

BEASTS, HARPIES AND MEDEAS:  
TUDOR REPRESENTATIONS  
IN LOPE AND CALDERÓN<sup>1</sup>

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Pedro de Ribadeneyra's widely-read *Historia eclesiástica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (1588, 1593) focused on Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, and Elizabeth Tudor and quickly solidified a view that Spaniards largely adopted: the English queen and her parents persecuted Catholics because their sins had irreversibly turned them into tyrannical monsters. Two authors who engaged this narrative and monstrous representation were Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca. Calderón's tragedy *La cisma de Inglaterra* is clearly a dramatic adaptation of Ribadeneyra's *Historia*, and Lope's comedy *El amor desatinado* has too many parallels with Ribadeneyra's account to be coincidental. Moreover, Lope's antagonistic characterization of Elizabeth in his two epic poems *La Dragontea* and *La corona trágica* seems heavily influenced by Ribadeneyra, and while the dramatist maintains the grotesque representation of Elizabeth Tudor in

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his poems, both his and Calderón's plays attenuate the monstrous portrayal of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn that distinguishes Ribadeneyra's text. As will be shown, these changes can be attributed primarily to aesthetic choices and generic necessities.

Lope's poems mostly reproduce Ribadeneyra's monstrous portrayal. *La Dragontea*, a religious epic poem on Francis Drake's final expeditions, echoes Ribadeneyra's argument in the *Tratado de la tribulación* that God had allowed the success of the English heretics as chastisement on his Church for her sins<sup>2</sup>. Focusing on Elizabeth, Religion entreats God to look at England full of martyrs and to look at its queen: «mira la reina del Dragón, Medea, / que las costas de América pasea»<sup>3</sup>. The idea of looking evokes the psalms and the prophets where those oppressed plead with God to see the wrongdoing of their enemies and to impart justice and take vengeance<sup>4</sup>. This biblical intertextuality implies that Elizabeth is a tyrant oppressing God's people, the Catholics, and that God should hear his people's prayers and save them. Moreover, Elizabeth is associated with Medea, the mythological sorceress who enchanted the dragon and cut up her own brother to escape with her lover Jason from her father, the King of Colchis. In sixteenth-century Spain, Medea became a deceitful and dangerous witch, rather than a woman willing to do anything out of love for Jason<sup>5</sup>, and this seems to be the «Medea, la cruel» referenced in *La Dragontea*<sup>6</sup>. Religion links Elizabeth to the witch twice, and Covetousness calls Drake, «Dragón de Palas, Reina esclarecida», positively coupling Elizabeth with Athena, the goddess of war, but ironically implying that Elizabeth is bloody<sup>7</sup>. In other words, Lope's Elizabeth is a monster like Ribadeneyra's.

<sup>2</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Tratado de la tribulación*, p. 195. Lope's correspondences with Ribadeneyra are not surprising given Lope's Jesuit education and admiration for Jesuits including Ribadeneyra, and their shared theological views. See García Morales, 1968, pp. xxii, xl; Hornedo, 1963, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> Lope de Vega, *La Dragontea*, pp. 157-158, vv. 153-168.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Ps 80:4-7; Zech 1:12-17.

<sup>5</sup> Martínez Berbel, 2003, pp. 481-482.

<sup>6</sup> Exceptions like Lope's *El vellocino de oro* humanized Medea by focusing on her dilemma between love and duty and making her magical powers instrumental and not just cruel, but Lope mentions Medea in at least forty other works and often shows her as the flat, evil sorceress (Martínez Berbel, 2003, pp. 479-480).

<sup>7</sup> Lope de Vega, *La Dragontea*, p. 158, v. 167; p. 162, v. 225; p. 194, v. 522.

Lope's depiction of Elizabeth and Henry VIII is more explicit in the second part of *Rimas humanas*, printed after 1603. Lope's epitaph on Henry<sup>8</sup> duplicates the Henry of his earlier play *El amor desatinado*: a foolish and deceived king, wholly surrendered to a woman, persisting in his error even when warned. The epitaph on Elizabeth<sup>9</sup> praises her «ingenio» while equating her to wicked queens Jezebel and Athalia, and calling her «arpía» and «incendio cruel del mar» because of her interception of Spanish ships. Like Jezebel, Elizabeth was a ruthless queen who promoted idolatry and persecuted God's prophets, and like Jezebel's daughter Athalia<sup>10</sup>, the English queen had murdered her kindred (Mary) so that she would be the sole claimant to the throne. Despite Lope's ambiguous praise of her «ingenio», referring to her education or to her cleverness to obtain what she wanted, the English queen is greedy, deceitful, cruel, and arrogant<sup>11</sup>.

Elizabeth's opposite is Mary Stuart, of whom Lope writes:

Esmalta esta piedra helada  
sangre de un alma preciosa,  
cuanto bien nacida hermosa  
cuanto hermosa desdichada.  
Murió santa y inocente  
a manos de otra mujer,  
que en todo (fuera del ser),  
fue de su ser diferente<sup>12</sup>.

Contrasted to Mary, the English queen is worthless, of ignoble birth, ugly, unholy, and blameworthy. This opposition of queens is expanded in Lope's religious epic poem *La corona trágica* (1627), which recounts the tragic end of the saintly Queen of Scots at the hands of her wicked

<sup>8</sup> «Más que desta losa fría / cubrió, Enrique, tu valor / de una mujer el amor, / y de un error la porfía. / ¿Cómo cupo en tu grandeza / querer, engañado inglés, / de una mujer a los pies / ser de la Iglesia cabeza?» (Lope de Vega, *Rimas humanas*, núm. 264).

<sup>9</sup> «Aquí yace Jezabel, / aquí la nueva Atalía, / del oro antártico arpía, / del mar incendio cruel. / Aquí el ingenio más dino / de loor que ha tenido el suelo, / si para llegar al cielo / no hubiera errado el camino» (Lope de Vega, *Rimas humanas*, núm. 265).

<sup>10</sup> 1 Kings 16–22; 2 Kings 11.

<sup>11</sup> The phrase «si para llegar al cielo / no hubiera errado el camino» likely links Elizabeth with the hubris of the people in Genesis 11:4 who wanted to build a tower «cuya cúspide llegue al cielo».

<sup>12</sup> Lope de Vega, *Rimas humanas*, núm. 266.

cousin Elizabeth. Lope's picture of the queens is flat and polarized like Ribadeneyra's. Mary is parallel to the Virgin, and the lines «inebriada una mujer, sentada / sobre la Bestia en púrpura bañada» tie Elizabeth to the Whore of Babylon<sup>13</sup>. Furthermore, *La corona trágica* seems to repeat Ribadeneyra's debated charge that Henry was Anne's biological father when he refers to Elizabeth as «incestuoso parto de la Harpía», suggesting that Anne is the harpy<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, Lope clearly replicates Ribadeneyra's description of Anne at Greenwich looking from a window like Jezebel and calls her «esta fiera cruel, esta inhumana»<sup>15</sup>. Both Ribadeneyra's and Lope's accounts note Anne's lasciviousness and frivolity, the location of Greenwich, Anne throwing a white handkerchief from a window to her «galán», and this event being a catalyst for Henry's disenchantment from his blind love, leading to Anne's condemnation.

Finally, Lope also echoes Ribadeneyra's conclusion where, in astonishment at Elizabeth's ruthless execution of Mary, he invokes the heavens to wonder upon finding «un ejemplo tan atroz y de tan extraña crudeza» so great that «en Tartaria y en la Scitia y en cualquiera nación por áspera, fiera e inhumana que sea, los mismos bárbaros, cuando le oyeren, no le creerán»<sup>16</sup>. Lope had already labeled Anne «fiera cruel» and «inhumana», and now uses «fiera» for Elizabeth when Mary says:

Mas, ¿qué parte del mundo inhabitable,  
qué Aimuro tan remoto o fiero igleo,  
qué tártaro, qué scita inhospitable,  
qué circaso cruel, qué vil diarbeo,  
no sabe mi tragedia miserable,  
de una fiera mujer vano trofeo?;  
porque si alguna parte el sol ignora,  
allí se sabe, allí se siente y llora<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Lope de Vega, *La corona trágica*, pp. 197-198, vv. 25-40; Rev 17:3-6.

<sup>14</sup> As Carreño states, this phrase could allude to the rumor that Anne was impregnated by her brother (Lope de Vega, *La corona trágica*, p. 141, n. 133); however, Ribadeneyra's account, which Lope had read, notes that no children were born from this union (Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, p. 1002).

<sup>15</sup> Lope de Vega, *La corona trágica*, p. 417, vv. 633-640. See 2 Kings 9:30; Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, pp. 1002-1003. Calderón also calls Anne 'Jezebel' (*La cisma de Ingalaterra*, v. 2813).

<sup>16</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, pp. 1185-1186.

<sup>17</sup> Lope de Vega, *La corona trágica*, p. 148, vv. 225-232.

Like the Jesuit, Lope refers to remote parts of the world, listing «vil» and «cruel» people groups including Tartars and Scythians, and hyperbolically asserts that the entire world has heard of Mary's fate and weeps for her and that Anne and Elizabeth are inhuman beasts. Although Lope's poems feature this direct condemnation of Elizabeth Tudor and her lineage, his play *El amor desatinado* oddly presents Elizabeth's parents in a more ambiguous light.

*El amor desatinado* was written in 1597—the same year Lope wrote *La Dragontea*—and received approval to be performed in Zaragoza and Madrid in 1602, Granada in 1603, and Ecija in 1606<sup>18</sup>. The comedy appears to draw from Ribadeneyra's *Historia*, which makes it the earliest play to adapt this narrative and useful for comparison with Calderón's *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, a later play also drawn from Ribadeneyra's work. Justo García Morales convincingly argues that the title of *El amor desatinado* suggests a line in Ribadeneyra's text—«En esto paró el amor tan vehemente y desatinado que el Rey tuvo a Ana Bolena»—and thereby signals that the source of the comedy is the *Historia*, a common practice of Lope in naming his plays<sup>19</sup>. Beyond the title, strong textual parallels seem to suggest the connection.

The play is set in London in the court of «Roberto, Rey de Inglaterra», a king who develops an «amor desatinado» for Rosa, a noble lady, even though he's married to Isabel, the virtuous queen and daughter of the king of France, Enrique. Roberto is «hechizado» by Rosa into a violent, blind love that is blamed for the subsequent terrible decisions the king makes, such as repudiating the queen and later ordering her execution based on false charges of adultery from Rosa. Eventually, the king returns to his senses, sees Rosa for who she is, and repents of his affair. Isabel, still in love with him, intercedes on his behalf before her father who is ready to kill Roberto to avenge her, and the spouses are reconciled. Avoiding execution, Rosa is allowed to marry her lover, Teodoro, and they are banished from England. Though the ending and names are changed, *El amor desatinado* follows the characterization and many details of Ribadeneyra's narrative. Moreover, that the play was

<sup>18</sup> García Morales, 1968, p. 87. The play has not received much scholarly attention. A critical edition of the text was published in 1968 by Justo García Morales and, more recently, Joan Oleza has discussed the work in the context of Lope's early plays and *Arte nuevo*. See Oleza, 2012.

<sup>19</sup> García Morales, 1968, pp. xx-xxi, emphasis original.

written simultaneously with *La Dragontea* indicates that these textual parallels are more than coincidental.

Ribadeneyra's *Historia* describes Anne Boleyn as a beautiful, scheming, and licentious woman. Her counterpart in Lope's play, Rosa, catches the king's attention because of her great beauty and seems forced to be his mistress, but by the end of the first act she has already agreed to deceive the king and have a secret love affair with his «camarero», Teodoro. In the second act of *El amor desatinado*, the queen describes Rosa like Ribadeneyra depicts Anne: «la mujer, cierto, es hermosa, / y aunque es de humilde linaje / tiene rico entendimiento / y es hechicera notable / ... / pero en lo que falta tiene / es en que al Rey no le guarde / el decoro que le debe / y con otros hombres trate»<sup>20</sup>. In the denouement of the play, the king becomes irate when realizing Rosa's licentiousness, and she and her lover are condemned for it, much like Ribadeneyra says Anne was condemned for adultery<sup>21</sup>. One major difference between Rosa and Anne is that Rosa is only a mistress, although Roberto metaphorically makes Rosa his wife and queen of England with conventional poetic discourse when he says: «Rosa es mi esposa, Rosa es mi señora, / ella es mi Emperadora. / Poco es de Ing[al]laterra / señora es absoluta de la tierra; / Rosa es por quien yo vivo: / ¡no soy yo rey de Rosa, soy cautivo!»<sup>22</sup>.

Lope's characterization of Isabel also resembles Ribadeneyra's Catherine of Aragon, who because of her patience and constancy in the face of Henry's wrongdoings turns into an «ejemplo de santidad» and «espejo de princesas y reinas cristianas»<sup>23</sup>. Isabel, too, is virtuous, a saint and an «ejemplo de mujeres»<sup>24</sup>, and her constant, unflinching love for her husband is verbalized when she tells her father, the King of France, not to punish the repentant Roberto. Because she had never stopped loving him, Isabel believes that punishing Roberto is to punish her and to lose him again once she has recovered him<sup>25</sup>. Furthermore, although she realizes that to love and to honor him does not make sense, she still considers him her «dueño». Ribadeneyra's Catherine, too, respects Henry as

<sup>20</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>21</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, p. 78; Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, pp. 1002-1003.

<sup>22</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, p. 62.

<sup>23</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, pp. 899-900.

<sup>24</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, pp. 40, 71, 77.

<sup>25</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, p. 83.

her superior and beloved husband, even after Henry followed through with the divorce. Before her death she writes him as «Señor mío y rey mío y marido amantísimo» and concludes, «yo os certifico y prometo, señor, que no hay cosa mortal que mis ojos más deseen, que a vos»<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, just like Ribadeneyra places Anne and Catherine side by side and sees the differences as night and day, in Lope's work the French are shocked in the unequal comparison between Rosa and Isabel, that «una Rosa tan vil y venenifera / con nuestra flor de lis compita espléndida»<sup>27</sup>. In fact, the French also aligns Isabel with Penelope, the faithful wife of Odysseus, and Rosa with Circe and Medea<sup>28</sup>. Although it is common to refer to women lovers as «Medea», that Lope's *La Dragontea* also uses this imagery for Elizabeth Tudor seems significant given the similar topic and publication dates between the poem and the play. Like Elizabeth, Rosa is a monstrous witch who is associated with serpents and poison, but unlike Lope's poems, the overall text undermines the seriousness of that charge.

Although less monstrous than Rosa, Roberto also resembles his counterpart, Ribadeneyra's Henry VIII, in being impulsive, stubborn, irrational, and foolish. Roberto, like Henry, attempts to divorce the queen and brings papal bulls «con falsa información» to his kingdom<sup>29</sup>. Both Lope and Ribadeneyra highlight that Henry is a negative example of a powerful king driven by a blinding lust<sup>30</sup>. An incredulous subject asks Roberto: «¿Pues dí, Señor, tan ciego estás y loco / que no veías de Rosa las maldades, / o que si por ventura no las veías, / no las oías en la voz del vulgo / y en los pasquines de tu propia casa?»<sup>31</sup>. Ribadeneyra describes this same «pasión ciega» of the king in even more emphatic terms, including the detail that Henry knowingly entered an incestuous relationship and would not be dissuaded from his «mal propósito» and «extraño desvarío» by anyone's warnings, even those of his own council and his future father-in-law<sup>32</sup>. Lope's version is less sensational than Ribadeneyra's, but for both authors the scandalous, reckless love of the

<sup>26</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, p. 1000.

<sup>27</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, p. 1001; Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, p. 45.

<sup>28</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, p. 45.

<sup>29</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, pp. 65, 80-81; García Morales, 1968, p. xx.

<sup>30</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, p. 895.

<sup>31</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, p. 77.

<sup>32</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, p. 929.

king was public and widely discussed in England and in France, and the king would not see or hear warnings.

Also, in both accounts this reckless love wreaks personal and national havoc. Personally, the king's mad love turns him into a beast and a tyrant whose cruelty exceeds that of historically famous despots. Ribadeneyra explains that Henry became tyrannical and even physically monstrous because of his lust. Lope has a character tell Roberto, «por una Rosa inglesa, / más deshonesta que hermosa / estás transformado en bestia», and another character and the queen call him «tirano» and «inhumano» and say, «a Nerón en cruel excede»<sup>33</sup>. Nationally, Roberto's reckless love will result in the destruction of England. He is warned: «¡Oh Rey!, ¡oh mozo engañado, / fábula de todo el suelo, / que mal fin promete el cielo / a tu amor desatinado!»<sup>34</sup>. The phrase «fábula de todo el suelo» alludes to the European shock at the English schism that Ribadeneyra describes as «cosas maravillosas y espantosas»<sup>35</sup>. In fact, both the history and the play emphasize the destruction of England by a woman. Ribadeneyra calls Anne Boleyn, «infelícísima y abominable, por haber sido el origen y fuente manantial del Cisma y destrucción de su patria», and Lope's characters say that Rosa is like the Cava, who destroyed Spain, and Helen, who was the demise of Troy<sup>36</sup>.

*El amor desatinado*, then, has clear connections to Ribadeneyra's *Historia*. Less clear, however, is why Lope did not preserve his characters' historical names and changed some of the more scandalous details. García Morales suggests that Lope masked the play «for political reasons» and «respect to royalty», since England was still affected by the events narrated and was Spain's enemy at the time<sup>37</sup>. Nevertheless, Lope's changes are not enough to elude noticeable links to Ribadeneyra's text. Too, it seems odd that in this play Lope, the Spanish nationalist, would be hesitant to join Catholics throughout Europe who were discrediting Elizabeth Tudor's right to the throne by exposing her parents' lust and sin in Henry's invalid divorce of Catherine and adulterous marriage to Anne. Moreover, Lope's portrayal of Roberto is much less scandalous

<sup>33</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, pp. 35, 64, 75, 83.

<sup>34</sup> Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, p. 39.

<sup>35</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, p. 905.

<sup>36</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, p. 1004; Lope de Vega, *El amor desatinado*, pp. 34, 52, 68.

<sup>37</sup> García Morales, 1968, p. xix.



than Ribadeneyra's description of Henry VIII: the Jesuit reproduces the incendiary rumor first published by Nicholas Sander that Anne was born of Henry's affair with her mother<sup>38</sup>. Lope does not even hint at an incestuous relationship between Henry and Anne, and his characters only commit common sexual sins that everyone already knew Henry practiced. Thus, given that Lope was not saying anything new or particularly scandalous about Henry or Anne, his characters should not have required pseudonyms. Furthermore, if in *La Dragantea* Lope calls Elizabeth «Medea» and asks God to judge her while she is still queen of England and at enmity with Spain, it seems strange that he would hesitate to present her parents in much milder negative roles that agreed with all historical reports.

In fact, in this play, in addition to avoiding reference to an incestuous affair between Henry and Anne, Lope refused the opportunity to present the couple as monstrously as Ribadeneyra and Sander had done previously. While Lope allows his characters to say that Roberto had been turned into a «bestia» because of Rosa and that he was «inhumano» and «tirano», the charges are temporary and trivial because the king will repent. Furthermore, this was common language to speak of a monarch who neglected his duty because he was unable to overcome a personal lust—a theme common in early modern Christian Prince treatises and plays. Ribadeneyra's portrayal of Henry VIII includes this idea but goes beyond it to show in Henry's grotesque body the punishment of God as a serious spectacle for having transgressed human and divine laws and as a warning to readers not to do the same.

For Lope, Roberto is ridiculous<sup>39</sup> but not monstrous. He is a kind of *exemplum*, but his problem is not necessarily sin but yielding to a reckless love that makes him insane and blind—especially dangerous for a monarch. Isabel, for her part, is the example *par excellence* of Luis de Leon's «perfecta casada»: the pious and devout wife who loves her husband at all costs and respects him as an authority over her. However, she is primarily the example of a faithful lover. The comedy ultimately focuses on individuals in a love triangle and celebrates undying love, rewarding Isabel's constancy and perseverance with her husband's repentance, recognition of her value, and renewal of his love for her. Isabel's love conquers all.

<sup>38</sup> See Sander, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, pp. 27–28.

<sup>39</sup> See Oleza, 2009.

In addition to political reasons, García Morales suggests that Lope's version of Ribadeneira's account is aesthetic, since Spanish audiences generally preferred comedies to tragedies<sup>40</sup>. This seems to be the driving reason for the changes, especially because the comedic structure explains other adaptations to Ribadeneira's narrative, such as Roberto not divorcing his wife and later reconciling with her and Roberto's characterization being ludicrous rather than monstrous and sobering. Lope's name changes could simply be a clever way to dissociate Ribadeneira's story: 'Rosa' alluding to the red rose of the House of Lancaster<sup>41</sup> and enabling the construction of witty puns and 'Isabel' recalling Catherine's well-loved mother, Isabel of Castile, to honor the memory of Catherine. After all, Lope's commitment to create *gusto* and please crowds would ultimately make his adaptation a more universally appealing play while obliquely referring to a recent, scandalous event that was still of great interest all over Spain<sup>42</sup>.

Unlike Lope, Calderón's stance concerning Elizabeth Tudor and her progenitors, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, is somewhat harder to ascertain because the only extant work involving these characters is the tragedy *La cisma de Ingalaterra*. Critics such as Alexander Parker see the complexity and the less monstrous representation of Henry in Calderón's play as an unusually positive portrayal of these characters<sup>43</sup>. For Ignacio Arellano and Juan Manuel Escudero Baztán, the complex representation of Henry answers to the aesthetic need for dramatic decorum in tragedies, where a monarch, regardless of his or her wickedness, must be represented on stage with dignity worthy of the monarchy<sup>44</sup>. The arguments of Arellano and Escudero Baztán are bolstered by comparing *El amor desatinado* with *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, because even though Lope agrees with Ribadeneira's monstrous representation of Henry and Anne in the *Historia*, he mitigates it in his play for aesthetic reasons. Thus, Lope's comedy shows that offering a less monstrous representation of Henry or Anne in a play is often determined by dramatic genre and not necessarily by the dramatist's political inclinations.

<sup>40</sup> García Morales, 1968, pp. xx, xl.

<sup>41</sup> See García Morales, 1968, p. xx.

<sup>42</sup> For instance, Yepes' *Historia particular de la persecución de Inglaterra* was published in 1599.

<sup>43</sup> Parker, 1988, pp. 251-254, 280.

<sup>44</sup> Arellano, 2006, pp. 164, 173-174; Escudero Baztán, 2001, pp. 43-44.

The specific occasion for Calderón's interest in writing *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, a tragedy about the English Schism, is not clear, although Calderón's use of Ribadeneyra's *Historia* as his primary source is certain<sup>45</sup>. Ribadeneyra's history was completed in 1593, but it remained in print through the nineteenth century and appears in aristocratic library catalogues, so it is not unusual that Calderón was familiar with the text. In fact, the work was one of Philip IV's favorite books<sup>46</sup>, and the king could have commissioned Calderón to write the corresponding play<sup>47</sup>. The precise dating of *La cisma de Ingalaterra* is also debated, but most scholars believe it to be the same theatrical work that was performed at court before Philip IV and Isabel of Bourbon on March 31, 1627<sup>48</sup>. This last date seems plausible, especially given the interest in England generated by the Spanish Match negotiations (1614-1623) to arrange a marriage between James I's son Charles and Philip III's daughter Maria Anna and the Prince of Wales' visit to Madrid<sup>49</sup>. Furthermore, European Roman Catholics around this time were also focused on English history through the life and death of Mary Stuart, martyred by Elizabeth Tudor, as seen in Lope's *La corona trágica*. In this historical and literary ethos of Europeans championing the Roman Catholic cause, *La cisma de Ingalaterra* could have been written as a visual reminder<sup>50</sup> of the warnings Ribadeneyra had included in his *Historia* about the danger of following heresy and lusts and turning one's back on God, his Vicar, and his Church.

*La cisma de Ingalaterra* opens with Enrique (Henry VIII) dreaming about a beautiful woman who erases what he writes as he defends the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church against Martin Luther. The king is terrified of this sign, especially when coupled with another presage wherein he mistakenly places Luther's letter on his head and Pope Leo's under his feet. Volseo (Cardinal Wolsey) tries to assuage Enrique's anxieties, but in the end the oracles will tragically come true and, because of a woman, Luther will have precedence over the Pope in England. Volseo, too, receives a prophecy that he will be destroyed

<sup>45</sup> See Parker, 1988, pp. 252-253.

<sup>46</sup> See Escudero Baztán, 2001, p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> Mackenzie, 1990, p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> Escudero Baztán, 2001, p. 1; Shergold, 1961, p. 277; Parker, 1988, p. 283.

<sup>49</sup> Mackenzie, 1990, pp. 2-3; Parker, 1988, pp. 283-287.

<sup>50</sup> See García Morales, 1968, p. xxii.

by a woman who he assumes is Catalina (Catherine of Aragon). Seeing that Enrique is in love with Ana (Anne Boleyn) and allied with the English lady to promote himself, Volseo suggests that the king repudiate Catalina with the excuse that it is a matter of conscience because the queen had been married to Enrique's brother. The king follows this advice, repudiates the virtuous queen before Parliament, and marries the ambitious Ana, setting her in Catalina's place. After overhearing Ana in an amorous conversation with the French ambassador Carlos, the irate Enrique commands her execution and seeks Catalina in repentance, only to find that it is too late because the Spaniard has died. The best Enrique can do is to vindicate his and Catalina's daughter María as the rightful heir to the English throne. The play ends with Ana's corpse under the triumphant María's feet as the latter swears before Parliament and becomes the Princess of Wales.

Although the historical content is derived from Ribadeneyra's *Historia*, the chronology and the selection and arrangement of the information is significantly modified to fit the tragic structure<sup>51</sup>. Volseo, for instance, is credited with the original idea to repudiate Catalina, but while in Ribadeneyra's text the king's confessor helps the Cardinal, in the play, Volseo acts alone, and the action is focused solely on him. Even the prophecy that Wolsey will be destroyed by a woman is extracted from the ecclesiastical history<sup>52</sup>, though to provide thematic unity to the play, Calderón adds Enrique's initial dream and presage of his fate and glaringly omits mention of Elizabeth Tudor<sup>53</sup>.

Lope's *El amor desatinado* and Calderón's *La cisma de Ingalaterra* have multiple similarities. Calderón references the same comment from Ribadeneyra's *Historia* that gives its title to *El amor desatinado* when Enrique tells Volseo: «tú sólo procuras dar la vida / a tu Rey, que ya la tiene perdida / a manos de un amor desatinado»<sup>54</sup>. Furthermore, both *El amor desatinado* and *La cisma de Ingalaterra* assign evil names to Anne's character. In the same breath that Enrique calls Ana «esa fiera» in *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, he adds «ciego encanto, falsa esfinge, basilisco, áspid, airado

<sup>51</sup> See Escudero Baztán, 2001, pp. 39-40.

<sup>52</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, p. 920.

<sup>53</sup> See Parker, 1988, p. 285. For a different view concerning Elizabeth's exclusion, see Quintero, 2012, p. 124.

<sup>54</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 1709-1711.

tigre»<sup>55</sup>, attributing to her monstrous, magical, and evil traits, not unlike the names Lope gives Rosa in *El amor desatinado*. Similarly to Rosa and the Elizabeth of *La Dragonteá*, Ana is a monstrous witch associated with serpents and poison. In fact, Calderón's Carlos calls Ana «Circe», just like the French labeled Rosa, and Enrique tells María that he will avenge her from «Jezabel», using Elizabeth Tudor's most common slur among Catholics to refer to Ana<sup>56</sup>. As mentioned, when applied to Anne and Elizabeth, the common poetic language of lovers who are cruel Medeas and enchanting Circes can only be damning, obliquely replicating the monstrous statements in Ribadeneyra's account. Moreover, even though Calderón does not mention Elizabeth Tudor, referring to Ana as «Jezabel» would have unavoidably linked the two for the audience. Thus, María's final victory over Ana is also a victory over Ana's daughter Elizabeth.

Clearly, Lope and Calderón coincide in portraying Anne consistently with Ribadeneyra's description of her being beautiful, promiscuous, and highly ambitious, though Lope dwells on her sexual dissipation and Calderón on her arrogance and shrewdness<sup>57</sup>. In *La cisma de Ingalaterra* her French lover, Carlos, calls attention to Ana's haughtiness, where her pride is amplified by the conglomeration of synonyms and cognates used—*vanidad/vana, arrogancia/arrogante, altiva, ambición, presunción*<sup>58</sup>.

Lope and Calderón also coincide in following Ribadeneyra's account in their portrayal of Henry. Calderón's Enrique is much like his counterpart Roberto: he is blind and mad so that he cannot see Ana's infidelity until the end of the play, when he condemns her to death. Though Rosa is finally exiled instead of executed, the body of Ana appears on the stage as a spectacle of destruction and final justice. Calderón's Enrique says, «confieso / que estoy loco, sin seso»<sup>59</sup>, showing that he is aware of how reckless it is to follow his passions and yet chooses not to restrain himself. In fact, in the chiasmic soliloquy where Enrique opens and closes stating that he is «loco y ciego», he admits that he does not really believe that his marriage to Catalina is invalid. In his reasoning that it was legitimate to marry her, he repeats twice «es

<sup>55</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 2658–2660.

<sup>56</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 2625, 2813.

<sup>57</sup> See Escudero Baztán, 2001, p. 38; Parker, 1988, pp. 254–256.

<sup>58</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 449–453.

<sup>59</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, v. 1637.

verdad» and «es cosa llana», alerting the audience that, logically, there is no sound argument for divorcing Catalina, but emotionally, Enrique is willing to believe that falsehood to marry Ana<sup>60</sup>. While this comment dramatically underscores that Enrique is driven by passion rather than reason, it is also a crucial theological and political clarification. Any doubt on this point would legitimate Henry's divorce and Elizabeth's right to the English throne—one of the strongest points of contention against the Church of England in Catholic polemic literature<sup>61</sup>. So even though Calderón portrays Henry as more internally conflicted about his divorce than Ribadeneyra does, this monologue ensures everyone understands that even Enrique was certain that his marriage to Catalina was lawful.

The portrayal of Catherine of Aragon is also similar between Lope and Calderón in their adaptations of Ribadeneyra's material: she is the model of a Christian woman, virtuous and loyal to her husband<sup>62</sup>. In *La cisma de Ingalaterra* Tomás Boleno tells his daughter that Catalina is «un transparente cristal» for Ana to learn from the queen<sup>63</sup>, referencing Ribadeneyra's comment that Catherine is «espejo de princesas y reinas cristianas»<sup>64</sup>. Like Isabel in *El amor desatinado*, Catalina is a saint, and even Volseo, who plotted against her, recognizes her piety<sup>65</sup>. Catalina, too, is the «perfecta casada» who loves and respects her husband deeply until the end, and as he publicly renounces their marriage before the court, she refuses to detach herself, emphasizing her possession of him when she calls him «Mi Enrique, mi Rey, mi dueño / mi señor, mi dulce esposo»<sup>66</sup>. Moreover, just like Isabel stands before her father and requests that he not avenge her by killing Roberto, Calderón's Catalina movingly avows that she would stand between Enrique and the Em-

<sup>60</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 1723-1755.

<sup>61</sup> Even a decade after Elizabeth had died, Luisa de Carvajal contends this point with English Protestants at the local shops in London (*Epistolario*, pp. 258, 272).

<sup>62</sup> For a good summary of how different critics interpret Catalina in *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, see Fernández Biggs, 2012, pp. 207-208.

<sup>63</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 746-750.

<sup>64</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Historias de la contrarreforma*, p. 900.

<sup>65</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 1762-1770, 2496-2503.

<sup>66</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 1899-1900. Fernández Biggs, 2015, justly points out that the character of Catalina was originally conceived from an English vision of her exemplary life and not primarily following Leon's «perfecta casada». However, this does not preclude that she also is a model of Leon's ideal.

peror's (Charles V) vengeance<sup>67</sup>. She argues that she could seek refuge and revenge in Spain but that, instead, even if her nephew sought her requital, she would shield Enrique with her own chest, also a metonymy for her heart and her love. In contrast to Isabel, Catalina did not have to defend Enrique against the physical threat from a powerful foreign king, but her affirmation that she would do so, if necessary, is backed by her constancy and virtue exhibited throughout the play.

Both theatrical adaptations of Ribadeneyra's material, *La cisma de Ingalaterra* and *El amor desatinado*, respond distinctively to generic demands. One important difference between early modern Spanish comedies and tragedies relates to the audiences' horizon of expectations and to the proximity of the spectators to the characters in the play. Citing Pinciano's *Filosofía antigua poética*, Arellano explains that, while in tragedies, fears and deaths cathartically pass on to the audience, which feels them deeply, in comedies the same events remain only with the actors, and the audience perceives them as entertainment<sup>68</sup>. The comedic genre allows for characters to behave badly and to be caricatured or abused by other characters because the audience is distant, knowing that the goal of the play is to entertain. The tragedy must adjust to the tragic decorum; the characterization of the protagonists and their actions bears more weight and cannot be taken lightly. Because the protagonists are noble, the audience feels the irreparable loss and undergoes catharsis.

*El amor desatinado* and *La cisma de Ingalaterra* adapt Ribadeneyra's narrative into these generic characterization distinctions. Calderón's tragic characters, Ana and Catalina, are noble and more complex than Lope's comedic characters, Rosa and Isabel. Rosa, for example, is only a mistress, is first raped by the king, and later is violently gang-raped by the French. The assumption is that Rosa was already licentious, shown in her welcoming of sexual advances by the French as they trick her, and thus received what she deserved. Roberto's outrage at this action and Rosa's disheveled appearance on stage, which would have made audiences laugh, exhibit the comedic detachment of the audience from the characters<sup>69</sup>. In fact, Roberto gets to sleep with Rosa while Enrique cannot impose upon Ana until after they are secretly married, and although Rosa cleverly accuses Isabel of adultery, she is not part of a

<sup>67</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 1971-1982.

<sup>68</sup> Arellano, 1990, p. 12.

<sup>69</sup> See Oleza, 2012, pp. 28-29.

complex plot like Ana's with Volseo. The hamartia of Calderón's Ana is her hubris and ambition, not her sexual promiscuity<sup>70</sup>, and therefore, she is a weightier character than Rosa, sexually untouchable, who becomes queen and attains power. Her differences with Rosa reveal a nobler and more complex Anne figure in Calderón than in Lope.

The character of Catherine in the plays by Calderón and Lope is very similar, but Calderón's queen seems more intellectually sophisticated because she is known for reciting good verses and speaking several languages<sup>71</sup>. As a tragic figure, Calderón's Henry is more honorable than Lope's because, unlike Roberto, Enrique never forces himself upon a woman and is not ridiculous. No one says that Enrique's actions have turned him into a beast or directly calls him a tyrant. Only on one occasion, when Enrique repudiates Catalina before the court, several characters say, successively, «¡Qué tiranía! / ¡Qué agravio! / ¡Qué maravilla! / ¡Qué asombro!»<sup>72</sup>, perhaps alluding to Ribadeneyra's comment of the events of the English schism being «cosas maravillosas y espantosas», but avoiding Ribadeneyra's monstrous portrayal of Henry. Like Lope in *El amor desatinado*, Calderón averts any mention of an incestuous relationship between Henry and Anne. In other words, the tragic decorum in *La cisma de Ingalaterra* restricts the representation of the king so that he does not appear to be as vile as he could be in a comedy. Interestingly, even though early modern Spanish comedies tend to grant the dramatist greater artistic freedom than tragedies, Lope's comedy, like Calderón's tragedy, does not present Henry as the sobering monster that Ribadeneyra portrays.

In addition to characterization distinctions, *El amor desatinado* and *La cisma de Ingalaterra* reveal structural adaptations of Ribadeneyra's narrative to fit a comedic or tragic framework. In order to comply with a comedic ending, *El amor desatinado* turns the historical divorce and remarriage between Henry and Catherine into a temporary adulterous affair to allow for a simpler reconciliation between Roberto and Isabel. In *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, however, Enrique's hamartia bears the full weight of the irreversible tragedy described in Ribadeneyra's narrative, and Enrique's moment of anagnorisis is intensified. When the king dis-

<sup>70</sup> Parker notes that Calderón makes these characterization changes because the sins of the mind are more serious than the sins of the passions (1988, p. 256).

<sup>71</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 1065, 1111-1154.

<sup>72</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 2003-2004.



covers that Catalina is dead and pleads that she help him repent, calling her «Ángel hermoso / que en trono de luz asistes», he immediately acknowledges: «Pero es muy tarde, no puedo. / ¡Qué mal hice! ¡Qué mal hice!»<sup>73</sup>. At this pathetic moment, Enrique realizes that he will not be able to make a satisfactory restoration to Catalina and must console himself with an attempt at restitution for María. In an imaginative addition to Ribadeneyra's text, Calderón presents María swearing as Princess of Wales under conditions that she appears to receive but in an aside denies<sup>74</sup> to indicate that, even though her reign will allegedly be successful, Enrique's actions have broken England in a way that will never be restored<sup>75</sup>. *El amor desatinado*, however, with its happy denouement, seems to fully erase Roberto's gross mistake and even to place him in a better position than he was before, now that his eyes have been opened and he has recognized Isabel's worth and rightful place on the throne. Even the titles of each play align Ribadeneyra's narrative with standard tragic and comedic themes. *El amor desatinado* centers on love triangles and individuals, while *La cisma de Ingalaterra* focuses on the actions of a monarch that have political implications for an entire nation.

As this essay shows, even though both Lope and Calderón begin with Ribadeneyra's narrative, their respective adaptations of that text are shaped by the generic structure each author has chosen. In Lope's poems, the characterization of Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, and Elizabeth Tudor generally follows Ribadeneyra's *Historia*, though Henry is farcical instead of grotesque. Elizabeth is presented as a cruel, bloody tyrant and is contrasted to Mary Stuart in a polarized binary. Anne is associated with Jezebel, Circe, and Medea, and Henry is portrayed as a blind, foolish king. However, in *El amor desatinado*, a comedy sourced in Ribadeneyra's *Historia*, the Henry and Anne figures are more ridiculous and less monstrous than those in their historical source, and these departures seem to stem from stylistic choices and generic necessities. Furthermore, Calderón de la Barca's tragedy *La cisma de Ingalaterra* is also derived from Ribadeneyra's work and shows similar departures from its base text. When compared with *El amor desatinado*, *La cisma de Ingalaterra* reveals structural and characterization disparities, mostly related to generic differences between comedies and tragedies, but ultimately,

<sup>73</sup> Calderón, *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, vv. 2800-2801.

<sup>74</sup> «Yo las recibo. *Aparte* (Sin ellas.)» v. 2983.

<sup>75</sup> See Escudero Baztán, 2001, pp. 22-23, 37.

neither Lope's comedy nor Calderón's tragedy directly presents Henry as a monster nor accuses him of incest with Anne. Thus, it is possible to conclude that these complex representations of Henry in both plays respond to generic strictures and stylistic choices by each dramatist.

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