epicoene, or The Silent Woman* (1609), where its protagonist is a young man who dresses up as “the silent woman” of the title.

Finally, in early modern discourses, arguments against transvestism could be associated with those confronting social mobility, since in several European societies regulating dress codes was a way to control both gendered Others and low social groups. Indeed, especially in proto-capitalist communities, the growing middle social groups were increasingly eager to adopt the distinguished attires of the nobles, their emblems of “distinctiveness.” The rejection of this possibility can be perceived in *Hic Mulier*, where the male voice argues that if women take

on male clothes and low or middle social groups are allowed to wear the garments of nobility, it would breach social boundaries (Kahn 722).

In England, Sumptuary Laws –intermittently enforced from the reign of Edward III, during the fourteenth century, up to 1604, after Elizabeth I’s death–, are a further example of early modern attempt to control society forbidding certain types of outfits (723).¹ This is an additional instance of how various discourses about alterity mingled in order to serve a given ideology, since if “a prosperous merchant could afford to wear the velvet reserved for a lord, arguments against women’s cross-dressing easily modulated into dire warnings against the levelling of ranks” (723). An example of Sumptuary Law is *The Preamble to the Act of 1510*, passed under Henry VIII:

Forasmuche as the greate and costly array and apparrell used wythin this realme contrary to good statutes therof made, hath be the occasion of grete impoverishing to divers of the Kings subjects and provoked many of them to robbe and to doo extortion and other unlawful dedes to maynteyne therby ther costeley arrey: In excchewyng theof, Be it ordeyned by the authority of this present Parliament that no persone of whate state, condicion, or degre that he be, use in his apparel eny cloth of golde of purpoure purple coloure or sylke of purpoure coloure, but onely the Kyng, the Quwene, the Kyng’s Moder, the Kyng’s Chylder, the Kyng’s Brethers and Susters, upon payne to forfeitt the seid

¹ About dress codes and Sumptuary Laws, see chapter five in Lisa Jardine’s *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (1983), 148-50.

apparel, ... and for using the same to forfaite 20 pounds.
(Hayward 351)

It is interesting to note that laws concerning dress codes were especially enforced in Ireland, proscribing the use of native dress. The same had happened in 1492 Spain, when defeated Moors were prohibited to dress in their traditional costumes, and later, throughout the sixteenth century, with Moriscos (baptized –that is, converted– Muslims).¹ In Ireland, Sir John Perrot, Lord President of Munster under Elizabeth I, established that

The inhabitants of cities and corporate towns shall wear no mantles, shorts, Irish coats, or great shirts, nor suffer their hair to grow to glebb, but to wear clerks' gowns, jackets, jerkins, and some civil garments and no maid or single woman shall wear or put on any great roll or kercher of linen cloth upon their heads ... but to put on hats, caps, French hoods, tippetts, or some other civil attire upon their heads. (Montaño 362-63)²

This passage exemplifies not only the occasionally enforced early modern control of dress, but also the powerful symbolism attached to it and its potential to challenge and subvert. At the same time, it corroborates the sustained rejection towards very specific individuals and the occasional

¹ See Julio Caro, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada* (1991), 117-24.

² In the eighteenth century, under George II a similar law was enforced in Scotland, *The Disarming Act of 1746*, forbidding the use of Highland Dress (Gibson 258).

connection among them, such as women and men of low ranks and national/political, religious or “racial” Others.

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions

Significant social events such as the introduction of Protestantism, (proto)capitalism and the growing presence of foreigners in early modern Europe, witnessed the early stages of a gradual construction of new ambivalent attitudes towards Others. This tendency is corroborated by literary and non-literary discourses of the period, where ethnic, cultural, religious and domestic strangers were often associated with one another and described or treated in similar terms.

In England, the new global order, together with national psychological aspects, such as the response to a geographically marginal situation, contributed to the creation of an identity that established a more accentuated separation between white, male, (Protestant) Christian English (or North Europeans) and those individuals considered as strangers (Hill, *The Century* 182-84).

However, these widespread negative feelings contrast with attitudes of admiration and awe towards different types of Others, whose proximity was usually rejected, but also desirable. For instance, early modern English drama usually depicted strangers such as Spaniards, Moors, women and bastards, as being naturally tainted by evil; but, each group could be occasionally portrayed positively (or as preferable to one another), depending on the social interests of the given period.

In spite of being white Christians, for instance, European, national/political (and not “racial”) strangers could be described as “strained” by their own choice of a “sinful” religion or by their liminal position and proximity to the extra-European, non-Christian and “racial”

Others. On the other hand, “racial” foreigners, such as Shakespeare’s most popular Moor, Othello, could be occasionally considered comparatively more virtuous than Catholics. In fact, in the same discourse we could witness two opposite processes, where an alleged innate savageness could suddenly seize the will of a virtuous black man, such as Othello. Hence, the noble “racial” Other could eventually outdo the crimes of the white, political and Catholic stranger.

The same process could take place in the description of women: fierce but desirable, such as Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton’s Moll, in *The Roaring Girl* (published in 1611); weak and lustful (even surpassing the “racial” Other), such as Eugenia in Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion* (c. 1600); or virtuous and representing national pride and resilience in their contact with the foreigner, such as Bess Bridges, in Thomas Heywood’s *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts 1 and 2* (c. 1600 and c. 1630).

The changing descriptions of these and other strangers, may be considered as a proof of the anxieties about the corrupting power which is unleashed when Others take control of the State, the family or manliness, often as a result of an immoral relationship with European, white and (Protestant) Christians. This is the case of Eleazar, the machiavellian Moor of Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion* (c. 1600), whose charismatic and sensual presence corrupts the court and, eventually, the whole Spanish community who willingly offer the crown to the political and “racial” Other.

However, in spite of the generalised anxiety, the approximation to strangers, such as foreigners or gendered Others, could be perceived as threatening, but also appealing. In fact, in early modern discourses, a desirably subversive or liberal attitude (in social, commercial or sexual

aspects) was seldom performed by Protestant, English gentlemen, but by (not-so-different) staged Others, who their subversive and seducing “corrupting powers.”

Indeed, transgression was typically silenced at the end of most discourses. In early modern literature an ultimate divine justice usually prevented the propagation of the behaviour of the Other, or that of white, Protestant (or Christian), European men, who succumbed to the magnetism of enticing strangers (becoming, in turn, domestic Others, from the point of view of their contemporaries). The final restoration of the accepted principles could be displayed presenting two different types of strangers, such as blacks and women, Christians and heathens, extra-Europeans and renegades, who, in the end, conveniently destroy each other (in varying degrees).

Nevertheless, we should not give the (false) impression that all the representation of foreigners were always negative. In early modern literature we may find a symbiosis, where, although eventually there is containment or repression of these Others, there is also a subversive message in their acts (as suggested by the Cultural Materialist principles). That is, the admonishment of the seducing Others (or of their behaviour) is not necessarily a proof of their rejection; it could be an (un)conscious effort to content different addressees, where lower social groups could contemplate a desirable (brief) challenge of the social order, while the nobility would see how finally insubordinate characters are subdued.

However, as a result of this containment and final admonishment of the stranger, and because of the controversial growing intercultural interactions and events taking place during the early modern period, we may argue that the construction of English national identities was affected and built around discourses (un)consciously fostering an overall “racist,”

xenophobe or sexist image of the Other. In fact, even if the stranger was described in positive terms, he or she was typically defined as an individual who is, eventually, prone to act negatively, projecting a stereotyped image, being allegedly incapable to obey the moral principles necessary to make coexistence and society possible.

The hypothesis that early modern English were influenced by these attitudes may be endorsed by the increasing presence, during this period, of discourses including shifting (positive and negative) descriptions of unruly political, gendered, “racial” or religious strangers. The pervasiveness of such discourses, perhaps, occasionally deteriorated (un)intentionally the image of these Others. This negative image could influence, in turn, the social picture of humanity and the formation of malleable white, Christian and androcentric identities, together with the ideologies of impressionable communities, such as the English, struggling to find their own distinctiveness and prestige in opposition to that of others.

The growing presence of such discourses, moreover, may corroborate the thesis that there was an epistemological shift occurring in early modern England. From a possible previous situation of inferiority, periphery and awe for powerful foreign communities, now there is a movement or struggle to achieve centrality and where admiration or envy mingle with rejection. Such drive eventually consolidated with an achieved centrality and definitive ideological structure that would contribute to the discourses of rejection towards the Others on later stages.

Conclusiones

Eventos sociales significativos, tales como la introducción del Protestantismo, la aparición del (proto)capitalismo y la creciente presencia de extranjeros en la Europa pre-moderna, supusieron las primeras etapas de una creciente actitud ambivalente hacia el Otro. Esta tendencia puede corroborarse en discursos literarios y no literarios del periodo, durante el cual a menudo se asocian, o se tratan de forma similar, a distintos Otros étnicos, culturales, religiosos o domésticos.

En Inglaterra, el nuevo orden global, junto con aspectos psicológicos nacionales tales como la respuesta a una situación geográfica marginal, contribuyeron a la creación de una identidad que establecía una separación aún mayor entre varones blancos, Cristianos (Protestantes), ingleses, y aquellos individuos considerados ajenos (u Otros) a esa imagen ideal (Hill, *The Century* 182-84).

Sin embargo, ese sentimiento negativo generalizado, contrasta con las actitudes de admiración hacia distintos tipos de Otro, cuya proximidad era típicamente rechazada, pero también deseada. Por ejemplo, el drama inglés pre-moderno a menudo describe a extranjeros, como españoles, moros, mujeres y bastardos, como seres caracterizados por su malicia “natural”; sin embargo, cada grupo podía ser ocasionalmente descrito de manera positiva (o como preferible a otro) dependiendo de los intereses sociales del periodo.

A pesar de ser Cristianos blancos, los extranjeros (no “raciales”) nacionales/políticos europeos, por ejemplo, podían ser descritos como individuos manchados por su voluntaria asociación con una religión “inmoral”, o por su situación liminal y proximidad con el Otro “racial”, no Cristiano y extra-europeo. Por otro lado, ocasionalmente, los extranjeros

“raciales”, como el moro más popular de Shakespeare, Othello, pudieron considerarse comparativamente más virtuosos que los mismos católicos. De hecho, en el mismo discurso podemos ser testigos de dos procesos opuestos donde un supuesto salvajismo innato podía apropiarse repentinamente de la voluntad de un hombre negro virtuoso como Othello. Por lo tanto, el noble extranjero “racial” podría finalmente sobrepasar los crímenes de un Otro político blanco y católico.

El mismo proceso podía darse con las diferencias de género: las mujeres podían representarse bien como personas fieras pero deseables, como Moll en *The Roaring Girl* (publicada en 1611) de Thomas Dekker y Thomas Middleton; bien como villanas débiles y lascivas (incluso sobrepasando al Otro “racial”), como Eugenia en *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600) de Thomas Dekker; o bien como seres virtuosos, símbolos de orgullo nacional, como es el caso de Bess Bridges, en *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts 1 and 2* (c. 1600 and c. 1630) de Thomas Heywood.

Las descripciones cambiantes de estos y otros extranjeros podría considerarse como la prueba de que existían ciertas preocupaciones hacia los supuestos poderes de corrupción que se liberan cuando los Otros toman el control del estado, la familia o la masculinidad; a menudo como resultado de una relación inmoral con un individuo europeo, blanco y cristiano (protestante). Este es el caso de Eleazar, el moro maquiavélico de *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600), cuya carismática y sensual presencia corrompe la corte y, finalmente, la comunidad española al completo: un pueblo que acaba ofreciendo voluntariamente la corona de España a este Otro político y “racial”.

Sin embargo, a pesar de esta ansiedad generalizada, la aproximación hacia lo ajeno, como los Otros extranjeros o de género, podía percibirse como amenazadora, pero también atrayente. De hecho, en los discursos

pre-modernos, una deseable actitud subversiva o liberal (en cuestiones sociales, comerciales o sexuales) es rara vez llevada a cabo por distinguidos caballeros protestantes ingleses, sino más bien por Otros (no tan distintos), quienes escenifican sus subversivos y seductores “poderes de corrupción”. Ciertamente, el elemento transgresor era típicamente silenciado al final de la mayoría de los discursos.

En la literatura pre-moderna, una última justicia divina normalmente evitaba la propagación de la conducta del Otro o del europeo blanco y católico (protestante), quien sucumbía al magnetismo del Otro seductor (convirtiéndose, a su vez, en un Otro doméstico, desde el punto de vista de sus contemporáneos). La restauración final de los preceptos establecidos podían presentarse por medio de dos tipos distintos de Otros, como el cristiano y el pagano, el extra-europeo y el renegado, o el Otro “racial” y la mujer, quienes, al final, convenientemente se destruyen de forma mutua (a diversos niveles).

Sin embargo, no debemos dar la (falsa) impresión de que todas las representaciones de lo ajeno son siempre negativas. En la literatura pre-moderna podemos encontrar una simbiosis donde, aunque finalmente hay una contención o represión de estos Otros, en sus actos también hay un mensaje subversivo (tal como se sugiere en los principios del Materialismo Cultural). Es decir, la amonestación de un Otro carismático y cautivador (o de su comportamiento) no es necesariamente una prueba de su rechazo; puede tratarse de un esfuerzo (in)consciente por contentar a diferentes destinatarios: por ejemplo, los grupos sociales más humildes podían contemplar un breve pero deseable desafío del orden social, mientras que la nobleza podía ver cómo finalmente los personajes insubordinados eran subyugados.

Por otro lado, como resultado de la eventual censura del Otro y debido a la creciente y controvertida interacción intercultural, junto a los acontecimientos sociales que tienen lugar en la era pre-moderna, podemos argumentar que las identidades nacionales inglesas fueron afectadas por y construidas en torno a discursos que (in)conscientemente fomentan una visión “racista”, xenófoba o sexista del Otro. De hecho, aunque el Otro es ocasionalmente descrito en términos positivos, él o ella son típicamente definidos como individuos que, finalmente, son propensos a actuar de manera negativa, proyectando una imagen estereotipada, ya que tales individuos son supuestamente incapaces de obedecer los principios morales necesarios para la coexistencia social.

La hipótesis de que las ideologías inglesas pre-modernas fueron influenciadas por tales actitudes puede apoyarse en la creciente presencia de discursos que incluyen descripciones cambiantes (positivas y negativas) de Otros de tipo político, de género, “raciales” o religiosos. Es posible que tales discursos finalmente deterioraran, intencionadamente o no, la imagen de estos Otros, creando una serie de perfiles que, a su vez, influirían en su imagen social. Finalmente, la formación de identidades e ideologías de comunidades en formación (blancas, androcéntricas y cristianas) que, como la inglesa, luchaban por encontrar su propia distinción y prestigio frente a la de otros, se vería afectada por este tipo de descripciones estereotipadas.

En conjunto, la creciente presencia de tales discursos puede además corroborar la tesis de que tuvo lugar un cambio epistemológico en la Inglaterra pre-moderna. Desde una posible situación previa de inferioridad, periferia y admiración por poderosas comunidades extranjeras, ahora se produce un movimiento de lucha para alcanzar una mayor centralidad, mezclándose con el rechazo la admiración por, o la

envidia hacia, lo ajeno. Tal movimiento se consolidaría tras la obtención de esa centralidad y la solidificación de una estructura ideológica concreta que contribuiría a la conformación de discursos de rechazo en épocas posteriores.

**A CRITICAL EDITION OF THOMAS DEKKER'S
LUST'S DOMINION (c. 1600)**

A Critical Edition of Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600)

1. Textual and editorial notes

Thomas Dekker

Although relatively neglected by most biographers, Thomas Dekker (c.1572-1632) was an acclaimed and prolific English dramatist and pamphleteer, distinguished for his energetic reproductions of the ideologies and attitudes of his contemporaries. He might have written or collaborated in the composition of some forty to fifty plays since 1598, when his name first appears in Philip Henslowe's *Diary* (c. 1592-1609), when the theatrical entrepreneur lent money to the acting company of the Lord Admiral's Men to purchase a book by Dekker (Wells 107). He was particularly active in the contemporary criticism against diverse socio-political aspects, which, in turn, impinged on the discourses examined in his work.

The details about Dekker's life are not certain, including the date of his birth, but his surname suggests that he might have been born in a Dutch family of immigrants (Wells 107). On the other hand, an engraving in his pamphlet *Dekker his Dream* (1620), shows a portrait of author sleeping (see Figure 1 on page 164). Moreover, in the Epistle Dedicatory of his pamphlet *English Villanies* (the 1632, seventh edition, of *Lanthorn and Candlelight*, 1608) we read that the text relates the "discoveries" made during his "three-score years," suggesting that in 1632 he was sixty-year-old, and hence, he might have been born around 1572 (n. pag.).

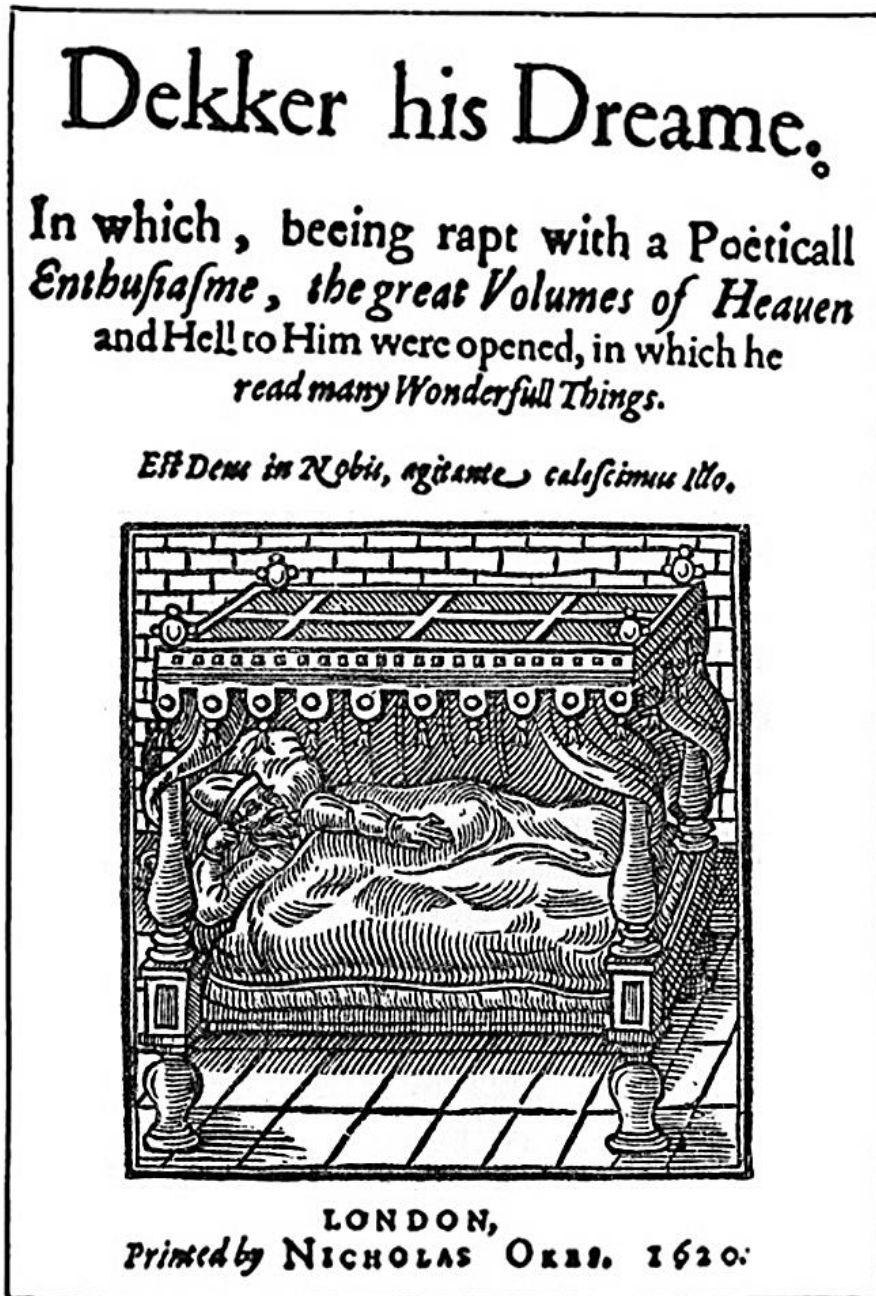


Figure 1. *Dekker his Dream* (1620), pamphlet by Thomas Dekker with a portrait of the author sleeping.

An ardent patriot, in his pamphlet *The Seven Deadly Sins of London* (1606), he states that he was born and raised in the English capital: “O thou beautifullest daughter of two united monarchies! from thy womb received I my being; from thy breasts my nourishment” (A4). Likewise, in the pamphlet *A Rod for Runaways* (1625), Dekker states “O London! thou mother of my life, nurse of my being, a hard-hearted son might I be counted if here I should not dissolve all into tears, to hear thee pouring forth thy passionate condolences” (B1-2).

In fact, his discourses focused mainly in the city of London and it is likely that he made a living only out of his writings, since in the Epistle Dedicatory of his first edition of *Lanthorn and Candlelight* (1608) he identifies with those writers who have “no more acres to live upon than those that lie in his head,” and who “(for gaine only) make 5 or 6 voyages to the Presse, and ... spit nothing but inck” (A2).¹

Dekker spent seven years (from 1612 to 1619) in King's Bench prison for debts and he married more than once. The names and the (maiden) surnames of his wives and children are uncertain, but we know that he married a woman named Mary, with whom he had three daughters, and another one named Elizabeth (Wells, *Shakespeare and Co.* 114). We also know that he might have had one son and three daughters: Dorcas, Anne and Elizabeth (Hunt, *Thomas Dekker* 78). Even though he probably lived a long and prolific life, he died in August of 1632 still in debts, and was buried in Clerkenwell, London (Wells 128).

In 1911, literary critic Mary Leland Hunt, wrote what is probably still the most complete biographical work on the playwright: *Thomas*

¹ See also Viviana Comensoli's edition of Thomas Dekker's *Lantern and Candlelight* (2007), 76.

Dekker. A Study. Hunt noted that only through Dekker's "dedications or prefaces," his "personal prose" and "dramatic verse," we may glimpse his interests and preoccupations, such as (2):

his pity for maimed soldiers, for poor scholars, for the victims of usurers; his horror of cruelty; the democracy of his outlook that at times included even women in its scope. ... his love of books and music, his liking for law, and his passion for poetry and religion. (2)

While Dekker's prose has been described as hasty and unruly, perhaps as a result of the profuse productiveness of this professional playwright, his idealistic vision of the world and his detailed and realistic descriptions made him a prestigious and respected writer, occasionally associated by contemporary dramatists such as John Webster to the important figure of William Shakespeare (McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood* 1).

A tenacious Protestant, patriot and traditional moralist, Dekker wrote several anti-Catholic pamphlets and his plays are replete of hints and statements against Catholic communities such as Spain. In fact, as Hunt suggests, his youth was probably marked by "the outburst of love for country and queen that followed the defeat of the Armada" (3). At the same time, he grew up in an England where "to glory of adventure and glory of war was added the thrill of new shaping forces in literature" (3); hence, his descriptions of faraway lands blended with London settings and preoccupations for international political affairs.

Performed before Queen Elizabeth on New Year's Day 1600, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), his most popular work, is an example of Dekker's interest in socio-political confrontations such as those between

the nobility and the flourishing wealthy guilds, local and immigrant craftsmen, English and foreign Others (Bevington, et al, eds. 483). The vibrant descriptions of life in London and Dekker's colloquial speech undoubtedly motivated the success of this and other plays among the contemporary lower social groups, who could dream about social improvement and the emergence of a powerful middle social group shaped by the advent of the new nationalistic and religious pride (483). Apart from *Shoemaker's Holiday*, only other eight surviving plays were allegedly entirely written by him: *Old Fortunatus* (1599), *The Noble Spanish Soldier* (pub. 1634), *Troia Nova Triumphans, or London Triumphant* (1612), *London's Tempe, or The Feild of Happines* (1629), *The Honest Whore, Part 2* (c. 1605), *Match Me in London* (c. 1611), *The Wonder of a Kingdom* (1634).

Dekker composed several pageants to welcome the Lord Mayor (1612, 1627, 1628, and 1629); he collaborated in the scheme for the street performances staged upon James I's arrival in the capital in 1603 (McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood* 2); and among his prose pamphlets we could mention: *The Wonderful Yeare* (1603), where he conveyed his preoccupations about the 1603 outbreak of bubonic plague (or Black Death) in London; *The double PP. A papist im armes* (1606), an anti-Catholic tract; *The Belman of London* (1608), concerned with crime; and *The Guls Horne-Booke* (1609), about the theatrical life of London.

Dekker was probably influenced, among others, by the works of Robert Greene, George Peele, Thomas Nashe, William Shakespeare and especially Christopher Marlowe, who, with his *Doctor Faustus* (published in 1604) could influence Dekker's religious attitudes and his concerns "with the struggle between good and evil" (Hunt 7). He also collaborated with dramatists such as Henry Chettle, Thomas Middleton, John Webster,

Philip Massinger, John Ford, William Rowley, John Marston, William Haughton and John Day. The latter three playwrights have been considered by critics such as Gustav Cross as possible co-authors of the play *Lust's Dominion* (1600).

In spite of such collaborations, the so-called “poets’ war” (“Poetomachia” in Dekker’s words) or “war of the theatres” (1599-1601), confronted Ben Jonson with his rivals, Dekker and John Marston. Dekker was parodied by Jonson in his *Poetaster* (1601), under the name of Demetrius Fannius, where another character says of him: “O, sir, his doublet’s a little decayed; he is otherwise a very simple honest fellow, sir, one Demetrius, a dresser of plays about the town here,” (Hunt 67). In turn, Jonson was satirized in Dekker’s *Satiro-mastix* (1601).¹

The play

Early modern plays such as Thomas Dekker’s *Lust's Dominion* could be considered especially representative in a study of alterity and of the perception of different groups of Others in the West.

While the existence of *Lust's Dominion* has gone almost unnoticed after its representations at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the importance of this work has been recognised from its inception to the present day. In fact, the first surviving edition of the play does not appear until half a century later, when Francis Kirkman (1632 - c. 1680), a London publisher and an enthusiastic of what he considered the best literary works of the past, did not miss the opportunity to print and publish

¹ For further reading about Thomas Dekker, see Darryll Grantley’s “Thomas Dekker and the emergence of city comedy” (2012).

Dekker's work. Interestingly, Gustav Cross, in his 1958 article "The Authorship of *Lust's Dominion*," already noted that in *Old English Plays* (1814-15) Charles Wentworth Dilke (believing that the play was written by Christopher Marlowe) claimed that this play was "a much better play than *Dr. Faustus*," adding that "an anonymous writer in the *Retrospective Review* for 1821 went further, finding it superior to *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta* as well" (40).¹

Lust's Dominion presents a Spanish setting where various strangers interact: Eleazar the Moor, a "racial," religious and political Other; Eugenia, the Lascivious Queen of the title, a lustful and unfaithful woman, who represents Spain (or "lust's dominion"); her son, Prince Philip, suspected of being a bastard (and in this case an unlawful heir to the throne);² and the corrupt member of the rejected Catholic religion, Cardinal Mendoza, described as a coward, greedy and lustful man. Here Catholic Spain is, hence, made to represent this iniquitous realm and is pictured as the home of all these strangers.

Authorship and date of *Lust's Dominion*

Contrary to the opinion of Mary Leland Hunt, who, in 1911, asserted that "The Queen and Eleazer were conceived by a more 'robust' mind than that of Dekker" (*Thomas Dekker* 63), today there is wide agreement that, at the

¹ Indeed, the purpose of the present work is not to speculate on the degree of accuracy of such opinions, since they should probably be associated mainly to questions of taste and personal choice; but we may find these statements relevant to stress the value of this relatively neglected work by Dekker and to support our conviction that it is not only worth of analysis, but also that it may be a valid complement to the studies of the most outstanding works of his era.

² See Emily Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor* 134.

turn of the seventeenth century, the twenty-eight-year-old Thomas Dekker wrote his controversial play *Lust's Dominion*, or *The Lascivious Queen* (Cross 61; Hoy, Cyrus 56).

Because of the Spanish-Moorish topic of the play, it has been argued that, among other aspects, the play was influenced by the local excitement caused by the delegation led by ambassador Abd el-Ouahed (or Wahed) in August 1600, an emissary of the Moroccan Sultan Abd-el-Oahed ben Massood (Muley Hamet, King of Barbary), whose goal was to build an English-Moorish alliance against the powerful Spaniards (López-Peláez, "Muslims and Moriscos" 128-29). This event could further the generalised social rejection towards Spain and the temporary empathy with the potential Moorish allies, which may explain why the protagonist of the tragedy, Eleazar the Moor, seems to be used as a tool for the purification of Spain's sins.

Indeed, the play was almost certainly written in 1600, since it echoes the circumstances of the embassy, where the national and "racial" Others from Morocco, with their "exotic" customs and appearances, arrived in London (Matar, *Britain and Barbary* 13). In fact, in a context marked by a (temporary and self-interested) sympathy towards the potential Muslim allies against the Catholic threat, the English might, to some extent, feel certain empathy towards (or even identify with) the extra-European communities.

Moreover, in Dekker's play the Queen Mother and Eleazar relate the tragic story of the Prince of Fez, whose father's reign was invaded by the Spanish foe:

QUEEN MOTHER. Within the circle of twice ten years
since,
Your deceast King made warr in Barbarie,
Won Tunis, conquered Fesse, and hand to hand,
Slew great Abdela, King of Fesse, and father
To that Barbarian Prince. (5.1.89-96)

The passage refers to the Battle of Ksar El Kebir (1578), and since it took place roughly “twice ten years” (that is, twenty years) before, the play must have been written in 1598 or later.

Moreover, we could establish a more accurate date of composition, since the play is partly based on an anonymous document published in England in 1599, about the 1598 death of King Philip II of Spain, entitled *A briefe and true Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Wordes and Death of the King of Spaine, Philip, the Second of that Name, who died in his Abbey of S. Laurence at Escuriall, seuen miles from Madrill, the 13 of September 1598 (1599)* (Cross 40). In this sense, the following excerpts from *Lust's Dominion* and the pamphlet show a significant similarity:

My friends and subjects your sorrowes are of no force to
recover my health. (*Briefe and True Declaration* A3)

Dry your wet eies, for sorrow wanteth force
T'inspire a breathing soul in a dead coarse (Dekker, *Lust's*
1.2.19-20)

Commanding that this my bodie ... be embalm'd; then
apparelled with a Royall robe and so placed within this
brazen shrine. (*Briefe and True Declaration B1*)

when I am embalm'd,
Apparel me in a rich Roial Robe, ...
Then place my bones within that brazen shrine (Dekker,
Lust's 1.2.42-44)

I pray you have a great care and regard to your sister,
because shee was my looking glasse & the light of mine
eies. (*Briefe and True Declaration B2*)

have care to Isabel,
Her virtue was King Philips looking-glasse. (Dekker, *Lust's*
1.2.57-58)

Such similarities between the play and the pamphlet reinforce the idea that the play was probably written around 1600.

More than half a century later, the first surviving editions of *Lust's Dominion*, published in 1657, attributed its authorship to Christopher Marlowe, though this attribution was almost certainly spurious. In fact, while Marlowe died in 1593, we have enough evidence –as we have seen– to assert confidently that the manuscript (or good part of it) was written after his death, around 1600.

Some hypotheses suggest that John Marston and Henry Chettle may have collaborated in the composition of *Lust's Dominion*, and that Marlowe could be moderately involved in the configuration of an earlier

form of the play (Cross 41-42). While critics such as Sir A.W. Ward, A. H. Bullen, George Saintsbury, F.E. Schelling and Mary Leland Hunt, doubted Dekker's authorship of this dramatic piece, other scholars, such as F. G. Fleay, Arthur Symons, Sir Waiter Greg, W. Macneile Dixon, Collier and Swinburne, were persuaded that he was the (main) composer of the play (41-42).

The first scholar who claimed that *Lust's Dominion* was not Marlowe's work was John Payne Collier in 1825, who, in a note on his introduction to *Edward II* (c. 1591, published in 1594), stated that:

Lust's Dominion, though hitherto supposed to have been written by Marlow is unquestionably not his. Some confusion is occasioned in the plot by the insertion of characters unknown to history; but the King Philip who expires in the first act is Philip II. of Spain, who did not die [Vide Watson's Philip II. vol. III. p. 332] until 1598. Marlow was killed by Archer, in 1593. If this be not sufficient, or if it should be supposed for a moment that Philip I. might be intended, there is still further and conclusive evidence to shew that Marlow could not be the author of *Lust's Dominion*. A tract was printed in London in 1599, [Vide Lord Somers' collection II. 505] called "A briefe and true Declaration of the Sicknesse, last words and Death of the King of Spain, Philip Second," from which various passages in the play were clearly borrowed. (Dodsley and Hazlitt, eds., *A Select Collection* 311)

Whereas this hypothesis could be refuted arguing that the passages borrowed from the pamphlet were added in subsequent revisions of the play, the theatrical entrepreneur Philip Henslowe wrote in his diary that, on behalf of the playing company the Admiral's Men, he gave £ 3 to Thomas Dekker, William Haughton and John Day in February of 1600 to reserve the rights to perform *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, probably an alternative title or a previous version of *Lust's Dominion* (Cross 40; Carson 108; Hoy 57).

Textual note

Written around 1600, the first surviving editions of *Lust's Dominion* are, nonetheless, those published nearly sixteen years later by Francis Kirkman, in a duodecimo, in 1657. The only surviving copy of the issue "Printed for F.K. [Francis Kirkman] in the year 1657," preserved in the Library of Congress, was printed by Jane Bell, and is the only copy which includes three commendatory poems dedicated to Kirkman (Bowers 117).¹ In this copy, the author is not mentioned; however, there is a handwritten note in the title-page, probably added later, which reads "by Christopher Marloe" (see Figure 3 on page 198).

On the title-page of a second 1657 issue, probably published almost simultaneously, we read that it was "Written by Christofer Marloe, Gent." and "Printed for F.K. [Francis Kirkman] and are to be sold by Robert

¹ *Lust's Dominion*. N.p. [London]: Printed for F.K. [Francis Kirkman]..., 1657. *EEBO*. Web. 14 Aug. 2010. Duodecimo. Library of Congress.

Pollard...”.¹ Other early editions of the play are a 1658 duodecimo and a 1661 issue with two title-pages: one which is a reproduction of the one in Pollard's edition and an additional title-page, updating the year and place of publication.²

Con-texts, pre-texts and works based on *Lust's Dominion*

Among other texts that worked on the sets of ideologies about otherness discussed in *Lust's Dominion*, and which may have, to some extent, influenced each other, we could mention Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1587) and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1588-93).

Although the possible authorship of Christopher Marlowe has been rejected, critics such as Gustav Cross already noted in his article “The Authorship of *Lust's Dominion*” (1958) that “the play shows unmistakably the influence of Marlowe” and that there is an obvious indebtedness to *The Jew of Malta* (produced c. 1590 and published in 1633) with detectable echoes from *Doctor Faustus* (published in 1604) and *Edward II* (c. 1591, published in 1594) (39).

At the same time, *Lust's Dominion* is heavily influenced by the anonymous pamphlet titled *A briefe and true Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Wordes and Death of the King of Spaine, Philip, the Second of that Name, who died in his Abbey of S. Laurence at Escuriall, seuen miles from*

¹ *Lust's Dominion*. London: Printed for F.K. [Francis Kirkman] and are to be sold by Robert Pollard ..., 1657. *EEBO*. Web. 13 Nov. 2010. Duodecimo. Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland) Library.

² *Lust's Dominion*. London: Printed for F.K. at the John Fletcher's Head ..., 1661. Duodecimo. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Written by Christopher Marlowe, Gent.

Madrill, the 13 of September 1598 (1599), which provides the temporal and geographical context for the play.

According to Gustav Cross, the play presents a connection with revenge plays, which were popular by the end of the sixteenth and beginnings of the seventeenth centuries (“The Authorship” 41). He suggests that “Eleazer and Hoffman are the first of a long line of villain-revenger” and that “both stem from Aaron and Barabas ... while other likenesses are explicable in terms of the revival of revenge tragedy which Marston initiated with his two *Antonio* plays in 1599” (41).

Finally, among other works, probably written after Dekker’s play and discussing “racial,” national or religious otherness, we could mention Shakespeare’s *Othello* (1603); Henry Chettle’s *The Tragedy of Hoffman: or a Revenge for a Father* (played in 1602; printed in 1631); John Mason’s *The Turke. A worthie tragedie (or Mulleasses the Turke, 1607)*; William Rowley’s *All’s Lost by Lust* (first acted in 1619); and a later adaptation of *Lust’s Dominion* by Aphra Behn, *Abdelazer, or The Moor’s Revenge* (1676).

The present edition

In the present edition, the duodecimo of *Lust’s Dominion* printed for Francis Kirkman in 1657 (Library of Congress), will serve as the control text. This is the only issue which includes three commendatory poems dedicated to Kirkman and where the author is not mentioned (a handwritten note is added attributing it to Christopher Marlowe). At the same time, we will collate a second 1657 duodecimo of *Lust’s Dominion*, printed for Francis Kirkman and sold by Robert Pollard (Trinity College Library).

Further editions of the play used in the present dissertation include: the 1875 edition by Robert Dodsley, in *A Select Collection of Old English Plays. Originally Published by Robert Dodsley in the Year 1744* (4th ed. Vol. 14); the 1814 edition by Charles Wentworth Dilke, in *Old English plays; being a selection from the early dramatic writers* (vol. 1); the editions by J. Chappell and by William Oxberry, both composed in 1818; and the 1836 edition by George Robinson, William Pickering, et al., in *Works of Christopher Marlowe* (vol. 3).

Finally, the present edition of *Lust's Dominion* is mainly based on that by Fredson Bowers, published in 1961, considering also Chadwyck-Healey's edition of 1994.

Editorial procedures

In the present edition of *Lust's Dominion* we will try to keep the original structure of the 1657 duodecimo (D) published by Francis Kirkman as much as possible.

Conscious *departures* or *emendations* are present in the present edition in order to facilitate the comprehension of the text; however, we will preserve the original spelling used in Kirkman's edition. For instance, in the case of "finde" which is the old spelling for "find," we keep the final e; with "pleas'd," we do not add an "e" between the two consonants, being replaced by a (') in the old spelling; and the conjugation of the verbs in the second person of the singular such as "believ'st" or "laugh'st," will be preserved. However, we will provide a "Concise glossary of *Lust's Dominion* and early modern drama" (Appendix IV) to elucidate, when necessary, the meaning or spelling of terms that are no longer in use nowadays.

We have preserved the *lineation* used in Kirkman's 1657 duodecimo with a few exceptions where it has been silently adjusted in order to make the text clearer and easier to understand. With this aim, we have used Fredson Bower's edition as a model. In addition, words that were hyphenated in D have been written in full in the present edition.

A traditional *line numbering* has been added conforming to Fredson Bower's model. However, the present edition differs in 1.4; 2.3; 2.5; 2.6; 3.3; 3.4; 4.3; 5.2; 5.3; 5.5, since Bowers employs an act and scene organization which differs from that of Kirkman's 1657 duodecimo.

Speech prefixes have been consciously and silently altered to stress the separation between speeches. For instance, the prefix QUEEN MOTHER has been used instead of *Qu. Mo.* or *Queen.*, which were employed in Kirkman's 1657 duodecimo.

Stage directions have been respected, except for a small number of instances where they have been added and placed between square brackets, or where wording and location has been subtly altered to facilitate the comprehension of the text.

Square brackets are used in order to insert words or phrases in the text which were (accidentally) omitted by the printer or in order to clarify the meaning of the text.

Since '---' have been used in the original text to show hesitation or that the intervention of a character is interrupted by another, I will use it, instead of the more common '...'.

Like Fredson Bowers, I will italicize the word Moor, when it refers to the character of Eleazar, using a regular font when the author speaks in general terms about other Moors as political and "racial" strangers.

Finally, we will use the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (7th ed., *The Modern Language Association*) as a reference in the

composition of the text style in both the theoretical matter and the critical edition of *Lust's Dominion*. Some exceptions will be introduced whenever they are considered justified in this type of critical composition in order to facilitate its reading. For this purpose, the text will be justified rather than aligned to the left, and an 1.5 pt. line spacing will be employed rather than a double space.

Annotation

The aim of the present critical edition is to include interpretative and evaluative commentaries focusing on the representation of different types of Others within the text and the historical context which surrounded the play.

Numbered footnotes with *critical comments* have been added at the bottom of the pages. Following the MLA style, quotations and words or phrases “given in someone else’s sense or in a special sense or purposefully misused” are included within double inverted commas (“ ”), while single quotation marks (‘ ’) are used for quotations included within other quotations (MLA 75, 102).

The footnotes will quote the comments of other editors or commentators, while most lexical explanations are drawn from the *OED*. Moreover, we will paraphrase, or provide an alternative explanation for, those lines or passages the meaning of which seems obscure and need elucidation.

Finally, a bullet has been employed after each archaic or problematic word in order to indicate that we provide a synonym for it on the right margin of the same line; while *collations* have been added in separate end

notes in the last section of the book, indicating the line number of each word or phrase collated.

Abbreviations

A	empty space	<i>EEBO</i>	<i>Early English</i>
a., adj.	adjective		<i>Books Online</i>
adv.	adverb	esp.	especially
anon.	anonymous	et al.	and others (from
arch.	archaic		the Latin <i>et alii, et</i>
attrib.	attributed to		<i>aliae, et alia</i>)
c., ca.	circa, about	etc.	and so forth (from
conj.	Conjunction		the Latin <i>et</i>
D	duodecimo		<i>cetera</i>)
D1	<i>Lust's Dominion,</i> 1657 duodecimo, printed by F. Kirkman	F	folio
		Gr.	Greek
		http	hypertext transfer protocol (used at
D2	<i>Lust's Dominion,</i> 1657 duodecimo, printed by F. Kirkman and sold		the beginning of an Internet
	by R. Pollard.	i.e.	address)
			that is (from the
diss.	dissertation	int.	Latin <i>id est</i>)
e.g.	for example (from the Latin <i>exempli</i> <i>gratia</i>)	Lat.	Latin
		<i>LION</i>	<i>Literature Online</i>
ed.; eds.	editor(s), edition, edited by	n. p.	no place of publication; no publisher
		n. pag.	no pagination

obs.	obsolete	S.D.	stage-direction
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>	S.P.	speech prefix
		sb.	substantive, noun
		sc.	scene
om.	omission	sing.	singular
PDF	portable document format	stet.	deleted typeset or written matter is to be retained
perf.	performed		
pl.	plural	trans. (tr.)	transitive;
prep.	preposition		translator,
pron.	pronoun		translation,
pub. (publ.)	publisher, (first) publication, published by	v., vb.	translated by verb
Q	quarto	vol.	volume
ref.	reference	www	World Wide Web (used in the names of servers, or computers, on the Web)
rev.	review, revision, reviewed by; revised by		
rpt.	reprint(ed) (by)		

2. Introduction to *Lust's Dominion*

Muslims, Moriscos and Spaniards in the play

Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion* presents a Spanish setting where different types of foreign Others interact: white individuals, blacks, Catholics and (white) Muslims, who were adopted by this community and eventually recognised as Moriscos (often undistinguishable from their white European neighbours).

In Dekker's work, we find several references to the figure of the Ottoman. In *Lust's Dominion*, even if there are no Turkish characters and the play focuses on a Moroccan-Spanish topic, the images of the fearful Ottomans still permeate, as they are mentioned three times in a negative or war-related context.

In the play, in spite of the overall antagonism towards the Muslims, when the King of Spain says to his son about Eleazar the Moor "I do commend him to thee for a man / Both wise and warlike, yet beware of him, / Ambition wings his spirit," (1.2.65-67, emphasis added), the ambivalent overtones in the description of this stranger provide an interesting reading of the early modern changing attitudes towards the North African and Levantine Others.

We are told by the Queen Mother that "Abdela, King of Fesse" was the father of Eleazar who was a "Barbarian Prince" (5.1.92-93). In fact, Dekker describes Eleazar as the Prince of Fesse and Barbary, and hence, he corroborates that he is a Moroccan, who, after being menaced with his banishment from Spain, describes the lively life of a man of the Mediterranean:

ELEAZAR. Hah! banish me, s'foot, why say they do;
 Ther's Portugal a good air, and France a fine Country;
 Or Barbary rich, and has Moors; the Turke
 Pure Divell, and allowes enough to fat
 The sides of villany; good living there:
 I can live there, and there, and there,
 Troth 'tis, a villain can live any where: (1.2.173-79)

Here, the Moor not only confirms that North Africa was considered an area of riches, but also hints at the cosmopolitanism of this and other Mediterranean communities, claiming that he, as a villain, is free to “live any where.” Indeed, we may perceive a subtle trace of covetousness in the description, which could echo the English fascination for the multicultural and powerful societies of the Mediterranean, even if the overall perception of this Other is that of a villain, a “Barbarous Moor” (5.3.182).

On the other hand, in early modern Europe, the Muslim Others were also negatively associated with other extra-European communities. In fact, in the play, Eleazar, for instance, is described as a “black slave” or as a “damned Negro Lyon-like,” associating the noble prince with the assumed savagery of sub-Saharan Africa (3.3.10; 4.2.33), and simultaneously linking him to the inhabitants of the New World or Asia when he exclaims: “By all our Indian gods” (4.2.85).

Spain is not described in better terms: the King is pictured as a naïve cuckold; the Queen is lascivious and immoral; Philip, their son, is accused of being a bastard; and the Catholic clerics are greedy, coward and lustful. Indeed, the envy, or rather grudge, towards this powerful community can be noticed in the author's omen:

QUEEN MOTHER. ... my Lords

By my consent crown that proud Blackamore,
Since Spains bright glory must so soon grow dim;
Since it must end, let it end all in him. (*Lust's* 3.2.233-35)

However, words such as “Spains bright glory,” betray an underlying admiration for this community.

Eventually, echoing the circumstances that promoted Elizabeth I's expulsions of blackamoors from England, Dekker seems to anticipate the happenings taking place in Spain, under King Philip III in 1609 (about nine years after 1600, the likely date of publication of the play), when the King Philip of the play proclaims: “for this Barbarous Moor, and his black train, / Let all the Moors be banished from Spain” (5.3.182-83).

Conversion and perversion

In Dekker's play, Spain is also portrayed as a place where a mere war prisoner like Eleazar is welcomed at court, allowed to marry a noblewoman, and, like the figure of the renegade, acquires a position of wealth.

However, both in the play and in early modern Spain, a conversion was necessary. Like the historical figure of Muley Xequé, we can assume that Eleazar was converted into Christianity, being forced to give up his Muslim faith in order to be accepted within this European society.

On the other hand, such conversion involved the possibility that these individuals could become disloyal “enemies within,” secretly supporting their native communities and religions. Indeed, Eleazar is a malcontent: an anti-hero who is apparently adopted and accepted by a

different society, but who is still considered a national, “racial” or religious stranger. These individuals typically display a destructive personality that, in the case of Eleazar, is partly justified since it was triggered because his father, the King of Fez, was killed by the King of Spain, who eventually adopted the little Moor.

Female wickedness and female agency

In *Lust's Dominion*, the alleged seducing nature of the Catholics can be perceived from the very beginning, when the Queen of Spain strives to tempt the Moorish foreigner by flirting with him or offering him riches and sex:

QUEEN MOTHER. Bestow one smile, one little little smile,
And in a net of twisted silk and gold
In my all-naked arms, thy self shalt lie, (1.1.58-60)

From the first act, Dekker presents a white, Catholic, European and Spanish Queen, who is begging for the love of the Moor Eleazar, while her husband, King Philip, lies on his deathbed. The play even suggests that the Queen had more than one illegitimate child with the Moor, since, when she reminds Eleazar that he used to love her, by saying “Thou lovd'st me once,” the plain answer that she gets from her lover, who tries to reject her unwanted attentions, is: “That can thy bastards tell” (1.1.67-68).

However, in the play we can see how this potential hybridisation and immoral connection is allowed by the Spanish society itself, which permits this to take place. In fact, the King of Spain adopted Eleazar, encouraging the Moor's affair with his wife, Eugenia, who even asserts

that she would “wage all Spain / To one sweet kisse” of the Moor (1.1.32-33).

Like in many other early modern literary discourses, which we already saw in the section devoted to “Ideology, Identity and Otherness,” noncompliant, defiant or “immoral” women such as Eugenia, are often compared to other “virtuous” and submissive ladies, like the noble Isabella and Maria. However, those women who acted against patriarchal morals were eventually punished, and, in order to make penitence for her acts and unrestrained sexual behaviour, Eugenia is eventually compelled to abandon “voluntarily” public life “And flye unto some solitary residence” for her “past offences” (5.3.176, 78).

The main characters

King Philip of Spain

In *Lust's Dominion*, Dekker presents an aged Spanish monarch with a subjective description of the historical figure of Philip II (1527-98). This powerful monarch ruled over a large number of territories outside Europe and was King of Spain from 1556 to 1598, of Portugal (as Philip I, 1580-98), of England and Ireland (1554-58, during his marriage to Queen Mary I), of Naples and Sicily (1554-98), and Duke of Milan (1554-98). Philip II was also known for being a zealous Roman Catholic and an advocate of the Counter-Reformation, which he supported sending his Armada against Protestant England in 1588.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in early modern non-Catholic discourses we typically encounter ambivalent attitudes towards the rich and fascinating, but fearful, Spaniards, characterized by an overall

negative tone describing this community and its royal family. Indeed, part of the Black Legend of Spain was based on the opinion, fostered by European writers who opposed Catholic Spain, of those who claimed that Philip II confined his son, the physically and mentally disabled Carlos, Prince of Asturias, in a tower, eventually killing him in 1568.

Notably, William I, Prince of Orange (1533-84) in his *Apology* (1580), claimed that Philip II murdered Prince Carlos and caused the premature death of his wife, Isabel de Valois (Moreno Espinosa, *Don Carlos. El príncipe de la leyenda negra* 45). The writings suggested that the alleged murder of the Prince took place because of his incestuous relationship with his stepmother, Isabel de Valois, who had been betrothed to him before she eventually married Philip II (16). However, the unlikely relationship was probably an instance of black propaganda against Spain, collaborating in the formation of the Black Legend, since after Carlos's death Philip II retired in his Monastery of El Escorial, suggesting his affliction for the loss of his son.

In *Lust's Dominion* King Philip is a ridiculed "Spanish Tyrant" (1.2.13-14) and a "cuckold King" (1.1.111), who cannot see the apparent and notorious affair between the Queen Mother, his wife, and his protégée, Eleazar the Moor:

ELEAZAR. ... every slave

At Eleazar darts a finger out,

And every hissing tongue cries, There's the Moor,

That's he that makes a Cuckold of our King,

There go's the Minion of the Spanish Queen; (1.1.85-89)

This passage suggests that even though the Spanish political and “religious” foreigners were considered the main focus of England’s animosity, the descriptions of other strangers, such as the “racial,” extra-European Moors, were occasionally more detrimental. Such descriptions, however, contrast with a subtle attitude where the “racial” Other is considered a cunning and majestic individual who makes a fool of the naïve Spaniard.

Eleazar the Moor, Prince of Fesse and Barbary

In spite of the immorality of most characters in *Lust's Dominion*, one of them seems to stand above the rest, a figure who, perhaps, represents the Others of Spain: the Muslim Moor Eleazar. This Other is the Machiavellian villain and protagonist of the play, and the ambiguous situation of this character in the Spanish history deserves a closer analysis.

Probably considered, from the very beginning, a religious Other falsely converted to Christianity, Eleazar is an example of how national or “racial” strangers, such as Muslims, Jews and “Pagans,” could be negatively described on account of their religion or ethnicity. This character is described as an expatriate from the Moroccan city of Fez (or Fes) and as a quasi-captive courtier, adopted by the character of King Philip of Spain. In this community, Eleazar would eventually become the secret lover of the Spanish Queen and the husband of the noblewoman Maria.

The name of Eleazar also appears in a pamphlet by Dekker about the plague of London, *The Wonderful Year* (1603), where we read: “Iehochanan, Symeon, and Eleazar, neuer kept such a plaguy coyle in Jerusalem among the hunger-starued Iewes” (n. pag.). In fact, according to

J. Le Gay Brereton and Cyrus Hoy, the name of Eleazar is inspired on that of Eleazar ben Simon, a Zealot leader in Judaea, who fought against the Roman Empire to expel it from Jerusalem and the Holy Land during the First Jewish-Roman War or Great Revolt (66-73 AD) (Hoy 73).¹

However, even if his name could be partially inspired by that figure, in the present dissertation we will argue that the story of Eleazar's native family was mainly based on that of the Moroccan royal family who fought in the Battle of Ksar El Kebir (1578). That is, we will present an alternative view, to our knowledge never considered before, suggesting that the fashioning of Eleazar was probably inspired by the life of the son of the Moroccan Sultan Muhammad al-Mutawakkil (?-1578):² Muley Xeque (or Jeque, or al-Shaykh, or al-Sayj) (Marrakesh, Morocco 1566 - Pavia, Italy 1621); being, perhaps, also marginally influenced by the descriptions of the sultan's brother Muley al-Nazar (or al-Nasr or al-Nasir) (?-1596).

Muhammad al-Mutawakkil ruled in 1574-1576 and was dethroned by his uncle Abu Marwan Abd al-Malik I (?-1578); however, both died in the context of the Battle of Ksar El Kebir.³

QUEEN MOTHER. Within the circle of twice ten years
since,
Your deceast King made warr in Barbarie,
Won Tunis, conquered Fesse, and hand to hand,

¹ Flavius Josephus (c. 37-100 AD) wrote about Eleazar ben Simon in the first volume of his *History of the Jewish War (75-79)* (Hoy 73).

² Muhammad al-Mutawakkil (?-1578) was also known as Abu Abdallah Mohammed II.

³ The two sultans did not die in the battle itself (the former was drowned in a river and the latter died from natural causes); however, the play suggests that King Philip killed Abu Abdallah personally in the battlefield.

Slew great Abdela, King of Fesse, and father
To that Barbarian Prince.

ELEAZAR. I was but young,
But now methinks I see my fathers wounds,
Poor Barbaria! No more. (5.1.89-96)

In view of these evidences, we will propose that there is a parallelism between the character of Eleazar, “that Barbarian Prince” whose father was “Abdela, King of Fesse,” and the historical figure of the Moroccan prince Muley Xequé; an aspect which –we argue– has been overlooked by modern and contemporary critics.

Since the historical Abu Abdallah was an ally of the Portuguese and other Catholic communities, after the civil war his brother Muley al-Nazar and the monarch’s son Muley Xequé, became refugees in Lisbon from 1578 to 1589 (Garcia-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur* 77; Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero, *Estudio Preliminar* xvii). When Philip II of Spain gained the crown of Portugal, they became exiles and unconfined captives in his court, as we learn from a letter that Philip II sent to his daughters in 1581 while he was in Portugal:

[A]yer fuimos a misa mi sobrino y yo a Santo Domingo,
que está en una plaza muy grande y buena que llaman el
Rosío y a la tarde vinieron acá los infantes moros que están

aquí, tío y sobrino, y éste es muchacho, con muchos moros a pie y a caballo. (Bouza, *Cartas de Felipe* 50)¹

Muley Xequé and Muley al-Nazar, were treated as nobles, since they became courtiers and protégées of the Spanish monarchy for the rest of their lives (García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 148-49).

The parallelism between the records about these historical figures and the descriptions of Eleazar, suggest that Dekker used these Moroccan exiles to fashion the story of his villain. In fact, we may argue that an alternative spelling for Eleazar might be el-Nasar, which resembles that of Muley al-Nazar (or al-Nasr).² However, even if Eleazar's name echoes that of Muley al-Nazar, his life was, perhaps, mainly inspired on the one of Abu Abdallah's son, Muley Xequé, since we learn that "great Abdela, King of Fesse," was the father of "that Barbarian Prince" (5.1.92-93). At the same time, the Spanish crown and courtiers had a closer and more sustained relationship with Muley Xequé than with his uncle, as numerous accounts about his life in Spain corroborate.³

¹ Yesterday my nephew and I went to mass to Santo Domingo, in a very large and beautiful square called el Rosío. In the afternoon arrived the Moorish princes who are living here; an uncle and his nephew, a young man, with many Moors on foot and riding horses (our translation).

² In 1595, Muley al-Nazar attempted a rebellion against Ahmad al-Mansur, supported by Spanish Moriscos and Renegades, to claim the throne of his brother; however, he was defeated and killed by his enemies in 1596 (García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur* 86-87; Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero, *Estudio Preliminar* xxviii-xxix, lix-lx).

³ Among the historical records citing Muley Xequé, we can mention fray Jerónimo Sepúlveda's *Historia de varios sucesos y de las cosas notables que han acaecido en España desde el año 1584 hasta el de 1603* (1924); "Información de las cualidades y nobleza que concurren en Don Felipe de África" (1594); "Título de la encomienda de Bélmar, despachado en Madrid a 14 de febrero de 1596. por el Rey Dn. Phelipe 2.º a favor de Dn. Phelipe de África, profeso de la Orden de Santiago, hijo del Rey de

Since these events took place in the most powerful European society of the time, we may assume that these accounts probably reached other communities such as England. In fact, the young Moroccan prince probably resided in the Palacio de Goyeneche, a building currently known as Palacio de los duques de Santoña (Palace of the Dukes of Santoña), in Madrid, which belonged to the powerful and renowned court of Spain (Oliver Asín 159).

Other event which perhaps boosted Muley Xequé's popularity, took place when he decided to become a Christian after attending the procession of the Virgen de la Cabeza in Andújar (Jaén, Spain) (see Figure 2 on page 197) (Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero, *Estudio Preliminar* xxxviii). According to a friend of the prince, the Spanish playwright and poet Lope de Vega (1562-1635), he was baptized immediately afterwards in the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial in 1593 (xxxviii). Philip II and his daughter, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, were his godparents in the ceremony, celebrated by the archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal D. García de Loaisa Girón (Torres 157-58).¹

Much of the information about the Spanish Royal Family had already reached Dekker through the anonymous pamphlet *A Briefe and True Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Wordes, and Death of the King of*

Marruecos" (1596); and Gianolio di Cherasco's "Testamento del Príncipe de Marruecos" (1621).

¹ Probably, the monarchy of Spain was particularly interested in the conversion of Moors since it promoted the propaganda about the moral and political strength of Christianity; it could demonstrate the moral worth of the Other whenever an alliance was desirable; or it could set an example for other religious strangers, in order to encourage their conversion (Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero, *Estudio Preliminar* xxxiii, xxxvii). About King Philip II in the context of Muley Xequé's conversion, see Melchora Romanos's "Felipe II en la *Tragedia del rey Don Sebastián y el bautismo del Príncipe de Marruecos* de Lope de Vega" (1999); F. B. Pedraza Jiménez's "Ecos de Alcazarquivir en Lope de Vega: *La tragedia del rey Don Sebastián* y la figura de Muley Xequé" (1997).

Spaine Philip (1599); however, if the information about the baptism of Muley Xequé reached London, perhaps through lost pamphlets, this would also explain Dekker's fashioning of the characters of King Philip and Eugenia, the Queen Mother (corresponding to the historical Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia), and the presence of a Cardinal (in this case, Mendoza) in the play.

Muley Xequé adopted the name of Don Felipe de África (or Austria), Prince of Fez and Morocco, probably after Philip II, and was made Grande de España (Grandee of Spain) and comendador de la Orden de Santiago (Commander of the Order of Santiago). His friend Lope de Vega, wrote the comedy *Tragedia del rey don Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos* (*The Tragedy of the King Sebastian and the Baptism of the Prince of Morocco*), probably written c. 1593, about King Sebastian I of Portugal (1554-78) and Muley Xequé. In the play, when three Spanish women visit this exotic foreigner, we read the following dialogue between the women and the prince:

XEQUE. A que venis?

2. Con desseo de veros.

XEQUE. Entrad, entrad.

3. Buen talle tiene.

1. No es feo,

...

1. Pensamos que era de terciopelo.

XEQUE. Podra ser que os lo parezca, tratado, llegad, tocad.

1. Tan blando soys? (281)¹

From this description, we assume that Muley Xequé had a complexion which was darker than the one of the white Spanish women. However, even if he was also popularly known as the Black Prince, the Moroccan noble probably had a tawny, rather than dark, black, complexion (see Figure 2 on page 197).² Indeed, even if he was a respected nobleman, as the writings of Philip II and Lope de Vega suggest, he could have been the target of stereotyped, physical and moral association of North Africans with sub-Saharan Africans.

Lope de Vega dedicated his sonnet 148 to the prince, calling him “claro Felipe” (light Philip), perhaps suggesting that he was not only morally upright, but also that he had a moderately light complexion:

¹ The passage may be roughly translated as follows:

XEQUE. What brought you here?

2. Our wish to see you.

XEQUE. Come in, come in.

3. He has a good bearing.

1. He is not ugly,

...

1. We thought you were made of velvet.

XEQUE. I may give that impression, here, come, touch.

1. You are so soft! (our translation)

² In the *List of Early Plays in Manuscript* by Abraham Hill (1635-1721) we find a play titled *The White Moor*, attributed to Thomas Dekker and dated 1629 (Harbage, *Annals of English Drama* 128; Adams, “Hill’s List of Early Plays” 71-99). However, since the manuscript (if existing) was lost, we do not know if it is another name for *Lust’s Dominion* or if it is a different play by Dekker; in which case, perhaps the Moorish topic was still popular after thirty years. The concept of “white Moor,” may suggest the early modern English awareness that Mediterranean Moors could be white or it was an euphemism to describe a white European who became a renegade.

A don Felipe de África, príncipe de Fez y Marruecos

Alta sangre real, claro Felipe,
a cuyo heroico y generoso pecho
el límite africano vino estrecho,
aunque en grandeza a Europa se anticipe,

porque el cielo ordenó que participe
de otro imperio mayor vuestro derecho
y que se ocupen en tan alto hecho
los cisnes de las fuentes de Aganipe;

tanto os estima a vos, Príncipe, solo,
que un día aventuró para ganaros
con cuatro reyes veinte mil personas,

trocando el bajo por el alto polo,
a Fez en Fe, y a vuestros montes claros
por claros cielos y por mil coronas. (Lope de Vega 169)

To Philip of Africa, Prince of Fez and Morocco

High royal blood, light Philip,
whose heroic and generous bosom
the African border came narrow,
even if in greatness to Europe is early,

because the heavens ordered to take part
in a greater Empire your right
and that of such high fact shall
the swans of the Aganipe springs;

it loved you so well, Prince, lone,
that one day it ventured your conquest
with four kings and twenty thousand persons,

exchanging the low for the high pole,
to Fez Faithfully, and to your light mountains
for light skies and a hundred crowns (our translation)



Figure 2. Plaque from the Sanctuary “Virgen de la Cabeza” in Andújar (Jaén, Spain) to commemorate the conversion of Muley Xequé and detail with the portrait of the prince.



Figure 3. Commemorative engraving of Muley Xequé's death from Jaime Oliver Asín's *Vida de Don Felipe de África, príncipe de Fez y Marruecos* (1566-1621). 1955. Eds. Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra y Beatriz Alonso Acero. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2008 (4).

Unlike what happened to Eleazar in the play, the historical Muley Xequé was not killed; but, when a large number of Moriscos were banished from Spain in 1609 by King Philip III (Philip II's son), his stay probably became inconvenient. Hence, he left Spain in 1608 or 1609 to spend the rest of his life in the Spanish possessions of Milan (Italy), and he eventually died in Vigevano (Pavia, Italy) in 1621 (see Figure 3 on page 198) (Oliver Asín 196-97).¹

In *Lust's Dominion*, Eleazar is described as a canny, vengeful and immoral individual, supported in his evildoings by his Moorish servants, Zarack and Baltazar. Both in the play and in the English society, the connection between Spaniards and Moors is noticeable by the mere presence of Eleazar in the court of Spain, who is even married to a Spanish noblewoman. The Moor, on his part, claims that he is a rightful subject of the community by asserting: "Although my flesh be tawny: in my veines, runs blood as red, and royal as the best and proud'st in Spain" (1.1.154-161), and he confirms this legitimacy reminding the audience that he has been fighting side by side with the Spaniards:

ELEAZAR. ... value me not by my sun-burnt
Cheek, but by my birth; nor by

¹ For more information about Muley Xequé see Matteo Gianolio di Cherasco's *Memorie Storiche intorno la vita del Real Principe di Marocco Muley Xequé chiamato nel suo battesimo Don Filippo d'Austria Infante d'Africa, religiosamente morto in Vigevano* (1795); Jaime Oliver Asín's *Vida de Don Felipe de África, príncipe de Fez y Marruecos (1556-1621)* (1956); Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra and Beatriz Alonso Acero's "Muley Xequé en la corte de Felipe II" (2011); F. B. Pedraza Jiménez's "Ecos de Alcazarquivir en Lope de Vega: La tragedia del rey Don Sebastián y la figura de Muley Xequé" (1997); and Ruth MacKay's *The Baker Who Pretended to Be King of Portugal* (2012). 214-15.

My birth, but by my losse of blood,
Which I have sacrificed in Spains defence. (3.2.105-108)

This passage reminds us of the questions concerning blood purity, often used by the enemies of Spain to suggest their connection with the “immoral,” extra-European Other.

We do not know if the historical Mulay Xequé was a notorious personage in Europe; however, he certainly became involved with the (un)popular Spanish court, and his name appears in several works such as those by Lope, which might have reached London and Dekker at some point. Moreover, the interest of Dekker and his contemporaries in Moorish characters was probably revived and influenced by the Sultan of Morocco Ahmad al-Mansur (1549-1603), a business partner who was moderately appreciated by the English at the time. The monarch sent his ambassador, Abd el-Ouahed ben Messaoud, who spent several months in London in 1600 to negotiate a possible alliance with Queen Elizabeth against the Spaniards; and hence, it is not unlikely that Dekker obtained some information about Mulay Xequé and his uncle, Muley al-Nazar, from this source.

In fact, Ahmad al-Mansur defeated his nephew, Sultan Abu Abdallah Mohammed II, in the Battle of Ksar El Kebir (1578), and became the new Sultan of Morocco (see Appendix VII, with a family tree of the Saadi dynasty 1554-1659). Muley al-Nazar and Mulay Xequé, the brother and the son of the dethroned ruler, always claimed their right to the sultanate and in 1595, Muley al-Nazar even invaded Morocco with an army of Spanish Renegados and Moriscos briefly occupying part of the north of Morocco until his eventual defeat in 1596 (Garcia-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur* 86-87; Oliver Asín 177-79). Muley al-Nazar was betrayed and

murdered in Morocco during the same year; however, the news about those recent events and the Sultan's resentment against Spain and Mulay Xeque, the last descendant of the dethroned Sultan, were probably conveyed to the English during the embassy of 1600.¹

Eugenia, The Queen Mother of Spain, and Infanta Isabella

Eugenia is the Lascivious Queen of the title, and an example of how not only Spaniards, but also gendered Others are often associated with political and "racial" strangers and with their alleged immorality.

In a quasi-incestuous description, Dekker might have borrowed her name from that of the historical figure of Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633), the daughter of Philip II and Isabel de Valois (his third wife, whom he married after the death of his second spouse, Mary I of England).² The English antagonism towards this historical figure might have been provoked by Philip II, his father, who unsuccessfully claimed the throne of England for his daughter when Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed in 1587.

Dekker might have used both Isabella Clara Eugenia and her mother, Isabel de Valois (both gendered, national and religious Others), to depict the character of the Queen Mother of the play. In fact, Isabel de Valois was sometimes accused in other European communities of being the lover

¹ Another source of information in London about the Spanish court and, perhaps, about Muley al-Nazar and Mulay Xeque, was Bernardino de Mendoza (c. 1540-1604), Philip II's ambassador and spy in England from 1577 to 1584.

² Philip II was married with: Maria Manuela, Princess of Portugal (from 1543 to 1545); Mary I of England (from 1554 to 1558); Isabel de Valois (from 1559 to 1568); and Anna of Austria, Queen of Spain (from 1570 to 1580).

of her stepson, Prince Carlos; an event that, in the play, might have inspired the Queen Mother's affair with the young protégée of King Philip, Eleazar the Moor. Of course, the most infamous wife of Philip II in Protestant England was Mary I of England, who was also likely to be described negatively by a zealous Protestant such as Dekker, and might have also contributed to create the negative image associated with the Spanish Queens.

At the same time, the names of the historical Isabella Clara Eugenia and Isabel de Valois, seem to be shared in the play by the character of Infanta Isabella.¹ However, although the character of Eugenia, the Queen Mother, was described in negative terms and the historical figure Isabella Clara Eugenia was probably unpopular in Elizabethan England, Dekker's Infanta Isabella is depicted as a relatively upright figure, who resists the Machiavellian Eleazar and who serves as a counterpart to her lascivious mother, Queen Eugenia.

Cardinal Mendoza

The name of this character is probably based on that of a Cardinal of the powerful House of Mendoza, and was a name often given to Spanish characters in early modern English literature, such as in *The Malcontent* (1604), a play by John Marston, who named his villain Mendoza.

Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (1428-95), an influential statesman at the court of the Catholic Monarchs, could be a likely source

¹ The only other daughter of Philip II who survived to adulthood was Catherine Michelle, Duchess of Savoy, and hence, Isabella Clara Eugenia was the only Infanta named Isabella.

for this fictional character. However, other nobles from the same house, such as Cardinal Francisco Mendoza de Bobadilla (1508-1566), or Íñigo López de Mendoza y Mendoza (1536-1601), the 5th Duke of the Infantado, could inspire Dekker in the fashioning of the clergyman. In fact, even if Íñigo López was not a Cardinal, he was a favourite of Philip II and was probably known in England, since he accompanied the king to London for his marriage with Mary Tudor in 1556.

Like the historical Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, the fictional character Mendoza is given the title of Protector,¹ and, along with the characters of Friar Cole and Friar Crab, he is depicted as a greedy and immoral clergyman, who lusts after the Queen Mother. In fact, the description probably echoed the early modern negative attitudes towards Pedro González de Mendoza and other Catholics.

King Fernando and Prince Philip of Spain. Sons to King Philip

The only son of Philip II whose name resembles that of a character was the historical figure of Ferdinand (or Fernando), Prince of Asturias (1571-78); however he was six years old when he died, and it seems an unlikely source of inspiration for Dekker. The character of Fernando introduces the main conflict within the decadent court of Spain, when he seeks to satisfy his obsessive lust for Maria, Eleazar's wife. When his immorality is

¹ Juan Hurtado Mendoza was another Cardinal Protector of Spain from 1588 to 1592. For more on the Mendoza family, see Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550* (1979) and Nader's edition *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450-1650* (2004)

proved, his behaviour would eventually validate the Moor's accession to the throne.

On the other hand, the character of Prince Philip, a subjective representation of King Philip III of Spain (or Philip II of Portugal) (1578-1621), is described as an upright and valiant noble, but also as an excessively ardent, warlike, childish and unwise individual. This character is also accused of being a bastard by Eleazar and his own mother, and his manliness is fiercely ridiculed by the Moor, representing a likely instance of propaganda against the Spanish monarchy.

Other characters

Among other characters, we could mention Maria, wife to Eleazar, his brother, Hortenzo, lover to Isabella, and Alvero, their father. This is a family whose upright morals contrasts with that of most Spaniards in the play.

Similarly, the fleeting presence of the wise King Emmanuel of Portugal, probably based on the historical figure of Emmanuel I (1469-1521), suggests the positive view of this character and, probably, of his community. In fact, during the Elizabethan period, the well-known rejection of Spain contrasted with the English shifting approximation to Portugal, as a result of their common antagonism towards Spain.¹

¹ After the death of Emmanuel I of Portugal (1469-1521), three of his grandchildren claimed his crown: Catarina, Duchess of Braganza; António, Prior of Crato; and Philip II of Spain. In 1580, the latter marched into Portugal, defeating his main rival, Antonio, and was crowned Philip I of Portugal in 1581, establishing an Iberian union that would not be dissolved until 1640. Antonio retreated in France with Catherine de' Medici, and then in England, where he was favoured by Queen Elizabeth I for her interests against Spain.

LUST'S DOMINION (c. 1600)

THOMAS DEKKER

Lusts Dominion;
OR, THE
Lascivious Queen.

A
TRAGEDIE.

by Christopher Marlowe.



LONDON,
Printed for F. K. in the year
1657.

Figure 4. Title page from the 1657 duodecimo of Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion*, preserved in the Library of Congress.



To my worthily honored Friend¹

William Carpenter, *Esquire*.²

SIR!

My Ambition hath long soared so high, as to prompt me to somewhat whereby I might in part render to you my gratitude: and not yet finding any service I can act for you, a sufficient or competent return of any part of those many favours you have still honored me withall; I took on me the resolution (rather then to be thought wholly negligent of you) to lay hold on this means of rendring you my service. SIR! This Piece, which without

¹ **To my worthily honored Friend** The *Epistle Dedicatorie* in D1 is not included in D2 and following editions.

The image at the top of the page is from the *Epistle Dedicatorie* of the 1657 duodecimo of Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion*, preserved in the Library of Congress.

² **William Carpenter, Esquire.** The first epistle was written by the publisher Francis Kirkman (1632 - c. 1680), to William Carpenter, probably a benefactor, patron or influential friend of the publisher. Perhaps, Kirkman refers to William Carpenter, Esquire, a member of the Commission of Liutenancy for the City of London during the eighties of the seventeenth century (Brereton 248).

your favour and command had never past the Presse, I here present to you with this confidence, that as you were instrumental in its production to the world, so your name and favour will be sufficient to protect it from the calumny of this censorious age:¹ In doing of which you will multiply those obligations you have conferred upon

Your devoted servant,

FRA. KIRKMAN *Jun.*²

¹ **your name ... this censorious age** The manuscript, as was customary, is most likely dedicated to an influential patron, since the author may be seeking protection from criticism: nobody would dare criticize sharply a work dedicated to someone powerful.

² **FRA. KIRKMAN** i.e. Francis Kirkman (1632 - c. 1680), a London publisher known for his interests in old plays (Bald 17-32). He published the first surviving editions of *Lust's Dominion*, in 1657, nearly sixty years after the play was written by Thomas Dekker in c. 1600.

To my honored Friend Mr. *F. K.*¹ on the publishing this Tragedie.²

In this Distemper'd^o Age where we do finde, *Troubled*
 Nothing more wav'ring then the Peoples minde.
 How they Despise Religion, Break the Laws,
 Deride at all that's Good, with wild Applause
 Cry up what's Bad, and stiffly do Maintain
 All things went wrong, whilst Monarchy did
 Reign.

Can'st then Exspect^o a Pleasing Eye from *Cannot / Expect*
 Them

Have Trampled on the Sacred Diadem:^o *crown*

I know thou dost not, But 'tis thy Intent

10 To show what Lust and Cruelty invent
 To compasse their Designs, Teaching this Age,
 First to Reform, and then Repeal the Stage.³

¹ *F. K.* i.e. Francis Kirkman (1632 - c. 1680).

² **To my honored Friend ... this Tragedie** The commendatory poems in D1 are not included in D2 and following editions.

³ **In this Distemper'd Age ... Repeal the Stage** Francis Kirkman's edition of *Lust's Dominion* was first published in 1657, during the Interregnum, or Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), a brief military rule after the execution of Charles I in 1649 and before the Stuart Restoration of the English monarchy, with the arrival of his son Charles II in 1660.

This commendatory poem may be a criticism of the Puritan policies of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland (1653-59), who banned the "excesses" of the monarchy, such as the theatre and gambling (Cathcart 264-65). The author seems to make claim for a "reformed," that is, didactic and morally upright theatre. Moreover, he suggests that his contemporaries should "repeal the Stage" (that is, to recall theatres from exile) and restore the exiled legitimate rulers of England

A Queen is Pictur'd here, whose lustful Flame
 Was so Insatiate, that it wants a Name
 To Speak it forth, Seeking to Bastardize
 Her Royal Issue that a MOOR might Rise.
 He Flatter'd Her, on purpose to Obtain
 His Ends to Sit on th' Royal Throne of Spain.
 Black as his Face his Deeds appear'd at last,
 20 And What He Climb'd by, Did His Ruine hast.
 So may they Fall, that seek for to Betray,
 And Lead the People in an Unknown Way:
 As in a Glasse, thus We may Clearly See,
 All Vanishes That's Built on Tyranny.¹

P. I.²

against those who “stiffly do Maintain / All things went wrong, whilst Monarchy did Reign” (268-69).

¹ **on Tyranny** on the tyrannical control of Spain of Eleazar the Moor, the protagonist of the play, or on the monarchy of Catholic Spain itself.

² **P. I.** We do not know who lies behind the initials P.I., the author of the commendatory poem; but, from the title we learn that they belong to a friend of Francis Kirkman. P.I. could be the inverted initials of either John (Iohn) Penrice or Joseph (Ioseph) Philips.

To my Esteemed Friend Mr. F. K. on his publick impression of this
Tragick Poem.

What better Subject wings dull time away,
Then an Ingenious and a well-writ Play;
It doth^o Refine our Fancies, Judgments clear, *does*
And fix our souls, in a sublimer Sphear.
I'le Vindicate, if any can deny;
That Plays defects of wit do oft^o supply. *often*

JOHN PENRICE, *Esq.*¹

¹ **JOHN PENRICE, *Esq.*** The commendatory poem is by John Penrice, a friend or acquaintance of Francis Kirkman.

To my Ingenious Brother Mr. F. K., on his setting forth this Play.

What strange designe is this I undertake?
 Sure 'tis no Verse that I intend to make.
 And yet me-thinks this Play doth me inspire,
 And all my sences with Poetick fire
 Doe's so inflame, that had I *Johnsons* Quill
 To write its worth, whole Volumes I would fill.
 But I stay^o you too long; peruse this piece,
 You'l find of language a rich Golden fleece.¹
 Then thank my freind for publishing this Play
 10 Which but for him had never seen the day.

am holding

JOSEPH PHILIPS, *Gent.*²

¹ **Golden fleece** A reference to the classical myth of Jason and the Argonauts, who searched the Golden Fleece, a symbol of royalty and leadership.

² **JOSEPH PHILIPS, *Gent.*** Commendatory poem by Joseph Philips, Francis Kirkman's brother-in-law (Cathcart 273).

The Actors Names.

ELEAZAR THE MOOR,¹ Prince of Fesse and Barbary.²

PHILIP KING OF SPAIN,³ Father to Fernando, Philip, and Isabella.

Fernando King of Spain
Philip Prince⁴ of Spain⁵ } Sons to Philip.

ALVERO a Nobleman, and Father in Law to Eleazar, and Father to Hortenzo and Maria.

MENDOZA the Cardinal.⁶

Christofero
Roderigo } two Noblemen of Spain.

[VERDUGO, another Nobleman.]⁷

¹ **ELEAZAR THE MOOR** Character based on the historical figure of Muley Xequé (1566-1621), and, perhaps, on that of Muley al-Nazar (? - d. 1596).

² **Fesse and Barbary** In 1600, Fez (Fes or Fesse), together with Marrakesh, was one of the main capitals of Morocco. It was located in what Europeans (from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries) called “Barbary States” or “Barbary Coast”; that is, the land of the Berber people. Nowadays, this area would be designated with the term Maghreb, roughly including the North African communities of Tripolitania (Libya), Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

³ **PHILIP KING OF SPAIN** Character based on the historical figure of Philip II of Spain (1527-98).

⁴ **PRINCE** The title given to a male (usually, the eldest) child of the monarchs of Spain, who would inherit the crown upon the king’s death (*RAE sb.* 2).

⁵ **PHILIP PRINCE OF SPAIN** Character based on the historical figure of Philip III of Spain (1578-1621).

⁶ **MENDOZA the Cardinal** Character, perhaps, loosely based on a historical figure belonging to the Spanish noble House of Mendoza.

⁷ **VERDUGO** Spanish (or Portuguese) for hangman or executioner. This appellation could be also used “as a term of abuse” (*OED sb.*). In this case, the word “Verdugo” (which may certainly be a family name) probably suggests the cruelty and ruthlessness of its bearer. The name Verdugo was used in the anonymous play *A Larum for London* (c. 1600); and in John Fletcher’s plays *The Woman’s Prize* (?1611) and *The Pilgrim* (c. 1621) (Hoy 74).

HORTENZO Lover to Isabella, and son to Alvero.

Zarack, } two Moors, attending Eleazar.
Baltazar }

Cole & } two Friars.
Crab }

EMMANUEL King of Portugal.¹

Captain, Souldiers, cum aliis.²

Two PAGES attending the Queen.

[OBERON and his Fairies.]³

[Eugenia] The Queen Mother of Spain, and wife to King Philip.⁴

ISABELLA⁵ the Infanta⁶ of Spain.

MARIA wife to Eleazar, and daughter to Alvero.

The Scene, SPAIN.⁷

¹ **EMMANUEL King of Portugal** Perhaps, loosely based on the historical figure of Emmanuel I of Portugal (1469-1521), the great-grandfather of Philip II of Spain.

² **cum aliis** with others (*Lat.*).

³ **OBERON and his Fairies** Oberon is an English folkloric and literary figure, popularized by Shakespeare in his play *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1595-96) as the king of fairyland (Monaghan, *The Encyclopedia of Celtic Mythology and Folklore* 365).

⁴ **[EUGENIA] THE QUEEN MOTHER OF SPAIN** This name was probably borrowed from that of the historical Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633), the daughter of Philip II.

⁵ **ISABELLA the Infanta of Spain** Perhaps, this character was also loosely based on the historical figure of Isabella Clara Eugenia.

⁶ **Infanta** The terms *Infanta* (fem.) and *Infante* (masc.) are respectively the titles given to a daughter and a son of the monarchs of Spain (sometimes used in Portugal) who cannot inherit the crown since the *Infantas* are female and the *Infantes* are not first-born. The title of Prince (*Príncipe*, Span.) was typically reserved for the eldest son of the monarchs, who would inherit the crown after the king's death.

⁷ **The Scene, SPAIN** The play is set in Spain, and probably, for the most part, in the city of Madrid, which was typically considered the capital of Spain since King Philip II established his court here. The court was temporarily relocated in the city of Valladolid by King Philip III, from 1601 to 1606; however, since the play was most likely written in 1600, and it narrates the events surrounding Philip II's death in 1598, Madrid probably provides the main setting for the play. Seville is probably the setting of act 3, scene 5.

Lusts Dominion;
or,
The Lascivious Queen.
A Tragedie.

Act. I^{mus}. Scena I^{ma}.

[*Eleazar's Palace.*]¹ *Enter Zaracke, Baltazar, two Moors, taking tobacco;*²
musick sounding within: enter Queen Mother of Spain with two Pages,
*Eleazar sitting on a chair suddenly draws the curtain.*³

ELEAZAR. On me, do's musick spend this
sound on me
That hate all unity; hah! Zarack,⁴ Baltazar?

¹ [*Eleazar's Palace.*] The scene is probably Eleazar's palace. Whereas we know with some certainty that the historical Muley Xequé resided in the Palacio de Goyeneche, a building currently known as Palacio de los duques de Santofía (Palace of the Dukes of Santofía), we are not aware of Dekker's knowledge about this aspect or his intention to set the scene in this particular location (Oliver Asín 159).

² *two Moors, taking tobacco* In early modern Europe, tobacco was generally considered a subversive product, since it was consumed by figures associated with subversion (Others) such as foreigners, natives encountered in remote regions (like the New World), and so on. The dramatist Christopher Marlowe, for instance, was accused of being an atheist, a sodomite and a smoker (Cheney 24).

³ *Enter Zaracke ... draws the curtain* A main, large curtain was probably placed on the stage lengthwise, with a division in the middle, to be drawn to the sides (Dilke 93). SD suggests that the actors enacting Zaracke, Baltazar, the Queen Mother and the two Pages were supposed to enter the stage in the first place, and then the one playing Eleazar would enter suddenly from the opening of the curtain.

⁴ *Zarack* Throughout the text two spellings have been employed (probably by the printer, not the author): Zaracke or Zarack.

QUEEN MOTHER. My gracious Lord.

ELEAZAR. Are you there with your Beagles?¹

hark^o you slaves, *listen*

Did not I bind you on your lives, to watch that
none disturb'd us.²

QUEEN MOTHER. Gentle Eleazar.

ELEAZAR. There, off: Is't you that deafs me *deafen*
with this noise?

Exeunt 2 Moors.

QUEEN MOTHER. Why is my love's aspect so
grim and horrid?^o *rough*

Look smoothly on me:³

10 [To the musicians.] Chyme^o out your softest *Chime*
strains^o of harmony, *melodies*

And on delicious Musicks silken wings

Send ravishing^o delight to my loves ears, *captivating*

¹ **Beagles** i.e. the two pages. A beagle was a small hound, used in the past for hunting (*OED sb.* 1); in this context, it may be also associated to "One who makes it his business to scent out or hunt down; a spy or informer" (*OED sb.* 2). In Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* (written in 1601), a critique to other English dramatists (especially Thomas Dekker), the author writes: "What wilt thou giue mee a weeke, for my brace of beagles, here, my little pointtrussers?" (3.4. 205-07). In a footnote of his 1931 edition of *Lust's Dominion* (in *Materials for the study of the Old English drama*, Vol. 5), John Le Gay Brereton suggests that Eleazar may insinuate that the Queen Mother is "hunting him down with her couple of dogs" (Hoy 75).

² **Are you there ... none disturb'd us** Eleazar was probably in his house, when the Queen walked in uninvited. An anecdote about the historical figure of Muley Xequé maintains that, after his conversion to Christianity, the servants of the noble Moroccan were so annoyed when he gave up his Muslim religion that they tried to prevent the entrance of Christians to his house (Bunes Ibarra, de and Alonso Acero xxxviii).

³ **Look smoothly** In the anonymous domestic tragedy *Arden of Feversham* (or *Feversham*, c. 1591), we read: "Why, who would have thought the civil sir so sullen? / He looks so smoothly" (1.508-09).

That he may be enamored of your tunes.

Come let's kisse.

ELEAZAR. Away, away.

QUEEN MOTHER. No, no, saies^o I; and twice *say*
away saies stay:

Come, come, I'le have a kiss, but if you strive

For one denial you shall forfeit five.

ELEAZAR. Nay prithee^o good Queen leave me, *please*

20 I am now sick, heavie, and dull as lead.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. I'le make thee lighter by
taking something from thee.²

ELEAZAR. Do: take from mee this Ague:^o and *fever*
these fits that hanging on me

Shake me in pieces, and set all my blood

A boiling with the fire of rage:³ away, away;

Thou believ'st I jeast:^o and laugh'st, to see my *jest, joke*
wrath wear antick shapes:⁴

Be gone, be gone.

QUEEN MOTHER. What means my love?

¹ **I am now sick, heavie, and dull as lead** In the play *Old Fortunatus* (1599), by Thomas Dekker, he writes: "thy soul is made of lead, too dull, too ponderous to mount up to the incomprehensible glory that travel lifts men to" (2.2; Hoy 75-76).

² **I'le make thee lighter by taking something from thee** double entendre, probably proposing a sexual encounter. This excessively daring attitude indicates an additional corruption and degradation on the part of the queen.

³ **Do: take from mee this Ague... of rage** The lines seem to emulate sexual intercourse.

⁴ **antick shapes** Probably, angry frowns or expressions of disgust; perhaps, meant to perform exaggerating postures of ridicule, intended to make the audience laugh (see Matthew Steggle, *Laughing and Weeping in Early Modern Theatres* 119).

[*To the musicians.*] Burst^o all those wyres!^o *Shatter / strings*
burn all those Instruments!

30 For they displeaseth my *Moor*.¹ Art thou now
pleas'd,

Or wert thou now disturb'd? I'le wage^o all *forfeit*
Spain

To one sweet kisse,² this is some new device
To make me fond and long.³ Oh! you men
Have tricks to make poor women die for you.

ELEAZAR. What die for me; away.

QUEEN MOTHER. Away, what way? I prithee^o *beg you*
speak more kindly;

Why do'st thou frown? at whom?

ELEAZAR. At thee.

QUEEN MOTHER. At me? Oh why at me? for
each contracted frown

40 A crooked wrinkle interlines my brow:⁴
Spend but one hour in frowns, and I shal look

Like to a Beldam^o of one hundred years: *hag, old witch*

I prithee speak to me and chide me not,

¹ **Moor** In the present edition the word Moor will be italicized whenever it refers to Eleazar, independently from its uneven use in D.

² **I'le wage all Spain / To one sweet kisse** The Queen Mother states that she would sacrifice her kingdom to satisfy her concupiscence; probably an instance of the lasciviousness and immoderation ascribed to the (gendered) Spaniards and other strangers.

³ **To make me fond and long** Possibly an allusion to genitalia and sexual intercourse.

⁴ **for each contracted frown... my brow** In Thomas Dekker's play *Match Me in London* (c. 1611), he writes: "Her Highnesse drown'd in sorrow, that your brow / Has beene so long contracted into frownes" (Act 4).

I prithee chide if I have done amisse,^o *wrong*
 But let my punishment be this, and this. *Kiss.*
 I prithee smile on me, if but a while,^o *even if briefly*
 Then frown on me, I'le die: I prithee smile:
 Smile on me, and these two wanton^o boies, *lascivious, mischievous*
 These pretty lads that do attend on me,¹
 50 Shall call thee Jove,² shall wait upon thy cup
 And fill thee Nectar:³ their enticing eies
 Shall serve as chrystal, wherein^o thou maist^o *in which / may*
 see
 To dresse thy self, if thou wilt smile on me.
 Smile on me, and with coronets of pearle,
 And bells of gold, circling their pretty arms
 In a round Ivorie fount these two shal swim,
 And dive to make thee sport:^o ⁴ *amuse you*

¹ **these two wanton boies ... that do attend on me** Two silent characters, described as two handsome and, possibly, effeminate, young men.

² **Jove** Italian for Iuppiter (also Jupiter, Latin; or Zeus, Greek); the main divinity of classical mythology, considered the king of the gods and known for being “a prodigiously amorous god,” associated with many “mortal and divine” women, and “credited with a multitude of children” (Hard 76). Eleazar is associated with this pagan divinity and, therefore, perhaps similarly related to illegitimacy and adultery.

³ **These pretty lads ... Nectar** The term “nectar” was used in classical mythology, referring to the drink of the gods (*OED sb. 1a*). It was often paired with “ambrosia, the food of the Gods, and could be respectively associated with honey-drink and honey; the only nourishment that the gods needed and the responsible of their longevity and immortality (Hard 81). In this context, the Queen is probably suggesting that they can indulge in alcohol, with the double entendre that the “pretty lads” can engage with Eleazar in sexual intercourse.

⁴ **coronets of pearle ... make thee sport** Paraphrasing from Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* (c. 1591; published in 1594):

Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
 With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
 Crowneets of pearl about his naked arms,

Bestow one smile, one little little smile,
 And in a net of twisted silk and gold¹

60 In my all-naked arms, thy self shalt lie.²

ELEAZAR. Why, what to do? Lusts arms do
 stretch so wide,
 That none can fill them? I'le lay there away.³

QUEEN MOTHER. Where has thou learn'd this
 language? that can say
 No more but two rude words; away, away:
 Am I grown ugly now?

ELEAZAR. Ugly as hell.

QUEEN MOTHER. Thou lovd'st me once.

And in his sportful hands an olive tree
 To hide those parts which men delight to see,
 Shall bathe him in a spring; (1.1.61-66; Hoy 76)

¹ **a net of twisted silk and gold** Cyrus Hoy suggests that the phrase is reminiscent of the tale of Mars and Venus, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (c. 8 AD), and perhaps of *Tamburlaine, Part 2* (4.1.67-70): "I feare as litle their *tara, tantaras*, their swordes or their cannons, as I doe a naked Lady in a net of golde, and for feare I should be affraid, would put it off and come to bed with me." (76)

² **Smile on me, and these two ... thy self shalt lie** The Queen suggests that she can order her two male servants to join them in a sort of orgy where Eleazar "shalt lie" in her "all-naked arms" while the two young men would amuse him. Such statement probably alludes to the allegedly sexually excessive and sodomite nature of both Spaniards and Moors. The Queen of Spain also tries to corrupt Eleazar suggesting that they will be surrounded by riches ("silk and gold") and indulge in heavy drinking. The passage is influenced by Christopher Marlowe's work; especially in *Tamburlaine, Part 1* (1.2.93-101, Tamburlaine to Zenocrate); *Tamburlaine, Part 2* (1.2.36-53, Callapine to Almeda); *Dido* (1.1.34-45, Jupiter to Ganymede; 3.1.113-33, Dido to Aeneas; and 4.5.3-12, the Nurse to Cupid-Ascanius) (Hoy 76).

³ **Lusts arms ... I'le lay there away** Here and throughout the whole play, the Moorish character rejects the excessive sexual appetite of the Spanish woman; suggesting a moral superiority of the former, when compared to the Catholic Spaniard. In fact, the Queen Mother harasses Eleazar, offering sexual fantasies and riches to the Moor, while he tries desperately to escape her unwanted attentions.

ELEAZAR. That can thy bastards tell.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. What is my sin? I will
amend the same.

ELEAZAR. Hence strumpet,^o use of sin makes *prostitute*
thee past shame.²

QUEEN MOTHER. Strumpet.

ELEAZAR. I^o Strumpet. *aye, yes*

QUEEN MOTHER. Too true 'tis,^o woe^o is me; *is that / cursed*

70 I am a Strumpet, but made so by thee.

ELEAZAR. By me; no, no; by these young
bauds;³ fetch thee a glasse
And thou shalt see the bals of both thine eies
Burning in fire of lust;⁴ by me? there's here
Within this hollow cistern of thy breast

¹ **Thou lovd'st me once. / That can thy bastards tell** Eleazar's statement suggests that the Queen and her Moorish lover have had more than one child together. This introduces the discourses of miscegenation and illegitimacy, which may represent a threat to the white European/Christian masculinity.

² **Hence strumpet, use of sin makes thee past shame** In Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's *The Honest Whore, Part 1* (1604), the authors write:

The sin of many men
Is within you; and thus much I suppose,
That if all your committers stood in rank,
They'd make a lane, in which your shame might dwell,
And with their spaces reach from hence to hell. (2.1)

³ **bauds** A bawd, or pander, was a procurer of sexual debauchery (*OED sb.* 1a); in this context perhaps used metonymically to describe male prostitutes.

⁴ **the bals of ... in fire of lust** In *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598), John Marston wrote: "When lust doth sparkle from our females eyes" (2.108; Hoy 76). The same concept appears in *Lust's Dominion* (4.4.9) and Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton's *Patient Grissil* (1599):

Yet is my bosom burnt up with desires
To try my Grissil's patience. I'll put on
A wrinkled forehead, and turn both my eyes
Into two balls of fire, (2.2.21-24)

A spring of hot blood: have not I to cool it
 Made an extraction to the quintessence
 Even of my soul: melted all my spirits,
 Ravish'd my youth, deflour'd my lovely cheeks,
 And dried this, this to an anatomy
 80 Only to feed your lust,¹ (these boies have ears):
 Yet wouldst thou murther me.
 QUEEN MOTHER. I murder thee?
 ELEAZAR. I cannot ride through the Castilian²
 streets
 But thousand eies^o through windows, and *eyes*
 through doors
 Throw killing looks at me, and every slave
 At Eleazar darts a finger out,
 And every hissing tongue cries, There's
 the Moor,
 That's he that makes a Cuckold of our King,
 There go's the Minion^o of the Spanish Queen; *darling, lover*
 90 That's the black Prince of Divels,³ there
 go's hee

¹ **have not I to cool it ... to feed your lust** Again, the Queen is described as the corruptor of the Moor's morals. The lines may also suggest that Eleazar was underage when he became Eugenia's lover (an indefinite number of years before their conversation), perhaps, implying that the Queen was a paedophile.

² **Castilian** Of or pertaining to Castile, Spain (*OED a. 1*); here probably intended to mean Spanish at large.

³ **the black Prince of Divels** Eleazar (and his historical counterpart, Muley Xequé, known as The Black Prince) is here associated with Satan, also called Beelzebub or the prince of the devils. This is the first of the numerous descriptions of Eleazar as a "racial" and religious Other, equating blackness with the figure of Satan. Indeed, as suggested by

That on smooth boies, on Masks and Revellings
 Spends the Revenues of the King of Spain.¹
 Who arms this many headed beast² but you,
 Murder and Lust are twins, and both are thine;
 Being weary of me thou wouldst worry me,
 Because some new love makes thee loath
 thine old.³

QUEEN MOTHER. Eleazar!

C.W. Dilke, as early as 1814, the Moor could be considered as a personification of the Devil comparable to representations such as that of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (published in 1604): "The open representation of the devil in *Faustus* is less offensive than the introduction of him here in the garb of a Moor" (91).

¹ **there go's hee ... King of Spain** Eleazar is described as a sodomite and a libertine spendthrift, who indulges himself in sexual activities with young men and costly leisure pastime. This description roughly coincides (perhaps, unintentionally) with that of the historical figure of Muley Xequé, since the cost of his lavish lifestyle and high number of servants weighed on the Spanish crown, causing uneasiness in Spain (Bunes Ibarra, de and Alonso Acero xxix).

The lines can be compared to Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* (c. 1591; published in 1594):

But this I scorne, that one so baselie borne,
 Should by his soveraignes favour grow so pert,
 And riote it with the treasure of the realme (1.4.403-05; Hoy 77).

...

The idle triumphes, maskes, lascivious showes
 And prodigall gifts bestowed on Gaveston,
 Have drawne thy treasure drie, and made thee weake (2.2.157-59; Hoy 77)

² **many headed beast** Probably, a polycephalous or multi-headed animal of classical mythology; perhaps, referring to the Hydra (meaning water-snake in Greek), an enormous and monstrous creature particularly difficult to kill, since if one head was cut off, one or more would grow in its place (Hard 258).

³ **Murder and Lust ... makes thee loath thine old** Eleazar suggests that he was forced to become the Queen's lover and keep on indulging her, since if he failed in doing so, she could substitute him with another "favourite." In this case, Eleazar would become an undesirable and annoying member of her entourage, and hence, he might risk his position in the court or even his life. However, here the Moor may not be sincere, since nothing seems to scare him and the Queen conforms to his will.

ELEAZAR. Harlot!¹ I'll not hear thee speak. *prostitute*

QUEEN MOTHER. I'll kill my self unless thou
hear'st me speak.
My husband King upon his death-bed lies,
100 Yet have I stolne^o from him to look on thee; *stolen, sneaked*
A Queen hath made her self thy Concubine:²
Yet do'st thou now abhor me, hear me speak!
Else shall my sons plague^o thy adult'rous *afflict; punish*
wrongs,
And tread upon thy heart for murd'ring me,³
Thy tongue hath^o murd'red me (Cry murder *has*
boyes)

2 BOIES. Murder! the Queen's murd'red!

ELEAZAR. Love! slaves peace!^o *hush, be quiet*

2 BOIES. Murder! the Queen's murd'red!

ELEAZAR. Stop your throats!^o *speaking*

[*To the Queen.*] Hark^o Hush you Squales^o; Dear
love look up: *listen / squalls*

Our Chamber window stares into the Court,
110 And every wide mouth'd ear, hearing this news
Will give Alarum^o to the cuckold King. *Alarm*
I did dissemble when I chid^o my love, *chide*

¹ **Harlot** See definition of “whore” according to Dympna Callaghan (Introduction xiii).

² **Concubine** The mistress of a married man; typically kept for sexual intercourse.

³ **Else shall my sons ... for murd'ring me** Once again, Eleazar's life is threatened by the Queen, forcing him to yield to her advances.

And that dissembling was to try my love.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. Thou call' dst me strumpet.^o *prostitute*

ELEAZAR. I'le tear out my tongue

From this black temple for blaspheming thee.²

QUEEN MOTHER. And when I woo'd thee but
to smile on me,

Thou cri' dst, away, away, and frown' dst upon
mee.

ELEAZAR. Come now I'le kiss thee, now I'le
smile upon thee;

Call to thy ashy cheeks their wonted red:

120 Come frown not, pout not, smile, smile, but
upon me,³

And with my poniard^o will I stab my flesh, *dagger*

And quaffe carowses^o to thee of my blood,⁴ *drink plenty*

Whil' st in moist Nectar kisses thou do' st

pledge^o me. *Knock. you do promise*

Enter Zarack.

¹ **dissembling was to try my love** Cyrus Hoy notes that this phrase was a familiar ploy (77).

² **black temple** Eleazar is described as a black, sub-Saharan African, rather than as a Moroccan; since the Moor and his followers are described as "black as Jett" (2.4.20). However, for the Elizabethan and Stuart audiences, a North African moor may seem "coal-black"; in fact, like other characters such as Shakespeare's Othello, his complexion was not necessarily like that of a black, sub-Saharan African.

³ **Come frown not, pout not** The descriptions of the Queen's attitudes insinuates the superficial and infantile behaviour often associated with women in general and other gendered strangers.

⁴ **I stab my flesh ... of my blood** Cyrus Hoy notes that Eleazar refers to "the gallant's habit of drinking healths to his mistress in his own blood" (77).

How now, why star'st thou thus?^o ¹ *like this*

ZARACK. The King is dead.

ELEAZAR. Ha! dead! you hear this, is't true, is't true, the King dead!

Who dare knock thus?

ZARACK. It is the Cardinall, making inquiry if the Queen were here.

ELEAZAR. See? shee's here, tell him! and yet Zarack stay.

Enter Baltazar.

130 BALTAZAR. Don Roderigo's come to seek the Queen.

ELEAZAR. Why should Roderigo seek her here?

BALTAZAR. The King hath swounded^o thrice, *fainted*
and being recovered,²

Sends up and down the Court, to seek her grace.

ELEAZAR. The King was dead with you; Run!
and with a voice

Erected high as mine, say thus, thus threaten
To Roderigo and the Cardinall.

¹ **why star'st thou thus?** why are you staring at me/us like that?

² **The King hath swounded thrice, and being recovered** In the anonymous pamphlet *A Briefe and True Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Wordes, and Death of the King of Spaine Philip* (1599), we read:

Ten daies before he died, he fell into so great a traunce (lasting fiue howres) that it was easily perceiued, that his life and vitall powers began to faile, ... Being returned to himselfe, ... (A2-3)

Seek no Queens here, I'le broach^o them if they *stab*
do,

Upon my falchions¹ point.² Again more

knocking! *Knock again.*

ZARACK. Your father is at hand,³ my Gracious
Lord.

140 ELEAZAR. Lock all the chambers, bar him out
you apes.⁴

Hither, a vengeance; stir Eugenia,⁵

You know your old walk under ground,⁶ away.

So, down, hye^o to the King, quick, quick, *hasten, hurry*

you Squalls⁷

Crawle with your Dam^o, i'th^o dark, dear love

farewell, *dame, woman / in the*

[*Aside.*] One day I hope to shutt you up in hell.

Eleazar shuts them in.

¹ **falchions point** A falchion is a sickle-shaped, curved sword (*OED sb.* 1a); perhaps, associated in this context with a scimitar, a curved sword mainly used in Turkey and the Middle East (*OED sb.* 1a). Hence, coupling the Moorish and Spanish cultural background.

² **I'le broach them ... my falchions point** In Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (c.1592), the author writes: "I'll broach the tadpole on my rapier's point" (4.2.85; Hoy 78).

³ **Your father is at hand** your father-in-law (Alvero), is coming.

⁴ **you apes** Eleazar uses a "racist" commonplace often used to describe black Others, equating his Moorish servants to apes.

⁵ **Eugenia** i.e. The Queen Mother of Spain. The first and only instance in the play where the Queen Mother is called Eugenia, a name which, perhaps, was borrowed from that of the historical figure of Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633), the daughter of Philip II.

⁶ **old walk under ground** Secret underground passage in Eleazar's palace.

⁷ **Squalls** Small or insignificant people (*OED sb.* †1).

Act. I^{mus}. Scena II^{da}.*Enter Alvero.*

ALVERO. Son Eleazar, saw you not the Queen?

ELEAZAR. Hah!

ALVERO. Was not the Queen here with you?

ELEAZAR. Queen with mee; because my Lord

I'me married to your daughter:

You (like your daughter) will grow Jealous,

The Queen with me, with me, a Moore, a Devill,

A slave of Barbary, a dog; for so

Your silken Courtiers¹ christen^o me,² but *call*

father

Although my flesh be tawny, in my veines,

10 Runs blood as red, and royal as the best

And proud'st in Spain,³ there do'es old man: my
father,⁴Who with his Empire,¹ lost his life,

¹ **silken Courtiers** Courtiers clad in silk (*OED a.* I.4); in this context, perhaps suggesting that the Courtiers are effeminate or luxurious (*OED a.* II.8).

² **me, a Moore ... christen me** In Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (c.1598), Shylock the Jew states: "You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog" (1.3.3; Hoy 78).

³ **Although my flesh be tawny ... proud'st in Spain** Eleazar claims that, even if he is a tawny Moroccan, he is as noble as the Spanish aristocrats. He describes his own complexion as "tawny"; however, later he asserts that he has a "jetty neck" (5.2.21).

⁴ **my father** Dekker is probably describing the deposed Sultan of Morocco Abu Abdallah Mohammed II, also known as Muhammad al-Mutawakkil (?-1578).

And left me Captive to a Spanish Tyrant, Oh!
 Go tell him! Spanish Tyrant! tell him, do?
 He that can loose a kingdom and not rave,
 He's a tame jade,^o I am not, tell old Philip *hack, old tired horse*
 I call him Tyrant:² here's a sword and arms,
 A heart, a head, and so pish,³ 'tis but death:
 Old fellow shee's not here. But ere^o I dye, *before*
 20 Sword⁴ I'le bequeath^o thee a rich legacy. *give*
 ALVERO. Watch fitter hours to think on wrongs
 then^o now, *than*
 Deaths frozen hand hold's Royal Philip's heart,

¹ **Empire** The Moroccan part of the Ottoman Empire, controlled by the Saadi, or Sa'dī, dynasty.

² **my father ... call him Tyrant** The fictional King Philip abducted Eleazar from Morocco, killing his father, a narration influenced by the historical events regarding the Battle of Ksar El Kebir (1578). Indeed, the actual King of Spain was accused by the English of being a double dealer, as suggested in George Peele's play *The Battle of Alcazar* (c. 1589), where the English ally of Sebastian of Portugal, Thomas Stukeley (c. 1520-78) stated:

STUKELEY. Sit fast, Sebastian, and in this work
 God and good men labour for Portugal.
 For Spain, disguising with a double face,
 Flarrers thy youth and forwardness, good King.
 Philip, whom some call the Catholic king.
 I fear me much thy faith will not be firm,
 But disagree with thy profession. (3.1.48-54)

Therefore, perhaps, Philip II was also considered the (indirect) cause of the deaths in the battlefield of Abu Abdallah Mohammed II and Sebastian of Portugal (nominally encouraged by Spain). Eventually, like Eleazar, the son of Abu Abdallah Mohammed II, Muley Xequé, and his brother, Muley al-Nazar, became captives of King Philip. Fourteen or fifteen-year-old Muley Xequé was eventually adopted at the Spanish court, becoming a noble Christian, ever since known as Don Felipe of Africa, Prince of Fez and Morocco (García-Arenal and Rodríguez, *Un Oriente español* 148-49). See Jesús Nieto and Cinta Zunino's "'As we are Englishmen, so are we Men:' Patterns of Otherness in George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*" (López-Peláez, ed., *Strangers* 75-107).

³ **Pish** expression of impatience or contempt (*OED* v. 1).

⁴ **Sword** [By Christ']s-word.

Halfe of his body lies within a grave;
 Then do not now by quarrells shake that state,
 Which is already too much ruinate.^o *deteriorated*
 Come and take leave of him before he dye.^o *dies*
Exit.

ELEAZAR. I'le follow you; now purple villany,
 Sit like a Roab imperiall^o on my back,¹ *imperial robe*
 That under thee I closelyer^o may contrive *more closely*
 30 My vengeance; foul deeds hid do sweetly thrive:
 Mischief erect thy throne and sit in state^o ² *with dignity*
 Here, here upon this head; let fools fear fate.
 Thus I defie my starrs,³ I care not I
 How low I tumble down, so I mount high.¹

¹ **purple villany ... on my back** Purple, or red, crimson, was often associated, or even the exclusive colour, of the royal European families and of the highest ranks of the clergy (*OED a. 1a*). The colour is also associated with blood (*OED a. 2c*); and hence, "purple villany" suggests Eleazar's intentions to execute "bloody" deeds.

² **villany ... Mischief** Personified abstractions of human behavioural features. The representation of qualities, especially negative, of humanity in literature or art, was occasionally embodied by a character whose main feature is the one suggested by his or her own name (i.e. Avarice, Greed, Lust, Usury, etc). Personification was often used in medieval English theatres in order to set an example for the audience: the so-called Morality plays. However, as Anthony Barthelemy suggests, early modern theatre increasingly started to associate these malevolent agents, the Vice characters, to Others such as "racial" strangers (72-75). Early modern characters such as Shakespeare's Iago in *Othello* (1603) are clearly an evolution of the Vice figure.

³ **let fools fear fate. / Thus I defie my starrs** See note on 1.4.6-7 and 5.1.27. A possible comment on the doctrines of predestination (Protestant) and free will (Catholic), which insinuates that Eleazar follows the (supposedly) Catholic practice of defying the stars, that is, believing in free will. Indeed, the Moor suggests that those who fear destiny are fools (using the pagan term "fate"). A zealous Protestant, Dekker probably feared destiny.

A further instance in early modern drama where a Catholic defies fate can be found in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (pub. 1597), where Romeo states: "I defy you, stars!" (5.1.24).

Old time^o I'le wait bare-headed at thy heels, *For a long time*
 And be a foot-boy to thy winged hours;²
 They shall not tell one Minute out in sands,³
 But I'le set down the number, I'le stil wake,
 And wast these bals of sight^o by tossing them, *globes of the eyes*
 40 In busie observations upon thee.
 Sweet opportunity I'le bind my self
 To thee in base apprentice-hood so long,
 Till on thy naked scalp grow hair as thick
 As mine: and all hands shal lay hold on thee,
 If thou wilt lend me but thy rusty sithe,^o *scythe*
 To cut down all that stand within my wrongs,⁴
 And my revenge. Love dance in twenty formes⁵
 Upon my beauty, that this Spanish dame
 May be bewitch'd, and doat,^o her *foolishly in love*
 amorous flames
 50 Shall blow up the old King. Consume his Sons,

¹ **I care not ... I tumble down, so I mount high** I do not care if the higher you go the harder you fall. Eleazar is so ambitious that the risks and considerable perspectives of failure inherent to the pursuit of success do not scare him. Cyrus Hoy notes that this concept from Seneca's tragedy *Thyestes* ("unde cadas / quam quo refert"), was quoted in Latin in John Marston's *The Malcontent* (1604), "*Unde cadis, non quo, refert*" (2.1.25), and in English in his *Antonio and Mellida* (c. 1599): "No matter whither but from whence we fall" (3.1.115; Hoy 78).

² **winged hours** hours or time that flies or passes swiftly (*OED a.¹ 4a*). A possible reference to the mythological god Helios, represented either as a charioteer or as a winged man who travels across the sky carrying the sun; hence, time passes (Hard 43).

³ **They shall not ... in sands** The meaning of the sentence is obscure, but a possible interpretation may be: "every minute that passes, I will be watching, awake, on the alert."

⁴ **I'le follow you ... within my wrongs** Through the whole soliloquy, Eleazar speaks to an imaginary Grim Reaper. Death is personified and addressed as "villany," "Mischief," and "opportunity."

⁵ **Love** A further instance of personification.

And make all Spain a bonfire.¹
 This Tragedie beeing acted, hers does begin,
 To shed a harlots blood can be no sin. *Exit.*

Act. I^{mus}. Scena 3^{tia}.

[*The Court of Spain.*]² *The Courtains being drawn there appears in his bed King Phillip, with his Lords, the Princesse Isabella at the feet, [Cardinal] Mendoza, Alvero, Hortensio, Fernando, Roderigo, and to them Enter Queen [Mother] in hast.*

QUEEN MOTHER. Whose was that Screech-
 Owls voice, that like the sound
 Of a hell-tortur'd soul rung through mine ears
 Nothing but horrid shreiks, nothing but death?³
 Whil'st I, vailing^o my knees to the cold earth, *bending*

¹ **make all Spain a bonfire** In Thomas Dekker's *Match me in London* (c. 1611), the character of the King of Spain states: "The fatall Ball is cast, and though it fires / All *Spaine*, burne let it, hot as my desires" (2.2.210-11; Hoy 78).

² [*The Court of Spain.*] Probably, the scene takes place in The Royal Seat of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial), a historical residence and burial place of the Kings of Spain. It was built by King Philip II of Spain, in the town of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Madrid, Spain), between 1563 and 1584. Dekker was probably aware that Philip II spent the last years of his life and died in El Escorial, since he obtained the information from *A Briefe and True Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Wordes, and Death of the King of Spaine Philip the second of that name, who died in his Abbey of S. Laurence at Escuriall seuen miles from Madrill the 13 of September 1598* (1599). In its title and text, the pamphlet provides a very accurate description of the place and date of Philip II's death.

³ **Screech-Owls ... nothing but death?** The screech-owl, or barn owl, owes its name to its characteristic strident cry, often considered to be of evil omen (*OED sb.* 1a). In Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 3* (c. 1591), he writes: "Bring forth that fatal screech-owl to our house / That nothing sung but death to us and ours" (2.6.56-57; Hoy 78).

Drowning my withered^o cheeks in my *decayed*
 warm tears,
 And stretching out my arms to pull from heaven
 Health for the Royal Majestie of Spain,
 All cry'd, The Majestie of Spain is dead:
 That last word (dead) struck through the
 ecchoing air,
 10 Rebounded on my heart, and smote me down
 Breathlesse to the cold earth, and made me
 leave
 My praiers for Philips life, but thanks to heaven
 I see him live, and lives I hope to see
 Unnumbred years to guide this Empery.
 KING PHILIP. The number of my years ends in
 one day,
 E're^o this Sun's down all a King's glory sets,¹ *before*
 For all our lives are but deaths counterfeits.^o *in disguise*
 Father Mendoza and you Peers of Spain,
 Dry your wet eies, for sorrow wanteth^o force *wants, requires*
 20 T'inspire a breathing soul in a dead coarse;^o ² *corpse*
 Such is your King: Where's Isabel
 our Daughter?

¹ **E're this Sun's down all a King's glory sets** The sun has been traditionally considered a symbol of the King in European monarchies.

² **Dry your wet eies ... in a dead coarse** In *Briefe and True Declaration* (1599) we read: "My Friends and Subiects, your Sorrowes are of no Force to recouer my Health, for no humane Remedie can profit me" (A3).

CARDINAL. At your beds-feet confounded^o in
her tears. *consumed*

KING PHILIP. She of your grief the heaviest
burthen^o bears; *burden*
You can but lose a King, but she a Father.

QUEEN MOTHER. She bear the heaviest
burthen; Oh say rather
I bear, and am born down,^o my sorrowing *overwhelmed*
Is for a husbands losse, losse of a King.

KING PHILIP. No more, Alvero call the Princess
hither.

ALVERO. Madam, his Majestie doth call for you.

30 KING PHILIP. Come hither Isabella, reach a hand;
Yet now it shall not need, in stead of thine
Death shoving thee back clasps his hands
in mine,
And bids me come away; I must, I must;
Though Kings be gods on earth, they turn
to dust.¹

Is not Prince Philip come from Portugal?

RODERIGO. The Prince as yet is not return'd,
my Lord.

KING PHILIP. Commend^o me to him, if I *remember*
ne're^o behold him: *never*

¹ **Though Kings be gods on earth, they turn to dust** King Philip's words echo those attributed to Horace (65 BC-8 BC) "Pale Death beats equally at the poor man's gate and at the palaces of kings."

This tells the order of my funeral,
 Do it as 'tis set down! Embalm my body;¹
 40 Though worms do make no difference of flesh;
 Yet Kings are curious^o here to dig their graves; *careful*
 Such is man's frailty;^o when I am embalm'd, *weakness*
 Apparel me in a rich Roial Robe,
 According to the custome of the Land;²
 Then place my bones within that brazen shrine
 Which death hath builded for my ancestors:³
 I cannot name death, but he strait steps in,^o *here he comes*
 And pulls me by the arm.
 FERNANDO. His Grace doth^o faint: help me my *does*
 Lords softly to raise him up.

¹ **Embalm my body** The tradition of embalming the corpses of monarchs and church dignitaries was relatively common in some Catholic and in pagan communities of the New World and Asia. However, during the sixteenth and beginnings of the seventeenth centuries, Protestant societies usually rejected practices such as extreme unction and embalming (Phillippy 64-65).

² **According to the custome of the Land** A standard phrase appearing in most travel narratives to account for difference between the English and foreigners or aliens. For instance, similar phrases are used in the titles of the works by Joannes Boemus, *The Manners, Lawes and Customes of All Nations* (1611) or William Waterman, *The Fardle of Facions conteining the auncient maners, customes and lawes of the peoples inhabiting the two partes of the earth called Affricke and Asie* (1555).

³ **This tells ... ancestors** In *Briefe and True Declaration* (1599), the author reports the last words of Philip II:

The chiefe Matter of your Care ought to be to prouide, in Time, all Necessaries for my Funerals; and, ... fetch hither vnto me my Coffin that I shall be laide in, and place here, vpon this little Cupboord, a dead Man's Skull crowned with my imperial Crowne; ... Commaundng that this my Bodie, so scone as euer my Soule shall be separated from the same, be embalmed; then apparelled with a Royall Robe, and so placed in this brazen Shrine heere present, ... and I commaund my Funerall to be solemnized in this manner. (B-B2)

Enter Eleazar, and stands sadly by.

50 KING PHILIP. Lift me not up, I shortly must

go down,

When a few dribbling^o minutes have run out, *dribbling*

[*To Fernando*] Mine hour is ended: King of

Spain farewell:

[*To the nobles*] You all acknowledg^o him your *Acknowledge*

Sovereign.¹

ALL. When you are dead we will acknowledg
him.

KING PHILIP. Govern this kingdom well:² to

be a King

Is given to many: but to govern well

Granted to few: have care to Isabel,

Her virtue was King Philips looking-glasse.³

¹ **King of Spain ... your Sovereign** The king names as his heir his (firstborn) son, Fernando, while his other son, Philip, is abroad. However, the historical King Philip II of Spain established that his son Philip, who was present in the last days of his father's life, would inherit the crown of Spain as Philip III. In *Briefe and True Declaration* (1599) he states: "I commaunde you to call hither your Prince, which shall be your future King" (B); "your Prince, and the third King of that name" (B2).

² **Govern this kingdom well** In *Briefe and True Declaration* (1599) the author reports:
[T]he King ... willed them to looke in the Cofer for another Paper, and, giuing it to the Prince, he told him, that, therein he should see the Forme how to gouern his Kingdome ... Keepe the Commonwealth in Peace, placing there good Gouvernors to rewarde the Good and punish the Bad. (B-B2)

³ **have care to Isabel ... Philips looking-glasse** According to *Briefe and True Declaration* (1599) the historical Philip II said to his son, Prince Philip, to take care of his daughter, Isabella Clara Eugenia: "Then, speaking to the Prince, he saide, ... I pray you haue a great Care and Regard to your Sister, because shee was my Looking-glasse and the Light of mine Eies" (B2).

Reverence the Queen your mother. Love
your sister,

60 And the young Prince your brother; even
that day

When Spain shall solemnize my Obsequies,
And lay me up in earth; let them crown you.
Where's Eleazar, Don Alvero's son?

FERNANDO. Yonder^o with crost^o arms stands
he malecontent.¹

KING PHILIP. I do commend^o him to thee *recommend*
for^o a man² *since he is*

Both wise and warlike, yet beware of him,
Ambition wings his spirit, keep him down;
What wil not men attempt to win a crown.
Mendoza is Protector of thy Realm,³

70 I did elect him for his gravity,
I trust hee'l be a father to thy youth:
Call help Fernando, now I faint indeed.

FERNANDO. My Lords.

¹ **Yonder with crost arms stands he malecontent** Over there with crossed arms stands he malcontent (i.e. displeased). This portrait of Eleazar corresponds with that of the figure of the Malcontent. In Shakespeare's comedy *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (c. 1589-92), he writes: "you have learned ... to wreathe your arms, like a malcontent" (2.1.17-18).

² **I do commend him to thee for a man** The phrase echoes the commendation of historical King Philip II to his son, Prince Philip, about one of his servants in *Briefe and True Declaration* (1599): "Remember I commend vnto you Don Christofer for the most faithfull servant which I euer had" (C).

³ **Protector** Historically, in Western societies, "Protector" was a name usually given to a regent, or the responsible of a kingdom when the sovereign was underage, absent or incapacitated (*OED sb.* 2a).

KING PHILIP. Let none with a distracted^o voice *agitated*
 Shreik^o out, and trouble me in my departure: *Shriek*
 Heavens hands I see are beckning^o for my soul;¹ *beckoning*
 I come, I come; thus do the proudest die,
 Death hath no mercy, life no certainty.

CARDINAL. As yet^o his soul's not from her *As long as*
 temple gone,
 Therefore forbear loud lamentation. *refrain*

80 QUEEN MOTHER. Oh he is dead, hee's dead!
 lament and die,²
 In her King's end begins Spains misery.

ISABELLA. He shall not end so soon; Father,
 dear Father! [*King dies.*]

FERNANDO. Forbear sweet Isabella, shrieks
 are vain.

ISABELLA. You crie forbear, you by his losse
 of breath
 Have won a kingdom, you may cry forbear:
 But I have lost a Father, and a King;
 And no tongue shal controul my sorrowing.

HORTENZO. Whither,^o good Isabella? *Where*

ISABELLA. I will go,

¹ **Heavens hands I see are beckning for my soul** In *Briefe and True Declaration* (1599), we read: "We Philip by the grace of God, ... commend my Soule into his blessed Hands" (B).

² **Oh he is dead, hee's dead! lament and die** The Queen Mother seems to howl in feigned pain or to wail excessively even though the king is still alive, displaying her impatience at the King's endurance and a further instance of her immature behaviour.

Where I will languish in eternal wo.^o *woe*

HORTENZO. Nay, gentle Love.

90 ISABELLA. Talk not of love to me.

The world and the worlds pride henceforth

I'll scorn.¹ *Exit.*

HORTENZO. My love shall follow thee, if

thou deny'st

To live with poor Hortenzo as his wife;

I'll never change my love, but change my life.²

Enter Philip Hastily.

PHILIP. I know he is not dead, I know

proud Death

Durst^o not behold such sacred majesty. *dares*

Why stand you thus distracted? Mother,

Brother,

My Lord Mendoza, where's^o my Royal father? *where is*

QUEEN MOTHER. Here lyes the temple of his

Royall soul.³

¹ **The world ... I'll scorn** From this day I will deny the world and the worldly vanity.

² **My love shall follow ... change my life** Hortenzo states that even if Isabella refuses to love and marry him, he will never love another woman. He asserts that he would follow her and change his life, perhaps, suggesting that he would stand by her side as a celibate man for the rest of his life. If this is true, the author may be insinuating that Hortenzo would become a Catholic priest, hinting at the widespread anti-Catholic arguments suggesting that these clergymen were sexually active and secretly frustrated individuals who were rejected by women.

³ **the temple of his Royall soul** i.e. his body.

100 FERNANDO. Here's all that's left of Philips
Majesty.

Wash you his tombe with tears; Fernandoes
mone,^o

moans, lamentations

Hating a Partner, shall be spent alone.¹ *Exit.*

PHILIP. Oh happy father, miserable Sonne!

Philip is gone to Joy, Philip's forlorn:

He dies to live; my life with woe is torn.

QUEEN MOTHER. Sweet sonne.

PHILIP. Sweet mother: oh! how I now do shame

To lay on one so foul so fair a name:

Had you been a true mother, a true wife,

This King had not so soon been robb'd of life.

QUEEN MOTHER. What means this rage,

my sonne?

110 PHILIP. Call not me your sonne:

My father whilst he liv'd tyr'd^o his strong
armes² *tired*

In bearing christian armour, gainst the Turk's,

And spent his brains in warlike stratagem

To bring Confusion on damn'd Infidels;³

¹ **Fernandoes mone, ... shall be spent alone** I will spend some time in solitary lamentations, since in this moment I do not want anyone to keep me company.

² **tyr'd his strong armes** proved or tested his strength, goodness, value or truth.

³ **gainst the Turk's ... damn'd Infidels** Dekker could be talking about King Philip II's conflicts with the Ottomans such as the Battle of Ksar El Kebir (1578), or the Battle of Lepanto (1571). It must be noted that the play was probably first acted after 1600, in the last years of Elizabeth I's life and at the beginning of the the reign of King James, who

Whil'st you that snorted here at home betraid
 His name to everlasting Infamy;
 Whilst you at home suffered^o his bed-chamber *tolerated, allowed*
 To be a Brothelry,¹ whilst you at home
 Suffered his Queen to be a Concubine,
 120 And wanton red cheekt boy's to be her bawds^o *panders, go-betweenes*
 Whilst shee reeking in that leachers^o armes. *lecher's, debauchee's*
 [*Philip stares at Eleazar.*]

ELEAZAR. Me!

PHILIP. Villaine 'tis thee, thou hel-begotten
 fiend at thee I stare.²

QUEEN MOTHER. Philip thou art a villain to
 dishonour me.³

PHILIP. Mother I am no villain; 'tis this villain
 Dishonours you and me, dishonours Spain,
 Dishonours all these Lords, this Divell is he,
 that —

ELEAZAR. What! Oh pardon me I must
 throw off

130 All chains of duty: wert thou ten Kings sons,⁴

dreaded the Ottomans and admired the victory of Lepanto (he wrote a panegyric poem entitled *Lepanto*, written in c. 1585 and published in 1591).

¹ **Brothelry** A brothel, or bawdy house; i.e. a place where prostitutes were employed (*OED sb. † Obs. 2*).

² **hel-begotten fiend** demon engendered and born in hell.

³ **Philip thou art a villain to dishonour me** Since antiquity, in Western communities honour was generally considered an essential feature involving valour and moderation, the achievement of moral and intellectual virtue and the acknowledgement of others (López-Peláez, "A Lotmanian Approach" 24-25).

⁴ **wert thou ten Kings sons** if you were as valuable as ten Kings sons.

Had I as many soules as I have sins:¹
 As this from hence, so they from this should fly;
 In just revenge of this Indignity.

[*Draws. Lords come between them.*]

PHILIP. Give way, or I'll make way upon your
 bosoms.²

ELEAZAR. Did my dear Sovereigne live, sirrha
 that tongue.³

QUEEN MOTHER. Did but King Philip live,
 traytor I'de tell, —

PHILIP. A tale, that should rid^o both your soules *remove*
 to hell.

Tell Philip's ghost, that Philip tells his Queen,
 That Philip's Queen is a Moor's Concubine:

140 Did the King live I'de tell him how you two,
 Rip't up the entrails of his treasury:⁴

¹ **Had I as many soules as I have sins** In a footnote of his 1931 edition of *Lust's Dominion* (in *Materials for the study of the Old English drama*, Vol. 5), John Le Gay Brereton notes that in this passage and in 2.3.16 ("Not for so many worlds as here be stars"), there is an echo of Christopher Marlowe's words in *Doctor Faustus* (published in 1604): "Had I as many soules as there be starres, / Ide giue them al for *Mephastophilis*" (1.3.347-48) (80).

² **Give way, ... bosoms** Stand back, or I'll stab you in the chest.

³ **Sirrha** According to the *OED*, the first known use of the term sirrha or syrrah can be traced in 1526 and was used to address men or boys, usually in a patronizing and contemptuous way, implying the authority or superiority of the speaker (*OED sb.* Now *arch. 1a*).

⁴ **Rip't up the entrails of his treasury** In Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* (c. 1592), we read: "Rifling the bowels of her treasure" (2.1.35; Hoy 80).

With Masques¹ and antick Revellings.²

ELEAZAR. Words insupportable;^o *unbearable*

do'st^o hear me boy? *do you*

QUEEN MOTHER. Stand you all still, and see

me thus trod^o down. *trampled*

PHILIP. Stand you all still, yet let this divell

stand here.

CARDINAL. Forbear sweet Prince; Eleazar,

I am now

Protector to Fernando King of Spain:

By that authority and by consent

Of all these peers, I utterly deprive thee

150 Of all those Royalties thou hold'st in Spain.

QUEEN MOTHER. Cardinall, who lends thee

this Commission?

¹ **Masques** A masque was a courtly entertainment usually performed on significant occasions in England, from the fourteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries (Boyce 405-06). The masques typically staged allegorical topics and included dancing and singing in elaborate sceneries (405). The actors wore intricate masks and costumes, representing mythological (or emblematic) figures, such as Vice and Virtue, and nobles or aristocrats often participated in the performance (405-06). Masques gradually evolved in a drama-like genre, whereas drama itself occasionally included masque-like elements, introducing dancing and singing, being both often considered activities which promoted sexual and immoral attitudes (405-06). Among the notable writers who designed early modern masques we could mention Ben Jonson (1572-1637), Francis Beaumont (c. 1585-1616) and Samuel Daniel (1562?-1619) (405).

² **Revellings** A revel was "An occasion or period of exuberant merrymaking or noisy festivity, esp. one involving dancing, drinking, and lively entertainments" (*OED sb.*¹ I.1a). It could be "an organized item of entertainment; a dance, a masque, a play" (*OED sb.*¹ I.1a); or "A communal feast or festival, ... esp. one associated with a church or parish; a fair, a wake" (*OED sb.*¹ I.2). Figures such as the Master of Revels were in charge of the regulation of these activities.

ELEAZAR. Cardinall, i'le shorten thee by the
head for this.¹

PHILIP. Forward^o my Lord Mendoza, damne *Proceed*
the feind:^o *fiend*

ELEAZAR. Princes of Spain, consent you to
this pride?^o *impertinence*

ALL. Wee doe.

QUEEN MOTHER. For what cause? let his faith
be try'd.^o *tried, tested*

CARDINALL. His treasons needs no tryal,
they're too plain;
Come not within the Court, for if you do,
To beg with Indian slaves I'le banish you.²
Exeunt all, but Alvero, Queen, and Eleazar.

Act. I. Scena IV

ALVERO. Why should my sonne be banished?

Enter Maria.

¹ **i'le shorten thee by the head** I will cut your head off.

² **To beg with Indian slaves I'le banish you** From the early modern period, the adjective Indian has been often used to designate the aboriginal peoples of the New World, or the Americas (*OED a. A.2*); similarly, it was used as an appellation for the inhabitants of India, or the East Indies (*OED a. A.1.a*). This term suggests that Eleazar, a Moroccan noble, was vaguely associated with the inhabitants of the New World, the East Indies or Asia, and hence, with the attributes typically ascribed to these communities, such as blackness, heathenism, poverty, immorality, excessive concupiscence and animalization. That there was considerable confusion when using these terms can be noted in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (published in 1604): "As Indian moors obey their Spanish lords" (1.121), where the two terms (i.e. "Indian" and "Moors") seem to be conflated and used to designate Native American "Indians."

QUEEN MOTHER. Of that dispute^o not *argue*
 now Alvero,
 I'le to the King my sonne,¹ it shall be try'de
 If Castiles King can cool a Cardinall's pride.

Exeunt Queen and Alvero.

ELEAZAR. If I disgest this Gall;² Oh! my Maria:

I am whipt,^o and rackt,^o and torn upon *whipped / racked*
 the wheel³

Of giddy^o fortune:⁴ She and her Minions *foolish*

Have got me down; and treading on my bosome,

They cry, lye still: the Cardinal

10 (Oh! rare) would bandy^o me away from Spain, *send; cast*

And banish me to beg; I, beg with slaves.

MARIA. Conquer^o with patience these indignities. *master; overcome*

ELEAZAR. Patience; ha, ha: yes, yes: an honest

Cardinall.

MARIA. Yet smother thy grief and seek revenge.

¹ **I'le to the King** I will speak to the King

² **If I disgest this Gall** If I swallow this bile (i.e. resentment or bitterness); i.e. if I tolerate this.

³ **I am whipt ... upon the wheel** A wheel was wheel-like instrument of torture or punishment (*OED sb.* II.2.a). To tear or break on the wheel meant to bind criminals and torture them, usually by breaking their limbs, beating them to death, dislocating their bones, etc. (*OED v.* II.7.b)

⁴ **the wheel / Of giddy fortune** See note on 1.2.32-33 and 5.1.27. In Roman religion, Fortuna, or Fortune (associated with the Greek Tyche), was the goddess of chance and prosperity (Doniger, ed. *Encyclopedia of World Religions* 355). The goddess has been often portrayed with a cornucopia, the horn of plenty, and a shifting wheel or a ball, representing her control of the human unstable destinies (355). This supernatural being is typically described as a blindfolded and capricious woman, who spins a wheel at random (the Wheel of Fortune) determining this way the fate of humanity.

ELEAZAR. Hah! banish me, s'foot,¹ why say
 they do;
 Ther's Portugal a good air, and France a fine
 Country;
 Or Barbary rich, and has Moors; the Turke
 Pure Divell, and allows enough to fat
 The sides of villany;² good living there:
 20 I can live there, and there, and there,
 Troth 'tis, a villain can live any where:
 But say I goe from hence, I leave behind me
 A Cardinall, that will laugh, I leave behind me
 A Philip, that will clap his hands for joy;
 And dance levaltoes³ through the Castile Court.
 But the deep'st wound of all is this, I leave
 My wrongs, dishonours, and my discontents,
 Oh! unrevenged; my bed-rid⁴ enemies
 Shal never be rais'd up by the strong Physic,

¹ **s'foot** Short form of *Christ's foot*, used in oaths or exclamations (*OED sb.* I.1†b *Obs.*).

² **the Turke ... sides of villany** The author seems to suggest that "the Turk," or the Turkish community, promotes and symbolizes prosperity, even if achieved through evil means. Hence, this may signify that the renegades or apostates who establish a relationship with the Turks desert their morals, religion, or even their soul. In Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1593) we read: "O how this villainy / Doth fat me with the very thoughts of it!" (3.1.203-04; Hoy 80).

³ **dance levaltoes** The term "la volta, (Italian: "the turn," or "turning") also spelled Lavolta, Lavatoe, and Levalto," was a "16th-century leaping and turning dance for couples, originating in Italy and popular at French and German court balls until about 1750. Performed with a notoriously intimate embrace, it became respectable, but never completely dignified, after Queen Elizabeth I of England danced it with the earl of Leicester" ("la volta." *Encyclopædia Britannica*). It "consisted in a turn of the body with two steps, a high spring, and a pause with feet close together" (*Shakespeare's England*. Vol. 2, 448; Hoy 81).

⁴ **bed-rid** or bedrid; said of a sick person who is forced to stay in bed (*OED a. and sb.* 1).

30 And curing¹ of my sword, therefore stay still;
 Many have hearts to strike, that dare not kil:
 Leave me Maria: Cardinall, this disgrace,
 Shall dye thy soule, as Inky as my face:²
 Pish, hence Maria.

Enter Alvero.

MARIA. To the King I'le fly.

He shall reveng my Lord's indignity. *Exit.*

ALVERO. Mendoza woo's^o the King to *entreats; pleads*
 banish thee;
 Startle thy wonted spirits, awake thy soul,
 And on thy resolution fasten wings,
 Whose golden feathers may out-strip their hate.

40 ELEAZAR. I'le tye no golden fethers to
 my wings.

ALVERO. Shall they thus tread^o thee down, *trample*

¹ **Physic**, / **And curing** Fredson Bowers suggests that:

D reads as the last line of sig. B II recto, 'Shal never he rais' d up by the strong Physical,' followed by the catchword 'And'. Sig. B II verso begins, 'Curing of my sword, therefore stay still;'. All editors read 'Physical! Curing', but the line limps and the anomalous catchword is unexplained, as is the comma after 'Physical' that is anomalous standing between an adjective and its noun. [John Le Gay] Brereton conjectures that there has been rearrangement of type and that line 182. originally ended sig. B II recto; but this is idle speculation in default of evidence. It seems simpler to believe that Physical (but not its comma) is in error, and that the compositor skipped a word (whether or not through improper marking of his copy) between setting the recto and verso pages. Physical curing is an odd phrase, whereas physic and curing is quite natural. (218)

² **Shall dye thy soule, as Inky as my face** The phrase echoes Aaron the Moor's statement, in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1593), "Aaron will have his soul black like his face" (3.1.206).

which once were glad,

To Lacquey^o by thy conquering Chariot *To be a lackey*

wheelles?

ELEAZAR. I care not, I can^o swallow more *cannot*

sower^o wrongs: *sour*

ALVERO. If they triumph o're^o thee; they'l spurn *over*

me down.

ELEAZAR. Look, spurn again.

ALVERO. What Ice hath coold that fire,

Which sometimes made thy thoughts to heaven
aspire;

This patience had not wont^o to dwell with thee: *custom, habit, use*

Enter Fernando and Maria.

ELEAZAR. 'Tis right, but now the World's

chang'd you see;

[*Aside.*] Though I seem dead to you, here lives
a fire,

50 No more, here comes the King, and my Maria;

The Spaniard loves my wife, she swears to me,

Shee's chaste as the white Moon, well if she be.¹

Well too if shee be not, I care not, I,^o *even so*

I'll climb up by that love to dignitie.

FERNANDO. [*Aside to Maria.*] Thou woo'st me

to revenge thy husbands wrong,

¹ **Shee's chaste as the white Moon** In classical mythology, Diana (Roman) or Artemis (Greek) was the goddess of the moon and the hunt, typically considered a virgin (maiden); hence the association of this figure with chastity and the moon.

I woo thy fair self not to wrong thy self;
 Swear but to love me, and to thee I'll swear
 To crown thy husband with a diadem.¹

MARIA. Such love as I dare yeeld,^o I'll *yield*
 not deny.²

60 FERNANDO. When in the golden armes of
 Majesty —

I am broke off;^o yonder^o thy husband stands, *interrupted / over there*
 I'll set him free, if thou unite^o my bands,^o *untie / bonds*
 Soe much for that. Durst^o then the Card'nall, *Dares*
 Put on such insolence; tell me fair Madam,
 Wher'es your most Valiant Husband?

ELEAZAR. [*Aside.*] He see's me, and yet
 inquires for me.

MARIA. Yonder's^o my Lord. *Over there is*

FERNANDO. Eleazar I have in my brest^o writ *breast*
 down

From her Report your late receiv'd disgrace:
 My father lov'd you dearly, so will I.

70 ELEAZAR. True, for my wife's sake. *Aside.*

FERNANDO. This Indignitye will I have Interest
 in for being your King,

¹ **To crown thy husband with a diadem** To make him a cuckold.

² **Such love as I dare yeeld, I'll not deny** Maria's statement is ambiguous, since she seems to reject the amorous intentions of King Fernando, but, at the same time to admit that she feels something for the monarch; perhaps platonic love. However, perhaps, she means "I will go as far as I dare," which may signify that she will do as much as she believes may not be discovered.

You shall perceive I'le curbe my underling:

This morning is our Coronation

And father's funerall solemnized,

Be present, step into your wonted^o place; *customary, usual*

Wee'l guild^o your dim disgraces with our *gild, cover in gold*

grace. *Exeunt. [Manet Eleazar.]*

ELEAZAR. I thank my Sovereign that you love
my wife;

I thank thee wife that thou wilt lock my head

In such strong armour, to bear off all blows;¹

80 Who dare say such wives are their husbands
foes:

Let's see now, by her falling I must rise.²

Cardinal you die, if the King bid me live;

Philip you die for railing at me: proud Lords
you die,

That with Mendoza cry'd, Banish the *Moor*.

And you my loving Liege, you're best sit^o fast; *reign*

If all these live not, you must die at last. *[Exit.]*

The end of the first Act.

¹ **I thank thee wife ... bear off all blows** Perhaps, Eleazar suggests that Maria will betray him with the king, and hence, "protect" the Moor's head with cuckold's horns. This way, she will provide him with an excuse to legitimately confront the king and "bear off all [the subsequent] blows." That is, the cuckold's horns can be simultaneously used by Eleazar as a symbolic weapon against the king and as an armour to protect him.

² **Who dare say ... I must rise** Eleazar is ironically stating that women who make their husbands cuckolds are men's enemies, but in this case he expects to rise through her unchaste acts (and his dishonour).

Act. II. Scena. I.

*Enter two Lords, Philip his brother, [Cardinal] Mendoza,
Eleazar with him, the King Crown'd, Queen Mother,
Alvero, Zarack, Baltazar, and attendants.*

CARDINAL. Why stares this Divell thus, as if
pale death

Had made his eyes the dreadfull messenger
To carry black destruction to the world.

Was hee not banisht^o Spain? *banished from*

PHILIP. Your sacred mouth, pronounc'd the
sentence of his banishment:
Then spurn the villain forth.

ELEAZAR. Who spurns the *Moor*, were better
set his foot upon the Devill,

Do, spurn me! and this confounding^o arm *destructive, mighty*
of wrath

Shal like a thunderbolt breaking the clouds

10 Divide his body from his soul.¹ Stand back.

Spurn Eleazar?

RODERIGO. Shall wee bear his pride.

¹ **Divide his body from his soul** Eleazar asserts that he will kill Philip, since this Christian and Neo-platonic notion suggests that human beings have a dual nature, the material body and the non-material soul (or spirit), and that they are divided after death, when the material part dies while the non-material substance endures.

ALVERO. Why not, he underwent much injurie.

CARDINAL. What injury have we perform'd
proud Lord?

ELEAZAR. Proud Cardinal; my unjust
banishment.

CARDINAL. 'Twas^o wee that did it; and our *It was*
words are laws.

FERNANDO. 'Twas wee repeal'd^o him, and our *recall from exile*
words are laws.

ZARACK & BALTAZAR. If not, these are.
All the Moors draw.

PHILIP. How! threatned and out-dar'd^o *defied*

FERNANDO. Shal we give arm to hostile
violence?¹

Sheath your swords, sheath them, it's wee
command.

20 ELEAZAR. Grant Eleazar justice my dread Leige.^o *liege*

¹ **give arm** According to Fredson Bowers:

The D phrase perhaps means 'to give my arm to'; that is, to assist hostile violence, as a companion. See V.i.194: 'Were your cause strong, we would not arm you so', spoken to the Queen Mother, who is being forcibly conveyed to prison. In the Bodleian copy Malone placed a dot above the letter *r*, presumably to emend to 'give aim'. This is tempting, as in the *O.E.D.* sense of 'To guide one in his aim, by informing him of the result of a preceding shot'. Nevertheless, the text's *arm* makes perfectly acceptable sense without emendation. [John Le Gay] Brereton's (p. 174) cited parallel for Malone's emendation is not pertinent: 'Stand armies and give aim, whil'st wee two bleed' (IV.ii.121). Here 'give aim' seems to mean 'keep the enemy within your sights but do not fire'. (218)

CARDINAL. Eleazar hath had justice from
our hands,

And he stands banish'd from the Court of Spain,

FERNANDO. Have you done justice? why Lord
Cardinall,

From whom do you derive authority,

To banish him the Court without our leav^o *leave, permission*

CARDINAL. From this, the Staffe of our
Protectorship;¹

From this, which the last will of your
dear Father

Committed to our trust: from this high place

Which lifts Mendoza's spirits beyond the pitch^o *the top*

30 Of ordinary honour, and from this.

FERNANDO. Which too much over-weening^o *excessively arrogant*
Insolence

Hath quite ta'ne^o from you, Eleazar up, *taken*

And from us sway^o this Staffe of Regency. *wield; hold sway*

Takes the staff from Mendoza and gives it to Eleazar.

ALL. How's this?

PHILIP. Dare sons presume to break their
fathers will?

FERNANDO. Dare Subjects counter-check^o their *rebuke, reprove*
Sovereigns will?

¹ **the Staffe of our Protectorship** A long stick held by dignitaries in some ceremonies, or (figuratively) owned while they were in charge of a given position; in this case a Protectorship.

'Tis done, and who gainsaies^o it is a Traitor. *contradicts, opposes*

PHILIP. I do Fernando, yet I am no Traitor.

CARDINAL. Fernando I am wrong'd, by

Peters Chair,¹

40 Mendoza vows revenge. I'le lay aside

My Cardinals hat,² and in a wall of steel,

The glorious livery of a souldier; fight for my

late lost honour.

FERNANDO. Cardinall.

CARDINAL. King, thou shalt be no King for

wronging me.

The Pope shall send his bulls through all

thy Realm,

And pul obedience from thy Subjects hearts,³

¹ **Peters Chair** The Chair of Saint Peter, Throne of St. Peter or *Cathedra Petri* (Lat.) is a wooden throne preserved in Saint Peter's Basilica church (Vatican City), and a seat used by the Popes of the past. It was considered the actual seat of Saint Peter; however, it was probably a gift from the Frankish Emperor Charles the Bald (823-77) to Pope John VIII (?-882) in 875. Between 1647 and 1653, a decorative gilt-bronze cover was built by the Italian artist Gian Lorenzo Bernini (Eamon Duffy, *Saints & Sinners: A History of the Popes* 235). In the text it semiotically alludes to the authority of the Pope, and metaphorically to the Catholicism of the main characters (as opposed to Eleazar's paganism).

² **I'le lay aside / My Cardinals hat** A similar phrase would appear later in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614): "The Cardinall of Arragon / Is, this day, to resigne his Cardinals hat" (3.4.3-4; Hoy).

³ **thou shalt be no King ... pul obedience from thy Subjects hearts** This passage echoes the circumstances of the Papal excommunications of English Protestants during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I (who were also excommunicated). The excommunications prompted the distribution of bulls from the Vatican stirring other Catholic countries and English subjects to rebel against the Protestants and their rulers, as suggested by Thomas Dekker in his play *The Whore of Babylon* (c.1606):

Whole beards of bulls loaden with hallowed curses,
With Interdictions, excommunications,
And with vnbinding Subiects fealties (1.2.261-63)

- To put on armour of the Mother Church,
 Curses shal fal like lightnings on your heads:
 Bell, book and candle, holy water, praiers,
 50 Shal all chime vengeance to the Court of Spain
 Till they have power to conjure down
 that feind;° *fiend*
 That damned *Moor*, that Devil, that Lucifer,
 That dares aspire the staffe, the Card' nall
 swaid.
 ELEAZAR. Ha ha ha, I laugh yet, that the
 Cardinall's vext.° *vexed, grieved*
 PHILIP. Laughst thou base slave, the wrinkles
 of that scorn
 Thine own heart blood shall fill; Brother
 farewell,
 Since you disprove the will our father left,
 For base lust of a loathed Concubine.
 ELEAZAR. Ha, Concubine; who does King
 Philip mean?¹
 60 PHILIP. Thy wife, thy daughter, base aspiring
 Lords,
 Who to buy honour, are content to sell,
 Your names, to infamy, your souls to hell:
 And stamp° you now? do, do, for you shal see, *stigmatize*

¹ **King Philip** Prince Philip D2. Since Eleazar is addressing Prince Philip, this is either Dekker's or the printer's slip, or a sardonic reply suggesting that the prince is conceitedly behaving as if he were the King.

I go for vengeance, and she'l com with me.¹

ELEAZAR. Stay, for she's here already, see

proud boy. *They both draw.*

QUEEN MOTHER. Hold, stay^o this fury, if you *stop*

long for blood.

Murder me first. Dear son you are a King:

Then stay the violent tempest of their wrath.

FERNANDO. Shall Kings be overswaid^o in their *overruled*

desires?

70 RODERIGO. Shall Subjects be oppress'd by

tyranny?²

QUEEN MOTHER. No State^o shall suffer wrong, *Dignity, Noble*

then hear mee speak,

Mendoza, you have sworn you love the Queen,

Then by that love I charge^o you leave these *order*

arms:

Eleazar, for those favours I have given you,

Embrace the Cardinall, and be friends with him.

ELEAZAR. And have my wife call'd strumpet^o *prostitute*

to my face.

QUEEN MOTHER. 'Twas rage made his tongue

erre,^o [*aside*] do you not know *make a mistake*

The violent love Mendoza bears the Queen:

¹ **vengeance, and she'l com with me** A gendered personification of the human inclination towards "revenge."

² **Shall Kings ... by tyranny?** The use of anaphora (the repetition of the initial words of two or more sentences) in the speeches of two different characters suggests an emphasis on the idea that Spanish "Subjects" are allegedly "oppress'd by tyranny."

Then speak him fair, for in that honied breath° *honeyed words*
 80 I'le lay a bait [that] shall train him to his death.
 Come, come, I see your looks, give way to
 peace;
 Lord Cardinall begin, and for reward,
 Ere° this fair setting Sun behold his bride;¹ *before*
 Be bold to challenge love, yet be deni'd. *Aside.*

CARDINAL. That promise makes me yeild: my
 gracious Lord:
 Although my disgrace hath graven° its *hewed, carved*
 memory
 On every Spaniards eye, yet shall the duty
 I owe your sacred Highness; and the love
 My Country challengeth, make me lay by
 90 Hostile intendments, and return again
 To the fair circle of obedience.

FERNANDO. Both pardon° and our favour bids *pardoned*
 you welcome,

¹ **Ere this fair setting Sun behold his bride** Cyrus Hoy notes that this is an obscure passage about the classical myth of Tithonus and Eos, which can be found in the verses titled "Of Apollo," attributed to Thomas Dekker in the collection of poems *Englands Parnassus* (1600):

Sacred Apollo, god of archerie,
 ... whose yellow tresses shine,
 Like curled flames; hurling a most diuine
 And dazeling splendour, in those lesser fires
 Which from thy guilt beames (when thy Car retires,)
 Kindle those Tapers that lend eyes to night,
 O thou that art the Land-lord of all light,
 Bridegroome of morning, dayes eternall King, (Dekker, "Of Apollo"
 435-36; Hoy 82)

And for some satisfaction for your wrongs,
 We here create you Salamanka's Duke;¹
 But first as a true signe all grudges dye;
 Shake hands with Eleazar and be friends;
 This union pleaseth us, now brother Philip,
 You are included in this league of love,
 So is Roderigo to forget all wrongs:
 100 Your Castle for a while shall bid us welcom,
 Eleazar shall it not? It is enough,
 Lords lead the way, [*aside*] that whil'st you
 feast your selves,
 Fernando may find time all means to prove,
 To compasse^o fair Maria for our love. *win; seize; encompass*

Exeunt Omnes.

Act. II. Scena II.

Enter Queen Mother, and Eleazar.

ELEAZAR. Madam a word now,² have you wit^o *cleverness*
 or spirit?

QUEEN MOTHER. Both.

ELEAZAR. Set them both to a most gainfull task,

¹ **Salamanka's Duke** Salamanca is a city in north-western Spain; hence, the author may refer to the title of Duke of Béjar (a town and municipality in the province of Salamanca), which has been granted to the nobility from the fifteenth century to the present day.

² **a word now** A typical Elizabethan formula to start a conversation or a speech. See Shakespeare's *Othello* (c. 1603): "a word or two before you go" (5.2.334).

Our enemies are in my Castle-work.^o *castle*

QUEEN MOTHER. I;^o but the King's there too, *aye; yes*
 it's dangerous pride,
 To strike at those; that couch^o by a Lyons side. *sleep*

ELEAZAR. Remove them:

QUEEN MOTHER. How?

ELEAZAR. How? a thousand ways;
 By poison, or by this [*draws a dagger*], but
 every groom
 Has skill in such base traffick; no,
 our pollicies^o *devices; stratagems*
 Must look more strange, must flie with
 loftier wings:
 10 Vengeance the higher it falls, more^o horror *the more*
 brings:
 But you are cold, you dare not do.

QUEEN MOTHER. I dare.

ELEAZAR. You have a womans heart, look you
 this hand,
 Oh! 'tis too little to strike home.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. At whom?

ELEAZAR. Your son.

QUEEN MOTHER. Which son, the King?

¹ **You have a womans heart ... too little to strike home** The popular mythology on women's weakness is used to stir the Queen to kill his own son. "[T]o strike home" has the double meaning of "kill" and "kill someone who is very close" ("home"), since he refers to the queen's son.

ELEAZAR. Angels of heaven, stand like his
 guard about him, how? the King?
 Not for so many worlds as here be stars,¹
 Sticking upon th'imbroidred firmament.
 The King? he loves my wife and should he die;
 I know none else would love her, let him live²
 [*Aside*] (in heaven). Good Lord Philip.³

20 QUEEN MOTHER. He shall die.

ELEAZAR. How? good good.

QUEEN MOTHER. By this hand.

ELEAZAR. When, good good; when?

QUEEN MOTHER. This night if Eleazer give
 consent;

ELEAZAR. Why then this night, Philip shal
 not live

To see you kill him! Is he not your son?⁴

¹ **Not for so many worlds as here be stars** See note on 1.3.131.

² **Your son ... let him live** Eleazar is acting in a way that resembles the behaviour of Shakespeare's Iago, in *Othello* (1603): he suggests something and then denies he meant it.

³ **Good Lord Philip** Let us kill Lord Philip.

⁴ **Why then this night, ... your son?** Fredson Bowers suggests:

D reads: 'Why then this night Philip shall not live;'. (The semi-colon at the end of the line is uncertain; possibly it is a colon.) If D's punctuation is right, then Eleazar after pretending to agree makes his turn with 'To see you kill him.', which would need be exclamatory. It is tempting to read a vicious pun in the whole sentence, such as 'Do it tonight, and in the dark Philip will not live to see you murder him.' But this would seem to be unlikely, for 'To see you kill him' must at least in part introduce such phrases as 'Is he not your son?'. The simplest way of dealing with the crux is to assume that there has been a transposition of the punctuation, one of the commonest kinds of error in the play. Thus if the strong stop after 'live' is transferred (here in the shape of a

A mother be the murd'rer of a brat,
That liv'd within her; hah!

QUEEN MOTHER. 'Tis for thy sake.

ELEAZAR. Puh! What excuses cannot dam'd° *damned*
sin make

To save it self, I know you love him well,
But that he has an eye, an eye, an eye,

30 To others our too° hearts seem to be lock'd *two*

Up in a case of steel, upon our love others
Dare not look, or if they dare, they cast

Squint purblind° glances; who care though *myopic*
all see all,

So long as none dare speak, but, but Philip

Knows that the Iron ribs° of our villains° *bars / villainies*

Are thin: Hee laughs to see them like this hand,

With chinks, and crevices,° how a *crevices*
villanous eye,

A stabbing desperate tongue the boy dare speak,

A mouth, a villanous mouth, lets muzzle him.

QUEEN MOTHER. How?

40 ELEAZAR. Thus.

Go you, and with a face well set do

full stop) to appear after 'night', and no stop appears at the end of the line, we have a sense such as this. Eleazar agrees in a brief phrase: 'Why then this night.' This is a natural reply, and the rhythm is right. Then in an exclamation of disbelief he reverses the course of the agreement. No, he says in effect, no matter how long Philip lives he will never see you kill him, for you will never do so. Is he not your son, etc. (218-19)

In good sad colours, such as paint out
 The cheek of that fool penitence, and with
 a tongue
 Made clean and glib; Cull^o from their lazy *select*
 swarm,
 Some honest Friers whom that damnation gold,
 Can tempt to lay their souls to'th^o stake; *to the*
 Seek such they are rank^o and thick.^o *arrogant / obtuse*

QUEEN MOTHER. What then, I know such,
 what's ye^o use? *the*

ELEAZAR. This is excellent.

Hire these to write books, preach and
 proclaim abroad,
 That your son Philip is a bastard.¹

50 QUEEN MOTHER. How?

ELEAZAR. A bastard, do you know a bastard?
 doo't;
 Say conscience speak with you, and cry'd out;
 doo't:²

¹ **your son Philip is a bastard** The image of Philip as an illegitimate son, perhaps, echoes that of the character of Philip the Bastard in Shakespeare's *King John* (c. 1594-96)

² **cry'd out; doo't:** Fredson Bowers suggests that

Oddly, the press-corrector removed the colon present in the original setting after *doo't* as part of an extensive repunctuation of lines 51-52. I take it, *contra* other editors, that *doo't* is a simple repetition of the phrase in line 51, and not a quotation of what conscience cried out. Hence, it has seemed best to strengthen the corrector's added comma after *cry'd out*. (219)

By this means shall you thrust him from
all hopes

Of wearing Castiles diadem, and that spur

Galling^o his sides, he will flye out, and fling, *Chafing*

And grind the Cardinals heart to a new edg^o *edge*

Of discontent, from discontent grows treason,

And on the stalk of treason death: he's dead

By this blow, and by you; yet no blood shed.

60 Doo't then; by this trick, he gon!

We stand more sure in climbing high;

Care not who fall, 'tis reall^o policie:^o *regal / stratagem*

Are you arm'd to do this? hah!

QUEEN MOTHER. Sweet *Moor* it's done.

ELEAZAR. Away then, work with boldness, and
with speed;

On greatest actions greatest dangers feed.

Exit Queen Mother.

Ha, ha, I thank thee provident creation,

That seeing in moulding me thou did'st intend,

I should prove villain, thanks to thee and nature

That skilful workman; thanks for my face,

Thanks that I have not wit^o to blush.¹ *consciousness; ability*

¹ **I thank thee provident creation ... I have not wit to blush** Eleazar suggests "providence" and "nature" made him the way he is; hence, his wickedness is allegedly inherent to this national, religious, and especially "racial" otherness. He describes himself as a perfect being, which is designed to deceive, since his hue conceals the exteriorization of his feelings, preventing him from blushing. In fact, he argues that he has no consciousness, and hence, he does not feel the guilt which might make him blush. This

70 What Zarack? ho Baltazar.

Enter the two Moors.

BOTH. My Lord.

ELEAZAR. Nearer, so, silence;

Hang both your greedy years^o upon my lips, *ears*

Let them devour my speech, suck in my breath;

And in who lets it break prison, here's his death,

This night the Card'nall shall be murd'red.

BOTH. Where?

ELEAZAR. And to fill up a grave Philip dies:

BOTH. Where?

ELEAZAR. Here.

BOTH. By whom?

ELEAZAR. By thee; and slave by thee:

Have you hearts and hands to execute?

BOTH. Here's both.

ZARACK. He dies were he my father.¹

ELEAZAR. Ho away!

80 Stay, go, go, stay, see me no more till night;²

concept would also appear in plays such as John Marston's *The Malcontent* (1604), where the Machiavellian villain Mendoza says: "Fortune still dotes on those who cannot Blush" (2.1.29; Hoy 83); or in John Webster's *The White Devil* (1612), where Zanche the Moor states:

I neere lov'd my complexion till now,
Cause I may boldly say without a blush,
I love you. (5.1.206-08; Hoy 83)

¹ **He dies were he my father** He will die even if he were my own father.

² **Ho away! ... till night** Contradictory instructions denoting confusion, haste or impatience.

Your cheeks are black, let not your souls
look white.¹

BOTH. Till night.

ELEAZAR. Till night, a word, the Mother

Queene

Is trying if she can with fire of gold,

Warpe the green^o consciences of two covetous *naive, gullible*

Friers,

To preach abroad Philip's bastardy.

ZARACK. His bastardy, who was his father?

ELEAZAR. Who?

Search for these friers, hire them to work with
you;

Their holy callings will approve the fact.

Most good and meritorious; sin shines dear^o *glorious; clear*

90 When her black face Religions masque doth^o *does*

wear.² *[Exeunt the two Moors.]*

Aside. Here comes the Queen, good; and
the Friers.

¹ **Your cheeks are black, let not your souls look white** Eleazar reverses the stereotyped mythology that black individuals have 'immoral souls,' suggesting that even if his servants are black they might have 'white,' or virtuous, souls. Hence, he encourages them to be ruthless.

² **sin shines dear / black face Religions masque doth wear** Probably, Dekker, a zealous Protestant, suggests that Catholicism has a "pure," white facade, but a "sinful," black soul. Jesuitism, hypocrisy, equivocation, or casuistry (the use of clever, but usually false, arguments to address moral questions), was considered a typical Catholic sin.

Act. II. Scena III.

Enter two Friars, Crab and Cole; and Queen Mother.

COLE. Your son a bastard, say we do,
 But how then shall we deal with you?
 I tell you as I said before;
 His being a bastard, you are so poor
 In honour and in name that time
 Can never take away the crime.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. I grant that Frier, yet rather
 I'll endure

The wound of infamy, to kill my name,^o *reputation*

Then to see Spain bleeding, with civil swords.

10 The boy is proud, ambitious, he woos^o *solicits*
 greatnesse,

He take up Spanish hearts on trust, to pay them

When he shall finger^o Castiles Crown: Oh then *seize*

Were it not better my disgrace were known,

Then such a base aspier^o fill the Throne. *aspirant*

COLE. Ha brother Crab, what think you?

CRAB. As you dear brother Cole:

COLE. Then wee agree,

Coles Judgment is as Crabs you see.

Lady we swear to speak and write,

¹ **you are so poor ... the crime** The loss of an individual's honour (especially because of –the lack of chastity of– a woman) is such a terrible crime that it can be never recovered.

20 What you please so all go right.

QUEEN MOTHER. Then as wee gave directions,
spread abroad,

In Cales, Madrid, Granado, and Medyna;¹

And all the Ryall^o Cities of the Realm: *royal*

Th'ambitious hopes of that proud bastard Philip,

And somtimes as you see occasion,

Tickle the years^o of the Rude multitude, *ears*

With Eleazars praises; guild^o his virtues, *gild*

Naples recovery and victories

Atchieved^o against the Turkish Ottoman:² *Achieved*

30 Will you do this for us?

ELEAZAR. Say will you? [*Comes forward.*]

BOTH FRIERS. I.^o *aye, yes*

ELEAZAR. Why start you back and stare? ha?
are you afraid.

COLE. Oh! no Sir, no, but truth to tell;
Seeing your face we thought of hell.

¹ **Cales, Madrid, Granado, and Medyna** Four important Spanish cities (some especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries): Madrid, in the centre of the kingdom; Cádiz and Granada in the south; and either Medina-Sidonia (in the province of Cádiz), in Andalusia, Southern Spain, or Medina del Campo (Valladolid), an extraordinarily important city during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.

² **Naples recovery ... against the Turkish Ottoman** The city of Otranto, in the Kingdom of Naples (nowadays Italy), was invaded by the Ottomans in 1480 and 1481, when the crown belonged to the Spanish Royal House of Trastámara. Most of the time, from 1239 to 1816, the disputed Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily (the Two Sicilies), were largely possessed by rulers from the Spanish Houses of the earls of Barcelona, and the royal houses of Trastámara, Habsburg and Bourbon.

ELEAZAR. Hell is a dream.¹

COLE. But none do dream in hell.

ELEAZAR. [*To the Friars.*] Friars stand to her;

[*comes forward*] and me; [*to the Queen Mother*] and by your sin,²

I'll shoulder out Mendoza from his seat;

And of two Friars create you Cardinals,

Oh! how would Cardinals hats on these heads sit.

COLE. This face would look most goodly under it:

40 Friars Crab and Cole do swear,

In those circles still to appear:

In which she, or you, do charge us rise;

For you, our lives wee'll sacrifice.

Valete, Gaudete;

Si pereamus flete;

Orate pro nobis,

*Oramus pro vobis.*³

¹ **Seeing your face ... is a dream** The lines make an explicit reference to Eleazar's blackness where his alleged demonic nature seems to mingle with his paganism. The Moor's statement "Hell is a dream," perhaps suggests that he does not believe in hell, since he considers that it is not real, that it does not exist. The phrase also echoes Faustus's words in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (published in 1604): "Come, I thinke hell's a fable" (5.127; Hoy 83-84).

² **and by your sin** According to Fredson Bowers, Eleazar is probably addressing the Queen Mother, and not the Friars (219).

³ **Valete, Gaudete ... Oramus pro vobis** Lat. for "Farewell, and rejoice!/If we die, cry for us;/Pray for us,/We pray for you" (our translation). Cyrus Hoy suggests that these irregular verses (often used in satires by poet John Skelton, c.1460-1529) can be compared to a passage in Robert Greene's play *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (c.1588-92):

Salue, doctor Burden! this lubberly lurdn,
 Ill shapte and ill faced, disdained and disgraced,
 What he tels vnto *vobis*, *mentitur de nobis*. (2.4.841-43; Hoy 84)

Cole will be burnt, and Crab be prest;¹
 Ere they prove knaves, thus are you crost^o and *crossed*
 blest.^o ² *Exeunt Friars.* *blessed*

50 ELEAZAR. Away; you know now Madam none
 shall throw
 Their leaden envie in an opposite scale,
 To weigh down our true golden happiness.³

QUEEN MOTHER. Yes, there is one.

ELEAZAR. One, who? give mee his name and I
 will
 Turn it to a magick spell,⁴
 To bind him here, here, who?

QUEEN MOTHER. Your wife Maria.

ELEAZAR. Hah! my Maria.

QUEEN MOTHER. She's th'Hellespont divides
 my love and me,⁵

Hoy suggests that in two plays on the Robin Hood legend, written by Anthony Munday (possibly aided by Henry Chettle), *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington* (1598) and *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* (1598), Friar Tuck mostly speaks in Skeltonic rhymes and "Skelton himself is introduced in the induction to Part One" (84).

¹ **Crab be prest** The phrase probably means "quibbling on the practice of stamping or pressing crab apples to make verjuice" (Hoy 84).

² **thus are you crost and blest** we bid you farewell with our blessings.

³ **none shall ... weigh down our true golden happiness** no one will weight down the other side of the scales with their envious arguments against our resolution.

⁴ **give mee his name and I will / Turn it to a magick spell** "Racial," national and religious strangers, such as Eleazar, were traditionally associated with other types of Others, such as those accused of being practitioners of witchcraft or sorcery.

⁵ **She's th'Hellespont divides my love and me** The Hellespont was "The ancient name for the Dardanelles, a strait linking the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara, applied to an apparently impassable obstacle, esp. one that separates lovers, in allusion to the Greek myth of Leander. In the myth, Leander was drowned swimming across the Strait to visit his love, the priestess Hero" (*OED sb.*). Maria represents the portion of sea that separates

Shee being cut off.

ELEAZAR. Stay, stay, cut off; let's think upon't,^o *about it*
my wife?

60 Humh! Kill her too!

QUEEN MOTHER. Do's^o her love make *Does*
thee cold?

ELEAZAR. Had I a thousand wives, down go
they all:¹

She dies, I'll cut her off: now Baltazar.

Enter Baltazar.

BALTAZAR. Madam, the King intreats^o your *entreats*
company.

QUEEN MOTHER. His pleasure be obey'd, dear
love farewell;

Remember your Maria. *Exit Queen Mother.*

ELEAZAR. Here adieu; [*draws his dagger*]

With this I'll guard her, whil'st it stabs at you.

BALTAZAR. My Lord! the Friars are won to
joine with us.

Europe (the Gallipoli peninsula) from Asia (Anatolia). John Mason, in his play *The Turke. A worthie tragedie* (or *Mulleasses the Turke*, 1607), would use this phrase when Timoclea says to Mulleasses (when she thinks that her husband is dead): "Now ther's no Hellespont betwixt our loues" (Hoy 84).

¹ **Had I a thousand wives, down go they all** This may be a reference to the Muslim practice of having more than one wife and to the alleged male cruelty and subjugation of women in Moorish cultures.

CARDINAL. My Lord, you will endanger both
our lives.

PHILIP. I care not; I'll kill some before I die:

Away, s'heart;¹ take your raggs; *Moor*

Devill come,

BOTH FRIERS. My Lord put on or else.

PHILIP. Gods foot² come help:

CARDINAL. Ambitious villain. Philip, let us fly

10 Into the chamber of the Mother Queen.

PHILIP. Thunder, beat down the lodgings.

CARDINAL. Else let's break into the chamber
of the King:

PHILIP. Agreed,

A pox³ upon those lowzy^o gaberdines,⁴ *lousy*

Agreed, I am [coming] for you *Moor*; stand
side by side,

Come, hands off, leave your ducking, hell
cannot fright,⁵

¹ **s'heart** A shortened form of the exclamation "God's heart," used euphemistically as an oath or emphatic assertion (*OED sb.* † Obs.).

² **Gods foot** Expression used in oaths or emphatic assertions (*OED sb.* I.14a). Earlier in the play it appeared in the more euphemistic form "sfoot."

³ **A pox** Expression used in imprecations or exclamations of irritation and impatience (*OED sb.* I.2.a).

⁴ **Gaberdines** Garments worn by almsmen, beggars or Jews (*OED sb.* 1b, c). In metonymic use, perhaps meaning "beggars" or strangers (political, religious or "racial"), such as the Jews. In Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596), Shylock the Jew asserts: "You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog, / And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine" (1.3.107-08).

⁵ **stand side by side ... hell cannot fright** Philip is probably staging an imaginary fight with Eleazar.

Their spirits that do desperately fight.
 COLE. You are too rash, you are too hot,
 Wild desperateness do valour blot;^o *blur*
 The lodging of the Kings beset,
 20 With staring faces black as Jett.
 And hearts of Iron,¹ your deaths are vow'd^o *vowed, guaranteed*
 If you fly that way, therefore shrow'd,^o *shroud, hide*
 Your body in Frier Cole gray weed,²
 For is't^o not madnesse man to bleed *is it*
 When you may scape^o untouch'd away? *escape*
 Here's hell, here's heaven, here if you stay
 You're gon, you're gon, Frier Crab and I,
 Will hee^o dance friskin^o whilst you flie: *here / lively, playfully*
 Gag us, bind us, come put on
 30 The Gags too wide, so gon, gon, gon.
 PHILIP. Oh! well, I'le come again, Lord
 Cardinall
 Take you your Castle, I'le to Portugall:³
 I vow I'le come again, and if I do:

¹ **The lodging ... hearts of Iron** Perhaps, this passage suggests that the lodging of the kings of Spain are besieged by "staring faces black as Jett," implying that it is possessed with devils or evil forces. The Moors are "racially" described as black as "jet," i.e. as deep black-complexioned sub-Saharan Africans, and their ruthlessness or soulless nature is suggested through their "hearts of Iron." The description is meant to match that of Moroccans such as the historical figure of Muley Xequé, which is probably inaccurate, since the ethnicity of the inhabitants of this community is largely constituted by individuals with light brown or even white complexion.

² **If you fly that way ... gray weed** If you confront the Moors, you would better put a shroud on your corpse and bury it in Frier Cole's cemetery.

³ **I'le to Portugall** Portugal belonged to the Spanish Habsburgs between 1581 and 1640 (the Iberian Union).

CARDINAL. Nay good my Lord!

PHILIP. Black Devill I'le conjure you. *Exeunt.*

Act. II. Scena V.

*To the Friers making a noise, gagg'd and bound,
Enter Eleazar, Zarack, Baltazar, and other Moors,
all with their Swords drawn.*

ELEAZAR. Guard all the passages, Zarack stand
there,

There Baltazar, there you, the Friers,

Where have you plac'd the Friers?

ALL. My Lord a noise.¹

BALTAZAR. The Friers are gagg'd and bound.

ELEAZAR. 'Tis Philip and the Cardinal, shoots;²

hah stay!

Unbind them; where's^o Mendoza, and *where is*
the Prince.

COLE. Sancta Maria who can tell:

By Peters keys they bound us well,³

10 And having crack'd our shaven crowns,

They have escap'd you in our gowns.

¹ **My Lord a noise** The speech is given to Alvero in D; however, this character enters later, probably indicating the printer's error, confounding the speech prefixes "All" and "Alv.," i.e. Alvero (Dilke 124).

² **Philip and the Cardinal, shoots** Philip and the Cardinal, escaped!

³ **By Peters keys** St Peter kept the keys that opened the gates of Heaven.

ELEAZAR. Escap'd; escap'd away? [*Aside*] I am
 glad, it's good,
 I would their arms may turn to Eagles wings,
 To flye as swift as time sweet air give way,
 Winds leave your two and thirty pallaces,
 And meeting all in one, join all your might,
 To give them speedy and a prosperous flight,¹
 [*To the Friers.*] Escap'd Friers, which way?

BOTH FRIERS. This way.

20 ELEAZAR. Good: Alas; what sin is't to shed
 innocent blood;
 For look you holy men, it is the King;
 The King, the King, see Friers sulphury wrath
 Having once entred into Royall brests:^o *breasts, bosom*
 Mark^o how it burns, the Queen, Philip's *Observe*
 mother;
 Oh! most unnaturall, will have you two

¹ **I would their arms ... a prosperous flight** With this ambiguous soliloquy, Eleazar wishes Philip and Mendoza could go as far as possible, like eagles propelled by a prosperous wind. He wishes several winds could join together to favour them, leaving their "two and thirty pallaces," where, he suggests, the winds dwell. Cyrus Hoy explains that:

Blundeville, *Exercises* (1597), after describing 'the foure principall winds, according to the foure quarters of the Horizon or Angles of the world, that is to say, East, West, North and South' (fol. 203), explains how the four quarters were subdivided into twelve (North, Northeast and by North, Northeast and by East, East, Southeast, Southeast and by South, etc. (fol. 204, misnumbered 202)). He then continues: 'But the Mariners of these our latter daies, to bee the better assured of their routes and courses on the sea, do deuide euery quarter of the Horizon into 8. seuerall windes, so as they make in all 32. windes, which of the Spaniards are called Rombes' (fol. 204v). 'A figure of the 32. windes representing the Mariners Compasse' follows. (84-85)

Divulge abroad that hee's a bastard. Oh!

Will you doo't.

CRAB. What says my brother Frier?

COLE. A Princes love is balm, their wrath a fire.

30 CRAB. 'Tis true, but yet I'le publish no

such thing;

What fool would lose his soul, to please

a King?¹

ELEAZAR. Keep there, good there, yet for it

wounds my soul,

To see the miserablest wretch to bleed.

I counsell you (in care unto your lives)

T'obey the mother Queen, for by my life

I thinke shee has been prick'd, her conscience

Oh! it has stung her, for some fact mis-don,^o *improper*

She would not else disgrace her selfe and son

Doo't therefore, harke,^o shee'l work your *listen*

deaths else, hate

40 Bred in a woman is insatiate.²

Doo't Friers.

CRAB. Brother Cole? Zeal sets me in a flame,

I'le doo't.

¹ **What fool would lose his soul, to please a King?** A possible reference to the relations between Church and State.

² **hate / Bred in a woman is insatiate** A common belief and prejudice against women suggests that hatred is inherent and insatiable in these gendered Others.

COLE. And I,

His baseness wee'l proclaim.

Exeunt Friars.

ELEAZAR. Do, and be damn'd; Zarack

and Baltazar.

Dog them at hee'ls, and when their

poison-breath

Hath scattered this infection, on the hearts

Of credulous Spaniards, here reward them thus,

50 Slave too much trusted do grow dangerous,

Why this shall feed,

And fat suspicion and my pollicy,^o *device, stratagem*

I'le ring through all the Court, this loud alarm:^o *alarm; call to arms*

That they contriv'd the murder of the King,

The Queen and me; and being undermin'd,^o *discovered*

To scape^o the blowing up, they fled. Oh good! *escape*

There, there, thou there, cry treason; each

one take

A severall door, your cries my musick make.

BALTAZAR. Where's the King? treason

persues him:

Enter Alvero in his shirt, his sword drawn.

60 ELEAZAR. Where's the sleepy Queen?

Rise, rise, and arm, against the hand of treason.

ALVERO. Whence^o comes this sound of treason? *From where*

Enter King in his shirt, his sword drawn.

FERNANDO. Who frights our quiet slumbers,^o *sleep*
 With this heavy noise:

Enter Queen [Mother] in her night attire.

QUEEN MOTHER. Was it a dream? or did
 the sound

Of monster treason call me from my rest.

FERNANDO. Who rais'd this rumour Eleazar, you?

ELEAZAR. I did my Liege, and still continue it,

Both for your safety, and mine own discharge.^o *duty*

70 FERNANDO. Whence coms the ground then?

ELEAZAR. From the Cardinall,

And the young Prince, who bearing in his mind

The true Idea of his late disgrace,

In putting him from the Protectorship,

And envying the advancement of the *Moor*,

Determined this night to murder you;

And for your Highnesse lodg'd within my Castle,

They would have laid the murder on my head.

FERNANDO. The Cardinall, and my Brother,

bring them forth

80 Their lives shall answer this ambitious practice.

ELEAZAR. Alas my Lord it is impossible,

For when they saw I had discovered them,

They train'd^o two harmlesse Friers to *led*
 their lodgings;

Disrob'd^o them, gagg'd them, bound 'em to *Disrobed*
 two posts,¹

And in their habits did escape the Castle.

FERNANDO. That Cardinall, is all ambition,

And from him doth^o our Brother gather heart. *does*

QUEEN MOTHER. Th'ambition of th' one
 infects the other,

And in a word they both are dangerous;

90 But might your mothers counsell stand in force,
 I would advise you send the trusty *Moor*
 To fetch them back, before they had seduc'd
 The squint ey'd multitude from true allegiance,
 And drawn them to their dangerous faction.

FERNANDO. It shall be so, therefore my States^o *Dignities, Nobles*
 best prop,

Within whose bosome I durst^o trust my life, *dare*
 Both for my safety and thine own discharge,
 Fetch back those traitors, and till your return
 Our self will keep your Castle.

100 ELEAZAR. My Leige; the tongue of true
 obedience

Must not gainsay^o his Sovereigns impose, *contradict, oppose*

¹ **two posts** Cyrus Hoy explains that Dekker refers to “The pair of pillars, located midway between the façade of the tiring-house and the front of the platform, which supported the shadow or half-roof over an Elizabethan playhouse stage” (85).

By heaven; I will not kiss the cheek of sleep,
Till I have fetch'd those traitors to the Court.

FERNANDO. [*Aside.*] Why; this sorts right, he
gon; his beauteous wife
Shall sail into the naked arms of love.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. [*Aside.*] Why, this is as it
should bee, he once gon,
His wife that keeps me from his marriage bed,
Shall by this hand of mine be murdered.

FERNANDO. This storm is well nigh^o past, the *almost entirely*
swelling clouds,

110 That hang so full of treason by the wind,
In awfull Majestie are scattered.
Then each man to his rest; good night sweet friend,
[*Aside.*] Whil'st thou persu'st the traitors that
are fled,
Fernando means to warm thy marriage bed.

Exit. [Manet Eleazar.]

ELEAZAR. Many good nights, consume and dam
your souls.

I know he means to Cuckold mee this night;
Yet do I know no means to hinder it.

¹ **he gon; ... arms of love** This is a similar motif to the one employed some years later by William Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* (performed 1619; published 1633), with its private crime of rape in a political context: King Roderick (Rey Don Rodrigo) rapes the daughter of Count Julianus (the semi-historical Conde Don Julián) while he is away fighting for the king, and this brings about the loss of Spain. See also Thomas Middleton's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607).

Besides, who know whether the lustful King,
 Having my wife and Castle at command,
 120 Will ever make surrender back again:
 But if he do not, with my falcshions¹ point
 I'll lance those swelling veins in which hot lust²
 Does keep the Revels,^o ³ and with that *Merriments*
 warm blood
 Where Venus's bastard cold^o his sweltring *cooled*
 spleen,⁴
 Wash the disgrace from Eleazars brows.

Act. II. Scena. VI

Enter Maria.

MARIA. Dear Eleazar;

ELEAZAR. If they lock the gates

¹ **falcshions** i.e. falchion (see note on 1.1.138).

² **those swelling veins in which hot lust** A similar concept would appear in Philip Massinger's comedy *The Parliament of Love* (c. 1624), "Oh had you seene how his veynes sweld with lust / When I brought him to the chamber" (4.5.2-3; Hoy 86); and in John Mason's *The Turke. A worthie tragedie* (or *Mulleasses the Turke*, 1607): "let thy husbands death / Giue thy hopes life: feed, feed vpon his blood, / And let thy vaines swell" (Hoy 86).

³ **with my falcshions point ... keep the Revels** Eleazar seems to suggest his intention to castrate the King. Emasculation is sometimes associated with religious Others, such as Muslims or Jews, since it is often confused with circumcision.

⁴ **that warm blood ... cold his sweltring spleen** Probably, refers to the Classical myth of Adonis, the favourite of the goddess Venus (or Aphrodite), who, according to some accounts was attacked by a wild boar and bloodily wounded to death (Hard 199). Shakespeare wrote a narrative poem about the mythological couple, *Venus and Adonis* (1593), which was very popular at the time.

I'll toss a ball of wild-fire o're^o the walls. *over*

MARIA. Husband, sweet husband:

ELEAZAR. Or else swim o're the moat,
 And make a breach through the flinty sides
 Of the rebellious walls:

MARIA. Hear me, dear heart.

ELEAZAR. Or undermine the chamber where
 they lie,

10 And by the violent strength of gunpowder,
 Blow up the Castle, and th'incestuous couch,
 In which lust wallows; but my labouring
 thoughts,
 Wading too deep in bottomless extreams;
 Do drown themselvs in their own stratagems.

MARIA. Sweet husband! dwell not upon
 circumstance,
 When weeping sorrow like an Advocate
 Importunes you for aid;¹ look in mine eyes
 There you shall see dim grief swimming
 in tears,

Invocating succor.^o Oh succor! *help*

20 ELEAZAR. Succor. Zounds² for what?

¹ **dwell not upon ... Importunes you for aid** A legal metaphor: Maria is begging Eleazar to forget "circumstances" (mitigating circumstances, in legal terminology) and not act like a lawyer ("Advocate").

² **Zounds** A shortened form of *by God's wounds* used euphemistically in oaths and emphatic assertion (*OED int.*).

MARIA. To shield me from Fernando's unchast
love,

Who with uncessant praiers importun'd me.

ELEAZAR. To lie with you I know't.

MARIA. Then seek some means how to prevent it.

ELEAZAR. 'Tis impossible; for to the end that
his unbridled lust

Might have more free accesse unto thy bed,

This night he hath enjoined^o me *ordered*

To fetch back Philip and the Cardinall.¹

MARIA. Then this ensuing night shall give an end

30 To all my sorrows, for before foul lust

Shall soil the fair complexion of mine honour,

This hand shall rob Maria of her life.

ELEAZAR. Not so dear soul, for in extremities

Choose out the least,² and ere^o the hand *before*
of death

Should suck this Ivorie pallace of thy life:

Imbrace^o my counsell, and receive this poison *Embrace*

Which in the instant he attempts thy love,

Then give it him: do, do,

[*Aside.*] Do poison him, he gon, thou'rt next;

40 Be sound in resolution; and farewell;

¹ **for to the end ... the Cardinall** because in order to have access to your bed, tonight he has ordered me to chase and bring back Philip and the Cardinal.

² **for in extremities / Choose out the least** A slightly modified version of the Aristotelian theory of mediocrity in *Eudemian Ethics* (fourth c. BC), which favours the avoidance of extreme behaviours (10; López-Peláez, "A Lotmanian Approach" 26).

[*Aside.*] By one, and one, I'le ship you all to hell.

Spain I will drown thee with thine own
proud blood,¹

Then make an ark of carcasses: farewell.

Revenge and I will sail in blood to hell.² *Exit.*

MARIA. Poison the King, Alas my

trembling hand

Would let the poison fall, and through
my cheeks

Fear suted^o in a bloodless livery, *dressed*

Would make the world acquainted with
my guilt,

But thanks prevention, I have found a means

50 Both to preserve my Royall Soveraignes life,

And keep my self a true and Loyall wife. *Exit.*

The end of the second Act.

¹ **Spain I will drown thee with thine own proud blood** From the *Commedia dell'Arte* onwards (a sixteenth-century theatrical practice beginning in Italy, where masked actors impersonating "types" were used), Spaniards were famously characterized by their excessive pride.

² **I'le ship you all to hell ... sail in blood to hell** In classical mythology, souls could reach their eternal resting place (the underworld or Hades) only through the Styx river. In Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1593) Saturninus states: "Andronicus, would thou were shipped to hell" (1.1.206); while in Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great, Pat 2* (1588) we read:

CELEBINUS. ... For if his chaire were in a sea of blood,
I would prepare a ship and saile to it,
Ere I would loose the tytle of a king.

AMYRAS. And I would strive to swim through pooles of blood,
Or make a bridge of murdered Carcasses,
Whose arches should be fram'd with bones of Turks,
Ere I would loose the tytle of a king. (1.3.89-95; Hoy87)

Act. III. Scena. I.

*Enter Queen Mother, with a Torch, solus.*¹

QUEEN MOTHER. Fair eldest child of love,
thou spotlesse night,
Empresse of silence, and the Queen of sleep;
Who with thy black cheeks pure complexion,
Mak'st lovers eyes enamour'd of thy beauty:
Thou art like my *Moor*, therefore will I
adore thee,
For lending me this opportunity,
Oh with the soft skin'd Negro!² heavens
keep back
The saucy^o staring day from the worlds eye, *lascivious*
Untill my Eleazar make return;

¹ *solus* Lat. for "alone."

² **Fair eldest child ... the soft skin'd Negro** Blackness is compared with the "spotlesse night," which Eugenia describes as a being who "with thy black cheeks pure complexion, / Mak'st lovers eyes enamour'd of thy beauty." These remarks may be interpreted as an instance where "racial" stereotypes acquire positive connotations. However, since it is a "lustful" Spaniard, the Queen Mother, the one who utters these words about the Moor, the author seems to suggest that, in opposition to the English (women), Catholic Spaniards are prone to succumb to lust and to the excessive and immoral presence of the neighbouring "racial" Others. Nevertheless, even if the overall attitude of the discourse were negative, the appealing nature ascribed to this exotic stranger, "the soft skin'd Negro," can still be perceived.

Lope de Vega, in *Tragedia del rey don Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos* (c. 1593), describes Muley Xequé in similar terms, when some Spanish women visit the exotic foreigner, and one of them describes him as a man who "[n]o es feo" (is not ugly), "[p]ensamos que era de terciopelo" (we thought you were made of velvet), "[t]an blando soy?" (you are so soft!) (281; our translation).

10 Then in his Castle shall he find his wife,
 Transform'd into a strumpet^o by my son; *prostitute*
 Then shall he hate her whom he would not kill!
 Then shall I kill her whom I cannot love!¹
 The King is sporting^o with his Concubine. *amusing himself*
 Blush not my boy, be bold like me thy mother,
 But their delights torture my soul like Devills,
 Except her shame be seen: Wherefore^o awake *And therefore*
 Christophero, Verdugo, raise the Court,
 Arise you Peers of Spain, Alvaro² rise,
 20 Preserve your country from base infamies.

*Enter severally at severall doors, with lights and Rapiers drawn,³ Alvero,
 Roderigo, [Verdugo,] and Christophero, with others.*

ALL. Who rais'd these exclamations through
 the Court?

QUEEN MOTHER. Sheath up your Swords, you
 need not swords, but eyes
 To intercept this treason.

ALVERO. What's the treason?

¹ **Then shall ... cannot love!** Through this use of anaphora (the repetition of the initial words of two or more sentences) and of a slightly modified anadiplosis (the repetition of the last words of a preceding clause, at the beginning of the following sentence) the text suggests an emphasis on the Queen's malevolent plan against Maria.

² **Alvaro** i.e. Alvero. This slip or misprint suggests that the name of this character derives from the Spanish name Álvaro, frequently used in the peninsula.

³ **Rapiers** A rapier was a long, thin, pointed sword with two sharp edges, usually employed for thrusting (*OED sb.* 1.a). According to the *OED*, the term was also used to describe a person who is "swift, incisive, or dangerous" (*sb.* 1.b).

Who are traitors? ring the larum^o bell; *alarm; call to arms*
 Cry arm^o through all the City; once before *alarm; take up arms*
 The horrid sound of treason did affright^o *frighten*
 Our sleeping spirits.

QUEEN MOTHER. Stay,^o you need not cry arm, *Stop*
 Arm, for this black deed

30 Works treason to your King, to me; to you,
 To Spain, and all that shall in Spain ensue.^o *follow*
 This night Maria (Eleazars wife)
 Hath drawn the King by her Lascivious looks
 Privately to a banquet, I unseen
 Stood and beheld him in her lustfull arms.
 Oh God! shall bastards wear Spains Diadem?
 If you can kneel to basenesse, vex them not;
 If you disdain to kneel, wash of this blot.

RODERIGO. Lets break into the chamber and
 surprize her!

40 ALVERO. Oh miserable me! do, do, break in,
 My Country shall not blush at my childs sin.

QUEEN MOTHER. Delay is nurse^o to danger, *advocate*
 follow me,
 Come you and witsse to her villany.

ALVERO. Haplesse^o Alvero, how art *unfortunate*
 thou undone,

In a light^o daughter, and a stubborn son. *wanton, unchaste*

Exeunt omnes.

Act. III. Scena. II.

*Enter King with his Rapier drawn in one hand,
leading Maria seeming affrighted in th'other.*¹

MARIA. Oh! kill me ere^o you stain my chastity. *before*

FERNANDO. My hand holds death, but love sits
in mine eye,

Exclaim not dear Maria, do but hear me;
Though thus in dead of night as I do now
The lustfull Tarquin stole to the chast bed
Of Collatines fair wife, yet shalt thou be
No Lucrece, nor thy King a Romane slave,²
To make rude villanie thine honours grave.^o

buries; engraves

MARIA. Why from my bed have you thus
frighted me?

10 FERNANDO. To let thee view a bloody
horrid Tragedy.

MARIA. Begin it then, I'le gladly loose my life,
Rather then be an Emperours Concubine.

FERNANDO. By my high birth I swear thou
shalt be none,

¹ **affrighted** i.e. frightened.

² **The lustfull Tarquin ... a Romane slave** The author mentions the story of Lucretia, a legendary heroine of ancient Rome and wife of the nobleman Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, who stabbed herself to death because she was raped by Sextus Tarquinius (the son of the Etruscan tyrant Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome). Her story inspired Shakespeare's poem *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594).

The Tragedy I'll write with my own hand,
 A King shall act it,¹ and a King shall dye;
 Except sweet mercies beam shine from
 thine eye.

If this affright^o thee it shall sleep for ever, *frightens*
 If still thou hate me, thus this Noble blade,
 This Royall purple temple shall invade.

20 MARIA. My husband is from hence,^o for his sake *away from here*
 spare me.²

FERNANDO. Thy husband is no Spaniard,
 thou art one,
 So is Fernando, then for countries sake
 Let mee not spare thee: on thy husbands face
 Eternall night in gloomy shades doth^o dwel;³ *does*
 But I'll look on thee like the gilded^o Sun,⁴ *gilded*
 When to the west his fiery horses run.⁵

MARIA. True, true, you look on me with Sun-
 set eyes,
 For by beholding you my glory dies.

¹ **The Tragedy ... act it** This may be one example of the early modern dramatists' fondness for metatheatrical references and allusions.

² **spare me** forgive my life.

³ **for countries sake ... gloomy shades doth dwel** The arguments against national and "racial" otherness in Fernando's harassment of Maria seem to suggest that, since Eleazar is a foreigner, wronging him would be not only justified, but would even be a social and moral duty.

⁴ **I'll look on thee like the gilded Sun** See note on 1.3.16.

⁵ **the gilded Sun ... to the west his fiery horses run** In classical mythology, the duty of Helios, the god of the sun (sometimes identified with Apollo), was to carry the sun on his chariot from the East to the West every day (Hard 43).

FERNANDO. Call me thy morning then, for like

the morn,^o *morning*

30 In pride Maria shall through Spain be born.¹

Music plays within.

This musick I prepar'd [to please] thine ears,

Love mee and thou shalt hear no other sounds,

Lo^o here's a banquet set with mine own hands; *Look*

A banquet brought in.

Love me, and thus I'le feast thee like a Queen:

I might command thee being thy Sovereign;

But love me and I'le kneel and sue^o to thee, *attend upon, woo*

And circle this white forehead with the Crown

Of Castile, Portugall, and Arragon,

And all those petty Kingdoms which do bow

40 Their tributarie knees to Philip's heir.²

MARIA. I cannot love you whilst my

husband lives:

FERNANDO. I'le send him to the wars, and

in the front

Of some maine^o army shall he nobly dye. *large, powerful*

MARIA. I cannot love you if you murder him.

¹ **In pride Maria shall through Spain be born** Once again, Fernando provides arguments against "racial" and national otherness, hinting at the concept of *pureza de sangre*.

² **all those petty Kingdoms ... knees to Philip's heir** This might be a deliberate attempt to belittle Spain and its domains, described as "petty Kingdoms," since, at the time, it was the most powerful community in Europe; probably only surpassed in the extra-European context by the Ottoman Empire.

FERNANDO. For thy sake then, I'll call

a Parliament

And banish by a law all Moors from Spain.¹

MARIA. I'll wander with him into banishment.

FERNANDO. It shall be death for any

Negroes hand,

To touch the beauty of a Spanish dame.²

50 Come, come, what needs such cavells^o with *cavils*

a King?

Night blinds all Jealous eyes, and we may play,

Carouse^o that bole^o to me, I'll pledg all this, *drink / goblet*

Being down, we'll make it more sweet with

a kiss.

Begin, I'll lock all doors, begin Spains Queen,

Locks the doors.

Loves banquet is most sweet, when 'tis

least seen.

MARIA. [*Aside.*] Oh thou conserver of my

honours life!

¹ **I'll call a Parliament / And banish by a law all Moors from Spain** A large number of converted Moriscos (baptized Muslims) were actually banished by King Philip III of Spain in 1609 (Caro Baroja 224). In *Lust's Dominion*, probably composed in 1600, the references to a massive deportation of Moors could have been added in later revisions of the work; however, when he wrote the play, perhaps, Dekker and his contemporaries were already aware of the Spanish intentions to ban all the Moors from the realm. In fact, this idea was discussed as early as the 1590s, by supporters of a banishment or even genocide of Moriscos, such as Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, Duke of Lerma (c. 1552-1625), a favourite of Philip III and his chief financial officer, who recommended their expulsion (Lynch 43).

² **It shall be death ... a Spanish dame** Miscegenation was considered a crime against society.

[*Pours sleeping potion in Kings drink.*]

Instead of poisoning him, drown him in sleep.

Because I'le quench the flames of wild desire,

I'le drink this off, let fire conquer loves fire.¹

60 FERNANDO. Were love himselfe in reall

substance here,

Thus would I drink him down, let your

sweet strings,

Speak lowder (pleasure is but a slave to Kings)²

In which love swims. Maria kiss thy King,

Circle me in this ring of Ivory.

Oh! I grow dull, and the cold hand of sleep

¹ **Instead of poisoning him ... let fire conquer loves fire** Fredson Bowers suggests that:

These lines offer a difficulty that might perhaps go back to a reworking of the scene in case the original version had Maria saving her chastity by drinking the poison herself. However, strained as they are, some sense can be forced into them. We may take it (with other editors) that a stronger stop than the D comma should be placed after sleep. The first two lines are addressed to the potion and are spoken as the King is down stage locking the doors. Then in the following couplet Maria explains to the audience that she is drinking from her own bowl in order to encourage the King to drink from his so that the flames of his desire will be quenched. (Fernando has left with the command for her to begin the feast with the drink.) Fernando sees her drink (although it is unlikely that I'le drink this off is addressed to him, interrupting her aside), and is satisfied that she has capitulated. Thus on his return he drinks from his own cup, containing the potion, without further discussion. If this is the interpretation, let foe conquer loves fire must mean that the fire of the liquor she is unwillingly drinking will, paradoxically, be the means of conquering Fernando's passion, since her act has encouraged him to drink the potion. We may perhaps blame the couplet form for the contorted expression. (57, 219)

² **pleasure is but a slave to Kings** Such assertion may imply a critique to the corruption of the Spanish monarchy, and, perhaps, to excess in general.

80 His mothers hand shall stop thy breath,
 Thinking her own son is done to death.
 And she that takes away thy life,
 Does it to be thy husbands wife.
 Adieu Maria, we must hence,
 Embrace^o thine end with patience; *Embrace*
 Elves and Fairyes make no stand,^o *pause; resistance*
 Till you come in Fairy Land.

Exeunt dancing and singing.

MARIA. Fairyes or Divels, whatsoe're you be,
 Thus will I hide me from your company.

*Offers to be gone.*¹

Act. III. Scena. III.

*To her, Enter Queen Mother suddainly, with Alvaro,
 and Roderigo, with Rapiers.*

QUEEN MOTHER. Lay hold upon the strumpet,^o *prostitute*
 where's the King?
 Fernando, son; ah me^o your King is dead! *oh dear, dear me*
 Lay hand upon the murdresse.
 MARIA. Imperious Queen, I am as free from
 murder as thy self,

¹ *Offers to be gone* Makes an attempt to leave.

Which I will prove, if you will hear me speak:
The King is living.

RODERIGO. If he liv'd his breath would beat
within his breast.

QUEEN MOTHER. The life he leads, Maria thou
shalt soon participate.

MARIA. O father save me!

10 ALVERO. Thou'rt no child of mine, had'st thou
been owner of Alvero's spirit,
Thy heart would not have entertain'd a thought
That had converst with^o murder: yet mine eyes *turned into*
(Howe're^o my tongue want words) brim full *However, Although*
with tears,
Intreat^o her further tryall. *Entreat, Plead*

VERDUGO. To what end: here lies her tryall:
from this royall brest

Hath she stolen all comfort, all the life
Of every bosom in the Realm of Spain.

RODERIGO. She's both a traytor
and murderess.

QUEEN MOTHER. I'le have her forthwith^o *immediately*
strangled.

ALVERO. Hear her speak.

20 QUEEN MOTHER. To heaven let her complain
if she have wrong, *[Stabs her.]*
I murder but the murdresse of my son.

ALL. We murder the murtheresse of our King.¹

ALVERO. Ah me my child oh! Oh cease your
torturing!

MARIA. Heaven open the windows, that my *open*
spotlesse soul,
Riding upon the wings of innocence,
May enter Paradise,^o Fairyes farewell; *Paradise, Heaven*
Fernandoes death in mine you did foretell.
She dyes, King wake[s].

FERNANDO. Who calls Fernando? love,
Maria, speak;
Oh! whither^o art thou fled? whence^o flow *where; from where*
these waters
That fall like winter storms, from thy
drown'd eyes.

30 ALVERO. From my Maria's death!

FERNANDO. My Maria dead?
Damn'd be the soul to hell that stop'd
her breath;
Maria, Oh me who durst^o murder her? *dared*

QUEEN MOTHER. I thought my dear Fernando
had been dead,
And in my indignation murthered her.

¹ **We murder the murtheresse of our King** Again, the speech is given to Alvero in D, but, it was unquestionably uttered by the other courtiers, since Alvero would have never condemned his own daughter.

FERNANDO. I was not dead untill you
 murdered me
 By killing fair Maria.

QUEEN MOTHER. Gentle son.

FERNANDO. Ungentle mother, you a deed
 have done,

Of so much ruth^o that no succeeding age *mischief*

40 Can ever clear you of; Oh my dear love,
 Yet heavens can witness thou wert never mine:
 Spains wonder was Maria.

QUEEN MOTHER. Sweet have done:^o *make an end*

FERNANDO. Have done! for what, for shedding
 zealous tears

Over the tomb of virtues^o chastitie; *virtue's*

You cry have done, now I am doing good,

But cri'd do on, when you were shedding

blood:¹

Have you done mother; yes, yes, you have done,

That which will undo your unhappy son.

RODERIGO. These words become you not my
 gracious Lord.

50 FERNANDO. These words become not me, no
 more it did

Become you Lords to be mute standers by,

When lustfull fury ravish'd chastity.

¹ **You cry have done ... shedding blood** Now that I am doing something good, you cry "make an end"; but you cried "go on," when you wanted (me) to shed blood (for you).

It ill becoms mee to lament her death,
 But it became you well to stop her breath:
 Had she been fair and not so virtuous,
 This deed had not been halfe so impious.

ALVERO. But she was fair in virtue, virtuous
 fair, oh me!

FERNANDO. Oh me! she was true honours heir.

Hence beldame^o [withdraw] from my presence, *hag, old witch*
 all flye hence,^o *flee*

60 You are all murderers, com poor innocence,
 Clasp thy cold hand in mine, for here I'le lye,
 And since I liv'd for her, for her I'l die.

Act. III. Scena. IV.

Enter Eleazar with a Torch and Rapier drawn.

ELEAZAR. Bar up^o my Castle Gates; fire and *Close*
 confusion

Shall girt^o these Spanish Currs;^{o1} was I for this, *gird / Curs*
 Sent to raise power against a fugitive:

To have my wife deflowr'd. Zounds² where's^o *where is*
 my wife,

¹ **fire and confusion ... Spanish Currs** fire and confusion shall gird (i.e. surround) these Spanish curs (i.e. unfriendly, mongrel dogs).

² **Zounds** See note on 2.5.20.

My slaves cry out, she's dallying^o with *flirting*
the King!

Stand by, where is your King? Eleazars
bed shall

Scorn to be an Emperours brothelrie.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. Be patient Eleazar, here's
the King,

ELEAZAR. Patience and I am^o foes, where's *are*
my Maria?

10 ALVERO. Here is her haplesse coarse^o that *unfortunate corpse*
was Maria.

FERNANDO. Here lies Maria's body, here
her grave,

Her dead heart in my breast a tomb shal have.

ELEAZAR. Now by the proud complexion of
my cheeks,²

Tan'e from^o the kisses of the amorous sun; *Tanned by*

Were he ten thousand Kings that slew my love,

Thus shou'd^o my hand (plum'd^o with revenges *would / plumed*
wings)

Requite^o mine own dishonour, and her death. *Avenge*

Stabs the King.

QUEEN MOTHER. Ah me! my son.

¹ **Brothelrie** See note on 1.3.118.

² **by the proud complexion of my cheeks** In a bold move for both character and playwright, Eleazar is proudly vindicating his ethnic features.

ALL. The King is murdered, lay hold on the
damn'd traitor.

20 ELEAZAR. In his brest that dares but dart a
finger at the *Moor*,
I'll bury this Sharp steel yet reeking° warm, *stained, soaked*
With the unchast blood of that lecher° King, *lustful*
That threw my wife in an untimely grave.

ALVERO. She was my daughter, and her
timelesse° grave *untimely, premature*
Did swallow down my joies° as deep as yours: *joys*
But thus.

ELEAZAR. But what? bear injuries that can,¹
I'll wear no forked crest.²

RODERIGO. Damn this black feind,° crie treason *fiend*
through the Court.
The King is murdred.

30 ELEAZAR. He that first opes° his lips, I'll drive *opens*
his words
Down his wide throat upon my rapiers point.
The King is murdred and I'll answer it;
I am dishonour'd, and I will revenge it.
Bend not your dangerous weapons at my brest:
Thinke where you are, this Castle is the *Moors*,
You are environ'd° with a wall of flint. *environed, surrounded*

¹ **bear injuries that can** you are free to tolerate such grievances if you can.

² **I'll wear no forked crest** I will not wear cuckold's horns; i.e. I will not endure the humiliation of infidelity.

The Gates are lock'd, Purcullesses^o let down. *Portcullises*

If Eleazar spend one drop of blood,¹

*Zarack and Baltazar above with Calivers.*²

On those high turret tops my slaves stand arm'd,

40 And shall confound^o your souls with *destroy; bring to perdition*
murdring shot.

Or if your^o murder me, yet under ground *you*

A villain that for me will dig to hell,³

Stands with a burning limstock⁴ in his fist,

Who firing gunpowder up in the air,

Shall fling your torn and mangled carcasses.

QUEEN MOTHER. Oh! sheath your weapons,
though my son be slain,

Yet save your selvs, choose a new Sovereign.

ALL. Prince Philip is our Sovereign, choose
him King.

ELEAZAR. Prince Philip shall not be
my Sovereign,

50 Philip's a bastard, and Fernando's dead;

Mendoza sweats to wear Spains Diadem,

¹ **Thinke where you are ... drop of blood** Eleazar dramatizes a radical turn of events: he who had always been a foreigner in Spain (the *Moor*) now declares Spaniards themselves to be aliens in his castle; an ideologically charged and extreme illustration of what "enemies within" may cause.

² **Calivers** Kind of light, portable muskets, introduced during the sixteenth century (*OED sb. Obs. exc. Hist.* 1a).

³ **A villain that for me will dig to hell** A servant or soldier who –even in hell– would do anything for me.

⁴ **limstock** i.e. linstock, "A staff about three feet long, having a pointed foot to stick in the deck or ground, and a forked head to hold a lighted match" (*OED sb. Obs. exc. Hist.*).

Philip hath sworn^o confusion to this Realm, *brought*
 They both are up in arms, warrs flames do shine
 Like lightning in the air, wherefore^o my Lords *and therefore*
 Look well on Eleazar; value me not by my
 sun-burnt
 Cheek, but by my birth; nor by
 My birth, but by my losse of blood,
 Which I have sacrificed in Spains defence.¹
 Then look on Philip, and the Cardinall:

60 Look on those gaping currs,^o whose *currs, dogs*
 wide throats
 Stand stretch'd wide open like the gates
 of death,
 To swallow you, your country, children, wives.
 Philip cries fire and blood, the Cardinall
 Cries likewise fire and blood, I'le quench
 those flames;
 The *Moor* cries blood and fire, and that
 shall burn
 [*Aside.*] Till Castile like proud Troy to
 Cinders turn.

RODERIGO. Lay by these Ambages,^o what *Circumlocutions*
 seeks the *Moor*?

¹ **value me not by my sun-burnt ... in Spains defence** Eleazar is asking the nobles of Spain to disregard his ethnicity and to value him by his high social status, being a former Moroccan noble. He insists that he should rather be judged by his "losse of blood ... sacrificed in Spains defence," since he was officially adopted in Spain when he was young and became a noble in his new homeland.

ELEAZAR. A Kingdom, Castiles crown.

ALVERO. Peace^o divell for shame. *Hush*

QUEEN MOTHER. Peace doting^o Lord for
shame, Oh miserie! *foolish*

70 When Indian slaves thirst after Empery;
Princes and Peers of Spain wee^o are beset,^o *we / besieged*
With horror on each side; you deny him,
Death stands at all our backs, we cannot
flye^o him. *flee*

Crown Philip King, The Crown upon his head,
Will prove a fiery Meteor, Warr and vengeance
And desolation will invade our land,
Besides Prince Philip is a bastard born.
Oh! give mee leave to blush at mine
own shame;

But I for love to you, love to fair Spain,
80 Choose rather to rip up a Queens disgrace,
Then by concealing^o it to set the Crown *refrain*
Upon a bastards head. Wherefore^o my Lords *And therefore*
By my consent crown that proud Blackamore,¹
Since Spains bright glory must so soon
grow dim;

¹ **concealing it to set ... proud Blackamore** Illegitimacy, in this context, seems to be considered by the Queen Mother and other defective characters more damaging than “racial,” national or religious otherness.

Since it must end, let it end all in him.¹

ALL. Eleazar shall be King.

ALVERO. Oh treachery! have you so soon rac't^o *razed, wrecked*

out Fernando's love;

So soon forgot the duty of true Peers;

So soon, so soon buried a mothers name,

90 That you will crown him King that slew your
King.

ELEAZAR. Will you hear him or me, who shall
be King.

ALL. Eleazar shall be Castiles Sovereign.

ALVERO. Do, do; make hast to crown him!

Lords adieu.

Here hell must be when the Divel governs you.²

Exit.

ELEAZAR. By heavens great Star, which Indians
do adore,³

But that I hate to hear the giddy^o world; *foolish*

Shame that I waded^o to a Crown through blood, *went; walked*

¹ **Since Spains bright ... let it end all in him** The decay of the Spanish Empire is prophesized by the author, who seems to argue that the annihilation of this community is fostered by "interracial" contact, characteristic of its liminal position within Europe.

² **Here hell must be when the Divel governs you** This is a further instance of anti-Spanish discourses, where Spain is described as a community which is so corrupt that it lets the demonic and immoral outsider govern it.

³ **By heavens great Star, which Indians do adore** Eleazar mentions the alleged heathenism associated with the "Indians" of Asia or the New World, who adore the "heavens great Star." Since he is going to become King of Spain, he seems to be trying to distance himself from those communities, while he paradoxically swears by that same (Pagan) symbol, "[b]y heavens great star."

I'de not disgest his pills,¹ but since my Lords
 You have chosen Eleazar for your King?

100 Invest me with a generall applause.

ALL. Live Eleazar, Castiles Royall King.

RODERIGO. A villain and a base born fugitive.

Aside.

CHRISTOFERO. A bloody tyrant, an usurping
 slave.

Aside.

ELEAZAR. Thanks to you all, 'tis not the

Spanish Crown

That Eleazar strives for, but Spains peace.

Amongst you I'le divide her Empery;

Christofero shall wear Granada's Crown;

To Roderigo I'le give Arragon:

Naples, Navar^o and fair Jerusalem,²

Navarre

110 I'le give to other three, and then our vice-Roys,

Shall Shine about our bright Castilian crown,

As stars about the Sun. Cry all, arm, arm;^o

alarm; take up arms

Prince Philip and the Cardinall do ride

Like Jove³ in thunder, in a storme we'l

meet them;

Go levy powers,^o if any man must fall,

muster the forces

My death shall first begin the funerall. *Exeunt.*

¹ **I'de not disgest his pills** Probably meaning: I will not digest his "bitter words" or "distasteful advice" (Hoy 89).

² **I'le divide her Empery ... and fair Jerusalem** Jerusalem never belonged to Spain: the playwright seems to be trying to give an impression of a huge realm.

³ **Jove** See note on 1.1.50.

Act. III. Scena. V.

[*Seville. The market place.*]¹ *Enter Zarack and Baltazar with Calivers.*²

BALTAZAR. Is thy cock ³ ready, and thy powder dry?	
ZARACK. My cock stands pearching, like a cock o'the game;	
With a red cole ^o for his crest instead of a colme; ^o	<i>head</i> <i>coal-dust, slack</i>
And for my powder, 'tis but touch and take. ^o ⁴	<i>catch fire</i>
BALTAZAR. I have tickling geer ^o too, ⁵	<i>itch</i>
anon ^o I'll cry here I have it,	<i>at once, straightway</i>
And yonder ^o I see it; But Zarack is't policie ^o for us	<i>over there / prudent</i>
To kill these bald-pates. ^o	<i>bald heads</i>
ZARACK. Is't pollicy ^o for us to save our selves,	<i>prudent</i>

¹ [*Seville. The market place*] Zarack and Baltazar are almost certainly following the two friars, Crab and Cole, in their journey outside Madrid. The scene is probably set in a market of the city of Seville (in Andalusia, Spain), since later in the scene Friar Crab addresses a multitude summoning the "Citizens, and market-folks of Sivell" (3.5.48). At the time, and as a consequence of the trade with the New World, Seville was one of the most flourishing commercial cities in Spain, with an important Flemish and Sevillian group of tradesmen operating there.

² **Calivers** See note on 3.4.38.

³ **cock** "in a matchlock, a lever for holding the match and bringing it down on the powder in the touch-pan" (*OED sb.*¹ IV.13a).

⁴ **My cock stands pearching ... touch and take** My artifact/weapon is ready, like a gamecock (i.e., a fighting cock), with a red head for his crest instead of coal-dust; you only have to touch it and it will catch fire. Perhaps, Zarack is humorously associating the process of making explosives with an allusion to male genitalia and sexual intercourse.

⁵ **I have tickling geer too** I cannot wait; I have an itch.

If they live, we die. Is't not wisdom then
To send them to heaven, rather than be sent
our selves;

10 Come you black slave,¹ be resolute. This way
they come,

Here they will stand, and yonder^o wil I stand. *over there*

BALTAZAR. And in yonder hole^o I. *hiding-place*

ZARACK. Our amiable faces cannot be seen,² if
we keep close:^o *hidden*

Therefore hide your cocks head, lest his burning
cocks-comb betray us.

But soft,^o which of the two shall be *wait*
thy white.³

BALTAZAR. That black villain Frier Cole.⁴

ZARACK. I shall have a sharp piece of service.^o *a difficult duty*
Frier Crab shall be my man.

Farewell and be resolute.

BALTAZAR. Zounds⁵ Zarack I shall never have

¹ **black slave** The association of the North African, Moroccan with sub-Saharan, black individuals is furthered, since the latter were linked to slavery while the former were recognised as pertaining to a technologically and politically developed community where slavery was unthinkable.

² **Our amiable faces** Ironic, probably intended as a joke, as their faces are black and, consequently, for an early modern audience, ugly and unfriendly.

³ **which of the two shall be thy white** Through this pun on the term “white,” Zarack is ironically asking Baltazar which of the two “white” friars is “thy white” (i.e., your target).

⁴ **That black villain Frier Cole** The friar is described as “black” because of his black robes and his sinful, “black” soul.

⁵ **Zounds** See note on 2.5.20.

the heart to doo't.¹

20 ZARACK. You rogue; think who commands,

Eleazar.

Who shall rise, Baltazar?

Who shall die, a louzy^o Frier? *lousy; vile*

Who shall live our good Lord and Master?

The Negro King of Spain.²

BALTAZAR. Cole, thou art but a dead man,

And shall turn to ashes. *Exit.*

ZARACK. Crab, here's that shall make vinegar

of thy carcasse. *Exit.*

*Enter Crab and Cole, two Friers,
with a rout of Stinkards following them.³*

CRAB. I^o brother 'tis best, so now we have *aye, yes*

drawn them to a head,

We'l begin here i'th^o market place. *in the*

Tut⁴ so long as we be commanded by

the Mother Queen.

¹ **I shall never have the heart to doo't** Whereas this Moor seems to be depicted as superior to other Moorish characters within the play, when he is asked to kill a friar, his denial may simply indicate his cowardice. Hence, while it may seem that immorality was not always considered inherent to "racial" Others, there are no clear evidences suggesting that any Moorish character was considered to be morally acceptable.

² **The Negro King of Spain** Apparently a paradox, the play sustains it as an appropriate description of Spanish rulers.

³ **with a rout of Stinkards following them** i.e. with a crowd of stinkers following them.

⁴ **Tut** "An ejaculation (often reduplicated) expressing impatience or dissatisfaction with a statement, notion, or proceeding, or contemptuously dismissing it" (*OED int. and sb.*³ a).

30 We'l say her son is a bastard, and he were
ten Philips.

COLE. Take you one market form,^o I'le
take another.¹

CRAB. No, Gods so; we must both keep
one form.²

COLE. I^o in oration, but not in station;^o mount, *aye, yes / in person*
mount!³

[*The Friars climb on the market forms.*]

1. Well my masters, you know him not so well as

I; on my word

Frier Crab is a sower^o fellow: *sour; ill-tempered*

2. Yet he may utter sweet doctrine by your leave;

but what

Think you of Frier Cole?

¹ **Take you one market form, I'le take another** Cole seems to state that the two friars are deciding in what part of the market each one of them will stand to spread the news of Philip's bastardy. Those are "market forms," which may generally mean an unspecified item in the market that could be identified as an "(elevated) place" or a "long seat without a back, a bench" (*OED sb.* II.17); or, in a more obscure meaning, a "window frame," that is, they are going to stand at different windows of the market (granting that it is a covered market).

² **we must both keep one form** With a pun, Crab seems to suggest that they should stay together, "keep one form." Since in theology "a sacrament is said to consist of matter (as the water in baptism, the bread and wine in the Eucharist) and form, which is furnished by certain essential formulary words" ("form, n." *OED* I.4.b), this statement may also suggest that they all (these Catholic Friars, but, indirectly, the Protestant audience) must keep one form in the religious sense.

³ **I in oration, but not in station; mount, mount!** Yes, we can keep one position in our speech, but not physically; let's climb on the market forms!

1. He all fire, and he be kindled once a hot
Catholick.¹
3. And you mark^o him, he has a zealous nose, *observe*
And richly inflam'd.^o *thoroughly inflamed*
- 40 1. Peace^o you Rogues, now they begin. *Hush, Be quiet*
CRAB. *Incipe Frater?*
COLE. *Non ego Domine.*
CRAB. *Nec ego.*
COLE. *Quare?*
CRAB. *Quia?*
COLE. *Quæso,*²
- ALL. Here's a queazy^o beginning *queasy; unsettled*
me thinks;^o silence, silence. *I think*
- CRAB. Brethren, Citizens, and market-folks
of Sivell.^o *Seville*
- COLE. Well beloved and honoured Castilians.
- 50 CRAB. It is not unknown to you!
COLE. I am sure you are not ignorant.
CRAB. How villanous and strong!
COLE. How monstrous and huge!
CRAB. The faction of Prince Philip is.
COLE. Philip that is a bastard.

¹ **He all fire, and he be kindled once a hot Catholick** He is all fire, and if he is kindled once, an ardent Catholic!

² *Incipe Frater? ... Quæso* The lines, written in Latin, could be freely translated as follows: CRAB. Will you begin, Father? / COLE. Not I Lord. / CRAB. Me neither. / COLE. Who then? / CRAB. Why? / COLE. I beg you, go first (our translation). The author's intention here is probably to ridicule the archaic and allegedly pompous Catholic ceremonies in Latin.

- CRAB. Philip that is a dastard.^o *wretch; coward*
- COLE. Philip that kill'd your King.
- CRAB. Onely^o to make himself King. *Only*
- 60 COLE. And by Gads^o blessed Lady you are all *God's*
damn'd, and you suffer it.
1. Frier Cole says true, he speaks out of the heat
of his zeal;
Look how he glows.
2. Well Frier Crab for my money, he has set my
teeth an edge¹
Against this bastard.
1. Oh! his words are like Vergis,² to whet^o a *incite, render eager*
mans stomach.
- ALL. Silence, silence.
- CRAB. Now contrariwise.^o *on the contrary*
- COLE. Your Noble King the *Moor*.
- CRAB. Is a valiant Gentleman.
- 70 COLE. A Noble Gentleman.
- CRAB. An honourable Gentieman.
- COLE. A fair black Gentleman.
- CRAB. A friend to Castilians.^o *Spaniards*
- COLE. A Champion for Castilians.
- CRAB. A man fit to be King.

¹ **he has set my teeth an edge** he set my teeth on edge; he made me cringe.

² **Vergis** i.e. verjuice, "The acid juice of green or unripe grapes, crab-apples, or other sour fruit, expressed and formed into a liquor; formerly much used in cooking, as a condiment, or for medicinal purposes. Also in comparisons as, *as sour (bitter, tart, etc.) as verjuice*" (*OED sb.* 1.a).

COLE. If he [Philip] were not born down^o by him *overthrown*
that would be King,

Who (as I said before) is a bastard, and no King.

1. What think you my masters? do you mark^o his *believe; take note of*
words well.

CRAB. Further compare them together.

80 ALL. S'blood,¹ there's no comparison between
them.

COLE. Nay, but hear us good Countrymen.

ALL. Hear Frier Cole, hear Frier Cole.

COLE. Set that bastard and Eleazar together:

1. How? mean you, by the ears.

CRAB. No, but compare them.²

COLE. Do but compare them.

2. Zounds,³ we say again comparisons are odious.

1. But say on, say on.

*[Two men in disguise shatter the structure of
the market form.] Pieces go of, Friers dye.⁴*

¹ **S'blood** or 'Sblood, i.e. an abbreviation of *God's blood*, used euphemistically as an oath or emphatic assertion (*OED sb. Obs. exc. arch.*).

² **How? mean you ... compare them** 1. What do you mean? To provoke a quarrel between them? / CRAB. No, just to compare them.

³ **Zounds** See note on 2.5.20.

⁴ ***Pieces go of, Friers dye*** The stage directions, either from the original manuscript or added in the first edition of the play, suggest that the elevated place from which the Friars were addressing the multitude breaks into pieces, killing them. Later, in scene VI, we learn that Zarack and Baltazar provoked the collapse of the structure. Since the Friars were revealing the alleged illegitimacy of Prince Philip, and in the lines following their death the multitude cries "Treason, treason, ... This is Philips treason. Arm, Arm, Arm," the passage suggests that the Moors were probably in disguise, and that they were taken for Philip's agents sent to kill the Friars. Nevertheless, here the dramatist was not very successful theatrically, or semiotically, since the passage is confusing and ambiguous.

ALL. Treason, treason, every man shift
for himself.

90 This is Philips treason. Arm,° Arm, Arm. *Alarm; Take up arms*
Exeunt.

Act. III. Scena. VI.

[*Eleazar's Palace.*] *Enter Eleazar, Zarack, and Baltazar.*

ELEAZAR. Zarack and Baltazar, are they
dispatch'd?° *dispatched, killed*

ZARACK. We saw 'em sprawl,° and turn up the
white of the eye. *convulse*

ELEAZAR. So shall they perish, that lay
countermines;° *counter-plots*

To crosse our high designments: by their habits,
The Cardinall and Philip scap'd° our nets. *escaped*

And by your hands they tasted our revenge.

Enter Queen Mother.

Here coms the Queen, away! under our wings,
You shall stand safe, and brave the proudest
Kings. *Exeunt.*

QUEEN MOTHER. Oh! flie my Eleazar, save
thy life.

10 Else point a guard about thee, the mad people
Tempestuous like the Sea run up and down
Some crying kill the bastard, some the *Moor*;
Some cry, God save King Philip; and some cry,

God save the *Moor*; some others, he shall die.

ELEAZAR. Are these your fears, thus blow them
into air.

I rusht amongst the thickest of their crowds,
And with a countenance Majestical,
Like the Imperious Sun disperst their clouds;

I have perfum'd the rankness of their breath,
20 And by the magick of true eloquence,

Transform'd this many headed Cerberus,¹
This py'd Camelion,² this beast multitude,
Whose power consists in number, pride
in threats;

Yet melt like snow when Majestie shines forth.³

This heap of fools, who crowding in huge
swarms,

Stood at our Court gates like a heap of dung,
Reeking and shouting out contagious breath of
power to poison all the elements;⁴

This Wolf I held by'th ears, and made him tame,

30 And made him tremble at the *Moors* great name.

No, we must combate with a grimmer foe,

¹ **many headed Cerberus** In classical mythology, a large and dreadful dog with three heads which guarded the entrance to the Hades, the infernal kingdom, or lower world, where the spirits of dead people were believed to depart after their deaths (*OED sb. a*).

² **py'd Camelion** i.e. pied (black and white) Chameleon.

³ **this beast multitude ... melt like snow when Majestie shines forth** Like the sun melts ice, the subversive multitude is dissolved by the king.

⁴ **this beast multitude ... poison all the elements.** Eleazar complains against mob violence; perhaps, suggesting a subtle critique against criminals and lower social groups.

That damn'd Mendoza over-turns our hopes.
 He loves you dearly.

QUEEN MOTHER. By his secret Letters he hath
 intreated^o me in some disguise to leave the *entreated, pleaded*
 Court, and fly^o into his arms. *rush*

ELEAZAR. The world cannot devize a stratagem
 Sooner to throw confusion on his pride:
 Subscribe to his desires, and in dead^o night *still; dark; cold*
 Steal to his Castle, swear to him his love
 40 Hath drawn you thither;^o undermine his soul, *to that place*
 And learn what villanies are there laid up,
 Then for your pleasure walk to take the air:
 Near to the Castle I'll in ambush lie,
 And seem by force to take you prisoner;
 This done, I have a practice plotted here,
 Shall rid him of his life, and us of fear:
 About it madam, this is all in all;
 We cannot stand unlesse Mendoza fall.

[*Exeunt.*]

Act. IV. Scena. I.

*Enter Emanuel King of Portugal, Prince Philip, [Cardinal] Mendoza,
Alvaro, with Drums and Souldiers marching.*

KING OF PORTUGAL. Poor Spain, how is the
body of thy peace
Mangled and torn by an ambitious *Moor*!
How is° thy Prince and Counsellors abus'd, *are*
And trodden under the base foot of scorn:
Wrong'd Lords, Emanuel of Portugal partakes
A feeling share in all your miseries:¹

And though the tardy-hand of slow delay
With-held us from preventing your mishaps;
Yet shall revenge dart° black confusion *send forth; cast*
10 Into the bosom of that damned fiend.

PHILIP. But is it possible our Mother Queen
Should countenance° his ambition. *support*

ALVERO. Her advice is as a Steers-man° to *Steersman*
direct his course.

Besides, as we by circumstance have learnt,
She means to marry him.

PHILIP. Then here upon my knees
I pluck allegiance from her; all that love

¹ **Emanuel of Portugal ... in all your miseries** Emanuel of Portugal shares your sorrow.

Which by innative^o duty I did owe her,¹ *innate*
 Shall henceforth be converted into hate.

This will confirm the worlds opinion

20 That I am base born, and the damned *Moor*
 Had interest in my birth, this wrong alone²
 Gives new fire to the cinders of my rage:
 I may be well transformed from what I am,
 When a black divel is husband to my dam.³

KING OF PORTUGAL. Prince, let thy rage give
 way to patience,
 And set a velvet brow upon the face
 Of wrinkled anger, our keen swords,
 Must right these wrongs, and not light
 airy words.

PHILIP. Yet words may make the edge of rage
 more sharp,

30 And whet^o a blunted courage with revenge. *sharpen*

ALVERO. Here's none wants whetting, for our
 keen resolves⁴

Are steel'd unto the back with double wrongs;

¹ **I pluck allegiance ... I did owe her** Philip decides to remove the duty he owes to his mother, a commitment which proceeded from nature, that is, from his (supposedly) being his son and his subject.

² **the damned Moor / Had interest in my birth** Philip suggests that Eleazar is “inquiring” about his birth in order to question his legitimacy as the king’s son. However, Philip may be also stating that Eleazar suggested his “interest” or “involvement” in his birth, insinuating that the *Moor* was his father.

³ **dam** A contemptuous word for “mother” (*OED sb.*² 3).

⁴ **Here's none wants whetting, for our keen resolves** Our anger does not need to be sharpened (whetted).

Wrongs that would make a handlesse man
take arms;

Wrongs that would make a coward resolute.

CARDINAL. Why then join all our severall
wrongs in one,
And from these wrongs assume a firm resolv,
To send this divell to damnation.

Drums afar off

.PHILIP. *I hear the sound of his approaching march,*
Stand fair; Saint Jaques for the right of Spain.¹

To them, Enter the Moor, Roderigo, Christofero,
with drums, colours,² and souldiers, marching bravely.

ELEAZAR. Bastard of Spain?

40 PHILIP. Thou true stamp'd son of hell,
Thy pedigree is written in thy face.³

Alarum, and a Battail, the Moor prevails: All Exeunt.

¹ **Saint Jaques** Probably Saint James the Great, or Santiago de Zebedeo (Span.), the patron saint of Spain. Significantly, Saint James, or Jaques, was known in Spain as “the Moor Killer” (Matamoros).

² **colours** i.e. flags.

³ **Thou true stamp'd ... in thy face** This statement echoes the belief that blackness is a mark of sin and immoral “nature.”

Act. IV. Scena II.

Enter Philip and Cardinall.

PHILIP. Move forward, with your main battalion,
Or else all is lost.

CARDINAL. I will not move a foot.

PHILIP. S'heart,¹ wil you lose the day. *God's heart*

CARDINAL. You lose-your witts,
You're mad, it is no pollicy.^o *stratagem*

PHILIP. You lye.

CARDINAL. Lye?

PHILIP. Lye, a pox² upon't,^o Cardinall com on, *upon it*

Second the desperate vanguard which is mine,
And where I'le dye or win, follow my sword
The bloody way I lead it, or by heaven
I'le play the Devill,³ and mar all, we'I turn
our backs

10 Upon thee Moors, and set on thee; I^o thee,⁴ *aye; yes*
Thee Cardinall, s'heart thee.

CARDINAL. Your desperate arm^o *alarm; call to arms*
Hath almost thrust quite through the heart
of hope;

¹ **s'heart** See note on 2.4.6.

² **a pox** See note on 2.4.13.

³ **I'le play the Devill** i.e. I will act diabolically; make havoc.

⁴ **follow my sword ... I thee** fight with me against the Moors, or else we will abandon our struggle against them and will attack you instead; yes, you.

Our fortunes lye a bleeding by your rash and
violent onset.

PHILIP. Oh! oh! s'life,¹ s'foot,^o ² will you fight? *Christ's foot*

CARDINAL. We will not hazard all upon
one cast.³

PHILIP. You will not?

CARDINAL. No.

PHILIP. Coward.

CARDINAL. By deeds I'le try,

Whether your venemous tongue says
true, farewell.

Courage shines both in this, and policy.^o *Exit.* *cunning*

20 PHILIP. To save thy skin whole, that's
thy policy;

You whorson^o fat-chopt guts. I'le melt away *whoreson*

That larded^o body by the heat of fight,⁴ *greased*

Which I'le compel thee to, or else by flying;

To work which I'le give way to the proud foe,

Whilst I stand laughing to behold thee run.

Cardinall I'le do't,^o I'le do't, a *Moor*, a *Moor*, *do it*

Philip cries a *Moor*, holla!^o ha! whoo! *stop!*

¹ **s'life** or 'Slife, a short form of *God's life* used as an exclamation or in trivial oaths (*OED int. Obs. exc. arch.*).

² **s'foot** See note on 1.4.15.

³ **We will not hazard all upon one cast** We will not to risk losing everything by putting all our efforts into one plan.

⁴ **fat-chopt guts ... That larded body** The stock image of the Catholic hierarchy is used to portray them as exceedingly obese.

Enter King of Portugal.

KING OF PORTUGAL. Prince Philip, Philip,

PHILIP. Here, plague¹ where's^o the *Moor*. *where is*

KING OF PORTUGAL. The *Moor*'s a Devill,

never did horrid feind^o *fiend*

30 Compel'd by som Magicians mighty charm,^o *magic; spell*

Break through the prisons of the solid earth,

With more strange horror, then this Prince

of hell,

This damned Negro Lyon-like doth^o rush,² *does*

Through all, and spite of all knit opposition.

PHILIP. Puh! puh! where? Where? I'le meet him,

where? you mad me.

'Tis not his arm,

That acts such wonders, but our cowardise,

This Cardinall, oh! this Cardinall is a slave.

Enter Captain.

CAPTAIN. Sound a retreat, or else the day is lost;

¹ **plague** Term used in imprecations or exclamations (*OED sb.* 4a).

² **This damned Negro Lyon-like** This further association of the Moroccan noble with the alleged savagery of the black, "beast-like" sub-Saharan African echoes the friendlier description of Muley Xequé by Lope de Vega in *Tragedia del rey don Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos* (c. 1593): "Soys de tierra en que ay leones, y deveis de ser leon" ("You come from a land of lions, hence, you must be a lion;" our translation) (281).

40 PHILIP. I'le beat that dog to death, that
sounds retreat.

KING OF PORTUGAL. Philip.

PHILIP. I'le tear his heart out, that dares name
but Sound.

KING OF PORTUGAL. Sound a retreat.

PHILIP. Who's that? you tempt my sword Sir.

Continue this alarum,¹ fight pell mell!^o *wildly*

Fight, kill, be damn'd! this fat-back Coward
Cardinal,

Lies heavie on my shoulders; this, I^o this *aye; yes*

Shall fling him off: Sound a retreat! Zounds,²
you mad me.

Ambition plumes^o the *Moor*, whilst black *raises; fosters*
despair

Offering^o to tear from him the Diadem *Attempting; Intending*

50 Which he usurps, makes him to cry at all,
And to act deeds beyond astonishment;
But Philip is the night that darks his glories,
This swords yet reeking with his Negro's blood,
Being grasp't by equity, and this strong arm,
Shall through and through.

ALL. Away then.

¹ **alarum** "*Fencing*. A stamp of the leading foot during or just before an attack or feint, designed to unnerve one's opponent" (*OED B. sb. I.*†4).

² **Zounds** See note on 2.5.20.

PHILIP. From before mee;

Stay,° stand, stand fast, fight! A *Moor*, a *Moor*. *hold on*

Act. IV. Scena. III.

*To them enter Eleazar, Zarack, Baltazar, Roderigo, Christofero,
and others, they fight, Moors are all beat in, Exeunt omnes,
manet Eleazar weary; staies, a Moor lies slain.*

ELEAZAR. Oh for more work, more souls to

post to hell;

That I might pile up Charons boat so full,¹

Untill it topple o're,° Oh 'twould° be sport *over / it would*

To see them sprawl through the black

slimy lake.

Ha, ha; there's one going thither,° sirrah, you,² *to that place*

You slave, who kill'd thee? how he grins!

this breast,

Had it been tempered, and made proof

like mine,

It never would have been a mark for fools

To hit afar off with their dastard° bullets. *malicious; coward*

¹ **Charons boat** In classical mythology, Charon was a ferryman who carried the shades, or spirits of the dead on his boat across the Styx to the dismal Hades, where the souls dwelled after their death (*OED sb.* 1).

² **sirrah** An archaic term used to address men or boys "expressing contempt, reprimand, or assumption of authority on the part of the speaker" (*OED sb.* 1.a).

10 But thou didst well, thou knew'st I was
 thy Lord;
 And out of love and duty to me here,
 Where I fell weary, thou laidst down thy self
 To bear me up, thus: God a-mercy slave.¹
 A King for this shall give thee a rich grave.

As he sits down, enter Philip with a broken sword.

PHILIP. I'll wear thee to the pommel,^o but *handle*
 I'll finde²
 The subject of mine honour and revenge.
Moor 'tis for thee I seek; Come now, now
 take me
 At good advantage: speak, where art thou?³

ELEAZAR. Here.

20 PHILIP. Fate and revenge I thank you; rise.⁴

ELEAZAR. Leave and live.

PHILIP. Villain, it is Philippo that bids rise.⁵

ELEAZAR. It had been good for thee to have hid
 thy name.

For the discovery, like to a dangerous charm,^o *magic; spell*

¹ **God a-mercy** An (ironic) exclamation of applause or thanks (*OED* † *int. Obs.* 1a, b).

² **I'll wear thee to the pommel** I will use you (the sword) until the blade is gone.

³ **now take me / At good advantage** Fight with me now that my sword is broken, and you may have a good advantage.

⁴ **Fate** See note on 1.2.32-33, 1.4.6-7 and 5.1.27.

⁵ **Philippo** Philip or Philippo are used indistinctly throughout the text to designate the character.

Hurts him that finds it, wherefore do's^o those *why do*
blood-hounds

Thy rage and valour chase me?

PHILIP. Why to kill thee.

ELEAZAR. With that! what a blunt axe?¹

think'st thou I'll let²

Thy fury take a full blow at this head,

30 Having these arms, be wise; go change
thy weapon.

PHILIP. Oh, Sir!

ELEAZAR. I'll stay^o thy coming.³ *hold*

PHILIP. Thou't be damn'd first.

ELEAZAR. By all our Indian gods.⁴

PHILIP. Puh, never swear;

Thou know'st 'tis for a kingdome which
we fight;

And for that who'l^o not venture to hell-gates. *who would*

Come *Moor*, I am arm'd with more then
compleat^o steel, *complete*

The justice of my quarrel: when I look

40 Upon my Fathers wrongs, my brothers wounds,
My mothers infamie, Spains miserie,

¹ **With that! what a blunt axe?** Eleazar probably takes advantage of the fact that Philip has a broken sword to deride his masculinity.

² **think'st thou I'll let** do you think I will let.

³ **I'll stay thy coming** I will wait for your return.

⁴ **By all our Indian gods** The association between the Muslims of North Africa and the "heathens" of Asia or the New World seems an attempt to demean the religion of the former, equating it with the irreligious status of the latter.

And lay my finger here, Oh! 'tis too dull,
 To let out blood enough to quench them all.
 But when I see your face, and know what fears
 Hang on thy troubled soul, like leaden weights,
 To make it sink; I know this fingers touch
 Has strength to throw thee down, I know
 this iron
 Is sharp and long enough to reach that head.
 Fly not divel, if thou do —

50 ELEAZAR. How, fly; Oh base!

PHILIP. Come then.

ELEAZAR. Stay Philip, whosoe're^o begat thee. *whosoever, whoever*

PHILIP. Why slave, a King begat me.

ELEAZAR. May be so.

But I'le be sworn thy mother was a Queen;¹
 For her sake will I kill thee nobly:
 Fling me thy sword, there's mine, I scorn
 to strike
 A man disarm'd.

PHILIP. For this dishonoring me

60 I'le give thee one stab more.

ELEAZAR. I'le run away,

Unlesse thou change that weapon, or take
 mine.¹

¹ **But I'le be sworn thy mother was a Queen** He may suggest that, since his mother is an adulterous and immoral woman, he would be a bastard either if he is the son of a king or not.

PHILIP. Neither.

ELEAZAR. Farewel.

PHILIP. S'heart,^o ² stay, and if you dare, *God's heart*

Do as I do, oppose thy naked breast

Against this poniard; see, here's this for thine.

ELEAZAR. I am for thee Philip.

PHILIP. Come, nay take more ground,

70 That with a full career thou maist strike home.³

ELEAZAR. Thou't run away then.

PHILIP. Hah!

ELEAZAR. Thou't run away then.

PHILIP. Faith, I will, but first on this I'le bear

Thy panting heart, thy head upon thy spear.

ELEAZAR. Come.

*Enter on both sides, Cardinall, and King of Portugal, on the one side,
and Moors on the other side.*

CARDINALS' SIDE. Upon^o the Moors. *attack*

MOORS' SIDE. Upon the Cardinall.

¹ **change that weapon, or take mine** For all his sexual immorality and wickedness, Eleazar behaves, in battle, as a man of honour, utterly and repeatedly refusing to fight a barely armed opponent. This evidently introduces a new dimension in the complexity of the character, which becomes more contradictory than the prototypical Elizabethan devil (or the Morality Vice).

² **S'heart** See note on 2.4.6.

³ **That with a full career thou maist strike home** Take a good position from where you can fight and strike me ("strike home").

PHILIP. Hold Cardinall, strike not any of
our side,

80 ELEAZAR. Hold Moors, strike not any of
our side,

PHILIP. Wee two will close this battail.^o *battle*

ELEAZAR. Come, agreed.

Stand armies and give aim, whil'st wee two
bleed.

CARDINAL. With poniards; 'tis too desperate,
dear Philip.

PHILIP. Away, have at the *Moor*, s'heart^o ¹ let *God's heart*
me come!

KING OF PORTUGAL. Be arm'd with manly
weapons, 'tis for slaves,²
To dig their own and such unworthy graves.

ELEAZAR. I am for thee^o any way, thus, or see *I am coming for you*
thus,

Here try the vigour of thy sinewy arm,
90 The day is ours already, brainless heads
And bleeding bodyes like a crown do stand,
About the temples of our victory.
Yet Spaniards if you dare we'l fight it out,
Thus man to man alone, I'le first begin,
And conquer, or in blood wade^o up to th' chin. *walk*

¹ **s'heart** See note on 2.4.6.

² **Be arm'd with manly weapons, 'tis for slaves** The King of Portugal's implication is that an honourable fight should involve swords, not daggers or poniards.

PHILIP. Let not a weapon stir, but his and mine.

ELEAZAR. Nor on this side, conquest in blood
shall shine.

*Alarum. They fight a Combate,¹ The Moor is struck down,
which his side seeing, step all in and rescue him;
The rest joine and drive in the Moors. Alarum continuing,
Spaniards and Moors with drums and colours flye over the stage,²
persued by Philip,³ Cardinall, King of Portugall, And others.
Enter Zarack, Christofero, and Eleazar at severall doors.*

CHRISTOFERO. Where is my Lord?

ZARACK. Where is our Sovereign?

100 ELEAZAR. What news brings Zarack and
Christofero?

ZARACK. Oh flye my Lord! flye; for the day
is lost.

ELEAZAR. There are three hundred and odd^o *and a few*
days in a year,
And cannot we lose one of them, com fight.

CHRISTOFERO. The Lords have left us, and the
souldiers faint,
You are round beset^o with proud fierce *besieged*
enemies;

¹ *Combate* i.e. Combat.

² *colours* See note on 4.1.38.

³ *persued* i.e. pursued.

Death cannot be prevented but by flight!

ELEAZAR. He shall Christofero, I have yet left,

One stratagem that in despite of fate,
Shal turn the wheel of war about once more,¹

110 The Mother Queen hath all this while sate^o *sat*
sadly,

Within our tent, expecting to whose bosom,
White winged peace and victory will flie,

Her have I us'd^o as a fit property, *used*

To stop this dangerous current; her have I sent,
Arm'd with loves magick to inchant the
Cardinall;

And bind revenge down with resistlesse
charms.^o *irresistible spells*

By this time does she hang about his neck,

And by the witchcraft of a cunning kiss,

Has she disarm'd him, hark,^o they sound *listen*

Retreat.

120 She has prevail'd, a womans tongue and eye,
Are weapons stronger then Artillery.²

Exeunt.

¹ **in despite of fate, / Shal turn the wheel** See note on 1.2.32-33, 1.4.6-7 and 5.1.27.

² **her have I sent ... stronger then Artillery** The lines describe woman as a gendered Other, associating her with witchcraft and with the mythology of the female power to enchant or bewitch men. This image may remind the audience of the mermaid, or the mythological siren, "who sings sweetly, or who charms, allures, or deceives." Mermaid as, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, another way to refer to the prostitute, as in Thomas Dekker's play *Satiro-mastix* (1601) (*OED sb.* 3a).

Act. IV. Scena. IV.

*Enter Cardinall, Queen Mother. Souldiers, drums, and colours.*¹

QUEEN MOTHER. By all those sighs which

thou (like passionate tunes)

Hast often to my dull ears offered,

By all thy hopes to injoy my roial Bed;

By all those mourning lines which thou

hast sent,

Weeping in black to tell thy languishment:

By loves best richest treasure, which I swear,

I wil bestow, and which none else shal wear,

As the most prised Jewell, but thy selfe,

By that bright fire which flaming through

thine eyes;²

10 From thy love scorched bosom does arise.

I do conjure thee, let no churlish sound,

With wars lewd horror my desires confound;^o *destroy; confuse*

Dear, dear Mendoza, thus I do intreat,^o *entreat, plead*

That stil thou would'st continue this retreat;

I'le hang upon thee till I hear thee say,

Woman prevail; or chiding, cri'st^o away. *cry*

¹ **colours** See note on 4.1.38.

² **By all those sighs ... By that bright** The use of anaphora (as seen above, the repetition of the initial words of two or more sentences) in the oaths beginning with "By (all)...", suggests the Queen's attempt to stress the veracity of her words; perhaps, this is an (excessive) effort that might have been used by the author to imply her insincerity.

CARDINAL. Is there no trick in this, forg'd^o by *forged*
the *Moor*?

QUEEN MOTHER. I would the *Moors*

damnation were the ransom,

Of all that innocent blood, that has been shed

20 In this black day; I care not for the *Moor*,

Love to my kingdoms peace makes me put on

This habit of a suppliant; shall I speed?^o *succeed*

CARDINAL. You shall, were it to have my

bosom bleed:

I have no power to spare the Negroes head,

When I behold the wounds which his

black hand

Has given mine honour: but when I look on you,

I have no power to hate him, since your breath

Disolves my frozen heart, being spent for him;

In you my life must drown it self or swim,

30 You have prevail'd: Drum swiftly hence!

cal back¹

Our fierce pursuing troops, that run to catch

The lawrel^o wreath of conquest:² Let it stand *laurel*

A while untouch'd by any souldiers hand.

Exit drum.

¹ **your breath ... You have prevail'd** The Cardinal is also ruled by lust, adding to the general atmosphere of lasciviousness characterizing the personalities of most characters in the play.

² **The lawrel^o wreath of conquest** The laurel is a plant which foliage (wreath, garland or bough) has been historically considered a symbol of victory (*OED sb.*¹ 2a).

Away! stay you and guard us, where's
the *Moor*?

I'll lose what I have got, a victors prize,
Yielding my self a prisoner to your eyes.

QUEEN MOTHER. Mine eyes shall quickly
grant you liberty,

The *Moor* stays^o my return, I'll put on wings, *awaits*
And fetch him, to make peace belongs to Kings.

*As she goes out, Enter Eleazar, Zarack, Baltazar,
and souldiers well arm'd, at sight of each other all draw.*

40 CARDINAL. Souldiers call back the drum, wee
are betraid.

ELEAZAR. Moors stand upon your guard, avoid,
look back.

QUEEN MOTHER. What means this jealousy?

Mendoza, *Moor*,

Lay by your weapons, and imbrace,^o the sight *embrace*

Of this, and this, begets suspicion,

Eleazar by my birth, he coms in peace,

Mendoza by mine honour so coms he.

CARDINAL. Discharge these souldiers then.

ELEAZAR. And these.

*Souldiers stand aloof.*¹

¹ *aloof* i.e. at a distance.

CARDINAL. Away.

ELEAZAR. Go.

QUEEN MOTHER. Soul, rejoice to see this
glorious day.

*She joins them together, they imbrace.*¹

CARDINAL. Your virtues work this wonder: I
have met,

50 At her most dear command, whats your desires?

ELEAZAR. Peace and your honour'd arms: how
loathingly

I sounded the alarums,^o witsnesse heaven *alarm; call to arms*

'Twas not to strike your breast, but to let out,

The rank blood of ambition: That Philip

Makes you his ladder, and being climb'd

so high

As he may reach a diadem, there you lie.

He's base begotten, that's his mothers sin.

QUEEN MOTHER. God pardon it.

ELEAZAR. I,^o amen, but he's a bastard, *aye, yes*

And rather then^o I'le kneel to him, I'le saw *than*

60 My leggs off by the thighs, because I'le stand

In spite of reverence: he's a bastard, he's,

And to beat down his usurpation,

I have thrown about this thunder, but Mendoza,

The people hate him for his birth,

¹ **She joins them together, they imbrace** This might have been the closest the author could get to a symbolic reference to a sexual encounter involving three people.

He only leans on you, you are his pillar;
 You gon, he walks on crutches, or else falls;
 Then shrink from under him, are not they fools,
 That bearing others up themselvs seem low,
 Because they above sit high?¹ Why, you do so.

CARDINAL. 'Tis true.

70 QUEEN MOTHER. Behold this error with fixt eies.

CARDINAL. 'Tis true, well.

ELEAZAR. Oh! have you found it, have you smelt

The train of powder that must blow you up,
 Up into air, what air? why this, a breath,
 Look you, in this time may a King meet death;
 An eye to't,^o check it, check it. *to it*

CARDINAL. How?

ELEAZAR. How! thus:

Steal from the heat of that incestuous blood,²
 Where ravisht honor, and Philippo lies;
 Leave him, divide this huge and monstrous
 body
 Of armed Spanyards into limbs thus big;

80 Part man from man, send every souldier home,
 I'le do the like; Peace with an Olive branch
 Shall flie with Dove-like wings about all Spain:

¹ **are not they fools ... they above sit high?** Through these subversive words Eleazar justifies his ambitions by arguing that it is foolish to contribute to the greatness of others, who seem great simply because we sustain them.

² **Steal from the heat of that incestuous blood** Abandon that immoral ally.

The crown which I as a good husband keep,
 I will lay down upon the empty chair;
 Marry you the Queen and fill it, for my part
 These knees are yours, Sir.¹

CARDINAL. Is this sound?^o *true*

ELEAZAR. From my heart.

CARDINAL. If you prove false.

ELEAZAR. If I do, let fire fall —

CARDINAL. Amen.

ELEAZAR. [*Aside.*] Upon thy head, and so it shall.

CARDINAL. All of my self is yours; souldiers
 be gone.

ELEAZAR. And that way you.

CARDINAL. The rest I will divide:

The Lords shall be convented.

ELEAZAR. Good.

CARDINAL. Let's meet.

QUEEN MOTHER. Where.

ELEAZAR. Here anon,^o [*aside*] this is thy *at once*
 winding-sheet.^o *Exit Cardinal.* *shroud*

The Moor walks up and down musing.

QUEEN MOTHER. What shape will this
 prodigious womb bring forth,

¹ **These knees are yours** I will pay tribute to you.

Which groans with such strange labour.

ELEAZAR. Excellent.

QUEEN MOTHER. Why, Eleazar, art thou

wrap't with joyes,^o *joy*

Or does thy sinking policy^o make to shore. *cunning*

ELEAZAR. Ha!

QUEEN MOTHER. Eleazar, mad man! hear'st

thou *Moor*.

ELEAZAR. Well, so; you turn my brains, you

mar the face

Of my attempts i'th^o making: for this chaos, *in the*

100 This lump of projects, ere^o it be lick't over,^o *before / licked clean*

'Tis like a Bears conception; stratagems

Being but begot, and not got out, are like

Charg'd Cannons not discharg'd, they do no harm,

Nor good, true policy^o breeding in the brain *cunning*

Is like a bar of Iron, whose ribs being broken,

And softned in the fire, you then may forge it

Into a sword to kill, or to a helmet, to defend life:

'Tis therefore wit to try

All fashions, ere^o you apparel villany; *before*

110 But, but I ha suited him, fit, fit, Oh fit!¹

QUEEN MOTHER. How? prethee^o how? *please*

ELEAZAR. Why thus; yet no, let's hence,^o *depart*

[*Aside.*] My heart is nearest of my counsel, yet,

¹ **you apparel villany ... Oh fit!** cheating only shows its true face at the end, when –as in this case– it has been successful.

I scarce dare trust my heart with't, what I do,
 It shall look old, the hour wherein 'tis born,
 Wonders twice seen are garments over-worn.¹

Exeunt.

Act. IV. Scena. V.

*Enter Cardinal at one door, Philippo half arm'd, and two
 souldiers following him with the rest of the armour: the
 Cardinal seeing him, turns back again.*

PHILIP. Sirrah,² you Cardinal, coward, runaway:

So ho ho, what Cardinal.

CARDINAL. I am not for your lure. *Exit.*

PHILIP. For that then, Oh! that it had nail'd^o *nailed*
 thy heart
 Up to the pommel^o to the earth;³ come, arm^o me, *handle / fight*
 Ha! s'foot,^o ⁴ when all our swords were *Christ's foot*
 royally guilt^o with blood, *gilded, covered*
 When with red sweat that trickled from
 our wounds,
 Wee had dearly earn'd a victory! when hell

¹ **My heart is nearest ... garments over-worn** Eleazar asserts that to make explicit his plan (even to himself) may ruin it, as he needs it to take everybody by surprise.

² **Sirrah** See note on 4.3.5.

³ **Oh! that it had nail'd ... pommel to the earth** I wish I had nailed your heart to the ground by putting a sword through it up to the pommel.

⁴ **s'foot** See note on 1.4.15.

Had from their hinges heav'd^o off her *heaved*
iron gates

10 To bid the damn'd *Moor* and the divels enter;
Then to lose all, then to sound base retreat;
Why souldiers, hah!

1. SOULDIER. I am glad of it my Lord.

PHILIP. Hah! glad; art^o glad I am dishonored? *are you*
That thou and he dishonored.

1. SOULDIER. Why? my Lord;
I am glad, that you so cleanly did come off.

PHILIP. Thou hast a lean face, and a carrion^o *rotten; corrupt*
heart:¹

A plague² on him and thee too: then, s'heart^o ³ *God's heart*
then,

To crack the very hearts-strings of our Army,⁴
To quarter it in pieces, I could tear my hair,

20 And in cursing spend my soul,
Cardinal; what Judas! come, wee'l fight,
Till there be left but one, if I be hee,
I'le die a glorious death.

¹ **carrion heart** The term "carrion" was employed to describe rotting flesh, often contemptuously (*OED sb.* †4) or, especially in this context, to suggest material or "carnal," libidinous desire (*OED sb.* 3b).

² **A plague** See note on 4.2.28.

³ **s'heart** See note on 2.4.6.

⁴ **hearts-strings** A heartstring was considered "[a]ny cord-like structure attached to or believed to support the heart; ... the aorta and pulmonary artery and their large branches" (*OED sb.* 1); at the same time, "[t]his structure [was] viewed as the source of a person's most intense feelings or emotions, esp. of love or compassion" (*OED sb.* 2a).

1. SOULDIER. So will I, I hope in my bed.¹

2. SOULDIERS. Till there be but one left, my
Lord, why that's now; for all our fellows are
crawl'd home; some with one leg, some with
ne're^o an arm, some with their brains beaten
out, and glad they scap't^o so.

*not a single
escaped*

PHILIP. But my dear Countrymen, you'l stick
to me.

30 1. SOULDIER. Stick! I^o my Lord, stick like
Bandogs,² till wee be pull'd off.

aye; yes

PHILIP. That's nobly said, I'le lead you but
to death,

Where I'le have greatest share, we shall
win fame

For life, and that doth^o crown a souldiers name. *does*

1. SOULDIER. How! to death my Lord? not I
by gadsled:^o

God's lid

I have a poor wife and children at home, and if I
die they beg; and do you think I'le see her go up
and down the wide universal world.

PHILIP. For every drop of blood which thou
shalt lose,

Coward I'le give thy wife a wedge of gold.

¹ **I'le die a glorious death ... I hope in my bed** Interestingly, the play introduces the cynical view of soldiers (*cf.* Shakespeare's Falstaff), who disregard honour or military glory and expect to die peacefully in their beds.

² **Bandogs** A bandog was "[a] dog tied or chained up, either to guard a house, or on account of its ferocity; hence gen. a mastiff, bloodhound" (*OED sb. a*).

40 2. SOULDIERS. Hang him meacock,¹ my Lord,
arm your self, I'le fight for you, till I have not
an eye to see the fire in my touch-hole.²

PHILIP. Be thou a King's companion, thou and I
Will dare the Cardinal, and the *Moor* to fight,
In single combate, shall we? hah!

2. SOULDIERS. Agreed.

PHILIP. Wee'l beat 'em to hell gate,
shall we? hah!

50 2. SOULDIERS. Hell gate's somewhat^o too hot, *somewhat*
somewhat too hot; the Porter's a knave: I'd
be loath to be damn'd for my conscience; I'le
knock any bodies costard,^o so I knock not *head*
there, my Lord; hell gates!³

PHILIP. A pox⁴ upon such slaves.

1. SOULDIER. Hang him, a peasant, my Lord;
you see I am but a scrag,⁵ my Lord; my legs
are not of the biggest, nor the least, nor the
best that e're^o were stood upon, nor the worst, *before*
but they are of God's making; And for your
sake, if ever we put our enemies to flight

¹ **Hang him meacock** Hang him because he is a coward (effeminate; a weakling).

² **touch-hole** "small tubular hole in the breech of a firearm, through which the charge is ignited; the vent" (*OED sb. a*).

³ **I knock not there, my Lord; hell gates!** I will do almost everything, except go to hell.

⁴ **a pox** See note on 2.4.13.

⁵ **scrag** "A lean person or animal. (In depreciatory use.)" (*OED sb. 1*).

again, by Gad's^o lid if I run not after them like *God's*
 a Tiger, hoffer^o me.¹

PHILIP. But wilt thou stand to't e're^o they flye? *to it before*
 ha! wilt thou?

1. SOULDIER. Will I, quoth a?^o by this hand, *he said?*
 and the honour of a souldier.

60 PHILIP. And by a souldiers honour I will
 load thee
 With Spanish pistolets: to have this head,
 Thy face, and all thy body, stuck with scars,
 Why 'tis a sight more glorious, then to see
 A Lady hung with Diamonds: If thou lose
 A hand, I'le send this after, if an arm,
 I'le lend thee one of mine, com then lets fight.
 A mangled Lame true souldier is a jem,^o *gem*
 Worth Cesars Empire, though fools spurn
 at them.

70 1. SOULDIER. Yet my Lord I ha^o seen lame *have*
 souldiers, not worth the crutches they leant
 upon, hands and arms quotha?^o Zounds² not *he said?*
 I, I'le double my files,³ or stand centry,^o *in the centre*

¹ **hoffer** to hough, "to disable by cutting the sinew or tendons of the hough; to hamstring" (*OED v.*¹).

² **Zounds** See note on 2.5.20.

³ **double my files** A file is "The number of men constituting the depth from front to rear of a formation in line, etc." (*OED sb.*² II.7. *Mil.* a); hence, "to double the files" means "to put two files in one and so make the ranks smaller" (*OED sb.*² II.7. *Mil.* b).

so; But I'le be hang'd and quartred, before I'le
have my members cut off.¹

2. SOULDIERS. And I too, hold thee there.

PHILIP. Hold you both there, away you rogues,
you durt,^o *Beats 'em both in. dirt*
Thus do I tread upon you, out, begon!
One valiant is an host, fight then alone.²

Enter Cardinall, Alvero, Christofero, and Souldiers.

CARDINAL. Prince Philip.

PHILIP. For the Crown of Spain, come all.

CARDINAL. We come in love and peace.

PHILIP. But come in warr:

Bring naked swords, not lawrell^o boughs,³ *laurel*
in peace?

80 Plague⁴ on your rank peace, will you fight
and cry

Down with the *Moor*, and then I'm yours:

I'le dye,

I have a heart, two arms, a soul, a head,

¹ **I'le be hang'd ... my members cut off** Intended as a humorous comment.

² **One valiant is an host, fight then alone** Philip's attitude seems that of an excessively ardent and warlike person, to the point of acting like a cruel and reckless tyrant who disregards the welfare of his soldiers and subjects. This may be a stereotyped behaviour associated with the (political) Catholic Other, also meant to maintain the magnanimity of the English society and its rulers in opposition to those of the tyrannical Spaniards, who were characteristically portrayed as being obsessed with pride and honour.

³ **lawrell boughs** See note on 4.4.32.

⁴ **Plague** See note on 4.2.28.

I'le lay that down, I'le venture all; s'foot,^o ¹ all. *Christ's foot*

Come tread upon me, so that *Moor* may fal.

CARDINAL. By heaven that *Moor* shall fall.

PHILIP. Thy hand, and thine,

Flings down his weapons.

Give me but halfe your hearts,^o you have *courage, spirit*
all mine,

By heaven, shall he fall?

CARDINAL. Yes, upon thee

Like to the ruines of a tower, to grind

Thy body into dust, traitor, and bastard,

I do arrest thee of High treason.

90 PHILIP. Hah!

Traitor? and bastard? and by thee? my
weapons!

CARDINAL. Lay hands upon him.

PHILIP. I,^o you're best do so. *aye, yes*

CARDINAL. Alvero there's the warrant, to your
hands

The prisoner is committed, Lords lets part,

Look to him on your life.

Exeunt Cardinall &c.

Manent, Philip and Alvero.

¹ **s'foot** See note on 1.4.15.

PHILIP. Hart,° hart, hart, hart,¹ *Heart*

Tears the warrant.

The Devill, and his dam,° the *Moor*, and my *dame; lady*
Mother,

Their warrant? I will not obey, Old gray beard,
Thou shalt not bee my Jayler, there's no prison,
No dungeon deep enough, no grates so strong,

100 That can keep in a man so mad with wrong.

What do'st° thou weep? *do*

ALVERO. I would fain° shed a tear, *gladly*

But from mine eyes so many showers° are gon, *showers, tears*
Grief drinks my tears so fast, that here's not one,
You must to prison.

PHILIP. Do'st thou° speak to me? *Do you*

ALVERO. You must to prison.

PHILIP. And from thence to death;

I thought I should have had a tomb hung round,
With tottred colours,° broken spears, I thought *tattered flags*
My body should have fallen down, full
of wounds.

But one can kill an Emperor, fool then why

110 Would'st thou have many? curse, be mad,
and dye. *Exeunt.*

The end of the fourth Act.

¹ **Hart, hart, hart, hart** Be patient and brave; and resist.

Act. V. Scena. I.

Enter Roderigo, and Christofero; two bare-headed before them, Alvero, Cardinall alone, Zarack, and Baltazar bearing the Crown on a cushion, Eleazar next, Queen Mother after him, other Lords after her, Alvero sad, meets them.

CARDINAL. Alvero 'tis the pleasure of
the King,
Of the Queen Mother, and these honoured
States,^o *Dignities, Nobles*
To ease you of Philip, there's a warrant
Sent to remove him to a stronger guard.

ALVERO. I thank you, you shall rid me of
much care.

ELEAZAR. Sit down, and take your place!

ALVERO. If I might have the place I like best, it
should be my grave. *Sits down.*

*The Moors stand aside with the Crown,
Eleazar rising, takes it!*

ELEAZAR. Stand in voice, reach, away!¹

BOTH MOORS. Wee are gon. *Exeunt.*

ELEAZAR. Princes of Spain if in this
royall Court,

¹ **Stand in voice** Go away, but stay within voice's reach.

- 10 There sit a man, that having laid his hold,
 So fast on such a jewel, and dare wear it,
 In the contempt of envie as I dare,
 Yet uncompell'd (as freely as poor pilgrims,
 Bestow their praiera) would give such
 wealth away;
 Let such a man step forth; what, do none rise?
 No, no, for Kings indeed are deities.
 And who'd not (as the sun) in brightnesse
 shine?
 To be the greatest, is to be divine:
 Who among millions would not be
 the mightiest?
- 20 To sit in God-like state, to have all eyes,¹
 Dazled with admiration, and all tongues
 Showing lowd^o Praiera, to rob every heart *Shouting loud*
 Of love, to have the strength of every arm.
 A Sovereigns name, why 'tis a Sovereign
 charm.^o *magic; spell*
 This glory round about me hath thrown beams,
 I have stood upon the top of fortunes wheel,

¹ **Kings indeed are deities ... sit in God-like state** The figure of the ruling monarch has been traditionally considered in late Medieval Europe a figure appointed by God. However, while by the early seventeenth century in Protestant societies such as England the monarch was the head of the State and the Church, the Parliament already had a wide power over the king's actions, and it cannot be said that kings were sacred to the eyes of the English and other Europeans. Hence, the author may be linking the Catholic Spanish monarchy to the tyranny associated with the rulers of antiquity, where subjects were often subjugated and in awe of a semi-divine monarch.

And backward turn'd the Iron screw of fate,
 The destinies have spun a silken thread
 About my life,¹ yet Noble Spaniards see?

30 *Hoc tantum tanti*,² thus I cast aside

The shape of Majestie and on my knee,

*Kneels: the Cardinall fetches the Crown
 and sets it on the chair.*

To this Imperiall State lowly resigne,^o *humbly accept*

This usurpation, wiping off your fears,

Which stuck so hard upon me, let a hand,

A right, and royall hand take up this wreath,

And guard it, right is of it self most strong,

No kingdom got by cunning can stand long.

CARDINAL. Proceed to new election of a King.

ALL. Agreed.

ELEAZAR. Stay^o Peers of Spain, if young *Hold on*

Philippo,

¹ **I have stood ... About my life** See note on 1.2.32-33 and 1.4.6-7. In classical mythology, the Fates (Morai in Greek or Parcae in Latin), were the personification of human destiny (*Encyclopedia of World Religions* 348). They are typically represented as three (old) women who spin the thread that represents the life of each human being; they are in charge of providing the individuals with their shares of pain and misery, being also responsible of their death when they would cut the thread of a person's life (348-49). Cyrus Hoy suggests that there is:

A Marlovian echo; cf. 2 *Tamburlaine*, I.ii.174-175: 'I hold the Fates bound fast in yron chaines, / And with my hand turne Fortunes wheel about.' In Edward II (V.ii.53), the younger Mortimer boasts that he 'now makes Fortunes wheele turne as he please'. With the progression in the present passage from 'eyes, / Dazed with admiration' (lines 20-21) to the image of standing 'upon the top of fortunes wheel' and the reference to the 'silken thread' spun by the destinies (line 28), (94)

² ***Hoc tantum tanti*** Cyrus Hoy suggests that "*tanti*" could be used "as an expression of contempt" (93).

- 40 Be Philips son, then is he Philips heir,
 Then must his Royall name be set in gold,
 Philip is then the Diamond to that ring;
 But if he be a bastard, here's his seat,
 For basenesse has no gall,^o till it grow great. *spirit*
 First therefore let him blood, if he must bleed,
 Yet in what vein you strike him, best take heed:
 The Portugall's his friend, you saw he came
 At holding up a finger, arm'd; this peace
 Rid hence his dangerous friendship, he's
 at home,
- 50 But when he hears, that Philip is ty'd^o up, *tied*
 Yet hears not why, he'l catch occasions lock,^o *grip*
 And on that narrow bridg make shift to lead
 A scrambling army through the heart of Spain,
 Look to't^o being in, he'l hardly out again. *to it*
 Therefore first prove, and then proclaim
 him bastard.
- ALVERO. How shall we prove it?
- ELEAZAR. He that put him out to making,
 I am sure can tell, if not,
 Then she that shap'd him can, here's the
 Queen Mother
 Being prick'd^o in conscience, and preferring *pricked*
 Spain,
- 60 Before her own respect, will name the man,

If he be noble and a Spaniard born,¹ hee'l hide
 The apparent scarrs of their infamies
 With the white hand of marriage; that and time,
 Will eat the blemish off, say? shall it?

ALL. No.

CARDINAL. Spaniard or Moor, the saucy^o slave *lascivious*
 shall dye.²

HORTENZO. Death is too easie for such villany.

ELEAZAR. Spaniard or Moor, the saucy slave
 shall dye.

I would he might, I know my self am clear
 As is the new born Infant. Madam stand forth,

70 Be bold to speak, shame in the grave
 wants sence:^o ³ *cense*
 Heaven with sins greatest forfeits can dispence.⁴

QUEEN MOTHER. Would I were covered with
 the vail of night,
 You might not see red shame sit on my cheecke;
 But being Spains common safety stands
 for truth,
 Hiding my weeping eyes, I blush, and say;

¹ **noble and a Spaniard born** Eleazar seems to be cleverly using national exclusion to suggest the Cardinal's fault.

² **Spaniard or Moor, the saucy slave shall dye** With these words the author seems to envision a national fancy of Spanish/Moorish or Catholic/Muslim mutual destruction.

³ **shame in the grave wants sence** In a footnote of his 1931 edition of *Lust's Dominion* (in *Materials for the study of the Old English drama*, Vol. 5), John Le Gay Brereton suggests that the phrase means "you cannot, by speaking out, make the buried king feel his injuries" (Hoy 95).

⁴ **dispence** dispense; i.e. give indulgence.

Philippo's father sits here.

RODERIGO. Here? name him!

QUEEN MOTHER. The Lord Mendoza did
beget that son,

Oh! let not this dishonour further run!

ALVERO. What Cardinall Mendoza?

QUEEN MOTHER. Yes, yes, even hee.

80 ELEAZAR. Spaniard or Moor, the saucy slave
shall die.

CARDINAL. I Philips father?

Coms down, the rest talk.

QUEEN MOTHER. [*Aside to Cardinal.*] Nay!
deny me not!

Now may a kingdom and my love be got.

CARDINAL. Those eyes and tongue bewitch me,
shame lie here;

That love has sweetest tast that is bought dear.

CHRISTOFERO. What answers Lord Mendoza
to the Queen?

CARDINAL. I confesse guilty, Philip is my son,
Her Majestie hath nam'd the time and place.

ALVERO. To you, but not to us, go forward
Madam.

QUEEN MOTHER. Within the circle of twice
ten years since,

90 Your deceast King made warr in Barbarie,¹
 Won Tunis, conquered Fesse, and hand to hand,
 Slew great Abdela, King of Fesse,² and father
 To that Barbarian Prince.³

ELEAZAR. I was but young, but now methinks^o *it seems to me*
 I see my fathers wounds, poor Barbaria!
 No more.

QUEEN MOTHER. In absence of my Lord
 mourning his want,
 To me alone, being in my private walk,
 I think at Salamanca; I,^o 'twas there; *aye, yes*
 Enters Mendoza under shew of shrift,⁴
 100 Threatens my death if I deni'd his lust,
 In fine by force he won me to his will,
 I wept, and cri'd for help, but all in vain;
 Mendoza there abus'd the bed of Spain.

¹ **warr in Barbarie** The Battle of Ksar El Kebir, also known as Battle of Alcazar or Battle of Three Kings, fought in 1578. One faction of belligerents was constituted by Portugal (Sebastian I); the Papal States; Spanish volunteers (with the support of Philip II); Moorish allies of Abu Abdallah Mohammed II (Moroccan Sultan deposed by Abd Al-Malik) and other European mercenaries (such as the English Thomas Stukley). The second (winning) faction was composed by Saadi Morocco (Abd Al-Malik and Ahmad I al-Mansur) and the Ottoman Empire.

² **Abdela, King of Fesse** Muhammad al-Mutawakkil, also known as Abu Abdallah Mohammed II (?-1578), a Moroccan sultan who died at the Battle of Ksar El Kebir.

³ **Father / To that Barbarian Prince** Abu Abdallah Mohammed II was the father of Muley al-Shaykh, Muley Xequé, very likely represented in the play by Eleazar.

⁴ **under shew of shrift** under show of shrift; perhaps, suggesting that the Cardinal came to hear the confession of the Queen (Dilke 172). "Shrift," i.e. "the imposition of penance implying absolution," was occasionally used as a synonym of "absolution" (*OED sb.* Now *arch.* or *Hist.* 2). However, "under or in shrift" was said of someone in a state of penitence (*OED sb.* Now *arch.* or *Hist.* 5b †(a)).

ELEAZAR. Spaniard or Moor, that saucy slave
shall die.

ALVERO. Why did not you complain of this
vile act?

QUEEN MOTHER. Alas! I was alone, young,
full of fear;
Bashful, and doubtfull of my own defame;
Knowing King Philip rash and jealous,^o *jealous*
I hid his sins, thinking to hide my shame.

RODERIGO.¹ What says the Cardinall?

110 CARDINAL. Such a time there was;
‘Tis past, I’le make amends with marriage,
And satisfie with Trentalls,² dirges,³ praiers,
The offended spirit of the wronged King.

¹ **RODERIGO.** Horten. D. Fredson Bowers notes that D assigns this speech to Hortenzo. The whole question turns on when Hortenzo enters. Between lines 162. and 163 is the direction for Isabella’s entrance followed by a full stop and then the name ‘Hortenzo.’ Ordinarily one would take this as representing the entrance of Hortenzo with Isabella, the future husband and consort perhaps a little behind Isabella in her royal robes. Otherwise, we should need to take the placing of Hortenzo’s name in this direction as indicating that he has been among the group of lords interrogating the Cardinal, and on Isabella’s entrance that he detaches himself and comes forward ‘to her’. This is to strain the direction. Since Roderigo is concerned with the questioning in line 130, he is an appropriate character to speak line no. See the Textual Introduction for a query whether Verdugo may not have been the original speaker. (n. 110, 219)

² **Trentalls** A trental is a “set of thirty requiem masses, said on the same day or on different days” (*OED sb.* 1a).

³ **dirges** A dirge is defined as follows: “In the Latin rite: The first word of the antiphon at Matins in the Office of the Dead, used as a name for that service; sometimes extended to include the Evensong (*Placebo*), or, ... the Mass (*Requiem*)” (*OED sb.* 1) or as a “song sung at the burial of, or in commemoration of, the dead; a song of mourning or lament” (*OED sb.* 2).

Queen and they talk.

ELEAZAR. Spaniard or Moor, that saucy slave

shall die;

[*Aside to Cardinal.*] Oh! 'twould^o seem best, it *it would*

should be thus Mendoza:

She to accuse, I urge, and both conclude,

Your marriage like a comick^o interlude.¹ *comic*

Lords will you hear this hatefull sin confest?^o *confessed*

And not impose upon the ravisher death,

120 The due punishment, oh! it must be so.

ALVERO. What does the Queen desire?

QUEEN MOTHER. Justice, revenge,

On vile Mendoza for my ravishment:

I kiss the cold earth with my humbl'd knees,

From whence^o I will not rise, till some *from where*

just hand,

Cast to the ground the Traitor Cardinall.

ALL. Stand forth Mendoza.

ELEAZAR. Swells your heart so high?

Down Lecher; if you wil not stand, then lie.

CARDINAL. You have betrai'd me, by my

too much trust,

I never did this deed of Rape and Lust.

¹ **comick interlude** An interlude is “[a] dramatic or mimic representation, usually of a light or humorous character, such as was commonly introduced between the acts of the long mystery-plays or moralities, or exhibited as part of an elaborate entertainment; hence (in ordinary 17-18th c. use) a stage-play, esp. of a popular nature, a comedy, a farce” (*OED sb.* 1a).

RODERIGO. Your tongue confest it.

130 CARDINAL. True, I was intic'd.^o *enticed, seduced*

ELEAZAR. Intic'd? do you beleeeve that?

QUEEN MOTHER. Justice Lords! sentence
the Cardinall for
His hatefull sin.

ALVERO. We will assemble all the States^o *Dignities, Nobles*
of Spain,

And as they Judge, so Justice shall be done.

ELEAZAR. A guard! to prison with the
Cardinall.

Enter Zarack, Baltazar and others.

CARDINAL. Dam'd^o slave my tongue shall *Damned*
go at liberty

To curse thee, ban^o that strumpet;^o Doggs *curse / prostitute*
keep off.

ELEAZAR. Hist,¹ hist, on, on.

QUEEN MOTHER. I cannot brook^o his sight. *bear, stand*

ALVERO. You must to prison, and bee patient.

140 CARDINAL. Weep'st thou Alvero? all struck
dumb?^o my fears, *speechless*

Are that those drops will change to
bloody teares.

¹ **Hist** Term "used to incite, urge or summon; also used to attract attention, enjoin silence, or call on a person to listen" (*OED int. and sb. 1*).

This woman, and this Serpent.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. Drag him hence.

CARDINAL. Who dares lay hands upon me,

Lords of Spain

Let your swords bail me, this false Queen

did lye,

ELEAZAR. Spaniard or Moor, the saucy slave

shall die.

CARDINAL. I'll fight with thee, damn'd

hell-hound² for my life.

ELEAZAR. Spaniard or Moor, the saucy slave

shall die.

CARDINAL. I'll prove upon thy head.

ELEAZAR. The slave shall die.

CARDINAL. Lords stop this villains throat.^o

voice; speech

ELEAZAR. Shal die, shall die.

CARDINAL. Hear me but speak.

ELEAZAR. Away.

150 ALVERO. Words are ill spent,

Where wrong sits Judg, you'r arm'd

if innocent.³

¹ **this Serpent** i.e., Eleazar.

² **hell-hound** "A hound or dog of hell; a demon in the form of a dog; (Classical Mythol.) Cerberus, the watchdog of Hades" (*OED sb.* 1). See note on 3.6.21.

³ **Where wrong sits Judg, you'r arm'd if innocent** The implication may be that if the cardinal is innocent, the truth will out; or, the other way round, Alvero may suggest that even if you are innocent, if the Judge is unfair, you will be abused.

CARDINAL. Well then, I must to prison: *Moor*,
no more:

Heavens thou art just, Prince Philip I betraid,
And now my self fall: Guile with guile is paid.

Exit [with Zarack, Baltazar, and others].

QUEEN MOTHER. Philip being prov'd a
bastard; who shall sit
Upon this empty throne?

ELEAZAR. Strumpet,^o not you.

Prostitute

QUEEN MOTHER. Strumpet! and I not sit
there! who then?

[The Queen tries to sit on the throne.]

ELEAZAR. Down;

Back; if she touch it shee'l bewitch the chair;
This throne belongs to Isabel the fair,

160 Bring forth the Princes^o drest^o in royal robes,

Princess / dressed

The true affecter of Alvero's son,¹

Virtuous Hortenzo. Lords, behold your Queen.

¹ **Affecter** i.e. a lover; also used to describe a person who is fond of someone (*OED sb. †1*).

Act. V. Scena. II.

Enter Isabella led in, in royal robes. Hortenzo.

QUEEN MOTHER. Thou villain! what intendst
thou, savage slave?¹

ELEAZAR. To advance virtue thus, and thus
to tread

On lust, on murther,^o on adulteries head. *murder*

Look Lords upon your Sovereign Isabel,
Though all may doubt the fruits of such
a Womb,

Is she not like King Philip? let her rule.

QUEEN MOTHER. She rule?

ELEAZAR. She rule? I^o shee. *aye, yes*

QUEEN MOTHER. A child to sway^o an empire? *rule, govern*

I am her Protectress;²

10 I'll pour black curses on thy damned head,
If thou wrongst me. Lords, Lords!

ELEAZAR. Princes of Spain,

Be deaf, be blind, hear not, behold her not,

She kill'd my virtuous wife.

QUEEN MOTHER. He kill'd your King.

¹ **savage slave** Once again, Eleazar is associated with sub-Saharan African slaves.

² **Protectress** A protector, or protectress (*fem.*), was "A person having charge of the kingdom during the minority, absence, or incapacity of the sovereign; a regent" (*OED sb. 2 Eng. Hist. a*).

ELEAZAR. 'Twas in my just wrath.

QUEEN MOTHER. 'Twas to get his Crown.

ELEAZAR. His Crown! why here 'tis: thou

slewst^o my Maria, *slew*

To have accesse to my unstained bed.

QUEEN MOTHER. Oh heaven!

ELEAZAR. 'Tis true, how often have I stopt^o *stopped*

Thy unchast songs from passing through
mine ears?

20 How oft, when thy luxurious arms have twin'd^o *entwined; encircled*

About my jetty neck, have I cry'd out

Away, those scalding veins burn me 'tis true.

QUEEN MOTHER. Divel, 'tis a lie.

ELEAZAR. Thou slewst my sweet Maria;

Alvero, 'twas thy daughter, 'twas: Hortenzo,

She was thy sister; Justice Isabella!

This Serpent poison'd thy dear fathers bed,

Setting large horns on his Imperial head.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. Hear me.

ELEAZAR. Hah! why?

ALVERO. Madam you shall be heard,

Before the Courts, before the Courts of Spain.

30 ELEAZAR. A guard, a guard.

Enter two Moors [Zarack and Baltazar], and others.

¹ **Setting large horns on his Imperial head** to cuckold, i.e. to be unfaithful to the King.

QUEEN MOTHER. A guard; for what?

for whom?

HORTENZO. To wait on° you,

take care of

So many great sins must not wait with few.

QUEEN MOTHER. Keep me in prison! dare

you Lords?

ALVERO. Oh no!

Were your cause strong, we would not

arm° you so;

fight, confront

But honor fainting° needeth many hands,

weakened

Kingdoms stand safe, when mischief lies

in bands:°

bonds; shackles

You must to prison.¹

Exeunt.

QUEEN MOTHER. Must I? must I, slave!

I'le dam thee, ere° thou triumph'st o're°

before / over

my grave.

Exit with a guard.

Act. V. Scena. III.

Manet Eleazar.

ELEAZAR. Do, do! my jocund spleen;

merry heart

It does, it will, it shall, I have at one throw,

¹ **Were your cause strong ... You must to prison** Alvero is justifying their actions by explaining that, since the Queen Mother's innocence cannot be proved (at the moment) and because the realm appears to be in danger of an imminent revolt, they are forced to imprison her.

Rifled away¹ the Diademe of Spain;
 'Tis gone, and there's no more to set but this
 At all, then at this last cast I'll sweep up
 My former petty losses, or lose all.
 Like to a desperate Gamester;° hah! how? fast? *Gambler*

Enter Zarack.

ZARACK. Except their bodies turn to airy spirits,
 And fly through windows, they are fast° *fasten*
 my Lord:
 10 If they can eat through locks and bars of Iron,²
 They may escape, if not? then not.
 ELEAZAR. Ho! Zarack!
 Wit is a thief, there's pick-lock° policie,° *thief / cunning*
 To whom all doors flye° open: therefore go, *throw*
 In our name charge° the Keeper to resign *order*
 His office; and if he have tricks of cruelty,
 Let him bequeath 'em at his death, for kill him;
 Turn all thy body into eyes,
 And watch them, let those eyes like
 fiery comets³
 20 Sparkle out nothing but the death of Kings.

¹ **Rifled away** Offered as a prize in a raffle (*OED* v.² 2).

² **If they can eat through locks and bars of Iron** If they can make the locks and bars disappear.

³ **charge the Keeper to resign ... And watch them** Eleazar does not trust the jailor, and orders Zarack to watch the prisoners himself.

And — ah! now thus thou know'st I did invent,
A torturing Iron chain.

ZARACK. Oh! for necks my Lord.

ELEAZAR. I° that, that, that, away and yoa^{o1} *aye, yes / restrain*
them, stay,^o *steady*

Enter Baltazar.

Here's Baltazar, go both, teach them to preach,
Through an Iron Pillory:² I'll spread a net,
To catch Alvero, oh! he is old and wise,
They are unfit to live, that have sharp eyes,
Hortenzo, Roderigo, to't,^o to't all: *to it*

30 They have supple knees, sleek'd brows, but
hearts of gall:³

The bitterness shall be wash'd off with blood,
Tyrants swim safest in a crimson flood.

BALTAZAR. I com to tel your grace
that Isabella,
Is with Hortenzo arm in arm at hand,

¹ **yoak** A device used from antiquity to immobilize the neck of a prisoner and “usually consisting of a somewhat curved or hollowed piece of wood fitted with ‘bows’ or hoops at the ends which are passed round the person’s neck, and having a ring or hook attached to the middle to which is fastened a chain or trace extending backward by which the plough or vehicle is drawn” (*OED sb.*¹ I.1a).

² **Pillory** “A device for punishment, usually consisting of a wooden framework mounted on a post, with holes or rings for trapping the head and hands, in which an offender was confined so as to be subjected to public ridicule, abuse, assault, etc.; punishment of this kind” (*OED sb.* 1).

³ **gall** See note on 1.4.5.

Zarack and I may kill them, now with ease,
Is't done, and then 'tis done.

ZARACK. Murther^o thou the man, *Murder*
And I'le stab her.

ELEAZAR. No, I'le speed^o her my selfe, *deal with; kill*
40 Arm in arm, so, so, look upon this Ring,
Who ever brings this token to your hands
Regard not for what purpose, seiz on them,
And chain them to the rest, they com, away,
Murder be proud, and Tragedy laugh on,
I'le seek a stage for thee to jett^o upon.¹ *strut*

[*Exit Zarack and Baltazar.*]

Enter Isabella, Hortenzo, seeing the Moor turn back.

ELEAZAR. My Lord! my Lord Hortenzo.

HORTENZO. Hah! is't you,
Trust me I saw you not.

ELEAZAR. What makes your grace so sad?

50 HORTENZO. She grievs for the imprisoned
Queen her Mother,
And for Philip, in the sandy heap,

¹ **Murder be proud ... I'le seek a stage for thee to jett upon** I will look for a stage (or podium) for you (Murder and Tragedy) to stand proudly upon and direct, or enjoy of the view of, my deeds. Following an early modern theatrical convention, characters may change from prose to verse when an especially relevant idea wants to be emphasized.

That wait upon an hour,¹ there are not found
 So many little bodies as those sighs
 And tears, which she hath every Minute spent,
 Since her lov'd Brother felt Imprisonment.

ELEAZAR. Pity, great pity, would it lay in mee,
 To give him liberty.²

ISABELLA. It does.

ELEAZAR. In me?

60 Free him, your Mother Queen, and
 Cardinal too.

In me? alas! not me, no, no, in you;
 Yet for I'le have my conscience, white
 and pure,³

Here Madam take this Ring, and if my name
 Can break down Castle walls, and open Gates,
 Take it, and do't,^o fetch them all forth: and yet, *do it or that*
 'Tis unfit you should go.

HORTENZO. That happy office^o I'le execute *task*
 My selfe.

¹ **Philip, in the sandy heap, / That wait upon an hour** This complex metaphor may have multiple simultaneous meanings. In a first level of signification, it refers directly to the floor of the prison, covered with sand, where Philip is waiting. Second, it may be a reference to an hourglass, especially because Philip is awaiting his liberation or execution. Finally, it could be a reference to the frail foundations of his aspirations to the throne, because of his alleged illegitimacy; hence, he is trapped in a "sandbank," where he ran aground like a boat.

I would like to give special thanks to professors John Drakakis and Ali Zaidi who helped me with the interpretation of this passage.

² **Pity, great pity, ... give him liberty** It is a shame, I wish I could set him free.

³ **my conscience, white and pure** Purity is associated with whiteness. In this case, a contrast with Eleazar's blackness is obviously intended.

- ELEAZAR. Will you? would I,
 70 Stood gracious in their sight: well, go,
 Do what you will Hortenzo, if this charm^o *magic; spell*
 Unbinds them, here 'tis; Lady, you and I
 Aloof^o will follow him, and when we meet, *From afar*
 Speak for me,^o for I'le kisse Philippo's feet. *on my behalf*
- HORTENZO. I shall be proud to see all
 reconcil'd. *Exit [Hortenzo].*
- ELEAZAR. Alas! my Lord, why true, go, go.
- ISABELLA. Make hast dear love.
- ELEAZAR. Hortenzo is a man
 Compos'd of sweet proportion, ha's a foot,
 80 A leg, a hand, a face, an eye, a wit,
 The best Hortenzo in the Spanish Court.
 Oh! he's the Nonpareil.^o *The best*
- ISABELLA. Your tongue had wont,
 To be more sparing in Hortenzo's praise.
- ELEAZAR. I,^o I may curse his praises, *aye, yes*
 rather ban^o *curse*
 Mine own nativity, why did this colour,
 Dart^o in my flesh so far? Oh! would my face, *Pierce*
 Were of Hortenzo's fashion, else would yours
 Were as black as mine is.¹
- 90 ISABELLA. Mine like yours, why?
 ELEAZAR. Hark!^o *Listen*

¹ **Oh! would my face ... as black as mine is** The implication is that inter-ethnic love is forbidden.

I love you, yes faith, I said this, I love you,
I do, leave him.

ISABELLA. Damnation vanish from me.

ELEAZAR. Coy? were you as hard as flint, Oh!
you shou'd yield
Like softned wax, were you as pure as fire,
I'le touch you, yes, I'le taint you, see you this,
I'le bring you to this lure.

ISABELLA. If I want hands

100 To kill my self, before thou do'st it; do.

ELEAZAR. I'le cut away your hands: well,
my desire
Is raging as the Sea, and mad as fire,
Will you?

ISABELLA. Torment me not good Devill.

ELEAZAR. Will you?

ISABELLA. I'le tear mine eyes out if they
tempt thy lust;

ELEAZAR. Do.

ISABELLA. Touch me not, these knives —

ELEAZAR. I, I,° kill your selfe, *aye, yes*

110 Because I jest with you: I wrong Hortenzo?
Settle your thoughts, 'twas but a trick to try,
That which few women have, true constancy.

ISABELLA. If then my speches tast of gall —¹

¹ **If then my speches tast of gall** If my words sound bitter. See note on 1.4.5.

ELEAZAR. Nay faith,^o *I swear*

You are not bitter, no, you should have rail'd,
Have spit upon me, spurn'd me, you are
not bitter;

Why do you think that I'd^o nurse a thought, *I would*

To hurt your honour? If that thought had brains,
I'de beat them out, but come, by this, Hortenzo

120 Is fast.¹

ISABELLA. Hah! fast?

ELEAZAR. I^o fast in Philip's arms. *aye, yes*

Wrestling together for the price^o of love; *prize*

By this, they're on the way, I'le be your guard,

Come follow me, I'le lead you in the van,^o *in front*

Where thou shalt see four chins upon one chain.

Exeunt.

Act. V. Scena. IV.

*Enter Hortenzo, Queen Mother, Cardinall, and Philip chain'd by the
necks, Zarack, and Baltazar busie about fastning Hortenzo.²*

HORTENZO. You damned Ministers of villany,

Sworn to damnation by the book of hell;

You maps of night, you element of Devills,

¹ **Hortenzo / Is fast** A pun may be intended: he "is fast" (bound, imprisoned) although he pretends he means "in the arms of Philip."

² *fastning* i.e. fastening.

Why do you yoak¹ my neck with Iron chains?

BALTAZAR. Many do borrow chains, but you
have this

Gratis, for nothing.²

CARDINAL. Slaves unbind us.

BOTH MOORS. No — *Exeunt two Moors.*

PHILIP. I am impatient, veins why crack
you not?

10 And tilt^o your blood into the face of heaven, *pour*
To make red clouds like Ensignes^o in the sky, *Signals*
Displaying a damn'd tyrants cruelty;
Yet can I laugh in my extreamest pangs,
Of blood, and spirit, to see the Cardinall,
Keep ranck with me,³ and my vile
Mother Queen,
To see her self, where she would have mee seen.
Good fellowship I'faith.

HORTENZO. And I can tell,

True misery, loves a companion wel.

PHILIP. Thou left'st me to the mercy of a *Moor*,

20 That hath damnation dy'd upon his flesh;⁴
'Twas well: thou Mother did'st unmotherly

¹ **yoak** See note on 5.3.24.

² **Many do borrow chains, ... for nothing** A possible pun on two meanings of "chains" as ensigns of office or ornament, plus the standard meaning.

³ **Keep ranck** i.e. Keep rank; Stay in line; Maintain solidarity.

⁴ **a Moor, / damnation dy'd upon his flesh** Blackness is considered an indelible "mark" of heathenism; and hence, an innate feature of the "racial" Other.

Betray thy true son to false bastardy:
 Thou left'st me then, now thou art found;
 and staid,
 And thou who did'st betray me, art betraid.
 A plague upon you all.¹

CARDINAL. Thou cursest them,
 Whom I may curse; first may I curse my self,
 Too credulous of Loyalty and love;
 Next may I curse the *Moor*, more then a Devill.
 And last thy Mother, mother of all evill.

30 QUEEN MOTHER. All curses, and all crosses
 light on thee,
 What need I curse my selfe, when all curse mee.
 I have been deadly impious I confesse,
 Forgive mee, and my sin will seem the less:
 This heavie chain which now my neck assaults,
 Weighs ten times lighter then my heavie faults.

PHILIP. Hortenzo, I commend my self to thee,
 Thou that art near'st, stand'st furthest off from
 mee.

HORTENZO. That mold of Hell, that *Moor* has
 chain'd me here.
 'Tis not my self, but Isabel I fear.

¹ A plague See note on 4.2.28.

Act. V. Scena. V.

Enter Eleazar, [Isabella,] Zarack, and Baltazar.

ELEAZAR. It's strange! will not Prince Philip
come with Hortenzo.

ZARACK. He swears he'll live and die there.

ELEAZAR. Marry, and shall;

I pray perswade him you, to leave the place,
A prison? why its hell; Alas here they be,
Hah! they are they i' faith, see, see, see, see.

ALL. *Moor, Devill, toad, serpent.*¹

ELEAZAR. Oh sweet airs, sweet voices.

ISABELLA. Oh my Hortenzo!

10 ELEAZAR. Do not these birds sing

sweetly Isabella?

Oh! how their spirits would leap aloft
and spring,

Had they their throats at liberty to sing.

PHILIP. Damnation dog thee.

¹ **Moor, Devill, toad, serpent** Ugliness is associated with blackness. The adjective "toady" is often used to describe individuals who are considered repulsive. Interestingly, in Shakespeare's *Othello* (1603) similar animals (toads and snakes) are employed in the context of Othello's tortured psyche.

CARDINAL. Furies follow thee.¹

QUEEN MOTHER. Cornetts confound^o thee.² *bring to perdition*

HORTENZO. And hell swallow thee.

ELEAZAR. Sweeter and sweeter

still, Oh! harmony,

Why there's no musick like to miserie.³

ISABELLA. Hast thou betrai'd me thus?

20 ELEAZAR. Not I, not I.

PHILIP. Sirrah,⁴ hedge-hog.⁵

ELEAZAR. Hah! I'le hear thee presently.

ISABELLA. Hear me then, Hell-hound;⁶ slaves,

Unchain my love,

Or by — —

ELEAZAR. By what? is't not rare walking here.

¹ **Furies** The Furies or Erinyes were mythological “avenging spirits who exacted terrible but just retribution against people who committed murder and other grave crimes, especially within the family” (Hard 38).

² **Cornetts confound thee** In ancient times, a cornet was a wind-instrument similar to a horn or a trumpet. Perhaps, this refers to the Seven trumpets of the Apocalypse.

³ **Why there's no musick like to miserie** In the early modern period music was considered to be closely connected with harmony and order (Drakakis. Introduction. *The Merchant* 26, 107, 109, 156). In Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596) we read:

The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils;
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus.

Let no such man be trusted. Mark the music. (5.1.83-88)

⁴ **Sirrah** See note on 4.3.5.

⁵ **hedge-hog** A common early modern insult. Cyrus Hoy explains that: “The hedgehog was regarded as a noxious animal not merely because it was prickly, but because it was supposed to steal the milk from reclining cows” (96).

⁶ **Hell-hound** See note on 5.1.146.

- Me thinks^o this stage shews^o like *It seems to me / looks*
 a Tennis Court;
- Do's it not^o Isabell? I'le shew^o thee how: *Does not it / show*
 Suppose that Iron chain to be the line,
 The prison doors the hazard,¹ and their heads
 Scarce peeping ore^o the line suppose the bals; *over*
- 30 Had I a racket now of burnish'd^o steel, *polished; shining*
 How smoothly could I bandy every ball,²
 Over this Globe of earth, win sett and all.
- PHILIP. How brisk the villain jetts^o in villany! *swaggers*
- ELEAZAR. Prating? he's proud because he
 wears a chain:
 Take it off Baltazar, and take him hence.
They unbind him.
- PHILIP. And whither^o then you dog? *where*
- ISABELLA. Pity my brother.
- ELEAZAR. Pity him, no; away; I,^o come, *aye, yes*
 do, come.³
- PHILIP. I pray thee kill me: come.
- 40 ELEAZAR. I hope to see
 Thy own hands do that office,^o down *task*
 with him.¹

¹ **hazard** "Each of the winning openings in a tennis-court" (*OED sb.* A.6).

² **bandy** i.e. throw or strike to and fro; toss from side to side.

³ **I, come, do, come** These words could be attributed to Philip rather than to Eleazar, perhaps as an introduction to Philips' next line: "I pray thee kill me: come" (Bowers 220). However, Bowers suggests that "[a]lthough Philip often speaks in just such a series of ejaculations, so does Eleazar, and it is not inappropriate here for him to be impatient with Philip, who is resisting Zarack and Baltazar's efforts to remove him" (220).

PHILIP. Is there another hell?

BOTH MOORS. Try, try, he's gone.

[*Thrust him down trap.*]²

ELEAZAR. So him next, her next, and next

him; and then?

ALL. Worse then damnation, feind,^o monster *fiend*
of men.

ELEAZAR. Why, when?³ down, down.

CARDINAL. Slave, as thou thrusts me down,
Into this dungeon, so sink thou to hell.

[*Down Cardinal.*]

QUEEN MOTHER. Amen, Amen.

[*Down Queen Mother.*]

50 ELEAZAR. Together so, and you.

ISABELLA. O pity my Hortenzo!

HORTENZO. Farewel sweet Isabel, my
life adieu. [*Down Hortenzo.*]

ALL. [*Under stage.*]⁴ Mischief and horror let the
Moor pursue.

ELEAZAR. A consort,^o that amain, play *ensemble*
that amain.^o [*They keep on complaining.*] *with one accord*

¹ **down with him** Eleazar orders Zarack and Baltazar to imprison Philip, probably by thrusting him down a trap on the stage, which symbolized the jail.

² [*Thrust him down trap.*] Probably, in this moment, Zarack and Baltazar thrust Philip down the trap, which symbolize the palace's jail. Later, they will thrust the Cardinal, the Queen Mother, and finally, Hortenzo.

³ **when?** Expression of impatience.

⁴ [*Under stage.*] The imprisoned courtiers are probably yelling from under the stage, symbolizing their jail.

Amain, Amain. [*They stop.*] No; so soon
fallen asleep,¹

Nay I'le not loose this musick, sirrah! sirrah!²

Take thou a drum, a Trumpet thou, and Hark;^o *listen*

Mad them with villanous sounds.

ZARACK. Rare sport,^o let's go. *amusement*

Exeunt Zarack, Baltazar.

60 ELEAZAR. About it. Musick will doe well,
in woe;

How like you this?

ISABELLA. Set my Hortenzo free,

And I'le like any thing.

ELEAZAR. A fool, a fool!

Hortenzo free, why look you, hee free? no;

Then must he marry you, you must be Queen,

Hee in a manner King, these dignities

Like poyson make men swell,

this Ratsbane^o honour *Rat poison*

O 'tis so sweet, they'le lick it till all burst.

70 Hee will be proud, and pride you know
must fall.³

¹ **A consort, ... fallen asleep** The prisoners' cries are like an ensemble of musicians to me, who play with one accord; keep playing as one man! No! Why do you stop so soon?

² **sirrah** See note on 4.3.5.

³ **pride you know must fall** Biblical saying avowing that those who are excessively proud will become overconfident and hence, inevitably an oversight will eventually cause their capitulation.

Come, come, he shall not; no, no; 'tis
 more meet,
 To keep him down, safe standing on his feet.

ISABELLA. Eleazar?

ELEAZAR. Mark:^o the imperial chair of Spain, *Observe*
 Is now as empty as a Misers Alms;¹
 Be wise, I yet dare sit in't, it's for you,
 If you will be for me, there's room for two.
 Do meditate, muse on't:^o it's best for thee *about it*
 To love me, live with me, and lye with me.²

80 ISABELLA. Thou knowst I'le first lye in the
 arms of death,
 My meditations are how to revenge,
 Thy bloody tyrannies; I fear thee not
 Inhumane slave, but to thy face defie
 Thy lust, thy love, thy barbarours villany.

ELEAZAR. Zarack.

Enter Zarack.

ZARACK. My Lord!

ELEAZAR. Where's^o Baltazar? *Where is*

¹ **Misers Alms** i.e. a mite box or alms box; a container where items or money for charity were deposited.

² **To love me, live with me, and lye with me** The line suggests that, whereas seizing the throne is Eleazar's main purpose (and for this he needs Isabella), he would also like to satisfy his concupiscence with the princess, presenting a multifaceted lustful attitude often associated with national and "racial" strangers.

ZARACK. A drumming.¹

ELEAZAR. I have made them rave, and

curse, and

90 So: guard her:²

Your Court shall be this prison, guard

her, slaves,

With open eyes; defie me? see my veins,

Struck't^o out, being over heated with *Stretched*

my blood,

Boyling in wrath: I'le tame you.

ISABELLA. Do, do.

ELEAZAR. Hah!

I wil, and once more fil a kingdoms Throne.

Spain I'le new-mould thee, I will have a chair

Made all of dead mens bones, and the ascents^o *steps*

100 Shall be the heads of Spaniards set in ranks;

I will have Philip's head, Hortenzo's head,

Mendoza's head, thy Mothers head, and this,

This head that is so crosse, I'le have't:

The Scene wants Actors, I'le fetch more,

and cloth it

¹ A **drumming** Baltazar is playing the drums (to "Mad them [the prisoners] with villanous sounds," as Eleazar ordered him to do in lines 57-58).

² **I have... curse, and / So: guard her** Fredson Bowers notes that:

D mislines here: 'Elea. I have ... and / So: guard her:'. This may have tempted [John Le Gay] Brereton, who suggests that 'I have ... and' should be assigned to Zarack, with Eleazar cutting him short with 'So'. But there is nothing uncharacteristic here in Eleazar's description of what he has made his prisoners feel by reason of his orders. (Bowers 220)

In rich Cothurnall¹ pompe. A Tragedy
 Ought to be grave, graves this shall beautifie.²
 Moor, execute to'th^o life my dread^o commands, *to the / dreadful*
 Vengeance awake, thou hast much work in hand.

Exit.

ZARACK. I'm weary of this office, and this life,
 110 It is too thirsty,³ and I would your blood,
 Might scape^o the spilling out: By heaven *escape*
 I swear,
 I scorn these blows, and his rebukes to bear.

ISABELLA. Oh! Zarack pity me, I love
 thee well,
 Love deserves pity, pity Isabel.

ZARACK. What would you have me do?

ISABELLA. To kill this *Moor*.

ZARACK. I'le cast an eye of death upon
 my face.
 I'le be no more his slave, swear to advance me;
 And by yo'n^o setting sun, this hand, and this *that*
 120 Shall rid you of a tyrant.

ISABELLA. By my birth;
 No Spaniards honour'd place shall equall thine.

¹ **Cothurnal** Associated with the cothurnus; i.e. "characteristic of tragedy, or of a tragic and elevated style" (*OED sb. b*). According to Cyrus Hoy, it was "the buskin, worn by tragic actors on the classical stage" (97).

² **The Scene wants Actors ... graves this shall beautifie** Metatheatrical reference suggesting that life is like a play, or rather, a tragedy.

³ **It is too thirsty** Too blood-thirsty; that is, it requires constant manslaughter, of which Zarack seems to be tired.

ZARACK. I'll kill him then.

ISABELLA. And Baltazar.

ZARACK. And hee,¹

ISABELLA. I pray thee first, fetch Philippo
and Hortenzo

Out of that Hell; they two will be most glad
To ayd thee; in this Execution;

ZARACK. My Lord Philippo; and Hortenzo; rise;
[*Up Philip and Hortenzo.*]²

130 Your hands; so, talk to her; at my return
This sword shall reek with blood of Baltazar.
Exit.

PHILIP. Three curses (like three comendations
To their three soules) I send; thy tortur'd brother
Does curse the Cardinall, the *Moor*, thy Mother.

ISABELLA. Curse not at all dear soules;
revenge is hot,
And boyles in Zaracks brains; the plot is cast,
Into the mold of Hell: You freemen are;
Zarack will kill the *Moor*; and Baltazar.

HORTENZO. How can that relish?^o *happen*

140 ISABELLA. Why? I'll tell you how!
I did profess; I,^o and protested too,³ *aye, yes*

¹ **Shall rid you of a tyrant ... And hee** The Moorish servant is instantly ready to betray his master and his fellow if a lady promises to love him.

² [*Up Philip and Hortenzo.*] Here Zarack probably yields to Isabella's pleads and pulls Philip and Hortenzo out of the trap under the stage which symbolizes their cell.

³ **I did profess; I, and protested too** I did pretend; yes, and vowed too.

I lov'd him well, what will not sorrow do?
 Then he profest; I, and protested too,
 To kill them both, what will not devils do?
 PHILIP. Then I profess; I, and protest it too,
 That here's for him, what will not Philip do?
 HORTENZO. See where hee coms.

Enter the two Moors.

BALTAZAR. Zarack, what do I see?
 Hortenzo and Philip, who did this?
 150 ZARACK. I Baltazar.
 BALTAZAR. Thou art halfe damn'd for it, I'le
 to my lord.
 ZARACK. I'le stop you on your way, lie there;
 thy tongue shal tel no tales today.
Stabs him [Baltazar].
 PHILIP. Nor thine to morrow, this revenge
 was well. *Stabs him [Zarack].*
 By this time both the slaves shake hands
 in hell.¹
 ISABELLA. Philippo and Hortenzo stand
 you still!

¹ **who did this? ... shake hands in hell** In order to satisfy his lustful desires with Isabella, Zarack readily betrays his master and his companion, Baltazar, by killing him. Such attitude suggests the Moor's lack of honour and loyalty; however, the Spaniards are similarly described as deceitful, since Philip stabs Zarack as soon as he fulfils his mission.

What; doat you both? cannot you see your play?

Well fare a woman then, to lead the way.¹

Once rob the dead, put the *Moors* habits on,

And paint your faces with the oil of hell,

160 So waiting on the Tyrant.

PHILIP. Come no more,

'Tis here, and here; room there below,

stand wide,

Bury them well since they so godly di'd.^o *godly or well did*

[*Cast Zarack and Baltazar down trap.*]

HORTENZO. Away then, fate now let revenge

be plac'd.²

PHILIP. Here.

HORTENZO. And here, a tyrants blood doth^o *does*

sweetly tast. *Exeunt.*

Act. V. Scena. VI.

Enter Eleazar, Alvero, Roderigo, Christofero, and other Lords.

ELEAZAR. What, I imprison, who?

¹ **Well fare a woman then, to lead the way** Isabella presents the positive features of a chaste and courageous woman. Consider the case of Bess Bridges, in Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts 1 and 2* (c. 1600 and c. 1630), who interacts with national, "racial" and religious strangers, but is able to resist and reject the unwanted attentions of the Moorish Others. Bess' actions prove her courage in a work which seems to associate this heroine with Queen Elizabeth I and her claimed resilience (Findlay, "Gendering" 400-01; López-Peláez, "Building" 61-62).

² **Fate** See note on 1.2.32-33, 1.4.6-7 and 5.1.27.

ALL. Philip and Hortenzo.

ELEAZAR. Philip and Hortenzo, Ha, ha, ha.

RODERIGO. Why laughs the *Moor*?

ELEAZAR. I laugh because you jest.

Laugh at a jest, who I imprison them?

I prize^o their lives with weights, their necks *seize, capture*
with chains,

Their hands with Manacles? do I all this?

Because my face is in nights colour dy'd.

Think you my conscience and my soul is so,

Black faces may have hearts as white as snow

10 And 'tis a generall rule in morall rowls,

The whitest faces have the blackest souls.¹

ALVERO. But touching my Hortenzo.

ELEAZAR. Good old man, I never touch'd him,
do not touch me then with thy Hortenzo.²

CHRISTOFERO. Where's^o Philip too? *Where is*

ELEAZAR. And where's Philippo too? I pray,
I pray,

Is Philip a tame Spaniard? what, can I

¹ **Because my face ... blackest souls** The lines suggest that the popular mythology which assert that outer blackness is a mark of inner immorality is not true, since white individuals may have black souls, i.e. an immoral disposition. This statement is probably based in the same set of beliefs that inspired John Webster's play *The White Devil* (1612). However, it is probably an ironic statement, since the audience (and the readership later) are aware that Eleazar is black both on the inside and on the outside; although that white Christian Spaniards may be evil is evidently dramatized by the play.

² **I never touch'd ... thy Hortenzo** The term "touch" is used with three senses: first, "in relation with"; second, "to hurt"; and third, "to bother."

Philip him hither, hither make him flye.^o ¹ *haste*

First where's Hortenzo, where's Philippo too?

RODERIGO. And where is Isabel, she was
with you.

20 ELEAZAR. And where is Isabel, she was with me,
And so are you, yet are you well you see,

Enter Philip and Hortenzo like Moors.

But in good time, see where their keepers come.
Come hither Zarack, Baltazar, come hither;
Zarack, old Lord Alvero asks of thee,
Where young Hortenzo is.

HORTENZO. My Lord! set free.

ELEAZAR. Oh! is he so; come hither Baltazar,
Lord Christofero here would ask of thee
Where Prince Philippo is.

PHILIP. My Lord set free.

ELEAZAR. Oh is he so! Roderigo asketh mee
for Isabel,

30 PHILIP. I say my Lord shee's free.

ELEAZAR. Oh! is she so.

PHILIP. Believe me Lords.

HORTENZO. And mee.

PHILIP. I set Philippo.

¹ **can I / Philip him hither, hither make him flye** Can I make Philip haste to this or that place? (or to and fro?).

HORTENZO. I Hortenzo free.

ELEAZAR. My Lords because you shal believe
me too,

Go to the Castle, I will follow you.

ALVERO. Thanks to the mighty *Moor*, and for
his fame,

Be more in honour, then thou art in name;
But let me wish the other prisoners well,
The Queen and Cardinall, let all have right,
Let law absolve them or dissolve them quite.

40 ELEAZAR. Grave man, thy gray hairs paint
out gravity,

Thy counsellis wisdom, thy wit pollicie. *cunning*

There let us meet, and with a general brain,
Erect the peace of spirit and of Spain.

ALVERO. Then will Spain flourish.

ELEAZAR. [*Aside.*] I,° when it is mine. *aye, yes*

RODERIGO. O heavenly meeting!

ELEAZAR. [*Aside.*] We must part in hell.

CHRISTOFERO. True peace of joy.

Exeunt, manent Eleazar, Philip, Hortenzo.

ELEAZAR. [*Aside.*] Tis a dissembling knel.¹

¹ **Tis a dissembling knel** This is a deceiving knel; i.e. a “doleful cry, dirge” (*OED sb. c*). or “sound announcing the death of a person or the passing away of something; omen of death or extinction” (*OED sb. b*).

Farewell my Lords, meet there; so ha, ha, ha.

Draws his Rapier.

Now Tragedy thou Minion of the night,

Rhamnusias¹ pew-fellow;² to thee I'll sing

50 Upon an harp made of dead Spanish bones,

The proudest instrument the world affords;

When thou in Crimson jollitie^o shalt Bath, *enjoyment; lust*

Thy limbs as black as mine, in springs of blood;

Still gushing from the Conduit-head^o of Spain: *Reservoir*

To thee that never blushest, thou thy cheeks

Are full of blood. O! Saint revenge: to thee

I consecrate my Murders, all my stabs,

My bloody labours, tortures, stratagems:³

The volume of all wounds, that wound from me;

60 Mine is the stage, thine is the Tragedy.

Where am I now? oh at the prison? true,

Zarack and Baltazar come hither see,

Survey my Library. I study, I,^o *aye, yes*

¹ **Rhamnusias** or Nemesis was a goddess of classical mythology often "called Rhamnusia Virgo because she had a famous temple at Rhamnus, the northernmost town in Attica" (Hoy 97-98). She was usually described in two ways: first, as "an Attic goddess," and second, as "an abstraction of indignant disapproval, later personified" (*Encyclopedia of World Religions* 794). Moreover, this figure symbolised "the disapproval of the gods at human presumption" (794).

² **pew-fellow** "A person who has a seat in the same pew as another (usually specified) person; a fellow-worshipper. In extended use: a person of the same religious, political, etc., belief or group; (more generally) a companion, an associate" (*OED sb.* Now rare).

³ **Saint revenge ... tortures, stratagems** Eleazar seems to stage an act of desecration of Catholic imagery, since he worships an illusory image described as a vengeful (perhaps, devilish) saint. The practice of desecration of Christian symbols was associated with religious Others, such as the Jews. At the same time, saints and every sort of religious imagery were not accepted by Protestants and Muslims.

Whil'st you two sleep, marry 'tis villany.
 Here's a good book, Zarack behold it well,
 It's deeply written for 'twas made in hell.¹
 Now Baltazar, a better book for thee,
 But for my selfe, this, this, the best of all;
 And therefore do I chain it every day,
 70 For fear the Readers steal the art away.²
 Where thou stand'st now, there must Hortenzo
 hang,
 Like Tantalus in a maw-eating^o pang:³ *hunger*
 There Baltazar must Prince Philip stand,
 Like damn'd Prometheus; and to act his part;
 Shal have a dagger sticking at his heart.⁴

¹ **I study ... made in hell** The lines confirm Eleazar's association with heathenism and even his admiration for the figure of Satan.

² **Survey my Library... steal the art away** Eleazar seems to be associated to the image of a sorcerer or black magician. This dimension of Eleazar as a man of knowledge, a sorcerer, may remind the reader of Christopher Marlowe's play *Doctor Faustus* (published in 1604); especially Act 1. Interestingly, *Lust's Dominion* was, for about three centuries, attributed to Marlowe.

³ **must Hortenzo hang ... maw-eating pang** Eleazar states that he will punish Hortenzo by suspending him (probably in a cage) and starve him, like Tantalus, a figure in classical mythology who was:

[the] son of ZEUS or Tmolus (a ruler of Lydia) and PLUTO ... He was the king of Sipylus in Lydia (or of Phrygia) and was the intimate friend of the gods, to whose table he was admitted. In punishment for a crime ... Tantalus was condemned to stand up to his neck in water, which flowed away from him when he tried to drink it; over his head hung fruits that the wind wafted away whenever he tried to grasp them. The modern term "tantalizing" derives from this myth. (*Encyclopedia of World Religions* 1058)

⁴ **must Prince Philip ... at his heart** Eleazar asserts that he will chain Philip like the mythological figure of Prometheus (an immortal Titan), and that the prince "Shal have a dagger sticking at his heart." According to the Greek poet Hesiod, Prometheus was punished because he stole the fire from Zeus (the chief deity in ancient Greek religion) in order to give it to mankind (*Encyclopedia of World Religions* 886). According to the

But in my room I'll set the Cardinall,
 And he shall preach Repentance to them all.
 Ha, ha, ha.¹

PHILIP. [*Aside.*] Damnation tickles him, he
 laughs again,

80 Philip must stand there and bleed to death:
 Well villain I onely laugh to see,
 That we shall live to out-laugh him and thee.

ELEAZAR. Oh! sit, sit, sit, stay a rare jest,
 rare jest.²
 Zarack, suppose thou art Hortenzo now?³
 I pray thee stand in passion of a pang,
 To see by thee how quaintly he would hang.

HORTENZO. I am Hortenzo, [*aside*] tut, tut,⁴
 fear not man,
 Thou lookest like Zarack.

ELEAZAR. I° Hortenzo, here, hee shall *aye, yes*
 hang here,

poet, as retaliation against him and humanity, Zeus created the woman Pandora for Prometheus (who would involuntarily unleash disease and hard work in the world) and, “had him chained and sent an eagle to eat his liver, which constantly replenished itself” (886-87).

¹ **Where thou stand'st ... Ha, ha, ha** Eleazar symbolically acts as a devil-like scourge of the sinful Spaniards.

² **sit, sit, sit, stay a rare jest** take a sit and take part in a singular mockery.

³ **Zarack, suppose thou art Hortenzo** As the climax of the metatheatrical nature of the play, here we have a case of play-within-the-play, in which the “actors” are the same as the “characters,” although this Eleazar does not know.

⁴ **tut, tut** See note on 3.5.29.

I'faith, come Zarack, come, and Baltazar, take
 thou Philippo's room.^o First let me see *place*
 you plac'd.

90 PHILIP. We're plac'd.

ELEAZAR. Slaves, ha, ha, ha,

You are but players, they must end the play:
 How like Hortenzo and Philippo ha,
 Stand my two slaves, were they as black as you.
 Well Zarack I'le unfix thee first of all,
 Thou shalt help me to play the Cardinall;
 This Iron engine¹ on his head I'le clap,
 Like a Popes Miter, or a Cardinalls Cap.²
 Then Manacle his hands as thou dost mine:

100 So, so, I pray thee Zarack, set him free,
 That both of you may stand and laugh at mee.

PHILIP. 'Tis fine I'faith, cal in more company,

Alvero, Roderigo, and the rest,
 Who will not laugh at Eleazars jest?

ELEAZAR. What? Zarack, Baltazar.

PHILIP. I,^o anon,^o anon, we have not *aye, yes / at once*
 laught enough,

¹ **Iron engine** See note on "Pillory" (5.3.26).

² **a Popes Miter, or a Cardinalls Cap** A Papal miter and a Cardinal cap are two similar types of pointed hats worn by clerics. A miter (or mitre) was "Headwear which resembles or is otherwise compared with a bishop's mitre; ... a paper hat worn in public as a punishment (esp. one imposed by a church court), freq. bearing a description of the offence committed. *Obs.*" (*OED sb.*¹ II.3†d). It was also "A kind of headdress resembling a bishop's mitre, worn by women in medieval times" (*OED sb.*¹ II.3f); hence, perhaps implying effeminacy.

It's but begun. Who knocks.

ELEAZAR. Unmanacle my hands I say.

PHILIP. Then shall we mar our mirth^o and *amusement*
 spoil the play.

Who knocks.

ALVERO. Alvero.

PHILIP. Let Alvero in. *Within.*

ELEAZAR. And let me out.

Enter all [and Queen Mother and Cardinall from] below.

110 PHILIP. I thank you for that flout,^o *mockery*

To let Alvero in, and let you out.

ELEAZAR. Villains, slaves, am I not your Lord
 the *Moor*, and Eleazar?

QUEEN MOTHER. And the Devill of hell,
 And more then that, and Eleazar too.

ELEAZAR. And Devils dam,^o what do I *dame; lady*
 here with you.

QUEEN MOTHER. My tongue shall torture thee.

ELEAZAR. I know thee then, all womens
 tongues are tortures unto men.¹

¹ **all womens tongues are tortures unto men** This is an instance of mythological construction of gendered Others and, probably, a (sexist) form of comic relief. Since the Medieval Noah's plays, audiences (male and female) had laughed and agreed with these misogynistic jokes.

QUEEN MOTHER. Spaniards this was the
villain, this is he

Who through enticements of alluring lust,
120 And glory which makes silly women proud,
And men malicious, did incense^o my spirit *in flame, excite*
Beyond the limits of a womans mind,¹
To wrong my self and that Lord Cardinall;
And that which sticks more near unto my blood,
He that was nearest to my blood; my son.
To dispossesse him of his right by wrong.
Oh! that I might embrace him on this brest,
Which did enclose him when he first was born.
No greater happinesse can heaven showre^o *shower; be poured*
upon me;
130 Then to circle in these arms of mine,
That son whose Royall blood I did defame,
To Crown with honour an ambitious *Moor*.

PHILIP. Thus then thy happinesse is compleat:

Embraces her.

Behold thy Philip ransom'd from that prison
In which the *Moor* had cloistered him.

HORTENZO. And here's Hortenzo.

ELEAZAR. Then am I betray'd

And cozen'd^o in my own designs: *cozened, tricked*
I did contrive their ruine, but their subtil policie^o *stratagem*

¹ **Beyond the limits of a womans mind** Beyond the limited intelligence of a woman.

Hath blasted my ambitious thoughts:

140 Villains! where's^o Zarack? Where's Baltazar? *where is*
 What have you done with them.

PHILIP. They're gon to Pluto's kingdom¹
 to provide
 A place for thee, and to attend thee there;
 But least they should be tyr'd with too long
 Expecting hopes, come brave spirits of Spain,
 This is the *Moor* the actor of these evils:²
 Thus thrust him down to act amongst
 the devills. *Stabs him.*

ELEAZAR. And am I thus dispatch'd;
 Had I but breath'd the space of one hour longer,
 150 I would have fully acted my revenge.
 But oh! now pallid death bids me prepare,
 And hast to Charon for to be his fare.³
 I com, I com, but ere my glasse is run,
 I'le curse you all, and cursing end my life.
 Maist thou Lascivious Queen whose
 damned charms,^o *spells*
 Bewitch'd me to the circle of thy arms,

¹ **Pluto's kingdom** In classical mythology, Pluto or Hades was the ruthless god of the underworld, who ruled with his queen, Persephone, supervising "the trial and punishment of the wicked" in the Tartarus, after their death (*Encyclopedia of World Religions* 402). Hence, "Hades," "Pluto's kingdom" or "the House of Hades," was often compared to the Christian concept of Hell, since in both human souls are considered to undergo eternal suffering.

² **the actor** both the agent and the (theatrical) actor.

³ **Charon** See note on 4.3.2.

Unpited dye, consumed with loathed lust,
 Which thy venereous mind hath basely nurst.^o *nursed*
 And for you Philip, may your days be long,
 160 But clouded with perpetuall misery.
 May thou Hortenzo, and thy Isabell,
 Be fetch'd alive by Furies into hell,¹
 There to be damn'd for ever, oh! I faint;
 Devills com claim your right, and when I am
 Confin'd within your kingdom then shall I
 Out-act you all in perfect villany.² *Dyes.*

PHILIP. Take down his body while his blood
 streams forth,
 His acts are past, and our last act is done.
 Now do I challenge my Hereditary right,
 170 To th' Royall Spanish throne usurp'd by him.
 In which, in all your sights I thus do plant
 my self.
 Lord Cardinall, and you the Queen my mother,
 I pardon all those crimes you have committed.

QUEEN MOTHER. I'le now repose my self in
 peacefull rest,
 And flye unto some solitary residence;
 Where I'le spin out the remnant of my life,

¹ **Furies** See note on 5.5.14.

² **Devills com claim ... in perfect villany** Eleazar dies threatening to be more evil than the devils in hell, acting as the scourge of the sinful Spaniards. Perhaps, this way he would symbolically fulfil what, from a Protestant point of view, would be a "divine design," where all these Others (Moors, Spaniards, women, bastards, etc.) would burn in Hell.

In true contrition for my past offences.¹

PHILIP. And now Hortenzo to close up
your wound,

180 I here contract^o my sister unto thee, *betroth, engage*

With Comick joy to end a Tragedie.

And for this Barbarous *Moor*, and his
black train,

Let all the Moors be banished from Spain.²

Exeunt.

The end of the fifth Act.

FINIS.

¹ **I'le now repose ... for my past offences** In spite of her supposed voluntary determination, the Queen seems to be compelled to retreat in “some solitary residence.” The myth of the “Madwoman in the Attic” refers to this kind of withdrawal, where allegedly immoderate women must be secluded.

² **Let all the Moors be banished from Spain** The banishment of all the Moors from Spain is eventually proclaimed by Philip at the end of the play. During the reign of the historical King Philip III of Spain, a large number of Moriscos were actually banished from his realm in 1609 (around 300.000). However, whereas the historical Muley Xequel (whom we propose as the main figure inspiring the fashioning of Eleazar) was not killed, in this period probably his stay was not as safe as before, and he left Spain in 1608 or 1609 to spend the rest of his life in the Spanish possessions in Milan (Italy) (Oliver Asín 196-97).

APPENDIXES

Appendix I. Selection of early modern English texts dealing with Otherness

Selection from Luciano García's list of early modern plays including the term "Moor," appended in his work "The Moor in the English Dramatic Mirror: The Term 'Moor' in the Primary Texts of Early Modern English Plays" (*Strangers in Early Modern English Texts* 70-74):

AUTHOR	TITLE	Year of publication	# Instances term Moor
Anon.	<i>Soliman and Perseda</i>	1592	3
Anon.	<i>Captain Thomas Stuckeley</i>	1605	12
Anon.	<i>Lust's Dominion</i>	1657	88
Anon.	<i>Thracian Wonder, The</i>	1661	10
Anon.	<i>Marriage-broaker, The</i>	1662	9
Belchier, Dabridgcourt	<i>See Me, and See Me Not</i>	1618	6
Berkeley, William	<i>Lost Lady, The</i>	1638	12
Brome, Richard	<i>Novella, The</i>	1653	4
Brome, Richard	<i>English Moor, The</i>	1659	19
Carlell, Lodowick	<i>Fool Would Be a Favorite, The</i>	1657	26
Codrington, Robert (trans.); Ruggle, George (orig.)	<i>Ignoramus</i>	1630	6
Cokain, Aston, Sir	<i>Obstinate Lady, The</i>	1658	6
Cokain, Aston, Sir	<i>Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince</i>	1658	28
D'Avenant, William	<i>Distresses, The</i>	1673	2
D'Avenant, William	<i>Play-house to Be Let, The</i>	1673	3
Dekker, Thomas	<i>Noble Soldier, The</i>	1634	7
Dekker, Thomas / Middleton, Tho.,	<i>Honest Whore, The, Part 1</i>	1604	2
Field, Fletcher, and	<i>Knight of Malta, The</i>	1647	5

Massinger			
Fletcher and Massinger	<i>Spanish Curate, The</i>	1647	9
Fletcher and Rowley, William	<i>Maid in the Mill, The</i>	1647	2
Fletcher, John	<i>Island Princess, The *</i>	1647	2
Fletcher, John,	<i>Monsieur Thomas*</i>	1679	5
Greene, Robert	<i>Alphonsus, King of Aragon</i> <i>The Comical History of</i>	1599	2
Habington, William	<i>Queen of Aragon, The</i>	1640	4
Heywood, Thomas	<i>Fair Maid of the West, The,</i> <i>Part 1</i>	1631	13
Heywood, Thomas	<i>Fair Maid of the West, The,</i> <i>Part 2</i>	1631	33
Jonson, Ben	<i>Poetaster</i>	1616	2
Mabbe, James	<i>Spanish Bawd, The</i>	1631	3
Marlowe, Christopher	<i>Tamburlaine, Part i</i>	1590	4
Marlowe, Christopher	<i>Jew of Malta, The</i>	1633	5
Massinger, Philip	<i>Believe As You List</i>	1927	4
Mayne, Jasper	<i>City Match, The</i>	1639	3
Mayne, Jasper	<i>Amorous War, The</i>	1648	2
Meriton, Thomas	<i>Love and War</i>	1658	2
Middleton, Thomas	<i>Triumphs of Truth, The</i>	1613	3
Montagu, Walter	<i>Shepherd's Paradise, The</i>	1629	8
Munday, Anthony	<i>John a Kent & John a Cumber</i>	1923	4
Peele, George	<i>Battle of Alcazar, The</i>	1594	63
Philip Massinger	<i>Very Woman, A</i>	1655	3
Rawlins, Thomas	<i>Rebellion, The</i>	1640	7
Rowley, William	<i>All's Lost by Lust</i>	1633	58
S. H. (Samuel Harding)	<i>Sicily and Naples</i>	1640	6
Shakespeare, William	<i>Merchant of Venice, The</i>	1623	3
Shakespeare, William	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	1865	18
Shakespeare, William	<i>Othello, the Moor of Venice</i>	1866	60

Shirley, James	<i>Court Secret, The</i>	1653	2
Tomkis, Thomas	<i>Albumazar</i>	1634	5
Webster, John	<i>White Devil, The</i>	1622	30
Wilde, George	<i>Love's Hospital</i>	1973	13
Wilson, Robert	<i>Three Ladies of London, The</i>	1584	2

Selection of early modern texts dealing with alterity¹

Author	Title	Year ²	Keywords
Anon. (Thomas Heywood, in part?)	<i>The Famous History of the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukeley</i>	1596	Spaniards, Portuguese, Moroccans, English
Cary, Elizabeth	<i>Mariam, the Fair Queen of Jewry</i>	1604	Women, Jews
Day, Rowley, Wilkins	<i>The Travels of the Three English Brothers</i>	1607	Persians; Turks; English
Greene, Robert	<i>Selimus, Emperor of the Turks</i>	pub. 1594	Moors, Turks
Greville, Fulke	<i>Mustafa</i>	c. 1603	Moors, Turks
Greville, Fulke	<i>Alaham</i>	c. 1598-1600	Moors, Turks
Heywood, Thomas	<i>A challenge for beautie</i>	pub. 1636	Turks
Heywood, Thomas	<i>A Woman Killed with Kindness</i>	pub. 1607	Women, Criminals
Heywood, Thomas	<i>The Fair Maid of the West, Parts 1 and 2</i>	c. 1600 and c. 1630	Women, Moors, Spaniards
James I, King of England	“ <i>Lepanto</i> ”	1591	Turks, Catholics
Jonson, Ben	<i>Bartholomew the Fair</i>	1614	Puritans, Anti-theatricalists, Criminals, Women, Jews
Jonson, Ben	<i>Volpone</i>	perf. c. 1605-06	Catholics, Italians/Venetians
Jonson, Ben	<i>The Mask of Blackness</i>	1605	Blacks, Pagans

¹ Alfred Harbage’s *Annals of English Drama* (1989) and Luciano García’s “The Moor in the English Dramatic Mirror” (2011) are the main databases used to develop the present list of early modern texts dealing with otherness.

² (Possible) year of composition; unless otherwise stated.

Knolles, Richard	<i>The History of the Turks</i>	1692?	Turks, Spaniards
Kyd, Thomas	<i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>	1587	Spaniards
Marlowe, Christopher	<i>Tamburlaine the Great, Parts 1 and 2</i>	1587 and 1588	Moors, Persians
Marlowe, Christopher	<i>The Jew of Malta</i>	c. 1589- 90	Jews
Marston, John	<i>The Insatiate Countess</i>	1607	Women
Mason, John	<i>The Turke. A worthie tragedie (or Mulleasses the Turke)</i>	1607	Turks
Middleton, Thomas	<i>A Game at Chess</i>	pub. 1625	Spaniards
Middleton, Thomas	<i>A Trick to Catch the Old One</i>	pub. 1608	Criminals
Middleton, Thomas and William Rowley	<i>The Changeling</i>	perf. 1622	Criminals
Peele, George	<i>The Battle of Alcazar</i>	1589	Moors, Spaniards, Portuguese, English, Irish
Shakespeare, William	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	1596	Jews, Catholics, Venetians
Shakespeare, William	<i>Othello</i>	1603	Moors, Catholics, Venetians, Pagans
Shakespeare, William	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	c. 1593	Moors, Goths, Romans
Shakespeare, William	<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>	1606-07	Egyptians, Romans, Women
Tomkis, Thomas	<i>Albumazar</i>	perf. and pub. 1615	Moors, Persians

Appendix II. Selected works by Thomas Dekker¹

Dramatic works

Sir Thomas More (c. 1593-1601), perhaps by Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle and revised by Thomas Heywood, Thomas Dekker and William Shakespeare.

Old Fortunatus (1599)

Patient Grissil (or *Grissel*; 1599), with Henry Chettle and William Haughton.

The Shoemaker's Holiday (1599)

Lust's Dominion (c. 1600)

The Noble Spanish Soldier (pub. 1634), perhaps, with John Day.

Satiromastix (1601), perhaps, with John Marston.

Blurt, Master Constable, or The Spaniards' Night Walk (1602), perhaps, with Thomas Middleton.

Sir Thomas Wyatt (1602), perhaps, with John Webster.

The Honest Whore, Part I (1604), with Thomas Middleton.

The Magnificent Entertainment given to King James (1604), with Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton

Westward Ho (c. 1604), with John Webster.

Northward Ho (c. 1605), with John Webster.

¹ The present list includes works by, or attributed to, Thomas Dekker, including sole authorship and collaborations, and their possible year of composition (unless otherwise stated). Cyrus Hoy's *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to texts in "The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker"* Edited by Fredson Bowers. Vol 4 (1980) and David Scott Kastan's edition, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature* (2006), have been used as a database to develop the list (Hoy xi-xii; Kastan 137).

- The Honest Whore, Part 2* (c. 1605; pub. 1630)
The Whore of Babylon (c.1606)
The Bloody Banquet (c. 1609), with Thomas Middleton.
If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil is in It (c. 1611)
The Roaring Girl (published 1611), with Thomas Middleton.
Troia Nova Triumphans, or London Triumphant (1612)
The Virgin Martyr (c. 1620), with Philip Massinger
Match Me in London (c. 1611)
The Witch of Edmonton (1621), with John Ford and William Rowley.
The Welsh Ambassador (c. 1623)
The Sun's Darling (c. 1624), with John Ford.
Britannia's Honor (1628)
London's Tempe, or The Field of Happiness (1629)
The Wonder of a Kingdom (published 1636)

Non-dramatic works

- The Wonderful Year* (1603)
News from Gravesend (1604)
The Meeting of Gallants (1604), with Thomas Middleton.
News from Hell (1606)
The Double PP (1606)
The Seven Deadly Sins of London (1606)
A Knight's Conjuring (1607)
Jests to Make you Merry (1607), with George Wilkins.
Lanthorn and Candlelight (1608)
The Bellman of London (1608)
The Dead Term (1608)

The Great Frost, Cold Doings in London, Except It Be at the Lottery
(1608)

The Four Birds of Noah's Ark (1609)

The Gull's Hornbook (1609)

The Raven's Almanac (1609)

Work for Armourers (1609)

O per se O (1612)

A Strange Horse-Race (1613)

The Cold Year, 1614 (1614-15)

Six 'Prison Characters' (1616)

The Artillery Garden (1616)

Certain Characters and Essays of Prison and Prisoners (1617), with
Geoffrey Mynshull.

Dekker his Dream (published 1620)

A Rod for Runaways (1625)

Wars, Wars, Wars (1628)

London Look Back (1630)

The Black Rod and the White Rod (1630)

Penny Wise, Pound Foolish (1631)

Appendix III. Early modern English documents concerned with foreign Others

A Libell, fixte vpon the French Church Wall, in London. Anno 1593^o ¹

Ye strangers y^t doe inhabite in this lande
 Note this same writing doe it vnderstand
 Conceit it well for savegard of your lyves
 Your goods, your children, & your dearest wives
 Your Machiavellian Marchant spoyles the state,
 Your vsery doth leave vs all for deade
 Your Artifex, & craftsman works our fate,
 And like the Jewes, you eate us vp as bread
 The Marchant doth ingross all kinde of wares
 Forestall's the markets, whereso 'ere he goe's
 Sends forth his wares, by Pedlers to the faires,
 Retayle's at home, & with his horrible showes:
 Vndoeth thowsands
 In Baskets your wares trott up & downe
 Carried the streets by the country nation,
 You are intelligencers to the state & crowne
 And in your hartes doe wish an alteracion,
 You transport goods, & bring vs gawds good store
 Our Leade, our Vittaile, our Ordenance & what nott

¹ Anonymous pamphlet discovered by Arthur Freeman in the Bodleian Library, MS.Don.d.152 f.4v, and transcribed by him in his article "Marlowe, Kyd, and the Dutch Church Libel." *English Literary Renaissance* 3, 1973.

That Egyp^ts plagues, vext not the Egyptians more
 Then you doe vs; then death shall be your lotte
 Noe prize comes in but you make claime therto
 And every merchant hath three trades at least,
 And Cutthro^te like in selling you vndoe
 vs all, & with our store continually you feast:
 We cannot suffer long.
 Our pore artificers doe starve & dye
 For y^t they cannot now be sett on worke
 And for your worke more curious to the ey[.]
 In Chambers, twenty in one house will lurke,
 Raising of rents, was never knowne before
 Living farre better then at native home
 And our pore soules, are cleane thrust out of dore
 And to the warres are sent abroade to rome,
 To fight it out for Fraunce & Belgia,
 And dy like dogges as sacrifice for you
 Expect you therefore such a fatall day
 Shortly on you, & yours for to ensewe:
 as never was seene.
 Since words nor threatens nor any other thinge
 canne make you to avoyd this certaine ill
 Weele cutte your throtes, in your temples praying
 Not paris massacre so much blood did spill
 As we will doe iust vengeance on you all
 In counterfeitinge religion for your flight
 When 't'is well knowne, you are loth, for to be thrall
 your coyne, & you as cuntryes cause to f(s?)light

With Spanish gold, you all are infected
 And with y^t Gould our Nobles wink at feats
 Nobles said I? nay men to be reiected,
 Upstarts y^t enjoy the noblest seates
 That wound their Countries brest, for lucre sake
 And wrong our gracious Queene & Subiects good
 By letting strangers make our harts to ake
 For which our swords are whet, to shedd their blood
 And for a truth let it be vnderstoode/
 Fly, Flye, & never returne.
 per. Tamberlaine (n. pag.)

Queen Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603)

“An Open letter to the Lord Maiour of London and th’Aldermen his brethren” (1596)¹

An open letter to the Lord Mayor of London and the Aldermen his brethren, and to all other mayors, sheriffs, etc. Her Majesty understanding that there are of late diverse blackamoors brought into this realm, of which kind of people there are already here too many, considering how God hath blessed this land with great increase of people of our own nation as any country in the world, whereof many for want of service and means to set them on work fall on idleness and to great extremity. Her Majesty’s

¹ From the *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, 1596-97 (London: Mackie and Co., 1902), 16-17.

pleasure therefore is that those kind of people should be sent forth of the land, and for that purpose there is direction given to this bearer Edward Baines to take of those blackamoors that in this last voyage under Sir Thomas Baskerville were brought into this realm the number of ten, to be transported by him out of the realm. Wherein we require you to be aiding and assisting unto him as he shall have occasion, and thereof not to fail. (Loomba and Burton, eds. 136)

“An open warrant to the Lord Maiour of London” (1596)¹

An open warrant to the Lord Mayor of London and to all vice-admirals, mayors and other public officers whatsoever to whom it may appertain. Whereas Caspar van Senden, a merchant of Lubeck, did by his labour and travel procure 89 of her Majesty’s subjects that were detained prisoners in Spain and Portugal to be released, and brought them into this realm at his own cost and charges, for the which his expenses and declaration of his honest mind towards those prisoners he only desireth to have license to take up so much blackamoors here in this realm and to transport them into Spain and Portugal. Her Majesty in regard of the charitable affection the suppliant hath showed, being a stranger, to work the delivery of our countrymen that were there in great misery and thralldom and to bring them home to their native country, and that the same could not be done without great expense, and also considering the reasonableness of his requests to transport so many blakamoors from hence, doth think it a very good exchange and that those kind of people may be well spared in this

¹ From the *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, 1596-97 (London: Mackie and Co., 1902), 20-21.

realm, being so populous and numbers of able persons the subjects of the land and Christian people that perish for want of service, whereby through their labour might be maintained. They are therefore in their Lordships's name required to aide and assist him to take up such blackamoors as he shall find within this realm with the consent of their masters, who we doubt not, considering her Majesty's good pleasure to have those kind of people sent out of the land and the good deserving of the stranger towards her Majesty's subjects, and that they shall do charitably and like Christians rather to be served by their own countrymen then with those kind of people, will yield those in their possession to him. (Loomba and Burton, eds. 136)

1601 edict by Queen Elizabeth

After our hearty commendations; whereas the Queen's Majesty, rendering the good and welfare of her own natural subjects greatly distressed in these hard rimes of dearth, is highly discontented to understand the great numbers of Negars and Blackamoors which (as she is informed) are crept into this realm since the troubles between Her Highness and the King of Spain, who are fostered and relieved here to the great annoyance of her own liege people that want the relief which those people consume; as also for that the most of them are infidels, having no understanding of Christ or his Gospel, hath given especial commandment that the said kind of people should be with all speed avoided and discharged out of this Her Majesty's dominions. And to that end and purpose hath appointed Caspar van Zenden, merchant of Lübeck for their speedy transportation, a man that hath very well deserved of this realm in respect that by his own labor and charge he hath relieved and obstinately refuse, we pray you then to certify

their names unto us, to the end Her Majesty may take such further course therein as it shall seem best in her princely wisdom. (Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor* 113-14)

Appendix IV. OED definition of “Moor.” Forms and Etymology

Pronunciation: Brit. /mʊə/, /mɔː/, U.S. /'mʊ(ə)r/

Forms:

α. OE **Maura** (genitive plural), ME–15 17 **Maure**.

β. ME–16 **Moore**, ME–17 **More**, 15– **Moor**; *Sc.* pre-17 **Meir** (*north-east.*), pre-17 **Moir**, pre-17 **Moore**, pre-17 **Mor**, pre-17 **More**, pre-17 **Moyr**, pre-17 17– **Moor**.

γ. IME **Moure**, IME **Mowre**; *Sc.* pre-17 **Mour**.

δ. IME (15 *Sc.*) **Morre**.

Etymology: In Old English < classical Latin *Maurus* (see below); in later use reborrowed < Anglo-Norman and Middle French *more* inhabitant of (North) Africa and Muslim Spain, (adjective) black, brown (late 13th cent. in Old French, earlier in form *mor* (late 12th cent.), French *maure* inhabitant of North Africa (1636) after the classical Latin form) and its etymons classical Latin *Maurus* (post-classical Latin *Morus*), Hellenistic Greek *Μαῦρος*. Further etymology uncertain (see note below). Compare Old Occitan *maur* (Occitan *maura*, *mora*) inhabitant of Africa, (adjective) black, Spanish *moro* inhabitant of Africa, Muslim (1091), Catalan *moro* inhabitant of Africa, Muslim (13th cent.), Portuguese *mouro* inhabitant of Africa (*c*1060), Muslim (1513), Italian *moro* Muslim (*a*1470), (adjective) African (*a*1476), and also Middle Dutch *Moor* (1270), *Moer* (Dutch *Moor*), Middle Low German (rare) *mōre* black person, Old High German *Mōr* North African, black person, the Devil (Middle High German *Mōr*, in the same senses, German *Mohr* (arch.) black person).

A possible derivation of classical Latin *Maurus*, Hellenistic Greek *Μαῦρος* < an ancient North African language on the basis of a mutilated line of

Egyptian hieroglyphics (c1285 B.C.: see K. A. Kitchen *Ramesside Inscriptions* (1976) IV. 17) has been rejected.

The semantic development from ‘inhabitant of North Africa’ to ‘dark brown, black’ (see note at sense 1) occurred already in post-classical Latin and may also be seen in Hellenistic Greek *μαῦρος* black (unless this is aphetic < *ἀμαυρός* blind). The semantic development to ‘Muslim’ (see sense 2) is also found for Spanish *moro* and Portuguese *mouro* (from 1513 in this sense).

In the Older Scots form *meir* with usual north-eastern unrounding of /y:/, the fronted reflex of Middle English long close *ō* (see A. J. Aitken & C. Macafee *Older Scots Vowels* (2002) §7.1).

Attested as a surname in England from the late 12th cent., as Johannes filius *More* (1185), Hugo *Maurus* (1186), Thomas le *Mor* (1201), though it is unclear whether these are to be interpreted as Middle English or Anglo-Norman.

In *Moor macaque*, *Moor monkey* (see Compounds 1), after scientific Latin *Macacus maurus* (H. R. Schinz in *Cuvier’s Thierreich* (1825) IV. 257). Earlier authors had used *maurus* or *maura* as a specific name for a monkey (originally in *Simia maura*, J. C. D. Schreber *Säugethiere* I. (1774) 107), but confused various dark-furred species of macaque and leaf monkey. Compare *Negro monkey* *n.* at *NEGRO* *n.* and *adj.* Compounds 3.

1. Originally: a native or inhabitant of ancient Mauretania, a region of North Africa corresponding to parts of present-day Morocco and Algeria. Later usually: a member of a Muslim people of mixed Berber and Arab descent inhabiting north-western Africa (now mainly present-day Mauritania), who in the 8th cent. conquered Spain. In the Middle Ages, and as late as the 17th cent., the Moors were widely

supposed to be mostly black or very dark-skinned, although the existence of ‘white Moors’ was recognized (see quot. a 1549). Thus the term was often used, even into the 20th cent., with the sense ‘black person’ (see quot. 1925). Cf. BLACKAMOOR n.

The Moors were driven out of their last Spanish stronghold in Granada at the end of the 15th cent.

OE *Old Eng. Martyrol.* (Julius) 8 May 96 Se Uictor he wæs Maura cynnes.

▶a1393 GOWER *Confessio Amantis* (Fairf.) l.1686 Ther was no grace in the visage,..Sche loketh forth as doth a More.

▶a1398 J. TREVISA tr. Bartholomaeus Anglicus *De Proprietatibus Rerum*(BL Add.) f. 307^v, Men of þe nacioun of maures, here blak colour comeþ of þe Inner partyes.

?a1425 (▶c1400) *Mandeville’s Trav.* (Titus C.xvi) (1919) 104 Ethiope is departed in ij parties... The..partie meridionall is clept Moretane. And the folk of þat contree ben..blake..& þei ben clept mowres.

1490 CAXTON tr. *Foure Sonnes of Aymon* (1885) xxvi. 565 He was soo angry for it, that he became as blacke as a moure.

1512 in J. B. Paul *Accts. Treasurer Scotl.* (1902) IV. 338 Item,..to the Bischop of Murrais more, at brocht ane present to the King..xiiijs.

1548 *Hall’s Vnion: Henry VII* f. xxiiij^v, Granado, which many yeres had bene possessed of the Moores or Mawritane nacion.

a1549 A. BORDE *Fyrst Bk. Introd. Knowl.* (1870) xxxvi. 212 Barbary..the inhabytours be Called the Mores: ther be whyte mores and black moors.

1555 R. EDEN *Two Viages into Guinea* in tr. Peter Martyr of Angleria *Decades of Newe Worlde* f. 355, Ethiopes..which we nowe caule Moores, Moorens, or Negros.

1613 S. PURCHAS *Pilgrimage* 687 The Sea coast-Moores, called by a general name Baduini.

1632 W. LITHGOW *Totall Disc. Trav.* v. 232 A Towne inhabited by Christians, Arabs, and Moores: not blacke Moores, as the Affricans be, but..a kinde of Egyptians.

1647 A. COWLEY *Not Faire in Mistresse* 14 A very Moore (me thinks) plac'd neare to Thee, White, as his Teeth, would seem to bee.

1728 E. HAYWOOD tr. M. A. P. de Gomez *Belle Assemblée* (1732) II. 121 Mezemorte was extremely diverted at the recital, in what manner the Maure had been entertain'd.

1776 J. RICHARDSON *Gram. Arabick Lang.* 4 The Mauritanick [hand], which is used by the Moors of Morocco and Barbary.

1818 *Encycl. Brit. Suppl.* III. 257 The Moors introduced into Spain a sort of unglazed earthen jugs named..*alcarrazas*.

1849 G. P. R. JAMES *Woodman* I. iv. 75 A tawny Moor with silver bracelets on his arms, and a turban on his head.

1869 'M. TWAIN' *Innocents Abroad* viii. 79 The Phœnicians, the Carthagenians, the English, Moors, Romans, all have battled for Tangier.

1904 *Athenæum* 2 July 20/1 Another discussion has arisen on the origin..of the term 'Moor'... M. Bloch finds the expression used in five different senses, as applying to the mixed race inhabiting the towns of Algeria and Tunisia, the mountain tribes of Morocco on the Algerian frontier, and the nomadic tribes of Western Sahara... M. Delisle..thinks that those called Moors have never been either black or the descendants of black races.

1925 *Amer. Mercury* Jan. 84/1 Part of my official job was to obtain from colored preachers, editors, school teachers, tradesmen and other prominent Moors pious expressions of opinion [etc.].

1937 A. KOESTLER *Spanish Test.* i. 20 He [*sc.* a foreigner in Vigo] notes, during his hour's walk through the town, that it is chockfull of troops— Legionaries, Carlists, Phalangists, but no Moors.

1985 C. SEYMOUR-URE & J. SCHOFF *David Low* IV. 167 Moors do not have negroid faces.

2. A Muslim; *spec.* a Muslim inhabitant of India or Sri Lanka. Now *arch.*

1588 T. HICKOCK tr. C. Federici *Voy. & Trauaile* f. 23, And wheras I speak of Moores I meane Mahomets sect.

1607 E. TOPSELL *Hist. Fovre-footed Beastes* 462, I haue heard a story of an Englishman in Barbary which turned Moore.

1697 W. DAMPIER *New Voy. around World* xviii. 507 A Town of the Moors: which name our Seamen give to all the Subjects of the great Mogul, but especially his Mahometan Subjects.

1763 L. SCRAFTON *Refl. Govt. Indostan* 19 The word Moors is used by us to express the Mahometans of all sects and countries who are settled in India.

1864 G. O. TREVELYAN *Competition Wallah* ix. 293 In those days the rank and file of our army always spoke of the inhabitants of India by the appellation of 'Moors'.

1935 *Colonial Rep.: Ceylon 1934* 6 More recently commerce has brought about a peaceful invasion of Moors, officially styled Muslims.

1977 *Encycl. Americana* XXV. 550/2 The Moors (with other Muslims, forming about 7% of the population) are descendants of Arab merchants who took over the spice trade after the 8th century AD and held it for 800 years.

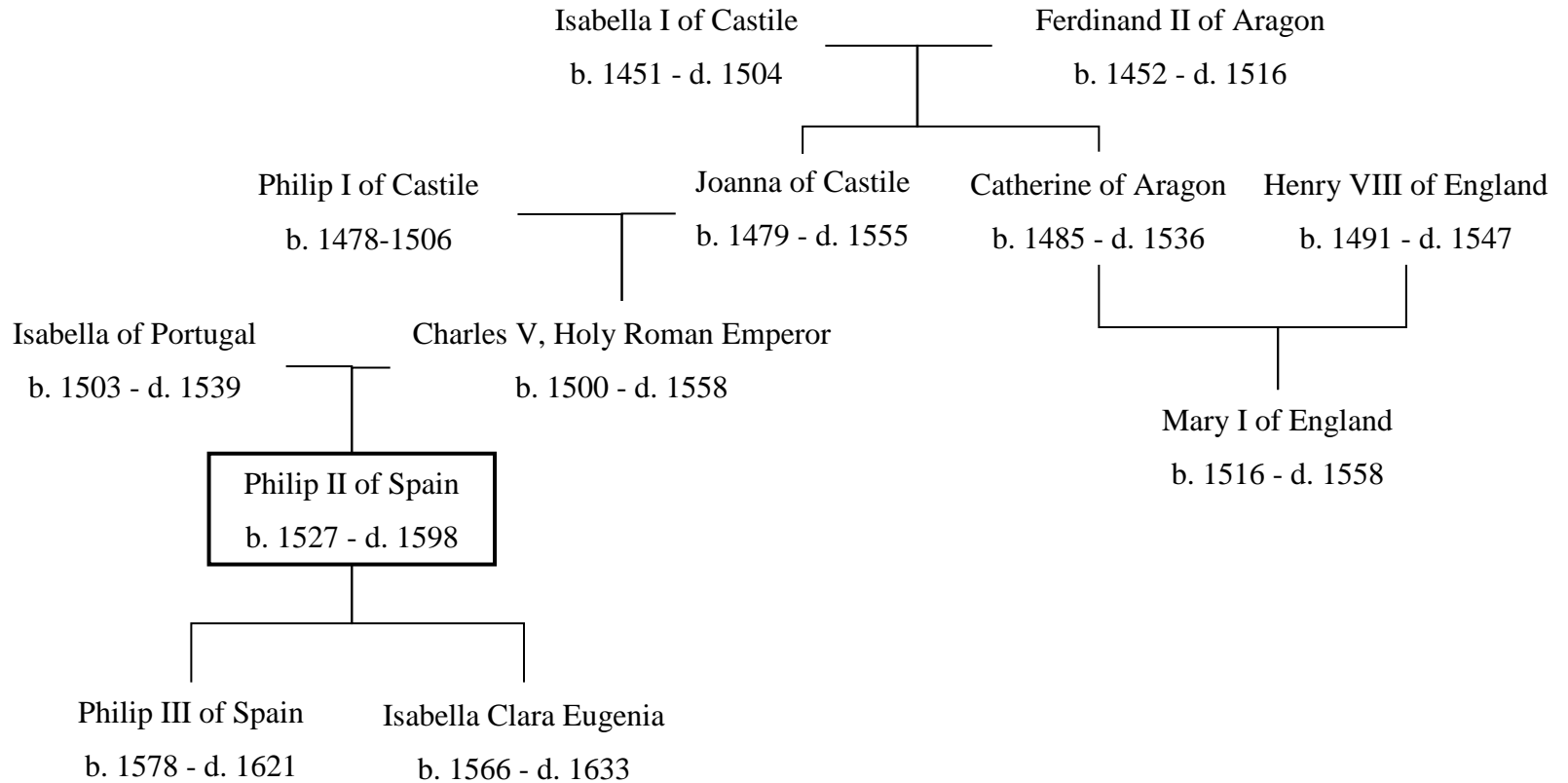
(“Moor, n.2.” *OED Online*)

Appendix V. A concise glossary of *Lust's Dominion* and early modern drama

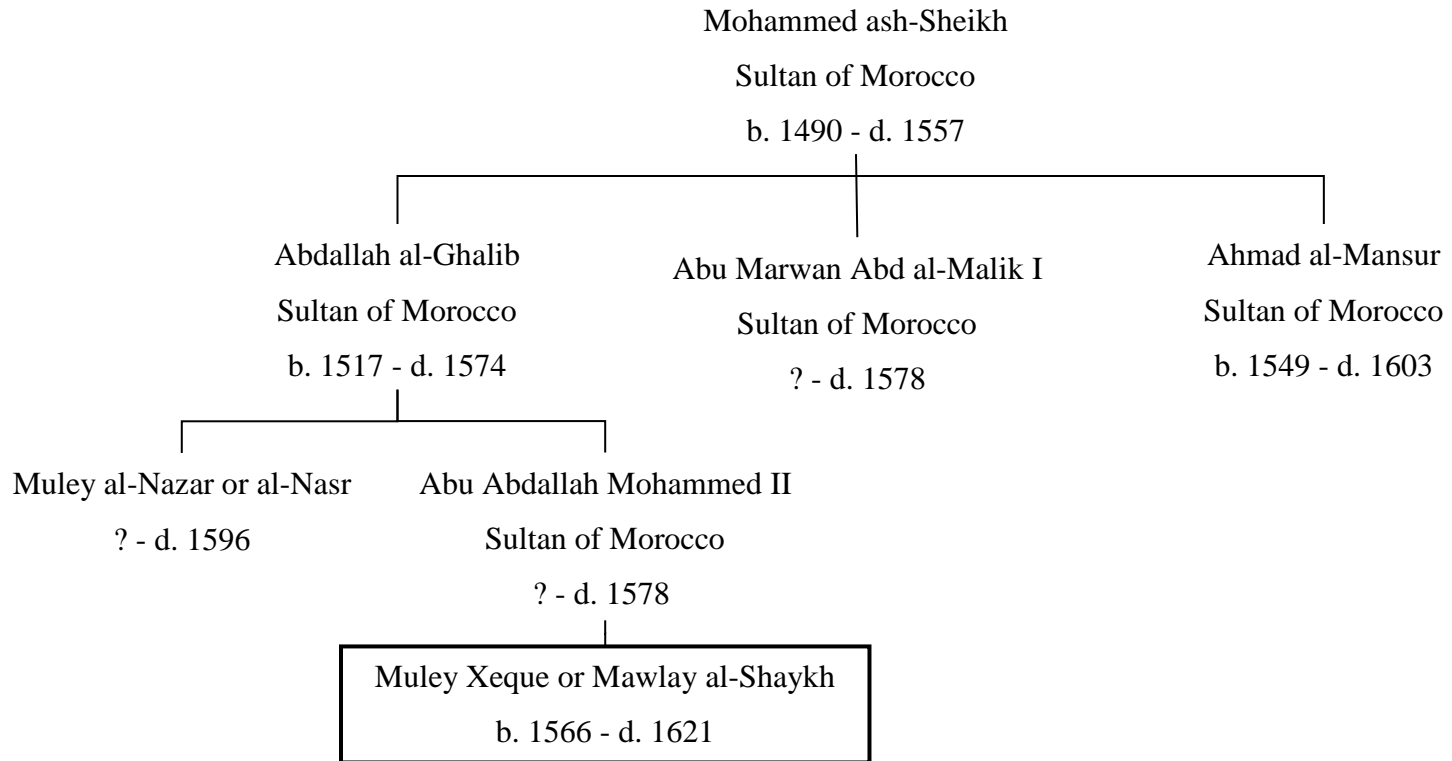
'twas	it was	I	I; aye, yes
alarum	alarm; call to arms	I'de	I would
believ'st	believed	I'le	I will
betwixt	between	is't	is it
call'dst	called	knew'st	knew
cri'dst	cried	know'st	know
cri'st	cried	laugh'st	laughed
deny'st	denied	left'st	left
did'st	did	lovd'st	loved
do's	does	mak'st	made
do'st	do	manent	remain
doth	does	manet	remains
ere	before	mee	me
exeunt	exit	methinks	I think
finde	find	nay	no
finis	the end	ne're	never
frown'dst	frowned	near'st	nearest
had'st	had	o're	over
hark(e)	listen	omnes	all
hath	has	persu'st	pursued
hear'st	heard	prithce	please
hither	here	proud'st	proudest
hither	here	stand'st	stood
hold'st	held	star'st	stared

thee	you	weep'st	wept
think'st	thought	wert	were
thou	you	whil'st	whilst, while
thou'rt	you are	woo'st	wooded
triumph'st	triumphed	would'st	would
try'd(e)	tried	writ	written
tyr'd	tired		

Appendix VI. The House of Habsburg



Appendix VII. Saadi dynasty 1554-1659



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COLLATED NOTES

Collated Notes

1.1

2 Zarack,] Bowers; Zarack D.

3 QUEEN MOTHER] Two speech-prefixes are used for Queen Mother throughout the text: Qu. Mo. or Queen.

28 love?] Bowers; love, D

29 wyres!] Bowers; wyres? D

29 Instruments!] Bowers; Instruments? D

29 Burst ... Instruments] attached to previous line in D

41 and] Bowers; & D

45 “D places after line 44, since there was insufficient room after line 45” (Bowers).

80 an] Dilke; om. D

94 and] Bowers; & D

107 Love! slaves peace!] Bowers; Love? slaves peace? D

109 throats!] Bowers; throats? D

110 cur] Malone’s note; ear D (see John Le Gay Brereton’s 1931 edition of *Lust’s Dominion*, in *Materials for the study of the Old English drama*, Vol. 5. 1800-I and II.ii.210-211) (Bowers)

123 Knock. Enter Zarack.] Bowers; D places each one line below

129 him!] Bowers; him? D

134 Run!] Bowers; Run? D

143 So, down,] Bowers; So down D

1.2

Act. Imus. Scena IIda.] 1.2 is part of 1.1 in Bowers (different line numeration in Bowers)

14 Tyrant!] Bowers; Tyrant?] D

17 and] Bowers; & D

17 Tyrant:] Bowers; Tyrant D

27 you; now purple villany,] Bowers; you, now purple villany; D

36 And be a foot-boy] Bowers; and be a foot-boy D

44 and] Bowers; & D

52 acted,] Bowers; acted D

1.3

1 S.D. Isabella ... feet,] Isabella, ... feet D; Isabella ... feet; Dilke

2 Qu. Mo.] “The speech-prefix for this scene in D is Queen except Queen Mo. Lines 80, 151” (Bowers)

9 (dead)] Bowers; [dead] D

22 CARDINAL] “Throughout this scene the D speech-prefix is Mendoza” (Bowers)

39 down!] Bowers; down? D

104 Joy,] Bowers; Joy D

1.4

Act. I. Scena IV] 1.4 is part of 1.3 in Bowers (different line numeration in Bowers)

12 thy] Bowers; the D

14 and] Bowers; & D

16 and] Bowers; & D

29 Physic] Bowers; Physical D

30 Physic, / And curing] Physical, / And [cw] // Curing D.

42 wheeles?] Bowers; wheeles. D

47 and] Bowers; & D

48 World’s] D; World is Bowers

50 and] Bowers; & D

60 Majesty —] Bowers; Majesty. D

2.1

1 CARDINAL.] Throughout this scene the D speech-prefix is Mendoza

2 messengers] D2; messenger D1

8 Do; spurn me!] Do spurn me? D

15 FERNANDO.] Throughout this scene the D speech-prefix is King

16 Zarack & Baltazar.] Bowers; Zara. Baltaz. D.

18 arm] *stet* D

33 S.D. D places S.D. in right margin opposite lines 31-32

39 wrong’d,] Bowers; wrong’d D

49 candle, holy water, praiers,] Bowers; candle holy water praiers D

50 all chime] D1; allchim D2

50 Court of Spain] Dilke and Bowers; Court Spain D1; of Court Spain D2 (Dekker, Thomas. 1600, 1814. *Lust’s Dominion*. Charles Wentworth Dilke, ed.)

53 Card’nall] Bowers; Card’nalls D1; Card’nall D2

55 Laughst] Dilke and Bowers; Laughs D1; Laughts D2

59 King] D1; Prince] D2

62 infamy,] Bowers; infamy D

86 its memory] Bowers; his memory. D1; its memory D2

2.2

8 no,] no D

- 19 [*Aside.*] D places SD at the end of the line, in right margin.
 19 (in heaven). Good Lord Philip.] (in heaven) good Lord Philip. D;
 (In heaven.) Good! Lord Philip – Bowers
 25 Philip] D; Philippo Bowers
 25 night, Philip shal not live] Bowers; night Philip shal not live, D
 26 him!] Bowers; him. D
 34 but, but] D1; but, D2
 34 Philip] D; Philippo Bowers
 35 villainies] Robinson; villains D
 41 colours,] Bowers; colours; D
 41 penitence,] Bowers; penitence_A D
 43 glib,] Bowers; glib, D
 43 swarm,] Bowers; swarm; D
 47 use?] Bowers; use. D
 50 bastard?] Bowers; bastard, D
 51 conscience] Bowers; conscience, D
 51 speak] D2; speake D1
 51 out,] out, D2; out D1
 51 doo't;] D2; doo't: D1
 62 fall,] Bowers; fall D
 71 so,] Bowers; so] D
 72 years] D1; ears D2
 76 Philip] D; Philippo Bowers
 79 Lines 79, 86 Zarack.] Bowers; I Moor. D
 79 away!] Bowers; away? D
 85 Philip's] D; Philippo's Bowers
 89 Dear] D1; clear D2
 91 *Aside.*] "D places to the left of the line like a speech-prefix"
 (Bowers)

2.3

- Act. II. Scena III] 2.3 is part of 2.2 in Bowers (different line
 numeration in Bowers)
 5 time] Bowers; time; D
 11 take] D1; takes D2
 14 aspier] D1; aspirer D2
 23 Ryall] D1; Royall D 2
 26 years] D 1; ears D2
 28 and victories] D1; and his victories D2
 40 Friers Crab and Cole] Dilke and Bowers; Frier, Crab and Cole D

63 Now Baltazar.] “D prints following the first half of the line above the stage-direction” (Bowers)

2.4

6 raggs;] Bowers; raggs D

7 BOTH] Bowers; 2. D

18 Do] D1; doth D2

24 bleed] bleed: D

25 away?] away, D

32 Portugall:] D reads “I now” after “Portugall:” in an additional line.

2.5

Act. II. Scena V] 2.5 is part of 2.4 in Bowers (different line numeration in Bowers)

4 ALL.] Dilke; Alvero D.

6 shoots] D1; shoot D2

14 as] Bowers; us D

19 BOTH FRIERS.] Bowers; Both. D

24 Philip’s] D; Philippo’s Bowers

35 T’obey] D2 and *cw*; To obey D1

47 at hee’ls] D1; at th’ hee’ls D2

50 Slave] D1; Slaves D2

63 FERNANDO.] Throughout this scene the D speech-prefix is King (Bowers)

67 Eleazar,] Bowers; Eleazar D

109 past,] Bowers; past D

114 *Exit*] D; *Exeunt* Dilke

118 know] D1; know, D2; knows Dilke

123 the] D1; his D2

2.6

Act. II. Scena. VI] 2.6 is part of 2.4 in Bowers (different line numeration in Bowers)

12 through] D; i.e. thorough (Bowers)

25 impossible] Hazlitt; possible D (Hazlitt, ed. 1744. *Lust’s Dominion*)

3.1

12 kill!] Bowers; kill? D

13 love!] Bowers; love? D

35 in her lustfull arms] Dilke; in him in her lustfull arms D

39 her!] Bowers; her? D

3.2

2 FERNANDO.] Throughout this scene the D speech-prefix is King (Bowers)

23 thee:] Bowers; thee, D

31 prepar'd to please thine ears] Dilke; prepar'd thine ears D

57 sleep.] Bowers; sleep, D

3.3

Act. III. Scena. III] 3.3 is part of 3.2 in Bowers (different line numeration in Bowers)

1 Alvaro] Alvero

17 and murderess] D; and a murderess Hazlitt

22 ALL.] Dilke and Bowers; Alv. D

29 thy] Bowers; the D

45 virtues] D; virtuous Dilke

3.4

Act. III. Scena. IV] 3.4 is part of 3.2 in Bowers (different line numeration in Bowers)

5 King!] Bowers; King? D

97 through] Bowers; through; D

113 ride] D; ride; Bowers

3.5

1 dry?] Bowers; dry. D

4 and] Bowers; & D

20 rogue;] Bowers; rogue D

21 rise,] Bowers; rise D

27 Crab.] The speech-prefixes in D are Frier Crab and Frier Cole up to line 33 (Bowers)

33 mount!] Bowers; mount? D

37 He's] Bowers; He D

37 once] D; once – Bowers

52 strong!] Bowers; strong? D

53 huge!] Bowers; huge? D

4.1

1 Alvaro] Alvero.

6 feeling] Bowers; falling D

4.2

10 thee] D; the Dilke

14 onset] stands by itself in a separate line in D (Bowers)

26 Philip] D; Filippo Bowers

- 27 Prince Philip] Dilke; Prince, Philip D
 45 mell!] Bowers; mell? D
 damn'd!] Bowers; damn'd? D
 46 swords] D; sword Dilke
 53 fight!] Bowers; fight? D
 Act. IV. Scena. III] 4.3 is part of 4.2 in Bowers (different line
 numeration in Bowers)
 20 you;] Bowers; you D
 49 do —] Bowers; do? D
 75 thy] D; my Bowers
 77 Cardinals Side. Upon] Brereton; Card. Side upon D.
 78 Moors Side. Upon] Brereton; Moor. Side upon D
 85 come!] Bowers; come? D
 106 flight!] Bowers; flight? D
 119 Retreat] Dilke; Retreat D (in separate line, as S.D., at right)
 4.4
 30 hence!] Bowers; hence? D
 34 Away!] Bowers; Away? D
 43 imbrace,] Bowers; imbrace D
 47 S.D. Souldiers...] D places below. And these in line 47
 54 Philip] D; Philippo Bowers
 79 high? Why,] Bowers; high, why D
 4.5
 18 hearts-strings] D; heart-strings Dilke
 34 fame / For life,] Dilke; fame, For life D [For *equals* in exchange
 for]
 59 Will I,] Bowers; Will I D
 73 S.D. Bowers places it in the previous line
 74 begon!] Bowers; begon? D
 90 weapons!] Bowers; weapons? D
 93 warrant, to your hands] Bowers; warrant to your hands, D
 5.1
 3 Philip] D; Philippo Hazlitt
 29 About] Bowers; about D
 61 and] Bowers; & D
 75 Here? name him!] Here! name him? D
 77 run!] Bowers; run? D
 82 not!] Bowers; not? D
 108 sins] D; sin Bowers

160 Princes] D; Princess Dilke

5.2

Act. V. Scena. II] 5.2 is part of 5.1 in Bowers (different line numeration in Bowers)

5,3

Act. V. Scena. III] 5.3 is part of 5.1 in Bowers (different line numeration in Bowers)

21 And —] Bowers; And. D

27 he is] Dilke; he's is D

30 knees,] Bowers; knees D

35 ease] Bowers; ease, D

51 Philip] D; Philippo Hazlitt

75 Exit] D; Bowers places it after line 77. When Isabella says "Make hast dear love" (5.3.77) she could be saying that in part to Hortenzo and in part to herself when he is already out of the stage. Hence, placing the exit of Hortenzo before Isabella's words may not be a slip of the printer in D.

81 best. Hortenzo ... Court,] Bowers; best Hortenzo ... Court. D

108 knives —] Bowers; knives. D

113 gall —] Bowers; gall. D

5.4

8 BOTH MOORS.] Bowers; Both. D

5.5

Act. V. Scena. V] 5.5 is part of 5.4 in Bowers (different line numeration in Bowers)

38 away; I, come,] Bowers; away I come, D

43 BOTH] Bowers; 2. D

44 her] Robinson; he D

91 her,] Bowers; her D

93 Struck't] D Stuck't Bowers

111 spilling] Bowers; filling D

126 and] Bowers; & D

140 how!] Bowers; how? D

149 Philip] D; Philippo Dilke

155 still!] still? D

160 Isabella's speech is in running text in D

163 Come no more ... so godly di'd] running text in D

5.6

6 this?] Bowers; this, D

- 7 dy'd,] Bowers; dy'd. D
 11 Eleazar's speech is in running text in D
 14 Philip] D; Philippo Bowers
 16 Spaniard?] Bowers; Spaniard, D
 18 Eleazar's speech is in running text in D
 25 Eleazar's speech is in running text in D
 47 there;] Bowers; there D
 56 revenge: to thee] Bowers; revenge to thee: D
 73 Philip] D; Philippo Bowers
 78 Thy limbs as... Ha, ha, ha.] running text in D
 80 Philip] D; Philippo Bowers
 82 Philip's speech is in running text in D
 86 Eleazar's speech is in running text in D
 88 Hortenzo's speech is in running text in D
 89 here.] Bowers; here D
 101 Eleazar's speech is in running text in D
 104 jest?] Bowers; jest. D
 106 Philip's speech is in running text in D
 106 Who knocks.] Bowers; D prints in right margin as stage-direction
 109 Who knocks.] Dilke and Bowers; D prints in right margin as stage-direction
 112 Eleazar?] Bowers; Eleazar. D
 125 son.] son D
 132 Queen Mother's speech is in running text in D
 141 Eleazar's speech is in running text in D
 145 hopes, come] Bowers; hopes. Come D
 147 Philip's speech is in running text in D
 am] Bowers; am, D
 164 Eleazar's speech is in running text in D
 166 Philip's speech is in running text in D