

LABERINTO

AN ELECTRONIC JOURNAL
OF EARLY MODERN HISPANIC
LITERATURE AND CULTURES



VOLUME 17
2024

LABERINTO JOURNAL 17 (2024)

ISSN: 1090-8714

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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©

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Recovering a Lost Classic of the Spanish Stage: Observations on the
Performance History of *El Cid Campeador* by Antonio Enríquez Gómez

Alexander J. McNair
Baylor University

1. Introduction

The Biblioteca Histórica Municipal de Madrid (BHM) has a *cartel* announcing a performance by the company of Bárbara Lamadrid, scheduled for December 24, 1835 in the Teatro de la Cruz (Figure 1). The “función extraordinaria” for the benefit of the actors, was in sympathy with “los sentimientos altamente liberales del ilustrado y heroico vecindario” according to the company. The playbill describes the main attraction thus:

Se ejecutará una de las comedias de nuestro antiguo teatro, más patrióticas, más populares, más verdaderamente famosas. Su argumento recuerda nuestras glorias nacionales; su protagonista es el héroe más esclarecido de Castilla; y a estas circunstancias, que por sí sola la recomiendan, reúne el aparato teatral, la variedad de caracteres, una acción interesante y animada, una versificación tan robusta como armoniosa; y, por fin, la honra de haber sido retirada de la escena muchos años ha por la suspicacia de una censura estúpida y opresora: pero escusado es encarecer el mérito de esta joya de nuestra literatura, bastando anunciar que su título es . . .

The title advertised, in spite of its build up by the publicity as one of the “truly most famous” plays of Spanish Classic theater, is all but unknown to twenty-first century audiences. *El Cid*, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, comes to mind with mention of the protagonist as “el héroe más esclarecido de Castilla,” so a contemporary reader might anticipate Guillén de Castro’s *Las mocedades del Cid*, or perhaps a translation of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid*. These works on the Cid’s youth in the court of Fernando I, his protagonism in the fratricidal battles of succession that followed the king’s death, and his romance with Jimena Gómez, are far more popular today. This is, in part, because late-nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars rediscovered the *Romancero del Cid* (Michaelis) and canonized Guillén de Castro (Casalduero 64-87). The first half of Anthony Mann’s epic film adaptation, *El Cid*, starring Charlton Heston and Sophia Loren in 1961, which owes as much to Corneille as to Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Fletcher 4-5, 200-05; Bailey 96-100; “Hollywood”), attests to the enduring popularity of this Cid. Nevertheless, the title on the BHM’s playbill would not be familiar to anyone



Figure 1: Image courtesy of the Biblioteca Histórica Municipal de Madrid (BHM, signatura MB/680,1).

since the first half of the nineteenth century: *Vida y muerte del Cid Campeador y noble Martín Peláez*.

The play, often referred to by its short title, *El Cid Campeador*, was staged hundreds of times in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (Andioc y Coulon; González Cañal, “Un éxito”; Díaz 43; Coe, *Catálogo* 232). The title *Vida y muerte del Cid* “de un ingenio” appears as early as 1735 (Coe, *Cartelera* 24-25), though it was also known by the title *El Cid Campeador y el noble siempre es valiente*, attributed to Fernando de Zárata in early- and mid-eighteenth century *sueltas*. The earliest textual witness is a manuscript bearing the title *El noble siempre es valiente*, held by the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE). This manuscript (BNE Mss/17.229) has been identified as one of only three ‘Zárata’ autographs.¹ Zárata was the pseudonym used by Antonio Enríquez Gómez in Sevilla, where he lived between 1650 and September of 1661, when he was arrested by the Inquisition (Révah 383-422). Though there were many Cids on the stage in the Golden Age—Germán Vega García-Luengos catalogs them in the 2007 book *El Cid en el teatro de los siglos de oro*—, the Enríquez Gómez version of El Cid was by far the most famous on the eighteenth-century boards. We know this from the number of mentions of *El Cid Campeador* in the *cartelera*, as well as from the number of *sueltas* published (at least fifteen separate editions between 1715 and 1822). While previous scholars identified performances of *El Cid Campeador*, suggesting they might refer to any number of Golden Age dramas (Varey and Shergold 82; Andioc and Coulon 666), Rafael González Cañal demonstrated in his 2013 article that references to *El Cid Campeador* were almost certainly to the Enríquez Gómez play.

I have been able to confirm González Cañal’s assertions in researching the play’s textual transmission for a critical edition. Moreover, my recent research in the BHM has turned up additional information on *El Cid Campeador*’s performance history. In some cases, we can now identify which *suelta* edition was used by which company to stage the play on specific dates (Figure 2). The BHM, for example, has nine *sueltas* that belonged to the Teatro del Príncipe and were used as prompter’s copies or presented to the censors for *aprobación*: five of the copies are in the Librería Quiroga edition of Madrid, 1792; three printed by the Orga family in Valencia, 1813; and one by Mompié in Barcelona, 1822. As Susan Paun de García and Ronna Feit have demonstrated in recent articles, prompters’ copies and other items, such as the playbill mentioned above, allow us not only to pinpoint which companies were performing the play on specific dates, but in some cases allow us to reconstruct cast lists, see which passages underwent cuts or revisions, and get a feel for how companies staged the play for specific venues. The purpose of this essay is to report some of these discoveries, with the aim of reconstructing, at least partially, the history of this lost classic. These observations are not an exhaustive survey of the play’s performance history from 1660 to 1836; nevertheless, they shed light on a few key moments in that

history, helping us understand the play's importance in the Spanish repertoire. I begin with evidence from the 1660 manuscript in the BNE, then consider two BHM manuscripts from 1810—evidence of a neoclassical *refundición* by Isidoro Máiquez's company in the Teatro del Príncipe—before taking up the question of the “censura estúpida y opresora” mentioned in the playbill above.

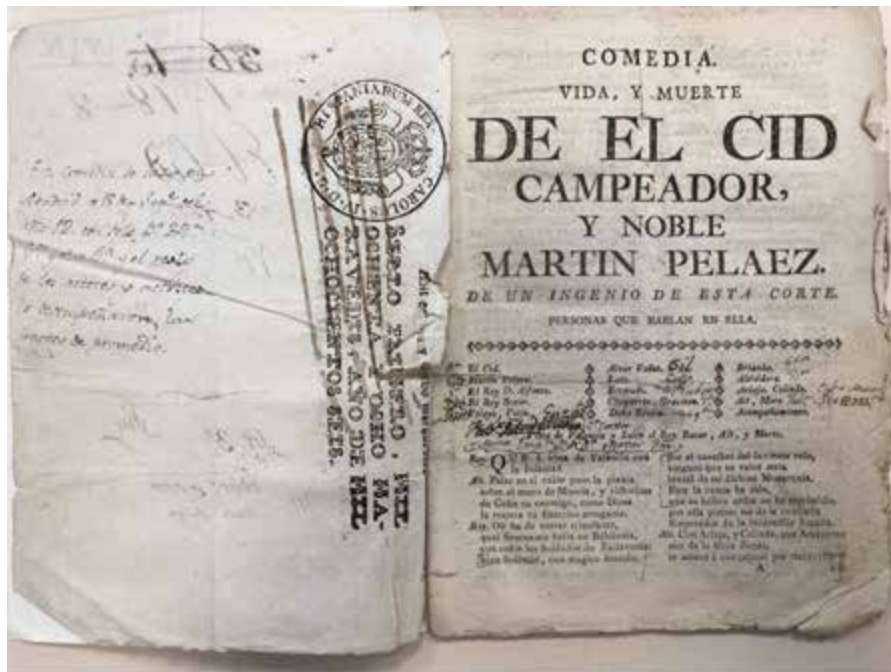


Figure 2: Suelta, Madrid 1792, with performance and cast notes dated 18 Sep 1812; courtesy of the BHM (signatura Tea 1-18-8, a3).

2. *El noble siempre es valiente*: The Poet's Vision

Before discussing the staging and adaptation of individual scenes, it is helpful to have a scen-by-scene synopsis of the play as Enríquez Gómez envisioned it in 1660. The play opens in Valencia at the court of Rey Búcar. The king and his counselor, Alí, await Búcar's daughter, Altisidora, who is described as an Amazon

warrior. She arrives with her entourage and provides a long description of her recent triumph over the king of Murcia; this is done in *octavas reales* in *culterano* style. The city celebrates, but Altisidora urges her father to take the fight to the Christians (not just the Murcian king who dared to make alliances with them). The next scene shifts to the court of Alfonso VI, where Don Bermudo convinces the king of the Cid's ambition and disobedience. By the time the Cid, "de barba" (4v),² comes onto the stage, Alfonso has already made up his mind to banish his most successful warrior from the realm. The long exchange that follows between Alfonso and the Cid was so popular that it found its way separately into print as a *pliego suelto* with the title *Pasillo del Cid Campeador*. The scene continued to be printed, independent of the rest of *El Cid Campeador*, well into the second half of the nineteenth century, even as the full-length play vanished from the stage (González Cañal, "La relaciones" 208-11). The dialogue between the Cid and his king is a series of accusations and responses. The Cid justifies his actions, saying they were always in the best interests of the crown, but he is unable to convince Alfonso of his loyalty. Banished from court by his king, the Cid decides to take his warriors to Valencia and conquer, on behalf of Alfonso, "otro imperio / en pago de estos agravios" (8r). The scene changes to "Asturias de Oviedo" where an elderly Don Pelayo attempts to convince his well-built, yet timid son, Martín, to join the Cid's campaign (8v). Martín answers with a 200-line monologue, in which he explains that he is better suited for the pastoral life than the din of battle. Don Pelayo will not hear excuses. He insists on knighting his son, despite interventions by the play's *gracioso*, Chaparrín, who explains that he and his master, Martín, are far too cowardly for martial endeavors. As it turns out, Martín is reluctant to leave because of his love for his cousin Elvira. He wants to put on a brave face, but trembles every time the bugle sounds. The lovers are forced to part.

The second act opens in the Cid's camp, three leagues from the city of Valencia. Having ravaged the country all around, they plan their final assault. Martín and Chaparrín enter the camp for the first time and are introduced to the Cid. Again, Martín tries to present a brave face and impress the Cid, but secretly he is intimidated: "¿Quién nos trujo, Chaparrín, / entre estos fieros demonios?" he asks in an aside (15r). The Cid encourages his troops, knowing they face a numerical disadvantage. His speech is interrupted by Altisidora and the Valencian Moors, who have come out to do battle. Martín flees from the battlefield even as the Cid routs the Muslims. Believing his cowardice has gone unnoticed, Martín attempts to sit at the same table as Alvar Fáñez and the other warriors, the Cid intercepts him and escorts him to his own table. The others understand the Cid's gesture is meant to slight Martín "por cobarde," but Martín interprets it differently and bluffs when asked about his participation in battle (17v). The Cid becomes increasingly more irritated over the course of the meal, finally clearing the tables when Martín trembles at the sound of another bugle. He upbraids Martín for his cowardice, which is unbecoming of a noble, especially a relative of the Cid.

Martín, left on stage to contemplate his shame, delivers a long soliloquy. At first, he questions his own identity as a noble, since “el noble siempre es valiente” (19v), but, when the bugle sounds again, he leaves the stage determined to enter battle. Chaparrín returns to the scene to interpret the battle occurring off-stage for the audience: “¡Vive Cristo, que mi amo / se ha vuelto un vivo demonio!” Martín’s actions on the field of battle earn him the respect of the whole camp (20v-21r).

Back in camp, the Cid receives a letter from Jimena: Alfonso has her under house arrest, confiscating the Cid’s lands “contra la justa ley” (21v). The Cid must go to Burgos to confront the king, but dispatches Martín ahead of him with the royal fifth, “los depojos de esta guerra” (22r). In the meantime, Elvira and her servant Brianda, dressed “a lo soldado” (22r) have gone to Valencia to look for Martín and Chaparrín. They fall captive to Altisidora, who is intrigued by the concept of “love” as Elvira expresses it. The second act ends in Alfonso’s court, where Martín insists on the Cid’s loyalty and threatens Don Bermudo. The king exits, leaving orders that the Cid be arrested. When the Cid enters, Bermudo instructs the royal guards to detain him, but they are too intimidated by the warrior’s imposing presence. Alfonso returns and a second interview between the Cid and his king ensues. A stage direction in the 1660 manuscript has the Cid and Alfonso entering a new space, a curtain opens to reveal portraits of the kings of Spain: “ábrese una cortina al tablado y véanse algunos cuadros de los reyes de España” (25r). Alfonso accuses the Cid of not respecting the crown. The Cid points out that Alfonso’s father, Fernando I, had valued the Cid’s service (the playwright probably envisioned the character taking advantage of the portraits): “honróme Fernando aquí, / pero Alfonso me deshonorá” (26v). The Cid justifies his actions again in the name of loyalty. When Alfonso’s portrait falls from the wall, the Cid catches it before it can hit the ground. The *acotación* reads: “Cáese el retrato del rey y el Cid le detiene que no dé en el suelo” (27v). Alfonso orders the warrior to leave, but revokes his arrest decree and allows the Cid to take Jimena and his daughters with him.

The third act opens in Búcar’s Valencian court. The Muslim king wants his daughter to lay her armor aside and rest; she refuses the lap of luxury, claiming her “elemento es la guerra peregrina” (28r). Martín and Chaparrín come as messengers from the Cid, with demands for the city’s surrender. The two warriors, Martín and Altisidora, disdain ideas of peace and surrender, but regard each other with respect. Elvira and Brianda come onto the stage. The lovers recognize each other. Martín draws his sword and swears he will die before leaving without his beloved. Búcar orders the Christians surrounded, but Altisidora intervenes before a melee breaks out in the palace. She allows Elvira and Brianda to follow their lovers back to the Cid’s camp. In the meantime, Alfonso and Bermudo arrive in the Christian encampment. Alfonso, in disguise and under cover of darkness, wants to test the Cid’s loyalty. Pretending to be a knight named Enrico (perhaps a nod to Shakespeare’s *Henry V*, 4.1), Alfonso attempts to stoke the Cid’s

ambition: “¿no es mejor / cobrar vuestro estado mismo / en el reino de Valencia? [. . .] Ganalda y quedaos con ella, / que en vos no será delito” (32r). This provokes the Cid’s wrath. When the Cid draws his sword to confront the disloyal “Enrico,” Alfonso reveals his identity. The scene is interrupted by a Muslim raiding party, which the Cid and his king confront together. King and vassal are reconciled.

When Martín returns to the Cid’s camp with Valencia’s refusal to surrender, the Christians decide to make their final assault. The battle takes place on stage as Christians, according to the stage directions of the 1660 manuscript, “suben por las escalas o por los dos lados” to the *corral*’s second or even third story balconies, which have been repurposed as battlements for Valencia’s walls. Another stage direction in the 1660 text reads “En las almenas todos los moros y moras que ser pudiese” (34v). This is one of several scenes in which the entire cast is required on stage. The *acotaciones* in the manuscript also instruct the *moros* to throw “alcancías de lo alto,” which would be something like balls of fire: the lexicographer Covarrubias wrote “Entre las demás armas ofensivas se han usado las alcancías [a type of “olla cerrada”] con fuego de alquitrán lanzadas sobre los enemigos” (72). This is a stage direction that survives in the late *sueltas* as well. When the Christians finally take the city, Martín and Álvaro Fáñez squabble over who will get to present Altisidora as a trophy to the Cid, but Altisidora says “he de matar a los dos / por escusaros el duelo” (35v). Only the entrance of the Cid can interrupt the three-way duel. Altisidora will only surrender to the Cid because “otro ninguno en el mundo / tuviera tan grande imperio / que sujetara este brazo” (35v). The Cid frees her to join her father, Búcar, and seek aid from Morocco. The play continues with a farcical scene between Chaparrín and Alí. Chaparrín mocks Alí and his religion, but Alí has his revenge in the manuscript version (all the *sueltas* omit the end of this scene). When Chaparrín threatens to torture Alí with pork, Alí reveals the existence of a treasure chest, with which he buys his freedom. Alí exits, but when Chaparrín opens the chest, he finds only the hoof of a jackass. After the comic interlude the play recovers its serious tone.

Martín, Laín and Álvaro comment that the fatigue of war and the Cid’s advanced age have taken their toll. The curtain is drawn to reveal the Cid in a mystical trance. He is on his knees before a portrait of St. Peter. The hero explains that he has had a vision from the Apostle: he will die within a day, as Búcar and Miramolín arrive from Africa, covering the plain before Valencia “con cien mil alarbes moros” (38r). He instructs his men to embalm him and place his body on Babieca with sword in hand; this will be enough to defeat the Moors. At that moment Bermudo enters, announcing the arrival of Alfonso. On his death bed the Cid delivers his valedictory, counseling the king on how to rule. Just as the Cid helped Martín to become a fierce warrior, he has also helped Alfonso grow into his role as a just king. The Cid asks for God’s mercy, then dies, surrounded by his loving troops and an admiring monarch. “Llore España esta desgracia,” exclaims Alfonso (39r). Most of the actors clear the stage, taking the Cid with

them. Chaparrín bursts onto the scene reporting that Búcar has landed with two hundred boats and that the Muslims are disembarking by the thousand. Martín and Álvaro plan their defense, then vacate the stage. The next scene is understood to be outside the walls of Valencia, where Altisidora and Búcar deploy their forces. They face the audience—the theater’s fourth wall has become Valencia’s defensive wall. The city, they observe, is eerily quiet until the Infanta notices the city gate opening; she sounds the alarm and the final battle is underway. According to the stage directions in the manuscript, all the Moors are supposed to “attack” by rushing down a ramp from the stage to the floor and toward the back of the Corral (i.e., through the central patio): “Los moros todos vayan por el palenque con sus alfanjes desnudos” (40v).³ A door opens at the rear of the theater (i.e., behind the spectators) and the Cid enters on horseback. He has “la cara como difunto” and “su espada en la mano alzada,” so the Moors turn and flee, back up the ramp to the stage: “van huyendo como espantados hasta llegar al tablado” (40v). At this point the whole company is on stage battling it out, while the Cid and his horse head back toward the street.⁴ The *acotación* in the manuscript reads: “salga toda la compañía al tablado y den en los moros y el caballo y el Cid éntrense detrás” (40v). The *suestras* greatly simplify these *acotaciones*, having the *moros* come on stage from one door and the *cristianos* from another, while the Cid’s dramatic entrance is signaled simply “sale el Cid a caballo” or “saldrá el Cid después en un caballo.” Altisidora surrenders to Alfonso and promises to convert after witnessing such a miracle. Alfonso marries her to Álvaro Fáñez, and names Martín Peláez his viceroy in Valencia. Martín requests marriage to Elvira and the king even offers to pay the dowry himself. The play closes when Alfonso gives the order to carry the Cid in triumph back to San Pedro de Cardena, and Chaparrín delivers the lines: “Y, porque parece tarde, / demos fin a la comedia / del noble Martín Peláez” (41r).

3. Interventions of an Autor in BNE Mss/17.229: Documenting a Potential Early Performance

The earliest manuscript of the play that still survives, as mentioned above, is BNE Mss/17.229, signed by Fernando de Zárate and dated April 5, 1660. However, only the dedicatory letter and the first eight and a half folios of the first Jornada are autograph. The rest of the manuscript is in the hand of a copyist, the dramatist’s half-brother, Esteban Enríquez de Fonseca. The presence of a dedicatory letter seems to indicate that the manuscript began its trajectory as a clean copy, perhaps a presentation copy for Alonso de Cárcamo (the dedicatee), either because he was a collector or, more likely, because the poet sought patronage or preferment from the Señorío de Aguilarejo. Nonetheless, both the playwright and his copyist committed errors (skipped lines, omitted

words, misreadings), some of which they corrected in their own hands *sobre la marcha*. In the process, this clean copy from an earlier manuscript appears to have become a foul copy. Moreover, the poet and copyist were not the only hands to intervene in the manuscript: third and fourth hands also contributed emendations, stage directions, and additional verses. These marks are posterior to the copying of the text. The third hand also marked off certain passages with horizontal and vertical lines, indicating their omission with a “no” in the margins. Some of the passages marked for omission were reinstated by the fourth hand with a “Sí.” These marks led Juan Porrás-Landeo, in his edition, to state that “el manuscrito nos da la impresión que era del uso de un actor” (116). While probably not an individual actor’s copy, the marks are consistent with those found in other theatrical manuscripts used by *autores* (actor-stage managers) and their prompters for rehearsal and staging of plays.⁵

We have evidence that the play was performed at least eight times between 1681 and 1700 in six separate stagings by five different companies in Madrid and Valladolid alone (Ferrer Valls), which suggests it may have been performed many more times without leaving a documentary trace. It is almost certain that the *comedia* in question was already in circulation among theatrical companies by the date of the BNE’s copy (April 1660). The early printings in Sevilla and Lisbon are closely affiliated with the BNE manuscript, while early printings in Madrid and Valencia suggest that another manuscript version of the text was circulating. It is possible that BNE Mss/17.229 was among those confiscated by the Inquisition when they arrested Enríquez Gómez in September 1661. If so, the Inquisition itself may have sold it to an acting company in Sevilla after the playwright’s demise in March of 1663. In spite of the fact that BNE Mss/17.229 is not typical of manuscripts prepared for acting companies (with separate *cuadernillos* for each jornada), the interventions of an *autor* (or his designees) are evident. Marks made by the third and fourth hands of BNE Mss/17.229 attest to one of those undocumented early performances, revealing how the poet’s version of the play was adapted and performed in the late seventeenth century.

Stage directions were added by the third hand. At first glance, these additions that seem redundant. For example, the third hand wrote the word “tocan” in the margins of folios 1r, 8v, 13v, 14v, 16v, and 18r (the letters are larger than the dramatist’s or copyist’s text, and accentuated with underlining), even though the poet and copyist had already written *acotaciones* specifying instruments: “tocan clarines y caxas” in folio 1r, for example, or “tocan un clarín” in 8v. The third hand’s marks are consistent with prompters’ copies, where the *autor* or his prompter, backstage, would want a visual cue to stand out from the rest of the text, to signal the bugle or *cajas*. There are also two instances of the word “Ojo” written in the margins in similar contexts, probably by the fourth hand. “Ojo” in dark ink framed by horizontal lines is found on 20v, above the copyist’s stage direction “tocan”; and “Ojo,” also in dark ink with a line above it to

mark it off clearly, can be found toward the bottom of 33r, above the third hand's addition of "tocan + cajas." This last cue was probably written down because the copyist's stage direction "tocan" is at the very top of 33v, and the prompter would have needed the cue before turning the page. There are also two stage directions that indicate "vatalla" (underlined in the same way as the "tocan" cues mentioned above), added by the third hand on 21r and 32v. The prompter or *autor* probably used this to signal off-stage sound effects for the battle scenes.

Another category of marks on the 1660 manuscript that point to its use in staging the play are the "versos encuadrados." These are passages boxed off by horizontal and vertical lines, with "no" written in the margins, as mentioned above. These passages have been singled out for omission from performance—such "atajos escénicos" are common in theatrical manuscripts of the period (Manson and Peale 56-62; Domínguez 15-17). In the case of works by Agustín Moreto, for example, María Luisa Lobato has noted that many of the verses to be cut "se sitúan en parlamentos generalmente largos" with the goal of making the performance "más ágil" (152). Indeed, at 3152 lines, *El Cid Campeador* is a long play: about two hundred lines longer than Tirso's *El burlador de Sevilla* (2965) or Calderón's *El médico de su honra* (2953), and quite a bit longer than the extant versions of Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* (2453) or *El caballero de Olmedo* (2732). So, it is difficult to imagine Enríquez Gómez's play being staged without cuts. The company preparing this particular manuscript for the stage focused its cuts on two types of passages: (1) monologues in *Octavas reales* (specific *octavas* singled out on 2r-3v; and all the *octavas* on 34r-34v); and (2) comic scenes or lines that might interrupt or reduce the solemnity of the final act (i.e., the Cid's death and final battle). On this last point, for example, forty-four verses of Chaparrín and Alí's comic scene in the third act are omitted, not just from the manuscripts, but from all the printed editions of the text as well (36r-37r). We initially considered the possibility of censure in this omission but, since there are no other signs of ecclesiastical intervention in the manuscript, it seems more likely that the company suppressed the lines in the interests of good taste ("versos"). This appears to be confirmed by an omission in the play's final scene (40v-41r): Chaparrín's comic aside to Brianda. Chaparrín's three lines interrupt the king's final actions (naming Martín Peláez as viceroy of Valencia, marrying him to Elvira, and ordering the removal of the Cid's body to San Pedro de Cardena).⁶

It is worth mentioning another scene in which we find *versos encuadrados*. In the Cid's second interview with Alfonso, in the second act on folio 27v, we find a twelve-line *atajo* made because of a prop limitation rather than pacing. The 1660 manuscript calls for a portrait of the king to fall from the wall, just as the Cid claims that Alfonso's kingdom will fall if his sword is not there to protect it: "que si os falta la Tizona / que habrá de caer . . ." (27v). The Cid catches the portrait before it crashes to the ground, a symbol of the Cid's unwavering support. Twelve verses, beginning with those cited above, are marked off for omission. The stage direction is crossed out with the same ink that boxed off the verses. The *acotación*

tachada in the 1660 manuscript reads “Cáese el retrato y el Cid le detiene que no dé en el suelo.” Interestingly, at the beginning of the scene the stage direction “ábrese una cortina al tablado, y véanse algunos cuadros de los reyes de España” (25r) is not crossed out, probably because the description of backdrop has no bearing on the action until two hundred lines later. The cuts confirm our suspicion that the company that staged this version didn’t have royal portraits among its stage properties. This is another category of theater company interventions common on manuscripts and printed *apuntes*: emendations meant to overcome limitations in the performance venue or in the company’s resources. A similar intervention occurs in the Cid’s deathbed scene, where he tells his soldiers to put his corpse on a horse and ride with it into battle: “ponedme sobre Babieca” (38r). The third (or perhaps fourth) hand has scratched out “sobre Babieca” and added “a la misma puerta,” probably because they didn’t have a horse available.

These adaptations may seem inconsequential, but they are unique to this anonymous company’s staging of the play in the late seventeenth century. Remarkably, the poet’s vision for the play survived mostly intact for the next century in spite of these early interventions. There must have been other manuscripts circulating with other companies, which found their way into print. The BHM’s copies of the Madrid 1792 *suelta*, for example, contain prompter’s notes, and from these we can tell that they did in fact expect the Cid to appear mounted on Babieca at the end of the play: “b[arb]a a cauallo” is the cue in Tea 1-18-8 a5, indicating that the actor Vicente García should mount up (“barba” was shorthand for the old-man role, which García played in this performance). The company at the Coliseo del Príncipe also had the resources for the falling portrait scene at the end of act II: a copy of the Valencia 1813 printing (BHM Tea 1-18-8 b1) has the note “pr. el quadro para caer” several lines before the king’s portrait was to fall.

4. *El Cid Campeador* in 1810: A Baroque Favorite and a Neoclassical Recast

As mentioned above, the BHM has two manuscript copies of Isidoro Máiquez’s neoclassical adaptation of the play from October 1810. This *refundición* is entitled simply *El Cid Campeador en cinco actos* (Figure 3) and each of the five acts is bound separately in its own *cuadernillo*. Máiquez rearranged scenes and reduced the number of speaking parts by half, which entailed a great many cuts and some newly composed verses. Máiquez played King Alfonso VI in this version, while the elder Vicente García interpreted the role of the Cid; both manuscripts have cast lists on the inside cover (Figure 4). These manuscript adaptations are not attributed to Enríquez Gómez in the BHM’s catalog or in Mercedes Agulló y Cobo’s *La colección de teatro de la Biblioteca Municipal de Madrid* (where she describes them in entry 301). The authorship was not noticed probably because the

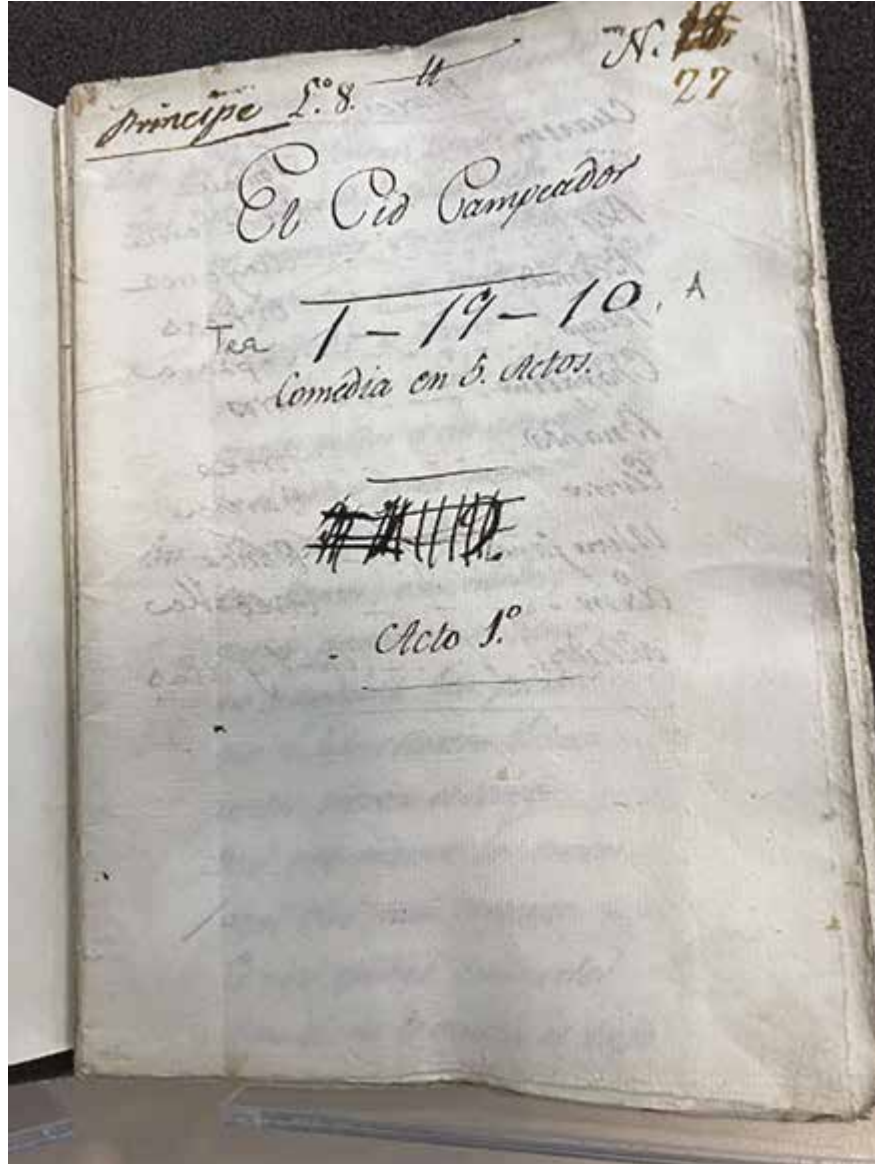


Figure 3: *El Cid Campeador en cinco actos*, manuscript, 1810. Image courtesy of BHM (signatura Tea 1-19-10, a).

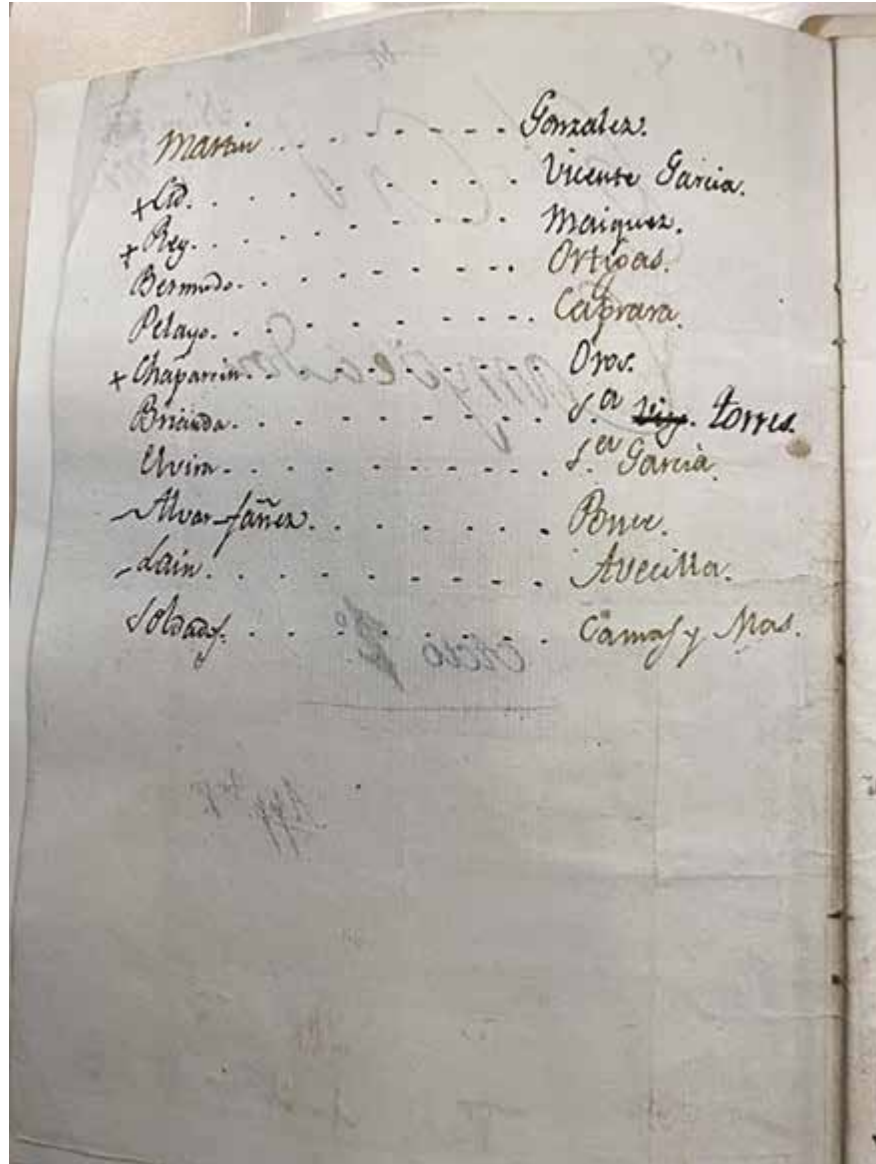


Figure 4: Cast list, 1810, for El Cid Campeador en cinco actos; courtesy of BHM (signatura Tea 1-19-10, b).

first scene in these copies is a nineteenth-century rewrite and does not conform to the play's traditional opening in the court of King Búcar in Valencia. After examining the manuscripts in the BHM in July 2023, I can confirm that *El Cid Campeador en cinco actos* should be attributed, mostly, to Enríquez Gómez. Although it is a major reworking, roughly ninety percent of the lines are in Enríquez Gómez's original—a testament to the enduring power of his “versificación tan robusta como armoniosa,” to use the words of the 1835 *cartel de promoción* cited above. Another indicator of the popularity of Enríquez's *Cid Campeador* for audiences, is the fact that the Máiquez adaptation was pulled shortly after its opening night. The original three-act play replaced it, because “pidió el público se ejecutase en su forma antigua” (Cotarelo 333). Máiquez had good luck in those years bringing French taste in drama and performance to the Spanish stage. But the case of *El Cid Campeador* suggests that neoclassical reforms had their limits. The public was long accustomed to a particular Cid, and that Cid was the vision of a baroque dramatist. Any other Cid would be met with resistance, as evidenced by a pair of failed attempts to translate and stage Corneille's *Le Cid* at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁷

What follows is a description, in the spirit of Charles Ganelin's *Rewriting Theater: The Comedia and the Nineteenth-Century Refundición*, of how Máiquez reorganized the material he inherited from Enríquez Gómez. Máiquez eliminated speaking parts for all the Muslim characters, so the first *cuadro* of the original's *primera jornada*, with Búcar and Altisidora in Valencia, has been cut. In Máiquez's version, Brianda and Elvira open the play with a short dialogue (added by the company) to serve as something of a prologue. Neither Elvira nor Brianda appear until the very end of the first act in the original. The rest of the first act in this adaptation is made up of vv. 549-1014, verbatim, from the original's first act, third *cuadro*. The second act of Máiquez's adaptation uses the second scene of the original's first act, the famous interview between El Cid and Alfonso, which results in the Cid's banishment. Máiquez takes vv. 221-528 from the original and then jumps to the beginning of the second act of Enríquez's play from which he repurposes vv. 1015-1118, the Cid's long speech about the siege of Valencia. The second act of the adaptation ends when the Cid apostrophizes the now absent Alfonso with vv. 534-48 from the first act of the original: “Tú verás, Alfonso, cuánto / debes estimar al Cid / a quien hoy has desterrado . . .” (vv. 534-36). In all, the first two acts of the 1810 play incorporate nearly 900 verses from the 1660 original, adding only a little more than two pages of new text at the very beginning of Act I.

Act III begins with a soliloquy by the play's *gracioso*, Chaparrín, who is fleeing from battle. This is not in the 1660 version, nor is Chaparrín's brief exchange with Martín Peláez, who enters the stage also fleeing from the field. But, as with Act I, the 1810 interpolation quickly cedes to the Enríquez Gómez original: verse 1180 (“¡Santiago, España cierra!”) is shouted off stage as the cowards

exit; the Cid then enters the scene speaking lines 1205-1222 from the 1660 version, expressing his shock at Martín's cowardice. The rest of the act is made up of vv. 1222-1676 from the original: the banquet scene, the Cid's reprimand of Martín, Martín's "el noble siempre es valiente" soliloquy, the battle in which Martín overcomes his fear and proves himself, the spoils of war, a letter from Jimena to the Cid, Martín sent to Burgos as messenger from the Cid. Act III, in the Máiquez's version, accomplishes a few things: it marks the end of Martín's trajectory from coward to full-fledged hero, for example, but at the same time it reveals Alfonso's injustice (Jimena and the Cid's daughters are now under house arrest, and the king has confiscated the Cid's lands in Castile). By the end of Act III, the relationship between Alfonso and his most loyal warrior, the Cid, is at its low point, even as Martín Peláez reaches a high point in his relationship with El Cid. Máiquez also makes the decision, at the end of Act III, to eliminate the secondary love plot, which added an interesting twist in the last half of the 1660 play: Brianda and Elvira never reappear in the 1810 adaptation, and Altisidora, Búcar's daughter, has been omitted from the start. The omission of the play's Muslim characters also means that there would be no onstage battle scene at the play's climax.

At this point we can understand why Máiquez chose to play the role of Alfonso, instead of Martín Peláez (a much longer part in the original). Acts IV and V, stripped down in his adaptation, are left to repair the relationship between warrior and king. Act IV contains about 350 lines from the original: the Cid's second interview with Alfonso in Burgos. The Cid makes his case unsuccessfully, but avoids arrest and we see Alfonso's position soften when he allows the Cid to return to Valencia with Jimena and the girls (whom we never see on stage in either of the versions). Máiquez makes another interesting adjustment in this scene where the original has the king's portrait fall off its mount. In the 1660 play, El Cid says "que si os falta la Tizona / que habrá de caer . . ." (vv. 2122-23), when suddenly the portrait falls and the Cid catches it before it hits the ground. Alfonso asks "¿qué es esto?"; the Cid responds: "vuestro retrato fue agora, / a caer, pero mi mano, / imán de vuestra corona, / le detuvo; que aun pintado / defiende vuestra persona" (vv. 2123-28). In Máiquez's version, however, there is no portrait. At the cue "ha de caer . . ." (v. 2123), Alfonso asks "¿Qué decís?" and the Cid responds:

Esta ligereza aora
 Vuestra alteza me perdone,
 Que yo, en la constancia heroica
 De mi lealtad confiado
 Hacia tu augusta persona,
 Iba a decir que los riesgos
 Y la muerte no me asombran,

Si a costa de mi existencia
Apoyo más tu corona. (IV, fol. 12r-v)

Máiquez replaces the memorable “portrait” scene, which the audience may have expected, with new verses best described as flaccid. The conversation then returns to the original, as Alfonso responds with “Sí, pero en Santa Gadea . . .” (v. 2129). Act IV then follows the original until v. 2156 and ends after a few more lines by Máiquez (or his adapter/*remendón*). After reading these nineteenth-century additions, we understand the *Gazeta de Madrid* critic who, seeing *El Cid Campeador* performed in Máiquez’s adaptation and then again restored to its original a few days later, tells the director to repent of his sins: “y si quiere después ser pecador, no haga las cosas tan a lo niño que hable en infinitivo a todo trapo como los chiquitos” (22 oct 1810, p. 1307).

Act V of the Máiquez recast includes verses from many scenes of the original’s third act, but makes a number of omissions. Notable among them: the Cid’s final assault on Valencia, the Cid’s death, the final battle between Búcar and the Christians. The final act of the neoclassical version focuses on the relationship between Alfonso and the Cid. Alfonso comes to the Cid’s encampment in disguise to test the Cid. Satisfied by the Cid’s loyalty, the two reconcile. The Cid gives his deathbed valedictory (though he appears not to be dying in this version). Everyone is enlightened by the Cid’s wisdom, especially Alfonso who vows to take the Cid’s family into his charge and make Martín Peláez the viceroy of Valencia when the time comes. The play ends with a rousing speech from the Cid, who urges his men to battle with a mix of newly invented lines and old standards:

Vamos, pues, soldados míos,
el Cid a la gloria os llama
contra los alarbes moros
que cubren nuestras campañas:
Valencia vuelva, soldados
a la valerosa patria.
Valencia de Alfonso sea,
rey católico de España,
y si los cielos permiten
que de mi edad avanzada
el irrevocable plazo
se cumpla que nos señalan,
no por eso alentarán
las africanas escuadras:
embalsamadme, hijos míos,
Y con artificio y maña
ponedme sobre Babieca,

sacaréisme a la batalla
y si tengo mi Tizona
a vista de sus escuadras,
no hay que temer aunque venga
toda el Africa, y el Asia,
 pues peleáis por la fe,
 por el rey, y por la patria. (V, fols. 10v-11r)

The lines italicized above are vv. 2933-2935 and 2938-2942, verbatim, in the 1660 original; the underlined verses are not verbatim, but adapted from vv. 2925-2932; the rest of the verses are inventions of the 1810 company. This final passage, in fact, demonstrates the somewhat more complex form of *refundición* studied by Ganelin, the type of recast that became the norm in the first decade of the nineteenth century—“By 1800 recasting the comedia had become a recognized, if not fully accepted, practice among playwrights” (17)—and which would, in the 1830s and 1840s, allow the romantics to adapt more freely, or even supplant, the Golden Age *comedias* that audiences still preferred to neoclassical dramas in the 1810s (19-28).

This ending, with the Cid riding off to the eventual conquest of Valencia (instead of on his deathbed, awaiting the arrival of Búcar’s forces from Africa), is hopeful and patriotic. It is worth remembering that the play was produced in the middle of the French occupation. But the omissions were too drastic and clashed violently with audience expectations for the play. The play rarely spent more than two or three years away from the Madrid stage throughout the entire eighteenth century, often running for several days at a time toward the beginning of the theatrical season and in the coveted weekend time slots. In 1810, a thirty-year-old spectator who had been going to the theater regularly from the age of eight potentially could have already seen nine separate stagings of the play, just in Madrid’s two major theaters, the Cruz and the Príncipe. Between 1788 and 1807, *El Cid Campeador* was performed twenty-six times in those two venues. Máiquez’s five-act recast of *El Cid Campeador* lasted four nights on the stage in 1810 (October 11-14). A notice in the *Gazeta de Madrid* on the fourteenth of October states: “Hoy se da fin a la representación de la comedia El Cid Campeador dividida en cinco actos; y habiendo llegado a noticia del director que mucha parte del público desea verla ejecutar en los términos que se hacía antiguamente, ha dispuesto se represente desde mañana lunes en los términos indicados.” The original baroque version of the play ran for five nights (October 15-19), to what must have been a packed house: a notice in the *Gazeta* on October 19 announces the opening of new *palcos*, additional seating, to accommodate growing crowds. In all, *El Cid Campeador* ran for nine nights in 1810—a decent run for a play of any genre in the Máiquez repertoire—yet it must have been clear early on that the original would be more successful than the *refundición*. Máiquez sensed the

audience's unease with the adaptation even on opening night: the BHM has a copy of the 1792 *suelta* (Tea 1-18-1, a3) with an *aprobación* signed by the censor on October 13, 1810, which means the company would have sent it over on October 12, the day after the five-act version's premiere. The same censor had signed the license for the five-act play only days before, on October 9. The day after receiving the censor's approval of the three-act original, October 14, as we have seen, Máiquez announced that the comedia "dividida en cinco actos" would have its final performance.

5. Conclusion

Emilio Cotarelo cites patriotism as the principal factor in the play's success during the French occupation (1808-1814): "era el patriotismo madrileño que se revelaba de este modo contra la dominación extranjera" (333-34). Encouraged by the audience reaction to the 1810 revival, Máiquez's company would go on to stage the three-act original frequently in the years following their unsuccessful attempt to "reform" it. There were productions in 1811, 1812, 1814 and 1815. Nevertheless, after a century and a half of popularity on the Spanish stage, Enríquez's *El Cid Campeador* was approaching its expiration date. The event on December 24, 1835, advertised in the playbill with which we began this study, was one of the last documented performances of Enríquez Gómez's *El Cid Campeador*. The censorship mentioned in the playbill more than likely occurred during the *década ominosa*, 1823-1833, in which Fernando VII reasserted the monarchy's absolute power. In Madrid there is a gap in performances of Enríquez's play between January of 1824 and the beginning of 1831; coincidentally we have a prompter's copy of the Valencia 1813 printing of the play (BHM, Tea 1-18-1, b1) with a license for performance denied during that timespan: "Tengo por perjudicial en el día la representación de la antecedente comedia . . . titulada Vida y muerte del Cid y noble Martín Peláez" wrote Francisco Xavier Adell in response to the corregidor's request to review the play. The denial was signed on the rear flyleaf of the *suelta* in question on December 6, 1825 (Figure 5).

The Cidian play that was on stage in the Coliseo of Cadiz during the French occupation of Spain (1808-1814),⁸ when the Cortes were forming ideas about a constitutional monarchy, was perceived as inappropriate for the stage a decade later when Fernando VII was back on the throne, trying to impose his absolutist vision.⁹ *El Cid Campeador*'s absence from the stage even for a few years may have hastened its demise for a public that was beginning to take in a new generation of romantic history plays. Nonetheless, this is an important history to write: Enríquez Gómez's play was the most popular stage Cid for more than a century, and we have evidence not only *that* it was performed, but *how*. The 1660 manuscript provides glimpses not only of the poet's vision for the play, but

N.º 30.
Madrid 30 de Abril de 1825.
La comedia anterior titulada Vida y muerte del Cid, por las censuras acordadas y se prohibe la f. correspondida a la comedia de representacion - El corregidor -
cancelado
1825
Fengo por perjudicial en el dia la reordenacion de la antecedente comedia, en ya fop. he rubricado, titulada, vida y muerte del Cid, y noble Martin Pelaez 11.º 27.º 6. de D.º de 1825.
Fran. Nav. 1.º Adell

Figure 5: Detail from flyleaf of Valencia 1813 suelta; courtesy of the BHM (signatura Tea 1-18-8, b1).

also of an acting company's struggle to translate that vision onto the stage in the years that followed. This same play would be so attractive to eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century audiences that Isidoro Máiquez, the leading actor of his generation, felt it worth recasting in the neoclassical mold. The description of these previously unattributed manuscripts from 1810 is essential for understanding *El Cid Campeador's* place in the Spanish theatrical repertoire. Yet there is still more, beyond the scope of the current article, to be investigated. The *sueñas* used as prompter's copies, for example, can tell us much about the staging of specific scenes. Another line of inquiry might look at the evolving casts and their impact on the play, which might hold clues about the way specific characters were portrayed and perceived. There is much yet to be discovered in the theatrical ecosystem that allowed *El Cid Campeador* not only to survive, but to thrive between 1660 and 1836.

Notes

¹ Fernando de Zárate's signature appears at the end of a dedicatory letter dated April 5, 1660 and the first few folios of *El noble siempre es valiente* are in his hand. On the Zárate autographs, see Barrera (506-08), Paz y Melía (390), Urzaiz Tortajada (298-303); for a description of the 1660 manuscript and the hands that intervene in it, see Greer and García-Reidy.

² Text or stage directions cited by folio number (recto or verso) in BNE Mss/17229. Images are not included, but the reader may consult them on the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica: <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000100278>.

³ This is a "palenque" in the sense of the DLE's third definition (2001): "Camino de tablas que desde el suelo se elevaba hasta el tablado del teatro, cuando había entrada de torneo u otra función." The manuscript actually reads "uaian por el palenque," which a second manuscript (BNE/Mss 15995, fol. 51r) interprets as "bajan," confirming the direction of movement away from the stage and toward the patio.

⁴ N.D. Shergold cites several cases where horses appear in the public theaters of seventeenth-century Spain (191, 201): "A stage direction of *La varona castellana*, 1600, indicates that a character should mount a horse if it was possible to provide one, and horses are also required in other plays. They probably appeared in the patio rather than on the stage itself" (205). In their edition of *La Serrana de la Vera*, Manson and Peale note that Gila's entrance "por el patio" in the first scene, "a caballo," was not exceptional; Vélez de Guevara employed horseback entrances through the patio in several plays (192-93).

⁵ McKendrick reminds us that, for any seventeenth-century play, the "earliest known printed edition is no more than one of several versions produced from an original which was cut about, altered, and probably on occasion added to by acting companies" (261). On the role of *autores-empresarios* and *remendones* in textual modification, see Díez Borque (48). On the intervention of prompters or *apuntadores*, see Paun de García (47-63).

⁶ These three lines were also omitted from BNE Mss/15995 and the *seltas* from Lisbon and Sevilla. *Seltas* from Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona include them.

⁷ *El Cid: Tragedia*, “traducción de Corneille” by José Olmedo y León (1740-1805) survives in manuscript from “fines del s. XVIII,” but according to Jerónimo Herrera Navarro “no hay indicio de que se representara” (342-43). Herrera Navarro’s catalog also lists the translation by Tomás García Suelto (1778-1816), with only a single staging: “*El Cid*. Tragedia de Corneille. Madrid, 1803. Representada en el Teatro de los Caños el 25 de agosto de 1803” (210). The performance in los Caños, rather than either the Príncipe or Cruz, is probably significant. At that date the Teatro de los Caños del Peral was almost exclusively staging French and Italian opera (Sirera 173; Lamas 196).

⁸ González Cañal (“éxito”) reports a performance announced in the *Diario mercantil de Cádiz* for November 30, 1809. In addition, I have found reference to a performance on April 23, 1812 in two separate periodicals *gaditanos*: *El conciso* (n. 23, p. 5) and *El redactor general* (n. 319, p. 1234).

⁹ For the ways in which the *Decada ominosa* directly impacted the theaters in Madrid, see Sirera 176, González Subías 213.

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