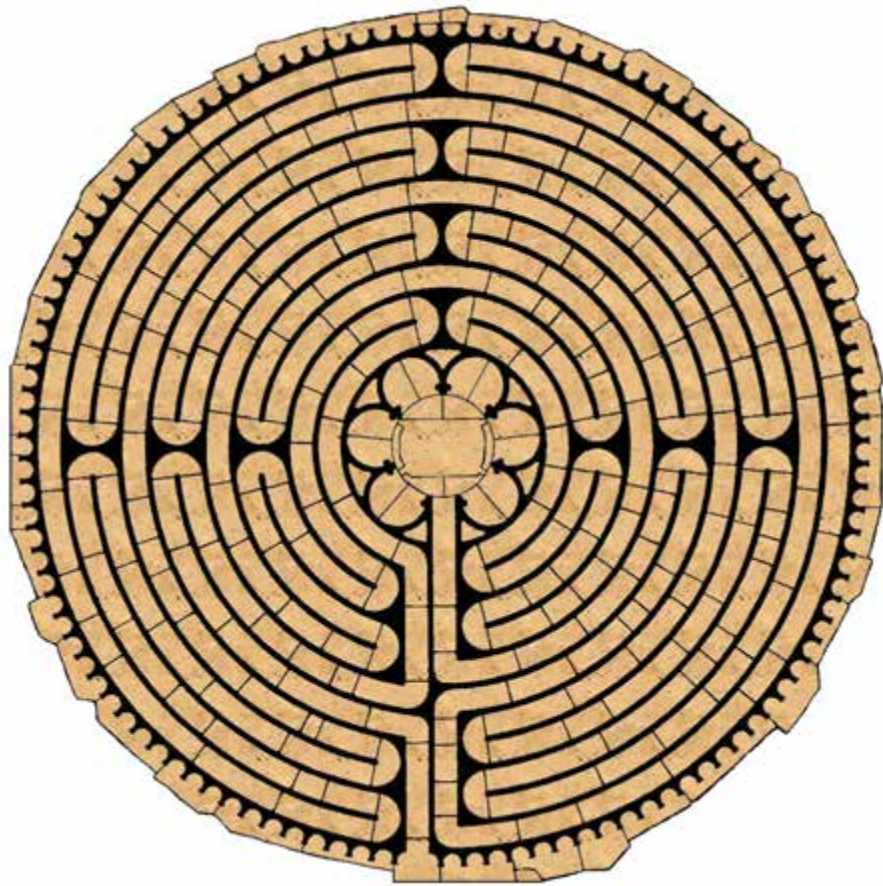


LABERINTO

AN ELECTRONIC JOURNAL
OF EARLY MODERN HISPANIC
LITERATURE AND CULTURES



VOLUME 14
2021

LABERINTO JOURNAL 14 (2021)

EDITORS

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle
Arizona State University

Daniel Holcombe
Georgia College & State University

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

María José Domínguez
Arizona State University

EDITORIAL BOARD

Frederick de Armas
Barbara Simerka
Christopher Weimer
Bruce R. Burningham
Marina Brownlee
Enrique García Santo-Tomás
Steven Wagschal
Julio Vélez-Sainz
Lisa Voigt

COVER DESIGN

Daniel Holcombe

COVER IMAGE

Chartres Cathedral labyrinth graphic courtesy of Jeff Saward -
www.labyrinthos.net

Laberinto is sponsored by the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (ACMRS), affiliated with the Spanish Section at the School of International Letters and Cultures (SILC), Arizona State University, and published in Tempe, Arizona. Arizona Board of Regents ©
www.laberintojournal.com
<https://acmrs.org/publications/journals/laberinto/about>

Special Issue: Early Modernity in Arizona State University

Table of contents

Articles

Sor Juana's Birth and the Mexican Racial Imaginary: The Enigmas of her Family, Putative "Sisters" and other Blind Spots in Criticism

Emil Volek, Arizona State University 4

El Festejo de los Empeños de Una Casa: The Negotiation of a Social Contract for the American Colonies of Spain

Dulce María González-Estévez, Arizona S. University.....23

Slumming *Don Quixote* in Luis Lucia's *Rocío de la Mancha* (1963)

Daniel Holcombe, Georgia College & State University
(Alumnus, Arizona State University)..... 54

Barroco, amistad y metonimia en "El Licenciado Vidriera"

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle, Arizona State University.....103

Reviews

The Spanish Pacific, 1521-1815: A Reader of Primary Sources. Ed. Christina H. Lee and Ricardo Padrón. Amsterdam University Press, 2020. 249 pp. ISBN: 978-94-6372-064-9.

Robert Richmond Ellis, Occidental College131

Vélez de Guevara, Luis. *La conquista de Orán*. Edición crítica y anotada de C. George Peale y Javier J. González Martínez. Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta-Hispanic Monographs, 2020. 210 pp.

Ana M. Rodríguez Rodríguez, University of Iowa.....137

Pornographic Sensibilities: Imagining Sex and the Visceral in Premodern and Early Modern Spanish Cultural Production. Ed. Nicholas R. Jones and Chad Leahy. Routledge, 2021. 269 pp. ISBN: 978-0-367-50353-6.

Daniel Holcombe, Georgia College and State University141

Cirigliaro, Noelia S. Domus. Ficción y mundo doméstico en el Barroco español. Tamesis, 2015. 197 pp. ISBN: 978-1-85566-293-3.

William Worden, University of Alabama.....144

Faraway Settings: Spanish and Chinese Theaters of the 16th and 17th Centuries. Juan Pablo Gil-Osle & Frederick A. de Armas, editors. Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2021

Dakota Tucker & John Beusterien, Texas Tech University.....147

Sor Juana's birth and the Mexican racial imaginary:
The enigmas of her family, putative "sisters" and
other blind spots in criticism

Emil Volek
Arizona State University, Tempe

Until today, serious doubts persist about the date of birth of the Mexican icon Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651-1695): whether it was indeed 1651, as has been held traditionally, or 1648, as recent sketchy documents have suggested to some. It would seem that, beyond the question of accuracy, the three years difference should only minimally affect the grand picture of her lifetime; what rather strikes one then is that the consequences in the Mexican milieu (and from there onward) are not minor and may puzzle foreigners.

The apparently long forgotten legacy of the "Wars of the Reform" of the late 1850s left the Mexican society split into two still irreconciled parts: on one side, the victors, the radical liberal anticlerical intelligentsia and its followers (aiming originally at the riches accumulated over the centuries by the Church in a country devastated by fraternal wars after Independence), and, on the other side, the defeated, the Catholics (both the Church hierarchy and the people deeply steeped in Baroque culture). This split and the effort of the minority in power since then to keep in check the majority, even attempting—under most diverse banners—to eradicate Catholic religion as such from the Anahuac region, has led to repeated bouts of social violence (as in the 1870s), to gross manipulation of the first democratic elections held after the fall of Porfirio Díaz (in 1911) and to open civil war (the "Cristiada" in the 1920s, the "Mexican Holocaust," still covered up by the leftist intelligentsia as an alleged part of the socially justified Revolution that had ended formally a decade earlier). Yet "past epochs never vanish completely, and blood still drips from all their wounds," as young Paz commented in his *Labyrinth of Solitude*.

This long history of "unfinished business" for both sides has left deep scars on the civil society, carefully hidden to the outside. So, to prove that Catholics have erred (or lied!) in something is still a cherished triumph and, in absence of proof, even an assumption of some such misdeed has

also worked wonders. The war continues, and the struggle around an icon such as Sor Juana (her birth, her life and works) is just one more strategic piece on the “battlefield of ideas” for the soul of the nation.

Let us outline how all this brouhaha around the Tenth Muse and her birth has originated and developed over time (complementary details may be found in Sabat de Rivers, 2001, and Volek, 2016:24-30).

In his “Approbation” sanctioning the publication of *Fama y obras posthumas* (1700; Alatorre 239-49) by Sor Juana’s young admirer and defender Castorena y Ursúa, father Diego Calleja vows to give us a “true notice” (*noticia cierta*) about her life and puts together the first biography of the nun. Taking his information from many sources, he includes people who knew her at different times and relies heavily on the autobiographical part of *la Respuesta* as well as on his private correspondence with her that apparently spanned over a decade. His only personal contribution, beside the attempt at criticism that has long marred our understanding of *El sueño* (The dream), would seem to be the rhetorical embellishment—in a heavy-handed Baroque style—of the narrative of her life ending in the search for God. He delights in the details of measurements of space and time. We are put vividly in the geography of Juana’s awe-inspiring birthplace. A marvel like her would not deserve less.

He tells us that Sor Juana was born as a legitimate child on Friday, November 12, 1651, in a room called “cell,” which undoubtedly predestined her for monastical aspirations. Her father was a Basque Pedro Manuel de Asbaje, married to Isabel Ramírez de Santillana, of Spanish origin. And then he follows paraphrasing the autobiography section of *la Respuesta*: being three years old, the little Juana cheats in order to learn to read and soon after also to write, and, before being eight years old, she composes a dramatic poem (*loa*) for a religious occasion (and is rewarded with a book). Having reached the limit of what she could have learned at the barren countryside, she begins to implore her parents to send her to Mexico City to continue her studies. After initial resistance, they bring her there to live with her grandpa, who had a few books on the shelf, and later she also benefited from some twenty lessons in Latin by the master Martín de Olivas. Her fame then took her to the viceregal Palace of the Marquis de Mancera, where the Vicereine became very fond of her. Amazed by this prodigy, one day the Marquis invited forty professors from the University as well as some known *tertulios* (socialites) to examine the scope of her

knowledge; everybody was carried away by this young girl that was not yet seventeen years old, as the Marquis recalls over three decades later.

To make the long story short, “Twenty-seven years she lived in religion” to die completely surrendered to God. Summing up her life, father Calleja counts “forty-four years, five months, five days and five hours” that this singular (*rara*) woman illuminated our times. This was then the usual elaborate homage formula summing up the life of somebody important, especially for sainthood. We know that in Baroque times the rhetoric reigned supreme and mathematics may have been just an embellishment subordinated to awe and symmetry. However, the consequences of this aesthetic “cutting corners” in the first posthumous fame accounting could not be exaggerated.

Father Calleja’s narrative held water for three centuries, in spite of a few apparently minute errors: in Mexico City Juana came to live with her relatives (her aunt Maria, wedded in 1636 to the rich Juan de Mata; her grandpa had died in Chalco in 1655); and Calleja’s mathematics, fond of symmetries and repeating numbers, were a bit off, as well as the weekday, because November 12 fell in 1651 on Sunday. Sor Juana was forty-three and half years old when she died.

Other than that, everything else looked plausible in the proposed storyline. Eight years of age would put Juana’s arrival to Mexico City to about 1660. The Manceras came to the Viceroyalty in late Fall of 1664; the Marquise would organize her court by the beginning of 1665. By that time, Juana would be little past thirteen. This is corroborated by Juan de Oviedo, apologist of father Núñez de Miranda, confessor of the viceroys and later of Sor Juana. Oviedo says that she was very young (*de poca edad*) when she came to the Palace and refers to her as “aquella niña” (that little girl; Alatorre 374-75). Another confirmation came out more recently in the “Tulane letters,” discovered and edited by Hortensia Calvo and Beatriz Colombi (2015). The Marquise de la Laguna writes to her cousin, Duchess of Aveiro, in December of 1682, that Juana came to the Palace at about fourteen (*que sería de catorce años*; 178). This information must have come directly from her talks with Sor Juana.

The next turning point in Juana’s life would come with her fifteen years birthday: the famous *quinceañera* landmark when girls become young women, can marry, opt for religious life or ... well, not much else was available to a decent woman at that time. That would be November 1666.

When her decision to follow the religious path is taken after long deliberations and prodding by father Núñez, legal and economic preparations followed (beyond all kinds of documents attesting to good social standing, the new prospective nun had also to bring in quite a big endowment¹). At the time Juana —now “Juana Inés de la Cruz”— enters the Carmelitas convent as a novice, in August 1667, she would be close to sixteen: nothing exceptional in that (for that misrepresented episode see Volek 2016:35-38). This timing is corroborated again by Juan de Oviedo. He says that father Núñez was so alarmed by the young Juana as the center of attention of the mundane society, that he wanted to get her out of the “world” as soon as possible (Alatorre 375). Would he have waited for three more years? And sometime before entering the convent, she would be examined by the forty “wise” men. The Marquis’s long memory situates her to the range of “adolescent girl” (15 to 17 years old).

Everything in this biographic string of events fits in nicely and unproblematically; until it is challenged point by point, twisted and unraveled. The logic propelling this process is fascinating.

In preparation for the grand anniversary in 1951, a new edition of Sor Juana’s works by Fondo de Cultura Económica was entrusted to father Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, recognized editor of Mexican colonial poetry (the amateurish secular competition was simply not up to the task). The occasion also prompted renewed search for documents. A distant relative of the nun, Guillermo Ramírez España, published, in 1947, *La familia de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Documentos inéditos*. And two years later, Enrique A. Cervantes complemented that collection with *Testamento de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y otros documentos*. Yet none of them offered the cherished prize: the birth certificate of Juana Ramírez, as the future Sor Juana was called “in the world” before taking the veil.

The surprising illegitimacy of Juana, revealed in the Testament of her mother (Ramírez España 17), changed how possible certificate might look: no mother’s name, the child’s Christian name (many times only “María”), a note “hija de la Iglesia” (born out of wedlock) and the godparents’ names. Yet no “Juana” was to be found in the San Vicente

Ferrer de Chimalhuacán's baptism registry in the folios corresponding to 1651.

On the other hand, the fruitless search at the parish that included Nepantla, Sor Juana's birth settlement, had also uncovered something intriguing. Sometime before 1947, Alberto Salceda and Ramírez España stumbled on the name "Inés," "hija de la Iglesia," baptized on December 2, 1648. The name of the mother was not signed in and as the godparents of the baby figured Miguel and Beatriz Ramírez, the brother and the sister of Isabel, Juana's mother. The presence of close family members pointed to something happening "in the family." "Inés" did not fit the bill neatly, since it was part of Sor Juana's religious name assumed decades later. But the coincidence was striking. This uncanny find was baffling and potentially embarrassing in view of all the festive preparations for 1951.

The cat had to get out of the bag eventually. After the celebrations were safely over, in February of 1952, Salceda published a long-prepared report on his investigations: after having considered all possible circumstances known to him at that time, he concluded that "close to moral certainty" the document probably was the certificate of baptism of Sor Juana. All the hell broke out. Let us pause now: How could he err so grievously? How come he did not see the clues before his eyes?

We need to understand that the illegitimacy and the imprecise nature of the document searched for have opened the door for all kinds of conjectures. Salceda's thought process seems to have run like this: members of the Ramírez family resided in the parish; many of them participated as godparents at baptisms (Isabel, Juana's mother, several times between 1645 and 1652, including baptisms of Indians); in 1651, no record of any Juana exists in the register. All this has made the find of "Inés, hija de la Iglesia," baptized in December 1648, more plausible, especially since the date of baptism correlates perfectly with the November 12 birthday. Salceda is unfazed by the fact that no record is found in Chimalhuacán on the other five siblings and half-siblings of Sor Juana either. If it is Sor Juana, it must be where the documents are or should be.

Now, what to do with "1651" and with "Juana"? An analysis of all possible circumstances follows in Salceda's mind (12ff). First comes the unlucky mathematician father Calleja. In the best Baroque ways, he tried to determine the exact time Sor Juana "illuminated our world," and was wrong on two accounts (her age and the weekday of her birth). There is no other

independent information on her birth, because all the biographers of the time repeat what Calleja had to say. Therefore, perhaps memory might be at fault, and so more apparent little inconsistencies are added to the account. Even Santa Teresa is brought into comparison. Maybe neither Sor Juana remembered that well years and months. Or was it the “feminine vanity” that made her take off a couple of years?

From this point on, blinded by the intriguing find, an avalanche of “adjustments” and “suppositions” creeps into Salceda’s account. In one statement made on June 2, 1683 (Ramírez España 70-71), Sor Juana declares that she is “more than thirty years old” (*declaró ser de más de treinta años*). If born in 1651, she would be thirty-one and about half years old at that time. Salceda thinks that “more than thirty” puts her closer to 1648 (being almost thirty five). When the Marquis de Mancera remembers, decades later, that by the time of her “exam” by forty “wise men” she was not more than seventeen years old (meaning that she was a very young girl), he takes it that she *was* exactly seventeen. For all the “normal precocity of women” and especially in view of her own marvelous precociousness, as he muses, it is not imaginable that Juana would be examined when she was just passed fifteen... How could she be so esteemed by the Vicerine at such a tender age? Her self-image as Leonor in *Los empeños de una casa* (1683) also would seem to demand more time for achieving so much fame. Then comes the experience of “sweetness and bitterness of human love” that definitely needs time to develop, although it is not clear whether her poetry is really autobiographical. The venerable Menéndez y Pelayo comes in handy to opine. And so, step by step, the argument for 1648 is made: “if we add three more years to her age, everything will be much more easy, logical and credible,” Salceda finally convinces himself (25).

Now only “Inés” stands in the way. Salceda gives us an important clue and then twists it: on November 12 that seems safe to keep as her birthday, Juana would have been born the day of San Juan de la Paz; that is why she was called “Juana,” eventually (Salceda 25). Since “Inés” was popular in her family, she could have easily been called “Juana Inés” before Sor Juana Inés... Then comes the final touch to seal the deal: maybe that is why her mother called her “Inés” at baptism, and later, because of the saint’s day, “Juana” was added. And the possible *Certificate of Baptism* of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz was born!

This surprising confession of errors, coming from the Catholic side, was welcome news for those critics who had tried for decades —without much luck— to chip away from the traditionalists’ image of Sor Juana as an exemplary nun that ended her life in the search for God; they brushed aside all doubts: 1648 was it. And more: if she, “after all a woman,” could take away some years, or, worse, if father Calleja had something to hide, then the figure of Sor Juana was open for “remake” in a serious way. Now everything in and about her became suspect, errors in reading were carefully harnessed (Volek 2021), and a saint was slowly turned into a potential heretic. The search for ever new indictments was on, ballooning out of all proportions. Where documentary support did not show up, imagination stepped in.

This strand of “snowballing” interpretations was consolidated by the *magnus opus* of Octavio Paz in 1982; in its turn, his *trampas de la fe* (traps of faith) opened the gates for all kinds of free-wheeling literary and cinematic fantasies. The anniversary of Sor Juana’s death in 1995 became the climax of her imaginary effigy forged by Paz, only to begin unraveling shortly after. This process continues to this day, because it is hard for some schools and critics to give up on ingrained inventions. Today, the *bible* of “sorjuanismo,” as his book became to be considered then, looks rather as a compendium of all possible modernizing prejudices and *trampas* (although Paz himself, occasionally, after leading readers on a wild chase and working up their imagination, closes off slyly “maybe it was not so”).

The anniversary of 1995 also prompted more search for documents. In its December issue, the respectable weekly *Proceso* published sensationalist information on some new documents discovered by Augusto Vallejo. Rummaging through the archives, he found a new father for Sor Juana and figured out the birth of her older sister that would exclude Juana’s coming to the world in 1648. Stark light would be thrown on the family’s dirty linen.

In the banns of Josefa María (normally considered Juana’s older sister), from 1662 (in 2005, Vallejo will correct the year to 1664), we see a strange name figuring as her father: some Cristóbal de Vargas. Vallejo assumes that it was him who was the biological father of the first three girls born out of wedlock with Isabel Ramírez: Josefa, Juana and María. The

alleged father who figured in all other documents, Pedro de Asbaje (Azuaje) y Vargas Machuca, would be just a myth². Since Sor Juana, being illegitimate, could not use the real name of her father, she just made up some play on words, mixing in the name of her grandpa, in order to declare herself legitimate. These are bold assumptions and Vallejo's account is marred by serious errors in detail. He stumbled on the document by 1986 and kept it secret for a good occasion (he was not alone, but that is another story).

Vallejo also managed to dig up some scoop on Cristóbal de Vargas. He was a merchant from Mexico City, operating mule train around the country. That is how his path crossed with Nepantla and Isabel (and probably many other women). He was forced to marry once back in 1629, and remarried in 1647; he died in 1666, without mentioning his second marriage. Was it for not harming the growing reputation of Juana, at that time already living at the viceregal palace?

Returning to Josefa María, in Archivo General de la Nación Vallejo also found her declaration from 1693 at the occasion of the marriage of her daughter María de Villena: she declares to be of forty-four years of age and signs surprisingly as "Josepha María de Azuaje" (*Proceso* 59). This would put her birth to 1649, and her name would indicate that she was born the day of Saint José, celebrated on March 19. This would exclude "Juana-Inés" from December of 1648.

I would add, that the birth year of Josefa María is corroborated by her own marriage in 1664 in Amecameca (Ramírez España 66). Girls became marriageable at fifteen at that time. The only enigma is the banns in one church (Sagrario Metropolitano in Mexico City) and the ceremony in another (in Amecameca); maybe just announcements at the bridegroom's place and the wedding at the bride's.

Vallejo's discoveries prompted a careful reconsideration of the debate by Georgina Sabat de Rivers (2001). She accepts the birth date of Josefa María, which would confirm her as the older sister mentioned in *la Respuesta* (1691) and would eliminate 1648 as Juana's possible birth year. As far as Cristóbal de Vargas is concerned, he seems well documented as the biological father of Josefa, but it would be excessive to eliminate Pedro de Azuaje as some non-existent fiction; with all probability, he was the father of Juana and the youngest sister María, and later the family embraced him as the father of all three. Georgina Sabat assumes that, because of his trade,

Vargas was not Basque; for her, this would reinforce the existence of Pedro de Azuaje. Whether this assumption is correct remains to be confirmed.

Vallejo returned to the issue later (in 2005) and, in the aftermath of the tequila-effect, he recanted and turned his discoveries on the head. He adds and clarifies some details, but gets lost in suppositions he himself terms as “temerarias” (rash, reckless). He discovers yet another “María,” baptized in Chimalhuacán on September 10, 1646, whose godfather was somebody from Ozumba village unrelated to the family (2005:385, note 8). This obliges him to reshuffle the whole deck: he assumes that this is indeed Juana’s sister and that “María” who has been always considered the youngest (by the order in her mother’s Testament), is now the oldest; and if Josefa María stays in place, Juana’s birthday in 1648 needs to be shifted: perhaps to May, taking clue from the jocose portrait of Lisarda in one of Sor Juana’s literary parodies. Then it rained and the two-hour journey to baptism was not possible until December. Cristóbal de Vargas disappears completely and Pedro de Azuaje is fully rehabilitated. How the former is erased from the document is not told.

In my book *La mujer que quiso ser amada por Dios* [The Woman who wanted to be loved by God, 2016], written a bit later, I set out to review, one by one, the principal tenets of “sorjuanista” criticism, and found many wanting. In the case of the birth question, I concluded that 1651 made better fit for Sor Juana’s psychological profile and overall historical record (24-30). Following Georgina Sabat, I accepted Cristóbal de Vargas as the father of Josefa María, the oldest of the three sisters. This initial faux pas would explain better the life-story of Juana’s mother, unwed single woman who partnered over time with three different males without marrying any.

In 2016, my good friend Guillermo Schmidhuber, who had made himself known for several finds in archives, surprised us with a more detailed and diverse documentary information on both the paternal and maternal families of Sor Juana, that greatly expands on Ramírez España’s and Cervantes’ collections (unfortunately, he did not crosscheck his discoveries with them nor with Salceda). His and Martha Peña Doria’s compilation of documents and facsimiles is a rich trove of information,

some very interesting, some intriguing, and some even offering new and unintended clues.

Schmidhuber rejects offhand the initial discovery by Vallejo regarding Cristóbal de Vargas (although his name lurks out unabashed on the facsimile reproduced by him; Schmidhuber 60). He comments: “There is an error in writing father’s name, Cristóbal de Vargas, unpardonable distraction of the scribe.” However, let us pause here: if the scribe is being told “Pedro de Azuaje y Vargas Machuca,” how would he write down “Cristóbal de Vargas”? That would be *some* distraction³. Besides, there are three marks on the banns; they were publicly read three times and perhaps posted. Would nobody notice? Detail is not my friend’s forte.

As Schmidhuber documents, at the beginning of the 17th century, both family lines moved from Canary Islands to Mexico almost simultaneously. On the maternal side, Juana’s grandpa Pedro Ramírez de Santillana comes over to Mexico in 1604 to marry and settle with his wife Beatriz in the province of Chalco. We know from other sources (Testaments of the grandpa and of Juana’s mother Isabel, in Ramírez España 3-11 and 12-21) that the couple will bear over the next three decades eleven or twelve children. By 1655, when grandpa dies, all girls except Isabel were married, while only two out of the seven boys were in wedlock (one would be married later; Salceda 7). It is striking that only *one* registered baptism is to be found for any of them in the Chimalhuacán parish, namely for the daughter Beatriz, b. 1633 (probably the tenth in line). The almost total lack of baptismal records is surprising in this family line living in the countryside.

On Juana’s paternal side, the Azuajes, we find that in 1598 her great-grandma requested permission to move to Mexico to join her rich brother, together with her impoverished daughter whose husband had just died and left her with two sons, Pedro (10 years old) and Francisco (7 years old) (Schmidhuber 19ff). Consequently, Pedro de Asuaje would be over sixty when he takes up Isabel Ramírez as his mistress around 1650. Francisco would become Dominican friar and since 1642 would serve at a monastery in Amecameca, close to Nepantla (he will be the mysterious friar H. or F. Azuaje in Salceda 11).

The fact that Juana’s father was practically of the same age as her maternal grandfather is at least surprising. It cannot but give new life to Augusto Vallejo’s original finding: Isabel, a “disgraced” young woman,

would become mistress of an old bachelor and would have two daughters with him out of wedlock: Juana, in 1651, and María, sometime later. Then he dies and she takes up a young bachelor Diego Ruiz Lozano and has another three kids out of wedlock with him; Lozano subsequently marries another woman in a childless marriage (in his Testament he recognizes his children with Isabel and so “legitimizes” them). None of these children have baptismal records found in Chimalhuacán (and nobody has ever wondered about that).

In 1667, the question of Juana’s legitimacy becomes important, because it is a requirement for her religious career. We have some more documents from February 1669, when Juana was about to profess at the *jerónima’s* convent. Her mother is gifting her a young mulatto girl as her personal slave servant, and in that sworn statement she declares herself “widow of Pedro de Asbaje y Vargas” and Juana “my legitimate daughter and of the said my husband” (Cervantes 18). And Juana, now Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, also in a separate sworn statement, declares herself “legitimate daughter” of the same (16). Something must have happened for both to become “legitimate.” Perhaps a testament that has not been found yet, some declaration of intent or perhaps marriage *in articulo mortis*, since dead or dying bachelors are less inclined to run away from their responsibilities... Or some other unfathomable legalizing procedure the Baroque times of mushrooming bureaucracy was so fond of for Sor Juana to be born “illegitimate” but become ultimately “legit.”

Now the brew becomes even denser, because to our already known “Inés” (from December 2, 1648), Schmidhuber (36-40) adds two more “sisters” found in the Chimalhuacán parish register around that time: “María” (baptized on July 23, 1651) and “Isabel” (baptized on February 11, 1652). All three are “hijas de la Iglesia” and the family members of the Ramírez’ family have served as godparents to all of them. What is surprising is to see Juana’s mother as godmother to “Isabel” (39). To be godmother to her own illegitimate child, would be a bit strange: something seems amiss here. Also, “María” and “Isabel” appear to be too close to each other, unless we unduly extend the time between their births and baptisms. If we add to the mix Josefa (born on March 19, 1649) and Juana (November 12, whichever year we choose), we find the field a bit too crowded for one single mother. And there is still the “María” Vallejo found baptized in 1646.

Yet Schmidhuber's book also offers some unintended clues. After the spot-focus on "Inés," we get the facsimile of the whole page where births are registered (38). Schmidhuber comments:

Este folio completo de la partida de bautismo de "Inés" ayuda a comprender que el microcosmos en que vivió Juana Inés en sus primeros años era altamente indígena, por el número pequeño de bautismos registrados para "criollos" y, contrariamente, el número grande para indígenas (no existen mestizos); algunas partidas de bautismo están escritas en náhuatl, y el sacerdote firmante apunta si el infante es "español" o sin ninguna indicación si fuera indio. (38)

[This complete folio of the register of baptism of "Inés" helps us to understand that the microcosm in which Juana lived in her first years was highly indigenous, because of the small number of baptisms registered for "creoles" and, to the contrary, the great number of them for Indians (there are no *mestizos*); some entries are written in nahuatl, and the priest signing the document annotates if the baby is "Spanish" or leaves it without indication if it is Indian.]

Looking at the facsimile, something is missing in Schmidhuber's explanation. Yet, for us, all the pieces of the "jigsaw-puzzle" that we have been assembling here are now about to fall into place. Finally, we have the answer to the most important question about the document as presented: we can see that the Chimalhuacán registry did not separate white creole's births into a "Spaniards Book," because there were only very few of them there, and instead registered *all* births. Among the entries in the register for "Inés," "María" and "Isabel," only "María" from 1651 is marked as "Spanish"; the same annotation we find for the aunt Beatriz and her children (57-58). In Salceda the entries in the facsimiles selected are marked "Spanish" even if the written information is transparent in that sense, and also state clearly "Indian" in other cases of the same kind (9-11). The business of "castas" (racial taxonomies) was at the top of importance in the epoch of the omnipresent vigilance over the "pureza de sangre" (the privilege of being certified as good old Catholic). If Indians' children are registered in nahuatl or clearly marked as "Indian" and only "María" is "Spanish," what about "Inés" and "Isabel," or "María" from 1646?

The mystery dissipates when we remember reading in the grandfather's and mother's Testaments published in Ramírez España how many slaves (blacks and mulattoes) the family had at the time of their passing. While the Indians were "free" (at least on paper) and may have lived close by, the slaves were a *part of the household*. It would only behoove good Christians to take care of their babies for the sake of salvation. This would also explain the mystery of so much godparenting in the family. And the bunch of bachelors on hand may have even helped in some other ways.

In the mother's donation document from 1669 that has been before our eyes all these years, we read:

siempre he tenido intención ... de darle a Juana Ramírez de Asbaje, mi hija legítima y del dicho mi esposo..., ... una mulata, mi esclava, nombrada Juana de San José, hija de Francisca de Jesús, mulata, asimismo mi esclava ... sirviéndole; ...le hago gracia y donación pura ... de la dicha mulata, que será de edad de diez y seis años, poco más o menos, nacida y criada en mi casa... (Cervantes 18)

[I have always had the intention ... to give to Juana Ramírez de Asbaje, my legitimate daughter and of the said my husband..., ... the mulatto girl, my slave, named Juana de San José, daughter of Francisca de Jesús, mulatto woman, also my slave ... to serve her... I am doing her this pure favor and donation ... of the said mulatto girl, of about sixteen years of age, or a bit more or less, born and raised in my household...]

Let us pause over these names: Juana de San José, Francisca de Jesús, sumptuous names given at baptism, covering up wretched reality. Crosschecking may also help us to figure out several generations of slaves in the family. In grandpa's Testament of 1655 (Ramírez España 7-8), among a number of blacks of both sexes, only María is listed as "wife" of another black man. A mulatto woman Francisca is mentioned, thirty-five years old, and her four children "born in my household": among them, María, eight years old (would correspond to Vallejo's María of 1646); Beatriz, six years old (missed in the registry), donated at fifteen to Josefa at her wedding in 1664, mother of María and Francisca (Isabel's Testament 17); enumeration of some furniture follows. It is not clear whether

Francisca de Jesús, although also a mulatto woman, appearing in the gifting document of 1669, is the same Francisca, since her daughter gifted to Sor Juana, must have been born in 1652/1653, and is not listed in the grandpa's Testament⁴. Isabel's Testament mentions only bare proper names, Francisca as the mother of Juana, donated to Sor Juana, and her three male brothers born between 1659 and 1663 (Diego, twenty-eight, Manuel, twenty-six, and Francisco, twenty-four years old in 1687; Ramírez España 20). Plenty of souls to be baptized and saved. We also note that blacks and mulatto slaves were rigorously differentiated, being separate castes. On the other hand, both were legal non-entities and were part of the household as pieces of furniture. How would their birth certificates look like, not being Spanish nor Indian, and practically all out of wedlock? The blank space at their name speaks volumes.

As we can see in Schmidhuber (57ff), among Juana's mother's married siblings, Beatriz herself and her children were baptized in Chimalhuacán; so was the son of her brother Diego and those of her sister Inés, all dutifully marked as Spaniards. María as we noted moved to Mexico City with Juan de Mata. If Juana's mother Isabel did not go to Chimalhuacán parish with her own babies to be baptized, as it is apparent by the lack of any record on her six kids born out of wedlock, where did she go? Schmidhuber has located the father's younger brother Francisco serving in Amecameca; but as Méndez Plancarte informs us about the registry of baptisms in Amecameca, "the book of 'Spaniards' is missing there for those years" (OC 1:lii). We have mentioned Josefa María, married in Amecameca in 1664 (dutifully registered there in the "Book of Spanish Marriages"; Ramírez España 66). In view of the void, the search has moved obsessively, again and again, to "where the documents are." Why Juana's mother did not go to Chimalhuacán with her babies we can only guess.

While with all probability we will never have Juana's baptismal record in our hands, I think that we can now at least safely unburden her of all those proposed "sisters" (or half-sisters?), actually black and mulatto babies born in the family's household in those years, that are crowding her out of the beginning of her existence. However, the unveiled misreading (missed-reading) of the documents would now also seem to be creating a kind of poetic justice in that modern readers of those documents whose signs they did not fully understand have unwittingly projected on her the

shadows of those blanked “unbeings,” erased and forgotten by history. These shadows are now taking on life of their own.

Sor Juana herself, with her all-encompassing (truly *catholic*) genius, did not need any such call of attention: she knew the world around her surprisingly well for an apparently bookish person. Growing in a family among kids of slaves and with Indians nearby, she assimilated by osmosis all the languages and dialects around. Especially her early sets of *villancicos* (kind of Christmas carols, collected in OC 2) are stunning not only for the mastery of and play on most diverse languages cohabiting in the New Spain Babylonian heteroglossia, but also for what she manages to tell in those religious celebrations. In the first set (Asunción, 1676), the Virgin, modeled on the Mexican creole Virgin of Guadalupe, as a queen of all races, celebrated by black slaves in their special dialect and by Indians in their native nahuatl, stops her ascent to heaven to watch with comprehension the two slaves who complain to her about their hard lot in “obrajes” (hard labor factories). A kind of miracle perhaps? In the second (Concepción, 1676), a black slave says: “Although we are blacks, we are whites because devout souls are white and not black” (OC 2:27). The third set (San Pedro Nolasco, 1677, on the founder of the Order of the Virgin of Mercy) is even more explicit: a black slave brought from Puerto Rico complains that the alleged redeemers from the Order of Mercy do not save him from the “obraje,” perhaps because they are whites and do not like blacks; yet, “que aunque neglo, gente somo” (although we are blacks, we are human beings, OC 2:40). The saving turn in this delicate situation comes when the slave realizes that all these doubts may be just diabolic temptations: while just bodies suffer, the souls are freed. The explosive accusation is dissolved. Even so, the editor father Méndez Plancarte leaves this passage, so hard to understand in black slave dialect, without translation into standard Spanish and without commentary. What did the original audience take from it? Hard to say. For a change, the reader can find a surprisingly good commentary in the old-fashioned Ezequiel Chávez (121-129).

The debate around Sor Juana’s birth has shown several things: how the single-minded focus on the nun has distorted the record; how the initial lofty but poor mathematics of father Calleja has triggered the phantasmal chase of shadows and how the late discovery of her illegitimacy has complicated the search; how the amateurish sleuths have missed the clues

in their chase for proof, looking for documents where these should be no matter what; how the chasm between the liberal intelligentsia and the Catholics, suspect of anything and everything imaginable, has worked to derail so many things in real understanding of Sor Juana; and how Mexico's racial apprehension fixated on *mestizaje*, and therefore focusing only on whites and Indians and their miscegenation, has missed perhaps all too comfortably the other painful part of their country's heritage and has created a convenient blind spot. It would seem that even in Mexico *black lives matter*.

Once the traditional default narrative of father Calleja, full of little imprecisions here and there, is challenged and declared wrong if not intentionally deceptive, the search for truth in the maze of archives and in their voids becomes a task of completing a perplexing jigsaw-puzzle: selecting and carefully comparing titbits of data from most diverse and unlikely sources, crosschecking information and putting together an image in spite of the empty figure in the very center. Yet we have learned quite a bit in that process.

Notes

¹ However big, this was less than a dowry; no wonder that many families “parked” in convents their “extra” girls they could not marry; this led to a very special monastic life in the creoles’ convents, as Thomas Gage attests to.

² The fact is that, at that time, beyond his alleged Basque origin (Calleja, 1700), nothing more was known about him; it would be Guillermo Schmidhuber (in 2016) who will shed more light on both the paternal and maternal lines of Juana’s family.

³ The staple explanation from the secular court that Catholic priests and scribes lived drunk all the time is impressive in its simplicity, yet is hardly convincing.

⁴ The Testament states that Francisca “serves at present time to Juan González, my son-in-law” (Ramírez España 8). It could be that her daughter Juana de San José was born (and baptized) in another household and therefore is not accounted for here.

Bibliography

- Alatorre, Antonio, ed. *Sor Juana a través de los siglos, Tomo I (1668-1852)*. Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 2007.
- Calleja, Diego. "Aprobación" (*Fama y obras posthumas*, 1700); in Alatorre, 239-249.
- Calvo, Hortensia and Colombi, Beatriz, eds. *Cartas de Lysi. La mecenas de sor Juana Inés de la Cruz en correspondencia inédita*. Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2015.
- Cervantes, Enrique A. *Testamento de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y otros documentos*. Mexico, 1949.
- Chávez, Ezequiel A. *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz; ensayo de psicología*. Mexico: Porrúa, 1990 (1931).
- Gage, Thomas. *Nueva relación que contiene los viajes de Tomás Gage a la Nueva España*. Mexico: Ediciones Xochitl, 1947.
- Méndez Plancarte, ed. *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, I: Lirica personal*. Mexico: FCE, 1951 (referred in the text as OC 1).
- Méndez Plancarte, ed. *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, II: Villancicos y letras sacras*. Mexico: FCE, 1952 (referred in the text as OC 2).
- Oviedo, Juan de. *Vida ejemplar, heroicas virtudes y apostólicos ministerios...* (1702); in Alatorre, 373-378.
- Paz, Octavio. *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o las trampas de la fe*. Mexico: FCE, 1983 (1982).
- Ramírez España, Guillermo. *La familia de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Documentos inéditos*. Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1947.
- Sabat de Rivers, Georgina. "Otra vez sobre la fecha de nacimiento de sor Juana Inés de la Cruz." In: José Pascual Buxó, ed. *La producción simbólica en la América colonial*. Mexico: UNAM, 2001. 129-144.
- Salceda, Alberto G. "El acta de bautismo de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz." *Abside* 16.1 (1952): 5-29.
- Schmidhuber de la Mora, Guillermo and Olga Martha Peña Doria. *Familias paterna y materna de sor Juana: Hallazgos documentales*. Mexico: Carso/Éscribanía, 2016.
- Vallejo, Augusto. "El acta de bautizo de Inés, hija de la Iglesia de la parroquia de San Vicente Ferrer de Chimalhuacán." In: Sandra

- Lorenzano, ed. *Aproximaciones a Sor Juana*. Mexico: FCE / Universidad del Claustro de Sor Juana, 2005. 381-386.
- Vallejo, Augusto. "La prueba, el acta de matrimonio de la hermana de la monja." *Proceso* 996 (December 4, 1995): 54-59.
- Volek, Emil. "Las ediciones de un sueño gongorino: el cierre del Barroco en sor Juana Inés de la Cruz." In: Joaquín Roses, ed. *La recepción de Góngora en la literatura hispanoamericana; de la época colonial al siglo XXI*. Berlín: Peter Lang, 2021. 447-465.
- Volek, Emil. *La mujer que quiso ser amada por Dios: Sor Juana Inés en la Cruz de la crítica*. Madrid: Verbum, 2016.

*Festejo de Los Empeños de una Casa: The Negotiation of a Social Contract
for the American Colonies of Spain*

Dulce María González-Estévez
Arizona State University

As the new and the old collide in XVII century Méjico, Creole intellectuals reframe themselves in a cast of prideful devotion to their land, even as they remain loyal subjects of Spain. As a dramatist, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651? -1695) reinterprets and appraises the values, norms, and codes imported from Spain and negotiates their place in New Spain's XVII century politics. This ability is particularly well exemplified in the *Festejo de Los empeños de una casa* (1683). The *Festejo* is articulated through ten theatrical pieces that shed light on one another, and construct a vivid picture of the social and political arrangements that underscored the relationships among those who ruled the Mejjican capital, and for whom Sor Juana wrote and directed this *Festejo*¹. While most critics have focused their studies of the *Festejo* on how the texts interact to form a theatrical spectacle, we would like to focus on the subtext that scaffolds the meaning of each piece. Our study presents a new plane of interpretation diverging from the theme of love, at the literal level, to the one of governance, at the allegorical level.

In the first piece of the *Festejo*, the *loa*, Sor Juana introduces the abstract ideas of Joy (dicha), Fortune (fortuna), Chance (acaso), Merit (mérito), and Diligence (diligencia) providing the cultural value ascribed to those entities at the time the play was written. The first *sainete* complements this group of ideas by adding Love (amor), Respect (respeto), Hope (esperanza), Gifts (obsequios), and Graciousness (fineza) presenting the audience with a set of norms by which the viewers can have access to the social values described in the *loa*. By focusing on these philosophical concepts, we highlight the workings of colonial norms and values as they interact in the form of metaphysical entities in the *loas* and *sainetes* of the *Festejo*. Once these norms and values are identified, we can appraise how these ideas come to life and regulate the social and personal interactions of the comedy and the *sarao* revealing three levels of interpretation: the philosophical plane (values and norms), the amorous plane of a comedy of situations, and the political plane (the governance of the Mejjican nation). This article, first, will focus on important socio-historical aspects that

function as constraints and avenues that time, place, and world view presented to Sor Juana's creative agency. Then we will present our textual analysis of the *Festejo*, highlighting how each text provides the necessary interpretation cues needed to unveil the serious theme of this *comedia palatina*²: the harmonious governance of Mejico.

As a whole, *Festejo de los empeños de una casa* functions as a baroque fiesta. Miguel Roiz, describes this type of celebration as “una serie de acciones... caracterizadas por un alto nivel de participación e interrelaciones sociales, en las que se transmiten significados de diverso tipo (históricos, políticos, sociales, valores...etc.), cumpliendo determinadas finalidades culturales básicas para el grupo (cohesión, solidaridad, etc.)” (102). Olga Martha Doria, confirms that this comedy was written for the Royal accountant Fernando Deza, and performed at his house on October of 1683³. Therefore, this particular *Festejo* was meant to honor the viceroys, the counts of Paredes, and to celebrate the public entrance into the city of the archbishop Francisco de Aguar y Sejas.

As Octavio Paz indicates, the comedies that Sor Juana wrote were not meant for the general public but for the courts and aristocracy of her time. Even though we will contextualize this aspect latter, it is important to note now that for the actions and behavior of the characters to be coherent to the audience, they had to be portrayed within the limits presented by the decorum of their social status (433). In this sense, the actions of the characters confirm the social values of the time. In regards to the esthetic manner in which the message was embodied, Eugenia Revueltas comments that the audience who might have attended performances of *Los empeños*, was able to enjoy the riddles and games of the *loa* because they knew the rules of the baroque theater of the time (193). The socio-historical details that contextualize the writing of the *Festejo* will prove to be an important interpretative resource⁴. Therefore, a brief introduction to the historical period that frames the literary work is necessary before we pursue our analysis of the text.

Mabel Moraña estimates that Sor Juana's literary life takes place at a moment of transition, from the consolidation of the Spanish empire to the first ideological suggestions of Méjico as an independent nation (329). The

fragmentation of Colonial and Spanish life became more pronounced as the number of Spanish immigrants to America declined after 1625. Milly Barringer indicates that in the XVI century “Peninsulars engaged in the same range of activities as did creoles but were especially conspicuous in wholesale commerce and high posts in the colonial administration and the ecclesiastical hierarchy” (197). This arrangement changed by the 1600, when creoles increased their economic and political power⁵.

Despite their differences, during periods of high migration from Spain the relationship among the Gachupines and Creoles who controlled the cities grew closer, and the only threat to their daily activities of governing and distributing the wealth of the colonies came from the newly appointed ecclesiastical and political authorities who arrived from Spain. As expected, the allegiance and interests of these former groups were becoming firmly grounded in America. Even though the highest posts of the colonies were assigned to newcomers, and many of the laws, norms, and codes came directly from Spain, day-to-day colonial life operated within a healthy dose of flexibility (Cursio 35). In this context, many festivals, ceremonies, and plays were created to subtly make known the needs and expectations of the governed. For example, in the ceremony at the city’s arch, celebrated to welcome each new viceroy, the leitmotifs were customarily messages that the city council wanted to convey to the newly arriving authorities from Spain, with an emphasis on highly regarded norms and values of the native population⁶. For example, during Sor Juana’s lifetime, “the paintings on the triumphal arches emphasized [the idea] that the generous Christian prince could bring about a new era of prosperity only through hard work...Designers believed that the diligent prince motivated his people to be industrious” (Cursio 27).

Our analysis of the *Festejo* will note that these values would then be transferred to other aspects of the celebrations. The baroque style allowed the artists to hide the requests of the city council in the allegories and copious symbolism characteristic of this style, without making direct requests. The intricate forms of the baroque style became the means for a discrete dialogue between the viceroys and the local authorities. Its complex and innovative elements allowed for private hidden meanings that were concealed to the masses⁷.

The festivities that took place to welcome new viceroys and their families could last for months, and while they stayed in Méjico, many social

events were organized to entertain and honor them. The *Festejo de Los empeños de una casa* is inserted into this cultural and historical context where the well-established Creoles and Gachupines who governed the city sponsored the writing of the *Festejo* to assert their social privilege and, of course, to be entertained. In such cases, the theme and ideas presented in the plays were determined by the interests of hegemonic classes or of classes rising to contest that hegemony (Weiss 91). If at first glance *Los empeños* appears to be an innocent *comedia de enredos* (comedy of situations), where two protagonists fight different forces to secure their love, it is because the social context associated with this type of festivity is being ignored⁸.

Giuseppe Bellini reminds us in 1965 of the lack of articles published regarding the theater written by Sor Juana. He observes that: “el número limitado de estudios que se han dedicado hasta ahora a ese aspecto de la obra de Sor Juana... suelen resultar, muy a menudo, contradictorios en sus respectivas conclusiones (107). Since then, the number of articles pertaining to the study of el *Festejo de los empeños de una casa*, has increased, but not the clarity regarding the theme. Perhaps because most studies focus on: situating the work of Sor Juana within the context of the *Teatro del siglo de oro* (Bellini 1965, Castañeda 1967, Laguerre 1978), the circumstances of the first performance of the *Festejo* (Poot Herrera 2016), the study of *Los empeños de una casa*, without acknowledgement or interpretation of the ancillary texts of the *Festejo* (Chang Rodríguez 1978), or on the technical and performative aspects of the play (Larson 1990, Poot Herrera 1993, González 1999, Hernández 1997, Komorowska 2018). Although Sara Poot Herrera (1993) provides a global theme for the *Festejo* in *Las prendas menores de Los empeños de una casa*, the theme she proposes only expands on one level of interpretation⁹. Therefore, no in-depth study of the allegoric elements presented throughout the texts of the *Festejo* has been written.

In regard to the author's style, Rocio Olivares Zorrilla challenges critics to "recuperar los sentidos velados por la pátina de los siglos en estas pequeñas piezas teatrales, cuya finalidad decorativa, política y circunstancial queda opacada por el ingenio de su composición filosóficamente calculada" (187). It is in this plane of intelligibility that the discourse of the *Festejo de los empeños de una casa* renders its sweetest fruits. On a philosophical plane, the

comedy symbolizes the metaphysical theme introduced in the *loa*: Sor Juana introduces the abstract ideas of Joy (dicha), Fortune (fortuna), Chance (acaso), Merit (mérito), and Diligence (diligencia). The first *sainete* complements this group of ideas by adding Love (amor), Respect (respeto), Hope (esperanza), Gifts (obsequios), and Graciousness (fineza). All these abstract ideas and the code by which they interact manifest themselves allegorically in the comedy, revealing the values and norms outlined in the *loa*, the *letras*, and the *sainetes*. The organization of the dramatic material allows the supplementary texts to structure the *Festejo* as a whole and to have a decisive effect over its possible levels of interpretation.

The characters and their qualities (in the *loa*, the *sainetes*, and the *letras*) are recognizable to Sor Juana's audience because of their direct relationship to Plato's dialectic method to reach clarity through the abstract realm of ideas¹⁰. Plato insisted that citizens should use conceptual analysis when making political decisions. "In his political philosophy, the clarification of concepts is thus a preliminary step in evaluating beliefs, and right beliefs, in turn, lead to an answer to the question of the best political order" (Korab 3). Considering this insight, the *Festejo* can be organized in the following manner: the *loa* serves as a preamble to the play and establishes a metaphysical theme developed through the *sainetes*, the *letras*, and the *sarao*, which illustrate the application of the metaphysical concepts to social and individual spheres.

The comedy, *Los empeños de una casa*, is an allegory that helps the audience recognize what is the greatest Joy and the best means to achieve it. The *Festejo* as a whole illustrates how these ideas operate within the bounds of courtly love. At the end of the *Festejo*, the often-overlooked *sarao*, unveils the social utility of the values, codes, and norms exemplified through the other texts. Our strategy to gain more clarity regarding the meaning of *Los empeños* revolves around understanding the imported European values and norms that organized courtly life at the time the *Festejo* was written. Historically, the courts of New Spain were modeled after the courts of Spain; therefore, the new and old-world shared a highly conventionalized set of norms and values that regulated the interactions among natives and newcomers.

When reading Sor Juana, one must consider the dynamics of her social position, the liberties that the baroque style granted her, and the influence of Plato on her generation. Josefina Ludmer insists that, despite her position of subordination and marginality, one must read Sor Juana "for the

ways in which abstract thinking, science, and politics filtered into [her work] through the cracks in the familiar" (86-87). The baroque style and the intended audience of *Los empeños de una casa* pressured Sor Juana to push the limits of her ingenuity and talent to challenge the intellectual abilities of her sophisticated stately public, without offending anyone in her diverse and powerful audience. In the *Festejo*, Sor Juana introduces the spectator to a complex web where ideals, values, codes, and norms, are layered in complimentary texts regulating the outcomes of the comedy. Rodolfo Usigli recognizes this tension in the play and describes the comedy as: "an intrigue of human design—as soon as it is conceived of and connected to the movement of reality by the characters—begins to be controlled by greater powers" (52). Usigli does not specify what those powers might be, but we argue that, in *Los empeños*, the danger of adversity and confusion surfaces when the characters do not adhere to the system of norms and values presented in the supplemental texts.

It is important to emphasize that when Sor Juana directed the *Festejo*: "no había intermedios ni pausas, por lo que todo se escenificaba seguido formando una especie de continuum dramático ilusorio en el que se envolvía al público de principio a fin...El cambio temático loa-comedia-entremés-baile... generaba una especie de unidad anímica, la ilusión colectiva de un todo orgánico muy bien estructurado" (Zugasti 471). In the rest of the paper, we will examine the literary structure that gives unity and meaning to the *Festejo*, and the central philosophical questions that advance the action from beginning to end: 1) what is the greatest *Dicha* (joy) and 2) by what means can it be achieved? This question is first introduced when in the *loa* Merit states:

Sonoro acento que llamas,
 pause tu canora voz,
 pues si el asunto es, cuál sea
 de las dichas la mayor,
 y a quién debe atribuirse. (de la Cruz 627)

In the *Festejo* joy is equated with love that is reciprocated, but Supreme Joy (always written with a capital letter in the play) could only be achieved by receiving the esteem of the viceroys.

The *Festejo* starts with a *loa* which according to Amalia Iniesta, “comprende problemáticas y asuntos que vienen forzados por la época, puede decirse que su característica principal es el de ser un teatro de ideas, un teatro de tesis, fundamentalmente, un ámbito de discusión de las ideas en el que se obligaba a repensar infinitud de cuestiones” (272). Por su parte, Celsa García Valdez suggests that *loas* act as supplementary texts that equip the audience to understand the main text, “introduciendo y explicando en la loa el argumento del auto, por lo que se da entre las dos piezas una dependencia” (209). This is true in *Los empeños*, where the *loa* offers a representation of the world of ideas that will take human form in the comedy.

The abstract entities in Sor Juana’s *loa* operate as delineated in Plato’s political philosophy where “the best, rational and righteous, political order... leads to a harmonious unity of society and allows each of its parts to flourish, but not at the expense of others” (Korab 1). Because the key to the implementation of this order according to Plato is virtue, we will see how the structure of the play moves us to explore virtuous values interacting among themselves in the form of metaphysical entities, and then transcending the world of ideas as they regulate the social and personal interactions of the comedy.

The author uses the *loa* and the *primer sainete* as a form of conceptual exploration where notions of virtue are clarified and defined. The crisis in the comedy was announced in the *loa*. The inability of the entities to decide who deserves the ultimate Joy (to love and be loved) makes them resort to the judgment of a sublime being, Joy itself. In the *loa*, Joy makes it clear that true Joy is an autonomous entity, which operates based on its designs. However, Sor Juana cleverly makes a distinction between “vulgares dichas” and “Dichas”, the joy of obtaining the favor of the Viceroy is expressed with capital letters in the following verse of the *loa*, and throughout the *Festejo*:

Y alegres digamos
a su hermosa vista:
Bien venida sea
tan sagrada Dicha,
que la Dicha siempre
es muy bien venida. (634)

The favor of the viceroys is the only type of Joy that Diligence and Merit cannot earn. But as we will latter observe, in any other instance Diligence and Merit can work together to keep Chance and Luck at bay¹¹.

This issue comes allegorically to life in the conflict that fuels the dramatic action: finding love while retaining Honor by following the rules of courtly love. In the comedy, the characters want to achieve the ultimate Joy of loving and being loved. The conflict arises because some lovers are contending for the favor of someone who does not reciprocate their love and are succumbing to the temptation of relying on Luck and Chance to win the day. Only the main characters, Leonor and Carlos, have mutual feelings for each other, but the characteristics of the comedy of situations, provide a setting where confusion, due to lack of light, prevents the characters from seeing clearly. This situation creates an unruly world that amuses the audience.

Introduction of Ideas	Representation of Ideas	Reinforcement of Ideas
1. Loa (virtues)		
		2. Primera letra (Lysi) “Mentales víctimas son”
	3. Primera jornada	
		4. Segunda letra (Lysi) “Es razón que te alabes”
5. Primer Sainete (norms)		
	6. Segunda jornada	
		7. Tercera letra (Josef) “Hijo de Marte y Venus que dueño te introduces”
8. Segundo Sainete (metatheatre)		
	9. Tercera Jornada	
10. Sarao - The political implications of the ideas		

Table 1. Text Distribution

The fact that the characters perceive honor as their greatest social asset forces them, by the end of the comedy, to see past their emotions and protect it. This allows the comedy to close with the weddings of Ana and

Leonor. In this first level of interpretation, the creativity of Sor Juana produces comic situations that entertain the audience. If our analysis considered only the comedy *Los empeños de una casa*, then we could deem the play to be a *comedia de enredos* or a *comedia palatina cómica*¹². However, the spectators and readers of the *Festejo de Los empeños de una casa* must realize that serious statements about governance are being made. To enter the political plane of interpretation one must follow an intricate path set forth by the playwright and understand the physical and logical distribution of the texts of the *Festejo* (see table 1).

During the baroque period, people tried to bring order into a chaotic world by setting rules and codes for every aspect of social interaction. For example, both Joy and Honor were values that could be attained by following the code of courtly love. In the *Sainete primero de palacio* the norms of courtly love are reviewed providing a code that can regulate the social interaction in the three jornadas.

Sor Juana implies the necessity of a code to regulate interactions when in the *loa* the entities compete to determine which one is better positioned to bring forth Joy. The entity of Music sets the stage in the following manner:

Siendo el asunto a quién puede
atribuirse mejor
si al gusto de la Fineza
o del Mérito al sudor
venid todos venid... (627)

The characters that compete in the *loa* are Merit, Diligence, Fortune, and Luck. Even though the concept of *Fineza* is mentioned in the *loa*, its definition and purpose are not fully entertained until the *Sainete primero de palacio*, which takes place after the first act of the comedy. In the *sainete*, *ineza* contends with Love, Respect, Gifts, and Hope for the disdain of the ladies of the court.

The prevalence of the world of ideas and the personification of these ideas is more explicit in the *sainete* than in the *loa*. The Alcalde states:

Metafísica es del gusto
sacarlos a plaza hoy,

que aquí los mejores entes
los metafísicos son.
Vayan saliendo a la plaza,
porque aunque invisibles son,
han de parecer reales,
aunque le pese a Platón. (653)

The concept of courtly love originated during the medieval period and introduced the idea that a person's Honor is not simply linked to nobility titles or riches. In this conception of the world, a person's soul can reveal merits and virtues that assert the honor of the individual. For this reason, a man could attain the stature of a perfect knight by serving his lady with devotion and without expecting any favors from her. At the same time, a Lady could show her worth by preserving her honor. Although problematic for the modern reader in many respects, these ideas set the stage for a more democratic view of mankind and established a set of rules by which a common person could achieve social value. The rules that developed from such a worldview became known as the code of courtly love.

In the first *sainete*, where a contest for the disdain of the ladies of the palace is set forth, the code of courtly love is reviewed. The first rule to which attention is called is that of rejection: "Del desprecio de las Damas, / plenipotenciario soy; / y del favor no, porque / en Palacio no hay favor" (653). Sor Juana is referring in this instance to a situation that she knows firsthand, "*los galanteos de palacio*" as she was at one point one of these court ladies whose "game was reduced to defending [their] modesty, a dangerous game because it consists of not refusing completely, but rather in refusing to stir up the fire" (Paz, *Juana Ramírez* 87). This is expressed in the *sainete* the following way: "Andad, andad adentro; / porque las Damas / llegan hasta las deudas, / no hasta las pagas" (654). In this context, to snub a lover meant to keep one's honor intact. Doña Ana expresses this in the first act as she plans to trick Don Carlos into falling in love with her by taking advantage of the fact that, by chance, her beloved one is seeking refuge at her house. Doña Ana conjectures:

Pues amparándole aquí
con generosas caricias,
cubriré lo enamorada

con vistos de compasiva;
y sin ajar la altivez
en mi decoro es precisa,
podré sin rendirme yo,
obligarle a que se rinda. (644)

Her actions are not proper and do not conform to the norms outlined in the *loa* and the *sainetes*, so the audience can safely anticipate that she will not achieve true reciprocated love. According to Octavio Paz, “the code of laws pertaining to manners is intimately tied to the code of laws of gallantry; both are attempts to regulate [passions], in the closed space of the palace” (Paz, *Juana Ramírez* 82). Doña Ana is overrun by her passion and shows a complete disregard for her honor. It is only due to the *fineza* of Don Carlos that her honor is protected.

The next rule that is presented in the *sainete* is selfless love. In the *sainete*, the entity of Love cannot win the prize because it came “seeking favor” (654), but *Fineza* (graciousness), wins the day. *Fineza* is described by negation in the following way:

Voz mentís en lo propuesto:
que si amarais por amar,
aun siendo el premio el desprecio,
no lo quisierais, siquiera
por tener nombre de premio.
Demás que yo conozco,
en las señas os lo veo,
que vos no sois la Fineza. (655)

The Alcalde then describes courtly love by stating:

El amante verdadero
ha de tener de lo amado
tan soberano concepto,
que ha de pensar que no alcanza
su amor al merecimiento
de la bealdad a quien sirve;
y aunque ame con extremo,

ha de pensar siempre que es
 su amor, menor que el objeto,
 y confesar que no paga
 con todos los remordimientos;
 que lo fino del amor
 está en no mostrar el serlo. (655)

This *sainete* is immediately followed by the second act. At this point it might be helpful to add a table to visualize the relationship between the characters in the comedy and the entities in the *loa* (see table 2 below).

Entities in the Loa	Characters in the comedy
Joy	Doña Leonor
Fortune	Don Pedro
Chance	Doña Ana
Merit	Don Carlos
Diligence	Don Juan

Table 2. Entity and Character Relationship

The connection between the values of the *loa*, and the norms of the *primer sainete* is alluded to in the comment of Don Carlos as he describes the not so honorable behavior of Doña Ana, who, as mentioned before, by chance was able to host him at her house:

Discreta y lisonjera,
 alabándome, añadió
 cosas que, a ser vano yo,
 a otro afecto atribuyera
 pero son quimeras vanas
 de jóvenes altiveces;
 que en mirándolas corteses
 luego las juzgan livianas. (657)

Also, the role of luck and its relationship to Don Pedro, as well as his lack of adherence to the code of courtly love, is expressed as Doña Leonor pleads with him in the following verses:

Y sea que ya que veis
que la fortuna me postra
.....
y puesto que en el estado
que veis que tienen mis cosas,
tratarme de vuestro amor
es una acción tan impropia,
que ni es bien decirlo vos
ni justo que yo lo oiga. (662)

The idea of Fortune and “su condición veleidosa, forma parte de la ideología de su tiempo y ...en los aspectos de la vida social, política, económica, Fortuna cambia y decide destino y poco o nada puede hacer el hombre frente a ella...” (Revueltas 198). In the *loa*, Sor Juana clearly expresses the dangers of allowing Fortune and Luck by describing their role in deciding the fate of Dario, Tamorlyn, Cesar, Teseo, Ulises, Troya, etc. In the comedy fortune and luck do not win the day, for virtue represented by diligence and merit can counteract their power. The political implications of these verses are clear¹³.

According to the rules outlined in the *primer sainete*, Don Pedro and Doña Ana break the code of courtly love because they are motivated by their passions and allow Chance (Doña Ana) and Fortune (Don Pedro) to play a role in their affairs. In this regard he comments: “es la pena más severa / que puede dar el amor / la carencia del favor” (664). As Don Pedro, Doña Ana admits that her behavior is unacceptable, but emotions have taken over and she concludes:” ¿Pues no he de llorar / ¡hay infeliz de mí! Cuando / conozco que estoy errando / y no me puedo enmendar?” (639). In contrast, the graciousness and merits of Don Carlos conquer the love of Leonor. This is clear when Don Carlos comments:

¿No soy yo quien de Leonor
la bealdad idolatrando,

la solícite tan fino,
la serví tan recatado,
que en premio de mis finezas
conseguí favores tantos. (667)

Furthermore, both protagonists are praised for their rational thinking. Leonor describes Don Carlos in the first act by stating:

Gozaba un entendimiento
tan sutil, tan elevado
.....
tan humilde en los afectos,
tan tierno en los agasajos,
tan fino en las persuaciones,
tan apacible en el trato...
en los desdenes sufrido,
en los favores callado,
en los peligros resuelto,
y prudente en los acasos. (642)

In contrast to Don Juan and Doña Ana, the main characters (Doña Leonor and Don Carlos) submit their passions to reason and do not entrust their future to luck or chance.

In the third act, the merits of Don Carlos allow him to overcome all the obstacles his love faces and provide him with the joy of marrying Doña Leonor. At the same time, the diligence of Don Juan earns him the respect and hand of Doña Ana. The characters that are associated with the entity of Chance (Doña Ana) and Luck (Don Pedro) keep their honor but do not achieve the joy of obtaining the prize they were aiming for: reciprocal love. By the end of the comedy, order prevails over chaos by having the characters adhere to “una filosofía del amor, [the code of courtly love], que, al mismo tiempo, resulta así enriquecida y precisada” (Parker 383). So far, we have discussed the place of virtues and norms in *Los empeños*, but as we will see, these intricate norms and values of social life have precise political implications.

María Pérez indicates that Sor Juana’s plays “en su aspecto formal...son un eco de las que se escribían en España, pero el fondo de estas

obras refleja ya el germen de lo criollo...[pues] llevaba a la escena el sentir de la gente de su tiempo, su psicología [y] sus costumbres” (59). The sense of patriotic pride in Méjico, described by Perez¹⁴ is clearly expressed in the *sarao* that closes the *Festejo*. A close reading of the texts as a unified discourse suggests a direct relationship between the characters of the comedy, the values of the *loa*, the norms of the first *sainete*, and their political implication for the *sarao* (see table 3).

LOA Values	COMEDY Characters	SAINETE Adherence to code of courtly love?	SARAO Letras
Joy	Doña Leonor	Yes. Her love represents the greatest Joy.	Lysi Revealed as Supreme Joy
Fortune	Don Pedro	No. Does not achieve his love	
Chance	Doña Ana	No. Marries to save her honor, but not the person she loves.	
Merit	Don Carlos	Yes. Deserves love due to merit, and achieves the greatest Joy of loving and being loved.	Viceroy's merit expressed
Diligence	Don Juan	Yes. Deserves love due to graciousness, and marries the person he loves.	Viceroy and Notables of the city
		The first sainete contenders: Love (amor), Respect (respeto), Hope (esperanza), Gifts (obsequios), and Graciousness (fineza).	Mejican nation exhibits the greatest fineza

Table 3. Relationship Among Characters, Values, Norms, and Political Implications

Milly S. Barranger states that “at the end of almost any comedy, the life force is ordinarily celebrated in a wedding, a dance, or a banquet symbolizing the harmony and reconciliation of opposing forces” (106). This celebration is announced in the *loa*, by the entity Music who states: “!Y sea en su Casa / porque eternal viva, / como la nobleza, / vinculo la Dicha!” (636). The celebration that restores order in the comedy is repeated for the audience in the merriment of the *sarao*, which brings about our third level of interpretation. In this celebration, the plane is leveled to allow for all governing parties to share power in a relationship of mutual respect and love.

María Pérez indicates that throughout the play, the author “endiosa a la virreina y en el virrey señala su gran poder, pero es curioso ver cómo indica que pisa, es decir, doblega o somete a la orgullosa América” (71). The interpretation of the verse cited by Pérez is incorrect because it does not take into consideration specific stylistic conventions of the time and contradicts the norms and values outlined in the rest of the play¹⁵. When we read this comment, in light of our study about the literary function of the *loa* and the *sarao*, we can notice that this situation of dominance goes against good judgment, when trying to achieve the best political order outlined by Plato. In *Los empeños*, the audience is reminded that justice has an intimate relationship with virtue and goodness. Following Plato’s ideas, “Justice...if rightly understood is not to the exclusive advantage of any of the city’s factions, but is concerned with the common good of the whole political community, and is to the advantage of everyone [for] it provides the city with a sense of unity, and thus, is a basic condition for its health” (Korab 5). If indeed “in comedy the playwright examines the social world, social values, and people as social beings” (Barringer 106), there must be more to this *Festejo* than the amusing situations that provoked laughter in the three acts of the comedy.

We have contended that in *Los empeños*, Sor Juana calls for reason and moderation to establish an equilibrium among the very distinct players that live in the courts of the New World. At stake here is the well-being and happiness of the “Mejican nation” (106). Therefore, the *Festejo*’s political nuances are a discreet and diplomatic way of allowing the natives to maintain a dignified position while the new viceroys retain sovereignty. In the realm of ideas and values, both groups can see themselves reflected in the *Festejo*: one for its graciousness (*finezas*) and the other one for its merits (*mérito*).

The merits of the viceroys are expressed in the *loa*, the *letras*, and the *sarao*. Sor Juana's articulation of these characteristics serves artistic and political purposes.

In the *loa*, the couples' arrival is associated with the Joy of the audience when the entity: *Dicha*, welcomes the personification of Joy in the viceroys and exclaims:

la venida dichosa
de la Excelsa María
y del Invicto Cerda,
que eternos duren y dichosos vivan.

Ved si a Dicha tan grande
como gozáis, podría
Diligencia ni Acaso,
Mérito ni Fortuna, conseguirla. (634)

In this verse the logic of courtly love, as expressed in the *primer sainete*, is introduced, for it is clear that the Joy of having the affections of the viceroys is not deserved. Music reiterates this idea declaring: "Y así, pues pretendéis / a alguno atribuirle, / sólo atribuirse debe / tanta ventura a Su Grandeza misma" (634). In the same *loa*, *Mérito* indicates the attitude that the welcoming nation must have, by stating:

Y pues esta casa,
a quien iluminan
tres Soles con rayos,
con Alba con risa,
no ha sabido cómo
festejar su Dicha
si no es con mostrarse
de ella agradecida. (635)

From this perspective, the word house can be interpreted in three ways: as the house of Don Fernando Deza (where the representation is taking place), the house of Don Pedro (in the comedy), or as a metaphor for the Mejjican nation. It could be reasoned that if in the comedy Leonor represents the

entity of joy, then, Leonor is also representing Lysi/María who represents a higher Joy. This is confirmed when in the second act Carlos compares her beauty to the sun when he says to Castaño: “¿si en belleza es Sol Leonor, / para qué afeites quería? (658). This is the same metaphor the playwright has used before to allude to Lysi in the letras when she declares: Bellísima María, /a cuyo Sol radiante, / del otro Sol se ocultan / los rayos materiales” (652).

Another telling word in the title is the word “empeños.” In the comedy, the word “empeños” carries the meaning of hard work or persistency during trials. The word is used for example, when Leonor describes the way she was perceived by her peers: llegó la superstición / popular a empeño tanto, /que ya adoraban deidad /el ídolo que formaron” (641). In the third act Don Rodrigo uses the word when confronting Don Carlos by stating: “Teneos, Don Carlos, y sosegaos,/ porque ya todo el empeño/ está ajustado” (696). If the meaning of the word *empeños* in the *loa* is to be derived by the way this word is used in the comedy, and the contents of the *sarao* are studied as an integral part of the *Festejo*, one can consider that the title *Los empeños de una casa* can be alluding to the Mejjican nation. That would be the “casa” that the viceroys have come to govern with diligence. According to the concept of good governance that was prevalent at the time of Sor Juana, a viceroy who is, by birth, worthy of governing, but is also diligent, is considered to meet the qualifications to merit his post. At the time the comedy was presented, the Viceroys had been governing Méjico for about three years, and their diligence in governing is noted in the *Festejo*.

Los empeños de una casa is an interesting title when one considers that the *Festejo* was commissioned by the powerful cabildo of Méjico City to entertain the Archbishop and the Viceroys. Linda Cursio indicates that many Spaniards who were sent to the colonies believed “that by virtue of their moral and racial superiority, they deserved to rule” (3). However, the politics of Méjico city had been affected by the fear of civil unrest. The city had major violent struggles from 1608 to 1612, and in 1665, 1696, and 1701” (5). For this reason, the Gachupines and Creoles in positions of power had to work together with the authorities sent from Spain and be diligent and disciplined to maintain control. This historical contextualization is important to interpret the *Festejo* as a unit from which more meaning is derived when we include all the peripheral texts in our analysis.

From a political perspective, the values brought to America by representatives of the crown (those abstract values introduced in the *loa* and the *sainetes*) are utilized by Sor Juana to dignify the position of those born in the new world. In the comedy, the motives for the protagonists' behavior are established by the code of courtly love. That code is simply the outward expression of social values that exist in the realm of ideas, and are not readily affected by time and space. These values can help create norms that apply in Spain and Méjico and can set the parameters for a fruitful relationship between the two nations. Some of those social values are eloquently announced in the *loa* that precedes the *primera jornada*, which in turn serves to bring to life the social norms of the court.

The *primer sainete* (first farce) provides many of the social norms that complement the values given in the *loa*. The *sainete* is in turn followed by the *segunda jornada*, which again attempts to provide a mirror that reflects the outcome of following, or not following, the norms reviewed in the *primer sainete*. The two "letras" that are inserted after the *loa* and the *primer sainete* respectively, honor the wife of the viceroy and their son. Miguel Zugasti comments that in these "la autora rinde una pleitesía total a la belleza y virtudes de madre e hijo, inalcanzables para la mayoría de los mortales" (474). These letters are customary of the times, but also confirm the status and inherent merits of the royal family as a unit, for it was not proper at the time for a woman to address the Viceroy directly.

In this reading of the *Festejo*, the *segundo sainete* highlights the performativity of the staged world by commenting on current theater events and the comedy itself. This break foretells the illusion that the comedy represents. The characters in that text are just reflections on a mirror, and the interaction of Castaño with the audience reminds them that they are experiencing a recreation of reality structured by ideas and words. This is clear when the character directs this comment to the audience:

Dama habrá en el auditorio
que diga a su compañera:
"Mariquita, aqueste bobo
al tapado representa."
Pues atención, mis señoras,
que es paso de la comedia;
no piensen que son embustes

fraguados acá en mi idea,
que no quiero engañarlas,
ni menos a Vuexcelencia. (685)

Sor Juana does not use this recourse with the objectives of Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956). Her technique is not used to make the audience socially aware, but to make them differentiate between the world of ideas and the Real-world. A world that must align with universal values and norms to regulate social interaction and avoid chaos and social unrest. Social relations outside of those values and norms are presented as chaotic and dangerous.

The multifaceted identity of the native ruling class was given expression in Sor Juana's work. In the *sarao*, the reader can observe how recognized authorities were "working to establish their own identity as uniquely rooted in the capital and New Spain itself rather than in Spain" (Cursio 11). One can sense the pride the poet has in the double inheritance of the birthing nation as she describes la celestina mestiza as:

acabada a retazos,
y si le faltó traza, tuvo trazos,
y con diverso genio
se formó de un trapiche y de un ingenio.
Y en fin en su poesía,
por lo bueno lo malo se suplía. (676)

This pride does not prevent her from seeing that there is a clear distinction between what, in the *sarao*, she calls the Spaniards and the Mejjicans. This is clear as she chooses to call the final piece, *Sarao de cuatro naciones*. The four nations are represented by their subjects: Spaniards, Blacks, Italians and Mejjicans. The celebration of the *sarao*, does not escape the internal logic of the *Festejo*. In the *sarao*, all the philosophical questions and social situations incorporated in the *Festejo* find their resolution, and the celebration ensues, for society has achieved an equilibrium based on the adherence to clear social values and norms.

The *sarao* starts by announcing a war between love and obligation to conquer the love of the viceroys. Sor Juana notes:

Hoy la Obligación

y el Amor se ven disputar valientes
la lid más cortés.
De todos los triunfos
es éste al revés;
pues aquí el rendido
el vencedor es. (700)

In the next verses she asserts: “La cuestión es: cuál / podrá merecer / del excelso Cerda / los invictos pies” (701). She also clarifies that in the realm of ideas the incarnated virtue of the royal family has been described before, but now they are here as real representatives of Merit and Joy. Sor Juana stresses: “porque en tanta fabulosa / deidad de la antigüedad / allá se expresa entre sombras / lo que entre luces acá” (701).

Even though the viceroys are, by power and hierarchy, meritorious and worthy to be loved and deserve to govern over the Mejican nation (according to the values described the *loa*), the biggest *fineza*, as it is described in the *primer sainete* of the *Festejo*, is that exhibited by the Mejicans, as they willingly love the monarchs without expectations of being loved in return. The *first sainete* presents the contenders: Love (amor), Respect (respeto), Hope (esperanza), Gifts (obsequios), and Graciousness (fineza), and the reason why they cannot achieve Joy:

AMOR
Verdad es lo que dices:
pues aunque amo,
el Amor es obsequio,
mas no contrato.
OBSEQUIO
Ni tampoco el Obsequio;
porque en Palacio,
con que servir lo dejen,
queda pagado.
RESPETO
Ni tampoco el Respeto
algo merece;
que a ninguno le pagan
lo que se debe.

FINEZA

La Fineza tampoco;
porque, buen visto,
no halla en lo obligatorio
lugar lo fino.

ESPERANZA

Yo, pues nada merezco
siendo Esperanza,
de hoy más llamarme quiero
Desesperada. (656)

By opposition we find that the most meritorious action according to the code of courtly love is to love, serve and give without expecting anything in return.

The following verses in the *sarao*, indicate that Cerda deserved by merit and gained by diligence the right to govern when *Diligencia* proclaims: “Y a su invicto esposo, / que supo feliz / tanto merecer / como conseguir” (703). This phrase is ambivalent since she could be referring to the love of María/Lysi or his right to administer the “Mejican nation”. The following verse sheds light over this issue: “A estas tres deidades, / alegres rendid / de América ufana / la altiva cerviz” (703). But America must give herself under the internal logic of the *Festejo*, abiding by, the values stated in the *primer sainete*, following the code of courtly love. In this regard, the *coro* describes the battle between Obligation and Love as follows:

La Obligación, por precisa,
dice que no es bien parezca
que se ejecuta de gracia
lo que se tiene por deuda.
El Amor, más cortesano
dice que, cuando así sea,
puede él hacer voluntario
lo que la Obligación fuerza.
Replica la Obligación
que es menester que se entienda
que se paga por tributo
y no se da por ofrenda.
Mejor lógico el Amor,

dice que, en una acción mesma,
hace dádiva la paga
el afecto de la entrega. (703)

The logic set forth in the *loa* and the *primer sainete* has its echoes in the previous verses and the logical articulation of the hope for the relationship between the two nations is expressed by the choro:

vence el Amor y vencida
la Obligación se confiesa
(que rendirse de un cariño,
es muy airosa bajeza),
bien que, felizmente unidos,
con igual correspondencia,
pagan, como que no dan;
dan, como si no debieran. (703)

The wedding of Leonor and Carlos becomes an image of the union of the nations that is celebrated in the *sarao*.

By adhering to the code of courtly love, Mejjicans become worthy of the favor of the viceroys. Balancing the worth of both groups creates a space for social cohesiveness and expresses Sor Juana's belief in the superiority of the world of ideas and their usefulness in promoting unity among those who had prominent positions in Méjico.

Once unity prevails, the best way to secure joy is by avoiding the chaotic environment where luck and chance are allowed to determine the outcome of events. Therefore, Sor Juana provides a recipe to neutralize them: while Chance can be sidetracked by prevention according to what Diligence has to say in the following verse: "Muchas veces hemos visto/ que puede la prevención/ quitar el daño al Acaso" (628), luck cannot win over the union of Diligence and Merit, as it is reported by *Diligencia* in rhythmic verse:

pero supuesto que ahora
estamos juntos los dos,
pues el Mérito eres tú
y la Diligencia yo,
no hay que temer competencias

de Fortuna. (628)

The old and the new world can maintain their unity and avoid chaos by regulating their relationship by what Octavio Paz calls the laws of gallantry (82). It is clear that Sor Juana is upholding the values of her times and used the *loa*, the *letras*, the *sainetes*, and the comedy to set a stage where the merit of the royal family is recognized, but the diligence of the notables of the city is used to balance their power by highlighting the benefits of ruling in one accord.

In the beginning, it was affirmed that all the elements of the play are unified under the same central philosophic questions: what is the greatest Joy, and by what means can it be achieved? It was also argued that the values and norms of the time were presented throughout the text. The *loa* expresses the value of Joy as being sovereign and associates the coming of the viceroys with the supreme Joy. The comedy confirms that merit, represented by Don Carlos, deserves the Joy of reciprocal love. The first farce states that the utmost graciousness, according to the code of courtly love, is to love without expecting anything in return. This love is expressed by Don Juan, whose behavior is described by Doña Ana in the following manner: “Tras mí, como sabes, vino / amante y fino Don Juan, / quitándose de galán / lo que se añade de fino” (638). In the internal logic of the play, the letters present evidence of the merit of the viceroys, and finally, to enter into the merriment of the *sarao*, passions must be dominated by reason and troubles resolved in unity by diligence and merit.

Aurelio González indicates that in the *sarao*, “está presente la idea del Nuevo y el Viejo Mundo como las dos partes del gran modelo imperial español” (124). The detailed description of the union of the viceroys is the model of a relationship where two become one. From an artistic perspective, Mabel Moraña affirms that “quizá la paradoja principal del Barroco sea justamente la de construir a la vez una totalidad diferenciada, sólida y coherente, y un cuerpo que revela las líneas de fracción por las que habría de esconderse la propia cosmovisión que lo sostiene” (328). Sor Juana presents with this *Festejo* a logical pathway that allows Creoles the possibility of being valued as citizens of the Mejican nation, not just subjects of Spain. The coro expresses the love and strong bond between the royal couple by stating: “los dos amantes esposos, que en tálamo conyugal/ hacen la igualdad unión/ y la

unión identidad” (701). Expressing at the same time the bond under which Mejico should be governed.

Through the ideas presented in this *Festejo*, Mejjicans have become worthy of the greatest Joy: deserving the love and respect of the viceroys. They have demonstrated that they are capable of the greatest *fineza* (graciousness): which is described in the *loa* and the *sainetes*, represented in the comedy, and reinforced in the *sarao*. This, of course, is not done lightly but is the consequence of thoughtful consideration as this is clearly stated by the poet in one of the letras that reads: “mentales victimas son/ las que ante tu trono yacen” (636). If with the wedding of Leonor and Carlos the perfect union of two individuals is celebrated, in the *sarao* it is evident that the social expectations of the time arouse tensions that at the end of the day need to be resolved to restore unity.

Artistically, the *Festejo* is a clear example of the “considerable esfuerzo por rescatar la imagen del espectáculo integral, esto es, la fiesta teatral barroca en toda su esencia, mosaico de piezas cortas que acompañan una larga” (Zugasti 468). Sociologically, *Festejo de Los empeños de una casa* is an illustration of the value of the Baroque style in the construction of a social contract for the American colonies of Spain. Sor Juana undoubtedly played many parts in her time. Her sociological intuition is expressed in this *Festejo* as it reveals, “la existencia de una voluntad de exploración crítico-ideológica de los discursos que legitiman el status quo y de las bases reales de la autoridad y sus relaciones con el poder” (Moraña 329).

On many occasions, plays have been equated with mirrors in which life reflections are meaningfully organized (Barringer 14). Dramas allow spectators to view life from a different perspective, and in some instances, to examine situations from many angles. Demonstrating that society is an intricate organism that is structured by ideas was one of Sor Juana’s techniques for imprinting her worldview upon her work. Nevertheless, the social intricacy of 17th century New Spain and the complexity of thought characteristic of the stylistic tendencies of Sor Juana’s time obscure the structuring theme of her celebrated *Festejo de Los empeños de una casa* (*House of trials*). With this work we hope to have elucidated some of the densities of this theatrical production, and the underlying political ideas that are expressed and advanced through often overlooked complimentary texts.

Notes

¹ The work was published for the first time in Sevilla in 1692. Regarding that printing, Vidal observes: en el índice del volumen aparecen los títulos de las piezas menores que integran todo el Festejo, aunque se recogen linealmente y no en el orden intercalado con el que aparecen en los interiores del volumen:

Loa de la Comedia: Los empeños de una casa [1692: 450]

Letra, que empieza: Divina Lysi permite; y se **cantó antes de la comedia** [1692: 460]

Letra, que se cantó después de la primera Jornada, y empieza:
Bellísima María [1692: 478]

Primero Sainete de Palacio [1692: 479]

Letra, que empieza: Tierno pimpollo hermoso, y se cantó al final de la
segunda Jornada [1692: 499]

Sainete segundo [1692: 500]

Sarao fin de la Comedia [1692: 526]

Podría decirse que el orden en el interior del volumen apunta, efectivamente, hacia la concepción del Festejo como un conjunto. (Vidal 61)

² En cuanto a su clasificación, podemos incluir esta obra del teatro profano escrito por Sor Juana dentro de las comedias palatinas. Siguiendo los planteamientos de Miguel Zugasti en el artículo *Comedia palatina cómica y comedia palatina seria en el Siglo de Oro* (2003), observamos que la obra tiene lugar en un clima de fantasía cortesana, se opaca el plano temporal y espacial, se abordan temas de buen gobierno de forma indirecta, los personajes pertenecen a la realeza y a las personas de otros estamentos sociales con las que éstas interactuaban, el espacio escénico es cortesano, se mantiene la unidad de acción, el enredo es el elemento principal y el objeto estético confiere unidad dramática entre las piezas.

³ She reports: “en su Diario, Antonio de Robles escribió la siguiente entrada el día correspondiente de octubre de 1683: ‘Lunes 4, día de nuestro padre san Francisco, hizo su entrada pública el señor arzobispo por el arco; asistieron los virreyes en casa del contador de tributos D. Fernando Deza’” (Doria cites Robles, 169). The controversial aspects of the specific dates when this Festejo was performed for the first time are explored in depth by Sarah Poot Herrera (2016). For our purposes, we agree with the idea that the style of the 10 theatrical pieces and their discursive unity prove that they were conceived to be read and represented as a cohesive whole (Poot Herrera 108).

⁴ The contextualization that follows is an attempt to situate the social constraints that time, place, and world view placed on Sor Juana’s writing. Insufficient as our efforts might be in trying to align and place the *Festejo de Los empeños de una casa*, within the discourse of its time, and even more, within the author’s intent, those

constraints, form the important safety railings that allow critics to argue for certain interpretations while inhibiting others.

⁵ Still, “although the rivalry between Peninsular and Creoles was an inherent result of colonial status... during periods of increased immigration when new arrivals actively sought to assert their metropolitan superiority, threatened Creoles and long-established Peninsulars usually acted in concert to protect their existing advantages” (Burkholder 198).

⁶ In these public ceremonies, “the viceroy swore to defend the city and its traditional rights and to govern justly... In return, the councilmen gave him the gold key, the symbol of the submission of municipal authority to royal will... With these oaths, the viceroy signed in essence a social contract... to govern within the expectations of the Church and political institutions of the capital” (Cursio 21).

⁷ “In 1680, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz wrote in her description of the cathedral arch: ...It was nothing less than a work consecrated to such a fine prince, the inscriptions impressed the knowledgeable as the colors impacted the eyes of the common person and [garnered] the cordial love and respect of all” (Cursio cites de la Cruz, 22).

⁸ As suggested by Emil Volek, “leídos con cuidado y en sus contextos..., los textos, y en especial aquellos ‘menos vistosos’, nos ofrecen muchos detalles útiles y aun sorprendentes, que permiten conectarlos con ciertas circunstancias históricas o personales y, en vista de estos contextos, entender mejor, o hasta nuevamente, aspectos importantes tanto de la obra como de la vida de la poetisa” (27).

⁹ Poot Herrera plantea lo siguiente: “En las piezas menores de *Los empeños de una casa*, de la loa al sarao, Sor Juana muestra su agradecimiento hacia los virreyes -su ‘familia’, su ‘casa’- y les da en prenda este juguete teatral, envuelto en voces de colores festivos...” (267).

¹⁰ W. J. Korab-Karpowicz concludes, “the philosophy of Plato is marked by the usage of dialectic, a method of discussion involving ever more profound insights into the nature of reality, and by cognitive optimism, a belief in the capacity of the human mind to attain the truth and to use this truth for the rational and virtuous ordering of human affairs (1).

¹¹ Let us remember that, as stated previously, during Sor Juana’s lifetime, “the paintings on the triumphal arches emphasized [the idea] that the generous Christian prince could bring about a new era of prosperity only through hard work... Designers believed that the diligent prince motivated his people to be industrious” (Cursio 27).

¹² For more on this classification refer to Miguel Zugasti. Zugasti, Miguel. “Comedia palatina cómica y comedia palatina seria en el Siglo de Oro.” (2003).

¹³ Especially considering the propensity to revolts in the city as an expression of urban frustration in the midst of an emergent criollismo (for example the tumults

of 1624 and 1698). Richard Boyer notes that “Mexico City was a barometer of the changes, but it also organized and controlled the transition in its longstanding role of metropolis of the colony. What is important about that role in the seventeenth century is not that it existed... Rather, it is the fact that the exercise of dominance became more independent of Spain, that Mexico City more than Seville directed the colony” (457).

¹⁴ Linda Cursio also notes that in the XVII century, “the local authorities ...were primarily wealthy creoles, Spaniards born in the colony...[who] constituted the notables of the city and considered their participation in city government not only a privilege but a right... Their business was the business of local politics, local concerns, and they developed a lively sense of patriotism for the capital city that, in a sense belonged to them. (10).

¹⁵ Miguel Zugasti describes the style of the times as one where “domina el tono y la imaginería Petrarquista de elevados conceptos”. He states that this causes a “distanciamiento entre emisor y receptor [que] no obedece a ningún servilismo especial, sino que responde plenamente a la línea petrarquista entonces dominante” (474).

Bibliography

- Barringer, Milly S. *Theatre a way of seeing*. North Carolina: Wadsworth, 1995.
- Bellini, Guiseppe. "El teatro profano de Sor Juana." *Anuario de Letras. Lingüística y Filología* 5 (1965): 107-122.
- Boyer, Richard. "Mexico in the Seventeenth Century: Transition of a Colonial Society." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 57, no. 3, Duke University Press, 1977, pp. 455-78, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2514025>.
- Burkholder, Mary A., and Lyman L. Johnson. *Colonial Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Castañeda, James A. "" Los empeños de un acaso" y" Los empeños de una casa:" Calderón y Sor Juana-La diferencia de un fonema." *Revista de estudios hispánicos* 1.1 (1967): 107
- Chang-Rodríguez, Raquel. "Relectura de Los empeños de una casa." *Revista Iberoamericana* 44.104 (1978): 409-419.
- Cursio-Nagy, Linda A. *The great festivals of Colonial México City. Performing Power and identity*. New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.
- De la Cruz, Juana Inés. *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz Obras completas*. Prólogo de Francisco Monterde. 16th ed., Editorial Porrúa, 2004.
- diversa de mí misma entre vuestras plumas ando: Homenaje internacional a Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (1993): 257.
- Doria, Olga Martha Peña, and Guillermo Schmidhuber. "La amistad de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz con la familia Deza." *Revista Tema y Variaciones* 55 (2021): 167-181.
- empeños de una casa de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz." *iMex: México Interdisciplinario; Publicación en Línea* 8.15 (2018): 83-98.
- García Valdés, Celsa Carmen. "Teatralidad barroca: las loas sacramentales de Sor Juana." *Sor Juana y su mundo: una mirada actual* (1998): 207-218.
- González Pérez, Aurelio. "Construcción teatral del festejo barroco: Los empeños de una casa de sor Juana." *Anales de Literatura Española*, N. 13 (1999): 117-126.
- Hernández-Araico, Susana. "La innovadora fiesta Barroca de Sor Juana." (1997). <https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/buscador/?q=la+innovadora+fiesta+barroca+de+Sor+Juana>. Accessed 4 April, 2022.

- hispanoamericana*. No. 7. Servicio de Publicaciones, 1978.
- Iniesta Cámara, Amalia. "El espacio literario y cultural de la loa, de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz." *El Hispanismo al final del milenio. V Congreso Argentino de Hispanistas. AAI. Córdoba*. Vol. 3. (1999).
- Komorowska, Agnieszka. "Construyendo el espacio teatral criollo: Los
- Korab-Karpowicz, W. Julian. "Plato: Political philosophy." *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, PhilPapers, 21 Apr. 2011, <http://www.keep.utm.edu/platopol/>.
- Laguerre, Enrique. "Las comedias de Sor Juana." *Anales de literatura*
- Larson, Catherine. "Writing the Performance: Stage Directions and the
- Ludmer, Josefina. "Tricks of the Weak." *Feminist Perspectives on Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (1991): 86-93.
- Moraña, Mabel. "Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: letra, lengua, poder." *Políticas de la escritura en América Latina. De la Colonia a la Modernidad. Venezuela, Caracas, Escultura* (1997).
- Olivares Zorrilla, Rocío. "Las loas herméticas de sor Juana." *Etiópicas* 4 (2008): 166-187.
- Parker, Alexander. *La filosofía del amor en la literatura española, 1480-1680*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1986.
- Paz, Octavio, and Diane Marting. "Juana Ramírez." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5.1 (1979): 80-97.
- Paz, Octavio. *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, o, Las trampas de la fe*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982.
- Pérez, María E. *Lo americano en el teatro de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*. New York: Eliseo Torres & Sons, 1975.
- Poot Herrera, Sara. "Atrapados sin salida: de nuevo con Sor Juana en Los empeños de una casa." *Teatro Breve Virreinal* (2016): 107.
- Poot Herrera, Sara. "Las prendas menores de Los empeños de una casa." *Y Staging of Sor Juana's Los empeños de una casa.* *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 42.2 (1990): 179-198.
- Revueltas, Eugenia. "Los empeños de una casa, el laberinto de los signos." *Los empeños: Ensayos en homenaje a Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*, (1995): 191-206.
- Roiz, Miguel. "Fiesta, comunicación y significado." *Tiempo de Fiesta: Ensayos antropológicos sobre las fiestas en España*, edited by Honorio M. Velasco, Colección Alatar, (1982): 97-108.

- Usigli, Rodolfo. *México en el teatro: 26 láminas fuera de texto*. México: Imprenta mundial, 1932.
- Vidal, Judith Farré. "Los empeños de una casa, el diseño de un festejo teatral." *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y el teatro novohispano: XLII Jornadas de teatro clásico, Almagro, 9, 10 y 11 de julio de 2019*. Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2021: 57-74.
- Volek, Emil. "La monja que conquistó Europa. Sor Juana Inés en la cruz de la crítica." *Svet Literaturny El mundo de la literatura*. El retorno de las carabelas. (2016): 23-32.
- Weiss, Judith, Leslie Damasceno, Donald Frischmann, Claudia Kaiser, Marina Pianca, and Beatriz Rizk. *Latin American Popular Theatre*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993.
- Zugasti, Miguel. "Comedia palatina cómica y comedia palatina seria en el Siglo de Oro." (2003).
https://dadun.unav.edu/bitstream/10171/38197/1/15_IET_ElSustentoDeLosDiscretosTirso_Zugasti.pdf. Accessed 4 April, 2022.
- Zugasti, Miguel. "El festejo para Los empeños de una casa de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz en su contexto espectacular barroco." *Sor Juana y su mundo: una mirada actual. Memorias del Congreso Internacional*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, (1998): 468-476.

Slumming *Don Quixote* in Luis Lucia's *Rocío de la Mancha* (1963)

Daniel Holcombe
Georgia College and State University

British tourism journalist Rob Neillands wrote in *The Times* (London) in 1988: “I had always wanted to visit La Mancha, the country of Cervantes, I don’t know why. Not from reading *Don Quixote*, because my eyelids trundle down after about six pages. Tourism has nibbled deeply around the edges of Spain, but here in the centre it might be different” (15). Reflecting upon his own interpretation and perception of Miguel de Cervantes’s *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605; 1615) and of Spain itself, the journalist expressed three fundamental tenets regarding the centuries-old travel tradition between England and Spain that has historically inspired “readers” and viewers of illustrated editions to seek out an old-world travel experience to La Mancha and retrace don Quixote’s footsteps. First, Neillands alluded to an industry I call *Don Quixote Tourism*,¹ one that is inspired directly or indirectly by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605-1615),² which in turn, falls within an overarching class of tourism that R. Ruiz Scarfuto identifies as inspired by literature, and more specifically, literary routes (2).

Second, by his own admission, Neillands’s touristic interest was inspired not by reading the novel, but instead from an indirect knowledge of the author, the novel, and its protagonists through its most iconic narratives—quixotic imagery or iconography—that has existed in popular culture and the social imaginaries of the world for centuries. Robert Bayliss explains that this phenomenon alludes to those who have not read the novel, or who have only read portions of it (384) and includes those “readers” influenced by book illustrations, maps, and/or tour guides.

Third, the journalist’s goal was anachronistic in that, while he was clearly intrigued by the prospect of visiting Spain, he simply did not want to visit a modern country, one created for tourists, especially the famous, visibly-modernizing, coastal resort destinations that “nibbled” away at the chivalric Spain referenced by Cervantes’s novel. Rather, he sought a “different” Spain in Castile and La Mancha, representing the very core of the nation.³ While English tourists have historically sought to revisit the geographies mentioned in the novel, they have been especially interested in

retracing exactly where don Quixote set forth during his idealized and comical sallies. Erich Auerbach has explained that such a comical idealism—an “*idée fixe*”—can only be described as senseless, underscoring the appeal of visiting not the protagonist’s reality but rather where he pursued his mad fantasies (344). Readers of *Don Quixote* inspired to retrace the narrative fantasies in Spain can therefore only experience comedic and mad experiences within an authentic, national Spanish core where don Quixote acted out his quixotism. A modern Spain offers no such authenticity.

Elizabeth Franklin Lewis explores England’s perspective of Don Quixote Tourism as framed by the referent of classism, detailing how Eighteenth-century English tourists were inspired by tour guides that promoted tourism based on Cervantes’s novel, and especially, its satirical, backwards gaze upon chivalry. The anachronism at the foundation of these tour guides comprises the third tenet, while underscoring the historic love-hate relationship between England and Spain.

Barbara Fuchs and Victoria M. Muñoz expound the historicity of the polemical relationship between the two societies as framed by the genre of Romance literature produced by early Renaissance Spanish authors and its influence on contemporary English readers and society. It was polemical because English society at once denied that its own literature was inspired by Spanish Romance literature while simultaneously emulating it during the formation of both an early English literary canon (Fuchs 4-5) and a concept of English imperialism (Muñoz 9). This early modern English combination of fascination and prejudice regarding Spain and the Romance literary genre—which Muñoz calls “tales of love and arms,” (7)—is concomitant with the development of the prejudicial, anti-Spanish Black Legend,⁴ all of which set the stage for later generations to develop an early manifestation of slumming—a concept and practice not fully developed until the nineteenth century—that I argue arose within eighteenth-century English tourism inspired by *Don Quixote*.⁵

While this last tenet signaled in Neillands’s article seems superficial and whimsical, it is a fundamental theme that underlies the exploration of how Don Quixote Tourism has sought out a touristic experience based in slumming the lower classes. Indeed, I consider the archaic focus of such tourism as historically prejudiced because it centers on focalizing the framing referent of social class, and especially the differences between social classes, representing nothing less than the continuation of a five-hundred-year, elitist

umwelt regarding England's gaze upon Spain and Spaniards as a manifestation of the anti-Spanish Black Legend. It both inspires and justifies the act of seeking out a Spanish society that mimics and perpetually maintains a chivalric mindset. Just as don Quixote waxes lyrical in an anachronistic manner regarding his collection of Romance literature and chivalry novels in his library, Don Quixote Tourism has historically promoted the same stuck-in-the-past Spain that don Quixote fights so hard to uphold. Therefore, at this point I add the term "slum" to propose the concept of "Don Quixote Slum Tourism."

This essay explores the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism through a series of historic benchmarks that span the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries.⁶ Most of these benchmarks occur in England and Spain, with some references to the United States. See Fig. 1. The first benchmark is represented by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sociopolitical and cultural love-hate relationships between the Romance genre of literature produced by early Renaissance Spanish authors and its influence on contemporary English readers and society. Building upon the works of Fuchs and Muñoz, I seek to illustrate how early modern English fascination and prejudice regarding Spain and the Romance literary genre, along with the development of the anti-Spanish Black Legend, facilitated the later development of eighteenth-century slum tourism as framed by Cervantes's *Don Quixote* a full century before the concept of social slumming was "invented" even later in London. The second benchmark centers on eighteenth-century Enlightenment England and Spain, within the auspices of literary tourism, and more specifically Don Quixote Slum Tourism, which Lewis explains was particularly inspired by the unique 1780 Spanish-language illustrated edition of *Don Quixote* by Joaquín Ibarra and the Real Academia Española and illustrated by Spanish artists (43-44). Because the rise in Don Quixote Slum Tourism was also accompanied, perhaps not so paradoxically, by both the continuation of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Black Legend and anti-Spanish sentiment—alongside a foreshadowing of the nineteenth-century slumming mindset based on social class division—the third benchmark centers on the development of social slumming in nineteenth-century London. The fourth benchmark centers on Spain itself, exploring the development of a thriving Don Quixote Slum Tourism industry in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and analyzing visualizations of this tourism—within Francoist Spain—in Luis Lucia's film *Rocío de la Mancha*

(1963).⁷ I argue that this series of historic benchmarks documents the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism, an ongoing extension and evolution of prejudice within English and Spanish societies based on social class, anti-Spanish mindsets, and internalized classism over the course of five hundred years.⁸



Fig. 1. Historic Benchmarks underlying the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism.

Slumming

Before examining the earliest history underlying the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism, it is convenient to define the third benchmark—slumming—and explore its history. Seth Koven clarifies that the origins of social slumming are found in nineteenth-century London, through the rather innocuous desire to improve public service and social welfare. Public health and social workers attending to working-class citizens, explains Koven, felt obligated to observe the people they treated, in their own neighborhoods, to better serve them and track disease (1-2). To that end, these workers began to create maps indicating where their clients lived. The maps initially served as a public health tool to help social workers better perform their jobs but were later transformed into maps to inspire what we know today as the inherently prejudicial social act of slumming.

While social slumming was invented in late-nineteenth century London, a form of linguistic slumming had already flourished in Paris earlier in the same century. Eliza Jane Smith explains that linguistic and literary slumming developed in France through a bourgeoisie reader interest in “the temptations of vicariously exploring an uncharted criminal underworld” (1) that was based on “the use of the language slang as criminal code, which French writers employed for both economic and artistic purposes” (251). Smith underscores the degradation associated with linguistic slumming:

In nineteenth-century France, literary slumming was a twofold phenomenon: first, literary slumming referred to the degradation of literary content, primarily in the form of representing lower-class degeneracy of vice. From criminals to prostitutes (and everything in between), French writers sought to seduce their public with realistic depictions of society’s deviants in all their criminal glory. Second, literary slumming referred to the degradation of the literary standards that were formally mandated in the seventeenth century. This degradation included the publication of serial novels [...] filled with violence and sexual intrigue. (Smith 251)

Smith concludes that Nineteenth-century Parisian culture was fascinated by the “*bas-fonds* (underworld)” that offered the elite an “‘escape’ and ‘exoticism’ where emotions could be sensationalized” (2). Most relevant to the argument

of this essay is that such an infatuation with the working class and criminality entered the social imaginary.

In London, conversely, an artistic form of social slumming evolved. The commonality between French literary slumming and English social slumming in the nineteenth century centered on the bifurcation of social class and the *potentiality* of intrigue associated with experiencing classist Otherness. Moving beyond the scope and gaze of public health workers, slumming was embraced by the London elite, who began to interact with the lower classes—within their quotidian customs and experiences—for the sheer thrill, only to return to their own privileged environs afterwards. Like the centuries-old phenomenon of the Wunderkammer, slumming began not as fixed, unmoving cabinets of curiosities in elite spaces that displayed unusual specimens gathered from far and wide, but rather as public, socialized events that took the elite to the impoverished, dynamic spaces of the working class. It promoted the thrill and enjoyment of lowering oneself socially within these exotic geographies. However, the availability of these maps also appealed to people with a morbid curiosity and subsequently morphed into the creation of London tourist guidebooks for the general public, which pointed out not only the local cultural and religious attractions, but also the specific locations of these impoverished areas. Koven calls these areas sensationalized “scenes of human misery and sexual degradation made famous, the world over by the serial murderer Jack the Ripper” (1). As slumming spread around the world, it took on a pejorative connotation that Chad Heap describes as “horrifically exploitative” (2).⁹

Just as the creation of these maps—ones created for the elite to slum the lower classes in the dynamic, live, and interactive Wunderkammers of London—documented slumming in the nineteenth century, I maintain that the creation of tour guides and maps of Don Quixote’s Route a century earlier in eighteenth-century London documented the very same classist mindset evoked by the concept of Don Quixote Slum Tourism. It was a type of tourism inspired by the humor of *Don Quixote* and the desire to visit quaint, comical, and backwards medieval Spanish citizens and their live “performances” within their authentic Wunderkammer of La Mancha. Even though don Quixote’s nobility was favored in English translation and book illustration, it was an idealism that Auerbach describes as “*idée fixe*” that ensured the English reception of the protagonist and his mad adventures as decidedly comical and firmly situated in fantasy:

[Don Quixote's idealism] is not based on an understanding of actual conditions in this world. Don Quijote does have such an understanding but it deserts him as soon as the idealism of his *idée fixe* takes hold of him. Everything he does in that state is completely senseless and so incompatible with the existing world that it produces only comic confusion there. (344)

Indeed, Auerbach states that one can compare don Quixote with Dostoevsky's *Idiot* (1868-69), except, in the case of Cervantes's protagonist, there is arguably no active sense of "responsibility and guilt" (344). The fact that Alonso Quijano—as a representative of the lowest echelons of the Spanish nobility—unintentionally *slums* the lower classes in La Mancha as don Quixote, is not lost in this comparison. The intentional nobility instigated by English translators and the comical nobility achieved by don Quixote in the original Spanish narrative both ensured the character's popularity in England and solidified his archaic appeal by looking backwards towards the earlier love-hate relationship with Romance literature in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.¹⁰

Spain and England Sitting in a Tree / R-E-A-D-I-N-G ... Spanish Romance¹¹

English tourists have long been inspired to visit Spain, first inspired by English translations of sixteenth-century Spanish Romance literature, and later by Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, both in English translation and in Spanish. In the sixteenth century, England's reader reception of Spanish Romance literature had already historically fixated on defining Spain as a rival nation, while the rise of Spanish imperialism throughout the early Renaissance and the popularity of chivalry found in the Romance genre initiated a prejudicial optic towards the country in an "us vs. them," nation-defining mentality (Muñoz 7). A century later, tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* expanded this pejorative touristic interest in Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, inspired again by an anachronistic and archaic expectation that a potential visit to Spain would consist of encountering a quaint, medieval, and backward thinking working class. Tourism during these centuries was

founded on a class division that, as Muñoz reminds us, was axial to England's self-definition of their own nationality as set against the Otherness represented by Spain. England, in its rise to Enlightenment, imposed its superiority over Spain and its citizens (7) through what can be labeled as a passive-aggressive, classist tourism.

Barbara Fuchs explains the long history of such a passive-aggressive mentality in the relationship between England and Spain, beginning with the rise of the early modern period. The author expounds how, as a national canon began to emerge in England, it did so "in the context of its rivalry with Spain" (4-5), never fully acknowledging a Spanish literary influence while, at the same time, emulating it (8). Fuchs documents the history of academic prejudice against Spain and its literature, later spreading to the United States via Hispanic Studies or Hispanisms:

[B]y showing how certain habits of thought—the supposed "obscurantism" of Spain, the impoverishment of Spanish cultural life as a result of the Inquisition, Spain's long decline—have created a kind of intellectual "Black Legend." Richard Kagan's work on historiography has traced how the United States has largely inherited English prejudices against Spain, and added to them a narrative of counter-exceptionalism, with Spain as the dark double to U.S. imperial glories. [...] *Don Quixote*, whose influence is so patent, was made in this vision an honorary citizen of the world [...]. (8)

Despite the development of quixotic iconography within the world's social imaginaries, resulting from Cervantes's novel being categorized as a "citizen of the world" (8), Fuchs further clarifies what she calls an "Armada paradigm," one that is reflected in the simultaneous influence of Spanish literature on English writers. Additionally, she underscores issues of religion and military conflict that ensured the continued development of the Black Legend (9) and the systemic erasure of a Spanish legacy on English culture and literature (95). The author clarifies: "Early modern English writers looked to Spain for inspiration and relied heavily on Spanish originals, yet our own academy, marked by the Black Legend and sustained an anti-Spanish prejudice, is unable to recognize those early debts" (95). Muñoz complements Fuchs's perspective by concluding that the negativity associated with the "Spanish problem" today known as the Black Legend

influenced English readers of *Don Quixote* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, laying the foundation for a prejudiced and skewed mindset towards Spain and Spanish culture as perpetually frozen in the Middle Ages (10).¹² From my perspective, this multi-temporal and multi-spatial history represents the origins and continued evolution of the anachronistic aspect of Don Quixote Slum Tourism.

Stanning an Iconic don Quixote.

For some early modern English readers, within a prejudicial mindset inspired by the Black Legend, there could be no better literary figurehead than don Quixote to underscore Spain's backwardness and inferiority for England. Despite this, the desire to visit Spain has not historically depended solely upon having read the resplendent narratives of the novel. Rather, it can also be linked to the existence of quixotic iconography—such as that represented by the windmills and don Quixote's madness associated with attacking them—in the social imaginaries of the world's cultures. Bayliss explains how simply owning a copy of the novel provides most collectors with enough information to know about, recognize, and be inspired by the most iconic passages. This was particularly observable in 2005, during the celebrations of the 400-year anniversary of the publication of Part I of *Don Quixote*. Reflecting upon this anniversary, Bayliss expounds the public's relationship to the novel and the iconography they perceived:

[I]n January 2005, everyone was buying a novel that they knew they would never actually read in its entirety. Apart from any ostensible pleasure or profit that one could gain from reading it, owning the novel was important and constituted its own form of consumption. Included in the implications of this postmodern iconoclasm is the notion that possession of the material object, *Don Quixote*, signifies status and cultural prestige. (384)

Whereas the consumption of an iconic don Quixote explains the prestige associated with owning a copy of the novel, it also represents one of many reasons why such iconography exists in the first place, as popular culture references and representations of canonical literature, both of which depend

on the reader reception of the novel as either a comical or classic text.¹³ This iconography—whether popular or canonical, imagined or academic—is part of what has consistently inspired tourists to visit La Mancha.¹⁴

A century earlier, in the early twentieth century, imagery of a noble don Quixote and his humorous sallies situated in madness and fantasy proved propitious to the creation of not only a positive Spanish national image, but also an increase of overall tourism in the region of Castile. Bayliss affirms how tourists were attracted to the nobility of the knight errant: “A mainstay of the twentieth-century Spanish tourism industry was guided excursions through rural La Mancha of ‘la ruta de Don Quijote’ [Don Quixote’s Route], which highlights the physical places that supposedly inspired Cervantes’s fictional representation of the region, complete with windmills and inns” (387). At the center of this increased tourism at the beginning of the twentieth century—in addition to celebrations associated with the 300-year anniversary of the novel’s publication in 1905—was the national crisis that inspired literary attempts at recuperating Spain’s greatness by authors of the Generation of 1898.¹⁵

Because Spain lost all remaining territories it held at the end of its centuries-long decline of empire after the Spanish-American War, as Christopher Britt Arredondo explains, the authors of this generation saw their own role as quixotic, in direct reaction to the loss of the Spanish Empire:

Faced, as they were, with the final crisis of Spanish imperialism in 1898, these thinkers did not only seek to make sense of modern Spain’s decline from empire but to also offer their compatriots an imaginative program for national and imperial regeneration. They identified Spain’s new role in the modern world with the *idealistic mission* undertaken by Don Quixote in Cervantes’ famous seventeenth-century novel. Inspired by the example of Don Quixote’s quest to recuperate the Golden Age of chivalry, they suggested that modern Spain also needed to *revive its chivalric values* and seek to recuperate its Golden Age. Only for these modern Spanish intellectuals, the chivalry of Spain’s Golden Age had little if anything to do with the humanist values upheld by Cervantes’ Don Quixote and a great deal more to do with the heroic, warring values that had led to the conquest and colonization of Spain’s European, American,

and Asian empire. What these thinkers had in mind, then, by promoting the iconographic association of the Spanish nation with the figure of Don Quixote, was the spiritual and cultural reconquest of Spain's empire. Their Quixotism was a formula for negating the historical, ephemeral reality of Spain's decline as an empire and affirming the essential, ever-lasting reality of the Spanish nation's imperial identity. (6, my emphasis)

In essence, Spanish culture experienced at the beginning of the twentieth century “a disillusionment, or *desengaño*, that mirrored Don Quixote's own disillusionment in Part II of Cervantes's novel” (Bayliss 386). The promotion of *Don Quixote* and its recuperation by authors of the Generation of 1898 as a national literary treasure both reinforced and further inspired twentieth-century tourism based on the novel, especially through the ongoing promotion of and retracing Don Quixote's Route and the quixotic imagery that has existed in the social imaginaries of the world's cultures for centuries. Indeed, Arredondo explains that *Don Quixote* after 1898 took on an even more active role as a cultural ambassador between Spain and the world (600).¹⁶

However, despite the efforts of the Generation of 1898 to recuperate Spain's imperial image through *Don Quixote*, and especially by evoking a heroic don Quixote, I maintain that such a focus within Spain was overshadowed by northern Europe's promotion of quixotic iconography and imagery based in don Quixote's idealistic, heroic, and comical fantasy regarding chivalry, as evidenced in translation and book illustration. This contributed to the proliferation of quixotic imagery—consisting of a decidedly non-Spanish yet heroic don Quixote pestering the working-class locals—in the social imaginaries of world cultures, and in turn, the promotion of class division and anachronisms underlying Don Quixote Slum Tourism.

Knowledge of quixotic iconography from the social imaginary is precisely why British journalist Neillands quoted at the beginning of this essay was, on one hand, able to reference the novel, but on the other, did not know exactly why he wanted to visit Spain. Instead, he inadvertently expressed his own personal interpretation of quixotic imagery that has long inspired anachronistic and classist aspects of Don Quixote Slum Tourism in the twentieth-century British social imaginary: “Besides, I like Spain, and nowhere is more Spanish than Castile, a land of clouds and castles, full of

small towns [...]. Having been to El Toboso, I feel sure that Cervantes knew exactly what he was doing when he made *Don Quixote* a man of La Mancha. He was having a dig at the locals” (15). Imagery of such classism inferred from Cervantes’s novel—such as “having a dig at the locals,” clouds, castles, and small towns expressed by Neillands—has proven both popularly persistent and nationally resilient. That is, the persistence of this imagery in our memories—both inside and outside of Spain—is especially observable in the long-term manifestation within popular culture representations in the more than four hundred years since Cervantes published *Don Quixote de la Mancha*.

It’s Just Easier to Look at the Pictures. How Book Illustrations Influence Quixotic Iconography and Don Quixote Slum Tourism

Two of the most popular narratives associated with the novel, and which exist vividly in the reader’s imagination, are arguably when don Quixote battles the windmill and when the knight misinterprets a flock of sheep for two warring medieval armies. Simply reading the book creates imagery in the reader’s mind, that in turn can be passed on to others. More importantly, book illustrations both visually reproduce and reinterpret the narratives, contributing to the variety of imagery held in social and cultural imaginaries around the world. From the moment the novel was published, simple illustrations—frontispieces and chapter illustrations—began to adorn the earliest editions, adding to and encouraging the visual imagery associated with the novel, inspiring popular culture interest in the mad knight’s exploits for the first time.

Illustrators of *Don Quixote* often took liberties in their portrayals of the mad knight. Readers can trace cultural and sociopolitical agendas imposed by translators and illustrators over the centuries, most of which resulted from the desire to render don Quixote in terms relatable to their target readers. Because of this cultural interpretation, or even interference, on the part of translators and illustrators, don Quixote’s popularity began to affect interest in Spanish tourism, inspiring readers—and non-readers—to retrace the famous madman’s steps in the dusty plains of La Mancha by seeking their own quixotic pilgrimage. This underscores the importance that book illustrations have on the public imaginary and its concept of quixotic

imagery or iconography. It must be underscored again that, while quixotic imagery has inspired many tourists to visit Cervantes's Spain, most of them have read very little of the book. As Bayliss states, collectors of *Don Quixote* often let their copy or copies sit on a shelf unread (384).

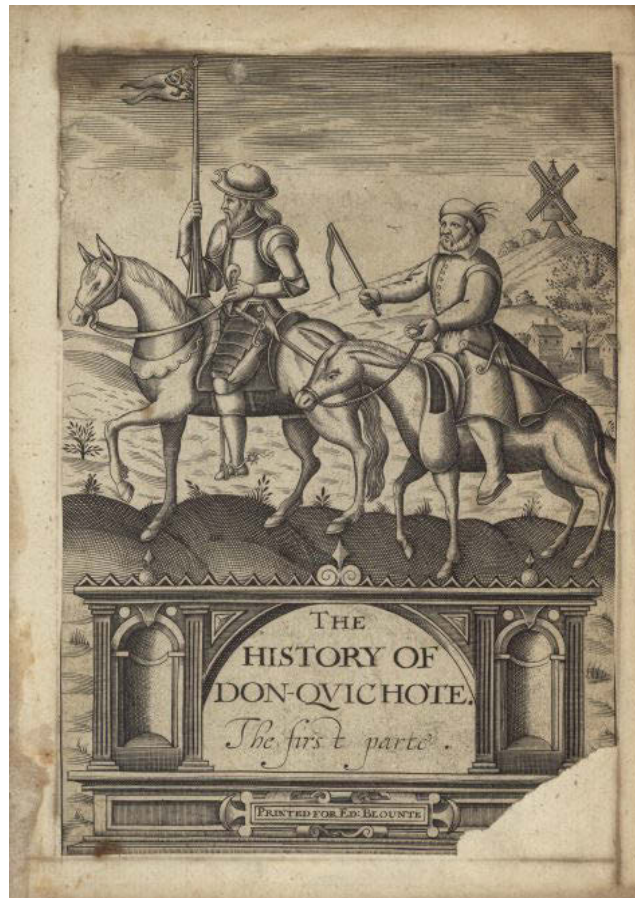


Fig. 2. Don Quixote and Sancho Panza illustrated as English citizens.
Unknown artist. Burin engraving. *Cervantes Project*.
Edward Blount 1620 edition of *Don Quixote* ("The History").

Visual reinterpretations of don Quixote's adventures in book illustration therefore hold a key role in the development of tourism inspired by *Don Quixote*. Just as the act of translation historically allowed translators to instill various aspects of their own culture into their linguistic reinterpretations of Cervantes's novel,¹⁷ thus influencing how the public viewed don Quixote within their societies, the visual reinterpretations created by illustrators wielded even more power to change how the public perceived don Quixote in their mind's eye and collective social imaginaries (Schmidt xv). The success of such visual reinterpretations often depended on whether he was portrayed as a hero or a fool, or both.¹⁸

For example, one can see how—in both translation and book illustration—the elevation of don Quixote from a Spanish fool to an English hero would change the erudite English public's perception of Cervantes's protagonist by inserting a stark class division.¹⁹ See Fig. 2. Originally perceived in Spain and England as a comedic fool, after this iconic shift in England due entirely to translation and illustration, don Quixote now represented nobility for learned readers, despite his madness. Now gone was the sad figure of woeful countenance fumbling his way throughout his adventures. Edwin B. Knowles, Jr. notes France's influence on this paradigmatic shift in late seventeenth-century English readers of *Don Quixote*, especially after the Restoration, when such readers consisted of “‘better’ people [...] in part, no doubt, because the returning cavaliers brought back something of its high reputation in France” (109). Yet more importantly, although Knowles underscores the importance of *Don Quixote* in eighteenth-century England as based on humor and satire (111), he quotes English essayist Charles Lamb's perspective on how book illustrators of *Don Quixote* were especially responsible for rendering humor in their pictorial compositions in lieu of sadness and self-deception:

Artists again err in the confounding of *poetic* with *pictorial subjects*. In the latter, the exterior accidents are nearly everything. Deeply corporealized, and enchained hopelessly in the groveling fetters of externality, must be the mind, to which, in its better moments, the image of the high-souled, high intelligenced Quixote—the errant Star of Knighthood, made more tender by eclipse—has never presented itself divested from the unhallowed accompaniment of a Sancho, or a rabblement at the heels of Rosinante. [sic] That man has read his

books by halves; he has laughed, mistaking his author's purport, which was—tears. (Knowles 113, original emphasis)

Rachel Schmidt expands on this perspective by explaining that it was indeed in northern Europe, primarily in France and England, where Cervantes's novel was elevated in status and "classicized" as a literary treasure—specifically through the printing of deluxe illustrated editions—long before it was canonized in Enlightenment Spain. She argues that it was deluxe illustrated editions, much more than idiomatic English translations of the novel, that facilitated such academic appreciation and subsequent erudite popularity (6-7).

However, many people, whether erudite readers or popular culture consumers, possess some knowledge of the elderly, gaunt, and crazy knight who sallies forth alongside his squat, rotund, and faithful squire, Sancho Panza (384). Bayliss attributes the popularity of *Don Quixote* to Cervantes himself:

As we reflect on the presence and function of both Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in our own postmodern culture (itself a quixotically daunting enterprise), we would do well to consider the degree to which Cervantes himself is responsible—if not for what his literary creation means today, then for how it has been capable of acquiring so many different meanings in such disparate contexts. [...] And yet, the Don Quixote that results from each reinterpretation appears to be altogether different from its predecessors, serving altogether different aesthetic, cultural, and ideological ends. Don Quixote has survived independently of Cervantes [...]. (Bayliss 382-83)

Tatevik Gyulamiryan expanded this theme in 2017, examining how quixotic imagery and iconography have been continually reinterpreted (with the same characters) and re-accentuated (with new characters identifiable as quixotic) in cultural production. Such quixotic iconography exists separate and apart from the original narrative of the book, thereby offering those who have never read the novel an idea of who the old man attacking the windmill is, alongside his gaunt horse, dusty armor, and portly friend. Often, the iconography is transformed into new characters who possess characteristics identifiable as originating with *Don Quixote* (Gyulamiryan 11), a phenomenon

Bruce Burningham maintains can be observed in the duality of filmic narration in David Fincher's 1999 film *Fight Club*, among other manifestations in cultural production (54-76).²⁰ Burningham underscores the vast influence that Cervantes's overall oeuvre has held over popular culture: "We inhabit a distinctly Cervantine world; which is to say, we largely see the world through a Cervantine lens" (1).

Adding to the effect of this Cervantine lens, some of the increased interest in Don Quixote Slum Tourism can be attributed to educated readers of the novel through Spanish-language and translated editions published in Northern European countries.²¹ Lewis addresses the novel's academic importance to Eighteenth-century academics: "Eighteenth-century essayists and critics considered *Don Quixote* as more than an entertaining or even inspiring work of fiction: they treated it as an object of study" (35). While this helped canonize the text outside of Spain (Schmidt 6-7), the role of illustrated editions must again be underscored in their role—in tandem with translations—in changing don Quixote from a comedic figure to that of a hero. Specifically, as mentioned above, special illustrated editions published in English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian appealed to the elite of these countries, especially through imagery which rendered don Quixote as a local hero, not a Spanish one. This established a clear bifurcation of social class between elite readers and the Spanish peasants that don Quixote himself slummed, especially now that he was portrayed in illustration as an English knight. Concomitantly, illustrations allowed better comprehension and interest in the novel by those who could not read, thereby underscoring the value of the novel as a popular book (Schmidt 27; Bayliss 384). Most importantly, it was the transformation of don Quixote into a local hero, one who was understandable by target readers of translations and beholders of illustrations, that created quixotic iconography in the social imaginary, for both academics studying the novel and for those who had never read the novel at all, or at least in its entirety.

Therefore, the importance of reading—or viewing the illustrations of—*Don Quixote* in Spanish-language editions must be underscored, as this allowed the English society to understand and fixate on don Quixote's *idée fixe*. However, this is not the only significant influence that book illustrations held on Don Quixote Slum Tourism. Notably, the inclusion of a single map in a Spanish-language illustrated edition, as Lewis argues, inspired the public to extrapolate where don Quixote had sallied forth. The subsequent inclusion

of this information in travel guides or travel journals especially inspired upper-class readers to retrace the famous protagonist's steps in La Mancha (Lewis 34-35).²²

Enlightenment England Slums *Don Quixote*

Eighteenth-century English Enlightenment literature scholar Elizabeth Franklin Lewis supports Bayliss's perspective by emphasizing that English tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* originated in eighteenth-century England and that the popularity of this tourism grew due to the publication of tour guides that focalized a prejudiced perspective onto Spain and its residents. These guides were based on the map of Don Quixote's Route mentioned by Bayliss, which was one of many book illustrations in the 1780 Ibarra special illustrated edition of *Don Quixote* published in Spain by the Real Academia Española, referred to above. The edition contained what Lewis describes as "important extratextual material including an analytical study, illustrations, and for the first time, a map that situated fictional events of the novel in the geography of contemporary eighteenth-century Spain. This map is the first representation of what would come to be known as Don Quixote's Route" (35). See Fig. 3. The map, as Lewis notes, was created by Tomás López, "the Royal Geographer to Charles III," and contributed to the immense popularity of *Don Quixote* in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England (36).

Lewis's perspective diverges from both Baylis and Ruiz Scarfuto, however, by describing a darker side of this tourism, which was based upon a prejudiced sociopolitical agenda that has historically inspired visitors to La Mancha. These eighteenth-century tour guides purposefully promoted Spain's quaint backwardness as an incentive to travel to Spain, and the authors of the guides used *Don Quixote* "to support claims of each nation's cultural superiority thus bolstering national pride" at the other's expense (36).²³



Fig. 3. Map of Don Quixote's Route. Tomás López. Burin engraving.
Joaquín Ibarra and RAE 1780 illustrated edition of *Don Quixote*.
Biblioteca Digital Hispánica ("Map").

Such exploitation of quixotic iconography is understandable, given the popular culture allure of *Don Quixote*, which began to flourish almost immediately after its publication. This imagery has evolved into what Bayliss considers "a symbol of Spain and Spanish culture" (387). Yet the reception of Cervantes's novel as Spanish-language literary canon did not happen as one would expect in early seventeenth-century Spain, where Peter E. Russell maintains it was instead received simply as a funny book (312). Rather, the classification of *Don Quixote* as a literary text worthy of study occurred in countries such as England, as mentioned above, through translation and book illustration. It is essential to underscore that such representations later influenced Spanish scholars in the latter part of the eighteenth century when the novel was recuperated as a national literary treasure, especially through the publication of the 1780 Ibarra and RAE edition. Remarkably, this unique illustrated edition challenged popular contemporary English translations and

illustrations of *Don Quixote* that portrayed the protagonist as an English hero, as viewed in Fig. 2. By using Spanish neoclassical artists to illustrate the edition, an authentically Spanish tone was attempted, and the recuperation of don Quixote's *Spanishness* began.²⁴

Additionally, including the map of "Don Quixote's route" ensured the popularity of an authentic Spanish-language illustrated edition not only within Spain, but also in England—despite the existence of English translations—through the development of tour guides that included this map. A tourism industry centering on Cervantes's novel and its mad protagonist don Quixote subsequently grew in popularity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due, in great part, to the RAE map. This interest continues to the present day (Bayliss 387).²⁵

Building upon Lewis's consideration of these tour guides as prejudicial, I also consider the reinterpretations of don Quixote as an English knight in translation and book illustration—in England—as prejudicial. Even though tour guides utilized a book illustration—the map of Don Quixote's Route—from a Spanish-language edition, the exploitive nature of the tour guides cannot be ignored. Additionally, the importance and influence of the foundational Ibarra 1780 Spanish edition of *Don Quixote* on these tour guides are necessarily underscored. On one hand, illustrated editions of Cervantes's novel, both in translation and in the original Spanish, combined to inspire tourism based on the novel, but on the other, they continued to manifest the by-then, centuries-old anti-Spanish prejudice instigated by England's love-hate relationship with Spanish Romance literature, as evidenced by the focalization of social class within these tour guides.

Taking it Home: Spain Reacts to Don Quixote Slum Tourism

Towards the latter half of the twentieth century, the concept of an intriguing Don Quixote's Route—one so touted during the Enlightenment—was reduced to serve as nothing more than a touristic infomercial. Luis M. González has observed that in José López Clemente's short film *La Mancha, ruta de don Quijote* (1971), previous imagery utilized in various NO-DO shorts was recycled (93). None of the imagery used in this short film was identifiably quixotic or Cervantine, but rather promoted images of a modernizing Spain, which displaced the public imaginary's

mind's eye imagery of quixotic Spanishness. González clarifies: “El progreso y la modernidad de la zona, que ha logrado abandonar miserias pasadas gracias al turismo, forman parte del inevitable mensaje publicitario y político tan del gusto del Ministerio de Información y Turismo” (93).²⁶ Emphasizing how Francoism utilized Don Quixote Tourism to combat the anti-Spanish prejudice inspired by the Black Legend, Michael J. Levin signals their slogan “Spain is different,” explaining that “In the 1960s, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Francisco Franco’s Minister of Information and Tourism, adopted this phrase as a slogan for Spain, in an attempt to lure foreign visitors and boost the economy. But the idea of Spain’s essential ‘difference’ from the rest of Europe had deep roots, going back at least four centuries” (531). It is important to note that this slogan is contemporary to Lucia’s film analyzed in this essay. Such a mindset, reveals Levin, continues to the present day, marketing the country as “a place where the past remains alive, a sort of national ‘historical theme park’” (548). Such marketing that focuses on the past ensures a continued slumming optic towards Spanish society.

While present-day Don Quixote Tourism enjoys all the perks of modernity to ensure that tourists have access to the places made famous by don Quixote during his sallies, such as the passing of a Don Quixote Route Law “complete with GPS coordinates” (Ruiz Scarfuto 2), it is convenient to clarify that tourism based on the novel *Don Quixote* is part of a larger, historic rise in popularity of tourism inspired by literary routes. Ruiz Scarfuto relates how literary tourism is often inspired by readers who imagine landscapes and even transhumance and pastoralism as portrayed in literature “where cultural and natural routes merge to form an added value of heritage that is greater than either one standing alone” (1). This type of tourism can benefit the locations made famous in narrative and is often a reciprocal relationship:

The continuous dissemination of this literature traversing borders, language barriers, and time periods has stimulated literary routes to emerge as a function of moving the experience from an intangible heritage based on imaginary landscapes to a tangible sensory experience in situ following a plot, author’s life, or a myth. Literary routes respond to the demand of the growing target travellers, who are more literate and active today than in the past. (1)

Although Ruiz Scarfuto's interpretation of literary travel routes emphasizes a tourist's perspective, it also signals cultural and economic growth within the regions visited. According to the author, such tourism benefits everyone involved on multiple levels (1-2), which helps explain, in part, Spain's ongoing promotion of tourism based on *Don Quixote*.

Therefore, in reaction to the rising popularity of Don Quixote Tourism and the concept of a "historic theme park," Spain developed an identifiable geography of walkable routes to accommodate tourists, thereby facilitating a thriving tourist industry that still exists today in Castile/La Mancha (Ruiz Scarfuto 2-3). It is clearly dominated by tourism organizations, including those that focus on both Cervantes and *Don Quixote* to organize tours of the region. Ruiz Scarfuto clarifies:

La Mancha is the pivotal landscape in Spain where Cervantes' intellectual transformation is developed by his walking from Toledo to Seville; he contemplates his adventurous life and weaves it into the protagonist of his novel, *Don Quijote*. The official DQ literary route is a walking route and was created to celebrate this unique literature published 400 years ago. At the same time the route preserves the landscapes (natural heritage) that could offer future generations (domestic and international) a tangible experience *in situ* related to his masterpiece (cultural heritage). (3)

However, when considering the historic prejudice associated with Don Quixote Slum Tourism proposed here, it is essential to consider how much of this economic stimulus benefits local Spaniards living in this region and whether there exists a reciprocal performativity associated with this type of tourism. Specifically, do local Spaniards *perform* for the tourists in a manner that implies that they still live in the past?

Duncan Wheeler, citing Michael Richards and Anthony Close, clarifies the complex performative relationship that has developed between the classes in La Mancha:

In the post-war period, La Mancha was particularly amenable to a project of national literary recuperation at a time when the "essence of the Spanish character was usually seen as being embodied in the virtues of the Spanish small-holding peasantry of Castile." [citing

Richards] What this bypasses is the underlying tragicomedy of the fact it “was a region associated with *backward rusticity*, thus a fittingly ironic context for the hero’s *idealised literary fantasies*.” [citing Close]. (604, my emphasis; Richards 163; Close 28)

As a means of defining such an idealized and fantastical precedent centered on literature, one cannot deny that much of the interest towards establishing and classifying Spanish Otherness has been inspired, as Lewis maintains, by the exotic appeal of visiting a medieval, backward gazing, and quixotic Spain. Fuchs and Muñoz complement this by arguing that this love-hate appeal had already begun in the early sixteenth century. Therefore, throughout the four centuries since Cervantes published *Don Quixote*, Don Quixote Slum Tourism essentially has piggybacked on previous prejudice by historically seeking out backward *Spanishness* as an adventurous and exotic anachronism, as observable in Neillands’s 1988 missive, resulting from the anticipation of experiencing first-hand the touted social Spanish Otherness frozen in a past time.

Yet from a Spanish perspective, this means that the local populations of La Mancha began to receive tourists who traveled there specifically to walk in a decidedly late-medieval, early Renaissance don Quixote’s footsteps. The necessity of local working-class Spaniards in La Mancha to consistently perform at this lower-class level, from my perspective, facilitates and enables slum tourism, where both foreign and native Spanish upper-class tourists lower themselves to experience the social Otherness of quaintness.

Visualizations of Don Quixote Slum Tourism: Luis Lucia’s *Rocío de la Mancha*

While Neillands helps us observe ongoing, *implicit* slum tourism in Spain inspired by quixotic iconography in the social imaginary, a filmic rendering of *explicit* Don Quixote Slum Tourism in the twentieth century has had even more impact in documenting its persistence. The introduction of classism and slumming to Don Quixote Tourism is especially observable in Spanish director Luis Lucia’s *Rocío de la Mancha* (1963), a film created under the censorship of Francisco Franco’s regime, and in which the protagonist and her family survive precisely on this type of tourism. Wheeler underscores

how “internal contradictions” within Franco’s government “attempted to patent and commemorate Spain’s most renowned literary figure as a means of resurrecting the Golden Age in a manner more quixotic than Cervantine” (601-02), thereby underscoring the role of fantasy over reality in films such as Lucia’s.

Stark divisions between social classes are intended to give the film a feel-good, folkloric quality, given that the protagonist, portrayed by actress Rocío Dúrcal, sings throughout the musical film. However, the opposite spectator reception is underscored if we gaze upon the poverty focalized by the plot as the sole reason why the protagonist and her family *need* Don Quixote Tourism to survive. It is far from ironic that both the film’s plot and sociopolitical materiality—specifically, how slum tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* relates to Francoism—center on the fact that Rocío and her family are orphans, and therefore have nothing but the rags on their backs. Although more than twenty years separate the end of the Spanish Civil War (1939) and the release of Lucia’s film (1963), none of the post-war suffering in Spain appears in the film. That is, except for the orphaned siblings and a broken family unit that will come to represent the noble goal of Rocío’s quixotic sally, Francoism guaranteed that reality was rewritten in this feel-good, Disney-like film. It ensured that images of a modernizing Spain were presented to the world and that the tourists slumming Rocío and her family were not English, but rather wayward Spaniards.²⁷

Scenes of higher-class tourists visiting the lower-class family to tour their “authentic” don Quixote windmill showcase slum tourism, from my perspective, primarily because it is implied that Rocío and her family regularly receive visitors who seek both windmills and the locals, echoing Levin’s “historic theme parks” mentioned above. While one primary scene in the film shows Rocío instigating such tourism, placing the onus on her and not the upper-class visitors, scenes of class division and limiting poverty—however quaintly rendered—are striking and cannot be ignored. Additionally, the era in which the film was produced is significant, during Franco’s regime, because governmental censorship and social norms guided the plot to overshadow any negative classist or slumming aspects by instead focusing on folkloric and musical fantasy elements. This included an orphaned Rocío’s admirable desire to reconstruct the traditional family unit consisting of two parents and children. What resulted was a filmic rendering of a utopic Spanish society under Franco, where elements that limited or

even threatened its citizens—including the Civil Guard and the government’s enforcement of antiquated expectations regarding the role of women in Spanish society—were downplayed. Peter Besas explains that even though a new censorship emerged in the 1960s “in accordance with the government’s decision to ease into a cautious liberalization,” censors still prohibited themes such as divorce, conflicts with the Catholic Church, and “scenes attacking the institutions of matrimony and family” (73).

One of the first observations the spectator notes in this film is the way adolescent protagonist, Rocío, struggles to survive in rural La Mancha.²⁸ Although the urgency of her struggle is glossed over in this musical film, she is obviously poor, a local resident, and an orphan who now necessarily serves as her family’s matriarch. See Fig. 4. Her daily struggles to provide for her younger siblings and survive the absence of her parents depend completely on tourism inspired by don Quixote’s world fame: imagery of a don Quixote that exists in the world’s social imaginaries. She and her family are quite poor; they wear worn-out clothing and depend on throwing nails onto the road to cause cars to have flat tires, so they will stop and, potentially, pay a meager fee to tour Rocío’s “authentic” don Quixote windmill while they wait for repairs. The film begins with scenes of a clearly modernizing Spain; fancy automobiles on highways are juxtaposed with primitive carts on dusty roads, further underscoring the bifurcation between urban and rural spaces and upper and working classes. Within this stark poverty, Rocío is forced to fulfill her patriarchal duty to replace her parents, eventually beginning her own fantastic and quixotic journey through which she will eventually achieve limited, moralistic social agency and upward social mobility.



Fig. 4. Rocío in poverty, caring for her siblings.
Rocío de la Mancha (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

The film is divided into three distinct parts, the first of which centers on Rocío's struggle to survive via Don Quixote Slum Tourism. The plot of the film then shifts to Paris, with imagery of luxury, fashion, and a clear lack of *Spanishness*, as underscored by a distinctly displaced stage version of *Don Quixote* using French actors and inauthentic *mise en scène*. The final part of the film centers on Rocío's return to Spain, echoing don Quixote's return home after he was defeated by the Knight of the White Moon in Part II, Chapter 64 of *Don Quixote*.

Rocío's sally to Paris is central to her quest, yet the fact that it is in Paris and not in Spain is particularly relevant to the film's sociocultural, political, and historic materiality. Indeed, the film's materiality is striking, especially when considering that Francoism was still alive and well in the 1960s, dictating patriarchal and misogynist expectations that women could not achieve social agency within Spain and that such agency was not allowed to be portrayed in film. Carmen Martín Gaité explains the limiting, stay-at-

home role of women that was enforced throughout the Franco regime. Women were expected to serve primarily as family caregivers, thereby limiting their status both in public and in society (40). While in Lucia's film the exploitation of Don Quixote Tourism—which was really Don Quixote Slum Tourism—enabled Rocío to provide for her family, she did not work, per se, or have a career, thereby denying her the opportunity for upward social mobility within Spain. This was due to the influence on Spanish society by the Women's Section under the Falangist section of Francoism and was another reason why women were not allowed to have careers in Francoist Spain. Specific examples of this can be found in the literary genre of *La novela rosa*, or romantic novel. These late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century romance novels portrayed women as fiercely dedicated to their families, and were instructed not to work, which would leave their families unattended (Martín Gaité 40). Yet paradoxically, the *novela rosa* itself helped impede the modernization of Spain due to limiting the role of women in society. Analyzing the *novela rosa* in another Dúrcal film of the 1960s, *Cristina Guzmán* (1968) by Argentinian director Luis César Amadori, itself a filmic version of a *novela rosa*, Debra J. Ochoa explains this paradox: “The protagonist Cristina Guzmán's optimism was a necessary façade to encourage trust in Franco's plans for Spain. The *Sección femenina* reinforced women's traditional responsibilities in order to prevent modernization in Spain” (191). In essence, the genre of the *novela rosa* was comparable to the chivalric novels read by don Quixote and represented archaic and anachronistic models for Spanish women.

In addition to the limited role of women in Spanish society, modernization efforts of Franco's government also clashed with the lower class represented by Rocío in Lucia's film. Franco's backward-thinking concept regarding the role of women in Spanish society essentially made Rocío's quixotic journey impossible within Spain. Because *Rocío de la Mancha* was released in 1963, a time during which Franco was concerned with Spain's international image, the censors enforced cinematic renderings of Spain as utopic and modern. Such a modernized utopia clashed with the exotic appeal of Don Quixote Slum Tourism, whose focus had always been anachronistic, with a particular interest in Medieval Spain, a detail initiated by don Quixote's humorous embracing of an antiquated chivalry.²⁹ Daniel Kowalsky reminds us that Franco was historically criticized for his own anachronistic gaze, yearning for the epic grandeur of Medieval Spain, which initially held back

the country's actual modernization efforts during his earlier decades in power during the mid-twentieth century (189). Yet this focus was reversed by the 1960s, when films like *Rocío de la Mancha* were filmed.

Marvin D'Lugo explains how Spain shifted its focus from anachronistic and medieval to forward-thinking and modernizing: "The portentous changes that were to shape the 1960s in Spanish culture date back to a radical shake-up of Franco's government that occurred in 1959, when the technocrats seeking to modernize the country and to bring it into closer contact with Europe finally gained definitive control in key government ministries" (17). Concerned with Spain's international image, the government encouraged cinematic renderings of Spain not only as decidedly modern but actively modernizing, thereby diminishing the historical authenticity of the harshness of life which resulted in the decades following the Spanish Civil War.

What resulted from this redefined focus was the creation of *Nuevo Cine Español*, or New Spanish Cinema, to which Lucia's film pertains. Antonio Lázaro-Reboll and Andrew Willis explain how the New Spanish Cinema was supported by the Franco regime to help "promote a liberal image of Spain abroad" (11). Within this genre appeared the cinematic sub-genre that Rob Stone calls "cine con niño," or child cinema (39). In this sub-genre, filmic narratives centered on child protagonists and represented the same phenomenon that Spanish film expert Román Gubern calls "star-system" films, in which young actors and actresses were utilized to portray Spanish heroic figures. Some of the actors featured included world-famous performers, including Dúrcal (13). I combine these last two categorizations into a genre I call "child star system cinema."

The singing talent of Dúrcal and the accompanying soundtrack underscore that Lucia's film is indeed an example of child star system cinema. Protagonist Rocío (de la Mancha) establishes her devotion to Cervantes and don Quixote by singing the first song of the film, "Don Quixote." Although she has just explained her unfortunate lack of success in providing tours of her don Quixote windmill, such failure doesn't matter because there is always a song to sing. Additionally, Rocío is and always will be inherently quixotic, living a profound duality of reality and fantasy, as represented by the utopic quality of the film. For example, in a scene that follows the opening song, Francoist Spain asserts itself, albeit flaccidly, as Rocío and her family are seen interacting with two members of the civil guard—Spain's long-established

law enforcement agency—in a happy, carefree scene that exemplifies how the greatly feared post-Civil War national guard was positively portrayed on screen. In Lucia's film, this interaction is softened by fantasy in a transitional scene in which Rocío makes believe that she is speaking with her deceased mother by telephone—for the benefit of her siblings—to ask for guidance and underscore her role as the new matriarch, a trope repeated throughout the film. When the guards arrive, they know Rocío and her family, treat them well, smile, pat the kids on the head, and go on their merry way. See Fig. 5.



Fig. 5. Rocío and family with post-Civil War national guards.
Rocío de la Mancha (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

The spectator observes in this scene the reason why this type of film was approved and supported by the Franco government: it presented a utopic, de-emphasized version of civil, cultural, familial, and linguistic divisions brought about by the Civil War and the subsequent fascist dictatorship. Yet for the purposes of the film's plot, the guards also serve as

a point of departure for Rocío to pursue her own quixotic journey. They act as paternal figures, symbolically providing Rocío with a father's approval, while the local priest steps in to bless and approve her role as matriarch of her family. These traditional mores are firmly established, validating her historic and nationalistic roots within tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* and her ongoing efforts to use the iconography of Spain's Golden Age literary treasure to maintain and provide for her family.

After these initial scenes, the spectator soon realizes that Rocío has a boyfriend, and she begins to show an attraction to him. He is a respectful young man who respects Rocío and her family. In a spontaneous and innocent reaction to his kindness, she kisses him on the cheek but then immediately refutes him for being too forward, when it was Rocío who initiated the kiss. Before their relationship can take them down a dangerous, very un-Catholic path, she runs away from him—around the front of his truck—and is almost struck by a passing tourist's car. Rocío's impulsive action causes the automobile to have an accident, and it appears that God has sent her a warning not to step outside of her role as a young woman in Franco's conservative Spain, to act in an un-Catholic manner, or to cross the Spanish film censors.

It is at this point in the plot that the bifurcation of social class expands. One of the passengers is an obviously wealthy woman who was injured and taken to the hospital, where Rocío, out of a sense of guilt, does not leave her side. When the woman regains consciousness, she hallucinates that Rocío is her daughter, Isabel, who in reality had just died a few months earlier in a hospital in Montevideo, Uruguay. A man traveling with her explains that the woman's real name is María Luisa Vargas, and that she is known publicly as the world-famous Spanish singer, Berta Granada, renown especially in South America for her exceptional voice. The spectator learns that, after the loss of both her voice and her daughter, Granada had just returned to Spain to find peace within her motherland when Rocío ran out in front of her car. Granada's car swerved to avoid hitting Rocío and it crashed, interrupting the singer and failed mother's patriotic return to her beloved Spain.

Because Granada has committed a trifecta of anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic, and anti-patriotic behavior—living outside of Spain, separating from her husband, and losing her daughter—she is decidedly unsuccessful in her role as wife and mother, as defined by Spanish society, and especially as

established by examples provided by the Women's Section and the genre of the *novela rosa*. The theme of the failed mother who tries to redeem herself in this film is exemplary of the commercial desire to establish a wholesome national image of Spain so desired by Franco. While Gubern concludes that the phenomenon of child star system cinema resulted from "a cross between commercialism, moralistic demands, socializing imperatives and a collective receptivity forged in the sentimental [...] cultural policies of a Catholic, nationalistic Spain," (15), Peter W. Evans underscores the folkloric element of such child star system cinema by signaling its value in repairing the Spanish national image. Through the musical and folkloric aspects of child actors' films, viewers perceived imagery of the reconstruction of Spain as a happy phenomenon. The focus on folkloric tradition through modernized optics gave permission to a post-Civil War country full of darkness to revisit or even rewrite historic and painful issues, focusing on themes such as the absence of the mother and the lack of modernity (137-38).

One of the foundational issues associated with Franco's Spain centers on the image of the absent mother. Beatriz Caamaño Alegre further clarifies the influence of the *Sección femenina*, or Women's Section, under the Falangist section of Francoism that determined women's social roles in post-Civil War Spain. It emphatically emphasized both strength and an attention to hearth and home (423-24). Gubern supports this perspective by underscoring that mothers represented a majority of spectators of these child star films in Spain and that Francoist censorship ensured that the portrayal of the traditional family unit—a father, a mother, and children—reinforced traditional family morals (14). Of course, many families were separated as a result of the Civil War, either by death, exile, chaos, prison, violence, differing ideologies, or other factors. This underscores Dúrcal's strength of character while filming *Rocío de la Mancha*, as Gubern maintains, confronting problems faced by Spanish society at that time. Such films brought to the masses "a value of moralist indoctrination and exaltation of traditional family values" (14). One can therefore see why, in Lucia's film, the act of restoring the honor of the traditional family unit represents the inspiration for Rocío's quixotic fantasy, while at the same time, distracting the viewer from her crippling poverty. The initial filmic rendering of Don Quixote Slum Tourism is displaced and essentially unfocalized.

It is at this point in the film that Rocío's fantastic and moralistic journey begins. While the Granada character represents the return to Spain

of an absent, wayward Spanish mother, she also represents a matriarchal figure for Rocío, whose quixotic sally to Paris centers on the recuperation of the absent Spanish father, Granada's husband, and their reunion. The goal is to reestablish a complete family unit. It is convenient to remember that the well-being of any patriarchal society depends on the functionality of the family to produce offspring that can, in turn, protect the motherland. This perspective also coincides with what D'Lugo explains as the Catholic ideology and international modernized image that Franco's government wished to render through high-profile projects such as this film (17). The fact that Granada's child died underscores even further her failure as a mother.

Once Granada recuperates from her injuries, she explains that her husband and Isabel's father, Francis Casanueva, is a famous musician, composer, and theater director living in Paris. She hasn't seen him in 13 years, and more importantly, he does not know about his daughter's death. After suffering several days with a high fever, Granada realizes that Rocío is the only person who can help her. Demonstrating a divine sincerity to repair her broken family, Granada donates to the local church and San Roque, or Saint Rock, the patron saint of bachelors, notably one of the characters of *Don Quixote*, and she provides money and contact information for her husband to Rocío, who—as Isabel—sets off for Paris to right the wrongs of this failed marriage.

While a celebration of Cervantes's work appears to be the focus of Lucia's film, which on the surface exploits and underscores don Quixote's international fame, the effect of the bifurcation of social class in this film is striking. The fact that Rocío's social agency can only be pursued outside of Spain—and through an elitist and quixotic alter-ego Isabel—emphasizes that the type of tourism promoted in the film invokes prejudice as based in slumming, as I have argued in this essay, to exploit the working class. I maintain that the combination of slumming and Don Quixote Tourism has created nothing less than a performative dependence on the quixotic iconography that inspired such tourism with comparatively little income for the local Spaniards, Rocío's family, while benefitting higher-class tourists through exotic and quixotic Otherness, especially the thrill that the act of slumming afforded them through their experience.

Conversely, slum tourism, specifically Don Quixote Slum Tourism, allowed Rocío to care for her family at least until she quite literally ran out in front of Granada's car and practically fell into a unique opportunity for social

climbing. Because of this, it is only fate that allows Rocío to improve her social status, not Franco's government. As if on cue, the film changes its tone, decidedly moving away from both Rocío's poverty and performance as authentically quixotic to a world of modernity, as Rocío travels to Paris to begin her quixotic quest. Up until this moment, the spectator is barraged with imagery of privation and dependence upon Don Quixote Slum Tourism, yet it is done through the utopic lens of Francoist censorship that still existed in the early 1960s.

Rocío's Quixotic Sally in Paris: Reuniting a Family and Ensuring *Spanishness*

Rocío travels to France as Isabel with the goal of reuniting the parental figures of the film representing the upper class, where issues of northern European reinterpretations of don Quixote that exclude his *Spanishness* mentioned above come to the fore. Rocío/Isabel eventually replaces a French actress in Casanueva's stage production of *Don Quixote*, thereby adding a Spanish authenticity to the production. Even though she is female, a Spaniard in the role is more authentic, and represents a recuperation of a Spanish don Quixote. Additionally, the French characters' anti-Spanish prejudice is palpable.

To that end, the Black Legend is apparently alive and well in France during the 1960s and Lucia's film clearly situates such prejudice outside of Spain. This helps explain why the tourists stopping to view Rocío's windmill are Spaniards and not English, for example. With such an essentialist tone to the film, Lucia incorporates Franco's insistence on portraying Spain as modernizing in the 1960s, and as a result, English prejudice towards La Mancha was simply not portrayed. Instead, Spanish tourists gaze upon Rocío's poverty as quaint and something to be appreciated, thereby excising from its citizens the historic prejudice associated with the Black Legend. Francoism actively battled the Black Legend as framed by a quixotic optic upon the promotion of an improved national image. Wheeler contextualizes this perspective by citing Esther Martínez Tórtola: "history education was conceived as therapy—a wellspring of inspirational and community-building assertions about national values and purposes that could cure the unjustified

inferiority from which Spaniards had suffered since the eighteenth century” (Wheeler 602; Martínez Tórtula 173).

In addition to modernization, another nationalistic trope highlighted in this film is the recuperation of Don Quixote’s *Spanishness*. Once in Paris, Rocío/Isabel finds Casanueva and wins him over by performing as Don Quixote in his theatrical rendition, but not before a series of misunderstandings, reflections on morality, and fits of *machismo* sabotage her performance. Because Casanueva is outside of Spain, he is intent on capturing a Spanish flavor in the actors’ portrayals within his theatrical production of *Don Quixote* but laments the fact that a French actress is cast to portray the lead role. He quickly realizes that the actress in that role—his girlfriend—does not sufficiently cover up her *Frenchness* nor convey enough *Spanishness* in her acting and singing. He gets frustrated, noting that the set reminds him of French cheese, that he is particularly unhappy with *mise-en-scène* representations of Dutch windmills “from Amsterdam,” and the fact that don Quixote’s horse, Rocinante, is robust instead of emaciated. See Fig. 6. His complaints clearly refer to nothing less than the recuperation of don Quixote as a Spaniard from the northern European reinterpretations in translation and book illustration mentioned above. In order to understand what Casanueva confronts in his play and that which Rocío/Isabel achieves in Paris, we must return to Schmidt and the canonization of *Don Quixote* in the northern European countries. When the film’s spectator remembers that translators and book illustrators in these countries reinterpreted don Quixote as a local hero and not a Spanish one, they begin to understand Casanueva’s struggle to recuperate don Quixote’s *Spanishness*. Rocío helps him achieve such an authentic Spanish performance, but her journey there has represented a clash between modernity and medieval thinking and between upper and working classes.



Fig. 6. Casanueva and the mise-en- scène of his
Don Quixote theatrical production in Paris.
Rocío de la Mancha (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

While in Paris, Rocío not only matures when confronting challenges and failures, she modernizes as Isabel. It is quite striking to the spectator how easily she adapts to the high Parisian society, despite coming from the dusty countryside of La Mancha. She sings modern songs of the sixties, dresses in contemporary high fashion, and interacts with the society surrounding Casanueva. See Fig. 7. The ease of this instant modernization underscores the Disney-like quality of the film, while fulfilling the Franco government's goal of promoting modernizing imagery of its citizens. But again, this can only take place outside of Spain and through the noble quest of healing a wayward Spanish family. The fact that Casanueva has a girlfriend infuriates Rocío/Isabel, and this complication represents a giant that Rocío/Isabel must slay in her quest to reunite husband and wife. After Casanueva and his girlfriend break up, the French actress leaves her role as don Quixote, and Rocío/Isabel replaces her as the lead in the production. Rocío/Isabel has

won her battle with the French giant, demonstrating her moralistic social agency by breaking up the immoral couple. However, her sally is only partially successful, having tried to reestablish the *Spanishness* of Casanueva's theatrical don Quixote, despite the fact that she is a female playing an iconic male character.



Fig. 7. Rocío/Isabel in Paris with Casanueva wearing high fashion.
Rocío de la Mancha (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

It is at this crucial moment that Rocío/Isabel realizes that she has failed to reunite Granada and Casanueva; her primary quixotic mission has failed. Granada and Casanueva have decided not to get back together, signaling Rocío/Isabel's failure as a knight errant in a foreign land. See Fig. 8. She leaves the production, crying, and returns home to La Mancha defeated in battle. She no longer has a reason to exist as Isabel, her Quixote, and her depression rivals that of Alonso Quijano. This scene mirrors the

defining battle in which don Quijote loses to the Knight of the White Moon in Chapter 64 of Part II of the novel:

“You are vanquished, knight, and dead if you do not confess the conditions of our challenge.” Don Quixote, battered and stunned, not raising his visor, and as if speaking from the tomb, said in a weak and feeble voice: “Dulcinea of Toboso is the most beautiful woman in the world, and I am the most unfortunate knight on earth, and it is not right that my weakness should give the lie to this truth. Wield your lance, knight, and take my life, for you have already taken my honor.” “That I certainly shall not do,” said the Knight of the White Moon. “Let the fame of Señora Dulcinea of Toboso’s beauty live in its entirety; let it live, I say, for the satisfaction I ask is that the great Don Quixote retire to his village for a year, or for as long as I shall determine, as we agreed before entering into this battle.” (Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, II, 64; 887)

Don Quixote is forced to return to his home where he will eventually return to reality and, thoroughly depressed, pass away in his bed:

In brief, Don Quixote’s end came after he had received all the sacraments and had execrated books of chivalry with many effective words. The scribe happened to be present, and he said he had never read in any book of chivalry of a knight errant dying in his bed in so tranquil and Christian a manner as Don Quixote, who, surrounded by the sympathy and tears of those present, gave up the ghost, I mean to say, he died. (Cervantes, II, 74; 938)

After this emotional scene in the film, Casanueva realizes that Rocío is not really his daughter and decides to reunite with Granada after Rocío flees the performance of *Don Quixote*. Yet Rocío continues to think that she has failed.



Fig. 8. Rocío is defeated in her quest.
Rocío de la Mancha (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

Rocío flees Paris and returns to her family in Spain, lamenting her failed mission. Conversely, returning to the Francoist optimism imposed on the film, she later learns that she has indeed succeeded in her quixotic sally when the reunited couple visits Rocío in La Mancha, reassuring her that a Parisian don Quixote has just returned home to ride anew: Rocío de la Mancha. Of course, this diverges from the sad ending of Alonso Quijano in *Don Quixote* because, at this point, it is implied that the couple moves back to Spain and adopts Rocío and her brothers. With the family unit repaired, the film ends with Rocío reunited with her boyfriend, who has clearly learned his lesson about the kiss, and she sings “Don Quixote” once again in the streets of La Mancha, this time surrounded by the priest, her new future parents, younger siblings, and boyfriend. All is well with a new, modern, and complete Spanish family construct that has been reinterpreted and normalized. Francoism is intact and the dependence upon Don Quixote

Slum Tourism has been cured by repairing the traditional family unit and modernizing the country.

Conclusions

By identifying benchmarks associated with the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism in lieu of a linear trajectory, I have attempted to underscore not only its ongoing, immutable prejudicial characteristics based in social class but also its interconnectivity with multiple temporalities and geographies. Many factors have combined over the centuries to create the social and classist situations observed in Lucia's film. A complex relationship developed between England and Spain regarding Spanish Romance literature and its reception by English readers, inspiring early tourism to Spain that sought a chivalric experience. Quixotic iconography emerged in the social imaginaries of the world's cultures to a degree that people who have never read the novel can demonstrate knowledge of the protagonist and his sallies. Enlightenment English readers of *Don Quixote* were inspired by a single book illustration—a map—to write tour guides inciting tourists to visit La Mancha with similar anachronistic expectations that had existed in reaction to the Romance literature two centuries earlier. Social slumming developed in London in the nineteenth century, which I argue was an extension of the eighteenth-century literary slum tourism industry that used maps to promote tourism.

Spain and its citizens reacted to Don Quixote Slum Tourism by facilitating and enabling slumming. They created tours and geographies where tourists could retrace don Quixote's steps, but they did so in a manner that required an archaic performance, which in turn, enforced the anachronisms required by slum tourism.

Francoist censorship allowed tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* to be showcased in Lucia's film, but only through folkloric and utopic tones that attempted to suppress the associated slumming aspects and social disparities associated with this type of tourism. However, one can argue that Rocío succeeded in a second quest by defeating Franco's censors, underscoring a unique social agency provided by her poverty—within Spain—despite her accidental upward social movement in France. That is, while the entertainment factor of slumming that focalizes sensationalized lower-class

experiences is evident in the film, Rocío's life was eventually improved because of Don Quixote Slum Tourism.

I would finally argue that many tourists who are inspired to visit La Mancha to retrace don Quixote's footsteps are unaware that their perspective is likely classist and firmly situated within the framing referents of slumming. It is not until the benchmarks stated here are connected that slumming emerges as the primary impetus for such tourism. This, combined with an active tourism industry focused on "historic theme parks" in Spain, ensures that Don Quixote Slum Tourism will continue, perhaps for another four centuries.

Notes

¹ Specifically, I use the phrase Don Quixote Tourism to refer to both *Don Quixote*-inspired tourism (by the novel, implying those who have read it) and don Quixote-inspired tourism (by the protagonist, implying those who know about him and who may not have read the novel). I will later signal the phrase Don Quixote Slum tourism, which reflects the same influences while adding the tradition of social and literary slumming. As concepts, Don Quixote Tourism is a broader industry while Don Quixote Slum Tourism more specifically focuses on quaint anachronisms. Both phrases are capitalized. References to the novel are in italics: *Don Quixote*. For references to the protagonist, I use don Quixote.

² “Directly inspired” here refers to those who have read the novel while “indirectly inspired” refers to those who know enough about the characters through popular culture or the social imaginary to be inspired to visit La Mancha. Other manners by which a person can become familiar with *Don Quixote* include book illustrations, tour guides, references in cultural production, and the existence and manifestation of quixotic iconography in any given society.

³ The historic promotion of Don Quixote Tourism in England also likely influenced Rob Neillands’s goals, especially through the publication of maps of Don Quixote’s Route, tour guides, and illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*, all of which have historically augmented the existence of quixotic iconography and increased the popularity of such tourism in Britain, especially since the eighteenth century. The title of Neillands’s article, “Don Quixote’s Kingdom: Eccentricity and a Windmill Shortage in Cervantes Country,” further signaled the exotic nature of his intended quixotic journey into the heart of Spain while anticipating limited access to one of the most iconic landmarks associated with a mad, medieval don Quixote, that of windmills as the receptors of don Quixote’s infamous tilting.

⁴ See Julián Juderías, Miguel Romera-Navarro, and Antonio Sánchez Jiménez for studies of the Black Legend by Spanish scholars. For a northern European perspective of the Black Legend, see Sverker Arnoldsson and William S. Maltby. For a U.S. perspective, see Philip Wayne Powell, Edith Helman, Richard Kagan, James D. Fernández, and Margaret R. Greer, et al. For Mexican and Mexican-American perspectives, see María DeGuzmán and Édgar Cota Torres. For a trans-Atlantic perspective see Charles Gibson.

⁵ The Merriam Webster Dictionary defines the term “slum” as a verb “to visit slums especially out of curiosity [...] and more] broadly: to go somewhere or do something that might be considered beneath one’s station—sometimes used with *it*” (“Slum”). I describe slumming as historically “a social spectator sport, [where] upper- and middle-class urban residents and tourists sought to observe and interact with working-class citizens in their daily environments” (Holcombe, “Mexico City” 1).

⁶ I use the concept of benchmarks instead of a trajectory because I do not consider them solely linear, but rather a manifestation of both space and time. While the evolution of these concepts is temporal in that they span the centuries and build upon each other on an ongoing basis, they also interact geographically.

⁷ A film that necessarily elicits future investigation is Terry Gilliam's *The Man who Killed Don Quixote* (2018). The film's plot explicitly renders English prejudice in Spain, against the working class, as specifically framed by *Don Quixote*.

⁸ As a former colony of England, the United States is an active participant in the ongoing evolution of the Black Legend. The inherited prejudice is especially observable within the Hispanisms of U.S. academia. See Kagan (*Spain*; "Prescott's Paradigm") and Fernández for seminal studies of the Black Legend and U.S. Hispanism. See also José del Valle and Luis Gabriel-Stheeman.

⁹ Slumming spread in popularity to the United States and the Americas in the early twentieth century, particularly in the musical clubs of Harlem in New York and in the "ambiente" of the cantinas in Mexico City (Holcombe, "Mexico City" 4; "Lo queer" 275). It quickly spread to Chicago and other major cities in the U.S. and then to urban areas of the Americas. See Chad Heap for the entertainment factor associated with slumming and the prejudice underlying slumming in New York City.

¹⁰ Robert Bayliss confirms the anachronism:

Through a re-casting of his glorious acts of heroism (or his comic misadventures), such as battling enchanted giants and entire armies (or windmills and flocks of sheep), he has been employed both as a Romantic hero and as a foolish, *anachronistic madman*, for the purposes of representing either high idealism or utter insanity, and sometimes both. He has battled both Spanish fascism and American imperialism; he has defended and shaped national identities and cultures on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, the paradox of Don Quixote [...] is that despite his supposedly anachronistic nature (a seventeenth-century character who aims to revive medieval institutions of chivalry), he has proven to be truly protean and adaptable to modern and postmodern circumstances. (383, my emphasis)

¹¹ A reference to the children's playground song, "K-I-S-S-I-N-G," in which any two young individuals are summarily embarrassed publicly for a mutual attraction. The entire song states: "[Person A] and [Person B] / sitting in a tree / K-I-S-S-I-N-G. / First comes love / then comes marriage / then comes a baby / in a baby carriage."

¹² One can observe present-day academic perceptions of Spain as England's social and anachronistic Otherness in María Odette Canivell Arzú's recent monograph *Literary Narratives and the Cultural Imagination* (2019) in which the author explores the legends of King Arthur and Don Quixote. While the author clarifies that the intention of her book is not to serve as a "companion to literary analysis of Don

Quijote” (xxxi), she makes a fundamental comparison regarding isolationism and social Otherness held between the two nations:

Spain, in contrast to Britain, is the land of the ‘patria chica’ [...] where individuality and isolationism reigns [...] and where] the inhabitants of the peninsula think of themselves as a bit alien *somewhat other* than the rest. [...] Spain identifies itself with the tradition of *la Mancha*, a tradition that makes Spain stand alone [...].” (xiii, original emphasis)

Canivell Arzú clearly places the onus on Spain for isolating itself and promoting an archaic attention to its own small villages and ethnic groups, thus underscoring the anachronistic gaze upon Spain by the rest of Europe.

¹³ By “classic text,” I refer to texts that are considered literary canon, in this case *Don Quixote de la Mancha* and its many editions and translations. See Rachel Schmidt.

¹⁴ In 2005, the 400th anniversary of the publication of Part I of *Don Quixote* inspired increased tourism in Castile and La Mancha, in part due to local events promoting the novel as well as tourist companies cashing in on the popularity. In an article in *Newsweek* in February 2005, the staff writer explained how the Real Academia Española sold over 600,000 copies of the novel in Europe and the Americas and was subsequently a best-seller, achieving an esteemed listing in Oprah’s Book Club. The author cites Boyd Tonkin, literary editor of *The Independent*, who criticized such touristic exploits: “Our whole cultural economy is based around manufactured events. [...] Publishers should be led instead by a stronger sense of what they think is important” (“Don Quixote Slept Here”).

¹⁵ See especially Miguel de Unamuno, *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* (1905) and José Martínez Ruiz “Azorín,” *La ruta de don Quijote* (1905).

¹⁶ An example of such ambassadorship can be found in Augusto Floriano Jaccaci’s illustrated book, *On the trail of Don Quixote* (1896), regarding the retracing of don Quixote’s “rambles.” It showcases illustrations from the novel by Spanish-born French artist Daniel Vierge. It combines the power of book illustration with anachronistic tourist inspiration: “The customs, the character, the manner of dress, and the speech of its inhabitants, have remained practically unchanged, and of its landmarks Cervantes has made such vivid pictures that one finds it easy to identify them” (ix).

¹⁷ For example, Peter Motteux’s 1700 English translation shows influence of the translator’s native French cockney, which has been both criticized and lauded over the centuries. See John Ormsby for a criticism of Motteux as someone who “recently combined tea-dealing with literature” and the translation as “distinctly Franco-cockney” (2). Conversely, I consider Motteux’s colloquialisms and idioms closer to the Spanish original than the English, thereby conserving much of the humor often lost in translation.

¹⁸ See John Jay Allen, who opines that one must choose whether don Quixote is a hero or a fool.

¹⁹ See the 1620 Edward Blount edition of *Don Quixote* entitled *The History of Don Quixote. The first parte* (Cervantes, *The History*). Illustrations provided by an anonymous artist clearly render both don Quixote and Sancho Panza as English gentlemen. The Cervantes Project opines that don Quixote looks like Shakespeare and Sancho Panza looks like Henry VIII (“The History”).

²⁰ Reinterpretations of Don Quixote center on maintaining recognizable characters from the novel while re-accentuations attribute quixotic imagery, iconography, or other notions identifiable with the novel—such as multiple levels of narration—through the creation of new characters. See Gyulamiryan (11-12). See also Burningham for studies regarding *Don Quixote* reinterpreted in cultural production.

²¹ Of note is the 1781 John Bowle Spanish-language edition printed in England.

²² See also Bayliss. For relatively recent online periodical promotion of U.S. tourism and Don Quixote’s Route, see James Ruggia, “Celebrating Don Quixote.”

²³ Samet Çevik supports Lewis’s claim of such a dark side: “Literary tourism is closely related to many types of tourism including culture. For instance, visiting the graves of authors is also considered within literary tourism. It indicates that literary tourism is closely related to dark tourism” (3).

²⁴ In addition to the inclusion of the map, the RAE and Ibarra edition was unique in that it united Spanish Neoclassical artists to illustrate the edition. I say “attempted” because many of these artists simply copied existing imagery previously produced in the Netherlands and Belgium. However, the fact that the artists assembled were Spanish was significant to the edition’s material history (Schmidt 149-50).

²⁵ See mid twentieth-century English scholar D. B. Wyndham Lewis, who states: “Few spectacles are more bemusing to the tourist, as his cries of surprise and indignation illustrate, than the dignity of the Spanish beggar, today much reduced in numbers but as ever God’s envoy” (34).

²⁶ “The progress and trendiness of the area, which has managed to leave behind the miseries of the past thanks to tourism, are part of the inevitable marketing and political message so favored by the Ministry of Information and Tourism” (González 93, my translation).

²⁷ The film essentially downplays Spanishness and Spanish history to produce a feel-good portrayal of poor locals in La Mancha who depend on the kindness of strangers in search of Don Quixote’s Route. Other films of interest within this thematic referent, which represent future investigations, include Orson Welles’s *Don Quixote* (1992) and Terry Gilliam’s *The Man who Killed Don Quixote* (2018).

²⁸ Unless otherwise clarified, all references to Rocío refer to the character, not the actress Rocío Dúrcal. For popular cultural references and details regarding both Dúrcal's and Lucia's careers, see Adrian Vogel.

²⁹ At the beginning of the Baroque Period when Cervantes wrote *Don Quixote*, concepts of chivalry and knights errant were considered passé. Reading chivalric novels from a century before represented the reason don Quixote went mad and this was funny to contemporary readers. They also represented the reason he began his sallies to right the wrongs of society as he perceived them in madness. This type of Medieval thinking is what appealed to the English readers and is what contributed to the novel's exotic appeal. For the English reception of humor in *Don Quixote*, see Ronald Paulson.

Works Cited

- Allen, John Jay. *Don Quixote: Hero or Fool? A Study in Narrative Technique*. Gainesville: U of Florida P, 1969.
- Allen, Paul C. *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598–1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy*. Yale UP, 2007.
- Arnoldsson, Sverker. *Los orígenes de la Leyenda Negra española*. Trans. Mateo Pastor López and Birgitta Falk. Seville: El Paseo Editorial, 2018.
- Arredondo, Christopher Britt. *Quixotism: The Imaginative Denial of Spain's Loss of Empire*. State U of New York P, 2005.
- Auerbach, Erich. "The Enchanted Dulcinea." *Mimesis*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1959: 334-58.
- Azorín (José Martínez Ruiz). *La ruta de don Quijote*. 1905. Ed. José Ferrándiz Lozano. Illus. Joan Ramón Castejón. Alicante: Instituto Alicantino de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 2017.
- Bayliss, Robert. "What *Don Quixote* Means (Today)." *Comparative Literature Studies* 43.4, (2006): 382-97.
- Besas, Peter. *Behind the Spanish Lens. Spanish Cinema under Fascism and Democracy*. Denver: Arden Press, 1985.
- Burningham, Bruce R. *Tilting Cervantes: Baroque Reflections on Postmodern Culture*. Vanderbilt UP, 2008.
- Caamaño Alegre, Beatriz. "La vida sonríe a quien le sonríe": Cristina Guzmán como modelo de feminidad falangista." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 85.4 (2008): 421-44.
- Canivell Arzú, María Odette. *Literary Narratives and The Cultural Imagination. King Arthur and Don Quixote as National Heroes*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2019.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*. Trans. Edith Grossman. New York: HarperCollins, 2003.
- . *The History of Don Quichote: The First Parte*. Trans. Thomas Shelton. Ed. Edward Blount. London: Ed. Blount, 1620. *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*. Accessed 15 Mar. 2022. <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000192044&page=1>.
- Çevik, Samet. "Literary Tourism as a Field of Research over the Period 1997-2016." *European Journal of Tourism Research* 24.2407 (2020). Accessed 7 Jun. 2020.

- Close, Anthony. *A Companion to Don Quixote*. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008.
- Cota Torres, Edgar. *La representación de la leyenda negra en la frontera norte de México: ensayo*. Phoenix, AZ: Editorial Orbis P, 2007.
- Cristina Guzmán. Dir. Cesar Amadori. Suevia Films, 1968. DVD 2001.
- DeGuzmán, María. *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*. U of Minnesota P, 2005.
- Del Valle, José and Luis Gabriel-Stheeman. "Nationalism, *Hispanismo*, and Monoglossic Culture." *The Battle of Spanish between 1800 and 2000. Language Ideologies and Hispanic Intellectuals*. Ed. José del Valle and Luis Gabriel-Stheeman. London: Routledge, 2002. 1-13.
- D'Lugo, Marvin. *Guide to the Cinema of Spain*. Westport: Greenwood P, 1997.
- "Don Quixote Slept Here." *Newsweek*. 27 Feb. 2005.
<https://www.newsweek.com/don-quixote-slept-here-122233>.
 Accessed 28 May 2021.
- Evans, Peter W. "Marisol: The Spanish Cinderella." *Spanish Popular Cinema*. Ed. Antonio Lázaro-Reboll and Andrew Willis. Manchester UP, 2004. 129-41.
- Fernández, James D. "Longfellow's Law: The Place of Latin America and Spain in U.S. Hispanism, circa 1915." *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*. Ed. Richard L. Kagan. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2002. 122-41.
- Fuchs, Barbara. *The Poetics of Piracy. Emulating Spain in English Literature*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2013.
- Gibson, Charles, ed. *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971.
- González, Luis M. "Cervantes en el cortometraje español. Por la ruta del documental español." *Cervantes en imágenes. donde se cuenta cómo el cine y la televisión evocaron su vida y su obra (edición ampliada)*. Coord. Emilio de la Rosa, et al. Madrid: Festival de Cine de Alcalá de Henares, 2005. 83-96.
- Greer, Margaret R., Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds. *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*. Chicago, IL: U of Chicago P, 2007.
- Gubern, Román. "Teoría y práctica del star-system infantil." *Archivos de la Filmoteca* 38 (June 2001): 8-16.
- Gyulamiryan, Tatevik. "On Re-accentuation, Adaptation, and Imitation of Don Quixote." *Don Quixote: The Re-accentuation of the World's Greatest*

- Literary Hero*. Ed. Slav N. Gratchev and Howard Mancing. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2017. 11-22.
- Heap, Chad. *Slumming. Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885–1940*. Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 2009.
- Helman, Edith. “Early Interest in Spanish in New England (1815-1835).” *Hispania* 29.3 (April 1946): 339-51.
- “The History of Don Quichote. The First Parte.” Book illustration. Unknown illustrator. Burin engraving. Image: 1620-London-Blount-Addenda-01-001-t. *Cervantes Project*. Accessed 15 Mar. 2022. <http://cervantes.dh.tamu.edu/dqiDisplayInterface/displayMidImage.jsp?edition=1&image=1620-London-Blount-Addenda-01-001-t.jpg>.
- Holcombe, William Daniel. “Mexico City. Queer Slumming.” *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Urban Literary Studies*. Ed. Jeremy Tambling. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.
- . “Lo queer de Carlos Monsiváis: *slumming* en el ambiente.” *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 33.2 (Summer 2017): 272-95. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1525/msem.2017.33.2.272>.
- Jaccaci, Augusto Floriano. *On the Trail of Don Quixote. Being a Record of Rambles in the Ancient Province of La Mancha*. Illus. Daniel Vierge. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1896.
- Juderías, Julián. *La leyenda negra: estudios acerca del concepto de España en el extranjero*. 1914. 15th ed. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1967.
- Kagan, Richard L. “Prescott’s Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain.” *The American Historical Review* 101.2 (April 1996): 423-46.
- , ed. *Spain in America. The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2002.
- Knowles, Jr., Edwin B. “*Don Quixote* through English Eyes.” *Hispania* 23.2 (May 1940): 103-15.
- Koven, Seth. *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London*. Princeton UP, 2004.
- Kowalsky, Daniel. “Rated S: Softcore Pornography and the Spanish Transition to Democracy, 1977-82.” *Spanish Popular Cinema*. Ed. Antonio Lázaro-Reboll and Andrew Willis. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004. 188-208.

- Lázaro-Reboll, Antonio and Andrew Willis. "Introduction: Film Studies, Spanish Cinema and Questions of the Popular." *Spanish Popular Cinema*. Ed. Antonio Lázaro-Reboll and Andrew Willis. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004. 1-23.
- Levin, Michael J. "Historiography and European Perceptions of Spain." *A Companion to the Spanish Renaissance*. Ed. Hilaire Kallendorf. Boston: Brill, 2019. 531-48.
- Lewis, Elizabeth Franklin. "Mapping Don Quixote's Route: Spanish Cartography, English Travelers and National Pride." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 46 (2017): 35-48.
- Maltby, William S. *The Black Legend in England. The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment 1558-1660*. Durham: Duke UP, 1971.
- "Map of Don Quixote's Route." Book illustration. Tomás López. Burin engraving. *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*. Accessed 15 Mar. 2022. <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000022742&page=1>.
- Martín Gaité, Carmen. *Usos amorosos de la postguerra española*. Anagrama, 1994.
- Martínez Tórtula, Esther. *La enseñanza de la historia en el primer bachillerato franquista (1938-1953)*. Madrid: Editorial Tecnos, 1996.
- Muñoz, Victoria M. *Spanish Romance in the Battle for Global Supremacy. Tudor and Stuart Black Legends*. London and New York: Anthem Press, 2021.
- Neillands, Rob. "Don Quixote's Kingdom—Eccentricity and a Windmill Shortage in Cervantes Country." *The Times* (London) (March 12, 1988): 15.
- Ochoa, Debra J. "Critiques of the *novela rosa*: Martín Gaité, Almodóvar, and Extebarría." *Letras femeninas* 32.1 (2006): 189-203.
- Ormsby, John. "Introduction." In Miguel de Cervantes *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*. Trans. John Ormsby. Illus. Enric C. Ricart. Barcelona: Limited Editions Club by Oliva de Vilanova, 1933. 1-6.
- Paulson, Ronald. *Don Quixote in England: The Aesthetics of Laughter*. The Johns Hopkins UP, 1998.
- Powell, Philip Wayne. *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World*. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2008.
- Richards, Michael. "Constructing the Nationalist State: Self-Sufficiency and Regeneration in the Early Franco Years." *Nationalism and Nation in the*

- Iberian Peninsula. Competing and Conflicting Identities*. Ed. Clare Marmolinero and Ángel Smith. Oxford: Berg, 1996. 149–67.
- Rocío de la Mancha*. Dir. Luis Lucia. Época Films, 1963.
- Romera-Navarro, Miguel. *El hispanismo en Norte América: exposición y crítica de su aspecto literario*. Madrid: Renacimiento, 1917.
- Ruggia, James. “Celebrating Don Quixote.” *Travel Agent* (January 31, 2005). Accessed 6 Jun. 2020.
- Russell, Peter E. “‘Don Quixote’ as a Funny Book.” *The Modern Language Review* 64.2 (1969): 312–26.
- Ruiz Scarfuto, R. “Literary Routes: Contributions to Natural/Cultural Heritage Tourism. How Landscape Transforms Literature and Tourism.” *AlmaTourism. Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development* 8 (2013). <https://almatourism.unibo.it/article/view/4016>. Accessed 7 Jun. 2021.
- Sánchez Jiménez, Antonio. *Leyenda Negra: la batalla sobre la imagen de España en tiempos de Lope de Vega*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2016.
- Schmidt, Rachel. *Critical Images: The Canonization of Don Quixote through Illustrated Editions of the Eighteenth Century*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1999.
- “Slum.” *The Merriam Webster Dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/slum>. Accessed 5 Jun. 2021.
- Smith, Eliza Jane. *Literary Slumming. Slang and Class in Nineteenth-Century France*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2021.
- Stone, Rob. *Spanish Cinema*. London: Longman, 2002.
- Unamuno, Miguel de. *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*. 1905. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1938.
- Vogel, Adrian. *Bikinis, fútbol y rock & roll. Crónica pop bajo el Franquismo sociológico (1950-1977)*. Madrid: Akal, 2017.
- Wheeler, Duncan. “Cervantes on Screen.” *The Oxford Handbook of Cervantes*. Ed. Aaron M. Kahn. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2021. 600–24.
- Wyndham Lewis, D. B. *The Shadow of Cervantes*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962.

Barroco, amistad y metonimia en “El Licenciado Vidriera”

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle
Arizona State University, Tempe



Figura 1. Bernardo Pérez de Vargas, *Aquí comienza la segunda parte de la Fabrica del vniuerso, llamada Reportorio perpetuo en que se tratan ... materias de astrologia ...* Toledo, Juan de Ayala 1563. (1560, 22 de noviembre). fº 88 vº.
Biblioteca Complutense, Madrid

“el método crea el objeto”

Tzvetan Todorov,
Qu'est-ce que le structuralisme, p. 22.

Este ensayo tiene interés en insertar “El Licenciado Vidriera” en el entorno de los actuales estudios del barroco, por medio de una elipsis del discurso de la amistad. Se comparte la opinión de que no hay una representación de la amistad válida en la *novella*; y se propone, de manera complementaria, que hay una elipsis del discurso de la amistad, para pasar a profundizar en los significados de esa elipsis. En “El licenciado Vidriera,” las menciones al universo conceptual de la amistad son escasas, además de no conformarse con los ideales ciceronianos de la *vera amicitia* dentro de la pareja de amigos. Esta escasez crítica se ve confirmada en los trabajos de Idoia Puig,¹ Juan Ramón Muñoz Sánchez,² Julia D’Onofrio, María Caterina Ruta,³ entre otros, quienes han estudiado el tema de la amistad en “El Licenciado Vidriera” de pasada—un párrafo en algunos casos—o incluso han negado que exista; no obstante, han hecho contribuciones importantes sobre las que se va a interpretar el discurso de la *amicitia* en “El Licenciado Vidriera” por medio del análisis conjunto de la iconografía de la amistad⁴ y de las figuras de la metáfora y la metonimia en la teoría de la época.⁵ Con tal fin, el ensayo está dividido en tres partes. En la primera, se revisa la literatura crítica existente sobre “El licenciado Vidriera” y el barroco, y las conexiones de “El Licenciado Vidriera” con este específico discurso de la *amicitia* por medio de una figura retórica, la metonimia. En la segunda parte, se analiza la elipsis de la retórica de la amistad en conexión con esta novela y la iconografía de la *amicitia*. Se clausura el artículo con una reflexión sobre los significados dentro de la literatura barroca de la transformación metonímica del corazón transparente del licenciado en la totalidad de su cuerpo acristalado.

Como es bien sabido, en la época, la multifacética *amicitia* como concepto de estabilidad social se destila en la ficción conocida bajo el nombre de “el cuento de los dos amigos.” Conforme a los trabajos de Louis Sorieri, Juan Bautista de Avalle-Arce, y Juan Pablo Gil-Osle, “El Licenciado Vidriera” ni se aproxima a los contenidos habituales de un cuento de los dos amigos en España. Sin embargo, una lectura atenta de esta novela cervantina muestra que en la locura de Rodaja existe una constante referencia a la

transparencia y la apertura, las cuales son necesarias en la verdadera amistad.⁶ Por eso en la segunda parte, se analiza la elipsis de la retórica de la amistad en conexión con esta novela y la iconografía de la *amicitia*. El objetivo es mostrar por medio de la alegoría del hombre vidriera o acristalado,⁷ que hay una constante referencia a la iconografía de la *vera amicitia*, de la cual existen numerosas imágenes en la época.⁸ Como ejemplos de esta iconografía en Iberia, tenemos la del “Hombre astral” en *Aquí comienza la segunda parte de la fábrica del universo* (1563) de Bernardo Pérez de Vargas (figura 1); y de la “Amicitia Vera” en la esalera de la Universidad de Salamanca (h. 1512) (figura 2), las cuales son también motivo de análisis en la segunda parte del ensayo.⁹ Como se puede ver en el detalle incluido entre las piernas del hombre astral de Pérez Vargas, la iconografía de la *amicitia* contiene un/una joven con el pecho abierto dejando ver su corazón, y unas banderolas con pares opuestos de palabras—como verano/invierno, en vida/en muerte, cerca/lejos en latín o vernáculo—. El conjunto indica la fidelidad en el tiempo y el espacio a pesar de los futuribles vaivenes de fortuna. En el caso del licenciado Rodaja, concluyo, en la última parte de este ensayo, que su corazón transparente, en una transformación metonímica llega a ser todo un cuerpo, el del Licenciado Vidriera.

Empezando por la abundantísima crítica de “El Licenciado Vidriera,” resalta el interés de los críticos por estudiar las fuentes en las literaturas clásicas y renacentistas de la trama, de la locura, la función de los dichos; también ha recibido mucha atención la cuestión de la unidad respecto a las partes. Sin embargo, la mención a la estética fundamental del siglo XVII es muy reducida. De hecho, uno de los mejores estudios de la novela, el de Alban K. Forcione en 1982 indica que, aunque Vidriera tiene muchas afinidades con personajes desengañados del Barroco:

it would be a mistake to see him as one of their progenitors. Indeed in this glass “*desengañado*,” Cervantes is addressing himself to certain principles, attitudes, methods, and characteristics of the contemporary celebrants of “*desengaño*” which could not fail to be repugnant to his sensibilities, penetrated as they were by the optimistic spirit of Erasmian Christianity. (Forcione, “*El Licenciado*” 295)

Los contemporáneos cultivadores del desengaño, para Forcione, tenían principios que incluían la devastadora lista de “spiritual pride, inhumanity, hyperintellectuality, destructive wit, a morbid preoccupation with degeneration and decay” (Forcione, “El Licenciado” 295). Según Forcione, esto repugnaba el erasmismo cristiano de Miguel de Cervantes. Tras Forcione, otros críticos han seguido la vena erasmista-cristiana, como Sampayo Rodríguez, Roberto Ruiz, Paul Lewis-Smith. A pesar de esta desoladora visión de Forcione respecto a uno de los períodos más productivos del arte ibérico, en 1995, algunos críticos publicaron visiones que parecieran encajar con las teorías modernas sobre el Barroco, por ejemplo, Michael Gerli y María Antonia Garcés.

En 1995, E. Michael Gerli hace una recensión crítica sobre las fuentes y modelos de “El Licenciado Vidriera” en la que llega a las mismas conclusiones que Edward Friedman: los dos grandes tópicos de la crítica son las fuentes del licenciado, y la cuestión de la unidad (Gerli, “The Dialectics” 10-11). Pero lo más destacable del capítulo de Gerli para este ensayo llega cuando considera que el ‘realmente atractivo aspecto de la crítica’ es todos los críticos habían fallado a la hora de estudiar la filiación de “El Licenciado Vidriera” “con otras narrativas contemporáneas en España;” por esa razón publicó su estudio sobre la relación con la novela picaresca de los siglos XVI y XVII (Gerli, “The Dialectics” 11).¹⁰ Al centrarse en la comparación entre picaresca y “El Licenciado Vidriera,” es inevitable la cuestión de su relación tanto con el resurgir de la picaresca, como con la génesis del Barroco en la literatura castellana. Como indica Enrique García Santo-Tomás, en *The Oxford Handbook of the Baroque*, la literatura barroca de las tradiciones hispánicas encuentra un punto fundamental de referencia en la primera parte del *Guzmán de Alfarache* (495-96).

También en 1995, María Antonia Garcés, al incluir las teorías psicoanalíticas de Lacán sobre la locura, dio un salto cualitativo en la transformación de la crítica sobre esta *novella*. Garcés discute la cuestión del nombre y la unidad desde las asociaciones del término “tajadura.” Entre estas conexiones abundan las referencias a los genitales, el agujero, y el vacío, simbolizados en el membrillo que la *femme fatale* de la novela da al protagonista (Garcés, “Delirio y obscenidad” 228-30). El membrillo refleja el “paradigma de fragilidad, el licenciado Vidriera.” La psicosis del licenciado solo se estabiliza cuando en su metáfora delirante, se convierte en vidrio, ya que la vidriera “lo protege del significante que simboliza la castración” (Garcés,

“Delirio y obscenidad” 231). La emasculación analizada por María Antonia Garcés nos lleva a la supresión de una parte que termina siendo el todo. Una metonimia.

La cuestión de la relación entre la parte y el todo—la metonimia—es un punto de contacto entre la crítica sobre “El Licenciado Vidriera” y las teorías del Barroco. Dos ejemplos serían los artículos de Servero Sarduy y Frederick A. de Armas.¹¹ El primero, hablando sobre las *Soledades* de Luis de Góngora, conecta la supresión que es la metonimia con la metáfora (Sarduy, “Suelo” 25). En el segundo, Frederick A. de Armas elabora sobre el valor metafórico de elipsis textuales en las descripciones urbanísticas de Roma en *Los trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda* (De Armas, *Cervantes’ Hermetic* 17-34). De mano del estudio de De Armas sobre la arquitectura Romana inexistente en *Persiles y Segismunda*, podemos referirnos a las teorías de Gilles Deleuze del Barroco como un “pliegue.” Esos dobleces vienen asociados al ejemplo de la casa barroca de dos pisos donde el alma se encuentra en la parte superior y lo mundanal en el cuerpo inferior del edificio. Ambos espacios se pliegan y repliegan constantemente, de forma que, entre pliegues, la presencia y la ausencia del ser es consustancial al Barroco; lo que Deleuze viene a llamar la duplicidad del pliegue (Deleuze, *Le pli* 42). Al igual que la presencia y la ausencia de ciertos edificios Romanos en *Persiles y Segismunda* indican unos pliegues que recuerdan a los desbordamientos e inserciones en los trampantojos como en la iglesia del Jesús en Roma. Por supuesto, otros intelectuales tienen diferentes puntos de vista; los pliegues de Gilles Deleuze y los trampantojos pictóricos y arquitectónicos no pueden satisfacer todos los resquicios de una cuestión como qué es el Barroco.¹²

El origen del término Barroco es un buen indicador de la complejidad del concepto del barroco. El concepto desde sus inicios contiene irregularidad e inestabilidad. El barroco se consideró como una violación de la lógica (M. de Montaigne), ridículo y excesivo (D. Diderot), poco claro, difícil (J. J. Rousseau), etc. Entre los intelectuales modernos, se han proferido muchas opiniones,¹³ Heinrich Wölfflin indicó que la conexión entre el individuo y la sociedad en el arte Barroco, como una relación de la parte al todo. Otros han tenido otras visiones del fenómeno Barroco: jesuítico (J. Burckhardt), grandiosidad formal, irregularidad, falta de naturalidad (H. Wölfflin), *acutus* y *acumen* en la literatura (E. Curtius),¹⁴ una sociedad y cultura dirigidas (J. A. Maravall), la edad del *trompe-l’oeil* (Rousset, M. Foucault), cultivo del desengaño (A. Forcione), hipérbole descriptiva (C. Johnson),¹⁵

curiosidad intelectual (E. García Santo-Tomás),¹⁶ explotación de la paradoja (M. Brownlee),¹⁷ entre otros muchos. Como se aprecia, varios destacados críticos y teóricos del Barroco hablan de elipsis, paradoja, hipérbole, agudeza como característica fundamental de la literatura Barroca. Todos estos conceptos son consustanciales con la narrativa de Rojada.

La crítica de “El Licenciado Vidriera” también ha trillado algunos de estos caminos. Numerosos académicos estudian el valor metafórico del licenciado, como son García Lorca, Zimic y Rosales.¹⁸ Otros críticos han mostrado la importancia de la estructura del cuento, donde una cuestión fundamental es cómo se subordinan las partes al todo, lo cual es un tema fundamental para el estudio de la estética Barroca (Deleuze, *Le Pli* 39).

Ya para terminar esta revisión de la crítica, falta añadir que el presente análisis de “El Licenciado Vidriera” (1613) no comparte mucho con los modelos vivos de la crítica decimonónica,¹⁹ ni con el modelo social que quiso ver la Generación del 98,²⁰ tampoco abunda en la etiología de la enfermedad del personaje;²¹ más bien se interesa en insertar “El Licenciado Vidriera” en el entorno de los actuales estudios del barroco, por medio de una elipsis del discurso de la amistad. Pero reconoce que numerosa crítica sobre la metáfora y paradoja del Licenciado Vidriera cohabita con el estudio de este como una metonimia. Las ausencias arquitectónicas, biográficas, etc. que tanto llaman la atención de los críticos son una elipsis narrativa. Finalmente, también reconoce que la preocupación crítica por la aparente desestructurada disposición de la *novella* es un fenómeno Barroco. En cierta forma, muchas de las discusiones académicas sobre la fragmentación y unidad de esta *novella*, y por tanto de su valor o falta de valor, se originan en una cuestión metodológica. Como diría Tzvetan Todorov, el método crea el objeto (Todorov, *Qu'est-ce que* 22).

En esta segunda parte, se vuelve ya al tema de la *amicitia* en “El Licenciado Vidriera.” En apariencia, las menciones a la amistad se reducen, por ejemplo, a que Rodaja y el reclutador Diego de Valdivia se hacen “camaradas” de camino y armas, a través de una dinámica muy similar a la de Rincón y Cortado.²² Sus caminos se cruzan y deciden sellar un pacto de amistad.²³ Esta relación no es una mera coincidencia de camineros, ya que en sus despedidas hay un “pesar grandísimo” y en los reencuentros buenas

recepciones de “su amigo” (275). Al final de la novela, cuando Rodaja emigra a Flandes como soldado, se vuelve a recordar la existencia de esta amistad con don Diego de Valdivia, bajo cuya bandera lucha, gana fama y fallece, clausurando así la narración.²⁴

Además de la casual, caminera y soldadesca relación con Valdivia, Rodaja tiene otras relaciones cercanas a la amistad no menos instrumentales. Según la descripción de sus tribulaciones, en España, cuando comienza la obra, no tiene ni amistades, ni mecenas, ni familia, que le financien sus estudios en la Universidad de Salamanca. Es un niño de once años que busca un protector al que servir a cambio de estudios. Dos jóvenes caballeros estudiantes lo toman como criado por su buena disposición y porque sabe leer y escribir. Les sirve fiel y diligentemente durante ocho años. Como agradecimiento de su buen servicio, estos caballeros le hacen la merced de hacerlo su ‘compañero.’²⁵ Y terminan financiándole su carrera con dinero suficiente para tres años en Salamanca.²⁶ Esta sería la relación de cliente-mecenas más obvia en “El Licenciado Vidriera.” El aludido espíritu de compañerismo camufla la distancia que los separa. De esta forma se eleva al licenciado Rodaja al nivel de sus amos y benefactores, en una clara dinámica de allanamiento de diferencias estamentales por medio de la retórica del servicio, del mecenazgo, y de la *amicitia* tan caras entre los príncipes y su *participes curarum*, sus privados.²⁷ Sin embargo, en la historia de Rodaja estos caballeros no vuelven a aparecer ni tienen siquiera un nombre. Se trata de una relación entre desiguales sujeta a unas contraprestaciones obligatorias. Una vez roto el vínculo, las constantes reafirmaciones, o contraprestaciones, de la cadena de mecenazgo no tienen sentido. Rodaja ya no priva más con sus señores del período salamantino.

Tras separarse de sus amos estudiantes, Rodaja planea retornar a Salamanca, pero en el camino hace un nuevo amigo, el capitán Valdivia, y con él pasa a Italia. Más tarde, cuando decide reincorporarse a sus estudios en Salamanca, aparece la mayor referencia a la *amicitia vera*, pero surgirá acompañada de una combinación de causas y consecuencias, donde la lujuria, el despecho y el silenciamiento ocupan gran parte de la narración.

Para los estudiantes de Salamanca, lujuria y amistad eran don conceptos opuestos, como indicaban las normativas de la universidad.²⁸ En los comienzos del humanismo castellano, un lujurioso, como Calisto en *La Celestina*, acaba manipulado y defenestrado; mientras que el verdadero amigo tiene una ventana en el pecho para su amigo, como Federico y Urbino en *El*

patrañuelo. Rojada no parece estar dominado por impulsos lujuriosos, a no ser que se quiera interpretar el membrillo envenenado que le causa la locura un símbolo de actividades sexuales (Garcés, “Delirio” 228-31; Molho “Una dama”).²⁹ De hecho, también se ha dicho que el membrillo tiene varias ocurrencias en la obra de Cervantes, y que es un fruto asociado al deseo, el matrimonio, y la reproducción, al igual que la manzana (Gómez Canseco, “Los membrillos”).³⁰ Esta visión del membrillo como símbolo de la lujuria contrasta con las normativas del Universidad de Salamanca, y con el programa alegórico de la escalera de la universidad (Pereda, *La arquitectura* 122-23).

El licenciado estudia en la Universidad de Salamanca, donde se encuentra una de las representaciones visuales de la *vera amicitia* en España. Como indica F. Pereda, la escalera de la universidad es una suma de:

una serie de advertencias contra los peligros de la carne y la concupiscencia dentro de un tono humorístico propio de la cultura estudiantil (...) sólo los universitarios, profesores y alumnos hacen uso de la escalera y ésta comunica las aulas situadas en el piso inferior del patio con la biblioteca que se localiza en el piso superior. Los Estatutos de la universidad son la fuente más fiable sobre la que podemos empezar a enhebrar la interpretación. La única vez que se menciona a las mujeres –uno de los temas primordiales de los relieves de la escalera– es para prohibir taxativamente que alumnos o maestros de la universidad pudieran tener concubina en casa propia o ajena, ni siquiera vivir en casa donde hubiere otra mujer bajo pena de excomunión. (Pereda, *La arquitectura* 122-23)

Siendo esto así y teniendo en cuenta que Rodaja, como todos los estudiantes de la Universidad de Salamanca, habría pasado numerosas veces junto a estas alegorías, una de las cuales es la *vera amicitia* dentro de todo un programa iconográfico humanista.³¹ Esta alegoría se basa en el modelo ciceroniano de amistad entre Escipión y Laelio en *De amicitia* y las interpretaciones que hizo Fulgencius en la Edad Media. Según Cicerón, la amistad verdadera se fundamenta en buena fe sin fallas, lealtad hasta la muerte, altruismo incondicional, y todo ello se resume en virtud inmaculada.³²

Pero esta imagen de la *vera amicitia*, como guía para el estudiante hacia un grado superior de conocimiento, se opone a las imágenes de la lujuria.

Esta oposición surge tanto en “El Licenciado Vidriera” como en el programa iconográfico de la escalera de la Universidad de Salamanca: “la polaridad ... se establece, por tanto, en la escalera entre dos conceptos: pasión erótica *versus* amistad.”³³ La oposición escolástica entre amor (sensible) y *amicitia* (racional), y su presencia en el diseño de la escalera universitaria, así como en la vida académica, tenía que ser bien conocida por los lectores cultos de la época, gracias a lecturas serias, a los contenidos de las normativas de la universidad y a sátiras estudiantiles. Nuestro licenciado, por otro lado, para subir al aulario tenía que pasar innumerables veces junto a estas imágenes: las referencias a los peligros de la lujuria para los estudiantes y sus conexiones con la misoginia que se extienden por la escalera de la universidad.³⁴

En cuanto a la amistad, tal y como aparece en las imágenes que representan un ser humano con una ventana en el corazón, así parece ser el comportamiento del licenciado: tiene las ventanas y puertas de su alma abiertas (Flor, *Pasiones frías* 167). Pero en “El Licenciado Vidriera” no hay solamente un hombre que habla con el corazón abierto, sino una realidad totalizadora: un conjunto acristalado. La metáfora de la amistad—pecho transparente, abierto a la vista—sufre el ‘traslado’ de otro tropo, la metonimia. Francisco Cascales, en 1614, consideraba en sus *Tablas poéticas* que ambos tropos, la metonimia y la metáfora, son “palabras trasladadas” (García Berrio, *Introducción* 236-37). El metafórico pecho abierto del buen amigo sufre el ‘traslado’ metonímico: un hipotético hombre de cristal por un corazón transparente. En términos del teórico Francisco Cascales, este traslado se correspondería con el primer tipo de metonimia que el describe: “La Metonymia se hace de cuatro maneras. La primera, quando el nombre de la cosa se transfere al efecto” (García Berrio, *Introducción* 236). En nuestro caso, como ya se ha dicho, el vidrio del corazón transparente se transfere al conjunto del cuerpo del licenciado. En este tipo de metonimia se inscribe una referencia al discurso de la *amicitia*, en tanto que parte, y a la enfermedad del licenciado Rodaja, el todo.³⁵ Esta es la mayor mención que se hace en esta novela de la retórica de la *amicitia*. Una mención desencantada, inscrita en una metáfora de transparencia en una sociedad de ocultamientos barrocos.



Figura 2. Imagen identificada como *Amicitia Vera*.

Felipe Pereda, *La arquitectura elocuente:*

El edificio de la Universidad de Salamanca bajo el reinado de Carlos V.

Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000. 118-19, 123-26.

Se trata de una *argumentatio a contrariis*, ya que los valores de la *amicitia* en sí se encuentran silenciados y, por tanto, cuestionados. El constante silenciamiento de la retórica de la amistad forma parte de la novela en cuanto que es un discurso crítico basado en la imperiosa necesidad de no ser transparente en la sociedad barroca.³⁶ Hay un cierto sinsabor en la representación de la sociedad y de las relaciones humanas. Un desengaño. Gran parte de esta historia de locura vítrea rezuma insatisfacción y frustración, las cuales se destilan en una más de las muchas reprobaciones de Cervantes al clientelismo, cuya cabeza eran la corona y la corte real:

¡Oh corte, que alargas las esperanzas de los atrevidos pretendientes, y acortas las de los virtuosos escogidos! ¡Sustentas abundantemente a los truhanes desvergonzados, y matas de hambre a los discretos vergonzosos!³⁷.

Si la virtud en la amistad garantiza la armonía y la justicia sociales, según Aristóteles, Cicerón y los filósofos del Renacimiento; una comunidad de truhanes y estafadores no es más que la consecuencia de la falta de virtud. Las constelaciones de tramposos y embaucadores del universo cortesano conforman una imagen de la quimera pública que predica lo opuesto a la transparencia simbolizada en la amistad perfecta. Pero la vida de Rodaja no solo está conectada con la alegoría de la *vera amicitia* por un tropo—Cascales define tropo como “una translación de la cosa propia a la agena con alguna virtud y semejanza” (García Berrio 236)—y un silenciamiento de la retórica de la amistad.

Mientras que la *amicitia* no se menciona en “El Licenciado Vidriera,” la lujuria sí. Precisamente es el desbocado despecho y el no correspondido deseo de una mujer de “todo rumbo y manejo” el que le lleva a la locura. Un bocado de membrillo envenenado arrastra a este virtuoso estudiante al más inoportuno de los enajenamientos.³⁸ En plena decadencia barroca, Rodaja se convierte en un ser absolutamente sincero. Hasta el punto de que se le consideraba en las calles como una de esas maravillas, rarezas y monstruosidades que tanto gustaban en la época, a la altura de la mujer barbuda, la monja alférez, el hombre embarazado, etc.

En su mundo de subjetividades, Vidriera se cree compuesto de una pieza de cristal. Se siente como un hombre de vidrio, a través del cual se pueden ver su corazón y sus pensamientos. Como consecuencia, queda preso

de la desconfianza y de un miedo cerval a la fractura de su vidrio, distanciándose por estas razones del contacto físico con el resto de sus congéneres. Transparencia en la lejanía, fragilidad en el intercambio y soledad pública son lo que este hombre vítreo alcanza a reflejar de los ideales transmutados de la *amicitia*. Como indica De la Flor, las alegorías del hombre amigo, fenestrado, transparente y de fiar ya pertenecían al pasado (Flor 24-25). De hecho, en la primera mitad siglo XVII, los horrores de “El curioso impertinente” en *Don Quijote* (1605), precedidos por las reflexiones sobre la amistad en la segunda parte del *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1604), junto con las nostalgias sobre la amistad en *El crítico* (1651-1653-1657) enmarcan como un alfa y omega el desencantado discurso de la amistad en la literatura castellana.³⁹ Las exaltadas imágenes de la amistad durante el humanismo que habían abogado por la dignidad del hombre cedieron su lugar al modelo del hombre disimulado, precavido, empuñecido.

En esta última parte, a modo de conclusión, quisiera retomar la idea de la metáfora de la transparencia del licenciado vidriera, para analizarla desde el punto de vista de las teorías literarias del Barroco. Lo que llamé antes la metonimia entre la transparencia de la *amicitia* y la enfermedad de Rodaja es una relación de la parte al todo, y viceversa si se quiere. En las *Tablas poéticas* (1614) de Francisco Cascales,⁴⁰ la metonimia, ironía y metáfora comparten el mismo apartado dedicado a los “Tropos”—Texto V, 6 en la tabla quinta de la primera parte—(236-39). Para Cascales, la metáfora “es traslación de una cosa semejante a otra. Este Tropo es tan copioso, que se estiende a todas las cosas naturales” (García Berrio 237). Sin embargo, Cascales en sus *Tablas* no coloca la metáfora a la cabeza de todos los otros tropos. Para Emanuele Tesauro, en cambio, la metáfora si que abarca a las metonimias y las sinédoques. La metáfora era como un general a la cabeza de un ejército de recursos retóricos. Desde este punto de vista, la relación metonímica del corazón de Rodaja con su cuerpo acristalado es una metáfora de transparencia en una sociedad de ocultamientos barrocos. En cierta forma es un juego barroco basado en conceptos renacentistas, al igual que la mayor parte de la obra de Cervantes. La propia teoría literaria en el barroco lo confirma. Las analogías renacentistas transformadas a través de la

epistemología barroca, basada en las diferencias, no quedaron más que en un juego de *argutezza*, o sutilidad ingeniosa (Hersant 11).⁴¹

Según Tesauro, de estos juegos de ingenio, la metáfora, en su sentido más amplio, sería la más inclusiva y la más próxima a la locura. En *Il cannochiale aristotelico*, nos informa de las variadas formas, al menos cinco, que existen para sutilizar el ingenio.⁴² Uno, por ejemplo, es la *imitatio*; otro, la inspiración de las musas, e incluso el ánimo despertado por las bebidas espirituosas, pero con medida. Afirma Tesauro que el medio más importante es el trabajo dedicado a desarrollar la *argutezza*. Pero, advierte que no se debe desdeñar que la locura, el medio más afín a nuestro licenciado Vidriera, también desarrolla la agudeza de espíritu.

De la locura y la inteligencia como medios para alcanzar un estado creativo ya había hablado Aristóteles en su *Poética*:

Y en la medida de lo posible, el poeta debe pulir su obra con actitudes. Pues a partir de la misma naturaleza, son más convincentes los que se implican en las pasiones, y encrespa más el ánimo el que está encrespado y con mayor veracidad provoca la cólera el que está irritado. De ahí que la poética es obra de personas inteligentes, o de exaltados; pues de éstos los unos son maleables y los otros se dejan llevar por la locura. (Aristóteles 1455a)

Y en el siglo XVII, Tesauro, en *Il cannochiale aristotelico*, llega a afirmar que “la locura no es más que metáfora, la cual toma una cosa por otra” (Hersant 94).⁴³ A la locura se inclinan sobre todo los poetas y los matemáticos, dice. Entre las grandes confusiones metafóricas creadas por los poetas y los matemáticos, Tesauro menciona algunas ya registradas por médicos griegos, como Galeno, y de la temprana modernidad como Tommaso Garzoni y Altomari. Los tres casos son realmente pertinentes para “El Licenciado Vidriera,” como el de quien se creía una olla de barro y evitaba que le tocaran por miedo a romperse; otro pensaba ser un tizón y pedía a todos que le soplaran; por último, aquel que se creía un grano de mostaza y se metió en un caldero de salsa para sazónarla (Hersant 96). Entre estas grandes confusiones de percepción, donde se toman cuerpos por cristales, ollas, tizones y granos se revela la gran fuerza de la metáfora para Tesauro en su teoría de la retórica, y para Cervantes en su novela “El Licenciado Vidriera.”

Pero la retórica barroca, y el uso de una metáfora omnipresente, creó la sensación para otros de que el lenguaje barroco, o conceptismo según otros, era un “galimatías.”⁴⁴ Por ejemplo, en la *Nouvelle allégorique* (1658), Antoine Furetière describe el ejército del Capitán Galimatías enfrentándose al poder de la Reina Retórica con figuras descartadas de su Reino de la Elocuencia como las comparaciones, las descripciones, las alegorías, las metáforas, las prosopopeyas, las hipérboles, etc. Galimatías con la ayuda de estas figuras despechadas forma un gran ejército que inflige confusión y desorden en todo tipo de géneros del Reino de la Elocuencia (Furetière 23 y ss.; Hersant 133-35).⁴⁵ Algunas de las ediciones de la *Nouvelle allégorique* cuentan con un mapa alegórico en el que se ve al ejército del capitán Galimatías atacando la ciudad llamada Academia que es la capital del Reino de la Elocuencia (Figura 3). La guerra entre la elocuencia y la pedantería no termina hasta que Aristóteles abandona el ejército de Galimatías y se suma a las fuerzas que defienden la ciudad Academia. Para algunos, este estado de confusión—este galimatías, según Furetière— forma parte del genero literario del *bellum grammaticale*, para otros es parte de la literatura satírica.⁴⁶ En el fondo es todo un debate sobre la elocuencia.

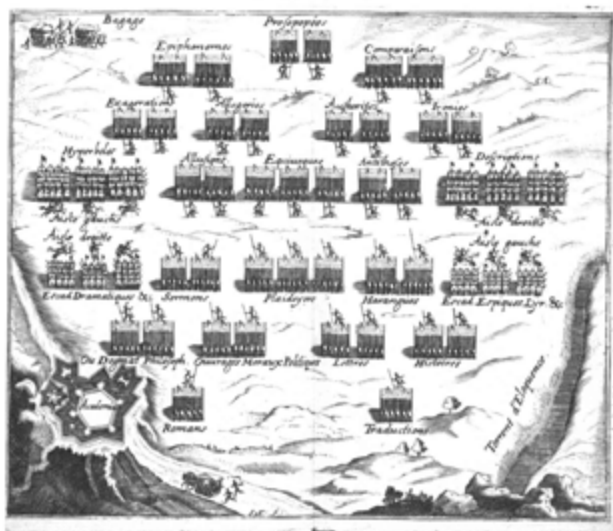


Figura 3. El ejército de Galimatías atacando la ciudad de Academia, Antoine Furetière⁴⁷

El licenciado Vidriera es de cristal y por tanto es transparente, a la vez que elocuente. Su sinceridad sin tintes ni compromisos—una elocuencia transparente—es lo que los detractores del galimatías de la estética barroca buscaban obtener en el uso de la lengua. Así, por ejemplo, Pierre Nicole en *La vraie beauté et son fantôme* expresa que el gusto por las metáforas refleja la debilidad de espíritu de sus consumidores que no son capaces de absorber la verdad en sus propios términos (Hersant 139).⁴⁸ Sin embargo, sinceridad y verdad es lo que sale de la boca del licenciado Vidriera mientras se encuentra cautivo dentro de la transformación metonímica de la metáfora de *amicitia*. Por medio de este procedimiento, en el Licenciado convergen los dos extremos de la obscuridad del exceso retórico y la claridad de su elocuente conversación, formando un texto ejemplificador de “concepto” o “agudeza” de quienes se alimenta el ingenio. Usando los términos de Baltasar Gracián, la convergencia de metáfora y elocuencia, de obscuridad y claridad es “una primorosa concordancia” que alimenta el Ingenio:

No se contenta el Ingenio con sola la verdad, como el juicio, sino que aspira a la hermosura.... Consiste, pues, este Artificio conceptuoso, en una primorosa concordancia, en una harmónica correlación entre dos, o tres cognoscibles extremos expresada, por un acto del entendimiento... De suerte que se puede definir el Concepto. Es un acto de entendimiento, que exprime la correspondencia, que se halla en los objetos. (Gracián 6-7)

Esta definición de Baltasar Gracián del concepto en el que se basa el Ingenio como la expresión de la correspondencia entre los objetos es aplicable a esa oscuridad y elocuencia que se articulan en los avatares del licenciado. La claridad de la expresión del licenciado Vidriera, junto con la metáfora de la locura de Rodaja, forman una combinación que apunta a los dos extremos del debate literario: la claridad expositiva y la metáfora evocativa.⁴⁹

Como si Miguel de Cervantes, una vez más se encontrará en medio de los debates literarios de la época, de estas guerras gramaticales—que incluso, las anticipara—expresa en “El Licenciado Vidriera” el concepto de una correspondencia entre extremos como la claridad y la metáfora. Esta vez con una intuición que todavía se encontraba por llegar entre los más renombrados teóricos del siglo XVII. Como indicaba Menéndez Pidal, en obras teóricas más tardías la cuestión de la oscuridad inútil frente la agudeza

culta y encomiable quedaría clarificada—*Discurso poético* de Jáuregui, *Cartas filológicas* de Cascales, *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* de Gracián—(Menéndez Pidal 221-32, García Berrio 277); pero en literatura esta compleja *novella* de Cervantes es una perfecta puesta en práctica de la profunda reflexión de Cervantes sobre los cambios estéticos en los que se encontraba inmersa la literatura castellana a principios del siglo XVII.

Notas

¹ Aunque Puig tiene interés en las relaciones humanas en “El Licenciado Vidriera” y trata de la amistad en parte de su artículo, llega a la conclusión de que no hay amistad en esta novela, y se queda en algunos comentarios sobre la camaradería y terminología (77, 78, 80). Puig termina su estudio con reflexiones sobre el autismo y las relaciones humanas aplicadas a Vidriera.

² Muñoz Sánchez desde el comienzo de su artículo sobre la amistad en las *Novelas ejemplares* deja “El Licenciado Vidriera” fuera del marco de su ensayo: “La amistad, como tema, está presente en buena parte de las *Ejemplares*; pues como dice Casaldueiro, “con la excepción de *El celoso extremeño*, en todas las *Novelas* nos encontramos una pareja de personajes”. Sin embargo, realmente el tema de «los dos amigos» aparece en siete de las doce novelas; a saber: en *La gitana* con la relación entre don Juan/Andrés y Sancho/Clemente; en *El amante liberal* la protagonizan Ricardo y Mahamut; en *Rinconete y Cortadillo* los personajes que dan nombre a la novela; en *La ilustre fregona* nos topamos con la amistad entre Carriazo y Avendaño; en *La señora Cornelia* con la de don Juan de Gamboa y don Antonio de Isunza; con unas características muy especiales nos encontramos la historia de «los dos amigos» en *El casamiento engañoso* y *El coloquio de los perros*” (143).

³ Ruta hace una reseña de las parejas de amigos en las *Novelas ejemplares*, e incluye el nombre “El Licenciado Vidriera,” pero no profundiza más en el tema: “Interrogándose sobre la existencia de un denominador común en la construcción de las novelas, los críticos han encontrado algunas respuestas. La ‘amistad,’ por ejemplo, resulta ser un componente de mucho relieve en casi todas las novelas, dominando de forma imprescindible el desarrollo dinámico de algunas de ellas. La idea de amistad que Cervantes parece adoptar está definida en el comienzo del episodio del *Curioso impertinente* del *Quijote* y parece establecerse normalmente entre miembros homogéneos por sexo y edad. Con los mismos requisitos, pero con función secundaria está presente en *La señora Cornelia* y *El Licenciado Vidriera*, mientras que los grupos de amigos desarrollan el papel de ayudantes en *La fuerza de la sangre* y *El celoso extremeño*. En la opinión de Roca Mussons esta relación, colocándose generalmente en la edad juvenil, representa el momento de mayor libertad del personaje que, franqueado el umbral de la hombría, después se va a someter otra vez a las reglas del orden social” (Ruta 47).

⁴ En la cuestión de la iconografía se construye sobre los trabajos de F. Saxl, Fernando de la Flor, F. Pereda y Julia D’Onofrio, entre otros.

⁵ Como ya es tradicional, numerosos críticos comienzan sus artículos con una reseña de lo que se había escrito con anterioridad a sus esfuerzos, dándonos una interesante historiografía crítica de “El Licenciado Vidriera.” Sobre las fuentes consúltese los trabajos de principios del siglo XX hecho por Francisco A. de Icaza

(*Las Novelas*), y George Hainsworth (“La source), y otros posteriores como Stanislav Zimic (“El filtro”), Alban K. Forcione (“*El Licenciado*”), Gill Speak (“*El licenciado*”), Shipley (“Cervantes’ Licenciado”), Schindler y Martín Jiménez (“El licenciado Avellaneda”), Lewis-Smith (“Literature and Sin”). En 1973, Gwynne Edwards nos refiere a la crítica de los modelos vivos en otros críticos; las concepciones de la sociedad de la época; y las evaluaciones más modernas desde el año 1958 hasta 1970, de Amezúa, Casaldueiro, Avallé-Arce, Otis Green, Casa (Edwards, “Cervantes’s” 559). En 1974, Edward Friedman indica las dos grandes polémicas; primera, las fuentes del personaje, segunda, el énfasis conceptual respecto a la estructura de la narración. Dice que los críticos han confundido el énfasis con la estructura, y Friedman propuso una perspectiva donde los dos aspectos se incluyesen (Friedman, “Conceptual Proportion” 51-52). En 1975, Stanislav Zimic presentó el uso del filtro de amor (el membrillo) en la novela griega Aquiles Tacio como el único precedente del membrillo en *El licenciado Vidriera*. En 1976, Riley, quien consideró al que nuestro licenciado es un modelo de “cínico melancólico” (191), revisó la crítica sobre los abundantes aforismos en la *novella* presentando al mismo tiempo la concesión entre Cervantes y los cínicos. Invoca los trabajos Armand Singer, y las críticas negativas de Bouterweck, Tieck, Menéndez Pelayo, Narciso Cortés, que consideraron esta obra como un florilegio, una “Floresta cervantina” (Riley, *Cervantes and the Cynics* 189). Alban K. Forcione nos ofreció en los principios de los años 80 un maravilloso estudio de las fuentes del erasmismo humanístico de este licenciado. Se hablará más de este estudio adelante, ya que Forcione específicamente desaconsejó caer en el error de ver nada Barroco—los “celebrantes del desengaño”—en esta novela ejemplar (Forcione, “*El Licenciado*” 295). En los años 90, María Antonia Garcés, en sendos artículos, introdujo una ruptura en los temas habituales por medio de la incorporación de Lacán y Kristeva en los análisis del personaje y de la poética de la *novella*. E. Michael Gerli, en 1995, hace una recensión crítica en la que llega a las mismas conclusiones que Edward Friedman: los dos grandes tópicos de la crítica son las fuentes del licenciado, y la cuestión de la unidad (Gerli, “The Dialectics” 10-11). Para Gerli, los grandes proponentes de la unidad narrativa son Joaquín Casaldueiro (1943), Armand E. Singer (1951), Frank P. Casa (1964), Gwynne Edwards (1973), Edward H. Friedman (1974), Edward C. Riley (1976) y Juan Bautista Avallé-Arce (1964). Gerli considera que todos los críticos habían fallado a la hora de estudiar la filiación de *El licenciado Vidriera* “con otras narrativas contemporáneas en España;” por esa razón publicó su estudio sobre la relación con la novela picaresca de los siglos XVI y XVII (Gerli, “The Dialectics” 11).

⁶ Aunque en este ensayo no hay espacio para hacer una recensión exhaustiva de la crítica sobre la amistad en Cervantes, por lo menos hay que mencionar: Louis Sorieri, *Boccaccio’s Story of Tito e Gisippo in European Literature*; Enrico La Barbera, *Las influencias italianas en la novela de “El curioso impertinente” de Cervantes*; Antonio

Barbagallo, “Los dos amigos, ‘El curioso impertinente’ y la literatura italiana;” Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, “Una tradición literaria: el cuento de los dos amigos;” Sabatino G. Maglione, “Amity and Enmity in Cervantes’s *La Numancia*,” Matthew Alan Wyszynski, *Cervantes’ Don Quijote and the idea of Friendship*. Frederick A. De Armas, Frederick A. “Interpolation and Invisibility: From Herodotus to Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*. Juan Pablo Gil-Osle ha publicado un libro sobre la evolución de las representaciones de la amistad en Cervantes *Amistades imperfectas: de la tradición a la modernidad con Cervantes*, y artículos sobre las representaciones de la amistad en “El curioso impertinente” y en “El amante liberal.” Véase, asimismo, “La ley de la amistad sincera” en la edición de la Real Academia Española de *La Galatea*, de Cervantes, editada por Juan Montero, Francisco J. Escobar, Flavia Gherardi, en 2014. Carmela Mattza ha publicado un artículo sobre la amistad en “La gitanilla.” En 2009, Julieta Victoria Muñoz Alvarado depositó una tesis doctoral sobre la amistad en los libros de pastores desde los clásicos hasta *La Galatea* de Cervantes, titulada ‘La poética de la amistad en *Los seis libros de la Galatea*,’ y tiene un artículo de 2010 sobre el tema. Gilbert-Santamaría tiene un libro sobre la poética de la amistad y la forma literaria publicado en 2020, aunque no es un monográfico sobre Cervantes, algunos capítulos que tratan las obras de Cervantes como *La Galatea*, “El curioso impertinente” y *Don Quijote*; pese al valor que tenga este libro, hay que señalar que ignora y menosprecia el trabajo previo de los especialistas más prolíficos en este tema, véanse Matthew Alan Wyszynski, Juan Pablo Gil-Osle sobre *Don Quijote* y “El curioso impertinente,” María de Zayas, Tirso de Molina y Calderón, además de los trabajos de Flavia Gherardi y Julieta Victoria Muñoz Alvarado sobre *La Galatea* y los libros de pastores.

⁷ Del hombre que se cree un vidrio existen precedentes. Otras enajenaciones semejantes a esta también fueron importantes protagonistas de la literatura.

⁸ Ver F. Salx, “A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages” in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 82-142.

⁹ Ver el análisis de Felipe Pereda de la alegoría del *Amicitia Vera* en Salamanca (Pereda 117-32), o el de Gil-Osle de la alegoría de la amistad encastrada entre las piernas del hombre astral de Pérez Vargas (Gil-Osle, *Amistades imperfectas* 18-21).

¹⁰ “All critics, it appears, have failed to confront the more compelling problem of the novella’s artistic genesis and its affiliation with other contemporaneous narrative forms in Spain. As remains to be shown, *El licenciado Vidriera* is, through its aberrant constitution, as much a response to the existence of the picaresque novel, and a rewriting of it, as *Don Quijote* is to the novels of chivalry” (Gerli, “The Dialectics of Writing” 11).

¹¹ A partir de finales de los años 50, una serie de críticos se han interesado en el análisis de la unidad de “El Licenciado Vidriera.” Durante casi tres décadas, numerosos estudios lidiaron con cuestiones como la unidad respecto a las partes

(Edwards), la abundancia de apotemas, la transposición biográfica del desarrollo del individuo.

¹² “The term “baroque” was a vague word, without exact meaning, until about 1915, when a Swiss art historian, [Heinrich] Wölfflin, arbitrarily and delibetarely gave it a new and exact significance. Wölfflin’s meaning of the word “baroque” was immediately enveloped in a small magical aura through the efforts of his most enthusiastic acolytes, and simultaneously contradicted by his adversaries” (Spitzer, “The Spanish Baroque” 125).

¹³ Sin ser una lista exhaustiva, se puede mencionar: arte jesuítico (J. Burckhardt), grandiosidad formal, irregularidad, artes visuales artificiosas (H. Wölfflin), *acutus* y *acumen* en la literatura (E. Curtius), una cultura y sociedad controladas (J. A. Maravall), la edad del *trompe-l’oeil* (Rousset), la transición de un mundo analógico a uno analítico (M. Foucault), hiperbólica descripción (C. Johnson), curiosidad y avance intelectual (E. García Santo-Tomás), explotación de la paradoja (M. Brownlee), desengaño psicológico y vital.

¹⁴ En su análisis de Baltasar Gracián, Ernst Robert Curtius considera que es un representante del manierismo, ya que Gracián teorizó sobre la *agudeza* en su *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*. El concepto latino de *acutus* es característico de la literatura del período, que en francés se tradujo como *pointe*, en italiano *acutezza*, y en español como *agudeza*, *ingenio*, *concepto* (Curtius, *European Literature* 293-94).

¹⁵ Ver Johnson, Christopher D. *Hyperboles: The Rhetoric of Excess in Baroque Literature and Thought* (2010).

¹⁶ Ver García Santo-Tomás, Enrique. *La musa refractada: Literatura y óptica en la España del Barroco* (2015).

¹⁷ Ver el concepto de la frustración lectora en Marina S. Brownlee, *The Cultural Labyrinth of María de Zayas* (2000): “Paradox is the root of Zaya’s work—from the opening words of her global prologue to the end of the epilogue and all twenty tales in between. Readers looking for predictable events, characterizations, and values are likely to find frustration at the end of their journey” (Brownlee, *The Cultural* xiii). En la misma página, Brownlee usa palabras como complejidad, ambigüedad, frustración, tensión, entorno inestable para referirse a los choques entre lo individual y lo social. On the same page, Brownlee keeps using words such as complexity, ambiguity, frustration, unresolved tension, unstable environment to talk about the classes between the individual and the social.

¹⁸ Se ha analizado el personaje como metáfora literaria de la sinceridad y la fragilidad [Rosales 1959-60: 110-12], o de la verdad desnuda y reflejo de la sociedad [García Lorca 1964, Zimic 1996: 188], o de la creación literaria [Molina 1996].

¹⁹ Los “modelos vivos” del cervantismo decimonónico, como en M. Fernández de Navarrete en 1819, para quien Vidriera era Gaspar Barth, traductor latino de *La Celestina* y la Diana enamorada.

²⁰ Equívoca relación con la sociedad del S. XVII, le convierte en un modelo literario para la Generación del 98/modernismo. Véase Azorín.

²¹ La etiología y simbología de la enfermedad, o Melancolía [Babb 1951, Redondo 1981: 35-36, ...], Concepto romántico del genio [Panofsky and Saxl 1989], Esquizofrenia paranoide [Vallejo Nájera 1950:43 y 49, Gutiérrez Noriega 1944,...]

²² “Y al bajar la cuesta de Zambra, camino de Antequera, se topó con un gentilhombre a caballo, vestido bizarramente de camino, con dos criados también a caballo. Juntose con él y supo como llevaba su mismo viaje. Hicieron camarada, departieron de diversas cosas, y a pocos lances dio Tomás muestras de su raro ingenio; y el caballero las dio de su bizarría y cortesano trato” (Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, 268).

²³ Dice Diego de Valdivia: “como quiera que sea, ya somos camaradas” (Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, 269).

²⁴ “se fue a Flandes, donde la vida que había comenzado a eternizar por las letras la acabó de eternizar por las armas, en compañía de *su buen amigo* el capitán Valdivia, dejando fama, en su muerte, de prudente y valentísimo soldado” (Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, 301, énfasis mío).

²⁵ “Y como el buen servir del siervo mueve la voluntad del señor a tratarle bien, ya Tomás Rodaja no era criado de sus amos, sino su compañero” (Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, 267).

²⁶ “pidió a sus amos licencia para volverse [a la Universidad de Salamanca]. Ellos cortes y liberales se la dieron, acomodándole de suerte que con lo que le dieron se pudiera sustentar tres años” (Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, 267).

²⁷ En 1601, el confesor del duque de Lerma, Pedro de Maldonado, definió la privanza como un mecanismo para igualar al consejero con su príncipe: “Privado llamamos a un hombre con quien a solas y particularmente se comunica, con quien no hay cosa secreta, escogido entre los demás para una cierta manera de igualdad, fundada en amor y perfecta amistad.” Y añade “se funda en la naturaleza humana de que no se pueden desnudar los reyes. Por qué le hemos de negar a un corazón afligido de un rey un amigo particular de quien el Espíritu Santo dijo: el amigo fiel es escudo..., el que lo halló, halló un tesoro” (Maldonado, “Discurso del perfecto privado,” Biblioteca Nacional Madrid, Mss. 18721/48, f. 1r, 2r). Entre 1615 y 1625, Francis Bacon en su ensayo sobre la amistad hablaba de la utilidad que tiene la noción de la amistad para igualar a príncipes y privados: “Los príncipes, en cuanto a la distancia debida a su fortuna (...) elevan a algunas personas, como si fueran sus compañeros, y casi iguales a ellos, lo cual termina en muchas ocasiones siendo un inconveniente. Las lenguas modernas denominan a tales personas *favoritos* o *privados* (...) príncipes débiles y apasionados, e incluso los más sabios (...) a menudo han elevado a algunos de sus siervos, y ambos se han llamado *amigos*” (Bacon 203).

²⁸ Pereda, p. 122.

²⁹ Ver, Luis Gómez Canseco, “Los membrillos de Cervantes.”

³⁰ D’Onofrio indica que Casaldueiro, Redondo y Molho también han subrayado la simbología sexual del membrillo (D’Onofrio 107).

³¹ Ver el detallado análisis de Felipe Pereda.

³² Ver Cicero, *De amicitia*, VII, 23, XVIII, 64, XXVII, 102, 104.

³³ La escalera de la universidad suma “una serie de advertencias contra los peligros de la carne y la concupiscencia dentro de un tono humorístico propio de la cultura estudiantil (...) sólo los universitarios, profesores y alumnos hacen uso de la escalera y ésta comunica las aulas situadas en el piso inferior del patio con la biblioteca que se localiza en el piso superior. Los Estatutos de la universidad son la fuente más fiable sobre la que podemos empezar a enhebrar la interpretación. La única vez que se menciona a las mujeres –uno de los temas primordiales de los relieves de la escalera– es para prohibir taxativamente que alumnos o maestros de la universidad pudieran tener concubina en casa propia o ajena, ni siquiera vivir en casa donde hubiere otra mujer bajo pena de excomunión” (Pereda 122-23).

³⁴ Ver Pereda, pp. 32.

³⁵ Siguiendo a Lausberg una “relación *parte-todo* en ambas direcciones” es una sinécdoque (Pujante 221). También, se podría considerar como una metonimia, ya que existe un debate sobre si existe una diferencia entre ambas.

³⁶ Ver, De la Flor, Pereda, y D’Onofrio.

³⁷ Cervantes. p. 301.

³⁸ El membrillo se asociaba con “el matrimonio, la fertilidad y el sexo” (Gómez Canseco, “Los membrillos” 44).

³⁹ Gilbert-Santamaría analiza la decepción de Guzmán en su búsqueda de la amistad perfecta: “Guzmán’s “bitter hart,” the result of his own personal disappointment with friendship, on the one hand, signals an emotional capitulation before the collapse of the ideal” (Gilbert-Santamaria, “Guzmán de Alfarache’s” 85). Ver los análisis de Felice Gambin y Fernando de la Flor sobre la amistad en Baltasar Gracián. En *Políticas de la amistad*, Jacques Derrida tiene un ensayo sobre la importancia de Gracián en la filosofía de la amistad.

⁴⁰ Aunque publicado en 1614, la aprobación del libro ya databa de 1605 (García Berrio 41).

⁴¹ Baltasar Gracián también teorizó sobre el tema en su *Agudeza o arte de ingenio*.

⁴² Primera versión en 1654, segunda versión en 1670; escribió un esbozo en 1630 titulado *Idée de la parfaite devise*.

⁴³ “anzi la pazzia altro non è che metáfora, la qual prende una cosa per altra” (Hersant 94).

⁴⁴ Para una lectura actualizada y esclarecedora sobre la oposición entre Barroco y Clasicismo en Francia, ver Larry F. Norman, “The Baroque as Anti-Classicism: The French Case.”

⁴⁵ “Avec un si grand nombre de troupes, le Prince fit un grand débordement dans le champs d’Eloquence et prit beaucoup de places avant qu’on eût le loisir de se reconnoître. ... Tout le plat país fut contraint de subir le joug de leur domination et il n’y eut que quelques grandes places régulières et bien fortifiées qui se purent défendre de leurs approches et refuser l’entrée à Galimatias” (Furetière 23, 26).

⁴⁶ Véase Erik Butler quien examina las representaciones del lenguaje como guerra en textos escritos en latín, francés y alemán. No obstante, las transformaciones de la cultura latina a la vernácula en la literatura castellana han sido objeto de estudios que muestran que el enfrentamiento no solo ocurrió en Francia y Alemania, que estudia Butler, sino que España, al igual que Italia, y muy seguramente toda la latinidad europea tuvo numerosos episodios de estos debates lingüísticos.

⁴⁷ Según los datos de wikimedia, esta imagen proviene de *Nouvelle Allegorique, Ou Histoire Des Derniers Troubles Arrivez Au Royaume D’Eloquence Daatum*, 1659, en el dominio público. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Allegory_of_Grammar.gif. En la reproducción digital que ofrece Google Books, Heidelberg, 1659, no existe tal imagen. En la edición de Evan Van Ginneken, 1967, figura otra reproducción similar a la de wikimedia, pero con ciertas diferencias y peor calidad (Furetière xli).

⁴⁸ Dice Pierre Nicole: “Si l’on considère avec assez d’attention la raison du plaisir que les hommes prennent aux métaphores, on n’en trouvera pas d’autre que celle que j’ai indiqué, à savoir la faiblesse de leur nature qui, incapable de soutenir la vérité dans sa simplicité et sa sévérité, a besoin du secours des métaphores, dont le propre est de s’éloigner quelque peu du vrai” (Hersant 139).

⁴⁹ Francisco Cascales, contemporáneo de Cervantes, ya mostraba una conciencia equiparable respecto a la licitud de la oscuridad, o dificultad, en la poesía. “las sintomáticas concesiones de la *Tablas* a la oscuridad hacen del texto de Cascales una avanzada realmente importante en la línea de gusto estético que, todavía clásico-conservadora en el teorizador murciano, había de conducir... a la fórmula desarrollada en la *Agudeza* gracianesca y a la degeneración absoluta del tardío barroquismo en la segunda mitad del siglo” (García Berrio, *Introducción a la poética clasicista* 277).

Bibliografía

- Aristóteles. *Poética*. Madrid: Alianza, 2004.
- Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista. “Una tradición literaria: el cuento de los dos amigos.” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 11 (1957): 1-35.
- Bacon, Francis. “Of Friendship XVII.” *Other Selves: Philosophers on Friendship*. Ed. M. Pakaluk. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1991. 202-07.
- Barbagallo, Antonio. “Los dos amigos, ‘El curioso impertinente’ y la literatura italiana.” *Anales cervantinos* 32 (1994): 207-19.
- Brownlee, Marina S. *The Cultural Labyrinth of María de Zayas*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- Butler, Erick. *The Bellum Grammaticale and the Rise of European Literature*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2013.
- Casa, Frank. “The Structural Unity of *El licenciado Vidriera*.” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 41 (1964): 242-46.
- Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y forma de las “Novelas ejemplares.”* Madrid: Gredos, 1969.
- Cascales, Francisco. *Cartas filológicas*. Ed. Justo García Soriano. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1961.
- Castillo, David R. *Baroque Horrors: Roots of the Fantastic in the Age of Curiosities*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. *Novelas ejemplares*. Ed. J. García López. Barcelona: Crítica, 2001.
- Cicero. “De amicitia.” *De senectute, De amicitia, De divinatione*. Cambridge: Harvard University, 2001.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- D’Onofrio, Julia. “El licenciado Vidriera y los peligros de la transparencia.” *Don Quijote en Azul. Actas de las II Jornadas Cervantinas Internacionales*. Ed. José Adrián Bendersky, Margarita Ferrer, Carlos Filipetti. Azul: Instituto Cultural y Educativo del Teatro Español, 2011. 101-116.
- De Armas, Frederick A. “Cervantes’ Hermetic Architectures: The Dangers Outside in Persiles IV.” *Cervantes’ Persiles and the Travails of Romance*. Ed. Marina Brownlee. Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 2019. 17-34.

- De Armas, Frederick A. "Interpolation and Invisibility: From Herodotus to Cervantes's *Don Quixote*." *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts* 4.2 (1992): 8-28.
- Deleuze, Gilles. *Le Pli: Leibniz et le Baroque*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1988.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Políticas de la amistad. El oído de Heidegger*. Madrid: Trotta, 1998.
- Edwards, Gwynne. "Cervantes's *El licenciado Vidriera*: Meaning and Structure." *Modern Language Review* 68 (1973): 559-68.
- Fernández de Navarrete, Martín. *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1819.
- Flor, Fernando. *de la. Pasiones frías: Secreto y disimulación en el Barroco hispano*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2005.
- Forcione, Alban K. "El *Licenciado Vidriera* as a Satirical Parable: The Mystery of Knowledge." *Cervantes and the Humanist Vision: A Study of Four Exemplary Novels*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982. 225-316
- Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things, and Archeology of Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- Friedman, Edward. "Conceptual Proportion in Cervantes' 'El licenciado Vidriera.'" *South Atlantic Bulletin* 39.4 (1974): 51-59.
- Furetière, A. *Nouvelle allegorique, ou histoire des dernier troubles arrivez au royaume d'éloquence*. Heidelberg: Fitzer & Lùls, 1659.
- Furetière, A. *Nouvelle allegorique, ou histoire des dernier troubles arrivez au royaume d'éloquence*. Ed. Eva Van Ginneken. Geneve: Droz, 1967.
- Gambin, Felice. "Baltasar Gracián y la vidriosa amistad, ventajosa felicidad de la vida." *Revista de Literatura* 70.139 (2008): 47-66.
- Garcés, María Antonia. "Delirio y obscenidad en Cervantes: el caso Vidriera." *Actas del XII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*. Ed. Jules Whicker. Vol. 2. Birmingham: Department of Hispanic Studies, 1998. 225-36
- Garcés, María Antonia. "Poetic Language and the Dissolution of the Subject in *La gitanilla* and *El licenciado Vidriera*." *Calíope* 2 (1996): 85-104.
- García Berrio, Antonio. *Introducción a la poética clasicista: comentario a las Tablas Poéticas de Cascales*. Madrid: Taurus, 1988.
- García Lorca, Francisco. "El licenciado Vidriera y sus nombres." *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 1.4 (1965): 159-68.

- García Santo-Tomás, Enrique. *La musa refractada: Literatura y óptica en la España del Barroco*. Tiempo Emulado: Historia de América y España vol. 35, Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2015.
- Gerli, E. Michael. “The Dialectics of Writing: *El licenciado Vidriera* and the Picaresque.” *Refiguring Authority: Reading, Writing and Rewriting in Cervantes*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1995. 10-24.
- Gherardi, Flavia. “La ley de la amistad sincera.” *La Galatea*. De Miguel de Cervantes. Eds. Juan Montero, Francisco J. Escobar, Flavia Gherardi. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2014. 482-96.
- Gil-Osle, Juan Pablo. “Early Modern Illusions of Perfect Male Friendship: The Case of Cervantes’s ‘El curioso impertinente.’” *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 29.1 (2009): 85-115.
- Gil-Osle, Juan Pablo. “Escipión, la amistad y la masculinidad cristiano-musulmana en ‘El amante liberal’ de Cervantes.” *Lejana: Revista Crítica de Narrativa Breve* 7 (2014): 1-11.
- Gil-Osle, Juan Pablo. *Amistades imperfectas: de la tradición a la modernidad con Cervantes*. Biblioteca Áurea Hispánica 83. Madrid-Frankfurt am Main: Universidad de Navarra-Iberoamericana-Vervuert. 2013.
- 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*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011. 83-98.
- Gilbert-Santamaria, Donald. *The Poetics of Friendship in Early Modern Spain: A Study in Literary Form*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020.
- Gómez Canseco, Luis. “Los membrillos de Cervantes.” *Monteagudo* 20 (2015): 41-53.
- Gracián, Baltasar. *Agudeza y arte del ingenio*. Huesca: Juan Nogues, 1648.
- Hainsworth, George. “La source du Licenciado Vidriera.” *Bulletin Hispanique* 32.1 (1930): 70-72.
- Hersant, Y. ed. *La métaphore baroque: D’Aristote à Tesaurus, Extraits du Cannochiale aristotelico et autres textes*. Paris: Seuil, 2001.
- Icaza, Francisco A. de. *Las “Novelas ejemplares” de Cervantes: sus críticos, sus modelos literarios, sus modelos vivos y su influencia en el arte*. Madrid: Imprenta Clásica Española, 1915.
- Johnson, Christopher D. *Hyperboles: The Rhetoric of Excess in Baroque Literature and Thought*. Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature Founded by

- William Henry Schofield 52. London: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- La Barbera, Enrico Mario. *Las influencias italianas en la novela de "El curioso impertinente" de Cervantes*. Roma: Bonacci, 1963.
- Lewis-Smith, Paul. "Literature and Sin: Moral-Theological Wisdom and Literary Ethics in Cervantes's *El licenciado Vidriera*." *The Modern Language Review* 105.2 (2010): 439-54.
- Maglione, Sabatino G. "Amity and Enmity in Cervantes's *La Numancia*." *Hispania* 83.2 (2000): 179-88.
- Maldonado, fray Pedro. "Discurso del perfecto privado." Manuscrito 18721/48. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *La cultura del Barroco*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1975.
- Mattza, Carmela. "Amistad y enemistad en *Las novelas ejemplares*: écfrasis e intertextualidad en *La Gitanilla*." *Anuario de Estudios Cervantinos* 9 (2013): 219-32.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. "Obscuridad, dificultad entre culteranos y conceptistas." *Castilla, la tradición, el idioma*. Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1945.
- Molho, Maurice. "Una dama de todo rumbo y manejo. Para una lectura de *El licenciado Vidriera*." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 7 (1995): 387-406.
- Molina, Álvaro. "Glass Characters and Glass Fictions: The Poetics of *El curioso impertinente* and *El licenciado Vidriera*." *Mester* 25 (1996): 5-29.
- Montero, Juan. Ver Flavia Gherardi.
- Muñoz Alvarado, Julieta Victoria. "La poética de la amistad en *Los seis libros de la Galatea*." Dissertation Harvard University 2009.
- Muñoz Sánchez, Juan Ramón. "La amistad como motivo recurrente en las *Novelas ejemplares* de Cervantes." *EPOS* 18 (2001): 141-63.
- Norman, Larry F. "The Baroque as Anti-Classicism: The French Case." *The Oxford Handbook of the Baroque*. Ed. John D. Lyons. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. 632-41.
- Pereda, F. *La arquitectura elocuente: el edificio de la Universidad de Salamanca bajo el reinado de Carlos V*. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000.
- Puig, Idoia. "Relaciones humanas en Cervantes: *El licenciado vidriera* y *El celoso extremeño*: las excepciones que confirman la regla." *RILCE* 14.1 (1998): 73-88.

- Pujante, D. *Manual de retórica*. Madrid: Castalia, 2003.
- Riley, E. C. “Cervantes and the Cynics (*El licenciado Vidriera* and *El coloquio de los perros*).” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 53 (1976): 189-99.
- Rousset, Jean. *La littérature de l'âge baroque en France: Circé et le paon*. Paris: José Corti, 1965.
- Ruiz, Roberto. “Las ‘tres locuras’ del licenciado Vidriera.” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 34 (1985-86): 839-47.
- Ruta, María Caterina. “Las novelas ejemplares: reflexiones en la víspera de su centenario.” *eHumanista/Cervantes* (2012): 41-56.
- Sampayo Rodríguez, José Ramón. *Rasgos erasmistas de la locura del licenciado Vidriera de Miguel de Cervantes*. Kassel: Reichenberger, 1986.
- Sarduy, Severo. “Suelo Barroco.” *Diálogos: Artes, Letras, Ciencias humanas* 9.4 (1973): 23-27.
- Saxl, F. “A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 82-142.
- Schindler, Carolina María y Alfonso Martín Jiménez. “El licenciado Avellaneda y el licenciado Vidriera.” *Hipertexto* 3 (2006): 81-100.
- Shipley, George. “Cervantes’ Licenciado Vidriera Was No Ordinary Fool.” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 82.5 (2005): 717-31.
- Sorieri, Louis. *Boccaccio’s Story of Tito e Gisippo in European Literature*. Nueva York, 1937.
- Speak, Gill. “‘El licenciado Vidriera’ and the Glass Men of Early Modern Europe.” *The Modern Language Review* 85.4 (1990): 850-65.
- Tesauro, E. *Il cannocchiale aristotelico*. Bologna: Gioseffo Longhi, 1675.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. *Qu’est-ce que le structuralisme?: 2. Poétique*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich. *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art*. Trans. M. D. Hottinger. New York: Dover, n.d.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich. *Renaissance and Baroque*. Trans. Kathrin Simon. Intro. Peter Murray. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966.
- Wyszynski, Matthew Alan. “Cervantes’ *Don Quijote* and the Idea of Friendship.” Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1996.
- Zimic, Stanislav. “El filtro amoroso en *El licenciado Vidriera*.” *Romance Notes* 16.3 (1975): 749-52.
- Zimic, Stanislav. “*El licenciado Vidriera*: La tragedia del intelectual íntegro.” *La Torre: Revista de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* 6.22 (1992): 600-08.

Christina H. Lee and Ricardo Padrón. *The Spanish Pacific, 1521-1815: A Reader of Primary Sources*. Amsterdam University Press, 2020. 249 pp.
ISBN: 978-94-6372-064-9.

In *The Spanish Pacific, 1521-1815: A Reader of Primary Sources*, editors Christina H. Lee and Ricardo Padrón assemble an extraordinary collection of documents from the Spanish colonial period that focus primarily on the Philippines and its pivotal position in a circuit of commercial and cultural interchange that linked the Americas, the Pacific Islands, and East and Southeast Asia. The book grew out of a workshop of scholars that met at Princeton University in 2018 with the aim of clarifying the parameters of the emerging field of Spanish Pacific Studies. As the editors explain, the Spanish Pacific comprised not only the regions of the Pacific Basin ruled directly by Spain, but also regions of East and Southeast Asia, including parts of China and Japan, with which Spain had trading relations and at times even sought to Christianize. The fifteen documents showcased in the book are ordered chronologically, from 1536 to 1813, and are introduced by fifteen different scholars and archivists with backgrounds in literature, history, and art. Given the broad geographic and temporal scope of the collection, it is certain to attract a wide range of scholars and to become essential reading for those seeking to enrich and nuance their knowledge of Asia, Latin America, and the South Pacific.

The fifteen documents of *The Spanish Pacific* are presented in English translation, with information identifying the bibliographical details and location of the original texts. Most of them were initially written in Spanish, with occasional sections in Tagalog, Visayan, Chinese, and Latin, and most have never before been translated. The first English-language compendium of Spanish-Philippine writings from the colonial period was the multi-volume opus of Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, published soon after the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States. As Lee and Padrón indicate in their comprehensive introduction, this work, which has been a mainstay of English-speaking students and scholars for generations, is severely limited, given that Blair and Robertson not only failed to include subaltern voices but often selected Spanish-authored texts that put Spanish colonialism in a negative light and thereby implicitly justified the ascendancy of the United States in the region. In contrast, Lee and Padrón present texts representing individuals

from a wide-range of backgrounds, and choose strategically to omit the most canonical Spanish chronicles of the Philippines, including those of Antonio de Morga, Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, and Gaspar de San Agustín, precisely because they are already easily available to English-speaking readers. What is more, the collection highlights a variety of genres, such as travel narratives, histories, poems, and correspondences, and even a court case, a will, and a map. The documents are all equally fascinating, and together with the commentaries and notes make this volume a model of erudition and scholarship. What follows is a brief summary of the fifteen chapters of *The Spanish Pacific*.

1. “An Early Transpacific Account of the Spice Islands by Andrés de Urdaneta (1536),” edited by Jorge Mojarro Romero. The document in this section forms part of the journal of Andrés de Urdaneta, one of the members of the expedition of Miguel López de Legazpi, which culminated in the foundation of the Spanish colony in the Philippines. In the text cited Urdaneta recounts an earlier, failed expedition of Jofre García de Loaysa to wrest the Moluccas from Portugal and secure them for the Spanish Crown. In so doing, he reveals the shifting alliances and conflicts between the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Moluccans for control of the islands and the larger imperial rivalry between Spain and Portugal for dominance in the western Pacific.

2. “Domingo de Salazar’s Letter to the King of Spain in Defense of the Indians and the Chinese of the Philippine Islands (1582),” edited by Christina H. Lee. The document in this section is a letter written by Domingo de Salazar, the first Catholic bishop of the Philippines, to King Philip II of Spain. In the tradition of Francisco de Vitoria and Bartolomé de las Casas, Salazar denounces Spain’s egregious abuse of its colonial subjects. He criticizes the system of *encomiendas*, or land grants, to which Philippine natives were entailed, and condemns the *encomenderos* for using cruel and unjust means to collect tribute from them. He further accuses the Spanish of mistreating Chinese immigrants in Manila and of failing to uphold the prohibition against the Spanish ownership of slaves throughout the colony. Although a staunch defender of the subjects of colonial rule, Salazar did not challenge Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines, which he saw as essential to the project of evangelization.

3. “Juan Cobo’s Map of the Pacific World (1593),” edited by Ricardo Padrón, with translation by Timothy Brook. The document in this

section is a European-style map of the world made by Juan Cobo for Chinese readers. In the tradition of Macrobian maps, it depicts the globe in profile and divides each hemisphere into climatic zones. It also situates China, Japan, and Mexico (and by extension the Hispanic world) on the same level within the temperate zone, and uses the same Chinese character to identify them as countries. In so doing, it affirms the ancient Greek theory of the effects of climate on humans, according to which the inhabitants of the temperate zone are the ones most capable of developing civilized societies. But the map also uses a slightly modified character to designate China and Japan, as if they were different from and superior to the other cultures of the world. The privileging of Confucian-based cultures, revealed through the Chinese inscriptions on the map, might have been made by Cobo's Chinese collaborators, who were not yet ready to reconfigure the central position of China and Chinese civilization in their representations of the world despite the new and ever-changing perspectives made possible by European cartography.

4. "A Royal Decree of Philip III Regulating Trade between the Philippines and New Spain (1604)," edited by Natalie Cobo and Tatiana Seijas. This document is a decree intended to regulate the trading activities carried out by the Manila Galleon fleet, which operated from the late sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century and linked Acapulco and Manila, the primary entrepôts of Spanish America and Spanish East Asia. The text, which was promulgated in response to complaints from various sectors of the trading community, reveals the reactive nature of Spanish legislation during the colonial period as well as the fundamental dynamics of Spanish mercantilism.

5. "Manila's Sangleys and a Chinese Wedding (1625)," edited by Miguel Martínez. The document in this section is an excerpt from a text written by Diego de Rueda y Mendoza on the occasion of the death of King Philip III of Spain. In it, Rueda describes a Catholic Chinese wedding in early seventeenth-century Manila in which he and his wife participated as godparents. He comments on numerous aspects of the ceremony and the feast that followed, including the food and the entertainment. The document is significant for the insights that it provides into the social, cultural, and religious life of the Sangleys (the Chinese inhabitants of the colonial Philippines) and for the nuanced depiction of the interactions between them and Spaniards during the early colonial period.

6. “Don Luis Castilla Offers to Sell Land in Manila (1629),” edited by Regalado Trota José. This section presents documents that chronicle the efforts of Luis Castilla, a Tagalog-speaking member of the *principalía*, the native Philippine aristocracy, to sell several tracts of land. The documents are significant not only because they reveal the challenges that the *principalía* faced when making land transactions but also because they combine several languages present in the colonial Philippines, including Spanish, Chinese, and Tagalog (written in both the Roman alphabet and the native *baybayin* script).

7. “Idolatry and Apostasy in the 1633 Jesuit Annual Letter,” edited by John Blanco. The document in this section is an excerpt from one of the annual letters in which the Jesuits in the Philippines recorded the state of their order and missionary activities. In it, Fr. Juan de Bueras describes the efforts of his fellow Jesuits to convert the Magayanes people of the mountain regions of Mindoro. Their plan was to integrate them into the already Christianized communities of Tagalogs along the coast. However, these communities often practiced pre-Hispanic religious traditions, and according to Bueras required further indoctrination into Christianity. The document is significant because it shows how slow and uneven the Spanish project of Christianizing and Hispanicizing the Philippines actually was.

8. “The Will of an Indian Oriental and her *Chinos* in Peru (1644),” edited by Leo J. Garofalo. The document in this section is the will of an Asian-born woman, Leonor Álvarez of India, who had been married to a Chinese-born man and who at the time of her death freed her four slaves and their children, all persons of Asian or African background. It is significant insofar as it provides insight into the shifting fortunes and lives of Asians in the multi-racial society of colonial Lima.

9. “Francisco de Combés’s *History of Mindanao and Jolo* (1667),” edited by Ana M. Rodríguez-Rodríguez, with translation assisted by Cortney Benjamin. This section contains several chapters of the *Historia de Mindanao y Joló*, written by the Jesuit clergyman Francisco de Combés. In these pages Combés depicts the inhabitants of the southern Philippines as atheists and their Muslim rulers, whom he calls *moros* [Moors], as sorcerers. He describes the efforts of his fellow Jesuits in the Spanish settlement of Zamboanga to advance Christianity in the Muslim-dominated south, and he decries the decision of the Spanish authorities to abandon the site, due to

conflicts in Manila, and thereby indefinitely forestall the incorporation of the region into Hispanic Christendom.

10. “Between Fiction and History in the Spanish Pacific: *The Misfortunes of Alonso Ramírez* (1690),” edited by Nicole D. Legnani. This section reproduces the third chapter of the *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez*, written by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, a Jesuit of Nueva España, and based on the experiences of Ramírez, a creole born in Puerto Rico. The *Infortunios* is considered a foundational text of Latin American literature, and according to some scholars it is the first Latin American novel. In chapter 3, Sigüenza y Góngora narrates an episode in which Ramírez was captured by English pirates and tortured for information that they hoped would help them in their raids on Spanish outposts in the Philippines.

11. “A Moluccan Crypto-Muslim before the Transpacific Inquisition (1623-1645),” edited by Ryan Dominic Crewe. The documents in this section include excerpts from the prosecution of Alexo de Castro, a *mestizo* of Portuguese and Southeast Asian descent and one of the few colonial subjects transferred from the Philippines to Mexico City for trial by the Inquisition. Castro was accused both of heresy, for allegedly practicing Islam, and of sexual abuse, for assaulting several women in his household. The documents contain testimonies of the women and graphic depictions of their ordeals. They also reveal the anxieties of the Spanish colonial authorities over the presence of Islam in the southern part of the Philippine archipelago.

12. “Constitutions and Rules of the Beatas Indias (1726),” edited by Kathryn Santner. This document is the charter of the first Philippine *beaterio*, a religious house of Catholic laywomen, founded in Manila by a Chinese *mestiza* named Ignacia del Espíritu Santo and inhabited by women of Tagalog, Sangley, and *mestizo* origins. It is significant insofar as it provides insight into the lives of Philippine women from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds, with particular emphasis on their religious practices and education.

13. “The Poetics of Praise and the Demands of Confession in the Early Spanish Philippines.” In this section Vicente L. Rafael presents two types of documents: devotional poems (in the verse form known as *dalits*) composed by Tagalog natives in honor of the missionary work of the Catholic clergy, and manuals designed to guide priests in the process of hearing confession and administering the sacrament of penance to local

converts. Together, these documents reveal the tensions inherent in the process of colonial conversion, which provided converts with the promise of salvation, while subordinating them within the power structures of Spanish rule.

14. “The Pacific Theater of the Seven Years’ War in a Latin Poem by an Indigenous Priest, Bartolomé Saguinsín (1766),” edited by Stuart M. McManus. The documents in this section are epigrams written in Latin by the Tagalog priest, Bartolomé Saguinsín. They focus on the British occupation of Manila during the Seven Years’ War and the Spanish recovery of the city. Saguinsín praises the Hispanized Tagalogs for their support of the Spanish, while leveling vitriol against the less Hispanized inhabitants of the provinces outside the sphere of Manila and especially against the Sangleys, whom he regards as disloyal to the Spanish cause.

15. “A Prohibition on Digging Up the Bones of the Dead (1813),” edited by Ino Manalo. The document in this section is an edict written by Joaquín Encabo de la Virgen de Sopetrán, the Bishop of Cebu, that prohibits the inhabitants of the diocese from exhuming the remains of the dead and reburying them according to non-Christian practices. It shows that traditional beliefs and customs persisted in the Philippines long after the initial Christianization of the archipelago.

Robert Richmond Ellis
Norman Bridge Distinguished Professor of Spanish
Occidental College

Vélez de Guevara, Luis. *La conquista de Orán*. Edición crítica y anotada de C. George Peale y Javier J. González Martínez. Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta-Hispanic Monographs, 2020. 210 pp.

Siempre es placentero dar la bienvenida a la publicación de una obra del siglo XVII que no contaba con una edición moderna, por lo que supone de ampliación del campo de estudio de una época de riqueza inagotable para el investigador o el simple lector interesado en el llamado "Siglo de Oro." George Peale se embarcó en 2002 en la encomiable tarea de editar las obras de Luis Vélez de Guevara, con lo que ha contribuido al estudio de este autor con una larga lista de ediciones críticas y anotadas que facilitan enormemente el acercamiento al escritor ecijano en particular, pero también a la comedia nueva y los elementos literarios, culturales, ideológicos y de todo tipo que marcaron su creación y desarrollo. Sale ahora a la luz *La conquista de Orán*, una de las comedias de Vélez de Guevara menos conocidas y estudiadas, en gran parte por la ausencia de una edición accesible hasta ahora. George Peale colabora con Javier J. González Martínez tanto en la edición crítica como en el extenso estudio introductorio, una cooperación que ya había dado lugar a la edición de *El negro del Serafín* en 2012, y a la ejecución por parte de González Martínez de varios estudios introductorios para otras obras de la misma colección.

En el estudio introductorio, los autores presentan *La conquista de Orán* como una de las comedias históricas características de Luis Vélez de Guevara, en la que además de narrar importantes episodios de la vida del cardenal Cisneros, se hace propaganda de la dinastía de los Sandovalos mientras se pretende enseñar y entretener al futuro rey Felipe IV, que todavía era príncipe cuando se escribió la obra. Tras algunas reflexiones sobre las relaciones entre historicismo y teatralidad en las que se explica cómo se ha interpretado la Historia en la Edad Moderna y Contemporánea y los debates intelectuales que han surgido en torno a ella, la introducción se adentra en el análisis de la obra misma: sus fuentes, su historicismo (real o aparente), sus tramas, métrica y sobre todo los elementos propagandísticos que despliega. Los editores enfatizan mucho este último aspecto, resaltando que en la obra se "encarece la sangre y los blasones de la Casa de Mendoza y de sus deudos y aliados; traza un parentesco, algo forzado, entre Cisneros, los Mendozas y los Sandovalos; [...] yuxtapone a los protagonistas de los acontecimientos del siglo pasado con los protagonistas

de los eventos de la actualidad" (41). Para demostrar esto, el estudio incluye una lista de los personajes históricos destacados de varias familias: los Cerda, Mendoza, Cárdenas, Guzmán, Lara, Fajardo, Córdoba y Girón. Resulta quizás algo excesivo en el contexto de una introducción general a una obra este tipo de listado exhaustivo y habría sido más útil para el lector contar con algo más de información sobre el contexto político de la conquista de Orán en 1509, y especialmente sobre la pertinencia de recuperar el recuerdo de este evento en el momento en que se escribe la obra. También habría sido útil conocer cómo el asunto de las conquistas norteafricanas en general y los eventos en torno a Orán en particular fueron representados en otras obras y por otros autores, especialmente cuando algunos son tan relevantes como Miguel de Cervantes, que ambienta *El gallardo español* precisamente en Orán. De hecho, Cervantes conocía a nuestro autor y lo menciona en el *Viaje del Parnaso*: "Este, que es escogido entre millares, de Guevara Luis Vélez es, el bravo, que se puede llamar quitapesares." También habría iluminado algunos aspectos de la obra conocer que Luis Vélez de Guevara fue soldado en Italia, donde todo lo que ocurría en las costas africanas tenía un gran impacto, además de que el viaje a Italia desde España estaba siempre amenazado por la posibilidad de caer en el cautiverio a manos de musulmanes del Maghreb.

Dentro del mencionado estudio introductorio, la sección titulada "Periodismo y poesía" se adentra en el empleo que Vélez hace del género de las relaciones de sucesos, y específicamente de las que corresponden al género epidíctico, en particular en relación con la descripción del desfile de los caballeros que parten a Orán, donde "Vélez combina la estructura y componentes esenciales del género narrativo con el florido estilo del género epidíctico" (47). La introducción se cierra con algunas consideraciones sobre la fecha de composición de *La conquista de Orán*, que los editores estiman entre 1618 y mediados de 1619. De nuevo resaltan aquí Pearle y González Martínez la finalidad pedagógica de la obra así como la intención de apoyar los objetivos políticos del duque de Lerma, entre ellos "una política expansionista hacia el sur, abandonando los conflictos europeos, especialmente en los Países Bajos" (56), por lo que la comedia podría interpretarse como un modo de apoyar "la ambiciosa jornada real contra Argel por la que se aprobó el Servicio de Millones en septiembre de 1617" (57). Insisten también en la reiteración de los múltiples significados de la obra en el momento de su escritura e incluso más tarde, como cuando la

Universidad de Alcalá, el Arzobispado de Toledo y la Monarquía Hispánica promovieron el intento de beatificación de Cisneros y *La conquista de Orán* jugó un pequeño papel en el proceso.

La edición de esta comedia se basa en tres testimonios: dos impresiones de las *Comedias nuevas escogidas, Parte 35* (denominadas por los editores como *CN* y *CN'* respectivamente y que consideran como un solo testimonio en la transmisión textual), y una suelta publicada sin pie de imprenta (denominada con la sigla *S*), todas ellas ampliamente descritas en la introducción. *CN'* se toma como base de la edición y se introduce un aparato de notas que registran las variantes de *CN* y *S*. Los criterios de edición, que modernizan el texto siguiendo las normas actuales con alguna excepción justificada por los editores como un modo de conservar las peculiaridades morfofonológicas de Vélez de Guevara, son claros y se aplican de forma coherente. De todos modos, viene siendo procedimiento habitual modernizar también las entradas de diccionarios como el *Diccionario de Autoridades*, ampliamente citado en esta edición, y eso haría la lectura más accesible para el “mayor público posible” al que aspiran los editores para “promover con ellos un hispanismo sin fronteras” (69).

La edición va acompañada por dos aparatos de notas: uno, ya mencionado, a pie de página, que señala las variantes de los testimonios de la comedia; y otro, al final del texto, con las notas destinadas a facilitar la comprensión del lector con información lingüística, histórica, etc. Entendemos que la localización de ambos tipos de notas viene determinada por exigencias editoriales, pero en cualquier caso nos parece que la lectura se facilitaría intercambiando el lugar donde aparecen, pues resulta más conveniente tener más cerca del texto primario la aclaración de las dudas de contenido, mientras que no parece tan esencial tener a mano las variantes de los diversos testimonios. Por otro lado, aunque se ha hecho un gran esfuerzo para proporcionar información muy variada en las notas, echamos de menos aclaraciones sobre varias situaciones humorísticas (vv. 362 y ss., v. 395, vv. 842 y ss., vv.1120-1128, vv. 1603-1608, vv. 1711-1715...) , algunos usos de la época, términos hoy poco empleados (*motilón*, *marlota*, *árguenas*, *perdigado*, *neblí*, *trebejos*...), y sobre todo sobre la historia política de la intervención española en el norte de África, tema esencial en el texto en la jornada tercera, a partir del verso 2030. La comprensión de esta última parte de la comedia se complica para los lectores no conocedores de este tema debido a la ausencia de suficientes notas aclaratorias tanto de vocablos

como de prácticas culturales en los territorios islámicos del norte de África. En algún caso nos parece detectar un error de interpretación en estas notas, como en el verso 1691, “Seguros de todo verde,” donde se explica *verde* como “figuradamente, inmaduro, impropio de su edad o de su estado” (194), cuando en realidad se está haciendo referencia a los cuadrilleros de la Santa Hermandad, reconocibles en la época porque llevaban camisas de color verde (podría aprovecharse la nota para explicar el origen del refrán “A buenas horas mangas verdes”, que hace referencia a los frecuentes retrasos de estos cuadrilleros). Pero esto es una excepción dentro del conjunto de las numerosas notas que aportan una enorme cantidad de información útil y acertada.

Es enormemente meritorio enfrentarse a la edición de una obra prácticamente desconocida, incluso entre los especialistas, como *La conquista de Orán*, y prepararla para la lectura accesible de un público variado sin perder de vista el rigor filológico imprescindible en esta tarea, como han hecho George Peale y Javier González Martínez. Con esta edición y las otras muchas preparadas por George Peale, solo o en compañía de otros investigadores como en este caso, el campo de estudio de la literatura del Siglo de Oro sigue ampliándose, recordándonos que todavía tenemos mucho trabajo por hacer, e inspirándonos para ponernos manos a la obra y dar a conocer muchas otras obras, muchos otros autores, a través de la aplicación de un profundo conocimiento lingüístico, literario, histórico y cultural a los textos y ponerlos así a disposición del mayor número posible de lectores.

Ana M. Rodríguez-Rodríguez
University of Iowa

Pornographic Sensibilities. Imagining Sex and the Visceral in Premodern and Early Modern Spanish Cultural Production. Nicholas R. Jones and Chad Leahy, eds.
New York: Routledge, 2021. 269 pp. ISBN 978-0-367-50353-6.

Porn Studies, the academic study of what has been labeled pornography and pornographic representations, hold a rightful and valuable place in academia alongside other studies that analyze the literature of late medieval and early modern Iberia. While some scholars would argue that they do not, editors Nicholas R. Jones and Chad Leahy, along with the contributing authors of this edited volume, emphasize that they absolutely do. Despite recent gains made by Gender and Sexuality Studies, and Queer and Feminist Studies, among others, regarding how academia examines graphic literary representations of the body, there exists a markedly disjointed opinion as to how such representations should be phrased (1). This volume addresses a fundamental goal within Porn Studies itself: “to place the category of obscenely fleshed iconography at the center of inquiry and to provide answers to how ‘pornography,’ as a mode both of representation and of critique, affects and has been affected by various social, political, and cultural institutions” (3). Resulting “pornographic sensibilities,” made patent in the title, effectively expand this goal by defining how medieval and early modern scholars may continue to sensibly study such iconography.

By positing that Medieval and Early Modern Iberian studies are inseparable from Porn Studies when considering “the material and the political” (2), the authors cast a wide net designed to illustrate how Porn Studies complement other ongoing gender, sexuality, and erotic studies in academia. This can only begin with self-reflection, specifically regarding how our own gaze as scholars falls upon the literary or figurative iconography of the obscene. The proffered concept of pornographic sensibilities therefore is inclusive, inviting structured, interdisciplinary analyses shared between art history, medieval and early modern literature, anthropology, sociology, history, and gender and sexuality studies, among others. These disciplines are currently limited by decidedly “disparate” approximations towards pornographic or obscene iconography that center on its “content,” rather than inspiring an “argument” for the existence and revelation of a natural and visceral culture of sex (6).

Pornographic Sensibilities. Imagining Sex and the Visceral in Premodern and Early Modern Spanish Cultural Production. Nicholas R. Jones and Chad Leahy, eds.
New York: Routledge, 2021. 269 pp. ISBN 978-0-367-50353-6.

This volume engages the reader by presenting the concept of how pornography is situated firmly within the relationship between text and reader, formulating an academic model that does not simply seek to define what pornography is. Such representations of the body already exist within these texts—through conceptual, descriptive, and ekphrastic narratives—and the manner by which we approach them is necessarily problematized and expanded. With the goal of eliminating academia’s prudish “pearl clutching” in reaction to such narratives, the authors demonstrate how such content is pedagogically valuable and worthy of study without gasping or invoking pejorative labels (5).

The book is divided into three parts grouped thematically. The first part, “Pornographic Hispanisms: Canon Formation, Erotic Concepts,” centers on canonical works from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The authors of this section explore how scholars interact with implicit and explicit language found in these texts. Works analyzed include Juan Ruiz’s *Libro de buen amor* (1330), Fernando de Rojas’s *La Celestina* (1499), Garcilazo de la Vega’s sixteenth-century poem “Ode ad florem Gnidi,” Baltasar del Alcázar’s sixteenth-century epigrams, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1605-1615), and the eighteenth-century Spanish Enlightenment poetry of Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, Tomás de Iriarte, and Juan Meléndez Valdés.

The second part, “On the Visceral and Its (Dis)contents,” challenges our gaze upon the obscene by moving into the realm of the visual—scopophilia and voyeurism—in relation to works such as Garcilaso’s “Con ansia extrema de mirar,” De Rojas’s *La Celestina*, Francisco de Quevedo’s syphilitic baroque poetry, and María de Zayas y Sotomayor’s *Los desengañosos*.

The third part, “Haptic Arousals, Titillating the Senses,” explores how literature has engaged the senses regarding “wonton desires and visceral carnality” (9). Themes of masturbation, sound, touch, and voyeurism are explored in works by Fernando de Esquio, Pero Garcia Burgalês, Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Fernando de Rojas, Xi Xiang Ji, and eighteenth-century unpublished archives from Mexico City that document a hypersexualization of pornography.

The remarkable articles in Jones and Leahy’s volume will be of particular interest to scholars who explore the normalcy of gender,

sexuality, and expressions of the body within medieval and early modern Iberian texts. It will inspire frank and meaningful academic analyses of what has often been considered off-limits, too graphic, or too taboo to study. The volume succeeds in documenting the pedagogical value of studying obscenely fleshed iconography across the disciplines.

Daniel Holcombe
Georgia College and State University

Cirnigliaro, Noelia S. *Domus. Ficción y mundo doméstico en el Barroco español*. Tamesis, 2015. 197 pp. ISBN: 978-1-85566-293-3.

Despite Lope's pronouncement in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* advising "no gaste pensamientos ni conceptos / en las cosas domésticas" (71), early modern Spanish playwrights and authors working in other genres did indeed often focus on what happens inside the house in their writing. The domestic world as shown in three genres—"la novela barroca, la comedia de capa y espada y un tipo especial de teatro breve con temática urbana" (11)—is the subject of this fascinating study that establishes a dialogue between theory and criticism related to early modern Spain and the emerging field of domesticity studies. In the introduction Noelia Cirnigliaro explains that her book "investiga prácticas nacidas en el terreno de lo habitable, la organización del espacio interior, las dinámicas de género y la utilización de la cultura material de la casa barroca" (2). She also defines the polyvalent term "casa barroca" as a theoretical and analytical concept and adds that the Spanish Baroque saw an interaction in two directions between life in the home and literature characterized by a domestication of theatrical works and literature as well as a dramatization of domesticity. A wide variety of domestic spaces are discussed in the six chapters and the brief concluding section that follow the introduction, including "*casas a la malicia, casas de aposento, casas de pisos, casas famosas, casas de alquiler, casas principales, casas lóbregas, casas de muñecas y casas de(l) placer*" (2).

Chapter One examines several plays by Tirso de Molina that feature "casas a la malicia," seventeenth-century houses in Madrid disguised to appear smaller than they were so that the owners were not forced by law to share their living quarters with bureaucrats working for the Spanish Court. The analysis in this chapter shows that in the hands of playwrights like Tirso the growing numbers of these kinds of deceptive houses became "un tropo teatral multifacético para denotar la práctica doméstica (y no doméstica) asociada al engaño de los sentidos, al ilusionismo urbano y a las tácticas de la ficción" (40). This focus on "casas a la malicia" serves as a particularly apt topic for the first chapter of the monograph given that the very existence of these houses "representa una de las realidades históricas más teatrales de la ciudad de Madrid" (25). The second chapter looks at three works of "teatro breve," a genre that rarely receives sufficient critical attention, and shows the ways in which they depict the city of Madrid filled

with new construction and new communities that resulted from the establishment of the Court in the city. These short works both appealed to the pride that theatergoers felt for their city and at times criticized the growing metropolis, offering “vistas madrileñas que combinan, sin contradicción, la exaltación y la sátira” (48).

The third chapter analyzes two “comedias de capa y espada” by Tirso de Molina—*Por el sótano y el torno* and *En Madrid y en una casa*—with a focus on how the playwright portrays domestic life in “la casa de alquiler y la casa principal” (71). By interrogating “las imágenes del trampantojo que propone Tirso” (72), and there are many such images in both plays, Cirnigliaro demonstrates how this extensive use of *trompe l’oeil* functions as an expression of subversive feminine practices in daily life. The fourth chapter makes deft use of Gaston Bachelard’s ideas about space and Norman Bryson’s commentaries on still-life paintings to analyze the “estética tenebrista” (118) present in two of the stories in María de Zayas’s *Desengaños amorosos*. The analysis highlights the “ambientación lúgubre, mortuoria y horrorosa” (94) in the *novelas* and shows how Zayas makes use of darkness and confined spaces to create a horrifying world in which women need to be protected from men.

Chapter Five analyzes *Las muñecas de Marcela* by Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón in order to demonstrate how this play makes explicit the connection between the theatrical and the economic. Using *La perfecta casada* as an example of an important “libro de economía” of the time, this chapter convincingly argues that Cubillo de Aragón uses the metaphor of the house as a book in which the action of the play serves as “un dispositivo pedagógico para todos personajes de la comedia” (138). The sixth chapter considers “una de las casas más complejas de todas las que edifica la narrativa española” (20), the literary academy established by four students from the Universidad de Salamanca in Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo’s *Casa del placer honesto*. Cirnigliaro’s analysis here perceptively examines the economics and the masculine nature of this academic community while also showing how both the house itself and the narrative structure employed by Salas Barbadillo in the work function as an “espectáculo de curiosidades” (164). The brief concluding “Coda” offers some final observations on “la teatralidad del mundo doméstico” (169) while relating the analysis carried out in the monograph to such present-day phenomena as home improvement reality shows and the technology that

makes a normal home what is now called a smart home. This clearly written and well-organized monograph, with its persuasive use of domesticity studies as a lens through which to analyze works in a variety of genres, is a valuable contribution to the field of early modern Spanish literature.

William Worden
University of Alabama

Faraway Settings: Spanish and Chinese Theaters of the 16th and 17th Centuries.
Juan Pablo Gil-Osle & Frederick A. de Armas, editors.
Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2021. 264 pages. Paperback, price \$29.80.

Miguel de Cervantes, in his own tongue-in-cheek way, writes in a dedicatory letter to his patron at the beginning of Part II of *Don Quixote* that the Emperor of China begged that he be sent a copy and, based on the novel's success, that the Emperor wanted to found a college where the Spanish tongue would be taught. Few scholars have been interested in Cervantes's China reference beyond the fact that Cervantes was joking that his book was so popular that it had reached the farthest place on earth away from Spain. That is, critics simply assume that Cervantes used a common literary trope from the period about China—it was an insurmountably *far* faraway place.

In *Faraway Settings: Spanish and Chinese Theaters of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Juan Pablo Gil-Osle and Frederick A. de Armas take on a daring critical task that undoes the literary trope that China is far away. They collapse the geographic and generic expanse that separates early Chinese and Spanish drama to study both in the same volume.

The preface, co-authored Gil-Osle and Frederick A. de Armas, is followed by eleven scholarly articles with bibliographies divided into four sections: "Theatrical Origins;" "Oneiric Excesses and Theatricality;" "Global Stagings;" and "Sinosphere." The book also contains a detailed index and over 20 illustrations. Notably, most of the illustrations are in color, including the beautiful cover image from the 2005 production of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *The Fake Astrologer* (*El astrólogo fingido*) in Colombia.

The first chapter by Bruce Burningham reasserts the rise of Spanish theater through the idea of the "jongleuresque," an idea first developed in *Radical Theatricality: Jongleuresque Performance on the Early Spanish Stage* (2007). The jongleuresque refers to the entire mode of popular performance—not just what are considered traditional plays, but circuses, street theater, balladry, mountebanks, acrobatics, etc.—in which the performer and spectator dialogue in a fluid performance—that is, the performer adapts to the changing demands of the viewer who will stay to watch in so far as the performer makes the performance worth watching. Burningham makes the exciting claim that the essential component of jongleuresque is shared in the

medieval Spanish and in the early Chinese dynasty performance traditions. The second chapter in *Theatrical Origins* explores *True Account of the Greatness of the Kingdom of China* (*Verdadera relación de la grandeza del reino de China*), the first major work on China written in Spain, based on the soldier Luarca's experience in 1575. Jorge Abril Sánchez analyzes the Chinese performances described in *True Account of the Greatness of the Kingdom of China*. Abril Sánchez explains how the Chinese representation of sophisticated national theatrical performances were designed to show evidence of military supremacy over regional neighbors and were an act that countered the invasion of a competing imperial power.

In the second section entitled "Oneiric Excesses," Frederick de Armas demonstrates the similarities between two contemporary famous playwrights, Lope de Vega and Tang Xianzu. Carmela V. Mattza Su's "Emotion, Object, and Space," like, de Armas, focuses on a work by Xianzu, *Peony Pavilion*. In "Global Climate and Emotions," Gil-Osle examines the planetary impact on literary creation, which he calls Climate Criticism or Cli-Cri, as the connective thread behind the analysis of literary creation in Habsburg Spain and Ming China. For instance, in the early seventeenth century, global temperatures dropped significantly and in 1618 three comets crossed the sky. Gil-Osle looks to unraveling planetary phenomena in earth's history as stimulating extreme emotions connected to expressions in literature, arguing that they played a role in the 1618 composition of the late Ming *Peony Pavilion* in China and *Life is a Dream* in Spain. Whereas de Armas compares Xianzu's *Peony Pavilion* to Lope, in the final essay in this section, Carmela Mattza Su examines its connections with Calderón de la Barca's *Life is a Dream*, focusing on the agency that each writer attributes to his main female character.

The third section "Global Stagings" includes Alejandro González Puche's "Picaresque Theater" which draws from having directed and staged Cervantes's *Pedro, The Great Pretender* (*Pedro de Urdemalas*) with Ma Zhenghong in Beijing. Moving from a stage production in Beijing to Colombia, the second essay examines the staging of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *The Fake Astrologer*. Inspired by their collaboration in Beijing, Puche, the Colombian director, adapted Calderón's play to Cali's stage with stock characterizations from traditional Chinese opera. The next essay by María José Domínguez examines audience reception to the Colombian production of *The Fake Astrologer* codirected by Puche and Zhenghong. The final essay in the section

examines how a Chinese director, Chen Kaixian, adapted Calderón de la Barca's *Life is a Dream*. Kaixian organized the first Spanish troupe in China and the only student group in Asia which only performs Spanish plays. In Kaixian's *Life is a Dream* adaptation, he adds acts in which Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, as well as Cervantes himself, appear. Kaixian also includes the quintessentially Chinese story *Zhuangzi* (about the oscillation between life and dream) into the adaptation.

The final section "Sinosphere" focuses on Japan. Javier Rubiera's "Christian Sacred Plays and Nō style" explores the connection between Jesuit missionary theater and the Nō style of Japanese theater. Examining sixteenth-century letters written by Jesuits (translated here for the first time to English), Rubiera examines Jesuit theater as a vehicle of communication with Japanese culture in the time of Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Hideyoshi (1537-1598). Rubiera shows how Jesuit Spanish and Portuguese theatrical representations reinforced the Iberian evangelistic campaign. Only one of Lope de Vega's plays takes place in Nippon and, in the second essay Claudia Mesa Higuera analyzes that play, *The First Martyrs of Japan* (*Los primeros mártires del Japón*). Mesa Higuera deftly discusses the historical context of the play such as its inclusion of the exile of the heir to throne Toyotomi Hideyoshi—including illustrations of two of his portraits. Mesa Higuera also shows how—through a discussion of Jean Baudrillard's simulacrum—Lope uses the play as a way to appeal to the collective imaginary guiding the audience toward the purposes of Iberia's evangelistic campaign.

It is easy to criticize the weak points of studies of this sort. One may point out that the two final contributions on Japanese theater need to be integrated into the collection in a more nuanced way or that the entire study needs more perspectives from Chinese drama scholars beyond that of Ma Zhenghong. But *Faraway Settings* includes new illuminating essays like the one from the co-directors of the Beijing *Pedro de Urdemalas* production, the 2008 adaptation of a Cervantes's play, which will be news and a valuable contribution for those who study the performance of classical Spanish theater. Each individual essay and the volume as a whole open up unexpected and uncanny perspectives shared between Spanish Golden Age theater and Chinese theater.

Like the best comparative literary studies, this study combines two disparate traditions and, in so doing, produces unexpectedly rich paths for future scholarly practice. In short, no comparative study of Ming China and

Faraway Settings: Spanish and Chinese Theaters of the 16th and 17th Centuries.
Juan Pablo Gil-Osle & Frederick A. de Armas, editors.
Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2021

Iberian classical theater has never been attempted before. This essential scholarly volume deserves praise for simply having begun this project. It points out connections, both past and present, that will be a catalyst future work in scholarship and theatrical performance.

Dakota Tucker
& John Beusterien
Texas Tech University