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**POLITICAL TEXTS AND CONTEXTS OF THE GOLDEN AGE:  
A CULTURAL STUDY OF SPANISH AND  
SPANISH-AMERICAN THEATER AND OPERA**

**VOLUME I**

**By**

**Chad M. Gasta**

**A DISSERTATION**

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## ABSTRACT

### POLITICAL TEXTS AND CONTEXTS OF THE GOLDEN AGE: A CULTURAL STUDY OF SPANISH AND SPANISH-AMERICAN THEATER AND OPERA

By

Chad Michael Gasta

The methodological combination of New Historicism and Frederic Jameson's *The Political Unconscious* exposes socio-political ideologies encoded in the theatrical works studied in this dissertation. A recontextualization of literary texts, the approach advocated by Jameson and the New Historicists, aids in examining and retrieving encoded ideologies that affect and inform theme and structure of literary works. Part of that recontextualization involves a detailed (re)creation of the socio-historical moment of cultural production of the text. Each chapter of the dissertation offers a thorough socio-historical background reconstruction that recreates society, politics, economics and the philosophical ambience. Chapter One, "Historicizing Socio-Political Ideologies of the Golden Age" introduces the reader to an overview of New Historicism and its belief that authors, their literary works, and history all share an interdependent relationship. This chapter also discusses Frederic Jameson's program of textual analysis as outlined in *The Political Unconscious*, its close connection to New Historicism, and its usefulness in examining the Golden Age texts included in this dissertation. Chapter Two, "Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna*: The Politics of Agricultural Economics," investigates the Spanish Crown's official agrarian

policies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demonstrating how the policies affect the agricultural politics in the play. Chapter Three, "Ruiz de Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas*: The Politics of Legislation and Kingship," examines the socio-political thought of seventeenth-century Spain and Mexico to show how legislation, kingship and legal reform of the Golden Age affect the theme and content in Alarcón's play. Chapter Four, "Torrejón y Velasco's *refundición* of Calderón's *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa*: The Politics of Production," is a cultural study of Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa* (1660) and Torrejón's rewriting (1701). This chapter resituates the operas to show the extraordinary political nature of these two productions and demonstrate that in both Spain and Peru, *La púrpura de la rosa* was conceived, produced and performed for political purposes. Chapter Five, "Sor Juana's *El divino Narciso*: Negotiating the Religious Politics of the Counter-Reformation," examines the aesthetic use of ideologies of the Counter Reformation and demonstrates their relationship to political and religious theory in her *auto sacramental*. A detailed (re)examination of these texts in light of their socio-historical background shows them to be cultural artifacts that resonate through time, works that create and reflect a political unconscious of Spain and Latin America.

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**I would like to dedicate my dissertation  
to James and Marie, my parents,  
whose unselfish sacrifice for me  
and my brothers and sister is  
matched only by their unwavering  
support and love for each of us.**

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## Chapter One Historicizing Socio-Political Ideologies of the Golden Age

"Historicize, always historicize!" so exhorts Frederic Jameson in his seminal book *The Political Unconscious*. A combination of Jameson's theories and New Historicism offers a fruitful method for recontextualizing Golden Age theatrical works of Spain and Latin America, one that reveals the socio-political ideologies of the works and the political unconscious of their epoch. For Jameson and the New Historicists, texts reflect and (re)create society, its customs and history, and they are political by nature. To study this political dimension, critics such as Stephen Greenblatt, today's leading New Historicist, propose recreating the social, political, economic, and philosophic ambience in order to (re)interpret texts and the ideologies they contain. Greenblatt believes that New Historicism is a *practice*—not a doctrine—because it has no established theoretical program.<sup>1</sup> Instead, according to Greenblatt, New Historicism is a *Cultural Poetics* that seeks to reveal the relationship between texts (cultural artifacts) and their socio-historical and political contexts without limiting itself to

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<sup>1</sup> New Historicism began to make an impact on literary criticism in the mid-1980s when Stephen Greenblatt, the central figure in the American branch of this movement, published his book, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Los Angeles: U of California P, 1988). For other studies on New Historicism by Greenblatt, see: "Culture" (1995); *Learning to Curse* (1990); *New World Encounters* (1993); *The Power of Forms in the Renaissance* (1982); "Towards a Poetics of Culture" (1988). For works dealing with New Historicism, see: Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Literary Criticism and the Politics of the New Historicism" (1988); Catherine Gallagher, "Marxism and The New Historicism" (1988); Jonathan Goldberg, "The Politics of Renaissance Literature" (1982); Gerald Graff, "Co-optation" (1988); Jean E. Howard, "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies", (1986); Joseph Kelly and Timothy Kelly, "Social History Update: Searching the Dark Alley" (1992); Louis Montrose, "Professing the Renaissance" (1988); Edward Pechter, "The New Historicism and Its Discontents" (1987); Gonzalo Pontón, "Las sendas de un nuevo historicismo" (1996); Brian Rosenberg, "Historicizing the New Historicism" (1989); Brook Thomas, "The New Historicism and Other Old-fashioned Topics" (1988); Paul N. Siegel, "The New Historicism and Shakespearean Criticism" (1991); Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "A Return to History? The New Historicism and Its Agenda"

specific principles. This type of cultural analysis is, for Greenblatt, a "study of the collective making of distinctive cultural practices and inquiry into the relations among these practices" and it is concerned with "how collective beliefs and experiences were shaped, moved from one medium to another, [and] concentrated in manageable form [...] (*Shakespearean* 5).<sup>2</sup> Numerous New-Historicist studies argue for a synchronic approach to textual investigation that takes into consideration specific aspects at work during the production and circulation of texts in society. These aspects include an examination of the artist, genre and the historical situation, ideology, resonance, social energy, and cultural exchange and negotiation.

A study of these aspects assists the literary critic in examining cultural artifacts and the relationship to the culture in which they were produced. The first part of this chapter presents an overview of New Historicism and its belief that authors, their literary works, and history all share an interdependent relationship. This chapter also discusses the New-Historicist constituents of ideology, resonance, social energy, cultural negotiation and exchange to show their effectiveness in assisting the literary critic in textual analysis. The second part

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(1992); Jan R. Veenstra, "The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt" (1995); Aram Veenser, "Introduction" (1988); Veenser, "The New Historicism" (1994).

<sup>2</sup> While both terms (Cultural Poetics and New Historicism) have been deemed acceptable by New Historicists to describe this methodological approach to texts, throughout this dissertation I follow the more popular form, New Historicism. For Greenblatt's use of Cultural Poetics, see his book, *Learning to Curse* (New York: Routledge, 1990) 150-58, in which he writes that his establishment of "New Historicism" as literary analysis was mostly unplanned: "A few years ago I was asked by *Genre* to edit a selection of Renaissance essays, and I said OK. I collected a bunch of essays and then, out of a kind of desperation to get the introduction done, I wrote that the essays represented something I called a "new historicism." I've never been very good at making up advertising phrases of this kind; for reasons that I would be quite interested in exploring at some point, the name stuck much more than other names I'd very carefully tried to invent over the years" (146). Greenblatt's later criticism has dealt with his institution of some theoretical principles for Cultural Poetics based on earlier aspects of New Historicism.



will focus on Frederic Jameson's program of textual analysis as outlined in *The Political Unconscious*, its close connection to New Historicism, and its usefulness in examining the Golden Age texts included in this dissertation.

New Historicists are aware that there is no direct access to a full, authentic past, and therefore endeavor to resituate and recontextualize literary texts and other cultural artifacts in their original moment of production in order to show connections between literature and society. Since history is displaced from the present, recontextualization and resituation of cultural artifacts can offer a glimpse of the past and an understanding of society, politics, philosophy and economics. New Historicists characterize their study of history as a constant process of debate and containment, and the literary text (which reflects and is part of the history it seeks to reproduce) is a set of manipulations that can be interpreted and reinterpreted by readers and critics. The (re)interpretations carried out then become part of a constant process of "self-reflexive cultural invention" (Lauer 15-16).

Interpretive studies undertaken by New Historicists thus concern themselves with such important elements as the interdependence of history on literature (and vice-versa), authors and their relation to their aesthetic creation, and the role of today's literary critic in deciphering the hidden meaning of texts. As literary critics, New Historicists often describe their relationship to the past in terms formerly used by novelists and other artists; they see the text as a cultural artifact that embodies literary creation. New Historicists, like Greenblatt, set out to resituate literature in order to unearth or listen for the voices of the past, what

he calls "textual traces," that are embedded within literary creations. Greenblatt, at the beginning of *Shakespearean Negotiations*, says that in his literary analysis he tries to search out, uncover—even recreate—voices that were previously missed or ignored:

I began with the desire to speak with the dead. If I never believed that the dead could hear me, and if I knew that the dead could not speak, I was nonetheless certain that I could re-create a conversation with them. [...] It was true that I could hear only my own voice, but my own voice was the voice of the dead, for the dead had contrived to leave textual traces of themselves, and those traces make themselves heard in the voices of the living. (1)

New Historicism, then, examines textual traces by recreating literary contexts—re-creating conversations with the dead. By recontextualizing literature, New Historicists see their literary analysis as a means to document not only those social forces that inform and constitute history and society, but also those that feature prominently in the social process themselves, fashioning individual identity and the socio-historical situation (Veenstra 174).

History, historical facts and social beliefs can be apprehended through the study of literary texts, for they influence and even create history, and are permanent artifacts that should be studied differently from the approach taken by traditional historical and literary scholars. In the past, historical scholars studied the connection of history to literature by attempting to recover historical facts, formal ideas, historical authority, attitudes, and events that have presumably

energized and indoctrinated the form and content of literary texts. They saw literature within history, not as a complementary constituent. This traditional approach "privileged" historical works over literary creations. New Historicists, however, do not wish to privilege the literary over the historical or history over literature. Instead, a goal of New Historicism is to show the close interrelationship and interdependence between history and literature to demonstrate that literary texts (or cultural artifacts) are similar to historical texts in that they act as reservoirs of cultural and historic attitudes and values. For New Historicists, literary works are living documents that, through time, record, reflect and modify perspectives on society, politics, philosophy and economics. As Kimney suggests, literary texts are established, permanent records of an era: "the best and most complete—even the most moving and significant—record of an age; indeed, as written records, works of literature appear to many to be more central, more stable, and more permanent" (3). In short, there is an intertextuality between history and literature, and in order to comprehend the numerous socio-political ideologies encoded within texts, these cultural artifacts can be resituated in their socio-historical moment. Indeed, Greenblatt believes that New Historicism provides a way of looking at the past with "an intensified willingness to read [...] the textual traces of the past with the attention traditionally conferred only on literary texts" (*Learning* 14). As he points out, it is inevitable and essential that critics analyze the interplay of literary texts and history by recontextualizing them—(re)reading and (re)interpreting them. Consequently, what was first thought of as an intense study of the relations

between texts and history progresses to a reconceptualization of literary works, their socio-political contexts, the relations between them, the author, the genre and politics. A New Historicist reading thus yields an understanding of more than just literature as a reflection of history. Literature is history and history is literature; they are mutually beneficial and necessarily interdependent. In "Professing the Renaissance," Louis Montrose provides an excellent example of the interrelationship of literature to history as seen by New Historicists. For him, the reciprocal relationship between history and literature necessarily includes all modes of writing as textual traces of the past, and he advocates:

[...] a reciprocal concern with the historicity of texts and the textuality of history. By the historicity of texts, I mean to suggest the cultural specificity, the social embedment, of all modes of writing—not only the texts the critics study but also the texts in which we study them. By the textuality of history, I mean to suggest, firstly, that we can have no direct access to a full and authentic past, a lived material existence, unmediated by the surviving textual traces of the society in question—traces whose survival we cannot assume to be merely contingent but must rather presume to be at least partially consequent upon complex and subtle social processes of preservation and effacement; and secondly, that those textual traces are themselves subject to subsequent textual mediations when they are construed as the

"documents" upon which historians ground their own texts, called "histories." (20)

As Montrose points out literary texts can historicize the past and provide an understanding and explanation of history, not an objective portrayal of events and people like many traditional historians profess.<sup>3</sup> In fact, Hayden White, who is not a New Historicist but rather a well-known critic of historical-literary investigation, has declared that there is no distinct method of historical investigation. In his "New Historicism: A Comment," White holds that traditional historical analysis is vulnerable to fresh and innovative methods of historical analysis:

For whether "history" is considered simply as "the past", the documentary record of this past, or the body of reliable information about the past established by professional historians, there is no such thing as a distinctively "historical" method by which to study this "history." (295)<sup>4</sup>

White's argument is that literary criticism like New Historicism has clearly established a new and engaging method of examining and understanding the importance of the relationship between literature and history, a program far removed from traditional historical analysis.

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<sup>3</sup> Greenblatt makes a similar point in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*. He believes that if we would not "drift back toward a conception of art as addressed to a timeless, cultureless, universal human essence," we could maintain the connection between literature and society (4).

<sup>4</sup> Similarly DeCerteau asserts that historians' analyses of the past take place in the present: "[...] in a demonstration of the past which is similar to what the historian produces by dragging history through the present" ( 8).



Like the New Historicists, Frederic Jameson strives to resituate texts by reconstructing their contemporary moment of production and circulation—by examining as far as possible their context. In his analysis of texts, he inevitably interrogates the formal conditions of textual production by reconstructing the elements that make up texts and other cultural artifacts. He holds that such analysis "involves the hypothetical reconstruction of the materials [...] which had to have been given in advance in order for that particular text to be produced in its unique historical specificity" (*Political* 57-58). For Jameson, a hypothetical reconstruction of the content of texts renders a reproduction of society—its "historical specificity." However, an examination of the history contained in a text cannot suffice for textual analysis because, as Jameson explains, history is not simply a text or a narrative, but rather an absent cause accessible only in textual form:

What Althusser's own insistence on history as an absent cause makes clear, but what is missing from the formula as it is canonically worded, is that he does not at all draw the fashionable conclusion that because history is a text, the "referent" does not exist. We would therefore propose the following revised formulation: that history is *not* a text, not a narrative, master or otherwise, but that, as an absent cause, it [history] is inaccessible to us, except in textual form, and our approach to it and to the Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious. (*Political* 35)

Jameson believes that modern-day literary critics do not have direct access to an authentic past, that the critic is displaced from the past and history is embraced in the only form available to us, in textualized form, or in other works of art. He contends that the recreation of history is achieved through cultural objects (artifacts): "The literary work or cultural object, as though for the first time, brings into being that very situation to which it is also, at one and the same time, a recreation" (*Political* 82). Like Montrose's belief in the historicity of texts and textuality of history, Jameson sees literature and other cultural objects as recreations and reflections of history that act as cultural artifacts, furnishing a subtext to historical events. And, in circular fashion, since history is contained within the literary work or cultural object, it is approachable only through artistic (literary) interpretation:

The type of interpretation here proposed is more satisfactorily grasped as the rewriting of the literary text in such a way that the latter may itself be seen as the rewriting or restructuring of a prior historical or ideological subtext, it being always understood that that "subtext" is not immediately present as such [...] but rather itself always be (re)constructed after the fact. (Jameson, *Political* 81)

Because literary texts are reconstructions of real historical-cultural events, they are, as Jameson asserts, symbolic representations of culture that contain the various subtexts that enable interpretation. Essentially, what Jameson advocates and New Historicists practice is a (re)interpretation of the text by way of a recreation of its social, political, economic, and philosophic ambience—its

context, or in Jameson's terms, its *subtext*. This notion of literature as history and history as literature certainly differs from traditional historical analysis.

Unlike traditional historians and literary critics, New Historicists admit to a close relationship between their present-day circumstances and the cultural objects they are analyzing. The project of historical resituation of texts, therefore, necessarily includes the textual construction of critics who are themselves historical subjects (Montrose, *Professing* 6). This is partially so because it is assumed that textual production is not simply that of the moment but rather a long-term expression of society, politics, philosophy, economics and the like. And within this long-term expression, there are distinct understandings of culture that may not be analogous; there are, in Greenblatt's terms, unconscious patterns of will and constraint that are "not necessarily identical with the culture's own understanding of itself or others" (Greenblatt, *New* x). In short, seen through the terms made available by the present, the past impacts upon the critic's present-day outlook. Montrose, for example, concludes that literary critics must contemplate efforts to historicize the present as well as the past, and to historicize the dialectic between them. He believes that there are reciprocal historical pressures "by which the past has shaped the present and the present reshapes the past" (*Professing* 24). The past survives as residual culture in the present but, for Montrose, New Historicism must recognize that not only the poet but also the critic exist in history because both are inscriptions of history:

[...] our comprehension, representation, interpretation of the texts of the past always proceeds by a mixture of estrangement and

appropriation, as a reciprocal conditioning of the Renaissance text and our text of the Renaissance. Such a critical practice constitutes a continuous dialogue between a *poetics* and a *politics* of culture. (*Professing* 24)

There is, then, a tenuous relationship between the past and the present, and between the critic, history and literature. In fact, Howard, a New Historicist, has written that our view is always informed by our present position: "the objects we view are available only in the slipperiness of their textualization" (22). Even opponents of New Historicism like Terry Eagleton agree that the present and the past are inexorably linked. Eagleton has stated that all knowledge of the past is skewed by the interests and desires of the present (197) but goes on to criticize New Historicism, saying that though New Historicists claim to judge the past in the light of the present, "It is a familiar truth that the very last thing which historicisms are usually prepared to place under historical judgement is their own historical conditions" (198). Nevertheless, New Historicism has made the effort to contemplate the critic's perspective. Denying the possibility of objectivity, Rosenberg, a New Historicist, believes that literary critics should attempt to situate their views of the past in relation to their own circumstances—personal, professional, social, and otherwise (386). Likewise, their examination should include themselves, other critics, the text and their intertextual relationship—anything and everything that leads to what they believe to be new or alluring understanding of the text.

New Historicism also studies the interdependent relationship between an author's literary creations, their social influences, and background at the time of textual production. New Historicists agree that the study of the relationship between authors, their time, and their texts is not objective. Veenstra, arguing for a study of historical authors and their background, summarizes arguments made by Greenblatt and others who stress that literature can be defined by its close relationship to the author:

1) as the manifestation of the behavior of the author (the object of biographical studies); 2) as an expression of the codes that govern behavior (the object of those who seek to expose ideological substructures); and 3) as a reflection on these codes (the object of those who study art as an autonomous supratemporal phenomenon). (182)

Veenstra's summary indicates that a recontextualization of literary works should include the author, and that literary critics must abandon the premise of objectivity and acknowledge the partial and positioned viewpoint of the author at the time of textual production. For this reason, New Historicists include in their examinations the socio-political background of authors, and question how and why they constructed their stories. It should be remembered, however, that whereas reader response criticism may privilege the author over the readers and their interpretation of the text, New Historicism refuses to acknowledge the superiority of the writer, narrator or other narrative entity.<sup>5</sup> Instead, New-

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<sup>5</sup> Reader Response criticism, which speaks to the debate between the author and the role of the reader, has been established by two opposing critics, Wolfgang Iser and Stanley Fish. One of the



Historicist criticism embraces authors and their background as only one aspect of recontextualization. An author's or narrator's own beliefs and preoccupations may be valuable areas for understanding the political unconscious of texts, but they are not the only areas.

Indeed, in addition to the interdependent relationship between the author, the critic and history, four other specific precepts of analysis have been specified by New Historicists: the study of ideology, resonance, social energy, and cultural negotiation and exchange. Each chapter of this dissertation relies on these precepts as a means of resituating texts and understanding their ideological nature. As we will see, within the artistic production and social circulation of literary texts, a study of ideology, resonance, social energy, and cultural negotiation and exchange suggests that the texts examined in this dissertation are cultural artifacts that resonate through time and reflect and recreate a political unconscious of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain and Latin America.

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first and most successful critics of response theory was Iser who, in *The Act of Reading* (1978), put forth his hypothesis that in order to read at all, readers must be familiar with the various techniques and conventions that a written text implicitly possesses. That is to say, readers must be familiar with a series of codes, or rules, which are a part of the text, by which they will be able to unlock the message of the text and produce its meaning. In essence, then, Iser's theory necessarily includes the previous, implicit knowledge of the reader. To read the written text effectively, readers have to "exercise certain critical capacities" (Eagleton 69). It is at this point that Iser's theory offers complications for other critics such as Fish. Fish places greater emphasis on the active role of the reader in this process stating that "meaning in a literary text does not just lie there, it must be brought out in an act of concretization" (*Why* 2). Believing that the text can be interpreted in myriad ways, it is readers, then, who will exercise their own freedom during the reading process—"the making and revising of assumptions, the rendering and regretting of judgements, the coming to and abandoning of conclusions, the giving and withdrawing of approval, the specifying of causes, the asking of questions, the supplying of answers, the solving of puzzles" (*Interpreting* 181)—all of these based on readers' personal experiences and their previous development and experience as readers. In short, readers will continuously read and re-read, supplying the text with a meaning as they continue. In this way, the text is dependent on the reader and not the reverse.

The examination of embedded ideology is an important area that is related to the principles of Jameson and the New Historicists. New Historicism attempts to discern ideology and study its appearance, and meaning. By recontextualizing aesthetic works, New Historicists believe that all texts are ideologically marked, and that meaning of a literary text is not seen so much as it is produced by culture, just as culture produced the text's dominant ideologies. As cultures produce dominant and passive ideologies, they compete for supremacy. Dollimore has described ideology as a set of illusory beliefs in a state of false consciousness that preserve social organizations and power systems and have an inevitable nature:

In its most direct sense ideology refers to a system of illusory beliefs held in the state of so-called false-consciousness, beliefs which serve to perpetuate a particular social formation or power structure; typically this power structure is itself represented by that ideology as eternally or naturally given—i.e. as inevitable, immutable. (*Radical* 9)<sup>6</sup>

The system of illusory beliefs represented by ideologies and their existence in literary texts is deemed an intricate part of cultural production by New

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<sup>6</sup> New Historicists tend to downplay the questions of power in their literary analysis. Dollimore, quoted here, considers himself a Cultural Materialist, the British version of New Historicism. Cultural Materialism is often marked by its reliance on Marxism and by its study of power and power relations based on the writings of Foucault. I do not see Marxism as a determining factor for textual analysis and thus, follow the American branch of this literary practice, New Historicism. There are a number of works that debate the value of Marxism in both New Historicism and Cultural Materialism. See, for example, the following studies: Jonathan Dollimore's *Radical Tragedy* (1984) and his "Introduction: Shakespeare, Cultural Materialism and the New Historicism" (*Political Shakespeare*, 1985. [2-17]); see also, Catherine Gallagher (*Marxism* 37-48); Jonathan Goldberg (*Politics* 514-42); Stephen Greenblatt (*Towards* 146-60); Louis Montrose (*New Historicisms* 392-418); H. Aram Veeseer (*New Historicism* 1-34).

Historicists. Montrose, for example, like other New Historicists, tells us in "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture" that the cultural production of writing and reading texts, as well as the processes by which they are circulated and categorized, should be reinterpreted as "historically determined and determining modes of culture" (15). He then goes on to suggest that in every mode or process of textual production, culture creates ideology and, in turn, is affected by ideology. Hence, the interpretation of ideology or ideologies is not an allegorizing of texts or a search for things past, but an opening up of the text to the winds of history (Mohanty 38). After all, once texts are written, they do not simply appear in the world, but rather are marked, placed, licensed, and authorized (Greenblatt, *New* xvii), and each new study of them yields fresh interpretations of their ideologies. Therefore, ideology, according to Kelly and Kelly, is not and cannot be distinct from educational, religious, artistic, political or other cultural institutions (683) but is instead intricate parts of them.

For New Historicism, the study of ideology offers a multitude of possible interpretations. Hence, New-Historicist literary examination offers a synchronic approach to textual investigation, not a monological perspective that was a component of earlier historicism. Greenblatt tells us that earlier historicism tended to be concerned with discovering a single political vision, "usually identical to that said to be held by the entire literate class or indeed the entire population" (*Power* 5). New Historicism is aware that literature offers a multitude of perspectives and believes that there is no single determinable truth to any

particular narrative or event, just a conflict of interpretations. So, it can be said that New Historicists strive to allow—even search out—conflicting readings. The anticipated result is a vision of the literary text as a site dominated by numerous competing cultural voices (competing ideologies) whose meaning is (re)constructed and (re)interpreted by the literary critic (Rosenberg 376). As Howard notes, this form of literary theory does not repress history, but rather embraces opposing histories:

[...] instead of evoking a monolithic and repressive “history”, one must acknowledge the existence of “histories” produced by subjects variously positioned within the present social formation and motivated by quite different senses of the present needs and present problems which it is hoped will be clarified or reconfigured through the study of the past . (23)

While Howard's comments point to the importance of the present-day perspective looking towards the past, her remarks also assert that in literary investigation there are alternative views that may effectively be used to analyze history, even rewrite it if necessary. For example, the discovery of new or neglected historical documents by modern-day critics can affect how we perceive literary works based on history, because newly-revealed materials can point to shifting socio-political ideologies and perhaps yield fresh and interesting interpretations of them. Consequently, literary works like those studied in this dissertation can no longer be regarded as fixed and set apart from all other forms of expression—economics, society, philosophy, religion, politics. It can be said that these literary

works contain a variety of determinate meanings. Following New-Historicist precepts, this dissertation posits representative literary works as reflections and recreations of lesser-known historical facts, and attempts to elucidate them by closely analyzing their competing ideological discourses. In short, the dissertation argues that a synchronic approach to textual analysis provides a wealth of perspectives that in the end will reveal a number of meaningful ideologies encoded in the work.

Competing ideologies offer a multitude of possible perspectives because texts are socially and culturally instrumental in displaying their moment of original production and in providing a context for later study of history. Inasmuch as there is no direct access to a full, authentic past, the remarkable capability for literary texts to furnish a snapshot of socio-cultural history is meaningful. Greenblatt and other New Historicists argue that texts resonate through time, transporting a variety of ideological perspectives with them into the future. Greenblatt discusses the concept of resonance stating that it survives in visible works of art in today's museums and galleries:

It will be easier to grasp the concepts of resonance and wonder if we think of the way in which our culture presents to itself not the textual traces of the past but the surviving visual traces, for the latter are put on display in galleries and museums specially designed for the purpose. By resonance I mean the power of the object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from

which it has emerged and for which as metaphor or more simply as metonymy it may be taken by a view to stand. (*Learning* 170)

Resonance, then, is essentially displayed in the production and presentation of a work of art from its first moment of production to the present-day. In fact, Greenblatt holds that resonance, as an element of New Historicism, helps to “recover as far as possible the historical circumstances of the original production and consumption and to analyze the relationship between these circumstances and their own” (*Learning* 17). An attempt to recover as much as possible the moments of original production and consumption may help us to understand the close relationship between ideologies embedded in texts, an audience’s reaction to them, as well as the ambience in which texts were produced. That aesthetic works resonate through time suggests to the modern-day critic that texts are neither displaced from their original time of production and consumption, nor are they determinate objects that resist being closely analyzed and understood today. In fact, an exploration of resonating textual traces is the key to illustrating intersecting points between the text, socio-political ideology, and the society contemporary with the text. Texts continue to offer up a number of interesting ideological premises for study; they possess an inherent capacity to divulge secrets well after their time of original production. After all, were it not for a text’s distinguishing ability to resonate, it would be hard to reconstruct a text’s contemporary moment of production.

As texts resonate, they also emit social energy, or the congenital capacity of a text, or other work of art, to continue to “generate the illusion of life for

centuries after its conception, writing and production" (Greenblatt, *Shakespearean* 170). The literary text of a drama, for example, through representational means, mediates the historical distinctiveness of the theater and the social aspects from which that play has been created. According to Greenblatt, plays carry charges of social energy onto the stage and that social energy is decoded by the audience. The audience in turn revises that energy and returns it to the stage (*Shakespearean* 14). The subsequent relationship between a play, the performers, and the public becomes important in understanding the contemporary thematic, political significance of the production. Veenstra clarifies the role of social energy in the production and circulation of drama maintaining that plays matter to us because we have invested some of our emotions in these cultural creations, and because the investment is rewarded: "These social energies are returned to us, with interest, when we consume these social products, when we interpret texts. Ultimately meaning and social energy are synonymous" (187). Therefore, the numerous emotions that a play evokes in its audience results from the social energy inscribed in its text. The life of the play materializes in the props, plots, costumes, language, metaphors, symbols, and ceremonies, among other important elements, that help make up a play (Veenstra 187). Greenblatt asserts that there is no exhaustive and definitive list of things that can qualify as social energy. For Greenblatt, everything produced by a society qualifies as social energy, including: "[...] power, charisma, sexual excitement, collective dreams, wonder, desire, anxiety, religious awe, free-floating intensities of experience [...]" (qtd. in Veenstra 187). If an exploration of

the social energy of a particular culture will lead to a heightened understanding of an aesthetic work produced within that culture, then a careful inquiry of an aesthetic creation should lead to a heightened understanding of the culture within which it was produced (Greenblatt, *Culture* 227). An examination of social energy is one way New Historicists understand cultural artifacts such as literary texts, theatrical performances, and music. In this dissertation, for example, social energy is studied in Torrejón's rewriting of Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa*. Examining the production of music and spectacle in this opera contributes to understanding the thematic and political content of the play, as well as to a better comprehension of the socio-historical moment of the play's reception.

New Historicists also recapture the cultural moment of textual production by analyzing a text's negotiation and exchange. By means of an economic metaphor, Greenblatt explains how texts and other symbolic goods circulate in a society via channels of negotiation and exchange:

[...] the work of art is the product of a negotiation between a creator or class of creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society. In order to achieve the negotiation, artists need to create a currency that is valid for a meaningful, mutually profitable exchange. It is important to emphasize that the process involves not simply appropriation but exchange, since the existence of art always implies a return, a return normally measured in pleasure and interest. I should add that the society's dominant currencies,



money, and prestige, are invariably involved, but I am here using the term "currency" metaphorically to designate the systematic adjustments, symbolizations and lines of credit necessary to enable an exchange to take place. The terms "currency" and "negotiation" are the signs of our manipulation and adjustment of the relative system. (*Learning* 158)

Greenblatt argues that a culture is a unique network of negotiations for the circulation and exchange of material goods, but it is also a market for negotiating and exchanging ideas and beliefs. Writers and their literature can be thought of as the vehicles that determine the boundaries of that system because, as Greenblatt succinctly points out, writers are specialists in cultural exchange: "The works they create are structures for the accumulation, transformation, representation, and communication of social energies and practices" (*Culture* 229-30). New Historicism is concerned with studying this system of negotiation and examining how literary works and other artistic creations are exchanged within it. Such a study renders a keen sense of the culture, such as religion, philosophy, or politics, out of which a literary text is socially constructed. To speak of the social production of literature is to signify not only that "it is socially produced but also that it is socially productive—that it is the product of work and that it performs work in the process of being written, enacted, or read" (Montrose, *Professing* 23). Cultural negotiation and exchange helps New Historicists examine literature as a byproduct of a system that generates society's prevailing attitudes and beliefs. Literature is, in short, a social product of this system.

Texts as social products reflect and (re)create society, its social customs and history, and understandably, have an intrinsic political nature. Literary texts have a political focus and, often, a political purpose. In fact, for Jameson there is nothing, including texts and their cultural environments, that is not political: “[...] there is nothing that is not social and historical—indeed, that everything is in the last analysis political” (*Political* 20). A similar perspective is held by Fox-Genovese, a New Historicist, who argues that the political nature of texts cannot be separated from the environment that produces them:

Texts themselves are products of and interventions in the inescapably political nature of human existence. The point is that texts do not defend specific political positions, although they may, but they derive from political relations from which they cannot be entirely abstracted. (221)

Like Jameson, Fox-Genovese’s principal argument is that texts do not have to imbue a particular political ideology, but being products and instruments of their socio-historical time and culture, they are by nature unavoidably political. As New Historicists (re)construct the politics of literary histories, they consider it their responsibility to remedy past political inequities by examining people, events and actions that, for whatever reason, were previously excluded from study (Thomas 185). I do not believe that New-Historicist criticism should attempt to correct past biases, as there is implicit danger that New Historicists themselves will become political. Instead, I argue in this thesis is that by combining Jameson’s principles of analysis and New-Historicist practices, we can (re)interpret texts and their

ideologies by recreating the social, political, economic, and philosophic ambience of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain and Latin America to show that a political unconscious exists and can be studied. By investigating a past culture that produces texts, this thesis allows for a view of society, politics, economics, philosophy, history, and the text's own production.

Jameson's approach, as presented in *The Political Unconscious*, allows for an analysis of aesthetic works that can reveal their ideological manifestations and lead to an understanding of the political unconscious of their time. Like the New Historicists, Jameson focuses on the production and status of the text. Following Althusser, he believes that texts cannot be sheltered from history, and he poses questions regarding text and context: "[...] is the text a free-floating object in its own right, or does it 'reflect' some context or ground, and in that case does it simply replicate the latter ideologically, or does it possess some autonomous force in which it could be seen as negating that context?" (*Political* 38). For Jameson, texts not only reflect history, they allow freer access to history. They are more than the "replication" of a culture's ideology; they reveal culture, reflect it and both produce and are produced by it. Texts divulge an allegorical and expressive relationship with the culture from which they were exacted. Jameson takes his theory a bit further and emphasizes that texts are embedded referents of culture, history, politics, economics, society, etc. and they have "social and historical—sometimes even political—resonance" (*Political* 17). In sum, texts contain a political content that reflect a political context, and both content and context will be studied in this dissertation.

For Jameson, the study of the political content and context of a literary work involves Marxism and, as a Marxist, he closely follows the Cultural Materialists—the British version of New Historicism—Raymond Williams, Alan Sinfield and Jonathan Dollimore. On the other hand, prominent New Historicists, led mainly by Stephen Greenblatt and H. Aram Veeser, have spent a great deal of effort trying to distance themselves from the Marxist viewpoints. I disagree with Jameson's claim that only Marxism can unlock the hidden ideological meaning of texts. In fact, Jameson holds that Marxism is the necessary precondition for skilled textual analysis, and the only resolution to the dilemma of historicism:

Only Marxism offers a philosophically coherent and ideologically compelling resolution to the dilemma of historicism. Only Marxism can give us an adequate account of the essential mystery of the cultural past, which, [...] is momentarily returned to life and warmth and allowed once more to speak, and to deliver its long-forgotten message in surroundings utterly alien to it. (*Political* 19)

The assertion that only Marxism can exact the proper means for giving us "an adequate account of the essential mystery of the cultural past" is troubling. Marxism does not provide the *only* real methodology to unlock the meaning of texts, but Jameson's theories do give us an interesting starting point to study texts, history and literature.<sup>7</sup> Goldberg, writing about Jameson's *The Political*

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<sup>7</sup> Jameson goes on to claim that "Marxist critical insights will be defended as something like an ultimate semantic precondition for the intelligibility of literary and cultural texts" (75). His arguments, as presented in *The Political Unconscious*, were first developed in "Figural Relativism, Or the Poetics of Historiography" (1976) and in "Marxism and Historicism" (1979-80).

*Unconscious*, makes a good case against restricting criticism to only one or a few perspectives (a monological approach). According to Goldberg, a dependence on Marxism will ultimately lead Jameson to a position in which "he is in danger of distorting the texts [he] reads and the history [he] uncovers [...]" (516). As I see it, one must remember that just as Marxism could assist the literary critic in deciphering meaning from aesthetic creations, it could also very well serve as an obstacle to discovering that meaning by compelling the critic to search more narrowly for Marxist textual traces and perhaps ignore other valid ideologies.

Jameson's method, articulated in *The Political Unconscious*, is, nonetheless, a useful means for interpreting texts. His approach includes what he calls three concentric frameworks: 1) the narrowly political, 2) the social and 3) history in the vast sense. Jameson explains that these three concentric frameworks are "successive phases in our reinterpretation—our reading and writing—of a literary text" (*Political* 76) and widen as they are reinterpreted:

[...] we will suggest that semantic enrichment and enlargement of the inert givens and materials of a particular text must take place within three concentric frameworks, which mark a widening out of the sense of the social ground of a text through the notions, first of political history, in the narrow sense of punctual event and chronicle like sequence of happenings in time; then of society, in the now already less diachronic and time-bound sense of a constitutive tension and struggle between social classes; and, ultimately, of history now conceived in its vastest sense of the sequence of

modes of production and the succession and destiny of the various human social formations [...]. (*Political* 75)

Each of these frameworks is a particular moment in the process of (re)interpretation that places the text within the political, the social and the historical (in the vast sense). The three individual frameworks are distinct moments in the process of interpretation. In the first framework, the text is understood as a *symbolic act*, in the second framework it is considered an *ideologeme* and in the third framework, the text and the ideologemes contained in the text are seen as a *mode of production*. Each framework governs a distinct reconstruction of its object and construes the very structure of what can, in a general sense, be called "the text" (*Political* 75-76).

In the first of these frameworks, the narrowly political, the text is, according to Jameson, a symbolic act and reduced to:

[...] a series of punctual events and crises in time, to the diachronic agitation of the year-to-year, the chronicle-like annals of the rise and fall of political regimes and social fashions, and the passionate immediacy of struggles between historical individuals [...]. (*Political* 77)

Within this vision of history, Jameson goes on to state that "all cultural artifacts are to be read as symbolic resolutions of real political and social contradictions" (*Political* 80). The literary critic's task is to find the real contradiction that the text symbolically attempts to solve. In this dissertation we will see that a recontextualization of Golden Age works and productions in light of New

Historicism and Jameson's *The Political Unconscious* demonstrate that some dramatic works of the seventeenth century exhibit a symbolic political content and context. For instance, the final chapter studies Torrejón's rewriting of Calderón's opera *La púrpura de la rosa* as a symbolic act that elucidates the problems of public production and performance. This chapter will show that Torrejón's *refundición* praises Felipe V in an effort to convince the audience of the virtues of the new Bourbon monarchy and dispel the belief that the new French rule will be detrimental. The dilemmas are presented, addressed and resolved within the same opera. As opera, *La púrpura* becomes a symbolic act that attempts to resolve real-life contradictions through production and performance. Torrejón's opera rewrites a historical event in such a way as to reconstruct its political content and context, the same principle that governs Jameson's first framework, the narrowly political. Jameson believes that there is an "historical or ideological subtext" that is rewritten by authors when they create an aesthetic work (*Political* 81). The aesthetic rewriting of the "historical or ideological subtext" (*La púrpura de la rosa*) then acts as restructurations of previous historical situations. As restructurations, the production of Golden Age texts like *La púrpura de la rosa* becomes formal resolutions in the aesthetic realm, resolutions to seemingly unsolvable social contradictions.

As we pass from the narrowly political framework to the social framework, the text, or "cultural artifact" is "dialectically transformed" (*Political* 76). The artifact from the previous symbolic framework is no longer considered a "text" but rather an ideologeme. According to Jameson, an ideologeme is "the smallest

intelligible unit of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses of social classes" (*Political* 76) and is a single unit of analysis that involves the previous understanding of the text and everything that it earlier marginalized or silenced (*Political* 77). Jameson describes the role played by ideologemes in textual analysis and their essential characteristics:

The ideologeme is an amphibious formation, whose essential structural characteristics may be described as its possibility to manifest itself either as a pseudoidea—a conceptual or belief system, an abstract value, an opinion or prejudice—or as a protonarrative, a kind of ultimate class fantasy about the "collective characters" which are the classes in opposition. This duality means that the basic requirement for the full description of the ideologeme is already given in advance: as a construct it must be susceptible to both a conceptual description and a narrative manifestation all at once. (*Political* 87)

The ideologeme can thus be a number of entities that tend to be "amphibious," or encoded within a cultural work. They range from a philosophical system to a cultural text. Since there can be a variety of ideologemes, the critic must identify and catalogue all of their possibilities in an attempt to scrutinize the most dominant ones. While Jameson searches for a single "shared code," a monological vision for the text, I agree with the New-Historicist view that a number of competing ideologies will yield a variety of interpretations that, when combined, offer a better analysis of texts. The individual works studied in this



dissertation contain competing ideologies. In Sor Juana's *El divino Narciso*, for example, I examine how contrasting ideologemes, represented by Counter Reformation values and Reformation beliefs, compete with each other and how they are related to the thematic structure of the drama. We shall see how the play becomes an allegorical battleground where contradictory ideologies of the Counter Reformation compete. Therefore, a resituation of *El divino Narciso* demands a synchronic approach that, in turn, uncovers numerous competing ideologemes characteristic of Jameson's social framework.

According to Jameson, both the individual text and its ideologemes undergo a final transformation to become an ideology of form. Jameson calls this final framework of analysis of "history in the vast sense" and holds that it is representative of various "modes of production" (*Political* 89). In sum, as the text and its ideologemes pass from the second to the final framework, it is transformed and made up of a system of signs and codes that Jameson labels an "index of study:"

This new object—code, sign system, or system of the production of signs and codes—thus becomes an index of an entity of study which greatly transcends those earlier ones of the narrowly political (the symbolic act), and the social (class discourse and the ideologeme), and which we have proposed the term the historical in the larger sense of this word. (*Political* 89)

This final framework is marked by history, in the vast sense, and is analyzed according to the coexistence of varying modes of production. As Jameson

indicates, texts reveal various coexisting modes and, together, they make up an index of study that allows for a truer vision of history. In the dissertation, the chapter on Ruiz de Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas* examines contradictory modes of production and the dramatization of the conflict between diverse ideological theories of law, legislation and kingship of the early seventeenth-century. My study of *El dueño de las estrellas*, in light of Jameson's three frameworks and New Historicism's principles of social energy and cultural negotiation and exchange, demonstrates that Alarcón's play proposes reform in the legal systems in both Spain and Mexico.

Later chapters of this dissertation illustrate that dramatic works are ideologically marked, and that their encoded ideologies can be uncovered and analyzed through a detailed recontextualization. These chapters also point out that that once these texts are resituated and analyzed, they emerge as aesthetic works that contribute to the political unconscious of the Golden Age. Specifically, each chapter shows that these works are dramatizations of seventeenth-century cultures, and their underlying ideologies contribute to the works' thematic and structural elements.

Chapter Two of the dissertation, "Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna*: The Politics of Agricultural Economics," investigates the Spanish Crown's official agrarian policies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demonstrating how the policies affect the agricultural politics in the work. The dramatization of the rebellion in *Fuenteovejuna* can be found in the two *crónica* accounts of Rades y Andrada and Alfonso de Palencia. Both versions differ greatly; they are what

Frederic Jameson would call “textualizations,” actually, “narrativizations,” and as such they demonstrate that history is accessible to us only in textual form. An in-depth study of the politics of agriculture and land use in *Fuenteovejuna* offers a new explanation of the socio-economic ideologies behind the rebellion portrayed in the play. A New-Historicist recontextualization of the play allows for a study of the numerous textual references to farming, sheepherding, the *encomienda* system, and the Spanish Crown’s official agrarian policy. Studying these elements generates a new interpretation for Lope’s aesthetic presentation of the revolt and of the assassination of the Comendador.

Lope uses the documented revolt in the town of Fuenteovejuna (1476) to create a work that presents competing socio-political ideologemes. Illustrating contemporary social values and portraying a political and philosophical atmosphere, *Fuenteovejuna* reflects more the epoch in which it was produced (1610-14) than the rebellion of 1476. By recontextualizing the play in the early seventeenth-century, I will show that the harmful dominance of the wool trade at that time exacerbated the already existing problems of famine, depopulation, and adverse weather and drought, all of which are referenced in the work and help provide an understanding of the dramatized revolt. *Fuenteovejuna*, then, is both an ideological discourse on politics and economics, and an aesthetic production that can be seen as what Jameson calls a symbolic act that shows that Lope’s interest in history was, at best, artistic (Blue, *Politics* 296). The systematic textual approach offered by Jameson can demonstrate that Lope’s portrayal of

the violent events in the play is his way of resolving the historical contradictions offered by the two *crónica* accounts.

Chapter Three, "Ruiz de Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas*: The Politics of Legislation and Kingship," examines the socio-political thought of seventeenth-century Spain and Mexico to show how legislation, kingship and legal reform of the Golden Age affect the theme and content in Alarcón's play. Alarcón's source material for the play was Lycurgus from Plutarch's *Lives*, the legendary classical statesman and legislator who commits suicide to safeguard laws for his countrymen. My study of *El dueño* shows that the sacrifice of the just and noble court favorite, Licurgo (Lycurgus), is meant as a deliberate contrast with the self-serving court ministers of Spain and Mexico. Licurgo's choice of suicide is closely related to the politics and philosophy of the period because it emphasizes the ultimate sacrifice a national leader should make for his homeland and his people. The play also contrasts the actions of Licurgo with the king of Crete, and dramatizes injustices that were perpetrated when the illegal use of power was disguised as equitable law. Licurgo's life and death, then, served as a propitious model for Alarcón to express his philosophy on kingship and legal reform, and his belief in the efficacy of the court favorite (*valido* or *privado*) in the seventeenth century. Alarcón studied the classical development of law and the Spanish legal system as a student at the Universidad de Salamanca, and this knowledge influenced his early-modern perspective. This chapter examines Alarcón's play as a reflection and criticism of prevailing ideologies of law, legislation, legal

reform, and kingship<sup>8</sup> prevalent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their close relationship to the fate of Alarcón's protagonist.

Alarcón “transforms his source material to fit coetaneous social, political and theological circumstances” (Friedman 431) to dramatize contemporary questions regarding legislation, legal reform and kingship. A study of Licurgo in light of Jameson's three frameworks of textual analysis—the narrowly political, the social, and history in the vast sense—shows that the work is indoctrinated with political ideology. Hence, this chapter resituates *El dueño* to demonstrate how, through Licurgo's role as the model court minister, Alarcón proposes reform in both Spain and Mexico, showing that abuse of power in the play is representative of the widespread corruption occurring in the Spanish empire. Recontextualization also allows for a study of the play's resonance, social energy and cultural negotiation and exchange. Consequently, New-Historicist practices coupled with Jameson's approach to textual analysis illustrate the political content and context of *El dueño de las estrellas* and a political unconscious of both Spain and Mexico.

Chapter Four, “Torrejón y Velasco's *refundición* of Calderón's *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa*: The Politics of Production,” is a cultural study of Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa* (1660) and Torrejón's rewriting (1701). It examines the production of the two works as cultural events, and studies their historical,

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<sup>8</sup> The study of kingship in the play, as Paulin notes, raises ethical questions regarding the role of the king: “If Alarcón's audience took away any lesson, it would not have been any moralization with respect to suicide but rather a pointed and significant example of what can happen to the body polity when the head, in this case the king, is morally unworthy of his name and station” (42). I agree with Paulin's comments, and her study is a point of departure for examining the philosophic and political tenets of kingship as portrayed by Alarcón.

political, economic and philosophical ideologies. An interpretation of the cultural events that contributed to the production of *La púrpura de la rosa* in Spain and Peru yields an understanding of concealed cultural ideologies. As a cultural study, this chapter concentrates on the important, fascinating socio-historical events that led Calderón to write *La púrpura*, and the economic and political issues that affected Torrejón's rewriting. Both texts and productions of *La púrpura* are symbolic acts which, in Jameson's words, invent "imaginary solutions" to a number of seemingly unresolvable contemporary social contradictions, or dilemmas (*Political* 79) present in both Spain and Peru. Representative of a political unconscious of each country, then, the thematic material of both *loas* (the *loa* is a prelude to the main text) proposed resolutions to important social problems that affected the production and performance of this opera. These problems are presented and resolved within both works. This chapter resituates the operas to show the extraordinary political nature of these two productions and demonstrate that in both Spain and Peru, *La púrpura de la rosa* was conceived, produced and performed for political purposes.<sup>9</sup> To better understand these works and their political environments, a reconstruction of the social atmosphere that fostered the development and production of this opera in Spain and Peru will be provided, keeping in mind the critical approaches advocated by Jameson and the New Historicists.

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<sup>9</sup> Louise Stein believes operatic production in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had clear political implications and tells us that operas were produced for political reasons: "these operas were composed and produced in circumstances that transcended those surrounding other court entertainments, such that the choice of genre was made for extraordinary, political reasons" (*Opera* 130).

This cultural study of *La púrpura de la rosa* is divided into two sections and focuses on the historical, political, economic and philosophical production of the opera as a cultural event. The first part treats to the presentation of Calderón's original version, and the second deals with Torrejón's rewriting and production in Peru. In the first part, discussion will center on the origins and development of opera in seventeenth-century Spain and why Calderón chose opera instead of traditional drama to present the myth of Venus and Adonis. A close study of the Calderonian opera will show that opera served as propaganda intended to persuade the Spanish audience to accept the terms of the Peace of the Pyrenees that put an end to the almost thirty-year war between France and Spain, and to embrace the marriage agreement between the *Infanta* María Teresa and Louis XIV on which the peace was contingent. In resituating the opera, the chapter also studies specific political references in the *loa* and show that the opera refers to people, places and events that are contemporary to the peace negotiations and marriage ceremony. In addition to using this opera as a vehicle of propaganda, Calderón documents the people and events involved in the peace accord, and uses the production to inform his uneducated public about the 1659-60 political events. Thus, by recontextualizing Calderón's opera within the cultural climate in which it was created, we can examine the marriage agreement, peace accord, and other contemporary political references found in the text.

The second part of this chapter focuses on the (re)writing and production of Torrejón y Velasco's *La púrpura de la rosa* in 1701, the first years of Bourbon

rule in the New World, and it resituates the rewritten opera within the socio-political atmosphere that fostered its production. Keeping in mind the practice advocated by Jameson and the New Historicists, a recontextualization of the work within the Peruvian *virreinato* will allow for an examination of the specific economic and political issues regarding such an elaborate production. Torrejón's *loa refundición* provides a limited scope for study, but can be examined as a cultural practice. Hence, my approach to Torrejón's text emphasizes its production as a cultural event. I reconstruct the problematic political atmosphere of the *virreinato* and reveal the political issues regarding the Viceroy's selection of Torrejón to produce the opera to celebrate Felipe V's eighteenth birthday and his first successful year as King of Spain. I also show that the production of *La púrpura de la rosa* in Peru symbolizes an historical event in such a way as to reconstruct a political content and context. This content and context is linked to the politics and economics of the production, and can be studied in light of Jameson's first framework of analysis, the narrowly political. In sum, political, philosophical and economic issues that contributed to Torrejón's Lima production had an impact on Peruvian culture, and their study can assist us in understanding the political unconscious of 1701 Peru.

Chapter Five, "Sor Juana's *El divino Narciso*: Negotiating the Religious Politics of the Counter-Reformation," examines the aesthetic use of ideologies of the Counter Reformation and demonstrates their relationship to political and religious theory in her *auto sacramental*. A New-Historicist reading will show that *El divino Narciso* presents encoded ideologemes that reflect the conflict between



Reformation and Counter Reformation culture in Colonial Mexico. While Spain was a battleground for European Counter Reformation ideas, Colonial Mexico, virtually void of Protestants, also experienced a measure of influence from Counter Reformation ideas via its close relationship to Spain. Sor Juana was steeped in Scholastic philosophy and theology, and as a Mexican dramatist she was an accomplished spokesperson to convey the problems encountered in the debate between Protestant and Catholic belief systems.<sup>10</sup> In the play, religious politics and dramatic art produce competing ideologemes that were used to combat Reformation beliefs. The work illustrates some of these political and philosophical debates concerning religion and the Spanish Conquest of Mexico, debates that Sor Juana witnessed first hand. This chapter examines the Catholic conversion and religious intolerance as part of my study of what I call the "religious unconscious" of Sor Juana's time.

This chapter also examines the influence of the philosophical writings of Francisco de Vitoria and Francisco Suárez in Sor Juana's text, and illustrates how the religious and philosophical views of these writers, the debates on the Spanish Conquest of Mexico, and the subsequent religious intolerance are presented in both the *loa* and the *auto*. In the *loa*, Sor Juana presents the allegorical figures América, Aztec, Celo and Religión to debate the role of religion and religious intolerance in the Spanish conquest of Colonial Mexico. These debates take the form of philosophical arguments and reflect Counter Reformation values and ideologies. The *loa*, then, becomes an allegorical

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<sup>10</sup> Besides being a celebrated court poet, Sor Juana studied political theory and religious philosophy. Many of the religious-philosophical dilemmas played out in the drama have a direct

battleground for disputes on Counter Reformation ideologies such as the importance of conversion and religious intolerance.

The methodological combination of New Historicism and Frederic Jameson's *The Political Unconscious* exposes socio-political ideologies encoded in the works studied in this dissertation. A recontextualization of literary texts, the approach advocated by Jameson and the New Historicists, aids in examining and retrieving encoded ideologies that affect and inform theme and structure of literary works. Part of that recontextualization involves a detailed (re)creation of the socio-historical moment of cultural production of the text. Each chapter of the dissertation will offer a thorough socio-historical background reconstruction that recreates society, politics, economics and the philosophical ambience. A detailed (re)examination of these texts in light of their socio-historical background shows them to be cultural artifacts that resonate through time, works that create and reflect a political unconscious of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain and Latin America. These ideologically marked texts give modern-day readers and critics a glimpse into the past, that contributes to understanding the cultures that produced them.

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relationship to Sor Juana's other works, especially her *Respuesta a Sor Filotea de la Cruz*.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna*: The Politics of Agricultural Economics**

A recontextualization of Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna* (1610-14?) and a study of socio-political ideologies encoded in the play reveal an aesthetic relationship of agricultural economics and the political unconscious of the epoch. The Spanish Crown's official agrarian policies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which played a significant role in the socio-economic climate, can serve as a backdrop for Lope's drama and help to explain the rebellion of the townsfolk and assassination of their overlord. The first part of the chapter includes an overview of the economic and political issues associated with the conflicts between farmers and shepherders. The second part examines the problems that resulted from these conflicts. The third part illustrates how Lope dramatizes an historical event of 1476, a rebellion in the small Spanish town of Fuenteovejuna that resulted in the murder of the overlord Fernán Gómez de Guzmán. An in-depth examination of the agrarian policy as it relates to the *Consejo de la Mesta*, the *encomienda* system, politics and economics of Golden Age Spain will offer a new interpretation of the ideologies encoded in the play.

*The Political Unconscious* of Jameson combined with New Historicism offers a methodology to resituate *Fuenteovejuna* and study the play's contemporaneous political, economic and philosophical content and context. Advocates of New Historicism argue that a reconstruction and resituation of texts facilitate a recovery of their meaning:

The world is full of texts, most of which are virtually incomprehensible when they are removed from their immediate surroundings. To recover the meaning of such texts, to make any sense of them at all, we need to reconstruct the situation in which they were produced. (Greenblatt, *Culture* 227)

Greenblatt's notion of reconstructing the cultural environment proves useful in decoding particular ideologies and understanding their inclusion in *Fuenteovejuna*. Specifically, by recreating the problematic agricultural conditions of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Spain we can examine the relationship of agriculture and agrarian policy in the revolt in the play. Since *Fuenteovejuna* is based on historical events and it imbues key political and economic issues with metaphorical meaning,<sup>11</sup> it can be said that it is a political artifact that has political resonance. In effect, *Fuenteovejuna* has, in the words of Jameson, a social, historical and sometimes even political resonance (*Political* 17).

Once a play like *Fuenteovejuna* is written, it does not simply appear in the world; it is marked, placed, licensed, and authorized, all of which are related to ideology. New Historicists hold that all texts are ideologically marked, and that meaning is produced by culture, just as culture produces a text's dominant ideologies. The study of ideology, which is one way New Historicists examine the underlying meaning of aesthetic works, is related to the methods implemented by Jameson in *The Political Unconscious*. Jameson's three

frameworks of analysis can provide a method that allows for the examination of ideologies involving agrarian policy in the play. In accordance with Jameson's first framework, the narrowly political, *Fuenteovejuna* can be studied as a symbolic representation and restructuring of previous historical situations:

[...] The type of interpretation here proposed is more satisfactorily grasped as the rewriting of the literary text in such a way that the latter may itself be seen as the rewriting or restructuring of a prior historical or ideological subtext, it being always understood that the "subtext" is not immediately present as such, not some common-sense external reality, nor even the conventional narratives of history manuals, but rather must itself always be (re)constructed after the fact. The literary or aesthetic act therefore always entertains some active relationship with the Real. (*Political* 81)

I argue in this chapter that agriculture and agrarian policies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provide a "prior historical or ideological subtext" in *Fuenteovejuna*. This chapter resituates the play in its time of production and carefully reconstructs the economic, social and historical events reflected in the work, which in turn reveal the "prior historical or ideological subtext" that informs the play.

The agrarian subtext in *Fuenteovejuna* can also be examined in light of Jameson's second framework, the social. Within the social framework, questions concerning agricultural use and abuse are studied as ideologemes, "[...] the

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<sup>11</sup> Cascardi believes that literature is the means by which the present "acknowledges its formation by and situation within the past, even as it seeks to transcend the conflicts of the

smallest intelligible unit of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses of social classes" (*Political* 76). An ideologeme is a single unit of analysis that involves the previous understanding of the historical and ideological subtext and everything that it earlier marginalized or silenced (*Political* 77). There are a number of ideologemes in *Fuenteovejuna* that deal specifically with agriculture and are referenced throughout the play: public granaries, depopulation, famine, harvest failures and the *encomiendas*. When studied together, these agrarian ideologemes make up a "[...] conceptual or belief system, an abstract value, an opinion or prejudice [...]" (*Political* 87) and their study will lead to a heightened understanding of the play.

As stated previously, however, *Fuenteovejuna* offers several ideologemes that compete within the play. Jameson holds that competing ideologies and the individual text make a final transformation in his third framework of analysis (history in the vast sense) and become an "ideology of form." An ideology of form is an index of all antagonistic ideologemes that can be studied (*Political* 89). Taken simultaneously, these competing ideologies are representative of "history in the vast sense" (*Political* 89). That is to say, the agrarian subtext from the first framework and the competing ideologies from the second, together produce a wide perspective of misuse and abuse of agriculture (history in the vast sense). Moreover, just as there is no single determinable truth in history, there is no definitive truth in *Fuenteovejuna*, but rather numerous competing ideologemes. In *Fuenteovejuna*, these ideologemes compete for supremacy, and offer a vision of the play as a site dominated by a number of competing cultural voices whose

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present" (3).

meaning can be (re)constructed and (re)interpreted. As an ideological index and subtext of the study of history and culture, *Fuenteovejuna* offers a variety of encoded interpretations of agrarian policy, agricultural abuse and shepherding that can be studied to explain the aesthetic portrayal of the revolt and assassination in the play.

By recreating and explaining the historical and ideological subtext on which Lope based his play, we can begin to explore the agricultural dilemmas that are dramatized in *Fuenteovejuna*. Lope presents a simple historical event of 1476, a rebellion in the small Spanish town of Fuenteovejuna that culminated in the murder of the village's overlord, Fernán Gómez de Guzmán. The two historical descriptions of the rebellion from which Lope drew his source material are found in the *Crónica* accounts of Rades y Andrada and Alfonso de Palencia. However, defining any relationship between the 1476 historical events and Lope's theatrical work is problematic because the "real" events are far-removed from the play's time of presentation and our present-day perspective. These two *Crónicas* are what Jameson, in *The Political Unconscious*, would call "narrativizations," and as such, they are accessible to us only in textual form:

[...] history is not a text, not a narrative, master or otherwise, but that, as an absent cause, it is inaccessible to us except in textual form, and that our approach to it and to the Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious. (35)

All texts are thus imbued with political meaning and *Fuenteovejuna* is no exception.<sup>12</sup> Although Lope was not completely faithful to the Rades y Andrada's account in the *Crónica de las tres Ordenes y Caballerías* (1572) or Alfonso de Palencia's version in the *Crónica de Enrique IV*,<sup>13</sup> these two *cronistas* did provide the foundation for his aesthetic and ideological treatment of the rebellion and murder in his drama. Whereas Palencia's version was sympathetic to the Comendador and critical of the rebellious mob that killed him, Rades portrayed the resurrection as a justified action against a tyrant. Lope presents the mob violence (Palencia's account) as a positive event that was justified because of the Comendador's unlawful treatment of his vassals (Rades' version). Lope, therefore, used both *crónica* versions in the writing of the play.

A review of how Lope used both *crónica* versions can offer an understanding of the political ramifications of the protagonists' actions<sup>14</sup> and help to recontextualize the play and study its political unconscious. Morley, like most

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<sup>12</sup> Blue comments on the subtle, political nature of Lope's text: "If Lope is not writing a historically faithful, archeological piece about events in the fifteenth century, he must be sending decipherable messages to his contemporary audience. The first message says what a good play should be: entertaining, well-constructed, captivating, serious and humorous. Lope writes about love and honor, about the court and the countryside, order and disorder, rights and responsibilities, and about literature, drama in particular. But the political statements are there as well, hidden, subtle, but there" (310-11).

<sup>13</sup> The date of Palencia's *Crónica* remains a mystery. It is known that it was published as the *Crónica de Enrique IV* and translated from Latin by D. A. Paz y Melia in 1908.

<sup>14</sup> Stern has also noted that historical documentation cannot be a completely accurate method of representing the past: "In every age external social realities are converted first into society's perception of those realities. The social commentator records not facts, but *representations of facts*, which are further distorted by his point of view. Consequently, the materials we depend on for our image of the past are unreliable. The texts, whether they be chronicles, public records, travelogues, or literary works, cannot be regarded as objective statements because subject and object merge: The writer is part of the social reality he is describing; it is the actor himself interpreting his world. Moreover, if we allowed ourselves to be pushed to complete skepticism, we would have to conclude that the past does not exist; all that exists are representations of the past, whereupon we are destined to remain 'locked in our own system'" (Lope 9-10).



critics, believes that Lope's main source material was the Rades y Andrada version because the events depicted here match the plot of *Fuenteovejuna*:

From it [Rades y Andrada's *Crónica*] Lope took his main plot, including the torture of peasants, not found in any other play. The threads which he embroidered on the historical framework were spun out of his own brain or borrowed from the current wholesale supply. (309)

While we cannot know for sure which version Lope preferred, certainly the events as depicted by Rades y Andrada are closer to Lope's text than those of Palencia. An example of the close relationship between Lope's dramatization and Rades y Andrada's historical account can be seen at the end of the play when a fleeing Flores recounts the violent uprising of the townsfolk that ended in the barbarous murder of the Comendador:

[...] con furia impaciente  
rompen el cruzado pecho  
con mil heridas crueles;  
y por las altas ventanas  
le hacen que al suelo vuele,  
adonde en picas y espadas  
le recogen las mujeres.  
Llévenle a una casa muerto,  
y a porfía, quien más puede,  
mesa su barba y cabello,

y aprieta su rostro hieren. (1977-1987)<sup>15</sup>

Lope's portrayal of specific incidents of violence and brutality are almost repeated verbatim from the Rades y Andrada version. Unlike Palencia's version in which the Comendador is seen as a victim of mob violence,<sup>16</sup> undeserving of death (Flores' point of view), Rades y Andrada's interpretation of the events are similar to the insurrection presented in Lope's drama:

Desta manera con vn furor maldito y rauioso, llegaron al Comendador, y pusieron manos en el, y le dieró tantas heridas, que le hizieron caer en tierra sin sentido. Antes que diesse el anima a Dios, tomaron su cuerpo con grande y regozijado alarido, diziédo, Viuan los Reyes y mueran los traydores, y le echaron por vna vétana a la calle: y otros que alli estauan có lanças y espadas, pusieron las puntas arriba, para recoger en ellas el cuerpo q avn tenia anima. Despues de caydo en tierra, le arrancaron las barbas y cabellos con grande crueldad, y otros con los pomos de las espadas le quebraron los dientes. A todo esto añadieron palabras feas y deshonestas, y grandes injurias cótra el Comendador mayor, y contra su padre y madre. Estando en esto, antes de acabasse a espirar, acudieron las mugeres de la villa, con Panderos y

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<sup>15</sup> All citations from *Fuenteovejuna* are from the edition of Francisco López Estrada, *Fuente Ovejuna* (Madrid: Castalia, 1996). Line numbers appear in parenthesis.

<sup>16</sup> Kirschner studies Palencia's version of the events in which he glorifies the Comendador, and believes that the Comendador is idealized and a victim of an unjust mob violence: "Debido a que la *Crónica* de Palencia glorifica la causa de los Reyes Católicos, la simpatía del historiador queda claramente del lado del Comendador por ser defensor de esta causa. Idealiza al máximo la personalidad de éste, a la vez que rebaja en todo lo posible el papel de los de Fuenteovejuna, meros peones en manos de los investigadores del bando portugués defendido por el Maestre" (*Tradición* 420).

Sonages, a regozijar la muerte de su señor: y auian hecho para esto vna Vandera, y nombrado Capitana y Alferez. Tambien los mochachos a imitacion de sus madres, hizieron su Capitania, y puestos en la orden que su edad permitia, fueron a solenizar la dicha muerte, tanta era la enemistad que todos tenian contra el Comendador mayor. Estando juntos hombres, mugeres y niños, lleuaron el cuerpo con grande regozijo a la plaça, y alli todos los hombres y mugeres, le hizieron pedaços, arrastrandole, y haziendo en el grandes crueldades y escarnios, y no quisieron darle a sus criados, para enterrarle. Demas deesto dieron sacomano a su casa, y le robaron toda su hazienda. (79 [4], 80 [1])<sup>17</sup>

What is startling is the faithfulness with which Lope's play followed much of the townsfolk's behavior in Rades y Andrada's version. The violence of the townspeople, their brutal actions and desecration of the Comendador's body is just one textual reference that point to Lope's rewriting of the historical subtext provided by Rades y Andrada's *Crónica*. Specifically, in Lope's play, the clawing and pulling of the Comendador's beard and hair as well as the action of throwing his body to the street from a window is very close to the Rades y Andrada. Lope did, of course, turn a negative event into a positive one.<sup>18</sup> A study of the Rades

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<sup>17</sup> I follow the facsimile of edition of Rades y Andrada's *Crónica de las tres Órdenes de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara*, edited by Derek W. Lomax (Barcelona: El Albir, 1980). Column numbers appear in brackets after page numbers.

<sup>18</sup> This comparison is only one among many that have been meticulously analyzed by Marín in his edition of *Fuenteovejuna*. Marín clearly states that Lope's source material was the Rades y Andrada account and goes on to make point by point comparisons between the play and the *Crónica* "para deducir los aciertos artísticos del escritor al convertir en drama lo que simplemente era un relato cronístico, aparte de desvelar así sus intereses ideológicos" (27).

account will demonstrate how Lope's dramatization of agrarian dilemmas corresponds to Jameson's notion of the "narrativization" of history.

Although Lope's drama was most faithful to the historical and ideological subtext provided by the Rades account (1572), this chapter studies the play as a representation of social values and political and philosophical ideologies contemporary to the presentation of Lope's play (1610-14). This examination illustrates that *Fuenteovejuna* is both an ideological discourse on politics and economics and an aesthetic production that can be studied as a symbolic act (*Political* 76).<sup>19</sup> The aesthetic and ideological dramatization in *Fuenteovejuna* shows that the dramatist's interest in history was, at best, artistic (Blue 296). In fact, Blue has pointed out that many critics believe that history essentially afforded Lope an abundance of stories to rework in order to suit his personal interests:<sup>20</sup>

[...] no matter what story Lope chose, no matter what period it came from, he made both the story and the context his own, i.e., late sixteenth, early seventeenth century Spain. Therefore, this

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<sup>19</sup> Teresa Kirschner believes that the specific historical actions in Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* are symbolic actions which represent all of Spain: "[...] los acontecimientos locales de Fuenteovejuna adquirieron un valor simbólico y pasan a ser el complemento y el reflejo del proceso histórico de unidad que envolvía a toda España" (*Protagonista* 83).

<sup>20</sup> Blue refers to some of the arguments made by other critics regarding Lope's interest in history as an aesthetic means of drama: "Historical critics and criticism traditionally believe that their methods can give readers concrete knowledge not only of what a text says but also of how what it says relates accurately to its historical moment of creation. We need only accept that texts have determinate meaning that can be grounded in authorial intention and accept that a well-trained critic can objectively discover intention and meaning by identifying influence, development, spirit, origin, or a cultural or artistic *langue*" (296-97). Referring to New Historicist criticism and Frank Lentricchia, Blue states: "While avoiding a frontal attack, for he was neither a fool nor a writer of political tracts, Lope could incorporate current critiques into some plays just as he could incorporate praise or joy or a particularly glorious moment into other plays. Lope's *obra* is not of a single piece, artificially or ideologically; it absorbs the trends, thoughts, and feelings of the day and in so doing becomes current for his audience" (298).

play [*Fuenteovejuna*] represents not so much the events of 1476 as it does events and conditions in 1610-14, and, in the process, shows what the *comedia* as a dramatic art does. (296)

As "dramatic art," *Fuenteovejuna* both reflects and reproduces socio-economic and political values that resonate in the society of Lope's time. Other literary critics also regard the play as a representation of early-modern Spain that reflects contemporary values, ideologies and beliefs. For example, Stern believes that *Fuenteovejuna* embodies "[...] the social awareness of his [Lope's] age" (*Lope* 1) and furthermore argues that Lope himself seems to share the philosophy and virtues that his play indoctrinates: "His social perceptions incorporated into the *comedia* [...] often exist as isolable observations and constitute the short-term meaning. These were readily grasped by Lope's audience and are still apparent today" (*Lope* 26). Stern suggests that Lope's play defines the moment that produced it and becomes a "[...] selective response to the stresses of that age" (*Lope* 5). If Lope's play is a response to the stresses of his age, then we can expect those problems to be part of the political unconscious of the years before and after 1610-14, when the play was produced.

Some of the dilemmas and concerns expressed by Lope in *Fuenteovejuna* can be seen as responses to social and economic turmoil by idealizing the past (McCrary 180). McCrary states that Lope had an obligation to idealize the past, to "'correct' and 're-form' its sometimes apoetic, seemingly chaotic indecision" (180). This type of idealization was used as a means to "[...] reconstruct a moment of national importance as seen from within the lives and affairs of the

people it involved" (McCrary 180). *Fuenteovejuna* does just that: it brings to the fore a moment of national importance, marked by contemporary political, social and economic ideologies, against the backdrop of the rebellion of 1476. Hence, actual historical events of the past were a means to aesthetically depict contemporary ideological problems. Lope took the most vital ideological questions of his day, integrated them within the context of an earlier historical event and created a drama that reflects a political unconscious characterized by prevailing contemporary Spanish beliefs and values, preoccupations and debates.

To decode these ideological questions and to study their meaning, the historical and ideological subtext of the play must be reconstructed. Therefore, we begin our study of *Fuenteovejuna* by recreating the context examining the controversy between farming and shepherding that contributed to a decaying economic system that eventually resulted in famine, unemployment, and depopulation during the early seventeenth-century. My aim is to show that a study of the textual references to the overall public agrarian policy, sheep herding, harvest failures and weather conditions, the role of the municipal granary, depopulation and famine can provide an explanation of Lope's dramatization and give us an interesting new viewpoint on the play.

At first glance, it appears as if there are very few references to contemporaneous agrarian policy, production and abuse. However, a closer look reveals that *Fuenteovejuna*, like other *comedias* of the seventeenth-century grappled with some of the prevailing questions of the day. It is widely held that

Spain's agricultural problems during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries were primarily related to the continuous struggle between farmers and shepherders for land. Ever since the thirteenth century, a major economic activity in Castile and other regions in the peninsula was the raising of *merino* sheep<sup>21</sup> for the export of their wool.<sup>22</sup> Where land was unfertile or populations had more farmland than necessary, herding supplemented the incomes of local farmers without hindering their crop production. The subsequent profitable enterprise of raising migratory flocks for their wool resulted in a boom in herding and led to the development and production of some of the finest wool in Europe.<sup>23</sup> However, as the number of people grew within the peninsula, there was a considerable necessity for greater agricultural production. What hindered agricultural production most was the frequent and greater demand for more

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<sup>21</sup> The "merino" was introduced by the Moors in Andalucía around 1300. By the mid 1500s as many as seven million head were thought to exist (Davies, *Golden* 19). Phillips and Phillips report that the number may have been several times greater than six million (253).

<sup>22</sup> This chapter has drawn on many studies about the wool trade in Spain and is most indebted to the excellent studies by Julius Klein, *The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History, 1237-1836* (1964); and Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips well-researched book, *Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (1997); Other information can be found in Enrique Llopis Agelán, "Castilian Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century: Depression of 'Readjustment and Adaptation'?" (1994) 80, 92-3; L. M. Bilbao and E. Fernández de Pinedo, "Wool Exports, Transhumance and Land Use in Castile in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (1994) 103-107; P. J. Bowden, "Wool Supply and the Woollen Industry" (1956): 44-58; Trevor Davies, *The Golden Century of Spain, 1501-1621* (1961) 18-20, 67-71 and 269-71; J.H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain: 1469-1716* (1964) 21-23; Earl J. Hamilton, "The Decline of Spain" (1937-38): 168-179; John Lynch's two volume study, *Spain Under the Habsburgs* (1981) 17-20, 110-123 and 272-73 of Volume 1 and 156-60 of Volume 2; Carla Rahn Phillips, "Time and Duration: A Model for the Economy of Early Modern Spain" (1987): 547; David E. Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (1984) 80-81, 153-155.

<sup>23</sup> Davies comments on the origins and development of merino wool in Spain: "Since time immemorial the farming of migratory sheep (*transhumantes*), who moved to the south of Spain for the winter months and returned to the north for the summer, had been an important feature of Spanish life. The introduction of the merino sheep by the Moors in the Middle Ages caused Spanish wool to be reckoned the best in the world and enormously increased the foreign demand. By the beginning of the sixteenth century several millions of sheep were making their slow bi-annual journeys across the Peninsula, following the historic sheep-tracks (*cañadas*

grazing lands by shepherders. As a result, disputes between shepherders and farmers became constant as farmers believed that the migratory flocks destroyed local agricultural lands.<sup>24</sup> Shepherders responded to these complaints by forming a powerful guild, the *Consejo de la Mesta*, to defend their rights to land use and to strengthen their position in the world wool trade. By protecting the wool trade, the Consejo acquired incomparable political, legal, and economic advantages over farmers and was effective at putting large tracts of lands to use for sheep grazing instead of agricultural production. The negative effects caused by the dominance of the wool trade in the peninsula were numerous: a shortage of agricultural lands coupled with adverse weather conditions and drought meant that Spain would suffer major food shortages and depopulation in the countryside throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The stagnation and subsequent decline of agriculture in early-modern Spain and the debate between shepherding and agriculture are clearly referenced in *Fuenteovejuna*. The town's name itself, Fuente Ovejuna (*oveja*), could refer to shepherding. Other references throughout the play, however, show that the town's vocation was actually farming. For example, the Comendador's statement: "[...] en Fuenteovejuna / hay gente [...] no enseñada en escuadrones, / sino en campos

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*reales*) in cultivated districts and spreading over the countryside in the less populous regions" (*Golden* 18).

<sup>24</sup> The dry, barren climate of much of Spain was ideal for raising sheep and the variations in temperature between the north and the south made migration ideal. Lynch explains the typical migration pattern that started in the late 1400s: "Towards October the herds of sheep left the mountains and high plateau of Old Castile to winter in Extremadura, Andalucía and the region of Murcia, returning north from the beginning of April. In their travellings they followed the routes which had been reserved to them, known as the *cañadas*, at certain points of which they were obliged to pass royal agents who collected the tax called *servicio y montazgo* (*Spain*, vol. I: 17).



y labranzas" (162-165), or Mengo's saying that the town is full of "simples labradores" (1705), shows that the townsfolk were agriculturists.

The preceding references to farming are not the only ones in the play. A review of the complicated agrarian policies favored by the Crown shows that the unfair political and economic advantages granted to the *Consejo de la Mesta*, most likely affected agricultural production in the peninsula, and the ideology of the play. Resituating *Fuenteovejuna* requires an examination of the political and economic issues regarding the *Mesta*. In *Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips trace the foundation, development and decline of the *Mesta* from the middle ages to the seventeenth century. Founded in the thirteenth century, the *Mesta* was a political and economic body that protected its herds from legal action by farmers, other herders, and the Crown itself.<sup>25</sup> Its royal favor lasted into the seventeenth-century and a number of kings of Castile extended its political power by granting the association

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<sup>25</sup> Phillips and Phillips explain that the royal foundation of the *Mesta* started with Alfonso X when he established the *Mesta Real* in the late thirteenth century. According to these writers, the king used existing local institutions or *mestas* as the model for a national organization, or, as other scholars have argued, he simply merged local *mestas* together: [...] the king issued ordinances for a national guild of livestock owners called *El Honorado Consejo de la Mesta de los Pastores de Castilla*. The usual date given for the *Mesta*'s foundation is 1273, but the four pertinent documents dated in that year recognized the organization's prior existence and merely granted royal protection and privileges for grazing. In other words, the 1273 documents supplemented earlier founding documents that are now lost. Although all owners of transhumant flocks were automatically members of the *Mesta*, Alfonso X's policies favored several elite groups involved with large-scale herding: the military orders, ecclesiastical communities, and privileged members of town councils. The *Mesta Real* was founded during a period of on-going border warfare, new town foundations, and rising population. Migratory herds from the north needed protection, not only from the Muslims, but from hostile settlers and southern flockowners anxious to establish exclusive claims to local pastures" (36-37).

considerable privileges and powers of self-government.<sup>26</sup> The President of the Mesta, for example, was always a Crown nominee who had close connections to the Royal Council—often he was a senior member of the Council. By means of the royal appointment of the President of the Consejo, the Crown was able to control the affairs of the Mesta and other political bodies in the most remote parts of the peninsula (Davies, *Golden* 18) while simultaneously regulating the larger cities through direct authority. Since the President of the Consejo was a close ally of the Monarchy and the merino wool trade profited from official government policies. Because of successful trade with Europe and the New World, the Consejo's material worth increased and quickly became a formidable political power (Davies, *Golden* 18). It is no surprise, then, that the main beneficiary of the Crown's conciliatory policies toward the Mesta was the Monarchy itself since, through the sale of merino wool, the Crown received revenue from tax collection. It was undoubtedly more lucrative to promote the wool trade than agricultural interests because the aristocracy rented most of their lands to Mesta members and likewise benefitted from the Mesta's royal favor.

The Crown fully supported the Mesta's ever-increasing requests for more herding land by way of a series of royal mandates designed to increase wool production and exports. The Consejo's success in achieving its demands damaged the economy in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries because the organization came to control an inordinate amount of land that could otherwise have been put to use for agricultural production. The first royal

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<sup>26</sup> See Davies (*Golden* 18-20); Phillips and Phillips (*Golden Fleece* 37-52); and Klein (239-45) for a comprehensive description of the Mesta's early political development.

mandate, in 1501, was the *Ley de arrienda del suelo*, a law that basically gave the Mesta the right to use in perpetuity, and at fixed rents, any land it had once used as pasture (Lynch, *Spain* vol. 1: 17).<sup>27</sup> This law signified that any and all lands were open to grazing, a consequence that was anathema to farmers and detrimental to agriculture in Spain. As if the 1501 decree were not effective enough, the Emperor Carlos I issued another decree in 1525 ordering all lands brought under tillage during the previous eight years—the entire length of Carlos' reign—to be restored to pasture lands and placed at the disposal of the Mesta (Davies, *Golden* 72). Carlos' second edict in 1552 restored all lands to agricultural usage during the previous twelve years. A final law, issued in Badajoz in 1580 by Felipe II, was meant to respond to claims that pasture was still being illegally converted to farmland in disregard of the law of 1552. The terms of the 1580 law declared that: "[...] land that had been pasture for the twenty continuous years before 1580 should revert to pasture" (Phillips and Phillips 56).<sup>28</sup> By 1580, however, agriculture had suffered substantially from the

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<sup>27</sup> See Elliott (*Imperial Spain* 108); and Lynch (*Spain* vol. I:17). The 1501 law required that all land on which the migrant flocks had even once been pastured was now reserved in perpetuity for grazing, and could not be put to any other uses by its owner. Thus, great tracts of land in regions like Andalucía and Extremadura were to be deprived of any possibility of agricultural development and subjected to the demands of the sheepowners. Agriculture became a very unattractive occupation since good arable land could possibly become a part of the Mesta estates.

<sup>28</sup> By 1580, the Mesta's power was finally beginning to fade and the 1580 edict did not go unanswered. Twenty-one municipal town councils of Extremadura and Andalusia, including Mérida, Cáceres, Sevilla, Cordoba and Granada signed a petition against the royal decree and asked for a revocation of the 1552 and 1580 edicts. As Klein tells us, these municipalities "[...] entered upon an ardent defence of agriculture and a vehement denunciation of the pastoral industry as the cause of all the woes of the realm, the high prices, the deforestation and the depopulation" (*Mesta* 333).

distress of land loss which would eventually turn the entire peninsula to ruin (Klein 337).<sup>29</sup>

The decay of the agricultural sector, however, was not a concern of the Crown or the Mesta. Considerable revenues generated from the wool trade<sup>30</sup> further resulted in frequent requests to the Monarchy for more grazing lands. These requests often led to violent disputes between landowners (farmers) and herders. In order to protect royal interests as well as the profitable wool trade, Special judges, or *alcaldes entregadores*, were appointed to hear any civil cases involving Mesta business.<sup>31</sup> The *alcaldes entregadores* were thought to unfairly treat local landowners and local governments through their exercise of royal authority. These special judges often seized jurisdiction over many matters which did not directly involve the Mesta, thereby increasing their political and legal power. Consequently, the judges were able to subordinate the interests of farmers to their own (Davies, *Golden* 19). Protected by the Spanish Crown,

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<sup>29</sup> See Klein 331-333; Phillips and Phillips 53, 56; and Vassberg 80-81. There was also a royal decree in 1527 that stipulated that local governments must yield their common lands to the Mesta flocks. The constant and further loss of valued farming lands must have had a tremendous psychological and material impact on the everyday Spanish citizen. Vassberg explains the destruction of the Mesta's flock was pervasive: "The Mesta was at the height of its power during the reign of Carlos V, its flocks numbering some three and a half million head. These animals and the Mesta judges were undoubtedly the source of much misery for the local people with whom they came into contact. Many a grain field was ravaged, many a peasant was unfairly harassed, and many a local pasture was stripped by the invading flocks" (80). For its part, the 1552 mandate was essentially made because of numerous unauthorized plowings on Mesta lands.

<sup>30</sup> Phillips and Phillips state that the Mesta's growing influence came at a very costly price: "[...] flockowners were subject to royal demands for taxes, largely to fund the wars of Carlos I in his role as Holy Roman Emperor. In 1542, the Mesta promised the crown an extraordinary *servicio* (gift) of 9,000 *ducados* in return for the confirmation of certain traditional privileges. When the king declined to confirm the privileges, the Mesta claimed that it was not obligated to deliver the *servicio*, especially as the herding industry was suffering financially. Carlos demanded the 9,000 *ducados* anyway and assessed it among the members of the Mesta. Clearly, reliance on the crown carried costs as well as benefits in inflationary times" (52).

<sup>31</sup> The Mesta was involved in more than one thousand lawsuits between 1474, when Isabel came to power in Castile, and 1504, when she died: "Most often, the Mesta was the plaintiff in those

many of these *alcaldes* were also sheep owners and almost always favored the wool producers and traders in most disputes.

The inordinate advantages of the Mesta was not the only dilemma that confronted the peasant farmer. Another problem was a tax system that favored large landholders at the expense of the individual laborer. While small farmers suffered poor production, their crops also failed to fetch adequate prices due to serious flaws in the price system. As a result, price supports were established by the Crown to prop up declining agricultural earnings. The most important and memorable remedy, the *tasa del trigo*, actually did more harm than good. The *tasa* was a fixed price system that allowed for a maximum "ceiling" price to be charged for all grain and was the Crown's official agrarian policy to respond to years of poor harvests and scarcity.<sup>32</sup> This policy was first introduced as an emergency measure under Fernando and Isabel, then reaffirmed under Carlos I, then became permanent in every part of Castile except the non-grain-producing regions of the north and northwest (Domínguez Ortiz, *Golden* 179).<sup>33</sup> In *Fuenteovejuna*, Lope cites the *tasa* as being one of the threats to farmers in early

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lawsuits, four hundred of which challenged local taxes on herding as illegal usurpations of royal prerogatives" (Phillips and Phillips 47).

<sup>32</sup> For a brief description, see Domínguez Ortiz (*Golden* 177-180) and Gonzálo Anes 68-70. Anes summarizes some of the causes and problems related to the price system: "the great fluctuations in the price of cereals during the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth were the result of violent swings in output caused by adverse weather conditions which led to deficient harvests, sharp reductions in supply and price increases" (69).

<sup>33</sup> The *tasa* edict was renewed over and over during the course of the sixteenth century, making it more or less a standard way to collect taxes from poor, individual farmers. Furthermore, penalties for not paying were made more severe and an increasing number of farmers were imprisoned meaning that they were unable to cultivate their crops or care for their families. As Rahn Phillips points out, much of these collected taxes were used to pay for wars against rebels within the peninsula or against foreign enemies. To an already depressed economy, an increased tax burden was detrimental (*Time* 545).

seventeenth-century Spain. Esteban, the town mayor, blames theoreticians and other government officials for the unjust *tasa* tax and its negative consequences:

Ellos [theoreticians] en [el] sembrar nos ponen *tasa*:

daca el trigo, cebada y las legumbres,

calabazas, pepinos y mostazas...

¡Ellos son, a la fe, las calabazas! (880-883)

By juxtaposing wheat, vegetables and spices with another product, pumpkins, Esteban insults those officials of the kingdom who think they know more about farming than life-long farmers: "¡Ellos son, a la fe, las calabazas!" (883). The real message here, however, is that the *tasa* tax was not only imposed during the harvest, it was equally onerous during planting, "el sembrar" (880), which further crippled poor farmers. This textual reference is a good example of the early-modern agricultural policies that harmed agricultural production. As we shall see, the *tasa* tax was also one element of the abuse of agriculture that contributed to the uprising against the Comendador.

In Golden Age Spain, the effects of the *tasa* were widely known to be damaging. Unable to charge more for their products, farmers who could not sufficiently collect enough to pay their debts often defaulted on loans and lost their properties.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, those who were fortunate enough to maintain

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<sup>34</sup> Lynch best summarizes the enduring problems surrounding the *tasa del trigo*: "The years after 1502 were a period of bad harvests, so the ceiling price, already introduced by the Catholic Monarchs, was continued. The period from 1512 to 1539 was relatively productive—though there was famine in Castile in 1521 and a serious drought in Andalucía in 1525—the ceiling price was lifted. From 1539, however, a series of poor crops caused a return to a policy of price control, and in the second half of the century this was the normal system, for the growing distress of the rural population reacted unfavourably on grain production, as can be seen perhaps in the constant rise of agricultural prices. The problem of grain supplies occupied a large part of the correspondence of Felipe II, for these were needed not only for the civilian population but also for troops and

control of their farms suffered great declines in the value of property. A poignant example of the cost of price supports to the peasant farmer appears in *Fuenteovejuna*. Juan Rojo, talking with a *Labrador*, explains that the declining value of his land and harvests will ultimately affect the value of the dowry that a father can provide to his daughter upon her marriage:

No hay en cuatro haciendas para un dote,  
si es que las vistas han de ser al uso;  
que el hombre que es curioso es bien que note  
que en esto el barrio y vulgo anda confuso. (931-34)

Juan Rojo, Laurencia's uncle, is concerned that the *dote*, the dowry,<sup>35</sup> that will be passed to her from her father, Esteban, is insufficient for her marriage to Frondoso. His comments on the decline of agriculture and land values actually describes the dire economic situation of the Spanish farmer at the time of the play's production. He recognizes that future generations will be compelled to work lands that have little worth and poor laborers like him will be unable to provide for their children. It seems, then, that Juan Rojo's comments were meant to show that agrarian problems were an important subject of debate for Lope's audience.

The audience was probably also aware of farmers' continuing battles against unfair laws that favored the sheep herders and resulted in declining land

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sailors in their campaigns abroad. The system of ceiling prices was the government's way of protecting the consumer—including itself—against the producer. For the farmer, however, there was no assistance though in practice the policy of price control often broke down" (*Spain* vol I: 121-22).

<sup>35</sup> According to Covarrubias, *dote* refers to "la hazienda que lleva consigo la muger quando se casa [...]" (485).

values. During the second-half of the sixteenth-century, farmers and small landowners began to recover as much as possible their lost agricultural lands by fighting against the edicts of the Mesta. Their continuous battles coupled with a decrease in demand for Spanish wool propelled the Mesta into decline. It was not until the late sixteenth century, however, that the Mesta began to see its many privileges slowly disappear. For example, the 1580 edict was not enforced and by the 1590s the Mesta had to give up on regaining lands lost to farming. Instead, members of the Mesta concentrated on levying and collecting fines for illegal encroachments by farmers (Phillips and Phillips 58). To further disarm the Mesta, several laws were passed in 1603 and 1608-9, respectively, which not only restricted the authority of the *alcaldes entregadores*, but also limited the usage of Mesta lands. At the same time, world demand for Spanish wool further declined<sup>36</sup> and important vocal opposition to the Mesta's virtual stranglehold over Spanish land came from *arbitrista* writers,<sup>37</sup> economic writers who supported the farming industry.

It was already too late, however, for advocates of the agricultural industry to change a worsening situation. By the early seventeenth-century, the pervasive loss of farming land by default had already been so extensive that as agricultural land use declined, production decreased and workers were forced off the farms to search for work in urban areas. This depopulation of the countryside took

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<sup>36</sup> Bowden explains that a rivalry surfaced between England and Spain for world dominance of wool exports. The ultimate victor was the English whose superior trade policies and increasing military dominance meant new markets for their wool exports (54-57).

<sup>37</sup> *Arbitristas* were economic theorists and writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries whose works were intended to persuade government officials to change economic policy. The most notable arbitristas were González de Cellorigo, Sancho de Moncada, Fernández de Navarrete and Caxa de Leruela.



many forms in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries. Spain saw such migration away from rural areas that can be deemed an exodus. According to Elliot, the migrations from the farmlands really caused a complete redistribution of the population: "What passed for depopulation during the second half of the sixteenth century may often have been a redistribution of population as a result of internal migrations" (*Imperial* 288). Internal migrations took a number of forms: northerners moving toward the south to partake of the riches of the Indies trade;<sup>38</sup> the exile of the *Moriscos*;<sup>39</sup> laborers fleeing the tax collector and, most damaging of all, a loss of jobs in the farming sector.

Agrarian jobs were lost because as agricultural production suffered, farmers defaulted on loans and their lands were swallowed up by larger estates held by the wealthier, noble landowners.<sup>40</sup> As Kamen explains, more and more land began to be held by a minority, and the situation became so desperate that laborers began to abandon the countryside in search of work in the cities:

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<sup>38</sup> It is imperative to remember that although workers moved to southern cities like Seville or Cadiz, only government permission guaranteed the opportunity to actually travel to the New World. Instead, most workers settled in these towns in order to work on building, fitting and repairing the numerous ships either returning from the new world or leaving for it. Lynch tells us that in only sixty years (1530-90) Seville doubled the number of its inhabitants from 45,000 to 90,000 (*Spain* vol. I: 110).

<sup>39</sup> Some 90,000 Moriscos were lost in Castile alone. Other estimates have put the total well into the hundreds of thousands. Hamilton discusses the fact that previous writers since the seventeenth century regarded the Moorish expulsion at the end of the century as well as the expulsion of 1609-14 as one of the foremost damaging effects on the economy: "There has been common agreement that the Moors were the most industrious, intelligent, persevering, and thrifty inhabitants of Spain, the 'flower of the artisans,' the cream of her agriculturists, and almost the only subjects who did not disdain manual labour, routine operations, and prosaic toil" (171). Hamilton goes on to say that their expulsion ruined the rice fields of Valencia, the sugar industry of Granada and vineyards throughout Spain (172).

<sup>40</sup> Kamen discusses another cause of agricultural decay, Castilian pride, as a phenomenon which spurred would-be nobles to acquire larger tracts of land (*mayorazgos*), in a sense—a symbol of wealth and nobility—by buying up the lands of small farmers, afflicted by bad harvests and the extortions of usurers. The genuine nobility also added to their entailed estate whenever occasion offered (271).

[...] the vast estates (*latifundios*) which dated from the wars of the Reconquest, were constantly expanding; and new ones were for ever being formed. The labourers who worked them, having no stake in the countryside, had little inducement to stay there or to put their best work into the soil. So serious grew the shortage of agricultural labour that the most radical remedies found eager advocates. (271)

Abandonment of the countryside by lower-class laborers, then, became a serious threat to farm production.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the drift of population from the countryside to the towns, especially between 1530 and 1610,<sup>42</sup> gradually transformed the peninsula into a land of deserted villages, with tragic consequences for the country's agrarian development. Domínguez Ortiz explains that the migrations to urban areas was a direct response to the lack of investment in farming and eventually resulted in a lack of work for the rural Spanish laborer:

A large number of small villages were abandoned and their inhabitants became labourers or went to swell the ranks of the urban proletariat, while their lands served to swell the lord's domain. But the time when great fortunes were to be made had passed and money was in short supply, so that hardly any

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<sup>41</sup> Spain's population actually increased throughout the sixteenth century and suffered only minor decline due to plague. Lynch reports that in Castile, for example, the population increase during the sixteenth century remained at fifteen percent (*Spain* vol. I: 109). Elliot agrees suggesting that the population during the sixteenth century increased exponentially (*Decline* 60).

<sup>42</sup> Rahn Phillips also lists military recruitment as a source of depopulation (*Time* 546) and Lynch mentions the rebellion of the Alpujarras which was followed by the dispersal of the moriscos of Granada throughout northern Castile (*Spain* vol. I: 110).

investment took place and the lands so acquired were turned into game reserves or farmed in extensive fashion. (*Golden* 181)

While these laborers looked for work in the cities, farms that remained untouched by the *Consejo de la Mesta*, were acquired by the tax collector, the nobility and the Church.<sup>43</sup> As a result, all over the Mediterranean region, the second half of the sixteenth century was a period in which local food production was proving increasingly inadequate for a still-growing population (*Elliot, Imperial* 290).

As the population as a whole increased throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the farmer was expected to increase production to meet demand. However, they were poorly equipped to increase production especially given the fact there was a lack of labor on farms, and some of the best farmland in the country was already being used by the migratory flocks of the Mesta. Moreover, agricultural techniques were primitive and the soil was given little time to rest between plantings. The serious shortages of grain as early as 1506 meant that for the first time in the history of the peninsula, large-scale imports of grain became essential. In fact, many regions of Spain were close to famine; Galicia, Asturias and Vizcaya, for example, were unable to produce enough food to feed themselves and had to rely on imports from Castile (*Elliot, Imperial* 107).<sup>44</sup> By 1509 grain prices were so high—even in Castile—that only a spectacular harvest of that same year was able to bring them down. During much of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Castile was the only

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<sup>43</sup> Lynch reminds us that the nobility and the church, the "great territorial magnates," increasingly infringed on common land in an attempt to further increase the size of their estates (*Spain* vol. II: 2).

<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the Crown of Aragon relied on imports from Andalusia and Sicily.

region essentially able to produce more than it consumed. Outside of Castile, ample harvests became very infrequent and within Castile yields began slowly to decline. Most of Spain began to experience a real crisis of production with increasing dependence on foreign imports (Lynch, *Spain* vol. I: 121). In truth, inadequate harvests were more frequent than good ones, and there were disastrous harvests in 1559, 1562, 1576, 1580, 1584, 1600 and 1601. The main reasons for the grave decrease in farm output seems to be due to drought, epidemics<sup>45</sup> and depopulation of the rural farming communities.

Government officials and economic specialists eventually became concerned about the exodus from farming communities and the accompanying threat of declining farm production. In fact, the *arbitristas* of the early 1600s wrote in depth about depopulation and decreasing production. However, as Díez Borque points out, it was well known among laborers and analysts alike that there was a smaller chance of suffering from hunger in the cities than in the countryside:

La insostenible situación del campesinado español en el XVII  
originará un importante éxodo rural y los habitantes de las aldeas

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<sup>45</sup> Domínguez Ortiz reports that the first half of the sixteenth century was dry and sunny but the weather worsened in the second half of the century. In fact, during many years, the cold, wet winters coupled with a longer than normal frost meant that the peninsula had to get accustomed to great variations in the climate. The climatic fluctuations never seemed to produce a consistent harvest (*Golden* 190). Moreover, drought conditions were a normal occurrence in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The worst drought recorded in Spain during that time was in 1559, which resulted in a disastrous harvest. Rahn Phillips states that the drought of 1559 was so severe that grazing lands for transhumant flocks were reduced and grain production was almost inexistant, meaning that the need to transport grain from one region to another became mandatory (*Spanish* 780). Finally, epidemics like the plague were not only common, but widespread. The worst outbreak of plague occurred in 1580—at the same time as one disastrous harvest—and killed more than a half a million people. There were also appearances of the plague in 1599 and 1600 which swept through Andalusia and Castile, the two prominent grain producing regions.

se unirán al proletariado urbano, no por una expansión de trabajo, sino porque en las ciudades tenían menos posibilidades de morir de hambre. (314)

As laborers abandoned the countryside, urban populations swelled, and farming deteriorated. Since the farming industry had no skilled labor, the farms declined and could not sustain a workforce, thus forming a vicious cycle. The only opportunity left to laborers was to migrate to the cities where there was greater chance for survival.

This migration, unquestionably representative of the socio-economic problems visible throughout Spain, also spurred an almost mythic response from writers of the period such as Lope, who recognized Spain's agricultural plight. Díez Borque notes that the means to combat depopulation of the countryside was "una actitud" that "se superpondrá un topos literario: menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea, que ocasionará una idealización de la vida del campo [...]" (311).<sup>46</sup> That is to say that literature became a means to glorify the value and necessity of agriculture and agrarian life. In short, literature began to idealize rural life in order to persuade peasants to leave the cities and return to the land. In many cases, works such as *Fuenteovejuna* became a form of propaganda to convince agricultural laborers that rural life was more appealing because it was free of the excesses of the court and its hypocritical nature. In the play, the Comendador, clearly representative of the excess and tyranny of the Court explains that city life is more conducive to his evil desires:

¡Qué cansado villanaje!

¡Ah! Bien hayan las ciudades,  
que a hombres de calidades  
no hay quien sus gustos ataje; (999-1002)

The audience, however, would know that the Comendador's understanding of "hombres de calidades" actually has the opposite effect; the audience recognizes that men of quality like the Comendador are to be associated with the concept of "menosprecio de la corte" and the glorification of the simple way of life represented by the villagers. This persuasive quality of the play is meant to convince the urban audience that a return to the land is a solution to the disastrous state of agriculture in the peninsula. As a tool of propaganda, then, *Fuenteovejuna*, an ideological work, can be examined in accordance with Jameson's first framework of analysis, the narrowly political. In *The Political Unconscious*, Jameson maintains that ideological works can be interpreted in terms of their symbolic quality to resolve real socio-political problems:

[...] ideology is not something which informs or invests symbolic production; rather the aesthetic act is itself ideological, and the production of aesthetic or narrative form is to be seen as an ideological act in its own right, with the function of inventing imaginary or formal 'solutions' to unresolvable social contradictions.

(79)

Agrarian abuse and peasant hardships in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are the social contradictions evident in *Fuenteovejuna*. The solution provided in the play is the dramatization of these contradictions in such a way as to glorify

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<sup>46</sup> See Diez Borque's *Sociología de la comedia española del siglo XVII* (1976) 311-335.

agrarian life so that laborers would return to farms. In this way, the play becomes a vehicle of propaganda idealizing the countryside and advocating agrarian reform.<sup>47</sup>

Since early seventeenth-century peasants suffered from harvest failures that resulted in large-scale famine, it makes sense that food would be idealized in *Fuenteovejuna*. In fact, the significance of agricultural production and daily subsistence is seen in continuous references to food and provisions throughout the play. One such example involving scarcity includes remarks made by Laurencia in her conversation with Pascuala in which she rejects the advances made by the Comendador. Along with her rejection, Laurencia gives a long list of foods that are more important to her than the proposals of a noble. The list begins with what she would like to eat in the mornings, including a pork leg, large piece of bread and wine:

[...] de madrugada,  
un pedazo de lunada  
al fuego para comer,  
con tanto zalacatón  
de una rosaca que yo amaso,  
y hurtar a mi madre un vaso  
del pegado cangilón; [...] (218-224)

Laurencia's idealized breakfast would include "un pedazo de lunada,"<sup>48</sup> the leg of a hog, accompanied by bread, "zalacatón," and some wine, "un vaso del pegado

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<sup>47</sup> See Charlotte Stern's article, "Lope de Vega, Propogandist?" (1982): 5-10. Stern summarizes the arguments made by Alonso, Castro, Vossler, Salomon, and Reichenberger, among others.

cangilón."<sup>49</sup> Certainly, such an elaborate breakfast would not be possible given the difficult agricultural situation. It can be said that these foods, along with the others she cites, are idealized due to their shortage. As Laurencia continues her list of food, she also idealizes lunch provisions:

[...] y más precio al mediodía  
ver la vaca entre las coles,  
haciendo mil caracoles  
con espumosa armonía; [...] (225-228)

The already exalted list becomes even more elaborate; whereas breakfast required pork, lunch is even fancier and includes a beef stew that boils harmoniously until it produces a broth.<sup>50</sup> Given the economic and agricultural situation, it would seem unlikely that Laurencia would eat more than one meal a day let alone three. Nevertheless, her third meal, dinner, would ideally include both eggplant and bacon:

[...] y concertar, si el camino  
me ha llegado a causar pena,  
casar una berenjena  
con otro tanto tocino; [...] (229-232)

Laurencia does not just want anything to eat, her meal would include rare items such as eggplant and bacon. The scarcity of all the foods she mentioned was

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<sup>48</sup> "Es la media anca, y comúnmente la aplicamos al pernil del tocino, diciendo lunada de tocino" (Covarrubias 773).

<sup>49</sup> "Cierta género de vaso, y juntamente medida," (Covarrubias 287) "probablemente ancha de boca, usada para trasegar el vino u otro líquido" (López Estrada 85).

<sup>50</sup> According to López Estrada's edition of *Fuenteovejuna*, these verses describe "pasatarde" as "Cocido de carne de vaca y coles que hierve en el fuego a borbollones, haciendo espuma" (85).



probably known to the audience. The idealization of foods and their rarity is meant to point out the poor state of agriculture in Spain and to declare that these items should be readily available, but were not. Laurencia's idealization of edibles, however, is not complete. In addition to citing her ideal breakfast, lunch and dinner, Laurencia, would also eat an exquisite snack<sup>51</sup> before she goes to bed:

[...] y después un pasatarde,  
mientras la cena se aliña,  
de una cuerda de mi viña,  
que Dios de pedrisco guarde;  
y cenar un salpicón<sup>52</sup>  
con su aceite y pimienta,  
e irme a la cama contenta, [...]. (233-239)

Before going to bed, Laurencia's attention turns to sausage and grapes that will help her pass the time and retire happy for the night. While her list summarizes what she sees as necessary items for daily survival, it is curious that in an epoch in which literature idealized rural life, its honesty, simplicity, and its peaceful existence, Laurencia prefers to idealize food, specifically. Her enumeration, however, is really based on scarcity; these edibles were not available in abundance to the peasant, thus she appreciates them even more. This exalted account contrasts with the daily subsistence of Laurencia and the villagers, who have to fight to survive under poor agricultural conditions and are expecting a

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<sup>51</sup> "Es merienda que aquí consiste en racimos de uva, conservados colgando de una cuerda" (López Estrada 85).

poor harvest. Interestingly, Laurencia speaks of food rather than her honor and her father's should necessarily oblige her to reject the Comendador's unscrupulous proposals. Her preference of food over honor makes it obvious that her mind is occupied with survival at its most basic level.

The importance of the food and harvests appears elsewhere in the play. One important element was grains and cereals used for making bread and other food production. In the play, there is a poignant example of the significance of the town's grain supplies to the common citizen. When a bet is made between Frondoso, Mengo and Barrildo to determine if love exists, Mengo puts up as collateral some meaningful personal items including a musical instrument that, to him, is as valuable as a granary: "Daré mi rabel de boj, / que vale más que una troj, / porque yo le estimo en más" (286-88). According to Covarrubias, a "trox" is "[...] lo mesmo que el granero, do se recoge el trigo o cevada, etc. y particularmente, el trigo[...]" (891).<sup>53</sup> Mengo places almost the same importance on a "troj" as he does on his stringed instrument, his "rabel de boj",<sup>54</sup> showing that the granary, a symbol of the laborer and his farming livelihood, was invaluable. The reference, which at first glance seems out of place, points to a concern for agricultural problems well-known to Lope's audience. These problems were again referenced later in the play during a conversation between Laurencia and Frondoso. Laurencia, concerned about the town's gossiping

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<sup>52</sup> "La carne picada y adereçada con sal" (Covarrubias 923).

<sup>53</sup> "Espacio limitado por tabiques, para guardar frutos y especialmente cereales" (*Diccionario de la Real Academia* 2031).

<sup>54</sup> "Instrumento músico de cuerdas y arquillo; es pequeño y todo de una pieza de tres cuerdas y de voces muy subidas. Usan dél los pastores, con que se entretienen, como David hazía con su instrumento" (Covarrubias 893).

about their relationship, believes that the villagers should worry instead about other important matters such as the state of their farms and their granaries:

[...] Y mejor sus trojes vean  
de rubio trigo en agosto  
atestadas y colmadas  
y sus tinajas de mosto,  
que tal imaginación  
me ha llegado a dar enojo;  
ni me de vela ni aflige,  
ni en ella el cuidado pongo. (743-747)

Laurencia points out that people should be more concerned with the state of their empty granaries than the amorous relationship of two peasants. In fact, she is not even upset that others are gossiping about her; instead, she is unhappy that people are not paying more attention to the vital questions of daily subsistence, including the stockpiling of grain. The problems of grain harvest and storage must have been a considerable matter worthy of careful reference in the play. Although the two citations above do not point to grain harvest and storage as an overriding topic in the play, when examined in the context of poor agricultural production in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the subsequent necessity of granary systems, the references certainly denote a contemporary preoccupation meant to engage the audiences.

It would have been well-known to the early seventeenth-century audience of *Fuenteovejuna* that the best way to deal with negligible harvests was a system

of granaries or *pósitos*,<sup>55</sup> which not only provided grain storage but also helped to stabilize prices.<sup>56</sup> In fact, the great fluctuations in the price of cereals during the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth were precisely the result of poor harvests caused by adverse weather conditions, which led to sharp reductions in supply and price increases. Not only did output fall in these years, but demand rose in many regions, and some farmers scarcely grew enough for their own use even in normal years. In bad years, they had to buy on credit the grain they needed for their bread during the "long months." The granary, then, became a means to plan for the long months of winter. It acted as a seed bank and provided great relief to the smallest farmers (Anes 69). To these small landowners, the granaries would advance seed in the sowing season, which had to be paid back with a small interest at harvest time (Domínguez Ortiz, *Golden* 153).<sup>57</sup> The municipal granaries also helped to regulate the supply of grain by storing it after successful harvests so that it could be distributed on credit to the needy during the difficult months of winter, especially in the years following bad harvests (Anes 69).

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<sup>55</sup> Vassberg reports: "In Castile the municipal granaries were called *alhóndigas* or *pósitos*. They were created to eliminate regrazing, to stabilize prices, and to guarantee an adequate supply of grain following catastrophic harvests. The *pósitos* purchased grain at threshing time, and stored it for later sale at reasonable prices for planting seed and for bread making. During famines, many of these municipal granaries operated as charitable enterprises, selling grain to the needy below the purchase price. And the *pósitos* of large cities such as Valladolid distributed grain in this manner not only to local residents, but also to the *vecinos* of surrounding villages (194).

<sup>56</sup> For this discussion of municipal granaries in Spain during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I have drawn on the following studies that are indispensable in reconstructing the period: Anes 60-76; Fortea Pérez 136-168, and especially 150; Ruiz Martín 169-181, and especially 171; Domínguez-Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain* 153; Rahn Phillips, *Ciudad Real 1500-1750* 29-41; Vicens Vives' *Historia económica de España* and *Historia social y económica de España y América*; and especially Vassberg 190-95.

<sup>57</sup> Borrowing against the public grain supplies after sub-par harvests must have been a common occurrence. In her study of Ciudad Real, Carla Rahn Phillips notes that "In 1609 there were

King Felipe II obviously realized that to put an end to the problem of recurring shortages and wide price fluctuations, all the towns of Castile should establish *pósitos* (Vassberg 194). But most towns lacked the resources to build and adequately operate a granary. Many large landowners did store their grain, sometimes for several years, in order to stabilize prices and assist the town in making up for the deficit of bad years. However, these landowners more often than not stored grain not to stabilize prices, but rather to take advantage of changes in prices for their own benefit (Vassberg 193). The frequent price fluctuations encouraged speculative grain storage despite, the likelihood of losses from insect damage, and decay from improper ventilation. Some of these grain speculators sold everything—and even went into debt—to hoard grain, knowing that a year of famine would permit them to make astronomical profits. Furthermore, even the municipalities themselves made poor decisions concerning the management of the granaries. In some circumstances, in a year in which the harvest was deficient and when there was a shortage of cereals, the elected officials could take a loan on the town's assets in order to import grain to supply the bakeries or to further stock the *pósito* (Ruiz Martín 171). This borrowing against the town's assets sometimes meant a greater debt for the inhabitants of the town, a debt that could not be easily repaid.

Given the uncertain harvests in the peninsula, the municipal granary often meant the difference between survival and famine in hard times. But there was an inherent contradiction between its "dual role as a charity and a seed bank"

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scores of grain loans from the *pósito* during the late spring and fall, indicating short harvests in 1608 and 1609" (*Ciudad Real* 29).

(Rahn Phillips, *Ciudad Real* 40). When bread was scarce, the *pósito's* grain was sold to city bakers to be made into subsidized bread, but this obviously jeopardized the next year's planting because the empty granary could no longer function as a seed bank (Rahn Phillips, *Ciudad Real* 40). In some towns, the subsequent year's planting was already being used as collateral to pay for debts incurred when the municipality attempted to feed the population because the previous year's harvest was mediocre or ruinous. The routine of borrowing against the next good harvest, then, became a dangerous cyclical procedure for feeding the town's people, especially if a town was so unfortunate as to have two or more consecutive years of bad harvests. Nevertheless, the public granaries were a main reason for the town's well-being. Special care was taken to ensure that the reserves of the granary would not be reduced. In fact, money for needed repairs to the grain silos would come from suspended fees to the ecclesiastical congregation and an assessment among the borrowers and in a good year when no grain was lent, no salaries would be paid (Rahn Phillips, *Ciudad Real* 41).

Just as the town's survival depended on important decisions concerning food supplies, it is understandable that the threat of a bad harvest and subsequent scarcity of grain would be referenced in *Fuenteovejuna*. One of the first indications of economic and agrarian hardships appears at the beginning of Act 2, where Esteban, talking with the *Regidor* (a Councilman), summarizes the town's dilemma:

Así tenga salud, como parece,  
Que no se saque más agora el *pósito*.

El año apunta mal, y el tiempo crece,  
y es mejor que el sustento esté en depósito,  
Aunque lo contradicen más de trece. (860-864)<sup>58</sup>

The two councilmen have come together to summarize the town's dilemma and decide what actions should be taken. They understand that a poor harvest and the coming hostile weather may mean great hardship and widespread famine in the town. Esteban's answer to this important dilemma is to stock the public granary as best as possible and not allow further depletions of it. It is obvious that crop production in the town has been unfavorable to this point. As Esteban points out, the immediate explanation for the poor harvest is the weather: "el año apunta mal, y el tiempo crece;" one critic, Saloman, believes it may have been a drought (262).<sup>59</sup> The problem with stockpiling the grain and conserving these resources for later, however, is that others may not agree with the decision: "lo contradicen más de trece" (864). This use of the plural "contradicen" could be interpreted as government officials or others who may attempt to control the

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<sup>58</sup> At his point in the play, Lope advises his audience that serious matters will be discussed by changing to an "esdrújula" rhyme scheme. This change, according to López Estrada, indicates that Lope wanted the audience to pay attention to the importance of the matters at hand because the message will have a direct impact on them: "Es un aviso de que se va a tratar de asuntos serios [...] para la vida del pueblo, claro es, pues los interlocutores son los que gobiernan el lugar. La rima esdrújula obliga a una afluencia de palabras cultas que dan empaque al comienzo del acto" (133). Now that Lope has gotten the attention of his audience, he begins to deal with the substance of this portion of the play. The matter that is being discussed is agrarian policy as illustrated in the conversation between Esteban and the Regidor.

<sup>59</sup> Although I can find no record or mention of drought in either 1476 or 1610-1614 (the time in which Lope probably wrote *Fuenteovejuna*), dryness and lack of water must have been a persistent problem faced by Spanish farmers. There was a serious *drought* in Andalucía in 1525 (Lynch, *Spain* vol. I 122), and the entire peninsula suffered a crippling *drought* in 1559 (Rahn Phillips, *Wool Trade* 780; Davies, *Golden* 54). As a whole, Spain suffered smaller *droughts* throughout the sixteenth century, especially the 1590s. In fact, Elliot reports that the opening years of the sixteenth century in particular were years of serious harvest failures: "Grain prices rose sharply from 1502, and remained high until 1509, when a spectacularly good harvest brought them down so drastically that many farmers were ruined" (*Imperial* 107).

affairs of smaller farming communities, like Fuenteovejuna. The poor economic and agricultural situation as represented in the play is symbolic of the unpleasant situation throughout the country:

[...] detrás de esta conversación, al parecer anodina, y que Lope introdujo para restituir sencillamente la sensación real de un momento de la vida del pueblo, se perfila con negros colores uno de los mayores problemas de la España de los 1600: en efecto, no hay sino recorrer las *Actas de Cortes* o los trabajos de economistas de la época, para descubrir la importancia de dichos silos en relación con la preocupaciones siempre repetidas, que provocaba la escasez de cereales. (Saloman 262)

The problems faced by the Spanish citizen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the threat of a bad harvest and the subsequent scarcity of grain. In *Fuenteovejuna*, the mention of grain silos and grain storage becomes a fundamental part of the play since it reminds the audience of some of the agricultural hardships endured in Spain during the time of the drama, not 1476.

The harvest of grain and the public granaries, therefore, played an intricate role in the well-being of towns throughout the peninsula. Without special caution in managing grain systems, towns like Fuenteovejuna would have been unable to feed their populations in the event of unfavorable harvests or especially terrible winters. In *Fuenteovejuna*, after Esteban and the Regidor carefully discuss their intention of reserving any excess grain in the “pósito” for the harsh months of winter, Esteban acknowledges his requirement to speak with the town



Comendador about the plan: “Hagamos de ello a Fernán Gómez súplica” (867). Esteban's words point out that he must first speak with the Comendador and stress the mayor's limited power in making decisions for the town. In this case, Esteban will have to plea with the Comendador to persuade him to agree to conserve valuable grains. Without a doubt, as Mayor of Fuenteovejuna, Esteban has a difficult task in governing the village: the Comendador is not obliged to heed the advice of the town elders. Fiore believes that the decision to stockpile grain demonstrates a positive image of local government that is related to natural law philosophy:

According to natural law the common good consists of giving to others and receiving from them powers and resources that as individuals none could possess. As depicted in the play the common good is both active and passive, supplemental and participatory. In short, a communion, an increase of powers by mutual supplementation. (*Fuenteovejuna* 106)

As Fiore further points out, the town elders derive their authority from the members of the community and are thus charged with the duty to govern in peace. Their experience as town leaders clashes with the astrological beliefs that dominated social and economic decisions during the period. Indeed, the ensuing conversation between the two councilmen shows that they take little comfort in the “false” knowledge of the astrologers and their abilities to foresee future conditions for a prosperous harvest:

No se puede sufrir que estos astrólogos

en las cosas futuras, y ignorantes,  
nos quieran persuadir con largos prólogos  
los secretos a Dios sólo importantes. (868-71)

Instead, the two believe that with the knowledge derived from a lifetime of agricultural experience they are in a better position to judge what decisions should be made concerning the town's grain reserves. As a rural community, the government of the town virtually revolves around the Mayor and Councilman's decisions regarding agrarian matters. Their deep distrust of astrology and astrologers is dominated by thought of the town's welfare. Esteban criticizes astrologers for making dangerous predictions about harvests and sarcastically states that these forecasts only come to fruition in the far removed regions of Transylvania,<sup>60</sup> Germany, Vizcaya and Asia:

Luego cuentan que muere una cabeza,  
y después viene a ser en Trasilvania;  
que el vino será poco; y la cerveza  
sobrará por las partes de Alemania;  
que se helará en Gascuña<sup>61</sup> la cereza,  
y que habrá muchos tigres en Hircania.<sup>62</sup>  
Y al cabo al cabo, que se siembre o no se siembre,  
el año se remata por diciembre (883-90)

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<sup>60</sup> López Estrada reminds us that any due to the remoteness and seeming importance, , events occurring in far-off lands such as Transylvania, were of great interest to people during the early seventeenth-century, and often worried them (*Fuenteovejuna* 135).

<sup>61</sup> "Es lo mesmo que Vasuña. Gascones y vascones" (Covarrubias 632).

<sup>62</sup> A country of ancient Asia, according to the definition of *hircano*, "natural de Hircania" in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (1113).

In his criticism of astrology, Esteban is making fun of their decisions. However, the danger in their decisions is evident; he believes that the astrologers' predictions are such an obstacle to planting that by the time they make a firm decision the planting season would have ended: "el año se remata por diciembre" (890). With a lifetime of agrarian experience, the two men believe that they know better than the astrologers how best to conserve the town's limited grain supplies.

The textual criticism of the bizarre decisions reached by astrologers is an attempt to explain to the seventeenth-century audience that superstition should not dominate common sense. The *Regidor* would rather "gobernar en paz esta república" (866), and the decision reached by the two councilmen to conserve the village resources demonstrates a careful, deliberate exercise of political control for the welfare of the town. According to Theresa Kirschner, there is a dignifying character in their decisions that we have not been able to discern in the play up to this point:

[...] los dirigentes de la aldea se nos muestran imbuidos de precaución y responsabilidad, y con una energía, vitalidad y vigor, que nos habíamos podido presumir antes. Su presencia dignifica a toda Fuenteovejuna. (*Protagonista*108)

As Kirschner points out, the two councilmen are resolute in governing the town and its inhabitants in a way that reflects their desire to support the collective good of the people and their peaceful existence. Due to their vast, fruitful experience as farmers and as elected leaders of the town, Esteban and the *Regidor* have

been authorized by the people with the authority to make the decision concerning the management of the grain reserves and the overall operation of the municipal granary. As we shall see, these administrative steps taken by Esteban and the Regidor contrast with the tyrannical actions of the Comendador and his soldiers, who become symbols of the devastating failure of the harvest, and the subsequent breakdown of peace.

Contributing to the rebellion in *Fuenteovejuna* is the robbery of village grains, the theft of village farms, and the unwarranted violent acts by the soldiery. The ongoing war between the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns caused widespread destruction of town resources, and was portrayed by Lope because his audience probably knew about it. Recalling that during Lope's time the soldiery abused the villagers, it is not surprising that Lope would dramatize such abuses in his play. These abuses included unwarranted physical violence toward unarmed citizens, rape of village women, and theft of personal property. One of the first examples of the Comendador and his men as symbols of the destruction of village farms appears in the first scene, when the Comendador signals his intention of taking Ciudad Real in order to consolidate his power and acquire more land:

Poca gente es menester,  
porque tiene por soldados  
solamente sus vecinos  
y algunos pocos hidalgos,  
que defienden a Isabel

y llaman rey a Fernando. (111-116)

The Comendador decides to attack Ciudad Real in the name of Alfonso because he knows that the village is unprotected and that there will be little resistance. This theft of property was not uncommon; indeed, the historical basis for this dramatization is clearly reported by Rades y Andrada. In his *crónica*, Rades specifically records every detail of the attack on Ciudad Real, showing that the Comendador's excessive force left a path of destruction:

Los de Ciudad Real se pusieró en defensa, por no salir de la Corona Real, y sobre esto uvo guerra ente el Maestre y ellos, en la qual de ambas partes murieró muchos hóbres. Finalmente el Maestre tomo la ciudad por fuerça de armas. [...] Tuvo el Maestre la ciudad muchos dias, y hizo cortar la cabeça a muchos hombres de ella por q auían dicho algunas palabras injuriosas cotra él, y a otros de la gente plebeya hizo açotar có mordazas en las lenguas.

(79 [3-4])

Rades' chronicle highlights the immoderate abuses of the Comendador and his men and the violence that becomes characteristic of them. It is strikingly similar to the account provided by Lope in *Fuenteovejuna*. In the play, Flores recounts the events of the victory which follows the Rades version almost verbatim:

[...] el Maestre a los rebeldes  
y a los que entonces trataron  
su honor injuriosamente,  
mandó cortar las cabezas;

y a los de la baja plebe,  
con mordazas en la boca,  
azotar públicamente.

[.....]

Al Comendador y a todos  
ha hecho tantas mercedes,  
que el saco de la ciudad  
el de su hacienda parece. (506-524)

The gratuitous violence employed by the Comendador and his men was extreme. Flores' account of the decapitation and public flogging of the defeated villagers was meant to instill fear in the townsfolk of Fuenteovejuna and also to provide a further justification for rebellion. As with most military missions during this time, when the army was successful in battle the defeated village was sacked; when it was defeated, its home village was ravaged.

Other abusive actions toward the common citizen included outright theft of food and property. The abusive behavior of the military toward its home village and the town's citizens was a familiar tale since, in times of war, it was common practice for Spanish soldiers to be temporarily housed in private homes. However, troops were certainly not welcome in small villages like Fuenteovejuna because they often abused their positions of authority.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> The conflict between the soldiery and Spanish townsfolk was so common that the hostilities made their way into the literature of the period. We need only to remember the disastrous events played out in Calderón's *El Alcalde de Zalamea* (1642), in which Spanish soldiers take advantage of the town's hospitality. In the first scene, the soldiers discuss the possibility that the townsfolk will pay them money—a form of bribery—so that the soldiers will not stay in the town but rather continue on to the next one. Obviously, this was a typical practice in the period. For this and other reasons, Juan, the Mayor's son, tries to convince his father that it would be much easier to

The presence of royal troops in a village was far from reassuring. It upset the rural tranquility by introducing a disorderly element.

There was no love lost between the soldiers and the villagers, and they frequently came to blows, sometimes with tragic results.

(Vassberg 226)

Since we can say that Lope relied greatly on the Rades y Andrada account, any information provided by this *crónica* would be useful in explaining the revolt. The Rades version of the uprising in Fuenteovejuna on which Lope relied so heavily explicitly states that the Comendador housed soldiers in the village and requisitioned goods from the villagers:

Auia hecho aquel Cauallero mal tratamiento a sus vasallos, teniendo en la villa muchos soldados para sustentar en ella la voz del Rey de Portugal, que pretendia ser Rey de Castilla, y consentia que aquella descomedida gente hiziesse grandes agrauios y afrentas a los de Fuenteoueijuna, sobre comerseles sus haziendas. Ultra desto, el mesmo Comendador mayor auia hecho grandes agrauios y deshóras á los de la villa, tomándoles por fuerça sus hijas y mugeres, y robádoles sus haziendas para sustentar aquellos soldados que tenia, con titulo y color que el Maestre dó Rodrigo Tellez Girón su señor lo mandava, porq entóces seguia aquel partido del Rey de Portugal (80 [3-4]).

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purchase the lower-level title of nobility (*ejecutoria de hidalgo*) than to continue to bear the burdens of the soldiers. The fears of Juan and the villagers are confirmed when the Captain rapes the daughter of the town's Mayor, provoking the conflict in the drama.

Soldiers were so well safeguarded in communities like Fuenteovejuna that the villagers often had no option but to house them and tolerate their abuses.<sup>64</sup> The housing of soldiers and the abuses committed by them are political and economic problems that are representative of the period. Specifically, the common taxpayer was forced to furnish room and board for the officers and men and only the privileged could escape this type of servitude (Vassberg 226). The financial burden placed upon the peasant was so great, according to Elliot, because they were required to provide meals and other provisions besides housing:

[...] in addition to the purely fiscal exactions, there were all the vexations and the financial burdens connected with the quartering and recruiting of troops. Villages along the principal military routes, particularly the road from Madrid to Seville and Cadiz, were dangerously exposed, and billeting could be very expensive—100 ducats a night for a company of 200 men, according to a report made in the 1630s. (*Decline* 64-65)

Because the town of Fuenteovejuna lies within the area between Madrid and Cadiz and because the Rades y Andrada historical account specifically mentions that soldiers were lodged in the town, it seems plausible that Lope was aware of

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<sup>64</sup> Unfortunately for the common villager, Elliot advises us, there was little recourse against the wrongs of the well-protected soldiery: "The soldiers despised the peasants in whose houses they were billeted, and treated them with mingled brutality and disdain. Military discipline, precarious at the best of times, seems to have declined sharply over the course of the years: captains tended to take the side of their soldiers in any incident that occurred between them and the civil population, and to the complaints of the civil authorities a threatened infraction of their jealously guarded *fuero militar*. As a result, there were endless conflicts between civil and military jurisdiction, in which the municipal authorities were generally worsted, since military trials winked



this harmful situation and included it in his play. It was expected that warring soldiers would not only abuse their housing arrangements but even steal grain and other agricultural products. In effect, the official requisitioning of grain was so excessive that it was one of the greatest abuses visited upon the townsfolk in small towns since, as we have shown, the public granary was a key component of survival.

With cereals in short supply during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the requisitioning of town grain is one element explicitly stated by Vassberg as having contributed to the unpleasant feelings between the soldiers and their hosts throughout Spain:

[...] the military used up the reserves of the public granaries, which had been painstakingly accumulated for emergencies. The burden of supporting the military impoverished individual peasants, and sometimes even led to increased indebtedness for the entire community. (227)

Thus, small villages like Fuenteovejuna were often left in the difficult position of feeding and housing soldiers which simultaneously risked the economic welfare of their own families and the rest of the community.

In the play, the forced sustenance of the soldiers takes place after the Comendador and his men return from battle. Even though the village has little enough for themselves to eat, it is understood that the townspeople must pay tribute to the Comendador and his men or risk violent reactions. Given Esteban's

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at the offences of their men, and the highest tribunal the Council of War, could be relied upon to take the part of its captains and *maestres de campo*" (*Imperial* 290).

remarks on the weather ahead and the necessity of stockpiling grain, it would seem quite absurd that the villagers would have anything left to spare, let alone a lot of food to give to the soldiers. Nevertheless, when the Comendador and his troops return victorious from Ciudad Real, the townsfolk, led by Esteban, "award" the soldiers' bravery with generous gifts:

Fuente Ovejuna

y el Regimiento que hoy habéis honrado,  
que recibáis, os ruega y importuna  
traen señor, no sin vergüenza alguna,  
de voluntades y árboles bizarros,  
más que de ricos dones. [...] (549-555)

Esteban, speaking on behalf of the entire town, "el Regimiento," first praises the Comendador and his men, then gives an item by item list of foods and material goods that serve as a tribute. The coerced gifts include an entire flock of geese and other fabricated goods such as polished ceramic earthenware:

Lo primero

traen dos cestas de polidos barros  
de gansos viene un ganadillo entero,  
que sacan por las redes las cabezas,  
para cantar vueso valor guerrero. (555-559)

In this presentation of gifts, the elaborate pottery and flock of caged geese are a means of appeasing the soldiers. However, there is great irony in the choice of goods. For example, Kirschner explains that "gansos" which are supposed to

"cantar vueso valor guerrero," (559) are actually symbols of bad poets (*Protagonista* 97), probably meant to insult the Comendador, who is a bad leader. Moreover, as the list progresses in its opulence to include salted meats and leather goods, the veiled insults increase in frequency:

Diez cebones en sal, valientes piezas,  
sin otras menudencias y cecinas;  
y más que guantes de ámbar, sus cortezas.  
  
Cien pares de capones y gallinas,  
que han dejado viudos a sus gallos  
en las aldeas que miráis, vecinas. (560-565)

Many of the items given to the Comendador have only material, not celebratory, value. For example, besides being simple animal hides, *cortezas* are, according to Covarrubias, "[...] lo que no es esencial ni sustancial, sino solamente material, como será entender una parábola por solo lo que suena, u otra escritura de sentido espiritual solo por la letra, siendo la que mata, y el espíritu el que da vida" (364). In addition to the non-essential nature of some of these items, the inclusion of "diez cebones en sal," (560) and "cien pares de capones y gallinas," (563) implies not homage but insult since these types of chickens were castrated while young. Instead of being goods given of reverence, they actually create "[...] una ironía dramática que ya en este momento desvirtúa al héroe que se está celebrando" (Kirschner, *Protagonista* 97). Esteban's list also emphasizes the extreme poverty of the town; they are farmers and do not have elaborate weapons or horses. They can only offer their devotion as vassals:

Acá no tienen armas ni caballos,  
ni jaeces bordados de oro puro  
si no es oro el amor de los vasallos. (566-68)

The items that the Comendador and his men would ideally like are weapons and horses fitted with gold "jaeces," which are, according to Covarrubias, "Adorno y guarnición del cavallo del gineta" (710). However, by contrasting the town's poverty with these ideal gifts, the town is shown to be both defenseless and simple. Despite the poor economic conditions of the town, the peasants feel compelled to give these items freely or risk having them taken from them. In fact, Esteban explicitly labels the gifts to the Comendador and his men is a type of coercion:

De quesos y otras cosas no escusadas  
No quiero daros cuenta: justo pecho  
de voluntades que tenéis ganadas;  
y a vos y a vuestra casa, ¡buen provecho! (569-579)

Esteban expressly specifies the gifts as a type of coercion by referring to them as "justo pecho" (577), meaning a tribute that is paid to the village lord, or according to Covarrubias' definition, "[...] vale cierto tributo que se da al rey" (858). The tribute "pays honor" and has a monetary meaning. In this case, the "tributo" is required as payment for military assistance—services not requested, or required—for the townsfolk. Kirschner believes that the offering actually hides the unfortunate reality that that many towns were practically forced materially to

pay homage to the military. Furthermore, Fuenteovejuna's coerced praise may be representative of other small Spanish towns:

A pesar de que bajo la cobertura de las formalidades y de la ceremonia puede esconderse una muy distinta y dolorosa realidad, el que los campesinos esté participando en el recibimiento triunfal (sea por miedo, corrección, fatalismo, alienación o egoísmo) confirma rotundamente una realidad ya inferida: el servilismo de los fuenteovejunos. (*Protagonista 97*)

It is interesting that the villagers' gifts to the Comendador center on agricultural products that they least could afford to spare. In fact, as we have seen thus far, there is a demonstrable fixation on food and provisions in the play. In most cases, their reference is to bring to light the underlying problems of daily agricultural life to the seventeenth-century audience.

Besides agrarian matters, a conclusive comparison between farmers and the soldiers marks a point in the play when rebellion becomes a legitimate possibility. Contemplating unified action against the Comendador and his men, Esteban contrasts the virtuous qualities shared by the laborers of this farming community with the despicable traits of the Comendador and his men. For him the laborers are honest, loyal and honorable:

Un hombre cuyas canas baña el llanto,  
labradores honrados, os pregunta  
qué obsequias debe hacer toda esta gente  
a su patria sin honra, ya perdida.

Y si se llaman honras justamente,  
¿cómo se harán, si no hay entre nosotros  
hombre a quien este bárbaro no afrente?  
Respondedme: ¿hay alguno de vosotros  
que no esté lastimado en honra y vida? (1662-1670)

Highlighting the estimable spirit shared by the villagers, Esteban forcefully contrasts the positive and idealistic attributes of farmers to the injurious, and destructive nature of the Comendador and his men. Most importantly, however, Lope exhibits an idealistic vision of the *labrador* that ultimately articulates his viewpoint that agriculture is an important component of his society. The play reflects this perspective by presenting common, difficult questions regarding the town's agrarian dilemmas.

Agricultural abuse can be seen as a chief motivation for the villagers' collective revolt. The villagers have witnessed the Comendador's abuses and if they do nothing to defend themselves, they risk losing their farms. Hence, misuse and abuse of farming become motivations of the villagers as they come together to discuss what actions must be taken against the Comendador. Juan is the first to suggest that they must rise up against the Comendador if not for his defilement of their honor, than for the larceny of their farms:

Si nuestras desventuras se compasan  
para perder las vidas, ¿qué aguardamos?  
Las casas y las viñas nos abrasan;  
tiranos son. ¡A la venganza vamos! (1710-11)

In Juan's words, agricultural abuse stimulates vengeance. As a motivating factor for the revolt, this citation is remarkable. It tells us that the agrarian abuses were common by the soldiery, but did not have to be. Interestingly, the villagers include their farmlands as a source of encouragement to rebel even though the Comendador, as the village *encomendero*, or overlord, has the legal rights to their property.<sup>65</sup> However, instead of protecting his vassals, the Comendador uses his power and position as *encomendero* to jeopardize their survival through his theft of village grain and the destruction of their farms.

The inordinate amount of money and power of the *encomendero* is faithfully reflected by Lope in *Fuenteovejuna*. In the play Fernán Gómez de Guzmán holds the position as *encomendero*, a privileged position that grants him the authority to seek his own pleasure at the expense of others (Wardropper 169).<sup>66</sup> Generally, the *encomendero* of small towns like Fuenteovejuna was appointed to the position by the Grand Master of the one of the Military Orders and was responsible for the *encomienda's* production of crops and the overall administration of lands. Since the twelfth century the three great military orders,

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<sup>65</sup> Anibal interprets these lines as an exaggeration of Rades' statement regarding the Comendador's disorderly men. Anibal goes on to declare that "nowhere does Lope confirm it with the slightest hint that the Comendador's crimes may have included the actual destruction of property, of his own *encomienda* and source of income. Certainly even Rades does not imply arson. Should one assume that some entire scene has been cut from the extant text of only 2460 verses [...]? Or should, perhaps, the verse in question be interpreted figuratively?—"With their burning lust, the Comendador and his men almost fire our very houses and vineyards (frequently the scene of our dishonor)" (660-61). For his part, Salomon sees these lines as an intent to appraise the rural economy as it is confronted with the disorder of the city. For this critic, Lope's outlook here is not simply rustic but rather a vision of Spanish agricultural life in its real form united with idealistic sentiments (521-22).

<sup>66</sup> Herrero summarizes the likely relationship between the Comendador and his subjects: "The Comendador is an aristocrat, belongs to an order of chivalry, and Fuenteovejuna is subject to him. Between lord and vassal, there exists a bond, not only of authority and obedience, but of love" (182) and "He represents a social system whose basis has been destroyed by the crimes of the aristocrat who embodied it" (182).

Calatrava, Alcántara and Santiago, had been rewarded by the Crown for their services during the Reconquest. These rewards usually took the form of taxation privileges or titles of nobility. But along with these compensations, the military orders and their knights also gained access to a tremendous amount of pasture land. Large tracts of land came to be known as *encomiendas*, or fiefs. Klein holds that the disproportionate quantity of lands held by the *encomiendas* actually comprised one hundred and five of the most used southern and western pasture districts (240) from which they were allowed to exact taxes, fines and penalties for land use. Moreover, Elliot states that the Order of Calatrava, to which the Comendador Fernán Gómez belonged, actually possessed over 50 individual *encomiendas* (*Imperial* 77). Lands of the Military Orders were also theoretically ecclesiastical, and the hegemony created by the combination of the military and the church supposed an even greater concentration of power and property: it had a tremendous impact on agrarian politics during the epoch. Excessive growth of large estates meant an even greater concentration of power for each individual *encomendero*.<sup>67</sup>

The inordinate amount of land and accompanying excessive political power held by the *encomenderos* allowed for notable corruption and can be seen in the play. Vassberg speaks of the systematic corruption of the *encomenderos*, explaining that the position became one of wealth and power, where large-scale corruption was routine:

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<sup>67</sup> Moux argues that the play actually represents the end of feudal power: "*Fuente Ovejuna* es en realidad un drama histórico que narra el paso de la hegemonía feudal de las órdenes militares que participan en la Reconquista a la monarquía" (59).



Each *encomienda* was administered by a comendador appointed by the Grand Master of the order, and included specific lands, revenues, and privileges. The income from the *encomienda* was to be used for the support of the local churches and clergy, and for military expenses. But the comendadores could pocket the difference between revenues and expenses; consequently, such positions were much coveted, and they were used to reward personal, political, and military favors. (115)

While income from the *encomiendas* were meant to strengthen the *encomendero's* position, in *Fuenteovejuna*, the Comendador uses his status as *encomendero* to raise armies, buy political favors, compensate loyalists, and, as we shall see, take over lands owned by peasants. He abuses his position and the confidence of his subjects.

Just as there is a consistent pattern relating the affronts of the Comendador with the ruin of agriculture, agrarian abuses are used as a means of justifying the villagers' revolt. In fact, one of the main reasons for the insurrection is provided by Esteban when he explains that the robbery of village farms, or *haciendas*, and the rape of village women were sufficient reasons for the town to rebel: "Las haciendas nos robaba / y las doncellas forzaba / siendo de piedad extraño" (2399-2401). The Comendador's robbery and ruin of the village *haciendas* not only undermines the town's daily agrarian struggle, but his tyrannous conduct coupled with his rape of village women are considered by the

peasants to be as grave as his affronts to their personal honor.<sup>68</sup> If we return to the Rades y Andrada's account, we can see that theft, and the destruction of the village or farms were crimes of the Comendador and his men that could have helped fuel the dramatized insurrection in *Fuenteovejuna*:

[...] y consentía que aquella descomedida gente hiziesse grandes agrauios y afrentas a los de Fuenteovejuna, sobre comerseles sus haziendas. Vltra desto, el mesmo Comendador mayor auia hecho grandes agrauios y deshóras á los de la villa, tomádoles por fuerça sus hijas y mugeres, y robádoles sus haziendas para sustentar aquellos soldados que tenia [...] (80 [3-4]).

Like Rades' version, the dramatization of the tyrannical actions of the Comendador and his men in the play is brought to light within the realm of agricultural abuses. There is an obvious and intentional pattern of harmful and corrupt behavior on the part of the Comendador and his men. As in *Fuenteovejuna*, each time they have the opportunity and wherewithal to take property and earnings of the peasants by force, they do so with zeal.

The plight of agriculture is dramatized in *Fuenteovejuna* in such a way that the play becomes a source of propaganda to convince the audience that farming

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<sup>68</sup> Although agricultural production was vital for daily subsistence in towns like Fuenteovejuna, the robbery or requisition of farm animals by military personnel was also a grave concern. As Kamen points out, "Very few towns relied only on the soil for income. It was more normal to have *labranza y crianza*, both tillage and animal husbandry. Mules and cows were necessary for ploughing. Any village with a fall in its number of plough teams was bound to suffer in agricultural production. The seizure of mules for military use was thus one of the most cruel acts that the soldiery inflicted on the civilian population" (99). Vassberg also reminds us that the peasants were supposed to be reimbursed for any items given to the armies. If they were paid at all, however, it was at an unfavorable rate as prescribed by the army's procurement officer. For this reason many villages found it cheaper to bribe officers in order to keep their town free of billeting soldiers (226).

life was both consequential and harmonious. This persuasive interplay between the audience and the creator can be studied by examining the play as a valuable cultural artifact. For New Historicists, aesthetic works are cultural documents that are negotiated and exchanged within society by way of a known social network of beliefs, perceptions and opinions. For example, *Fuenteovejuna* is a persuasive work that could be considered as: "[...] complex communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society. In order to achieve the negotiation, artists need to create a currency that is valid for a meaningful, mutually profitable exchange" (Greenblatt, *Learning* 158). The common repertoire of conventions that becomes a metaphorical currency to be transmitted and reciprocated between the audience and Lope are the idealization of village life, farming and food. Because the Comendador represents the misuse and abuse of agriculture and its accompanying harvest failures and famine, agriculture can only be safeguarded by eliminating the cause of its ailment. By exchanging these ideas with his audience, Lope has effectively created a basis on which to defend the uprising and murder of the Comendador.

The misuse and abuse of agriculture is dramatized in Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* to offer a new interpretation of the events that lead to the uprising and subsequent death of the Comendador. Poor land use, insufficient harvests, grain storage and famine are interrelated ideological consequences of that abuse that were prevalent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bearing in mind the New-Historicist practice of recontextualization and the study of ideology, we have been able to study these agricultural and economic problems in light of

Jameson's frameworks of analysis as presented in *The Political Unconscious*. For Jameson, aesthetic works such as *Fuenteovejuna*, are symbolic "narrativations" of real socio-historical occurrences, and attempt to resolve real-life problems. Following Jameson's theories, it can be said that *Fuenteovejuna* is a work that dramatized the aforementioned agrarian problems and through their portrayal, presented an aesthetic tool of propaganda in an attempt to resolve them. The play sets out to dramatize a causal relationship between the Comendador in the play and the state of agriculture during the time of writing the play. As such, the decadence of agriculture in early modern Spain is presented in relation to the disunity and tyranny represented in the play by the Comendador. This discord is resolved when the Comendador is murdered, thus presenting a symbolic resolution to the depraved agrarian situation in early seventeenth-century Spain. Hence, *Fuenteovejuna* reflects early modern Spanish culture, and divulges an allegorical and expressive relationship to historical, economic, and philosophical debates. The embedded referents to these cultural debates in *Fuenteovejuna* lead us to a better understanding of the political unconscious of Spain during Lope's time.

**Chapter Three**  
**Ruiz de Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas*:**  
**A Cultural Study of the Politics of Legislation and Kingship**

Juan Ruiz de Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas* (1619-1625)<sup>69</sup> is a political and philosophical drama that deals with characteristics of kingship, the usurpation of power by the King's favorite (*privado* or *valido*)<sup>70</sup> and the need for political reform in Spain and Mexico during the Golden Age.<sup>71</sup> Alarcón, who was born in Mexico and resided in Spain, was disturbed by the ever increasing unethical appropriation of power by court favorites during the reigns of Felipe III and Felipe IV. A New-Historicist reading of *El dueño de las estrellas* demonstrates that the play proposes reforms for Spain and offer instructions on how the *valido* can ethically serve his King. In the play, Licurgo, the consummate classical statesman based on Plutarch's *Lives*, can be viewed as the ideal *valido* who provides a model for the court favorites of seventeenth-century Spain, particularly Felipe IV's *valido*, the Conde-Duque de Olivares. This chapter

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<sup>69</sup> Although the actual date of composition of *El dueño de las estrellas* is unknown, most critics follow Castro Leal's supposition and place its writing during the years 1619-1620. Others believe it was written between 1620 and 1625.

<sup>70</sup> The Spanish term *valido*, or *privado*, has been traditionally used to describe the king's principal minister or "favorite." According to Elliott, by the early seventeenth century, with the heightened role of the court favorites in many European monarchies, the term *privado* was widely used, alternating with "private," and "favourite" (*Introduction* 1). Throughout this chapter the terms *valido*, *privado*, and favorite will be considered interchangeable along with the nouns *valimiento* and *privanza*. Bradner provides an interesting definition of the meaning of *privanza*, or *valimiento*, as it was understood during the period: "[...] the problem created by the existence of a royal favorite who usurped the powers belonging to the king, or was thought to do so, and upon whom unmerited titles and wealth were bestowed" (98).

<sup>71</sup> *El dueño de las estrellas* is not the only play written by Alarcón portraying the role of the king and the *valido*. According to the King, Alarcón published a total of twenty comedias, five of which deal wholly or partly with the theme of the court favorite: "La primera es ... *Ganar amigos*... y las otras son *Los favores del mundo*, *El dueño de las estrellas*, *La amistad castigada* y *Los pechos privilegiados*. [...] tomadas en conjunto, revelan la constante preocupación de Alarcón por los problemas de la ley y del gobierno en los años de mentalidad reformista que van de fines del reinado de Felipe III a comienzos del de Felipe IV" (153). There are also well known plays of the Golden Age that treat the king-*valido* subject, one of the more famous being Quevedo's *Cómo ha*

resituates Alarcón's drama in its time of production and studies Licurgo as the model for Spanish court *validos*, demonstrating how just laws and prudent decisions can benefit society and reform the monarchy if the king and his *valido* exercise power morally and effectively.

Legal, political and social problems evident in early modern Spain and Mexico influenced Alarcón's writing of *El dueño de las estrellas*. By resituating the play within the socio-political climate of 1600-1625, *El dueño* can be examined keeping in mind contemporaneous political figures, legal issues and historical events that impacted Alarcón's production. New Historicists set out to resituate literature in order to uncover the voices of the past embodied in literary creations. By recontextualizing literature, New Historicists see their literary analysis as a means to document the social forces that inform and constitute history and society. A recontextualization of *El dueño de las estrellas* provides a deeper understanding of Alarcón's time and the political and legal problems that affect the Spanish empire, and Alarcón's proposed solutions to them. Indeed, the legal background Alarcón possessed made him unique among Golden Age playwrights and his considerable training and experience in the law help to explain the proposed legal and social reforms expressed in his play (Parr, *After* 12).

Like the other chapters of this thesis, a study of Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas* will also be an examination of history, politics, and legal and social issues that have an effect on the audience. This type of investigation will be

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*de ser el privado*. Published in 1627, Quevedo's *comedia* deals indirectly with the most infamous of court favorites, the Conde-Duque de Olivares.

undertaken keeping in mind the New-Historicist concept of cultural negotiation and exchange. Because comparisons will be drawn between characters in the play and ministers of the Spanish Court, it can be said that Alarcón's play is a forum for the negotiation and exchange of ideas and opinions concerning the hopes for Spain's political and military greatness and the reality of its decadence. The ideal government of Licurgo placed against the backdrop of a series of tyrannical court favorites of early seventeenth-century Spain yields an interesting perspective on Spain itself, namely that the country was in need of reform.<sup>72</sup> Alarcón's play negotiates between audience perception of contemporaneous problems and Alarcón's proposed solutions and it provides a response to audience by offering a guide for the new *valido*, Olivares, showing how important reforms should be undertaken to improve society.

If *El dueño's* intent was to introduce the idea of legal reform, it makes sense that his choice of thematic material is the legendary statesman and lawmaker Lycurgus. According to Plutarch's *Lives*, Lycurgus, the famous ninth-century B.C. Spartan legislator and social reformer, was a wise statesman who established equitable laws and reforms in Laconia. After his fellow citizens promised that there would be no legislative change during his absence, Lycurgus left his country to consult the Delphi oracle where he was told that peace would

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<sup>72</sup> The relationship of the legendary lawgiver, Licurgo, and the audience's reaction to his portrayal has been studied by Dougherty who states that: "Due to the play's association with the story of Lycurgus, the seventeenth-century audience might have assumed that Licurgo possessed the same classic qualities of heroism—primarily wisdom and justice—attributed to the ancient legislator in Plutarch's *Lives*. In fact, the legislative dimension of Licurgo's character is the aspect most closely connected to Lycurgus's life as recounted by the Greek biographer. In the play, although the actions taken by Licurgo are perhaps more passionate and flamboyant than those of the legendary figure, they do not stray from what is expected and acceptable behavior of a

endure in Sparta as long as his laws were unchanged. As a final service to his countrymen, Lycurgus abstained from food and died at Delphi, thereby never allowing the Spartans to be released from their oath. Plutarch's Lycurgus later provided the foundation for Alarcón's artistic portrayal of Licurgo in *El dueño de las estrellas*. Fiore states that although Alarcón's protagonist is Greek, "[...] he embodies Spanish traits as well as classical Greco-Roman heroic virtues" (*Dueño* 186). Similarly, Palafox has recently written that Alarcón rewrote the history of Licurgo to reflect Spain and Mexico believing that his work would have an effect on government figures:

Juan Ruiz, por su parte, reescribía la historia pensando en los gobernantes en cuyas manos estaban los destinos del imperio español y en especial de su patria novohispana: reyes y virreyes sobre los que recae, en última instancia, la condena de mal gobierno que el dramaturgo novohispano expresa a lo largo de su obra. (284)

It is fair to say, then, that Alarcón's dramatic portrayal of Licurgo was meant as a reflection of and response to Spanish society and politics, specifically kingship and the role of the court *valido*.

Whereas the basis for Licurgo in *El dueño de las estrellas* is extracted from Plutarch's works, Alarcón's own depiction departs from the original source. According to Friedman, Alarcón "transforms his source material to fit coetaneous social, political and theological circumstances" (431) which, in my opinion, helps

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Spanish hero. Therefore, the artistic license employed by Alarcón serves to reinforce the nature of Licurgo's heroism, rather than detract from it" (59).



to dramatize questions regarding legislation, legal reform and kingship. Licurgo's model life and heroic death serve as a good model for Alarcón to express his philosophy on kingship and legal reform in the seventeenth-century.

The study of Alarcón's views on kingship and reform and the historical events that transpired and lead to the drama will be analyzed based on arguments made by Frederic Jameson in *The Political Unconscious*. As stated previously, Jameson studies cultural artifacts based on an analysis of three frameworks: the narrowly political, the social and history in the vast sense. In Jameson's first framework, the narrowly political, *El dueño* can be examined as a symbolic representation and restructuration of previous historical circumstances, what Jameson calls the "prior historical or ideological subtext " (*Political* 81). I argue in this chapter that the "prior historical or ideological subtext" in *El dueño de las estrellas* is the sixteenth and seventeenth-century political and social backlash against the dominating role of the king's favorite in Spanish Court life, and his impact on the monarchies of Felipe III and Felipe IV. The aesthetic response (the "rewriting") to these problems of government by *validos* is Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas* which introduced the characteristics of the perfect court favorite, Licurgo, and demonstrated the need for social, political and legal reform during the epoch.

*El dueño de las estrellas* will also be examined in light of Jameson's second framework, the social. Within the social framework, questions concerning the behavior of the monarch and the *valido*'s usurpation of power can be studied as ideologemes, "[...] the smallest intelligible unit of the essentially

antagonistic collective discourses of social classes" (*Political* 76). An *ideologeme* is a unit of analysis that includes the previous understanding of the historical and ideological subtext and everything that it earlier marginalized or silenced (*Political* 77). In *El dueño* the *ideologemes* referenced in the play deal specifically with prevailing ideologies of law, legislation, legal reform, and kingship in Spain and their close relationship to Alarcón's protagonist. When studied together, these ideologies are representative of Jameson's third framework, "history in the vast sense" (*Political* 89). That is to say, the legal subtext from the first framework, and the second framework's competing ideologies, merge in the third framework to produce a wider perspective on kingship and legislation during the entire Golden Age. In *El dueño de las estrellas*, ideology and history join and their (re)interpretation offers a variety of encoded explanations for the complex legal, social and political situation of the monarch and court *privado*.

A reinterpretation of *El dueño de las estrellas* can originate with a discussion of the surge of Golden Age literary works dedicated to the *valido*, the King and the ideal form of monarchy, which may have influenced Alarcón's decision to write the play. The preoccupation with a court minister capable of handling the affairs of state, especially after the 1618 fall of Felipe III's favorite, the Duke of Lerma, intensified to the point that it was reflected in the literature of the period: "Estuvo de moda entonces fatigar el ingenio y releer la historia buscando reformas provechosas para la sociedad y el Estado" (Brenes 212). Discourses on the *valido* as well as attacks on him arose out of a perceived division between the notion of ideal kingship and the disconcerting facts of a

world in which the king was incapable of governing on his own. Indeed, after 1609 favorable theories on royal favorites were prevalent, one of the more famous written by Fray Pedro de Maldonado, a confessor of Lerma. His *Dicurso del Perfecto Privado*, although an unpublished pamphlet, attempted to discredit prior claims against the *valido*. Maldonado believed that the monarch's dependence on one of his ministers would leave him free to attend to other state matters. He also concluded that a capable *valido* was in the interest of the well-being of the monarchy:

[...] si el privado es bueno le está bien al Rey y al Reyno. Al Rey porque le dará mayor noticia de las cosas, encaminará mejor a la razón como quien tiene las llaves de su corazón, cuidará mejor de su vida, honra, hacienda i consciencia [...] al Reyno porque assí se animan otros a merecer la privanza. (qtd. in Tomás y Valiente 131-132)

Maldonado held that the court favorite is a positive compliment to the King in that he would protect the monarch, keeping him informed and become a positive example to the Court. He furthermore believed that the commonwealth would be safer with a bad monarch who had a good *privado*, than with a good monarch who had a bad *privado* (Feros 212). Moreover, Maldonado's definition of the *valido* as the king's friend meant that he could be thought of as "[...] the king's other self and thus as his echo, his shadow, his public image, and as the intermediary between the king and his subjects" (qtd. in Feros 212). The close connections Maldonado enjoyed also provided him unlimited access to the court

where he could disseminate his theories. The circulation of political and legal treatises devoted to the role of the *valido*, like Maldonado's work, reached its apex during Olivares' *valimiento*. It was probably during this time, in the midst of the publication of these political works, that Alarcón came up with the idea for his play.

*El dueño*, loosely based on an historical figure but reinterpreted in light of these early seventeenth-century misgivings about the king's favorite, expressed the need for a court *valido* and discussed how he can best serve the crown. Alarcón's vast experience in the philosophical and legal field and in his various positions as an attorney provided a background to deal with these questions in his *El dueño de las estrellas*. The idea for the play was probably formulated during a succession of court *validos* under Felipe III and Felipe IV: the Duque de Lerma, the Duque de Uceda, Baltasar de Zúñiga and the Conde-Duque de Olivares, respectively. The actual composition of the play was during Olivares rule and since questions related to kingship and the *valido* are associated with social and political ideology of the time, it is reasonable that Alarcón would include them in *El dueño*. Indeed, as we shall see, contemporaneous historical, political and social events involving these political figures had an impact on the content material.

As the play opens, the King of Crete and his two faithful ministers, Severo and Palante have arrived to consult the oracle at Delphi. In the opening lines of the play, the young and inexperienced King of Crete, "en la edad de joven

florecente" (10)<sup>73</sup> comes to ask the Delphic oracle what must be done so that he can govern in peace. The voice of the oracle says to "Pide a Licurgo el árbol venturoso" (16) in order for the King to have peace and prosperity in his kingdom. The oracle's message is interpreted by Palante as meaning that the king should seek out Licurgo, the famous Spartan lawmaker:

Yo entiendo, gran señor, que Apolo ordena  
que de Licurgo el espartano imites  
la vida singular, de ciencias llena,  
porque el bien de tu reino facilites. (25-28)

Palante's interpretation suggests that not only should Licurgo be brought to the Court, but that the King should imitate Licurgo's actions. After further discussions about the meaning of the oracle, Severo suggests that "el árbol venturoso" must refer to the olive tree, the enduring symbol of peace and law: "no hay árbol para un reino más dichoso / que el de la oliva, porque paz publica" (51-52). Severo is also sure that the oracle means that the king must govern jointly with Licurgo:

pues pedillo a Licurgo el luminoso  
Apolo manda, claro significa  
que si dél gobernáis acompañado,  
aseguráis la paz de vuestro Estado. (53-56)

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<sup>73</sup> All citations from *El dueño de las estrellas* are taken from *Obras completas de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón*, Volume II, edited by Augustín Millares Carlo (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1959). Line numbers appear in parenthesis. However, each of the six laws that Licurgo will read in the Third Act appear in prose (as opposed to verse). They are not accounted for in the numbering of the verses. For this reason, the page number dedicated to these laws appear in parenthesis.

According to Severo, Licurgo, who is "luminoso," enlightened, should rule jointly with the King.<sup>74</sup> The equality of rule between the King and Licurgo can also be interpreted to mean that there should be balance of power between the King and the *valido*.

It has been argued that *El dueño de las estrellas* was actually written to advise the new court favorite of Felipe IV, the Conde-Duque de Olivares, as to the proper role of the *valido* in early seventeenth-century Spain.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, there are a few references that could be interpreted as being directed toward Olivares himself. The first of a number of citations to Olivares in the play takes place when the Oracle declares "Pide a Licurgo el árbol venturoso" (17). The tree, an olive tree, is a symbol of peace and law and could be an allusion to the name Olivares. This could furthermore be interpreted to mean that the young Felipe IV, "en la edad de joven floreciente," (10) should seek the direction of the Count of Olivares to assist in the administration of the kingdom.

There is another reference that could serve as a hint that Licurgo is to be interpreted as Olivares. Later in the play, Severo describes Licurgo as a man who has a natural inclination and passion for arms and letters: "con pasión / natural inclinación / a letras y armas mostráis" (430-432). It was readily known

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<sup>74</sup> Palafox reminds us that Licurgo is not elected democratically by an empowered political body and she also argues that Severo's interpretation of the oracle seems not as appropriate as either the King's or Palante's: "[...] Licurgo-Lacón no es elegido democráticamente por un senado que busca un gobernante, sino por un 'rey' que aún no ha muerto. Este monarca un tanto veleidoso todavía tiene el poder en sus manos, y únicamente invita a Licurgo a gobernar con él porque decide aceptar, de manera bastante arbitraria, la interpretación que da Severo al oráculo que aparece al principio de la obra: 'Pide a Licurgo el árbol venturoso.' Palante, por otra parte, había insinuado que el oráculo era una incitación al monarca para que imitara la vida de Licurgo. Y el mismo rey, por la suya, había creído que el 'santo vaticinio' era el pronóstico de un reino venturoso siempre y cuando adoptara las leyes de Licurgo. La ironía de esta elección es que, en

that Olivares enjoyed one of the largest private libraries in Europe, a book collecting habit that began during his time in Seville:

It was presumably during the Seville years that Don Gaspar began to build up what was to become one of the greatest private libraries in seventeenth-century Europe. Although he patronized artists, there is no indication that he ever became a picture collector; but as a collector of books he was insatiable. [...] When catalogued in the mid-1620's, the Olivares library contained some 2,700 printed books and 1,400 manuscripts. (Elliot, *Count-Duke* 24)

Alarcón, a fellow classmate of Olivares at Salamanca, probably knew of the Conde-Duque's love of literature from having contact with him during those informative years and due to Olivares' reputation as a patron of the arts.<sup>76</sup> Thus, Licurgo, also an admirer of texts, could be taken as a further allusion to Olivares. This close connection between Licurgo and Olivares is readily accepted by King, who sees the *El dueño* as a form of praise for Olivares:

[...] se pregunta si Alarcón, que tal hincapié hace en el privado, no habrá tenido en la cabeza "algún favorito de la vida real", contemporáneo suyo. A cualquiera se le impone la respuesta: por supuesto que el Olivares, el más famoso de los *privados* del siglo XVII (y a quien, dicho sea de paso, elogia claramente Alarcón en la

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el fondo, las otras dos interpretaciones, la de Palante y la del rey, habrían resultado mucho más apropiadas y sensatas que la de Severo" (28).

<sup>75</sup> Delgado Morales (117), Halpern (90-91), and King (153).

<sup>76</sup> Olivares was known as one of the wealthiest and most prolific students at Salamanca during Alarcón's years there. It is unknown if the two students had any type of personal relationship but both King (172) and Halpern (86-87) believe that Alarcón knew of Olivares.

escena inicial de *El dueño de las estrellas*, metaforizándolo en la oliva, símbolo de la paz lograda mediante la justicia). (153)

As King points out, the references to Olivares are explicit and can be interpreted to mean that Licurgo is to be seen as a model for Olivares. In the play, the King's faith in Licurgo could mean that Felipe IV should have confidence in Olivares.

The early reference to Licurgo, his subsequent role as the King's *valido* and the Licurgo-Olivares parallel were probably recognized by the Golden-Age audience. Indeed, the historical figure Licurgo was also known to them; Castro Leal reminds us that Plutarch's works were widely read in Spain since their translation into Spanish in 1491 (150), and Alarcón must have read Plutarch's works since the classical author was one of the most read writers during Alarcón's time at the University of Salamanca (Palafox 275-76). The relationship between what the audience previously knew about Licurgo and Olivares and the actual appearance of the Spartan Legislator in the play can be studied as a form of social energy. *El dueño de las estrellas* is a representational work of art that mediates the historical basis of the play (Licurgo and Crete) and the social aspects from which that play has been created (Olivares as *valido*). In this case, the audience's previous knowledge of Licurgo-Olivares and its anticipated reaction when he finally appears can qualify as social energy.

As the scenes unfold, the further development of the Licurgo-Olivares duality accentuates the social energy bound up within the production. In *El dueño*, the reliance on the *valido* figure is as characteristic for the King of Crete as it was for Spain's Felipe IV. The King of Crete, in need of a reliable advisor,



decides to follow his minister Severo's advice, to search out Licurgo, and designate him the king's principal advisor, or *valido*:

El árbol dijo: y si esto se pondera,  
del mismo causador es atributo,  
y de Licurgo mismo la persona  
la oliva vendrá a ser desta corona. (61-64)

The King's statement serves to construct a positive description of Licurgo as the king's favorite. By idealizing Licurgo and emphasizing his positive attributes as statesman and legislator, the king can justify his decision to make the Spartan the Court's principal minister. Moreover, the seventeenth-century audience would see the *valido* as a necessary, worthwhile figure to help control the affairs of state in Golden Age Spain. In the play, Severo's comments, which further idealize the *valido* figure, can be considered instructions to the Spanish court:

Tu venturoso reino es quien merece  
igual tesoro, si verdad pregona  
alguna vez la fama, y enriquece  
tan estimable piedra tu corona; (81-84)

The idealization of Licurgo will later serve as a comparison between himself and the King, who is the source of most of the problems in his own Kingdom. There is one obstacle to bringing this "tesoro" to the King: Licurgo disappeared after making equitable laws for Sparta. His absence has been lengthy, and the King is concerned that he will not be able to find him: "sólo ya resta agora saber dónde / esa oliva de paz la tierra esconde" (79-80). Severo declares that he will search

the countryside for the missing Licurgo, hoping that Licurgo's presence in the court will be the answer to the monarchy's problems.

Severo finds Licurgo disguised as the peasant Lacón and tests him in order to determine whether Lacón is Licurgo and to see how he will react. Debating the history of legislation in society and the famous philosophers who have proclaimed laws, Severo says that Licurgo was a tyrant for abandoning his country after making unjust laws:

[...] y dicen más: que tirano  
Licurgo a su patria ha sido  
en las leyes que le dio:  
los efectos lo probaron,  
pues apenas las juraron,  
Cuando de su patria huyó, [...] (415-420)

Severo is sure that Lacón is Licurgo and hopes that his brash statements will inflame Lacón and elicit a response that will uncover his true identity. Based on Lacón's response and convinced that he has found Licurgo, Severo declares in an aside that he has accomplished his goal: "Hallé a Licurgo, vencí, / logré mi intención; [...]" (433-434). Licurgo tries to persuade Severo that the court minister has mistaken him for someone else, but Severo is certain that members of the court will know his face: "Sí, hasta que esté / en la corte encubriré / el haberte conocido" (470-472). When the King learns that Licurgo has been found and that he will soon be at court, he again begins to emphasize the need for an intelligent, capable minister. The King of Crete is also careful to note that

Licurgo (like the various *validos* of early seventeenth-century Spain) has royal blood: "Sangre real como yo / Tiene; en Esparta gozó, / si yo en Creta, la corona; [...]" (929-931). This declaration is important to the Golden Age audience who must have recalled that, like the King, the *valido* too descended from royal stock. It also serves to differentiate Licurgo's dual being as both minister and *villano*, showing that the latter was simply a disguise. In this case, Licurgo was King of Sparta. The fact that both Licurgo and the King of Crete are royalty stresses their rank and shows that the rule of Crete by a foreigner is permissible. The King extends his hand to the stranger and clearly asserts that Licurgo is an equal, both personally and as a fellow courtier: "Como amigo y como leal, / gran Licurgo, os la daré" (943-944). The King's proposed plans for his new *valido* are clear; he will assist the monarch in the administration of the crown and promulgate equitable laws for the kingdom:

Conmigo habéis de asistir,  
leyes habéis de poner:  
yo la pluma he de mover,  
vos la mano al escribir (968-71).

As lawmaker, Licurgo will act on behalf of the King to improve the kingdom. The close working relationship between the new *valido*, Licurgo, and the King is accentuated as the metaphorical hand (Licurgo) that moves the royal quill (King). Delgado Morales sees this close relationship as a political duality that is characteristic of the dependence of the Habsburg kings on their court favorites:

El tándem político formado por el Rey y Licurgo, además de avenirse perfectamente con la costumbre de los últimos Austrias de hacerse acompañar en el gobierno de un valido, ilustra el principio fundamental de la política cristiana de que las leyes o la sagacidad del gobernante tienen que ir acompañadas de la integridad moral de éste. (117)

As Delgado Morales indicates, there is a moralizing quality in the decision reached by the King of Crete to share power with his *valido*, Licurgo. The two men are symbolically linked by their moral duty to the people and physically linked by their royal bloodlines. It is also evident, as Halpern has noted, that the health of the kingdom of Crete depends on the wise council of Licurgo, just as justice and reform in Spain was contingent on the court favorites of Felipe III and Felipe IV (90-91).

Since this chapter addresses the role and duties of Licurgo the *valido* as a model for the court favorites of early seventeenth-century Spain, it is helpful to examine the social, political and historical events that transpired during the time Alarcón wrote the play. The role and impact of the court *valido* on Golden Age Spain sheds light on references in the text that are meant to propose reform in the Spanish empire under Felipe III and Felipe IV.<sup>77</sup> Thompson has written that the *valido* in seventeenth-century Spain was characterized by four principles:

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<sup>77</sup> For the subsequent discussion of the *valido*, including the biographical material of Lerma, Uceda, Zúñiga, Olivares, I have consulted the following sources: Graham Darby, "Lerma Before Olivares" (1995) 30-35; Trevor Davies, *Spain in Decline, 1621-1700* (1957); J. H. Elliott, *El Conde-Duque de Olivares y la herencia de Felipe II* (1977); Elliott and Angel García Sanz (Eds.), *La España del Conde Duque de Olivares. Encuentro Internacional Sobre La España del Conde Duque de Olivares Celebrado en Toro, 15-18 septiembre de 1987* (1990); Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (1986); Elliott, "Introduction" (1991); Elliott,

First, they were operating in the areas of both power and patronage, *gobierno y gracia*, council and court—and they were predominant, if not monopolists, usurping the office of king (or seeming to), and some historians have gone so far as to talk of a complete handover of power. [...] Second, they operated outside (or alongside) established institutional channels, and indeed often without any formal ministerial status. The *valido* was different from a private secretary or privy councillor in that he interfered with the normal processes of conciliar business [...] and diverting through himself the normal flow of access and information to the king. [...] Third, they stood at the centre of a national network of clientage, a clientage network that was not restricted to the court, nor to a specific local interest, but which was the means of integrating court and country on a broad front. [...] Fourth, they were "political"—and that not merely at the basic management level, as a sort of chief whip, to cajole or to put a bit of stick about [...] they were using influence [...]. (14-15)

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"Staying in Power: The Count-Duke of Olivares" (1991) 112-122; Antonio Feros, "Images of Evil, Images of Kings: The Contrasting Faces of the Royal Favourite and the Prime Minister in Early Modern European Political Literature, c. 1580-c. 1605" (1991) 205-222; Cynthia Leone Halpern, *The Political Theater of Early Seventeenth-Century Spain, With Special Reference to Juan Ruiz de Alarcón* (1993); Willard F. King, *Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, letrado y dramaturgo* (1989); John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700* (1992); Lynch, *Spain Under the Habsburgs. Vol II: Spain and America, 1598-1700* (1981); Gregorio Marañón, *El Conde-Duque de Olivares: La pasión de mandar* (1972); Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *Los validos en la monarquía española del siglo XVII* (1982); I. A. A. Thompson, "The Institutional Background to the Rise of the Minister-Favourite" (1991) 13-25; Patrick Williams, "Lerma, 1618: Dismissal or Retirement?" (1989) 307-332.

The attributes highlighted by Thompson were characteristic of all *validos* in some form or another. Whereas Carlos V and Felipe II were aided in their government by a number of secretaries of state, during the reigns of Felipe III and Felipe IV these secretaries gave way to a single favorite minister of the king, the *privado* or *valido*. The *valido* was both friend and foe to a king. Early on, the *valido* formed a close personal relationship with the prince, became his principal minister when the prince was crowned, and was a powerful and authoritative figure who could influence the monarch and his decisions—sometimes detrimentally. It was the *valido's* close relationship to his king that gave him legitimization: "The *valido* [...] was closer to the king, whose friendship was at once his badge of authority and his chief qualification for office" (Lynch, *Spain* vol. II: 27).<sup>78</sup> The *valido* was generally an unscrupulous, power hungry minister who protected his own position and prestige at the expense of other members of the Court, and even the king himself. Disposing of other Court ministers, the *valido* was relied on almost exclusively during the reigns of Felipe III and Felipe IV. The two most famous *validos*, The Duke of Lerma during the monarchy of Felipe III and the Conde-Duque de Olivares during Felipe IV's reign, were granted far-reaching powers to decide administrative matters and control royal councils. As we shall see, it was Lerma and Olivares who may best be reflected in Alarcón's play since

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<sup>78</sup> Halpern shares this view believing that it is the *valido's* loyal friendship to the king from which the chief minister exacts his power: "The favorite must share a long-standing, loyal friendship with the monarch which has its beginnings even before the king takes the throne. The king should feel a total sense of confidence in the ability of this man to aid him with any matters of state which may arise. As a result of the royal confidence enjoyed by the *valido* he will have the authority to intervene directly in the government of the monarchy. He is generally a very ambitious man who thrives on the feeling of power and control with which he is entrusted. Furthermore, he is usually a man of high nobility, since it would seem likely that only a nobleman

the content material deals with the proper and just use of power by the *valido* for the benefit of the kingdom.

The *valido* also supervised the group of superior or supreme councils of state,<sup>79</sup> directed state policy and controlled finances and military matters. The court favorite may have been a controlling figure, but the sheer size and complexities of Spain and its overseas empire required that someone take control and the *valido* was in the best position to fill that role. For the monarchy, there was, as Thompson and King have pointed out, a crisis of governmental growth that required the imposition of the *valido*. The expansion of the Spanish empire was accompanied by an increase in administrative affairs and it was too great a work load for any one man to handle, especially a lazy King Phillip III or a complacent King like Felipe IV. The rise of the *valido*, then, was primarily a necessity for the administration of the kingdom.

The reigns of Felipe III and Felipe IV were breeding grounds for the *valido* because both monarchs lacked self-confidence in their own abilities to govern Spain (Halpern 17). This appears a valid argument, especially in light of historical data. For example, when Felipe II died on September 13, 1598, leaving to his son, Felipe III, the government of the largest and most powerful empire in

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would have the necessary education, knowledge, and family connections to aid the king with important matters of state" (15-16).

<sup>79</sup> In order of rank they were the Council of Castile, the Council of the Indies, the Council of Aragon, the Council of the Inquisition, the Council of Italy, the Council of Flanders and the Council of Portugal. These Councils addressed all issues in Spain and its empire. According to Lynch, the Council of Indies, to which Alarcón belonged, was the most distinguished because it administered the overseas empire: "It had competence in every sphere of colonial government, legislative, financial, judicial, military, ecclesiastical and commercial. And so specialized was its function that it was necessarily the major influence in the formation of the colonial policy. Nevertheless, in matters concerning imperial defence and security it might have to defer to the

the world, he evidently was uncertain that the young prince was prepared for the job: "God, who has given me so many kingdoms, has denied me a son capable of ruling them" (qtd. in Lynch, *Hispanic* 17). Felipe II's worries became reality for the Spanish people when, on the death of the king, Felipe III made an unprecedented decision to empower a chief minister, a *valido*, to oversee operations of the Crown. He delegated power to Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Marquis of Denia, who was soon promoted to Duque de Lerma. The Duque de Lerma was the king's closest friend and confidant, but not any more fit to exercise power than the King (Lynch, *Hispanic* 18).<sup>80</sup> Lerma's technique was to accumulate offices and riches for himself, thereby acquiring prestige and power over political rivals. The more major offices he received, the more he monopolized access to the king and the more he increased his family's wealth.<sup>81</sup> The greed and power of the court *valido*, especially Lerma, was an incessant

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Council of State; and its control over Indies revenue and expenditure was severely limited by the general fiscal jurisdiction of the Council of Finance" (*Hispanic* 25).

<sup>80</sup> Born in Tordesillas, Old Castile, Lerma consolidated power by marrying the daughter of the Duke of Medinaceli. His social status and his friendship with the king were his only qualifications for office. Lynch states that Lerma was not very intelligent and lacked proper judgement in most matters (*Hispanic* 19). Indeed, he lacked political experience and had previously occupied, without distinction, only one major office, Viceroy of Valencia. This office had been given to him by Felipe II "[...] not on his merits but in order to remove him from proximity to the impressionable prince" (Lynch, *Hispanic* 19).

<sup>81</sup> Lynch explains that Lerma's main preoccupations as the king's favorite were his appropriation of power, access to the king, and the increase of his personal wealth: "[...] minor offices he acquired to give to his family and clients and to erect a further barrier against rivals. At the same time he collected offices controlling access to the royal palaces and the governorship of those cities—Valladolid and Madrid, for example—where the king would be staying. In this way he came to isolate the king from the influence of rivals and prevented anyone of whom he disapproved from approaching the royal presence. He fortified his family with titles and marriage alliances, headed by a dukedom for himself. He bought palaces, houses, landed property, and of course jurisdiction and revenues, the latter either donated by the crown or purchases as a secured investment. His annual income in 1620 was 200,000 ducats, and at the end of the reign his total wealth amounted to 3 million ducats. Lerma blatantly favoured his relations, promoting his son-in-law, the Count of Lemos, to the presidency of the Indies, the viceroyalty of Naples, and the presidency of Italy, and his brother Juan, Marquis of Villamizar, to the viceroyalty of Valencia" (*Hispanic* 35-36).



problem during the period and ultimately spurred Alarcón to write his drama. Indeed, as we shall see, Lerma is remembered as one of the greediest court ministers in the history of Spain, and he is eventually compared to Olivares and reflected in Alarcón's work.

Access to the king and control of political rivals were essential to the survival of court favorites during the seventeenth century. The best way to keep power was through patronage, a system whereby the court *valido* distributed the favor of the king to those friendly to his own policies (or used it to punish enemies). Lerma, like Olivares after him, was careful to keep control of patronage. In July 1605 he instructed the secretary of the Council of State that matters concerning appointments and grants must be submitted directly to the king, and that the Council could consider them only if they were expressly remitted to it by the king (Lynch, *Hispanic* 39). In practice, however, all decisions on patronage matters were sent by Lerma, acting in the name of the king. Therefore, it became inevitable that the distribution of patronage in the hands of Lerma and subsequent *validos* would engender corruption throughout the government.

Even the distribution of patronage would not be sufficient for Lerma to hold onto power indefinitely. After almost twenty years of government under the Lerma regime, in 1618 public distrust of the *valido* fueled by court hostility toward Lerma required that the king act.<sup>82</sup> Lerma himself sensed his power slipping and

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<sup>82</sup> Public disfavor of Lerma and his supporters were inflamed by numerous accusations against Lerma supporters by other members of the Spanish Court. In the first years of the Zúñiga-Olivares reign, the promise of reform resulted in a incarceration, exile or execution of a number of Lerma supporters for crimes against the Crown. Two examples stand out. The first involved Don

in a desperate attempt to hold out, he arranged to have himself named Cardinal (against Felipe III's wishes). On March 26, 1618, the Pope granted the position and two days later Lerma formally resigned the offices of *caballerizo mayor* and *sumiller de corps* of the king, offices which he had held since 1598 and which had been fundamental to his control of Felipe. The beneficiary of the resignation was Lerma's own son, Cristóbal de Sandoval y Rojas, Duque de Uceda. Lerma continued to retain his offices in the prince's household and, while he may have been abandoning his power, he was certainly holding on to future influence (Williams 321). Clearly Lerma's continued presence at court and his new position as Cardinal became unacceptable to Felipe III, who had already started to limit Lerma's access to state paper and directed Lerma to prepare himself for retirement.<sup>83</sup> In the court, an anti-Lerma faction formed, grouped around a new contender for the *valimiento*, none other than Lerma's own son.<sup>84</sup>

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Pedro Girón, Duke of Osuna and Viceroy of Naples, was suspected of conspiring against the state of Venice and was jailed in 1621. He died while in jail in 1624. The most spectacular case involved Don Rodrigo Calderón, Marquee of Sieteiglesias, who, in 1619, became a model and scapegoat for all that was corrupt in the Lerma regime. Calderón was accused of 244 crimes ranging from corruption to civil disobedience. Most notably, he was accused of poisoning Queen Margarita and of casting spells on King Felipe III. Ultimately, Calderón was found guilty of one crime, the murder of Francisco de Xuara and was stripped of his titles, fortunes and land. After being incarcerated and tortured, Calderón was sentenced to death and on October 21, 1621 he was executed in the Plaza Mayor in Madrid. His death was memorable for two reasons. First, as King explains, he was remembered for his piety: "Calderón se preparó para la muerte ayunando, disciplinándose, leyendo obras piadosas, sobre todo Santa Teresa, y confesándose con sinceridad ejemplar" (174). Second, as he approached his final moments in the Plaza Mayor, it was said that his uncanny bravery in the face of death was a model for all to follow. Halpern has noted that "[...] Calderón died in such a dignified manner that the people began to view him as a martyr rather than a criminal, and the new regime under Olivares did not receive a favorable judgement on its decision to execute him" (21).

<sup>83</sup> It is unclear whether Lerma asked for retirement or was dismissed by Felipe III. Lerma often talked about retiring to a more religious life (hence, his decision to become Cardinal), but most critics believe he was forced to retire, a petition that was granted by the king in September, 1618. For a discussion on Lerma's retirement see Patrick Williams' "Lerma, 1618: Dismissal or Retirement?" (308-332). Williams believes that Lerma went passively into retirement: "[...] he bent, not resisting the pressures of courtly life, but swaying with them, ultimately not even fighting

Lerma's hold on power continued to turn public opinion against the office of the *valido*. The power struggle played out between Uceda and his father, Lerma, coupled with a weak King influenced the overall view of politics during the epoch and, as we shall see, Alarcón's play. When the Duque de Uceda finally succeeded Lerma, Felipe III, determined not to be ruled by his new favorite, issued a degree on November 15, 1618 revoking an earlier statement in 1612 that granted Lerma almost unlimited powers. In the 1618 issue, all policy statements, orders and matters of patronage were to be signed by the king and by no one else. As Lynch points out, this decree formally ended the almost total delegation of power by king to *valido* (*Spain* vol. II: 32), and it also meant that the royal councils would no longer be as dependent on the *valido* as they had been during Lerma's rule. The decree, however, had little staying power. It would only be a matter of months until Uceda was handling the majority of the council's business on behalf of the king and Uceda was regarded as chief minister (Lynch, *Spain* vol. II: 32).

Uceda's role as the king's *valido* lasted only two years. On March 21, 1621 Phillip III died, leaving the government to his son, Felipe IV who was only sixteen years old. Felipe III must have believed in the efficacy of the *valido* figure. Since Felipe IV was young and had been shielded from the workings of the monarchy, his father asked Don Baltasar de Zúñiga to aid the young prince.

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to stay at court, but prepared and willing to go if only in doing so he could find permanence in his family's hold on the *valimiento*" (326).

<sup>64</sup> As Uceda moved into open opposition, it was said that Lerma criticized his son for betraying him and accused him of ruining the family's hopes of carrying on the *privanza*. According to Williams, Lerma stated: "I will go, and you will be left with everything and you will toss everything away" (324).

Zúñiga was a well-respected court minister with vast experience with foreign and state affairs.<sup>85</sup> One of his first objectives was to appoint his nephew Gaspar de Guzmán, Count of Olivares, as Felipe IV's childhood mentor.<sup>86</sup> Olivares was much older than Felipe, having already graduated from the University of Salamanca where he studied law and was a classmate of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón. Olivares would have a lasting impact on Felipe IV because the king began an early habit of relying on the judgement of his *valido*, a habit that would be difficult to outgrow. As we will see, the problems acted out in the play symbolize the ineffectiveness of Felipe and the appropriation of power by Lerma and Uceda, and motivate the advice offered by Licurgo on the proper role of the court *valido*.

The advice offered by Licurgo in the play was primarily directed to Olivares. Just as Licurgo is brought to the Court to advise the King, Olivares was seen as a confident and capable minister. Whereas Baltasar de Zúñiga had a lifetime of experience, Olivares had to learn how government worked. As Elliot has pointed out, there is little doubt that Olivares yielded to his uncle on many occasions, understanding Zúñiga's penchant for government affairs (*Count-Duke* 81). Olivares, however, had the king's favor, and together they formed an

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<sup>85</sup> Zúñiga's political experience was impressive. He served as a soldier with the Armada that sailed against England in 1588, an apprentice in the Spanish embassy in Rome, as Spanish Ambassador in Brussels (1599-1603), as Ambassador in Paris (1603-1606), and as Ambassador to the Imperial Court in Prague (1606-17). On July 1, 1617 he took a seat on the Council of State and became tutor to Prince Felipe IV on April 22, 1619. His titles included Comendador Mayor of León in the Order of Santiago, created for him by Felipe III.

<sup>86</sup> Elliot explains that early on Olivares' main concern was to carefully place friends and relatives in royal positions close to Felipe: "The most sensitive posts, and at the same time the most coveted, were those giving direct access to the royal chamber and the royal person; twelve majordomos, nine grooms, forty-three gentlemen of the chamber, nine valets (*ayudas de cámara*) and forty-seven gentlemen-in-waiting, according to a list drawn up in 1623. If Olivares could not remove, he could at least appoint, and the faces of more and more of his own relatives and dependents were to be seen in the ranks of those who clustered round the king" (*Count-Duke* 136).

alliance that allowed Zúñiga to manage affairs of the state while simultaneously teaching his nephew the role of government and how to be a minister.<sup>87</sup> There were two main obstacles to Olivares ultimate control of the *valimiento*: his youth and his lack of administrative experience, which Zúñiga recognized:

[...] his nephew had no administrative experience and no real knowledge of the world outside Spain, except for childhood memories. [...] He was hampered, too, by his youth. Aged only thirty-five, he was surrounded by men considerably older than himself, some of them...men of great experience and extremely strong opinions. (*Count-Duke* 133)

Because of his lack of experience and youth, Olivares remained silent during his first two years and yielded to his uncle on most issues, while consolidating his power behind the scenes.<sup>88</sup>

On the death of Zúniga in 1622, Olivares naturally became the king's choice for his chief minister. Olivares worked hard to educate Felipe IV in the inner workings of government and to improve his knowledge and artistic taste. There is little doubt, as Elliot has pointed out, that Olivares saw himself to be "the king's faithful minister," not "*valido*," a title he hated (*Staying* 115). Halpern tells

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<sup>87</sup> Elliot concedes that Zúñiga and Olivares did not always agree: "No doubt he and his nephew spent long hours together devising policy and discussing government business, in which Olivares, for all his disclaimers, became heavily involved before the end of the year. But there is no reason to believe that the two men were not at one in their principal objective, even if at times they disagreed on how best to carry out their policies" (*Count-Duke* 82).

<sup>88</sup> Olivares worked hard to secure complete control of Felipe's affairs, appointing family members to the king's household, and monopolizing access to the king. Early on, he and Zúñiga also moved to shut out completely the remnants of the Lerma faction. When Felipe III died, the Duke of Lerma thought it was a good time to make his triumphant return to the Court. Still wielding power and enjoying support from some members of the Court, he set out for Madrid. Zúñiga

us that the term *privado* or *valido* had a negative connotation in Spain after the corruption and inefficiency of the Lerma regime (19). Olivares avoided the terms at all costs, and to evade any semblance of corruption, refused to accept gifts from admirers or supporters. While Olivares' experience was limited, his passion for hard work was evident. Through dedication to his job and his family contacts, Olivares gradually and discreetly began to intervene in matters of government, gaining self-assuredness as he went along. The king eventually handed power officially and exclusively over to Olivares, making it clear that he alone enjoyed the King's absolute confidence (Lynch, *Hispanic* 89).

On January 5, 1625 King Felipe IV named Olivares Duque de San Lúcar la Mayor. His official title would now be Conde de Olivares, Duque de San Lúcar la Mayor and eventually became known as the Conde-Duque.<sup>89</sup> The prestige thus added to his name ensured his power at court over all matters including patronage, the *valido's* key to power solidification. The Conde-Duque preferred power to prestige and avoided the problems associated with patronage. Unlike Lerma, who capriciously pillaged the state treasury by invoking his many titles, Olivares was not as greedy. He rarely took titles for himself unless they were granted by the king. Felipe IV yielded him power in matters of patronage, but Lynch explains that although Olivares used it to consolidate his position by

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learned of Lerma's plan, and he and Olivares, with Prince Felipe IV's support, intercepted Lerma before he reached Madrid. Lerma was later exiled from the capital.

<sup>89</sup> Olivares' offices included: *El Gobernador del Alcázar de Sevilla* (Governor of the Alcázar of Seville), *Sumiller de Corps* (Groom of the Stole), *Caballerizo Mayor* (Master of the Horse), Gran Chanciller de las Indias (Chancellor of the Indies), *General de la Caballería* (General of the Calvary), *Camarero Mayor* (Grand Chamberlain), *Tesoro General de la Corona de Aragón* (Treasurer-General of the Crown of Aragon), and *Ministro de las Cortes de Castilla* (Minister of the Castilian Cortes).

rewarding friends and punishing enemies, the power of patronage was not particularly appealing to him:

[...] he did not like it and he tried to relinquish it, believing that it was a matter for the king, while he concentrated on policy and government. He was quite explicit about this, and one of his reasons was that control of patronage was the mark of a *valido*, while he preferred to be a minister (*Hispanic 90*).

The one office that Olivares coveted more than any other was his membership in the *Consejo de Estado*, a position that he took in 1622 that allowed him a voice in the most pressing matters affecting the Crown. His dominance of the *Consejo de Estado* further consolidated his power as chief minister.<sup>90</sup> Olivares was also fond of being the *Canciller Mayor y Registrador de las Indias*, a title granted by the king on July 27, 1623. This office had long since lapsed, and was now revived to give Olivares a base in an important institution, the *Consejo de las Indias*, and to enable him to share its jurisdiction over Spain's overseas empire (Lynch, *Hispanic 91*).

The court *validos* of Felipe III and IV maintained control of the monarchy and its administration, which was essential to their power. But the greed, usurpation of power, and inefficiency of the Lerma reign were too flagrant and

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<sup>90</sup> Lynch explains that Olivares' dominance of the *Consejo de Estado* was such that his mere presence was not even needed at Council meetings to insure that his policies be advocated: "The extent of his dominance is seen in the fact that he did not normally attend, though when he did his interventions were extensive and decisive. They were equally decisive when he operated, as a king would do, from outside the Council. He controlled its assembly, its agenda and, by making known his opinions in advance, its decisions. If, in spite of all this, its *consultas* still did not meet with his approval, he sent them back for revision without even showing them to the king. What the king finally received, therefore, if he received it at all, was a *consulta* censored by Olivares, and what he gave in return was a decision advised by Olivares" (*Hispanic 92*).

public opinion began increasingly to debate the role of the *valido*. Alarcón, like other writers interested in seventeenth-century politics, deals openly with the role of the royal favorite. Similar to other literature of the period, Alarcón's Licurgo is meant as a model for the virtues of the *valimiento*. When Licurgo is accepted by the King as his *privado*, he is charged with forming just laws for Crete and assisting in the administration of the kingdom. Licurgo's acceptance of the job provides him ample opportunity to devise and expound on an ethical code of *valimiento*. The numerous statements outlined by Licurgo in the play can be considered as much a reaction to the abuses by previous *validos* in Spain (Lerma and Uceda) as guide for the present court favorite, Olivares. Licurgo explains that the *valido* must above all be responsible to the King and the people, expecting no reward for his efforts:

Yo os pido  
que advirtáis que es exceder  
honrarme tanto, si a ser  
vasallo vuestro, he venido. (940-943)

For an audience that may have already made the connection Licurgo-Olivares, Alarcón endeavors to demonstrate that the principal minister of the king should be unselfish and willing to dedicate himself wholly to the business of the Crown. The role played by the Spartan legislator as faithful servant and vassal to the king typifies how Olivares should dedicate himself to the monarchy.

Licurgo also sees his role as both educator and friend to the king. We have already discussed how Felipe IV came to the throne at only sixteen. His



youth and inexperience made it natural that he would need the assistance of court ministers to rule the expansive Spanish empire and Olivares filled that role. In the play, Licurgo becomes a mentor and friend to the King of Crete because, as he explains, he has acted in the same capacity to the King of Sparta and understands the value of being advised:

Fui legítimo tutor  
del Rey mi sobrino, haciendo  
leyes, destruyendo abusos  
dando castigos y premios (1012-1015)

With a keen understanding of the importance of the *valido's* duty, Licurgo sees himself as surrogate father to the King, a lawgiver and judge. Licurgo's advice is in line with predominant thinking in the seventeenth century. Halpern explains that many writers believed it just for a king to have a loyal and true friend to whom he could turn in times of great stress and need (17). Maldonado writes in his *Dicurso del Perfecto Privado* that the King's chief minister should be more than an advisor: "¿Por qué le avemos de negar a un corazón afligido de un Rey un amigo particular?" (qtd. in Tomás y Valiente 131). According to Maldonado, the King's *valido* should be both an advisor and a friend who can understand the difficulties of administering the empire. In the play, Alarcón, through Licurgo, seems to agree that the favorite should be someone with whom the monarch could advantageously share his most intimate feelings.

The close alliance between the *valido* and the King in *El dueño de las estrellas* is similar to the relationship between Felipe IV and Olivares. Olivares

came to power in the Court with virtually no previous experience. In the most comprehensive examination of Olivares, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, Elliot argues that the Conde-Duque was completely faithful to the king and that he worked tirelessly for the good of the monarchy. He was not, therefore, simply a powerful minister who usurped the King's authority. Olivares believed that the *valido* should be a faithful vassal more interested in government than power, a view that is further developed in Licurgo. In the play, Licurgo's description of the consummate *valido* coincides with the view of Olivares as faithful servant to the Crown since Licurgo sees himself first and foremost as a *vasallo*:

Yo os juro por cuantos dioses  
desde el Impíreo al Averno  
rigen, de seros vasallo  
leal, firme y verdadero. (1208-1211)

Licurgo's monologue highlights the principal attributes of a serving *valido*, that he should be a loyal and upstanding vassal. Yet being faithful to the monarchy is insufficient for an effective court favorite. Licurgo knows that the *valido* must be willing to offer advice and helpful criticism, and understand his role as the King's principal minister. According to the Spartan legislator, the true duty of the king's favorite must be to council, not to rule: "[...] de que a mí me elija Apolo / para que a vos dé consejos" (1190-1191). The seventeenth-century audience would likely realize this to be advice directed toward Olivares and other court ministers who should not abuse their roles as councilors to the King. Licurgo understands that as *vasallo* and *valido*, his responsibilities should be clearly differentiated

from those of the King. Hence, the *valido* should offer advice and propose punishments, but the King should promote law and order and resolve problems based upon the *valido's* guidance:

Ved cuántas dificultades  
contradicen vuestro intento:  
temeldas, pues sois humano,  
y evitaldas, pues sois cuerdo;  
que puesto que vos sois rey,  
y yo el que ha de obedeceros,  
a mí me toca el dar avisos,  
y a vos el dar mandamientos;  
a mí proponer los daños  
a vos poner los remedios;  
a mí me toca el advertiros  
y a vos toca el resolveros. (1128-1139)

Therefore, the true role of *valido* is to advise, the King's duty is to mandate. In light of the tumultuous reigns of Lerma and Uceda, Alarcón was informally suggesting how Olivares could best serve the Crown. By feigning power and implementing the King's will, Olivares, like Licurgo, will improve society.

Licurgo's advice on how to be a just court *valido* also addresses public concerns about the dangers of having a foreign minister in the court. As a Spartan, Licurgo is aware of the effects that foreigners have on Court policies. For this reason, he explains to the King that the *valido* should derive his power

from the King and he stresses the need for an active and engaged monarch, lest the royal subjects think the king is being ruled by his foreign minister:

porque los vasallos quieren  
rey activo, no supuesto,  
y siempre les es odioso  
legislador forastero (1100-1103)

Licurgo clarifies that the *valido's* only power should be to advise the King, who must in turn make his own decisions. This is most surely a commentary directed toward Olivares, who was born and raised in Italy, and a criticism of the recently deceased Felipe III whose sedentary rule resulted in domination by his *validos*, Lerma and Uceda. In light of the disastrous reign of Felipe III, it is my opinion that the comments made by Licurgo were directed towards Olivares and Felipe IV in order to convince them that Spain was in need of reform.

From the very first part of Act 1, then, the audience is aware that the ideal statesman and legislator Licurgo, is setting forth a code of ethics that contains helpful and thoughtful advice directed at future *validos* and their Kings, while chastising unscrupulous former ones. Licurgo's subsequent actions when confronted with important decisions in the play demonstrates his will to exercise power carefully, being a faithful vassal and bowing to the wishes of the King. Implicit propagandist qualities in Alarcón's play are revealed when we study the impact of his play on the audience. In accordance with Jameson's first framework, *El dueño de las estrellas* is seen as an ideologically aesthetic act whose symbolic quality serves to present "solutions" to social problems (*Political*

79). The evident social problems, as I have said, correspond to public perceptions of the *valido* and the monarchy after the fall of Lerma. To provide solutions to public concerns, Alarcón uses propaganda to convince the audience that the court *valido* can be an important, ethical member of the monarchy when he is not blinded by greed or power. In *Sociología de la comedia española del siglo XVII*, Díez Borque believes that theater written during the first part of Felipe IV's reign may not provide an accurate picture of the political, social or economic state of Spain but that it does function as a valuable instrument of political, social and economic propaganda (174). In *El dueño de las estrellas*, for example, unavoidable comparisons are made between the court favorites of Felipe III and IV and Licurgo. These comparisons are unavoidable because Alarcón's play is meant as a form of propaganda aimed to persuade the audience that the court *valido* can be a beneficial, and effective component of the monarchy when he exercises authority cautiously.

Juxtaposed with the exemplary *valido*, the monarch is less of an embodiment of kingship and democracy than is Licurgo. Clayden believes that Alarcón intended to create a series of episodes that serve as an: "[...] ironic contrast between the loyal, virtuous Spartan and the passion-ridden King" (31). The play makes obvious comparisons between the just and noble *valido*, Licurgo, and the unethical King. Indeed, the King's unscrupulous behavior with regards to Licurgo's wife, and his evasion of his obligation when faced with punishing Teón, is directly compared with the forthrightness of Licurgo, who must confront both situations. Although, at the beginning of the play, the King is portrayed as a

conscientious ruler interested in the welfare of his citizens, it quickly becomes apparent that the monarch's judgment is impaired by his lust for Diana, who will later become Licurgo's wife. Each of Licurgo's appearances at court is preceded by scenes in which the King plans to seduce Diana. As the King seeks an illicit relationship with Diana, it is the young woman who is depicted as more honorable than he. Although she is in love with the King, she will not allow his dishonorable presence in her bedroom, and his authority as King, to compromise her honor:

Tú, pues con exceso igual  
procuras mi deshonor,  
o no me tienes amor,  
y siendo así, me está mal  
arriesgar por ti mi fama; (566-570)

The message here is that the King should be considerate of his subjects and not abuse his authority. The King, however, is thinking more about his personal desires than the welfare of his vassals. In this early scene, the King is portrayed as an oppressive monarch controlled by his desires. This depiction is useful for showing the stark contrast between Licurgo, the King's faithful councilor, who has already provided guidelines for just and ethical government, and the King, who does not seem to have heeded the *valido's* advice. Further contrasting the untrustworthy King and the ideal *valido*, Diana's comments help to strengthen Licurgo's previous advice for a responsible government by a just King. She points out that the righteous monarch is honest and trustworthy:

si eres rey, guarda justicia;  
si eres hombre, no quebrantes  
de la razón imperiosa  
el poderoso distamen.  
Si con amor te disculpas,  
no fuera exceso más grave  
darme la mano de esposo  
que hacer injuria a mi padre. (750-758)

Diana clearly believes that if the King's actions are in the name of love, he should present himself in an honorable way to her father, Severo, follow tradition, and ask for her hand in matrimony. The King is not as ethical; he has already sent her father, Severo, away from the Court so that he could take advantage of her. The minister Palante explains that the father's absence will provide the King an exceptional opportunity to seduce his daughter: "Yo imagino / que ha trazado esta ausencia / [...] / espero / que de su hija goces" (107-111). The King, then, is ruled by his passions, while Diana is depicted as nothing other than a victim determined to preserve the sanctity of her honor and not succumb to the temptations of power. Instead of yielding to the King, Diana brandishes a sword and threatens to commit suicide by throwing herself onto it. Her monologue suggests all the reasons she is more virtuous than the King:

[...] sobre esta espada me arrojé,  
y que a recibirte sale  
mi vida, y que sacrifico

a mi honestidad mi sangre;  
que ejemplo soy de matronas,  
que doy a mi honor quilates,  
a las historias mi nombre,  
y a mi fama eternidades. (778-785)

The lesson taken by the audience was probably that the King should act like a King, concern himself primarily with the health of the citizenry, and put aside his own pursuits. These are qualities that the *valido* has been asked to display, and the King should be no different. This early scene with Diana serves to emphasize the proper role of the monarch in the face of well-considered advice from his *valido*: he must be trustworthy, virtuous and uncorrupt.

Besides the King's unrestrained behavior, he also avoids his responsibility as sovereign. In one important scene, Teón, Diana's abusive brother, has been bound and brought to the King for sentencing. Teón has wreaked havoc on the citizens of Crete, including an assault on the wife of the peasant Coridón which subsequently spurred a confrontation with Lacón (Licurgo) when he later came to the peasant's aid. For the villanos, who cry out "¡Josticia, señor!" (2141), there is no disagreement that Teón should be punished for his crimes. At first, the King seemingly accepts his role as *justiciero*: "Yo haré justicia; fiad / que iréis todos satisfechos" (2144-2145). However, in the end, the King fails to discharge his duty and refuses to take responsibility for distributing justice, his most important royal obligation:

Aunque es la hermosa Diana



a mis penas tan cruel,  
ni he de castigarlo a él,  
por no ofender a su hermana;  
[.....]  
A Licurgo encargaré  
su causa; que él, por mostrar  
más rectitud, ha de usar  
más rigor; y así daré  
a mi Diana ocasión  
de aborrecelle. [...] (2153-2166)

Not wishing to offend Diana, the king places Licurgo in the uncomfortable position of having to judge the brother of the woman he is to marry. It is clear that the King is guided more by his personal passions and his concern for lost opportunities than by his sense of moral duty and obligation to his people.

This king's actions toward Diana offer a deepening contrast between the irresponsible monarch and the conscientious Licurgo. As Dougherty has pointed out, Licurgo is placed in the unenviable position of having to pass judgment on Diana's brother, and is likewise concerned with Diana's response but "[...] his sense of duty and honor [...] impels him to carry out his responsibility" (69): "Antes ninguno pudiera / juzgaros (esto fiad / de mí) [...]" (2232-2234). With those words, Licurgo lets Teón go free only to do battle with him personally on another occasion. Licurgo eventually kills Teón and explains to the people that

his sense of personal honor and his royal obligation to the people have provided him with the means to confront Teón:

Ya, serranos, que mi afrenta  
vistes, también habéis visto  
mi venganza, y ya os he hecho  
justicia de sus delitos. (2376-2379)

Critics have suggested that Licurgo's decision to challenge Teón implies a lack of justice on his part and an abuse of his authority. Licurgo is seen by Palafox, for example, as a vengeful governor who puts his own interests ahead of his concern for the kingdom:

El Licurgo de Alarcón antepone sus intereses personales a los del pueblo que tiene a su cargo, trabaja en pro de su imagen y de su persona, y utiliza el poder que se le ha confiado para fines privados antes que para beneficio de sus gobernadores. (286)

Palafox argues that Licurgo is actually a bad example of the *valido* because he is blinded by his desire for personal vengeance. I believe, however, that the conflict between Licurgo and Teón is carefully used by Alarcón to establish the *valido* as a loyal vassal who *must* follow the orders of the King. At the same time, the scene shows how Licurgo is an upstanding citizen who is obliged to comply with the Spanish code of honor and find redress in the confrontation. In fact, Licurgo's monologue after his battle with Teón indicates that he saw his duty twofold: he was obliged to recoup his honor as well as carry out of his duties as minister to the King:

ni que yo afrentado viva  
es razón; que aunque mi ofensa  
fue intentada sin efeto,  
no ha de examinar quien sepa  
que con mi esposa te hallé,  
mi disculpa; y lo que intentan  
los reyes, ejecutado  
el vulgo lo considera; (2691-2698)

Licurgo's sense of duty to himself and to his people is apparent, yet if he is to be considered a fitting minister to the King, he must comply with the King's wishes. Dougherty would probably agree that Licurgo's defense of his honor is paramount to his success as court *valido*. She writes that if Licurgo does not attempt to recover his honor, he fails his citizens: "To fall short in his compliance with those ideals would be to fail his countrymen and sully the code by which they live" (67).

When faced with difficult circumstances, Licurgo puts aside his personal problems and adheres to his oath to be a loyal vassal and productive minister to the King. It comes as no surprise, then, that Licurgo devises a set of laws meant to benefit the kingdom of Crete and enhance the people's quality of life. The laws proposed by Licurgo have never, to my knowledge, been treated. For that reason, it would be helpful to understand something about Alarcón's background which, in turn, leads to an heightened understanding of the laws that Licurgo

advocates.<sup>91</sup> Alarcón's extensive legal studies and his experience practicing law in both Spain and Mexico helps to clarify the choice of Licurgo as hero, and the content dramatized in *El dueño de las estrellas*. Alarcón was probably born in 1581 in Mexico City, where he lived until his first trip to Spain in 1600 to study law at the University of Salamanca. Shortly after arriving at the university, he demonstrated his extensive legal knowledge in a written exam and received his bachelor's degree in Canon Law (October 25, 1600). He immediately enrolled for a bachelor's degree in Civil Law, and earned the degree on December 3, 1602. Determined to continue his studies for the licentiate, he enrolled again and, on June 24, 1605, completed requirements for the licentiate degree but did not receive it owing to the great expense of the graduation ceremony. As Poesse points out, in view of the number of times that Alarcón pleaded poverty throughout his life: "[...] the expense involved could well be the reason that he did not take the degree" (19). From Salamanca, Alarcón traveled to Seville, an overpopulated city due to its position within the Indies trade network and an abundant source of litigation for a newly graduated, struggling lawyer.<sup>92</sup> After petitioning to return to Mexico, Alarcón left Seville in 1608. While in Mexico City, he decided to finish the licentiate degree he had begun at the University of Salamanca, and presented his Salamanca certificates to the faculty of the

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<sup>91</sup> For the subsequent discussion about Alarcón and his life, I have drawn from the following sources: Claude E. Anibal, "Juan Ruiz de Alarcón" (1972); Carmen Olga Brenes, *El sentimiento democrático en el teatro de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón* (1960); Antonio Castro Leal, *Juan Ruiz de Alarcón: Su vida y su obra* (1943); Margit Frenk, "Prólogo" (1982); Willard F. King, *Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, letrado y dramaturgo* (1989); Juan Oleza and Teresa Ferrer, "Introducción" (1986); Peter A. Ortiz, "Introduction" (1942); Walter Poesse, *Juan Ruiz de Alarcón* (1972).

<sup>92</sup> Poesse explains that although Alarcón did not receive the degree of licentiate before leaving Salamanca, he was permitted to practice law in Sevilla and early in 1607 was received as a lawyer in the *Audiencia* (Court or Tribunal) of Sevilla (21).

University of Mexico. He successfully defended a thesis and was granted the degree of licentiate on February 21, 1609.<sup>93</sup> Shortly thereafter, Alarcón applied for a doctorate which was conceded without ceremony, again owing to its cost. King states that there is no record of Alarcón actually receiving the degree and that even though there was great expense involved in graduation, the cost associated with the ceremony would have been a worthwhile expense for future job hunting:

El 12 de marzo de 1609 Alarcón solicitó y obtuvo permiso del claustro en pleno para doctorarse en derecho canónico y civil “sin pompa” (o sea sin el costoso ceremonial de costumbre) por ser tiempo de Cuaresma, y además a causa de su pobreza. Pero nunca recibió el grado de doctor, a pesar de que siguió viviendo en México durante otros cuatro años. Esta abstención, cuyas causas se ignoran, es bastante extraña, pues lo que queda por hacer era realmente muy poco; el problema de los gastos estaba resuelto; el doctorado le hubiera ayudado a obtener la cátedra universitaria que comenzó a solicitar en ese mismo año de 1609, y, desde luego, hubiera añadido lustre a su *curriculum vitae* (79).

It is clear that there were not many jobs available for someone like Alarcón. Although a man with his impeccable education would normally have a variety of opportunities for work, Alarcón, a hunch-back and non-Spaniard (a *criollo*), was denied a number of positions, an experience that, as we shall see, is reflected in one of the laws promulgated by Licurgo in *El dueño de las estrellas*.

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<sup>93</sup> A copy of the thesis is held in the archives of the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Mexico.

Lynch states that individuals like Alarcón who received university degree(s) were automatically qualified for office during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but, due to their peasant status, were mostly excluded:

Preference was given to Castilians of pure blood, to those with family connections, to graduates of Salamanca, Valladolid and Alcalá, and to former lecturers. In the seventeenth century, however, economic depression reversed the academic boom of the sixteenth and worsened the job prospects of graduates. The result was greater exclusivism and still more emphasis on utility. The ideal of a university was not scholarship but office-holding.

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A superior education such as Alarcón's was insufficient to guarantee any type of job for those born outside the peninsula. Besides university degrees, Alarcón was forced to find other ways to distinguish himself to the Crown. One way was to submit petitions of proof as a descendent of a conquistador or as a "primer poblador" in order to "[...] pedir recompensa por los señalados servicios del antepasado en forma de concesiones de tierras o de cargos civiles o eclesiásticos (King 53). Alarcón used his meager family connections<sup>94</sup> to enter into the ranks of the office holders. He was routinely turned down, one time for

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<sup>94</sup> Alarcón made an argument out of the title of nobility "doña" that accompanied his mother when she married. Based on that title, Alarcón added "don" to his own name and, representing his family, began to petition the Spanish Court for consideration as nobility since they were among the first to settle in the area ("primer poblador") many years before. Frenk believes that there is little doubt that Alarcón's family descended from nobility: " Los padres de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, ya nacidos en México, pertenecían a la aristocracia y gozaban de cierto prestigio. La mujer descendía quizá—no hay seguridad—de la ilustre familia de los Mendoza; el padre venía de linaje de hidalgos—pequeña nobleza—arraigados en la provincia de Cuenca. Residieron en el

"[...] el defecto corporal que tiene, el qual es grande para la autoridad que ha menester representar en cosa semexante" (qtd. in Castro Leal 49). The only positions that Alarcón obtained during his return to Mexico was as *asesor legal* , then *Teniente de Corregidor* to Garci López de Espinar, *Corregidor* of Mexico City.<sup>95</sup> For a Spaniard born in Mexico like Alarcón, this position was an important career move because it greatly improved his knowledge of legal issues. As *Teniente*, Alarcón substituted for the *Corregidor* on at least two occasions. First, in 1612 Alarcón was named *Juez Pesquidor* to oversee a somewhat famous murder case outside of Mexico City. For the second substitution, the *Corregidor* delegated Alarcón to hold special hearings on the unlawful sale to Indians of *pulque*, a fermented liquor. As we shall see, the lessons and decisions made about the *pulque* case would have a lasting impact on Alarcón: one of the controversial laws proposed by Licurgo in *El dueño de las estrellas* that involved the sale of wine.

After working as *Teniente* in Mexico City, Alarcón returned to Spain and settled in Madrid in April, 1614. During the next ten years, he continued to request government positions but was unsuccessful. In 1625 he sent a *memorial* of himself to the king hoping to be considered for a government position. The king ordered the *Consejo Real* to investigate Alarcón's qualifications and determine the type of position he was eligible to occupy. The final report

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minera de Taxco hasta poco antes de nacer Juan" (x). Nevertheless, Alarcón's blood line has yet to be proven definitively.

<sup>95</sup> King describes the functions of the *Corregidor*: "Las funciones del corregidor eran en gran parte indagativas y judiciales: él determinaba si se estaban obedeciendo las leyes del reino y entablaba pleito contra los transgresores; él también, por regla general, supervisaba la sumministración de la ciudad presidiendo todas las juntas de cabildo" (81).

mentions his unworthiness due to his physical deformity, but he was nonetheless provided a position on the *Consejo de las Indias*. Successful in his pursuit, Alarcón took the post of *relato interino* on the *Consejo de las Indias*.<sup>96</sup> He was appointed permanently to the position in 1622 and occupied it until his death in 1639. His legislative position as court reporter and his legal experiences in Mexico City and Seville provided Alarcón with an immediate perspective on Spanish court corruption, Mexican Viceregal excesses and legal problems plaguing both countries, all of which most certainly influenced his writing of *El dueño de las estrellas*.

In the play, Alarcón proposes solutions to dilemmas that he experienced while he searched for a job and while he worked as a lawyer. Early in the play, the King of Crete asks Licurgo to devise responses, in the form of laws, to four problems plaguing society. Declaring that Licurgo can "ejercer / la potestad que os cometo" (1294-1295), the King confronts Licurgo with the first, stating that it deals with :

Cuatro cosas de mi parte  
os encargo: lo primero  
que de darne desengaños  
no os acobarde el respeto. (1298-1301)

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<sup>96</sup> The *Consejo de las Indias* was an important political and administrative body. Poesse carefully lists the duties of the *Consejo*: "Practically all of the matters which had to do with the Indies were resolved by it: political, such as the provision of viceroys and courts; financial, such as the taxes of owing to the King in different branches of commerce and industry; permits to colonize and settle; organization; inspection; departure of fleets that periodically set sail from Sevilla; review in the second instance of important civil acts which had been judged, in the first instance, in distant kingdoms" (31).



The first dilemma faced by the King is to be sure that Licurgo will not be complacent in his duty to inform the King when difficult situations arise. The King would prefer that Licurgo not be concerned with laying bare all the facts to the young King no matter how painful their reality may be. This first problem goes to the heart of the delicate relationship between the monarch and his *valido* since the King is declaring that he would rather be informed of problems rather than be misled about them. Once Licurgo understands that the King wants him to be honest and forthright under all conditions, the King can explain his second problem, that members of the royal family should not be allowed to use their privileges to avoid their civic responsibilities:

Lo segundo, que no tengan  
exención ni privilegio  
para vivir libremente  
mis criados ni mis deudos. (1302-1305)

The King understands that the power granted to a royal family member<sup>97</sup> or those who work for the royal family is often a problem since they may take advantage of their roles. This dilemma, prevalent under Lerma and Uceda, was worked into the King's parlance in order to insinuate the dangers involved in granting advantages of money or power to members of the Court. This particular issue, already discussed as patronage, was known by the audience to be abused. Its resolution, offered later by Licurgo when he presents his laws was meant to remind the public about the problem. Licurgo's proposed laws would also

attempt to resolve the King's third dilemma, which deals with women who should be looked upon with sympathy when they commit crimes out of need:

Lo tercero, que a mujeres  
en sus flaquezas y yerros,  
y más si fueren casadas,  
miréis con piadoso pecho. (1306-1309)

This third problem will ultimately be transformed by Licurgo when he presents his resolution later in the play. It appears, as we shall see, that this problem is related to widowed women who must resort to some sort of unscrupulous activity to support themselves and their family. The King believes that there must be a means to deal with this problem effectively without being overly harsh to a woman who has committed a crime out of need. Such criminal action also seems to be the subject of the King's fourth predicament. The King's final request speaks to the topic of court ministers who have abused their position and power:

Lo cuatro, que a los ministros  
de justicia tan severo  
castiguéis, que den al mundo  
universal escarmiento; (1298-1313)

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<sup>97</sup> According to Covarrubias, "deudo" can be defined as: "Deuda, la pariente, y deudo, el pariente; por lo que devemos, primero a nuestros padres, y de allí en orden a todos los conjuntos en sangre" (465).

Here, the King is aware that corrupt ministers should be punished and serve as an example for all ("universal escarmiento"<sup>98</sup>). As we shall see, when Licurgo looks for a resolution to the problem of unscrupulous ministers, he will direct his concerns toward the unethical sale of offices to the highest bidder instead of basing such decisions on merit, a dilemma in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain, especially under Lerma. Licurgo will respond to this problem and the King's other requests when he proposes his six laws in Act 3.

The appearance of the six laws provides a means for understanding how Alarcón addressed social, political and legal reform questions, many of which were a topic of discussion during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The conception of the laws in *El dueño de las estrellas* can be attributed to the 1618 publication of *Proverbios morales y consejos cristianos* by Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera.<sup>99</sup> Pérez de Herrera (1558-1625) was a physician and poet who dedicated his life to the poor whom he felt were victims of the economic and social decline of Golden Age Spain. Toward the end of Pérez de Herrera's book appear "catorce proposiciones que aparecen ser muy importantes para el bien y descanso de estos reinos," (qtd. in Halpern 27) which proposed suggestions for the improvement of Spain's economic and social condition and how to carry them out. The fourteen proposals deal with such issues as trade (foreign and

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<sup>98</sup> "La advertencia y recato de no errar por no incurrir en la pena, executada en otros, y algunas vezes executada en la mesma persona, con cuya memoria nos apartamos de pecar. Es término judicial de que usa el pregón siempre que se executa alguna pena, con estas palabras: 'Para que a éste sea castigo y a los demás escarmiento'" (Covarrubias 535)

<sup>99</sup> There is little doubt that Alarcón knew Herrera's work since he dedicated two *quintillas* to it (Poesse 62; Halpern 27). Alarcón was among the men who admired the work of this great humanitarian (Halpern 27).

domestic), taxes and repopulation.<sup>100</sup> A few of the most interesting proposals are closely related to Licurgo's six laws in *El dueño de las estrellas* and also served as precursors to some of the proposed reforms made by the Spanish government's 1622 *Junta Grande de Reformación*. Pérez de Herrera concluded that vagabonds should be made to do useful work, and that there should be a national reduction of workers in the legal fields, especially *escribanos* (notaries). He believed both groups should be directed toward more profitable occupations in farming, trade or the military (Halpern 28-29).<sup>101</sup> Also, Pérez de Herrera treats the topic of foreigners who wish to settle in the Spanish empire. To keep money earned within the empire in the peninsula, Pérez de Herrera thought that foreign merchants should be permitted to enter and reside in Spain (Halpern 28). This was a particularly important measure for Alarcón, who had a number of problems trying to enter and depart Spain and Mexico. As we have seen in *El dueño de las estrellas*, as a Spartan, Licurgo is a foreigner whose residence in Crete is esteemed because of his value to society. Pérez de Herrera's proposals concerning the problems associated with residency, along with the others, served as a basis for the reforms conceived in the *Junta de la Reformación de Costumbre* of 1619 and later revised in the *Junta Grande de Reformación* of 1622.

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<sup>100</sup> Depopulation, a problem during most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was an important theme for Pérez de Herrera. He thought that attempts should also be made to repopulate Spain with more serviceable people, perhaps those who were at one time exiled from Spain (an obvious reference to the Jews). Furthermore, vagabonds, *beatas*, and hermits should be made to work (Halpern 28).

<sup>101</sup> These groups could enter the military to protect the seas from pirates and enemy ships which would consequently improve trade. Pérez de Herrera also believed that duty and excise taxes (*alcabalas* and *millones*) should also be reduced (Halpern 28).

The 1619 *Junta de Reformación*<sup>102</sup> was assembled under Lerma to deal with public pressures to reform Spain, especially in light of the public's outrage at the extravagances of the court and the poor economic situation in Spain. The idea behind the *Junta de Reformación* appears to have been mainly to raise the standards of public morality in Spain. According to the preamble of the royal decree it was made clear that the King was interested in the *Junta's* work and pushed for its completion and success. Elliot tells us that the King "[...] declared his intention of establishing a 'kind of censorship (*censura*) to uproot vices and abuses and bribery'" (*Count-Duke* 105). The only recommendations made by the *Junta*, however, was a moderation of dress and the expulsion of vagrants from court, the latter having found its origins in Pérez de Herrera's 1618 *Proverbios morales*. No other reforms seem to have been suggested by the committee. Since the 1619 *Junta de Reformación* was not very effective, in 1622 Olivares employed more extreme measures and formed a new committee,<sup>103</sup> the *Junta Grande de Reformación*, composed of high-level councilors and possessing its own secretariat (Lynch, *Hispanic* 114).<sup>104</sup> The *Junta* reported in October of 1622, recommending a number of social, political and economic reforms, many of

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<sup>102</sup> I have been unable to locate any work that examines either the 1618 *Junta de Reformación* or the 1622 *Junta Grande de Reformación*. For this reason, I rely heavily on Davies, Elliot, Halpern, King, Lynch and others.

<sup>103</sup> Elliot points out that the *Junta's* effectiveness was felt at the beginning: "But it struck momentary terror into the hearts of ministers and officials by ordering all ministers who had held office since 1603 to produce registers of their property—following, it was said, the example of the Emperor Galba, described by Tacitus as having restored the treasury in the wake of Nero by forcing the recipients of his bounty to disgorge their spoils" (*Count-Duke* 106). The *Junta* was supposed to meet every Sunday but its mission was not taken very seriously by the ten-man council, and members simply stopped attending.

<sup>104</sup> It appears that the *Junta Grande's* original goal was to investigate the sources of ministerial wealth, especially in light of the abuses and crimes during Lerma and Uceda. The first step taken by Olivares was to direct the *junta* to issue a decree asking all office-holders in the Monarchy

which are closely related to improvements already suggested by Pérez de Herra and similar to the laws offered by Licurgo in *El dueño de las estrellas*.

The reforms offered by the 1619 *Junta* may not have had the hoped-for impact, but the *Junta Grande's* reform proposals had better success. Olivares experienced a number of difficulties with the newly-appointed council but his plans for reform were eventually declared in an open letter (1623) to the most important municipalities and members of the nobility throughout Castile, asking their advice on how to implement reform measures (Elliot, *Count-Duke* 116). King Felipe IV signed the letters, giving further legitimacy to the list of recommendations. Elliot points out that although the letters asked for suggestions on to how to improve the proposed reforms, "[...] its tone and contents made it clear that the proposals were to be promulgated as they stood" (*Count-Duke* 116). Their scope, from economic to political to social reforms, were mostly ideas discussed openly in the Court since before the 1619 *Junta* met.

These same proposals made their way into *El dueño de las estrellas*. In Act 3, Licurgo presents a series of six laws as a response to the King's four problems from Act 1. The laws also provide a means for Alarcón to expound on social, political and economic problems of Golden Age Spain and ways to address those dilemmas. Licurgo begins Scene 8 stating that his deliberation has been fruitful since he has produced valuable laws for the kingdom:

De las leyes que he pensado

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appointed since 1592 to present sworn inventories of their properties and possessions within ten days (Elliot, *Count-Duke* 106).

que al buen gobierno convienen  
deste reino, algunas vienen,  
señor, en este traslado. (2010-2013)

Licurgo is aware that a good *valido* requires time to formulate good laws. He is also mindful that the people should have the opportunity to decide the fate of these laws. The lawmaker tells the King that he has decided not to announce the laws before requesting reactions from the people and the King:

Consultar las voluntades  
del pueblo en las novedades  
es el modo de acertallas;  
porque el vulgo interesado,  
que tiene el caso presente,  
descubre el inconveniente  
que el superior no ha alcanzado; (2015-2021)

Sensitive to the people and their voice in the conception of laws, Licurgo points out that a prudent monarch will support reforms that benefit the common good. Brenes believes that there is a "democratic spirit" in Licurgo's decision to consult the popular will before implementing these laws (214). Just as the common man's input can help create just and equitable laws, the king should be determined to pursue their proclamation. Likewise, a sagacious King must not revoke laws after they have been accepted by the people:

[...] revocar brevemente  
lo que ha mandado, es mostrar

que es liviano en revocar,  
o fue en mandar imprudente. (2026-2029)

Now that Licurgo has had the opportunity to convince the King to accept his reasoning for making laws, he can announce his reforms. Licurgo has declared that these laws, when accepted, should be left unchanged or revoked. To alter them in any way shows indecision on the part of the King and he will be viewed as autocratic and capricious for changing his mind (a perspective shared by most about Felipe III). Certainly, the commentary offered by Licurgo and the King's reaction to it is meant to show the seventeenth-century Spanish audience how a good monarch and his *valido* should work together for the improvement of their country.

The first two laws promulgated by Licurgo are devised to combat laziness. Licurgo reads that the first law is meant to require all eighteen-year-old men to find gainful employment or be put to work in public works projects: "Que los plebeyos, en llegando a edad de diez y ocho años, den cuenta del oficio que tienen para sustentarse, y hallándolos ociosos, sean condenados a las obras públicas" (72-73). It was thought that young men not working caused undue stress on society and diminished the strength of the country:

Principio es de la pobreza  
del reino, y lo que destruye  
los miembros, le disminuye  
el poder a la cabeza. (2038-41)



To combat poverty and laziness, this law is aimed at young peasants who have no job and can be used beneficially for public improvements. Men can enter into public works projects, improve society and make the country economically stronger. Licurgo also reminds the King that although this law may seem severe, only tough remedies can cure the nation's ills: "[...] un gran daño no se cura / con medicina suave" (2045-2046). In order to combat tough problems, equally tough reforms were needed, and Licurgo suggests that social and economic reform is not easy.

The second law is similar to the first in that it deals with the theme of laziness that can lead to poverty. Licurgo notes that nobles can be a burden on society if they do not do their civic duty and serve in the military: "Que los nobles que en llegando a veinte y cuatro años de edad no hubieren servido tres en la guerra, no gocen las exenciones hasta servillos" (73). To improve the country, reforms must start with the individual: "se aprende el trabajo, y hecho / a peligros, pierde el pecho / a la fortuna el temor" (2050-53). According to the Spartan legislator, military service will benefit the nobility by improving their work ethic and valor, but there are also clear benefits for the nation since a prepared military will mean greater long-term security for the people:

Y así, cuando más dormida  
esté en la paz vuestra tierra,  
estará para la guerra  
ensayada y prevenida. (2054-57)

Licurgo is aware that a well-prepared military will mean a country prepared to deal with armed conflicts should they arise. Furthermore, with men employing their talents as soldiers, fewer nobles will be frequenting the Court, and spending money unnecessarily, which was a concern to reformist writers during the period.

These two first laws deal specifically with the problems of poverty and laziness: young men who are a burden on society since they refuse to work. Interestingly, these first two laws are not direct answers to any of the King's original questions from Act 1. They are related, however, to some of the reform proposals put forth by the *Junta Grande de Reformatión*. One of the seventeenth-century dilemmas that the *Junta Grande* was handling was the economic state of Spain. To improve the economic conditions of the nation, the *Junta* dealt with vagrants and other commoners who did not work (Halpern 33)<sup>105</sup> and unproductive citizens populating the Court. It can be said that the first law proposed by Licurgo, the requirement of young commoners to work in public projects, is one answer to this concern. The reform law might also be considered a response to the King's request to find a way to deal with royal family members and servants who take advantage of their royal status. Licurgo deals with these problems by proposing his first two laws, which obligated nobles less than 24 years old to enlist for military service and commoners to work on public projects.

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<sup>105</sup> The problem of national poverty was clearly consequential to the *Junta* and to reform writers like Pérez de Herrera. Pérez de Herrera wrote about the plight of the poor and offered possible remedies in his *Amparo de pobres* originally published in 1598. He believed that his work would help identify false beggars and others who were unwilling to contribute to the collective good as well as offer reform measures to improve the conditions of those citizens who really were poor. The legitimate poor were eventually given insignias to wear to better identify them (*Amparo* 55).

Licurgo's third law can, like the first two, be considered both a social and economic reform. It should be remembered that the King's four dilemmas in Act 1 included what could be understood as the punishment of widowed women for resorting to unscrupulous means in order to survive. Licurgo's understanding and response to this problem is seen in his third law: "Que muriendo el rico casado sin hijos, deje a su consorte, si fuere pobre, la congrua sustentación por lo menos hasta las segundas bodas" (73). According to this third law, upon the death of a husband, poor widows that have no children on whom she may rely, ought to be left material support by the dying husband. For Licurgo, it is a dishonor to the husband if his wife is left without proper care:

Es caso fuerte  
que el que fallece no impida  
el deshonor de la vida  
que más ha de honrar su muerte (2058-61).

Therefore, a man who dies honorably should not be dishonored for not protecting his wife after his death. It is equally dishonorable if the woman resorts to illicit means to care for herself. Licurgo is also aware that a second husband should not benefit from the money left upon the first husband's honorable death:

Y que obligue deste modo  
a que del todo empobrezca  
su esposa, porque enriquezca  
algún extraño del todo; (2062-65).

The subject of poor women who became a burden on society must have been an important one during the period. Although the *Junta* did not deal with this problem directly, it did attempt to present some reforms to better the social and economic position of women in seventeenth-century society. Two reforms specifically mentioned by Elliot deal with economic conditions of women. First, the *Junta* declared that dowries were not to rise above the level permitted by law (*Count-Duke* 116) which ultimately meant that less money from the bride's family would be left to the bride should her husband die. Second, brothels, the only likely place of employment for poor widowed women during the early modern period, would no longer be tolerated (*Count-Duke* 117), meaning that women would have to find other means to support themselves. Licurgo's third law offers a means to deal with this problem, one obviously present in Golden-Age Spain.

Among all Licurgo's laws, it is perhaps the fourth and fifth that emerged from Alarcón's personal experience. Both laws are closely related: they deal with the restrictions of non-Spaniards in Spain, and the lack of gainful employment available to them, which was mainly due to the widespread sale of public offices in both Mexico and Spain. In the play, Licurgo's fourth law attempts to remedy the first problem, the view that non Spaniards should not be allowed to settle within the Spanish empire: "Que los extranjeros que quisieren avecindarse en este reino, gocen desde luego de las preeminencias de vecinos naturales" (74). Licurgo explains that foreigners who wish to emigrate to Crete should be allowed to do so, even welcomed, and they should have the same rights as ordinary citizens. Licurgo's rationale for the law is simple; he believes that this

proclamation will eventually give more power to the king: "Que vuestras fuerzas aumente; / que la copia de la gente / hace poderoso al rey" (2071-73). The King, however, is convinced that the presence of foreigners might actually be dangerous to the welfare of the kingdom:

De la gente amiga y propia  
se entiende; que de la extraña,  
antes sospecho que daña  
y es peligrosa la copia. (2074-77)

Licurgo does not see foreigners as a threat to the monarchy. Instead, love and respect for immigrants will ultimately create loyal new vassals because their children will no longer be foreigners, but rather patriotic citizens, born in the homeland and loyal to it:

La extraña, señor, se hace  
tan propia por la amistad,  
el trato y la vecindad,  
como la que en Creta nace;  
porque a darle el tiempo viene  
hijos y caudal en ella;  
y no hay más patria que aquella  
donde tales prendas tiene. (2078-85)

It is likely that this law and Licurgo's rationale for it were meant to demonstrate to the King that a policy of immigration can actually benefit the kingdom. An open

immigration policy would ultimately produce friendly and loyal vassals to the Crown and increase the power of the monarchy.

Alarcón himself must have been personally interested in Licurgo's fourth law; the dramatist was very engaged in Spanish-American relations and experienced great difficulty in moving freely between Mexico and Spain. He used Licurgo's fourth law as an opportunity to declare that foreigners and other non-Spaniards should be allowed to emigrate freely within the empire and participate in the government of its lands. This reform law was proposed by Alarcón based on personal experiences of being born in Mexico, treated as a *criollo* and his difficulty emigrating to Spain. *Criollos* were the first generation of American-born Spaniards and were thought to be devoid of all intellectual culture and literary life by native Spaniards (Anibal 86). *Criollos* were conscious of a perceived difference between themselves and Spaniards born in the peninsula, and were further discriminated against because many of them possessed indigenous blood:

[...] These *criollos*, as they came to be known, had an inevitable orientation to the lands in which they had been born and raised. This inclination had some ethnic component, too; for although *criollos* were in name and in law white, few of the old families lacked a modicum of Indian genes, acquired in the early days when conquistadors of lowly origins had been pleased to take mistresses and even wives from conquered native nobilities. (Bakewell 70)

Regardless of their non-noble bloodlines, *criollos* were loyal subjects of the crown, and thoughts of seeking independence rarely crossed their minds during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. They certainly made clear their resentment over ill treatment received from the Spanish crown (Bakewell 70), but to the monarchy, *criollos* were unfaithful and consequently excluded from almost all government positions in both Spain and Mexico. Indeed, in the Mexican Viceroyalty, power was held by a minority of citizens from the peninsula who had moved to Mexico to take up government-appointed positions. The Crown was careful to ensure that power remained with citizens born in Spain and any important position remained vacant until a native Spaniard could occupy it. These offices included the Viceroy, his council, judges, members of the *Audiencia Real*, *Corregidores* of populated areas and, most of all, members of local *cabildos*, or city councils.<sup>106</sup> *Criollos* may have been fortunate to dominate the lower ranks of government, but they were unsuccessful with more important government-appointed positions. The irony, of course, is that by 1600 *criollos* outnumbered Spanish-born immigrants, but had only a minimum of the territory's power (Bakewell 70).

The *Junta de Reformación* was also aware of the problems associated with *criollos* in Spain and its colonies but actually made it more difficult for them to obtain positions.<sup>107</sup> The *Junta* prohibited emigration from the peninsula,

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<sup>106</sup> According to King, the local *cabildos* had very little power over important matters and were left to take care of the day to day workings of communities: "Los cabildos o ayuntamientos otorgaban las codiciadas concesiones de tierra y agua, supervisaban los mercados, el abasto de víveres y los servicios públicos, cobraban los impuestos municipales, nombraban funcionarios subalternos y eran los responsables de las fiesta de Corpus Christi y otras" (52).

<sup>107</sup> According to Halpern, the advice offered by Licurgo in his fourth law "[...] stems from the concerns and suggestions of Pérez de Herrera's propositions in his *Proverbios morales*, which

including emigration to the Indies, and only permitted Catholic foreigners to enter the republic.<sup>108</sup> These reforms were meant to increase population in Spain which had been declining as the result of extensive emigration to the New World, hunger and disease.<sup>109</sup> The policies often had a demoralizing effect on people like Alarcón, who were sometimes allowed to emigrate to Spain, but, in many cases, not allowed to return to Mexico. Alarcón was turned down more than once when he sought permission to return to Mexico. He traveled between the two countries hoping to obtain some type of government position but was shut out because he was not born in Spain. Even in Alarcón's native Mexico City, he had failed to find a job owing to his *criollo* birth. He was essentially treated as a foreigner in both Spain and Mexico regardless of his education, experience and family ties, meaning that he was not a likely candidate for any position.

In Act 1 of the play, the King's final dilemma was the corruption of court ministers and the unethical sale of government offices. Licurgo's response, embodied in his fifth law, is that royal offices and government positions should not be sold to the highest bidder, nor have a fixed salary: "Que los oficios de justicia no tengan situado en la real hacienda estipendio cierto, sino que a cada

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encourage repopulation of the nation with more 'useful' people, even if it means bringing back those who were at one time banished from Spain" (57).

<sup>108</sup> Halpern had discussed the reasons for permitting Catholic foreigners in the peninsula stating that it was hoped that they might bring greater economic prosperity to the country: "A further effort to increase and improve the quality of population is embodied in Article XXI, which recommends that Catholic foreigners be permitted to enter the republic, in the hope that they would prosper and increase economic productivity, thus helping to improve the decaying conditions in Spain and making it a more favorable place in which to live" (33).

<sup>109</sup> Elliot states that the immigration policy was also aimed at being more inclusive to Jews who, although not Catholic, were thought by many to be valuable assets to society: "[...] it approached at greater length, although rather gingerly, another burning issue of the day, *limpieza de sangre*. The exclusion from a large number of public offices of those "tainted" Jewish blood was a source of great personal distress and of deep divisions in Castilian society. The royal letter of 1623 itself



ministro se le señale según la calidad y necesidad del oficio y la persona" (74).

For the Spartan lawmaker, government offices should be granted based on merit and on the necessity of the position. Similarly, the stipend for these jobs should be commensurate with the quality and effectiveness of the appointee's work.

Licurgo's reasoning for this law is simple: the rich man will not simply benefit for being rich and the poor, if they gain wealth, will have done so honestly:

[...] que el rico no ha menester  
más premio que el cargo honroso;  
y el pobre, a quien congruente  
sustento señalaréis,  
si enriqueciere, sabréis  
que ha sido lícitamente. (2088-2093)

Licurgo grounds his arguments on merit, not nobility or material worth. He is also aware that men who are chosen for positions based solely on their qualities and performance will serve honestly while offices sold or given based on nobility will result in the corruption of power:

Ni por esto es de temer  
que quien sirva ha de faltar;  
que es poderoso el mandar,  
y es hechicero el poder. (2094-97)

Licurgo knows that power corrupts and carefully explains to the King that only qualified applicants for government jobs should be considered. Those who are

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marked a step forward from the response of Felipe III to the request of the Cortes" (*Count-Duke* 118).

considered because of their bloodlines rather than their qualifications will seek these positions only to further consolidate their own position and to increase their personal wealth and power. This law, like the fourth, emerged from Alarcón's personal experience since he witnessed first hand the sale of offices in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain, especially under Felipe III and Felipe IV.

Under Fernando and Isabel, the sale of public offices was stopped and a merit system of selection was implemented,<sup>110</sup> but later, little by little, the Habsburgs began abandoning this system and sold offices to the highest bidder. Under Carlos V and Felipe II, the sale of offices was limited.<sup>111</sup> However, the reigns of Felipe III and Felipe IV saw a great proliferation of the sale of offices: "Con Felipe III y Felipe IV queda el gobierno del reino en manos de validos poco escrupulosos; la poca selección y la venta de los oficios públicos crece hasta adquirir proporciones alarmantes" (Brenes 49). Indeed, during the time of Felipe IV, it was almost impossible to ascend on one's own merits; most all government positions were filled based on a system of patronage. The worst abuses of this type of patronage took place under Felipe III whose *validos*, Lerma and Uceda, sold a number of offices to favorites to increase their own power base:

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<sup>110</sup> Brenes gives details on the process whereby qualified applicants were granted offices: "[...] era costumbre de la reina seleccionar cuidadosamente para los cargos personas de verdadero mérito, para cuyo fin guardaba un libro de registro donde apuntaba los méritos y cualidades de los aspirantes y, al presentarse una vacante, la llenaba con el más calificado para desempeñar el cargo. Era el suyo un sistema selectivo que premiaba el mérito, mediante el cual no era necesaria la nobleza de sangre para poder obtener puestos de gran importancia" (49).

<sup>111</sup> The sale of offices under Carlos V and Felipe II was nevertheless prevalent, although their systems did attempt to find more meritorious candidates for government positions: "Aunque Carlos V trata de valerse de los hombres de mérito, la venta de cargos públicos y la granjería de los favores reales es ya tan notoria durante su reinado que las Cortes de Valladolid de 1518 protestan contra ella" (Brenes 49).

[...] despachaban todos los negocios y obtenían todos los beneficios para sí, en detrimento de la corona. Comenzaron a darse los puestos importantes, no por merecimientos, sino antes por favoritismo o, lo que es peor, por compra que de ellos hacían personajes interesados en medrar. Los productos del cohecho, del peculado, del fraude enriquecían a los validos y a sus secretarios. (Brenes 186)

Under Lerma and Uceda, from the early 1600s on, ever higher offices in administration, treasury and judiciary were put up for sale. This was a standard government practice by the end of Lerma's *valimiento* and it was not regarded as corruption. The value in obtaining an office, even if it was bought, was thought to be very patriotic on the part of both the buyer and seller, since the possession of a prestigious office marked a loyal vassal and supporter of the Crown. Furthermore, the office eventually became a piece of property, usually with right of renunciation, which meant that the owner could sell it, bequeath it or give it away (Lynch, *Hispanic* 404). Lynch explains that there were two dangers in the sale of offices: "[...] it placed people in posts of responsibility for which they were morally or intellectually unfitted; and it encouraged speculation, as successful candidates had to pay off the interest on capital borrowed to purchase the office (*Hispanic* 404). Sale of office not only extended to two of the largest groups, notaries and municipal workers, but also to salaried offices in the central administration, including legal offices which were not supposed to be sold (Lynch, *Hispanic* 404). Bakewell notes that even the office of viceroy in both

New Spain and Peru, two of the most important positions in government, were sold, and none of the choices were *criollos* (71-72).

After Lerma's fall, Olivares and Zúñiga both began to respond to the corruption that surged following the growth of the sales of offices. Olivares' 1622 *Junta de Reформación* addressed the problem by proposing to decrease important and influential offices awarded either through sale, marriage, or by inheritance. The *Junta* also planned to regulate the number of favors or *mercedes*, granted by the king (Halpern 34). These proposals were followed by others that sought to decrease the number of government positions by two-thirds to reduce the cost of government.<sup>112</sup>

Unquestionably, Alarcón observed the corruption associated with the sale of offices in Spain and Mexico. King tells us that during the years Alarcón solicited work, the only available administrative or civil work for *criollos* was the *cabildo*, while better positions in Mexico City were left for native Spaniards alone:

En la ciudad de México [...] pocos criollos podían aspirar a un puesto de regidor en el Ayuntamiento; desde los comienzos de la colonia, éstas eran sillas que se vendían; los nombramientos eran vitalicios; y ciertos regidores tenían el derecho de transmitirle la silla a un heredero. Los miembros del cabildo constituían una pequeña y

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<sup>112</sup> According to Elliot, these measures were concerned with justice and administration of smaller towns by reducing the number of tax collectors and *alguaciles* (the principal police officials) (*Count-Duke* 116). Another concern of the *Junta* was the excessive sums of money spent for exhibition. In order to prevent nobles from spending their money excessively, the *Junta* proposed that they leave the Court and return to their country estates (Halpern 33) and to limit the amount of money spent on household servants, the king set an example by cutting back the size of his household to what it had been under Felipe II (Elliot, *Count-Duke* 116).

cerrada aristocracia municipal a la que sólo los ricos podían pertenecer (52).

The sale of offices to unqualified individuals was a chronic problem throughout the Spanish empire. Alarcón, handicapped by his physical appearance and his *criollo* birth, was further disadvantaged in his job search when offices were sold to other less meritorious Spaniards. Through Licurgo's fifth law, Alarcón had the opportunity to propose reform for this corruption by eliminating the sale of offices and granting them based only on merit and on the urgency of the position.

Unlike the fourth and fifth laws, Licurgo's sixth law does not seem to address any of the King's original requests from Act 1. The proposed law, which would limit the punishment of exile so that the guilty are unable to commit crimes elsewhere, probably had relevance in early seventeenth-century society, when exile was a common form of punishment for criminals. Licurgo believes that criminals should not be exiled, but rather forced to live among their own people so that the latter may watch over them: "Que los afrentados por delitos dañosos a la república no sean desterrados del lugar en que los afrentaron, antes obligados a vivir en él" (75). This proclamation has a universal concern; Licurgo is thinking not only about Crete, but also about neighboring lands where the exiled person might eventually live:

Demos que en Creta se afrente  
alguno por maldiciente,  
por embustero o ladrón.  
El desterrallo es hacer,

en lugar de castigallo  
a otro lugar a ejercer  
con más daño su maldad;  
pues el ignorar su trato  
quita a la gente el recato,  
y a él le da libertad. (2099-2109)

Licurgo knows that banishment from Crete will mean that the criminal could continue his acts in other places, free from punishment. To best police these individuals, they must be forced to remain where they can be controlled.

The remedy for the problem of exile was really meant for the Spanish empire. When someone was exiled from Spain, it was not uncommon for him to live out their banishment in any one of the Spanish colonies. By keeping the criminal in the nation where he committed the crime, Licurgo argues, he would be recognized for his crime, and suffer a greater punishment if he were a repeat offender:

Luego donde fue afrentado  
hará el ser ya conocido  
al pueblo más prevenido,  
y a él más escarmentado. (2110-13)

Licurgo's view on exile is not found in Pérez de Herrera's *Proverbios morales* nor did it form part of the reform proposals of either the 1618 *Junta de Reformatión* or the 1622-23 *Junta Grande de Reformatión*. It can be said, though, that this law, like others promulgated by Licurgo, are not just reform proposals meant for

Crete. Indeed, Alarcón uses the occasion to propose reforms for Spanish problems that must have been of great concern to him. The laws are, then, an attempt to improve all aspects of society—social, economic, political. They are not "extraneous to the plot" (62), as Poesse has argued, but rather the laws provide an important view of Licurgo as legislator and a meaningful perspective on Alarcón's and his character's views on Spanish and Mexican society.

Besides the four problems presented by the King in Act 1 and the six reform laws created by Licurgo in Act 3, one other important policy advocated by Licurgo can be traced to Alarcón's experience as a lawyer. In proposing his six laws, Licurgo has evidently caused a stir among the people who are unhappy that he has also created a "ley seca" whereby wine can be bought only in pharmacies: "[...] el vino / se venda sólo en boticas!" (2249-2250).<sup>113</sup> The humorous scene culminates when Coridón proposes liberation for the wine: "Rebelémonos, Doristo; / demos guerra a las boticas, / demos libertad al vino;" (2265-2267). The problem of prohibition is never resolved and except for the scene's value as comic relief during the tense confrontation between Licurgo and Teón, it is not clear why it is included in the play.

A resituation of the play and an examination of Alarcón's legal experience shows that there was a context for Alarcón's inclusion of the wine scene. While serving as *Teniente de Corregidor* in Mexico City, Alarcón was named to substitute for the *Corregidor*, Garcia López del Espinar, and to oversee a number of cases on his behalf. One important case that Alarcón investigated was the

illegal sale of *pulque*, the fermented juice of the maguey, or century plant, to the Indians. According to Castro Leal, Alarcón's directions were to discover who was selling this wine to the Indians and to set up proceedings for their prosecution:

[...] conocer de todas las causas que se ofreciesen contra cualesquiera personas que tuvieren trato de hacer y vender pulque y contra los dueños de las casas donde se vendiese, así de oficio como a pedimento de parte o por denuncia o querrela, visitando y prendiendo, secuestrando los bienes de los culpados fulminando las causas hasta la conclusión. (qtd. in Castro Leal 31)

Eradicating the drunkenness of the Indians was a priority for the Viceroyalty in Mexico. Efforts had been made to prohibit the sale of *pulque*, including various laws that were supposed to forbid its sale. Enforcement of these laws, however, was especially difficult. Anibal explains that officials like Alarcón, who were in charge of investigating these crimes and promoting the law, had on many occasions abused their authority (*Juan 77*). To deal with the illegal sale of *pulque* and restrain agents from being overzealous, on January 11, 1612, the viceroy issued an ordinance reducing the penalty for selling *pulque* to fifty lashes, and instituted a fine and suspension from office for one year for agents suspected of abusing their positions (*Anibal, Juan 77*). It can be said that Alarcón's experience as prosecutor of these illegal sales led him to believe that alcohol was detrimental to society, so much so that in *El dueño de las estrellas* Licurgo all but forbids the sale of wine.

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<sup>113</sup> According to Covarrubias, "botica" refers to: "La tienda del boticario, y también las de mercader, donde tiene los paños y sedas y otras merdaderías" (232) and "boticarios" is: "[...] el



Licurgo's decisions to limit the sale of wine would have no context in the play without the historical background just discussed. Licurgo's way of improving society is to restrict things that are detrimental to the common good. It is perhaps Licurgo's final action of the play that best characterizes his selfless dedication to the state. When Licurgo accepts his role as the King's *valido*, he warns the monarch that it has been prognosticated that he will either kill a king or be killed by one: "he de verme en tanto aprieto / con un rey, que yo a las suyas, / o él quede a mis manos muerto" (1113-1115). Licurgo is concerned with the prediction but intent to serve the kingdom despite his worries. The prediction and Licurgo's response to it are tested in the final act. Licurgo returns to his home to find the King with his wife Diana and the Spartan concludes that he must avoid the earlier prediction at all costs if he is to act in the interests and welfare of the kingdom:

Pues para que ni te mate,  
ni me mates, ni consienta  
vivo mi infamia, ni Esparta  
me cobre, ni oprima a Creta,  
yo mismo daré a mi vida  
fin honroso y fama eterna,  
porque me llamen los siglos  
el dueño de las estrellas. (2707-2714)

Licurgo has seemingly evaded his fate and committed suicide thereby annulling the forecast of the stars. The audience knows, however, that Licurgo's role as

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que vende las drogas y medicinas, y por razón de tenerlas en botes le llamamos boticario" (232).

*valido*, the double of the monarch, makes him in some ways the King. It appears, then, that Licurgo has complied with both conditions of the prediction: by taking his own life he has killed a king and a king has killed him.

The real concern here is how Licurgo's actions accentuate his role as the perfect *valido*. Many critics have deemed Licurgo's self-sacrifice in the interest of the common good. Dougherty has written, for example, that Licurgo's decision to commit suicide underscores his earlier oath to be a loyal vassal:

While the code of honor would dictate that Licurgo slay the king of Crete in order to restore his reputation, the vow of vassalage requires that Licurgo die in defense of the king to whom he has sworn allegiance. Although the king is unworthy of such sacrifice, Licurgo will choose suicide as the only means of avenging his honor and maintaining his vassalage. (61)

Dougherty points out that Licurgo's self-sacrifice upholds his commitment of vassalage to the monarch which highlights the differences between him and the King. In short, Licurgo's final act is a culmination of the virtues of the model *valido*: he has created just and equitable laws, mentored a young monarch, upheld society's honor code and finally, sacrificed himself for the benefit of the community. According to Fiore, Licurgo is a *pharmakos* whose selfless final act makes him both a sacrificial victim for society and, by his death, a solution to social problems:<sup>114</sup> "[...] Licurgo not only finds a solution to his dilemma and

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<sup>114</sup> Fiore's article, "Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas*: Hero and *Pharmakos*" (1993) studies Licurgo as a *pharmakos*. The *pharmakos* has been described by Derrida in his essay, "The Pharmacy of Plato." He analyzes the dual aspects of the *pharmakos* as both a victim and scapegoat who is "[...] beneficial insofar as he cures—and for that, venerated and cared for—

ends his life honorably, he also offers himself as a *pharmakos* for the benefit of the community which will, because of his act of self-sacrifice, continue to enjoy a lasting peace" (*Dueño* 193). Licurgo's suicide, then, is beneficial in that he preserves his allegiance to honor and protect the monarch and, consequently, the health of the kingdom. Hence his ultimate act, his suicide, best identifies him as an exemplary *valido* and legislator.

As a just lawmaker and wise legislator, his actions throughout the play distinguish him as an ideal model for court favorites of seventeenth-century Spain, particularly the Conde-Duque de Olivares. Alarcón devises practical solutions to contemporary dilemmas, and insists on advising government figures on the virtues and qualities of prudent rule. Licurgo's interest in finding practical solutions to government problems suggests that *El dueño de las estrellas* was written as a philosophical and political treatise on how the *valido* can ethically serve his King and institute important reforms for the Spanish empire. The play, then, acts as a guide for Spanish *validos*, and the reforms proposed by Licurgo are given as a series of equitable laws to improve social and economic conditions. These reforms were, of course, an invention of Alarcón, based on his knowledge of Pérez de Herrera's *Proverbios morales* and the edicts of the *Junta Grande de Reformación*. A New-Historicist resituation and recontextualization of the play, combined with Jameson's theories from *The Political Unconscious* has demonstrated that the historical, political, and economic backdrop of the early

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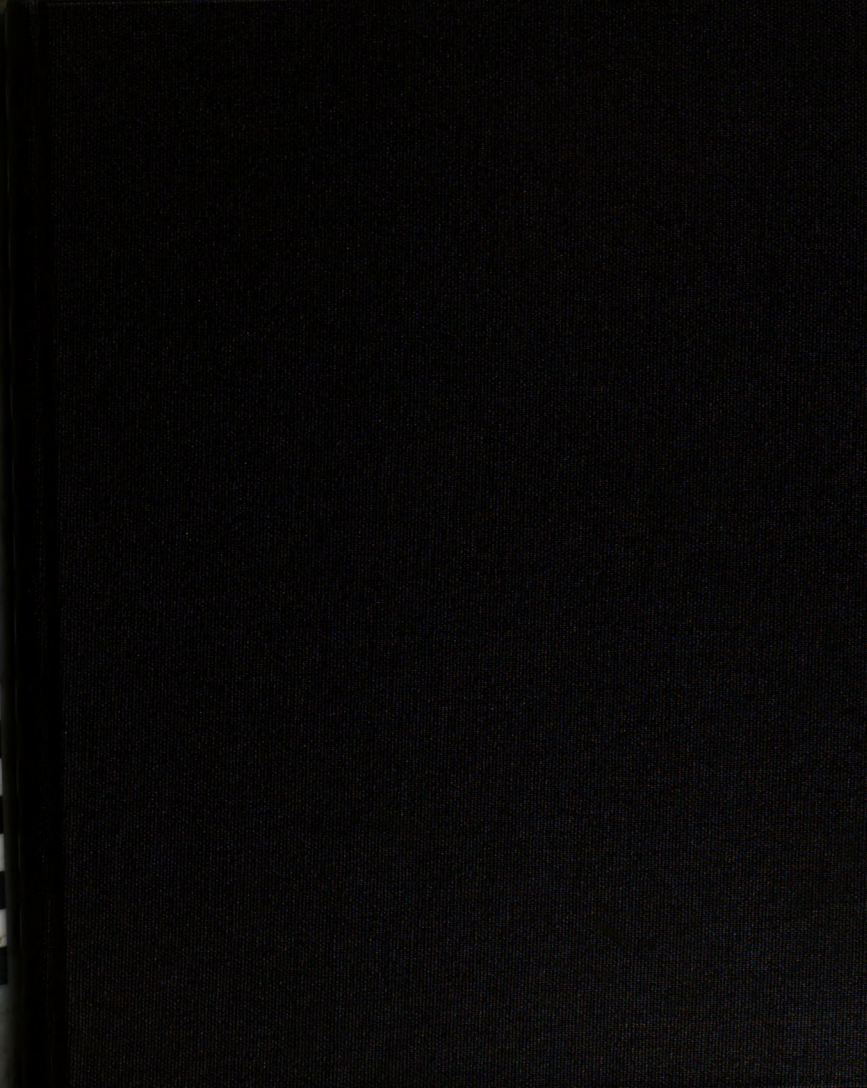
harmful insofar as he incarnates the powers of evil—and for that, feared and treated with caution. Alarming and calming. Sacred and accursed" (133).

seventeenth century influenced Alarcón and his conception of *El dueño de las estrellas*.

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POLITIC

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**POLITICAL TEXTS AND CONTEXTS OF THE GOLDEN AGE:  
A CULTURAL STUDY OF SPANISH AND  
SPANISH-AMERICAN THEATER AND OPERA**

**VOLUME II**

**By**

**Chad M. Gasta**

**A DISSERTATION**

**Submitted to  
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of**

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**Department of Romance and Classical Languages**

**2000**

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## Chapter Four Torrejón y Velasco's rewriting of Calderón's *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa*: The Politics of Production

### Introduction

There are two important operatic productions of *La púrpura de la rosa*<sup>115</sup> that can be studied as major cultural events of their respective societies. The first was written by Calderón de la Barca and presented in Madrid in 1660, and the second was composed by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco and staged in Lima, Peru in 1701. This chapter examines their productions as significant cultural events, and recreates the social, economic, and political context that contributed to the conception and performance of both versions in Spain and Peru. My approach to the two versions of the opera combines New Historicism and Frederic Jameson's *The Political Unconscious* in order to resituate the works and study their encoded socio-political ideologies.

Given the important political and historical events that led to the conception and production of the opera in 1660 Spain and 1701 Peru, the *loas*, the preludes to the main opera texts, offer the most poignant references to contemporary politics, society and economics. Hence, this study focuses closely on both *loas*, demonstrating that they offer a fascinating glimpse of the politics and economics of 1659-60 Spain and 1701 Peru, respectively. Jameson states that artistic works "have social and historical—sometimes even political—resonance" (17). Economics and politics "resonate" in both versions of *La*

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<sup>115</sup> Modern-day recordings of *La púrpura de la rosa* are limited to two: the still unreleased version directed by Andre Lawrence-King and Louise K. Stein (Deutsche Harmonía Mundi) and a live

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*púrpura*, which contain references to contemporary historical events and political figures. The two productions are what Jameson would call symbolic representations of real events, "a restructuration of a prior historical or ideological subtext" (*Political* 81). As an ideological subtext of the culture it represents, the operas can be examined in light of Jameson's three concentric frameworks: 1) the narrowly political, 2) the social and 3) history in the vast sense. This chapter examines both versions of *La púrpura de la rosa* from the perspective of the first framework—the narrowly political—and studies production as a cultural event and a symbolic act that attempts to resolve socio-political problems of the epoch. As Jameson points out, production can be considered an ideologically aesthetic act, whose symbolic quality can be utilized to present solutions to social problems:

[...] ideology is not something which informs or invests symbolic production; rather the aesthetic act is itself ideological, and the production of aesthetic or narrative form is to be seen as an ideological act in its own right, with the function of inventing imaginary or formal "solutions" to unresolvable social contradictions. (*Political* 79)

As we shall see, in the following study of the aesthetics of this opera in Spain and Peru, the two productions of *La púrpura* set out to solve, in Jameson's words, specific "unresolvable social contradictions." These contradictions primarily encompass the social problems of public reception and the acceptance of the

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1659 peace treaty and marriage agreement in Calderón's version, and the economic and political problems regarding production in Torrejón's version. Representative of a political unconscious of each country, then, each version of *La púrpura de la rosa* can be considered as a work conceived and performed for political purposes,<sup>116</sup> and interact within a complex system of negotiation and exchange of ideas, beliefs and perspectives.

This chapter is divided into two sections, the first devoted to the social, political and historical events reflected in Calderón's *loa* of *La púrpura de la rosa*. For Calderón, *La púrpura* served as propaganda to persuade the Spanish audience to embrace the marriage agreement between the *Infanta* María Teresa and Louis XIV that solidified the terms of the Peace of the Pyrenees, and put an end to the almost thirty-year war between France and Spain. Indeed, specific political figures, places and events are plainly referenced in the *loa*, and are poignantly related to the peace negotiations and marriage ceremony. These explicit references can be studied as "imaginary solutions" (*Political* 79) attempting to convince the spectators to accept and support the wedding and peace.

The second part of this chapter resituates Torrejón y Velasco's rewriting of *La púrpura de la rosa*, and examines the political and economic events that fostered opera production in 1701 Lima, during the first years of the French Bourbon rule in the New World. Torrejón's version is recontextualized so as to

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<sup>116</sup> Louise Stein believes that operatic performance in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had clear political implications: "[...] these operas were composed and produced in circumstances that transcended those surrounding other court entertainments, such that the choice of genre was made for extraordinary, political reasons" (*Opera* 130).



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display and examine the political and economic issues surrounding the Viceroy's selection of Torrejón to produce *La púrpura* for a celebration of Felipe V's first successful year as King of Spain and his eighteenth birthday. This version also featured prominent praises of Felipe V, in an attempt to persuade the public to welcome the new Bourbon monarchy during a particularly troublesome economic time in the Peruvian Viceroyalty (*virreinato*). Torrejón's rewriting of Calderón's *loa* was used as propaganda to ensure acceptance of the new monarchy by the public, and also to secure funding for future theatrical productions. Torrejón's choice of Calderón's opera was also notable for social and artistic reasons because its production played a significant role in the development of the theatrical performances in the New World.

### **Historicizing Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa*: Society, Politics and Economics**

To begin this cultural study, it is essential to review in detail the historical situation that led to the peace accord between France and Spain in 1659 and inspired Calderón to produce this opera. These historical events and political figures from 1659-60 will appear in Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa*. This chapter begins this study by looking at the years following the 1648 Peace of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years War between France and Spain.<sup>117</sup> However, this peace did not put an end to other conflicts between France and

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<sup>117</sup> This armed conflict, fought among the French, Dutch, Spanish and the rest of the Holy Roman Empire, began in 1618 and ended in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia. Its origins, causes and effects are delineated by Peter Brightwell, "The Spanish Origins of the Thirty Year's War" (1979).

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<sup>10</sup> Davies reports that the Castilian Kings and the Golden Age. For an in-depth study of the Catalans (1963).

<sup>11</sup> Don Luis de Haro was the Conde-Duque of Olivares, an important minister (1643-1644) who was known as *el sobrenombre* *la oreja de su majestad* (the ear of his majesty) and *la oreja de su majestad* (the ear of his majesty) and *la oreja de su majestad* (the ear of his majesty).

Spain; the feuds between the two European powers continued and constant conflict exhausted Spain to the point of very serious military and economic losses. In addition, revolts in the Spanish provinces of Cataluña and Portugal, which began in 1640, exacerbated Spain's economic difficulties and forced Spain to come to terms with France. An agreement between Spain and France, however, was impeded by the Catalans, who had previously requested military and economic support from the French in their struggle against Spain. The Catalan obstacle at last disappeared in October of 1652, when Barcelona fell to the Spanish troops who, by sheer force, entered the city and ended hostilities. Despite the Crown's obvious victory, the Spanish troops were helped by the fact that the Catalans had long grown weary of the rule of France,<sup>118</sup> preferring instead to live once again under the rule of Spain.

The recovery of Cataluña was one of the few successes that Spain achieved during its many years of war. Like Spain, France had also grown tired of such a long struggle, and, in 1656, she made a serious attempt to reach an understanding with Felipe IV of Spain. M. de Lionne, one of French Prime Minister Cardinal Mazarin's skilled diplomats arrived with great secrecy in Madrid and was housed at the Retiro, where he had important conversations with Felipe IV's most important minister, don Luis de Haro.<sup>119</sup> Lionne and his team were so

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<sup>118</sup> Davies reports that the French left the Catalans less liberty than they had enjoyed under the Castilian Kings and that such treatment resulted in grave animosity between Catalans and French (*Golden* 68). For an in-depth study of the Spanish war with Cataluña, see Elliot, *The Revolt of the Catalans* (1963).

<sup>119</sup> Don Luis de Haro was the nephew of the Conde-Duque de Olivares and his legitimate heir. Although the Conde-Duque tried to disinherit Don Luis, Haro nevertheless became Felipe's most important minister (1643-1661). As Cruickshank notes "Su afabilidad y buenas maneras le valieron el sobrenombre de 'el discreto en palacio'. No fue un gran político, pero su prudencia y honestidad como interlocutor de su rey en la Paz de los Pirineos están fuera de toda duda" (26).

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eager to reach an agreement that they stayed in Madrid for over three months. Felipe also devoted himself to finding a resolution, and even attended the sessions between Haro and Lionne and the conciliar meetings at which treaty clauses were examined and negotiation tactics discussed. According to one eye witness, Felipe sometimes spent three or four hours a day behind closed doors at the conference table; on some days he was present at both morning and afternoon sessions of the state ministers. In fact, Felipe's dedication was such that "copies of the Treaty of Vervins were sent for, from the archive at Simanaca, and in a busy series of conclaves in mid-September, the essential core of the new settlement—some thirty articles—was hammered into shape" (Stradling 289). The preliminary agreement called for Louis XIV to cease any alliance with England and to not provide additional aid to Portugal. For these concessions, Felipe was prepared to cede his province of Resellón and certain towns in Artois which the French already occupied—territories long since lost by Spain. As long as Felipe would also provide favorable terms for French businessmen within the Spanish commercial ambience, Louis for his part was willing to relinquish other territorial gains.

The final point of the agreement had to do with the French Prince of Condé and proved to be the most difficult. Talks were breaking down when

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Don Luis was considered modest and friendly and shunned the title of *Privado*—like his uncle—while still exercising its functions. In general, Haro had the same powers as Olivares, but after Olivares' autonomous control, Felipe IV attended to more business than he had previously, relieving Don Luis of some important state business. Other than the personal claims inherited from his uncle, Haro had no official titles. Lynch reports, however, that by the late 1650s Felipe was referring to him in state papers as his *primer ministro* and in the Treaty of the Pyrenees as his *primer y principal ministro* (*Spain*, vol II: 127). After a successful negotiation which brought about the agreement between France and Spain, Felipe dignified him with the unofficial title of "Principe de la Paz". See also J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain: 1469-1716* (1964) 346.

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discussions turned to the future of Condé, who earlier had turned against Louis XIV and allied himself with the Spanish Crown.<sup>120</sup> All of Europe knew of Felipe's promises to Condé, and any unfulfilled agreement with him would place Spain in a precarious position. After all, Spanish honor demanded that Felipe fulfill his obligation to his ally and attempt to recompense Condé through either monetary rewards or the reestablishment of his lands and titles. The French, however, saw Condé as a traitor who should be punished, and both Mazarin and Louis XIV were adamant about that. However, Lionne insisted that this last obstacle could graciously be overlooked if Felipe consented to a marriage between the Spanish *Infanta* María Teresa and her cousin, the French King Louis XIV. This wedding was ultimately the impetus for Calderón's conception and production of *La púrpura de la rosa*. Mazarin, and the Queen Mother Anne of Austria, Felipe's sister, expected any new settlement to be sealed in the traditional and formal manner—by a marriage alliance. An interesting analogy that demonstrates how such negotiations took place is reported by Davies. He states that while bargaining for Condé's future, Lionne noticed that Haro was wearing a medal in his hat impressed with the portrait of María Teresa. By openly wearing the pin, it could be said that Haro solicited a response from Lionne, who, upon seeing the image of the princess, said: "If your king would give to my master for his wife the original of the portrait you wear, 'peace might soon be made'" (*Golden* 68). This was an obvious reference to a marriage contract that would finally solve the Condé problem. Haro was interested in Lionne's proposal but ultimately he was

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<sup>120</sup> With the Treaty of Madrid (November 6, 1651) the French Prince of Condé, *Conquistador de Salces*, allied himself with the Spanish Crown against France.



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unable to meet this demand. At this time, Spain lacked a legitimate male heir to the throne, and in the event of Felipe's untimely death, the Monarchy would automatically pass to María Teresa.<sup>121</sup> Members of the Spanish Court did not want the Habsburg empire to be absorbed by the Bourbon dynasty, and for this reason, this portion of the agreement was an impossibility until a male heir had been produced. Dynastic custom and the priorities of *conservación*, as Stradling points out, laid on Felipe the obligation to marry a female successor into the house of Habsburg, not Bourbon: "[...] though he still hoped that God would give him a son, in the meantime consciously to risk patrimony falling to the Bourbons would be to prejudice this pious wish, literally to offer a hostage to fortune" (289). When negotiations broke down over this point, Lionne and his team returned to France unsuccessful and hostilities between France and Spain continued for almost three years.

On November 28, 1657, Felipe Próspero, a male heir, was born, a historical reference distinguished by Calderón in his *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa*. Now more than ever, it was no longer reasonable for Spain to deny France's earlier request for a marital union between Louis XIV and María Teresa. Besides, war with France saw very few victories for the Spanish. In fact, Don

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<sup>121</sup> As the Prince of Asturias, Felipe IV married Isabel de Borbón, first daughter of the French King, Henry IV. Until her death in 1644, Felipe and Isabel had six daughters and one son, Baltasar Carlos, Prince of Asturias. All of them died before reaching adulthood and Baltasar Carlos died before reaching his sixteenth birthday in 1646. After Felipe's first wife Isabel died, he married again (1649), this time to his niece, Mariana, Archduchess of Austria and daughter of Emperor Ferdinand III and the Empress María, Felipe's sister. Mariana and Felipe had five children, three sons and two daughters. The two eldest sons, Felipe Próspero and Fernando Tomás, both died in early childhood and have been immortalized by Calderón in *La púrpura de la rosa*. The third, Carlos, ascended to the throne after Felipe's death in 1661. Called "el hechizado," Carlos suffered many physical ailments and died without an heir in 1700, provoking a war of succession.

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Juan of Austria's grave defeat at Dunkirk only provided further proof to the Spanish Court that peace was essential to save the Monarchy.<sup>122</sup> A 1658 report prepared by the *Junta de Estado* and sent to Felipe IV spelled out the reasons for peace: the Spanish possessions in Italy and Flanders were rapidly deteriorating, the Indies were being lost due to an aggressive naval campaign by both the Dutch and the English, and Spain was no closer to recuperating the rogue state of Portugal than it had been when that revolt began. For these reasons, as well as the severe economic decline of the Crown and its inability to outfit an army or an armada, the *Junta* decreed that Spain seek peace with France. For his part, it seems that Felipe IV was of the same mind, as evidenced by his reply to the *Junta's* dictate in which he stated that:

[...] en cuanto a la paz, yo la he deseado y cada día la deseo con más veras, y sacrificaré para ella quanto fuese de mi parte, pero esto no depende de mi voluntad, sino de la de los enemigos, en quien siempre se ha visto un total apartamiento della, pues habiendo propuesto ellos mismos el abocamiento de D. Luis de Haro con el cardenal Mazarino en la frontera y muchos meses después el de mi persona con la del Rey Christianísimo, propuestas ambas cosas por franceses y admitidas por nosotros, se han retirado dello, con admiración de los ministros de príncipes por cuyo medio ha pasado. (qtd. in Domínguez Ortiz, *España* 567)

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<sup>122</sup> On 25 June 1658, the Battle of the Dunes, Dunkirk was lost. The entire military campaign of 1658 was disastrous for Spain: she was defeated in Flanders, threatened in Milan by the duke of Modena and vanquished by the Portuguese near Elvas in Alentejo. The defeats were so great that members of the Court began to fear a French invasion of Spanish soil.

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<sup>124</sup> Antonio Pimentel was especially during his ambassadorship to France. Pimentel's article "The Cardinal was never a match between the Queen's anxiety that her ally, the Duchess of Savoy, would be drawn between Spain and France."

As a result of the Spanish Court's agreement to seek peace, powers were granted to Don Antonio Pimentel<sup>123</sup> to travel to France and speak to Cardinal Mazarin, Louis XIV's Prime Minister. Therefore, in 1658, negotiations once again got under way when Don Luis de Haro sent the special envoy Pimentel to Lyon to meet with Mazarin and discuss peace and the possible marital union. The Spanish ambassador hurried through the snow-covered Pyrenees highlands and was already waiting in Lyon when Mazarin and the French Court arrived on November 14, 1658. It was the this second set of negotiations that were eventually named by Calderón in the *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa*, allusions that, as we shall see, became important for understanding the political context of the work.

In a further attempt to prod the Spanish government to action, Mazarin had previously invited the Duchess of Savoy and her daughters to Lyon to discuss the possibilities of a matrimonial union between Margarita de Savoy and Louis XIV.<sup>124</sup> When the news reached Madrid that Louis XIV might consider marrying princess Margarita, Felipe IV urged Don Luis de Haro not to act hastily, and to remind the Cardinal of the previous discussions of marriage made in 1656 when Lionne visited Madrid. Haro's response, as has been stated, was to send

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<sup>123</sup> Antonio Pimentel was a distinguished and respected diplomat. For information on his life, especially during his ambassadorship to Queen Christina of Sweden, see Miguel Lasso de la Vega's (Marqués del Saltillo) "Don Antonio Pimentel de Prado, Embajador a Cristina de Suecia" (1941) and his article "Don Antonio Pimentel y la paz de los Pirineos" (1947).

<sup>124</sup> The Cardinal was never really interested in a marriage between Louis XIV and Margarita de Saboya. As F. J. Routledge points out in *England and the Treaty of the Pyrenees*: "It is certain that Mazarin and Anne of Austria only intended this journey as a stratagem to induce Felipe IV to revive the match between the Infanta and Louis XIV. Current gossip was well informed of the queen's anxiety that her own niece should marry her son, and these were not idle rumours" (14). The Duchess of Savoy and her daughters became aware of their roles as political pawns between Spain and France and returned to Turin very much enraged with Mazarin.

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<sup>2</sup> Felipe's first wife, Isabella, died in 1630 and instead proposed to marry the young Louis XIV. The suggestions were unfavourable. Anne acted as Regent for Louis XIV. Routledge discusses her role in treaty negotiations on her journey to Lyons, when she had become ill and wasted the hours in vain. She had become a frequent letter-writer of amoroso letters. Her son was: it was her daughter in marriage to

Pimentel to meet the French Court at Lyon. Moreover, Felipe was even more interested in the marital union since the birth of his second son, Fernando Tomás, who is mentioned in the *La púrpura* and whose untimely death eventually affected the production schedule of the opera. This fact as well as Fernando Tomás' allusion in the *loa* will be discussed shortly. With the added cushion of another male heir to the throne, Felipe was better prepared to offer his daughter to Louis XIV in the name of peace. Interestingly, up until this time, many in the Spanish Court thought it unlikely that María Teresa might someday occupy the Spanish throne, regardless of the lack of any male heir.<sup>125</sup> And for their part, Mazarin and Ana de Austria, the Queen Mother of France<sup>126</sup> believed the proposed marriage between Louis XIV and María Teresa was in the best interest of France. Louis XIV, however, was less than enthused about the marriage due to his intimate relationship to María Mancini, the niece of Cardinal Mazarin.<sup>127</sup> After a preliminary agreement was reached between Mazarin and the Spanish envoy Pimentel, the two returned together to Paris to finalize the details. These negotiations had as their first result the two months' truce signed on May 8, 1659. The subsequent Treaty of Paris of June 4, 1659 listed all the possessions to be

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<sup>125</sup> Felipe's first wife, Isabel, was more interested in fortifying the ties between Spain and Austria and instead proposed a marriage union between María Teresa and Leopoldo, heir to the Holy Roman Empire. The plans with France had already been set in motion, however, and Isabel's suggestions were unfeasible.

<sup>126</sup> Anne acted as Regent of France until 1661 when Louis XIV reached ruling age.

<sup>127</sup> Routledge discusses in depth the relationship between Louis XIV and Marie Mancini and its impact on treaty negotiations: "[...] Marie Mancini had awakened the King's passions during his journey to Lyons, when Pimentel's nicely timed journey had revived the idea of a Spanish marriage. She had become a political embarrassment, for the young King was now her devoted lover and wasted the hours that should have been reserved for studying affairs of state, to writing frequent letters of amorous protestations. He [Mazarin] realized only too well how inopportune this liaison was: it was unreasonable to expect that the King of a proud nation would give his daughter in marriage to a prince so deeply entangled in a compromising adventure of this kind,



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restored and retained by France; established the Pyrenees boundary between the two countries;<sup>128</sup> and agreed that the marriage should take place. In a secret article it was agreed that if, within 90 days, the conditions had not been accepted by the Spanish Court, France would not be required to fully restore lands captured prior to 1640, nor would they have to abandon aid to the King of Portugal. The finality of the marriage treaty and the polemical question of the Prince of Condé's pardon<sup>129</sup> were reserved for discussion at a conference to be held at the Pyrenees frontier between Don Luis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarin. The cessation of hostilities were indefinitely prolonged until the publication of the peace and arrangements were made to ratify the agreement.<sup>130</sup>

More formal negotiations between Don Luis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarin took place on Isle of Pheasants in the River Bidasoa which marked the border between Spain and France. The Bidasoa River would later become an important political and historical location not only for the negotiations but also for Calderón's opera since, as we will see, the Bidasoa and the Island of Pheasants is explicitly referred to in the *loa*. The final negotiations in the Bidasoa began when the Spanish negotiator Pimentel, accompanying Mazarin, immediately

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especially when the marriage was designed to confirm a treaty with whose main provision he was far from satisfied" (24).

<sup>128</sup> See Juan Reglá Campistol, "El Tratado de los Pirineos de 1659. Negociaciones subsiguientes acerca de la delimitación fronteriza" (1940).

<sup>129</sup> Routledge reports that Pimentel, in a precarious position to begin with, was made the scapegoat and blamed for agreeing to defer discussion of the conditions of Condé's restoration, but "it was explained that he had really had no other alternative: either to confirm the peace or break off the whole negotiation on this one point" (20).

<sup>130</sup> Two days after the preliminary treaty of Paris was signed a courier went from France to Spain to obtain the ratifications. A month passed by and the messenger had not returned. Mazarin began to suspect that Condé's agents in Madrid might still be able to prevent the execution of the treaty. Indeed Mazarin had already set out from Paris, and reached Poitiers before he met the courier returning from Don Luis with the ratifications. Without a day's delay, he then took the shortest route to Bayonne on the frontier (Routledge 23).

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crossed the frontier from France into Spain to arrange the first formal meeting between Haro and Mazarin.<sup>131</sup> On the Island, bridges, buildings and pavilions were erected to house the negotiators and to accommodate the upcoming marriage ceremony.<sup>132</sup> Haro and Mazarin were skilled negotiators who understood the value of the peace agreement. From the very beginning, Haro pressed for restoration of Condé's property and titles in return for Condé's renewed allegiance to the King of France. Seeing how Mazarin was so sick and that he was suffering constant pain from an attack of gout, Haro hoped to wear him down, contesting article after article. In all, in seventy-nine folio pages, there were to be 124 articles (Treasure 257). Treasure notes that the talks came nearest to breakdown over the issue of Condé upon which Felipe IV was adamant. As Treasure indicates, a favorable resolution to the Condé question might restore some semblance of honor to Felipe: "honour required that Spain fulfill her obligation to her ally; on the French side, propriety compelled respect for the principle that treason be punished; a liberated Condé might upset the equilibrium so dearly bought" (258). An understanding was finally reached September 21, 1659 when Mazarin agreed to restore Condé and his son, the

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<sup>131</sup> Besides battling an attack of gout, Mazarin was also impatient to open the conference because he was aware that Pimentel was in disrepute in Madrid for not settling the Condé question. To make matters more difficult, Mazarin learned that Louis XIV was defying public opinion by openly visiting Marie Mancini in the small town of Rochelle, before making his way to the Pyrenees for the peace settlement (Routledge 23-25).

<sup>132</sup> A conference pavilion on the Island of Phaesants was erected with separate bridges from the Spanish and French banks of the River Bidasoa so that the ministers of each country, as well as the royal families, could arrive at the island without entering foreign territory. In *Louis XIV*, Philippe Erlanger reports that: "The Cardinal had a guard of a hundred horsemen and two hundred foot-soldiers, and was escorted by a host of gentlemen and five hundred liveried attendants. The Spaniards were few in number, somberly dressed and without a trace of ostentation. Their disdainful simplicity was a painful lesson for the upstart Cardinal" (83). Erlanger further notifies us that the intense dislike between the Spanish and French required that

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Duc d'Enghien, to various offices and honors including those of Governor of Burgundy and Grand Maitre de France.<sup>133</sup>

The terms of Louis XIV's marriage treaty with María Teresa, perhaps the most important aspect of the peace agreement that was definitively mentioned by Calderón in *La púrpura de la rosa*, had also been drawn up. It was agreed that the King of France would marry María Teresa in accordance with the treaty signed the same day. According to the contract Felipe was to pay a dowry of 500,000 gold crowns<sup>134</sup> and, in exchange, the Infanta could not make any further claims to the Spanish throne or its dominions by way of inheritance or succession from her father and mother. The renunciation was to be made before her marriage and ratified afterwards jointly with Louis XIV (Davies, *Golden 70*). What was innovative in this portion of the treaty was the inclusion of a *moyennant* clause that made the Infanta's renunciation of the Spanish throne contingent on the prompt payment of her dowry.<sup>135</sup> In 1660 the financial situation of Spain was

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"an enormous palisade divided the island" (83) in order to prevent clashes between the proud Spanish and the aggressive French.

<sup>133</sup> To accommodate Condé, Don Luis and Spain were forced to give up a great deal: not only was Spain to surrender Avesnes, Hainault and other strategic locations, but also to restore the lands of the Duke of Neuburg, one of Louis' greatest allies. But for all of its losses, Spain biggest achievement was the cessation of ties between France and Portugal, thereby allowing Spain to concentrate its remaining war efforts clearly on Portugal. In his book *Louis XIV and the French Monarchy* (1994) Andrew Lossky also reminds us that Condé himself had to write a letter of apology to Louis XIV, come in person to beg the king's forgiveness, disband all his troops, promise never again to contract an alliance with a foreign power, and leave the question of his future status and possessions entirely to the mercy of his king. If Condé complied, Louis would promise to recognize him as the first prince of the blood, to nullify all enactments against him as traitor, and to restore him in all his possessions of Burgundy and Bresse rather than of Guyenne (58).

<sup>134</sup> A third of this sum was to be paid at the time of the consummation of the marriage, a third at the end of the year in which the marriage was consummated, and the last third six months afterwards.

<sup>135</sup> According to Lossky: "Many later historians have exaggerated the importance of the *moyennant* clause out of all proportion to its true value and have tended to base the future Bourbon claim to the Spanish monarchy on Felipe IV's failure to pay his daughter's dowry. In fact, the dowry provision was only a subsidiary prop of the sort that lawyers steeped in

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grave and there was little likelihood that the dowry would be paid on time. In fact, it was never paid at all.<sup>136</sup> The material agreement of the marriage, specifically the dowry, was a factor in the production of *La púrpura de la rosa* both in Spain and Torrejón's rewriting in Peru because, ironically, when Carlos II (Felipe IV's son) died without an heir, it would be this royal marriage arrangement between María Teresa and Louis XIV that ultimately provided the impetus for the French Phillip of Anjou (Louis XIV and María Teresa's grandson) to ascend as Felipe V to the Spanish Crown in 1700. This same Felipe V became the subject of Torrejón y Velasco's *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa* in Lima in 1701, which is examined below. The Infanta's renunciation of her claims to the Spanish empire had been granted freely, however. These demands were one of the chief reasons why Mazarin was ready to accept the offer of peace and the marriage alliance. The succession to the throne of Spain by María Teresa, future Queen

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contractual law like to insert into documents to support a claim based on much firmer ground. The protagonists—Mazarin, Felipe IV, and Don Luis de Haro—were under no illusion as to its true significance and do not seem to have attached much importance to the Spanish failure to pay. They were well aware that succession in most of the states composing the Spanish monarchy was ruled not by private contracts but by fundamental law that no renunciation could set aside. The Infanta could abdicate the crown for herself, but not for her lawful heirs. That is why Felipe IV had raised such difficulties over her marriage to Louis XIV, and undoubtedly that is what Mazarin had had in mind in 1646, when he first broached the project of this marriage: 'Once the *Infanta* is married to His Majesty, we could aspire to the Spanish succession no matter what renunciations they might force her to make' (59). G. Livet believes that when the negotiations were finally over Don Luis de Haro, demanding complete renunciation, prevailed over Mazarin who would have liked to retain the Infanta's right in regard to the Low Countries and Franche-Comté (428). Haro and the Spanish Court, however, apparently saw the Infanta's renunciation as very effective but the French negotiator Lionne solemnly noted that it could not change the laws of Spain by which the crown would fall to the Infanta if male heirs, Felipe Próspero or Fernando Tomás, failed (Routledge 69).

<sup>136</sup> It was terribly difficult for the Spanish Crown to raise the *asientos de dinero* for the campaigns against Portugal, let alone the dowry for María Teresa. In his study *Philip IV and the Government of Spain 1621-1665*, R. A. Stradling tells us that Felipe could not find any bankers willing to service his debt to Louis XIV yet, "If it would bring about the restoration of Portugal, he was evidently willing to permit the prolonged humiliation of his daughter in an alien court" (295). Geoffrey Treasure notes that it must have been evident to the French Court that Spain's financial position was ruinous, "but seventeenth-century governments tended not to make exact



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of France, or her ancestors, was not just a simple possibility; it was thought to be very likely she or her heir might ascend to the throne since the oldest of her brothers, Felipe Próspero, was not yet two years old and surviving childhood was particularly difficult. In fact, Próspero did die young, and his passing is memorialized in Calderón's *loa*. As a result of the concern for the prince's health, the stipulation of the payment of a large sum of money was very significant since it was highly unlikely that the Spaniards would be able to pay the amount thereby allowing María Teresa to demand direct ascension to the Spanish Crown because the agreement was not fulfilled. With the Condé controversy resolved and the marriage agreement in place, the 124 articles of the preliminary Treaty of the Pyrenees were finally signed by the two ministers on November 7, 1659.<sup>137</sup>

When these conditions had been agreed upon and framed into articles, Mazarin and Louis XIV dispatched the Mareschal Duke de Gramont to Madrid.<sup>138</sup> The Marshal-Duke carried with him letters of recommendation from Louis XIV and Anne of Austria to Felipe IV making a formal request for the hand of María

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calculations on the scanty data available; to assume that kings could always somehow lay their hands on money" (259).

<sup>137</sup> With the Treaty of the Pyrenees France also achieved a sort of "most-favored-nation clause" giving commercial privileges the Dutch had already acquired. French merchants would spend the rest of the century exploiting the treaty. As Lynch notes: "Customs duties were limited; merchants' accounts and warehouses were free from inspection; consuls were appointed in Andalusian towns; and eventually a Judge Conservator was appointed to hear cases involving Frenchmen. Under favourable conditions French trade to Andalucía—chiefly Rouen linens and Lyons silks—expanded rapidly and acquired a large stake in the Indies trade" (*Spain*, vol. II: 171). Domínguez Ortiz believes that the only important negative aspect of the treaty was the French entrance into and later dominance of the Spanish commercial market. See his studies in Hugh Thomas and J. H. Parry, eds., *Desde Carlos V a la Paz de los Pirineos, 1517-1660. Historia de España*, vol. 4 (1974) 120; and *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV* (1960).

<sup>138</sup> The formal state visit of Gramont also allowed Mazarin a short time to take care of another problem: Louis' frequent visits to his lover Marie Mancini threatened to undermine the peace process. In a letter sent to Anne of Austria, Louis' mother, Mazarin wrote: "I believe the Confident would be well pleased with a postponement (...) for I tell you that if he goes into this marriage in his present state of mind he and the Infanta will be unhappy, and you and I inconsolable" (qtd. in Erlanger 85).



Teresa. Gramont's entrance into Madrid and his subsequent appearance before Felipe IV are very important for the purpose of our discussion because, as we will see, these events are poignantly recorded in *La púrpura de la rosa*, Gramont being specifically mentioned as the one who takes the princess from Spain. In truth, like a seventeenth-century Spanish audience, the modern-day reader of Calderón's opera would not likely understand the textual allusion to Gramont without knowing his historical role in the Peace of the Pyrenees. Gramont arrived at the small village of Mandez Oct. 16 and was met with great ceremony by a troop of Spanish postmasters, couriers, and other diplomats (Dunlop 598).<sup>139</sup> On horses provided by Felipe IV, Gramont and his entourage staged a dramatic entrance into the capital where he and forty-four companions galloped through the Puerta del Prado and raced across the town to the Alcázar.<sup>140</sup> Gramont rode into the court of the royal palace where he was received by the Admiral of Castile, Juan Gaspar Alonso Enríquez de Cabrera, and eighteen grandees of Spain. The Marshal-Duke then passed through an immense crowd of euphoric Spaniards who had gathered to see the French delegation. From there, he was conducted up a monumental staircase, through the King's Quarter, and into the famous Hall of Mirrors to an audience with King Felipe IV, who was

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<sup>139</sup> For Gramont's entrance into Madrid, see the following studies: José Camón Aznar, *Velázquez* (1964) 922-24; John Dunlop, *Memoirs of Spain During the Reigns of Philip IV and Charles II, from 1620 to 1700*, vol. 1 (1934) 598-601; Elliott, "Philip IV of Spain: Prisoner of Ceremony" (1977) 173-78; Erlanger (1970) 83-87; Orso (986) 37-40; and Routledge (1953) 68-70. Dunlop's report of the entrance is interesting: "At this place the cavalcade was formed: Postilions, dressed in rose-coloured stain with silver lace, went first. Then came the Mareschal, accompanied by his French escort, and followed by a numerous train of servants in livery, all on horseback. They set out from Mandez, entered Madrid, and passed along its streets at full gallop. The novelty of the spectacle, and the nature of the ambassador's errand, attracted an immense concourse of spectators, who hailed his arrival by shouts of joy and exultation" (598).

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already waiting (Dunlop 598, Orso 37-38).<sup>141</sup> The Hall of Mirrors, the meeting place of the French and Spanish delegations, was highly decorated for the occasion, and was indirectly referenced by Calderón in *La púrpura de la rosa* when he determined the thematic material for the opera.

As witnesses to the ornamentation of the Hall of Mirrors and the splendor of the ceremony, there were at least two members of the French delegation who recorded their impressions of the reception. One was Francois Bertaut, a *conseiller-clerc* in the *parlement*, and the other was the second Duke of Gramont (the Marshal-Duke's second son). Bertaut's memories of the meeting show the manner and elegance of the Hall of Mirrors as well as the general behavior of the Spanish Court. Bertaut was impressed by the formality of the Spanish Court and, especially, the grandeur of the Alcázar's Hall of Mirrors. His comments are important because the Hall of Mirrors, its decorations, and this specific meeting are all referenced by Calderón in his *loa*:

It must be confessed that the manner in which the King ordinarily grants an audience in France is nothing in comparison with that in which Monsieur le Maréchal was received. In each room that we passed there were rows of people; and in the middle of the Hall

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<sup>140</sup> Dunlop states that there were over sixty companions to the Marshal-Duke which was meant "to denote the impatience and eager desires for their sovereign to obtain the hand of the Infanta" (598).

<sup>141</sup> The routine for state visits is depicted by Elliot: "When a foreign ambassador was summoned to an audience he would be conducted to the audience chamber through a succession of dark but handsomely furnished rooms, which were hung in the winter months with tapestries, and in the summer with pictures from the royal collections. As the door of the audience chamber was thrown open, the King would be revealed standing alone at a desk or table, and he would raise his hand to his hat as the ambassador made his entry. He remained standing, quite motionless, throughout the audience, which he would conclude with one or two impeccably courteous banalities, again touching his hat as the ambassador withdrew" (*Philip IV* 173).

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[Hall of Mirrors] there were two ranks of benches covered by carpets to restrain the crowd and to leave the path open. At the end there was still another rank set crosswise. All the persons of quality were (standing) the length of this Hall on one side and the other; but because they were all dressed in the same manner and very simply, the Grandees did not stand out from the others, except that they were wearing hats. The King of Spain was standing, wearing a quite simple outfit and strongly resembling all his portraits, beneath an opulent canopy that was at the end of the Hall without there being any person near him. Upon entering, we separated, most of us (going) to the sides. As Monsieur le Maréchal entered from the far end, the King put his hand to his hat, and as he came closer, he did not stir. When Monsieur le Maréchal took off his hat from time to time and when he presented his letter, he (Felipe) did not change his posture at all, so that he did not return his hand to his hat until Monsieur le Maréchal left. Before leaving, he made a sign to those that he had put on his list, and we went to bow to the King. As we found ourselves in no order and without any consideration of our [different] qualities, Monsieur le Maréchal named us all at the moment when we bowed to pay reverence.<sup>142</sup> (qtd. in Orso 38-39)

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<sup>142</sup> Erlanger reports that when Gramont and his entourage arrived in Madrid, they were somewhat "awed by the icy majesty of Habsburg etiquette. One witness notes: 'The audiences given by the king of France are pitiful compared with those of the king of Spain.' The remark was conveyed to Louis, and subsequently bore rich fruit" (87). Erlanger furthermore notes that the French were



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Some of these details, as we will see, will be depicted by Calderón in *La púrpura de la rosa* like other descriptions made by another witness, the Marshal-Duke's second son, later the second Duke of Gramont, who wrote:

It was thus with much difficulty (owing to the crowd) that the Marshal of Gramont reached as far as the apartment of the King, who was awaiting him at the audience in a great hall decked with the crown's most beautiful carpets (*tapisseries*). He was at the end (of the room) on a dais covered with gold embroidery and huge pearls, seated in an armchair; and the space above the canopy (*queue du dais*) was covered by the portrait of Charles V on horseback done by Titian, so natural that one believed that the man and the horse were living [...]" (qtd. in Orso 39)

Certainly the opulence of the Hall of Mirrors influenced the French delegation, as this citation attests. The Hall was also the location of a second audience with Gramont where the King sent the French envoy a letter granting the hand of the

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unable to hide their incredulity at the reception they received during their visit to Alcázar: "[...] the French were barely able to conceal their astonishment as they passed through room after room lined with shimmering lords and ladies standing silent and motionless. At last, in the final chamber, as in an innermost sanctum, Philip IV appeared before them, clad in black, standing beneath a canopy of cloth of gold. Upright as a stature, his eye did not flicker as he listened to de Gramont's speech, and he did not say a word in reply" (87). And Dunlop adds the following: "[...] as soon as the Mareschal appeared, his Majesty rose from a throne placed on a platform at the end of the chamber, and uncovered his head for a moment. The King received him with many testimonies of regard, expressed his satisfaction at his arrival, and continued with him for some time in familiar conversation. Having presented his letters and credentials, he was next led to the apartments of the Queen, where the Infanta also was seated. Her Majesty replied in Spanish to the Mareschal's address, but the Infanta only asked, "Come esta la Reyna mi Tia?" After the appropriate compliments had thus passed, the Admiral of Castile conducted Grammont to a palace which had been prepared for his reception, and was furnished with some of the richest moveables belonging to the crown. On the following morning he was visited by the foreign ambassadors, and the royal carriages were placed at his disposal. Festivals and rejoicing were held all over the capital, and the Admiral of Castile gave an entertainment which vied, it is said, with the most sumptuous banquets of antiquity. Eight hundred dishes were placed on the table besides the dessert, and after the feast a comedy was represented (598-99).

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Infanta, and informing him, "that he would explain his views on the subject of the nuptials at greater length during the ambassador's audience of leave" (Dunlop 599). During that final visit, Felipe sent letters—to be carried with Gramont back to Paris—to the King and Queen of France expressing hope, which he may not seriously have entertained, that the union of the two crowns would lead to a perpetual peace between the two realms (Routledge 69). The King furthermore pronounced a very moving discourse on the evils of war and the advantages of love and peace, (Dunlop 599) an obvious reference to the treaty currently under consideration, and a poignant allusion to the Venus/Adonis myth used in Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa*.

The final portion of the treaty, the wedding ceremony, was to be held on the Isle of Pheasants in the Bidasoa river—the same frontier location as the negotiations between Haro and Mazarin and a poignant event recorded in *La púrpura de la rosa*. However, the cold and harsh weather conditions prohibited María Teresa and Felipe from leaving Madrid until April.<sup>143</sup> Besides, time was needed to prepare the royal baggage, gifts and decorations for the ceremony. On April 15, 1660 the royal party finally started out from Madrid in a caravan that stretched 20 miles and progressed at the rate of six miles a day.<sup>144</sup> Brown

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<sup>143</sup> Queen Mariana did not make the trip; she stayed in Madrid to attend to her infant son, Fernando Tomás who had fallen ill in October of 1659. He died a short time later. The threat of a fatal sickness was a very real threat in seventeenth-century Spain. Since 1599 Felipe himself had battled bouts of fever which caused him heavy bleeding. To combat any sickness that might appear, on the trip to the frontier he brought with him four doctors, four surgeons, two bleeders and a barber (Camón Aznar 924).

<sup>144</sup> The splendor and complexity of the journey to the Bidasoa was astonishing even by modern standards. The expedition was comprised of 18 horse-litters, 70 coaches of the King and the nobility, 2600 mules of burden, 70 state-horses, 900 saddle-mules, and 32 long wagons (Camón Aznar 924, Dunlop 602, Hume 902). Dunlop also tells us that the Infanta's wedding dress and gifts for the French ladies necessitated "twelve trunks lined and covered with crimson velvet, the

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believes this journey and its accompanying riches to be a last great effort to create an impression for the French of Spain's vast wealth (173-74).<sup>145</sup> Felipe IV and his daughter, Princess María Teresa, journeyed six weeks before finally arriving at Fontarabia, where a proxy marriage was to take place on June 3, 1660, Don Luis de Haro representing Louis XIV.<sup>146</sup> The marriage was consecrated by the Bishop of Bayonne at Saint-Jean-de-Luz (Erlanger 88).<sup>147</sup>

The day after the Spanish wedding in Fontarrabia, Anne of Austria arrived at the Isle of Pheasants to meet her unknown daughter-in-law and the brother whom she had not seen for forty-five years.<sup>148</sup> The Isle of Pheasants, like the Bidasoa river, is another historical place that is referenced in the *loa of La púrpura* and will be examined. This meeting, like other details involving the

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hinges, locks, and keys of silver, containing twenty-three full suits for the Princess, all extremely rich; and other twenty trunks, covered with Russian leather, and the iron-work gilt, which were filled with an immense quantity of all sorts of linens; also six more trunks overspread with amber leather, and lined with crimson satin, their hinges, bars and locks, of gold enamelled" (601) and required 50 horses to haul.

<sup>145</sup> In "Spain and Italy Under Phillip III and IV" (1906) Martin Hume seems to share this opinion: "[...] the King and all his family and Court slowly traveled through desolated Castile to the French frontier, to give his daughter to the young King whose sun rose as that of Philip sank, the still magnificence of the ceremonial was the last great manifestation of a defeated and dying system" (660-61).

<sup>146</sup> By custom a Spanish princess could not leave Spanish soil unmarried and a French king's wedding had to take place in France. Hence the decision to first, celebrate the marriage in Spain, then to complete the formalities at a more neutral location—in this case, the Isle of Pheasants in the River Bidasoa which was more or less equal distance between Spain and France.

<sup>147</sup> "On 3 June 1660 Philip IV entered the church with his daughter at his left hand. He was looking very pale, and dressed in grey and silver. The 'Mirror of Portugal', a huge diamond, gleamed in his hat next to 'La Pelegrina', the biggest pearl in the world. The Infanta was wearing a simple dress of white wool, almost unadorned, much to the consternation of the French. They thought her small, but gentle and gracious. On the other hand they found her attendants dry, black, and dressed to look like poles stuck into barrels. Philip led his daughter to the altar. When the moment came, Maria Theresa made a deep curtsy to her father and murmured, 'Yes'. Then she stretched out her arm to Don Luis de Haro, who made the same ritual gesture towards her. In the same movement, without lowering her arm, the Princess held out her hand to her father. Philip kissed it, and the candle-light now revealed the sight of the unbending, statuesque King shedding tears" (Erlanger 89).

<sup>148</sup> The last meeting of Felipe and his sister Anne took place 45 years earlier, at the same location, when barges on opposite sides of the Bidasoa carried Anne and the King of France

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marriage celebrations, is carefully noted by Calderón in the *loa* to the opera and will be studied. Erlanger reports that the meeting took place in the conference chamber, whose floor was covered with two carpets that did not touch; the gap represented the frontier, a forbidden line, since no monarch was allowed to leave his realm (89). Anne went as far as the edge of her own carpet and reached out to embrace her brother, but Felipe IV drew back, shocked by such improper familiarity (Erlanger 89). After a surprise visit by Louis XIV to the pavilion,<sup>149</sup> the formality of Felipe wore off and Anne and he were able to enjoy a pleasant conversation. Felipe IV and his daughter returned to Fontarabia by boat, and Louis XIV rode along with them on the French bank of the river carrying his hat in his hand. The King of Spain did not turn his head, and María Teresa did not dare to do more than steal glances at her husband (Erlanger 89).

On June 7, 1660, the two Kings met on the Isle of Pheasants expressly for the purpose of formally swearing to the Treaty of the Pyrenees. Mazarin and Luis de Haro left the two monarchs and their families alone for nearly an hour and a half, and then returned to remind them that it was time to vow to the treaty (Dunlop 603). Phillipe Erlinger gives a detailed account of the swearing:

"Kneeling opposite each other at a table, their right hands on two identical

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Louis XIII to the middle where they were formally united in matrimony. During the following years, Anne remained entirely in France.

<sup>149</sup> At one point during the meeting there knock at the door and a gentleman came to tell the King of Spain that there was a "stranger" requesting entrance. Both the Cardinal and Don Luis, intent on preserving the solemnity of the meeting, went to open the door, and left enough space between them for the "stranger" to be visible. The "stranger" was actually Louis XIV, disguised. María Teresa saw him, recognized him instantly from paintings she had seen, and became both shy and embarrassed. Impatient for some reaction from her daughter-in-law, Anne asked for María Teresa's opinion of the stranger. Bernier recounts that Felipe answered for his daughter saying "que non ero tiempo de decirlo" (69), forbidding his daughter to answer. This disappointed Anne and the French delegation, but the skillful Felipe found a way around the dilemma asking



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gospels, their left hands holding two identical crucifixes, they swore mutual peace, alliance and eternal friendship" (90). Dunlop adds that when it came time for Luis to read the oath he had prepared, he freely added that: "I vow not only peace but friendship" (603). In reality, the friendship was to last less than two years, the peace between the two countries about seven.

At the third and final meeting, on June 9, 1660—that of the *entregas*, as it is called—the King of Spain formally presented princess María Teresa to Louis XIV. Felipe led his daughter to the line dividing the room between the Spanish and French, and officially presented her to the new husband (Elliot, *Philip IV* 189).<sup>150</sup> Felipe, anxious to conceal his feelings in a dignified manner, expressed great sadness and was deeply affected by the emotion with which Louis received his blessing (Dunlop 604).<sup>151</sup> Interestingly, the decorations for the ceremony

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his daughter, "Qué le parece a Vuestra Majestad de la puerta?" María Teresa blushed, smiled, and finally whispered: "Muy linda, muy buena me parece la puerta" (Bernier 70; Erlanger 89).

<sup>150</sup> "...the ground between the royal residences and the church was spread with rich carpets and the whole processional route was lined with white and gold-painted pillars loaded with garlands. The procession walked through an immense concourse of onlookers, to the deafening peal of bells. At its head was the Prince de Conti, followed by Cardinal Mazarin in ermine cape and flowing purple train. At a distance, in solitary state, came the King, dressed in gold brocade veiled with black, solemn and majestic. Next followed Maria Theresa, flanked by the Duc d'Orléans at her right hand and her chevalier d'honneur, M. de Bernaville, at her left. Over her robe of silver brocade she was wearing a forty-foot mantle of violet velvet strewn with fleurs-de-lys. It was supported by two ladies, while a third carried the train and another two held the crown that enclosed her fine blonde hair. Beneath her long, black veils, embroidered in silver, the Queen Mother still looked beautiful. The rear of the procession was brought up by La Grande Mademoiselle" (Erlanger 90).

<sup>151</sup> To commemorate his marriage to María Teresa, a few years after the ceremony Louis XIV had a series of tapestries made under the direction of his favorite painter, Charles Lebrun. One of them represents the meeting of the French and the Spanish kings in the grand hall at the Isle of the Pheasants. According to López-Rey in his book *Velázquez' Work and World*: "Lebrun portrayed Philip in a graceful stance though aged and somewhat stoop-shouldered; as for the Infanta, he made her figure stand out rather ungracefully by the use of a perspective which emphasizes the bulk and stiffness of her farthingale. To the student of Velázquez, Philip IV and the Infanta María Teresa appear miscast in Lebrun's somewhat anecdotal portrayal of courtly pomp, a world alien to that of sheer monarchical sentiments into which the Spanish master had fashioned his royal sitters" (145). Camón Aznar also analyzed the tapestry which is now held in the French embassy in Madrid: "[...] allí puede verse la diferencia entre la pompa barroca de los vestidos y tocados de la corte francesa y la aristocrática sobriedad de la española. Por la parte

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were especially note-worthy of such an important and historic occasion. In fact, the conference chamber on the island was highlighted with some of the best Flemish tapestries transported from the Alcázar in Madrid (Elliot, *Twilight* 1). These aesthetic arrangements and subsequent decorations were made by none other than Diego Velázquez, *apostador de palacio* and the king's *tapicero mayor*, who had accompanied the king on his expedition to the frontier.<sup>152</sup> It is important to note that Velázquez' decorations of the Alcázar and the wedding celebrations influenced the thematic material of *La Púrpura de la rosa*, a point that will be discussed in turn.

After the ceremony Louis and María Teresa went out to the balcony to greet the people who waited outside and even threw them handfuls of money. Anne, who had been more interested in the wedding union than anyone else in

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española, acompañan a Felipe IV don Luis de Haro, quizá el marqués de Malpica, el marqués de Mondéjar, el conde de Puñonrostro, el marqués de La Guardia y tal vez, al borde, se encuentre el retratado Velázquez. Por la parte francesa acompañaban a Luis XIV, entre otros personajes, Mazarino y el duque de Anjou. Lo que sí nos interesa es el papel del pinto en esta ceremonia. Los regalos que a Felipe IV hizo Luis XIV—toisón de diamantes en un reloj de oro con diamante y otras joyas—se los entregó el rey a Velázquez 'para que lo condujese al palacio del castillo de Fuenterrabía [...]'" (927).

<sup>152</sup> After deciding on the particular decorations and choosing tapestries for the Spanish rooms on the Isle of Pheasants, Velázquez actually left Madrid on April 8, 1660, two weeks before the King and his entourage. He was charged with the duty to inspect and reserve lodgings along the way for the royal party. (Brown 173; López-Rey 144). One of his helpers was a carpenter whose duty it was to secure members of the royal party against robbers by fixing the doors and locks of the buildings in which they were to stay (López-Rey 144). The journey north took 24 days. At the end of it, Velázquez presumably turned his attention to the important business of decorating the Spanish section of the pavilion on the Isle of Pheasants where the bride was to be handed over to her groom (Brown 173). The decoration for the ceremony was an immense task. But, Velázquez' success was noted because, as Stradling points out, "not only neutral observers but also the French themselves gave the Spanish court the palm for the tasteful display of wealth and power. In this way, what was fundamentally a sad and even a humiliating occasion for Philip was compensated in part of a notable triumph of *reputación*" (323). Velázquez was also one of the magnificently dressed courtiers present at the ceremony (López-Rey 145). Shortly after the wedding ceremony, Velázquez returned to Madrid, fell ill from exhaustion and died suddenly. Partly as a repayment for Velázquez' splendid work, Philip saw to it that the painter was knighted in the Order of Santiago and even added the cross of the Order "with his own hand to the painter's doublet, in the recent self-portrait incorporated into the celebrated *Las Meninas*" (Stradling 323).

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the French Court, was very pleased with its outcome. After so many years of wars between France and her homeland, one weighty goal of her life was finally realized. And when Louis decided it was time for the newly-married royal couple to go to bed, Anne remembered the displeasure of her own wedding night and ordered that no one disturb them, sparing the couple the custom of publicly consummating their royal marriage (Bernier 71; Erlanger 91).

### **Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa*: Politics, Production and Opera**

The aforementioned historical and political events have been described in such detail because they are important source elements that influenced Calderón's first opera, *La púrpura de la rosa* which was performed in the Coliseo del Buen Retiro<sup>153</sup> on January 17, 1660, just a short time before the marriage.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> The two companies that performed the opera were headed by Pedro de la Rosa and by Juan de la Calle (Cruikshank 56; Shergold 343). The Retiro provided ample space for mechanization of the scenery. However, we also know that *La púrpura* was originally to be performed in la Zarzuela (Cruikshank 45).

<sup>154</sup> I am indebted to the following admirable studies concerning *La púrpura de la rosa*, its production and performance in Madrid and its analysis: Louise K. Stein's four excellent works, "The Iberian Peninsula and its New World Colonies: The Spanish and Portuguese Heritage" (1990); "Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda" (1991); "La plática de los dioses" (1986); and *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods. Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (1993). The most complete and indispensable study to date on *La púrpura de la rosa* for anyone studying this opera in Spain and Peru is by Ángeles Cardona, Don Cruickshank and Martin Cunningham, *La púrpura de la rosa* (1990). Other important studies on *La púrpura* include: Everett W. Hesse, "Court References in Calderón Zarzuelas" (1947); Thomas A. O'Connor's two works, *Myth and Mythology in the Theater of Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (1988) and "Infantas, Conformidad, and Marriages of State: Observations on the Loa to Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa*" (1993) as well as Edward M. Wilson's "The Text of Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa*" (1959). For the history of the opera and the zarzuela in Spain, see: D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori's studies, *Historia de la zarzuela o sea el drama lírico en España, desde su origen a fines del siglo XIX* (1934) and *Orígenes y establecimiento de la opera en España hasta 1800* (1917) as well as José Subirá's groundbreaking works: *Historia de la música teatral en España* (1945), "Calderón de la Barca, libretista de ópera: Consideraciones literario-musicales" (1965) and "La opera 'castellana' en los siglos XVII y XVIII" (1965).

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Written to celebrate the marriage and peace agreement, the *loa* to the opera also immortalizes key political figures and particular political, social and historical events. It was most likely set to the music of Juan Hidalgo who also wrote the music for Calderón's second opera, *Celos aun del aire matan*, also from 1660.<sup>155</sup> Musical dramas like *La púrpura* and *Celos* were commissioned by the Crown and were thus obliged to be favorable to the Crown; Calderón, a successful playwright and defender of the monarchy, knew that his production should express the monarchy's political strategy. Consequently, the *loa* provides an imbued explanation for the socio-political events leading up to the Peace of the Pyrenees, in an effort to persuade the audience to embrace the treaty with the arch-rival French, and the subsequent marriage.

As a production whose intention was to persuade, *La púrpura de la rosa* can be analyzed in light of Jameson's first framework of analysis (the narrowly political) as outlined in *The Political Unconscious*. Jameson proposes to rewrite literary texts or cultural artifacts in such a way that "rewriting will be seen as the rewriting or restructuration of a prior historical or ideological subtext" (81). The prior historical subtext as presented in *La púrpura de la rosa* would be the 1659 peace treaty and marriage agreement. As a cultural artifact, Calderón's version

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<sup>155</sup> Before 1700, there were only three works in Spain that combined music and drama. The first was by Lope de Vega, *La selva sin amor* (1627), the second, *La púrpura de la rosa* (1660) and finally, Calderón's *Celos aun del aire matan* (1660). In 1651, Calderón became a priest and stopped writing for the public theatres, concentrating on court dramas and religious plays for the Corpus Christi celebrations. *La púrpura* is considered a mythological/religious play by most standards. It is unknown who composed the music for *La púrpura de la rosa* but most critics agree that it was Juan Hidalgo: "Como se desconoce el nombre del compositor que escribió la música, se ha supuesto que fue Juan Hidalgo. Esto parece muy probable, dada no sólo la colaboración más tarde en el caso de *Celos aun del aire matan*, sino también debido a que, cuando la obra se volvió a representar en 1680, fue Hidalgo quien compuso la música para la nueva *loa*" (Cardona, Cruickshank and Cunningham 141). In addition, see the following for their



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can be considered a symbolic act that maintains a close connection to the real, and it can be compared to an "ideological act" that attempts to invent "imaginary or formal 'solutions' to unresolvable social contradictions" (*Political* 79). The unresolved social contradictions in the opera can be considered related to the audience's perceived disapproval of the treaty and marriage. In the case of *La púrpura de la rosa*, the *loa* (or, prelude) was the utmost interpretation of the political content and context of the 1659-60 events. Hence, a study of the *loa*, in lieu of the main text of the opera, will provide a clearer perspective on politics, history and society during the time Calderón is writing. In fact, as a work wrought with political meaning, the *loa* has a triple purpose: first, it explains and contextualizes the peace agreement and wedding ceremony to the Spanish audience. Secondly, contextualizing the historical events allows the playwright to serve the Crown by persuading the public to embrace the peace accord and matrimony as separate, independent events, although our knowledge of the historical situation shows them to be reliant on each other. Third, one of Calderón's tasks was to justify his choice of opera and convince the Spanish audience to welcome its inclusion. This study of the *loa*, then, necessarily included a resituation of the text in 1659-60 Spain in order to examine the historical references and explain the persuasive tendencies of the production and the problems it proposes to solve.

The type of exchange between what the audience accepted, what the playwright tried to instill and how the stage became a vehicle for propaganda can

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remarks on Hidalgo's probable participation: Stein (*Iberian* 329), Cardona, Cruickshank and Cunningham (*La púrpura* 141) and Sullivan (*Semi Operatic* 72).

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be examined keeping in mind the New-Historicist practice of cultural exchange and negotiation. Greenblatt tells us that texts and other symbolic goods (in this case, opera) circulate in a society via channels of negotiation and exchange. There is a unique network of negotiations and a market for negotiating and exchanging ideas and beliefs. Calderón and his opera can be thought of as the vehicles that determine a system of negotiation and exchange because he is a specialist in cultural exchange. As a specialist in cultural exchange, Calderón was keenly aware of his audience and of the difficulty of a baroque musical production. Spanish audiences may have been familiar with the *comedias* and other dramas, even *autos sacramentales*, but they were not familiar with new types of musical dramas such as opera that would be totally sung and completely metaphorical. Nor were they accustomed to or prepared for a theatrical work whose goal was public acceptance of a highly-controversial peace accord and marriage agreement. Furthermore, the *loa* was the first portion of the opera that audiences would see, and it would be the basis on which they decided whether or not to embrace this new stage experiment. The problem for Calderón, then, was essentially one of public reception regarding both form and content as presented in the *loa*.

To remedy the problem of public reception, and implement a more interesting approach to such tedious but significant historical material in the *loa*, Calderón introduces the allegorical figures, Zarzuela, Tristeza, Alegría, Vulgo and Música, in order to prepare the audience for this new type of dramatic experiment in which music is the centerpiece. On the surface, these figures

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develop the plot of the *loa*: Zarzuela, *vestida de villana*, represents Felipe IV's hunting lodge<sup>156</sup> and complains that for two years she has been abandoned by the royal family and no theatrical productions have taken place there: "[...] con la esperanza de un día / de todo un año la ausencia, / son ya dos los que de mí / ni se duelen ni se acuerdan" (66-70). Since theatrical works were not slated for production in the real Zarzuela playhouse, the allegorical Zarzuela explains that there is little chance of any new presentations and states that she is afflicted by desertion and loneliness due to the royal family's abandonment of the stage:

[...] ya sabéis  
que esa humilde, esa pequeña  
(bien que real) pobre alquería  
es —si en mí lo representa  
lo montaraz de mi traje—  
la olvidada, la desierta,  
la desvalida, [la] sola  
fábrica de la Zarzuela. (38-44)<sup>157</sup>

This citation echoes the dissatisfaction that the playwright and his audience probably felt, as there was no opportunity to present or attend stage productions which were a courtly pastime. Further explanation for the lack of stage productions is provided by *Alegría* and *Tristeza*, who enter the scene to console

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<sup>156</sup> La Zarzuela represents Felipe IV's favorite hunting lodge near El Pardo, just outside Madrid, and site of a number of theatrical performances. It was built under the direction of the Conde-Duque de Olivares and completed in 1636. It became a customary staging area for theatrical troupes to present short theatrical pieces, music and singing. Later, longer more complex dramas were performed there. The earliest "fiestas" became known as "Fiestas de Zarzuela."

<sup>157</sup> All citations of Calderón's *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa* are from the edition of Cardona, Cruickshank and Cunningham with line numbers appearing between parenthesis.

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Zarzuela and explain the reasons for the royal family's absence: attention has been focused on the peace negotiations and preparations for María Teresa's marriage to Louis XIV, thus vacating stage productions in Madrid.

As described by Zarzuela, the abandonment of the stage is essentially a problem of production that was clearly recounted in the *loa*. In her complaint, she reminds the audience that it has been a number of years since the last production was staged in the Zarzuela playhouse:

[...] mis ansias  
pasaron a conveniencias,  
a causa de que las causas  
con que a mis montes no vengan  
fueron tan dichosas como  
que su venida impidieran  
los dos felices natales  
de las dos felices prendas  
Próspero y Fernando, que  
edades vivan eternas [...]. (71-80)

Implied in this citation is the fact that the royal family vacated the playhouse ("a mis montes no vengan" [74]) during the winters of 1657-58 and 1658-59 (Cruikshank 39). Another important element of this quote is the reference to Princes Felipe Próspero and Fernando, the first of many allusions to the royal family in the *loa*. Here, Zarzuela pays tribute to the two princes, explaining that the two heirs to the throne will be eternally remembered. The two princes appear



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among a number of references to the royal family, and the events surrounding the 1659-60 peace accord that are given preference in this *loa* over other contemporary references (Hesse, *Court* 366). The inclusion of the both princes is interesting: by simply mentioning them, there is an implied hope that marriage and peace agreements will be successful since, with the two births, there are now multiple heirs to the Spanish throne.

The allusion to the two princes is also engaging because their reference provides a context for identifying the composition date of the production. The composition date provides a telling example of how contemporary cultural events can influence the production and performance of this work. Studying the text, we must recall that the peace agreement and planned marriage were arranged in 1659, perhaps at the same time Calderón wrote the libretto for the opera. We also know that *La púrpura* was performed on January 17, 1660—before the wedding, and prior to the signing of the treaty (June 3, 1660), presumably because the opera was ready for production. However, the opera may not have been as ready as it seemed; the allusion to prince Fernando calls into question the actual date of composition. Recalling the citation, "[...] las dos felices prendas / Próspero y Fernando, que / edades vivan eternas" (77-80), a close study of the language of the text reveals that the use of the present tense "vivan" (80) indicates that Fernando is still alive. Fernando died, however, on October 23, 1659, indicating that the work must have been written a short time before his death; this verse remained part of the finished version performed in January of

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the following year.<sup>158</sup> In other words, it appears that Calderón made no additional rewrites of his text, and was probably hastened to present it. If the production was prepared for presentation so rashly as to ignore an important matter like Fernando's death, what can be learned from these inconsistencies? It seems probable that the haste to perform the opera in January, 1660 was intended to begin pressuring the Spanish audience to accept the pending agreement before the actual marriage in June, 1660. After all, convincing the Spanish public to accept the peace and marriage was a high priority for the Crown, who knew they despised the French after so many years of war, and would not be favorable to the impending marriage agreement. Hence, a notable historical event such as Fernando's death may not have been an obstacle to the production of this opera, but it may have provided one more way to persuade the Spanish people to accept the peace.

Other contemporary political events dealing specifically with the date of the production are referenced in the *loa*. At one point, for example, Zarzuela talks about the absence of theatrical presentations and realizes that the public will not be consoled unless other new productions are undertaken:

[...] por quien me acuerdo que dije  
en otra ocasión como ésta:  
¿quién vio amor de puro fino  
consolado con la ausencia? (81-84)

In this citation the words "en otra ocasión" and "la ausencia" can be interpreted as pointing to the production prior to *La púrpura de la rosa*, a calderonian work

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<sup>158</sup> Cruickshank gives the date as between December 21, 1658 and October 24, 1659 (37).

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called *El laurel de Apolo*. *El laurel* was to be performed in the Zarzuela in 1657, but it suffered the same fate as *La púrpura de la rosa* and was moved to the Coliseo del Buen Retiro and presented in 1658. The worries about no new theatrical productions seem to be solved as Vulgo announces that a new production will take place in the Coliseo where all spectators can attend. Vulgo, symbolizing the common spectator, realizes that the upcoming royal nuptials and peace accord are fitting reasons for Zarzuela to commemorate the occasion:

De que no sólo hoy celebra  
con su sobrino el Rey paces,  
mas con su cuidado treguas;  
[.....]  
manda que a la Corte vayas  
y que le lleves la fiesta  
que prevenida tenías  
[.....]  
y tan presto, que no dudo  
que aquesta noche te espera. (329-349)

Here, Vulgo demonstrates the reason for the production—to celebrate the peace—but, her words show that there must have been a great rush to complete the production and present it. It is likely that there was heavy pressure from the Crown for this production to be brought to the stage and Vulgo even states that the demand may have been so great that a change of venues to the Retiro was in the interest of expediency:

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en esta breve distancia  
que de aquí al Retiro resta,  
a estudiar un festín? (394-398)

But, why would there be such a rush to stage the production? We know that productions staged in the Zarzuela were almost exclusively attended by members of the Court and the royal family. Keeping in mind the propagandist intent of this work, by moving the production to the Coliseo del Buen Retiro and opening it to the general public, the work would have a greater chance of reaching the masses in an effort to persuade them to accept the marriage agreement and peace treaty.

In addition to the persuasive tendencies of the *loa*, Calderón also developed it to defend a new type of musical drama that would be played out in the main text of the opera. When Zarzuela enters the scene, she wearily agrees to present the newly-conceived drama, and summons the figure Música to help. As if to warn the *mosquetero* public, Música understands the present danger of a boring, uneventful production and declares that effects and spectacle will be the keys to entertaining the audience:

Y vosotros, deidades de estas riberas;  
advertid que afectos no sin finezas;  
bien podéis admitirlos, dirá el aplauso,  
si es verdad que afectos hacen milagros. (499-502)



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Having avowed that music is the best vehicle to "make miracles," Música dances and sings and becomes the center of attraction (we should remember the allegorical quality of these characters; in this case, music—Música—will be the essence of the production). What Calderón's *loa* does is to emphasize "effects"—music, scenery, costumes, and the like—in an effort to overcome the difficulties of reception. In fact, as Stein tells us, these qualities become vital cultural components for this new genre, and are evidence of a departure from more traditional forms of drama: "Calderón embraced not only the importance of 'affect' but the idea that it was best expressed in music; the prologue (the *loa*) included one of the principal concepts associated with opera in the Baroque era" (*Songs* 207). In this case, "effects" were an obligation and requirement for the playwright if his work was to be presented at all.

The opinions, thoughts and beliefs of the audience of *La púrpura* were important and are directly related to audience approval or disapproval for the new musical genre. It is quite conceivable that their reactions to this new musical genre would have an impact on Calderón's ultimate decision to continue to develop opera in Spain. Studying this reaction and Calderón's preoccupation with it, is, in a sense, an examination of the social energy encoded within the opera. The concept of *social energy*, first developed by the New Historicist Stephen Greenblatt, has been defined as the congenital capacity of a work of art, in this case opera, to continue to "generate the illusion of life for centuries after its conception, writing and production" (Greenblatt, *Shakespearean* 170). Opera, for example, through representational means, negotiates between the nature of the

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According to Greenblatt, plays and other representational productions carry charges of social energy onto the stage which is decoded by the audience. The audience then revises that energy and returns it to the stage in the form of wonder, reaction, appreciation, marvel, and so on (*Shakespearean* 14). The subsequent relationship between a play, the performers and the public becomes an important aspect in understanding the contemporary thematic and political significance of production. Social energy (in *La púrpura de la rosa*, for example) emerges in the props, stories, costumes, language, music, metaphors, symbols, and ceremonies that help make up a play (Veenstra 187). Greenblatt asserts that there is no exhaustive and definitive list of things that can qualify as social energy. For Greenblatt, everything produced by a society qualifies as social energy, including: "[...] power, charisma, sexual excitement, collective dreams, wonder, desire, anxiety, religious awe, free-floating intensities of experience [...]" (qtd. in Veenstra 187). We can explore the social energy of *La púrpura de la rosa* by bearing in mind the lengths to which Calderón went in order to produce new types of music, spectacle, costumes, and scenery, among other important details. A study of social energy in *La púrpura de la rosa* will lead to a heightened understanding of this aesthetic production and the culture in which it was created.

Calderón's emphasis on the "effects" of opera and the audience's reaction can be examined as social energy. What probably concerned Calderón as much as the audience was the notion that a drama completely sung might be a bit

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mundane or incoherent. He must have recognized the pitfalls of moving away from the traditional type of theater already known by his audience. Aware of the dangers of presenting a musical drama, the possible disfavor of the audience is noted by Tristeza who warns of the risks involved in this new type of musical drama:

¿No mira cuánto se arriesga  
en que cólera española  
sufra toda una comedia  
cantada? (429-432)

Calderón anticipates his audience's reaction, proposes the question, then gives the answer as Vulgo replies, "No lo será, / sino sola una pequeña / representación [...]" (433-35). By making the spectacle a "small" one, Calderón was able to warm the audience to this new experiment. Through the words of Vulgo, Calderón even refers to himself in the third person in an attempt to absolve himself from possible criticism. The main point is that if he himself does not strive to be innovative, there will be little success in the future for any type of musically performed drama:

[...] Demás  
de que no duda que tenga  
en la duda [d]e que yerre  
la disculpa de que inventa;  
quien no se atreve a errar, no  
se atreve a acertar [...]. (434-39)

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Here, Vulgo explains to the audience that though there is a risk in producing this type of musical genre, there is also a risk in not producing it; new, imaginative techniques and genres must be undertaken, or else the stage becomes monotonous and dreary. Clearly, what must have been important was to buffer any public disfavor the work might receive and likewise avoid the assumption of a totally sung *comedia*. That is to say, if the production is simple and short, few could complain that it departs from the dramatic, action-filled performances to which audiences had become accustomed. It is apparent, though, that the social energy of this production, as represented by the public's reception to the genre, probably helped to decide the course that the *loa* would take. For all of Calderón's good intentions, this new musical-dramatic experiment probably pleased very few; maybe that is why the playwright decided to make the opera only one act.

Calderón's decision to produce an opera that so closely reflected such an important historical-political epoch also seems somewhat inexplicable if one considers that Spain and its colonies had minimal knowledge of opera, and there was little desire to depart from the norms of the *comedia nueva* set forth by Lope de Vega in his 1609 *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*.<sup>159</sup> *La púrpura de la rosa*,

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<sup>159</sup> There has been debate on whether or not *La púrpura de la rosa* can be considered an opera. Subirá explains that the term "ópera"—in the traditional, musical sense—did not appear in Spain until 1698: "Aparece por vez primera la palabra 'ópera' en el idioma español a fines del siglo XVII. Unos papeles consignan en los albores de 1698 la expresión 'fiesta de ópera' con respecto a una producción cuyo título no se mencionó. Pocas semanas después, y en esta misma circunstancia, se dio cuenta de una 'ópera cantada'" (*La ópera* 26-27). Nevertheless, most critics now generally agree that the elements that make up Calderón's work and the events leading up to its production, including the influence of the Italian delegation in Madrid during the 1650's, denote the work as an opera. Still, others, like Everett Hesse and Gilbert Chase prefer to label the work a "zarzuela" (Hesse, *Calderón* 7; Chase, *Origins* 301). The term "zarzuela" has been defined by Stein as "a shorter, lighter court entertainment with a stronger admixture of



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with its emphasis on spectacle and music<sup>160</sup> did turn away from Lope's model while still attempting to integrate Lope's call to "[...] Imitar las acciones de los hombres / y pintar de aquel siglo las costumbres [...]" (v. 50-53).<sup>161</sup> Calderón does imitate the actions of man and he reflects social customs by recording and documenting the real-life peace treaty and royal marriage agreement. His choice of opera as a medium to do this, however, was somewhat controversial given Spain's scant knowledge of it. As drastic changes were taking place in drama during the seventeenth century, a new genre of musical theatre called opera was clearly being seen as a cultural phenomenon—at least outside of Spain (Stein, *Plática* 28). Hesse tell us that while opera was spreading fast throughout Italy and the rest of Europe, it had little or no impact on Spain until Calderón employed the new genre:

España fué el único país que no aceptó la ópera italiana con su orquesta grande hasta el siglo XVIII. [...] La contestación de España a la ópera italiana (que era enteramente cantada) era un

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comedy, and a pastoral or mythological-pastoral plot that unfolds in an earth-bound pastoral or rustic setting" (*Opera* 128). We do know that the term "zarzuela" surfaced directly from Calderón's title page to *La púrpura*: "fiesta de zarzuela, y representación música, que se hizo a sus Majestades en el Coliseo de Buen Retiro." For the history of the opera and the zarzuela in Spain, see: Cotarelo y Mori (*Historia de la zarzuela*; and *Orígenes*) as well as Subirá (*Historia; Calderón*; and *La ópera 'castellana'*).

<sup>160</sup> Music was introduced into the *comedia nueva* at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The use of music was justified by Lope de Vega on the basis of a passage in Aristotle's *Poetics*, and the function of music in the *comedia* texts became standardized through Lope's practice (Stein, *Plática* 71).

<sup>161</sup> Lope de Vega, *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, ed. Juan de José Prades (Madrid: Clásicos Hispánicos, 1971). In "Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda" Stein reminds us that the popular *comedia nueva* stood out for its emphasis on verisimilitude. The function of theater was to create a perspective of the real world or, at least, a small portion of it. The idea, according to Lope, was to include elements that would be appealing to a wide public. Thus, popular sayings, stock character types, popular events and idealized or didactic references to current events were prevalent (129).

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tions" (*Iberian* 328)

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Since Spain had little interest in opera, it is probably safe to conclude that Calderón did not set out to establish the operatic genre in Spain, or to enact a totally Italian type of musical theater (Stein, *Plática* 29). In fact, Calderón, who had not experienced Italian culture first hand, had minimal knowledge of Italian opera. He was thus forced to rely on earlier Spanish models from playwrights like Lope who flirted with music in drama without any real degree of success.

The only experiment with this new musical genre before Calderón was, in fact, Lope's *La selva sin amor*, written in 1627 and produced under the tutelage of the Florentine stage designer Cosimo Lotti and members of the Italian delegation in Madrid.<sup>162</sup> Lope's musical contribution to theater leading up to *La selva* was a regular use of music, which found its culmination in the 1627 *La selva sin*

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<sup>162</sup> Cosimo Lotti was an engineer known for his stage design and stage machinery. He was employed by the Duke of Tuscany before Felipe IV brought him to Madrid in 1626. He introduced a number of remarkable effects to the Spanish stage: "triumphal cars, artificial lighting (so that for the first time productions could be done at night), and portable machine stages (for greater variety of productions), and combined them with the special effects of the *comedia* already existing in the *corrales*, such as trap doors, machines representing clouds that moved up and down, an upper gallery (both for performance and for access to some of the machines), and the device for discovery, in which a character can be made to appear suddenly on stage. He finished the scene with Italianate perspective stage scenery, rather than the flat, rather sparse affairs of earlier Spanish sets. The set design now became one of wing and shutter" (Stroud, *Introduction* 7). For the *Selva* production, Lotti created a mechanized scene in which moving fish swam against the waves of a blue sea. Nevertheless, Stein explains that although Lotti's scenic effects were very successful, *La selva sin amor* hardly made any impression on the course of music in Spain. As a result, "Opera was not established as a genre, and the recitative style was not taken up immediately by Spanish musicians. Neither did the new concepts of 'speech in song' and totally sung theater inspire commentary (as far as we know) from the usually vociferous circle of court dramatists and musicians. The foreign genre (pastoral opera) and the humanistically inspired musical style (recitative) seem to have been rejected by both the artistic community and the royal patrons" (*Iberian* 328).

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*amor*.<sup>163</sup> The Iberian peninsula would have to wait until the mid 1650s for another theater spectacle to even include music, Calderón's *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra*, although this work is not rightly considered operatic (Stein, *Songs* 201).

There is little doubt, however, that Calderón was inspired by the operatic experiments that had previously taken place in Spain, and by whatever slight exposure he had to Italian opera. In fact, Stein believes that he deliberately introduced opera to Spain: "[...] the two opera texts he wrote for the court in 1660 were deliberate attempts to introduce opera to the Spanish court: these are exceptions and should be carefully distinguished from the other works" (*Plática* 29). Exactly what differentiated Calderón's first opera, *La púrpura de la rosa*, from other earlier musical dramas is his use of certain musical components specific to seventeenth-century Florentine opera: recitative,<sup>164</sup> airs,<sup>165</sup> choruses (in duos or trios), and dances. These components were resourceful elements that are readily visible in the text but were not known to exist in earlier Spanish musical dramas. Structurally, Calderón's opera differed from Italian opera in that his had one or two acts instead of three. It was perhaps his new and innovative

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<sup>163</sup> Stein mentions vocal and instrumental music which was utilized to highlight action in the plot, to differentiate subsections of a scene, to signal a scene change and even to announce stage entrances and exits (*Plática* 14).

<sup>164</sup> Although quite fashionable in Italy, recitative was not known in Spain before 1627 (Stein, *Iberian* 327).

<sup>165</sup> Stein believes that in Calderón's mythological opera system, only the gods could sing in the new recitative style (a combination of speech and music) and the "airs" were reserved for scenes in which music takes on a persuasive quality (*Plática* 42-43). Stein's remarks concerning the first appearance of recitative in Spanish drama are helpful. In "The Iberian Peninsula and Its New World Colonies: The Spanish and Portuguese Heritage," she writes: "Recitative was suggested by the king's Italian stage engineer, Baccio del Bianco, and the papal legate to Madrid, Giulio Rospigliosi, the distinguished poet and librettist. According to the Baccio's letters, the Spaniards knew nothing of recitative and were skeptical about 'acting in song'. Nevertheless, a Spanish adaptation of recitative became an essential ingredient of the mythological semi-operas by Calderón and the composer Juan Hidalgo, and was used occasionally in the pastoral zarzuela, in

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use of recitative, however, that most marked his departure from Florentine opera. Instead of employing recitative haphazardly, Stein informs us that Calderón customarily reserved its use for the dialogue of the gods. In her outstanding study on opera and drama in seventeenth-century Spain, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods. Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, Stein writes about the persuasiveness of the speech of mythological figures in the Calderonian system of opera:

In the Calderonian system, the mortals (unenlightened, powerless, and dependent on the will of the gods) cannot understand the recitative speech-song of the gods, so that the *tonada* (a song-type related to popular song and characterized by a memorable, repetitive melody) and not recitative was usually employed when the gods sang to the mortals. The use of the *tonada* for divine "persuasion" became conventional in Spanish court plays [...].

(138)

In the Calderonian system of opera, then, recitative was reserved for the gods, an element that distinguishes *La púrpura* from either the French or Italian models and from earlier attempts at musical drama in Spain. In fact, the first indication of this innovation takes place in the *loa*<sup>166</sup> to the *La púrpura de la rosa*, where Calderón explicitly admitted his intention of introducing a new style of drama, one

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which spoken dialogue was standard" (329). See also, Cotarelo y Mori (*Historia* 43-53) for more on recitative in the Spanish musical drama.

<sup>166</sup> Angeles Cardona Castro defines the *loa* saying that it has a double function: "a) los cómicos romperán por medio de la *loa* el abismo que media entre ellos y el público; b) poco a poco, irán imponiendo silencio, reclamando atención y anunciando el interés de la obra de grandes proporciones que pronto va a empezar" (*Función* 1077).



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From this quote two telling characteristics surface. First, that *La púrpura* will be rendered entirely in song, showing that Calderón embraced a new aesthetic and theoretical foundation for drama. Second, Vulgo's mention of "otras naciones" refers primarily to Spain's political and artistic competition with France and, to a lesser degree, with Italy. It seems likely that for Calderón, one of the principal means to compete with other nations was through the implementation of opera and by the fashionable application of certain operatic devices, like recitative. It was well known in Spain that in 1660 French Cardinal Mazarin also planned to produce an opera for production in Paris, and Calderón may have been spurred on by the competition. Calderón's own stage directions for the *loa* and main opera explicitly point out his intent to do better than his competitors by being innovative in his use of recitative: "Van saliendo Flora, Cintia, Clori, Libia, cada una de por sí, cantando en estilo recitativo, como con asombro, mirando al vestuario, como huyendo con admiración" (166). By stating that he knew

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recitative and how to apply it, Calderón could have been sending a strong signal to the French declaring that Spain's artistic innovations were still formidable.

It can be said, then, that a strong political content was expressed by Calderón's insistence on the use of recitative. As we have said, Vulgo's declaration explicitly reveals competition for artistic superiority between Spain and France. Although Italy was the only nation where innovative artistic trends (such as opera) thrived during the seventeenth-century, Calderón's opera provided a basis by which he and others could surpass their French counterparts, if not militarily, then at least artistically. Calderón and Spain could compensate for its failing military prowess by outdoing France with its brilliance and originality in operatic celebration. If he, and Spain, were successful with opera, then musical genius would confirm that Spain would still be an artistic power. This confirmation was especially important in the wake of an unpaid dowry for the royal marriage between Louis XIV and María Teresa that could ultimately humiliate the country. The 1660 production of *La púrpura de la rosa*, coupled with Calderón's second opera from the same year, *Celos aun del aire matan*,<sup>167</sup> seemed destined, if successful, to concretize opera in Spain. Success was modest, however, and Spain would not see another attempt at opera until well into the eighteenth century.

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<sup>167</sup> Calderón's second opera, *Celos aun del aire matan*, was performed after *La púrpura* in either 1660 or 1661 and was known to have been the product of collaboration with a noted composer Juan Hidalgo. As Bukofzer notes Calderón's use of baroque stage elements while maintaining a distinct Spanish quality: "Although Hidalgo's music faithfully reflects in its short arias and its flexible recitative refrains the middle baroque stage of the Italian opera, it has nevertheless an unmistakable Spanish flavor" (176).

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<sup>18</sup> In the main text of the novel, the goddess of love pursues Adonis, and Adonis, in turn, pursues the same goddess. The goddess of love is the same as the goddess of sorrow and fame. The goddess of love ascends from the sea to the sky, and is called "the rose", *la púrpura*.

One of the reasons that makes a cultural study of *La púrpura de la rosa* so interesting is the influence of numerous contemporary artistic and historical elements that may not be directly referenced in the opera, but nonetheless greatly affected the source material. A New-Historical approach offers an opportunity to recontextualize aesthetic works in order to investigate and explain aspects that are not directly obvious in texts. One important indirect mention—and a difference between the Calderonian opera and earlier Italian opera—is the mythological thematic material of Venus and Adonis that Calderón chose for the main text of his opera. This myth, which symbolized the conquest of love and peace (exemplified by Venus and Adonis) over jealousy and war (represented by Mars), and seemed like good material to honor and celebrate the peace between France and Spain and to document the royal marriage.<sup>168</sup> The main text that follows the *loa* was to be the centerpiece of this operatic theatrical experience because it emphasized early special effects designed by Italian theater workers accustomed to inventing new ways to marvel the audience. To provide the highest quality entertainment, Calderón chose thematic material that both reflected current events and taught important lessons. The dramatist, for example, included “popular songs and idealized or didactic references to current events” (Stein, *Opera* 129) and the choice of the Venus and Adonis myth allowed ample thematic material for the playwright to include music, dance and new

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<sup>168</sup> In the main text of Calderón's opera, Venus is saved from a wild boar by Adonis who falls in love with her after being struck by Cupid's arrow. Venus' former lover, Mars, learns of the affair, pursues Adonis, and finds vengeance with the help of the wrathful Megera: Adonis is killed when hunting the same ferocious boar, and upon hearing the unhappy news, Venus is overwhelmed by sorrow and faints. Jupiter takes pity on the pair and transforms Adonis into a crimson flower that ascends from the stage alongside the star of Venus. Thus, the blood of Adonis gave the “color to the rose”, *la púrpura de la rosa*.

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stage innovations while reflecting the socio-political events unfolding contemporaneously. In the case of *La púrpura de la rosa*, a study of the Venus and Adonis myth was also useful for contextualizing the socio-political events surrounding the peace agreement and marriage. If, for instance, we consider that the conclusion of *La púrpura* represents “la confusión de Marte, el triunfo de Venus,” the triumph of love and peace over jealousy and war, we see that the Venus/Adonis myth is an appropriate symbolic theme to celebrate a royal matrimony and the end of a thirty-year war.

There were other interesting motivations for choosing the Venus/Adonis myth as thematic material. Consider, for example, that the decorations of the Alcázar’s Hall of Mirrors where the French delegation met with Felipe IV and formally requested the royal marriage, may have influenced Calderón’s choice of this myth. The Hall of Mirrors abounded in paintings based on the Venus and Adonis myth by well-known seventeenth-century artists, and were the centerpiece of the Alcázar decorations for the 1659 visit by the French delegation. The supervisor of the Alcázar’s decor was Diego Velázquez, the Spanish Court Painter, who also made the magnificent ceremonial arrangements for the peace signing and marriage ceremony on the Island of Pheasants in the Bidasoa River. Under the supervision of Velázquez, the decorations and furniture of the Alcázar palace, especially those of the Hall of Mirrors, were arranged in order to project the Spanish Habsburgs as leaders of peace and reconciliation. Among the paintings chosen by Velázquez to reflect the peace and reconciliation of the new agreement were Tintoretto’s two paintings, the *Myth*



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of *Venus and Adonis* and one of Velázquez' own, *Venus and Adonis*. These three paintings were prominently displayed in the Hall of Mirrors<sup>169</sup>—the very room where Felipe IV awaited the French and where he formally accepted the marriage proposal.

Interestingly, just outside the entrance to the Hall of Mirrors, another *Venus and Adonis* painting by Veronese was exhibited alongside its companion painting, *Cephalus and Procris* (the myth portrayed in Calderón's second opera, *Celos aun del aire matan*, also produced in 1660).<sup>170</sup> The choice to feature these paintings prominently was surely motivated by the political situation at hand. Their shared subjects of love and war were closely linked to the type of atmosphere that Velázquez wanted to create for the French visit.

Another more pragmatic reason for Calderón's choosing the Venus and Adonis myth was the influence of the Marquis de Eliche, Don Gaspar de Haro, a court minister whose father, Luis de Haro, negotiated the Bidasoa arrangements during the previous summer of 1659. Eliche was very knowledgeable about the

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<sup>169</sup> In many cases the decorations of the palace were changed precisely for the French delegation's visit. López-Rey provides the best overall description of the Alcázar: "The Master [Velázquez] had designed and supervised the refurbishing of this hall, which derived its new name from the Venetian mirrors prominent in Velázquez overall decorative scheme. The subject of the whole fresco ceiling decoration, divided into five sections, was the fable of Pandora; the painting of the various scenes had been entrusted to Agostino Mitelli and Michele Colonna, whom Velázquez had engaged to come to Spain years earlier, and to the younger Spaniards, Juan Carreño de Miranda and Francisco Rizi de Guevara (1608-85), who assisted them. On the walls hung oil paintings, all in black frames, by Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Rubens, José de Ribera, and Velázquez; most of them were mythological compositions, though there were several biblical subjects too. Four focal points were provided by large portraits of the monarchs from the reigning Spanish dynasty: Titian's *Carlos V at the battle of Mühlberg* and *Felipe II after the battle of Lepanto*, Velázquez's *Felipe III and the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, and Ruben's *Felipe IV equestrian with the allegorical figures of Faith and Divine Justice*" (López-Rey 142). Many of these paintings were destroyed by fire in 1734.

<sup>170</sup> Stein believes that it was probably the Veronese painting, the most best of the collection, that supplied Calderón with the idea and basis for his rendition of the myth presented in *La púrpura de la rosa* (Songs 213).

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royal painting collections and furthermore was actively involved in the ceremonies for the Gramont's visit in October 1659. He may even have been privy to the details of the negotiations between his father and Cardinal Mazarin. Eliche also worked hard to introduce Calderón and others to the operatic genre, even going as far as to produce both of Calderón's 1660 operas, *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan* (Stein, *Songs*, 211). It was not coincidence that Eliche produced these two operas based on the same mythological love stories (Venus and Adonis and Cephalus and Procris, respectively) whose paintings were already hanging in the Hall of Mirrors. Eliche was also in charge of staging court plays in the Retiro, and had the power to choose the subjects for both operas, or he may have even worked out the details with Calderón (Stein, *Songs* 213). We know that fierce artistic competition between Spain and France existed after the Treaty of the Pyrenees and that Eliche, like Calderón, probably knew about Cardinal Mazarin's 1660 plans to produce two Italian operas in France, one by Cavalli (Stein, *Iberian* 329). Eliche likely wished to show France—that "other nation"—that the Spanish stage was up to the competition and that his productions were of a higher quality and demonstrated the finest of Spanish invention and ingenuity (Stein, *Opera* 135). If we keep in mind the large collection of Venus and Adonis paintings in a relatively small area, the location of Velázquez' painting in conjunction with the meeting of the French delegation and Felipe IV in the Hall of Mirrors, and the influence of the Marquis de Eliche, it seems certain that the Venus-Adonis myth was an excellent selection for Calderón to commemorate the occasion.

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Just as the paintings in the Hall of Mirrors were juxtaposed with the thematic content of the opera, the *loa* reflected political figures and affairs and historical events. As we continue focusing our attention on Calderón's rendition of the *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa*, we note that this opera production can be studied as a cultural event that is clearly representative of the socio-political moment of 1659-1660. Recording the royal marriage and peace agreement, Calderón's production also set out to establish a particular mood for the audience. Like other forms of musical drama, the production of *La púrpura* was used as propaganda as it attempted to persuade and convince the audience of the necessity of a particular political agenda. Stein's article, "The Iberian Peninsula and its New World Colonies: The Spanish and Portuguese Heritage," traces the development of opera in Spain and reminds us of the general inherent political and propagandistic quality of music, particularly when included in theatrical works:

The arts had two primary functions: when financed by the court they could proclaim the power and grandeur of the monarchy, while for the educated commoner and the nobility they were a forum for social criticism and a mirror of society. The visual arts were especially important for their representational potential and their immediate impact. Music, however, did develop its own propagandistic and nationalistic function, towards political or religious ends, especially certain forms of vernacular sacred and theatrical music. (327)

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As we have mentioned, in seventeenth-century Spain it was implicit that a production and performance of an elaborate opera like *La púrpura de la rosa* would carry with it a political ideology akin to the Crown's. Consequently, the historical figures and allusions in the *loa* text are juxtaposed with the ideology of the monarchy in an effort to induce the Spanish audience to embrace the marriage between María Teresa and Louis XIV and the peace that it provided. Some of the ways that this is accomplished is through numerous references to the royal family and to political figures who were involved in the peace negotiations and marriage ceremony, both of which took place on the Island of Pheasants in the River Bidasoa.

The *loa* also persuades and educates the audience by employing other textual references. For instance, the earliest events of the peace agreement including the war with France, the peace negotiations in the Bidasoa and, finally, the peace accord are all mentioned. The first, and perhaps most important allusion takes place during a dialogue between Tristeza and Alegría.<sup>171</sup> The two allegorical figures begin their explanation of the events leading up the peace agreement by highlighting the antithetical relationship between Spain and France, "[...] los dos polos de Europa," (156) who, in the end are political opposites, "políticas opuestas" (155). Through the allegorical figures, Calderón takes pains to make sure his audience knows that he is aware of their distrust of the French after decades of war. In a lengthy quote from the text, the task fell to

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<sup>171</sup> Throughout the *loa*, Alegría and Tristeza alternate between "llore la Alegría" and "cante la Tristeza". These two allegorical figures are grieving the loss of María Teresa who is to leave for France to become the bride of Louis XIV. Their repetitive "pena" is her departure and their accompanying "gloria" is that she will now be Queen of France.



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**Tristeza and Alegría to decide that religion, faith, and prudence are the constituents of the trust and unity that eventually led to the peace process and the final agreement:**

**Tristeza:     ...en orden a que de España  
                  y Francia las dos diademas,  
                  que ciñó de roble Marte,  
                  ciña de oliva Minerva,...**

**Alegría:     ...siendo la paz, bien como  
                  Sacros Iris de la Iglesia,...**

**Tristeza:     eclesiástico y seglar  
                  los brazos que los sustentan.  
                  [.....]**

**Alegría:     ...de los dos polos de Europa  
                  la lealtad y la prudencia,...**

**Tristeza:     ...la religión y la fe  
                  a sus dos patrias atentas. (144-159)**

**This citation is one of the most politically charged of the work, the essential foundation on which the audience will come to understand the negotiations and agreement, and the means for Calderón to persuade the spectators to accept the royal marriage. From our historical review, we know that there were a number of important political reasons for peace, the least of which dealt with love.**

**Calderón's chore, however, was to relate peace with wisdom, love and religion to make his public believe in the integrity of the treaty and marriage. As the quote**

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demonstrates, *Alegría* praises the two military powers for being loyal and prudent in their actions ("lealtad y prudencia,..." [144-157] ) and for coming to terms on a mutually beneficial agreement that ended the war between them. *Alegría* and *Tristeza* also persuade the audience that, like the two opposing Crowns, prudence and faith are consequential values that each Spaniard must adopt in order to accept the marital union and peace accord at face value.

Also documented for the audience is a direct reference to the process of negotiations and the location where the negotiations took place. To describe the peace process for the Spanish public, *Alegría* and *Tristeza* clarify details such as the location of the negotiations:

*Alegría*:        Dígalo el Bidaso, pues  
                      de la mayor conferencia,...

*Tristeza*:        ...del mayor congreso, vio  
                      en su cristalina esfera... (153-156)

Through *Alegría* and *Tristeza*'s words, the Bidasoa river is allegorized. They explain that the peace process was negotiated and sealed within the perfection of the Bidasoa's "cristilina esfera," which gives an aura of perfection and harmony. This documented information is meant to inform the Spanish public about the peace process already undertaken, and the great lengths taken by the French and Spanish to come to a peaceful settlement.

Calderón was mindful that the audience would likely agree that war was tiring and peace was advantageous. The long-standing risks of continuing the war with France was a possibility if the wedding agreement was voided for any

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reason. In a further effort to persuade the public, Tristeza and Alegría set forth the historical account of the Bidasoa meeting between the Spanish negotiators led by Don Luis de Haro and the French delegation led by Cardinal Mazarin. Their dialogue cites Spain and France directly and also references some of the key political figures involved in the brokering and acceptance of the peace agreement. Specific mention is made, for example, to the Spaniard Don Luis de Haro and his negotiators labeling them "árbitros" who are "returning" to the Bidasoa to unite the two crowns:

Alegría:        ¡O feliz edad, en que  
                         se cansó de ver la guerra  
                         en no opuestas voluntades  
                         las políticas opuestas!

Tristeza        Y ¡o feliz edad, que tuvo  
                         árbitros que a engazar vuelvan  
                         con el español laurel  
                         la flor de la lis francesa! (152-59)

Specifically, when Tristeza mentions "volver a engazar," she is commemorating the 1615 marriage between the Spanish princess Anne of Austria and the French Louis XIII (Louis XIV's parents) which also took place on the Bidasoa River (Cruikshank 224). Key terms are inserted in order to show that the epoch of war has ended and a happy age, "feliz edad," now reigns, marked primarily by the love and reconciliation of the present marital union. As an intrinsic part of making the peace, Don Luis de Haro and his team are congratulated for their

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hard work and dedication. Calderón uses the occasion to place the well-liked minister squarely on the side of peace. By simply mentioning the well-known minister in the same space as the peace negotiations, Calderón has, in effect, included him as a proponent of the peace, a notion fully supported by the historical events. The "árbitro" Haro was Felipe IV's principal minister, and nephew to the Conde-Duque de Olivares, and he was certainly known to the audience. Haro's seeming acceptance of the peace implies that the audience should also approve.

Another aspect of the negotiations and peace process is highlighted when the French Marshal-Duke de Gramont is explicitly mentioned in the text. We might recall that, historically, a significant step toward peaceful unification came when Gramont visited the Alcázar's Hall of Mirrors in Madrid under the guise of formally requesting the hand of María Teresa from her father, Felipe IV. The *loa* recounts this event and immortalizes Gramont's role in the peace accord. It was poignant that Tristeza was the one to sing about Gramont's arrival, since he ultimately laid the basis for María Teresa's departure to France. Representing the agony and sadness shared by all Spaniards, Tristeza sings of the French diplomat who took away Spain's princess:

[...] vino el Duque de Agramón  
a pedirla...  
... de manera  
que allá la paz se ajustaba  
y acá el casamiento; [...] (196-200)



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Calderón thus acknowledges that peace should be pursued by both countries, clarifying that "allá" (the Isle of Pheasants), the peace was formulated and "acá" (represented by Felipe IV's reception of Gramont in the Hall of Mirrors in the Alcázar), the marriage will be finalized.

Besides simply educating his public about the historical events, Calderón used the Gramont reference as a means to remind the Spanish audience about the magnitude of the peace negotiations in the Bidasoa. It can be said that the production of the opera was considerable in that the playwright could use the occasion as a springboard from which he could convince his audience of the advantages of accepting the accord and marriage. It was obvious that the Spanish public's positive perception was crucial, and so, one way to convince the audience was assertively to unite members of the Court and the royal family with the unfolding historical events. The most considerable allusion to royalty takes place when Tristeza sings about María Teresa, depicting the agreement as one being based on love and understanding, not haste and indecision; a marriage agreement that María Teresa herself happily accepts:

Conferíase la paz,  
y porque nunca parezca  
a la vulgar ignorancia  
que era capítulo della  
de nuestra Infanta (divina,  
hermosa María Teresa) (183-188)

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It is fitting that Tristeza laments the loss of María Teresa; the princess was well-liked by her Spanish subjects and her departure for France was considered a great loss to her countrymen. By textually associating her with the peace process, "Conferiase la paz" (183), Calderón strives to persuade the audience that through marriage, opposing powers, no matter how antagonistic, can find reconciliation. Indeed, as Calderón prepares the audience for a step by step narration of the historical events preceding the performance—what actually happened—, it is the allegorical figure Tristeza who sadly announces the misfortunes of losing such an inestimable princess:

[...] el nupcial tálamo augusto,  
sin ver cuánto son diversas  
en la campaña las armas  
que en la Corte las decencias,  
antes que se publicase  
como apartada materia  
tratada en un mismo tiempo,  
sin que una de otra dependa [...] (188-95)

Tristeza indicates that the peace accord is not dependent on the matrimony. However, the 1659 public announcement of the marriage, as rationalized by Tristeza, needed to be carefully presented to the Spanish people: "[...] como apartada materia / tratada en un mismo tiempo, / sin que una de otra dependa [...]" (193-95). For his part, Calderón was astute in seeking to dissuade the Spanish public from thinking that María Teresa's marriage to Louis XIV was a

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A number of references point out that the playwright was very concerned with public perception and reception of the marriage and peace pact. The first indication of this preoccupation comes when Tristeza admits that the marriage may appear suspect, but there should nonetheless be no doubt as to its righteousness:

[...] en muestra  
de ser cosas tan distintas  
como ser en paz y guerra  
desavenencias de estado,  
u de estado conveniencias:  
pues para casar España  
con Francia, lo mismo fuera  
al lustre de ambas coronas  
haber paces que no haberlas. (196-207)

Once again Tristeza mindfully suggests that war and peace are distinct from this marriage agreement and should be treated separately; it is not a case of "conveniencias." She places emphasis on the notion that Spain and France will no longer be warring partners but rather powerful brethren strengthened and united through marriage.

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Of course, recalling our review of the historical events, we know that great diplomatic tensions were involved in securing the peace agreement. For that reason, as Hesse has pointed out, it was unlikely that the Spanish people would believe anything other than the idea that peace was dependent upon the marriage agreement: "[...] judging from the historical records, it seems that the proposed marriage of María Teresa to Louis XIV hastened the peace negotiations and was assuredly a matter of state convenience as the Spanish audience must have known" (*Court*, 369). Calderón must have known that convincing the audience that marriage and peace were independent from one another would be very difficult.

The *loa* also mentions King Felipe IV in addition to other references to well-known political figures and other members of the royal family. Seemingly in favor of the accord and matrimony, Alegría announces that "[...] acetó el Rey la embajada" (212), declaring that the King accepted the Gramont visit, and implying that the decision to marry off his only daughter was based on personal reasons of love.<sup>172</sup> The glory and honor of the pending marriage was also recalled by Alegría, who conveniently listed some the members of the royal family as well as commemorating María Teresa as catalyst for strengthening the French monarchy:

Cuarto planeta español,  
alemana aurora bella,

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<sup>172</sup> O'Connor holds that the *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa* is really representative of the necessity of state marriages: "[...] the *loa* to *Púrpura*, while a celebration of marriage and peace, is at the same time a poetic tribute to the consciousness of the loss and dehumanization of María Teresa as she is sacrificed to the needs of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy" (*Infantas* 179).



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si vuestra mejor estrella,  
vuestro mejor arrebol,  
ausente de aurora y sol,  
va a llevar de vuestro día  
luces a otra monarquía,  
perdone la conveniencia,  
y permitid que en su ausencia  
llore la Alegría. (458-467)

The veneration of the marriage is emphasized and the public hears of the virtues of the marriage and the positive effects for the glory of Spain. The quote refers to Felipe as the "Cuarto" (458) and as the Spanish Planet King, "planeta español" (458). The King's wife, Mariana of Austria, is identified as "alemana aurora bella" (459) and the family's "mejor estrella," (460) as Princess María Teresa who will "llevar de vuestro día / luces de otra monarquía" (463-64). That is to say, Alegría cries for the loss of María Teresa who, through her marriage to Louis XIV, will enhance the French monarchy and aggrandize Spanish eminence.

Other references to the royal family include Margarita and Prince Próspero who are utilized together in an attempt to dispel any notion that the marriage of María Teresa and Louis XIV was one of convenience. Although Margarita was only eight years old (born June 12, 1651), and Felipe Próspero only two, when the *loa* was written, the allegorical figure Zarzuela urges that a husband be found for the remaining princess, Margarita and a queen for the young Próspero:<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Cruickshank believes that the Calderón means to suggest that María Teresa and Louis XIV produce a queen for Próspero (227).

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Id a dar, para que en fin  
mejor se unan gloria y pena,  
a Próspero una azucena,  
y a Margarita un delfín:  
que uno y otro serafín  
de gozo harán que ese día [...]. (479-82)

Future marriages of state, similar to the one presently being negotiated between María Teresa and Louis XIV, were clearly consequential. This part plainly has a double meaning: first, it provides insight into how royal alliances via marriages were formed. Royal matrimonyes that allied Spain with other powerful countries were indispensable for maintaining the long-term power of the Habsburg dynasty. Second, the quote validates the marriage to Louis XIV by stating that the *delfín* is such a good spouse, that one like him should be found for Margarita, the other princess. Through the words of Zarzuela, Calderón not only justified and illustrated the socio-political events and politicians involved in the negotiations, but, once again, he attempted to persuade the audience to welcome the marriage agreement and the peace provided by it. Consequently, after almost thirty years of war the Spanish people were carefully led to believe that the royal nuptials were pursued in the name of love. Despite Calderón's insistence to the contrary, history tells us that the marriage was the only way to preserve the peace negotiations already underway with France.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> The proposal to end the war via a royal marriage had been pursued by Anne of Austria as early as 1653—six years before—when royal portraits were exchanged through the Venetian ambassadors to France and Spain. Giacomo Querini, the Venetian ambassador to Spain, requested ten portraits from the Bourbon family after the Venetian ambassador to France,

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As we have seen, the *loa* text is filled with interesting historic references to political figures and members of the court. Calderón also used the occasion to describe himself and introduce the thematic material and title of the opera. An aged dramatist who obediently accedes to royal request, Calderón believed his best days as a dramatist were behind him, and likened himself to a swan swimming in the Manzanares river:

[...] ya el sagrado Manzanares,  
al vernos en sus riberas,  
a un cisne de sus espumas,  
cantando en su edad postrera,  
le hace cortar una de  
las blancas plumas que peina,  
para que en esta ocasión,  
aun antes que a la obediencia  
atento, atento al cariño,  
represente en una nueva  
fábula a Venus y Adonis,  
de quien el título sea  
la Púrpura de la Rosa; (406-418)

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Giovanni Sagredo solicited fifteen from the Spanish royal family. In March of 1654 Querini informed the Venetian senate that the French portraits reached Madrid. Querini also reported María Teresa's response when she visited the gallery where the portraits hung and saw one of Louis XIV: "Saludo a mi novio" (105). We may recall that in 1654 the possibility of a marriage proposal was fairly enticing to the Spanish monarchy except that Spain did not yet have a male heir to the throne, thus stressing María Teresa's importance as successor. This changed, nevertheless, when Felipe Próspero was born November 28, 1657 and his brother Fernando Tomás December 21, 1658. With Próspero's birth, Felipe wearily welcomed the marriage and the

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Calderón compares himself to a "cisne" (408) who is floating defenseless in the current of the Manzanares—a prominent metaphor of the river of life whose path is brief, and whose end is death. It appears that Calderón believes that he is nearing the end of his life and in his old age it has become easier "en esta ocasión" (412) for him to be "obedient" to the wishes of the Crown for his production of *La púrpura de la rosa*. The reference to "una de / las blancas plumas que peina" (411) coincides with the perception of himself as an old playwright whose graying appearance is like the white feathers of the swan that sings about "su edad postrera" (409). Thus, while this *loa* commemorates a wedding and peace agreement, it also serves as a self-reflexive document of an author whose writing provided a valuable glimpse into his own life and beliefs.

Similarly, other productions of Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa* memorialize significant social and political events during the seventeenth-century. The appreciation and expressiveness of the opera was carefully used to mark other royal events. In 1680, for example, *La púrpura de la rosa* was performed in the *salón* of the old *Alcázar*, on a stage transferred from the *Retiro* (Shergold 343). This second performance incorporated a new *loa* with music written by Juan Hidalgo and was essentially revived to celebrate the marriage of King Carlos II to Marie-Louise d'Orléans, thus marking another Spanish-French alliance. This performance's primary goal was to honor the queen, her arrival at court and her public introduction. It was the 1680 performance of *La púrpura de la rosa*, as Fernández de la Hoz indicates, that solidified its place in tradition as

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opportunity for peace, a fact revealed in the *loa* (71-81). María Teresa often talked about the proposal to marry Louis XIV since it was presented in 1653.



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<sup>175</sup> Stevenson holds that there is no opera in the First 33-35). The next missionary a few years libretto describing Loyola. Some years later, music other missionaries of the early nineties and was published in *El País* (28). For the biographical greatly indebted to the "nuevo mundo" (1990) and (1964); Torrejón y Velasco *la música de Robert Stevenson* (1959); and "Opera Be

the premiere musical work to celebrate weddings and other royal events (233) in both Spain and the New World, including a Lima, Peru performance written and produced by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco and performed in 1701. After Calderón's original 1660 version, Torrejón's rewriting constitutes the most important production of the *La púrpura de la rosa*. The first opera in the New World,<sup>175</sup> this rewriting, or *refundición*, was composed by Torrejón when he was called upon by the Viceroy himself to produce a work to commemorate Felipe V's eighteenth birthday and first successful year as King.<sup>176</sup> The remainder of this chapter will study the socio-political context of Torrejón's *loa* by resituating it within the atmosphere of 1700 Lima.

### **The First New World Opera: Politics and Economics in Torrejón's *La púrpura de la rosa***

There is very little research on this version of *La púrpura de la rosa* in Peru. Torrejón's *loa* was rather brief (66 verses as compared to 502 verses in Calderón's version) and therefore provides a limited scope for study. The 1701 *loa* is an important piece that portrays meaningful economic and political

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<sup>175</sup> Stevenson holds that while operas became more prevalent during the eighteenth-century, there is no opera in the New World that predates Torrejón's *La púrpura de la rosa* (Stevenson, *First* 33-35). The next known opera (untitled) was written in Bolivia by an unknown Jesuit missionary a few years after *La púrpura*'s production in Lima. The unknown author wrote the libretto describing Loyola's fight against religious doubt but did not include a musical score. Some years later, music was added to the original libretto by Doménico Zipoli and Martin Schmid, other missionaries of the *Compañía de Jesus* in Paraguay. This opera was discovered in the early nineties and was recently produced in Paris. See the article by José Luis Barbería published in *El País* (28 November 1999).

<sup>176</sup> For the biographical material of Torrejón and the studies of his 1701 Lima rendition I am greatly indebted to the following sources: Francisco-Luis Cardona, "La púrpura de la rosa en el nuevo mundo" (1990) and Robert Stevenson's investigations: "The First New-World Opera" (1964); Torrejón y Velasco, Tomás, *La púrpura de la rosa. Estudios preliminar y transcripción de la música de Robert Stevenson*. (1976); *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (1959); and "Opera Beginnings in the New World" (1959).

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dilemmas. It is necessary to reconstruct the complex political atmosphere of the Peruvian *virreinato* to illustrate these political and economic issues as well as the reasons for the Viceroy's selection of Torrejón to produce an opera to celebrate such an important occasion. Thus, this section focuses on the cultural atmosphere that led Torrejón to (re)write and present *La púrpura de la rosa* in 1701, the first years of Bourbon rule in the New World, explaining how socio-historical occurrences in Lima affected the theme, structure and presentation of the operatic text.

To understand how contemporary events played such an important role in influencing Torrejón's version of *La púrpura*, a brief review of the social and historical affairs leading up to the production of the opera is useful. Because there is little written on Torrejón's *loa*, much of the political, economic, artistic and philosophical atmosphere needs to be recreated to understand the context for its performance. One way to historicize the *loa* is to study the social energy and cultural negotiation and exchange contained by the text. These New-Historicist practices can lead to an understanding of the thematic and political content as well as comprehension of the socio-historical moment of the work's reception. We will find that Torrejón's main intent is to glorify the new French Bourbon monarchy and persuade the Hispanic audience to accept the new King, Felipe V. Calderón's 1660 *loa* also had Franco-Spanish relations in mind as it was used to persuade the audience to embrace the new matrimony and peace accord. Similarly, a French King is the subject of Torrejón's version which was used as propaganda to convince the audience of the virtues of the new Bourbon King.

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This type of persuasiveness and propaganda exhibited by the *loa* can be studied in light of Jameson's first framework of analysis in *The Political Unconscious*, the narrowly political. Torrejón's *loa* can be considered, in Jameson's terms, a symbolic act that maintains a close connection to the real, and can be compared to an "ideological act" that attempts to invent "imaginary or formal 'solutions' to unresolvable social contradictions" (*Political* 79). The seemingly unresolvable social and political contradictions in the *loa* mainly deal with the audience's disapproval of the new French monarchy. Consequently, a study of the *loa* will include two principal characteristics: first, a resituation of Torrejón's text leads to an examination of political and economic problems that affected theatrical production in late-seventeenth-century and early-eighteenth-century Peru. Secondly, a recontextualization of the *loa* shows that the composer's main intention was to serve the Crown by persuading the public to accept the new French Monarchy, the same persuasiveness that served as the basis for Calderón's earlier 1660 original *loa*.

A resituation of the *loa* should begin with the author, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco. Little is known about Torrejón's birth and upbringing, although some information has been discovered by Stevenson. Stevenson tells us that Torrejón was baptized in Villarrobledo on December 23, 1644.<sup>177</sup> The composer's father, Miguel de Torrejón, was a royal huntsman of Felipe IV of Spain<sup>178</sup> with powerful connections. The father secured for his son, Tomás, a position as page in the

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<sup>177</sup> The vast majority of biographical data concerning Tomás de Torrejón has been compiled by Stevenson in his various works. For the preparation of this chapter I recognize my debt to Stevenson.

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household of Pedro Fernández de Castro y Andrade, Tenth Count of Lemos (1632-1672)<sup>179</sup> who, in 1667, would become the nineteenth Peruvian Viceroy.<sup>180</sup> After marrying Doña María Manuela, on February 6, 1667 Tomás sailed with the Count of Lemos to Peru as the new Viceroy planned to take over the Peruvian *virreinato*.

On March 3, 1667 the ship carrying the Count of Lemos departed from Cádiz and after a 45-day voyage reached Cartagena, then Portobelo, the port from which treasure ships departed for Spain. After disembarking in Callao, the Lemos entourage started its journey to Lima by crossing the isthmus of Panama.

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<sup>178</sup> As Stevenson points out, since the content of Torrejón's opera deals with a hunt, it is interesting that his own father was one of Felipe IV's huntsmen (*Music* 114).

<sup>179</sup> Cardona, Cruickshank and Cunningham tell us that it is unclear which Count of Lemos, "fue el promotor de Torrejón en los cuatro años anteriores a 1662; el entonces IX conde, o su hijo, el futuro X conde" (279).

<sup>180</sup> The inclusion of Torrejón in the Count's retinue has as many political implications as does the naming of the Count to be Viceroy. In fact, the Count made a great many enemies early on. Thus, it is interesting that he was named Viceroy at all. To better understand the politics involved in naming the new Viceroy as well as the Count's early misdeeds, Stevenson's interesting review of the biographical material concerning is helpful: "Eager to enjoy the city governed by two predecessors, the now 30-year-old heir to the title embarked at Barcelona in late summer of 1662 for Naples, there to locate in the college of the Jesuits. He remained in Naples with his retainers until October of 1663. In that month he allowed or encouraged one of his servants—a Sardinian named Felipe de la Romana—to shoot a cleric called Melchor de Ovando. Great was the offense taken by the Neapolitan viceroy of the moment, the Conde de Peñaranda, to whom nothing was dearer during his six years in office (1658-1664) than the reestablishment of public order, the suppression of duels, and the punishment of aggressor against churches. The shooting caused even greater scandal because the pistol went off in the viceroy's presence. So seriously did he take the gunplay (even though Ovando survived) that the viceroy at once ordered the hot-blooded Conde de Lemos arrested and shipped back to Spain. From January to March of 1664 the young count paid for his affront to public order by serving a prison sentence in the Alcázar at Segovia. After returning home to his Sardinian servant's misdeeds and after release from the Segovia Alcázar, the young Conde de Lemos who was Torrejón's protector again, settled in Madrid. There in the summer of 1664, he married the wealthy 24-year-old widow, Ana Francisca de Borja Doria. Both she and the Conde de Lemos were descendants of Francisco de Borja (1510-1572), fourth Duke of Gandía" (*Púrpura* 104-5). After the death in Lima of the Count of Santisteban (March 17, 1666), officials in Madrid remained undecided on a candidate to fill the vacant viceregal throne in Lima for some time. The two most influential members of the Council of Indies, the conde de Castrillo and the conde de Peñaranda, favored an experienced nobleman, the Marqués de Fresno. However, Juan Everardo Nithard, the confessor and personal advisor of Queen Mariana pressured the Queen to choose the Count of Lemos. On March 3, 1667, the Count de Lemos set sail from Cádiz with 113 personal staff"—among whom the most important



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The Count's retinue finally reached Lima only after spending time for ceremonial requirements in a number of towns along the route. A jubilant entry into Lima finally took place towards the end of November, 1667. During his five years as viceroy (1667-72) Lemos made Torrejón Capitán de la Sala de Armas, then Corregidor and after, Justicia Mayor of Chachapoyas province (located near the upper Amazon river valley).<sup>181</sup>

On January 1, 1676 Torrejón returned from the Chachapoyas province and succeeded Juan de Araujo as chapelmaster in Lima Cathedral, a post he occupied until his death at the age of eighty-three. For at least a century, this appointment had been the foremost musical position in Peru, and Torrejón was highly qualified to occupy it. Interestingly, not only did Torrejón break precedent by becoming the first cathedral *maestro* not in religious orders, but, after the death of his wife, he went even further by marrying a second time (Stevenson, *Púrpura* 106).<sup>182</sup> His long management of music in Lima Cathedral gave him the opportunity to train some of the best Peruvian musicians and singers of the eighteenth century and compose a number of festive, commemorative, and funeral pieces for state occasions,<sup>183</sup> as well as decisively to influence the course of music in outlying centers from Cuzco to Trujillo (Stevenson, *First* 34). After a

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for musical history were of course Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz and the 22 year-old Torrejón y Velasco" (Stevenson, *Púrpura* 104-5).

<sup>181</sup> Stevenson writes that the Count of Lemos was "wise" to not coerce any of the officials in Lima thereby allowing him to grant specific positions to Torrejón and others. Instead, he named Torrejón to the two civil posts as his personal gift (*Púrpura* 105).

<sup>182</sup> While still in the province of Chachapoyas, Torrejón's first wife, María Manuela, died on January 29, 1671 while giving birth to Torrejón's first son, Tomás. Juana Fernández de Mendía, Torrejón's second wife, was a Creole who was born in 1648 or 1649 en Callao (Cardona, Cruickshank and Cunningham 284).

<sup>183</sup> During his career as chapelmaster of Lima Cathedral, Torrejón's works were printed in Antwerp in 1688, at Lima in 1701, in 1708, and 1725. His musical talents were in demand in

long period of lavish spending throughout the viceroyalty, budget cuts became common in Lima. The music and religious sector was one of the hardest hit. On April 22, 1681, the local *cabildo* (town council) had to decrease not only Torrejón's salary but also severely limit the pay of his musicians and choir singers. To make matters worse, the *cabildo* also advised him on March 3, 1683, to release all but a pair of choirboys (Stevenson, *Púrpura* 106).<sup>184</sup> The financial situation further deteriorated in 1687 after a tragic earthquake destroyed most of Lima's cathedral and the *virreinato* lacked the funds for immediate rebuilding.<sup>185</sup> With no cathedral in which Torrejón could work, his salary was further reduced. Finally, on September 6, 1697, the *cabildo* was able to restore his salary to the initial 600 pesos at which he had been contracted two decades earlier (Stevenson, *Púrpura* 107).

The depleted viceregal finances became a major obstacle to musical productions in Lima.<sup>186</sup> Torrejón often did not have sufficient funding for his

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Cuzco and Trujillo, and his compositions were requested from as far away as Guatemala (Stevenson, *First* 34)

<sup>184</sup> Torrejón was already given the power to on October 3, 1679, to fine or dismiss any irresponsible singers or musicians who were either absent or unreliable (Stevenson, *Púrpura* 106).

<sup>185</sup> On October 20, 1687 an earthquake hit the city of Lima causing widespread destruction: "los limeños sufrieron las violentas sacudidas de un seísmo, que arruinó prácticamente el conjunto de los 5.000 inmuebles que en 163 manzanas formaban el tejido urbano. Se contaron más de 400 víctimas; sólo del convento de Santo Domingo se extrajeron 42 cadáveres" (Doering and Lohmann Villena, 127). The rebuilding fell to the Viceroy Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, Count de la Monclova. The Count of Monclova enjoyed the longest reign of any viceroy: he arrived in Lima August 15, 1689 and remained there until his death September 24, 1705. He previously served as Viceroy to Mexico (November 16, 1686 to November 20, 1688). No other viceroy served in Peru as long as the Count of La Monclova (Stevenson, *Púrpura* 107).

<sup>186</sup> See: "La púrpura de la rosa en el nuevo mundo", *La púrpura de la rosa*, eds. Ángeles Cardona, Don Cruickshank and Martin Cunningham (1990); Juan Günther Doering and Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Lima* (1992); Everett W. Hesse, "Calderón's Popularity in the Spanish Indies" (1955); Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramática en Lima durante el Virreinato* (1945); José Quezada, "La música en el virreinato" (1988); and Robert Stevenson's investigations: "The First New-World Opera" 33-35; *La púrpura*; *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs*; and "Opera Beginnings in the New World" 8-25.

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musicians or singers, and new productions became almost infeasible.

Fortunately, on June 26, 1701, Torrejón was presented with proper royal financing for a memorable, and quite remarkable public performance in honor of the recently deceased King Carlos II.<sup>187</sup> Stevenson tells us that all of Lima was present in the cathedral that afternoon to witness the performance and quotes José de Buendía's 1701 *Parentación Real al Soberano Nombre e immortal memoria del Católico Rey de las Españas* as proof of the audience's enthusiastic reception:

[...] the crowd was so vast that it seemed useless to hope for silence during the music [...]. However, the delicious harmony of voices, organs, and other instruments so captivated the ear that all noise gave way to rapt attention. [...] The chapelmaster—Don Tomás de Torrejón—showing that same meticulousness and zeal with which he attends to every task assigned him, had with very special care composed new polychoral music for the Invitatory, the *Lessons of Job* in the three nocturns, and for certain psalms such as the *Miserere* [...] Having managed to gather all the best voices in the city, he united them in such a moving ensemble that

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<sup>187</sup> In 1649 Felipe IV married his niece, Mariana, Archduchess of Austria and daughter of Emperor Ferdinand III and the Empress María, Felipe's sister. Mariana and Felipe had five children, three sons and two daughters. The two eldest sons, Felipe Próspero and Fernando Tomás, both died in early childhood and have been immortalized in Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa*. The third, Carlos, ascended to the throne after Felipe's death in 1661. Called "el hechizado", Carlos suffered many physical ailments and died in 1700. Although Carlos II died November 1, 1700, official notice did not reach Lima until May 6, 1701 (Stevenson, *Púrpura* 107). Upon his death, Carlos left no heir to the throne sparking a War of Succession in which the grandson of the French King Louis XIV, Felipe d'Anjou, ascended to the throne of Spain becoming Felipe V. One way that he found legitimacy to the Crown was via the earlier unpaid dowry from the 1660 marriage between his grandparents, Louis XIV and María Teresa.

everyone present was reduced to tears during the more affecting canticles. (qtd. in *Púrpura* 106-107)

The warm reception to Torrejón's music<sup>188</sup> also caught the eye of the Viceroy Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, Count of La Montclova.<sup>189</sup> An astute politician, Count of Montclova quickly allied himself with the Bourbons during the earliest days of the War of Succession (F. L. Cardona 273). As Viceroy, Montclova was interested in demonstrating his loyalty to the new Bourbon dynasty, and commissioned Torrejón to again present his talents by composing a less somber musical piece to commemorate the Bourbon King Felipe V's eighteenth birthday and first year of his reign. The result was Torrejón's rewritten opera based on Calderón's libretto of *La púrpura de la rosa*.<sup>190</sup> Torrejón's *refundición* premiered at the viceregal palace on October 19, 1701 and became known as the first opera production in Lima and the New World—"a gesture welcoming in the new king just as the music of June 26 had ushered out the old monarch" (Stevenson, *First* 34).

For the occasion of the production and performance of *La púrpura de la rosa*, many financial restraints had to be overcome. Economics, which is an important part of the ideological nature of this *loa*, has political implications and its study is advocated by Jameson in *The Political Unconscious*. In the case of

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<sup>188</sup> Not everyone was happy with the performance. Stevenson reminds us that Torrejón's performance displeased Lima's archbishop, "who took steps the next year to stop the performance of all 'jocular music' in the cathedral and to ban the nuns from participating in anything that smacked of entertainment" (*Music* 83).

<sup>189</sup> For biographical information concerning the Conde de la Monclova, see Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Perú, Virreinato: 1700-1790* (1956).

<sup>190</sup> Torrejón's manuscript is catalogued under the call number C1469 at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lima. See Stevenson (*Púrpura* 123) and Martin Cunningham, "El manuscrito de Lima y la

Torrejón's *loa*, the adverse financial state of the viceroyalty in Lima<sup>191</sup> before 1700 meant that spending extravagantly on spectacles like music or theater was not appropriate. The financial crisis confronting Peru for most of the seventeenth-century was due in part to the fact that the treasury of the Viceroyalty in Lima had been slow in collecting taxes. Moreover, silver production declined and the overall financial state of the mother-country, Spain, would not allow for additional funds for the viceroyalties. The fiscal crisis had a profound political and economic impact on Peru since the loss of treasury income left the Lima government weakened and impoverished by 1700. Andrien recounts some of the financial problems encountered by officials in Lima:

[The] overall decline of the imperial system also undermined the economic centrality of Lima. The city needed a vigorous central government to enforce the trade monopolies that insured its economic primacy in the viceroyalty. As a result the financial and political decline of the royal government, the diminishing productivity of the mines, the recession in the Atlantic trade, the diversification of the colonial economy, and the catastrophic consequences of the 1686 earthquake all combined to erode the

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reconstrucción de la ópera", *La púrpura de la rosa*, eds. Ángeles Cardona, Don Cruickshank and Martin Cunningham (1990).

<sup>191</sup> For the structure, history and finances of the Peruvian viceroyalty, see the following: Kenneth J. Andrien, *Crisis and Decline: The Viceroyalty of Peru in the Seventeenth Century* (1985); Francisco-Luis Cardona, "El virreinato de Perú en tiempos de Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco" *La púrpura de la rosa*, eds. Ángeles Cardona, Don Cruickshank and Martin Cunningham (1990); Trevor Davies, *Spain in Decline, 1621-1700* (1957); Juan Günther Doering and Guillermo Lohmann Villena; John Preston Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru Under the Habsburgs: A Study in the Origins and Powers of the Town Council in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1530-1700* (1954); John Preston Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru under the Bourbons* (1966); José M. Valega, *Virreinato del Perú* (1939); and Ruben Vargas Ugarte.

power of limeño élites in the viceroyalty. The net result was to create a more cantonal viceroyalty by 1700, made up of regions less dependent on either Lima or Madrid. (205-6)

These were the problems perceived by Lima's government officials. In Madrid, however, the financial difficulties were thought to be rooted in the viceregal administration of the treasury and other government agencies. Andrien reminds us that:

[...] tax records from Lima indicated that income had dropped alarmingly and that remissions of revenue to the metropolis had suffered accordingly. In addition the crown learned that much of the problem was caused by the political and administrative disarray of the viceregal treasury" (166).

Accordingly, by 1660 officials in Madrid realized that a full-scale reform of the viceregal treasury system in Peru was required as the only means of controlling outrageous spending by Viceroyalty or the local *cabildo* governments.<sup>192</sup> As a result, in October, 1662 the Council of Indies met in Madrid in a special session (*junta particular*) to discuss the Peruvian problems. The Council discovered that many of the causes of the fiscal crisis were political and administrative: it appeared that treasury officials were ineffective in collecting royal taxes, and they insisted on retaining a larger percentage of what they did collect in Peru, rather than sending it to Seville (Andrien 167). Consequently, throughout the

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<sup>192</sup> Most viceroys during the seventeenth century were elected precisely for their abilities to control spending and collect taxes. The Count of Lemos was the most successful: "Así pues el virreinato de Lemos fue en conjunto positivo y beneficioso para la corona a la que remitió grandes ganancias" (F.L. Cardona 269).



seventeenth century, a number of regulations had been issued by the government in Madrid in an effort to collect a greater share of delinquent taxes and to avoid senseless expenses by the *cabildos*.<sup>193</sup> Tax collection, however, was precarious. The economic displacement caused by the earthquakes of 1686, 1694, 1697 and 1699, for example, made it nearly impossible to raise money from taxes. In fact, Andrien reports that when the Spanish Crown ordered a new *juro* sale (type of public bond sale) in 1695, the Conde de Montclova refused to implement it, claiming that local merchants were too poor to support the policy (196).<sup>194</sup> The net result of these financial losses was a weak government in Lima and a treasury that was nearly bankrupt. Accordingly, almost at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, Lima's financial emergency reached a critical stage. It would take the new Bourbon dynasty and a new reform program in the eighteenth century for the fiscal system in Peru to recover from the damage done by the almost-century-long financial crisis (Andrien 206).

A further New-Historicist recontextualization of the economic and political atmosphere in 1701 Lima shows that while funding for musical pieces like *La púrpura de la rosa* could not be funded, the Viceroyalty had no problem incurring

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<sup>193</sup> Many of these regulations dealt directly with public ceremonies and remained on the books for more than a century. The Laws of the Indies, for example, declared that the council of Lima could not spend more than 12,000 pesos for fiestas and ceremonies for the reception of a new viceroy, a decree that was almost always disobeyed. In addition, no extraordinary expense beyond 3,000 maravedis could be incurred without royal permission. (Moore, *Bourbons* 107).

<sup>194</sup> As the longest serving viceroy in the New World, one of the reasons for Peru's financial difficulties can be attributed to the Count of La Monclova himself. Note Vargas Ugarte's comments on the government of La Monclova: "Gobierno blando, de administración lenta y rutinaria: el Virrey se comporta como un edil celoso, como un jefe militar falto de juventud, como político práctico de escasas iniciativas e ideas de corto alcance, como vicepatrono condescendiente con los eclesiásticos" (2).

the excessive expenses involved in the reception of new viceroys. Such a cultural study of the production of Torrejón's *loa* necessarily includes all economic and political aspects that influenced the performance of the musical piece. In this case, the reception of the Viceroy contributed to the overall depletion of important funding that could have been used for other artistic events. In fact, their reception was realistically the only celebratory event that was always consistently funded.<sup>195</sup> Since the viceroy was meant to be the Crown's supreme representative in the New World, no expense or embellishment was withheld to celebrate his arrival and the *cabildo* in Lima lavishly commemorated the new viceregal regime. Even before his appearance, news of the viceroy's landing would reach Lima and celebratory preparations would begin. In fact, the news of the nomination itself was an excuse for celebration as the city would sponsor a parade and a special lighting of the city council building, among other gestures (Moore, *Bourbons* 93). Such extravagances were the norm, not the exception. Consider, for example, the reception of the Count of Lemos, Tomás de Torrejón's protector. Like most Viceroys, upon disembarking in Callao,<sup>196</sup> Lemos was met by a delegation of the *audiencia* (high court) and the *cabildo* and escorted to the city under a canopy, the only official to be welcomed in such a fashion. He passed through triumphal arches, under banners, and for several days (sometimes upwards of a month or so) the townspeople along the route to Lima

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<sup>195</sup> See: Phillip Ainsworth Means, *Fall of the Incan Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru: 1530-1780* (1932); Andrien; Jorge Basadre, *El Conde de Lemos y su tiempo* (1948); Juan Bromley, "Recibimientos de virreys en Lima" (1953); Günther Doering and Lohmann Villena; Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El Conde de Lemos, Virrey del Perú* (1945); and Moore (*Bourbons*).

<sup>196</sup> Eventually a series of sumptuary laws were passed designed to save time and expense by dictating the land route the viceroy and his entourage would take. This would limit the trouble for

would indulge in numerous celebrations and festivities to express their affection and loyalty (Moore, *Habsburgs* 204). In "Recibimientos de virreys en Lima," Juan Bromley cites the *cronista* Mugaburu's account of the Count's glorious entrance into the city of Lima:

El 21 de noviembre de 1667, día de la Presentación de Nuestra Señora, entró el Virrey a Lima, bajo palio. Montaba un caballo blanco, cuya silla y guarniciones estaban bordadas de plata. Vestía de una tela colombina bordada de oro. Le acompañaban todos los tribunales, universidad, compañías militares españolas y compañías de los indios cañaris. Los balcones y ventanas por donde pasaba estaban adornados con colgaduras, desde los que las damas presenciaban el paseo. En la entrada de la calle de los Mercaderes, a la puerta del Consulado, había un arco muy lujoso. Otro arco se levantó en las cuatro esquinas de la salida de la misma calle, arco del que colgaban fuentes, palanganas y salvillas de plata blanca y dorada y en cuyo suelo se había colocado 550 barras de plata. Después de haber visto pasar a su esposo desde uno de los balcones, la virreina, en silla de manos, acompañada de su familia y seguida por muchas carrozas, fueron, por delante, por las calles por donde desfilaba el virrey, a la iglesia mayor, donde le esperaba el Arzobispo y todos los canónigos. A poco llegó el virrey a la misma iglesia, donde se celebró el te-deum laudamus. Había

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the officials and for the Indians of the districts through which the viceregal retinue would have to pass (Ainsworth 245). Unfortunately, most viceroys did not obey the laws.

en la plaza mayor doce piezas de artillería, que dispararon tres veces; un escuadrón de infantería compuesto de doce compañías, que hizo tres salvas. [...] Terminada la función religiosa, la virreina salió en silla de manos é ingresó al Palacio por la puerta del jardín. El Virrey con todo el acompañamiento salió también de la iglesia, montó a caballo, y entre honores militares entró a su residencia [...]. (86-87)<sup>197</sup>

The Count of Lemos' arrival to Lima was certainly symbolic of the opulence of the celebration for any *recibimiento*. But, money spent for the celebration of the arrival of a new viceroy meant diminished available funding for other artistic activities. Although throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Lima enjoyed a rich history as the artistic capital of the New World, only entertainment such as bull fights or religious musical productions were guaranteed royal monetary support (Doering and Lohmann Villena 133-39). Artists in Lima only rarely were commissioned to present traditional theatrical works, and most of these were associated with the Corpus Christi celebrations. Nevertheless, if popular dramatic works were to be performed at all in the *virreinato*, they were to be performed in Lima, *ciudad de los reyes*.

As the most important center of theatrical activity, Lima possessed a number of *corrales* (open-aired theaters) and *casas de comedias* (theaters) (Hesse, *Calderón's* 12) where well-known, traditional Spanish *comedias* and *autos sacramentales* were occasionally presented. A number of musicians,

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<sup>197</sup> Basadre, F.L. Cardona and Lohmann Villena all elaborate further on the details of the reception.

dramatists and actors migrated from Spain and attempted to develop Spanish theater in Lima. Stein suggests that many of the theatrical performances given in the New World closely matched what was already in vogue in Madrid: "The repertory of *comedias* and *autos sacramentales* in the New World is identical with that in Madrid, and certain dramatists retained their popularity with American audiences well into the later 18<sup>th</sup> century" (*Iberian* 334).<sup>198</sup> The success of many of the theatrical works in Lima helped to make the city the showcase for New World theater. In *The Cabildo in Peru Under the Habsburgs*, John Preston Moore speaks about the development of theater in Lima, especially in relation to the Spanish playwrights:

For here [Lima] dramas written by Spanish authors and presented by well-trained, experienced actors were enjoyed by a cultured aristocracy, and ordinances regulating them were passed by the *cabildo*. In the lesser towns there was a dearth of the theater. Everywhere the lack of a distinctive secular drama was partly compensated for by vivid religious pageantry and the re-enactment in a lively, appealing fashion of Biblical stories and episodes on holidays associated with Christian worship. (207)

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<sup>198</sup> Stein also writes: "It is clear that Iberian musical genres and idioms were firmly implanted in courtly and ecclesiastical institutions there by the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Numerous musicians from the Iberian peninsula migrated, some in the service of aristocratic administrators, others according to the dictates of the religious orders. Many composers from the south of Spain held positions in New World churches and cathedrals, cultivating the contrapuntal style of late 16<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish cathedral music as practiced in Seville, Málaga, and Cádiz. From the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century the strongest influence came from Madrid, the cultural model for the sophisticated colonial courts; an official description of a performance paid for the Viceroy of Peru in 1672 praised the production as staged 'just as at the Retiro in Madrid'" (*Iberian* 334).

As we have seen, most of the theatrical works presented in Lima were performed in one of the public theaters. In addition to those *corrales*, many first runs of dramas or *comedias*—especially by well-known playwrights like Calderón, Lope de Vega, Mira de Amescua, Vélez de Guevara and Rojas Zorrilla—were often enacted before an élite audience in the viceregal palace. It was customary for special works like *La púrpura* to be first performed before the members of the viceregal government on the occasion of royal events such as the ascension to the throne of a new monarch, notable birthdays, military victories or the arrival of a new viceroy: "These happenings touched off such festivities as pyrotechnic displays, bullfights, jousting tournaments and parades and terminated with the performance of one or more plays" (Hesse, *Calderón's* 12).<sup>199</sup>

### **The Political and Social Implications of Torrejón's *refundición* of *La púrpura de la rosa***

Examining the cultural context of Torrejón's *loa* to *La púrpura* also shows that other forms of entertainment within the theatrical system in Lima were also chosen for political reasons. New Historicism advocates the study of such details as a means to demonstrate their political significance. In this case, politics and production are closely linked; although for years the Peruvian *virreinato* lacked sufficient funds to commission popular musical or theatrical works, with the ascent of the French Bourbons to the Spanish Crown in 1700 a growth of public celebrations and festivities took place. Traditional Spanish *comedias*, *zarzuelas*

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<sup>199</sup> Others reasons for celebration include the abdication or fall of a ruler or the birth of an heir

and *autos* were quickly uprooted because, as Hesse reports, new forms of theater and music were developed to reflect the prestige of the Bourbon Crown and express the more secular view of the period and the change of monarchy:

The spirit of the pageantry and the ceremonies was more secular, less religious. New celebrations arose to express the changed outlook of the times. Undoubtedly, the older ones were modified over the passage of time as a result of the acquisition of different tastes. (*Calderón's* 88)

Certainly, this metamorphosis from a Spanish national style represented by the traditional writers like Lope and Calderón to a French national style is closely related to political events. After all, the end of the Habsburg line in Spain and the turbulent arrival of the Bourbon monarchy thoroughly changed the pattern of patronage and patrons since there was little interest in traditional Spanish culture (Stein, *Iberian* 330).<sup>200</sup> Surprisingly, though, the new artistic trend was Italian, not French. In fact, the first Bourbon King, Felipe V, generously provided money to bring to Spain numerous Italian musicians, actors and painters in his determination to establish Italian opera as a commercial enterprise (Stein, *Iberian*

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apparent (Moore, *Habsburgs* 201).

<sup>200</sup> Concerning the War of Succession between the Austrian Habsburgs and the French Bourbons and the artistic changes set in motion, Stein's comments here are helpful: "both the Austrian and the French candidates for the Spanish crown represented threats to native musical traditions. When the Habsburg Archduke Carlos of Austria set up a court in Barcelona during the war years, Italian musicians were brought from Vienna to perform operas, cantatas and oratorios in the style of those composed at the imperial court by Caldara and others. In Madrid (and late in such cities as Valencia and Cádiz where administrative appointees of the crown modelled their courts on the royal one), Bourbon rule proved no less damaging: the descendants of Louis XIV (Felipe V, grandson of Louis XIV, and Ferdinand VI) and their wives lavished money and favours on Italian musicians, actors and painters, and royal authority was invoked to justify the sometimes illegal actions and often scandalous ambitions of Italian entrepreneurs, determined to establish Italian opera as a commercial enterprise" (331).

331).<sup>201</sup> These tastes were of course exported to the New World (to Lima, for example) where, following the standards set in Madrid, musical and theatrical activity soon followed the Italian style. These political events meant that musical productions, such as *La púrpura de la rosa*, would be ideologically marked, reflecting the likes, dislikes, concerns and influences of both the French and Italian style.<sup>202</sup>

Torrejón knew the court preferences for the Franco-Italian style and the audience's familiarity with traditional Spanish theater. He needed to compose an opera that would please both groups. Torrejón perhaps chose *La púrpura de la rosa* because its original production was written by Calderón, the playwright synonymous with traditional Spanish characteristics, who at the same time had implemented opera and operatic devices which were more French and Italian. Just as Torrejón's production contained both French and Spanish characteristics, it was similar to the new Bourbon monarchy in that Felipe V was French, but he occupied the Spanish throne.

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<sup>201</sup> Commercially, opera was not very viable. A small success was achieved in 1707 when the Milanese composer Roque Ceruti brought a group of musicians to Lima to produce and perform a number of sonatas, serenatas, arias, French dances and an occasional opera (Stein, *Iberian* 335).

<sup>202</sup> Stevenson tells us that Italian opera "invaded" Spain around 1703. Five years later (1708), the first opera with music by an Italian composer was produced in Peru, thereby displacing traditional Spanish court entertainment: "Fortunate in its survival as the earliest New World Opera, *La púrpura* on the other hand had the misfortune to be composed in the last years before Bourbon taste expelled purely Spanish drama sung throughout from court entertainment at Madrid. If Torrejón's *representación música* be accepted as an earnest, the Spanish school—short through its life—had already developed its own structural devices, patented its own emotion-producing formulas, and contrived its own unique balance between spectacle and action, group singing and solo song, heroic deed and buffoonery" (*Music* 135).



Exactly how Torrejón knew of Calderón's 1660 *La púrpura de la rosa* and Hidalgo's participation<sup>203</sup> in the opera is no longer a mystery thanks to the research of Louis Stevenson. He points out that as a 15-year-old page for the Count Lemos in Spain, Torrejón often accompanied the Count's entourage to the theater in Madrid. In fact, Torrejón's love of music and his known attendance of theatrical presentations provided him ample opportunity to study Calderón's productions:

With his father a royal employee and his master a court hanger-on (whose principal interest before leaving for Peru was his town house at Madrid) the youthful page engrossed in music could scarcely have escaped falling under the influence of the Calderonian operas. Both [*La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan*] were of course composed for court festivities and shown before all the élite of Madrid. At any event, he chose precisely Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa* when later at the age of 56 in faraway Peru he came to compose his own opera.

(Stevenson, *Music* 115)

It is possible that Torrejón attended the two Calderón/Hidalgo operas, *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan*, before leaving for Peru where later in his life he would (re)write Calderón's first, *La púrpura de la rosa*. Hence, having first-hand knowledge of both of Calderón's 1660 operas, it is understandable how

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<sup>203</sup> "La estimación que se concedía a Hidalgo en esta época, en el mundo musical madrileño, tiene que haber sido considerable, de manera que es casi inconcebible que un joven, que tenía tanto interés por la música (Torrejón es calificado músico en los documentos del 4 de febrero de

he would choose *La púrpura* for his 1701 production. In addition, Torrejón was greatly influenced by Calderón and Hidalgo in Madrid, and knew he could please his Hispanic audience by choosing this opera. Moreover, knowing the Court's preference for French and Italian style, it made perfect sense for Torrejón to choose opera as his medium. There is no doubt that Torrejón wrote the music for the *loa* and main opera text. It has been suggested, however, that the author of the libretto for the 1701 *loa* may have been Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre y Solier, a writer and lawyer (Cunningham, 491). Since there has been no definitive answer to this mystery, critics tend simply to refer to the author as Torrejón to avoid confusion.

If Torrejón did actually witness the two 1660 calderonian operas, he probably saw each only once and, as Knighton indicates, it is nearly impossible to tell to what extent he is indebted to Calderón's original (680). Certainly, Torrejón had the opportunity to read and study Calderón's operas since their publication in *Tercera parte de las comedias de Calderón* by Vera Tassis in 1687.<sup>204</sup> Critics believe that Torrejón's first-hand knowledge of Calderón's libretto must have been exceptional because one of the most striking similarities between Calderón's two surviving scores for *Celos aun del aire* and *La púrpura*

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1667 referentes a la partida de Lemos) ignorara por completo las obras y la fama de uno de los más notables músicos de la época" (Cardona, Cruickshank and Cunningham 283).

<sup>204</sup> Cardona holds that there is little doubt that the Vera Tassis' edition was one Torrejón used: "A pesar de que el manuscrito contiene una proporción tan reducida del texto, no cabe duda de que Torrejón se sirvió del texto impreso por Vera Tassis en su edición de la Tercera Parte de 1687. Un cotejo de las dos versiones demuestra que el texto del manuscrito de Lima es una copia bastante fiel del texto de Vera, en el que se introdujeron, sin embargo, además de algunos simples errores o casos del uso inconsistente de dos formas de una misma palabra, otros elementos de más interés desde nuestro punto de visto" (*Púrpura* 306). Stevenson is almost certain that Torrejón had a copy of Calderón's libretto to *La púrpura de la rosa*, but acknowledges that it was unlikely that he had the music (*La púrpura* 123-126).

*de la rosa* and Torrejón's *La púrpura* was an extensive application of recitative (Knighton, 680; Stevenson, *Music* 118).<sup>205</sup> By way of comparisons made between Torrejón's use of recitative and the style applied by Hidalgo in Calderón's *La púrpura*, it can be said that Torrejón's version was almost completely faithful to Calderón's libretto but he did change it a bit. Indeed, Knighton maintains that Torrejón's method of applying recitative closely follows Calderón's:

[...] his recitative is equally melodious, verging on the arioso that characterizes the 'tonada,' short musical sections that were apparently intended to be repeated as many times as was necessary to accommodate the lines of text omitted from the score.

(680)

In as much as the application of recitative was such a consequential modification by Calderón of Italian Florentine opera, Torrejón's use of it is equally important because it provides an understanding of his reliance on Calderón's original score. Stevenson similarly concludes that Torrejón followed Calderón's application of recitative so substantially that his *loa* "exhibits many of the same idiosyncrasies to be seen in Juan Hidalgo's [...] *Celos aun del aire matan*" (*Music* 123).<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> In the *New World*, Torrejón was the first to employ recitative and the musicologist Roque Ceruti perfected it. Stevenson also determines that if Roque Ceruti had not dominated Peruvian music for more than a generation after Torrejón "so Italianate a principle as *recitativo secco* might not have ousted the more idiomatic ways of setting Spanish narrative that Torrejón had favoured" (*Music* 87).

<sup>206</sup> Elements include the same use of pitch and range (124). Stevenson thoroughly remarks on Torrejón's process of rewriting Calderón's text: "Torrejón copied the text of Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa* into his own 1701 score with admirable solicitude. He omits the first word in line 8 and inserts another in recompense. He changes Venus's penultimate word before Mars's first entry to a synonym. These and many other minute changes may merely prove that he used one edition in preference to another. True, he does seem to have cut 29 lines after

Consequently, an important element of the Calderón-Hidalgo musical scores—recitative—is reaffirmed by Torrejón in his 1701 *La púrpura de la rosa* demonstrating that musically, Torrejón did not stray much from his original source.

While Torrejón did not change Calderón's opera libretto, he did alter the *loa* better to reflect the political issues in Peru during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century. First, whereas Calderón's 1660 *loa* presented Zarzuela, Música, Tristeza and Alegría, who persuaded the audience to accept the 1659 Peace of the Pyrenees and the marriage agreement between María Teresa and Louis XIV, Torrejón's 1701 *refundición* introduces Calliope, Terpsichore and Urania who unite for the purpose of persuading the audience to embrace the new Spanish-French Bourbon dynasty and its King, Felipe V. Moreover, while Calderón intended to show the rival French that Habsburg Spain was still a powerful, glorious country, Torrejón, in his *loa*, celebrates another occasion, the commemoration of the first French King in Spain. For this reason, Torrejón created a new *loa*, short in length, whose persuasive quality stems from its endorsement and glorification of the new Bourbon monarchy and its king's first year. With only 66 verses according to Cunningham's edition, Torrejón's *loa* provides a restricted text to study. Cunningham believes that it is likely that only three quarters of the text survived to the present, and that perhaps as much as one page (30-34 verses) is missing from the manuscript (496).

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Dissapointment's first quatrain and another 110 after the Nymphs' last double-chorus music. But even to have omitted 200 lines would have reduced Calderón's published libretto by only one-tenth" (*Music* 118). For a more complete discussion concerning the similarities and differences of

A second change in the content between Calderón's original and Torrejón's *refundición* is due to the economic, philosophical and political situation of 1701 Lima. Torrejón's explicit goal may have been the glorification of the Bourbons, but historical events also tell us that the deteriorated state of finances in Lima meant that elaborate productions like *La púrpura* were not likely to be financed. With the occasion of the 1701 production, Torrejón had the opportunity to protect his own job by securing funding for future performances. He carefully crafted his *loa* excessively to glorify the King and the Viceroy, hoping that flattery would help acquire funding for additional future performances. This aim is evident on the title page of the 1701 manuscript, which contains the first example of the acclamation of the new monarchy: "[...] fiesta co q celebro el año decimo octavo, y primero de su reynado de el rey n<sup>o</sup>, s<sup>r</sup>, D, Phelipe Quinto [...]" (Cunningham 492). The title suggests that the sole reason for producing the opera was to commemorate the Bourbon monarchy. But, it could also be said that Torrejón, taking on the difficult task of dramatically changing Calderón's work, was also interested in showing himself to be more than just a chapelmaster and musician. He realized the consequences and opportunities provided by the celebration and set out to exhibit his uncanny talents as a composer and artist by integrating mythology and innovative stage designs within his musical piece—innovative, that is, in comparison with earlier Spanish-American theatrical productions.

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musical devices in Torrejón's revision of the Venus/Adonis myth, see Stevenson's text of *La púrpura* (123-126).

One of the innovations undertaken by Torrejón in his *loa* is the inclusion of popular Greek mythological figures who were likely known to the audience.

Thus, the *loa* opens with the mythological Apollo, the god of light, and three Muses—Calliope, Terpsichore and Urania<sup>207</sup>—who unite at the Apollo's temple to sing the praises of the Bourbon new monarch and honor his first year as King.<sup>208</sup>

Torrejón may have selected these particular mythological figures because their individual characteristics were meant to suggest the celebrated attributes of the new king and his monarchy. For example, Apollo, the most important of the four mythological figures to appear in the *loa*, was the god of light, prophecy, music, poetry, and the arts and sciences and throughout history was worshiped for his ability to bring prosperity and knowledge to man. Eternally young, Apollo was also regarded as the god of healing because he possessed the power to restore health and life.<sup>209</sup> Apollo's perpetual youth was one important characteristic meant to recall the eighteen-year-old Felipe V. Berens tells us that in almost every account, Apollo is represented by writers, poets and musicians as being forever young and graceful:

[...] his countenance, glowing with joyous life, is the embodiment of immortal beauty; his eyes are of a deep blue; his forehead low,

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<sup>207</sup> In the analysis of the Torrejón's *loa*, I will follow the English usage of these figures (i.e., Calliope instead of Callope) unless quoted from the text.

<sup>208</sup> There has been only one other work that is known to present Apollo, Terpsichore and Calliope together: Igor Stravinsky's 1928 ballet, *Apollon Musagete*, also known as *Apollon*. His composition was commissioned to last less than thirty minutes and require not more than six dancers. Many of the elements associated with Apollo made their way into Stravinsky's interpretation of the mythological figures: "Apollo wore a pink tunic and golden shoes, and the action was set before a large mountain poised against a turquoise sky from which—for the apotheosis—a many-colored chariot descended to take the god to Olympus" (*New York* 51).

<sup>209</sup> Seeman states that it was often forgotten, however, that Apollo was also feared for his ability to unleash pestilence and death on man: "The rays of the sun do indeed put to flight the cold of

but broad and intellectual; his hair, which falls over his shoulders in long waving locks, is of a golden, or warm chestnut hue. He is crowned with laurel, and wears a purple robe; in his hand he bears his silver bow, which is unbent when he smiles, but ready for use when he menaces evil-doers. (73-74)

Another reason that Apollo is an appropriate choice for the mythological *loa* is because both he and Felipe were patrons of the arts. Felipe imported Italian musicians and writers to Spain and the New World and made additional funding available for artistic and musical celebration, while Apollo was the king of music and poetry who provided entertainment for the gods:

[...] with the first beams of his [Apollo's] genial light, all nature awakens to renewed life, and the woods re-echo with the jubilant sound of the untaught lays, warbled by thousands of feathered choristers. Hence, by a natural inference, his is the god of music, and as, according to belief of the ancients, the inspirations of genius were inseparably connected with the glorious light of heaven, he is also the god of poetry, and acts as the special patron of the arts and sciences. Apollo is himself the heavenly musician among the Olympic gods, whose banquets are gladdened by the wondrous strains which he produced from his favourite instrument, the seven-stringed lyre. (Berens 71)

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winter, but as their heat increases they themselves ultimately become the cause of disease and death" (48).

As the heavenly musician of the gods and patron of the arts, Apollo can be compared to Felipe V who was the ultimate sponsor of Torrejón's opera. Felipe, like Apollo, through his champion of music, art, and poetry, is closely related to the change in patrons and patronage in 1700 Peru.

During Apollo's musical performances, nine muses accompanied him, three of which appear in Torrejón's *loa*: Calliope, Terpsichore and Urania.<sup>210</sup> They were portrayed in the *loa* because of their divine ability to influence and inspire poets and musicians, such as Torrejón. Of all the mythological deities in Olympus, none occupy a more distinguished position than the muses, all of which were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne.<sup>211</sup> Originally, the muses presided over music, song, and dance. With the progress of civilization, however, they assumed other responsibilities such as the arts and sciences, and poetry and astronomy (Berens 157). In Torrejón's *loa*, each muse's virtues were meant to evoke the glory and grandeur of Felipe V and his empire. For example, Calliope, the muse of heroic and epic poetry, was a particularly important reference when one considers the exaltation of the heroic past and glorious future of the combined Spanish and French monarchy of Felipe V—a prevalent

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<sup>210</sup> The other six muses are: Clio, the muse of history; Euterpe, the muse of harmony; Erato, the muse of Love; Melpomene, the muse of tragedy; Polyhymnia, the muse of sacred hymns; and Thalia, the muse of comedy.

<sup>211</sup> Seemann explains the origins of the Nine Muses: "After the defeat of the Titans, the celestials besought Zeus to create some beings who might perpetuate in song the mighty deeds of the gods. In answer to this prayer, Zeus begot with Mnemosyne (Memory) the nine Muses. They sing of the present, the past, and the future, while Apollon's lute accompanies their sweet strains, which gladden the hearts of the gods as they sit assembled in the lofty palace of Father Zeus, in Olympus. Looked at in connection with nature, there is little doubt but that the Muses were originally nymphs of the fountain. Originally the Muses were only goddesses of song, though they are sometimes represented with instruments and vases. In early times, too, they only appear as a chorus or company, but at a later period separate functions were assigned to each, as presiding over this or that branch or art" (93).



theme in the *loa*. That Calliope<sup>212</sup> either shares or possesses the majority of the speaking parts in the *loa* suggests that her role as muse of poetry was held in high regard by Torrejón. The second muse, Terpsichore, carried a lyre, wore a crown of laurel and was the inventor and muse of dance. The crown of laurel that she wears, roman emblem of victory, could be meant as a symbol of the success and honor of this new Franco-Spanish monarchy. Finally, the third muse, Urania, was the muse of astronomy whose symbol was the globe and a pair of compasses.<sup>213</sup> She is only briefly portrayed in Torrejón's *loa*, carrying her compass and sphere:

los velos corred al templo de Apolo  
vereis la atencion  
conq Vrania consagra a su culto  
q<sup>to</sup>. al compaz y ala esfera debio (41-44)<sup>214</sup>

Here, the compass and sphere point to the vast expanse of stars which were said to be the map by which sailors found their destinations. As muse of astronomy, Urania symbolizes of the boundless French and Spanish empire. Many of these particular attributes would likely have been known by Torrejón's sophisticated audience.

The three muses also inspired musicians and poets, like Torrejón, to create aesthetic works that would transcend the boundaries of artistic creation:

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<sup>212</sup> Calliope was also a lover of Apollo, and was the most honored of the muses. Their son was Orpheus who was an extraordinary genius of music. Endowed with the divine ability of poetry and prophesy, Orpheus was also a teacher of religious doctrines.

<sup>213</sup> Urania was also considered the muse of poetry by later writers, like John Milton (Zimmerman 284).

<sup>214</sup> All citations of Torrejón's 1701 *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa* are from the edition of Cardona, Cruickshank and Cunningham with verse numbers appearing in parenthesis.

"[...] they bestowed upon the orator the gift of eloquence, inspired the poet with his noblest thoughts, and the musician with his sweetest harmonies" (Berens 157). The appearance of these muses in the *loa* implied that Torrejón felt inspired to create a magnificent praise commensurate with the importance of the occasion. Torrejón, the first to produce an opera in the New World, called upon the muses to energize his fashionable introduction of music and song in drama in order to perfect the arduous praise of the new monarchy.

Torrejón's glorification of the Bourbons had to be a delicate task given that the Hispanic audience was uneasy about accepting the new French monarchy just months after a War of Succession with the Austrian Habsburgs. Torrejón deals with this problem by idealizing the muses and their home which, in turn, is an idealization of the new Bourbon monarchy. In the *loa* the muses abandon their home—the *locus amoenus* of the Gods, Mount Olympus—to dedicate themselves to performing this spectacle of music and song. Descending from the mountain, the first muse, Calliope, joins the second, Terpsichore, to sing praises of the new monarch:

voz sola	Ya del monte en q habita
	dexando el esplendor
	del templo a los vmbrales
	Caliope su influjo destinó
una voz	Ya dela cumbre sacra
	pinaculo del sol
	la activa cumbre deja

tersicore al impulso de tu voz. (1-8)

With the introduction of Calliope and Terpsichore, Torrejón shows that just as they are willing to leave the beauty and tranquility of Mount Olympus to solemnize the Bourbon Court, the 1701 Lima audience should be willing to listen attentively to the virtues of the new monarchy. Torrejón was aware of his audience's possible negative opinions about the new French monarchy and to change those disapproving views, he first presents an idealized vision of the muses followed by their unified praise. The duo tells their audience that they are devoted, and humble servants of the new king. They then introduce the third muse, Urania. In their introduction, the perfection of Apollo's temple is compared to Felipe and his Court since it has been produced by the "aromas de oriente," the righteous qualities of the east, represented by Spain and France:

Duo            Pues al descender al templo  
                  sacra Victima formó  
                  de los aromas de oriente  
                  nuestra humilde adoracion.

A dúo         A del sagrado templo  
                  cuyo retiro halló  
                  Vrania tan propicio  
                  q la sombre reduce a resplandor (9-16)

This introduction helps to explain the presence of the three muses as vehicles of persuasion. The song of the two muses means that the Peruvians should collectively embrace the idealized "aromas del oriente" which can be understood

as the essence of the East, represented by the newly associated strength of France and Spain. Part of the audience's understanding of that strength deals with Apollo's oracles at Delphi.<sup>215</sup> Apollo attained his greatest importance as the god of prophecy. His oracles influenced social and political life throughout time as foreign kings and philosophers consulted the temple and relayed its teachings to their people.<sup>216</sup> By connecting Apollo's oracles with the monarchy, Torrejón meant prophetically to insinuate future greatness and virtue for Peru and the rest of the Hispanic empire. What the audience hears and sees is that the muses leave the tranquility of Mount Olympus, descend to the throne of Apollo, consult the oracles at Delphi, and show that the Spanish empire will be acutely enhanced with the inclusion of the French monarchy.

After the muses have been introduced, reference is made to Apollo and the sun, a duality that closely recalls Felipe V's origins as grandson of the Sun King, Louis XIV. But, the Bourbon Louis XIV was also a Habsburg—his mother, Ann, descended from the Austrian line. Although he was born and raised in France, Felipe V is by birth as much Habsburg as Bourbon. Torrejón uses this Bourbon-Habsburg duality to impose a close, personal relationship between France and Spain, and to convince his audience of the forthrightness of the new monarchy and to show that the French King boasts the righteous qualities of both

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<sup>215</sup> The throne of Apollo at Delphi was the most magnificent of all his temples. In the ages that followed, Kings and commoners traveled great distances to offer treasures and riches to the temple, hoping to receive favorable replies from the oracle. The Greeks believed that Apollo's Delphi temple was the center of the earth because two eagles sent forth by Zeus, one from the east and another from the west, were said to have arrived there at the same moment. Apollo's other temples were at Clarus near Colophon, Didyma near Miletus and Ismenus near Thebes.

<sup>216</sup> One of the most famous to consult the oracles was Lycurgus, the classical statesman and legislator who designed laws based on the decrees of Delphi. Lycurgus is the subject of Ruiz de Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas* and is studied in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

France and Spain. He wanted to convince his audience that there was little difference between his two ancestries, and thereby to accept the new French monarchy. Indeed, certain terms are employed by Torrejón in the *loa* to persuade the audience to recognize this Franco-Spanish duality. Comparing Felipe V to Apollo, the god of light, prophecy, music, poetry and the arts and sciences, the metaphorical allusion to the sun and its rays is meant to point to the light of reason, fairness and justice; it is also an allusion to the ability to heal and give life. Torrejón wishes his audience to remember that these virtuous qualities are bestowed upon Felipe V. Hence, Apollo's temple can be considered the new French court in Madrid, the throne of logic and understanding—"pinaculo del sol" (6). The temple is also where "la sombre reduce a rexpendor" (16) and the Bourbon dynasty in Spain is thus illuminated. By juxtaposing these qualities of Apollo onto Felipe, the prophecy of Spain's greatness can be recounted in the song of the muses:

Voz sola      La siempre invencible España  
                  la corona le ofrecio  
                  porq a su obediecnia diesse  
                  quilates su obligacion (30-33)

Citing key expressions like "invencible" and "fama," the nymphs create an aura of renewed greatness for the Spanish empire. It is the audience's "obligation" to show obedience to the new monarchy and listen attentively to the chorus of voices that sing Spain's praises. Certainly, the spectators are persuaded to see Spain's historic eminence directly connected to the Bourbon dynasty. But, it is

important to remember that this public, having lived their entire lives under Habsburg sovereignty, would not have been very receptive to the idealization of the French. Torrejón, himself raised during the Habsburg empire, was aware that to construct a mythical rendering of the Bourbons, he must also exalt the Habsburgs. That the new King Felipe was a descendent of both the Bourbon and Habsburg lines, however, made this reinterpretation easier.

Torrejón's *loa* also employs a number of symbols dealing with the sun and the Sun God Apollo. I believe these symbols allow Torrejón to show that the characteristics of Apollo's strength, beauty and wisdom are shared by Felipe V:

a cuatro      Dela esfera luciente del fuego  
                  los rayos dorados anuncios del sol  
                  sin incendios q abrasan alumbran  
                  el dia q naze el planeta mayor (45-48)

Two important political intentions are obvious in this quotation. First, the allusions to the sun, its rays and light are abundant: "esfera luciente del fuego," "rayos dorados anuncios del sol," "sin incendios," "alumbran," "el planeta mayor." These references inform the spectator that Felipe V will be a great Sun King, like his renowned grandfather, Louis XIV. Second, Torrejón also associates the luster and intensity of light with Felipe's Bourbon reign advising his audience that the future under the Bourbon dynasty will be as distinguished as it has been under the Habsburgs. Torrejón thus unifies the two dynasties by portraying the fame of the present Bourbon empire and by illuminating the former Habsburg dynasty.

Torrejón prepares the audience for a poignant praise of Felipe V by declaring that the celebration of the new King will take place in music and writing. The relationship between music and spectacle in a play, and the public's reaction to them, can be considered social energy, an important aspect that New Historicists use today to contextualize and study aesthetic works such as Torrejón's *loa*. According to Greenblatt, plays and other representational productions, in this case an opera, carry charges of social energy onto the stage which is decoded by the audience. The audience then revises that energy and returns it to the stage in the form of wonder, reaction, appreciation, marvel, and so on (*Shakespearean* 14). In Torrejón's *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa*, social energy emerges primarily in the music, spectacle, effect and language of the text. We can study this form of social energy by bearing in mind the lengths to which Torrejón went to produce an opera during a time, when traditional Hispanic preferences were clashing with the new monarchy's tastes for everything Italian. Like Calderón in his 1660 *loa*, Torrejón may have recognized the difficulties of moving away from the traditional type of theater already known to the audience. Aware of the dangers of presenting a musical drama, Torrejón employs the help of the muses who dedicate themselves to highlighting the strength of music and song in drama:

Duo	Todo el coro de las musas
	su influencia dedicó
	a dar assumpto ala fama
	con la pluma y con la voz

Todo el coro            A del coro delas nueve  
                                   ninfas cuya dulce voz  
                                   es al oido y al gusto  
                                   armonica suspencion [...] (30-40)

In addition to Calliope, Terpsichore and Urania, the other six muses help to form a chorus, "las nueve ninfas," whose divine influence is directly cited as a reason for the audience to pay heed to the message of the opera. Their task is to give esteem to writing, "la pluma," and to song, "la voz" —two principal elements that make up opera. Hence, similar to Calderón's indication that his 1660 opera will be performed entirely in song, the chorus of the nine muses in Torrejón's *loa* provide the audience with an explanation for opera as the choice of medium for this celebration. That is to say, as social energy, their sweet, harmonized voices sing of the new national style, "gusto," of opera, in which effect and song will remain eternally attributed to the generosity and magnanimity of the new Bourbon monarchy. The social energy encoded in this part of the *loa* suggests that it was meant to affect the audience and promote opera as a new national style of theater.

One important way to unite the two empires was to remind the audience that the War of Succession that ultimately carried Felipe V to the Crown of Spain had now ended, and harmony had once again returned to Spain and its colonies:

a cuatro            El quinto Planeta Marte  
                                   de dos mundos superior  
                                   se digna de que tu vista



admire su perfecc.<sup>on</sup> (49-52)

The explicit mention of the "Planeta Marte" refers to the god of war, Mars, who will appear in the main text as the antagonist of Venus and Adonis and who represents the distrust and horrors of the War of Succession that carried Felipe to the Spanish throne. The state of war between the Habsburg and Bourbon houses for control of the Spanish crown is demonstrated by the reference to "dos mundos" who have now have reached "perfection" through peace and contrition. The implicit message is that two historic and glorious powers have found reconciliation and joined to form a powerful union; the audience should admire the new dynasty and welcome its greatness.

The final glorification of Felipe take place toward the end of the *loa*. Here, a quartet<sup>217</sup> sings the praises of Felipe, wishes him a long life, and foretells the future greatness of his reign:

a cuatro      Viua Philipo viua  
viua el susesor  
del imperio q puesto a sus plantas  
seguro afianza su eterno blazon

Felipe's benevolence and justice form an important theme in the first part of this four-part chorus. Being certain to trumpet Felipe's greatness, Torrejón is careful to label Felipe a legitimate "successor" to the Spanish Crown, lest a competing Austrian suitor to the Crown think otherwise. In the final stanzas, the quartet

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<sup>217</sup> A fourth character is never introduced nor specifically mentioned in the text. The fourth voice could be represented by Apollo himself, who sings his own praises to the new monarch.

asks for the audience's acceptance not only of the King but also of the opera production being sung:

a cuatro      Viua Philip y su nombre  
                    aclame el clarin dela fama veloz  
                    por invencible por justo y benigno  
                    desde el oriente de su formacion  
                    viua [viua] y nro afecto  
                    rendido ala superior  
                    magestad de su grandeza  
                    meresca aplauso y perdon (54-65)

The quartet declares that Felipe is "invincible," "just," and "benevolent" and his fame and renown as leader of the Bourbon empire will continue perpetually. The four also sing of France and Spain as "el oriente," signaling the site of Felipe's glorious formation. Lastly, just as in Calderón's *loa*, music and song will be the effects of "nuestro afecto" in this new musical drama, as the figures vocalize their hope for peace and forgiveness. Thus, the last lines of the *loa* state that the main opera that will follow can be appreciated for its innovation and musicality since it will be sung throughout. Torrejón explains that music and spectacle in opera are new trends that should be appreciated because they point to the modernization of the New World stage under the Bourbons.

Bearing in mind the New-Historicist practice of cultural exchange and negotiation, this *loa* moves within a system of ideas and beliefs. Metaphorically, Torrejón's *loa* can be viewed as a type of currency—something useful to

society—whose symbolic value was its artistic innovation and persuasive tendencies. The aesthetic work and its communally shared value are circulated and interchanged within a social market of negotiation and exchange:

[...] the work of art is the product of a negotiation between a creator or class of creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society. In order to achieve the negotiation, artists need to create a currency that is valid for a meaningful, mutually profitable exchange. (Greenblatt, *Learning* 158)

Torrejón's *loa* is a by-product of the system that generates Lima's prevailing attitudes and beliefs. In this network of circulation and exchange, each market figure received benefits from the system, while simultaneously contributing to the system. *La púrpura de la rosa*, as a by-product of this system of negotiation and exchange, was also its principal currency, rendering a poignant sense of the culture, its economics and politics, out of which the production is socially constructed. The author, the audience and the benefactor all play intricate roles in the supply and demand of this market. For example, for Torrejón, the production of *La púrpura* provided an exceptional opportunity to praise the Bourbon Court for their generosity in providing ample resources for theatrical production for an Latin American audience not accustomed to new artistic trends, like opera. Similarly, Torrejón may have secured funding for future performances. For its part, the audience was happy that a production was undertaken at all, especially an elaborate one like *La púrpura de la rosa*. Finally,

the Viceroy benefited from the network because he is thought to be responsible for the success of the political message to the audience to embrace the new French monarchy.

Part of the study of negotiation and exchange necessarily includes the audience's reception to the new musical and artistic medium as well as the production's message. For Torrejón, it was critical that the audience approve of the new Bourbon monarchy. Felipe's hasty and tumultuous arrival to the Spanish throne contributed to the negative opinions by his Hispanic subjects in Peru about the new French rule. Although Torrejón's audience would not have felt the daily effects of the War of Succession in the distant city of Lima, they were certainly aware of the dangers of the accession of the Bourbon King Phillip d'Anjou to the Spanish throne. Thus, Torrejón, under royal commission to praise Felipe, was presented with a formidable task; the opera was the political mechanism used to persuade the public of the virtues of the new French monarchy. In addition to pleasing the Viceroy and French retinue of statesmen in Lima, he likewise had to find a means of pleasing an Hispanic audience not accustomed to opera. His task was to convince the audience that opera was a viable although innovative means of artistic expression, and to alter their political opinions. The *loa* dealt with these issues indirectly. Following Jameson's first framework of analysis, the narrowly political, as presented in *The Political Unconscious*, we have studied these contradictions and Torrejón's proposed resolutions. As we can see, Torrejón's *loa* can be studied as a symbolic resolution of the aforementioned real political and social dilemmas involving the

arrival of Felipe V and his new monarchy and the use of imported Italian artistic trends.

In sum, a cultural study of the texts and contexts of *La púrpura de la rosa* (1660, 1701) demonstrate that artistic production is political and that these productions not only resonate with contemporaneous history, politics and economics, but also that both versions of the opera reflect and create culture and ideology. It should come as no surprise, then, that these productions divulge an allegorical relationship with the cultures from which they were exacted and both were written for specific political and propagandist purposes. Calderón's version, for example, was used to persuade the Spanish audience to accept the terms of the Peace of the Pyrenees and the accompanying marriage agreement between the *Infanta* María Teresa and Louis XIV. Similarly, Torrejón's version, although much shorter than Calderón's, persuaded the audience to welcome the new Bourbon monarchy and its king, Felipe V. It likewise provided a limited but interesting scope to study the problematic political and economic and cultural atmosphere of the Peruvian *virreinato*. The thematic material of both operas, representative of a political unconscious of each country, described social problems evident to the public, proposed solutions to those problems, and in that process became significant referents for understanding socio-political and historical events and persons.

**Chapter Five**  
**Sor Juana's *El divino Narciso*:**  
**Negotiating the Religious Politics of the Counter Reformation**

*El divino Narciso* (1688),<sup>218</sup> written by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, the celebrated Mexican author, is an *auto sacramental* that combines scholastic philosophy with mythology in its dramatization of Catholic doctrine, specifically the Eucharist. During the Reformation and Counter Reformation there were attacks on Catholic Church doctrine and some philosophers turned to scholasticism to defend the faith. This resurgence of scholasticism had a profound affect on the culture of Golden Age Spain and its literature, especially the *auto sacramental* of Calderón and, later, of Sor Juana. The *auto sacramental* in Spain was an allegorical presentation staged during the Corpus Christi feasts which reaffirmed Catholic teachings and celebrated the Eucharist. The master of the *auto* in Spain was Calderón who had an influence on Sor Juana. Sor Juana's *El divino Narciso* combines the Ovidian myth of Narcissus and Echo, Catholic dogma and scholasticism to promote faith in the miracles of Christ and His teachings. Using New Historicism and *The Political Unconscious*, this chapter resituates *El divino Narciso* in Counter Reformation Mexico to study the text and context of the *auto* and examine the religious politics that affected its cultural production.

As a work that dramatizes politics and philosophy, *El divino Narciso* is an excellent illustration of the debates on religion during the Counter Reformation

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<sup>218</sup>The exact date of composition is unknown. Critics generally follow the date given by Méndez Plancarte, who holds that Sor Juana wrote the *auto sacramental* in 1688, "[...] si no anterior" (*Prólogo* LXXI). Pfandl places it earlier, 1685 or 1686 (232). Sor Juana published *El divino Narciso* in 1690, meaning that any of the three dates is possible.

period. Keeping in mind the socio-historical and religious events preceding the *auto's* composition, a New-Historicist recontextualization of the play illuminates the context and the impact of contemporaneous theological ideology on *El divino Narciso*. Pechter, a New Historicist, argues that aesthetic works have important cultural contexts that can and should be studied: "Texts do not exist without contexts (or subtexts, or interpretations), and it is the context that allows us to determine the facts of the text" (295). He notes that an examination of the cultural context of a work yields important views on society, politics, and history, and, in the case of *El divino Narciso*, we could add religion. Resituation and recontextualization, then, are useful means to reproduce the cultural influences on aesthetic works and elucidate the influence of politics and other socio-historical forces that affect their production (Madrigal, *Preface* 8). Concerning Sor Juana's *auto sacramental*, resituation facilitates an examination of Reformation and Counter Reformation ideologies in the work. I shall demonstrate how the context of Sor Juana's *auto*, influenced by neo-scholasticism and Thomistic philosophy, was used as a defense of Catholic doctrine. Hence, to resituate *El divino Narciso* is also to examine history, religion, and philosophy in their effect on the Golden-Age audience and the Mexican ecclesiastical culture.

This chapter will also demonstrate that there is an intricate relationship between the Golden-Age understanding of Reformation and Counter Reformation debates on ideology, and the teachings of traditional Catholic dogma in the play. The ideological messages encoded in the *auto* not only

express Mexican culture, they also reflect contemporaneous socio-political debates on religion. The interrelationships between content, message and audience reception in this *auto* can be examined, in the words of Stephen Greenblatt, as a component of cultural negotiation and exchange. As an agent of negotiation and exchange, *El divino Narciso* is a valuable commodity for the circulation and exchange of ideology, particularly Counter-Reformation teachings on Church doctrine. It uses a variety of social and ideological conventions to present a work that, in the words of Greenblatt, can be exchanged within society and between societies, becoming a medium for the cultural exchange of ideas.

The cultural context of Sor Juana's drama will also be examined by applying Jameson's three frameworks of analysis from *The Political Unconscious*: the first is the narrowly political, the second includes the social order, and the third is history in the vast sense, as a sequence of modes of production and various social formations. In the first framework, the political, *El divino Narciso* sustains an active relationship with the contemporary culture within which it was produced, and becomes an aesthetic rewriting of a "prior historical or ideological subtext" (Jameson, *Political* 76). In *El divino Narciso*, the previous historical or ideological subtext is the Golden Age clash between the Protestant Reformation and the Counter Reformation. As part of this clash, it can be said that the *auto sacramental* created aesthetic resolutions to important "social contradictions" (Jameson, *Political* 76) evident in the historical or ideological subtext. To put it briefly, Sor Juana sought a formal, yet aesthetic, resolution to the historical contradictions that emerged from the Reformation, by



promoting Church doctrine promulgated previously by the Council of Trent. In this way, the play is an aesthetic means to provide solutions for socio-historical problems.

This chapter also examines these socio-historical problems and their proposed solutions from the perspective of Jameson's second framework, the social. In the social framework, competing Reformation and Counter-Reformation ideologies will be studied as *ideologemes* in light of the previous historical and ideological subtext from the first framework, the political (*Political* 77). The conflicting *ideologemes* in the play include the Church's belief in its supreme authority to interpret the scriptures, reaffirm the faith in transubstantiation as well as the biblical teachings that Sor Juana used to depict these *ideologemes*. Sor Juana's *auto sacramental* presents artistically many Counter Reformation ideologies that support orthodoxy, deploying scholasticism in an aesthetic manner.

The third framework, history in the vast sense, refers to the day-to-day sequence of modes of production as represented in Sor Juana's aesthetic presentation of the debates on Counter Reformation philosophy. Her *auto* provides a comprehensive perspective on the overall socio-historical events of the epoch, "history in the vast sense" (*Political* 79) marked by the interaction between competing ideologies of the Counter Reformation in Mexico. That is to say, *El divino Narciso* reflects the politics of religion and the culture it portrays, and reaffirms Counter Reformation ideology. As a nun, Sor Juana certainly had

opinions on the Counter Reformation, its principles and teachings, opinions that are expressed in her *auto sacramental*.

Sor Juana chose classical mythology to present orthodox teachings of the Catholic faith. In the *auto*, she carefully combined the classical myth of Echo and Narcissus and the Bible to celebrate the Catholic Eucharist. According to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Echo, a beautiful nymph who was fond of talking, was punished by Juno and lost her power of speech, except for one thing: in speaking to someone Echo could only reply, using the same words as the other person. Narcissus was a handsome youth who spurned all the nymphs that fell in love with him, one of whom was Echo. When Narcissus spoke to her she could only repeat whatever he said, and he despised her for that. Nemesis, an avenging goddess, decided to punish Narcissus for his disregard of others by making him suffer the same contempt as he showed them. When Narcissus came to a fountain and saw his own image, he fell in love with himself. However, every time he approached the fountain, the image disappeared and he began to despise himself. He now knew the pain that Echo had felt and, like her, he grieved and passed into nothingness. The only thing that remained after Narcissus' death was Echo's voice, high in the mountain tops, and the only trace of Narcissus, whose body was never found, is the white flower that bears his name. Ovid's story of Echo and Narcissus provided the aesthetic content material for Sor Juana's artistic portrayal of the pagan myth in *El divino Narciso*, but it was Calderón's *comedia*, *Eco y Narciso*, that helped her to christianize the myth. In *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o las trampas de la fe*, Octavio Paz writes

that Ovid and Calderón were among a number of sources that contributed to Sor Juana's *auto*:

Aparte de Ovidio y de innumerables poemas con el tema, sor Juana se inspiró directamente en una comedia mitológica de Calderón, *Eco y Narciso*. Sin embargo, su *auto* es más complejo y de mayor riqueza intelectual y lírica que la obra del poeta español. También adoptó, de la *Vulgata*, varios fragmentos del *Cantar de los cantares*, de otros libros (Jeremías sobre todo) y de los Evangelios, como el paisaje de San Mateo que relata la tentación de Jesús en la montaña. (462)<sup>219</sup>

Paz points out that while Sor Juana was inspired by Calderón's *Eco y Narciso*, it was the variety of stories from the Bible that influenced her most.<sup>220</sup> The conversion of Ovid's fable into an allegory representing Christ and the institution of the Eucharist are perhaps the most original elements of the *auto*. The creative adaptation of Ovid's Narcissus into Sor Juana's Narciso also embodies important doctrinal teachings: "Como tantas veces hace Calderón, Sor Juana altera el mito original, para incorporarlo mejor a la doctrina católica" (Díaz Balsera 19). Thus, Sor Juana takes a pagan myth, christianizes it, and presents an *auto*

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<sup>219</sup> Paz also provides a list of other authors who, in some way or another, influenced Sor Juana's composition of *El divino Narciso*: "Otros ecos: Garcilaso, San Juan de la Cruz y Lope. La pieza es un ejemplo del arte exquisito del mosaico o, como se dice ahora, del *collage* literario, en el que sobresalen Eliot y Pound. *El divino Narciso* reúne varios estilos y maneras sin que esta diversidad dañe a su unidad y a su originalidad" (462). According to Parker, Sor Juana's source material was complex and her choice of myth can be contributed also to Calderón's *El divino Orfeo*: "We may conclude therefore, that while Sor Juana's choice of a classical myth was due to Calderón's *El divino Orfeo*, which showed her how to find analogies between mythology and dogma, it was actually *El nuevo Hospicio de Pobres* which provided her with the theological concepts and the symbols she required" (*Calderonian* 274).

<sup>220</sup> Leonard reminds us that although Sor Juana was often influenced by other authors, she seldom imitated them: "Generally she borrowed only those forms and ideas which enabled her to pour some essence of herself into them by adapting them to her own peculiar need of the moment" (177).

*sacramental* that reaffirms faith in God and the institution of the holy Eucharist. The reasons for the christianization of the myth, as we shall see, have political and religious implications.

To understand the influence of politics and religion on Sor Juana and her work, a brief overview of her life would be useful. New Historicism, as I have said, advocates resituating the author and the work in their time of production. Certainly, Sor Juana's personal life influenced the orthodox content material in *El divino Narciso*.<sup>221</sup> A review of her life provides a understanding of why she chose to write an *auto sacramental* depicting Christ and the Eucharist, using scholasticism in her presentation. There are important details about her life that greatly influenced her vision of politics, literature and religion. Sor Juana, Juana Asbaje y Ramírez, was born on November 12, 1651 in the town of San Miguel Nepantla, a Mestizo. She was the illegitimate daughter of Isabel Ramírez de Santillana and Pedro Manuel de Asbaje y Vargas Machuca. Early on, Juana was driven with a desire to learn, and nothing kept her from pursuing her studies. Sor Juana learned how to read at the age of three when, unknown to her mother, she attended a school with her older sister where she studied Latin and mastered the language in only twenty lessons. She quickly surpassed her much older sibling in most areas, but when she got older, her mother did not allow her to attend the

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<sup>221</sup> Besides Sor Juana's own *Respuesta a Sor Filotea*, I have drawn from the following sources for details about her life: Gerard Flynn, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (1971); Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico* (1959); Patricia A. Peters, Introduction (1998); Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, (Ed.) *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*. Vols. 1-3. (1951); Octavio Paz, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o Las Trampas de la Fe* (1982); María Esther Pérez, *Lo americano en el teatro de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (1975); George H Tavard, *Juana Inés de la Cruz and the Theology of Beauty: The First Mexican Theology* (1991).

university in Mexico City where she might have improved her knowledge.

Instead, Juana began to read books owned by her grandfather.

In 1664 the Viceroy Sebastián de Toledo, the Marquis of Mancera, arrived to take his post in Mexico City. Sor Juana became companion to the Viceroy's wife, to whom she dedicated several poems and, eventually, the *auto sacramental*, *El divino Narciso*. Sor Juana's works and intelligence were held in high esteem by the Viceroy who arranged an exam for the fifteen-year-old Juana. The exam was administered by forty college professors who tested her knowledge on a variety of subjects, including theology. To their astonishment, the young woman demonstrated a knowledge that surpassed many of the professors themselves, especially in the area of religion. Sor Juana's knowledge of religion and her lack of desire to marry meant that her only option for an unwed young woman was to enter a convent. In 1669 Sor Juana became a Carmelite, but life in this order must have been quite rigorous for her, since she left after only three months. She then joined the order of St. Jerome (Hieronymites) where she was allowed to continue her studies and quickly built up an impressive personal library. By this time, Sor Juana was famous in Mexico City, and for her intellectual and poetic abilities, she eventually became known as "La Décima Musa" of Mexico.<sup>222</sup> Her success was recognized by the then ex-

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<sup>222</sup> The title "Décima Muse" was bestowed upon Sor Juana when the first volume of her works, *Inundación Castálida*, was published in Madrid in 1689 by Juan García Infanzón. The title of the volume reads: "Inundación Castálida / de / la Unica Poetisa, Musa Décima, / Sor Juana Inés / de la Cruz, religiosa professa en / el Monasterio de San Gerónimo de la Imperial / Ciudad de México. / Que / en varios metros, idiomas, y estilos, / fertiliza varios assumptos: / con / elegantes, sutiles, claros ingeniosos, / útiles versos: / para enseñanza, recreo, y admiración / Dedícalos / a la Excelma Señora D. María / Luisa Gonzaga Manrique de Lara, Condesa de Paredes, / Marquesa de la Laguna, / Y los saca a luz / D. Juan Camacho Gayna, Caballero del Orden / de Santiago, Mayordomo y Cavallerizo que fue de su Excelencia, / Gobernador actual de

Viceroy, Sebastián de Toledo, who later had the nun's complete works published in Madrid.

In 1690 an important event happened that would ultimately influence Sor Juana's intellectual and religious career, including her composition of *El divino Narciso*; the Bishop of Puebla published the *Carta Atenagórica* without Sor Juana's permission. The *Carta* was a critique of a sermon by a well-respected Portuguese Jesuit priest, Padre Antonio Vieira, a friend of the Bishop's. Sor Juana subsequently received a letter from the Bishop instructing her to direct her studies toward religious and not secular matters. In her answer, the *Respuesta a Sor Filotea*, Sor Juana defended her intellectual rights and provided an explanation of her childhood and her desire to study. Included in her *Respuesta*, are some important remarks concerning Sor Juana's interest in learning theology and writing about the miracles of God that would later surface in *El divino Narciso*:

Bien que yo procuraba elevarlo cuanto podía, y dirigirlo al servicio de Dios, porque el fin a que aspiraba era a estudiar Teología, pareciéndome menguada inhabilidad, siendo católica, no saber todo lo que en esta vida se puede alcanzar, por medios naturales, de los divinos misterios; (978)<sup>223</sup>

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la Ciudad del Puerto / de Santa María. / En Madrid por Juan García Infanzón. Año de 1689" (Pfandl 84). Pfandle believes that "Décima Musa" was previously derived from *La Mexicana Musa, hija eminente*, a work about Sor Catalina de Alfaro Fernández de Córdoba that was published anonymously (85).

<sup>223</sup> Citations from Sor Juana's *Respuesta de la poetisa a la muy ilustre a Sor Filotea de la Cruz* (1691) are taken from her *Obras Completas*, edited by Francisco Monteverde (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1969). Page numbers appear in parenthesis.

The *Repuesta*, then, is not just a defense of Sor Juana's insatiable desire to study, it also provides an intimate portrait of her belief in God and her willingness to follow and promote His teachings. Indeed, her interest in Catholic dogma eventually contributed to her composition of *El divino Narciso*, considered by many to be her theatrical masterpiece.

Just as Sor Juana's personal life provides interesting details and facts concerning her views on theology, an important review of the debate between Reformers and Counter Reformers in Golden Age Spain and Mexico provides a better understanding of her *auto*'s use of neo-scholasticism and theology to reaffirm Church teachings.<sup>224</sup> New Historicism urges detailed recontextualization in order to understand the influences of philosophy, politics, religion and economics on aesthetic works. Moreover, such a resituation will also help demonstrate how Sor Juana's *auto* proposes aesthetic resolutions to Reformation and Counter Reformation dilemmas. Indeed, an understanding of Golden Age society, its influences and effects, will ultimately yield an understanding of the religious and philosophical nature of her *auto*. The religious content and defense of orthodoxy in *El divino Narciso* make evident that the

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<sup>224</sup> Historical information on the Reformation and Counter Reformation in Spain and Mexico as well as neo-scholasticism derive from the following sources: Maruricio Beuchot, *The History of Philosophy in Colonial Mexico* (1998); Mauricio Beuchot, "Un universo filosófico de Sor Juana" (1995); Marié-Cécile Benassy-Berling, *Humanismo y religión en Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (1983); Edward M. Burns, *The Counter Reformation* (1964); Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (1966); Ernest Guening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (1968); Jorge Klor de Alva, "Colonizing Souls: The Failure of the Indian Inquisition and the Rise of Penitential Discipline" (1991); Irving Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico* (1959); Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought* (1988); Anton C. Pegis, *The Middle Ages and Philosophy. Some Reflections on the Ambivalence of Modern Scholasticism* (1963); Allyson M. Poska, *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (1998); Alain Saint-Saens, *Art and Faith in Tridentine Spain (1545-1690)* (1995); G. W. Searle, *The Counter Reformation* (1974); A. Curtis Wilgus, *Colonial Hispanic America* (1936); A. D. Wright, *The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the Non-Christian World* (1982).

theatrical work was a product of the Counter Reformation. In the beginning, the Counter Reformation was almost exclusively religious in character, though its effects eventually transformed many areas of society. Its primary objective was to purge the Church of Protestant heresy and bring it back to some stage of purity. As it fought to recover lands lost due to the Reformation, and to prevent further defections from its ranks, the Counter Reformation extended its activities into education, politics, censorship, and persecution. The main response to the Reformation movement initiated by Martin Luther was the Council of Trent, convoked in 1542 by Pope Paul III and adjourned in 1563.<sup>225</sup> The Council's three assemblies promulgated a number of measures that intended to reaffirm Catholic orthodoxy and combat Reformation beliefs.

Spain was perhaps the staunchest defender of the Council's agenda. In Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the persistent questioning of orthodox teachings by Reformers like Luther and Calvin intensified the need for the Catholic Church to find a defense against what they saw as heresy. The Church's claim as sole authority to interpret the word of God and the Church fathers was fiercely attacked by the Protestants. Fiore points out that as a result of the incessant questioning of Catholic doctrine, a mixture of faith and doubt helped revive a rationalistic philosophy—scholasticism—to reconcile faith and reason:

The Spaniard of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, like the Christian of the Middle Ages, believed that God, existence, the

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<sup>225</sup> The first assembly took place 1542-1547, the second from 1551-1552 and the final assembly began in 1560 and was adjourned in 1563.



universe, and humankind could be studied in a rationalistic way with deductive logic as the methodology. Theology and philosophy, for them the two most important fields of knowledge, helped to reconcile pragmatic experience with revealed truth. (*Drama 4*)

A combined theological and philosophical approach to orthodox problems was needed that would at once combat Reformation teachings and reaffirm the faith in the principles of Catholicism. In Spain, a revival of medieval scholasticism based on the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas became the best means to defend Church doctrine. Aquinas' use of reason and logic in the form of scholasticism was one way to explain faith rationally and Catholic teachings. Neo-scholasticism, as it came to be called, taught that God was the source of all truth and that His wisdom was divinely revealed to chosen human agencies of transmission (Leonard 25). The final authority of all learning, it was thought, was held by the Church officials, who had the divine ability to refute any and every argument advanced by human reason (Leonard 25). Calderón and Sor Juana, as we shall see, used Aquinas' form of scholasticism and the *auto sacramental* to reaffirm and teach official Church doctrine

The emphasis placed on logic and reason when considering God and the scriptures was not unusual for Golden Age Spain or Mexico. The study of theology and philosophy was preferred to history and science in answering important questions concerning orthodox belief (Fiore, *Drama 5*). Pegis shows that neo-scholasticism was born within theology, not just as a philosophy, but as a theological instrument engaged in the rational and natural way to explain

Catholicism (viii).<sup>226</sup> Indeed, matters related to Church doctrine were often established by disputation and logic, and conclusions were reached by verbal rationalization—not by experience and observation. As we shall see, in *El divino Narciso*, the mysteries of Christ and the Eucharist are to be logically explained and illustrated by way of stage presentation.

Neo-scholasticism dominated intellectual life in Golden Age Spain and Mexico. Although new scientific ideas circulated, no system of thought replaced Church philosophy, particularly in institutions of higher learning. In the universities and seminaries, intellectual activity centered almost exclusively on neo-scholasticism: “[...] l'insegnamento era quasi del tutto neo-scolastico, in sostanza teologico, in accordo con l'ideologia della Controriforma cattolica” (Puccini 74-75). Since the Counter Reformation valued neo-scholastic teaching, Spanish universities, for example, rarely departed from accepted Church ideology. In particular, the universities in Salamanca and Alcalá taught that truth was accessible only through verbal methods of scholasticism, and knowledge acquired through the senses was unreliable and potentially hazardous. Whereas other European countries began to move briskly toward modern science and technology, the stagnation created by the resurgence of scholasticism and the Crown's closure of Spain to the rest of the world stifled the study of science and further supported the cultivation of neo-scholasticism.

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<sup>226</sup> Pegis holds that St. Thomas knew the nature of philosophy, but was not himself a philosopher. He created a theology that contained within its supernatural unity not only all that had been revealed but also, in principle, all that the human sciences could teach (xi). For Pegis, St. Thomas used philosophy to build theology while keeping in mind the distinction between the two (ix).

Widely taught in the universities, neo-scholasticism also had a tremendous impact on both the religious sectors and the laity; its teachings began to appear in religious as well as secular literature in the period (Fiore, *Drama 4*).<sup>227</sup> Two of the most influential Spanish philosophers to expound on the nature of scholasticism were Francisco de Vitoria (1486-1546) and Francisco Suárez (1546-1617). These two thinkers used neo-scholasticism to justify orthodox beliefs. Sor Juana read their works and derived important lessons from their writings about how to use logic and reason to teach and explain faith. For example, Vitoria, a professor at the University of Salamanca, had contact with some of the most notable theologians of the period, such as Luis de Molina, and his works marked a sort of renaissance in theological philosophy. It is important to remember that in Spain and its empire there was no separation of Church and State, and political and legal theories like Vitoria's would ultimately affect the Crown's religious policies as well. It was Francisco Suárez, however, who most utilized scholasticism to defend orthodoxy in his works. Suárez differed with Renaissance teachings about the virtues of human beings as center of the universe (Gilman 86) and based his research on simple cause and effect in an attempt to "[...] re-create self-evident truths where before there had only been doubt and conflicting schools" (Gilman 84). The conclusions he found were often a blend of Thomistic and Aristotelian thought, which led him to investigate and

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<sup>227</sup> Gracia believes that the revival of scholasticism in Spain developed late and was principally cultivated by the religious orders: "The relatively late emergence of Iberian Scholasticism meant that this movement was influenced by well-established traditions associated with various religious orders. From the thirteenth century onwards, religious orders, particularly the powerful Franciscans and Dominicans, had appropriated certain ideas and authors, and they promoted them with extraordinary zeal. The Franciscans devoted themselves to the study and

develop new theories about philosophy, theology, and law which ultimately affected religion. Suárez's theories became the basis on which early modern neo-scholasticism was used to teach religious and political thought in Spain and its empire.

Despite the diminished threat of the Protestant Reformation in Mexico, it too experienced a revival in scholasticism due to its close relationship to Spain. In Mexico, the clergy no longer needed to spend their efforts trying to convert the country to Christianity, but rather strove to protect orthodox doctrine from Reformation heresy "among the multitude of indigenous peoples who had been taught the Christian doctrine in a very superficial way" (Beuchot, *History* 93). Although, as we shall see, conversion is an important topic in the prelude (*loa*) to Sor Juana's *El divino Narciso*, the main portion of the *auto* applies neo-scholasticism in its defense of the Catholic faith against Reformation ideology. According to Beuchot, in addition to literature and philosophy, neo-scholasticism was essentially political, since even the government used it as a defense of Catholicism:

Scholastic philosophy was used as an ideological tool by those in government to oppress, but there were also many cases in which scholasticism was used against oppression and injustice. It was used in defense of the rights of Indians, to reveal the injustices of domination. (*History* 17-18)

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dissemination of the thought of Augustine and Duns Scotus, whereas the Dominicans worked under the spiritual tutelage of Thomas Aquinas and, through him, Aristotle" (xxvi).

In an attempt to ward off the heresy of the Reformation and the "false" conversion of the American indigenous, neo-scholasticism served predominantly to justify the Conquest and its subsequent effects. The Mexican clergy, who spent little time converting the native populations to Christianity, now faced the more difficult task of defending the faith from heresy, and here neo-scholasticism was useful.<sup>228</sup>

Given the promotion of neo-scholasticism by the Church and State, Mexican Counter-Reformation writers like Sor Juana were required to interpret and express their experiences within the accepted scholastic framework. As a product of orthodox religion and Counter Reformation culture, it is not surprising that she would turn to scholasticism to define and solve religious conflicts of her epoch.<sup>229</sup> Sor Juana combined reason and logic with Christian doctrine believing that the teachings of faith alone would be impenetrable. In fact, in her *Respuesta*, she states that reason and logic were fundamental for her study of theology:

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<sup>228</sup> The task of converting the Indians and defending Catholicism primary fell to the Jesuit missionaries who relied on Suárez' revival of scholasticism: "Los jesuitas tenían en esa época el control de la cultura y la educación superior tanto en España como en sus posesiones ultramarinas. Suárez no sólo continuó a Santo Tomás y su versión de la tradición aristotélica contra la Reforma y la aparición de Estados nacionales bajo la forma de monarquías absolutas e imperialistas. La doctrina de Suárez —salvo ciertos aspectos de su política- fue una suerte de ortodoxia tácita de la monarquía española y sus exponentes y comentaristas más destacados pertenecieron a la Compañía de Jesús" (Paz 331).

<sup>229</sup> Octavio Paz believes that Sor Juana's curiosity and her pragmatic approach to the study of theology shows that scholasticism was an important part of her education and formation. He even points to the paintings depicting the nun as demonstrating the types of books that she routinely studied: "No es extraño el carácter determinante de la tradición escolástica en la ideología de sor Juana. Tampoco es un accidente que en los estantes del cuadro de Miranda aparezcan los nombres de Pedro Lombardo (el Maestro de las Sentencias muy popular en las universidades desde el siglo XII), Santo Tomás y el del discípulo de Suárez, el jesuita De la Puente. En el retrato de Cabrera se repite el nombre de Pedro Lombardo y aparecen los de Duns Escoto y Francisco Suárez. Estos nombres eran algo así como coordenadas intelectuales y su presencia en la biblioteca de una monja con aficiones de teóloga era obligatoria" (330).

Con esto proseguí, dirigiendo siempre, como he dicho, los pasos de mi estudio a la cumbre de la Sagrada Teología; pareciéndome preciso, para llegar a ella, subir por los escalones de las ciencias y artes humanas; porque ¿cómo entenderá el estilo de la Reina de las Ciencias quien aun no sabe el de las ancilas? ¿Cómo sin Lógica sabría yo los métodos generales y particulares con que está escrita la Sagrada Escritura? ¿Cómo sin Retórica entendería sus figuras, tropos y locuciones?" (978)

Just as scholastic metaphysics helped explain the universal mysteries of Christ, Sor Juana relied on it as a means for human beings to advance their search for an understanding of the nature of God. Metaphysics was considered both an intuition and a discourse. Like the neo-scholastics, Sor Juana accepted that perfect thought was not the result of intellect—it was the result of applying logic in argumentative discourse (Beuchot, *History* 131). Sor Juana's expressed desire to learn theology through the study of logic ultimately affected her writings.

Like Calderón, Sor Juana best expressed neo-scholasticism in the form of the *auto sacramental*, an impressive spectacle that emphasized early special effects, elaborate costumes, complex staging, and creative music. Performed in honor of the Corpus Christi feasts, the *auto* reflected the goals of neo-scholasticism; it adapted allegory to teach Catholic dogma and used innovative stage techniques to delight the audience. Similar to Calderón's *autos*, *El divino Narciso* presents theological doctrines using allegory, as both a lesson and

entertainment. In his discussion on the calderonian *auto*, Fiore holds that the *auto sacramental* reflected the philosophical and religious battle being waged between the Protestant Reformers and Catholic Counter Reformers (*Drama* 5). The *auto sacramental* was representative of the defense of the Counter Reformation since it emphasized neo-scholastic teachings concerning the Eucharist, which were supported by the Spanish Crown. Indeed, since the celebrations were commissioned by the government, the *auto* ultimately was used as a political and religious tool of the Crown in its defense of Catholic doctrine, which in turn consolidated and justified Hispanic domination of the indigenous peoples of the New World (Gracia xxviii).

The most important doctrinal matter treated in the *auto sacramental* was the Eucharist. Sor Juana's *El divino Narciso*, like all *autos sacramentales*, was written and presented to teach and affirm the Eucharist. Parker points out that the Eucharist served as a useful *asunto* for the *auto*:

Of all Catholic dogmas the doctrine of the Eucharist is the one that can offer the widest scope to the theological dramatist. So all-embracing is it, so central to the whole theological system, that there is hardly a single dogma that cannot, in a sense, be included in it. So central is it also to the spiritual life of the Catholic that any aspect of ethical doctrine can be made to bear on it. For his *argumentos* the dramatist can therefore draw on virtually the whole field of Catholic dogmatic and moral theology. (*Allegorical* 60)

Because of the versatility of the Eucharist theme, a range of religious stories could be told because the plot for each *auto sacramental* would change, and the stage would not become dreary or monotonous. Parker also notes that since the Eucharist plot differs from production to production, the *auto* is useful as a sort of sermon about the virtues of the Catholic religion: "[...] they offer not only ethical instruction, but also instruction in 'cuestiones de la Sacra Teología'—dogmatic instruction" (*Allegorical* 65). If dogmatic instruction was one of the main purposes of the *auto sacramental*, neo-scholasticism had to play an important role in its teachings. Like Calderón, Sor Juana recognized the need to explain the Eucharist and other Catholic traditions logically, and this goal was accomplished by combining neo-scholasticism and theology. As Beuchot explains, Sor Juana saw faith as rational, something that could be established and explained:

[...] she does not conceive of faith as something irrational but rather as something that originates in the rational and then proceeds on to the mysterious and the mystical. In this process, faith does not lose its desire to defend the objects of its belief through argumentation  
(*History* 136)

Matters of faith concerning mystical experience could be proven, and scholasticism, based on the teachings of Aquinas, allowed Sor Juana to do that.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> *El divino Narciso* was not Sor Juana's only *auto sacramental*. Her others are *El mártir del Sacramento*, *San Hermenegildo*, and *El cetro de José* and are, I believe, also representative of Sor Juana's promotion of neo-scholasticism.



Of course, the religious content and the use of allegory in the *auto sacramental* offered a few problems. Namely, it was difficult to teach catholic dogma in allegorical form. The abstract quality of Church doctrine presents difficulties for the average spectator but the *auto sacramental* sought to make abstract concepts understandable through visible dramatic representations (Fiore, *Drama* 44). Parker, in his discussion on Calderón, notes the abstract quality of biblical lessons: "The 'conceptos imaginados' which supply the themes of the *autos* are derived from Scripture, the writings of the Church Fathers, and from Catholic dogmatic and moral theology as systematized by the Scholastics" (*Allegorical* 68).<sup>231</sup> Through allegory, abstract concepts were represented by stage characters, whose physical attributes made lessons concerning ecclesiastical doctrine easier to grasp. Parker's remarks can also be related to Sor Juana's use of allegory in *El divino Narciso*. For the Eucharist theme and dogmatic message of her *auto*, Sor Juana drew on a variety of sources: the Bible, Church doctrine based on St. Thomas, and scholasticism. These sources are used by Sor Juana in the *loa* (prelude to the *auto*).

To study the ideology of the *auto sacramental* in Golden Age Spain and Mexico is also to study its social energy. Greenblatt has defined social energy as the congenital capacity of a text, or other work of art, to continue to "generate the illusion of life for centuries after its conception, writing and production" (*Shakespearean* 170). Since aesthetic works such as *El divino Narciso* provide a

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<sup>231</sup> Fiore also refers to the use of "conceptos imaginados" noting that through staging, abstract concepts could be presented: "Characters, costumes, dialogue, stage directions, music, and histrionics all help to serve the same end—to transform the *conceptos imaginados* through

view into the politics and religion of the past, social energy and meaning are often synonymous (Veenstra 187). Sor Juana's *auto*, for example, through representational means, mediates the historical distinctiveness of the theater and the social and political environment from which it was created. Social energy resonates within the work and can be seen in its capability to evoke wonder, reaction, appreciation, and marvel. (Greenblatt, *Shakespearean* 14). According to Veenstra, social energy emanates from any of a number of theatrical devices such as props, stories, costumes, language, music, metaphors, symbols, and ceremonies that, in this case, make up the festive spectacle (187). In *El divino Narciso* social energy is as much an examination of the spectacle and celebration of the Corpus Feast, as the play's political and religious content and context. An understanding of the *auto's* content and context provides a view of the socio-historical moment of the play's reception, specifically the Reformation and Counter Reformation. An examination of social energy is one way New Historicists understand cultural artifacts like *El divino Narciso*, as well as the political and religious unconscious of the epoch that the *auto* references.

A view of the political and religious unconscious emerges from the beginning of Sor Juana's *loa* to the *auto*. As has been said, the genre was mastered by Calderón, whose development of the *loa* usually consisted of several scenes, various characters with elaborate costumes, interesting baroque structures, and music, either as a character or provided by antiphonal choirs

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allegory into *prácticos conceptos* which could be readily understood by the audience" (*Drama* 45).

(Daniel, *Loas* 6). According to McKendrick, the *loa* was often used for a number of reasons such as an introduction to the main text:

[...] to settle the audience, to put it in a good mood, to ask for silence, to grind favourite axes, to attack the *comedia*'s detractors, talk about the actors or other troupes, to explain the work to come when they preceded religious *autos* or to stress the illusionist nature of theater. (139)

As a type of prologue, Sor Juana's *loa* to *El divino Narciso* introduces the content of the *auto* itself, the story of Narcissus. Although Sor Juana employs many of Calderón's techniques, her *loa* is particularly American in its depiction of Aztecs and its discussion of the religious and political problems that colonization generated in Mexico (Peters 191).

The political and religious nature of the *loa* is apparent from the beginning, where a comparison is made between the Aztec and Catholic religions. It is possible that Sor Juana's goal in the *loa*, which will be continued in the *auto*, is to show that there is more similarity than difference between the two religions. What is considered pagan by the Catholics is actually just a misunderstanding of Aztec tradition and by pointing out these misinterpretations, Sor Juana can show how similar the stories and figures from the Bible are to established Aztec culture. For example, in the first scene, El Occidente and his companion, América, call other Aztecs to join their praise of the God of the Seeds: "[...] entre todos mira / mi atención, como a mayor, / al gran Dios de las Semillas" (40-

42).<sup>232</sup> The opening scene of the *loa* introduces the Aztec religion to the audience and it also sets up the first comparison that will be made between El gran Dios de las Semillas (who was thought to be Hitzilopochtli, the most admired God the Aztecs worship) and the Christian God of the Old Testament. To further develop this comparison, Sor Juana depicts the Aztec version of communion in which two Aztecs form an idol from human blood and seeds, break it, and eat it in small pieces:

¡Dad de vuestras venas  
la sangre más fina,  
para que, mezclada,  
a su culto sirva;  
y en pompa festiva,  
celebrad el gran Dios de las Semillas!

The festive pomp and celebration of the body and blood closely parallels the Catholic Eucharistic rite. During the conversion of the Aztecs, the Christian Eucharist doctrine was taught, and the Aztec tradition of communion closely conforms to it. Gentili holds that Sor Juana considered the pagan creeds as anticipatory natural-law truths that would be revealed once evangelization takes place (387). The comparison between the Catholic and Aztec communion is meant to provide a logical reason for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity since it could be said that Aztec belief systems were already closely associated to Catholic dogma.

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<sup>232</sup> All citations from *El divino Narciso* are taken from *Obras Completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*. Ed. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte. Volume 3: *Autos y Loas* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura

As El Occidente and América act out the Eucharist scene, they sing and dance a *tocotín*, a popular Aztec dance. The inclusion of the dance scene indicates that Sor Juana understood Aztec practices and felt compassionate to their traditions. However, the scene also serves as a further comparison between the Aztec religious practices and Catholicism, two opposing sides of the Conquest. The pagan side is represented in the celebration of human sacrifice by América and Occidente; the Catholic side is embodied in the arrival on stage of the allegorical figures Religión and Celo (a Spanish *dama* accompanied by a Spanish Conquistador) and a band of Spanish soldiers. Religión represents Christianity (faith and worship) and Celo is the political and military affront of Christendom. By including these allegorical characters, Sor Juana can discuss the two sides of the Conquest: peaceful conversion through the word of God (Religión) or militant conversion by force (Celo). As they enter the scene, the two declare that the pagan rituals of the Aztecs are anti-Christian, and the subsequent battle reflects Counter-Reformation ideology:

¿Cómo, siendo el Celo tú,  
sufren tus cristianas iras  
ver que, vanamente ciega,  
celebre la Idolatría  
con supersticiosos cultos  
un Ídolo, en ignominia  
de la Religión Cristiana? (73-79)

Representative of the militant Conquest of the Indians, Celo's role is to force the Indians to accept the Catholic faith and convert to Christianity: "Que, cuando a la Religión / desprecian tus demasías, / entrará el Celo a vengarla" (142-144).<sup>233</sup> Religión first warns the pagans of their errors, and implores them to accept the one true God, declaring that trust and respect are the constituents of friendly conversion:

Occidente poderoso,  
América bella y rica,  
que vivís tan miserables  
entre las riquezas mismas:  
dejad el culto profano  
a que el Demonio os incita.  
¡Abrid los ojos! Seguid  
la verdadera Doctrina  
que mi amor os persüade. (100-108)

Religión appreciates the Aztec culture and uses it as a means to demonstrate to the audience that the Indians have beautiful customs that, although not Catholic, must be respected if conversion is to happen. Within the larger scope of the *auto*, the *loa* not only sets the tone for the rest of the *auto*, it also attempts to deal with important questions concerning the role of religion in the conquest. Religión believes that she can point out the Indians' errors by teaching about the virtues of Catholicism; the militant Celo, however, has already drawn his sword to take

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<sup>233</sup> Méndez Plancarte argues that Sor Juana's orthodox position with regards to the *justa guerra* explanation used by Catholic priests during the Spanish Conquest was traced to Aquinas'

vengeance on the idolaters: "¡Arma, arma! ¡Guerra, guerra! / ¡Viva España! ¡Su Rey viva!" (200-201). Stressing the combative nature of the Spanish conquest and conversion, Celo and the Spanish soldiers battle the Aztecs in an effort to impose Catholicism on them in the name of Spain and her King. From that scene, we can assume that Sor Juana believed that the Spanish form of Catholic conversion was violent if need be, though it did not have to be.

Part of the New World problems reflected in the *loa* refer directly to the process of conversion of the Indians during the Conquest. The *loa* compares Aztec paganism and orthodox Catholic doctrine in an effort to discourage the pagan practices among the indigenous population. It can be said that the *loa*, like the *auto* that follows it, was meant to reaffirm and defend Catholic dogma in light of the pagan religion practiced by the Indians:

La participación de la pieza en este contexto retórico alegórico, ideológico y semiótico toma la forma de una discusión crítica de la función propagandística del auto oficial. La *loa* sorjuaniana pone en entredicho el carácter absoluto del dogma político y religioso.

(Grossi 132)

Taking into account Jameson's first framework of analysis, the political, the political and religious character of the *loa* can be studied. It should be recalled that Jameson studies the aesthetic response to historical and ideological problems. In this case, the *loa* introduces the historical and ideological problem centered on the debate on traditional orthodoxy and offers solutions to the religious and socio-ideological problems pertaining to the debate:

Este prelude tiene como misión la de enlazar el propio drama con las costumbres y cultura indígenas, legitimarlo como un resultado de las diligentes fuerzas puestas en México al servicio de la propaganda fide. (Pfandl 239)

The *loa*, then, like the *auto* that follows, was used as propaganda to formulate an aesthetic resolution to the ideological or historical subtexts presented in the work. The subtext of the work, as we have said, was the clash between Reformation and Counter Reformation ideology and, in this part of the *loa*, the problems offered by Aztec pagan rituals and "false" conversions; the aesthetic resolution is to promote Counter Reformation beliefs via stage presentation. As an author who lived during the Counter Reformation of late seventeenth-century Mexico, Sor Juana's interest in persuading her audience to accept the Lord's teachings was paramount. As we have seen thus far, one important way for her to do this was to use subjects directly related to Mexican culture, i.e. pagan Aztec beliefs, and make close comparisons between them and traditional Catholic doctrine. Perhaps for this reason the lives of Occidente and América are spared by the compassionate Religión who believes that the Indians can be taught the virtue of Catholicism through clemency and understanding:

Cese tu justicia,  
Celo; no les des la muerte:  
que no quiere mi benigna  
condición, que mueran, sino  
que se conviertan y vivan. (222-226).



The benevolent nature of Religión is clear, and the Mexican Counter-Reformation message conveyed was that Christianity should be taught, not imposed as it traditionally had been. Indeed, the dialogue between Occidente, América and Religión—the heart of the *loa*—develops a logical argument for acceptance of the Catholic faith in line with Sor Juana's opinions.

After the war scene, Occidente does not believe that Religión can logically convince him of the wisdom of Catholicism: "Ya es preciso que me rinda / tu valor, no tu razón" (203-204). Religión is unwavering, however, and begins patiently to outline simple lessons from the gospel in order to win the nonbelievers over to the Christian faith (Pasquariello 9). In the *loa*, Religión justifies Catholic conversion with the doctrine of Paul, who did not attempt to teach the Athenians about a new deity but rather, reminded him of an unknown or hidden God to whom they had already dedicated an altar:

De Pablo con la doctrina  
tengo de argüir; pues cuando  
a los de Atenas predica  
viendo que entre ellos es ley  
que muera el que solicita  
introducir nuevos Dioses,  
como él tiene la noticia  
de que a un Dios no conocido  
ellos un altar dedican,  
les dice: "No es Deidad nueva,

sino la no conocida  
que adoráis en este altar,  
la que mi voz os publica". (280-292).

Religión reasons that the God of the Athenians was already similar to the Christian God; what the Athenians lacked was proper instruction concerning His works. As I have begun to show, this comparison, like earlier ones, is meant to show the similarities between the Aztec and Catholic rituals and customs.

Through the voice of Religión, then, Sor Juana begins to develop a logical argumentative process based on orthodox teachings and references (in this first case to Paul) to demonstrate to the Indians how Christ died for the salvation of humankind. This process can also be understood as much as a defense of orthodoxy as a means to resolve the religious and ideological contradictions evident in Sor Juana's world. To reaffirm Counter-Reformation doctrine and resolve problems associated with faith, pagan rituals are aesthetically depicted and compared to Catholic practices. Just as the Council of Trent upheld traditional views, Sor Juana's *loa* defends Catholicism. The first question in the play deals with the physical presence of God on earth. América, who is accustomed to physical contact with her pagan god, Hitzilopochtli, questions whether Religión's Christian deity can be understood by faith alone: "[...] será tan propicia / esa Deidad, que se deje / tocar de mis manos mismas," (323-325). Religión explains that although He is invisible, He has already united with humankind and His word is expressed by His messengers on earth:

Aunque su Esencia Divina

es invisible e inmensa,  
como Aquésta está ya unida  
a nuestra Naturaleza,  
tan Humana se avecina  
a nosotros, que permite  
que Lo toquen las indignas  
manos de los Sacerdotes. (330-337)

Religión informs the Aztecs that although God is no longer a physical presence, His essence is interpreted by priests on earth who spread His word. The meaning is that God still exists and they should have faith in Him even though he is not always visible. Faith in God and a willingness to do good works were meaningful motives for Sor Juana's *loa*.

During the Reformation, Luther had questioned the Church's doctrine on faith. He professed that there was nothing humans could do to bring about their own salvation since God alone, in all His wisdom, had already decided their fate. Thus, faith was not essential since humans were already predestined according to God's will. Luther argued that some were granted the ability by God to have true faith, to share in the sacraments and to do good works. He stressed humankind's original sin and depravity and the consequent inability of humans to justify themselves in the eyes of God. Searle points out that Luther was so conscious of humankind's sinful nature that he believed that only God could give humankind the power to overcome its own hopeless position: "[...] since [human beings] could do nothing, and since God had proved his love by sending his only

son to die for humankind, he must simply trust in God's goodness and forgiveness" (84). In short, for Luther, good works were not the cause of humankind's receiving God's Grace, but rather the result of receiving Grace. The Council of Trent, however, rejected Luther's argument and returned to the works of Aquinas to show that because of Christ's death, humans were not wholly corrupt or depraved; they could accept the Grace of God or refuse it depending on their acceptance of the sacraments. This is especially true of baptism and the Eucharist through which the Catholic Church reveals Christ's teachings. In fact, the Council of Trent also upheld the seven sacraments and determined that by having them regularly administered, humankind not only accepts divine Grace but cooperates with God in achieving the soul's salvation.<sup>234</sup> It was, therefore, the Tridentine position that both faith and good works were essential to complete the process of justification. And since the sacraments, the ultimate example of good works, could be administered only by the clergy, the Council's declaration significantly strengthened the position of the Church (Burns 51).

The influence of the Council of Trent's tenets can be noted in the *loa* to *El divino Narciso* where the Aztecs are taught that for those who believe in God, the best means to touch Him physically is through the sacrament of the Eucharist. The combination of corn and blood eaten by the Aztecs was treated as a sort of communion with Huizilopochtli, and *Religión* tells Occidente and América that

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<sup>234</sup> The decrees on original sin and justification by faith stressed participation in the sacraments and were used to answer Luther's contention that only baptism and communion were genuine. In March 1547 the Council decreed that traditional Catholic teaching must include instruction on accepting the seven sacraments; baptism, confession, penance, marriage, the Eucharist, confirmation, and extreme unction.

their tradition is similar to the Catholic Church's belief in transubstantiation, when the bread and wine becomes the body and blood of Christ:

Ya he dicho que es  
Su infinita Majestad inmaterial;  
mas Su Humanidad bendita,  
puesta incrüenta en el Santo  
Sacrificio de la Misa,  
en cándidos accidentes,  
se vale de las semillas  
del trigo, el cual se convierte  
en Su Carne y Sangre misma;  
y Su Sangre, que en el Cáliz  
está, es Sangre que ofrecida  
en el Ara de la Cruz,  
inocente, pura y limpia,  
fue la Redención del Mundo. (354-367)

The Eucharist, the main theme of the *loa* and *auto* and the reason for the Corpus Christi Celebration, is used by Religión as a means to explain to Occidente and América about humankind's earthly contact with Christ. That it is illustrated in a logical manner shows Sor Juana's reliance on neo-scholasticism to teach and defend Church doctrine. Here, the transubstantiation of the Eucharist, heavily criticized by Luther and other Reformers, is reaffirmed by Sor Juana just as the Council of Trent had previously upheld its authentication in response to

Reformation attacks. Against Lutheran theories of consubstantiation, the Council maintained that the communion bread and wine were converted into the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ (transubstantiation) and were to be consumed at communion. Luther believed that scholastic rationalization used to confirm the physical and symbolic presence of the Eucharist was absurd. For Luther, Christ was really present at communion, but not in symbolic elements like the bread and wine. He felt that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a Church invention to rationalize God's mysteries. In defense of traditional Catholic doctrine, the Council of Trent maintained the symbolic and real presence of Christ's body in communion as one of the seven sacraments. The debate on transubstantiation is particularly important for our discussion of *El divino Narciso*. As we have seen, the controversy over transubstantiation is one of the doctrines addressed by Sor Juana in the *loa*.

Another doctrine, the sacrament of baptism, is used by Religión to promote Catholic dogma. Baptism, the cleansing of the soul from sin, was similar to a ritual of the Aztec world. Occidente explains that he must bathe before partaking of the Aztec communion: "[...] que antes que llegue a la rica / mesa, tengo de lavarme, / que así es mi costumbre antigua" (385-387). The similarities between pagan rituals like the Eucharist, and here, baptism, is explained by Religión as the best means for humankind to come closer to God: "El de un Sacramento / que con virtud de aguas vivas / te limpie de tus pecados" (389-391). The reaffirmation of baptism as one of the seven sacraments was related to Counter-Reformation ideology. The Council of Trent held that baptism

was a means for humankind to prepare for heaven and to reflect God's image. In the *loa*, baptism is promoted not only in support of the Council's decision but also as a significant component of conversion.

Arguments on which Sor Juana based her defense of Catholicism can be traced to other decisions reached by the Council of Trent. As we have seen, Sor Juana uses the Scriptures and biblical teaching to justify and explain the Christian God to the Aztecs. The Council decided that the Scriptures and the traditions of the Church were of equal importance as embodiments of divine revelation. To defend against "false" interpretations of the Bible, the Council of Trent declared that the Vulgate edition of St. Jerome was to be the Church's official Biblical text. The Vulgate edition was accepted in response to Erasmus' 1520 polyglot interpretation of the Bible, the *Novum Instrumentum omne*, based on Lorenzo Valla's fifteenth-century notes on the original Greek text of the New Testament. Because of Erasmus' translation, for the first time theologians had the opportunity to compare the original Greek text of the New Testament with the later Vulgate translation into Latin (McGrath 38-39). Erasmus was viewed as a Reformer and his polyglot Bible was considered a threat to the divine interpretation of the scriptures which was traditionally reserved for the Church alone. Indeed, the right to interpret the Scriptures was declared by the Council of Trent to rest exclusively in the Church, which had the sole power of the Holy Ghost. The Council's desired effect was to place the judgments of the Church's doctrine and practice beyond challenge or question. In the *loa*, Religión's attitude and Celo's fervor can be traced to their unwavering support of the Scriptures and

the Catholic Church's sole right to the interpretation of them. Sor Juana uses the biblical text to explain the mysteries of God and to teach contemporaneous Church doctrine.

Another effective way to present the Mystery of God was by making His religious and philosophical abstract teachings into a physical story, just as the Church fathers had done. According to Religi3n, the abstract nature of metaphor can be an effective means to present Church ideology:

Pues vamos. Que en una idea  
metaf3rica, vestida  
de ret3ricos colores,  
representables a tu vista,  
te la mostrar3; que ya  
conozco que t3 te inclinas  
a objetos visibles, m3s  
que a lo que la Fe te avisa  
por el o3do; y as3,  
es preciso que te sirvas  
de los ojos, para que  
por ellos la Fe recibas. (401-412)

The lesson proposed by Religi3n is really a type of sermon whose allegorical and metaphorical nature expresses a didactic message concerning Church dogma. Parker has written that the abstract quality of allegory and its usefulness for presenting dogma greatly influenced audiences: "A sermon acted possesses



greater didactic value than a sermon preached. It is better to demonstrate to an audience the meaning of the Redemption than to tell it to them;" (*Allegorical* 66). For Sor Juana, difficult concepts like faith and God could be logically represented on the stage through metaphor and allegory. By way of *Religión*, Sor Juana shows that that a logical instruction of dogma, usually off limits due to its philosophical nature, could be dramatized to teach divine truths: "Según Sor Juana, lo que resulta difícil aprehender a admitir por la fe, se representa, y entonces la vivencia plástica nos ayuda a comprender mejor las verdades reveladas" (Pérez 126). Metaphor, it is argued, made a difficult task easier as the *auto sacramental* set out to explain the Mystery of Catholicism which was to meant for Spain's cultural and religious center, Madrid, where there were presumably no pagans:

Como aquesto sólo mira  
a celebrar el Misterio,  
y aquestas introducidas  
personas no son más que  
unos abstractos, que pintan  
lo que se intenta decir,  
no habrá cosa que desdiga,  
aunque las lleve a Madrid:  
que a especies intelectivas  
ni habrá distancia que estorben  
ni mare que les impidan. (462-472)

It is interesting to note that though Sor Juana wrote the work in Mexico, her intention was to have it presented in Madrid during the Corpus Christi feasts.<sup>235</sup> The subject of the work, proposed for production in the Spanish religious capital, Madrid, was to be the "Mystery" of God. The protagonists who carry out the story of Narciso are nothing more than "unos abstractos" who can best act out the metaphorical story.

As Pérez points out, the finality of the *loa*, besides prefacing the *auto sacramental* and presenting the preliminary Church teachings that will be dealt with in the *auto*, was to show that the Aztecs already converted to Catholicism (2223-2224), and needed only to be better instructed in the ways of the Church. In their introduction to the *auto*, the allegorical figures of the *loa* indicate the intent of *El divino Narciso* to use scriptural and secular sources to confirm the power of Christ and His message. The true nature of God, the universe and humankind and the death of Christ were a hotly debated topics in the Golden Age. Orthodox religious assertions came under fire from Protestant Reformers devoted to reviewing Church doctrine. Protestants, influenced by Luther, defied Catholics over the proper interpretation of the Scriptures, and the literal and allegorical meanings of the Bible. Mexico's political organization, economic structure and social life were essentially Spain's and the close relationship

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<sup>235</sup> There is no evidence that *El divino Narciso* was ever staged in Mexico. Written and dedicated to the Marquesa de la Laguna, wife of the Viceroy, she was to carry the manuscript to Madrid in 1689-1690. The cover page for the manuscript reads: "Auto sacramental de El Divino Narciso, por alegorías. Compuesto por el singular numen y nunca dignamente alabado ingenio, claridad y propiedad de frase castellana de la Madre Juana Inés de la Cruz, religiosa profesa en el monasterio de San Gerónimo de La imperial ciudad de México. A instancia de La Excelentísima Señora Condesa de Paredes, Marquesa de la Laguna, Virreyna desta Nueva España, singular patrona y aficionada de la Madre Juana, para llevarlo a la Corte de Madrid, para que se

between the two countries meant that ideological problems associated with religion would be felt as much in Mexico as it was in Spain. Despite Spain's avoidance of new European philosophical trends, the Reform did affect Spanish culture and, by relation, Mexico. Examined in light of Jameson and New Historicism, *El divino Narciso* is inherently political: the *auto* is not only a product of the heated debate, it was also a vehicle for propaganda to enlighten the spectator concerning the accepted teachings of the Church.

The persuasive quality of the plot of *El divino Narciso* is outlined in the first scene, which is like a second *loa* because it introduces the plot of the rest of the *auto*. The scene opens with an argument between the allegorical figures Sinagoga, who represents pagan antiquity, and Gentilidad, who is divine revelation in the form of the Old Testament. The two figures describe the story of Narciso-Christ and His life and death, and present important Church teachings such as the celebration of the Eucharist. At the beginning, Sinagoga sings praises of the one true God, here meant to be associated with the God of the Old Testament:

Un nuevo canto entona  
a Su divina Beldad,  
y en cuanto la luz alanza,  
suene la eterna alabanza  
de la gloria de Su nombre. (3-7)

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representase en ella. Sácalo a la luz pública el Doctor Don Ambrosio de Lima, que lo fue do Cámara de su Excelencia, y pudo lograr una copia."

The allegorical figure Sinagoga can be understood as a supporter of the Catholic faith whose words proclaim the eternal glory of the God of the Christian Bible.

For Gentilidad, however, the only one true God is Narciso, who will eventually be associated with Christ:

¡Aplaudid a Narciso, Fuentes y Flores!

Y pues su beldad divina

sin igualdad peregrina,

es sobre toda hermosura,

que se vio en otra criatura,

y en todas inspira amores. (9-14)

Sinagoga worships "the Lord," while Gentilidad adores Narcissus, or ideal human beauty. However, they really have the same desire: both are searching for divine beauty but they simply disagree on who is the "real" God. Sor Juana seems to be expanding on the argument begun in the *loa*: there are close similarities between Aztec and Christian Gods, and Church teachings will persuade the Indians to embrace Catholic faith. In the midst of the debate between Sinagoga and Gentilidad, Naturaleza Humana, who represents humankind, intervenes and suggests that her daughters should stage an allegorical representation of the Divine Mysteries in order to resolve the confusion:

Y así, pues Madre de entrambas

soy, intento con colores

alegóricos, que ideas

representables componen,  
tomar de la una el sentido,  
*(a la Sinagoga)*  
tomar de la otra las voces,  
*(a la Gentilidad)*  
y en metafóricas frases,  
tomando sus locuciones  
[.....]  
[...] a ver si dibujan  
estos oscuros borrones  
la claridad de Sus luces; (112-123)

The idea of *Naturaleza Humana* is to take metaphorical ideas about God using the talents of *Gentilidad* and *Sinagoga* and produce a physical illustration of the "true light" of God. In short, she wants to present philosophical and abstract Church teachings with allegorical characters. As Kirkpatrick has pointed out, *Naturaleza Humana* now becomes a protagonist *and* author, and her production will uphold *Sinagoga's* divine truths and challenge the false teachings of *Gentilidad* (59).

The beginning of the *auto* can be said to be neo-scholastic since it will teach about the mysteries of God by use of logic, imparting physical form to the abstract message of dogma. According to *Naturaleza Humana*, the formal Christian teachings will be provided by *Sinagoga* and the mythic subject matter will come from *Gentilidad*. Hence, Christian religion is instructed with mythology

and presented allegorically. Sinagoga readily agrees to this proposition since it is her truths that will be acknowledged. Gentilidad reluctantly agrees to provide the material, the Narcissus theme:

Yo, aunque no te entiendo bien,  
pues, es lo que me propones,  
que sólo te dé materia  
para que tú allá la informes  
de otra alma, de otro sentido  
que mis ojos no conocen,  
te daré de humanas letras  
los poéticos primores  
de la historia de Narciso. (140-148)

Now that Gentilidad has agreed to act out her part in the production, the main text of the *auto* begins.<sup>236</sup> Up to this point, the *loa* containing the Aztec figures and this first scene involving Naturaleza Humana really serve, as it were, two separate but complementary *loas*. The *loa*, as I have said, introduces the Eucharist theme and reveals the allegorical nature of the main *auto*. On the other hand, the first scene of the *auto* outlines the subject matter that will be acted out (the story of Eco and Narciso as it was known in Spain and elsewhere) while also providing the reasons for producing an allegorical drama.

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<sup>236</sup> Kirkpatrick has written that the protagonists Gentilidad and Sinagoga grant the power of authorship to Naturaleza Humana, emphasizing the dominance of the female voice: "In this play, women have been bequeathed the words. They then pass the power on to a female author to shape those words, to focus on their underlying meaning, and to tell the true story that can only be transmitted through the manipulation of language" (60). While Kirkpatrick's argument is interesting, she takes for granted that the allegorical figures are feminine, probably because the

As we have seen thus far, the best means to explain religious ideology is through allegory and metaphor as embodied in the *auto sacramental*. Applying Jameson's arguments in *The Political Unconscious*, the illustration of Catholic theology *El divino Narciso* is really a political means to respond to Reformation beliefs. The *auto* becomes a dramatic response and resolution to ideological concerns; it is a "symbolic reconstruction" of the problem(s) that begins to generate its own context and "[...] for the first time, it brings into being that very situation to which it is also, at one and the same time, a reaction" (*Political* 82). As we shall see, in its reaffirmation of Catholic doctrine, *El divino Narciso* is not just a response to problems generated by the Reform, it reorganizes those problems in such a way as to offer its own solutions. These solutions are developed throughout the play and solidified in the final scene.

In the second scene of the *auto*, *Naturaleza Humana* appears on the stage and discloses the meaning of the play's allegory. First, the audience comes to realize that *Narciso* is really Christ and *Naturaleza Humana* represents humankind. Since *Naturaleza Humana* represents all humans, she was originally created in the image of God. Because of her sins, however, *Narciso-Christ's* beauty cannot be reflected in the murky water of humankind. The lesson is that *Naturaleza Humana* will someday find salvation because "piadosos intercesores," men and women, pray for her forgiveness each day. As a Eucharistic play this lesson was meant for an audience who believed, for the most part, that through prayer and faith, they can earn salvation from God and

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words "Gentilidad" and "Sinagoga" happen to have feminine gender forms in Spanish. It is more likely that they are meant to be neither feminine nor masculine.

the scene serves to teach that lesson.<sup>237</sup> For Narciso's semblance to again be reflected in Naturaleza Humana, she implores Sinagoga and Gentilidad to sing the praises of Narciso so that He might be moved to graciously pardon her:

Que aunque las desdichas mías  
desterrada de Sus soles  
me tienen, no me prohíben  
el que Su Belleza adore;  
que aunque, justamente airado  
por mis delitos enormes,  
me desdeña, no me faltan  
piadosos intercesores  
que Le insten continuamente  
para que el perdón me otorgue,  
y el estar en mí Su imagen, (207-215)

Since she is forsaken by Narciso, Naturaleza Humana is condemned to adore His beauty and search for Him. The means for Naturaleza Humana to receive His salvation is to find clear waters so that she may be reflected in Him, which has been nearly impossible since His wrath unleashed a deluge that has contaminated all streams, lakes and fountains. She yearns for a pure crystal fountain to spring forth so that Narciso can see His perfection as embodied in Her:

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<sup>237</sup> The audience, after all, was supposed to be made up of the people of Madrid where Sor Juana originally sent the work to be produced for the Corpus Christi festival. Grossi remind us of the ecclesiastical power of Madrid during the time period: "El poder político de la corona queda



¡Oh, quiera el Cielo  
que mis esperanzas topen  
alguna Fuente que, libre  
de aquellas aguas salobres,  
represente de Narciso  
enteras las perfecciones! (249-254)

She herself (humankind) was made in God's image, but the image has been so muddied by the waters of sin and the beautiful Narciso (Christ) would not recognize Himself if He looked into it; so, *Naturaleza Humana* is looking for waters that will cleanse her and enable her to reflect once more the image in which she was created: "vamos a buscar / la Fuente en que mis borrones / se han de lavar [...]" (269-271). The symbol of the fountain, here and later in the *auto*, also refers to the sacrament of baptism; *Naturaleza Humana* will "bathe" in the fountain in order to "wash away" her sins. The allusion to baptism is in line with prevailing defenses offered during the Counter Reformation. Baptism was upheld as sacred by the Council of Trent and even Luther believed that "[...] baptism does not presuppose faith, it generates faith" (McGrath 122). In Sor Juana's *auto*, the sacrament of baptism is used to teach about Christianity and affirm Counter Reformation ideology.

As *Naturaleza Humana* begins her search for the pure and clear fountain that will lead to her unification with Narciso, Eco, the nemesis of *Naturaleza Humana*, appears on the stage to tell her own story. Here, Eco represents the

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asociado a la luz de la verdad divina. Madrid ocupa el lugar privilegiado de Roma. La alegoría [...] encubre un primer sentido político: la alabanza de la monarquía española [...]" (128).

Devil, heaven's fallen angel and Narciso's natural enemy. According to the Peters and Domeier's edition of the *auto*, Eco dons a wig and is a female character (65). Why is the Devil a female character? Merrim believes that the historical role of women as temptresses make the choice natural: "Ostensibly, the portrayal of the Devil as a woman holds no surprise, her role as temptress to sin and disrupter being a natural extension of the received biblical and dramatic norms [...]" (Merrim, *Mores* 113). Eco, representing fallen angelic nature, is accompanied in the play by the two shepherdesses Soberbia (Pride) and Amor Propio (Self Love). Amor Propio allows Eco to forget who she is so that she can love herself and Soberbia exudes the principal emotion that enhances Self-Love (Amor Propio). Eco-Devil, in a long monologue, narrates how she set out to be Narciso's spouse but she was eventually cast out of His realm for her insolence:

Angélica ilustre mía,  
la criatura más perfecta—,  
ser esposa de Narciso  
quise, e intenté soberbia  
poner mi asiento en Su Solio  
[.....]  
[...] Él, ofendido,  
tan desdeñoso me arroja  
de Su gracia y Su presencia,  
que no me dejó ¡ay de mí!,  
esperanza de que pueda

volver a gozar los rayos

de Su Divina Belleza. (383-400)

Just as *Naturaleza Humana* became an author in addition to her role as protagonist, here, Eco takes on the same dual role by "inscribing herself into the play and then taking over the role of storyteller" (Kirkpatrick 60). Eco's narration is long and detailed and serves as a stark contrast to the goodness represented by *Naturaleza Humana*. Eco describes how she was so beautiful and virtuous that she wished to be Narciso's wife. Her faults, self-love and pride, made any "marriage" with Narciso impossible since He represents only righteousness and perfection. Indeed, *Soberbia* and *Amor Propio* accompany her every move and defend her evil designs. To put so much emphasis on the fall of Eco, and her relationship with *Soberbia* and *Amor Propio*, shows that Sor Juana was interested in describing the repercussions of sin. By seeing the fall of Eco, the audience could consider their own spiritual decline.

Eco's fall is commensurate with her evil nature since she even declares herself to be evil incarnate and Narciso's natural adversary. To illustrate the antagonism between her and Narciso, Eco brings to the stage a number of props to demonstrate human vanity, stupidity and sinfulness, which is also a reproach of Narciso-Christ and *Naturaleza Humana*-Humankind. Using the props, Eco recounts prominent episodes from the Old Testament, and *Soberbia* and *Amor Propio* act out the episodes. First, a cart containing a small stage enters containing Noah's ark, the Tower of Babel and an idol. *Soberbia* dramatizes the building of the tower of Babel and attempts to reach heaven. The punishment is

proportionate to her ambition: she loses speech. Second, to further sow discord, Eco explains how she has split Catholicism into a number of sects that worship the sun, the stars, animals and mountains or rivers, trees or forests:

Después de así divididos,  
les insistí a tales sectas,  
que ya adoraban al Sol,  
ya el curso de las Estrellas,  
ya veneraban los brutos,  
ya daban culto a las peñas, [...]  
[.....]  
olvidaron de su Dios  
la adoración verdadera; (508-523)

Eco's criticism of humankind centers on the fact that religious sects have lost contact with the one true God and have instead begun to worship idols.<sup>238</sup> In denouncing these new sects, she notes that they became blind to the real God and their worship of other Gods nearly changed them into the idols: "su ignorancia ciega, / vinieron a casi / transformarse en ellas" (525-527). This scene is a lesson in theology through staging and it signals not only an absolute contrast between Narciso and Eco, but also what could happen when people worship religions other than Catholicism. In Counter-Reformation Mexico, the lesson advocated by Sor Juana was that in order to find the true God, one must

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<sup>238</sup> It is possible that the split of religion into sects and its subsequent criticism refers directly to the Reformation. We might recall that in the Reformation, a number of religious groups (Protestants, Calvinists, Anabaptists, etc.) split from Roman Catholicism and formed their own religions.

look beyond the pagan religions and Reformation teachings that plagued Catholicism. Episodes from the Old Testament were one means to explain the mysteries of religion in the *auto* and to give poignant examples.

Since lessons from the Bible were important elements of scholasticism, it makes sense that Sor Juana would dramatize important biblical teachings in her *auto*. *El divino Narciso*, as we have said, can be explained as an attempt to resolve the historical and ideological problems present in the political and religious unconscious of Counter-Reformation Mexico. Specifically, the conflict between Reformation and Counter-Reformation doctrine produced ideological problems of faith and doubt. The *auto* rewrites the "subtext," mediates between popular belief and official Church doctrine, and strives to resolve the resulting problems. In short, the *auto* affirms Church doctrine and promotes faith in Catholicism by providing examples from the Bible. According to this view, religious teachings on the stage were meant to remedy the problems of faith and doubt evident after the Reformation.

One of the most important episodes recounted in the play was *the Old Testament* story of the expulsion from heaven of Lucifer, the fallen angel. According to the *Old Testament*, Lucifer rebelled against God and was cast out of heaven along with a third of the angels. According to Eco, as Lucifer was cast out, he lost all resemblance to God. Therefore, as much as Eco-Devil may tempt Narciso-Christ, Narciso's narcissism will never permit Him to love her, since they no longer resemble one another (Merrim, *Narciso* 113). Instead, like *Naturaleza Humana*, Eco's evil has been overcome and she can no longer see Narciso's



face.<sup>239</sup> For having been cast away, never to see the beauty of His face, Eco begins to feel hatred and jealousy: "veneno animan mis venas" (409), but she takes comfort in the fact that Naturaleza Humana's amorous laments are useless since she too has been punished by Narciso:

son en vano sus suspiros,  
son inútiles sus quejas,  
pues, como yo, no podrá  
eternamente risueña  
ver la cara de Narciso  
con lo cual vengada queda  
mi injuria, porque  
ya que no posea  
yo el Solio, no es bien  
que otra lo merezca, (437-446)

Eco feels avenged since Naturaleza Humana has been forsaken by Narciso. The lesson for the audience was that the devil still walks among the people and continues to seek revenge for being cast out of heaven. In the play, since there is no way for Eco to return to Narciso's good graces, she continues to seek her revenge by taking on the role of the devil and becoming the nemesis of both Narciso and Naturaleza Humana. However, like Lucifer, Eco realizes that her sins against God cannot be easily resolved. For this reason, in desperation, she forms plans physically to harm Naturaleza Humana:

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<sup>239</sup> Kirkpatrick believes that Eco's primary sin is that of being a woman in a culture dominated by men (63).

[...] Así es bien,  
que estemos todos alerta,  
para que nunca Narciso  
a mirar sus ojos vuelva:  
porque es a Él tan parecida,  
en efecto, como hecha  
a Su imagen [...] (451-457)

In relaying biblical information, Eco states that humankind is constructed in His image and her plan is to make sure that Narciso and Naturaleza Humana never see each other's face again because such a meeting will reunite humankind with God and signal the end of evil. And since the audience members may not yet have made the connection Narciso-Christ, Eco also states that Narciso is the Son of God: "Pues yo, ¡ay de mí!, que en Narciso / conozco, por ciertas señas, / que es Hijo de Dios" (601-603) and, as the Son of God, the audience would then understand that He is "el Salvador," the savior of humanity.

At this point in the play, the audience would be aware of the allegorical quality of each of the stage characters: Narciso is Christ, Eco is the devil and Naturaleza Humana is humankind. The stage is now set to develop the primary lessons associated with the Eucharist. The Counter Reformation messages to the audience of *El divino Narciso* can be studied in light of the New-Historicist concept of cultural negotiation and exchange. In much the same way that the play expounds on the teachings of Church orthodoxy, *El divino Narciso* is a work that negotiates between audience understanding of the Golden Age debates on



Reformation and Counter-Reformation ideology and the teachings of traditional Catholic dogma provided in the play. Greenblatt, for example, uses the economic metaphor—cultural negotiation and exchange—to describe how aesthetic works negotiate social channels, circulate in society, and exchange important ideological messages. Similarly, writers like Sor Juana are "specialists" in cultural exchange and their works are vehicles for the negotiation and exchange of ideas, beliefs and ideologies: "The works they create are structures for the accumulation, transformation, representation, and communication of social energies and practices" (Greenblatt, *Culture* 229-30). Therefore, the aesthetic work becomes not only a reflection of culture and society but also a register of this exchange of politics, economics, religion or philosophy. In its discussion and defense of traditional orthodoxy, *El divino Narciso* is a product of a negotiation by its creator, Sor Juana, who uses a repertoire of social and ideological conventions to create a work that can be exchanged within society. Sor Juana's work becomes a valuable commodity for the circulation of ideology, particularly Counter-Reformation teachings on Church doctrine.

Cultural negotiation and exchange is bound up in *El divino Narciso* by the work's comparisons of Eco to the devil, *Naturaleza Humana* to humankind and Narciso to Christ. Eco has stated that *Naturaleza Humana*-humankind resembles Narciso-Christ in every way, and that their union signifies death for her. The most effective means to destroy the relationship between humankind and God is to make sure that their shared reflections will never harmonize. Eco explains that as the devil, her life has been spent making sure that the Narciso-

Christ and Naturaleza-Humana-Humankind never see each other: "Y así, siempre he procurado / con cuidado y diligencia / borrar esta semejanza" (467-469). She reasons that if Narciso were to see the image of Naturaleza Humana, He cannot help but be drawn to her since they are so alike. To prevent their meeting, Eco has forced humankind to commit sin: "haciéndola que cometa / tales pecados [...]" (470-471). Therefore, as the devil, Eco has tempted Humankind to sin which means that Narciso will never again want to see Naturaleza Humana. It might be recalled that Naturaleza Humana has already stated that the waters of salvation have been muddied and Narciso cannot see His own likeness. What Naturaleza Humana does not know is that the waters have been obscured by Eco so that Narciso cannot gaze upon himself:

otra mayor no me venga,  
hemos de solicitar,  
que es si impedirle que a verla  
no llegue, no sea posible,  
que consigamos siquiera  
que en las turbias aguas  
de su culpa sea,  
para que Su imagen  
borrada parezca. (620-628)

Since the waters are murky, Narciso cannot see His image and Naturaleza Humana cannot seek forgiveness. Eco, of course, has been the root of all evil. Merrim has shown that Eco is an agent of dissimulation whose actions are meant

to harm Naturaleza Humana and avenge herself: "Eco takes her revenge on Narciso's beloved by acting as an agent of dissimulation and clouding the waters of the fountain with sin, thereby destroying their specular powers" (*Narciso* 113). In much the same way as the devil tempts humankind, sin has now become Eco's way to accomplish her goals. And since Narciso will not respond to her pleas, she decides to search for Him and tempt Him.

Eco pursues Narciso, knowing that He has been high in the mountain for forty days caring for His flock of sheep. The audience, now aware of the duality Narciso-Christ, would be reminded of another biblical episode: Christ's forty-day famine in the desert. Like Christ, Narciso has retreated from society to fast for forty days:

Pues tan conformes estáis,  
y en la elevada eminencia  
de esta montaña Se oculta,  
acompañado de fieras,  
tan olvidado de Sí  
que ha que no come cuarenta  
días, dejadme llegar  
y con una estratagema  
conoceré si es Divino, (671-679)

Eco believes that there is a way to tempt Narciso to love her and her strategy is to use everything in the valley to persuade Him to give into her amorous supplications. She arrives at the mountain and sees Narciso dressed as a

shepherd, another similarity between Narciso and Christ meant to inform the spectators how He is a shepherd to His flock of disciples just as Narciso is a shepherd to His sheep in the *auto*. Eco approaches and sings to Narciso explaining that she is the most powerful shepherdess but not the most lovely due to her grief for having been rejected by Him:

Eco soy, la más rica  
Pastora de estos valles;  
bella decir pudieran  
mis infelicidades.  
Mas desde que severo  
mi beldad despreciaste,  
las que canté hermosuras  
ya las lloro fealdades, (715-722)

Eco draws the material for her seduction from Narciso's rejection of her and her songs are meant to tempt Him while he remains weakened by hunger. The mountain site is a *locus amoenus* in which the idealization and harmony of nature reflects the accord and perfection of Narciso. The perfections of the valley, however, are also a means of temptation, as Eco tells Narciso that all the riches in the valley belong to her and can be His to quench His hunger and thirst: milk, grain fields, fruit trees (748-795). Eco's offers her wealth to Narciso not just as gifts, but also to entice Him to evil:

Todo, bello Narciso,  
sujeto a mi dictamen,



son posesiones mías,  
son mis bienes dotales.  
Y todo será Tuyo,  
Si Tú con pecho afable  
depones lo severo  
y llegas a adorarme. (795-802).

The temptation of Narciso in the work resembles the temptation of Christ and recalls the battle between good and evil. Eco cannot win outright on her own; therefore she must wait until Narciso is weak to lure Him to accept the gifts and come down from the mountain to worship her. Narciso, however, is much stronger than Eco thinks and warns her that only perfect beauty like His own can be adored:

Aborrecida Ninfa,  
no tu ambición te engañe,  
que Mi Belleza sola  
es digna de adorarse.  
Véte de Mi presencia (803-807).

The strength of Narciso is notable and Eco is depicted as a victim of her own ambition and beauty. She has learned that she cannot tempt Narciso because He is too divine to be deceived. Eco is again cast out of heaven, but not before she warns Narciso that from now on she will seek His downfall so that when He dies, so will her pain.

The dramatized example of Eco's downfall is commensurate with neo-scholasticism in that biblical stories in the *auto* introduce doctrine, in this case examples about sin and temptation, Christ and the devil. At the same time, Eco attempts to deceive Narciso, Naturaleza Humana has been journeying to the same forest hoping for news of her lost God. She implores anyone who can hear her to help find Him and pledges her faith to Narciso: "Seguiréle, por más que me fatigue / pues dice que ha de hallarle quien Le sigue" (938-939). Believing that her fatigue should not hinder her search, her words are meant as a lesson of faith for the audience who might have doubts about the existence of God and who should follow Christ regardless of exhaustion. To help her find Narciso, Gracia, dressed as a shepherdess, appears on the stage and proclaims that she will guide Naturaleza Humana in her search to win His favor, just as mankind is guided in its search for God. Gracia says that she has kept watch over a fountain whose clear, clean waters will entice Narciso to drink from it: "que no dudo que Lo traiga / a refrigerarse en ella / la ardiente sed que Lo abrasa" (1070-1073). Gracia knows that Narciso, thirsty and fasting in the mountains, will be drawn to the spring where the two shepherdesses will wait for Him. Her plan is that when Narciso arrives, instead of seeing His own image in the Fountain, it will be replaced with Naturaleza Humana's likeness and He will fall in love with her again:

Procura tú que tu rostro  
se represente en las aguas,  
porque llegando Él a verlas

mire en ti Su semejanza;

Porque de ti Se enamore. (1074-1077)

Gracia's plans to substitute the Narciso's image in the fountain with the likeness of Naturaleza Humana. She leads Naturaleza Humana to the side of the stream instructing her to hide behind the bushes so that, though she is unseen, her face will be reflected in the water. When Narciso approaches, it is therefore not His own face He will see reflected but Naturaleza Humana's, and He will fall in love.

The reconciliation of Naturaleza Humana-mankind with Narciso-Christ may be the climax of Sor Juana's intended scriptural teachings in her *auto*. When the two allegorical figures finally meet in the next scene, the Counter Reformation intention of the *auto* becomes more apparent. *El divino Narciso*, as I have said, attempts to inform the audience about the value of faith and devotion to God, and by doing so attempts to challenge opposed teachings brought on by the Reformation. The biblical lessons, then, become not just a means of instruction and entertainment, but also an index of cultural perceptions about religion and politics in Mexico.

In the play, as Naturaleza and Gracia wait in a thicket by the fountain facing each other, Narciso approaches carrying a slingshot and looking for His "ovejuela perdida." The lost lamb is actually a metaphor for the Christian devout who have gone astray in their beliefs, and Sor Juana uses the occasion to teach about faith in God. Narciso's metaphorical explanation of the loss of faith is establishes a close connection between the audience and Naturaleza Humana in the play. Narciso-Christ remembers when the waters used to be free and pure of



sin, He found a lamb (humankind) abandoned with a wolf nearby (1177-1180). He saved the lamb, fed her and nurtured her back to life but she became fat and lazy thinking her own beauty was greater than His (1181-1196). Enraged, Narciso punished the entire flock (people): "y con esto incitaste Mis furiosos / Y prorrumpí enojado: / Yo esconderé Mi cara" (1201-1203). Angry, Narciso-Christ became ashamed of humankind and introduced famine and war, terror and death (1208-1226). In his power to punish humankind, Narciso also explains his divine ability to give life or take it away:

Mira que soberano  
soy, y que no hay más fuerte;  
que Yo doy vida y muerte,  
que Yo hiero y Yo sano,  
y que nadie se escapa de Mi mano.

The allegorical presentation of God's power to award or punish might have been obvious to the audience who would have understood Sor Juana's message about being devoted to God. The lesson of how mankind can find salvation is cultivated in the reconciliation of Narciso and Naturaleza Humana. With a burning desire to drink, Narciso sees the fountain and approaches its waters at the same time that Naturaleza Humana bends toward the fountain. The gaze of both figures meet and Narciso falls deeply in love with Naturaleza Humana:

Con un ojo solo, bello,  
el corazón Me ha abrasado;  
el pecho Me ha traspasado

con el rizo de un cabello.

[.....]

¡Vén, Esposa, a tu Querido;

rompe esa cortina clara;

muéstrame tu hermosura cara,

suene tu voz a mi oído! (1287-1300)

Their faces are identical, and seeing her reflection Narciso sees His own. Their combined image is symbolic of the Incarnation: Christ reflects Humankind.

Parker points out that the theological message is very specific since the face of *Naturaleza Humana* can be identical with Narciso's only when reflected in the pure waters of Grace:

[...] on her, disfigured as she is by sin, the likeness is obscured.

Narcissus enamoured of his reflected image is therefore Christ so

in love with Human Nature that he assumes it is his divine Nature in

the Hypostatic Union. (*Calderonian* 270)

The union created by the two images coming together in the fountain demonstrates that the play's narcissism is not Narciso-Christ's love of himself (the Ovidian myth) but rather love for *Naturaleza Humana*-Humankind. As I have said, their unification in the reflection in sinless waters represents the divine sacrament of baptism. Beaupied, for example, sees this scene as symbolic of baptism since the fusion of the two images really means an immersion in the fountain (115-116). Thus, when Narciso and *Naturaleza Humana* glance into the fountain, their combined reflection resembles baptism since He is reborn and the

sins of Naturaleza Humana are washed away, allowing a divine relationship between the two.

As the harmonious unification of Narciso and Naturaleza Humana plays out on the stage, Eco appears and sees what that the waters of the fountain are clean and free from her rage. She wants to poison the water, but it is too late: Narciso has contemplated His own likeness in the form of Naturaleza Humana which both enrages and frightens Eco: "¡Cuánto temí que clara la mirase, / para que de ella no Se enamorase, / y en fin ha sucedido! (1325-1327). Her fear realized, Eco lays blame for her misfortune on the holy scriptures, holy writs that have left her with half of her previous self:

Si quiero articular la voz, no puedo  
y a media voz me quedo,  
[.....]  
que pues Letras Sagradas, que me infamen,  
en alguna ocasión muda me llaman. (1333-1338)

Indeed, Eco's voice and power are but a fraction of what they once were and now she will only be able to repeat the final word of anything she hears, she will only echo. Eco's communication is limited, and when Soberbia and Amor Propio ask what pains her, the final word of their questions are repeated by Eco and reformed to express her hatred, malcontent and pain:

Soberbia

Tente, pues que yo te tengo

Eco

*Tengo*

Amor Propio

Refiere tu ansiosa pena.

Eco

*Pena.*

Soberbia

Di la causa de tu rabia.

Eco

*Rabia*

[.....]

Tengo Pena, Rabia

De ve Que Narciso

A un Sér Quebradizo

Quiere, A mí Me agravia (1391-1440).

Since she can no longer speak, Eco must draw on other voices and put together the borrowed words to express her own feelings. Daniel believes that this "echo-device" is the most notable part of *El Divino Narciso*: "The organization, repetition, and compactness of the echo-device in the auto allows for a better grasp of it by the spectator-reader" (*Use 77*). For Daniel, the echo-device, as he calls it, gives Sor Juana ample material to be inventive with dialogue. The relationship between how Sor Juana relates the message of the *auto*, in this case using the echo-device, and the audience's understanding of the message is an example of social energy. It has been mentioned that social energy is the

relationship between the audience and the elements that emanate from the stage and is marked by the way in which a dramatic message is inventively presented. The echo-device, a unique manner for Eco to relate her thoughts without full ability of speech, becomes an unusual and marvelous form of entertainment for the audience. Similarly, Merrim has written that the semi-mute condition of Eco is unique because she is still able to speak her mind "[...] by repeating or permuting the last parts of others character's speeches and eventually forming these words into a speech of her own through the device of *recopilación*" (*Narciso* 113). Eco has effectively shown that the words of others can be manipulated to form new texts. These new texts, in turn, offer a variety of interpretations: "She [Eco] has also established a variety of interpretive possibilities for these new texts. Eco's voice tells her own story, her private feelings and emotions, through the language of others" (Kirkpatrick 65). Eco's punishment may be her loss of voice, but her gift of expression is her ability to overcome that obstacle.

Eco's loss of speech means that she cannot confront Narciso and stop His contemplation of *Naturaleza Humana's* image. However, *Amor Propio* and *Soberbia*, Eco's companions, can cause Narciso harm. As Narciso continues to examine His image in the fountain, *Soberbia* leads Him to believe that His beauty is unsurpassed and the more He contemplates his own image, the more *Soberbia* makes Him suffers. Narciso blames Cupid (*Amor*) for making Him a target and states that love has made Him mortal and now vulnerable: "*El Amor Hizo Mortal, / Sujeta, Humana, Pasible*" (1513-1514). Since Narciso is also

guided by Amor Propio, He cannot understand His errors and feels alone in the world. Narciso considers himself conquered by His own sorrow and desires His own death:

El Amor, Que puede Herir,  
En Mí Mostró Su pujanza;  
Y amando A Mi semejanza,  
Del Cielo Vine A morir. (1555-1558)

Narciso mimics Church doctrine: just as Christ descended from heaven for humankind's salvation, Narciso has come from the mountain to save his devoted lost sheep. Ultimate salvation for humankind, like the lost sheep, will be achieved through His own death. Stroud believes that death is Narciso's goal which ultimately means the end of suffering and sin for humankind: "[...] death should be the end of sin, the end of suffering, the end of morality, the end of the subject's division (*Desiring* 210). Stroud suggests that with His death, Narciso-Christ will no longer be a duality, the spirit will be separated from the body:

Ya licencia a la Muerte doy: ya entrego  
el Alma, a que del Cuerpo la divide,  
aunque en ella y en él quedará asida  
Mi Deidad, que las vuelva a reunir luego. (1607-1610)

The duality Narciso-Christ is ended when Narciso grants His soul to Death and it is disassociated from the body. The separation of the soul from the body is symbolic of resurrection: "vuelva a reunir luego," and also means that humankind's sin and suffering will end. At this point, the scenery is prepared for

Narciso's death; an earthquake shakes the stage and He falls behind the curtains out of view of the audience who do not see His death but rather hear about it through the other characters.

Sor Juana, always alert to biblical issues, uses the earthquake in the *auto* illustrate the upheaval of the universe and the unfortunate destruction of the Christ figure. Eco, Soberbia and Amor Propio, impressed by the earthquake, are happy He has died but must nevertheless confess His greatness and divinity: "¡Este hombre, de verdad era muy Justo! / [...] / ¡Éste era Hijo de Dios, yo no lo dudo!" (1672-1676). When Eco describes the disorder that accompanied Narciso's death, the audience begins to believe that evil has won: as the sun hides, the skies darken and the veil of the temple roof is torn away, the devastation and gloominess of the stage is symbolic of the perceived survival of Eco-Devil. However, the coming resurrection of Narciso-Christ will re-light the stage and proclaim the victory of light over dark. As Ackerman explains, the actions represent supernatural signs accompanying Christ's death on the Cross (71) and Narciso's death is really life since, as *Naturaleza Humana* explains, His death was the ultimate sacrifice for humankind:

Buscad mi Vida en esa  
imagen de la muerte,  
pues el darme la vida  
es el fin con que muera (1838-1841)

For the audience, the message could not be more clear: Narciso-Christ died for *Naturaleza Humana*'s sins and thereby assured human salvation. His absence,

however, makes *Naturaleza Humana* wonder what will become of her without His presence. This type of doubt was typical in Counter-Reformation Mexico where Church doctrine indoctrinated faith in the populace and focused itself on the eradication of doubt. Nevertheless, in Mexico, as in Spain, a measure of doubt did exist since faith did not naturally preclude doubt. As Fiore mentions in his study on the political and religious climate of Golden Age Spain, doubt was probably essential to faith: "For in the absence of doubt, doctrine would be accepted as concrete fact, and it would not be necessary to have faith in order to believe it" (*Drama 3*).

The *auto sacramental* was one means to address the problem of faith and doubt. Written to promote faith in the Eucharist and support Counter Reformation ideology after the Council of Trent, the *auto* aesthetically resolves these problems by staging important religious lessons. At this point in *El divino Narciso*, questions surrounding faith and doubt are dramatized so as to instruct the audience about the scriptures and resolve the religious contradictions evident in late seventeenth-century Mexico. In the play, the issue of doubt is elicited in the final part of the play where Gracia enters to console *Naturaleza Humana* and inform her that Narciso is not dead; He lives eternally and will be resurrected:

Vivo está tu Narciso  
no llores, no lamentos,  
ni entre los muertos busques  
Al que está Vivo Siempre! (1854-1857)



Shortly after Gracia announces the resurrection, Narciso returns to declare that He will ascend to heaven and be seated at the right hand of the Father: "A tocame no llegues, / porque voy con Mi Padre / a Su Trono celeste" (1873-1875). The heavenly ascension of Narciso-Christ also means that evil, as incarnated in Eco, may forever falter. Eco, however, still claims power over Naturaleza Humana-Humankind and argues that human sin was infinite and Narciso's death had to occur, for only a divine Person can erase the result of an infinite sin (Tavard 129). Hence, Eco believes that the battle between good and evil is not finished and she is sure that Narciso's ascension to heaven means that His protection of Naturaleza Humana is also gone:

[...] y claro está que no es congruo  
que todas las veces que ella  
vuelva a pecar, a morir  
Tú también por ella vuelvas (1914-1917)

As Eco sees it, Naturaleza Humana will continue to sin but Narciso cannot continue to die on her behalf. Flynn believes that Eco bases her argument on the typical sinful behavior of humankind: out of sight, out of mind (*Sor Juana* 67). Moreover, Eco probably cannot conceive of the Resurrection because it is an expression of supernatural Grace. Unless Naturaleza Humana is constantly reminded of Narciso, He will soon vanish from her memory and Eco (the devil) will have no trouble in dominating her.

Perhaps the center of Sor Juana's reaffirmation of Church doctrine takes place after Narciso-Christ's death, when the play is used to aesthetically preach

about the Church and Catholic dogma. Sor Juana has already established a number of biblical episodes that are meant to teach about God and explain the principles of His religion. The message evolves to include the origins of the Catholic Church and its reason for existence. Narciso explains that there is still a means to protect the penitent even when He is not present. Narciso-Christ clarifies that while His death and resurrection won redemption for *Naturaleza Humana*, He will never really be completely absent since His Church has created other means, sacraments, to assure their salvation:

[...] El de la Penitencia,  
y los demás Sacramentos,  
que he vinculado en mi Iglesia  
por medicinas del Alma.  
[.....]  
para que cuando Me fuera,  
juntamente Me quedara. (1925-1940)

Church doctrine taught that Christ, who died for humankind's sins, has likewise left other ways for humans to strengthen their bonds with Him. The seven sacraments, important reaffirmations of the Catholicism after the Council of Trent, are used by Sor Juana to teach about the God's gifts to humankind. It could also be said that the methodology used to teach the sacraments developed from scholasticism. We might recall that the *auto sacramental* commonly integrated scholastic reason and logic to present the wonders of God and answer theological questions. In *El divino Narciso*, the Narcissus myth provides the

background for the philosophical and theological treatment of Christ's death and the Eucharist.

The *auto* also uses neo-scholasticism to present the final lesson concerning the efficacy of the Eucharist. The play's objective, then, is to explain that by partaking in the sacrament of communion, humankind will once again be united with Christ. In a long speech summing up the Fall and Redemption, Gracia retells the story of Eco, Narciso and Naturaleza Humana similar to the way the Bible narrates episodes from the life of Christ. Specifically, Gracia retells the glory of Christ, the Incarnation and explains His sacrifice and through her monologue, the parallels between Narciso and Christ become more apparent: Narciso was divinely blessed and perceived as the King of all perfection and miracles; Church historians wrote His story; He controlled the heavens and the earth; and everyone worshipped Him. Gracia also tells how Narciso's life and death served to redeem Naturaleza Humana:

Se determinó a morir  
en empeño tan preciso,  
para mostrar que es el riesgo  
el examen de lo fino.  
[.....]  
Dió la vida en testimonio  
de Su Amor; pero no quiso  
que tan gloriosa fineza  
se quedase sin testigo;

y así dispuso dejar  
un recuerdo y un aviso,  
por memoria de Su Muerte,  
y prenda de Su cariño (2038-2057)

Just as Narciso died for the sins of Naturaleza Humana, Christ died for the sins of humankind. But, on Narciso's death, He became a flower that still grew as a reminder and warning that He will always be present: "en blanca Flor convertido, / porque no diera la ausencia / a la tibieza motivo;" (2063-2066). Symbolic of Christ's continual earthly presence, the white flower (the narcissus) represents the victory of good over evil, and is meant to teach the audience that Christ is physically present in the world in many forms.

According to Beaupied, the narcissus flower symbolizes salvation: "[...] salvation is obtained through the communion of the body of Narcissus/Christ at the moment when—next to the symbolic fountain of Grace—He is transformed into a flower" (118). The transformation of Narciso-Christ into the narcissus flower resembles the conversion of the body and blood of Christ into the communion host. The celebration of the Corpus Christi feast, like the *auto sacramental*, was a religious and political event and an opportunity to expound on Church dogma. *El divino Narciso* confronts Reformation ideology through Counter Reformation instruction by dramatizing and teaching about the Eucharist, the main intent of the *auto sacramental* in general, and the final lesson of *El divino Narciso*. The separation of the soul from the body and its reconstitution in the communion wafer is, for Merrim, a new duality of the flower

and host: "His death, presented in *El Divino Narciso* is a separation of the *alma* or essence from the *cuerpo*; and His metamorphosis into the Narcissus flower/Host, [is] a supremely metaphorical act" (*Narciso* 113). Just as the allegorical protagonists of the *auto* act out the metaphorical Eucharist theme, the appearance of the narcissus flower sets the stage for Narciso's final words when He declares that His presence can also be felt in the consumption of His Body and Blood:

Este es Mi Cuerpo y My Sangre  
que entregué a tantos martirios  
por vosotros. En memoria  
de Mi Muerte, repetido. (2098-2101)

Drawing on traditional Church doctrine, Sor Juana adopts the words of Christ at the Last Supper to complete the lesson on the Eucharist. The ritual of taking Christ's body and blood has already been labeled by Narciso as one of the "medicinas del Alma" (the Holy Sacraments) that will protect *Naturaleza Humana* in His absence. Once staged, the scene also provides the audience with a lesson and a tangible memorial of Christ's presence in the world.

The purpose of the Eucharist was debated by Reformation and Counter Reformation theologians at this time. As we know, Luther criticized the Catholic Church's emphasis on the corporal nature of the Eucharist; he believed that Christ was really present, but not in the symbolic form of the communion wafer. The Eucharistic theme—required in *Corpus Christi autos*—is used by Sor Juana primarily to uphold Catholic doctrine. Indeed, Ackerman believes that the

Eucharist scene "[...] expresses the ambiguities of sacramental life for the Christian of her time, but strongly supports orthodoxy" (73). That is to say, the audience may have had doubts about the efficacy of the sacrament of the Eucharist in light of Luther's Reformation teachings. Sor Juana, however, used allegory and myth to teach Church doctrine, reaffirm Catholic dogma and defend Counter Reformation ideology.

As we have seen, in the Golden Age tenacious questioning of doctrine penetrated traditional Catholic orthodoxy. Theologians like Luther and Calvin pursued reform from outside the Church, while leaders of the Counter Reformation preferred to address perceived problems internally. The Catholic Church's formal answer to the Reformation, the Counter Reformation, was elaborated at the Council of Trent which decided that traditional Catholic orthodoxy must be upheld at all cost. For Sor Juana, Church doctrine could be sustained through the dramatic presentation of the Scriptures and the Eucharist. Indeed, Ackerman has written that the main intention of *El divino Narciso* was to uphold traditional orthodoxy and reaffirm belief in the Eucharist:

Against the Protestant inclination to interpret the physicality of the sacrament as only metaphor or sign, Sor Juan ends her drama with Scripture, significantly, the bitterly-argued scriptural passages concerning the institution of the Eucharist... to affirm the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Her play expresses the ambiguities of sacramental life for a Christian of her time, but strongly supports orthodoxy. (72-73)

Sor Juana's description and dramatization of the Eucharist scene in her *auto* can be considered political in that it was meant to reaffirm Counter Reformation ideologies. Sor Juana encouraged her audience to accept Catholic Church doctrine eagerly. She accomplished this aim by giving representation to the non-rational concepts of Christian dogma (Parker, *Calderonian* 244). Neo-scholasticism played an important role in her defense of the faith as dramatized in her *auto*. Neo-scholasticism, with its emphasis on logic and reason to teach and defend Church doctrine, is evident in the Eucharist motif of *El divino Narciso*, and in other biblical episodes dramatized in the work. What makes Sor Juana's *auto sacramental* ingenious is that she developed her defense of orthodoxy within classical myth and even used Aztec tradition. Myth provided the thematic structure, the Scriptures lend Church teachings, and the *auto sacramental* form coupled with neo-scholastic philosophy advanced the argument of the Eucharist logically and coherently, while simultaneously entertaining and teaching the audience.

It can be said that her careful and interesting synthesis of myth, doctrine, and dogma was a means to deal with the politics of theology during the Counter Reformation. Jameson and the New Historicists offer a method to examine the political/religious unconscious of the epoch and the impact of religion and politics on Sor Juana's *auto*. After recontextualizing and studying *El divino Narciso* a cultural artifact that expresses socio-political beliefs, we can see that the work presents competing ideologies, and offers aesthetic resolutions to historical and ideological problems (Jameson, *Political* 76). In fact, a resituation of the work

bears out the ideological debates evident in Sor Juana's world and are reflected in the play; Her life affected her view of Catholicism and the contemporaneous debates on the Church and Church doctrine are deliberately reflected in *El divino Narciso*. Specifically, the Eucharist provided both religious themes and the occasion for production—the Corpus Christi feast. Text and context render a political perspective on society, economics, philosophy, and, especially, religion, and *El divino Narciso* not only promotes socio-political and religious commentaries, but is also a product of them.



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