LABERINTO

AN ELECTRONIC JOURNAL OF EARLY MODERN HISPANIC LITERATURES AND CULTURE

VOLUME 7, 2014

Table of contents

Ana María Rodríguez-Rodríguez. *Letras liberadas: Cautiverio, escritura y subjetividad en el Mediterráneo de la época imperial española*. Madrid: Visor Libros, 2013.

128

Editor's Notes

The connections between Early Modern culture and nationalism have been under forceful scrutiny in the recent past. Likely, postcolonial movements, the emergence of regional identities, postmodern thought, and forces of globalization have weakened the image of nations as a necessity, and as the most perfect political organization for human society. Besides, early modern studies have increasingly contested and nuanced the belief that nations mostly spring from the Enlightenment. In fact, nationalism manifests itself in a wide range of manners in early modern literature, culture, and institutions. The imposed occupation of the Low Countries had as an outcome the creation of a national sentiment. Monarchic plays, that have been considered part of the institutional propaganda, could harbor humanistic ideas that foresee the nations-to-be. Captive accounts reflect upon complex processes of acceptance of the weakness of the Crown, and the ambivalences of social reinsertion after slavery, apostasy, and sexual abuse. In colonial accounts, the myth of the Amazon warriors was often represented as lurking in the borders of the Empire; nowadays the Amazons travel through the United States political symbols, changing meanings and cloths. These are just some of the many manifestations of the influence that early modern Iberian literatures had, and have today, in the discussions about the nation's representations, symbols, and ideology.

George A. Thomas departing from the idea that books and presses have a political bearing in the creation of nations, explains how Dutch fashion books encrypted both a nationalistic ferment against Spanish despotism and military intervention. The long confrontation between the Habsburgs and the Low Countries, which has been very well documented in many history books, shaped to surprising limits the national sentiment, propaganda, and discourse. If in the *comedia* concerned with *Flandes* wars and occupation, this can be attested, as Tracy C. Morey, Veronika Ryjik, among many others, have defended in recent books, George A. Thomas shows us that in the other side of war the situation was similar.

Matthew Stroud analyzes the question of negative representations of royal figures in the *Comedia* and their meaning in the construction of individuals and nations. Stroud gets to the conclusion that humanistic thinking breads through the so-called monarchic plays, as much a

Erasmus's ideas paved the way for eighteenth century revolutionary ideas about nation, democracy and the individual.

For Gregory Baum, Platonic concepts and commentaries on metamorphosis can be linked to the representation of amity and enmity between nations. The representations of the national projects in Spain and England—in opposition as history and philosophy are going to show during the Seventeenth century and the Enlightenment—are very pertinent in the enquiry about nationalism in early modern culture. Gregory Baum deepens in the meaning of *Harmonia*, *discordia*, as well as *discordia concors*, in the representations of Spanish and British individuals in "La española inglesa."

Julien J. Simon brings to us a discussion about genre's limits and fluidities in literary formats such as la *novela dialogada* in the *picaresca* and *celestinesca*, two genres of profound links to the Spanish image and criticism.

Kimberly C. Borchard, from the point of view of colonial literature, makes a compelling study of Amazon symbols and representations in today's political climate of the United States. She connects political statements, websites, official seals, etc. with the colonial representations of the Amazons in a number of early modern colonial texts from different traditions that conformed the beginnings of the history of North America.

The four books reviewed in this volume complement as many perspectives on early modern nationalism and culture. These books reflect on women's power in the intellectual creativity during the Juan II kingdom, that as a matter of fact was the environment where queen Isabella—creator of many aspects of the early modern national institutions—was educated. Captivity accounts are studied as a literary genre that connects with today's massive migration movement that shakes the European Community, and the United States borders, and territorial claims. The anthology on material objects in literature reminds us the imposing presence of objects and their markets in our literatures, and therefore in the creation of imagined communities that sustain nations, as well as transform and destroy them.

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle
Arizona State University

Fashion and Nationalism: Political Critique in Early Modern Costume Books

George Antony Thomas
University Of Nevada, Reno

The sixteenth-century genre of the costume book illustrates early modern conceptions of nationalism in a variety of ways.[1] These lavishly illustrated books, which are often labeled with the German moniker *trachtenbuch*, typically contain an encyclopedic selection of woodcuts or engravings showcasing a wide range of subjects from a variety of countries dressed in national costumes.[2] In both word and image, they attempt to define what constitutes the nation and what should be categorized as foreign or uncivilized by virtue of a curious display of fashion plates and accompanying prose or verse commentary. Occasionally, costume books offer unflattering representations of certain nations/peoples that can be read as political critique. One particular volume, the costume book *Omnium fere gentium* (Antwerp, 1572), contains a variety of revisions of earlier depictions from a French costume book that appear to respond to Spanish repression during the Dutch Revolt. In addition to exploring the significance of these modifications, the following article has two ancillary objectives. First, a brief overview of the genre will highlight the ways in which costume books were a form of expressing nationalism during the early modern period. Second, given the large number of propagandistic images produced during the conflict between Spain and the Low Countries, the importance of print culture during this rebellion and its centrality as a form of consolidating national identity will be examined.

Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, costume books were published in the principal European centers for printing in Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries.[3] Scholars have noted that the genre's appearance corresponds to the widespread publication of encyclopedic compilations and world maps during this period (Ilg 33-8). While increased international commerce and travel made the exchange of textiles and styles of dress more common, the invasion of foreign fashions could be viewed as a threat. In examining the backlash against the importation of French, Spanish, and Italian textiles in England, Hentschell

identifies a strain of nationalistic discourse: "…it is the very 'force of fashion' that can work to create a sense of nation. The threat of the other, and specifically the threat of the other's *clothes*, works to consolidate the importance of the English cloth industry for its subjects" (52).[4] The fashion catalogue included in the costume book functioned not only as a means of displaying the wares available in other lands but also as a form of defining the appropriate and customary clothing of a particular nation.[5] Wilson comments that, despite regional variations, similarities in forms of dress would foster a sense of collective identity in particular nations:

> Viewers from Venice, for example, would have identified more easily with Roman or Florentine attire than with the more articulated garments worn by those from distant lands. The conventions would have enabled Italians to compare their clothing with that of other locales, screening out the details that protruded beyond the contained contours of those costumes found in European centres. (*The World* 76)

In this way, by forcing viewers to recognize similarities and differences in visual representations of sartorial practice, Wilson asserts that costume books "...participated in the process of forging national boundaries" (*The World* 76). In regards to a volume produced in a particular country, often this sense of nationalism was produced not only by creating an identity in opposition to foreign dress but also by selecting or critiquing particular local types as being representative (or not) of the nation.[6]

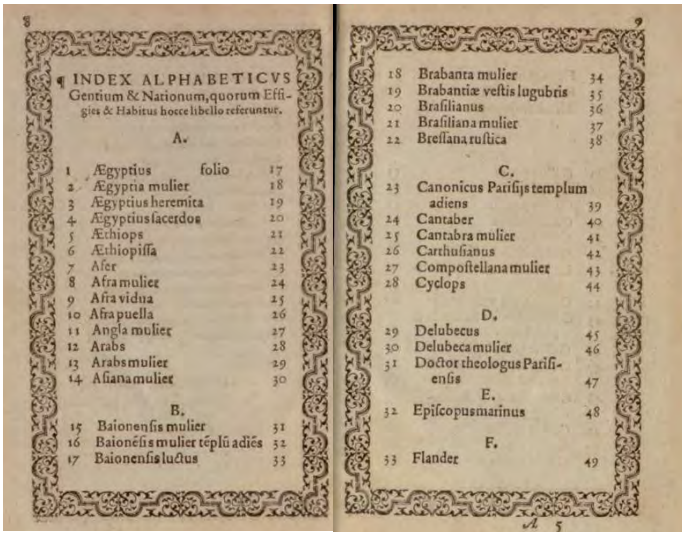
The costume book's focus on particular regional and national identities, as well as its establishment of an explicit center/periphery by virtue of the locales chosen, makes it a fascinating genre for the study of early modern nationalism(s). This is particularly true in relation to costume books printed in the Low Countries since Dutch printers often reformulated works published in France, Germany, or Italy. An analysis of the costume book *Omnium fere gentium*, which was produced during the initial phase of the Dutch Revolt, will highlight how the nationalistic thrust of the costume book manifests itself most clearly in relation to the political critique of foreign nations deemed hostile or uncivilized. *Omnium fere gentium* is largely a copy of the French costume book, *Recueil de la diversité* (Paris, 1562), which is often discussed as "the first costume book."[7] Since this French volume was produced for a child, the young King Henry IV of France, it has a slightly more humorous tone than other examples. The illustrations of

figures from a variety of nations are complemented by depictions of fantastic creatures, such as the "Episcopus marinus [Sea Bishop]" and the "Monachus marinus [Sea Monk]" (Fig. 1), which appear to communicate the "monstrosity" of Catholics.[8] In *Recueil de la diversité* many of the figures are explicitly labeled as "savages" and anti-Catholic sentiment is often apparent (Jones "Habits" 105-16, Urness viii).[9] Some of the unflattering illustrations in the volume include the portrait of an avaricious Portuguese woman, negative representations of members of the clergy, and the image of a "shameful" Spanish maiden (Fig. 2).[10]

With the exception of the illustration of "Le sauvage en pompe [The savage on display]" (Shannon 136), all of the images from *Recueil de la diversité* are retained in the costume book printed in Antwerp. However, instead of beginning with a voluminous series of illustrations of French costume, *Omnium fere gentium* arranges the figures alphabetically (Fig. 3). Close scrutiny of the illustrations from the two texts reveals some of the differences between the French and Dutch editions. In the costume book printed in Antwerp, it appears that both the borders of each illustration and the images themselves were printed from new woodcuts. The figures are very similar but slight differences attest to the fact that an artist simply sketched from the French costume book and new woodblocks were created for printing. The Dutch book, in addition to moving the text to face each illustration, also incorporates Latin epigrams by Jacobus Sluperius to accompany the French quatrains.[11] Nevertheless, as shall become apparent, not all of these epigrams can be considered "translations" and some of the original French poems were rewritten.

Figure 1. "Monachus marinus / Le Moyne marin"
Omnium fere gentium (Antwerp, 1572)
(Copyright Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)

Figure 2. "Hispana Mulier tonsa / La tondue d'Espaigne"
Omnium fere gentium (Antwerp, 1572)
(Copyright Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)



¶ INDEX ALPHABETICVS
Gentium & Nationum, quorum Effigies & Habitus hoc libello referuntur.

A.

B.

C.

D.

E.

F.

Figure 3. "Index Alphabeticus"
Omnium fere gentium (Antwerp, 1572)
(Copyright Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)

Given that *Omnium fere gentium* was published in Antwerp in 1572, a period of great political conflict between Spain and the Low Countries, both the historical context of the book's publication and the role of print culture in the rebellion against Spain are of utmost relevance. From the start of the Dutch Revolt, the printing press was a central means for representatives on both sides of the conflict to disseminate ideological and political messages. In her study of Hapsburg forms of communicating with the local populace during the conflict, Stensland argues that scholars have primarily examined Dutch propaganda and have failed to recognize the wide variety of forms of communication that were employed by the Spanish Crown (16).[12] These forms include proclamations, edicts, notices of ceremonial events (royal entries, religious processions, the commemoration of military events, etc.), pamphlets, and visual media (Stensland 18-23). Spanish political tracts and propaganda that circulated in the Low Countries provoked the local population to produce a plethora of printed matter that invoked nationalistic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Spanish discourse. While

increasing religious intolerance and excessive taxation were important contributors to the Dutch Revolt, the loss of local autonomy and the military intervention of the Spanish regime were key issues that helped to unite disparate sectors of the population.

Omnium fere gentium was published a few years after the Iconoclastic Fury or *Beeldenstorm* (1566), in which rebellious Dutch Calvinists destroyed altarpieces, statues, paintings, and other sacred Catholic images. In response to these open signs of rebellion and heresy, King Philip II promptly replaced the Governor-General Margaret of Parma with the more tyrannical Duke of Alba. After his arrival in the summer of 1567, Alba immediately began to undermine any past concessions and to suppress dissent. He quickly earned the nickname of "Iron Duke" by forming the infamous "Council of Blood," punishing the rebels, and vowing to stamp out any remnants of "...heresy, privileges and local autonomy" (Gelderen 40). Furthermore, Alba viewed censorship as a key tool and passed new laws regarding printed matter. As Stensland explains:

> …the revised overall censorship legislation that was issued in 1570 took as its point of departure that heresy and rebellion had been able to spread thanks to the "desordre" among printers, booksellers and schoolmasters, and that this was what made increased control of current practices both necessary and desirable. (38)

In spite of these new prohibitions, Dutch presses quickly spread graphic images of Alba's repressive regime, particularly of the violent executions of local nobles (Stensland 37).[13] Arnade proposes that the discourse of patriotism united the many regional, religious, and class factions in the Low Countries: "Rebels responded to Alba's governorship with a stream of patriotic lore vented in cheap prints, engravings, and pamphlets that portrayed the Netherlands as an imagined *patria* of virtuous citizens hounded by a zealous despoiler of cities and their rights" (169). Given the low rates of literacy in the Netherlands during this period, both word *and image* were central in the propaganda produced during the Dutch revolt (Stensland 16, 23-4).

The publication of *Omnium fere gentium* (1572) occurs after what Parker labels the "First Revolt" (against Margaret of Parma) and during the initial stages of the "Second Revolt" (against the Duke of Alba). It also coincides with the Spanish Crown's celebration of victory in the Battle of Lepanto (1571), which prompted the organization of elaborate celebrations

throughout the Low Countries that served to foment Spanish hegemony by underlining Philip II's military might (Stensland 35). The Dutch population appears to have recognized that these ceremonial events were part of the Hapsburg propaganda machine and viewed these celebrations with much antipathy. The local populace was particularly united in their opposition to the military occupation of towns throughout the Low Countries and could not view Spain's victory as a triumph. As Stensland argues, "…the regime's self-congratulatory discourse does not appear to have had much effect among those who had reasons to resent what the regime stood for" (35). The censorship of printing, along with the Spanish Crown's use of imperial celebrations as a visual reminder of its power, only further encouraged the local population to produce antagonistic texts.

Given this context, it is interesting to note that many of the explicitly anti-Catholic strains of the French costume book were removed from *Omnium fere gentium*. While the fantastic sea monsters in the shape of Church authorities were retained, the more scandalous French quatrains that were openly critical of members of the clergy were modified. The original poem describing "The monk" proclaims:

> Ce pourtrait cy que voyez, vous delivre,
> Du moyne au vif, ayant en main son livre.
> Si d'aventure il n'ayme la vertu,
> Pour recompense il est ainsi vestu. (Shannon 169)[14]

In the Dutch edition, however, the poem was revised to conclude by affirming the monk's virtuousness: "Il admoneste de ensuivre les vertuz, / S'il ne fait bien se trouvera confuz [He encourages all to follow the virtues / If he didn't do good, he would be confused.]" (103v).

Similarly, the French edition of 1567 begins by describing "The prior" as large and fat: "Pourtrait est cy, un gros et gras prieur [This portrait that you see, a large and fat prior]" (Deserps 23). In contrast, the Dutch version starts by presenting him as an honorable man: "Pourtrait est cy, l'honorable Prieur [This portrait that you see, the honorable Prior]."[15] These modifications in the descriptions of Catholic figures throughout the costume book reflect the repressive climate of the period, although it remains unclear if the changes were mandated by Spanish authorities or if the publishers reformulated the text from the very beginning for fear of punishment or censorship. The prefatory material of the book does include an approval dated 1569 by "Phillipus de Almaraz, Canonicus Antuerpien"

that seems to clearly indicate that censors sought to eliminate anti-Catholic rhetoric. Almaraz assures the reader that the volume "nil continet quod sit contra fidem Catholicam, aut quod pias aures offendere possit [does not contain that which is against the Catholic faith nor that which would offend pious ears]" (2).

While it is also possible that the printers of *Omnium fere gentium* were faithful Catholics, the revisions that praise Church authorities do not constitute the only major change in the Dutch costume book. The removal of negative images of the Catholic Church, which was most likely a response to Spanish censorship, is accompanied by other revisions that could be considered expressions of patriotic sentiment. Some of the Latin epigram "translations," unlike the often vapid French quatrains, seem to offer pointed responses to Spanish repression and alternative visions of Dutch subjects. While Alba's regime justified a broad range of punishments by alleging that the Dutch were heretical and rebellious, the Latin epigram provided to accompany the illustration of the "Flander" provides a contrary view (Fig. 4). While most of the Latin epigrams are loose translations of the French, this one seems to respond to the original quatrain that merely claims that Flemish men enjoy wearing short robes and are not quick to change their habits:

> Si du Flament veut sçavoir la vesture,
> Sa courte robe et sa maniere aussi
> Tu le verras par ceste pourtraiture
> Changer d'habit ce n'est point son soucy. (Shannon 168)[16]

Figure 4. "Flander / Le Flamend"
Omnium fere gentium (Antwerp, 1572)
(Copyright Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)

The Latin epigram, which is twice the length of the French original, seems to question this simplistic view. In providing a verbal portrait of the Flemish, it stresses qualities that are the antithesis of Alba's allegations: "…bonus est et largus egenis / In superosque pius [The Flemish man is good and generous to the needy / Unequal in conquering and pious]" (48v). The poem underlines Christian qualities and also provides a response to Spanish domination by suggesting militaristic ones. The altered commentary on the nature of the Flemish man serves to provide a critical response to the religious oppression, censorship, and military action that was initiated by the Duke of Alba.

Figure 5. "Flandrensis puella / La fille Flamende"
Omnium fere gentium (Antwerp, 1572)
(Copyright Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)

Another epigram that even more directly incites patriotic sentiment accompanies the illustration for the "fille Flamende" (Fig. 5). The original quatrain is somewhat simplistic and merely proclaims: "Qui fille belle et freche voir demande / … Doit contempler ceste fille Flamende [Whoever asks to see a girl who is beautiful and youthful / … Must contemplate this Flemish girl (Shannon 57)]" (Shannon 165). While the illustration is identical to the French edition, the Latin epigram that was added to the Dutch volume starts by introducing the maiden and ends with a call to battle. Though the figure of the "Flemish girl" only represents one of the provinces of the Low Countries, a young maiden was often used as a symbol for the entire nation in Dutch propaganda. Furthermore, the epigram accompanying the image seems to incite military action against the Spanish. After reading the Latin poem, which mentions several occupied cities, Dutch readers would be challenged to take up arms and reclaim the Low Countries:

Insignem facie vides puellam,

> Formosamque, comis, aevoque virente decoram,
> Quales Flandria nostra fert frequentes.
> At si quis nolit vel pictis credere tornis,
> Aut bis carminibus libellulisque
> Oppida Flandra petat, Gandensia moenia primo,
> Hinc Hypras adeat, deinde Brugas. (52v)[17]

The Latin poem shifts from a description of the maiden/motherland to what appears to be an invitation to visit the principal cities of Flanders to see such a maiden. Nevertheless, given the political context of the book's publication, these concluding lines sound like a battle cry. The verb forms of "petere" and "adire" from the closing verses, which have been rendered as "march," can also be translated as "attack." It is possible that this suggestion of the necessity of military action in the name of the Flemish maiden, while invoking a symbolic manifestation of the motherland, alludes specifically to the occupation of particular cities in Flanders by Spanish forces and calls on Dutch readers to defend the nation.

Although *Omnium fere gentium* does not provide a national costume to illustrate "the Netherlands" as a united entity nor does it link each of the provinces within a common frame, it exemplifies the role of a variety of print genres during the Dutch Revolt. It is apparent that from the very beginning of the rebellion, Spanish rule was viewed as a repressive regime that was to be contested not only by military action but also by means of the printing press. Despite prohibitions on propaganda and strict censorship laws, printers in the Low Countries produced very graphic images of Spanish repression as well as more subtle responses that served to consolidate a collective (national) identity in opposition to the representations of Dutch identity that were created by foreign powers. In his analysis of the anti-Hapsburg underpinnings of Dutch patriotism, Arnade concludes that centuries of regional divisions were finally forgotten in a battle against a common enemy:

> After the revolt of 1572, however, the figure of the citizen-patriot became inseparable from heady talk about the fatherland, a ratcheting up of an awareness of a cultural identity as Netherlanders … Not coincidentally, an affective attachment to the Netherlands as a territory steadily emerged among those in opposition to Habsburg political and religious policies. (11)

While Arnade's comprehensive study of the Dutch Revolt primarily highlights paternalistic conceptual metaphors, such as devotion to "the fatherland" and "the father prince" (William of Orange), the figure of the Dutch maiden as motherland frequently appears in printed images from the period as well. In a broadsheet entitled "Tirannie van Alva" (Fig. 6), for example, the seventeen provinces are personified by a group of maidens that sit in chains before the demonic Alba while paralyzed Dutch magistrates look upon them in silence.[18] Over time, however, these multiple maidens would gradually become consolidated into a single figure that would represent the motherland and a collective national identity in a variety of propagandistic illustrations. It is noteworthy that in the image that appears in a broadsheet entitled "Het Testament van het Twaalfjarig Bestand [Testament of the Twelve-Years Truce]" (Fig. 7), which loosely follows some of the elements of "Tirannie van Alva" in the central grouping of figures, a single maiden representing the Netherlands sits in one corner to accept the terms of the truce.

Given their position within a politically subordinate occupied space, Dutch publishers were reformulating the genre of the costume book within a quasi-colonial milieu and a period of crisis. While publishers in Italy, France, and Germany focused primarily on the fashions of their respective nations and provided limited space for more "peripheral" regions, the costume books printed in the Netherlands were able to revise some of the representations created by these foreign powers and simultaneously contest Spanish domination. In this sense, *Omnium fere gentium* and other politically-oriented forms of print culture that were produced during the Dutch Revolt seem to reveal that early modern nationalism was most fervent when the nation was under siege. As the rebellion against Spain intensified, the printing press would continue to be a central mode of both creating a collective identity and disseminating political critique in order to foster the creation of what would become the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

Figure 6. "Tirannie van Alva" (ca. 1569). Willem Jacobsz. RP-P-OB-79.001. (Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum)

Figure 7. Top Portion of "Het Testament van het Twaalfjarig Bestand" (1615) Claes Jansz. RP-P-OB-80.795. (Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum)

[1] The costume book is discussed at length in Wilson's *The World in Venice*, which focuses more broadly on print culture in early modern Venice. The appendices of her dissertation, *The "Eye" of Italy*, include an extensive bibliography of scholarship on the genre and examples of early modern costume books and manuscripts. See also Ilg, Jones, Olian, and Rosenthal and Jones (45-6).

[2] The precursors of the sixteenth-century costume book include a variety of illustrated travel narratives that contain depictions of foreign dress. There are a few modern editions/translations of costume books (Rosenthal and Jones, Shannon) and a number of costume books have been either partially or completely digitized. *Omnium fere gentium* (Antwerp, 1572), the principal focus of this article, can be viewed on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Bavarian State Library): http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00028653/image_1 . The third edition of *Recueil de la diversité* (Paris, 1567) is available on the website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. An example from Italy that is similarly titled *Omnium fere gentium* is available in two editions on the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de España. The most beautiful digitized example in the BNE collection is an exquisite copy of *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (Nuremburg, 1577) that features hand-colored woodcuts by Jost Amman.

[3] Examples of printed Hispanic costume books appear to be a later phenomenon. The earliest volume printed in Spain that follows the conventions of the costume book might be Cruz Cano y Olmedilla's *Colección de trajes de España, tanto antiguos como modernos* (Madrid, 1777). Still, there is evidence of the circulation of costume books in the Spanish Empire as well as the existence of an active manuscript tradition of documenting costume (Cummins, Rosenthal and Jones 28).

[4] Hentschell cites the influential study of Renaissance clothing by Jones and Stallybrass. Wilson also demonstrates that the loss in popularity of traditional Venetian forms of dress in favor of Spanish and French clothing was viewed to be analogous to military and political domination (*The World* 71).

[5] Both Defert and Jones ("Habits") discount the value of the costume book as a form of cataloguing contemporary fashion and primarily view the genre as a form of early modern ethnography.

[6] Ilg discusses the parallel between discussions of local "costume" and "custom" in examples of the genre (43-7) while Jones makes a similar distinction in relation to the dual significance of "habit" ("Habits"). Wilson notes that Venetian costume books often include images of the "cortesana" and display a dichotomy between "bad" and "respectable" women (*The World* 111-20). Guaman Poma's manuscript *Nueva coronica* also falls within this tradition as the Andean chronicler presents a series of unflattering portraits of Spaniards that depict their dress while narrating their misdeeds.

[7] Wilson states that records indicate that Enea Vico applied for a copyright in 1557 for the costume book *Diversarum gentium aetatis habitus*, which would make that publication earlier than the French volume (*The World* 292; note 3).

[8] *Recueil de la diversité* includes illustrations of four mythical creatures: the Cyclops, the Sea Monk, the Sea Bishop, and the Walking Monkey of Peru. See Jones ("Habits" 108-21) and Shannon (158; note 7) for further analysis of these images of "monsters."

[9] Shannon's edition of *Recueil de la diversité* (1562), which is based on a hand-colored first edition copy in the collection of the James Ford Bell Library of the University of Minnesota, is slightly different from the 1567 digitized edition held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Deserps) in that the type face used (*civilité*) is more difficult to read (Urness vii). There are also some slight changes in some of the quatrains (See note 14). I will primarily cite Shannon's facsimile edition of *Recueil de la diversité* (particularly for transcriptions and translations).

[10] Shannon posits that this woman, "La tondue d'Espaigne [the shorn woman of Spain]," (109) is most likely a sorceress charged by the Inquisition given her tambourine, shaved head, and the reference to shameful acts (158; note 9). It is also possible that she is a prostitute of the Spanish army, as Trexler describes them marching with the soldiers dressed like men (52).

[11] Although these quatrains are usually attributed to François Deserps, Jones disputes this claim ("Habits" 96).

[12] Stensland cites Harline's study as being representative of the focus on the Dutch rebels' use of print culture.

[13] Arnade's book also includes many images from this period (190, 206-7).

[14] [The portrait that you see, depicts for you, /A true-to-life monk, / holding his book in his hand. / If by chance he does not care for virtue, / To compensate he is dressed like this] (Shannon 77).

[15] Curiously, some of the anti-Catholic descriptions were already revised in later editions of *Recueil de la diversité* (1564 and 1567). Nearly all of the original French quatrains proclaim that secular and regular clergy are well-dressed but devoid of faith. For example, the description of "The Canon" is unflattering in the first French edition: "Gras et refait n'est seulement un moine / Fort bien nourry, bien couché, bien vestu: / Mais ainsi aise est le riche chanoine, Garny d'habits et non pas de vertu. [Not only is a monk fat and vigorous, / (He is) well fed, comfortably bedded, well dressed. / But the rich canon is thus content, / Adorned with clothes and not with virtue. (Shannon 76)]" (Shannon 169). Nevertheless, this quatrain was reformulated in subsequent editions and the revised (more reverent) quatrain is what appears in the Dutch edition: "Quand le Chanoine veut aller au Monstier / Pour assister à son divin service, / De tel habit il se vest volontier [When the Canon wishes to go to the Monastery / to attend his divine service / he usually wears this habit]" (*Omnium* 38v).

[16] [If you want to know about the clothes of a Flemish man, / His short robe and also his manner, / You will by this portrait, / To change his style of clothes is not his worry] (Shannon 72).

[17] [You see the figure of a remarkable girl / Beautiful and courteous, and with the passage of time, full of youth and grace / So like those our Flanders produces in great numbers. / Yet if some shall refuse to believe that such beauty is pictured / Nor heed the two poems of this little book / Then march through the province of Flanders, first to the ramparts of Ghent / Onward to Ypres march, then to Bruge].

[18] In reality, there are only thirteen maidens in this engraving but they are labeled as "the provinces." This broadsheet is a copy of one that is entitled "Alba's Throne," which does attempt to squeeze seventeen maidens into the picture. For a detailed analysis of this image, see Arnade (205-6) and Nierop (29-30).

Works Cited

Arnade, Peter. *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2008.

Bellero, Jean and Gilles van den Rade. *Omnium fere gentium nostraeque aetatis nationum habitus et effigies*. Antwerp, 1572.

Bertelli, Ferdinando. *Omnium fere gentium nostrae aetatis habitus*. Venice, 1569.

Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, Juan de la. *Colección de trajes de España, tanto antiguos como modernos*. Madrid: Casa de Copin, 1777.

Cummins, Thomas B. F. "Through the 'Devil's Looking-glass' Darkly: Brazilians, Peruvians, Aztecs, and Zemis in Europe; Serlio and Hercules in the Americas." *The Arts of South America: 1492-1850*. Ed. Donna Pierce. Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2010. 11-38.

___. "The Images in Murúa's *Historia General del Pirú*: An Art Historical Study." *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa's "Historia General del Piru."* Eds. Thomas Cummins and Barbara Anderson. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008. 147-73.

Defert, Daniel. "Un genre ethnographique profane au XVIe: les livres d'habits." *Histoires de l'anthropologie (XVIe-XIXe siécles)*. Ed. Brita Rupp-Eisenreich. Paris: Klincksieck, 1984. 25-41.

Deserps, François. *Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de present en usage [dans les] pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique et Illes sauvages*. 2nd ed. Paris: Richard Breton, 1564.

___. *Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de present en usage [dans les] pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique et Illes sauvages*. 3rd ed. Paris: Richard Breton, 1567.

Gelderen, Martin van. *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555-1590*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.

Harline, Craig. *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic*. Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff, 1987.

Hentschell, Roze. "A Question of Nation: Foreign Clothes on English Subjects." *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*. Ed. Catherine Richardson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004. 49-62.

Ilg, Ulrike. "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe." *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*. Ed. Catherine Richardson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004. 29-47.

Jones, Ann Rosalind. "'Worn in Venice and Throughout Italy:' The Impossible Present in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39.3 (2009): 511-44.

___. "Habits, Holdings, Heterologies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book." *Yale French Studies* 110 (2006): 92-121.

Jones, Ann Rosalind and Peter Stallybrass. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2000.

Nierop, Henk van. "Alva's Throne: Making Sense of the Revolt in the Netherlands." *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*. Ed. Graham Darby. London: Routledge, 2001. 29-47.

Olian, Jo Anne. "Sixteenth-Century Costume Books." *Dress* 3.28 (1977): 20-47.

Parker, Geoffrey. *The Dutch Revolt*. London: Penguin Books, 1977.

Rosenthal, Margaret and Ann Rosalind Jones. "Introduction: Vecellio and His World." *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas*. Eds. and Trans. Margaret Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones. London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008. 8-44.

Shannon, Sara, ed. and trans. *A Collection of the Various Styles of Clothing Which are Presently Worn in Countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Savage Islands, All Realistically Depicted*. Minneapolis: James Bell Library of the U of Minnesota, 2001.

Stensland, Monica. *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2012.

Trexler, Richard C. *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995.

Urness, Caroll. "Preface." *A Collection of the Various Styles of Clothing Which are Presently Worn in Countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Savage Islands, All Realistically Depicted*. Ed. and Trans. Sara Shannon. Minneapolis: James Bell Library of the U of Minnesota, 2001. vii-x.

Vecellio, Cesare. *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas*. Eds. and Trans. Margaret Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones. London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008.

Weiburg, Hans. *Habitus praecipuorum populorum, tam virorum quam foeminarum singulari arte depicti*. Nuremburg, 1577.

Wilson, Bronwen. *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2005.

_____. *The "Eye" of Italy: The Image of Venice and Venetians in Sixteenth-Century Prints*. Diss. Northwestern University, 1999.

"¡Ay, reino mal gobernado!": The Monarchy in Mira de Amescua's *Las desgracias del rey don Alfonso, el Casto*

Matthew D. Stroud
Trinity University

Until relatively recently, the conventional wisdom regarding the *comedia* held that the vast and remarkable cultural production of Spain's Golden Age not only mirrored its political dominance but served as imperial propaganda in the effort to project the Hapsburg monarchy, the Castilian language, the Iberian political and economic systems, and the Roman Catholic religion both at home and abroad.[1] More recent scholarship has found the relationship between imperial cultural production, politics, and society to be much more complicated, porous, and nuanced. Baroque art and literature teem with representations of racial and sexual diversity, class distinctions, and national identities, and the *comedia* is no different. Catherine Swietlicki has written that "Lope is capable of hearing the full presence of authentic alien voices, of tempering them by the oppositional process, and then writing the voices of the otherness with creative understanding" (219-20), and the same can be said for the genre as a whole. This willingness to explore and, at times, embrace, diversity in both political and cultural matters reveals not just an unwillingness to accept the imperial project *in toto* but an ongoing effort to criticize its aims and methods and expose the fissures, gaps, and inconsistencies in the monolithic imperial edifice. Even scholars who find it implausible that contemporary playwrights should have created openly subversive works performed in the center of empire still acknowledge that so many plays depict monarchs in a less than flattering light. Arsenio Alfaro, while asserting that the *comedia* served to instill in its audience "un fuerte sentimiento monárquico" (132), nevertheless concedes that the monarch on occasion falls short: "No todas las veces juega el monarca el papel de administrador recto de justicia o de gobernante concienzudo y responsable o de hombre virtuoso y magnánimo" (136). David Román believes that Philip IV viewed the theater "as a locale where the illusion of power could be constructed and maintained" (76) while simultaneously acknowledging the possibility that Calderón should write a play that is not just "a commentary on the events

of the period as well as the King's manner of style and governance" (78) but one that is, in more general terms, "critical of absolute power" (77).

Even plays that are based upon history convey multiple messages simultaneously. Historical facts, of course, cannot be changed, but in a work of literature they can be remembered, contextualized, ordered, ignored, forgotten, manipulated, and deployed in ways that have ends other than the accurate recounting of events. Drawing upon Aristotle, Nietzsche, and Barthes, A. Robert Lauer asserts that history, in theatrical form or otherwise, and despite factual references, is always a function of the writer's interpretation and imagination. For him, indeed, "the term historical play is a misnomer. At best, it may describe, in very general terms, a work which uses historical personages (or names) for the poet's aesthetic, moral, or political intentions" (17). Those who see the potential for literature to be used as political propaganda are not wrong when they note the ability of art to create, reinforce, and glorify the images and identities that nations hold of themselves and the relationships of individuals to the larger society. From Numancia to the Reconquest to discovery and expansion in the New World, Spain had amassed an impressive historical record on which to base a mythology of national identity that was syncretic in its nature, exceptional in its formation, and ordained by God to fulfill its goals. Given this material available to the playwrights, however, it is most curious that so many historical *comedias* focus on personal, secondary, and legendary aspects of the historical figures and events, often presented in a conflicted, ironic way. Guillén de Castro's *Las mocedades del Cid*, for example, focuses on the problems caused by the Cid's killing of Jimena's father over a point of honor. Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna* demonstrates that in the hands of a master, it is possible to construct a play that at once praises the monarchs while simultaneously criticizing the rule by noble elites (Stroud 249-54, 257-59). Given these and other examples, such as Lope's *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* and even Tirso's *El burlador de Sevilla*, one is tempted to assert a definite trend in popular theater against the unalloyed veneration of the traditional elements of Spanish history—monarchy, nationalism, colonization, and political and religious warfare.

Among these notable examples of people, actions, and eras that represent missteps and lapses in this march toward hegemonic greatness, few can rival the uncertain and troubling reigns of Mauregato and Alfonso II, "el Casto," at the turn of the ninth century. In the many *comedias* written

about their reigns,[2] the former is depicted as a ruthless, obsessed usurper, willing to go so far as to sell his subjects into concubinage in order to attain power, and the latter as an unfortunate monarch whose weak, feckless, and irresponsible character led to repeated errors in judgment and statecraft. It is the tension between praise and criticism that this study hopes to explore by focusing on Mira de Amescua's *Las desgracias del rey don Alfonso el Casto*, written between 1598 and 1603 (Maldonado Palmero 359). Hardly one of the emblematic figures of Spain's glorious past, Alfonso is nevertheless credited with enough admirable achievements during the early centuries of the Reconquest for one to imagine a play that reminded his audience of his more positive contributions. One of Spain's two longest reigning monarchs, [3] Alfonso II counted among his achievements numerous victories against the Moors, first at Lisbon in 798 and later at Narón and Anceo in 825; the political reorganization of Galicia, León, and Castilla; the establishment of a court in Oviedo, where he built churches and a palace and donated the Cruz de los Ángeles to the Iglesia de San Salvador; and, at least according to tradition, the discovery of the tomb of Santiago at Compostela. Except for the appearance of the cross at the end of Act 3, and the incorporation of the legend of its creation by angels included in the somewhat dubious *Historia silense* (Alonso Álvarez 25-29), however, none of these exemplary actions are mentioned in the play. Limiting its scope to the first few turbulent years of his reign, the play pays considerably greater attention to a series of unlucky occurrences that indicate that his reign is not looked upon favorably by Fortune, his political ineptitude at manipulating and controlling the arrogant egos and seditious intrigues of his court, the usurpation of the throne by Mauregato, and the worrying detail that the very chastity for which he is known is a sign of a lack of virility.[4]

The play opens at a moment of celebration and national pride that only imperfectly conceals the significant political intrigue beneath. The death of King Silo in 783 brought about a power struggle between two descendants of Alfonso I: his grandson and the son of King Fruela, Alfonso, and Mauregato, the bastard son of Alfonso I and a Moorish woman. Supported by his aunt, Adosinda, Alfonso has been elected king, leaving Mauregato unrewarded and unsatisfied. At his first coronation, Alfonso promises to rule the lands bequeathed to him by the Romans and the Visigoths, to reunite the peninsula rent asunder by the failure of the "desdichado

Rodrigo" (103), and to astonish Spain with his great deeds (2-8). However, his misfortunes begin as soon as the symbols of his power are bestowed upon him: the crown falls from his head and the royal pendant breaks and tumbles to the floor. The sudden shift from glory and optimism to worry and trepidation not only leaves Alfonso shaken (174-75), it foreshadows a series of events beyond his control; almost everything that Alfonso does makes matters worse, and the few successes he has in the play are largely the result of characters far luckier and more competent than the king. Alfonso's own sister, Jimena, is secretly married to Sancho, the Conde de Saldaña, without the king's permission. Together they have a son, Bernardo,[5] who currently lives as a rustic with Gonzalo, Sancho's uncle (397), both to protect him from any negative repercussion of keeping Jimena and Sancho's marriage secret as well as to keep him unaware of his royal bloodline. Such secrecy serves as an indication not only of his sister's lack of trust in her brother, but Alfonso's general ignorance regarding things of importance even in his immediate family.

A second nexus of characters involves Elvira, one of Jimena's ladies-in-waiting, who has attracted the attention of both Ancelino, Sancho's nephew, and Suero, Gonzalo's son. During a dispute between the two suitors, Suero accuses Ancelino of lying (416). They reach for their swords, but Suero leaves rather than dishonor the court in such a way. In the course of Alfonso's investigation of this commotion, Ancelino does indeed lie, declaring that it was he who accused Suero of lying rather than vice-versa, thus dishonoring Suero. Alfonso has Ancelino imprisoned and attempts to reward Suero, but his bungled efforts to calm the situation and make things right only heighten the conflict. Alfonso twice proposes a marriage between Elvira and Suero. The first time Suero is so enraged and distracted by Ancelino's lie that he is unable to express his joy at this outcome, and Elvira perceives his unhappiness as indifference to her (528-29). The second time the king commands him, "Dadle la mano" (537), Suero misunderstands, thinking that the king wants him to shake hands with Ancelino, and refuses. What could have been a happy and just resolution ends badly as Suero exits without giving an explanation, leaving Elvira insulted and the king confused.

Ancelino, now imprisoned and furious at both Alfonso and Suero, decides to seek revenge against both men, thus ensuring that the misfortunes presaged by the crown and the staff will come to pass. He

escapes with a vow to be a "segundo Julián" (774); the reference to the overthrow of King Rodrigo, which ended the unified Gothic kingdom of Spain and opened the door to eight centuries of Moorish rule, is yet another indication that a hereditary monarchy is only as stable as its ability to fend off rivals and enemies. He leaves a note indicating his intent to bring an end to Alfonso's reign by supporting one of the other "pretensores de su reino," either "el valiente Mauregato, hijo bastardo del primer Alfonso" or "el conde de Saldaña, habiendo [un hijo] en doña Jimena, hermana de vuestra merced" (834). Alfonso reads Ancelino's challenge, and, although he is concerned by the internal threats posed by such open hostility, he seems more surprised by the news that Jimena has a son, and he turns his attention away from both the Reconquest and the treason in his own court, focusing instead on his sister and her son. In an attempt to trick Jimena into revealing that she is married to Sancho, Alfonso proposes that his sister marry so that she might produce a royal heir. His plan fails—not only does she not admit her marriage, she insults him for not having children of his own; his chastity and purity, she alleges, are more appropriate for a woman (861-64)—so he pretends to poison her, ostensibly in order to protect his own honor (925-1009). Jimena reveals that she does indeed have a son, but she lies to Alfonso when he asks her directly if Sancho is the boy's father (1004-5). The act ends as he orders Jimena to a convent (1036-39) and Sancho to a tower (1115).

Alfonso's poor decisions and heavy-handed reactions in Act 1 have terrible consequences in Act 2. Ancelino leaves a shield, a lance, and a crown where Mauregato will be sure to find them. Mauregato puts on the crown and takes up the lance; he will depose Alfonso, whom he insults as "medio hombre y mujer" (1229). Ancelino echoes this barb at Alfonso's lack of virility when he declares Mauregato to be the rightful "husband" who will know how to please León: "que el esposo que ha tenido, / como siempre casto ha sido, / no la ha sabido agradar" (1292-94). In what is perhaps an indirect criticism of trusting one's *privados* always to have the king's best interests at heart, Ancelino and his men pledge their loyalty to Mauregato (1347-49), who makes the promise for which he is most notorious: he will hand over 100 maidens to a Moorish captain in return for his support (1659-60).[6] Ancelino's wrath has been completely transformed from personal revenge to open rebellion: "Si queremos matar, muerte daremos" (1696). Meanwhile, Jimena's son, Bernardo, struggles to balance

his desire for Sancha, a young woman who rebuffs his amorous overtures, with his strong desire to be a soldier and fight the Moors (1375-1424). His deliberations are interrupted both by distant drums that inspire the young man to go with the army and by the appearance of Suero, who recounts the intrigues at court, his dishonor at the hands of Ancelino, and his failure to demand immediate satisfaction because he was too stunned and confused to respond. Bernardo offers to defend Suero's honor, describing himself in hyberbolic terms: "magnánimo gigante" (1575), "colérico elefante" (1577), "tigre" (1580), "leona" (1581), "mar con su tormenta" (1586), "toro" (1587), and "Rayo de esta nube" (1589). Given this show of bravado, it is impossible not to contrast Bernardo with Alfonso, whose indecisiveness led to so much of the drama. Likewise, Gonzalo is sorely disappointed that his son failed to defend his honor regardless of the king's threats (1548-54), and he banishes him from his table and his house until this shame has been eradicated (1612-14). Linking various subplots, Suero asks Bernardo to go to León to find out if Alfonso has imprisoned Ancelino.

In Alfonso's only appearance in this act, he hears the drums and shouts of Mauregato's forces offstage. He does not even know if the attacking army is French, Spanish, or Moorish, but he discovers that many *leoneses* are joining this attack upon his reign (1759-62). Alfonso admits that he is not a good king ("Sin duda no soy buen rey," 1767) and, hoping that his subjects will not abandon him "por malo que he sido" (1856), he finds himself alone, while Mauregato is triumphant: armed, crowned, with a lance on his shoulder, he declares to all that he is the ideal king (1801-4). Lamenting the loss of his kingdom, Alfonso exits the stage as he flees to Navarra where he hopes to amass an army and retake his place as king.[7]

The rest of Act 2 continues to tie together the various plot strands motivated by Alfonso's earlier decisions. In an effort to reclaim Suero's honor, Bernardo challenges Ancelino to a duel (1971-72). Ancelino and his men believe him to be nothing more than a *villano* and a *criado* (1987), unworthy of their attention; Ancelino is, after all, a king-maker ("hice rey a Mauregato," 2027) who does not retreat from a challenge. Nevertheless, there is something in his strength and resolve that causes them to respond to him with caution. In sharp contrast to his dealings with Alfonso, they opt not to cross the formidable young man. Making her first appearance since the middle of Act 1, Elvira reappears, this time pursued by Mauregato and the Moorish captain. The predicament in which she finds herself as the

object of desire of so many different men, is, in her view, entirely Alfonso's fault: "¡Ay, reino mal gobernado! / ¡República de mil yerros!" (2083-84). Bernardo again comes to the rescue, this time attempting to fend off the captain's unwanted advances. Surprised by his bravado and calling him a "monstruo de naturaleza" (2124), the Moors leave, and the act closes with an amorous duet: Bernardo declares his love for and protection of Elvira; recognizing him as the son of Jimena and Saldaña (2185), she leaves with the future hero, whose boldness and poise cause the historical Alfonso to pale even further in comparison.

Indeed, the axis around which much of the plot revolves in Act 3 is not the king but is, in fact, Bernardo. His interest in Elvira causes unhappiness for Sancha, who is disappointed that her beloved traded away her love for that of a woman of much higher social status, but Suero is delighted to see Elvira once more, and he is hopeful that he can reclaim both his lost honor and his lost love. Elvira restates her belief that all the problems, from the conflicts among former friends to the usurpation of the throne, are the fault of "el gran descuido de Alfonso, / y los pecados del reino" (2361-62), especially his decision to imprison Saldaña. For different reasons, Gonzalo agrees that the Christian nation is in grave trouble: "¡Qué miserias y ruinas / te vienen ya persiguiendo!" (2425-26). Fathers weep like children as mothers watch their daughters forced to depart for Moorish lands as payment for the Moorish captain's support of the usurper. No one appears to have the power or the will to stop this "bárbaro ofrecimiento" (2386), least of all Mauregato, who not only refuses to put an end to the abduction of young women but becomes more obstinate when pressed to intervene (2406-10). The usurper is an arrogant and menacing tyrant who vows to burn León to the ground if it doesn't do as he bids (2437-38), but, in a sudden turn of events, Mauregato sees his own funeral procession led by a demon (2483-84); just before he dies, he comes to understand that even a king is subject to forces beyond his control: "Quien mal hace, mal recibe; / [e]l que mal vive, mal muere" (2506-7). In yet another not-so-veiled criticism of *privanza*, Ancelino sees the death of the monarch as an opportunity, and decides to keep the king's death to himself in order to govern in his stead. Standing beside the king like a ventriloquist, he orders Sancho imprisoned (2538-39) and the Moorish captain taken into custody, all in an effort to reclaim Elvira for himself (2538-51). Just at the moment when Ancelino revels in the effectiveness of his "majestad fingida" (2494),

he learns of the return of Alfonso with a large army; as the consummate opportunist, he shifts his allegiance and feigns delight that León is now free of Mauregato (2615-23).[8]

As the play draws towards its conclusion, the action shifts quickly from one subplot to another. Alluding to his responsibility for all the misery that León has suffered ("mis degracias y destierro largos," 2770) and demonstrating that his judgment is still flawed, Alfonso pardons the traitorous Ancelino (2789-90) while ordering Sancho to remain in prison. Suero complains that Alfonso was wrong when he misjudged the conflict between himself and Ancelino in Act 1, and he is wrong now. Stunned by the accusation, Alfonso orders the deaths first of Suero and then of Bernardo when the latter intervenes to defend Suero (2834-35) and question Alfonso's decision to deny a faithful servant the opportunity to recover his lost honor while simultaneously and unjustly honoring traitors (2844-49). The king's *desgracias* continue as a French army arrives to take Oviedo (2862-63),[9] leading Alfonso to accept his responsibility for the turmoil of his reign: "Sin duda soy injusto, pues cristianos / no me dejan en paz" (2871-72). At last, Gonzalo reveals that Bernardo is also of royal blood, a fact that Alfonso suspected due to the young man's impressive qualities (2993-94). Despite having just sentenced him to death, Alfonso now embraces Bernardo as a nobleman and a knight, grants him *privanza* (2998-3002), and sends him to victory against the invaders. To commemorate this success, Alfonso orders his silversmiths to fabricate the "Cruz de los Ángeles" for the Church of San Salvador.[10] The final loose ends are tied up when Sancha is revealed to be the king's niece; she will marry Bernardo and Elvira will marry Suero. The play, and Alfonso's misfortunes, come to an end as the cross descends, resplendent, from above; miraculously, however, it is not the work of silversmiths but of angels: "ángeles os labraron / con tan infinitas gracias, / sin duda que aquí os dejaron / por señal que mis desgracias / con vuestra vista acabaron" (3362-66).

In an attempt to figure out what one is to make of this unflattering portrayal of the monarchy, one might note that it is informed by two well-established populist characteristics of the *comedia*, one theatrical and the other ideological. First, it is human nature that those without power like to see those with power cast in a bad light, so it is no surprise that, from Aristophanes forward, plays that show the misdeeds and failings of the

powerful have proved quite popular with theater-going audiences. At the same time, popular theater has curiously been the beneficiary of a certain exceptionalism, allowed to broach topics that in "serious" genres would not have been tolerated. Different monarchs may have allowed the theater greater or lesser leeway in its jabs at both the institution of the monarchy and certain individuals at court, but it was always a delicate matter to veer close enough to the line of acceptability to please the public without incurring the wrath of the king and his censors. One strategy, of course, was to displace the public's attention from the reigning monarch to those at a considerable distance, either geographically (as in Calderón's *La cisma de Ingalaterra*), or chronologically, as we see in this play by Mira. The reasons why any monarch would tolerate even such indirect criticism are many and, ironically, may have served the crown, from the theater's ability to distract the public from the real-world woes of a bad economy and endless warfare, to the creation of a "free space" that allowed for a bit of political venting by proxy, to the possibility that even a lackluster monarch might look better in contrast to some truly cruel and incompetent kings of old. Indeed, depictions of royal ineptitude might actually serve to humanize the monarchy so that the powerless might cut their ruler some slack. Political theorists such as Rivadeneyra, who accepted the Catholic notion that one must always strive toward virtue, thus rejected Machiavellian political expediency and accepted "the fact that a monarch who is inexperienced, badly educated or ill-advised, or even temperamentally unsuited to the role, may have to learn on the job" (Thacker 174). In Margaret Greer's terminology, it is quite possible that loyalty to the monarch and criticism of his actions and politics are not incompatible: "'loyal criticism,' if not 'loyal opposition,' remained possible in the court of Philip IV; in fact, particularly as the consciousness of crisis deepened with the advancing century, some subjects considered it an obligation, however delicate, of true friends of the royalty" (330).

While a strategy of constructive criticism is definitely possible, especially in a case such as that of Calderón, it is also quite possible that other playwrights, less dependent upon the monarch for their livelihoods and perhaps more humanist in their ideology, should have sought to express, however dislocated the actual subject of their works by time and space, more liberal criticism of absolute monarchical power. Indeed, one cannot deny the continued influence throughout the Baroque of Renaissance

humanism, which began the long and dangerous process of pointing out that hereditary monarchies and classes based upon accidents of birth were inherently contrary to the notion that all human beings, as theologians, philosophers, and even political writers noted, are born equal and all shall die equal. Jodi Campbell reminds us that, in his *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes "left no room for divine right as an element of kingly rule: kings were ordinary men chosen by their subjects, who then conferred sovereign power upon them" (2). More than a century earlier, especially in his *Adages*, Erasmus exposed the failings of monarchs; indeed, it has been argued that no scholar of early modern Europe did more to "mitigate the tyranny of princes" (White 5521). This political theory began at the turn of the sixteenth century and became praxis with the American and French revolutions of the late eighteenth century and that continues today. Such a powerful and appealing notion clearly waned in the seventeenth century; as George Mariscal has noted, "the idea of an autonomous individual was limited in the seventeenth century to a humanist anthropology that had been significantly co-opted and transformed by residual discourses and by the mechanisms of the absolutist state" (38), but by no means did it disappear. Despite his many vociferous critics, Erasmus was widely read and admired by men of thought (White 5512), his ideas continued to be quite influential throughout the Golden Age, and it is virtually impossible to separate his philosophical ideas from a political agenda. Under the crushing weight of religious and political censorship, authors, and especially playwrights, were able to argue in favor of the idea that the true character of a nation lay in its people, not in those who, without the expressed consent of the people, happened to hold positions of leadership and superiority. They were able to do so by disguising their humanist ideals in plain sight in the public theater by strategically shifting the focus either geographically to other nations or historically to earlier periods. In other words, at the height of royal power coupled with religious oppression, Spanish thought, including its theatrical manifestations, continued, however tentatively, to lay the groundwork for further progress in the articulation of the rights of all human beings and the concomitant diminution of the notion that monarchs are divinely chosen, infallible, and omnipotent. It is no accident that in so many plays the king is presented as enormously flawed while the greatness of the Spanish character lies in those of lesser status, from Bernardo del Carpio, who spent his youth as a *campesino*, to the

Cid whose virtue and strength eclipsed that of Alfonso IV, and even in the villagers of *Fuenteovejuna*.[11] According to Luther, of course, Erasmus was quite capable of exposing error, but he did not know how to reach the truth (White 5520), and it is perhaps this facet of his political thought and its influence that explains why one often encounters criticism of the monarchy and the system of rule by patronage distributed in particular to the *privados*, but neither the authors nor the society that sheltered them were willing or able to take the next step to "reach the truth" and propose an alternative system of civil rule. Erasmus, and the literature that furthered his ideas, was not yet able to state openly its opposition to monarchy, but they paved the way for the more radical ideas of the eighteenth century. The *comedia*, in ways both subtle and not so subtle, and in defiance of so many other controlling social institutions, repeatedly strives to establish the principle that all human beings, including those of humble birth, are endowed with dignity, while the monarch himself may suffer from the failings inherent in human nature.

Notes

[1] Even Maldonado Palmero's introduction to the 2005 edition of Mira's play used here notes that the "utilización del pasado podía servir como motivo de exaltación patriótica y cristiana, mostrando una España católica y triunfante, instrumento en muchos casos de propaganda bélica y nacionalista" (359).

[2] Alfonso's errors of judgment and statecraft are also the subject of Juan de la Cueva's *La libertad de España por Bernardo del Carpio* (1579); four plays by or attributed to Lope de Vega: *Las famosas asturianas*, most likely written between 1610 and 1612 (Morley and Bruerton 325), *Los prados de León* (probably 1604-6, Morley and Bruerton 381), *El casamiento en la muerte* (1595-97, Morley and Bruerton 218), and *Las mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio* (1599-1608, if it was in fact written by Lope, Morley and Bruerton 515); and two plays by Cubillo de Aragón, *El conde de Saldaña* and *Los hechos de Bernardo del Carpio, Segunda Parte del Conde de Saldaña*. In addition to being criticized *in absentia* in two of these plays (Lope's *Las famosas asturianas* and *Los prados de León*), Mauregato appears as the monarch in *Las doncellas de Simancas* (written before 1630 but probably not by Lope, Morley and Bruerton 449), which also mentions his rivalry with Alfonso, as well as in the play by Mira under consideration here.

[3] Alfonso VIII holds the title of most years spent as designated monarch (1158-1214), but if one discounts the twelve years of his reign spent in regency, Alfonso II becomes the monarch with the longest reign. Elected twice as king, in 782 or 783 and again in 791, his first, disputed reign was quite brief as the throne was seized by the illegimate son of Alfonso I, Mauregato, who in turn was succeeded by Alfonso's cousin, Bermudo. His second reign lasted from 791-842.

[4] Alfonso's chastity is not just an indication of a lack of virility; that a monarch should refuse to produce an heir is an abdication of one of his principal duties. Hereditary monarchy relies upon the idea that power will properly pass indefinitely from a competent, legitimate king to his competent, legitimate heir (usually, but not always, a son). In Lope's *Los prados de León*, King Bermudo notes that he much preferred a life of religious contemplation, but he married and had two sons "por vuestro gusto" (434a), that is, in order to satisfy the obligation of his office. Even

when the situation is quite different, and a king desires very much to produce a legitimate heir, much can go wrong, as was the case with the last two Hapsburg kings of Spain. A promising heir might not live long enough to occupy the throne, as was the case with Baltasar Carlos; the heir may eventually become king but be burdened by such physical or mental deficiencies as to cripple the dynasty and the state, as happened under Carlos II; whose inability or unwillingness to procreate brought an end the the Hapsburg dynasty in Spain.

[5] Bernardo del Carpio is never identified by his full name in the play, but one can assume that Mira's audience was familiar enough with his story to realize that Alfonso's nephew was, in fact, the legendary hero.

[6] This shocking, revealing, and eminently dramatic episode, which Mira presents as an important, but secondary, plot element that portrays the monarch as a figure of dishonor, humiliation, and barbarity, is more central to the plots of Lope's *Las famosas asturianas* and *Las doncellas de Simancas*. The bravery of the women of Asturias and León as the real heroes of the history of the Reconquest casts the monarchs in an even worse light.

[7] Mauregato's usurpation of the throne came so quickly and decisively after the initial, disputed election of Alfonso that most authorities do not even note that Alfonso served any time as king in 783.

[8] Once again, historical accuracy is sacrificed for dramatic purposes as the intervening reign of King Bermudo (789-91) is omitted completely.

[9] The arrival of the French army provides a strong literary resonance of yet another disgraceful episode in the reign of Alfonso II, his willingness to cede Christian Spain to France in return for protection from the Moorish forces. Although this aspect of the history and legend associated with Alfonso II is not explored in this play, it is quite important in Cueva's *La libertad de España por Bernardo del Carpio*, Lope's *El casamiento en la muerte*, and Cubillo's *El conde de Saldaña* and *Los hechos de Bernardo del Carpio, Segunda Parte del Conde de Saldaña*.

[10] The creation of the "Cruz de los Ángeles" also appears in Lope's *Las famosas asturianas* (365a-b). In Lope's version, rather than providing an opportunity to recount the legend of the angels, the question of how and where one might find competent silversmiths provides an occasion to discuss both the talents and the greediness of the Jews.

[11] Burningham (22-23) reminds us that the driving force of aristocracies is honor, while that of democracies is virtue, and, indeed, in many of these characters we see play out the difference between honor (doing what one is told, doing what brings the most personal rewards) and virtue (doing what is right).

Works Cited

Alfaro, Arsenio. "Observaciones sobre el rey y el sentimiento monárquico en la comedia española de la edad de oro." *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 34.1-2 (1968): 132-39. Print.

Alonso Álvarez, Raquel. "El origen de las leyendas de la Cruz de los Ángeles y la Cruz de la Victoria (catedral de Oviedo): *cruces gemmatae* al servicio de la propaganda episcopal." *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder: Revista de Estudios Medievales*, no. 5 (2010): 23-33. Web.

Burningham, Bruce R. *Tilting Cervantes: Baroque Reflections on Postmodern Culture*. Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 2008. Print.

Campbell, Jodi. *Monarchy, Political Culture, and Drama in Seventeenth-Century Madrid: Theater of Negotiation*. Ashgate: Aldershot, HAM (UK); Burlington, VT (USA), 2006. Print.

Greer, Margaret Rich. "Art and Power in the Spectacle Plays of Calderón de la Barca." *PMLA* 104 (1989): 329-39. Print.

Lauer, A. Robert. "The Use and Abuse of History in the Spanish Theater of the Golden Age: The Regicide of Sancho II as Treated by Juan de la Cueva, Guillén de Castro, and Lope de Vega." *Hispanic Review* 56.1 (1988): 17-37. Print.

Maldonado Palmero, Gabriel. "Introducción." *Las desgracias del rey don Alfonso, el Casto*. By Antonio Mira de Amescua. Ed. Gabriel Maldonado Palmero. *Teatro completo*. 10 vols. Ed. Agustín de la Granja. Granada: U Granada P, 2005. 5: 359-66. Print.

Mariscal, George. *Contradictory Subjects: Quevedo, Cervantes, and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991. Print.

Mira de Amescua, Antonio. *Las desgracias del rey don Alfonso, el Casto*. Ed. Gabriel Maldonado Palmero. *Teatro completo*. 10 vols. Ed. Agustín de la Granja. Granada: U Granada P, 2005. 5: 357-464. Print.

Román, David. "Calderón's Open Secret: Power, Policy, and Play in El secreto a voces and the Court of Phillip IV." *New Historicism and the Comedia: Poetics, Politics, and Praxis*. Ed. José A. Madrigal. Boulder, CO: Society of Spanish and Spanish-American Studies, 1997. 69-82. Print.

Stroud, Matthew D. "The Play of Means and Ends: Justice in Lope's Fuenteovejuna." *Neophilologus* 92.2 (2008): 247-62. Print.

Swietlicki, Catherine. "Lope's Dialogic Imagination: Writing Other Voices of Monolithic Spain." *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 40 (1988): 205-26. Print.

Thacker, Jonathan. *Role-Play and the World as Stage in the Comedia*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2002. Print.

Vega Carpio, Lope Félix de. *Las famosas asturianas*. *Obras escogidas*. Ed. Federico C. Sainz de Robles. 3 vols. 4a. ed. Vol. 1. Madrid: Aguilar, 1964. 335-67. Print.

—. *Los prados de León*. *Obras de Lope de Vega*. Ed. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch. Vol. 4. Madrid: Atlas 1952. 433-54. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 52. Print.

White, Andrew D. "Erasmus (1465?-1536)." *Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern*. Ed. Charles Dudley Warner. 46 vols. New York: International Society, 1896. 14: 5509-37. Print.

Harmony as Narrative in "La española inglesa"

Gregory Baum
Indiana University, Bloomington

At the end of "La española inglesa", Cervantes offers a final exemplum with two key parts:

> Esta novela nos podría enseñar cuánto puede la virtud, y cuánto la hermosura, pues son bastantes juntas, y cada una de por sí, a enamorar aun hasta los mismos enemigos; y de cómo sabe el cielo sacar, de las mayores adversidades nuestras, nuestros mayores provechos. (100)

The exemplum comes at the end of a long story full of upsets and reversals. It fulfills the promise of the title of the *Novelas ejemplares* by providing, much more directly than in other *novelas*, a straightforward articulation of the exemplarity that has been represented. Much criticism of "La española inglesa" has turned on this question of exemplarity, with some critics accepting Cervantes's stated exemplum and integrating it into a larger account of the *Novelas*, and other critics rejecting both the exemplum and the potential exemplarity.[1]

Rather than attempting to position Cervantes's story along axes of idealism or exemplarity, this essay asks how the exemplum indicates larger thematic and aesthetic concerns within the *novela*. Examining the exemplum as the terminus to the thematic and narrative trajectory of the *novela* reveals a sustained preoccupation, throughout the *novela*, with the Renaissance connection of beauty to harmony. This connection provides a way of reading the *novela* as Cervantes's attempt to imagine a text whose beauty is located in narrative harmony. This essay first argues that a reading of Isabela as the narrative source for the exemplum encounters insurmountable difficulties. Then the essay shows the importance of the story of Harmonia and the range of philosophical and aesthetic appropriations of that myth that Cervantes uses to shape the *novela*'s narrative structure.[2] To that end, the essay investigates beauty as a historically specific concept that, for this *novela*, has a structural and procedural role in the narrative, rather than simply being an aesthetic effect.

The essay concludes by arguing for the importance of narrative harmony to the thematic concerns raised in the exemplum.

In approaching this argument about the role of harmony as a structural and an aesthetic principle, this essay takes seriously Cervantes's claim that the *novela* can teach us how beauty and virtue can enamor enemies. To that end, the essay intervenes in critical trends that propose an ending full of discursive upheaval and ideological resistance.[3] Cervantes's claim in the exemplum, contrary to much of the scholarship regarding this *novela*, is that the text should reveal harmony, an *enamorar* that changes *enemigos* into *amigos*.[4] In the *novela*, this transformation of enemies to friends is linked to beauty and virtue. A primary question for this essay is how and why the experience of beauty might alter enemies into friends. The text begins by offering a clear candidate in Isabela for the type of beauty that might produce such transformations. As we shall see, though, this model of beauty fractures and falters under closer examination. It is only through the narrative, aesthetic, and thematic balancing of harmony that an alternative model of beauty can emerge and fit the claim in the exemplum.

Enamoring Enemies

"La española inglesa" begins after a battle. English soldiers, under the command of the Earl of Leicester, have sacked Cádiz. One of those Englishmen, a noble named Clotaldo, stumbles across a seven-year-old Spanish girl named Isabel. Smitten by her beauty (and the narrator is quick to assure us that Clotaldo's love is, of course, purely Christian), Clotaldo hides the girl and succeeds in smuggling her back to England, despite the efforts of her parents and the orders of his commanding officer. As the girl grows up alongside Clotaldo's son, Ricaredo, the two young people fall in love. Ricaredo is forced to prove his love for and loyalty to Isabela, while Isabela must prove her faithfulness and devotion by waiting for him. After numerous twists and turns, the story ends with their happy reunion only moments before Isabela is about to enter a convent.

The first section of this essay must consider how Isabela's beauty fails to fulfill the promise of the *novela*'s exemplum. From the beginning of the text, Isabela's beauty is at the heart of the narrative's momentum: Isabela's beauty prompts Clotaldo to kidnap her. Indeed, Isabela's identity is bound up in her extraordinary beauty and virtue. When Clotaldo first sees Isabela,

for example, the narrator informs us that Isabela's beauty is "incomparable" (48). Problematically, this supposedly incomparable beauty is instantly compared to an object of wealth—Isabela is initially understood as one of Clotaldo's "despojos," but we learn that it is also an inner beauty. Isabela is not only physically attractive; she is intelligent, religious, faithful, linguistically gifted, and musically talented (47). The narrator informs us that Isabela excels not only at the household labor expected of a woman of her station but also at reading and writing (48-49). This introduction to Isabela's character, which opens and is framed by her "incomparable hermosura," is closed by the narrator's description of Isabela's "sin igual belleza" and her "infinitas virtudes" (48-49).

The *novela* establishes Isabela as the pinnacle of beauty, which suggests her link to the exemplum's claim of the unifying power of beauty. A closer examination of the text, though, shows the difficulty of identifying Isabela's beauty with the harmonious relationships that the exemplum describes. For a *novela* in which the transformation of enemies into friends is supposed to figure so prominently, it is surprisingly difficult to find any enemies at all.[5] Clotaldo, for example, who begins the story as an English aggressor, is never clearly marked as an enemy. Although Clotaldo kidnaps Isabel, a lacuna opens in the text where Isabel's resistance or anger might be found. Isabela, with her new name, is seamlessly integrated into her English family, to the extent that when she leaves England to return to Spain, Isabela is so fully reconciled to her new family that she exchanges sorrowful goodbyes with her kidnappers (86).

This inexplicable lack of animosity is not particular to Isabela; her parents share it too. When they arrive in England, having been rescued by Ricaredo from the Turks, they are overcome by emotion when they are reunited with their daughter (74-75). This happy reunion precludes any rancor or lingering animosity. Isabela's parents do not demand reparation or justice. Rather, they settle into daily life in Clotaldo's household. When they leave with their daughter, they form an explicit part of the tearful farewell. Like their daughter, Isabela's parents are so overwhelmed with gifts at the end of their stay in England that they thank Clotaldo and his wife for their generosity (86).

For Spaniards reading Cervantes's story when it was first published, one expected enemy would certainly have been England's recently deceased queen.[6] Here, again, Cervantes turns the *novela* against potential

expectations. The English queen is instantly struck by Isabela's beauty but she is also impressed by Isabela's virtue. When Isabela is denounced as a Catholic, the queen commends Isabela's steadfastness and faith. After Isabela is poisoned, the queen acts quickly to save Isabela's life and to punish the *camarera*.

These instances of defused, or absent, enmity are consistently tied to Isabela's beauty. To that extent, they present an initial opportunity to consider how the exemplum might actually apply to the model of beauty that Isabela offers. There seems to be good reason to think that Isabela does, indeed, represent the type of beauty that the exemplum praises. Clotaldo is, we are told, "aficionado [. . .] a la incomparable hermosura de Isabel" (48). The queen, too, is struck by Isabela's appearance, comparing Isabela to "un cielo estrellado" (55) and insisting that Isabela join her court. Beauty, specifically Isabela's beauty, can indeed enamor enemies.

At the same time, though, the *novela* problematizes this account of the effect of Isabela's beauty. Isabela's beauty provokes acts of enmity at the same time that it draws people to her. Clotaldo, struck by her beauty, does not set her free—in contrast, for example, to Don Fernando in Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, who finds his heart softened by Dorotea's beauty and virtue. Clotaldo's response, instead, is to do violence to Isabel, to kidnap her and take her back to England. Beauty produces discord, not peace.

Similarly, Isabela's beauty prompts the queen to perform another type of abduction. Pleased by Isabela's beauty and eloquence, the queen claims Isabela as her proper share of Clotaldo's spoils taken from Cádiz—thus replicating Clotaldo's own language of spoils from when he kidnaps Isabela (56). Beauty, although it initially seems to enamor an enemy, actually leads to further conflict that threatens to destroy Isabela. The queen, in her self-appointed role as Isabela's guardian, denies Ricaredo's plea for marriage until Ricaredo can prove himself worthy of Isabela. Isabela's beauty produces another relationship that, while superficially loving, is structured by social violence.

Perhaps the best example, though, of the power of Isabela's beauty is the effect it has on the English nobleman Arnesto. The arrogant lord is so enamored of Isabela and so full of despair that, like Ricaredo before him, he wishes for death (77). When the queen refuses to give Isabela to Arnesto, Arnesto arms himself and challenges Ricaredo to a duel. The duel is interrupted and Arnesto imprisoned. In an attempt to remove the source

of the problem, the *camarera* poisons Isabela. Like Clotaldo and the queen, Arnesto is overwhelmed by Isabela's beauty, but this beauty informs his position as an enemy.

Most shocking of all is that, out of the three times the term "enemigo" is applied to characters of the *novela*, once it is used to figure the relationship between Isabela and Ricaredo. After Ricaredo's successful defeat of the Turks and his triumphant return to London, the *novela* revisits the Spanish/English conflict. Having met with the queen, Ricaredo stops to speak with Isabela and the other ladies of the court. Cervantes, in a memorable description, makes it clear that Ricaredo cuts a dashing figure in his Milanese armor. The Lady Tansi takes Ricaredo's dress as an opening to speak and she asks:

> ¿Qué es esto, señor Ricaredo, qué armas son éstas? ¿Pensábades por ventura que veníades a pelear con vuestros enemigos? Pues en verdad que aquí todas somos vuestras amigas, si no es la señora Isabela que, como española, está obligada a no teneros buena voluntad. (70)

Here, "enemigos" is not opposed to Ricaredo's relationship to Isabela; instead, for Tansi, it defines it. Tansi makes clear that the English women are all Ricaredo's "amigas" and that, in contrast, Isabela is constrained by her nationality to be an *enemiga*. National discord, one of the expected animosities that the *novela* aims to defuse, threatens to spill over into personal amity.

Ricaredo, however, immediately denies Tansi's claim. He insists that Isabela holds only good will for him, for as Ricaredo explains, "[N]o puede caber en su mucho valor y entendimiento y rara hermosura la fealdad de ser desagradecida" (70). Ricaredo's answer to Tansi acknowledges the possibility for enmity, but attempts to preclude it by focusing on Isabela's *virtud* and *hermosura*. This articulation of how the anticipated "enemigos," Ricaredo and Isabela, will overcome their national opposition bases itself in the power of Isabela's virtue and beauty. Ricaredo, however, is wrong, and the *novela* will require something far greater than Isabela's beauty in order to bring about the *discordia concors* that inheres in the title of "La española inglesa."

The model of beauty that the *novela* initially proposes, then, is one that does, indeed, enamor enemies. Clotaldo and the queen are so taken by Isabela that English animosity vanishes. At the same time, however, this

model of love is complicated and problematized by how these relationships play out. The *novela*, in proposing a specific model of beauty for Isabela, reveals another aspect to that version of beauty: beauty enamors, but those same instances of 'enamoring' lead to further violence and discord.

Discordant Beauty

Isabela's beauty does more than provoke further violence, however. It disrupts the social world around it, precipitating the dissolution of critical relationships. Isabela's beauty fragments and overturns the relationships that surround her. This effect is most visible in relationships of power, where Isabela's beauty upsets the expected associations. Her beauty throws the *novela* into chaos, laying the groundwork for the unifying power of harmony.

The upheaval of society caused by Isabela's beauty is visible from the beginning of the *novela*. "La española inglesa" begins with a struggle between nations, but this struggle, upon Isabela's introduction to the story, is immediately played out again in the constrained social framework of the company of English soldiers. The very first sentence of the *novela* sets up this conflict, first identifying Isabela as one of the "despojos" taken back to London by Clotaldo but also marking the social disruption that his action caused: "y esto [the kidnapping] contra la voluntad y sabiduría del conde de Leste" (47). That second sentence locates this disruption in Clotaldo's (Christian) desire for Isabela, as the narrator tells us, "[M]as ningunas penas ni temores fueron bastantes a que Clotaldo la obedeciese [. . .] aficionado, aunque cristianamente, a la incomparable hermosura de Isabel" (48). Clotaldo's attraction to Isabela's beauty forces him to act directly against his commander's desire to return the girl to her parents. Clotaldo's loyalty and obedience are compromised, and the corresponding relationship fractures through Clotaldo's response to Isabela's beauty.

Social disruption continues when Isabela returns home with Clotaldo. It is difficult to assign her a place within the family, as one might expect to be the case with the victim of a kidnapping. Although Catalina, Clotaldo's wife, treats Isabela as a daughter, the men of the household are less able to articulate a stable relationship with the girl. Clotaldo initially turns her into a spoil of war, as well as an object of desire, but later she must move from

a prisoner to a potential daughter-in-law (54). Ricaredo seems equally troubled by Isabela's position in the household. At first a sister, she grows into an object of desire, and eventually into a future spouse. The narrator tells us about this problematic trajectory, writing that Ricaredo's response to Isabela's beauty consisted initially of "amándola como si fuera su hermana," but that "aquella benevolencia primera y aquella complacencia y agrado de mirarla se volvió en ardentísimos deseos de gozarla y de poseerla" (49). Here, as with Clotaldo at the beginning, something troubling lurks in the accumulated layers of Ricaredo's relationship with Isabela. The threat of incest, contained by the narrator's reminder that Ricaredo did not desire anything less honest than "ser su esposo," still rears its head—if only for a moment (49).

Ricaredo's love for Isabela leads him to reject the marriage that his parents have arranged for him, widening the arc of disrupted relationships. Instead of approaching his father, however, Ricaredo convinces his mother to intercede on his behalf by praising Isabela's virtues. Catalina, persuaded by her son, uses "las mismas razones" as Ricaredo to persuade her husband to put off the marriage with Clisterna (52). Ricaredo's relationship with his father becomes mediated through Catalina, so that Ricaredo's appropriate engagement in a relationship with his father is disrupted into two separate relationships—Ricaredo-Catalina and Catalina-Clotaldo.

Within the English queen's court, Isabela's beauty produces further discord. Upon Isabela's first appearance in court, when she arrives in response to the queen's summons, the other women of the court respond to her beauty with mixed emotions. Isabela impresses them with her dress and looks, but Cervantes is careful to note that even as the women praise Isabela's appearance, one comments, "Buena es la española; pero no me contenta el traje" (55). The comment, labeled by the narrator as arising "de pura envidia," marks another moment of social stress (55). Her beauty disrupts the previous court dynamics.[7]

That disruption, although it begins with envy, is best seen in the overthrow of the queen's *camarera*. The *camarera*, who begins the *novela* in a position of high favor, finds herself slowly forced to act against the queen's wishes. At the beginning of Isabela's stay in the court, she is put in the care of the *camarera,* whose son Arnesto then falls in love with Isabela (57). After the *camarera* has tried and failed, first to obtain Isabela for her son, and then to have Isabela sent back to Spain, she decides to take matters

into her own hands. The *camarera* poisons Isabela and, when the queen discovers this, is imprisoned to await further punishment (80-1). The English court is turned on its head as the queen's favorite loses her position.

The court returns to a more normal course when Isabela's looks are taken away by poison. Although Isabela survives the attack, her beauty is temporarily destroyed, leaving her as ugly as she once was beautiful (81). Upon her departure from the court, ready to sail for Spain forever, Isabela discovers that the ladies of the court, "como [Isabela] ya estaba fea, no quisieran que se partiera, viéndose libres de la envidia" (86). Only after Isabela's beauty is gone do social and personal discord vanish. In striking contrast to the exemplum's claim, here it is the absence of beauty that makes friends out of Isabela's former enemies.

Isabela's relationships, defined by her physical appearance, reveal the socially disruptive effects of her beauty. As the unparalleled example of female beauty, Isabela demonstrates the consequences of that beauty—a beauty that fails to produce the *amistad* that the *novela*'s exemplum claims. The *novela*'s representation of normal social relationships, which splinter under the immensity of Isabela's beauty, suggests how deeply problematic her beauty is within the world of the *novela*.

Harmony and Narrative

As the *novela* approaches the possibility of Ricaredo's marriage to Isabela—after his triumphant battle against the Turks and his successful recovery of the Spanish treasure—an alternative to the strife-ridden beauty of Isabela appears. It is this alternative, embodied in Ricaredo, that offers the potential for harmony instead of further conflict. Ricaredo's physical beauty manifests the *discordia concors* that underlies an important strain of Renaissance aesthetics and the consequent narrative upheaval of harmony that allows for ultimate reconciliation. Cervantes's remarkable description of Ricaredo's beauty invites a consideration of Renaissance ideas of beauty, as well as the important role that the story of Harmonia had in contemporary aesthetics.

Upon his return from sea, Ricaredo goes straight to the palace to inform the queen of his victory and to claim his promised reward: Isabela. His physical appearance, particularly his clothing, is described in great

detail—in the same way that Isabela is described when she is summoned by the queen. At first, Ricaredo's good looks seem to be straightforwardly linked to his military accouterment. "Era Ricaredo alto de cuerpo, gentil hombre y bien proporcionado," Cervantes tells us, "Y como venía armado [. . .] parecía en extremo bien a cuantos le miraban" (68).

This vision falls apart almost as soon as it is constructed. The narrator introduces a comparison that simultaneously divides and unifies the two elements of Ricaredo's appearance: his beauty and his martial attire. As Ricaredo passes through London, the narrator informs us that "algunos hubo que le compararon a Marte, dios de las batallas, y otros, llevados de la hermosura de su rostro, dicen que le compararon a Venus, que para hacer alguna burla a Marte de aquel modo se había disfrazado" (68). The narrator's claim is not that Ricaredo looked like both Mars and Venus. Rather, and importantly, the claim is that to some people, Ricaredo looked like Mars, and to other people, he looked like Venus. Ricaredo concurrently inhabits both positions, but in a way that appears different to spectators.[8] His beauty is a *concors* but also a *discordia*.

His beauty, in other words, is the beauty of harmony—a view of aesthetics popular in the Renaissance and linked to the myth of Harmonia, daughter of Mars and Venus. Harmonia offered Renaissance thinkers an important mythological example for explaining the confluence, agreement, and unification opposing forces. In this way, the Harmonia myth came to influence astrology, musical theory, Neoplatonist philosophy, the visual arts, and more.[9]

Although Harmonia appears in several classical sources, she would most likely have been known to Cervantes and other Renaissance humanists through Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, due to its vast popularity. Harmonia's story is a relatively small part of the *Metamorphoses*. She appears only briefly, unnamed, in book four as Cadmus's wife when they are both transformed into serpents. In spite of her lack of name, commentators did not fail to identify Cadmus's wife as Harmonia, and early modern editions of Ovid that included allegorical readings took care to discuss her importance. Perhaps because of how influential Harmonia was for early modern thinkers, interpretations of her significance vary substantially. A brief glance at three Spanish allegorical readings of Ovid will show the range of interpretations available for Harmonia and how Cervantes, in "La española inglesa," may suggest an additional reading.

One strain of interpretation, which appears in at least four different Spanish accounts of Ovid and which has even earlier sources, reads Harmonia only as wife to Cadmus.[10] Such readings make nothing of Harmonia's divine parents or of her name or qualities. Instead, it is her transformation into a serpent, along with Cadmus, that offers allegorical truth. As Antonio Pérez Sigler writes in his commentary to Ovid in 1609, by their transformation "se entiende, que quanto mas el hõbre enuegece, tãto es mas prudente, porque estos animales (con el testimonio del Euangelio) son figuardos por la prudencia, diziendo Christo: Estote prudentes sicut serpentes" (sig. K1r). Such an interpretation does not lay any emphasis on Harmonia's unifying power, nor does it make anything of the common connection drawn between harmony and beauty.

Another reading of Harmonia offers two historical explanations for her name but fails to engage in the same types of connections we might expect. Juan Pérez de Moya, in his exhaustive allegorical reading of mythology, the *Philosophia secreta*, describes Harmonia in this way: "Dizen ser Harmonia hija de Venus, porque con su hermosura incito el libidinoso apetito de Cadmo, lo qual es propio de Venus por el desseo [. . .] Dize ser hija de Marte atento que fue causa de guerra" (sig. Hh1r). Pérez de Moya's reading of Harmonia is surprisingly historical rather than allegorical. And, rather than being an emblem of harmony, her identity is the exact opposite of harmonious. For Pérez de Moya, Harmonia is not a *discordia concors*, but rather she is best understood by her discrete parts that are never reconciled. Like Ricaredo, she is both Mars and Venus, but unlike Ricaredo, she plays those roles at different times and places.

Nevertheless, Pérez de Moya's treatise does show the influence of Harmonia in Renaissance aesthetics—if only indirectly. Later in the *Philosophia secreta*, when offering a variety of readings of the Sphinx, Pérez de Moya includes Harmonia as one way of understanding the mythical monster. Pérez de Moya juxtaposes the beautiful *discordia concors* of Harmonia to the horrifying hybridity of the Sphinx. Underlying this explanation is the reading of the Sphinx-as-monster with Cadmus's first wife Sphinx (in Spanish, Sphinge). Pérez de Moya writes: "Otros declaran esta historia, diziendo. Que Cadmo tenia consigo vna muger Amazona llamada Sphinge, quãdo vino a Thebas, y como alli matasse a Dragon, y ocupasse aquel reyno, tomando a Harmonia hermana de Dragon por su prisionera" (sig. Kk3v). In this account, Harmonia's name, and her

connection to the aesthetic principle of *discordia concors*, becomes much more significant juxtaposed against the Sphinx's horrifying *discordia* of parts, which Pérez de Moya goes on to elaborate and explain.

The most compelling account of Harmonia, though, comes from Sánchez de Viana's translation and allegorical commentary on Ovid. An important change in Sánchez de Viana's translation is his decision to introduce Harmonia into the poem itself. Cadmus's unnamed wife, in the Latin text, becomes an explicit "Harmonia" at the moment of their final transformation into serpents (sig. E8v). Unlike other translations and commentaries on Ovid, in which Harmonia was named only in the commentaries, Sánchez de Viana makes Harmonia an explicit part of the Cadmus story.

In the commentary on Harmonia, Sánchez de Viana does include the standard reading of the transformation as an allegory for the wisdom of old age but he also introduces several important alternative possibilities that are specific to Harmonia. In his commentary to the second book of the *Metamorphoses*, Sánchez de Viana writes that "[a] este lugar pertenece lo que falta de la fabula de Cadmo," and he then proceeds to give Harmonia's story—the piece that, for Sánchez de Viana, is lacking in the *Metamorphoses*. He explains the historical sources for reading Harmonia as daughter of Mars and Venus (citing Ovid and Hesiod versus Diodorus) and how Cadmus and Harmonia were wed (sig. I2v).

More importantly. Sánchez de Viana then goes on to explain the significance of Harmonia's name. He writes, "Fue fingida Harmonia hija de Marte y Venus, porq˜ la melodia dla [sic] musica significada por armonia no solamete leuãta los animos pstrados [sic], y oprimidos cõ la muchedubre de desgracias [. . .] pero aun inflama los varoniles pechos para la guerra" (sig. I2v-3r). In this section of the allegorical reading, Harmonia's identity is linked to musical harmony, and specifically, to the power of that music to achieve very different effects: soothing troubled spirits but also inciting men's hearts to war.

In another section of the commentary, however, Sánchez de Viana goes on to explain the link between harmony as a principle of music and visual beauty. In explaining beauty as a component of love Sánchez de Viana writes:

> [E]ste nombre belleza tiene dos significados, vno comun, y otro proprio, segun el comun qualquiera cosa que cõsta de diversas

> cosas bie˜ proporcionadas, se llama bella, y aquella proporcion, templança, y armonia que resulta de la bien proporcionada mystura, se dize belleza, de manera que de los contrarios reduzidos a vnidad, y su discordia concorde, sale la belleza, y de aqui dixo Heraclyto, que la guerra, y la paz, eran padre y madre de las cosas, Y Empedocles, que la discordia juntamente con la concordancia principio de las cosas, entendiendo por la discordia la variedad, y por la concordia la vnion dellas. Esta es la comun y larga significaciõ de belleza, en la qual communica con ella este vocabulo Harmonia. Pero ansi como Harmonia conmunmente se toma por la deuida templança y medida proporcion de toda cosa compuesta, y propiamente significa el temperamento de muchas vozes differentes, que todos cõcuerdan en una melodia. Sig. E8r-v.

The passage quoted contains the key elements of the Harmonia myth as it shaped Renaissance aesthetics. Harmony is, in this account, the definition of beauty—it is the union of discord, the joining of opposites, the combination of variety into singularity that yields the beautiful. This visual beauty is linked to the concord of sounds in music. Beyond this brief account of harmony as an aesthetic principle, though, the text also makes a claim to the connection between harmony as aesthetics and the Harmonia story. Although it is impossible to say who was responsible for the significant shift in the text from the initial use of "armonia" to the two repeated uses of "Harmonia," a careful reader of Sánchez de Viana's commentary would have immediately seen the link between the mythological personage and the aesthetic principle in question.

If harmony, in the Renaissance, was both a visual and auditory principle for beauty, how might it have manifested narratively? I believe that this is one of the questions that Cervantes sets out to answer in "La española inglesa", and one that is directly linked to Ricaredo's identification as both Mars and Venus and to the *novela*'s exemplum about the harmonious reconciliation of enemies. The story of Cadmus and Harmonia contains the seeds for the narrative enactment of harmony that Cervantes also puts forward—a harmony that consists of inversion and chiasmus until the narrative is fully resolved.

There is good reason to believe that, beyond the visual and musical significance of harmony and Harmonia for Cervantes, the Harmonia / Cadmus story itself offered an important example of what we might call

the narrative model of harmony. Ovidian scholarship has long noted the structural parallels of the Cadmus story. Walter Ludwig, arguing for the cohesiveness of books three and four of the *Metamorphoses*, describes the layers of embedded frames that center on the Bacchus story.[11] For Ludwig, Cadmus and—importantly—Harmonia form the outermost frame of these stories. The serpent, which marks the beginning and the end for Cadmus, also provides a narrative skeleton for the poem itself. As in the description given by Sánchez de Viana, beauty consists of the discordant parts coming into a unified whole; Harmonia's story in the *Metamorphoses* ends with the harmonious reconciliation of beginning and end.

Ovid himself is careful to mark the thematic and narrative parallels of the Cadmus story as it is stretched across the two books. Near the beginning of Cadmus's story in book three of the *Metamorphoses*, a divine voice pronounces Cadmus's fate after he kills Apollo's serpent. The Latin text, with its careful syntax, displays the link between grammatical and narrative chiasmus in the fate that is declared for Cadmus. Ovid writes, "unde, sed audita est: 'quid, Agenore nate, peremptum / serpentem spectas? et tu spectabere serpens'" (III.97-8). The second line, with its careful parallels of *serpens* and *spectare* and its reversal of voice and subject, connects the larger, inverted parallelism of Cadmus's life to the harmonious structure of language.

This model of narrative parallelism and inversion found in Ovid offers Cervantes a way to bring about the harmonious resolution that the *novela*'s exemplum describes. Ricaredo, already linked to conceptions of aesthetic harmony through his simultaneous identification with Mars and Venus, becomes the object of this narrative chiasmus. Indeed, it is directly after Ricaredo's return to England, when he is described as both Mars and Venus, that the narrative inversion begins. From this point forward, Ricaredo starts to inhabit the narrative positions previously held by Isabela. The *novela*'s plot replays itself, but it is through this repetition that the discordant positions of nationality, religion, gender, and beauty are aligned and brought into harmony.

The first instance of this narrative inversion brings Ricaredo back to the beginning of the *novela,* with the narrator's insistence on Clotaldo's purely Christian attraction to the child Isabela (48). This moment, in which Clotaldo disobeys his commanding officer because of his attraction to Isabela, has already been discussed, but it is important to recall here. The

scene is rife with sexual undertones—but sexual undertones that the *novela* immediately seeks to dismiss by affirming that Clotaldo was attracted only "cristianamente" (48).

Ricaredo's inverted equivalent of this episode occurs after his report to the queen. Still dressed in his armor, Ricaredo stops to speak with the ladies of the court. As Ricaredo talks to the women of the court, a *doncella* approaches, drawn by his beauty. The narrator tells us that she was "de pequeña edad," and—as with the earlier insistence on Clotaldo's Christian purity juxtaposed to Isabela's young age—this comment on her age reproduces in this scene the same sense of the sexually asymptotic (71). The scene is brief. Speaking of the *doncella*'s interactions with Ricaredo, the narrator tells us, "Alzábale las escarcelas, por ver qué traía debajo dellas, tentábale la espada, y con simplicidad de niña quería que las armas le sirviesen de espejo, llegándose a mirar de muy cerca en ellas" (71). It is a strange scene. The young girl approaches Ricaredo and lifts his *escarcelas*—the piece of armor that falls from the waist to the thigh—to see what he has beneath them. Her curiosity satisfied, both text and *doncella* move immediately to Ricaredo's sword, a symbolic progression that is clearly weighted with meaning. Through it all runs the childish simplicity upon which the narrator insists, which culminates in her self-examination in Ricaredo's armor.

What is strangest about this scene is that, to an even greater degree than the opening scene with Clotaldo and Isabela, the erotic is marked for the reader as an inappropriate response at the same time that the text clearly anticipates it as an effect. Despite the inordinately charged depiction of a young girl examining a handsome young man to discover what is hidden between his waist and his thighs, despite the patent significance of the sword, the text produces these possibilities only in order to expose them as non-existent threats. The erotic, never fully activated, is defused before it even begins.

This scene with the *doncella* provides a model for thinking about the narrative practice that makes possible the final exemplum. As it reworks the earlier Clotaldo/Isabela scene, but to a different purpose, the *doncella* scene indicates the narrative doubling at work in the *novela*. More than a thematic reinforcement, though, such doubling returns to the events of the first part of the *novela* as a way of rethinking them. Rather than a man attracted to a child, here it is a child attracted to a man. Ricaredo comes to

inhabit the narrative and discursive space previously occupied by Isabela—although to very different ends.

The same pattern of narrative inversion is visible in the ending of the *novela*. The beginning of the *novela* sees Isabela come into England through her capture at the hands of Clotaldo, who is struck by her beauty. It seems telling, then, that Ricaredo's arrival in Sevilla, as the *novela* approaches the possibility of marriage and reunion for the third and final time, is brought about by his capture at the hands of the Turks. Caught off the coast of France, Ricaredo is stripped by the Turks, his possessions are taken, and he is carried to Algiers and held for ransom. Like Isabela, Ricaredo is identified by his captors as a material good gained through their activity; for Clotaldo, Isabela is a spoil of war, while for the Turks, Ricaredo is identified as a "galima," a theft, which Ricaredo, in his account of his capture, immediately glosses as a "despojo"—the same word used for Isabela in the first line of the *novela* (97).

While Ricaredo is being held in Algiers, one of the Turks freed by Ricaredo identifies him as the corsair who captured the Portuguese ship. Here, Ricaredo expresses his gratitude that the Turk did not reveal Ricaredo's identity (a reward for Ricaredo's earlier kindness), when Ricaredo explains that if the other Turks had learned his identity, "[O] me presentaran al Gran Turco o me quitaran la vida; y de presentarme al Gran Señor redundara no tener libertad en mi vida" (98). The parallel, of course, is Isabela's capture and her removal to England, and the English queen's determination to take possession of Isabela. Ricaredo finds himself reenacting Isabela's narrative process, but from the other side (and gender) of the story. Already a captive in Algiers, the threat of the "Gran Turco" is the threat of total cultural, linguistic, and political alienation and immersion as Ricaredo faces the fate that Isabela has already undergone.

In the end, Ricaredo is freed and he makes his way to Sevilla. As Isabela approaches the convent for the final time, he interrupts her procession and claims his rights as her husband. Although discursively Ricaredo self-identifies as her husband, the narrative reveals the hierarchical upset that accompanies this transition. Like Isabela at the beginning of the story, Ricaredo is a former captive. Isabela is identified numerous times at the beginning of the *novela* as a "prisionera," and for Clotaldo and his family, the only alternative to this label of "prisionera" is "esposa" (54). Ricaredo, in the same way, is described as a "cautivo"

immediately before he identifies himself as "esposo" (92-93). Ricaredo's efforts to define himself as "esposo," and the binary alternative identity of "cautivo," invert the former social and gender hierarchies of his relationship with Isabela. The contrast between Ricaredo's self-identification as husband and his narrative position as "cautivo" reveals the overturned social roles that both Ricaredo and Isabela have occupied.

After Ricaredo presents himself, Isabela acknowledges him as her husband. Ricaredo is also fortuitously identified by a man in the crowd as the same English corsair who had given the Spaniards their freedom. Ricaredo's identification by both Isabela and the freed Spaniard, however, is predicated on Ricaredo's physical beauty. The narrator, for the final time in the *novela*, devotes a full paragraph to describing Ricaredo. Among other details, we read that Ricaredo had "una confusa madeja de cabellos de oro ensortijados y un rostro como el carmín y como lo nieve, colorado y blanco" (92-93). The effect of this beauty, then, is revealed when the narrator explains that these traits "le hicieron conocer y juzgar por extranjero" (93). Again, his position mirrors Isabela's earlier experience. Isabela, when she is presented to the English queen, is elaborately described by the narrator. Strikingly like Ricaredo, she also has "cabellos, que eran muchos, rubios y largos" (54). The most important element of her appearance, though, is that she is dressed "a la española," which simultaneously highlights her beauty and her foreignness, in the same way that Ricaredo's beauty is immediately seen as "extranjero" (54). The harmonious chiasmus of narrative allows for the reunion of Ricaredo and Isabela as captives and spouses, foreigners and citizens. In a final culmination of the *novela*'s narrative promises, prisoners become spouses—but, in a Cervantine twist, it is Ricaredo, not Isabela, who moves from prisoner to spouse.

As the *novela* concludes, Ricaredo enters Isabela's household and forms part of it, overturning the anticipated union of Isabela with Clotaldo's family that the first half of the novela envisions and toward which it works. More than this, though, Ricaredo's decision to form part of Isabela's family allows Ricaredo to invert his father's original act of violence; Ricaredo, who is identified over and over as a *cautivo* in his reunion with Isabela, becomes quite literally her captive. He cut himself off from his parents who, like Isabela's parents long before, have now lost their only child. More than symbolic, Ricaredo's final decision to cede the narrative

of his capture and rescue to Isabela reflects the complete upheaval of hierarchies—sexual, national, and linguistic—that frame the opening of the *novela*.

What of beauty then? What of its enamoring power? Isabela's beauty, the perfection of female beauty, certainly enamors; but its enamoring holds within itself the seeds of violence. Her beauty disrupts at the same time that it enamors. On the other hand, Ricaredo's beauty is the beauty of harmony. In part, this is the harmony of physical reunion that is marked by his appearance in Sevilla. More than this, though, Ricaredo's beauty is a beauty that, by its nature, is a *discordia concors*, a union of incongruence; it is the beauty of Mars and the beauty of Venus, and therefore the beauty of Harmonia, their child. His beauty marks the moment when the Harmonia myth, with its influence on Renaissance aesthetics, begins to shape the *novela*.

The *novela*'s exemplum, which proclaims the enamoring power of beauty and virtue, is most fully evidenced not in Isabela's beauty, which produces strife in the bonds it creates. Rather, it is the beauty and virtue of harmony itself—the beauty and virtue of both Ricaredo and Isabela who, through the narrative inversions and parallel structure of the *novela*, enact harmony as a narrative technique. The aesthetic, astrological, mythological, and philosophical discourse of *discordia concors* and the story of Harmonia become, in Cervantes's hands, a narrative structure, similar to what Ovid had proposed. As that narrative structure takes shape, the ultimate result is a leveling of anticipated hierarchies and binaries. Enmities—gendered, linguistic, and national—are brought into harmonious concord as Ricaredo enters the narrative spaces—material prize, prisoner, spouse—that the *novela* sets forth with the capture of Isabela at the beginning of the story. At the end, the *novela* imagines a harmonious projected future—the house that Ricaredo and Isabela buy from Hernando de Cifuentes. Only after the discursive and narrative shift into harmonious beauty and virtue can the *novela* culminate in exemplarity.

Notes

[1] Among others on this, see Cascardi (57), Costa Fontes (742-43), El Saffar (151-53), and Mancini (233). Both Cascardi and Mancini see, to differing extents, a crisis of exemplarity in the *novela,* while Costa Fontes and El Saffar read the *novela* as modeling social and spiritual ideals.

[2] Certainly the mirrored structure of the narrative has been noticed before. See, for only a few examples, Avalle-Arce (12); Aylward (145); Lowe (290); and Pini (147-51). The essay takes this observation as a starting place to investigate the link between the Harmonia myth, harmony as an aesthetic principle, and the *novela*'s exemplum. Although the Harmonia myth is dealt with in greater detail in the second part of this essay, I include here a brief summary of the myth: Harmonia was the goddess of harmony and concord and the daughter of Mars and Venus. She was also wife of Cadmus, founder of Thebes. Later, when Cadmus left Thebes, Harmonia accompanied him to Illyria. At the end of their lives, both Cadmus and Harmonia were transformed into serpents.

[3] See, for example, Güntert (261-63) and Johnson, both of whom read the *novela* as investigating a disjunction between different and competing social and economic discourses.

[4] Substantial work has been done recently on the question of friendship in the early modern world. For a consideration of friendship in Cervantes, see Gil-Osle "Early modern illusions" and *Amistades imperfectas*. See also Gilbert-Santamaría for another account of friendship in early modern Spain.

[5] This lack may suggest certain generic expectations for the *novela.* For a more recent reconsideration of the influence of fairy tale and romance, see Clamurro (108), who locates these elements in the female characters, and Zimic (142-44), who discusses questions of genre and the literary traditions that may have shaped the *novela.*

[6] A point made by, among others, Amezúa y Mayo (132-33). Questions about the date of composition for *La española inglesa* continue; a standard view is articulated by Lapesa (378-80), who places the text between 1609-1611.

[7] For a different reading of how these gender dynamics play out, see Martínez-Góngora (31-33), who explores the role of androgyny in representations of female rulers and how this affects the court of women.

[8] This type of beauty is not new or particular to Cervantes, by any means; it is a motif of romance as well as classical literature in which the heights of male and female beauty approach the androgynous. The description has produced a range of interpretations. For more on this particular moment of the *novela*, see Alcázar Ortega (43); Casalduero (123); and Fuchs (109). Alcázar Ortega reads this as a commentary on the generic material of the *novela*, with its martial and amorous sections. Casalduero is interested in the implications of this moment for masculine identity. Fuchs considers it in a more abstract social sense.

[9] Among other sources on the influence of the Harmonia myth, see de Armas (96-97); Moore; and Wind.

[10] For example, this reading also appears in the anonymous *Las transformaciones de Ovidio* (1595). In addition to this anonymous volume, Sánchez de Viana includes this reading and attributes it to Orologio and also mentions Natal Comite as a previous commentator (sig. M7v-8r). Sánchez de Viana attributes this reading as well to Dante (sig. I3r). Pérez de Moya also includes this reading in his work (sig. Gg8v).

[11] See Ludwig, cited in Solodow (11-12).

Works Cited

Alcázar Ortega, Mercedes. "Palabra, memoria y aspiración literaria en *La española inglesa*." *Cervantes* 15.1 (1995): 33-45.

Amezúa y Mayo, Agustín G. de. *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta española*. Vol. 2 Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958.

Anonymous. *Las transformaciones de Ovidio*. Antwerp: Pedro Bellero, 1595.

Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. Introducción. *Novelas Ejemplares*. By Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Ed. Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1982. Vol. 2. 7-40.

Aylward, E. T. *The Crucible Concept: Thematic and Narrative Patterns in Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares. Madison, NJ: Associated University Press, 1999.

Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma de la 'Novelas ejemplares'*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1962.

Cascardi, Anthony J. "Cervantes's Exemplary Subjects." *Cervantes's* Exemplary Novels *and the Adventure of Writing*. Ed. Michael Nerlich and Nicholas Spadaccini. Minneapolis: Prisma Institute, 1989. 49-71.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*. Vol. II. Ed. Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1982.

Clamurro, William H. *Beneath the Fiction: The Contrary Worlds of Cervantes's* Novelas ejemplares. New York: Peter Lang, 1997.

Costa Fontes, Manuel da. "Love as an equalizer in *La española inglesa*." *Romance Notes* 16 (1975): 742-48.

De Armas, Frederick. "Heretical Stars: The Politics of Astrology in Cervantes' *La gitanilla* and *La española inglesa*." *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604*. Ed. Anne J. Cruz. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. 89-100.

El Saffar, Ruth. *Novel to Romance: A Study of Cervantes's 'Novelas Ejemplares'*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Fuchs, Barbara. *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and Fictions of Identity*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Gil-Osle, Juan Pablo. *Amistades imperfectas: Del Humanismo a la Ilustración con Cervantes*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2013.

---. "Early modern illusions of perfect male friendship: the case of Cervantes's 'El curioso impertinente.'" *Cervantes* 29.1 (2009): 85-115.

Gilbert-Santamaría, Donald. "Guzmán de Alfarache's 'Other Self': The Limits of Friendship in Spanish Picaresque Fiction." *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*. Ed. Daniel T. Lochman et al. Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011. 83-98.

Güntert, Georges. *Cervantes: Narrador de un mundo desintegrado*. Vigo, Spain: Editorial Academia del Hispanismo, 2007.

Johnson, Carroll B. "*La española inglesa* and the Practice of Literary Production." *Viator* 19 (1988): 377-416.

Lapesa, Rafael. "En torno a *La española inglesa* y *El Persiles*." *Homenaje a Cervantes*. Ed. Francisco Sánchez-Castañer. Valencia: Mediterráneo, 1950. 367-88.

Lowe, Jennifer. "The Structure of Cervantes's *La española inglesa*." *Romance Notes* 9 (1968): 287-90.

Mancini, Guido. "La 'morale' della *Española inglesa*." *Aspetti e problemi delle letterature iberiche: Studi offerti a Franco Meregalli*. Ed. Giuseppe Bellini. Rome: Bulzoni, 1981. 219-36.

Martínez-Góngora, Mar. "Un unicornio en la corte de una reina virgen: 'Ginecocracia' y ansiedades masculinas en *La española inglesa*." *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20.1 (2000): 27-46.

Moore, Thomas. *The Planets Within: Marsilio Ficino's Astrological Psychology*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1982.

Pérez de Moya, Juan. *Philosofia secreta*. Madrid: Francisco Sánchez, 1585.

Pini, Donatella. "La estructura antinómica de *La española inglesa*." *Le mappe nascoste di Cervantes*. Ed. Carlos Romero Muñoz. Treviso: Santi Quaranta, 2004. 147-58.

Sánchez de Viana, Pedro. *Las transformaciones de Ovidio*. Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Cordona, 1589.

Sigler, Antonio Pérez. *Metamorphoseos del excelente poeta Ovidio Nasson*. Burgos: Iuan Baptista Varesio, 1609.

Solodow, Joseph B. *The World of Ovid's* Metamorphoses. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Wind, Edgar. *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1968.

Zimic, Stanislav. *Las* Novelas ejemplares *de Cervantes*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1996.

Schema Theory, Prototype Theory, and the *Novela Dialogada*: Toward a Perspectivist and Dynamic View of Literary Genres

Julien J. Simon

A literary genre is an elusive concept, which has generated and continues to generate much debate. At times the debate centers on its contours, at other times on its coordinates or its genesis, but few have denied its existence and legitimacy. In some instances the organization of the body of literature in taxonomies turns out to be straightforward while in other situations it proves to be more complex. All literary traditions, and the scholars studying them, have grappled with many such situations. In the Spanish tradition perhaps one of the most revealing examples is the case of the "novela dialogada" [dialogue novel], a genre straddling two generic traditions (the novelistic and the dramatic traditions) as well as two periods (the medieval era and the Renaissance).[1] *La Celestina*, the work that initiates the genre in 1499 and reigns supreme over it, best illustrates this resistance to be easily classified: because of its date of publication, but also because of its style and themes, which on one hand are indebted to medieval genres and on the other prefigure the literature to come. In sum, the novela dialogada—and most notably *La Celestina*—represents, for our purposes, a case study illustrating the difficulty of coming to a satisfactory consensus with regards to the classification of genres.

Under these circumstances, could our knowledge of human cognition help us shed some light on this conundrum (and perhaps similar situations found in other genres)? It may provide some answers, partial or complete, to some of the questions related to genres that we literary scholars are asking ourselves. What is happening in the brain as we browse, read, select, or discuss books? How do we conceptualize the knowledge of the books we read? How does this knowledge fit into our prior literary knowledge? How is our literary experience going to affect or transform our previously gathered body of literary knowledge? If we discuss a book with a friend or in an academic setting, is that discussion going to modify our concept of the book? Is our literary knowledge going to bias our reading of

a book? And if so, what are the cognitive processes that underlie these phenomena?

The clustering of works into genres and subgenres is ultimately a cognitive task and construct. Thus, studying the cognitive correlates of literary genres and the psychological rules that govern their creation and evolution can provide the genre theorist and literary scholar with invaluable knowledge. This knowledge, however, cannot replace the careful analysis of texts and the historical study of how genres emerge and evolve. Biology and culture are intertwined and not dissociable. We cannot have one without the other. Combining our knowledge of human cognition with that of the literary history of genres is therefore the approach being taken in this essay.

For the past two decades or so, various literary scholars have discerned in two psychological paradigms, namely Schema Theory and Prototype Theory, a way to tackle these issues.[2] In this paper, I will start by briefly presenting and looking at the connection between these two concepts, which are often used interchangeably in the psychological literature without an explanation of how they may relate to each other. I will then argue that the combination of the research on both Schema Theory and Prototype Theory as well as the understanding of how they relate to each other make possible a more complete model of how we perceive literary genres on a cognitive level. Finally, I will explore how this putative cognitive model can shed some light on the difficulties that the scholarship of early modern Spanish literature has had with the categorization of the novela dialogada and I will propose a perspectivist view of literary genres.[3]

Schema Theory

Schema Theory has been a very pervasive idea in the cognitive sciences. In 1911, to account for the representation of posture in the cerebral cortex, Henry Head and Gordon Holmes proposed the term "schema" and were the first scholars to lay the foundations of the concept. Subsequently, in 1932, Sir Frederic C. Bartlett in his research on memory perfected the concept and expanded its domain of applicability. What is particularly relevant to us is the fact that his theories in part originated from observations of the reception of a literary genre. Indeed, he presented a Native American folktale to British adolescents and found that they consistently made similar mistakes when recalling the story (see ch. 5,

"Experiments on Remembering: The Method of Repeated Reproduction," 63-94). This led him to define schema as a sort of mental footprint of past experiences that are serially organized. He proposed that schemata could actually play a role not only at such low levels like posture perception (Head and Holmes's use of the concept of a schema), but also at higher levels of abstraction:

> Determination by schemata is the most fundamental of all ways in which we can be influenced by reactions and experiences which occurred some time in the past. All incoming impulses of a certain kind, or mode, go together to build up an active, organized setting: visual, auditory, various types of cutaneous impulses and the like, at a relatively low level; all the experiences connected by a common interest: in sport, in literature, history, art, science, philosophy and so on, on a higher level. (201)

For cognitive psychologists today, Bartlett is considered to be the father of Schema Theory.[4] Some thirty years after Bartlett's achievement, the same concept was taken again by a group of computer scientists studying vision. At the forefront of this group was Marvin Minsky. A short time later Roger C. Schank and Robert P. Abelson used it to model social interaction. By this time, the concept was being introduced into fields like Cognitive Neuroscience and Cognitive Linguistics (David E. Rumelhart and his Connectionist Model is one example)[5] and had resurfaced in Perception Studies, thanks to the work of Ulric Neisser. Today, it remains an important concept in Artificial Intelligence in the work of Michael A. Arbib and others (see *From Schema* and *Neural Organization*).

This pervasiveness of the schema concept, one of its defining features, also allows us to view literary genres as schemata: the cognitive correlate of a genre is the schema (see Bartlett; Johan Hoorn, "How," "Psychophysiology;" Michael Sinding, "After Definitions"). As such, Schema Theory is a useful tool to delve into the cognition of almost all human behaviors: when we perceive, when we walk, when we memorize and recall past experiences, when we interact with people, when we learn, and when we read literature.

Below is a broad definition of a schema:[6]

> 1. A schema is a cognitive knowledge structure. It represents what is happening in the brain, how knowledge is organized and structured in the brain.

> 2. A schema is an active, dynamic, and ever-changing structure. As you interact with the environment, the schema integrates the new information and is in turn modified by it.
> 3. A schema works at different levels of abstraction. This is linked to the notion of pervasiveness mentioned earlier.
> 4. A schema has values or variables. When the schema is first called upon, it already has default values that are later modified.

Prototype Theory

Categorization is an intrinsic part of our cognition because it helps us make sense of the world around us. Grouping, classifying, sorting out, and clustering are routine cognitive tasks that we human beings perform continuously as we interact with the world. In recent years, the cognitive research on categorization has been of interest to several literary scholars and genre theorists who see a parallel at the cognitive level between the categorization of objects, people, behaviors, emotions, ideas, etc. and the categorization of literary genres.[7]

Within the field of Categorization research, the concept which most notably influenced these literary scholars has been Prototype Theory. Pioneered by Eleanor Rosch, Prototype Theory implied a crucial shift in how categories were viewed. It changed the focus of examination from the boundaries between categories—and how to define them—to the internal structure of categories—and how they are organized. In her article "Principles of Categorization," Rosch asserts that the Western tradition has mainly been concerned with the boundaries of categories and on how to draw a line between them. To make them appear as clear-cut and separate from each other as possible, categories have usually been defined by necessary and sufficient criteria:

> Most, if not all, categories do not have clear-cut boundaries. To argue that basic object categories follow clusters of perceived attributes is not to say that such attribute clusters are necessarily discontinuous.
> In terms of the principles of categorization proposed earlier, cognitive economy dictates that categories tend to be viewed as being as separate from each other and as clear-cut as possible. One way to achieve this is by means of formal, necessary and sufficient

> criteria for category membership. The attempt to impose such criteria on categories marks virtually all definitions in the tradition of Western reason. (35)

Traditionally, category membership was viewed in an "either-or" fashion. Either a member belongs to a certain category or it doesn't. To differentiate members from non-members, a set of necessary and sufficient criteria was established or identified. Members within a category were then undistinguishable from one another since they either were or weren't in said category.

According to Stephen Laurence and Eric Margolis, this view, which could be dated back to Plato,[8] prevailed in the study of concepts until the 1950's when it was questioned in the field of philosophy by Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of "family resemblances." Wittgenstein proposed that a concept cannot be defined by a limited set of necessary and sufficient features. The problem, he argued, was that the mere identification of features does not necessarily tell us what are the constituents of the concept. To illustrate his theory, he invited us to look at the concept of a "game" and to try to define its various constituents like board-games, card-games, Olympic Games, and so on:

> The result of this examination is: we see a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail.
>
> 67. I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than "family resemblances"; for the various resemblances between members of a family: build, features, colour of eyes, gait, temperament, etc. etc. overlap and criss-cross in the same way.—And I shall say: 'games' form a family. (171)

From a cognitive standpoint Rosch furthered Wittgenstein's idea of "family resemblances" and claimed that defining the limits of categories was irrelevant since it was not what was really happening in our brain. Instead, she proposed that categories be seen as organized around a prototype that need not be a member of the particular category. A corollary of this claim is the notion of gradience, or "degree of membership." In her research, she found that categories are organized in a "radial" fashion, in which the center is the prototype of the category, while the members of this category sit more or less close to that center, depending on their degree of membership. One example often cited is the "bird" category. If asked to

give the name of a bird, which one would come to mind? That of a chicken or penguin, or that of a robin or sparrow? Although chickens and penguins are birds, robins and sparrows are viewed as more prototypical types of birds. In the figure below, which is a visual illustration of the radial structure of the bird category, the robin and sparrow will therefore be found close to the bull's eye (or prototype of the category), while the other birds will be located further away from this bull's eye depending on their degree of membership (i.e., depending on how prototypical they are perceived).

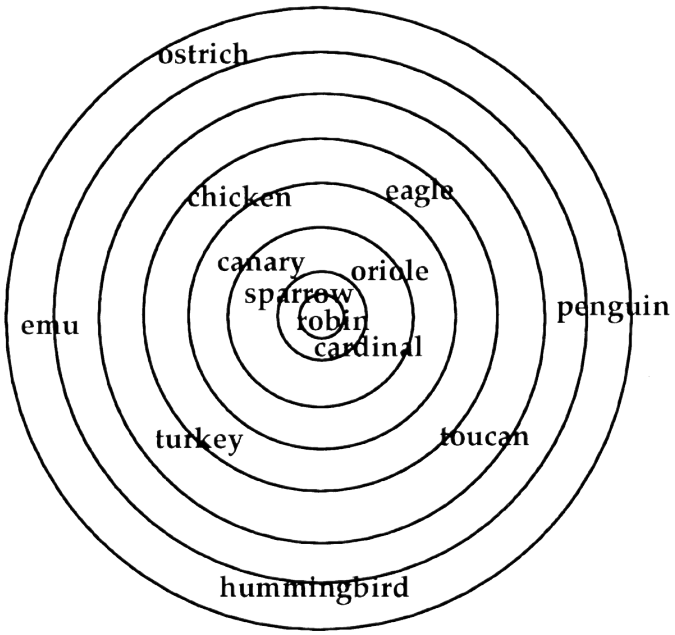


Figure 1 - Radial structure of the "bird category" (Mancing).

Schema Theory and Prototype Theory: The Relation

Establishing the relationship between Schema Theory and Prototype Theory is not a convenient stance on my part but instead constitutes a claim informed by a careful analysis of what each concept represents at the

level of the brain. Indeed, I argue that these two concepts are the two sides of the same cognitive entity and that the relation between them is one of focus of analysis. That is, the Categorization scholarship (e.g., Rosch, George Lakoff) has focused, mainly for experimental reasons, on classes of items that are natural (i.e., animals and plants) or static in nature. Birds, plants, and furniture contain a certain number of members that over our lifetime and within a given environment will not evolve much. They are cognitive representations of a "static" environment. On the other hand, the Schema Theory scholarship has used the concept of a schema as a means to represent situations such as past experiences, posture, and social interactions (e.g., restaurant scripts), which are constantly evolving or changing. They are then cognitive representations of a "dynamic" environment. What I argue is that the cognitive structures that these paradigms attempt to reveal are, in fact, one. A category is a special type of schema and a schema is a special type of category. Categories are "static" schemata and schemata are "dynamic" categories. And, as George Mandler suggests, when first instantiated the default values of a schema correspond to a sort of "prototypical schema."

Combining the research about the two concepts can thus help us develop a more complete picture of literary genres, a picture in which Prototype Theory can shed light on the internal structure of genres (i.e., prototype and radial structures) and in which Schema Theory helps us to understand the external exchange of information with the environment, the dynamic interaction with the world—how the information coming from the environment modifies our generic conceptualization and how in turn our generic conceptualization can guide our perception of the environment—.

The implications of this combination are as follows:

1. A genre is a cognitive structure. It has correlates in the brain (Schema Theory).
2. Genres have prototypes (Prototype Theory).
3. Genres are organized in a radial fashion (Prototype Theory).
4. Genres are dynamic entities (Schema Theory).
5. Genres are individual (Schema Theory).

A Proposed Putative Cognitive Model of Genre Formation

To illustrate these implications, I would like to propose a putative model of how genres are constructed and how they evolve cognitively.[9] The basic premise of this model is that the prototype of a genre corresponds, in psychological space, to the center of gravity of the mental representations of the members of that genre in that same space. Therefore, I propose that after the reading of one book from a given genre, the representation formed in the brain is the consequent prototype of that same genre (see figure 2).

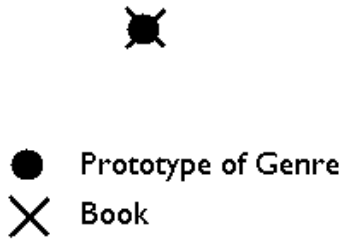


Figure 2 - Putative models of our generic knowledge of one book.

If we read a second book of the same genre, the prototypical book would then lie somewhere on a straight line between the two books. However, the prototype of this genre will not necessarily sit exactly in the middle of the two crosses, for we will always view one of the two members as being more prototypical or significant than the other (figure 3).

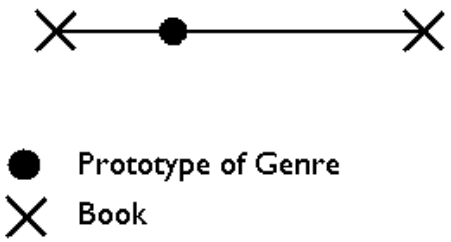


Figure 3 - Putative models of our generic knowledge of two books.

Similarly, if we read a third book in this genre, the prototype of this genre will be somewhere in between the three books but not at an equal distance of them (see figure 4).

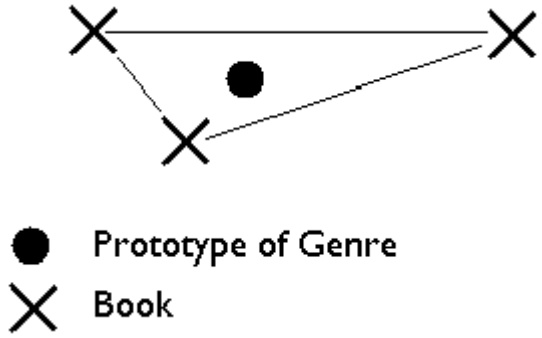


Figure 4 - Putative models of our generic knowledge of three books.

We therefore mentally assign to each book a certain "cognitive weight." In essence, this weight integrates the level of significance of the various attributes that we (readers) perceive as relevant; those attributes being related to the form, content, and style of the text being read. This process takes place outside of our consciousness, although conscious assessment of our readings certainly affects and further modifies our mental representation of genres. Indeed, we constantly revise this mental representation as we read more books and as we deepen our understanding of genres through informal discussions, scholarly debates, the readings of secondary sources, self-reassessments, and in response to shifting mindsets and worldviews (see figure 5).

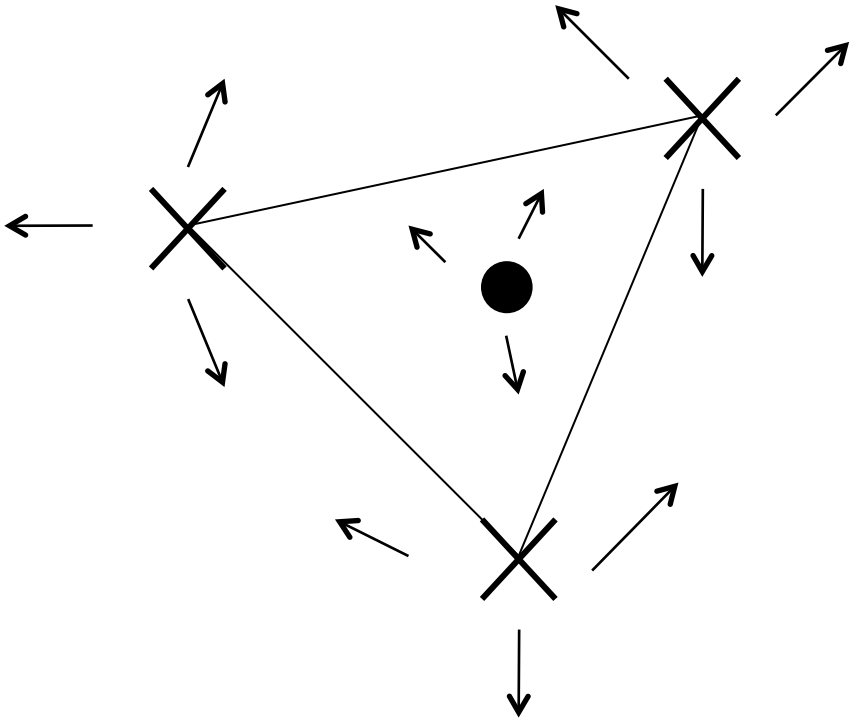


Figure 5 - Dynamic version of above model (arrows characterize possible shiftings of the books' cognitive representations and therefore of the prototype).

In sum, Schema Theory and Prototype Theory can contribute, as we saw, to a more complete view of literary genres. The results of this union are summarized as follows:

1. Genres are the literary correlates of schemata (or categories). In that sense, they are cognitive entities that we (readers) create and constantly modify.
2. Genres are radial cognitive structures. In a given genre, some texts will be more prototypical than others. There is a degree of membership. How this structural process operates depends on the individual as well as on the texts themselves.
3. Genres are dynamic, even if we are looking at historical genres. They evolve because we evolve. That is the reason why new eras

> bring new critical tools that help us look at the body of texts from different perspectives (e.g., Feminism, Marxism).
> 4. Genres are individual, for no two people can claim to have had the exact same literary experience, and no two people can have the exact same mindset or neural organization.
> A corollary of the last two implications is that genres are therefore fuzzy.

Genre Formation and the Novela Dialogada

In his article "Prototypes of Genre in Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares*," Howard Mancing drew from the research on categorization to offer a new taxonomy of the Spanish picaresque novel and proposed that:

> the literary genre we call the picaresque novel be considered as having a theoretical prototype and a radial structure. Works such as *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache* would be very close to the bulls-eye prototype, with *La pícara Justina* and *Alonso, mozo de muchos amos* further from the center, and *El diálogo del capón and Periquillo el de las gallineras* even further out, while *El diablo cojuelo* and *El criticón* are off my version of the map [see figure 6]. (133)

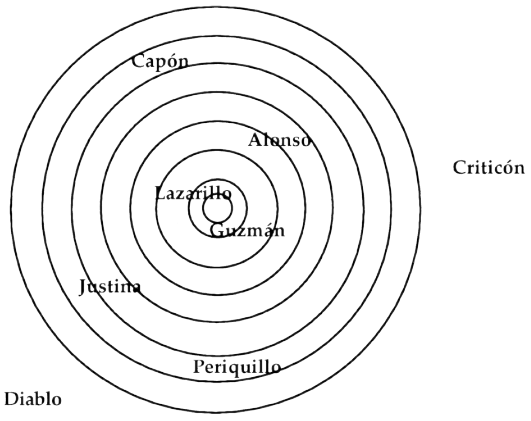


Figure 6 – Picaresque prototype (Mancing).

This taxonomy shifted the focus from the genre's boundaries—boundaries to which literary scholars had been paying more heed to until then—to its internal structure (i.e., a radial structure organized around a prototype). In a broader sense, Mancing's cognitive exploration of the picaresque novel (and of Cervantes's novelas ejemplares, later on in the article) forced a reconsideration of the literary genre concept itself:

> A theory of categorization based on the tenets of modern cognitive science illustrates two of the main points made consistently within that orientation: 1) all knowledge is knowledge to someone, and 2) a human knower is always situated within a specific historical and cultural context. (132; emphasis in text)

The novela dialogada is another early modern literary genre[10] that has proved to be problematic regarding its classification. The crux of the issue stems from the fact that the works that belong to it could be perceived as novels as well as dramas. Therefore, the Spanish scholarship has alternately classified the novela dialogada as belonging to either the novelistic or the dramatic traditions.[11] This disagreement has been even more patent with regard to *La Celestina*, the work that inaugurated the genre in 1499. For some scholars, *La Celestina* is a drama, because, among other arguments, there is no narrator (only dialogues) and the discourse is typically theatrical (e.g., presence of asides), while for others it is a novel because, among other arguments, it is influenced by the sentimental romance (a more prototypical novelistic genre) and it is too long to be staged (16 to 22 acts depending on the edition).[12] Another illustration of the ambivalence that the genre generates is the many different labels that have been used by Hispanists to refer to this body of texts: "novela dialogada" (e.g., Antonio García Berrio and Javier Huerta Calvo), "novela dramática" (e.g., Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Jorge Puebla Ortega), "prosa dialógica" (e.g., Antonio Hurtado Torres), "comedia humanística española" (e.g., María Rosa Lida de Malkiel; Michael E. Gerli; José Luis Canet Vallés, *De la comedia*), "obras celestinescas" (e.g., Pierre Heugas; Keith Whinnom, "El género"), "comedias celestinescas" (e.g., Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego), "tragicomedia española" (e.g., James Parr), among others.

I must note here that the use, in this essay, of the label novela dialogada does not denote any preconceived notion as to its generic filiation. My decision lies in the fact that, among all the labels mentioned above, the novela dialogada seems to be the one that has more currency today among

scholars. In addition, one cannot help but also remark that a taxonomy decision (choosing one of the labels above) is not an impartial process and has ramifications in terms of the status of its chief member: *La Celestina*. Indeed, the novel is a modern phenomenon and literary criticism has been for some time on a quest to find its roots, Ian P. Watt's *The Rise of the Novel* being a case in point.[13] Inscribing *La Celestina* in the genealogy of the novel is a tempting posture for any critic, especially in view of the almost accepted fact that *Don Quixote* is the first modern novel. If Cervantes's opus magnum marks the beginning of the novel, it is eminently logical to be looking for its progenitor(s). The most obvious place to look is in the Spanish strand and *La Celestina* constitutes therefore a perfect candidate. Additionally, in today's world it is undeniable that the novelistic genre enjoys a higher status compared to poetry or theater.[14] Novelists are at the forefront of cultural news; some can even be considered "pop stars." The recent successes of J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series or of Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code*, just to name a few, attest to this fact. Furthermore, although *La Celestina* is perhaps the second most influential work in the literary history of Spanish letters, many early modern scholars have deplored its relative absence from the Western literary canon (see for example Roberto González Echevarría, Joseph T. Snow). In sum, if one wants to highlight *La Celestina*'s literary genius and restore its rightful place in the panorama of Spanish and European literature, its novelistic qualities will naturally be brought to the fore—while for its dramatic side the reverse operation will likely take place—and part of this project, accordingly, can be achieved by picking a name for the genre.[15]

Regarding the complexity of placing the novela dialogada on the literary map, the model I propose offers a way to disentangle this situation. Viewing literary genres as radial categories (i.e., viewing the members of the novela dialogada as "more or less" belonging to the genre, rather than "either/or" belonging, and considering the novela dialogada as "more or less" a play and "more or less" a novel, rather than as "either" a play "or" a novel) can indeed shed some light on this conundrum. As a result, I propose that the novela dialogada be located on the periphery of both the novelistic and the dramatic generic "radial" map (see figure 7), for the novela dialogada is clearly not a prototypical novel or play.

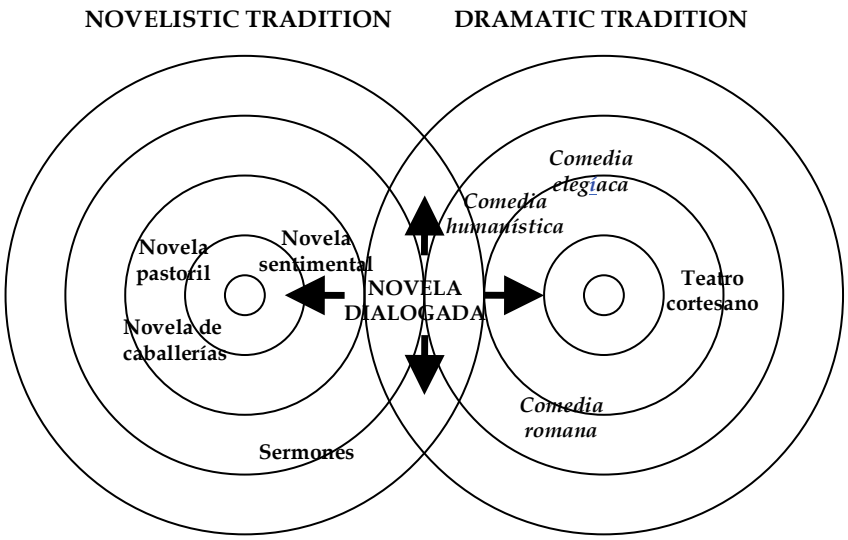


Figure 7 – Novela dialogada situated between two traditions

This diagram represents a non-exhaustive genre map of the literary spectrum around the turn of the fifteenth century (circa 1450-1550). Not all the genres of the epoch are included but the closest literary filiations to *La Celestina* and the novela dialogada are, except for the Arcipreste de Hita's *Libro de buen amor* owing to the fact that it was published in the fourteenth century.

On the theatrical side of the diagram, the comedia humanística, being as many scholars have shown (e.g., Lida de Malkiel; Whinnom;[16] Huerta Calvo;[17] Canet Vallés, "Introduction"; among others) the closest precursor to *La Celestina*, is therefore placed very close to the novela dialogada. It is at the same time a relatively prototypical theatrical genre, hence its placement rather close to the bull's eye. Both the comedia romana and the comedia elegíaca have also been recognized by the Celestina scholarship as close antecedents of the book (e.g., Lida de Malkiel) and were consequently placed on the left side. The teatro cortesano is a denomination proposed by Huerta Calvo which includes playwrights at the turn of the fifteenth century, such as Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández, Torres Naharro, and Gil Vicente.[18] The plays produced by these dramatists overall represent more

prototypical forms of theater, hence the placement of the teatro cortesano close to the bull's eye, but not on the left side of the diagram since they did not directly influenced or were influenced by *La Celestina* and the novela dialogada as a whole.

On the novelistic side, the genre whose indelible mark on *La Celestina* and the novela dialogada has been noted by many scholars (e.g., Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo; Dorothy S. Severin, "Is *La Celestina*," *Tragicomedy*; Ángel Gómez Moreno[19]) is the novela sentimental. This fifteenth-century genre can also be considered prototypical of the novelistic tradition and is therefore placed close to the bull's eye and to the novela dialogada. The sermones[20] genre is placed further from the center as it doesn't constitute a standard novelistic form. The influence of the *Corbacho* (1438) on *La Celestina*, though not as apparent as that of the novela sentimental, has been acknowledged by several scholars (e.g., Menéndez y Pelayo, Joaquín González Muela) and therefore led me to place the sermones genre somewhat close to the novela dialogada on the diagram. Finally, both the novela pastoril and the novela de caballerías can be viewed as prototypical novelistic genres and should therefore be close to the center. However, because of the weak link that exists between these two genres and the novela dialogada, they were placed to the left of the center.

Conclusion: A Perspectivistic View of the Novela Dialogada and Literary Genres

From the discussion of the novela dialogada above, it appears that no clear-cut and definite decision regarding its generic filiation can be made. If the literary critic chooses to take sides, it is because s/he will naturally lean towards one perspective or another. To illustrate the dual nature of the novela dialogada as well as to understand the ease with which one can switch from one perspective to the other,[21] I would like to offer a visual metaphor, an optical illusion that has drawn the attention of many psychologists in the field of perception. It can provide a good insight into the mechanics of the perception of the novela dialogada's generic filiation and into how one can so easily perceive the genre as falling under the sphere of influence of the drama and the novel.

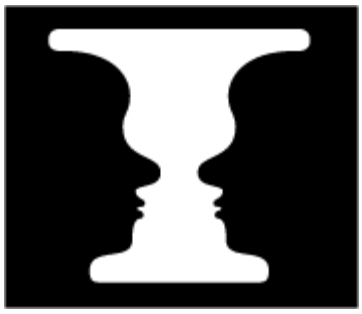


Figure 8 – Rubin's vase[22]

Rubin's vase is a reversible and ambiguous/bistable figure. It was designed in 1915 by a Danish psychologist Edgar Rubin. This figure-ground distinction heavily influenced Gestalt psychologists. In the case of the novela dialogada, depending on the features that the reader/scholar foregrounds or privileges, s/he will perceive the genre as either a drama or a novel. This illustrates the ambiguous and amorphous nature of genre and the difficulty of the determination of its filiation. The final generic "decision," so to speak, is inherently individual and time-dependent. It depends on our worldviews, mindset, personality, and expertise (or experience with the genre). All of these elements evolve with time. Some, like our personality, may not be altered or modified much over time, but they will nonetheless shift. Events in life, and time itself, make us change how we see things and who are. For that reason, some "perspectivism" on genre classification is inescapable.

This perspectivism works at all levels of the generic hierarchy. It also operates on the perceptions of the novelistic and dramatic traditions. Hence, arrows are to be placed around the prototype (i.e., the bull's eye) of each tradition (see figure below) since these also evolve with time for the same reasons explained above.

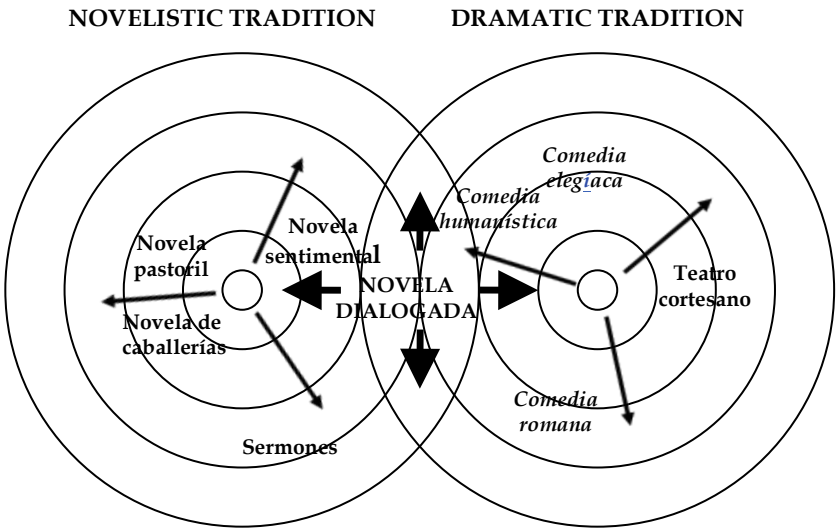


Figure 9 – The concepts of a novel and a drama can evolve as well

Our conceptualizations of a novel or a drama may seem immutable, but this presupposition need not be true however. The literary triad (Prose, Theater, and Poetry), which is the basis of how we perceive and classify the literary world, could be "supplanted" by another that would completely change our literary map. Such a major overhaul of the perception of the literary world to some extent already took place. For instance, from the Antiquity to modern times, we went from a triadic division of the body of literary texts in terms of "lyric, epic, and drama" to "prose, theater, and poetry" nowadays.[23] While the former triad was mainly based on the type of rhetorical expression of the text, the latter classifies along format-based lines. Going forward we don't know on what properties the fictional world will be delineated. This delineation of literary kinds could well emerge along medium-based lines (i.e., paper, podcast, spectacles, etc.) or along the emotional quality of the work (i.e., the emotional response that the works afford) regardless of the medium, that is regardless of whether we read, watch, or listen to the story. We cannot know for sure what the future holds. However, we do know that there are no fixed ways to classify objects and hence artistic expressions. As we evolve and as the world evolves, other ways to classify it may arise. Culture and cognition co-evolve and are

indissociable. Being aware of how we cognitively perceive and modify categories can inform the study of genres. Nonetheless, it cannot replace the meticulous analysis of their evolution in a given cultural context. Thus, an approach that is both cultural and cognitive is the most efficient tool to account for the biological-cultural nature of genres and of artistic forms in general.

Epilogue

Returning to the treatment of *La Celestina*'s genre and, as an additional illustration of how we should view genres, I would like to revisit Stephen Gilman's proposal that Rojas's text be considered an "ageneric" work (194). Although his epithet does convey the sense that classifying literary works is a complex task in general and particularly so in the case of *La Celestina*, I would instead prefer the term "transgeneric." Indeed, Gilman's expression implies that *La Celestina* is "unclassifiable," that it cannot belong to any genre. If we think of a genre in cognitive terms—that is, as a category or schema, as a way to make sense of the information coming from the world which should be viewed not as discrete items but as patterns[24]—we realize that genres/categories are inescapable. We must recognize patterns in the literary panorama in order to make sense of it, in much the way that our knowledge of the world is organized around cognitive categories and schemata. The term "transgeneric" therefore does not negate the existence of genres as Gilman's "ageneric" term does. Instead, it reinforces its literary filiation across genres.

Notes

[1] Most of the texts were published during the first half of the sixteenth century.

[2] On the connection between Prototype Theory and literary genres, see John M. Swales; Gerard Steen; Mancing; and Sinding, "After Definitions." For the link to Schema Theory, see Hoorn, "How," "Psychophysiology;" Sinding, "After Definitions;" and particularly Bartlett. For a study of literary genres combining Schema Theory and Conceptual Blending, see Sinding, "Sermon" and "Blending in a *baciyelmo*."

[3] Although this paper focuses in part on Fernando de Rojas's *La Celestina*, it will not deal with the author's decision to change, in response to the reception of contemporary readers and audiences, the generic filiation of his work from a 'comedy'(*Comedia de Calixto y Melibea* [Comedy of Calisto and Melibea]) when it first appeared in 1499 to a 'tragicomedy' (*Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* [Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea]) in subsequent editions. These considerations fall outside of the scope of this paper as my discussion on genres, first, revolves around the novela dialogada, and not on individual members of the genre, and second because it takes place more on a cognitive-level rather than on a literary-historical level.

[4] I must acknowledge here the work of Jean Piaget in the field of developmental psychology who in the 1960s in a fashion similar to Bartlett and future schema theorists distinguished two phenomena occurring during the interaction between the world and the perceiver: "Assimilation" and "Accommodation." In his view, when a perceiver interacts with the world she does not merely make a carbon copy of what she sees. There are unavoidable discrepancies between what is seen and the reality of what is seen. We therefore "assimilate" the world to make it fit into previous cognitive structures instead of simply mirroring it. Piaget, himself, puts it as follows: "The essential starting point here is the fact that no form of knowledge, not even perceptual knowledge, constitutes a simple copy of reality, because it always includes a process of assimilation to previous structures" (4).

In turn the assimilated information will further modify the cognitive structure that has facilitated the interaction with the world. The schema that allowed the information to be picked up from the environment will, as a

result, be modified by this "picked-up" information. The cognitive schema therefore accommodates itself after assimilation has taken place. Conversely accommodation will also impact the way we assimilate our environment. The cognitive adjustments undergone by means of the influx of assimilated information have modified to a greater or lesser degree our mindset, which, in turn, will influence the way we view the world. One process cannot exist without the other: "We shall apply the term "accommodation" (by analogy with "accommodates" in biology) to any modification produced on assimilation schemata by the influence of environment to which they are attached. But just as there is no assimilation without accommodation (whether previous or current), so in the same way there is no accommodation without assimilation; this is as much as to say that environment does not merely cause a series of prints or copies to be made which register themselves on the subject, but it also sets in motion active adjustments; which is why every time we speak of accommodation the phrase "accommodation of assimilation schemata" is to be understood" (8-9, n 3).

[5] See for example Rumelhart and McClelland.

[6] These characteristics broadly summarize the views of scholars across the many disciplines that use a schema theoretic approach.

[7] See note 2.

[8] The traditional view of categorization is derived from Plato and is generally referred to as the Classical Theory, although it has also been called Traditional Theory or Definition View. See Laurence and Margolis for a detailed review of this line of thought in dealing with concepts (8-14).

[9] By "putative" I mean that my model is not based on empirical evidence although it is meant to represent a cognitive phenomenon.

[10] The novela dialogada starts with the publication of *La Celestina* (Fernando de Rojas) in 1499 and, for most scholars, ends with *La Dorotea* (Lope de Vega) in 1632. Some of the major works in this genre, besides these two, include: *La comedia Tebaida* (Anon., 1521), *La lozana andaluza* (Francisco Delicado, 1528), and *La segunda comedia de Celestina* (Feliciano de Silva, 1534).

[11] For a summary of the various taxonomies emanating from the Spanish scholarship, see chapter 3 in Julien Simon.

[12] Without expanding too much on the generic controversy with regard to *La Celestina* itself, here are some of the arguments that have been brought to the fore on both sides of the debate. The scholars who prefer to view it as a novel argue for example that *La Celestina* influenced more the development of the Spanish novel than of Spanish theater. Heugas's "descendance directe" (the works that most closely imitated Rojas's *La Celestina*) represents an illustration of this influence. For instance, in the Editorial Playor's series called "Lectura crítica de la literatura española," Hurtado Torres's *Prosa de ficción en los siglos de oro* (book number 7 in the series) includes *La Celestina*'s descendance directe while book number 4, Huerta Calvo's *El teatro medieval y renacentista*, does not although it discusses *La Celestina*. Other scholars, such as Severin, have emphasized *La Celestina*'s realism as a critical element which, coupled with its ironic, parodic, and satiric discourse, prefigures the world of the picaresque and *Don Quixote*, hence of the novel (see Severin, "Is *La Celestina*," *Tragicomedy*). On the dramatic side, scholars have argued that the issue of "non-representability" due to its length is anachronistic in light of the fact that the humanistic comedy, the genre which most heavily influenced *La Celestina* and on which it is based, was meant to be "read" in university circles and therefore constituted a performance in front of an audience (see for example Gómez Moreno, 114-115). Furthermore, many scholars have noted, besides the abovementioned humanistic comedy, the influence of other theatrical genres in *La Celestina*: the elegiac comedy and the Roman comedy (see for example Lida de Malkiel's *Originalidad artística de* La Celestina, especially pgs. 29-50). In sum, the novelistic side has tended to emphasize the impact of *La Celestina* on the development of Spanish literature, which allegedly has been more on the novel than on theater, while the dramatic side has looked at *La Celestina* in its literary context as well as its sources which are mainly, though not entirely (e.g., the sentimental romance), emanating from the dramatic tradition.

[13] Mikhail Bakhtin is another of the major theorists of the novelistic genre and his four essays on the topic published in *The Dialogic Imagination* have been highly influential. Other important scholars in this line of study include, among others, Georg Lukács, José Ortega y Gasset, or Michael McKeon.

[14] In 2002, when the Norwegian Book Club asked a group of a hundred writers from over fifty different countries to pick the best books ever written, they produced a list of hundred works atop which sat *Don Quixote*. More than half the books were novels. Works of poetry, largely from the pre-modern era, comprised between one eighth and one seventh of the works and plays amounted to a little over one of tenth of the books. If we look at the works written during the twentieth century only, which consisted of forty-five books, the proportions overwhelmingly favor the novelistic genre; over eighty percent of the works were novels, while it is also noteworthy to point out that not a single play was represented (see "The Top 100 Books").

[15] In that sense, if the term "novela dialogada" has been privileged over the "novela dramática" (these two terms are the ones that most clearly align themselves with the genesis of the novel), it could be due to the fact that the former still emphasizes the theatrical legacy of the genre while the latter less so. Plus, the fact that "novela dialogada" is the term used to refer to Benito Pérez Galdós's trilogy, that is, *Realidad* (1889) y *La loca de la casa* (1892) and *El abuelo* (1997), might have played a role too.

[16] "There is really no possible doubt that the shape of *Celestina* owes everything to humanistic comedy" (Whinnom, "The Form," 135). See also section called "Humanistic Comedy," 135-41.

[17] p. 27.

[18] See pp. 30-40 in *El teatro medieval y renacentista*. The full title of this group of playwrights is: "El teatro cortesano en la encrucijada medieval-renacentista."

[19] Gómez Moreno, in spite of being a proponent of classifying *La Celestina* as a medieval drama acknowledged that: "Porque el segundo modelo, tras la comedia humanística, es el relato sentimental en general y la *Cárcel de amor* en particular; gracias a este género se justifican el final trágico (inaudito en una obra que tiene como patrón la comedia humanística) y muchos de los rasgos característicos de los personajes (así el propio Calisto, que es parodia de Leriano, como ha recordado Severin en reiteradas ocasiones)" (115).

[20] See Joaquín Rubio Tovar's classification, 36-37.

[21] A case in point would be Menéndez y Pelayo's insistence that *La Celestina* be considered a drama although he included this work in his *Orígenes de la novela* [Origins of the Novel].

[22] For copyrights information about this picture, please follow this link: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en.

[23] In Spain in the fifteenth century, the Classical triad could be converted into a tetrad with the inclusion of the didactic. Juan Luis Alborg's map of Spanish literature in this century more or less follows this tetradic division. Under the section title called "Siglo XV," there are four sub-sections called: "La lírica en el siglo XV," "La épica popular: El romancero," "La didáctica, la novela y la historia," and "El teatro en el siglo XV."

[24] The brain cannot possibly "memorize" or "store" what it perceives as individual bits of information instead it recognizes patterns of information, which is a much more economical way to make sense of the environment.

Works Cited

Alborg, Juan Luis. *Historia de la literatura española I: Edad media y renacimiento*. 2nd and Rev. ed. Madrid: Gredos, 1992. Print.

Arbib, Michael A., E. Jeffrey Conklin, and Jane C. Hill. *From Schema Theory to Language*. New York: Oxford UP, 1987. Print.

Arbib, Michael A., Péter Érdi, and János Szentágothai. *Neural Organization: Structure, Function, and Dynamics*. Cambridge: MIT P, 1998. Print.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: U of Texas P, 1981. Print.

Bartlett, Frederic C. *Remembering*. 1932. Introd. by Walter Kintsch. New York: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print.

Canet Vallés, José Luis. *De la comedia humanística al teatro representable: Égloga de la tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, Penitencia de amor, Comedia Thebayda, Comedia Hipólita, Comedia Serafina*. Sevilla: UNED, 1993. Print.

---. Introduction. *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*. By Fernando de Rojas. Valencia: PUV, 2011. 9-165. Print.

García Berrio, Antonio, and Javier Huerta Calvo. *Los géneros literarios: Sistema e historia*. 2nd ed. Madrid: Cátedra, 1995. Print.

Gerli, Michael E. "The Antecedents of the Novel in Sixteenth-century Spain." *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*. Ed. David T. Gies. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. 178-200. Print.

Gilman, Stephen. *The Art of* La Celestina. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1956. Print.

Gómez Moreno, Ángel. *El teatro medieval castellano en marco románico*. Madrid: Taurus, 1991. Print.

González Echevarría, Roberto. Introduction. *Celestina*. By Fernando de Rojas. Trans. Margaret Sayers Peden. New Haven: Yale UP, 2009. xii-xxvii. Print.

González Muela, Joaquín. Introduction. *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*. By Alfonso Martínez de Toledo. Madrid: Castalia, 1970. 7-29. Print.

Head, Henry, and Gordon Holmes. "Sensory Disturbances from Cerebral Cortex." *Brain: A Journal of Neurology* 34 (1911): 102-254. Print.

Heugas, Pierre. La Célestine *et sa descendance directe*. Bordeaux: Editions Bière, 1973. Print.

Hoorn, Johan. "How is a Genre Created? Five Combinatory Hypotheses." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 2.2 (2000): n. pag. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

---. "Psychophysiology and Literary Processing: ERPs to Semantic and Phonological Deviations in Reading Small Verses." *Empirical Approaches to Literature and Aesthetics*. Ed. Roger Kreuz and Mary Sue MacNealy. Norwood: Ablex, 1996. 339-58. Print. Advances in Discourse Processes Ser. 52.

Huerta Calvo, Javier. *El teatro medieval y renacentista*. Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1984. Print. Lectura crítica de la literatura española 4.

Hurtado Torres, Antonio. *La prosa de ficción en los siglos de oro*. Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1983. Print. Lectura crítica de la literatura española 7.

Lakoff, George. "Cognitive Models and Prototype Theory." *Concepts: Core Readings*. Ed. Eric Margolis and Stephen Laurence. Cambridge: MIT P, 1999. 391-421. Print.

Laurence, Stephen, and Eric Margolis. "Concepts and Cognitive Science." *Concepts: Core Readings*. Ed. Eric Margolis and Stephen Laurence. Cambridge: MIT P, 1999. 3-81. Print.

Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. *La originalidad artística de* La Celestina. 1962. 2nd ed. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1970. Print.

Mancing, Howard. "Prototypes of Genre in Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares*." *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20.2 (2000): 127-50. Cervantes Society of America. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

Mandler, George. *Cognitive Psychology: An Essay in Cognitive Science*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 1985. Print.

Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino. *Orígenes de la novela*. 1905-1915. Vol. 3. Ed. Enrique Sánchez Reyes. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1961. Print.

Minsky, Marvin. "A Framework for Representing Knowledge." *The Psychology of Computer Vision*. Ed. Patrick Henry Winston. New York: McGraw, 1975. 211-77. Print.

Moratín, Leandro Fernández de. *Orígenes del teatro español: Con una reseña histórica sobre el teatro español en el siglo XVIII y principios del XIX*. 1830. Paris: Librería de Garnier Hermanos, 1883. Print.

Neisser, Ulric. *Cognition and Reality*. San Francisco: Freeman, 1976. Print.

Parr, James. "La época, los géneros dramáticos y el canon: Tres contextos imprescindibles." *El teatro en tiempos de Felipe II: Actas de las XXI jornadas*

del teatro clásico, Almagro, 7, 8 y 9 de julio de 1998. Ed. Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez and Rafael González Cañal. Almagro: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1999. 119-36. Instituto Almagro de teatro clásico. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

Pérez Priego, Miguel Ángel. Introduction. *Cuatro comedias celestinescas*. Sevilla: UNED, 1993. 9-48. Print.

Piaget, Jean. *Biology and Knowledge: An Essay on the Relations between Organic Regulations and Cognitive Processes*. Trans. Beatrix Walsh. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1971. Print.

Puebla Ortega, Jorge. *Los géneros literarios: Claves para entender la literatura*. Madrid: Playor, 1996. Print.

Rosch, Eleanor. "Principles of Categorization." *Cognition and Categorization*. Ed. Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd. Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 1978. 27-48. Print.

Rubio Tovar, Joaquín. *La prosa medieval*. Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1982. Print. Lectura crítica de la literatura española 3.

Rumelhart, David E., and James L. McClelland. *Parallel Distributed Processing: Explorations in the Microstructure of Cognition*. Cambridge: MIT P, 1986. Print.

Schank, Roger C., and Robert P. Abelson. *Scripts, Plans, Goals, and Understanding*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 1977. Print.

Severin, Dorothy S. "Is *La Celestina* the First Modern Novel?" *Revista de estudios hispánicos* [Río Piedras, Puerto Rico] 9 (1982): 205-11. Print.

---. *Tragicomedy and Novelistic Discourse in* Celestina. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989. Print.

Simon, Julien. "A Neurocognitive Study of Literary Genres: The Case of the 'novela dialogada.'" Diss. Purdue U, 2006. *Proquest*. Web. 12 Dec. 2012.

Sinding, Michael. "After Definitions: Genre, Categories and Cognitive Science." *Genre* 35.2 (2002): 181-220. Print.

---. "'A Sermon in the Midst of a Smutty Tale:' Blending in Genres of Speech, Writing, and Literature." *Cognitive Literary Studies: Current Themes and New Directions*. Ed. Isabel Jaén and Julien Jacques Simon. Austin: U of Texas P, 2012. 145-61. Print.

---. "Blending in a *baciyelmo*: *Don Quixote*'s Genre Blending and the Invention of the Novel." *Blending and the Study of Narrative: Approaches*

and Applications. Ed. Ralf Schneider and Marcus Hartner. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012. 147-71. Print.

Snow, Joseph T. "Celestina (1499-1999) Medieval and Modern: Survival & Renewal of a Spanish Classic." *Medieval Perspectives* 15 (2000): 1-11. Print.

Steen, Gerard. "Genres of Discourse and the Definition of Literature." *Discourse Processes* 28.2 (1999): 109-20. Print.

Swales, John M. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990. Print.

"The Top 100 Books of All Time." *Guardian.co.uk*. The Guardian, 8 May 2002. Web. 10 Dec. 2012.

Watt, Ian P. *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1957. Print.

Whinnom, Keith. "The Form of *Celestina*: Dramatic Antecedents." *Celestinesca* 17.2 (Otoño): 1993. 129-46. Print.

---. "El género celestinesco: Origen y desarrollo." *Academia literaria renacentista V: Literatura en la época del emperador*. Ed. Víctor García de la Concha. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 1988. 119-30. Print.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. "Philosophical Investigations, Sections 65-78." *Concepts: Core Readings*. Ed. Eric Margolis and Stephen Laurence. Cambridge: MIT P, 1999. 171-74. Print.

From Perú to Appalachia: Amazons, El Dorado, and the Improbable Mythology of the Virginia State Seal[1]

Kimberly C. Borchard
Randolph-Macon College

In May 2010, Virginia Attorney General Ken Cuccinelli drew national ridicule when he provided his office staff with lapel pins featuring a "more virtuous" version of the state seal, in which a blue breastplate conceals the formerly exposed left breast of the Amazon representing the Roman goddess Virtus as she stands victorious over the prone, defeated figure of Tyranny (Walker, "More on Cuccinelli's Covered Up Lapel Pin"). [2] Cuccinelli quickly denied accusations that the pins had been inspired by religious conservatism and provided at the public's expense, dismissing the media's treatment of the incident as the deliberate misinterpretation of an office joke:

> The seal on my pin is one of many seal variations that were used before a uniform version was created in 1940. I felt it was historic and would be something unique for my staff. My joke about Virtue being a little more virtuous in her more modest clothing was intended to get laughs from my employees – which it did! Just because we've always done something a certain way doesn't mean we always have to continue doing it that way. Now seriously, can we get on with real news? (Pitney, "Breast on Virginia Seal Covered Up)

Cuccinelli's claim regarding the "many [. . .] variations" of the seal is correct, as substantiated by Edward S. Evans' 1911 history of the seemingly infinite permutations of the image dating back to the seventeenth century (*The Seal of Virginia*). And the former Attorney General's claim as to the historicity of the variant used specifically for his office gag has also been fully documented: within 24 hours of covering the original story, reporter Julian Walker pointed out in a follow-up article for *Hamptonroads.com* that the image on Cuccinelli's pin replicates that on the flag adopted by the state of Virginia on April 30, 1861, less than two weeks after it declared sovereignty and repealed its 1788 ratification of the U.S. Constitution (see Figure 2) ("More on Cuccinelli's").[3]

Figure 1. Virginia State Seal [4]

Figure 2. Flag adopted by the state of Virginia on April 30, 1861[5]

The version of the image that Cuccinelli recovered for his office staff thus resonates deeply with Civil War history and Virginia's rebellion against the authority of the United States' government—a historical resonance apparently menacing enough for some Virginians to inspire the founding of a Facebook group called "Fans of the Original Virginia State Seal" (see Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 3. Facebook page of the Fans of the Original Virginia State Seal [6]

Figure 4. Facebook page of the Fans of the Original Virginia State Seal [7]

The partially disrobed Amazon adorning the current state seal—as well as the fully clothed one preferred by Cuccinelli—are both the products of a much longer, more complex chapter of Virginia history that the popular media, not surprisingly, overlooked in the coverage of the lapel pin story. Nearly eighty-five years before Virginia used the image of an Amazon warrior to allegorize its rejection of the U.S. Constitution and the onset of the American Civil War, it had used the same image to flaunt its repudiation of English political authority on the eve of the American Revolution. The minutes from the Virginia Convention of 1776 note that on Friday, July 5, George Mason made the following recommendations on behalf of the committee appointed to design the seal for the newly independent Commonwealth (which had, incidentally, moved to declare independence from England before the other colonies, on May 15 of the same year) (Dabney, *Virginia* 135):

> TO BE ENGRAVED ON THE GREAT SEAL
>
> VIRTUS, the genius of the Commonwealth, dressed like an Amazon, resting on a spear with one hand, and holding a sword in the other, and treading on TYRANNY, represented by a man prostrate, a crown fallen from his head, a broken chain in his left hand, and a scourge in his right.

> In the exergon, the word VIRGINIA over the head of VIRTUS: and underneath the words *Sic Semper Tyrannis*. . . . (Evans 31)

The "official" history of the state seal thus dates back to the American revolution; and according to longstanding regional historiography, Virginia's use of the image to emblematize its rejection of the ruling authority—be it British or American—originates in the Commonwealth's long history of political self-determinism.

This article will explore the mythic and symbolic antecedents of the Virginia state seal as the ultimate emblem of the Commonwealth's ideological independence from "foreign" powers, be they European or domestic. In so doing, it will reveal the centuries-old historic resonances of the Confederate image appropriated by the former Virginia Attorney General and would-be governor. As we shall demonstrate, the icon of the vengeful warrior woman in Virginia has a history far longer and more convoluted than that of the American Civil War or even the American Revolution, with roots reaching beyond the movement for American independence and into the period in which Spain and England were engaged in a fierce competition to colonize and exploit the natural resources of North America.

Amazons in America: Spanish Colonial Precedents

For those who study colonial Latin America and the endless series of myths and half-truths that characterize its textual production, the legend of the Amazon woman is an all-too-familiar cliché. On January 6, 1493, Christopher Columbus was the first to report (without ever having seen) massive gold deposits in close proximity to a Caribbean island inhabited solely by women (*Textos y documentos* 189). A half-century later, the Dominican friar Gaspar de Carvajal would write an account of a Franciso de Orellana's voyage through the "good land and Kingdom of the Amazons" ("Relación" 71), where female warriors wore crowns of gold (78), bludgeoned their male subjects to death on the spot if they showed weakness in battle (72), periodically began wars with a neighboring kingdom to obtain male captives for procreation, and practiced infanticide when the children born of these fleeting unions were so unfortunate as to be born male (77). Though Carvajal's account has long since been raked over the coals for its exaggerations and inaccuracies, his stories gained

enough currency in the sixteenth century that the river that served as their backdrop is still known as the Amazon today.

The chimera of the indigenous warrior woman jealously defending vast deposits of gold near an inland water source soon became emblematic of Spain's Quixotic and—more often than not—catastrophic search for El Dorado in South America. Less discussed by contemporary scholarship, however, are the strikingly similar reports that would soon surface thousands of miles to the north, spreading from Spanish Florida into English Virginia. Like the Spanish reports of Amazons supposedly glimpsed in the depths of the South American jungle, the northern reports invariably accompanied accounts of frustrated gold-hunting, as well as the imminent violence not only of resistant natives, but of the deceitful and rebellious European explorers themselves. In order to trace out the evolution of this myth prior to its transformation into a symbol of political autonomy in colonial and contemporary Virginia, we will briefly consider a couple of the better-known early textual references to both gold and indigenous female warriors in "Apalache" (the early Spanish term originating with the Apalachee Indians of northwestern Florida, which would later migrate northeastward to become Appalachia); review early cartographic documentation of the same recurrent motifs; and finally, consider their reemergence in the Virginia colony near the end of the seventeenth century.

The First Appalachian Amazon: The De Soto Expedition

It has become a commonplace in the field of Latin American colonial literature that the Spanish pushed further and further south in their search for gold following the early discovery of Nahua (Aztec) riches in Mexico (Pastor, *Armature* 153-68). However, a simultaneous early push northward can be seen in Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's first reported discovery of "muestras de oro" ("traces of gold") in an indigenous village near present-day Tampa, Florida, in 1527. When Cabeza de Vaca inquired as to the source of the gold, the local Indians directed him towards a vague, distant realm by the name of "Apalachen," which supposedly abounded not only in gold but also "muy gran cantidad de todo lo que nosotros estimamos en algo" ("a very great quantity of all that we value") (I: 39).

Despite Cabeza de Vaca's failure to locate any gold in the area of western Florida in which he claimed to reach the province of "Apalache," Hernando de Soto resumed the search for the Appalachian mines eleven years later, departing from Cuba in 1539 and following rumors of gold north and east into the Carolina Piedmont in 1540—a year before Gaspar de Carvajal and Francisco de Orellana would embark down the river soon thereafter to be known as the Amazon. Rodrigo Ranjel was a participant in this ill-fated expedition, which resulted in de Soto's death on the banks of the Mississippi River and produced neither the gold nor the westward route to China that de Soto had hoped to find. In his rewrite of Ranjel's expedition diary in the *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (*General and Natural History of the Indies*, first volume 1535; subsequent volumes 1851-1855), Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo—who never personally set foot in the region—praises its plentiful food crops and wild game (II: 162). However, perhaps substituting sensationalism for the gold that was never found, Oviedo seems far more interested in the *human* landscape:

> [M]artes treinta del mes de septiembre [de 1539], llegaron a Agile, subjeto de Apalache, e tomáronse algunas mujeres; e son tales, que una india tomó a un bachiller, llamado Herrera, que quedaba solo con ella e atrás de otros compañeros, e asióle de los genitales y túvolo muy fatigado e rendido, e si acaso no pasaran otros cristianos que le socorrieran, la india le matara, puesto que él no quería haber parte en ella como libidinoso, sino que ella se quería libertar e huir. (II:161)[8]

Needless to say, it is more than a little difficult to believe this denial of any "libidinous" intent on Herrera's part towards a recently kidnapped native woman with whom he lingered alone in a hostile territory at a certain distance from other expedition members.

However, this account is just one in a long series of European claims of encounters with particularly physically—and sexually—threatening native women supposedly met en route to inland gold mines that would never actually be found. We will return to the topic of the native warrior women in Virginia at the end of this study, but must first consider the first attempts to actually map out the location of the supposed Appalachian gold mines. These efforts ultimately pushed "Apalache"—and its Amazons—further north, toward present-day Virginia.

Figure 5. Frontispiece to Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis narration*, 1564.[9]

The French Transposition of Apalache *into the Mountains*

Though Spanish explorers were the first to disseminate these reports of Appalachian gold and violently resistant native women, the first serious attempt to pinpoint the gold cartographically was made by a French participant in an effort to compete for control of the territories in question. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues was a Huguenot artist present during Jean Ribaut and René Laudonnière's attempt to colonize northern Florida in 1564. Their efforts resulted in the founding of Fort Caroline (at the site of present-day Jacksonville, Florida),[10] but ended abruptly when the Spanish admiral Pedro Menéndez arrived from Saint Augustine in 1565 under orders from King Philip II of Spain to "hang and burn the Lutherans" (Kenneth Davis, "A French Connection"). Le Moyne was one of a small number of French to survive. Almost three decades later, Theodor de Bry purchased Le Moyne's drawings from his widow and published the account of his experience in Frankfurt in 1591, along with his illustrations of native peoples and a rendering of Florida originally drawn in 1564 (see Figure 5).

Like the contemporaneous account of Laudonnière himself, Le Moyne's narrative constitutes, in great part, an indictment of the mutiny against Laudonnière prior to the Menéndez massacre. When not busy recounting the minutiae of the intrigues among the French prior to the Spanish attack—or the gruesome details of the attack itself—Le Moyne makes numerous references to native reports of Appalachian gold mines further to the north. Specifically, he expresses concern over securing safe passage up "the road to the Apalatcy Mountains (which we were desirous of reaching, because we were informed that most of the gold and silver which we had received in trade was brought thence)" (*Narrative* 4). Quoting from Laudonnière's own *Notable Historie* of the Huguenot voyages, Le Moyne also reports an encounter with two naked, shipwrecked Spaniards who have spent years wandering the wilds of the Florida coast and have "become so accustomed to the manners of the natives that at first our ways seemed to them like those of foreigners" (10). Only when Laudonnière gives the Spaniards the gifts of clothing and a haircut does one of them discover a gold piece "worth about twenty-five crowns" in his long and snarled mane. In return for Laudonnière's courtesy, the newly groomed Spaniard gives his benefactor the gold piece and both Spaniards wrap their

cut hair in cotton cloth to take back to Spain "as a testimony of the hardships which they had experienced in India" (10). These tantalizing rumors of gold are reinforced by both a map and an illustration, the latter of which Le Moyne explains with the following caption (see Figure 6):

> A great way from the place where our fort was built, are great mountains, called in the Indian language Apalatcy; in which, as the map shows, arise three great rivers, in the sands of which are found much gold, silver, and brass, mixed together. Accordingly, the natives dig ditches in these streams, into which the sand brought down by the current falls by gravity. Then they collect it out, and carry it away to a place by itself, and after a time collect again what continues to fall in. They then convey it in canoes down the great river which we named the River of May, and which empties into the sea. The Spaniards have been able to use for their advantage the wealth thus obtained.[11]

This explanation, alas, was probably more the fruit of misinterpretation or wishful thinking than fact. In his commentary to Paul Hulton's edition of Le Moyne's work, David B. Quinn notes that "[a]part from Le Moyne there is no evidence whatever that at this early period the Indians north of Mexico extracted gold from water by panning," although gold can be found "in the form of . . . dust in inland waters from South Carolina to Virginia, particularly in the foothills of the Blue Ridge." He further notes that archaeological excavations north of Mexico have thus far failed to uncover gold not of Spanish origin, but explains that the French misinterpretation of native informants was likely due to what we might charitably think of as an honest mistake: the local people used the same word for both gold and copper, the latter of which could indeed have been gathered by panning (Hulton, *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues* I: 215). Jerald T. Milanich confirms the importance of copper mining to the local Apalachee economy (94). Le Moyne also included the Appalachian mountains and their allegedly gold-laden streams in an accompanying map (see Figure 7).

Figure 6. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis narration*, 1564. Extracting gold from water by panning [12]

Figure 7. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues,
Floridae Americae Proncinciae Recens & exactissima descriptio[13]

Figure 8. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues,
Floridae Americae Proncinciae Recens & exactissima descriptio (detail)

Near the northernmost extreme of this map, Le Moyne drew an inland lake surrounded by mountains and fed by a waterfall. The legend reads (see Figure 8): "Appalachian Mountains, in which gold and silver are found" and "In the lake the Indians discover silver flakes." The Dutch mapmaker Jodocus Hondius would later combine Le Moyne's map of Florida with John White's map of Virginia, reproducing this inland, mineral-rich lake and creating—in the words of rare map dealer Barry Lawrence Ruderman—"geographical misconceptions of the region, which lasted for nearly 150 years" (see Figures 9 and 10).

Figure 9. *Virginia Item et Floridae Americae Provinciarum, nova Descriptio*. Jodicus Hondius, 1636.[14]

Figure 10. *Virginia Item et Floridae Americae Provinciarum, nova Descriptio.* Jodicus Hondius, 1636. (Detail.)

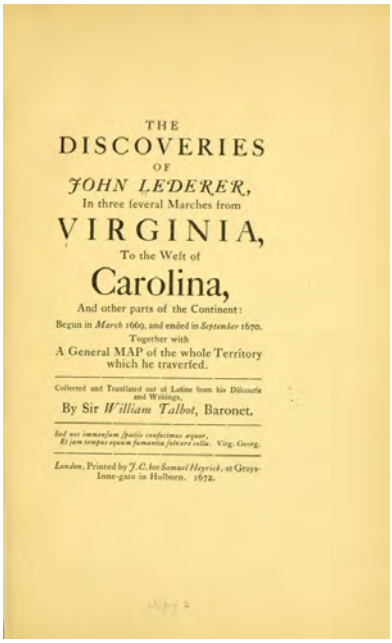
I review these first print and cartographic references to point out the early genesis and perpetuation of rumors of Appalachian gold, and to underscore the fact that the Spanish and French were looking northward towards a mythical, gold-rich "Apalache/Apalatcy" a full eighty years before the English would start their westward push into the mountains of western Virginia. Without naming *Apalache* or its mountains as such, after slaughtering the settlers at Fort Caroline Pedro Menéndez reported learning from a French captive (one of the very few whose lives were spared) that "al nornoroeste de Santa Elena cien leguas, tienen la serranía que viene de las Zacatecas y que es de mucha plata" ("a hundred leagues to the north-northwest of Santa Elena [Parris, Island, South Carolina] lies the mountain range that comes from Zacatecas and which contains much silver") (145).[15] Two decades later, in 1586, Pedro Morales (a Spaniard captured by Francis Drake in Saint Augustine, Florida) also reported to Richard Hakluyt that

"[t]hree score leagues vp to the Northwest from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chrystall Mines, named Apalatci" (Hakluyt 533). However, it was the French sources described above that first, and definitively, shifted the realm of *Apalache*—now *Apalatcy*—into a mountainous region to the north. Ironically, it was not an English colonist, but an obscure German entrepreneur and explorer by the name of John Lederer, who would first head west from present-day Richmond, Virginia to search for gold and a westward passage to the Indian Ocean. On his way, he would spread the rumor of Appalachian Amazons into colonial Virginia.

John Lederer: Appalachian Amazons, or The First Appalachian Exploration from the English Colonies

John Lederer composed an account in Latin of his three westward journeys. The account was translated into English by Sir William Talbot, Proprietary Secretary of the province of Maryland (Cunz 181), and printed in London in 1672 (see Figure 11).

The text provides a first-person account of the author's three (failed) attempts to find a westerly passage across the Appalachian Mountains to the Indian Ocean between March 1669 and September 1670.[16] Lederer, like Oviedo, tells of strong, cunning natives and fierce warrior women to be contended with by European explorers. Though he never lays eyes on these women himself, he hears news of them from the friendly Ushery Indians. In terms strikingly similar to those used by Spanish explorers of more southerly latitudes in the sixteenth century, Lederer claims that the Usheries report "continual fear" towards their enemies, the Oustacks. The latter group—according to the Usheries—performs human sacrifices and are "so addicted to arms, that even their women come into the field, and shoot Arrows over their husbands' shoulders" (17-18). That these women live on a vast inland lake and their men are rumored to use hatchets made of precious metals (silver rather than gold) resonates strongly not only with sixteenth-century Spanish fantasies of Amazon warrior women, but of El Dorado and a mysterious inland body of water rich in precious metals.



THE
DISCOVERIES
OF
JOHN LEDERER,
In three several Marches from
VIRGINIA,
To the West of
Carolina,
And other parts of the Continent:
Begun in *March* 1669. and ended in *September* 1670.
Together with
A General MAP of the whole Territory
which he traversed.

Collected and Translated out of Latine from his Discourse and Writings,
By Sir *William Talbot*, Baronet.

Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus æquor,
Et jam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla. Virg. Georg.

London, Printed by *J. C.* for *Samuel Heyrick*, at Grays-Inne-gate in Holborn. 1672.

Figure 11. *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, 1672. [17]

Lederer's claims have been called into question to the point that the early twentieth-century historians Clarence Alvord and Lee Bidgood mockingly dismissed them as comparable to "the tales of Baron Münchhausen" (68). Though later scholars have partially vindicated the value of Lederer's narrative (Cunz), of interest here is not so much the dubious accuracy of his account, but its repetition of unsubstantiated rumors, toponyms, and creative geography from much earlier sources originally produced by Spanish and French explorers. If we return briefly to the early maps of Florida, we can observe early renderings of a place by the name of "Oustaca" (see Figures 7-8 for Le Moyne) or "Houstacqua" (see Figures 9-10 for Hondius). Clearly, both these toponyms are merely different spellings of "Oustack." Coincidentally – or not – much as earlier Spanish explorers disseminating accounts of El Dorado and Amazon warriors, Lederer gleans his information about an inland tribe of bellicose women and "effeminate and lazie" men (18) second-hand, from a native

chieftain whose language *he does not speak*.

As regards the name "Oustack," in his much earlier *Narrative*, Le Moyne claimed that a scout by the name of La Roche Ferrière had returned from an inland foray reporting that:

> all the gold and silver which had been sent [to Fort Caroline] came from the Apalatcy Mountains, and that the Indians from whom he obtained it knew of no other place to get it, since they had got all they had had so far in warring with three chiefs, named Potanou, Oneatheaqua, and Oustaca, who had been preventing the great chief Outina from taking possession of these mountains. (7)

Much like the word "Apalache" in early Spanish accounts, variants of "Oustaca" or "Oustack" were thus used to denominate a place; a king; and an entire people, all of whom lived in close proximity to the perpetually elusive gold mines.

Though, needless to say, Lederer never found his Appalachian mines, this did not disabuse him of his belief in their existence. Optimistically speculating that the northern hemisphere of the New World would imitate the southern one in geography as well as in mineral wealth, he concludes:

> I am brought over to their opinion who think that the Indian Ocean does stretch an Arm or Bay from *California* into the Continent as far as the *Apalataean* Mountains, answerable to the Gulfs of *Florida* and *Mexico* on this side. Yet I am far from believing with some, that such great and Navigable Rivers are to be found on the other side the *Apalataeans* falling into the Indian Ocean, as those which run from them to the Eastward. My first reason is derived from the knowledge and experience we already have of South-*America*, whose *Andes* send the greatest Rivers in the world (as the *Amazones* and *Rio de la Plata*, &c.), into the *Atlantick*, but none at all into the *Pacifique* Sea. (23)

Naïve as these fantasies may seem today, they were not at all without precedent. It was still commonplace in the seventeenth century for Europeans to grossly underestimate the breadth of North America. Furthermore, there was an assumption of basic geological and climatological symmetry between regions that were later discovered to be extremely diverse.[18] Almost a century earlier, Abraham Ortelius, the Flemish cartographer and creator of the first world atlas (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1570), had superimposed an early map of Florida (by Gerónimo

de Chávez, royal cosmographer to Philip II) upon one of the "gold-rich region of Peru" in the 1584 edition of his *Theatrum* (see Figure 12).

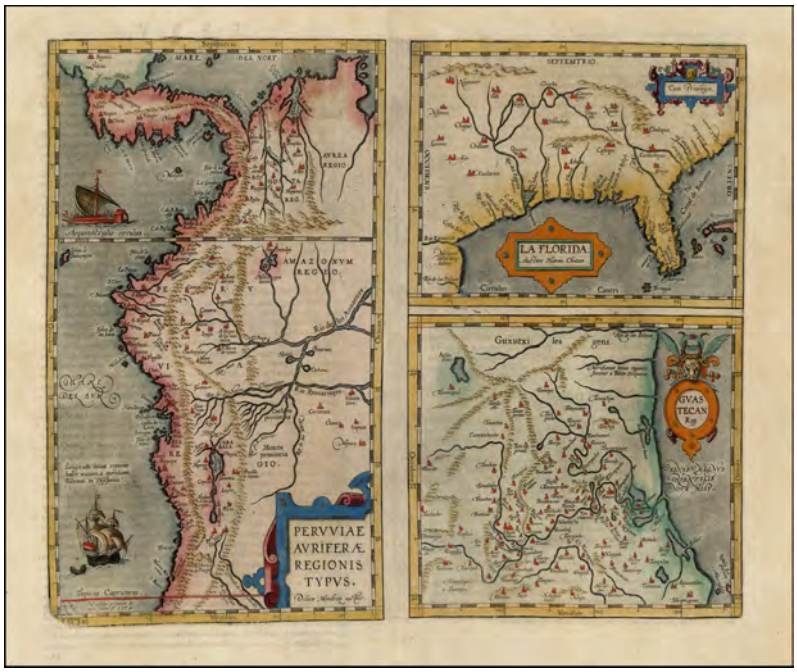


Figure 12. "Peruviae Auriferae Regionis Typus," from the 1609 Spanish edition of Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.[19]

Conclusion: Virginian Amazons in the Twenty-First Century

To conclude, and to return to the anecdote and iconography that served as our point of departure: it is not my intent to imply that the participants in the Virginia convention of 1776 had this convoluted history of rumors, half-truths, and—undoubtedly—outright lies in mind when it selected the iconography for the state seal, which has most often been associated with Roman antecedents. However, when the former Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Virginia attempted to justify his restoration of the

Confederate seal on the grounds that it is "historic," it seemed an appropriate occasion to turn a very critical eye towards that history.

This image was published in the *London Magazine* on May 1, 1774 (see Figure 13). The cartoon, originally published in the *London Magazine* in May 1774, represents the passage of the Intolerable Acts—whereby England attempted to punish the colonies for Boston Tea Party—as the literal and metaphorical violation of America. America, in turn, is represented by a Native American woman, forcibly restrained and sexually debased by British authorities.[20] The use of the indigenous woman to represent America was a common practice dating back to the early sixteenth century. Note the remarkable similarity in appearance between this woman and the Amazon on the contemporary state seal (Figure 1): the billowing robe, the bared breasts. The seal designed at the Virginia convention reversed the violence of the 1774 cartoon, with the vengeful woman standing victorious over her oppressor, England (see Figure 14). The near contemporaneity of these images makes a direct association between the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party and the iconography of the state seal difficult to avoid.

Figure 13. *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*, 1774.[21]

Figure 14. "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God."[22] This version of the state seal was struck onto bronze medals at the behest of Thomas Jefferson for distribution among Native American allies ("Indian Peace Medal").

I would be remiss if I concluded without mentioning that less than a month *prior* to the scandal over Cuccinelli's adaptation of the current state seal, the image had already been adapted by *Freerepublic.com*—a Tea Party website billing itself as "America's exclusive site for God, Family, Country, Life & Liberty constitutional conservative activists"—to express an even more explicit "rebellion." On a page labeled "Virginia State Seal Redesign [Humor]" and dated 12 April 2010, one finds the familiar image of the official state seal of Virginia – with two significant alterations. Sarah Palin's head has been superimposed upon that of the warrior woman representing Virtus; and Barack Obama's face replaces that of the toppled tyrant upon which the Alaskan Amazon rests her foot.[23] Given Attorney General Ken Cuccinelli's vocal support of and by the twenty-first-century American Tea Party, I will leave it to readers to decide which version of Virginia history—and what "tyrant"—he had in mind when he made that tremendously historic and symbolic gift to his office staff.

Notes

[1] Sincere thanks to Barry Ruderman of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps for permission to reproduce the exceptionally high quality images on his website (www.raremaps.com), and to Heritage Auctions (www.ha.com) for permission to reproduce the image of the Virginia regimental flag in Figure 2. Thanks also to Maggie Fritz-Morkin for her translations of the Latin legends on the early maps.

[2] We were unable to track down the copyright to the image of Cuccinelli's adapted pin via either *The Huffington Post* or Pinterest, where the *Post* had obtained the image, in time for the publication of this article. However, the image may be viewed at http://big.assets.huffingtonpost.com/001.jpg.

[3] This was also pointed out by Jeffrey Burke of Great Falls, Virginia, founder of the Facebook group "Fans of the Original Virginia State Seal," https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=117544978268472.

[4] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_and_seal_of_Virginia#mediaviewer/File:Seal_of_Virginia.svg 13 August 2014.

[5] http://historical.ha.com/itm/military-and-patriotic/civil-war/virginia-regimental-flag-captured-by-the-53rd-pennsylvania-infantry-this-virginia-civil-war-flag-was-captured-by-union-capt/a/642-25480.s?type=prte-pr120406a#Photo.

[6] https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=117544978268472&v=info. Consulted 7 May 2010.

[7] https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=117544978268472&v=wall. Consulted 7 May 2010.

[8] "Tuesday, the thirtieth day of the month of September [of 1539], they arrived in Agile, a tributary [*sujeto*] of Apalache, and they seized a number of women. And [these Indian women] are such, that one of them took a bachelor [e.g., an educated man; *bachiller*] by the name of Herrera, who had remained alone with her behind some of [his] other companions, and she grabbed on to his genitals and had him in such a fatigued and exhausted state, that if other Christians had not happened to pass by and rescue him, the Indian woman would have killed him; for he had no libidinous intent towards her; rather, she hoped to free herself, and flee" (II: 161).

[9] Image courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ftp://ftp.bnf.fr/010/N0109491_JPEG_1_1DM.jpg. Consulted 19 August 2014.

[10] Researchers Fletcher Crowe and Anita Spring recently announced at a conference at Florida State University ("La Floride Française: Florida, France, and the Francophone World") that they had discovered the true site of Fort Caroline "on an island at the mouth of the Altamaha River, two miles southeast of the city of Darien [Georgia]. . . . approximately 70 miles from the Jacksonville site" ("Researchers Claim Discovery"). Crowe and Spring base their hypothesis on the collation of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century French maps of the American southeast "with coastal charts of the United States published by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and with maps published by the U.S. Geological Survey;" they also cite evidence that the native people near the fort spoke Guale, a language originally spoken near Darien, but not near Jacksonville. Though this potential discovery has generated much excitement, at present no archeological excavations have been done to confirm the hypothesis. Due to the current lack of empirical substantiation and because there is no other evidence yet available, Crowe and Spring's announcement will remain, if only for now, in a footnote.

[11] This is number 41, "Mode of collecting gold in streams running from the Apalatcy Mountains," on page 15 of "Descriptions of Illustrations" in Le Moyne's *Narrative* – it has its own pagination , though it is included within the *Narrative*.

[12] http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/pnp/cph/3a00000/3a04000/3a04300/3a04313r.jpg. Consulted 3 November 2013.

[13] http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/enlarge/23886. Consulted 12 March 2011.

[14] http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/18150/Virginiae_Item_et_Floridae_Americae_Provinciarum_nova_Descriptio_English/Hondius.html. Consulted 20 March 2011.

[15] For a more in-depth analysis of Menéndez's interpretation of French activities in the American southeast as a threat to the stability of the Spanish colonies, see Borchard, "The Andes in Appalachia."

[16] The full title of Lederer's account is: *The Discoveries of John Lederer in Three Several Marches from Virginia to the West of Carolina, and Other Parts of the Continent; Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670*. I will refer to it here simply as "the *Discoveries*." Talbot, who met Lederer following the latter's flight to Maryland after public sentiment turned against him in Virginia, was the cousin of "George Talbot who in those years played an important part in Maryland history;" nephew of

Cecil, Lord Baltimore; and was himself appointed Proprietary Secretary of the Province (Cunz 181).

[17] https://archive.org/stream/discoveriesofjoh00lederer#page/n15/mode/2up. Consulted 19 August 2014.

[18] See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period."

[19] http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/enlarge/22240. Consulted 13 August 2014.

[20] http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97514782/. 14 August 2014.

[21] http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/pnp/ppmsca/19400/19467v.jpg. Consulted 14 August 2014.

[22] http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e6/Rebellion_to_Tyrants_colonial_medal_Virginia.jpg. 14 August 2014.

[23] We were unable to reach the webmaster of the Free Republic site to obtain permission to reproduce the image, but it may be viewed here: http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/2491205/posts. 12 April 2010. Consulted 12 March 2011.

Works Cited

Alvord, Clarence Walworth, and Lee Bidgood, eds. *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912.

Borchard, Kimberly. "The Andes in Appalachia: Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in a Hemispheric Curriculum." *Approaches to Teaching Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's* Royal Commentaries *and Other Works*. Ed. Christian Fernández and José Antonio Mazzotti. Forthcoming late 2015 or early 2016: Modern Languages Association.

Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar Núñez. *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez*. Intro. and Eds. Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz. 3 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Carrier, Lyman. "The Veracity of John Lederer." *William and Mary Quarterly* Second Series 19.4 (October 1939): 435-45.

Carvajal, Gaspar de. "Relación que escribió Fr. Gaspar de Carvajal, fraile de la orden de Santo Domingo de Guzmán, del nuevo descubrimiento del famoso río grande que descubrió por muy gran ventura el Capitán Francisco de Orellana [. . .]" 1542; first published 1855. *La Aventura del Amazonas*. Ed. Rafael Díaz Maderuelo. Madrid: Dastín, 2002. 31-88.

Colón, Cristóbal. *Textos y documentos completos*. Ed. Juan Gil. Madrid: Alianza Universidad, 1997.

Cunz, Dieter. "John Lederer: Significance and Evaluation." *William and Mary Quarterly* Second Series 22.2 (April 1942): 175-185.

Dabney, Virginius. *Virginia: The New Dominion. A History from 1607 to the Present*. 1927. Garden City: Doubleday, 1971.

Davis, Kenneth C. "A French Connection." *New York Times* 26 Nov. 2008: A33.

Evans, Edward S. *The Seal of Virginia*. In *Virginia State Library. Its Annual report*. Richmond, VA. Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1911.

"Fans of the Original Virginia State Seal." *Facebook*. Web. 12 March 2011. <https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=117544978268472, https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=117544978268472&v=wall.>

Freerepublic.com. Web. 12 March 2011. <http://www.freerepublic.com/tag/*/index.>

Hakluyt, Richard. "XXXVI. The Relation of Pedro Morales a Spaniard, which sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustine in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, touching the state of those parts, taken from his mouth by Master Richard Hakluyt 1586." *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Ed. Edmund Goldsmid. Vol. XIII. America. Part II. Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1889. 533-34.

Hondius, Jodocus. *Virginiae Item et Floridae Americae Provinciarum, nova Descriptio*. Map. **From** *Atlas or A geographicke description of the regions, countries and kingdomes of the world, through Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, represented by new & exact maps*. By Gerhard Mercator. Trans. Henry Hexham. Amsterdam: Henry Hondius and Iohn Iohnson, 1636. *Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc*. Web. 20 March 2011.

<http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/18150/Virginiae_Item_et_Floridae_Americae_Provinciarum_nova_Descriptio_English/Hondius.html.>

Hulton, Paul, ed. *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues: A Huguenot Artist in France, Florida, and England*. 2 vols. London: British Museum Press, 1977.

"Indian Peace Medal Joins CW Collection." *Williamsburg Yorktown Daily*. Web. 14 August 2014. <http://wydailyarchives.com/2009/03/04/indian-peace-medal-joins-cw-collection/.>

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. "The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period." *The American Historical Review* 87.5 (December 1982): 1262-1289.

Le Moyne de Morgues, Jacques. *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae Provincia Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam Nauigatione, duce Renato de Laudonniere classis praefecto anno MDLXIIII : quae est secunda pars Americae: additae figurae et incolarum eicones ibidem ad vivum expressae brevis item declaratio religionis, rituum, vivendique ratione ipsorum*. Frankfurt: Theodor De Bry, 1591. *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. Web. 19 August 2014. <ftp://ftp.bnf.fr/010/N0109491_JPEG_1_1DM.jpg.>

Le Moyne de Morgues, Jacques. *Floridae Americae Provincinciae Recens & exactissima descriptio*. Map. From Theodor De Bry, *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae Provincia* [. . .]. Frankfurt: Theodor De Bry, 1591. *Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc*. Web. 12 March 2011. <http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/enlarge/23886>

Le Moyne de Morgues, Jacques. *Narrative of Le Moyne*. 1564; published 1591. Translated from the Latin of de Bry, with heliotypes of the engravings taken from the artist's original drawings. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1875.

Lederer, John. *The Discoveries of John Lederer*. Trans. William Talbot. 1672. March of America Facsimile Series Number 25. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966.

Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro. *Cartas sobre la Florida (1555-1574)*. Ed. Juan Carlos Mercado. Frankfurt and Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2002.

Milanich, Jerald T. *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995.

Molina, Diego de. "Carta." 1613. Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaría de Estado, legajo 2590, n. 47, folios 1-4.

Molina, Diego de. "Letter of Diego de Molina, 1613." *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625*. Ed. and trans. Lyon Gardiner Tyler. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. 218-24.

Ortelius, Abraham. *La Florida [with] Guastecan [with] Peruviae Auriferae Regionis Typus*. Map. *Theatrum Orbus Terrarum*. Antwerp: Vrintium, 1609. *Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc*. Web. 13 August 2014. <http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/enlarge/22240.>

Pastor, Beatriz. *The Armature of Conquest*. Trans. Lydia Longstreth Hunt. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992.

Pitney, Nico. "Breast on Virginia Seal Covered Up." *Huffingtonpost.com*. 1 May 2010. Web. 17 May 2010. <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/05/01/virginia-seal-breast-picture_n_559673.html.>

"Researchers Claim Discovery of America's Oldest Fort." *Heritage Daily*. 21 February 2014. Web. 23 February 2014. <http://www.heritagedaily.com/2014/02/researchers-claim-discovery-of-americas-oldest-fort/102215.>

Tirkel, Amanda. "Cuccinelli channels John Ashcroft, censors Roman goddess' clothing on the Virginia seal." *Thinkprogress.org*. 1 May 2010. Web. 17 May 2010. <http://thinkprogress.org/2010/05/01/cuccinelli-virginia-seal/.>

"Virginia." *Netstate.com*. Web. 17 May 2010. <http://www.netstate.com/states/symb/flags/va_flag.htm.>

"Virginia Regimental Flag Captured by the 53rd Pennsylvania Infantry." *Heritage Auctions*. Web. 2 September 2014. <http://historical.ha.com/itm/military-and-patriotic/civil-war/virginia-regimental-flag-captured-by-the-53rd-pennsylvania-infantry-this-virginia-civil-war-flag-was-captured-by-union-capt/a/642-25480.s?type=prte-pr120406a#Photo>

"Virginia State Seal Redesign [Humor]." *Freerepublic.com*. 12 April 2010. Web. 12 March 2011. <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/2491205/posts.>

Walker, Julian. "Cuccinelli opts for a more modest state seal." *The Virginia Pilot*. 1 May 2010. Web. 17 May 2010. <http://hamptonroads.com/2010/04/cuccinelli-opts-more-modest-state-seal.>

Walker, Julian. "More on Cuccinelli's covered up lapel pin." *Hamptonroads.com*. 2 May 2010. Web. 17 May 2010. <http://hamptonroads.com/2010/05/more-cuccinellis-covered-lapel-pin?cid=omc.>

Della Porta, Giovan Battista. *The Art of Remembering: L'arte del ricordare*. Ed. Armando Maggi and Frederick A. de Armas. Trans. Miriam Aloisio et al. Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2012. 168 pages. €20.00. ISBN 978-8880637479

Memory isn't what it used to be. In schools, memorization has become a neglected art, associated with rote learning of meaningless dates and facts. Why waste mental energy memorizing things when they can be accessed with the touch of a screen or the click of a mouse? In common usage, "memory" is now a term more associated with technological capacity than with human recollection. It is easy to blame digital technology for the low esteem that memorization holds in our culture, but the root cause is not so much the Internet as the basic technology of writing. As far back as Plato's *Phaedrus* (275a), writing has been seen as the enemy of memory. Once you make a written record, whether on a clay tablet or an iPad, you are outsourcing your memory.

In the sixteenth century, the art of memory was definitely seen as something worth cultivating. And rather than rejecting writing as the antithesis of memory, early modern theorists were eager to use the resources of print technology to strengthen natural mnemonic ability. One of the most influential texts on memory in early modern Europe was Giovan Battista Della Porta's brief treatise *L'arte del ricordare* [*The Art of Memory*]. Della Porta (1535-1615) was a Neapolitan scholar who wrote extensively on magic and physiognomy as well as memory. He was also a prolific playwright. *L'arte del ricordare* was first published in Naples in 1566 in an Italian edition ostensibly translated by Dorandino Falcone da Gioa from Della Porta's unpublished Latin original, though it is possible that Della Porta was himself responsible for the Italian text. In any case, in 1602 Della Porta published an expanded edition in Latin, entitled *Ars reminiscendi*.

Never before translated into English, Della Porta's treatise is now available in an excellent dual language edition produced by a team of scholars from the University of Chicago. The volume includes the full 1566 Italian text of *L'arte del ricordare*; an English translation by Miriam Aloisio, Gregory Baum, Elizabeth Fiedler, Maggie Fritz-Morkin, and Michael Subialka; a lengthy introduction to Della Porta's writings on memory by Armando Maggi; a substantial essay on Della Porta's influence on literature and thought in English, French, and Spanish by Frederick A. de Armas; a

piece by Gregory Baum on the relation of Della Porta's treatise to other sixteenth century writing on memory; and a short biographical note on Della Porta by Miriam Aloisio. The volume also reproduces a series of relevant illustrations from Della Porta's texts on memory, botany, and physiognomy.

Della Porta's text provides a fascinating account of early modern ideas about memory and its significance, as well as outlining an elaborate method for strengthening one's powers of recall. He begins by distinguishing between innate natural memory and artificial memory that is acheived through a structured discipline of mental exercise. Such discipline is necessary if knowledge is to be retained and not lost to the natural process of aging. Although at times Della Porta describes marvellous feats of memory as if they were freaks of nature ("Portius Latro . . . could recite two thousand names forwards and backwards, and two hundred Latin verses after they were read to him" [90]), it is clear that Della Porta see memory as a fundamental defence against mortality and mutability. Knowledge and experience have no utility or even existence unless they can be reliably accessed through memory.

The memory technique that Della Porta outlines begins with the imagination of a particular place, usually a house or other building (91-94). Within this imagined house, the memorizer should imagine particular rooms in a definite sequence, each filled with particular items of furniture and inhabited by imagined people. All of these items—rooms, furnishings, people—can then be used as prompts to remember particular pieces of information (98). Memory is thus understood as a series of associations, a symbolic system of signifiers each standing in for a particular signified. Memory is also primarily visual; a vivid mental image stands in for a word or a concept. Vividness is key; abstract words and ideas are hard to hold in memory, and so to preserve them more strongly they need to be coupled with striking visuals. Della Porta famously contends that the paintings of masters like Michelangelo and Titian will stay firmly in the mind when more conventional images are forgotten (103). Besides being visual and associational, memory is also understood to be topographical: for Della Porta memory is a landscape, rather than a list or a filing system. In Della Porta's treatise memory is both linear (following a set arrangement of images and their associations), and non-linear (a space to explore rather than a sequence to follow). After describing the most effective ways to

construct this mental landscape, Della Porta discusses various ways that memory can be used to associate one word with another: by addition, subtraction, transposition, mutation, and alteration of letters or syllables. His treatise also includes a brief discussion of hieroglyphics and how they may be used to aid memory (114), as well as a wonderful chapter on ways to forget information that is no longer needed (99-100).

Della Porta's treatise is an important text for anyone interested in the history of memory and mnemonic technique, as well as for scholars investigating the theoretical relation of images to words, or words to concepts. The volume's editorial apparatus makes frequent reference to Della Porta's revised and expanded Latin version of his treatise, and it would have perhaps been ideal for this edition to have included a transcription and translation of that text as well. But this would have been beyond the scope of the volume as it stands. And the volume is exemplary. The editors and translators are to be commended for making such an intriguing and useful text available to an English language readership.

Ian Frederick Moulton
Arizona State University

Objects of Culture in the Literature of Imperial Spain. Eds. Mary E. Barnard and Frederick A. de Armas. Toronto: Toronto UP, 2013. 326 p. ISBN 9781442645127

The book is a collection of fourteen articles and a prologue. All of them are directly related, as the title indicates, to various objects of culture in the literature of Imperial Spain. The reference of "objects of culture" is not necessarily what we may associate with those kinds of objects, since they are not limited to famous or influential objects of art. Instead, the reader should expect to find analyses that take into account objects such as "clothing, paintings, tapestries, playing cars, enchanted heads, materials of war, monuments, and books themselves" (ix). Furthermore, the meaning of "culture" is not narrow (i.e., referring only to having a good education and/or "savoir-faire"), since it includes, just to name three illustrative examples, notions such as (1) the way of life of the audience to explain how Tirso uses portraits as "effective stage devices" (Christopher B. Weimer 113); (2) "the cultural resonance of the gambler" (Frederick A. de Armas 57) as it applies to "La novela del curioso impertinente" in *Part I* of *Don Quixote*, and (3) the "ocularcentrism of early modern epistemology" (Emilie L. Bergmann 143) applied metaphorically to Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz *Primero Sueño*.

The purpose of the book is "to understand the various ways in which writers of the . . . [period] appropriated those objects for their own aesthetic, social, religious, and political purposes" (xii). Furthermore, the perspective of the analyses is limited to the performative aspect of the objects taken into consideration: "our emphasis is on writing as a way of preserving and transforming these cultural objects as the "resonate" in their performative role" (xiv); therefore, the main goal of the book may be summed up a collection of attempts to explain some of the ways in which authors of the period took advantage of the performative aspects of the objects of their culture (broadly understood), in order to produce the desired social, political or religious effects.

The book is divided into three main sections, which depend on the performative aspect of the kind of objects being considered: "objects of luxury and power"(1-118), "the matter of words" (121-202) and "objects against culture" (205-316). The general strategy in all the articles is to

explain what the object in question *did* (how it performed, how it was understood) during the period, and then apply that particular performance to the text being interpreted. For example, in the first section María Cristina Quintero explains the performance of objects that signify power, and then she applies that performance to Calderón's *La Gran Cenobia* (80-98); in the second section Heather Allen considers the cultural/political significance of the book of hours in order to explain how its inclusion, its veiled inclusion, or exclusion in three versions of the conquest informs us of the socio-political purposes of the respective authors that wrote them (121-140); and in the last section Ryan E. Giles explains the efficacy of the prayer of the *emparedada,* a "printed amulet" (228), and then he explains how that efficacy seriously undermines Lazarillo's relative material success at the end of his autobiography.

The strong general tendency of the articles is to find how the performance of objects problematizes, affirms and undermines at the same time, or calls into question, the surface intention/reading of the text being interpreted; therefore, were we to consider the theoretical approach of the articles, the conclusion would be that they exhibit a post-modern and even deconstructionist (at times) influence. Readers that share this kind of theoretical approach should find the articles especially valuable.

All the articles in the collection are quality work, in the sense that all of them present the reader with solid, well-researched investigations of how the objects performed during the period, and then they offer interpretations that are grounded solidly on that research. For example, Carolyn A. Nadeau investigates the role of the host of a feast in detail, the kind of food that ought to be served and the kind of things one ought to say and avoid saying in a banquet, and then, with this solid investigation backing up her argument, she argues convincingly that the feast in *La Celestina* subverts conventions: "the banquet celebration in Act IX . . . does not reveal the lofty ideals of virtue . . . but rather it shows . . . hunger . . . [and] repressive social structures" (223). This kind of procedure (solid investigation combined with rigorous argumentation at the center of the interpretation) applies to all the articles in the collection, but I have chosen to use Carolyn A. Nadeau's article as the example because it has proven to be especially relevant for my own research: it applies strongly not only to understand the banquet scene in *La Celestina*, but also, and just as strongly, to the interpretation of the work as a whole.

Finally, even though the three sections in the book (power, words, rebellion) do not mention as their primary targets other themes that are equally relevant, such as for example the performance of objects in terms of their cultural actions in relation to morality or religion, some of the articles do consider those themes as well. For example, in regards to morality, Luis F. Aviles investigates Aristotle's distinction between prudence and cleverness in order to explain why Scipio is clever but imprudent (252-276); and in relation to religion, Ryan A Giles takes into account the performance of religious objects starting in the Middle Ages in Spain when he interprets *El Lazarillo* from the perspective of the prayer *La Emparedada.*

Overall, given the high quality of the articles and the broad scope of themes covered in the collection, the book adds value to the fields of material studies, performance, and needless to say, the literature of Imperial Spain.

Daniel Lorca
Oakland University

Vélez Sainz, Julio. *"De amor, de honor e de donas" Mujer e ideales corteses en la Castilla de Juan II (1406-1454).* Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2013. ISBN 9788499381572

Mi persona siempre fue
e allí será tod'ora.
Servidor de una señora
la qual yo nunca diré.
Álvaro de Luna

Julio Vélez Sainz en *"De amor, de honor e de donas"' Mujer e ideales corteses en la Castilla de Juan II (1406-1454)* revalora el clima literario de esta época, a partir de textos que elevan o degradan a la mujer y su representación literaria. Dicha imagen, en cualquiera de las dos actitudes opuestas con que fueron escritos los textos, filógina o misógina, convivieron y se confrontaron entre algunos escritores pertenecientes incluso a la Corte de Juan II. Tal fue el caso de Álvaro de Luna quien por haberse convertido en el Condestable de Juan II, guardado está en la memoria ibérica como uno de los oscuros ejemplos por excelencia de clientelismo y nepotismo. Vélez no obstante sin dejar de señalarlo, se aventura a estudiar su faceta y su contribución literaria con el análisis de su obra, *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mujeres*, que en retrospectiva podríamos circunscribir a la línea de obras profeministas tempranas. Según propone y argumenta Vélez, este libro del Codestable resulta, "la obra maestra de la filoginia medieval castellana" (183). Esta mirada revalora la obra literaria de Luna desde su ambiente social.

La segunda razón tiene que ver con el período elegido por el autor. No es fortuito y Vélez se encarga de justificarlo, su selección tiene sentido porque se trata de una Corte que se distinguió por promover como parte de su agenda política, el culto a las dueñas cortesanas. Es así como el libro fundamenta su relevancia con el estudio de una parte del medievo español donde aún hay mucho por discutir.

Vélez analiza con detalle los tratados filóginos titulados *Triunfo de las donas* de Juan Rodríguez del Padrón y *Defensa de virtuosas mujeres* de Diego de Valera que junto al libro de Luna ya mencionado, conforman la tratadística clásica de la época. Por cuestión de método no sorprende entonces que

Vélez haya prestado atención especial al controvertido tratado de Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, *Corbacho o Libro del Arcipestre de Talavera*. Al hacer esto creemos que de nueva cuenta logra matizar la tendencia misógina con la que de manera automática se ha atacado su libro, para reorientar el ataque de Martínez de Toledo, exclusivamente sobre las mujeres con doble moral.

Este libro permite ver que el cultivo del código literario cortés con sus fórmulas discursivas en alabanza a una amada esquiva y a quien se ama en absoluto secreto, fue sólo una parte de la retórica masculina aprendida en la Corte. Hecho que desde ese período despertó recelo porque lo marcaría como un tiempo donde el poder de decisión político, estaría en manos de la más alta jerarquía femenina porque las circunstancias históricas así lo exigían. La mujer entonces trascendería su estado pasivo como receptáculo de lamentos amorosos, para transformarse en sujeto político con poder de decisión. Catalina de Láncaster, madre de Juan II o su hermana, María de Aragón, asumieron roles en tanto que estrategas políticas pues gracias a su intervención oportuna se evitaron enfrentamientos bélicos entre los distintos reinos. Vélez apunta su participación en la política que aunque breve y hasta azarosa, conviene recordarla pues asentaría un precedente histórico que luego veríamos representado a través de figura de la *virago* en muchas obras del Siglo de Oro. Por su parte María de Castilla, la primera esposa de Juan II, sobresale como la imagen femenina inspiradora de la tratadística filógina a quien estuvieron además dedicadas algunas de estas obras. La dedicatoria no disfrazaba la motivación central de los autores, muy al contrario, ponía énfasis en la procuración de los beneficios recibidos de la poderosa mecenas. Nunca ha resultado tan útil describir las múltiples virtudes morales y físicas de una mecenas para asegurar la protección.

Los análisis de fuentes cronísticas, canciones y tratados sobre los ideales corteses que dan cuerpo al libro, en conjunto nos ayudan a conformar una visión más realista de lo que significó escribir desde una perspectiva profeminista teniendo en mente a las dueñas. Se pretendía estar enamorado y servir a una dueña porque la entronización del eterno femenino, con fines más estéticos que amorosos pero también políticos, implicaba formar parte o no, de los favoritos de los monarcas.

El libro nos permite ver que durante el reinado de Juan II el mecenazgo fue un sutil mecanismo para construirse una identidad en favor de las bellas letras. Vélez demuestra que a pesar de la diversidad de los textos, en las obras se advierte la intención de cada uno de sus respectivos autores por

educar o alertar predominantemente a los jóvenes cortesanos que por derecho o por prebendismo convivieron en su Corte.

Por todo lo dicho, este nuevo libro de Vélez Sainz merece ser considerado como uno de los trabajos más actualizados sobre las *donas* y los ideales corteses del reinado de Juan II. Si en libros previos el autor ha arrojado luz respecto al mecenazgo y el Parnaso español, con este libro el autor complementa su propia labor sobre el mundo de lo material y la lírica.

Susana Zaragoza-Huerta
Arizona State University

Ana María Rodríguez-Rodríguez. *Letras liberadas: Cautiverio, escritura y subjetividad en el Mediterráneo de la época imperial española*. Madrid: Visor Libros, 2013. p. 192. ISBN: 978-84-9895-142-4.

In current times, as xenophobic tensions are continually denounced in Spanish newspapers, while the government proposes and articulates the recognition of nationality for descendants of the Sephardim diaspora, and immigration through the Southern borders of the European community becomes increasingly deadly and expensive, reading about captivity in the early modern Mediterranean does not bear comfort, but enhances awareness. Ana Mª Rodríguez-Rodríguez brings us a moment of clarity and depth in her reading of books that otherwise would seem one more expression of early orientalism and European objectification of the Other.

This book deals with a topic that has called the attention of numerous scholars, such a María Antonia Garcés and Lisa Voigt. Both of them have contributed greatly to our knowledge of captivity on both sides of the Atlantic, in Cervantes, and the Mediterranean Sea. Rodríguez-Rodríguez is in dialogue with both of these scholars when she proposes to study the work of three authors—Diego Galán, Antonio de Sosa, and Miguel de Cervantes—as primarily literary products where biography, history, reinsertion, and deviation suffer tremendous transformations in the hands of the writer. Rodríguez-Rodríguez organizes her analysis in three chapters, each of them concerned with seminal writings about captivity in the seventeenth-century Mediterranean: Diego Galán's *Cautiverios y Trabajos de Diego Galán* (as early as 1612), Antonio de Sosa in his *Topographia e historia general de Argel* (1612), and Miguel de Cervantes in four plays (*El trato de Argel* (1581-83), *Los baños de Argel* (1615), *La gran sultana*, and *El gallardo español*).

Ana María Rodríguez-Rodríguez profiles Galán, Sosa and Cervantes's utilization of texts and knowledge as instruments of power after their captivity, probably as much as they did it during their times deprived of freedom. Going beyond bookish knowledge and literary tradition, these authors express a sheer necessity to conform to the expectations of Spanish readership and authorities, while simultaneously negotiating a description of real life within the Ottoman Empire. In their texts they domesticate the danger and fear of the Other, as much as they confirm the traditional

literature on Muslims and Renegades, while they adjust their real experiences to traditions accepted by their readership, and avoid falling into the lure of the exotic (26, 89). Ana Mª Rodríguez explores these complexities in compelling topics like the captive's body, his sexuality and torture, his religion, and gender domination/submission of the prisoner.

In the first chapter, "Vicisitudes del *yo* autobiográfico en los textos de cautivos. *Cautiverio y trabajos de Diego Galán*," based on a comparison of the two versions of this account, Rodríguez-Rodríguez creates an enlightening analysis of the increasing fictionalization in Diego Galan's autobiographical report. This is a privileged text for this type of elaboration, since the two extant manuscripts, by way of comparison, permit a sound study of the evolution from factual to fictional in Galan's writing process (22-25). For the critic, the explanation for the changes between the two versions is that in the first one Galan reorganizes his experiences, and pays attention to historical data, but in his second version Galan seeks a reconciliation of his identity damaged by the conflict between the Turkish and Spanish cultures, originated in his years in captivity in the Ottoman world and reinsertion into Spanish society (74).

In the second chapter, "La crueldad del cautiverio: historia y propaganda. *Topographia e historia general de Argel*," Rodríguez-Rodríguez presents her reading beyond the usual concerns about race, religion and xenophobia in Spanish literature. Unlike in Galan's account, violence is tremendously present in the last two dialogues of Antonio de Sosa. Avoiding simplicity, Rodríguez navigates the meanings of cruelty in these gory conversations. Torture deprives the human being from its voice. The pain generated in the process is re-elaborated through the text's narration of histories of Algiers and elsewhere. The victims endure unutterable sufferings, opening them to new meanings. Finally, the texts of captivity and torture appeal to the reader's help and awareness, while they explore the limiting realities of an Empire that cannot protect its subjects from ignominy, silence, and submission (130-32).

The third chapter, "Masculinidades en conflicto. Las comedias de cautiverio de Cervantes," deepens our understanding of the debated relation between history and fiction in Cervantes's captivity plays. Being the first playwright who dedicated his plays to the topic of captivity, the study of the meaning of gender and sexual performance in his characters is of the utmost relevance. Rodríguez is not convinced by the current trend of

making biographical connections with the love affairs and unrestrained desire in the characters of Cervantes's captivity plays (168). She prefers to think in terms of the fictionalization of memories, a respectable claim since Rodríguez attests it through a reflection about the representation of female captives in Cervantes's captivity plays. Rodríguez-Rodríguez is very compelling in her analysis from the perspective of fiction and its rules, beyond historical, biographical, and multicultural claims.

The book finishes with an opportune epilogue about the captivity of westerners in North Africa, the reclusion of immigrants in the modern Europe due to the European Community's immigration rules, and the perceived need to control the movement of low-wage labor through the Mediterranean border of the EU. In the United States of America, *Letras liberadas* reminds us of the polemic calls for National Guards to patrol, local sheriffs who seek to over ride national policy, and the mania of local / regional politicians to fan hatred and fear and then seek to militarize the border as part of their self fashioning as leaders who display the martial prowess and valor normally reserved for military leaders or national politicians.

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle
Arizona State University