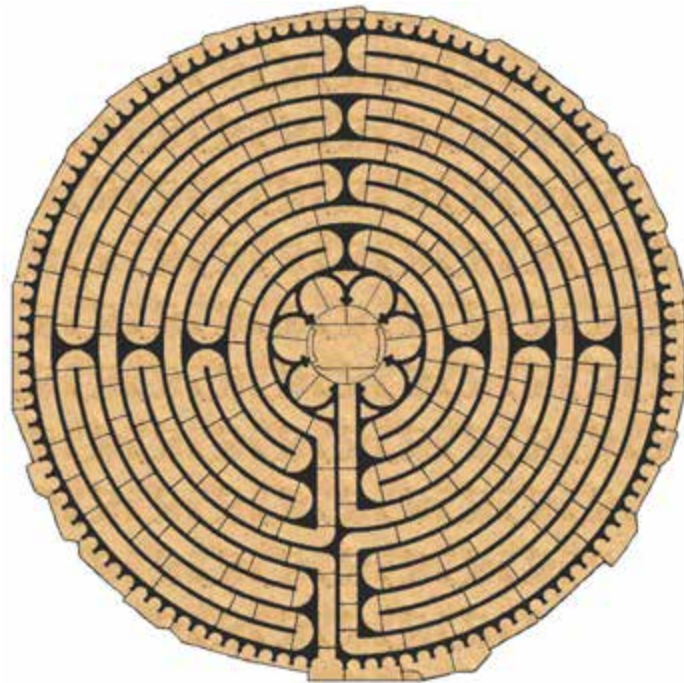


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Table of Contents

Articles

What Happened to the Spanish Carmelite Convents in Belgium?

Bárbara Mujica, Georgetown University7

Early Modern Gender Fluidity in the Episode of Dorotea in *Don Quijote de la Mancha*

Stacey Parker Aronson, University of Minnesota Morris23

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 University37

Cervantes in the Americas: A Transatlantic Approach to the Teaching of *Don Quixote*

Medardo Gabriel Rosario, Florida International University61

Reviews

Francisco Martínez Montañón and Carolyn A. Nadeau. *The Art of Cooking, Pie Making, Pastry Making, and Preserving / Arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería y conservería. A Critical Edition and Translation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023. ISBN 9781487549374. 738 pp.

Daniel Holcombe, Georgia College & State University74

Ángeles Romero Cambrón ed. *La ley de los godos: estudios selectos*. New York: Peter Lang, 2024. ISBN 9783631915349. 230 pp.

Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, University of California, Santa Barbara76

María de Zayas y Sotomayor. *La traición en la amistad*. Edición de Enrique García Santo-Tomás. Madrid: Cátedra, 2024. ISBN 978-84-376-4816-3. 208 pp.

Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, University of California, Santa Barbara82

Enrique Fernández. *The Image of Celestina: Illustrations, Paintings, and Advertisements*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2024. ISBN 9781487549787. 284 pp.

Daniel Holcombe, Georgia College & State University85

Hortensia Calvo y Beatriz Colombi (estudio preliminar, edición y notas). *Cartas de Lysi. La mecenas de sor Juana Inés de la Cruz en correspondencia inédita*. Segunda edición corregida y ampliada. Madrid: Iberoamericana – Vervuert, 2023. ISBN 978-84-9192-370-1. 286 pp.

Emil Volek, Arizona State University, Tempe.....87

ARTICLES

What Happened to the Spanish Carmelite Convents in Belgium?

Bárbara Mujica
Georgetown University

Immediately after the death of Teresa de Ávila in 1582, requests for new Discalced Carmelite convents¹ burgeoned. The hunger for the kind of spirituality that Teresa promoted—a deeply personal relationship with God that encouraged interiority and mental prayer—was sweeping over Europe, particularly France, which had undergone years of religious conflict. Within the next few decades, Discalced Carmelite convents opened all over Europe—in Portugal, France, Italy, the Low Countries, Poland—and beyond.

Even earlier, Teutónio Bragança, Archbishop of Évora, had asked Teresa to found a convent in Portugal, but at the time, she was too involved with the conflicts within the Carmelite order to accept his invitation. However, in 1581, Teresa's collaborator Fray Ambrosio Mariano founded a friary in Lisbon, and in 1584, Teresa's friend María de San José founded a Carmel for women, also in Lisbon. Jean de Brétigny, a French aristocrat who was passionate about the Teresian spiritual reform, was instrumental in María's foundation, but his real desire was to bring the Discalced Carmelites to France. Because of the political animosity between Spain and certain elements of French society, Brétigny had to put his project on hold for several years, but finally, with the help of the influential cleric Pierre de Bérulle, in the late summer of 1604,² six nuns crossed the Pyrenees to found in Paris. Marie-Anne de Jésus, a twentieth-century biographer of Ana de Jesús, notes these women were risking their lives, "for the French [were] emerging from political and religious troubles and [had] no use for the Spaniards" (102). The Provincial of Castile was so certain the nuns would be murdered that he tried to prevent them from leaving. However, they made it across the border and all the way to Paris, where they founded France's first Discalced Carmelite convent.

The leader of the group was Ana de Jesús (Lobrero) (1545-1621), a close associate of Teresa's with experience as a foundress and a prioress. Among her traveling companions was Ana de San Bartolomé (García) (1549-1626), previously Teresa's nurse and amanuenses, whom Teresa often referred to as La Bartolomé. Ana de Jesús did not like La Bartolomé and had opposed her being included among those going to France, but Bérulle had overridden her. The animosity between the two women led to unpleasant conflicts, yet this was not the only reason that neither was happy in France and eventually accepted the invitation of Archduchess Isabel Clara Eugenia, co-sovereign of the Low Countries with Archduke Albert of Austria, to found in Belgium.

Soon after Ana de Jesús became prioress of the Paris Carmel, she found that her authority was limited by her lack of knowledge of French and the incompatibility of the French and Spanish cultural perspectives (Diefendorf 106). Bérulle's cousin, Barbe Acarie, was the central figure in a spiritual group known as *les dévots* and was a driving force behind the movement to bring the Discalced Carmelites to France. Because Ana had difficulty communicating with the French nuns, Acarie took over many of the responsibilities that should have belonged to the prioress, such as interviewing postulants. This left Ana feeling marginalized (Diefendorf 106ff). Furthermore, Ana clashed with Bérulle almost immediately. To begin with, Bérulle did not bring Discalced Carmelite friars from Italy to confess the nuns as he had promised. Carlos Ros argues that Bérulle never wanted Discalced Carmelite friars in France because he sought to control the nuns himself and imbue the French Discalced congregation with his own particular approach to spirituality (292). In addition, Bérulle determined to create a grandiose new convent building, which Ana found to be at odds with Teresa's ideals of simplicity and austerity (Diefendorf 107). A third issue was Bérulle's decision to elevate Ana de San Bartolomé from white-veiled to black-veiled nun so that she could found a convent in Pontoise and serve as its prioress. Black-veiled, or choir nuns, were from upper-class families and paid a dowry to enter a convent. They learned to read and write and were in charge of the administration of the house. Only black-veiled nuns could become prioresses. White-veiled nuns, usually from poor families, performed menial tasks such as cooking, cleaning, gardening, and caring for the infirm. On 8 June 1605, La Bartolomé wrote to the Provincial of Castile that she had no wish to take the black veil. Yet, as usual, Bérulle got his way.

La Bartolomé writes in her autobiography that although she liked the Pontoise nuns, she often felt overwhelmed by the demands of her office and inferior to the more cultured French women (*OC* 389ff). In her writings, she often mentions her Pontoise daughters with fondness and in fact stayed in contact with them long after she left the convent. However, her time in Pontoise was marred by conflict. One issue was her disagreement with Ana de Jesús over whether to admit nuns of Protestant background. Some Protestant women were converting back to Catholicism and wished to join Discalced Carmelite convents. La Bartolomé was willing to take them, but Ana de Jesús feared they would contaminate the other nuns with their heretical ideas, a position La Bartolomé viewed as uncharitable (*OC* 837). Of *converso* ancestry herself,³ Teresa had foregone background checks for lineage in her convents. La Bartolomé may have wanted merely to follow Teresa's example, or, as Darcy Donahue suggests, she may have known about Teresa's family history and viewed converts more favorably than Ana de Jesús.

In this instance, Bérulle sided with La Bartolomé, which alienated her from much of the reform leadership.⁴ Her letters from the period reveal that she was beginning to feel isolated and melancholic. The situation was aggravated by

Bérulle's decision to return her to Paris as prioress so that Ana de Jesús could found in Dijon. La Bartolomé, of peasant background, disliked Paris and felt out of place with the aristocratic Parisian nuns, who enjoyed a close relationship with Barbe Acarie.

Incensed at Bérulle's highhandedness and disillusioned with developments in France in general, Ana de Jesús accepted the invitation of Isabel Clara Eugenia to found in Brussels. The first Discalced Carmelite convent for women in Belgium was inaugurated in the park of the royal palace on 25 January 1607, and construction of the permanent convent building was begun two months later. Jerónimo Gracián, Teresa's close associate, describes the pomp and elegance of laying of the foundation stone in *Peregrinación de Anastasio* (405). Ana herself gives an account of the new Belgian foundation in *Crónica de la fundación de Bruselas (Escritos y documentos)*.

In the meantime, Ana de San Bartolomé, who remained in France, was growing increasingly dissatisfied with her own situation. One issue on which she and Ana de Jesús agreed was the need for Discalced Carmelite confessors for the French convents. La Bartolomé frequently wrote to Tomás de Jesús, then superior of the Italian congregation, in an effort to bring friars from Italy. Although the nuns supported her efforts, Bérulle was incensed by her activism. If he had at first supported her inclusion in the group of nuns coming from Spain, argues Kiernan Kavanaugh, it was because he thought he could control her, for unlike the self-confident, aristocratic Ana de Jesús, she was of humble background (64). However, now that she was vigorously seeking to promote the establishment of Discalced Carmelite friaries in France, he turned against her. She avers in her autobiography that he told the French nuns not to trust her because she was a foreigner, was too strict, and harbored demonic spirits. He also warned the French religious hierarchy that she was getting too powerful (*OC* 393-406). While she had praised the French nuns in her early letters from Paris, now she complains that they are cold and superficial. Ana was feeling increasingly alienated and desperate.

In 1610, Paulo V finally agreed to a friary in Paris. Peter-Thomas Rohrbach notes that "The General wisely selected two Frenchmen for the foundation, Denis de la Mère de Dieu and Bernard de Saint-Joseph," thereby avoiding some of the problems the Spanish nuns had faced (250). The men arrived in Paris in the company of Tomás de Jesús and made the foundation on 21 May 1611. Bérulle was of course furious. Stéphane-Marie Morgain suggests that Bérulle, who had just founded the Congregation of the Oratory, may have wanted to merge the Oratory and Discalced congregations, with himself at the head, but the arrival of the friars from Italy ruined his plan (202).⁵ The issue of confessors was still not resolved, however, because the Pope issued a bull placing the Order under the authority of French superiors.

To La Bartolomé's chagrin, Bérulle insisted that she continue to confess solely with him and that she put her spiritual experiences in writing. Ana was

indignant and wrote to Bérulle that she couldn't comply with the second demand. She had learned to write late in life and perhaps did not feel comfortable writing down her experiences. Furthermore, she did not speak French perfectly and preferred to confess in Spanish (*OC* 927, 929). Since Bérulle's Spanish was faulty, she needed to confess orally so she could clarify her words. By now, Ana was struggling to extricate herself from Bérulle's control and follow Ana de Jesús to Flanders.

Isabel Clara Eugenia had wanted La Bartolomé to accompany the other Ana north in 1607, but instead, in obedience to the prelates, she went to Tours to make a foundation. In her letters to Bérulle and Tomás de Jesús, she often mentioned the possibility of going to Belgium, but at age 61 and in poor health, she had qualms about traveling to a new country that was even colder and, she feared, less hospitable than France. It seems from her letters that she didn't really know what she should do. Anyhow, the decision didn't depend on her. Ana took her vow of obedience seriously, and without an order from Bérulle, she could not leave France. She wrote to Tomás de Jesús asking him to speak to Bérulle to resolve the issue, but Bérulle wouldn't give him a clear answer. Finally, Fray Tomás took the matter into his own hands and freed Ana to go. On 7 October 1611, she left for Mons and arrived the following month. After a short stay in Brussels, she continued on to Antwerp, where she founded the Discalced Carmelite convent where she spent the rest of her life.

The Spanish convents in the Low Countries faced many of the same challenges that had beleaguered those in France: disputes about confessors, cultural tensions, financial worries, and disagreements about postulants. In addition, the influx of English nuns from Protestant England caused serious rifts in the Order. Finally, the seemingly endless Eighty-Years War, in which Holland freed itself from Catholic Spain, led to destitution and ruin throughout the Low Countries. The war ended with the Peace of Vervins in 1598; the Treaty of London ended the Anglo-Spanish war in 1604. Isabel Clara Eugenia and her husband believed that convents could be a bulwark against encroaching Protestantism and for that reason sought to establish an independent Flemish Carmelite province. They undoubtedly hoped that a strong Catholic presence in Flanders would discourage Protestant aggression. However, after a period of peace known as the Twelve Years' Truce—during which Ana de San Bartolomé arrived in Antwerp—war raged on until mid-century, ravishing the country and sometimes sowing terror among the nuns.⁶ Yet, in spite of these many obstacles, the Belgian convents thrived and grew. Even in the midst of war, the influx of postulants meant that new houses had to be established, and existing houses had to be expanded.

By the time the Peace of Westphalia finally brought the wars of religion to an end in 1648,⁷ both Anas had been dead for more than two decades. The Thirty-Years War had cost some eight million people their lives. The treaties

of 1648 not only restored peace, but also established a new notion of political order that dictated that a sovereign state should not interfere in the internal affairs of another. However, this principle did not prevent future international interventions. In 1714, as a result of the War of the Spanish Succession, the government of the Catholic Netherlands came under Austrian rule. What followed was a new period of anguish and trials for the Discalced Carmelites of Belgium, as well as for all contemplative orders.

Joseph II of Austria (1741-1790), Holy Roman Emperor from 1765 and sole ruler of the Hapsburg Empire from November 1780 until his death ten years later, was deeply influenced by the philosophers of the French Enlightenment who sought to promote reason as the foundation of society and condemned the Church as an antiquated, unserviceable institution. The *philosophes* did recognize that religion had a role in maintaining moral and social order, but the Church was held to be a power-hungry and greedy institution, overly influential and dangerous. The reformers objected to the heavy-handed methods Church officials used in dealing with unorthodox groups such as the Jansenists early in the century and religious minorities such as Protestants and Jews. They also objected to the close bond between the Church and the monarchy.

Joseph II was a champion of “enlightened absolutism,” a notion originating in the Enlightenment that proposed that rulers should govern as despots, not for their own gratification, but for their subjects’ wellbeing. According to this concept, the enlightened despot was to focus on such areas as education, healthcare, housing, and infrastructure in order to improve the lives of his people. In Joseph’s view, professional religious were mostly “a blight on society,” who did nothing to better the lives of the citizens of the Empire (Smet, *Mirror* 531). Rather than eliminate the clergy altogether, Joseph’s goal was to create a new social order in which the church would be under his authority.

Joseph actually saw himself as a protector of Catholicism, which he sought to cleanse of corruption. To that end, he strove to simplify religious practice and rid it from Roman influence by undermining papal power.⁸ He began by limiting bishoprics, religious orders, and church properties to those within the confines of the territories of the Empire. He excluded all others from consideration, thereby simplifying questions of diocesan authority. He deprived the bishops of their authority and limited their communications with the Pope, making them subservient to himself. Direct communication between the bishops and Rome, and of religious orders with their generals in foreign countries, was forbidden. All ecclesiastical decrees, including those issued by the Pope, were to become dependent on the approval of the Emperor. Certain other decisions, such as those involving impediments to marriage, became the domain of the bishops, who, because they were now under the authority of the Emperor, were incapable of reaching conclusions independently. All papal titles and attendance at the German seminary in Rome were also forbidden, and a new German seminary

was established in Pavia to replace it. Joseph also deprived clergymen of the tithe and required them to study in seminaries under government control, reduced the number of holy days, limited the amount of ornamentation in churches (even dictating the number of candles that could be burned), and simplified religious celebration. Under Joseph's rule, the church became an arm of the state and church lands and funds were expropriated. While in Rome in 1783, Joseph threatened to create an independent state-church, of which he would be the head.

As an example of his enlightened attitudes, in 1781, Joseph issued a *Tolerenzpatent*, a charter of religious toleration that granted religious freedom to Lutherans, Calvinists, and Serbian Orthodox. In 1782, the Edict of Tolerance extended religious freedom to the Jews of Galicia, an area between Central and Eastern Europe, now part of Poland, with a large Yiddish-speaking Jewish population. However, rather than grant Jews more control over their own communities, the new policy eliminated their internal autonomy and promoted their Germanization by encouraging them not to wear traditional Jewish clothing or follow Jewish customs. These measures of "tolerance" were met by protests from the Catholic hierarchy and contributed to unrest among the Catholic populations in the Empire.

Of all the religious orders, Joseph considered the contemplatives the most parasitical. On 13 March 1783, he suppressed all "'useless' convents, especially those of contemplatives" (Smet 533). The Edict on Idle Institutions, promulgated in 1780, was one of 10,000 ordinances Joseph issued on religious matters. It outlawed all contemplative monastic orders except those actively involved in teaching, healthcare, and other social services. Under Joseph's rule, the number of monks in the Holy Roman Empire was reduced from 65,000 to 27,000. As a result, many nuns, including those of the Brussels, Antwerp and Mechelen houses were forced to leave their convents.

Influenced by the French Enlightenment and the American Revolution, Joseph sought to move the Empire out of what he saw as a medieval mentality dominated by blind submission to the Church and into the modern age. Although many applauded Joseph's "progressive attitudes," others protested against his repressive, autocratic ways. His new policies provoked outrage against his despotic interference in religious and community life, but at first, organized resistance was limited to the clergy. However, when, in 1787, the Emperor tried to abolish existing provincial councils and law courts and create new centralized governing and judicial bodies in Brussels, "It was a step too far" (Arblaster 169). The states of Brabant rebelled. News of the storming of the Bastille in Paris enflamed the passions of the insurgents. On 27 October 1789, the rebels dealt the Austrian army an astonishing defeat, launching the Brabant Revolution. On 31 October, the States of Brabant declared their independence, and soon, all the other provinces except Luxembourg had joined them. However, after Joseph II

died on 20 February 1790, his successor Leopold II put down the rebellion and reestablished Austrian rule.

For the Discalced Carmelite nuns in the Low Countries, Joseph's policies were disastrous. Joseph's anticlerical measures stoked rumors in the Low Countries that the contemplative orders would inevitably be suppressed, and the Discalced Carmelites feared they were at the top of the list. In this, they turned out to be right. Some in Joseph's Brussels council favored a gradual extinction—allowing the current residents to live out their lives in the cloister and then closing it definitively. However, others favored immediate closure, and their opinion prevailed (Proyart 222).

Forced to abandon their convents and emigrate, the nuns dispersed to France, England, or elsewhere in the Empire. The Toleration Act of 1689 did not grant complete equality to Roman Catholics in England, but religious houses were permitted. The English convent at Antwerp and others founded in Lierre in 1648 and at Hoogstraten in 1678 relocated to England in 1794. The Antwerp community founded by Ana de San Bartolomé went to Lanherne in Cornwall. The Lierre nuns settled in Darlington and the Hoogstraten group in Dorset (Rohrbach 302). The Brussels nuns migrated to Paris, but with tremendous difficulty, as recounted below. The order never ceased to function, explains Rohrbach, but “it was nevertheless brought to the brink of extinction as its once prosperous provinces were brought to tattered remnants of their former selves” (302).

The sisters from Belgian convents who made their way to France received considerable aid from Louise de France (1737-1787), daughter of King Louis XV. Known as Madame Louise, she entered the Carmelites at Saint-Denis in 1770 with the consent of the King and worked tirelessly to assist the nuns from contemplative orders escaping the Habsburg Empire. Two documents in the Georgetown University library attest to the difficulties contemplative nuns faced when forced to abandon their convents and emigrate: *Relation de la suppression des religieuses Carmélites de Bruxelles et de leur translation dans le monastère de Saint-Denis* (1784), a manuscript, and an early printed edition entitled *Histoire de l'émigration des religieuses supprimées dans les Pays-Bas*, bound together and dated 1787. Another early document, *Vie de Madame Louise, Religieuse Carmélite, Fille de Louis XV* (1805, 1851), written by the Abbot Proyart, a friend and frequent correspondent of Louise de France, also provides important information. All of these documents convey the terrible personal tragedy the suppression of the monasteries represented for the nuns who experienced it and celebrate the agency of Louise de France in facilitating the escape of contemplative nuns from Habsburg territories.

Before the nuns set off for Paris, a great deal of correspondence—much of it reproduced in *Vie de Madame Louise*—passed between the prioress of the Brussels monastery, Thérèse de Sainte-Marie, and Madame Louise, identified

by her name in religion, Thérèse de Saint-Augustin, and between each of these women and officials of the government and the Order.

As the Habsburg soldiers began to ransack the convents, the Brussels nuns were beside themselves. Proyart provides a vivid description of their anguish: their hands raised to heaven, they begged day and night for the strength and grace they would need to endure this cruel happening (222).⁹ Men carried off all their belongings—dishes, wooden spoons, all the simple accoutrements of everyday life. At first, the Brussels nuns thought that their special position as daughters of the convent founded by the Princess Isabel Clara Eugenia, whose special relationship with the Pope in the previous century was well known, would afford them some protection, but they were soon disabused of that illusion (Proyart 223). In view of these terrible developments, Madame Louise wrote to the prioress urging her to bring her nuns to Paris. In addition, she expressed her desire to receive the body of Ana de Jesús, which the nuns feared would be desecrated by Joseph II's forces.

Yet, Madame Louise was not in a position to guarantee the Brussels nuns' passage into France or entrance into Saint-Denis. Fortunately, an *ange consolateur* [comforting angel] appeared in the person of Monsieur de Villegas d'Esteimbourg, a member of the High Council of Brussels. One of the nuns' greatest concerns was the safekeeping of the relics that had escaped the raid on their possessions. Among their treasures were a finger of Saint Teresa given them by the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, a fragment of the column to which Jesus was fastened, a large thorn from his crown, part of neck of Saint Élisabeth de Thuringe, and a reliquary of Saint Anne. Villegas promised to ensure these items were transported safely to France, and he kept his word (Proyart 225). Auspiciously, a young lady who was leaving for Paris offered to transport the box of relics and hand it over to Madame de Flavigny, mother superior of the sisters of Fontevault. They, in turn, transferred the box to Saint-Denis. Madame Louise wrote to the prioress in Brussels assuring her of the safe arrival of the relics and begging her to send the body of Ana de Jesús.

Although the Brussels council still had not decided the fate of the nuns, in the event they had to leave the Low Countries, the sisters did not know whether they would be permitted to emigrate to France, for they still had not received authorization to enter the country. After energetic intervention from Madame Louise, who put the matter to her nephew King Louis XVI, the problem was resolved: Madame Louise writes to Mother Thérèse, "J'ai vu hier le roi... Je lui ai parlé de vous et de vos filles. Il consent bien volontiers à ce que vous veniez vous réfugier dans son royaume; et je me hâte de vous le mander, afin qu'il ne vous reste plus d'inquiétude" (298) [I saw the King yesterday... and spoke to him about you and your daughters. He consents gladly to your coming to take refuge in his kingdom, and I hurry to beckon you, so that you'll suffer no more worries" (Proyart 228). The French superiors, she writes to the prioress, will distribute the Brussels nuns among the least poor of the Carmelite houses in France, for

these women can no longer count on any help from the Emperor, and although a few may receive assistance from their families, one can't be sure. All she asks in exchange for facilitating the relocation, she writes, are the bodies of Ana de Jesús and Ana de San Bartolomé.

Yet, the Brussels council still had not reached a decision. The members were debating how to implement the reform, whether to force the orders to alter their Rules or to close the religious houses altogether. Proyart explains that the government's proposals varied from one day to the next (228). Madame Louise wrote to Thérèse de Sainte-Marie: "don't put up with this. As long as you don't consent to it, they can't force you. Just come to France and practice your vows, and don't fear their threats. What violence can they do to you?" After swearing her support, she goes on, "We are acutely interested in everything that is happening to you. You have only to say, 'I don't consent to the changes you want to make, and I'm going to retire to France, where a refuge in our Order is being prepared for us, because we want to live and die Carmelites, just as we promised.'" (Proyart 230). Given the ensuing events in France, Madame Louise's words sound eerily ironic.

The Brussels nuns were not the only ones to face expulsion. News from all over the Empire reached Madame Louise and the Carmelite General in Rome of the plight of nuns in parts of Germany, Poland, Italy and elsewhere. How to relocate so many displaced women? Madame Louise had now decided to receive all the nuns from Brussels at Saint-Denis, but space was an obstacle. The convent at Saint-Denis was not large enough to hold them all. In fact, according to Madame Louise, there wasn't a single spare cell in the house. The King had agreed to finance new quarters, but these were still under construction. However, in a touching letter Madame Louise wrote to Villegas late in 1782, she explained that the problem had been resolved thanks to the magnanimity of the Saint-Denis sisters: "Our nuns are filled with sadness about the plight of our sisters in the Low Countries, and in particular those in Brussels, and it seems they are truly worthy daughters of our holy Mother Teresa... Today, at our hour of recreation, all of our sisters knelt before me, and each one offered her cell and whatever bits of furniture she had. Our good God has been generous to us, they said, and so we can share. They were so motivated, Monsieur, that I was delighted and deeply moved" (Proyart 235).

In spite of the invitation that Madame Louise extended to all the Discalced Carmelite houses in Flanders, the Belgian nuns were slow to respond, and Madame Louise felt obligated to write to the Father General to enlist his help in pressuring the sisters to come to France. The Father General took the matter before the Pope, who praised Madame Louise's zeal and applauded her efforts to transfer the remains of the two Anas to France. More importantly, he notified the provincial of Brabant of his approval of Madame Louise's project. Although the Brussels nuns continued to demur, the constant pressure eventually paid off. Their superior, Abbot Bertin, notified the nuns that the entire Brussels

community would be admitted to Saint-Denis. Madame Louise wrote to Thérèse de Sainte-Marie immediately:

I am sending you, my reverend mother, the letter that I received from Abbott Bertin, to assure you of how much he and our own superiors are disposed to receive you. It is not only now that Abbot Bertin has expressed to me his paternal feelings for you. He has often assured us that we must certainly receive our poor sisters. Let us have only bread to eat, so that we can share it with them. Our mother Thérèse will assign pairs of our sisters together in one cell. I hope it will be fine... Oh, my reverend mother, I worry about you. What state can your hearts be in? We dream only of offering you some consolation. Leaving Flanders, you leave everything—your country, your parents, friends, superiors... well, everything. (Proyart 241)

Madame Louise goes on to explain that in Paris, they will have Jesuit confessors and to describe the house as “fervent, united, strict, and extremely charitable” (Proyart 242).

Thérèse de Sainte-Marie responded soon afterward:
Madame, my pen has no way of expressing the gratitude that our hearts feel because of the extraordinary generosity you have shown us by permitting us to find refuge in your blissful retreat... Up until now, we have no inkling of what will happen. We are growing bored, Madame, in this long waiting period. It is true that the commissaries have been named, as well the office where our affair will be taken up, but what will happen, only God knows. Those who are involved prevent anything from getting done, and we hear a thousand lies, all of which contradict each other. We are hoping, once we reach our happy refuge, to find peace once again, for our health is suffering. May we conserve it so we will be useful to our dear sisters, the Carmelites of Saint-Denis. (Proyart 243)

To “sweeten the bitterness of a situation that was becoming more difficult to bear by the day,” Thérèse de Sainte-Marie and Madame Louise determined to send some trustworthy person Brussels to calm the sisters and find out what was going on (Proyart 244). Madame Louise selected Abbot Consolin, once one of the confessors of Saint-Denis and then canon of Sainte-Opportune, in Paris. Upon receiving him in Brussels, the “joy of the Carmelites was inexpressible” (Proyart 244). However, in this tumultuous period, joy was short-lived. While Consolin was visiting another convent, the edict of suppression was finally announced. Immediately, the superiors began to assign the nuns to different convents. Villegas took charge of making travel arrangements. All nuns from the Flemish convents

were invited to relocate in France. However, some refused to accept the asylum they were offered, opting to defy orders and stay in their houses.

The decisive date was 8 April 1783. The edict promulgated in Brussels announced “the suppression of those nuns called contemplatives, and the Carmelites were at the top of the list” (Proyart 246). Mother Thérèse de Sainte-Marie informed Madame Louise right away. “Finally, Madame, the anticipated time of the decision about our fate has arrived. We’ve been expecting this announcement since Easter Tuesday. We will undoubtedly receive a separate decree that will make us suffer” (Proyart 246).

Proyart tells us that the day before the Belgian nuns were supposed to arrive in Paris, Madame Louise bustled around Saint-Denis making arrangements for the newcomers. What she didn’t know was the Emperor had denied Villegas permission to accompany the Carmelites from Brussels to Paris. In view of this refusal, Villegas thought it futile to present the requests of Madame Louise before the Council. However, “the mother prioress of Brussels, in the name of her community, addressed the government with an appeal for the body of Saint Albert and the bodies of the two venerable mothers, Ana de Jesús and Ana de Saint Bartolomé. She requested once more that the nuns be permitted to buy back their sacred vessels, along with the silver that should be returned to them for the viaticum. The Council accorded her the bodies of the two venerable mothers but refused the return of Saint Albert and the silver items” (Proyart 251).

The 10th of May was the “fatal day” when the Carmelites received official word of their suppression. The nuns were given four options: 1.) to return to their families and live a secular life 2.) to join a convent that has not been suppressed, that is, one devoted to teaching or nursing 3.) to live together in a secular house 4.) to leave Belgium. For these devout Carmelites, there was no choice. They had vowed to live and die as Discalced Carmelites. It was time to begin the long trek south to Paris.

However, the Discalced Carmelite nuns who sought refuge in France were not free from persecution for long. When the French Revolution erupted in 1789, the Church was a prime target. The population of France was almost entirely Catholic, and the revolutionaries recognized the Pope as head of the Church, but they negotiated considerable independence for the Gallic church, giving it a clear national identity. Church lands were confiscated, and religious vows taken in France were temporarily suspended. In February of the following year, all religious orders were abolished, and the State seized their property. As under Joseph II of Austria, the only exceptions were those orders engaged in teaching or healthcare.

In July 1790, the National Assembly required diocesan priests to become salaried employees of the State. Only those taking an oath of fidelity to the Constitution were allowed to perform their priestly duties. Furthermore, all clergy could be freed of their vows completely and receive a sum of money

simply by declaring their wish to become laypersons. Rohrbach notes that “in comparison with other Parisian communities, the Carmelites did not fare badly during the early days of the new republic because the friars were sympathizers of the revolution, and they were allowed to remain quietly in their monastery, although the church was closed, and they were not able to function publicly as priests” (294). The aversion of the Discalced Carmelites to the pomp and gaudiness of some churches and the self-indulgence of many priests made them natural allies of a movement devoted to the elimination of superfluous ostentation on the part of the unproductive elite. However, the September massacres of 1792 altered the environment radically, ushering in “a new phase of the revolution, a fanatical attack of unbelievable venom and irrationality against the Church in France” (Rohrbach 294). The Reign of Terror, a period of cruel measures against anyone suspected of opposing the Revolution, had begun. Paris saw mass executions, while in the provinces, local surveillance committees targeted enemies of the working classes (nobles, clerics, merchants).

As the Reign of Terror intensified, the revolutionary government implemented more draconian measures. No religious order was safe from persecution. For example, the friars of the Discalced monastery on the Rue de Vaugirard were expelled, and the house was transformed into a prison. The revolutionaries considered all forms of Catholicism suspicious. They associated the Church with the *ancien régime*, which had espoused values incompatible with the Republic, and vowed to excise religion from society. In October 1793, public worship was outlawed. In November of the same year, churches were closed, and some became warehouses or stables. The Cathedral of Notre Dame was converted into a temple dedicated to the goddess of reason. Priests were forced to abandon their vows, and in some cases, to marry. Those who failed to comply were arrested and threatened with deportation. All public Christian symbols were removed. Church bells were melted for bullets, crosses were confiscated from places of worship, and statues and other works of art were appropriated and sometimes destroyed, in spite of protests from people concerned about the obliteration of France’s national treasure. Streets and squares bearing names of saints were renamed. A new ten-day revolutionary calendar was created, and Sunday was no longer recognized as a day of worship.

During this period, the six Carmelite provinces in France succumbed to the anti-Catholic hysteria. Rohrbach writes, “Prior to the revolution there had been seventy-nine monasteries of friars and seventy-five convents of nuns, and all of these properties were confiscated by the government” (295). Some of the surviving Carmelites emigrated to other countries such as Spain or Italy, while some remained in France and practiced their faith according to their Rule in secret. Some were discovered and executed. The most famous case is that of the nuns of Compiègne, Mother Thérèse de Saint Augustine and her fifteen spiritual

daughters, who were led to the guillotine. Their martyrdom was celebrated in the 1956 opera, *Dialogues des Carmelites*, with music and libretto by François Poulenc.

In spite of these horrors, the Order did not disappear. Faith had remained strong among segments of the French population, and when Napoleon rose to power in 1799, he recognized that an accommodation with the Church was desirable. Although he was not a religious person himself, the Church constituted a buffer against some of the most fanatical elements in French society. Furthermore, the State-sponsored re-establishment of the orders could save the government money because certain religious congregations ran hospitals and schools. More important still, a Church-State alliance could help to solidify his rule. In spite of opposition from revolutionary factions, Napoleon pursued an alliance with the Church.

On 16 July 1801, France and Rome signed an agreement known as the Concordat, which recognized Catholicism as the religion of the majority of French citizens, but not as the official religion of the nation. Furthermore, the Concordat brought the Church under the authority of the State. The government was to pay the salaries of the clergy, who were to swear allegiance to the government. Furthermore, Napoleon was to appoint all bishops. The following year, without consulting Pius VII, the French government added an article requiring that all directives from Rome be approved by the State, in effect, undermining Church authority. Although Napoleon incorporated many of the reforms of the revolutionaries, the violent furor against the Church had abated. Religious practice continued, often in private spaces and with increased participation of the laity.

By the 1830s, the Carmelites had begun their recovery. After Napoleon was defeated and exiled to Elba in 1814, conventual life gradually resumed in France, and by the end of the century, the Order was once again flourishing. Rohrbach notes: “By the year 1880, there were 113 convents, but only 16 of that number were legally established with the necessary permission of the government. And that statistic tells a great deal about the reconstruction of the Order in France and in other parts of Europe: the antireligious laws were still on the books, but the nuns disregarded them and intrepidly founded their convents, and the government made no effort to impede them or enforce the laws” (308). The friars were in a more difficult position, however, as they were more often than the nuns viewed with suspicion and forced to curtail their activities.

A similar development occurred in the Low Countries. Joseph II had reestablished Habsburg authority in 1790, following the Brabant Revolution. In 1792, France invaded Belgium and in 1795, annexed it to the French Republic. Although peasants had revolted against French rule in the Low Countries, Holland remained under French rule and in 1810, was annexed to the empire of the Bonapartes. It was not until 1830, when Belgium obtained its independence from Holland, that the monasteries began to reopen. The friars in Bruges

immediately returned to their monasteries. Little by little, other foundations were made, and the nuns, too, began to return to their convents or to found new ones. The first foundation for Carmelite nuns in the United States was made in Maryland by four nuns from the convent of Hoogstraten, three of whom were Americans who had gone to Europe to join a convent.

Today, Carmelite life flourishes in many parts of Europe and the Americas, and the Antwerp convent, where I conducted much of my research on the Belgian Carmels, still stands on the Rue Rosier, where it was originally built.

Notes

¹ “Convent” and “monastery” can both refer to either a male or female religious house. The terms are interchangeable.

² For a detailed description of the foundations in Portugal and France, please see Mujica, *Women Religious*.

³ A *converso* is a Catholic convert from Judaism. Teresa’s grandfather, Juan Sánchez, was a *converso* who procured a Patent of Nobility to show his pure Christian lineage. See Teófanos Egido, *El linaje judeoconverso de Santa Teresa*. Egido provides ample documentation pertinent to the case.

⁴ See *Women Religious* 241.

⁵ For a description of the complications that followed the establishment of the friary, see Morgain 200ff and Mujica, *Women Religious* 243-255).

⁶ For a detailed description of the attack by Protestant soldiers on the Castle of Antwerp, where Ana de San Bartolomé was hiding with her nuns, see the letter from the Archduchess Isabel Clara Eugenia to her confessor in Mujica, *Women Religious* 284-285.

⁷ Between May and October 1648, representatives of the warring nations signed a series of peace treaties in the Westphalian cities of Osnabrück and Münster.

⁸ See Venturi 707ff.

⁹ Translations from the French are mine.

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Early Modern Gender Fluidity in the Episode of Dorotea in
Don Quijote de la Mancha

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“Sir, or Madam, chuse you whether;
Nature twists them both together.”
—François de Chavigny de la Bretonniere,
The Gallant Hermaphrodite, An Amorous Novel (1688)

In San Juan de la Cruz’s poem “Noche oscura del alma,” the poetic voice refers to the transformation from female to male that occurs as the “Amada en el amado transformada.” As exemplified by this passage, gender identity is demonstrated to have a potentially more fluid representation in some exemplars of early modern Spanish literature. In this verse the female beloved is demonstrated to have transformed by way of a mystical spiritual experience into the very male beloved, their respective and distinct gender identities blending linguistically and poetically. Such an example of gender fluidity, while admittedly operating along a binary continuum and preferencing a male identity, does seem to allow for a more complex and nuanced representation of gender identity than one would expect in early modern culture.

The religious authority Fray Agustín de Torres narrates a similar story of gender transformation in a *relación* or *pliego suelto* (1617), designated as a *carta* (letter) and also reproduced by Francisco de Lyra. After having spent twelve years in a convent, the protagonist María (Magdalena) Muñoz, a thirty-four-year-old nun from Úbeda, seems to have miraculously and spontaneously transformed from a woman into a man after having participated in some strenuous physical activity.¹

y vn dia haziendo vn exercicio de fuerça fe le rompio vna tela por donde le falió la naturaleza de hōbre como los demas ... [and one day while engaging in strenuous physical activity a veil ruptured from which there emerged a male sexual organ like that of any man ... (My translation)]

There are numerous biological and physiological conditions that could result in such a transformation,² seemingly always from what was considered a less to a more perfect iteration, that is to say from female to male. Most often this transformation is verified by those in attendance through the act of touching

and palpating their genitalia. Muñoz's word or belief is not sufficient proof of this transformation. The obsessive need to touch and palpate the genitalia seems to belie a commonly held belief that human sexuality remained largely under wraps in the early modern period. The anatomical detail with which the religious authorities describe and the obsessiveness with which they examine Muñoz's body, ostensibly a female body, suggest that Muñoz's testimony or their vision alone is not sufficient to provide the evidence required.

Y el dia de fan Francisco entramos en el Conuento de las monjas los dos, y en achaque de tomarle fu dicho a folas en la celda donde estava encerrada, lo vimos con los ojos, y palpamos con las manos, y hallamos fer hombre perfecto en la naturaleza de hombre, y que no tenia de muger fino un agujerillo como vn piñon mas arriba del lugar donde dizen que las mugeres tienen fu flexu a pie del que la auia falido de hōbre. [And on the day of Saint Francis we two entered the convent of the nuns, and under the pretext of taking her testimony in secret in the cell where she was cloistered, we witnessed it with our own eyes, and we palpated it with our own hands, and we found him to be a perfect man in every respect, and he had no female organs with the exception of a small hole the size of a pine nut above the place where they say that women have their sexual organ and below the place where the male sexual organ had appeared. (My translation)]³

As the appendages of priests and nuns whose actions are not perceived as corrupting in the verification of Muñoz's transformation, hands are essential to the sense of touch. In *De Sensu*, Aristotle calls touch "the indispensable sense" (Harvey 4) and in *De Anima* notes that, because it is common to all animals, it should be considered the "primary form of sense" (413b; Harvey 4). Carolyn Nadeau notes that "... Humanists privileged sight and sound as 'higher' senses but also acknowledged, via the convivial feast, that the 'lower' senses of taste, touch, and smell are also key to the pursuit of knowledge" (141). The importance of hands emanates from the human beings erect bipedality. Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle comments that "Aristotle erred in asserting that humans had hands because they were intelligent; Anaxagoras was, perhaps, more correct in stating that humans were intelligent because they had hands" ("Senses of Touch" xiii). In the absence of certain body parts, she notes that hands could even substitute: "... for the eyes in the groping of the blind, for the tongue in the signs of the mute" ("Deaf Signs" 24).

Muñoz's genital transformation brings to light other previously identified physical characteristics that suggested a female gender identity, such as an underdeveloped vagina and urethra, the lack of menstruation, and the lack of breast development. All of these physical characteristics are corroborated by

witnesses, including Muñoz's father and the nuns in the convent. In fact, Muñoz long deceived the nuns with whom they cohabitated by applying blood from penitential self-flagellation to the bed to simulate menstrual blood and to avoid their teasing and condemnation.

Dixonos como por ser muger cerrada, y que no tenia mas de aquel pequeño agujero fe auia metido monja, y ni tenia fu padre otro hijo, ni hija. [She said that because she had such a small vagina with nothing more than that small hole, she chose to become a nun, and her father had no other child, neither son nor daughter. (My translation)]

Confessó que jamas la auia venido su mes: y porque las monjas no le llamassen marimacho, que quando fe disciplinava hazia ostentacion de la fangre en las camilas, diciendo estaba con fu regla, miramos los pechos, y con fer de treynta y quatro años, no los tenia mas que vna tabla. [She confessed that she had never menstruated; and so that the nuns wouldn't berate her by calling her butch, when she scourged herself, she showed off the blood saying that it was from her period, we examined her breasts, and given that she was 34 years old, they were as flat as a tablet. (My translation)]

The spontaneous development of male genitalia is then followed by or provokes other physical changes typically associated with stereotypically biological males, such as beard growth and voice deepening.

En feys, o siete dias que le auia falido el sexu de hombre, le començaua a negregear el boço, y fe le mudó la voz muy grueffa. [In six or seven days after the appearance of the male genitalia, a beard began to grow, and her voice deepened. (My translation)]

This fascination with physical verification is seen today in the public's curiosity towards the genitalia of transgender or intersexed individuals and whether their genitals are pre- or post-operative.

Gender identity is considered by some to be an arbitrary social construct (Soyer 5).⁴ In François Soyer's study *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms*, nearly all of the cases to which he refers through Inquisitorial records include evidence that the individuals were subjected (or submitted) to a physical, often manual, examination of their genitalia to verify their respective gender identities. Cathy McClive suggests that "the notions of masculinity and femininity adopted by early modern Europeans were 'seated in the genitalia'" (65) and demonstrated a physical manifestation. Perhaps this notion is still the norm to some degree and

consistent with the idea that intersexed or transgender individuals are not truly transitioned until their genitalia matches their gender identification.⁵ While there were only rudimentary and potentially dangerous surgical options for early modern intersexed or transgender individuals,⁶ there was a need for the genitalia to match to conform to the society's expectations and be functional in the societal imperative to produce offspring (McClive 46).

Barbara Fuchs's *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* addresses "first, the resistant fluidity of individual identity in the [Early Modern] period and, second, the ways in which that fluidity undermines a collective identity based on exclusion and difference" (3) and, therefore, "challenges the very notion of a transparent, easily classified identity on which the state can rely for exclusionary purposes" (7). As Fuchs's analyses deal with the act of passing as a conscious act designed to exclude and differentiate, early modern moralists and ecclesiastical authorities expressed particular concern regarding the fluidity of maleness and masculinity. As I summarize in my article, "Do Clothes Really Make the (Wo)Man? Male to Female Cross-Dressing and Transnatural Transformations on the Insula Barataria in *Don Quijote*," moralists criticized upper-class men's effeminizing adoption of what would have been considered female attire and beauty practices and deemed such habits responsible for Spain's military and moral decline (44-45).

Muñoz was not actively passing, and their transformation purportedly happened unbeknownst to them. Two infamous cases of more active or intentional passing are those of Catalina de Erauso⁷ and Elena/Eleno (or Elenx) Céspedes.⁸ Catalina de Erauso, known as the Lieutenant Nun, was able to avoid the punishment due to the public attention she garnered by her impressive military exploits and her insistence upon her virginity and previous status as a nun. As Mary Elizabeth Perry notes, "Neither simply woman nor man, she [Erauso] was both and all, a sexual anomaly, a circus freak, a symbol of nature undone and amazed, a paradox of boundaries violated but hymen intact" (407).

Elena/o/x Céspedes was a mulatto, formerly enslaved person, and practicing surgeon who alleged intersexuality to explain why, as Elena, she married and gave birth to a child and later, as Eleno, she married a woman and, therefore, fell under the scrutiny of the Inquisition.

... the intersexed were increasingly policed by legal and medical authorities, who sought to determine whether a hermaphrodite was female or male. Once sex was assigned, the person could enjoy "all of the prerogatives of that sex." With sodomy's criminalization, which dates to before the Renaissance in Europe and appears in a number of Inquisition cases, hermaphroditism moved from the arena of unusual *physiology* into that of unnatural or transgressive behavior. (Vollendorf 19; Daston and Park "The Hermaphrodite" 123-24)

What seems to have provoked the ire of both the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities and brought Elena/o/x to the attention of the Inquisition was the potential instability and mutability of an intersexed individual's gender identification. As Anne Fausto-Sterling notes,

... all over Europe the sharp distinction between male and female was at the core of systems of law and politics. The rights of inheritance, forms of judicial punishments, and the right to vote and participate in the political system were all determined in part by sex. (*Sexing the Body* 35)

While intersexuality was acknowledged albeit poorly understood, the intersexed individual was expected to determine with which gender to identify and maintain that gender identification for life or face severe punishment or death (Fausto-Sterling "Five Sexes" 23). What was problematic for Elena/o/x Céspedes, for example, was that s/he (they) changed gender identification over time. As a woman, Elena/o/x married and gave birth to a child. Later s/he (they) identified as a man and remarried a woman, thereby running afoul of the Inquisition. Kathleen P. Long provides a succinct yet detailed explanation of the understanding of intersexuality in "Early Modern Scientific Accounts of Hermaphroditism," and explains that, in order to be an active participant in the fabric of early modern culture and to be inscribed within the social order, one needed an immutable gender identification (4).

In his study of the evolution of "trans" words, Joseph Gamble identifies the introduction of "trans" words—specifically "transexion" and "transfeminated" to refer to the change from female to male—in Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646) to account for such transformations (Gamble 26-27). In contemporary times, an alternative gender identity could be described by an evolving repertoire of terms including but not limited to non-binary, queer, gender fluid, genderqueer, transsexual, transgender, etc.⁹ However, in the early modern period, the understanding of gender identity would have been much more limited and limiting. Intersexed individuals were required by societal norms and by ecclesiastical and legal practice to choose from and align with one end of the binary spectrum or the other. An identity which occupied a place between or outside of the spectrum was not acceptable and would have been considered heretical, including the possibility of a more fluid or modulating gender identification. Kathleen P. Long references the complex way in which the intersexed individual was simultaneously viewed and feared by early modern society.

The intersexual is celebrated and reviled, alternately a monster and a god, thus reflecting ambivalence towards the rigid gender roles imposed by the law as well as towards what has been declared by law and by the Church to be sexual deviance. The omnipresence of the hermaphrodite

in most aspects of Renaissance culture suggests *attraction towards sexual ambiguity as well as fear of transgression of sexual roles*. (Long 5, my emphasis)

The idea that an individual might be able to determine their own categorization was a revolutionary one.

Don Quijote contains myriad scenes of transvestism and cross-dressing (both female to male and male to female) for comedic or dramatic effect by which individuals present as different genders than the ones to which they were born. However, one particularly evocative scene reveals a minute rhetorical space that seems to allow for the possibility of a non-binary gender fluid identification, or that an individual might determine or self-select the gender identity that the individual prefers to assume or present. In the iconic scene in Book I, Chapter 28, in which the priest, the barber Maese Nicolás, and Cardenio first encounter Dorotea, she is dressed as a young man. Surprisingly, they have no need to touch her to verify her gender identity as the attractiveness of her feet, legs, hair, and face serve as telltale erogenous signs that she is a woman, despite presenting as a man, albeit not very convincingly to those surreptitiously watching her. In addition, to have subjected her to a physical trespass on her body would have dishonored her, and they are honorable men. Although Dorotea's attempt at "passing" is not convincing to her unintended audience, it does not invalidate the identity or identities she may wish to assume.

What is significant for this analysis is that the priest addresses her in a way that appears to allow her the agency to determine for herself which gender identity she prefers to assume: "Así que, señora mía, o señor mío, *o lo que vos quisierdes ser, ...*" (I: 28, 277, my emphasis).¹⁰ Perhaps he makes this comment to allow her to maintain her disguise, therefore avoiding further humiliation for Dorotea whose situation they do not yet know but which can be assumed to be embarrassing to say the least? Or perhaps he opens a small rhetorical space in which there is the possibility that she might choose to which gender identity she prefers to adhere, at least for the moment? While Dorotea is not represented as an intersexed or transgender individual, as were Muñoz and Elena/o/x Céspedes, the fluidity of her performative gender identity, along with the priest's seemingly innocuous comment, allows the early modern (and contemporary) reader to entertain a momentous possibility: that early modern iterations of gender identity are potentially mutable, and that Dorotea has been granted the prerogative by the priest, the representative of ecclesiastical authority, to determine which one she will assume, something along the binary or something else altogether ("... lo que vos quisierdes ser, ..."). The presence of the second conjunction "o" in the Spanish version suggests a third possibility beyond that of the binary identification of female or male, or perhaps something existing between the two. An understanding of a non-binary identity did not fit neatly within the early modern understanding

of gender identity. It is even more surprising that it is the priest, whom we expect to enunciate official Catholic doctrine, who seems to break with orthodoxy to suggest this surprisingly progressive possibility.

English language translations have both expanded upon and limited similar gender fluidity. The English translation by Edith Grossman, for example, interprets the passage in such a way as to allow for gender fluidity: “And so, my dear Señora, or Señor, *or whatever it is you wish to be, ...*” (229, my emphasis).¹¹ In the English translation by Burton Raffel in the Diana de Armas Wilson edition, the passage is interpreted in a binary way as the priest comments, “And so, my dear sir — or my dear madame, *whichever you choose to be—...*” (Armas Wilson; I.28: 174, my emphasis).¹² It is likely that some English language translators opined that the binary of male and female was the only acceptable iteration of human gender identity expected and permitted in early modern Europe/Spain. But was it? A careful consideration of the Spanish version of this passage allows for a radical reinterpretation of gender identity (Kivi), one worthy of broader consideration.¹³

Binary gender and/or sex identification, however, was not always the norm. Intersexed identities were recognized and acknowledged in early modern culture, even as far back as Aristotle, who wrote about the existence of individuals possessing additional or missing body parts, as an intersexed individual was perceived to be either in excess or lacking appendages consistent with their gender identification. In *The Shape of Sex: Nonbinary Gender from Genesis to the Renaissance*, Leah DeVun details the vigorous and contradictory early Christian theological debates and opinions regarding the concept of Adam’s “primal androgyny” and whether “... sexual unity (androgyny) or sexual division (binary sex) [was] the first and intended state of humanity?” (17).¹⁴ DeVun demonstrates that, while the concept of androgyny came to be associated with hermaphroditism—eventually considered defective and even criminal and heretical—in the 12th-13th centuries, her exhaustive analyses of ancient and medieval theological and philosophical texts reveal that “sexual binarism was neither a natural nor a timeless phenomenon” (201). In fact, nonbinary sex was often envisioned as the epitome of divine perfection in the original biblical creation story or the apocalypse (DeVun 39), and biblical scholars theorized that Adam was created as a hermaphrodite but later split into male and female (Fausto-Sterling “Five Sexes” 23). Even Christ (DeVun 39) and some medieval saints have been represented as nonbinary or transgender.¹⁵ The correlation between Dorotea’s nonbinary gender identification and her nascent divinity is evident when Cardenio, upon seeing her face for the first time, exclaims that “—Ésta, ya que no es Luscinda, no es persona humana, *sino divina*” (275, my emphasis) [“That isn’t Luscinda, so it can’t be a human being, *but perhaps it’s an angel*” (174, my emphasis).].

In the realm of intersexuality, there were even more than one variety. The Greek philosopher Plato (428/427 or 424/423 – 348 BC) opined that there

were actually three sexes, not two (Fausto-Sterling “Five Sexes” 23). Ambroise Paré (1510-1590) described four types of intersexed individuals, termed in the parlance of the time as hermaphrodites, all of whose variations were contingent upon their reproductive capacities (Long 44): male hermaphrodites (for whom only the male organs function); female hermaphrodite (for whom only the female organs function); neither male nor female (for whom no organs function); and both male and female (for whom both sets of organs function). This last type is the most dangerous due to the mutability of their identification. In accordance with her belief that “sex is a vast, infinitely malleable continuum that defies the constraints” of easy categorization (“Five Sexes” 21) and consistent with our increased scientific knowledge, Anne Fausto-Sterling even goes so far as to conjecture that there are at a minimum five sexes: in addition to male and female, she theorizes three additional intersex identities she terms “herms,” “merms,” and “ferms” (“Five Sexes” 21).¹⁶ In addition, Gilbert Herdt posits a third identification based on not only sex and gender, but erotic desire.¹⁷ The idea that an individual might be able to determine their own categorization is a revolutionary one.

In David Castillo and William Egginton’s book *What Would Cervantes Do?*, the authors demonstrate how our current state of socio-political discourse mirrors the pervasive spread of disinformation during the Spanish baroque. They also demonstrate how Cervantes’s literary works specifically counter such disinformation through what they consider the author’s use of “excesiva ortodoxia” [“excessive orthodoxy”] (123). “Excessive orthodoxy” is a mechanism to highlight the irony with which opinions are expressed, opinions which seem to support official political and cultural narratives, but which, upon closer inspection, do not. For example, statements made by the *morisco* Ricote (Book II, Chapter 54) seem to endorse Felipe III’s systematic and complete expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spain.¹⁸ However, upon closer examination of the way in which Ricote is portrayed and his statements related to his and his family’s sense of loss at being expelled from their home country, the character’s presence actually resists and poignantly opposes this political policy.¹⁹ In the case of Dorotea, the fact that it is the priest who articulates a more fluid gender expression is ironic and somewhat revolutionary. One would logically expect the priest to espouse the most orthodox position with respect to gender identification. Surprisingly, he does not, and it is he who appears to allow for the greatest variation and who demonstrates the most tolerance. Daniel Holcombe also acknowledges the priest’s liberal leanings and non-judgmental moralizing as evidenced in the interpolated novella “El curioso impertinente” as it is the priest who publicly reads the story of the homoaffective and potentially homoerotic friendship between Anselmo and Lotario (79, 101).²⁰ How might we account for this phenomenon in Cervantes? As priest, he would have likely been more educated than his voyeuristic counterparts. He would have also been aware that there was a theological understanding that angels were

sexless or genderless and that many saints were somehow transgendered in their representations, such as the female saint Wilgefortis, who is often represented as bearded.²¹ In addition, priests and other religious authorities were often called upon to adjudicate in such cases where an individual's gender identity was in doubt or undetermined, as was true in the case of María Magdalena Muñoz. While Cervantes's *Don Quijote* is replete with myriad episodes of cross-dressing—both male to female and female to male—, for both comedic and dramatic effect, the episode of Dorotea is the only one in which an individual's gender identity is fluid.

Interestingly enough, the priest does not adjudicate her gender identity as he might if she were intersexed. Instead, he grants Dorotea the authority to make her own determination as to his/her/their identity. As the representative of ecclesiastical authority and orthodoxy, albeit a fictionalized one, the priest grants Dorotea the power to decide for herself if she wants to reside on one end or the other of the accepted binary spectrum or if she wants to radically occupy a space either between or outside of it: "... *o lo que vos quisierdes ser* (I.28: 277, my emphasis). While Dorotea does not possess the authority to empower herself, once empowered by the priest, the ultimate decision will be hers. The fact that the priest acknowledges a certain gender fluidity and movement between binary gender identities and even the possibility of an alternate gender identity makes this literary scene remarkable in its forward thinking. Dorotea's gender identity, therefore, is not "seated in the genitalia" (McClive 65), but is, instead, firmly entrenched in the authorial imagination, thereby allowing for a more progressive and potentially more transgressive act that will exist at least within the realm of early modern fiction.

Notes

¹ I would like to express my sincere gratitude to University of Minnesota Morris student Bridget Peterson for their efforts and insights into this *pliego suelto* during a faculty-student research project conducted during 2017-18. Also see Vollendorf's "I Am a Man and a Woman," (11-31), particularly pages 11-12, in which she provides a detailed analysis of this same event. I will refer to María Magdalena Muñoz as simply Muñoz to account for an ambiguous and possibly intersexed gender even though witnesses and the narrator situate Muñoz's gender identification on both sides of the typical male-female gender binary.

² See Vollendorf, 15-16.

³ The author refers to Muñoz with both feminine and masculine descriptive words in this passage. In my translation I have attempted to do the same or use the neutral "they/their" when necessary.

⁴ Also see Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, and Thomas Laqueur.

⁵ In David Ebershoff's novel "The Danish Girl," the protagonist undergoes an experimental, highly dangerous, and ultimately deadly surgical procedure to remove the vestiges of her male/masculine identity.

⁶ See Vollendorf, 16, for an early modern surgical intervention performed on an intersexed body.

⁷ See Velasco and Perry.

⁸ See Vollendorf, Burshatin, and de Souza.

⁹ For a detailed explanation of terminology, see Stryker, "Chapter 1: Contexts, Concepts, and Terms," 1-44. For a study of the evolution of the terms "transexion" and "transfeminate," see Gamble.

¹⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, the Spanish language citations are taken from the 2015 edition by Francisco Rico, and the English language translation are taken from the 2020 edition by Diana de Armas Wilson.

¹¹ In the English translation by the Lerner Publishing Group, the priest says, "And so, senora, or senor, *or whatever you prefer to be, ...*" (282, my emphasis).

¹² In the English translation by Samuel Putnam, for example, the priest says, "And so, dear lady, or dear sir, *whichever you prefer, ...*" (235, my emphasis).

¹³ Max Kivi, who graduated from the University of Minnesota Morris in 2022, studied *Don Quijote* with me in the fall of 2020, and I am indebted to his brilliant and perceptive analysis of this passage.

¹⁴ See DeVun, especially 16-39 and 163-99.

¹⁵ See Bychowski's consideration of Magnus Hirschfeld's text *Transvestiten* (*Die Transvestiten*) (1910) to examine the case of St. Marinos the Monk as a transgender saint. Hirschfeld proposes that cross-dressing "may be a revelation of the gender experienced by the transgender soul" (252) and may represent an individual's authentic identity.

¹⁶ According to Fausto-Sterling, a "herm" is a true hermaphrodite, possessing "one testis and one ovary (the sperm- and egg-producing vessels, or gonads)." A "merm" is a male pseudohermaphrodite possessing "testes and some aspects of the female genitalia but no ovaries." Finally, a "ferm" is the female pseudohermaphrodite possessing "ovaries and some aspects of the male genitalia but lack[ing] testes" ("Five Sexes" 21).

¹⁷ Herdt describes several third sex/gender identities, including the *kwoluaatmwol* of the Sambia in New Guinea; the berdache of North American and Pacific Rim Native American groups; and the Hijra of India.

¹⁸ "... que me parece que fue inspiración divina la que movió a Su Majestad a poner en efecto tan gallarda resolución, no porque todos fuésemos culpados, que algunos había cristianos firmes y verdaderos, pero eran tan pocos, que no se podían opinar a los que no lo eran, y no era bien criar la sierpe en el seno, teniendo los enemigos dentro de casa. Finalmente, con justa razón fuimos castigados con la pena del destierro, ..." (963) ["... that it seemed to me that nothing less than divine inspiration could have led His Majesty to promulgate such a courageous decree—not that all of us were equally guilty, some Moors having become firm and reliable Christians, but most were, and the minority among us could not have successfully opposed the vast majority, and why nourish a viper in your

bosom, and let your enemies lodge in your house? Truly, the penalty of perpetual exile fell upon us for good cause, ... (622)].

¹⁹ “Doquiera que estamos lloramos por España, que, en fin, nacimos en ella y es nuestra patria natural; en ninguna parte hallamos el acogimiento que nuestra desventura desea, y en Berbería y en todas las partes de África donde esperábamos ser recibidos, acogidos y regalados, allí es donde más nos ofenden y maltratan” (963) [“Wherever we are, we weep for the Spanish homeland where, after all, we were born and raised, nor have we found, anywhere else, the welcome our miserable hearts long for, and even in Algeria and Morocco and all the places in North Africa where we hoped and expected to be eagerly and joyously and bounteously received, there above all else we have been most reviled and mistreated” (622)].

²⁰ “That a priest is reading the story indicates that a morality is being conveyed and that the story exists to provide a didactic moment regarding homosociality, homoaffectivity, male friendship, the treatment of women, and traditional marriage under the auspices of the Catholic Church and the patriarchal and heteronormative societies in which both the novella and *Don Quixote* are set. From a queer studies perspective this lacuna is of great interest, as it implies that the priest does not consider intense homoaffectivity, potential homoeroticism, or heterosexual tragedy worthy of comment” (n.p.).

²¹ See Mills’s analysis of the figure of St. Wilgefortis. Also see Gutt and Spencer-Hall.

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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

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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

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 Álvar 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 Álvar 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 Babiéca 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 Álvar 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 Álvar 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

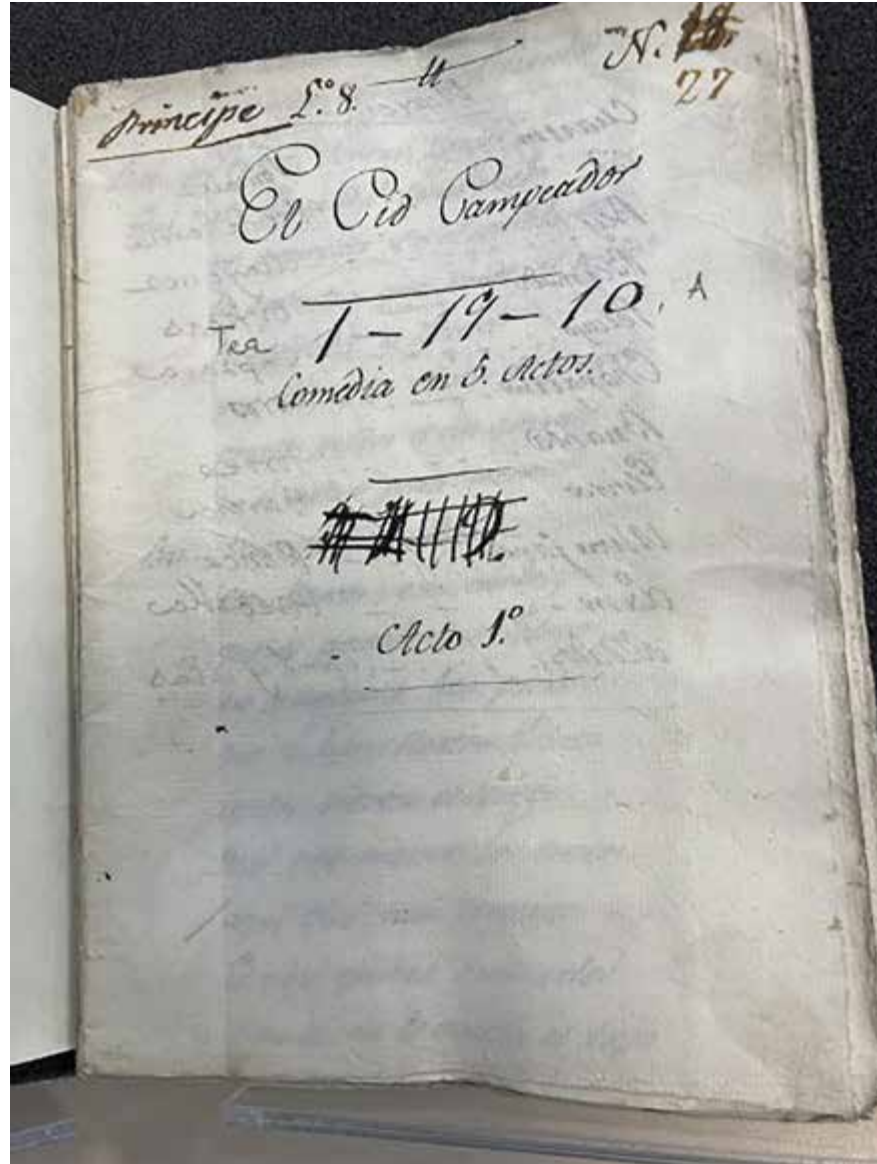


Figure 3: *El Cid Campeador en cinco actos*, manuscript, 1810. Image courtesy of BHM (signatura Tea 1-19-10, a).

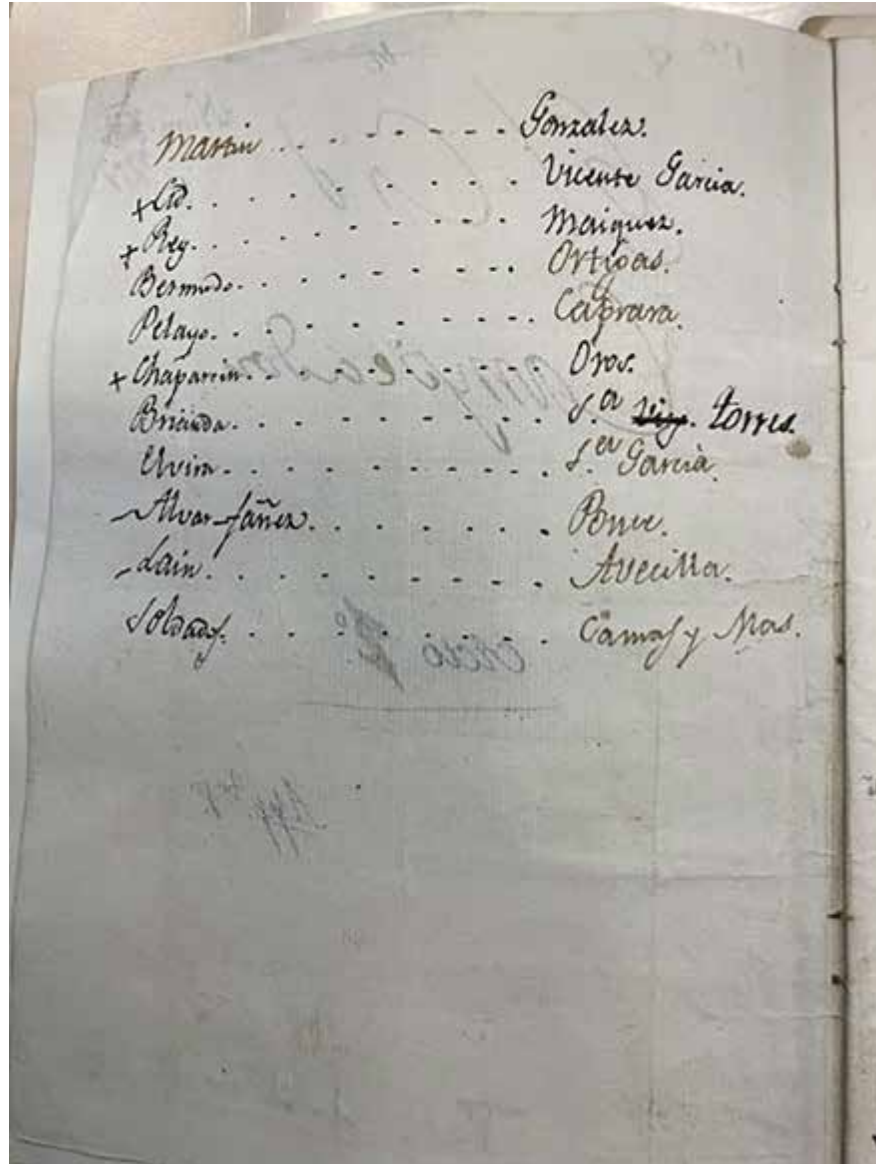


Figure 4: Cast list, 1810, for El Cid Campeador en cinco actos; courtesy of BHM (signatura Tea 1-19-10, b).

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

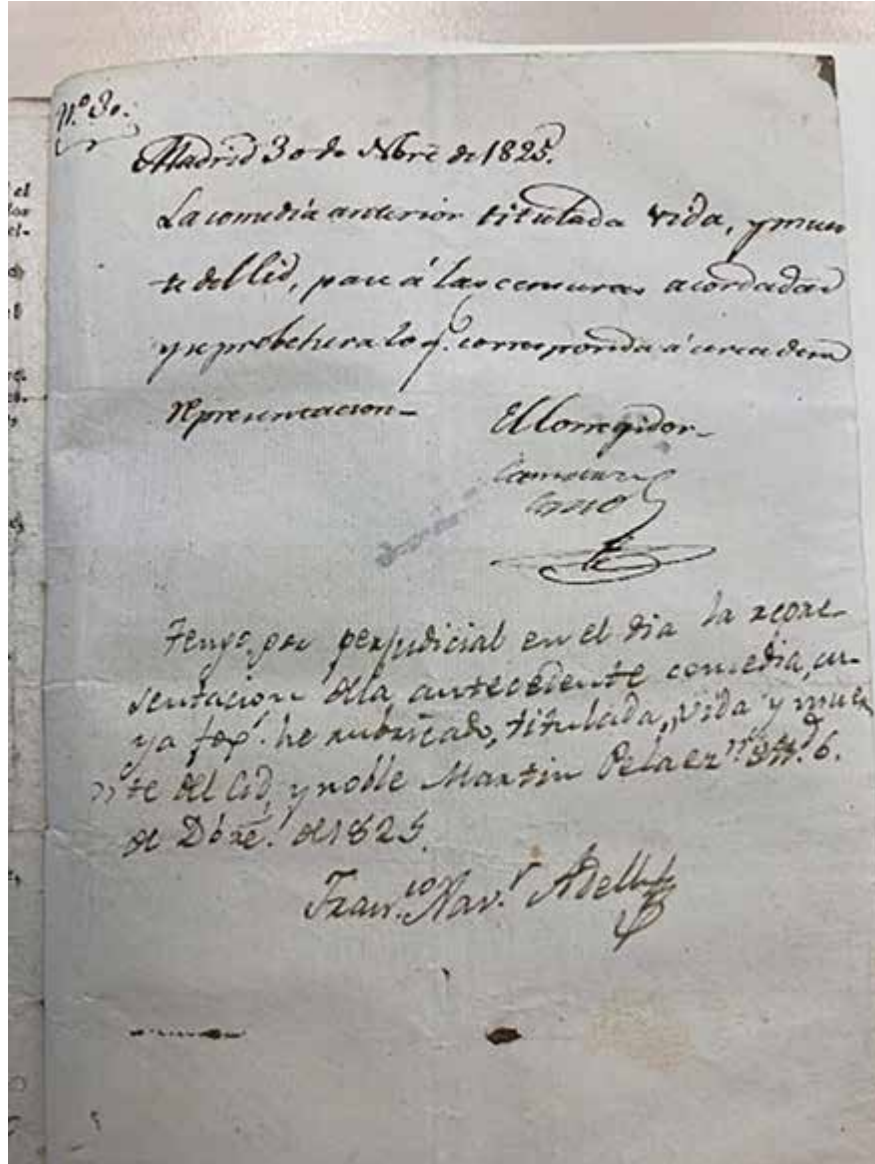


Figure 5: Detail from flyleaf of Valencia 1813 suelta; courtesy of the BHM (signatura Tea 1-18-8, b1).

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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Cervantes in the Americas: A Cross-Cultural Approach to the
Teaching of *Don Quixote*

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Introduction

The course titled “Cervantes in the Americas” was offered at the University of Chicago during the Winter quarter of 2018 and at Florida International University in the Fall semester of 2020. Taking a cross-cultural perspective, the literature course was structured into four units. Firstly, “Narrators and Readers of *Don Quixote*” delved into how the narrative structure of *Don Quixote* has left its imprint on Latin American literature. Secondly, “Rewriting *Don Quixote*” explored how the novel serves as a source of inspiration for stories and characters in diverse historical and political contexts, including Mexican immigration into the US, colonial political systems in the Hispanic Caribbean, and the Argentine dictatorship. Thirdly, “*Don Quixote* on the Big Screen” concentrated on US film adaptations of the character. The final unit, “*Don Quixote* and Academia,” delved into the reception of *Don Quixote* in academic circles through short stories crafted by scholars inspired by Cervantes. Each text was paired with a section of *Don Quixote* to analyze how specific cultural materials are repurposed and recontextualized. This article endeavors to provide a descriptive and reflective overview of the course content.

Teaching *Don Quixote* poses a formidable challenge requiring an approach that not only delves into its historical context, but also furnishes the linguistic and literary tools essential for comprehension. However, this alone is often insufficient. Effectively teaching *Don Quixote* requires the development of methods that enable students to engage with the text in ways that resonate with their own experiences. This challenge is further compounded when the course is tailored for students learning Spanish as a second language and heritage speakers.¹ Hence, the idea of structuring a course that explores *Don Quixote* through the lens of recent Latin American literary production aims to construct a reading framework that underscores the significance of Cervantes’s masterpiece in the production of Latin American literature. This approach seeks to establish a dialogue that is not only imperative for their academic development, but also pertinent to the cultural context in which students are immersed.

This dialogue becomes possible because *Don Quixote* stands as a seminal reference text, evident in the literary works of prominent Latin American authors. The reflections of figures such as Jorge Luis Borges, Mario Vargas Llosa, Roberto

Bolaño, and Jorge Volpi echo through their engagement with the writings of the Alcalá-born author. Their explorations span from incorporating narrative techniques introduced by Cervantes to reinterpreting characters and themes within various historical and political frameworks.

This course meticulously examined notable instances of the cross-cultural dialogue born from the appropriation of *Don Quixote* as a foundational element for the creation of literary texts. It unfolded across four sections, each shedding light on different aspects of this dialogue. The initial part scrutinized how the narrative structure of *Don Quixote* serves as a blueprint for some of the most significant works in Latin American literature. The short stories “Pierre Menard, autor del Quijote,” by Jorge Luis Borges, and “Las mil caras de Max Mirebaleis,” by Roberto Bolaño exemplified this exploration.

The second section delved into how *Don Quixote* serves as a literary substrate for crafting stories and characters in distinct Latin American contexts. Themes such as Mexican immigration into the United States, portrayed in the Chicano novel *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen* (1928) by Daniel Venegas; the colonial relations of the Hispanic Caribbean depicted in the novel *Barataria* (2012) by Juan López Bauzá, and the Argentine dictatorship of the 1970s, employed as a backdrop in the play *La razón blindada* (2006) by Aristides Vargas, were explored.

The third part directed attention towards cinematic representations of *Don Quixote* in the United States, with a specific focus on the unfinished film version of Orson Welles’ adaptation. The seminar concluded with a concise discussion and reflection on how Cervantes’s text is reinterpreted within academic contexts. Works such as *Mentiras contagiosas* (2008) by Jorge Volpi and *Doce cuentos ejemplares y otros documentos* (2016), a compilation of stories by Hispanists drawing inspiration from Cervantine texts, were central to this final exploration. Key concepts such as transculturation, material culture, geopolitics, and literary genre guided the multifaceted discussion.

At the University of Chicago, the Winter 2018 course had eighteen undergraduate students. Spanish served as a second language for all of them, despite at least six being heritage speakers. The linguistic proficiency varied, but on the whole, it was advanced, enabling everyone to express their thoughts both orally and in writing. A third of the group had encountered the first part of *Don Quixote* in previous literature courses, while the rest were familiar with the work through references or representations in popular culture. The divergence in prior knowledge necessitated the establishment of a baseline to facilitate in-depth discussions of the text.

Meanwhile, at Florida International University, the Fall 2020 course had ten graduate students. The majority hailed from Latin America, were native Spanish speakers, and had already read at least a portion of the novel.

It was essential to introduce *Don Quixote* highlighting its main themes to guide the students' reading. The essay "Una novela para el siglo XXI," by Mario Vargas Llosa, published in the commemorative edition of the Royal Spanish Academy (2004), was discussed for this purpose. The Peruvian Nobel Prize winner traces how the tension between reality and fiction, freedom, the confrontation with authority, the articulation of a Spanish 'national' identity, and the manipulation of time in the novel, are some of the main themes of *Don Quixote*. Based on these themes, Vargas Llosa highlights the influence of the text on subsequent literary production. Consequently, the agenda derived from the essay guided the course's development.

At The University of Chicago, the course spanned ten weeks, with each week divided into two segments: Tuesdays were dedicated to discussing episodes of *Don Quixote*, while Thursdays focused on one of the mentioned Latin American texts. At Florida International University, the course extended over fifteen weeks, with a structured alternation between discussions on *Don Quixote* one week and a Latin American text the next. Students provided comments on the readings prior to the in-class meetings using the virtual platform Canvas. Here, group members inserted their comments and engaged with their classmates' interventions. These online discussions, coupled with their in-class counterparts, served as platforms for honing and evaluating both writing and oral communication skills.

Evaluation of students was conducted through an assessment of their contributions, class participation, a mid-term essay, and a final project. At The University of Chicago, the final project required the preparation of either a concise academic essay or a creative text. Conversely, at Florida International University, the final project involved the creation of a more extensive academic essay spanning 15 to 20 pages. This comprehensive approach to student work afforded opportunities to address aspects such as syntax, spelling, argument development, and language clarity.

Narrators and Readers of *Don Quixote*

The first unit focused its attention on the narrative structure of *Don Quixote*, delving into the intricate narrative apparatus that encompasses the primary author, the Moorish translator Cide Hamete de Benengeli, the secondary author, and so forth. We explored how the tale of the knight-errant seamlessly coexists with a meta-history of the text, gradually unveiled through its narration. This emphasis paved the way for introducing narratological concepts, such as extradiegetic, intradiegetic, heterodiegetic, and homodiegetic narrators, providing students with theoretical literary tools that can be applied to analyze various texts.²

As a preamble to the discussion, we analyzed the prologue of the first part. Our exploration delved into how Cervantes seemingly unfolds himself into the persona of the 'amigo,' contemplating the very act of writing. Additionally, we considered the implications of Cervantes referring to himself as the 'stepfather' of his own creation. Once the prologue had been thoroughly examined, we turned our attention to chapters I, VIII, IX, and LII. In this review, we scrutinized the narrative intricacies, identifying the first author, the Moorish translator, Cide Hamete de Benengeli, and the second author as potential Cervantine unfoldings that disrupt the temporal and spatial dimensions of the text. Furthermore, our discussion delved into the reliability of these narrators and how the narrative apparatus facilitates contemplation on the processes of writing and reading.

This dialogue marked the beginning of our exploration into Jorge Luis Borges' story, "Pierre Menard, author of *Don Quixote*," featured in *Ficciones* (1944). We delved into Borges' narrative strategy, where he playfully enters the storytelling realm by introducing Pierre Menard to the roster of *Don Quixote* authors. Menard, consumed by his obsession with Cervantes's text, makes the audacious decision to replicate it word for word in the 20th century. This discussion prompted a contemplation of the nuanced boundaries between terms like 'originality' and 'plagiarism.' As Borges did in several occasions, we pondered the extent to which the act of writing entails both appropriation and a dialogue with literary traditions. More significantly, we reflected on how the significance and interpretation of a text are intricately tied to the historical context in which it comes into being. Consequently, while Cervantes's *Don Quixote* and Menard's version may be identical in the story, they demand distinct readings, emphasizing the critical role of historical context in shaping meaning.

The latter portion of this unit directed its focus towards chapters II and III of the second part of the novel, where Don Quixote and Sancho take on the roles of readers and editors of their own narrative. In this episode, Sansón Carrasco presents the knight and his squire with a copy of the first part of the story, revealing how Cervantes intricately disrupts the narrative structure of the initial part of the novel (II, 4–7; 561–577).³ This disruption allows the characters to question the truthfulness of the narrated episodes.

Subsequently, we delved into two episodes from the first part of *Don Quixote*: the burning of the library (I, 2–3; 60–74) and the episode of the galley slaves (I, 10–12; 90–103). The library incident prompted reflections on reading as a potentially perilous activity that requires regulation. Likewise, the episode of the galley slaves, featuring the introduction of Ginés de Pasamonte, provided a lens through which we explored the act of writing as a potentially criminal endeavor. These episodes facilitated a meaningful dialogue with the story "Las mil caras de Max Mirebalais," included in Roberto Bolaño's book *La literatura nazi en América* (1996). Employing an extradiegetic, unreliable narrator, Bolaño introduces Max Mirebalais, a Haitian writer who, akin to Cervantes, fragments

himself, creating numerous heteronyms to compose an extensive literary oeuvre, forming a veritable library of Haitian authors. Mirebalais, a criminal engaged in plagiarizing texts from the French, German, and Haitian literary traditions, conceives of the act of writing as a concealed form of violence, mirroring the character Ginés de Pasamonte.

Ultimately, our discussion explored how Bolaño, echoing Cervantes, reinterprets the notion that both reading and writing can potentially be hazardous practices.

Rewriting *Don Quixote*

The primary aim of the second unit is to illustrate to students how a piece from the Spanish Golden Age can serve as a counterpoint for approaching contemporary texts. The unit is centered on the overarching question: how do certain Latin American authors employ characters and themes from Cervantes, situating them within novel historical and political contexts?⁴

To begin, we explored “La historia del cautivo” (I, 39–41; 399–439) in the first part of *Don Quixote* to scrutinize the concept of ‘border,’⁵ viewing it as a liminal space that gives rise to novel realities. This is evident in the malleability of social structures or the emergence of new linguistic codes. Drawing a parallel, we compared the Mediterranean Sea, serving as the border between Spain and North Africa, the Christian and Muslim worlds, with the Mexican-American border—the threshold of the ‘American dream’ portrayed in *Las aventuras de don Chipote*, by Venegas. Recognized as the first Chicano novel, this text depicting Mexican immigration to the United States provided us with an opportunity to delve into language as a ‘frontier’ and the evolution of new communication codes resulting from cultural clashes. In a parallel to the fluctuation between Spanish and Arabic in “La historia del cautivo,” characters in *Don Chipote* navigate between Spanish and English.

Ultimately, our discussion extended to exploring the nuanced boundaries between reality and fiction. The reception of *Don Chipote* was particularly positive, especially among students of Mexican descent, who highlighted that Venegas’s novel could easily have been written today.

The second part of this unit focused on the novel *Barataria*, by Puerto Rican author Juan López Bauzá, aligning with the anticipated pairing with the Barataria episode narrated in the second part of *Don Quixote*. López Bauzá posits that both the island of Puerto Rico and Barataria are products of fiction. While the dukes crafted Barataria Island to manipulate and ridicule Sancho, the emergence of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico stems from its colonial relationship with the United States, driven by the exploitation of the natural and human resources of the Caribbean island. Consequently, our discussion centered

on the complex issues of colonization and governance. This dialogue provided an opportunity to share insights into the economic and political crisis afflicting Puerto Rico and disseminate critical works on Spanish Golden Age literature produced on the island.

The latter section of this unit centered on the theatrical production *La razón blindada* (2006) by Argentine playwright Arístides Vargas. Set against the backdrop of the Dirty War in Argentina, the play unfolds the experiences of two political prisoners, self-identifying as De la Mancha and Panza. Amidst the constraints of prison life, they devote their scant leisure time to reenacting memories of *Don Quixote*. Pairing the play with the episode from the concluding section of the first part of the novel, where the knight-errant is transported in a cage to his home (I, 46–51; 474–521), facilitated a meaningful dialogue between the two texts. This interchange allowed for an exploration of fiction as a vital condition enabling the pursuit of freedom.

To enhance their understanding, students viewed online clips of the play's staging, with a particular focus on how theater uniquely gives rise to body language as a communicative form. It is crucial to highlight the students' attention to this aspect. The ensuing discussion provided a platform for contemplation on how *Don Quixote* serves as a conceptual framework for delving into complex political issues.

***Don Quixote* on the Big Screen**

Don Quixote has made a lasting imprint on popular culture, particularly through its cinematic adaptations. Many individuals have encountered the character on screen without delving into the original work. Recognizing the significance of this medium, our course dedicated its third unit to the exploration of cinematic representations of *Don Quixote*.⁶ Specifically, we delved into scenes filmed by Orson Welles, who intended to create a cinematic version of Cervantes's text. Our analysis of the film material drew inspiration from Jorge Volpi's essay, 'La voz de Orson Welles y el silencio de Don Quixote,' featured in the collection *Mentiras Contagiosas*.

Volpi's essay revolves around the iconic opening phrase of *Don Quixote*, "En un lugar de La Mancha de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme" ("In a village of La Mancha, the name of which I have no desire to call to mind"). Volpi highlights the significance of the phrase's concluding words, "[ese] no quiero acordarme," interpreting them as a manifestation of pain—a pain that refuses to be explicitly acknowledged but appears to be revisited through the act of writing (170). According to Volpi, this underlying pain propels and shapes the narrative of the text, generating a tension between reality and fiction.

Volpi employs Welles's filmed scenes to further develop this concept. Notably, one scene involves Don Quixote and Sancho in a movie theater, where the knight impulsively attacks the theater screen depicting a battle (186). This cinematic moment steered our discussion toward the episode of Master Pedro, narrated in chapters XXV and XVI of the second part of *Don Quixote*. In this episode, as we recall, Don Quixote disrupts *El retablo de Maese Pedro*, blurring the boundary between reality and fiction. Here, students were able to compare both scenes to closely examine how both Cervantes and Welles reflect upon the limits between reality and fiction.

The essay concludes by describing the never-filmed ending of Welles's movie. In this envisioned scene, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza ride in the opposite direction of a mushroom cloud—an allusion to an atomic bomb explosion (192). Welles and Volpi both assert the power of fiction, embodied by Don Quixote and Sancho, as a vantage point from which to articulate the future after catastrophe. The positive impact of Welles's representation on our students was evident as they noted how Orwellian images departed from prevalent representations of *Don Quixote* in popular culture, enriching their understanding of the text.

***Don Quixote* and Academia**

The course also delved into the examination of the work's reception within the academic realm and its role as a regulator of meaning for the text. In the fourth and final unit, titled "*Don Quixote* and Academia," we scrutinized the short story collection *Doce cuentos ejemplares y otros documentos*, authored by a collective of Hispanists. This exploration was juxtaposed with the death of the knight at the end of the second part of *Don Quixote* and the poems crafted by the *académicos de argamasilla* at the close of the first part of the narrative. Our discussion revolved around comparing the novel's ending with the reinterpretation of the episode by the group of Hispanists, aiming to discern which elements of *Don Quixote*'s ending persisted and which were suppressed. In this manner, we explored how the act of interpretation is unveiled through the textual reinterpretation.

We concluded the course with an in-depth examination of Jorge Volpi's narrative "Conjetura sobre Cid Hamete," also featured in *Mentiras contagiosas*. In this piece, the author skillfully appropriates the academic essay genre to establish a familial connection between *Don Quixote* and the Americas. Volpi, like Cervantes in the prologue of the first part, splits up, this time into three researchers, each unveiling a manuscript that reveals how both Cide Hamete and Don Quixote have historical referents. Similar to Borges, Volpi fabricates bibliographical quotes, intertwining them with real ones to blur the boundaries between truth and fiction, prompting a reflection on the impact of a historical approach to

literature on the texts' literary value. For example, according to Volpi's narrative/essay, Don Quixote's historical referent is a figure named Torrijos de Almagro, who played a role alongside Hernán Cortés in the downfall of Tenochtitlán. Returning to Spain, Torrijos de Almagro later sought to conquer the territories of Castile and La Mancha.

Volpi concludes his essay with a poignant statement that served as the culminating point of our course: "don Quijote no podría existir sin América, y América no podría existir sin don Quijote. A fin de cuentas, ambos son producto de ese ardiente diálogo entre imaginación y realidad que algunos confunden con locura" ["Don Quixote could not exist without America, and America could not exist without Don Quixote. After all, both are products of that fervent dialogue between imagination and reality that some confuse with madness"] (13). Students reflected on how the conception of the Americas, after its encounter with the Europeans, is linked to a utopian ideal. The tension between the desired utopia and tangible reality is responsible for the emergence of the American continent.

Conclusion

The course "Cervantes in the Americas" represented a multifaceted challenge. It required not only immersing students in its historical context and providing linguistic and literary tools but also necessitated bridging the gap to their lived experiences. This challenge intensified when instructing students learning Spanish as a second language or heritage speakers. Consequently, the course was designed to examine *Don Quixote* through the lens of recent Latin American literary production in order to create a framework for interpretation closer to students' experiences. This approach sought to underscore *Don Quixote's* significance in shaping Latin American literature while fostering a dialogue crucial for an academic growth attuned to the cultural fabric in which they are immersed.

The course was distinguished by the dynamic involvement of students in class discussions. They enthusiastically embraced the challenges posed by the course content. While many initially found it challenging to grapple with *Don Quixote* on a linguistic level, their comprehension of the text deepened over the weeks. Beyond offering diverse perspectives on *Don Quixote*, the course affirmed the narrative's capacity to inspire fresh literary creations and stimulate critical discourse on contemporary issues directly relevant to the students' lives.

Notes

¹ Kim Potowski (2005) defines a heritage speaker as "an individual who has been exposed to the language, usually at home only, and has some receptive and possibly productive

capacity in it. However, linguistic abilities can vary greatly between individuals. . ." (17). To examine the different preselectives around the topic, see Van Deusen Scholl (2003) and Carreira (2004).

² See C. Alan Soons, "Cide Hamete Benengeli, his Significance for *Don Quijote*," *Modern Language Review* 54 (1959): Edward C. Riley, "The Fictitious Authorship Device," *Cervante's Theory of the Novel*, Clarendon P, 1962; ; Américo Castro, "El cómo y el por qué de Cide Hamete Benengeli," *Hacia Cervantes*, Taurus, 1967; Ruth El-Saffar, Ruth, "The Function of the Fictional Narrator in *Don Quijote*," *Modern Languages Notes* 83 (1968): 164-177; Maurice Molho, "Instancias narradoras en *Don Quijote*," *Modern Language Notes* 104 (1989): 273-285; James A. Parr, *Don Quixote: An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse*, Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1988; Ruth Fine, *Una lectura semiótico-narratológica del Quijote*, Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2003; Luce López-Baralt, "Una invitación a la locura: las instancias narrativas del *Quijote*," *Primer Congreso Internacional de Lengua, Literatura y Educación*, Depto. de Educación, 2005, pp. 64-81; Georges Güntert, *Cervantes: narrador de un mundo desintegrado*, Academia del hispanismo, 2007.

³ For an in-depth discussion of narrative techniques in *Don Quijote*, see Geoffrey Stagg's foundational study on the role of Cide Hamete Benengeli (1956), followed by C. Alan Soons's discussion of the character's significance (1959), Edward C. Riley's analysis of Cervantes's fictitious authorship device (1962), and George Haley's study of the narrator's role using Maese Pedro's puppet show as a case study (1965). Américo Castro's study of the origins of Cide Hamete Benengeli (1967) remains central to understanding narrative layers, while Ruth El-Saffar (1968) examines the fictional narrator's function, and Frederick W. Locke (1969) interprets the figure of the "sabio encantador" as the author of *Don Quijote*. Ileana Viqueira (1972) focuses on Cervantes as a storyteller, and Carmen Rita Rabell (1993) offers a dialogical perspectivism analysis in the episode of Don Quijote and the Vizcaíno (87-103). Ruth Fine (2003) provides a semiotic-narratological reading, while Luis Iglesias Feijóo (2005) gives a detailed exploration of the "manuscrito encontrado en Toledo" (375-395). Luce López-Baralt (2005) explores the narrative instances of madness in the work (64-81), and Georges Güntert (2007) examines Cervantes as a chronicler of a fragmented world. Maurice Molho's study of the novel's narrative instances (1989) and Alan Burch's analysis of the "segundo autor" as an extradiegetic narrator (1996) further enrich the discussion of *Don Quijote*'s narrative complexity.

⁴ For an exploration of how Latin American authors reinterpret characters and themes from *Don Quijote* within novel historical and political contexts, see *Reescrituras latinoamericanas del Quijote* by Ruth Fine, Clea Gerber, and Ofek Kehila (Editorial Biblos, 2024). This volume, inspired by the presentations at the International Conference "Reescrituras latinoamericanas del Quijote" (Jerusalem, December 1-2, 2021), examines the dynamic reimagining of Cervantes's masterpiece in Latin American literature. It features eleven essays by scholars and students from the Departments of Letters at Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, Argentina, and the Hebrew University of

Jerusalem, Israel. Additionally, for a broader understanding of *Don Quijote's* reception in Latin America, see *El Quijote en América*, edited by Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle and Ingrid Simson (Foro Hispánico, Volume 40, Ediciones Rodopi B.V., 1994). This volume compiles work from specialists across Europe and the Americas, addressing the reception of *Don Quijote* from colonial texts to the most recent literature and cinema. It reflects the current state of research on the classic's impact in Latin America, showcasing how the work continues to influence cultural production across the region.

⁵ For Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson a border “[...] serves at once to make divisions and establish connections, the border is an epistemological device, which is at work whenever a distinction between subject and object is established.” (16).

⁶ The wide array of adaptations of Cervantes' novel includes numerous films, starting with the early French productions, such as *Don Quichotte* (1898) and *Les aventures de Don Quichotte de La Mancha* (1902-1903). The first Spanish film adaptation appeared in 1910, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de La Mancha*, created by Narcis Cuyas. The first American version followed in 1909, titled *Don Quixote*, and was followed by numerous French and Italian adaptations, along with a significant 50-minute American version in 1915 by Edward Dillon. In Latin America, the first known adaptation was a Brazilian production in 1954, *Aventuras de Don Quixote*, made for television. While other Brazilian adaptations, like *Dom Quixote* (1930), exist, doubts remain about their actual production. Argentina also made a 1936 film, *Don Quijote del altillo*, and Mexico contributed several versions, including *El huésped del sevillano* (1939), which includes Cervantes himself. One notable Mexican film, *La rebelión de los fantasmas* (1946), reimagines the Quixote story with the protagonist as a ghost. Perhaps the most famous modern Mexican adaptation is *Un Quijote sin mancha* (1969), a comedic take starring Cantinflas as a lawyer fighting “lost causes,” drawing a metaphorical parallel to Don Quixote's own battles (Simson 283-84).

These films highlight the enduring power of Don Quixote, demonstrating the diverse ways the story has been interpreted across time and cultures.

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REVIEWS

Francisco Martínez Montañó and Carolyn A. Nadeau. *The Art of Cooking, Pie Making, Pastry Making, and Preserving / Arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería y conservería. A Critical Edition and Translation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023. ISBN 9781487549374. 738 pp.

The path to knowing and understanding a culture or society almost certainly, at some point, passes through the kitchen. Carolyn A. Nadeau's critical translation of Francisco Martínez Montañó's extensive cookbook that he called his *librito*, or little book (xiii), *Arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería y conservería* (1611), is an academic endeavor of love, ensuring that readers achieve a vividly splendid understanding of early modern Spanish society by inviting them to dine. More specifically, she invites them *to cook*, just as Martínez Montañó did when he wrote this cookbook with the blessing of Philip III's privilege in 1610 (3). Indeed, addressing this cookbook as a historic artefact formulates the foundational scholarship that has led to this substantial critical translation, one that promotes a palatable understanding of the culinary history of late-Renaissance and early-Baroque Spain.

The study of culinary history does not solely address the consumption of meals. It also explores their preparation and the familial traditions and cultural rituals that embrace this entire process: meal planning, preparation, service, and consumption. Nadeau underscores the reasons why the study of culinary history has been so important to cookbook readers: "Cooking manuals are key to understanding culinary history [...] they are cultural artefacts that reveal ingredients and flavours of a certain community and time period. They highlight regional, ethnic, or international cooking practices and tastes" (4). The author continues by explaining why such texts are particularly relevant to present-day readers: "These prescriptive texts allow readers today to visualize kitchen spaces and equipment, often simply evoked by action [...] In other words, cookbooks provide evidence of the values of a specific cultural and historical moment [..., and] provide insight into the life of a master cook and others who work in the kitchen" (4).

Nadeau also reveals Martínez Montañó's very practical reason as to why he wrote this cookbook: "... to preserve in writing recipes for future cooks so that they do not have to commit them to memory" (5). Although many chefs and cooks of merit often proudly prepare meals from memory, rarely measuring ingredients or following recipes, important techniques, unique measures, and other variables in the kitchen change significantly over time. As such, the documentation of nuanced culinary processes and recipes found in Nadeau's book is invaluable, especially after the passage of so many centuries.

The book begins with a detailed introduction in which Nadeau explains the value of both approaching a cookbook as a cultural artefact and documenting Martínez Montañó's biographical history. It contextualizes late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century Spain, Spaniards, and the Spanish Court as framed by the early modern Spanish kitchen. Nadeau outlines the cookbook's organization, the wide variety of ingredients used, the cultural reception and emergence of Spanish cuisine, the techniques and ingredients uniquely attributed to Martínez Montañó, his resulting legacy, and references found in subsequent cookbooks. This last theme then inspires an exploration of the various editions of the cookbook.

In the main section, Nadeau's translation and critical notes appear juxtaposed with the original Spanish text, providing scholars of early modern Spain, food studies, and culinary history with an exceptionally detailed reading experience. The notes provide cultural, historic, societal, and linguistic clarity, accompanying the reader throughout the entire cookbook. This critical edition offers essential context as to how cookbooks used to be organized, how the five hundred six recipes featured were read, and why Martínez Montañó's efforts to document his recipes and techniques have remained relevant over the centuries.

The appendices are also quite valuable, further clarifying the kitchen equipment used and weights and measurements. A detailed glossary outlines the various themes and terminology referenced. Moreover, the third appendix provides perhaps the most appreciated resource: photographic documentation of Nadeau's painstaking recreations of select recipes. Readers will find this appendix, in addition to Martínez Montañó's "purposeful visual imagery" (4) or descriptive visualizations of the food and its preparation throughout his cookbook, extremely helpful in comprehending these recipes that could have very easily been lost to time.

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Ángeles Romero Cambrón ed. *La ley de los godos: estudios selectos*. New York: Peter Lang, 2024. ISBN: 9783631915349. 230 pp.

La ley goda del *Liber iudicum* (LI) (también conocido como *Liber iudiciorum* o *Forum iudicum*) y el *Fuero Juzgo* (FJ) (o *Libro de los jueces*), piedra angular de la ley española, sigue manteniendo hoy en día una atracción incuestionable para juristas, intelectuales, filólogos, lingüistas, historiadores e historiadores del Derecho. Ello obedece a la posición central que ha ocupado en el ordenamiento jurídico peninsular y también por su valor simbólico. Las cuestiones que se suscitan en torno al LI y al FJ abruman por su número y por su complejidad. El excelente volumen que reseñamos (coordinado por Ángeles Romero Cambrón y que tiene su origen en una beca de los fondos FEDER, Junta de Castilla-La Mancha) se centra de preferencia en el texto romance como traducción y su coexistencia con el original latino y a él contribuyen distintos estudios que aportan con enorme éxito una variedad de especialidades multidisciplinares a su estudio.

El *Liber Iudicum*, publicado por primera vez por Recesvinto en el 654, comenzó a usarse de modo activo tras la caída del reino visigodo. En la Edad Media esto se produjo principalmente en el reino de León, en el Toledo mozárabe y, una vez traducido al vernáculo, en Córdoba, cuando Fernando III otorgó el mismo a la ciudad en 1236 tras su conquista. A medida que la Reconquista iba avanzando, el FJ fue usándose Sevilla, Alicante, Murcia, Cartagena, así como en otros territorios de Castilla la Nueva y Andalucía. Prueba de su extensión es el número de copias conservadas, 34 del LI y casi 50 del FJ. Como nos recuerda la autora:

Los ejemplares del LI y del FJ han sido leídos, estudiados y anotados a lo largo del tiempo: nunca, por tanto, han caído en el olvido o ha dejado de suscitar el interés el texto, dentro y fuera de la Península. Una relación completa de las ediciones históricas de ambas tradiciones puede hallarse en Mención-Caster. A finales del siglo XVI se imprime la primera edición del LI, la de Pithou en Francia. Poco después, como respuesta a esta, emprenden la suya los hermanos Antonio y Diego de Covarrubias. Hasta la fecha, la edición más ambiciosa del texto latino es la de Zeumer (1902). (22)

Por lo que toca al FJ, las ediciones con que contamos hasta la fecha son las siguientes:

La de la RAE (1815); un fragmento en la *Crestomatía* (1965); la transcripción del Hispanic Sernary of Medieval Studies (HSMS), 1993,

reproducida después en el CORDE; la que aparece bajo la responsabilidad de Tuero/García Arias (1994); la de Mencé-Caster, ... (1996); la de Orazi (1997)52; la dirigida por Perona (2002); la de Castillo/Pichel (2012); y la de Romero (2016).

El volumen se organiza de acuerdo al siguiente contenido: consideraciones generales, ecdóticas y lingüísticas y análisis paleográficos y codicológicos. Ángeles Romero, en “Los manuscritos romances del *Fuero Juzgo*: lista de abreviaturas,” propone un sistema de referencia para los cerca de cincuenta manuscritos de la tradición vernácula e identifica casi todos los que se usaron en edición de la Real Academia de la Lengua de 1815. En el “Estudio introductorio: acotaciones” pide un estudio monográfico de cada manuscrito desde una perspectiva paleográfica y analiza con detalle la huella que diferentes expertos en leyes dejaron en las copias. Por último, nos ofrece un análisis pormenorizado de todas las ediciones del FJ hasta la fecha. En “En torno al *Fuero Juzgo*: aspectos ecdóticos y lingüísticos” Romero Cambrón realiza una comparación entre los distintos modelos de capitulación de la cincuentena de manuscritos conservados, lo que permite una visión general de su contenido. Asimismo, revisa la fecha de h. 1260 comúnmente admitida para la traducción romance del LI y confirma su adscripción leonesa, poniendo de relieve la presencia de provenzalismos. En este capítulo nos ofrece también una presentación enfrentada de las rúbricas de diferentes capítulos de los mss. Esc₃ M-III-5, T₁.15-37, T₂.43-9, RAE₁.49, RAE₃.51, y RAE₆.2935. Acto seguido, se hace un estudio excelente de la versión vernácula en cuanto traducción basado en los diferentes testimonios: códices leoneses y castellanos, amén de sus leonesismos, latinismos y provenzalismos.

Carmen del Camino Martínez escribe en “Los códices del *Fuero Juzgo* y su materialidad: entre tradición e innovación” sobre las características materiales y formales de los códices medievales del FJ, y presta atención tanto a los componentes que derivan de la tradición latina del LI como a los que reflejan cambios e innovaciones introducidas al comienzo del siglo XIII. Comienza estudiando “círculos, ruedas o medallones, que envuelven los títulos de los libros tanto en la *capitulatio* como al comienzo de cada libro” (131), que sirven para organizar el texto a la que vez que servir de ornamentación, así como su desaparición o combinación con iniciales afiligranadas, iniciales historiadas y escenas de diversa extensión. También se estudian otros elementos como la disposición a línea tirada frente a las dos columnas. Otro elemento que la autora cree significativo es la composición de los cuadernos, “donde se pasa del predominio de los cuaterniones al de los quiniones, o incluso seniones no sólo en los manuscritos en papel sino también en los membranáceos, y de aquellos que dejaban al exterior la *pars pili* a los que comienzan por la *pars munda*, los siguientes: la orientación de los reclamos,

la disposición del texto *above* o *below top line*, el número de justificantes verticales que delimitan la caja de escritura y, en relación con esto último, la ubicación de las iniciales secundarias” (143). La conclusión que establece la autora es la siguiente:

Aunque no se puede demostrar para el Fuero juzgo la existencia de un patrón oficial de copia, [...] parece evidente que algunos códices aún arrastran el peso de la tradición y reflejan sus características más perceptibles a la vista, es decir, el empleo de las ruedas como recurso para la *ordinatio* y/o la disposición del texto a línea tirada. Por otra parte, teniendo en cuenta los elementos formales analizados en el conjunto de códices conservados, parece que se observa una tendencia a la sustitución del texto a línea tirada por el texto a dos columnas, a la vez que se mantienen los círculos que rodean los epígrafes, acompañados cada vez más frecuentemente de otros recursos ornamentales, en un considerable número de ejemplares. Tendencia que convive, como ya sucedía en la tradición latina, con copias en las que las ruedas han desaparecido. No conocemos con certeza cómo fueron formalmente los nuevos modelos oficiales y, de la misma manera que textualmente se habla de una versión fernandina y otra alfonsí, no sabemos si estos cambiaron de una a otra. Podríamos plantearnos la hipótesis de que los modelos promovidos por los monarcas habrían coincidido con la primera de las tendencias señaladas. En cualquier caso, el momento en que estas traducciones tuvieron lugar fue un momento de transición en los procesos de confección del códice, lo que se manifiesta en la coexistencia, no sólo en el conjunto de los manuscritos considerados, sino también en el interior de un mismo códice, de fórmulas ancladas en la tradición con otras más novedosas. (147)

Elena E. Rodríguez Díaz junto a Carmen del Camino son las autoras de “Notas sobre textos evangélicos en códices normativos” en que afirman que estas anotaciones están relacionadas con la práctica judicial de los consejos. Ha de recordarse a este respecto que en la vida del concejo, los libros del FJ tenían, por supuesto, la función utilitaria de recopilar en forma escrita el ordenamiento jurídico; secundariamente, tal como revelan Del Camino y Rodríguez Díaz, también servían para tomar juramento. Al mismo tiempo, poseían un valor simbólico, al ser exponentes del estatus y riqueza de la ciudad, lo que explica que se encargaran ejemplares costosos. Las autoras concluyen a este respecto que la copia de textos evangélicos no es casual ni los fragmentos evangélicos fueron adiciones de carácter piadoso o fortuitas, “sino que se trata de añadidos intencionados que debían poseer una función práctica estrechamente relacionada con las leyes reproducidas en dichos libros, porque –no lo olvidemos– las juras se hacían sobre los evangelios”:

No solo hay fragmentos evangélicos en estos y otros manuscritos medievales del Fuero Juzgo, sino también en códices que transmiten el Fuero Real de Alfonso X y, asimismo, en manuscritos con fueros locales. Segundo, que estos pasajes aparecen a veces insertos en los contenidos, otras veces entre las distintas secciones en códices misceláneos que presentan más de un texto normativo y, por último, añadidos al inicio o al final de los ejemplares, o en alguno de los folios o espacios dejados en blanco. Tercero, que muchos de estos evangelios habían sido copiados por la misma mano del texto o por manos coetáneas o muy cercanas en el tiempo a las copias jurídicas transmitidas en los respectivos volúmenes. (150)

Amén de ello, las autoras constatan que como la jura podía hacerse tanto sobre los Evangelios como sobre una cruz o una “señal de la cruz”, esta puede ser la causa de la presencia de “dibujos de cruces, algunas de bastante envergadura o miniadas, junto a los fragmentos evangélicos o en algún lugar del inicio o del final de los volúmenes con fueros” (154). El capítulo continúa con un estudio de los textos evangélicos y sus ubicaciones, así como las cruces y sus ubicaciones. Concluyen, por último, con relación a la cronología de la introducción de los textos evangélicos, que cuando pueda demostrarse la contemporaneidad de las escrituras del texto base y de los evangelios, habrá bastantes probabilidades de que el manuscrito se haya confeccionado, desde su origen, para usarse en alguna localidad o concejo y no, por ejemplo, para formar parte de la biblioteca de alguna institución o de algún jurista, erudito o particular en general. En cambio, si el añadido de los fragmentos evangélicos es posterior a la copia, su presencia puede proporcionar información sobre la vigencia del fuero (162). Por último, ofrecen como hipótesis que la utilización de modelos litúrgicos y no bíblicos pudiera deberse a que en muchas localidades era más fácil encontrar manuscritos litúrgicos que biblias, y a que la gente analfabeta estaba más acostumbrada a oír determinados pasajes bíblicos en los oficios litúrgicos.

El último capítulo, “Elementos para fechar los códices castellanos y leoneses según los manuscritos datados (SS. XII y XIII)”, de Rodríguez Díaz, ofrece pormenores de los aspectos paleográficos y formales de los manuscritos datables y datados (29 manuscritos y 34 volúmenes entre 1105 y 1296) para poder establecer criterios cronológicos claros. Se estudia la organización interna de la cadena gráfica, elementos morfológicos característicos de la escritura gótica presentes en los códices leoneses y castellanos (abreviatura de *-orum*, *n* agradada con función de mayúscula, la *s* de doble curva en posición final, etc.) y se concluye con una tabla en que se sintetizan las tendencias generales más estables observadas:

<p>Cara de carne al exterior del cuaderno Cara de pelo al exterior del cuaderno Quinión Senión</p> <p>Reclamo vertical Pautado a tinta Por debajo de la primera horizontal Mayúsculas destacadas</p>	<p>Desde 1230-1242 Hasta la década de 1250</p> <p>Desde 1220 En mss. en pergamino desde la década de 1270 Desde ca. 1190 (Toledo) Ya en la década de 1280</p> <p>Desde la década de 1250 - Sistemático hasta la década de 1210 - Residual hasta la década de 1280</p>
<p>a de capelo e caudada</p> <p>d uncial a inicio de palabra d recta a inicio de palabra r recta detrás de o</p> <p>r redonda detrás de p/b</p> <p>s minúscula a final de palabra</p> <p>s mayúscula (solo) a final de palabra s cursivizante a final de palabra</p> <p>Ligadura & (las 3 variedades)</p> <p>Cierre de la c sobre o Cierre de la c sobre la a Compresión lateral de pp/bb</p>	<p>Ya asumida en la década de 1160 - Con mucha frecuencia hasta la década de 1180 - Desaparece ya en 1188 - Residual en el primer tercio del XIII</p> <p>Desde 1188 Hasta la década de 1250 - Uso sistemático hasta la década de 1180 (1181) - Intermitente hasta la década de 1230 - Desde la década de 1200 - Muy frecuente desde 1259 - Abundante hasta la década de 1160 - Decrece entre 1180 y 1250 - Residual hasta la década de 1280</p> <p>Desde la década de 1190 - Desde la década de 1240 - Algo anterior (s. XIII) si hay influencia documental - Muy frecuente hasta la década de 1180 - Empieza a desaparecer en la década de 1240 - Residual hasta la década de 1310</p> <p>Desde 1208 Desde la década de 1250 Inexistente o irregular en el siglo XII</p>

Estamos ante un *tour de force* en los estudios sobre el FJ / LI. El volumen estudia numerosos aspectos codicológicos, filológicos, legales e históricos del *Liber iudicum* / *Fuero Juzgo*, el código legal europeo más avanzado en la Europa medieval, que tiene su origen en la España visigoda y cuyas leyes han tenido validez hasta época reciente. El número de mss. conservados, las cuestiones paleográficas involucradas, el influjo del uso jurídico y procesal de muchos de los mss. y los problemas relacionados con la traducción vernácula y los elementos lingüístico-dialectales y filológicos relacionados, hacen del análisis del LI y FJ un asunto complejo. Es sólo la combinación de expertos en diversas disciplinas, llevados sabiamente de la mano por Ángeles Romero Cambrón, lo que permite al lector adentrarse en las complejidades de la transmisión de dicho código durante las épocas medieval y moderna. Los estudiosos cuentan, desde ahora, con un estudio imprescindible en la materia.

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María de Zayas y Sotomayor. *La traición en la amistad*.
Edición de Enrique García Santo-Tomás. Madrid: Cátedra, 2024.
ISBN 978-84-376-4816-3. 208 pp.

Escribir sobre María de Zayas es ya un reto en sí mismo en virtud de la enorme cantidad de bibliografía que esta autora ha generado últimamente. Hacerlo bien es incluso más complicado. García Santo-Tomás, que recientemente nos había ofrecido su *María de Zayas y la imaginación crítica. Bibliografía razonada y comentada* (2022), cumple el reto y lo hace de manera excelente. Como editor de *La traición en la amistad* (que algún crítico ha considerado obra de Castillo Solórzano y no de Zayas), comienza situando al lector ante el panorama de la crítica en las últimas décadas, desde la falta de apreciación por su obra en el siglo pasado en suelo hispano por ser considerada demasiado violenta y retratar lo que se pensaba eran ambientes opresivos y relaciones prohibidas (amenazada triplemente, según García Santo-Tomás, como mujer, como creadora de tramas escabrosas y como autora de oculta identidad), a su reciente aupamiento al estatus de lectura obligada en programas de estudio y su construcción como prototipo y figura feminista (del cuño y definición que se quiera), dentro de la reivindicación de otras escritoras del momento (ver como ejemplo el monográfico *La voz femenina en la obra de María de Zayas* de *eHumanista* 55, 2023). García Santo-Tomás nos lleva de la mano en su repaso minucioso y comentado de la crítica. A todo esto precede, como es esperable, una presentación (exhaustiva) de los datos espigados por los estudiosos sobre la biografía de la autora, sobre la que hay más sombras que claros.

Recogiendo ideas de Teresa Ferrer Valls, el crítico defiende que muchas escritoras de la época se intentaron involucrar en el discurso femenino sobre la mujer, pronunciándose de modo directo o indirecto sobre cuestiones que les competían y tomando plena conciencia de ellas mismas como autoras. En este mismo sentido, nos recuerda los estudios de Bayliss, que inciden en preguntarse algo crucial como es desde qué espacio escribe la autora, el del centro de alguien involucrado en el mercado teatral o el quien desde la periferia escribe obras que no tienen gran influjo en la opinión pública.

La traición en la amistad gira en torno a los amores de un grupo de jóvenes (Marcia, Fenisa, Belisa, Lucía), y en particular en torno al deseo que tres mujeres sienten por uno de ellos (Liseo), moviéndose en una dicotomía entre deseo y lealtad. Es un ejemplo destacado del legado de esta autora, que utiliza la literatura para satirizar y examinar las relaciones amorosas y de género en su tiempo. La acción transcurre en un Madrid efervescente y mayoritariamente nocturno en fechas cercanas al 29 de septiembre, día de San Miguel, dentro de

una dinámica que mezcla las novedades de la nueva ciudad de la época moderna y la nostalgia de una ciudad que ya no existe. Con respecto a la conducta de los personajes, los estudiosos de la obra comparan su mensaje con el de la producción narrativa de la autora, que mayoritariamente viene de las diferentes mujeres que las pueblan. Julián Olivares piensa que la protagonista de la pieza es Marcia por su desarrollo moral y catalización de la acción, mientras para Sharon Voros es Belisa, por su sabiduría e independencia, y Michael J. McGrath resalta a Lucía, que representa la voz de la razón, a Marcia como amiga leal y a Belisa como un personaje multidimensional cuyo amor se guía por su inteligencia y emociones y Laura es inocente y confiada. Ferrer Valls se centra en el personaje del gracioso León, cuyas intervenciones orientan al espectador, “forzándolo a alinearse con unos y a distanciarse de otros protagonistas” (32). Relevancia especial alcanza en la obra, como en el resto de la producción de Zayas, la solidaridad femina, donde el amor y el erotismo juegan papel central, así como la amistad femenina (Gilbert-Santamaría, Gil-Oslé), la mentoría de mujeres a mujeres (Wyszynski, Gorfkle) o la variedad de relaciones disponibles para las mujeres de la época (Maroto Camino) e incluso la sugerencia de relaciones homoeróticas entre personajes femeninos (Delgado Berlanga, Urban Baño, Wilkins). Más lejos llega Gwynn E. Campbell, que ve en Fenisa una especie de naturaleza camaleónica y un enigma “gender(ed)” construido con una problemática genérico-sexual, siendo no una mujer varonil sino *lo varonil*, una especie de deseo libertino. Colón Calderón a su vez insiste en las mudanzas amorosas en la pieza y en la existencia entremezclada de situaciones eróticas no representadas y representadas, mientras en este mismo sentido Gorfkle estudia el deseo, a la vez suprimido y celebrado. El personaje de Fenisa ha sido visto por la crítica como una respuesta al don Juan tirsiano, una especie de contrapartida cómica del mismo (Larson, Navarro Durán, González Garrido). Marcella Trambaioli ve en ello una intencionalidad ética, avisando a las mujeres que eviten este tipo de seductor engañoso, y ve en Lucía (y Marcela) una posible representación de la voz autorial.

Analizando el sentido último de la obra, García Santo-Tomás considera que la obra muestra una gradación de conductas “donde la ejemplaridad brilla por su ausencia y en donde la virtud asoma solo a ráfagas” (42) y la obra fluye para él entre lo modélico y lo censurable, pudiéndose hablar de un “punto medio excluido” (Hegstrom), quizá con la excepción de Fenisa, que funciona como contraejemplo (Santolaria Solano), y con un final insatisfactorio (quizá *blessing in disguise*) representado por el consabido matrimonio (Weimer). En el mortero amoroso de Lucía en que entran y salen hombres como ajos radica para García Santo-Tomás “el final abierto, festivo y moderno de la pieza”, que celebra la naturaleza varia y hermosa (44), pasando por un escaso atractivo de los personajes masculinos y la insatisfacción del manido final. Por último, el autor dedica un espacio al análisis de elementos formales como el uso del billete (Montauban), el soneto y el aparte (McGrath), que permite la introducción de discursos marginales.

La obra pone en escena un conflicto entre deseo y lealtad, entre pasión y violencia (física y simbólica), donde los celos ejercen un papel central como motor de la trama, con personajes cuyas acciones les delatan como poco ejemplares. León, el gracioso, construido con gran maestría, revela mucho de sí mismo, a diferencia de los otros personajes, decantándose por un ideal femenino alejado de lo ejemplar, mostrando predilección por las gallegas, lo que a su vez pone a la pieza en el contexto sociohistórico de las *amas de cría* y parteras que hablan de la “esterilidad y fecundidad de la mujer como dos de las facetas del cuerpo femenino más atractivas para la ficción barroca” (51). La ausencia de virtud en muchos de los personajes invade el círculo de amigas y empapa este microcosmos cortesano (Gilbert-Santamaría) donde la traición opera entre ellos como “fuerza motriz de la pieza” (53).

García Santo-Tomás concluye su excelente Introducción ofreciéndonos noticias sobre la fortuna escénica de la pieza entre 1997 y 2023, tanto en América como en España y sobre la sinopsis de la versificación, amén de noticias ecdóticas sobre el MS Res. 173 de la BNE en que se basa su edición y las ediciones existentes de la pieza, junto a una extensa bibliografía final.

Sobre la edición propiamente dicha podemos decir que es pulcra, bien presentada y excelente en su anotación crítica, permitiendo al lector entender pasajes, términos y situaciones complejos y ayudándole a situar la pieza en su adecuado contexto sociohistórico. Es, pues, su trabajo de primera magnitud. Y lo es porque García Santo-Tomás demuestra conocer muy bien la obra de Zayas y estar al tanto de los avances más recientes de la crítica al respecto. Y lo presenta todo en una narrativa fluida que permite al lector adentrarse en esta pieza y sus elementos centrales antes de acometer su lectura. A la vez, lo que no es menor, al crítico ya más avezado le ofrece una bibliografía que domina sobre la pieza en cuestión, y la comenta pasándola por el tamiz de sesudas reflexiones. María de Zayas, que es ya lectura obligada en el panorama de la narrativa y drama del siglo XVII, aparece de nuevo en Cátedra de la mejor de las maneras.

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Enrique Fernández. *The Image of Celestina: Illustrations, Paintings, and Advertisements*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2024.
ISBN 9781487549787. 284 pp.

Literary works have long been reinterpreted in cultural production, especially through impactful and influential visual representations showcased by book illustration, visual arts, and advertising materials. The study of such representations affords insight into reader reception of the original literary text. Artists, as readers themselves, reduplicate iconic moments of the narrative according to their own understanding of the work, framing their visualizations even further within the scope of the artistic and stylistic movements to which they pertain. Perhaps more enlightening, however, is what constitutes an iconic moment for any given artist, as indicated by the specific narrative they choose to illustrate. This provides an incisive glimpse into the society and culture in which the artist lives.

Enrique Fernández's archival study of the visual legacy of *La celestina* (attributed to Fernando de Rojas 1499) underscores how the literary character, Celestina, has inspired enduring imagery that has come to visually represent the work itself. The now iconic figure, whose imposing presence as an immortal, mythical "madam" and "procuress" (5), has supplanted imagery of the story's other characters. As such, her image has become nothing short of a public avatar for the foundational Spanish-language text. However, Fernández signals caution, explaining that her image alone "is neither the same as nor freely interchangeable with the text" (9).

The book is organized in three main sections, using media type to categorize analyses. In part 1, "Illustrating Celestina," Fernández focuses on book illustrations that reinterpret various narratives from the storyline. Fernández divides this subgenre into two periods, the first encompassing the years 1499 to 1616, jumping to a second period of book illustration between the years 1842 to the present day. The earliest illustrated editions of the text featured woodcut engravings produced in Burgos. The author addresses issues of iconography, *mise en page*, the popularity of title pages, publisher competitiveness, the artist as reader of the text, and the material history underlying the publication of these early books. Many of these editions were printed in translation, further documenting the text's enduring popularity worldwide. Of course, such popularity is duly attributed to the printing press and the ability to move images and text comparatively easily by the press workers (27). Additionally, book illustrators and the long tradition of reduplicating, reinterpreting, and reprinting previous artists' work are explored.

Quite significantly, Fernández notes that no illustrated edition of *La Celestina* was published between 1616 and 1841, underscoring how the text suffered from censorship, eventually being placed on the "Index of Prohibited

Books” (51). Publishers lost interest in printing any editions of the work, much less illustrated ones. With the publication of an edition in 1841 that contained four illustrations, it would have seemed that book illustrations of *La Celestina* were beginning to regain popularity. However, Fernández notes: “While hundreds of editions of the book have been published since 1841, barely forty are illustrated” (51). The most important of these include editions illustrated by Tomás Gorchs (1841), Ramón Escaler (1883), and Josep Segrelles (1946). Didactic editions include those by Martín de Riquer (1959) and Editilia (2010).

In part 2, “Painting Celestina,” Fernández examines imagery of Celestina in the media of oil painting and etching that were not created for the purpose of book illustration. The author notes, quite significantly, that these images differ from book illustrations compositionally, since “no specific episodes from the book ever made it onto canvas” (67). Despite this, some of these images, such as those by Picasso, were later placed into subsequent, special illustrated editions. While these renderings often feature Celestina herself, none of them seek any faithfulness to the original narrative. The emphasis clearly lies in popular culture representations rather than literary ones. It is here that Celestina’s avatar as a sexual procuress flourishes. Visual works analyzed in this section include those by Hieronymus Bosch (1504), Luis Paret y Alcázar (1784), Francisco Goya (1808), Leonardo Alenza y Nieto (1834), Joaquín Sorolla (1894), Pablo Picasso (1904), and Rafael Ramírez Máro (2011).

Part 3, “Advertising Celestina,” reveals the popularity of using visual arts for advertising. Fernández explores imagery of Celestina on book covers, playbills, film posters, and other promotional materials. Returning to the value that imagery holds for book publishers, the author signals how the use of imagery of Celestina on book covers has historically increased book sales. Here, just as with book illustration overall, the tradition of reduplicating previous imagery is revealed. Notable playbills include imagery created for Compañía cómico-dramática de Carmen Cobeña’s *La Dolores* (1900), R. Cifuentes’s *La Celestina* (1909), and Teatro Fernando Fernán Gómez’s *La Celestina* (2012). Film posters include imagery used to promote filmic reinterpretations of *La Celestina* by César Ardavín (1969), Miguel Sabido (1976), and Isela Vera (1996).

Fernández’s revision of over five hundred years of visual reinterpretations of *La celestina* in cultural production, not only in Spain but worldwide, provides scholars of book illustration, book history, art history, marketing, and visual studies with an intriguing holistic overview of imagery of *La Celestina*. He very successfully underscores how Celestina’s image, particularly as a voyeuristic one, continues to convey her prowess to modern audiences, by pointedly provoking their desires and fears.

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Hortensia Calvo y Beatriz Colombi (estudio preliminar, edición y notas). *Cartas de Lysi. La mecenas de sor Juana Inés de la Cruz en correspondencia inédita*. Segunda edición corregida y ampliada. Madrid: Iberoamericana – Vervuert, 2023. ISBN 978-84-9192-370-1. 286 pp.

Sor Juana atrae. La segunda edición en rústica del exitoso libro que versa sobre la figura de María Luisa Manrique de Lara y Gonzaga, personaje clave en la vida de la monja jerónima, ofrece un nuevo prólogo, dos misivas más de la virreina y unas pocas correcciones y notas. La edición original (Iberoamericana, 2015) vino en un momento de cambio del paradigma en la crítica sorjuanista: la línea de la cada vez más desaforada ‘secularización’ y ‘modernización’ de la poetisa, que alcanzó su suma en la magna obra de Octavio Paz (*Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, o las trampas de la fe*, 1982) y culminó en el tricentenario de su muerte, en 1995, empezó a resquebrajarse por el cuestionamiento de sus premisas y por las lecturas más cuidadosas de los textos (incluidos los religiosos y los nuevos documentos). Muchos colaboraron en esta tarea, otros tantos no se han dado por enterados todavía. *Cartas de Lysi* vino en aquel momento bisagra.

El “Prólogo a la segunda edición” destaca el aporte del libro en publicar cartas familiares (y, así, poner la cara humana a los tiempos pasados) de una mujer en un importante papel ceremonial de su época. La “Introducción” traza el plan del libro. La primera parte, de investigación histórica, consiste en dos capítulos. En el primero, se examina detalladamente la “proveniencia, contexto y contenido” de las cuatro cartas de María Luisa que se ha podido rescatar (dos de la biblioteca de Tulane, una nota de pésame, de la Fundación Casa Medina Sidonia, en Cádiz; y una de la biblioteca Lilly, de la Universidad de Indiana, Bloomington). El segundo capítulo, el más suculento, presenta una minuciosa investigación biográfica de María Luisa y de su abolengo, que arroja también un interesante cuadro de la época.

María Luisa (1649-1721) venía de una de las familias más ilustres y poderosas de España. En 1675 casó con Tomás Antonio de la Cerda (1638-1692), futuro virrey de Nueva España, también de una familia ilustre, cuyo padre fue uno de los protectores de Francisco de Quevedo y cuyo hermano mayor fue valido del rey entre 1680 y 1685. Parece que fue la gestión del hermano que le dio ‘aire americano’ a una familia que acababa de perder dos pequeños hijos en años sucesivos. Si bien aquel cae en desgracia, en 1685, y se exilia de la Corte (de sus quejas dan testimonio dos cartas de 1687, en “Apéndice”), no parece que esto se extendiera a Tomás, quien, a la vuelta a España en 1688, recibe los honores de Grande el año siguiente y compra el cargo de Mayordomo de la nueva reina, Mariana de Neoburgo (el cargo que, además de la hacienda, por poco, le cuesta la vida). Esta es la oportunidad que aprovecha la pareja de los exvirreyes para pedir

colaboraciones teatrales a Sor Juana, que ella empieza a cumplir auspiciosamente en 1690 con una serie de autos sacramentales, donde la monja impertérrita se propone enseñar a la Corte española las verdaderas cosas de América. También María Luisa recibe los honores de Grande, el mismo mes que muere su marido. Sus cargos posteriores la ligan a la facción austríaca y al amargo final en el exilio después de la Guerra de Sucesión, lo cual también afecta la sucesión de Sor Juana.

La “Cronología” pone en un cuadro sinóptico lo expuesto en la parte histórica del libro. La segunda parte trae los facsímiles de las cuatro cartas de María Luisa, su transcripción paleográfica y su versión modernizada. Las primeras tres son dirigidas a su prima María de Guadalupe, duquesa de Aveyro; la cuarta está escrita para su padre, quien entretanto murió. La primera, de 1676, es un breve pésame por la muerte del cuñado de la duquesa. Las dos siguientes son las más interesantes, escritas en el comienzo de la estada mexicana (1680-1688) de María Luisa. La primera, de diciembre de 1682, responde a una misiva de la duquesa. María Luisa comenta prolijamente asuntos de la Corte de Madrid, menciona la preocupación por su reciente embarazo, en contexto con el malogrado parto de abril, vuelve a los chismes, salta a su estado de ánimo en “la insulsísima tierra” y “grande la soledad” donde le toca vivir en aquellos momentos. Porque, ¿con quién podía hablar en el Nuevo Mundo esta joven bien educada y de amplias miras? Allí emerge la figura de Sor Juana como refugio y buena compañía para conversar.

Los virreyes se quedaron impresionados por el Arco de bienvenida ingeniado por Sor Juana, un delicioso juego de ingenio barroco y explicado en su *Neptuno alegórico*, y la visitaron en algún momento en la primavera de 1681. Los dos quedaron encantados de ese encuentro, y especialmente las mujeres descubrieron “aquel secreto influjo de humores o los Astros, que llaman simpatía”, del que da cuenta la “Advertencia” al romance 16 (*Obras completas*, I, ed. Méndez Plancarte, p. 48) y que tanto enredó la cabeza a Octavio Paz y a muchos otros. Las visitas de los dos a la monja empezaron a repetirse... Ciertamente, en nuestra época, invadida por las pulsiones freudianas, dos mujeres brillantes, casi de la misma edad (en 1681, María Luisa iría para 32 y Sor Juana, si le creemos a ella, pasó los 29) y nacidas bajo el mismo signo de Scorpio, dan mucho que hablar e imaginar. Las lecturas corren a cuenta de los lectores, pero no a la de sus objetos: condición olvidada por la crítica (y filmografía) “liberada” pospaziana y posderridiana.

Es interesante el retrato de la monja que hace María Luisa. Trata de definir, tal como los recuerda, sus rasgos más llamativos. Es una monja, escribe, “que es rara mujer”. Versada en muchas ciencias, y eso que se había criado “en un pueblo de cuatro malas casillas de indios” y no las haya estudiado sistemáticamente. Su ingenio es grande. Sigue la referencia a los motivos de su profesión, “queriendo huir los riesgos del mundo”. Y luego lo importante para el momento bisagra, sobre su llegada al Palacio en tiempos del marqués Mancera: “Recién venida, que sería de catorce años, dejaba aturridos a todos” (pp. 221-22). El virrey Mancera llega a México en agosto de 1664 y toma el poder en noviembre; los festejos seguirán

todavía unos meses. Su esposa Leonor organizaría su séquito de damas a lo largo de 1665 cuando, en algún momento, entra la joven Juana que, para el comienzo de ese año tendría cumplidos trece años y dos meses. Es una información ciertamente de la boca de Sor Juana. Este dato se ajusta más claramente a su nacimiento en 1651 que en 1648 (toda la comedia de errores y mala leche en torno a su nacimiento se analiza en esta revista, 14, 2021: 4-22). Recordemos que para la jovencita el Palacio es la universidad, que no puede atender como mujer. Se queda en el Palacio unos dos años, cumple quince en 1666, da el examen ante los “sabios” y, en la disyuntiva entre ‘entrar en el mundo’ o huir sus riesgos, elige lo segundo (episodio analizado nuevamente en nuestro libro *La mujer que quiso ser amada por Dios*, Madrid: Verbum, 2016: 35-38). Si las editoras de *Cartas de Lysi* hubieran reflexionado el dato de la marquesa, les habría salido una “Cronología” menos enrevesada en cuanto a Sor Juana.

La tercera y última carta dirigida a la duquesa, de agosto de 1683, es una información sobre el parto logrado del hijo José y queja de falta de noticias de la prima. La carta intentada para su padre, de julio de 1687, es interesante por describir la relación tensa con los nuevos virreyes y la alegría por el hijo que cumplió cuatro años y celebrado como “criollo” por los mexicanos. Es de admirar la acribia editorial que permite a los lectores entender las muchas veces recónditas referencias personales en las cartas.

Los apéndices ofrecen importantes materiales complementarios, como la nómina de la comitiva de los virreyes, dos cartas del hermano mayor dirigidas al virrey (una de quejas por su condición de desgracia en la Corte y otra, de mayo de 1687, donde le comunica la muerte del padre de María Luisa y las consecuencias), y cierra el volumen una selección de poesía mutua de María Luisa y Sor Juana, de retratos y unos facsímiles de ediciones originarias.

Cartas de Lysi ofrece una cornucopia de ricos materiales varios, cuidadosamente editados; cúmulo de información que le pone cara humana a una época del Virreinato, destacando el papel de las mujeres en ella. La aproximación del contexto de vida de Sor Juana y aun cierta información precisa que nos da, es un no pequeño beneficio.

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